



#### An-Najah National University Center for Opinion Polls and Survey Studies

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#### Result of Palestinian Public Opinion Polls No. 8 Sept. 16-18, 2004

#### **Background**

The Occupied Palestinian Territories witnessed, in the period preceding this poll, an Israeli escalation in the military operations; the Israeli army continued the destruction, the closures and the killing of Palestinian people. The occupation forces bombed a playground in Gaza. The bombardment left tens of casualties from among the Palestinian civilians. Further, the Israeli occupation forces liquidated a group of Palestinian activists in Nablus and Jenin.

On the political and security levels, the Palestinian scene witnessed a series of developments. Among these are the chaotic state that spread in Gaza Strip in particular, and some other West Bank cities in general, especially Nablus and Ramallah. An armed group kidnapped some foreigners and detained them for some hours. Other groups stormed into a number of sites that belong to the Palestinian Authority; some top Palestinian officers were kidnapped.

In view of the above realities, a number of the leaders of the security apparatuses submitted their resignation; a state of dissatisfaction dominated the Palestinian scene. Prime Minister Ahmed Qurai submitted his resignation and withdrew it twice within the last sixty days. The Palestinian Legislative Council, announced the suspension of its sessions for one month protesting the lack of respect and attention for its decisions by the Palestinian Authority.

Consequently, several declarations and calls for a comprehensive internal reformation were issued by ministers, PLC members, representatives of political factions, security officials and others. Such calls did not lead to any substantial result.

In the Palestinian Territories, the election registration campaign was launched in preparation for the general elections which have not been given a specific date. There are efforts paid to urge people to register for the elections, but the news tell of very weak and slow registration process.

<sup>\*</sup> The Opinions represented in the results reflect those of the study; they do not represent by any means the opinion of An-Najah National University.





#### The Results

Following are the results of the eighth public opinion poll conducted by the Center for Opinion Polls and Survey Studies at An Najah National University during the period from 16-18 September, 2004. The University takes full sponsorship of all polls.

The eighth poll undertakes several subjects which focused on the calls for reformation, the need to fight corruption, the election registration process, the performance of Palestinian institutions, the PLC and local councils elections, in addition to political affiliations of Palestinian people and other issues.

The sample included 1360 Persons whose age group is 18 years and above and who have the right to vote. The sample forms one per thousand from among the total number of Palestinian people of this age group. The enclosed questionnaire was distributed on 860 persons from the West Bank and 500 persons from the Gaza Strip. The sample was drawn randomly and the margin of error is about  $\pm 3$ . Still 2.8% of the members of the sample refused to answer the questionnaire.

#### **Major Results:**

- 27.7% from among respondents see that the public figures who call for reform are sincere while 67.1% see that they are themselves responsible for the chaotic state which overwhelms the Palestinian scene. 33.5% see that ministers, PLC members, the representatives of political factions are not concerned with reform.
- 24.7% see that the Presidential Institution is reluctant to carry out reform, 15.9% see that it is the Council of Ministers which is reluctant, 11.8% see that it is the security apparatuses, 5.4% see that it is the PLC.
- 39.0% see that the Presidential Institution is the body which is most capable of carrying our reform, 12.4% see that it is the PLC and 7.2% is the Council of Ministers.
- 37.5% see that the first step in any reform in the Palestinian arena must begin through conducting presidential and legislative elections and 29.4% see that reform must be by way of forming a united Palestinian government.
- 30.9% see that the call for reform sprang basically from an internal need for reform while 21.3% see that it came as a response to outside pressures.
- 53.0% believe that the Palestinian Authority is concerned with reform.
- 89.7% believe that there is a necessity to conduct reformations in the institutions of the Palestinian Authority.



- 70.4% agreed that there is corruption in all the institutions of the Palestinian Authority, and 45.6% say that corruption is limited to the security apparatuses, 44.2% say that it is limited to the Council of Ministers, 37.6% say that it is limited to the PLC and 34.0% say that it is limited to the Presidential Institution.
- 38.9% see that the body which is most capable of fighting corruption is the Presidential Institution, 24.8% see that it is the Judicious system, 11.7% see that it is the PLC and 6.0% see that it is the Council of Ministers.
- 36.6% say that the best way to fight corruption is to instate the law of "where have you got this from?" 36.4% say that the best way is to question people who are accused of cases of corruption.
- 46.5% believe that what encouraged corruption in the institutions of the Palestinian Authority is the absence of a law that punishes the corrupted people.
- 49.6% believe that the PA is concerned with fighting corruption.
- 49.3% believe that the Israeli Occupation is the reason behind corruption in the institutions of the Palestinian Authority.
- 25.7% believe that the Occupation is not an obstacle for the Palestinian Authority to fight corruption.
- 46.2% believe that the present corruption is an extension to the existing corruption in the institutions of the PLO.
- 47.2% say that corruption exists in all the institutions of the Palestinian Society, 19.7% say that corruption is limited to the institutions of the Palestinian Authority, and 9.1% say that it exists in all Palestinian factions.
- 56.3% believe that corruption exists in all institutions of the civil society.
- 52.9% believe that corruption exists in all the institutions of the private sector.
- 41.9% admitted that the most common phenomenon of corruption that exists in the Palestinian Society is the financial corruption, while 15.6% believe that it is administrative corruption.
- 94.4% assert that the most common manifestation of corruption in the Palestinian Society is the spread of the phenomenon of nepotism and intermediation in the procedures of governmental employment, 91.0% assert that it is using governmental positions for serving private interests, 87.6% assert that it is extravagant and quick accumulation of wealth in the hands of governmental officials, 84.6% assert that it is the absence of an independent Judicious system, 81.4% assert that it is the license that some officials take to obtain business facilities which are contrary to Palestinian law, 70.8% assert that it is aggression against public and private institutions committed by the security apparatuses.



- 93.9% believe that the phenomenon of corruption exists in Palestinian Society.
- The most important means that respondents see for instating reform come in the following order:
  - An average of 93.96% believe that it is fighting corruption.
  - An average of 93.22% believe that it is the adopting the principle of qualification and merit in appointing people in governmental positions.
  - An average of 92.66% believe that it is imposing law and order.
  - An average of 91.46% believe that it is monitoring the ways of spending public funds.
  - An average of 89.84% believe that it is forming a unified leadership.
  - An average of 89.39% believe that it is activating the role of public control.
  - An average of 86.51% believe that it is demolishing monopolies.
  - An average of 84.55% believe that it is dealing with the obstruction of justice.
  - An average of 82.27% believe that it is changing the current ministers.
  - An average of 81.75% believe that it is changing the leaders of the security apparatuses.
  - An average of 80.36% believe that it is unifying the security apparatuses.
  - An average of 79.58% believe that the most important means is conducting elections.
- 38.8% respondents see that the most important means of implementing reform in the Presidential institution is instating a law that defines the responsibilities and procedures of work at the Presidential Institution, 40.3% see that in the Minister's Council it is limiting conflicts of ministry, 34.7% see that in the PLC it is conducting legislative elections as soon as possible, 33.4% see that in the security apparatuses it is uniting all apparatuses under the Ministry of Interior and Interior Affairs and defining the responsibilities of each apparatuses.
- Only 6.8% from among the respondents never heard of Election Registration Centers, 42.7% received brochures explaining the process of completing the process of the registration.
- Only 59.5% say that they will participate in registering for elections.
- Only 1.2% of the respondents assert that they will reelect the same members of the PLC that they elected before, and 6.5% assert that they will reelect only some of the old members. While 17.1% assert that they will not reelect any of the previous members, 52.8% assert that they will decide on whom to vote for at the Polls. Further, 20.4% assert that they will not participate in the elections.



- As for the characteristics they desire to see in future candidates running for the PLC, they favor the following in a condescending order.
  - An average of 87.09% favor the educational qualifications.
  - An average of 76.14% favor the patriotic record of the candidate.
  - An average of 47.81% favor the political affiliation of the candidate.
  - An average of 42.88% favor male gender.
  - An average of 34.76% care for the economic situation of the candidate.
  - An average of 30.76% care for the family belongness of the candidate.
  - An average of 29.74% care for place of dwelling.
  - An average of 27.71% favor the female gender.
  - An average of 24.84% favor previous PLC members.
  - An average of 24.80% care for kinship.
- In case of running for legislative elections, 16.1% choose Fateh block, 11.9% choose Hamas block, while a joint block between Fateh and Hamas received 10.3%.
- 23.1% from among respondents assert that the current circumstances are suitable for conducting general elections while 16.8% assert that the circumstances are not suitable. 49.0% from among respondents say that it is possible to disregard the present circumstances and conduct elections, 6.2% however, say that it is not possible to disregard the present circumstances and conduct elections.
- 19.6% from among respondents like the Palestinian Authority to coordinate its policy with Egypt, and 7.1% like coordination with Jordan, while 56.3% do not like to co-ordinate with any country.
- 67.0% from among respondents support a new ceasefire (hodna) between Palestinians and Israelis.
- 92.7% from among respondents believe that the military operations that Palestinian factions execute come as a natural reaction to the Israeli military operations.
- 40.2% from among respondents reject launching attacks against Israel from the Gaza Strip if Israel pulls out.
- 94.1% from among respondents support the formation of a United Palestinian Leadership.
- As for assessing the performance of Palestinian institutions in the present
  - 20.1% expressed their satisfaction with the performance of the Palestinian Government.
  - 21.0% expressed their satisfaction with the performance of the PLC.
  - 28.1% expressed their satisfaction with the performance of the Judicious System.





- 68.2% expressed their satisfaction with the performance of the Palestinian Universities.
- 55.7% expressed their satisfaction with the Organizations of the civil society.
- 18.2% expressed their satisfaction with the performance of security apparatuses.
- 44.6% expressed their satisfaction with the performance of the private sector institutions.
- As for Political affiliations they were distributed as follows:

- People's party	0.8
- Democratic Front	1.3
- Islamic Jihad	4.0
- Fateh	23.7
- Hamas	19.3
- Fida	0.3
- Public Front	2.1
- Independent Nationalist	9.9
- Independent Islamist	8.3
- Non of the above	29.0
- Other	1.3





#### The General Results of the Poll

In view of the kidnapping, the storming and sabotaging of some government sites, several Palestinian public figures called for instating reforms in the institutions of the Authority to end the state of chaos in the Palestinian streets. How do you look at the calls of these public figures (personalities)?

Total				
	Support	Reject	No opinion	
All these public figures are faithful in their calls	27.7	62.6	9.6	
These public figures are part of the state of	67.1	24.5	8.4	
corruption				
Ministers only are faithful in their call for reform	14.0	75.5	10.3	
PLC members only are faithful	22.2	65.3	12.5	
Representatives of Palestinian factions only are faithful	41.2	45.1	13.8	
Independent public figures only are faithful	50.3	37.1	12.6	
Ministers, PLC members and representatives of	38.5	48.7	12.9	
factions are not concerned with reformation				
West Bank				
	Support	Reject	No opinion	
All these public figures are faithful in their calls	28.0	62.0	10.0	
These public figures are part of the state of corruption	65.5	25.5	9.1	
Ministers only are faithful in their call for reform	14.0	76.0	10.0	
PLC members only are faithful	22.1	66.4	11.5	
Representatives of Palestinian factions only are faithful	41.2	46.5	12.3	
Independent public figures only are faithful	51.9	36.9	11.3	
Ministers, PLC members and representatives of	40.8	46.2	13.0	
factions are not concerned with reformation				
Gaza Strip				
	Support	Reject	No opinion	
All these public figures are faithful in their calls	27.2	63.8	9.0	
These public figures are part of the state of corruption	70.0	22.8	7.2	
Ministers only are faithful in their call for reform	14.2	75.0	10.8	
PLC members only are faithful	22.4	63.4	14.2	
Representatives of Palestinian factions only are faithful	41.2	42.6	16.2	
Independent public figures only are faithful	47.6	37.4	15.0	
Ministers, PLC members and representatives of factions are not concerned with reformation	34.4	53.0	12.6	





There are several calls that emphasize the necessity of instating reform in the institutions and apparatuses of the PA. In your opinion, which party from among the following is reluctant to instate such reformations?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The presidential Institution	24.7	20.7	31.6
The Council of Ministers	15.9	17.3	13.4
The Palestinian Legislative Council	5.4	4.0	8.0
The security apparatuses	11.8	11.4	12.6
The political parties	11.8	13.3	9.4
Members of Palestinian people	8.6	7.7	10.2
Other	6.0	7.1	4.2
I don not know; no opinion	15.7	8.6	10.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In your opinion, which party from among the following is most capable of instating reform in the institutions and the apparatuses of the Palestinian Authority?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The Presidential Institution	39.0	42.6	32.8
The Council of Ministers	7.2	7.7	6.4
The Palestinian Legislative Council	12.4	11.4	14.2
The security apparatuses	6.2	6.0	6.4
The political parties	21.4	18.1	27.0
Other	6.0	6.6	5.0
I don not know; no opinion	7.8	7.6	8.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The first step in making any reformation in the Palestinian arena must begin through .....

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
conducting Presidential and PLC	37.5	41.0	31.4
elections			
forming a new national and united	29.4	27.0	33.6
government			
changing the leaders of the security	17.4	15.6	20.6
apparatuses			
	107	11.2	10.0
other	2.2	2.2	2.2
I do not know, no opinion	7.2	3.0	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



In your opinion, the calls for reformation in the apparatuses of the Palestinian Authority stem from

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
an internal need for the necessity of	30.9	32.8	27.6
reformation			
distracting the Palestinian public	14.3	15.0	13.0
from continuing the Intifada			
Responding for foreign pressure	21.3	21.6	20.8
responding to political interests for	10.7	8.7	14.0
some people			
the fact that reform is part of the	19.4	19.1	20.0
road to liberation			
I don not know; no opinion	3.5	2.8	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

At the current stage, do you think that the PA is concerned with instating serious reform inside the civil and military institutions?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	53.0	56.0	47.8
No	40.4	37.0	46.2
I don not know; no opinion	6.6	7.0	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

From your personal perspective, do you believe that there is a pressing need to instate reform in the institutions and apparatuses of the PA in the present?

I			
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
There is a pressing need	89.7	91.6	86.4
There is no need	7.9	7.2	9.2
I do not know; no opinion	2.4	1.2	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Some say that there is corruption in the institutions of the PA. What is your opinion?

Jour opinion.				
Total				
	Support	Reject	No Opinion	
Corruption exists in all PA institutions	70.4	24.8	4.8	
Corruption exists in the Presidential	34.0	55.0	11.0	
Institution only				
Corruption exists in the Council of	44.2	46.3	9.5	
Ministers				
Corruption exists among the PLC	37.6	52.1	10.4	
members only				
Corruption exists among the leaders	45.6	44.1	10.3	
of the security apparatuses				



West Bank				
	Support	Reject	No opinion	
Corruption exists in all PA institutions	68.8	26.0	5.1	
Corruption exists in the Presidential	32.1	57.6	10.3	
Institution only				
Corruption exists in the Council of	45.2	47.1	7.7	
Ministers				
Corruption exists among the PLC	37.8	52.8	9.4	
members only				
Corruption exists among the leaders	44.7	46.5	8.8	
of the security apparatuses				
Gaza	Strip			
	Support	Reject	No opinion	
Corruption exists in all PA institutions	73.2	22.6	4.2	
Corruption exists in the Presidential	37.2	50.6	12.2	
Institution only				
Corruption exists in the Council of	42.4	45.0	12.6	
Ministons				
Ministers				
Corruption exists among the PLC	37.2	50.8	12.0	
	37.2	50.8	12.0	
Corruption exists among the PLC	37.2 47.2	50.8	12.0 12.8	

### Which party in your opinion is most capable of fighting corruption in the PA?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The Presidential Institution	38.9	43.1	31.6
The PLC	11.7	12.0	11.2
The Council of Ministers	6.0	4.5	8.6
The Judicious System	24.8	23.6	26.8
Other	9.6	9.1	10.4
I do not know; no opinion	9.0	7.7	11.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

# What is the easiest way in your opinion for fighting the phenomenon of corruption in the present?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Passing the law the of "where have	36.6	36.2	37.4
you got this from"?			
Conducting general elections	22.3	22.7	21.6
Investigating those who are accused	36.4	37.1	35.2
of corruption			
Other	2.4	2.0	3.0
I do not know; no opinion	2.4	2.1	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



What encouraged corruption in the PA institutions is

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The poor performance of the PLC	12.1	10.7	14.4
Holding minister positions for a long	11.3	12.7	8.8
time			
Not conducting elections for more	14.6	15.1	13.8
than eight years			
The in availability of a low that	46.5	45.9	47.6
punishes the corrupted people			
The poor performance of the	9.8	9.8	9.8
judicious system			
Other	3.5	3.0	4.4
I do not know; no opinion	2.2	2.8	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you believe that PA is concerned with fighting corruption in its institutions and apparatuses?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	49.6	54.8	40.8
No	43.8	40.0	50.2
I do not know; no opinion	6.6	5.2	9.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you believe that the Israeli Occupation is the reason behind the existence of corruption in the PA institutions?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	49.3	53.6	42.0
Yes, Partially	28.6	25.2	34.4
No	21.3	20.7	22.2
I do not know; no opinion	0.8	0.5	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that the Israeli Occupation is a major obstacle that hinders the PA's attempts to fight corruption?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	47.4	52.7	38.2
Yes, partially	26.1	21.3	34.4
No	25.7	25.1	26.8
I do not know; no opinion	0.8	0.9	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



#### Do you think that corruption in the PA is an extension to that which the PLO has?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	46.2	44.3	49.4
Yes, partially	21.5	19.9	24.4
No	22.7	24.5	19.6
I do not know; no opinion	9.6	11.3	6.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### Do you think that corruption is limited to the PA institutions and apparatuses?

apparatuses.			
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Corruption is limited to the PA	19.7	18.0	22.6
institutions only			
Corruption exists among all	9.1	7.8	11.4
Palestinian factions			
Corruption exists among some	16.8	17.1	16.2
Palestinian factions			
Corruption exists among Civil	1.6	0.7	3.2
society institutions			
Corruption exists in all the	47.2	50.3	41.8
institutions of the Palestinian			
Society			
I do not know; no opinion	5.6	6.0	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

# Do you think that there is corruption in the institutions of the Palestinian civil society?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	56.3	56.6	55.6
No	33.5	34.0	32.8
I do not know; no opinion	10.2	9.4	11.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

### Do you think that there is corruption in the institutions of the Palestinian private sector?

private sector.			
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	52.9	56.0	47.4
No	32.3	31.7	33.2
I do not know; no opinion	14.9	12.2	19.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



The most common type of corruption in the Palestinian society is:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Financial	41.9	45.9	35.0
Administrative	15.6	15.9	15.0
Political	10.9	10.7	11.2
Social	8.4	8.8	7.6
Security	13.8	10.7	19.0
Other	7.0	6.4	8.0
I don not know; no opinion	2.5	1.5	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Some say that the most widespread feature of corruption in the Palestinian society is:

Total				
	Support	Reject	No Opinion	
The spread of nepotism and intermediation	94.4	4.1	1.5	
in the process of governmental employment				
The extravagant and quick accumulation of	87.6	8.5	3.9	
wealth in the hands of some governmental				
officials				
Using governmental positions in serving	91.0	6.6	2.4	
private interests				
Illegal obtaining of commercial guarantees	81.4	9.8	8.8	
by some officials				
The lack of an independent and fair	84.6	11.4	4.0	
judicious system				
Aggression against public and private	70.8	20.5	8.7	
properties by some security apparatuses				
West Bank				
West Ban			I	
	Support	Reject	No Opinion	
The spread of nepotism and intermediation		Reject 3.3	No Opinion	
The spread of nepotism and intermediation in the process of governmental employment	Support 95.2	3.3	1.5	
The spread of nepotism and intermediation in the process of governmental employment The extravagant and quick accumulation of	Support			
The spread of nepotism and intermediation in the process of governmental employment The extravagant and quick accumulation of wealth in the hands of some governmental	Support 95.2	3.3	1.5	
The spread of nepotism and intermediation in the process of governmental employment The extravagant and quick accumulation of wealth in the hands of some governmental officials	95.2 92.0	3.3	3.1	
The spread of nepotism and intermediation in the process of governmental employment The extravagant and quick accumulation of wealth in the hands of some governmental officials Using governmental positions in serving	Support 95.2	3.3	1.5	
The spread of nepotism and intermediation in the process of governmental employment  The extravagant and quick accumulation of wealth in the hands of some governmental officials  Using governmental positions in serving private interests	95.2 92.0 94.0	3.3 4.9 4.0	3.1 2.1	
The spread of nepotism and intermediation in the process of governmental employment The extravagant and quick accumulation of wealth in the hands of some governmental officials Using governmental positions in serving private interests Illegal obtaining of commercial guarantees	95.2 92.0	3.3	3.1	
The spread of nepotism and intermediation in the process of governmental employment The extravagant and quick accumulation of wealth in the hands of some governmental officials Using governmental positions in serving private interests Illegal obtaining of commercial guarantees by some officials	95.2 92.0 94.0 84.8	3.3 4.9 4.0 6.0	1.5 3.1 2.1 9.2	
The spread of nepotism and intermediation in the process of governmental employment The extravagant and quick accumulation of wealth in the hands of some governmental officials Using governmental positions in serving private interests Illegal obtaining of commercial guarantees by some officials The lack of an independent and fair	95.2 92.0 94.0	3.3 4.9 4.0	3.1 2.1	
The spread of nepotism and intermediation in the process of governmental employment The extravagant and quick accumulation of wealth in the hands of some governmental officials Using governmental positions in serving private interests Illegal obtaining of commercial guarantees by some officials The lack of an independent and fair judicious system	95.2 92.0 94.0 84.8 87.6	3.3 4.9 4.0 6.0 9.0	3.1 2.1 9.2 3.5	
The spread of nepotism and intermediation in the process of governmental employment The extravagant and quick accumulation of wealth in the hands of some governmental officials Using governmental positions in serving private interests Illegal obtaining of commercial guarantees by some officials The lack of an independent and fair	95.2 92.0 94.0 84.8	3.3 4.9 4.0 6.0	1.5 3.1 2.1 9.2	



Gaza Strip					
	Support	Reject	No Opinion		
The spread of nepotism and intermediation	93.0	5.6	1.4		
in the process of governmental employment					
The extravagant and quick accumulation of	80.2	14.6	5.2		
wealth in the hands of some governmental					
officials					
Using governmental positions in serving	85.8	11.2	3.0		
private interests					
Illegal obtaining of commercial guarantees	75.6	16.2	8.2		
by some officials					
The lack of an independent and fair	79.6	15.6	4.8		
judicious system					
Aggression against public and private	71.2	20.0	8.8		
properties by some security apparatuses					

Now, we would like to know your opinion in the phenomenon of corruption. Does corruption really exist in the Palestinian society?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes, it exists	93.9	94.5	92.8
No, it does not exist	4.2	4.0	4.6
I do not know; no opinion	1.9	1.5	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

How do you assess the importance of the following steps as means for instating reform in the Palestinian society?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Conducting general elections	7.9581	7.9860	7.9100
Changing the current ministers	8.2279	8.2686	8.1580
Punishing the corrupted people	9.3963	9.5988	9.0480
Monitoring the ways of spending	9.1463	9.4081	8.6960
public funds			
Treating the obstruction of justices	8.4555	8.7430	7.9599
Reactivating the role of public	8.9397	9.1023	8.6600
control			
Forming a unified leadership	8.9846	9.1209	8.7500
Uniting the security apparatuses	8.0368	8.2698	7.6360
Changing the leaders of the security	8.1751	8.2224	7.0940
apparatuses			
Canceling monopolies	8.6515	8.7767	8.4360
Imposing the supremacy of the law	9.2662	9.4151	9.0100
Ensuring merit and qualifications	9.3221	9.4826	9.0460
when appointing people in public			
positions			





### In your opinion, what are the most important means that can secure reform in the Presidential institution?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Reducing the number of public	11.6	11.0	12.6
institutions that have direct relations			
with the President's office			
Trusting each ministry and	18.5	19.4	16.8
institution with its administrative			
and financial responsibilities each			
according to its specialization			
Restricting the number of grants and	11.8	12.7	10.4
gifts that the President's Office			
gives to some people and institutions			
Listing the President's Office's	11.0	9.0	14.4
budget within the general budget of			
the Palestinian Authority			
Passing a special law that would	38.8	40.3	36.2
restrict the responsibilities and the			
work procedures of the President's			
Institution			
I do not know; no opinion	8.3	7.6	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

### In your opinion, what are the most important means for instating reform in the Council of Ministers (ministries)?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Abiding by the rules of the general	9.6	9.3	10.2
budget that are approved by the PLC			
Abiding by the administrative	11.4	8.7	16.0
frames for each ministry			
Separating the meetings of the	5.9	5.6	6.4
Council of Ministers from the other			
meetings of the Palestinian			
Authority			
Adherence to the laws and decisions	25.1	26.0	23.6
that are stated by the PLC			
Defining the responsibilities of each	40.3	42.4	36.6
ministry and limiting the conflict of			
responsibilities among ministries			
I do not know; no opinion	7.6	7.9	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



#### In your opinion what are the most important means for instating reformation in the PLC.

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	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Conducting PLC elections as soon	34.7	34.3	35.4
as possible			
Depriving PLC members who are	17.6	16.7	19.0
involved in cases of corruption from			
their amnesty rights			
Instating a law that disallows PLC	15.3	17.2	12.0
members from practicing any			
private business			
Activating public control on the	15.3	14.0	17.6
work of PLC members			
Disallowing PLC members from	11.3	12.8	8.6
obtaining loans and grants from any			
public or private source			
I do not know; no opinion	5.9	5.0	7.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

### In your opinion what are the most important means for instating reform in the security apparatuses

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Subjecting the work of these	17.6	16.6	19.2
apparatuses to the supervision of the PLC			
Appointment of top officials and employees of these apparatuses must be approved by the PLC	8.5	9.2	7.2
Unifying the security apparatuses under the leadership of the ministry of interior and defining the responsibilities of each one of them	33.4	32.9	34.2
Instating a law that disallows military personnel from practicing private economic/business activities	10.4	12.1	7.4
Instating a law that defines the procedures of appointing and firing the leaders of the security apparatuses and its top officials	21.8	21.5	22.4
I do not know; no opinion	8.4	7.7	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Have you heard (through radio, TV, the press....) that the Central Elections Committee has opened Centers to register the names of all voters in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	92.1	92.7	91.0
No	6.8	6.3	7.6
I do not know; no opinion	1.2	1.0	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Have you received any brochures distributed by the Central Elections Committee which include advice on how to register for voting.

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	42.7	38.1	50.6
No	55.6	61.2	46.0
I do not know; no opinion	1.7	0.7	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Will you participate in the registration for elections?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes I will	57.8	60.8	52.6
No I will not	24.3	25.6	22.2
Yes I will and I will advise others to	11.7	8.8	16.2
participate			
No I will not and I will urge others	3.6	3.1	4.4
not to participate			
I do not know, no opinion	2.6	1.6	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

If new Palestinian parliamentary elections are to be held (for the Legislative Council), whom do you vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The same members I voted for in the	1.2	1.2	1.2
past			
Some of the members I voted for in	6.5	7.6	4.6
the past			
I will not vote for any from among	17.1	13.5	23.2
the members I voted for in the past			
I will decide on the time of elections	52.8	54.4	50.0
I will not participate in the elections	20.4	22.1	17.4
I do not know; no opinion	2.1	1.3	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



What qualities do you seek in the person that you intend to vote for in the coming legislative elections?

	Rank 0-10 (Average)			
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip	
Kinship	2.4801	2.1988	2.9640	
Educational qualifications	8.7096	8.8465	8.4740	
Political affiliation	4.7816	4.4256	5.3940	
Family relations	3.0765	2.7442	3.6480	
Record of resistance	7.6147	7.6047	7.6320	
Place of habitation	2.9743	2.6744	3.4900	
Economic situation	3.4765	3.0430	4.2220	
Being an ex-council member	2.4846	2.5721	2.3340	
Gender, male	4.7382	4.2326	5.6080	
Gender, female	2.7713	2.8081	2.7080	

If elections for the Legislative Council are held and the following blocks run for elections which will you vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Members from Fateh	16.1	17.1	14.4
Members from Hamas	11.9	8.6	17.6
A joint Fateh – Hamas block	10.3	10.0	10.8
Members from the Palestinian left	6.9	7.1	6.6
Independent nationalist member	4.7	4.4	5.2
Independent Islamist members	0.7	0.7	0.6
Members representing the PLO	6.3	7.1	5.0
Members representing a joint block from	3.8	2.8	5.4
the PLO and the Islamic movements			
Members from the Islamic movements	24.6	28.6	17.6
I will decide on the time of elections	12.8	12.6	13.2
I will not participate in the elections	2.0	1.0	3.6
No opinion; I do not know	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

There are people who say that the current political and security circumstances prevent conducting general elections (for the PLC and presidential election), others say the contrary. What is your opinion?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The circumstances are suitable for conducting	23.1	26.3	17.6
elections			
The circumstances are not suitable	16.8	19.4	12.4
It is possible to disregard the circumstances	49.0	45.5	55.0
and conduct elections			
It is not possible to disregard the circumstances	6.2	5.2	7.8
I do not know; no opinion	4.9	3.6	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



# When the PA co-ordinates it policies with some Arab countries, with which country do you like to co-ordinate if you were in the position of decision making?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
With Egypt	19.6	15.0	27.6
With Jordan	7.1	9.8	2.6
With other Arab Countries	9.6	9.1	10.6
I do not like to co-ordinate with any	56.3	60.5	49.2
country			
I do not know; no answer	7.3	5.7	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### Do you support or reject a new ceasefire between the Palestinian Authority and Palestinian factions on the one hand and Israel on the other?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly support	25.1	18.8	36.0
I support	41.9	48.7	30.2
I reject	19.5	22.1	15.0
I strongly reject	9.6	7.8	12.8
No opinion; I don not know	3.8	2.6	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### Do you believe that the military operations that the Palestinian factions execute come as a natural reaction to the Israeli atrocities?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly do	65.3	58.6	76.8
I do	27.4	33.3	17.4
I do not	3.9	4.8	2.4
I strongly do not	1.4	1.4	1.4
No opinion; I don not know	2.0	2.0	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### If Israel withdraws from the Strip do you support or reject launching attacks against Israel from inside the Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly support	21.0	16.2	29.5
I support	33.2	37.6	25.7
I reject	31.8	34.7	26.9
I strongly reject	8.4	5.8	12.8
No opinion; I don not know	5.6	5.8	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Do you support a united Palestinian leadership?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly support	58.2	51.5	69.6
I support	35.9	43.8	22.2
I oppose	3.5	2.8	4.6
I strongly oppose	0.8	0.7	1.0
I don not know; no opinion	1.7	1.2	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

# How do you asses the performance of the following Palestinian institutions in the present time?

The Palestinian Government	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Excellent	3.8	3.5	4.2
Good	16.3	16.5	16.0
Fair	34.4	36.2	31.4
Poor	43.2	40.9	47.0
I don not know; no opinion	2.4	2.9	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
The Palestinian Legislative Council	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Excellent	4.0	4.1	3.8
Good	17.0	19.1	13.4
Fair	35.3	37.4	31.6
Poor	40.2	35.5	48.4
I don not know; no opinion	3.6	4.0	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
The Judicious System	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The Judicious System  Excellent	<b>Total</b> 4.6	West Bank 5.1	Gaza Strip 3.6
			-
Excellent	4.6	5.1	3.6
Excellent Good Fair Poor	4.6 23.5	5.1 23.4	3.6 23.6
Excellent Good Fair	4.6 23.5 30.6	5.1 23.4 31.3	3.6 23.6 29.4
Excellent Good Fair Poor	4.6 23.5 30.6 37.6	5.1 23.4 31.3 35.1	3.6 23.6 29.4 31.8
Excellent Good Fair Poor I don not know; no opinion	4.6 23.5 30.6 37.6 3.8	5.1 23.4 31.3 35.1 5.1	3.6 23.6 29.4 31.8 1.6
Excellent Good Fair Poor I don not know; no opinion Total	4.6 23.5 30.6 37.6 3.8 100.0	5.1 23.4 31.3 35.1 5.1 100.0	3.6 23.6 29.4 31.8 1.6 100.0
Excellent Good Fair Poor I don not know; no opinion Total Palestinian Universities	4.6 23.5 30.6 37.6 3.8 100.0 <b>Total</b>	5.1 23.4 31.3 35.1 5.1 100.0 West Bank	3.6 23.6 29.4 31.8 1.6 100.0 Gaza Strip
Excellent Good Fair Poor I don not know; no opinion Total Palestinian Universities Excellent	4.6 23.5 30.6 37.6 3.8 100.0 <b>Total</b> 25.7	5.1 23.4 31.3 35.1 5.1 100.0 <b>West Bank</b> 26.7	3.6 23.6 29.4 31.8 1.6 100.0 <b>Gaza Strip</b> 23.8
Excellent Good Fair Poor I don not know; no opinion Total Palestinian Universities Excellent Good Fair Poor	4.6 23.5 30.6 37.6 3.8 100.0 <b>Total</b> 25.7 42.5 20.4 9.4	5.1 23.4 31.3 35.1 5.1 100.0 <b>West Bank</b> 26.7 41.7	3.6 23.6 29.4 31.8 1.6 100.0 <b>Gaza Strip</b> 23.8 43.8
Excellent Good Fair Poor I don not know; no opinion Total Palestinian Universities Excellent Good Fair	4.6 23.5 30.6 37.6 3.8 100.0 <b>Total</b> 25.7 42.5 20.4	5.1 23.4 31.3 35.1 5.1 100.0 <b>West Bank</b> 26.7 41.7 19.5	3.6 23.6 29.4 31.8 1.6 100.0 <b>Gaza Strip</b> 23.8 43.8 21.8



Civil Societies	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Excellent	14.3	15.3	12.4
Good	41.4	41.4	41.4
Fair	27.4	27.4	27.2
Poor	13.5	11.4	17.0
I don not know; no opinion	3.6	4.4	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
The Security Apparatuses	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Excellent	3.9	3.5	4.6
Good	14.3	13.4	15.8
Fair	30.5	33.5	25.4
Poor	48.3	45.9	52.4
I don not know; no opinion	3.0	3.7	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
The Private Sector	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Excellent	7.5	5.7	10.6
Good	37.1	35.1	40.6
Fair	32.0	34.5	27.6
Poor	17.6	17.9	17.2
I don not know; no opinion	5.7	6.7	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

What of the following parties and political affiliations do you support?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
People's party	0.8	0.7	1.0
Democratic Front	1.3	1.3	1.2
Islamic Jihad	4.0	3.8	4.4
Fateh	23.7	24.4	22.2
Hamas	19.3	17.2	23.0
Fida	0.3	0.2	0.4
Public Front	2.1	1.9	2.6
I am an independent nationalist	9.9	10.0	9.6
I am an independent Islamist	8.3	7.6	9.6
I do not support any of the above	29.0	31.6	24.6
Others, specify	1.3	1.3	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0