

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

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#### Result of Palestinian Public Opinion Polls No. 10 January 1-2, 2005

#### **Background:**

Within an international and local attention paid to Palestinian presidential elections, the candidates launched their campaigns which are basically focusing on the adherence to Palestinian basic demands which are summed up as: an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, the right to remove all settlements and the right of return. These demands are added to fighting corruption, reinforcing the rule of law, putting an end to chaos and insecurity on the Palestinian scene.

Along with these realities, there comes the boycott of Hamas and the Islamic Jihad to the presidential elections both as candidates and as voters. The Public Front however decided not offer a candidate and it declared its support for the independent candidate Mustafa al-Barghouti. As for Fateh, the People's Party and the Democratic Front, each one of them nominated a candidate for presidency. This is in addition to the fact that there are four independent candidates making the total numbers of candidates competing to occupy the position of the head of the Palestinian Authority seven.

The first round of Palestinian local councils' election is over; elections were conducted in 26 locations on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December, 04. In these elections, Fateh and Hamas won the majority of all seats.

It seems, however, that the presidential elections, regardless of who will win, will not lead to a breakthrough in the negotiation arena with the Israelis. Israel has already rejected the idea of a conference following Palestinian presidential elections in London to reactivate the Peace Process, which the British Prime Minster called for. Meanwhile, Israel is still involved in assassinations, the demolishing of houses, incursions in Palestinian cities, villages and refugee camps, heedless of local and international calls for a truce.

<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 Tenth Palestinian Public Opinion Poll conducted by the Center for Opinion Polls and Survey Studies at An-Najah National University during the period January  $1^{st} - 2^{nd}$ . The University sponsors all polls conducted by its center. The Tenth Poll undertakes several subjects related basically to the Palestinian presidential elections, people's priorities following elections, the elections programs of candidates, the public opinion concerning the peace process and the Road Map, in addition to political sympathies and other issues.

The sample included 1356 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 856 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 1.5% of the members of the sample refused to answer the questionnaire.

#### Major Results:

- 74.3 % from among respondents assert that they will participate in the coming presidential elections.
- 72.2% believe that the elections will be fair and honest, while 20.7% see the contrary.
- 66.6 % from among respondents believe in the impartiality of local supervisors on elections and 60.0% believe in the impartiality of international supervisors.
- 61.4% from among respondents see that there is a need for the presence of international supervisors on presidential elections.
- 56.0 % from among respondents have not heard of elections programs for Bassam al-Salhi, 51.7% for Taysir Khalid, 72.6% for Sayyed Baraka, 61.1% for Abdul Haleem al-Ashqar, 72.6 % for Abdul-Karim Shbair, 12.2% for Mahmoud Abbas and 13.6% for Mustafa al-Barghothi.
- 2.7% from among respondents who will participate in the elections and who decided to choose the future president say they will give their vote to Bassam al-Salhi, 3.5% to Taysir Khalid, 1.8% to Sayyed Baraka, 3.1% to Abdul Haleem al-Ashqar, 1.4% to Abdul-Karim Shbair, 59.0% to Mahmoud Abbas and 28.5% to Mustafa al-Bargohthi.
- 17.5% say that they took the decision to vote on the basis of decisions made by their political party, 25.4% say they took it on the basis of the candidate's program and 4.6% on the basis of a commitment to the clan or the extended family.
- 68.9% believe that the coming president will make reforms within the Authority's institutions.
- 36.7% from among respondents believe that the elected president will turn the cases of corruption to the courts and law.
- 76.0% believe that the coming president will adhere to the principle that Jerusalem is the capital of the Palestinian state, 69.5% believe that he will adhere



to the right of return and 61.9% believe that he will insist on the removal of all settlements from the 1967 territories.

- 69.0% from among respondents believe that the coming president will be capable of fighting corruption, 75.1% believe that he will be capable of uniting all security apparatuses, 71.5% believe that he will be capable of enforcing law, 54.8% believe that he will be capable of putting an end to the chaotic use of arms, and 40.9% believe that he will be capable of protecting the subjects of Palestinian resistance.
- 84.9% from among respondents believe that the candidate who is most favored with international support is Mahmoud Abbas followed by Mustafa al-Barghuthi who received 6.6%.
- 11.6% from among respondents believe that the elected president will keep the same old staff members who worked for late president Arafat and 25.9% believe that he will change them.
- 37.9% from among respondents say that if they were elected for presidency, the first step they perform would be fighting corruption in public institutions, followed by imposing the rule of law, which received 28.9%.
- 32.8% from among respondents say that the first thing that they hope the new president will perform immediately after his election is fighting corruption.
- 81.1% support the appointment of a vice president by the new president.
- 60.1% from among respondents support replacing the present negotiating team with a new one.
- In case a settlement is reached between Palestinian and Israelis 95.5% of respondents reject compromising the right of East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian State, 92.4% reject compromising the right of return and 90.3% reject compromising the creation of a Palestinian State in the 1967 borders.
- 85.3% do not trust Israeli Government's promises to facilitate the Palestinian elections.
- 69.0% support a ceasefire (*Hudna*) with Israel and 27.9% reject it.
- If a new ceasefire is enacted 58.8% from among respondents reject launching rockets at Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip.
- 61.9% from among respondents support military operations against Israeli targets inside the West Bank and the Gaza Strip only.
- 57.4% support the peace process and 38.1% reject it.
- 73.9% believe that the Road Map is not viable any more.
- 75.3% from among respondents believe that restoring respect to the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) is an essential issue.
- 73.9% from among respondents do not feel that they themselves, their families or properties are secure under the current circumstances.
- 24.3% are pessimistic about the general future of the Palestinian people in the coming few years.
- 84.1% from among respondents see a need for the existence of a program that would define the forms of Palestinian resistance.



- 83.3% reject strikes and the suspension of activities at educational institutions as forms of resistance against occupation.
- 33.3% support the call for the demilitarization of the *Intifada*, while 60.0% reject it.
- 90.9% believe that the American president is not faithful in his declaration concerning the Palestinian state.
- 5.5% believe that the American administration will force Israel to a complete withdrawal to the 1967 borders, while 70.3% say that only Israel will decide the size of its withdrawal.
- 42.1% from among respondents evaluate European support to the Palestinian Authority as "good" and 23.8% evaluate Arab support as "good".
  - As for political affiliations, they were distributed as follows:

- People's party	1.4
- Democratic Front	2.7
- Islamic Jihad	3.5
- Fateh	33.8
- Hamas	15.5
- Fida	0.6
- Public Front	3.9
- Independent Nationalist	9.4
- Independent Islamist	5.9
- None of the above	22.1
- Other	1.3



#### The General Results of the Poll

Will you participate in the coming presidential elections on the ninth of this month?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	74.3	75.5	72.2
No	15.6	14.3	17.8
I haven't decided yet	9.8	10.3	9.0
No opinion / I do not know	0.4	0.0	1.0
Total	100	100	100

Do you think that the coming elections, which are supposed to take place, this month will be fair and honest?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	43.2	44.6	40.8
No	20.7	21.6	19.2
To same extent	29.5	27.7	32.6
No opinion / I do not know	6.6	6.1	7.4
Total	100	100	100

There will be independent local supervisors who will supervise the elections, how do you evaluate your trust in these supervisors?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Very good	19.8	20.3	19.0
Good	46.8	49.9	41.4
Weak	18.6	16.1	22.8
Bad	7.8	7.2	8.8
No opinion / I do not know	7.0	6.4	8.0
Total	100	100	100

There will be international supervisors who will supervise the elections, how do you evaluate your trust in these supervisors?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Very good	22.3	19.3	27.6
Good	39.7	42.1	35.6
Weak	17.1	17.9	15.8
Bad	14.3	14.5	14.0
No opinion / I do not know	6.6	6.3	7.0
Total	100	100	100



### Do you believe that there is a need for international supervisors on presidential elections?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	61.4	60.0	63.6
No	33.7	36.4	29.0
No opinion / I do not know	4.9	3.5	7.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

### Have you heard or read about the election programs of the presidential candidates?

Total					
	Yes	No	There is no program	No opinion / I do not know	
Bassam al-Salhi	42.2	56.0	0.9	0.9	
Taysir Khalid	46.2	51.7	1.0	1.1	
Sayyed Baraka	22.8	72.6	3.3	1.3	
Abdul Haleem al-Ashqar	36.8	61.1	1.2	1.0	
Abdul-Karim Shbair	22.7	72.6	3.2	1.4	
Mahmoud Abbas	86.7	12.2	0.4	0.6	
Mustafa al-Barghothi	85.3	13.6	0.5	0.6	
	Wes	t Bank			
	Yes	No	There is no	No opinion /	
			program	I do not	
				know	
Bassam al-Salhi	44.4	55.0	0.4	0.2	
Taysir Khalid	47.2	52.2	0.4	0.2	
Sayyed Baraka	16.6	82.9	0.2	0.2	
Abdul Haleem al-Ashqar	34.5	65.1	0.2	0.2	
Abdul-Karim Shbair	16.5	83.1	0.2	0.2	
Mahmoud Abbas	91.0	8.6	0.1	0.2	
Mustafa al-Barghothi	88.8	10.6	0.1	0.2	
	Gaz	a Strip			
	Yes	No	There is no program	No opinion / I do not know	
Bassam al-Salhi	38.4	57.8	1.8	2.0	
Taysir Khalid	44.4	50.8	2.2	2.6	
Sayyed Baraka	33.4	54.8	8.6	3.2	
Abdul Haleem al-Ashqar	40.8	54.2	2.8	2.2	
Abdul-Karim Shbair	33.4	54.8	8.4	3.4	
Mahmoud Abbas	79.4	18.4	1.0	1.2	
Mustafa al-Barghothi	79.4	18.2	1.2	1.2	



	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Bassam al-Salhi	1.8	1.4	2.4
Taysir Khalid	2.3	2.1	2.6
Sayyed Baraka	1.2	0.1	3.0
Abdul Haleem al-Ashqar	2.0	1.5	2.8
Abdul-Karim Shbair	0.9	0.4	1.8
Mahmoud Abbas	38.5	37.7	39.8
Mustafa al-Barghothi	18.6	18.1	19.4
I haven't decided yet	21.8	27.3	12.4
I will not participate in the elections	12.0	10.4	14.8
None of the above	1.0	0.9	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### To whom will you give your vote in the coming presidential elections?

### How did you come to your decision of electing the presidential candidate? (Choose the most important reason)

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
On the basis of the candidate's elections	25.4	24.5	27.0
program			
On the basis of a decision made by a	17.5	13.1	25.0
political party or organization			
On the basis of admiring the candidate's	16.9	15.1	20.0
personality			
On the basis of being committed to a	4.6	4.9	4.2
family (clan) resolution			
I haven't decided yet	23.4	28.4	14.8
Other reasons	12.2	14.0	9.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you believe that the coming president will make real reform in the Authority's institutions?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	68.9	68.6	69.4
No	20.6	22.0	18.2
No opinion / I do not know	10.5	9.5	12.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



### Do you believe that the coming president will turn cases of corruption to the courts of law?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	36.7	37.5	35.4
Some of them	33.8	32.0	37.0
No	21.3	22.0	20.2
No opinion / I do not know	8.1	8.5	7.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

## Do you think that the coming president will continue to adhere to the unalienable rights of Palestinian people?

Total			
	Yes	No	No opinion /
			I do not
			know
East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian state	76.0	18.1	5.8
Not compromising the right of return	69.5	23.1	7.4
A state within the 1967 borders.	70.3	22.8	6.9
Sovereignty on borders and ports	65.7	26.3	8.0
The removal of settlements from within the 1967 borders	61.9	30.3	7.8
The right of water resources	67.0	25.5	6.9
West Bank			
	Yes	No	No opinion /
			I do not
			know
East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian state	75.4	19.6	5.0
Not compromising the right of return	67.6	24.3	8.1
A state within the 1967 borders.	69.0	23.8	7.1
Sovereignty on borders and ports	62.0	30.0	7.9
The removal of settlements from within the 1967 borders	57.2	34.8	7.9
The right of water resources	65.8	27.3	6.9
Gaza Strip			
	Yes	No	No opinion /
			I do not
			know
East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian state	77.2	15.6	7.2
Not compromising the right of return	72.8	21.0	6.2
A state within the 1967 borders.	72.4	21.0	6.6
Sovereignty on borders and ports	72.0	19.8	8.2
The removal of settlements from within the 1967 borders	69.8	22.6	7.6
The right of water resources	70.6	22.4	7.0



Under the current circumstances, do you believe that the coming Palestinian president will be capable of performing the following tasks?

Total				
	Capable	Incapable	No opinion / I do not know	
Fighting corruption within the public institutions	69.0	25.2	5.8	
Unifying the Palestinian security apparatuses	75.1	18.1	6.7	
Imposing the rule of law	71.5	21.8	6.8	
Putting an end to the chaotic use of arms	54.8	36.5	8.7	
Protecting the subjects of Palestinian resistance	40.9	48.8	10.3	
Putting an end to nepotism and mediation in appointments	51.9	40.4	7.7	
Providing personal security for Palestinian people	57.4	33.8	8.8	
Improving the economic situation	76.2	17.4	6.4	
Reducing poverty and unemployment	68.4	23.1	8.5	
West Bank				
	Capable	Incapable	No opinion / I do not	
	67.4	27.5	know	
Fighting corruption within the public institutions	67.4	27.5	5.1	
Unifying the Palestinian security apparatuses	76.5	18.6	4.9	
Imposing the rule of law	74.8	20.9	4.3	
Putting an end to the chaotic use of arms	58.1	35.9	6.1	
Protecting the subjects of Palestinian resistance	43.1	48.5	8.4	
Putting an end to nepotism and mediation in appointments	49.6	43.7	6.7	
Providing personal security for Palestinian people	57.8	47.1	5.0	
Improving the economic situation	76.6	19.4	4.0	
Reducing poverty and unemployment	76.3	26.5	5.2	
Gaza Strip	<b>r</b>			
	Capable	Incapable	No opinion / I do not know	
Fighting corruption within the public institutions	71.8	21.4	6.8	
Unifying the Palestinian security apparatuses	72.8	17.4	9.8	
Imposing the rule of law	65.8	23.2	11.0	
Putting an end to the chaotic use of arms	49.2	37.6	13.2	
Protecting the subjects of Palestinian resistance	37.0	49.4	13.6	
Putting an end to nepotism and mediation in	55.8	34.8	9.4	



appointments			
Providing personal security for Palestinian people	56.6	28.0	15.4
Improving the economic situation	75.4	14.0	10.6
Reducing poverty and unemployment	7.4	17.2	12.4

### In your opinion, who is the most favored with international and Arab support from among the candidates?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Bassam al-Salhi	1.0	0.5	2.0
Taysir Khalid	0.7	0.7	0.8
Sayyed Baraka	0.5	0.0	1.4
Abdul Haleem al-Ashqar	0.4	0.2	0.6
Abdul-Karim Shbair	0.2	0.1	0.4
Mahmoud Abbas	84.9	86.4	82.2
Mustafa al-Bargothi	6.6	6.8	6.4
No opinion / I do not know	5.6	5.3	6.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### Do you believe that the coming president will (choose one):

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Keep the same old staff members who	11.6	13.2	8.8
worked with president Arafat			
Replace the old staff members with new ones	25.9	24.9	27.6
Keep some of the old members	51.5	52.8	49.4
Others, specify	0.5	0.5	0.6
No opinion / I do not know	10.5	8.6	13.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

If you were elected as a president of the PA, what is the first step that you would make an improve the local Palestinian situation?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Fighting corruption in public institutions	37.9	40.3	33.8
Improving the rule of law and order	28.9	23.0	39.0
Conducting legislative elections	7.1	6.4	8.2
Reducing poverty and unemployment	13.0	14.6	10.2
Upgrading the levels of educational and	6.9	8.2	4.6
health services			
Others	6.3	7.5	4.2
Total	100.	100.0	100.0



### On the general scale, what is the thing that you hope the coming president will do immediately after his elections?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Fighting corruption	32.8	34.6	29.8
Improving the rule of law and order	28.0	24.8	33.6
Conducting legislative elections	6.3	4.6	9.4
Reducing poverty and unemployment	7.7	7.9	7.4
Upgrading the levels of educational and	3.9	4.2	3.4
health services			
Uplifting the Israeli military	15.9	19.3	10.2
checkpoints			
Others	5.2	4.7	6.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### Do you support or reject the creation of a vice president position?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	81.1	84.7	75.0
I reject	10.9	8.8	14.6
No opinion / I do not know	8.0	6.5	10.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

### After the election of a new president, do you support of reject changing the negotiating team with a new one?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	60.1	60.6	59.2
I reject	26.9	27.5	26.0
No opinion / I do not know	13.0	11.9	14.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you accept any final settlement between Palestinians and Israelis that would compromise any one of the following issues?

Total				
	Yes	No	No opinion	
			/ I do not	
			know	
East Jerusalem as the Capital of the Palestinian state	3.8	95.5	0.7	
The right of return of Palestinian refugees	5.7	93.4	1.0	
The creation of an independent Palestinian state in the 1967	7.4	90.3	2.3	
borders				
Sovereignty over borders and ports	6.6	90.3	3.1	
The removal of settlements from within the 1967 borders	8.8	88.8	2.4	
The right of water	7.4	91.2	1.4	
Releasing all Palestinian prisoners	5.5	93.4	1.0	



West Bank				
	Yes	No	No opinion / I do not know	
East Jerusalem as the Capital of the Palestinian state	3.2	96.1	0.7	
The right of return of Palestinian refugees	6.0	93.0	1.0	
The creation of an independent Palestinian state in the 1967	6.3	92.3	1.4	
borders	0.5	12.0		
Sovereignty over borders and ports	6.2	91.8	2.0	
The removal of settlements from within the 1967 borders	7.5	90.7	1.9	
The right of water	6.4	92.8	0.8	
Releasing all Palestinian prisoners	4.2	95.0	0.8	
Gaza Strip				
	Yes	No	No opinion	
			/ I do not	
			know	
East Jerusalem as the Capital of the Palestinian state	4.8	94.4	0.8	
The right of return of Palestinian refugees	5.2	94.0	0.8	
The creation of an independent Palestinian state in the 1967	9.4	86.8	3.8	
borders				
Sovereignty over borders and ports	7.4	87.6	5.0	
The removal of settlements from within the 1967 borders	11.2	85.6	3.2	
The right of water	9.0	88.6	2.4	
Releasing all Palestinian prisoners	7.8	9.8	1.4	

The Israeli government promised to introduce measures that would facilitate conducting the Palestinian presidential elections, among there are, uplifting checkpoints, not entering Palestinian cities, villages and refugee camps and stopping military operations. Do you trust Israeli promises?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	10.9	13.0	7.4
No	85.3	83.9	87.8
No opinion / I do not know	3.8	3.2	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

If Israel is committed to a cessation of its military operations in the West Bank and Gaza, do you support or reject holding a new ceasefire (*Hudna*) between the Palestinians and the Israelis?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	69.0	71.6	64.4
I reject	27.9	26.1	31.0
No opinion / I do not know	3.2	2.3	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0