

An Opinion Poll Concerning Living Conditions, Emigration, the Palestinian Government, Security Conditions and Reform

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"I support reform, but the current method is all wrong."

A 25-year-old man, Governorate of Nablus

85%: oppose any harm to foreigners in Palestinian territories

"What do you mean the PA is fighting corruption! Corruption has increased, and there are no courts and the law is not enforced."

A 60-year-old man, Governorate of Nablus

57%: the recent calls for reform aim to serve personal interests

 90%: peaceful demonstrations are the solution to apply pressure for reform

68%: believe the PA is not adopting measures sufficient to combat corruption

"My son hates school....40 kids in one class, and the teacher shouts at them, and the curriculum is from Mars!"

A 35-year-old woman, Governorate of Nablus

"The poor people are in a tough situation, unlike the big shots that have reached high positions, and have their pictures everywhere and have offices and businesses."

A 40-year-old man, Governorate of Nablus

52% are satisfied with scholastic education

 93% consider education a priority for their families

78% have a monthly income of less than \$385

 82% are committed to remaining in the Palestinian territories

 18% will leave if given the opportunity

"For me, what is important is to have a government that rules according to the law."

A 22-year-old young woman, Governorate of Nablus

"The anarchy of arms! If you open your mouth, the young kids come and kill you."

A 55-year-old woman, Governorate of Nablus

71%: the performance of the government in putting an end to the anarchy of arms is poor

40%: the performance of Prime Minister Ahmad Qurei is poor

 47%: the performance of the government is poor

Date of fieldwork: 9-11 September, 2004

Number of field researchers: 85

Error margin (+ or -): 3%

Sample size: 1204 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza strip

Number of locations in the sample: 75

Date of publishing: 05 October, 2004

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- * **Results reflect the position of those interviewed in the sample and not that of Birzeit University or the Development Studies Programme or its committees. For more information concerning the methodology, refer to our website.**
- * **We are grateful for the support of the International Republican Institute.**
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Background

Living Conditions, Education, the Palestinian Government and Internal Security Conditions

- Living conditions continue to deteriorate, as the closure and Israeli military operations inside Palestinian territories continue, with 2.25 million Palestinians (60% of the population) living under the poverty line at present. Data also indicate that 38% of all Palestinian households are in need of food due to lack of sufficient resources.
- In the period extending between the months of June and September 2004, scores of Palestinians were killed, many of them as a result of collective assassination operations waged by Israel against the Palestinian people. During this period, hundreds of houses were demolished or bombarded, especially in the Gaza Strip, while hundreds of Palestinians were wounded and many others were taken to detention camps.
- On 9/7/2004, The International Court of Justice in the Hague published its advisory opinion regarding the separation wall, which pronounced it to be in violation of international law and demanded that the Israeli government cease its construction, destroy the parts built so far and compensate all those who suffered as a result of its construction, including the residents of East Jerusalem and its environs. On 21/7/2004, the UN General Assembly adopted a draft Resolution obligating the Israeli government to take down the separation wall since it constitutes an illegal act and violates international laws and treaties. These developments constituted a political and moral victory for the Palestinians.
- On 5/10/2003 Mr. Ahmad Qurei formed an emergency cabinet, after a period of confusion following the resignation of former Prime Minister Mr. Mahmoud Abbas from his post. The emergency cabinet ended its activities on 3/11/2003, and Mr. Qurei formed his second cabinet, obtaining the confidence of the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) on 12/11/2003.
- Palestinian security forces were unable to play an effective role in providing for the security of the population as a result of the existing divisions between forces under the command of the Ministry of the Interior and those under the direct command of the President of the Palestinian Authority (PA).
- As of the mid-July 2004, a series of events took place relating to demands for reform voiced by a number of parties within the PA, such as the kidnapping of the Police Chief in the Gaza Strip, the occupation of government buildings in the Gaza Strip and in Jenin, and two incidents in which foreigners were kidnapped in Khan Yunis and Nablus. These events reached their peak with the assassination attempt against Palestinian Legislative Council member Nabil Amr.
- Some changes were made in the command of Palestinian security forces, yet internal security remained under threat of further tensions. Opinions differ as to the impact of

these changes. Around one million students went back to school as they re-opened in early September.

- Palestinian universities also re-opened for the new scholastic year, receiving over 100,000 students. This came at a time of worsening economic conditions for the Palestinian population, prompting questions about how the costs of university education would be met.

1. Living Conditions: Economic conditions in the Palestinian Territories continue to deteriorate.

- The income of 42% of Palestinian households in the poll was less than \$160 a month, and of these 8% had no source of income at all.
- In general, 78% of Palestinian households in the poll reported an income less than \$385 a month. The results indicate that the economic situation is worse in Gaza, with the percentage reaching 89% for households in the Gaza Strip and 71% for those in the West Bank.
- 38% of the respondents described the economic conditions in their households as bad or very bad, 44% described them as average and 19% as good or very good.

2. Migration: Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza seek permanent or temporary opportunities abroad as a result of deteriorating conditions.

- 5% of polled households declared a member of their household had left the Palestinian Territories as permanent migrants during the period of the second Intifada.
- 11% declared that a member of their household had left the Palestinian Territories for work or study purposes during the years of the Intifada.
- A solid majority of those polled, 82%, declared that they would not leave the Palestinian Territories for permanent residence abroad, even if they were given the opportunity to do so. Yet 37% declared that they have the desire to leave temporarily for work and/or study outside the Palestinian Territories.
- The results indicate that those polled in the Gaza Strip demonstrated a higher readiness for permanent or temporary emigration than those polled in the West Bank.
- The desire for permanent emigration is highest among youth ages 18-27 (25%) and men are more willing to emigrate (24%), compared with women (12%).

3. Education: High satisfaction with performance of educational institutions, but concern about high costs

3-1: Assessment of Palestinian Education

- 52% of those polled expressed their satisfaction as to the educational process in Palestine, 29% said they are somewhat satisfied, while 18% expressed dissatisfaction.
- 58% of those polled believed that schools in Palestine perform the role required of them, and 59% of those polled said that Palestinian universities also perform the role required of them.
- 56% of those polled declared that they have some knowledge about school curricula, while only 49% of those who have some knowledge considered them to be good curricula.
- 70% of those polled believed that education in Palestine is developing in a good manner.

3-2: Material Resources and Education

- 55% of those polled declared that their households are unable financially to provide for the appropriate education needed for their children.
- 62% of those polled agreed to the following opinion: "The costs of school education are heavy for their households".
- 74% of those polled supported the same opinion regarding university education.

3-3: Attitudes Regarding the Educational Process

- 93% of the Palestinian households polled considered education to be a main priority for their households.
- 72% of them expressed their agreement to the directives issued by the Ministry of Education and Higher Education prohibiting corporal punishment in schools.
- 66% agreed to the following opinion: "Had I the material capability, I would have sent my children to private schools".
- 77% considered university education to be expensive.
- 78% of those polled disagreed with the opinion that schooling for boys is preferred over schooling for girls.
- 54% of those polled declared they do not desire to educate their children in universities outside Palestine.

4. Performance of the Palestinian Government: Negative Public Evaluation

The general attitude of those polled regarding Mr. Ahmad Qurei and his government was generally negative, with respondents citing major shortcomings on a number of issues. They also indicated that the government has limited powers, and expressed their aspiration to have changes among government members and senior officials at the helm of government authorities.

- 40% of those polled evaluated the performance of Palestinian Prime Minister Ahmad Qurei as poor, representing a tangible increase in dissatisfaction (of about 7%) compared to those who evaluated his performance three months earlier in the June 7th, 2004 poll. In this round, 24% of those polled evaluated his performance as average, and 20% evaluated it as good.
- 47% of those polled evaluated the performance of the current government as poor (compared to 36% three months earlier, which means an increase in negative evaluation of 11%), 24% evaluated it as average, and 16% evaluated it to be good.
- When specific issues were raised, the results reflected an additional drop in the evaluation of the Palestinian public as to government performance, with the majority of those polled evaluating such performance to be poor, as indicated by the results in Table 1.

Table 1: Percentage of those who considered government performance "poor" in the following areas, according to regions			
	Palestinian Territories	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Mitigate the Israeli siege	81%	81%	79%
Achieve withdrawal of Israeli forces from cities	79%	78%	80%
Reduce unemployment	75%	80%	67%
Resist construction of the wall	74%	74%	73%
Provide internal security to citizens	72%	73%	69%
Solve the problem of anarchy of arms	71%	69%	75%
Progress in negotiations with the Israelis	71%	71%	71%
Combat corruption in PA institutions	69%	69%	69%
Improve economic conditions	68%	69%	65%
Address the issue of prisoners in Israeli jails	67%	68%	66%
Consolidate the rule of law	64%	67%	58%
Bring to justice those implicated in the cement scandal	62%	60%	66%
Activate the role of the judiciary and courts	58%	60%	55%
Develop the performance and services of government institutions	54%	54%	54%

- A government with no powers: About 55% of those polled believed that the current government does not have sufficient powers to solve the above problems, while 19% believed that it has sufficient powers to do so.
- The need to introduce changes in senior posts in the PNA: The majority of the Palestinian public (71%) believed there is a need to carry out changes in ministerial positions and among those at the helm of main government authorities.
- The PA is not serious in its anti-corruption measures: 68% of those polled believed that the PA is not doing all it could do to address the problem of corruption in its institutions.

5. Priorities

- The poll indicated that the main priority for the current government should be "improving the economic situation", as declared by 35% of those polled, followed by 18% "providing internal security", and 8% for "reducing unemployment". The results also pointed to other priorities, as can be seen in Table 2:

Table 2: Percentage of those polled who considered the following to be their top priority, according to region			
Area of priority	Palestinian Territories	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Improve economic conditions	35%	33%	37%
Provide internal security	18%	19%	16%
Reduce unemployment	10%	10%	9%
Fight corruption	8%	6%	10%
Provide support to Palestinian prisoners	7%	8%	6%
Achieve withdrawal of Israeli forces from cities	7%	6%	8%
Resist construction of the wall	6%	6%	1%
Mitigate the Israeli siege	4%	6%	1%
Consolidate the rule of law	3%	2%	4%
Solve the problem of anarchy of arms	2%	1%	3%
Achieve progress in negotiations with the Israelis	1%	1%	2%
Improve performance of government institutions	1%	0.3%	2%
Bring to justice those implicated in the cement scandal	1%	1%	1%
Activate the role of the judiciary and courts	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%

6. Palestinian Internal Conditions: Lack of Security and Demands for Reform

6-1: Attitudes of the Palestinian public on recent calls for reform: High support among the Palestinian public for demands for reform, despite suspicions as to how sincere the advocates may be.

- Wide-scale popular support for demands for reform: 72% of those polled support the calls for reform, launched by persons from the ranks of the PA, while 21% of those polled rejected these calls. Support for these demands increased in the Gaza Strip to reach 80%, compared to 72% in the West Bank.
- Concern as to the sincerity of such positions coming from personalities and forces from the ranks of the PA. The views of the Palestinian public are divided as to how serious the advocates of reform from inside the ranks of the PA are, as 38% of those polled believed in the sincerity of these calls, while 40% did not believe in their sincerity, and 22% did not express an opinion.
- 57% of those polled stated that the real motive behind the calls for reform launched from among the ranks of the PA reflect their personal interests, while 27% of those polled believed that these demands were in the service of the public good.
- The PA is not serious in its measures to introduce reforms: 52% of those polled said the PA is not serious in its reforms, while 37% believed otherwise.
- Within the same context, 40% of those polled believed that President Arafat is serious in the commitment he made before the PLC in August 2004 to implement comprehensive reforms, while 27% believed he was somewhat sincere, and 28% believed he was not sincere.

6-2 The attitudes of the Palestinian public towards the methods used to express the demands for reform:

The majority of the Palestinian public opposed any resort to force to express demands or protests, and expressed the greatest opposition to any attempts to kidnap foreigners. On the other hand, peaceful demonstrations were the most acceptable method of protest. Those polled expressed their concerns over the dangers of resorting to force as an expression of differences within Palestinian society.

- The highest opposition was expressed to any form of injury to foreigners in Palestinian territories, with 85% opposing the kidnapping of foreigners working in Palestinian territories.
- 82% of those polled regarded the kidnapping of Palestinians close to PA circles to be an unacceptable method.
- 80% of those polled opposed any harm to public property or PA offices.
- 77% of those polled opposed armed demonstrations as a method of protest.
- The greatest support (90%) was for peaceful demonstrations as a method acceptable to express the demands for reforms.
- The majority of the Palestinian public believed that recent events pointed to internal strife: 68% of those polled said that recent inter-Palestinian events point to internal strife, while 27% believed these events can not be regarded as an indication of potential internal strife.

7. The Peace Process: Increased Support for Negotiations with Israel

Substantial increase in the rate of support for resumption of negotiations with Israel: The majority of those polled (63%) supported the resumption of negotiations, while 34% opposed it. It should be noted that there is a substantial increase in the percentage of those supporting the resumption of negotiations with Israel, compared to 45% of those polled in June 2004.



Annex 1

Results of Opinion Poll # 19

Date of Publication: 05/10/2004
Field Research: 09-11/09/2004

Issues:

- Living Conditions and Emigration
- Evaluation of Education
- Evaluation of Palestinian Government
- Calls for Reform
- Peace Process

Sample size: 1204 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza

Number of sampling localities: 75

Margin of error: $\pm 3\%$

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
Section One: Living Conditions			
1. At the present time, how do you evaluate your family's economic conditions?			
1) Very good	3.0	2.3	4.1
2) Good	13.7	11.7	16.9
3) Fair	41.0	44.4	35.7
4) Bad	28.4	30.1	25.8
5) Very bad	13.8	11.5	17.4
2. Monthly income per household (Israeli Sheqel 4.50 : 1 \$)			
1) No Income	7.8	5.8	11.0
2) Less than 700	34.1	29.0	42.2
3) 700-1000	19.8	20.2	19.2
4) 1001-1700	16.0	15.7	16.4
5) 1701-2500	13.6	17.5	7.5
6) 2501-3000	4.0	5.3	1.8
7) More than 3000	4.7	6.5	1.9
3. During the Intifada years, did any member of your household immigrate permanently?			
1) Yes	4.9	6.1	3.1
2) No	95.1	93.9	96.9
4. During the Intifada years, did any member of your household left the country for temporary work or education?			
1) Yes	11.4	10.8	12.3
2) No	88.6	89.2	87.7
5. If you had a chance to immigrate and live permanently outside of the country, would you do that?			
1) Yes	18.1	16.3	21.1
2) No	81.9	83.8	78.9
6. If you had a chance to travel and live temporarily outside of the country for work and education, would you do that?			
1) Yes	37.2	33.7	42.8
2) No	62.8	66.3	57.2
Section Tow: Evaluation of Education			
7. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the education system in Palestine ?			
1) Satisfied	51.8	50.0	54.5
2) Somewhat Satisfied	29.2	30.8	26.7
3) Not Satisfied	17.6	17.7	17.4

4) No opinion	1.5	1.5	1.4
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	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
8. Is your family financially capable to secure proper education for its member?			
1) Yes	41.2	41.8	40.3
2) No	54.7	52.9	57.6
3) No opinion	4.1	5.3	2.1
9. Do you believe that the supervisory institutions of education (Ministry of Education, UNRWA, and Private schools) are delivering proper services?			
1) Yes	58.1	57.6	58.8
2) No	35.7	35.3	36.4
3) No opinion	6.2	7.1	4.8
10. Do you believe that the supervisory institutions of higher education (Universities and Colleges) are delivering proper services?			
1) Yes	58.6	58.1	59.3
2) No	26.7	25.0	29.4
3) No opinion	14.8	17.0	11.2
11. Are you familiar with the school educational curriculum?			
1) Yes	56.0	54.0	59.1
2) No	42.0	43.4	39.8
3) No opinion	2.0	2.7	1.0
12. If yes, what is your evaluation of the curriculum?			
1) Hood	49.0	52.0	44.2
2) Fair	31.5	28.6	36.1
3) Weak	14.1	12.0	17.6
4) No opinion	5.4	7.4	2.1
13. The regulation of Ministry of Education prohibit the use of corporal punishment in schools, do you support or oppose this prohibition?			
1) support	71.5	72.0	70.7
2) oppose	27.0	26.2	28.3
3) No opinion	1.5	1.8	1.0
14. Tell us if you agree or disagree with the following statements:			
Education is a priority for my family			
1) Agree	93.2	92.3	94.7
2) Agree to some extent	3.7	4.2	2.8
3) Disagree	2.9	3.2	2.5
4) No opinion	0.2	0.3	0.0
University education is too expensive			
1) Agree	75.6	72.6	80.2
2) Agree to some extent	8.6	8.6	8.7
3) Disagree	7.5	7.4	7.6
4) No opinion	8.3	11.3	3.5

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
University Education is too expensive given my family's resources			
1) Agree	73.7	70.5	78.8
2) Agree to some extent	7.0	5.8	8.8
3) Disagree	9.0	9.4	8.2
4) No opinion	10.3	14.3	4.1
Education in Palestine is moving in the right direction			
1) Agree	69.6	67.6	72.7
2) Agree to some extent	16.3	18.7	12.6
3) Disagree	11.0	10.3	12.1
4) No opinion	3.1	3.4	2.6
If I had the resources, I would send my kids to private schools			
1) Agree	66.2	63.6	70.3
2) Agree to some extent	6.7	7.5	5.6
3) Disagree	23.3	23.0	23.8
4) No opinion	3.8	6.0	0.4
School Education is too expensive given my family's resources			
1) Agree	61.8	61.3	62.5
2) Agree to some extent	12.5	11.7	13.9
3) Disagree	21.7	21.5	21.9
4) No opinion	4.0	5.5	1.7
I prefer to send my kids to universities outside of Palestine			
1) agree	31.7	29.2	35.5
2) agree to some extent	9.5	9.0	10.4
3) disagree	53.7	54.1	53.0
4) No opinion	5.1	7.6	1.1
I prefer the education of boys over girls			
1) Agree	16.7	12.6	23.2
2) Agree to some extent	5.2	6.7	2.7
3) Disagree	78.0	80.6	74.1
4) No opinion	0.1	0.1	0.0
Section three: Palestinian Government			
15. How do you evaluate the performance of Prime Minister Mr. Ahmad Queri'?			
1) Good	19.5	16.4	24.3
2) Fair	24.1	25.5	21.7
3) Weak	40.1	39.8	40.6
4) No opinion	16.3	18.2	13.3

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
16. How do you evaluate the performance of the present government?			
1) Good	15.7	13.1	19.7
2) Fair	24.0	24.5	23.2
3) Weak	46.6	46.7	46.4
4) No opinion	13.8	15.7	10.7
17. How do you evaluate the performance of the government in the following areas?			
Improving services of government institutions			
1) Good	13.1	12.4	14.3
2) Fair	22.1	20.7	24.4
3) Weak	53.9	53.5	54.4
4) No opinion	10.8	13.4	6.9
Resolving the problems facing political prisoners and securing their release			
1) Good	12.1	9.9	15.7
2) Fair	14.3	13.9	14.9
3) Weak	67.3	68.3	65.8
4) No opinion	6.2	7.8	3.7
Supporting the judiciary			
1) Good	11.4	8.2	16.4
2) Fair	17.8	16.7	19.5
3) Weak	58.0	59.8	55.2
4) No opinion	12.8	15.3	8.9
Reinforcing the rule of law			
1) Good	10.9	7.8	15.9
2) Fair	18.0	16.4	20.4
3) Weak	63.7	67.0	58.4
4) No opinion	7.4	8.7	5.3
Improving economic conditions			
1) Good	10.7	7.3	16.0
2) Fair	16.0	16.1	15.9
3) Weak	67.5	69.1	64.9
4) No opinion	5.9	7.5	3.2
Providing domestic security			
1) Good	9.4	5.7	15.2
2) Fair	13.1	13.2	13.1
3) Weak	71.5	72.9	69.3
4) No opinion	6.0	8.2	2.5
Progressing in negotiations with Israel			
1) Good	9.0	7.5	11.4

2) Fair	12.3	12.0	12.7
3) Weak	71.0	71.4	70.5
4) No opinion	7.7	9.1	5.4

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
Resisting the building of the separation wall			
1) Good	7.9	5.9	11.0
2) Fair	12.4	12.9	11.7
3) Weak	73.6	73.7	73.4
4) No opinion	6.1	7.5	3.9
Fighting corruption			
1) Good	6.8	4.7	10.0
2) Fair	13.4	13.3	13.6
3) Weak	68.8	68.6	69.0
4) No opinion	11.0	13.4	7.4
Getting the Israeli forces to withdraw from Palestinian cities			
1) Good	6.2	4.5	8.8
2) Fair	9.4	10.9	7.0
3) Weak	78.5	77.5	80.1
4) No opinion	5.9	7.1	7.0
Reducing unemployment			
1) Good	5.4	1.7	11.3
2) Fair	14.5	11.4	19.5
3) Weak	74.9	80.3	66.5
4) No opinion	5.1	6.7	2.7
Ridding society of illegal weapons			
1) Good	5.3	4.4	6.7
2) Fair	11.2	10.5	12.2
3) Weak	71.4	69.4	74.6
4) No opinion	12.2	15.7	6.6
Easing Israeli closures			
1) Good	5.3	4.0	7.4
2) Fair	8.8	8.3	9.4
3) Weak	80.5	81.2	79.4
4) No opinion	5.4	6.6	3.6
Holding accountable those involved in the (Egyptian cement) corruption scandal			
1) Good	3.6	1.4	7.1
2) Fair	5.8	4.8	7.5
3) Weak	62.2	60.1	65.6

4) No opinion	28.3	33.8	19.7
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	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
18. In your opinion, which priority is most important?			
1) Improving economic conditions	34.9	33.4	37.4
2) Providing domestic security	17.6	18.5	16.3
3) Reducing unemployment	9.5	10.0	8.8
4) Resolving the problems facing political prisoners and securing their release	7.4	8.1	6.1
5) Fighting corruption	7.7	6.2	9.9
6) Getting the Israeli forces from Palestinian cities	6.9	6.0	8.4
7) Easing Israeli closures	4.2	6.1	1.3
8) Resisting the building of the separation wall	4.1	6.2	0.9
9) Reinforcing the rule of law	2.8	2.2	3.7
10) Ridding society of illegal weapons	1.8	1.0	3.1
11) Progressing in negotiations with Israel	1.1	0.9	1.6
12) Holding accountable those involved in the (Egyptian cement) corruption scandal	0.7	0.8	0.5
13) Improving services of government institutions	0.9	0.3	1.8
14) Supporting for the judiciary	0.4	0.4	0.3
19. Do you believe that the current cabinet has sufficient authority to resolve these problems?			
1) Yes	18.5	17.5	20.1
2) To some extent	20.8	20.3	21.6
3) No	55.3	56.2	53.8
4) No opinion	5.4	6.0	4.4
20. Do you feel that there is a need to change the current ministerial cabinet ?			
1) Yes	70.9	70.8	71.1
2) No	18.9	18.0	20.3
3) No opinion	10.2	11.2	8.6
21. Do you think that the PNA is doing enough to get rid of corruption?			
1) Yes	23.1	22.5	24.0
2) No	67.8	66.6	69.6
3) No opinion	9.2	10.9	6.4
Section Four: Calls for Reform			

22. Do you support calls for “reform” as expressed by leading PNA personalities especially in Gaza?			
1) Yes	72.3	67.6	79.7
2) No	20.5	22.8	16.8
3) No opinion	7.2	9.6	3.5

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
23. Do you believe that these personalities are serious about reform?			
1) Yes	38.2	35.4	42.6
2) No	40.1	40.5	39.4
3) No opinion	21.8	24.2	18.0
24. What do you think is the motive behind these calls?			
1) Public interest	27.4	27.2	27.8
2) Personal interest	57.0	54.5	61.0
3) No opinion,	15.5	18.3	11.2
25. Do you believe that the PNA is serious about reform ?			
1) Yes	36.6	36.5	36.6
2) No	52.4	50.5	55.3
3) I don't know	11.1	12.9	8.1
26. Do you believe that the use of these methods to achieve reform within the PNA is acceptable or unacceptable?			
Organize peaceful marches			
1) Acceptable	89.6	89.9	89.1
2) Unacceptable	8.6	8.2	9.3
3) No opinion	1.8	1.9	1.6
Organize militant marches			
1) Acceptable	17.9	17.7	18.3
2) Unacceptable	77.2	78.7	74.9
3) No opinion	4.9	3.6	6.8
Occupy PNA buildings			
1) Acceptable	14.5	11.5	19.2
2) Unacceptable	79.7	83.1	74.3
3) No opinion	5.8	5.3	6.5
Kidnap Palestinians close to the PNA leadership			
1) acceptable	13.6	9.4	20.3
2) unacceptable	81.5	86.0	74.3
3) no opinion	4.9	4.6	5.4
Kidnap Internationals residing in PNA territories			
1) Acceptable	10.6	7.5	15.4
2) Unacceptable	84.8	87.9	79.9
3) No opinion	4.7	4.6	4.7
27. Do you believe that the events related to calls for reform are leading to internal fighting?			
1) Yes	68.3	69.2	66.8
2) No	27.2	26.1	29.1
3) No opinion	4.5	4.7	4.2

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
28. In his speech for the PLC (August 18, 2004), president Arafat promised to carryout comprehensive reform at all levels, do you think that the President is serious about these promises?			
1) Yes	40.1	39.3	41.3
2) To some extent	26.6	28.3	23.8
3) No	27.5	25.9	30.1
4) No opinion	5.8	6.5	4.8
<i>Section Five : Peace Process</i>			
29. Do you support or oppose return to the negotiations with Israel ?			
1) Support	62.6	63.3	61.5
2) Oppose	33.7	32.9	34.9
3) No opinion	3.8	3.9	3.6

Annex 2: Sample distribution

Region	%	Type of locality	%	Refugee Status	%
West Bank	61.3	City	41.7	Refugee	41.9
Gaza Strip	38.7	Village- town	42.3	Non-refugee	58.1
Governorate	%	Camp	16.0	Sector	%
Jenin	6.6	Gender	%	Private sector	70.1
Tubas	1.6	Male	52.8	N.G.O.'s	7.3
Tulkarm	3.1	Female	47.2	Public Sector	21.6
Nablus	10.2			Education	%
Qalqilya	2.5	Marital status	%	Illiterate	20.0
Salfit	1.4	Single	28.2	Preparatory	21.2
Jericho	1.4	Married	66.1	Elementary	31.3
Ramallah	8.7	Others	5.7	Secondary	16.7
Jerusalem	8.0	Age	%	Diploma	5.0
Bethlehem	5.3	16.17	8.1	B.A. or more	5.7
Hebron	12.5	18-22	17.8	Place of Residence prior to 1994	%
North Gaza	8.1	23-27	15.2		
Gaza City	14.6	28-32	12.6		
Deir al-Balah	5.5	33-37	10.9	West Bank & Gaza	93.7
Khan Younis	8.6	38-42	8.9	Abroad	6.3
Rafah	1.9	43-47	6.3	Income (NIS)*	%
Occupation	%	48-52	4.9	No Income	7.8
Laborers	13.4	> 52	15.3	Less than 700	34.1
Craftsman	4.0	Occupation	%	700-1000	19.8
Housewives	39.9	Professional	0.8	1001-1700	16.0
Unemployed	14.6	Employees	7.8	1701-2500	13.6
Merchants	3.0	Retired	1.1	2501-3000	4.0
Students	14.8	Farmers	0.8	More than 3000	4.7
*1\$= 4.5 NIS					