

Palestine Report

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Introduction

In May 2006, the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research undertook a public opinion poll to measure the stances and beliefs of the Palestinian public about democracy. This poll was carried out with the cooperation of other Arab research centers and academic institutions aiming to measure the views of the Arab street on questions revolving around democracy. The poll was completed with the cooperation of Dr. Mark Tessler at the University of Michigan – Ann Arbor and Dr. Amaney Jamal at Princeton University and supervised by Khalil Shikaki at the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research.

The cooperative poll was undertaken to understand the views of the public towards democracy and the democratic political system, as well as measure the styles and beliefs of citizens towards the practices of citizenship. The poll also gauged the views towards the importance of religion and its role in public and private life and views of public institutions and trust in them, and finally beliefs and stances of the public towards Arab and international issues.

The size of the poll included 1270 individuals who participated in face to face interviews in 127 different locations chosen throughout the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in the period between 18 – 20 May 2006. The margin of error was 3 percent.

The poll was conducted approximately four months after Hamas' win in the Palestinian Legislative Council Elections which took place in January 2006, and approximately two months after the formation of a Hamas government. Israel and the international community reacted negatively to the Hamas victory. The International Quartet (UN, US, Russia, and EU) demanded that Hamas recognize Israel, renounce violence, and maintain previous agreements between Israel and the Palestinian Authority as conditions for the continuance of international aid to the Palestinian Authority. Hamas refused to accede to these conditions and thus economic and diplomatic sanctions were imposed against the Palestinian government. These sanctions have isolated Hamas internationally and weakened its ability to provide primary services to citizens and its ability to pay public employees in the security and civil sectors. Likewise, these conditions have raised tensions between Fatah, who lost the elections, and Hamas who won. Despite its victory in the elections, Hamas and its government was not able to gain control over a number of civil and security institutions which remain under the personal control of the President of the PA or other leaders from Fatah.

Primary Results of the Survey

(1) Views of Democracy

We presented Palestinians with four descriptions of democracy. Two focused on political aspects (the opportunity to change governments through elections and the freedom to criticize political leaders) and two focused on social and economic factors (closing the gap between rich and poor and providing all citizens with basic necessities like food, housing, and clothing). We asked respondents to choose which description represented the most important aspect of democracy. The majority (57%) chose political aspects, with 33% choosing elections and 24% choosing the freedom to criticize. The majority of those who focused on social and economic factors chose the provision of basic necessities (29%) as the most important aspect with 23% closing the gap between rich and poor. The remainder (3%) chose other answers.

We asked a follow up question to find the second most important aspect of democracy from among the above stated options. In this case, 52% chose from social and economic descriptions with the provision of basic necessities ranking the highest (29%) and closing the gap between rich and poor rating 23 percent. As far as political aspects, 24% chose the freedom to criticize political leaders and 20% chose elections.

Our results show that the majority of Palestinians (83%) prefer a democratic form of government to other forms, despite the problems of democracy. A minority of only 17% did not agree with this point of view. Likewise, when asked whether the aims of security might contradict the aims of democracy, the majority refused to privilege security over democracy. According to 55%, the needs of security should not overrule human rights in Palestine. At the same time, 10% believed that it would be appropriate for security needs to infringe on human rights, but only to a small degree. From the other side, 35% believed that it might be appropriate for the needs of security to infringe on human rights to a moderate or large extent. In a similar vein, the majority of Palestinians (97%) believed that it is an important or very important quality for their political leaders to be open to points of view different than their own.

Opposition to the democratic system in Palestine came from two primary angles. The first came from some supporters of Fatah who were upset by the Hamas victory. This event occurred approximately four months before this poll was taken. Opposition to democracy was found among 20% of Fatah supporters compared to 13% of Hamas supporters. It is important to note here that opposition to democracy rose among individuals between the ages of 18 – 27, reaching 21% and a low among people above age 48, which reached 12% only. The competition between Fatah and Hamas can also be seen among youth, where the gap between Fatah and the Islamist was only 4% in favor of Hamas, whereas this gap grew among the elderly to 11% in favor of Hamas.

The second cause of opposition to democracy is a product of deep ideological beliefs about the contradiction between Islam and democracy and legislation based solely on Islamic law. As can be seen in Table 1, opposition to democracy is at its highest among those who believe there is a contradiction between democracy and Islam and by those who believe that laws should only be legislated from Islamic Sharia law. It should be noted that, as we will point out below, nearly a third of individuals believe that democracy is opposed to Islam and that 56% believe that government and the Parliament should enact laws only according to Islamic Law.

Table 1: Proportion of respondents per category opposed to democracy

		Position towards the statement that the Democratic System is Opposed to Islam			
Opposed or Strongly Opposed to the Democratic System	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	
	11%	15%	21%	34%	
	Position towards the statement that government should make all laws according to Sharia alone				
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	
	9%	13%	20%	23%	

It is very important to mention here that support for democracy was not affected by the degree of religiousness despite the importance of the ideological position of the individual. Our results show that religious support for democracy is not greatly different from non-religious support for democracy (82% of religious, 84% of religious to an extent, and 81% of non-religious).

(2) The Focus of Citizenship

We asked Palestinians about their experiences of citizenship and the relationship between citizenship and power. Less than a quarter of Palestinians reported having a high interest in politics (23%), with those having no interest being represented in a similar proportion. On the other hand, approximately 54% reported being interested or very interested in political matters. Likewise, a very high proportion reported taking part in the Palestinian Elections (73%) while the rate of non-participation was 26 percent. The previous Palestinian elections took place some four months before the survey and the proportion of people ineligible to participate came in at a very small 2 percent.

But participation in other political activities remained limited or non-existent. The vast majority of Palestinians (70%) reported that they have never taken part in political meetings or signed a petition. From the other direction, only 21% reported taking part in a political meeting or signing a petition more than once, and 9% reported participating only once.

It is likely that the cause of low participation in political activities other than elections is explained by the perception of complexity in political issues, the interests of political leaders, and the needs of society. The poll showed that the majority of citizens (79%) believe that politics are so complicated that the average citizen cannot understand it while the remaining 21% said that they did not agree with this view. Likewise, the majority

(52%) agreed with the view that political leaders in Palestine do not care about the needs of citizens, and 48% believe that politicians do care about these needs.

The poll also probed the ease or difficulty encountered by citizens in attempting to obtain routine services like obtaining a birth certificate, a passport, a drivers license, or other service priorities such as the presence of competent officials and the ability to place complaints when citizens feel their rights have been violated. The poll found that obtaining routine services was easy or very easy for 72% and hard or very hard for 21% and 7% did not try to obtain these services. In regards to access to competent authorities to file complaints, the poll found that 50% found this to be hard or very hard, 24% found it to be easy or very easy, and 26% did not try.

Political participation is affected by several factors, including level of education, employment sector, and political affiliation, as seen in Table 2. The poll found that the rate of participation in the Legislative Council Elections for those with bachelors degrees reached 82% compared with 68% of those self-identified as illiterate. Likewise, participation in civil society through attending or participating in meetings or signing petitions reached 85% among holders of bachelors degrees, and 22% among the illiterate. In terms of employment sector, 89% of public sector employees participated in the PLC elections, compared with 73% in the private or non-government sector. In terms of attending public meetings, the proportion among government sector employees was 44% and private was 36 percent. As for political affiliation, 86% of Fatah supporters participated in the elections and 41% took part in public meetings. In terms of Hamas supporters, 74% participated in the election and 27% in public meetings.

Table 2: Political Participation by Education, Employment, and Party Affiliation

		Participation in Elections	Participation in Public Meetings
Education	General	68%	22%
	College	82%	48%
Work Sector	Public	89%	44%
	Private	73%	36%
Political Affiliation	Fatah	86%	41%
	Hamas	74%	27%

The poll also found that participation of youth between the ages of 18 – 27 in the Legislative Council elections was smaller - reaching only 65% and participation was greater by those in the middle age group (38-47), where it reached 80 percent. As for participation in public meetings, the differences in age groups were small.

(3) The place and role of Religion in Public and Private Life

The poll investigated the role of men of religion in public and private life and perceptions on the relationship between religion and men of religion on political issues and social-political life. The survey found that religion occupies a high place in daily life. For example, 63% of Palestinians believe that the fact that a potential partner does not pray would present a large obstacle to the decision to allow a son or a brother or a daughter or a sister to marry. Nineteen percent said this would be a moderate obstacle. In the other

direction, only 19% said that it would not be an obstacle or it would be an obstacle to a small degree.

In terms of loyalty and identification, the survey found that Palestinians felt a primary identity loyalty to the Islamic World (31%) second only to Palestine (37%). Coming in third place was identification with family or tribe (23%) and in fourth was identification with town or village (4%). Finally, came identity with the Arab state (3%) and in last place, identity with the governorate in which the individual is now living (1%).

As for the role of religion in public life, the results were mixed. From one angle, the majority of Palestinians (56%) agreed that men of religion should influence government decisions and 44% disagreed. But from another angle, 74% disagreed with the statement that political rights for non-Muslims should be less than those of Muslims in a Muslim country. Only 26% endorsed discrimination against non-Muslims. Similarly, a large proportion (67%) disagreed that the system of democracy is counter to Islam, while a third of respondents agreed with this statement. As noted earlier, 46% believe that a government system based on Islamic Sharia without elections or political parties is either suitable or very suitable for Palestine, though in the opinion of 12% it is suitable to a certain extent, and 42% believe that it is not suitable at all. Furthermore, 56% agreed that the government and law should be based on Sharia alone, and 44% opposed this.

Finally, the survey measured Palestinian opinion towards women and whether Palestinians believe in a separation between religious practices and social, political, and economic practices. Of respondents, 52% supported and 48% opposed the statement that women should wear modest clothes even if they do not wear the veil. Furthermore, 48% supported and 52% opposed the statement that religious practices are special and should be separate from socio-political and economic life.

Democracy and Islam: The results of the survey clarified that the belief that Islam is not compatible with democracy is not affected by religiosity, but is affected by individual preferences for the democratic system as opposed to other systems and the extent to which an individual believes that a system based on Sharia without free elections or political parties is appropriate for Palestine. The results show that 32% of religious individuals and 34% of individuals religious to some extent (two groups which make up 96% of Palestinians, as the survey shows) believe that democracy is incompatible with Islam. Charts (1) and (2) show that 70% of those strongly opposed say that democracy, despite its problems, is the best system. Likewise 41% of individuals who believe in an Islamic Sharia system with no elections or parties believe that there is a contradiction between Islam and democracy.

Chart 1: Belief that democracy is opposed to Islam by view that Democracy is the best form of government

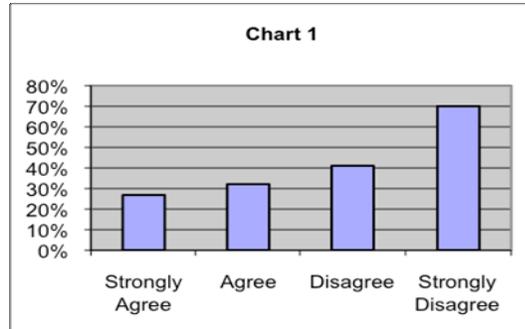
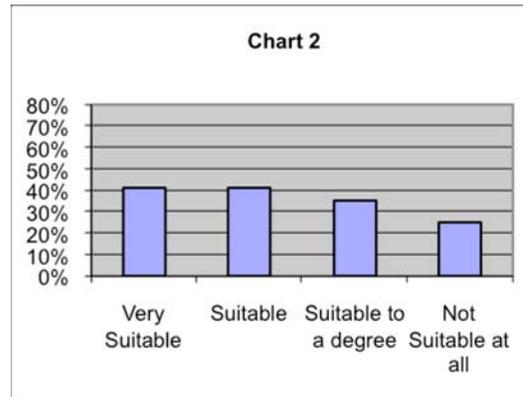


Chart 2: Belief that democracy is opposed to Islam by the view that the most suitable system of government for Palestine is one based on Sharia without political parties or elections



Sharia Law: The belief in a system based on Islamic Sharia Law, without elections or political parties, is an appropriate system for Palestine is affected, in particular by age and by the belief that democracy and Islam are in opposition, and the response to whether laws should be made according to Sharia only. Here, also, we did not find a relationship between religiosity and the importance of Sharia law. The results indicate that while 49% of religious individuals hold that this is an appropriate political system for Palestine, there is little difference between those who are religious to some degree (44%) and no change from those who are not religious (49%).

On the other hand, Chart 3 shows that middle-aged individuals (between 28 and 47) have the lowest level of support for this kind of system, while support rises among youth (ages

18 to 27) and remains moderate at older ages (above 47 years). Chart 4 indicates that 56% of those who agree strongly that there is a contradiction between Islam and democracy also believe that a system based on Sharia is appropriate for Palestine, while this falls to 43% among those who oppose strongly that there is a contradiction between Islam and democracy. Meanwhile, Chart 5 shows that 65% of those who strongly agree that Sharia should be the sole base of law believe in a Sharia system, while this falls to 37% among those who oppose that Sharia should be the sole basis of law.

Chart 3: Believers in a system based on Shariah by age

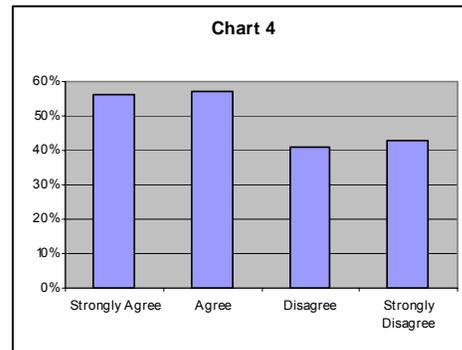
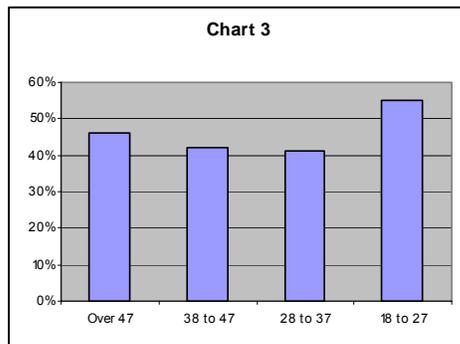
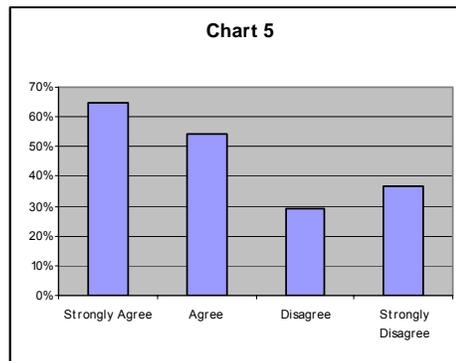


Chart 5: Believers in a system based on Shariah by position as to whether the law should be legislated from Shariah alone



Private Religious Practices: The proportion of people who believe that religious practices are issues that must be separated from economic, social, and political life varies according to level of education, the stance towards social issues like "mixing" for example, answers regarding whether Sharia should be the sole basis for law. As in the previous cases, it is no surprise that there is a relationship between stances on the public and private practices of religion and degree of religiosity. Indeed, the relationship is almost identical between individuals who identify as religious and those who identify as

religious to a degree. They agree (49% and 47% respectively) that religious matters are a private rather than a public matter.

From another perspective, the results show that, as seen in Chart 6, individuals who have a lower level of education are more likely to see religion as a private matter (53% of illiterate individuals, compared to 45% of university graduates). Chart 7 shows that the greater the belief that wearing the veil is not necessary, the greater the belief that religion should remain a private matter. Chart 8 shows that the greater the belief that Shariah should be the sole source of legislation, the lesser the belief that religion is primarily a private matter.

Chart 6: Believers in the privacy of religious practice by educational attainment

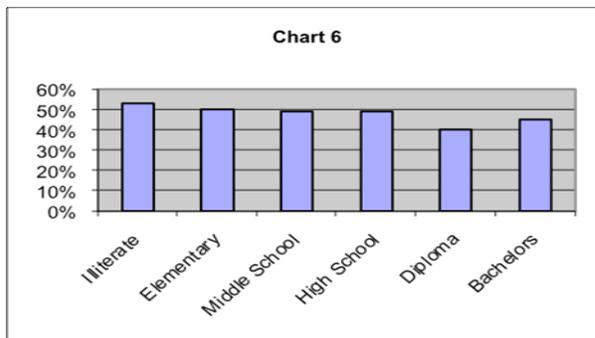


Chart 7: Believers in the privacy of religious practice by position on the statement that it is not necessary to wear the veil

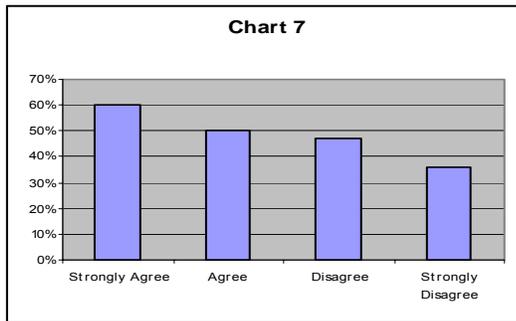
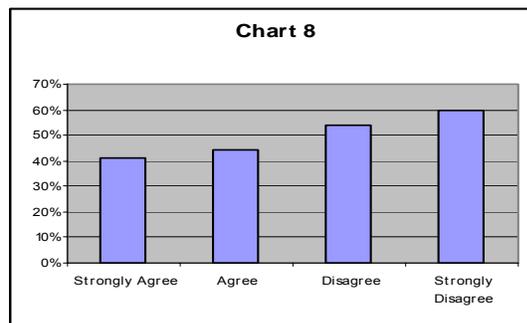


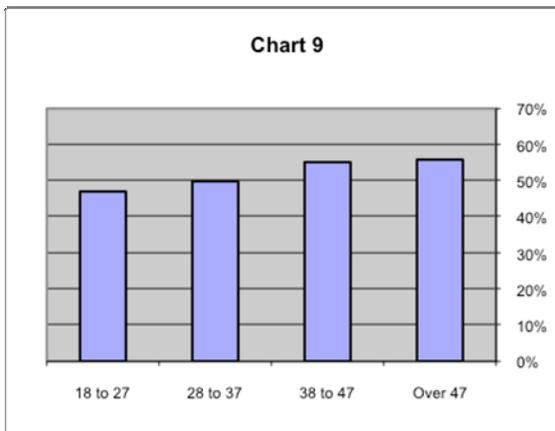
Chart 8: Believers in the privacy of religious practice by position on the statement that the law should be legislated from Shariah alone



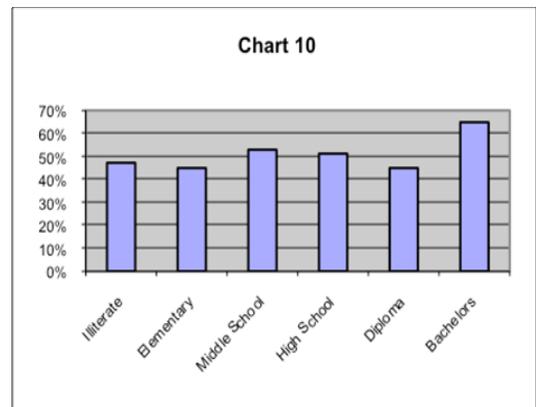
Wearing the Veil: Beliefs concerning the wearing of the veil are influenced particularly by age, education level and belief that religious practice is primarily a private issue. It is useful to recall that degree of religiosity has a very limited impact on the decision to wear the veil. Indeed the positions held by religious individuals and individuals who are

religious to an extent are very close (47% and 53% respectively) in terms of belief that it is not necessary to wear the veil but modest clothing is sufficient. In Chart 9, one can see the importance of age in this regard. When age rises, so does belief that it is not necessary to wear the veil (47% between 18-27 and 52% for ages 47 and above). Chart 10 shows that as level of education rises, so does belief that the veil is not necessary (47% among illiterate people, compared to 65% among college educated). Finally, chart 11 shows the relationship between the perceiving religion to be a private matter and decision to wear the veil. It is clear that if one believes religion is a private matter, one is more likely to see wearing the veil as unnecessary (67% compared to 45%).

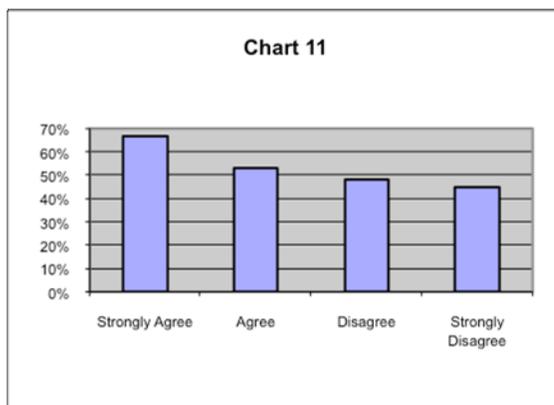
Percent of believers that wearing the veil is not necessary by age



Percent of believers that wearing the veil is not necessary by educational



Percent of believers that wearing the veil is not necessary by position on the statement that religious practices are



The Privacy of Religious Practice and Personal Behavior: General stances towards the place of religious practices (whether it should be public or private) are reflected in personal behavior. For example, if we view the importance of prayer in the decision to allow a daughter, or a sister, or a son, or a brother to marry, we see a relationship with

stance towards religion. Table 3 shows 52% of individuals who strongly agree that religion is fundamentally a private practice view non-prayer as a major obstacle whereas 66% of those who believe religion is not a private matter found non-prayer to be a major obstacle.

It is interesting to note that non-prayer remains a significant obstacle for more the 50% of people of either conviction concerning the privacy of religion, thus indicating the high degree to which traditional values have penetrated Palestinian society.

Table 3: Non-prayer would be an obstacle to marriage of a relative by position on the privacy of religious practices

Position on the view that religion is private and should be separated from economic social and political life				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Non-prayer is a large obstacle	52%	62%	67%	66%
Non-prayer is a moderate obstacle	19%	18%	19%	20%
Non-prayer is a minor obstacle	9%	6%	5%	5%
Non-prayer is not an obstacle	20%	15%	10%	10%

(4) Views of Public Institutions and Confidence in their Efficacy

The results of the survey reflect the high level of confidence held by the majority of Palestinians in the last Legislative Council Elections. Some 71% of Palestinians said that the elections were completely free and fair, and additionally, 19% said that they were free and fair but with some secondary problems, while only 10% believed that the elections were neither free nor fair and suffered from essential problems.

Confidence in the functioning of the courts is significantly less than confidence in the freeness and fairness of the elections. Only 58% said that they had a high or moderate level of confidence in the courts (17% high level and 41% moderate). Some 14% said that they had confidence to a small degree and 28% said that they did not have any confidence at all.

Confidence in the Palestinian government and policy is much less than confidence in either the elections or the courts. A third of respondents (32%) feel that policies of the government have a positive impact on daily life, and a 37% feel that government policies have a negative effect. According to 31%, the policies of the government have neither a positive nor a negative effect. Likewise, a third said that they were pleased with the government (between 8 and 10, on a 1 to 10 scale) and a third (33%) said that the government is largely negative (between 1 and 3 on the same scale). A similar portion of the population, 34%, described the government as moderate (between 4 and 7) on the same scale.

Nonetheless, 64% believe that the government is doing what it can to provide services, while only 36% believe that it is not. This belief may be due to the fact that most of the

public thinks that other circumstances are responsible for the government's shortcomings, such as international financial restraints.

The belief that the government should have a positive influence on daily life beyond political factors assisted in the election and formation of a government by Hamas in the last round of elections, however they are now under international boycott and unable to make good on these issues. This has led supporters of Hamas to be biased towards the organization and supporters of Fatah to be biased otherwise. In this light, 43% of Hamas supporters believe the government has a positive effect while a proportion of no more than 24% of Fatah supporters believe the same. Among supporters of other parties 25% shared with Hamas supporters in the belief in the positive affects of the government.

The political situation influences political affiliation, if people cannot assess the economic condition of the state, they can assess the economic condition of their family, and indeed the influence on this will impact an individuals view of the efficacy of the government, as is show in Table 4. The table shows that the highest rate (65%) who believe that the government has a positive impact are among those who believe that the economy is doing very well and the lowest percentage (25%) are among those who describe the economy as very bad.

Table 4: Percent of believers that the government has a positive impact on the life of the people by their description of the economic position on the country and their families

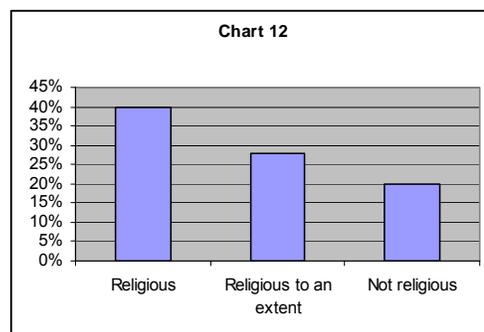
Percent of believers that government policies have a positive effect on the life of the people	Economic Position of the Country				Economic Position of the Family			
	Very Good	Good	Bad	Very Bad	Very Good	Good	Bad	Very Bad
	65%	47%	35%	25%	40%	37%	26%	29%

Likewise, because of the degree of impact of religion on political affiliation (see Chart 5 above), the degree of religion also impacts perception of the efficacy of government polices, which is represented in Chart 12. The graph shows that religious individuals have greater trust in the positive impact of government policies, whereas non-religious individuals believe the opposite.

Table 5: Political affiliation by degree of

	Religious	Religious to an extent	Not religious
Support Islamists	52%	35%	14%
Support Fatah	25%	34%	39%
Support other movements	3%	4%	15%

Believers that the government has a positive effect on the life of the



(5) Arab World Issues and International Affairs

The survey asked a number of questions on Arab and global issues, such as the reasons for the delayed development of the Arab World, the efficacy of the Arab League, Western and American culture, and terrorism. The survey found that a large proportion (46%) believe that internal factors are responsible for the delayed development in the Arab World compared with other regions in the world, while 35% believe that the causes behind this are external. Furthermore, the survey found that 19% believe that internal and external factors are equally important in the delay of development. It is clear from the results that the public does not have faith in the Arab League to develop cooperative Arab initiatives. Some 66% believe that the League was either successful to a small extent or not successful at all (50% said that it was not successful at all) in realizing these goals. Similarly, only 6% believed that the organization has been successful to a large degree and 29% believe that it has been successful in a moderate degree in achieving its goals.

Although many Palestinians view the west in general negatively, and the United States thusly in particular, the survey found that this negative view does not necessarily apply to cultural issues, with 60% seeing positive aspects to this culture, while 40% did not agree with this view. Previous surveys by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research found that negative views of the United States held by Palestinians tend to be focused specifically on Middle East political issues, such as the Israeli- Palestinian conflict.

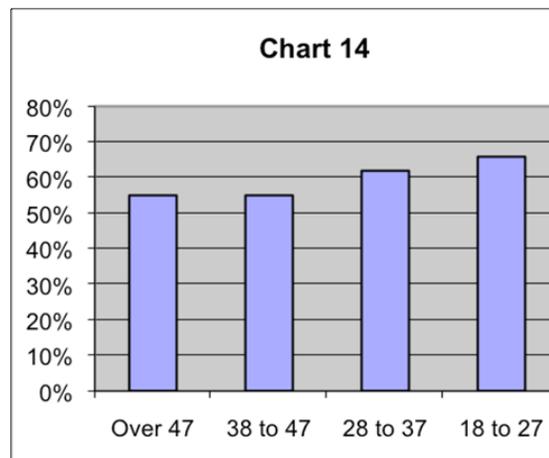
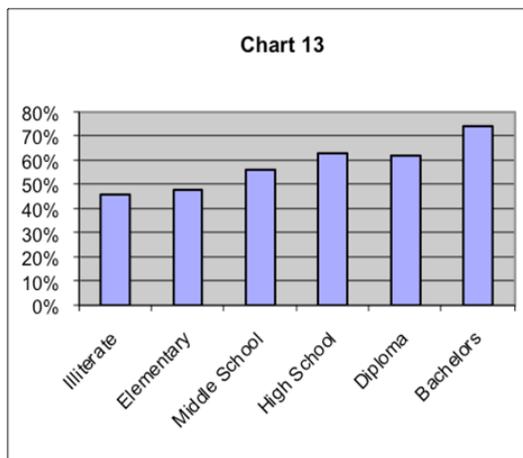
The poll found that Palestinians tend to be sensitive to terrorist acts, and define such acts in terms of the objectives of the perpetrators rather than the identity of the victims, civilian or military. Indeed, 67% of Palestinians believe that the bombings in Sharm el Sheikh against foreign tourists were acts of terrorism, even if some of these tourists were Israelis. However, only 40% described the Madrid Bombings (undertaken against the backdrop of the occupation of Iraq) as terrorist acts.

This logic, however, which defines terrorist action in terms of its perpetrators rather than its victims, does not hold up in the case of Iraq. We found that the large majority of Palestinians (86%) either opposed or strongly opposed the use of armed operations against Iraqi civilians with the goal of resisting the American occupation, while 14% agreed with such action.

Causes of the falling behind of the Arab World: Opinions towards this question are affected only in a very limited way by religiosity. The survey found that 43% of religious individuals believed that the primary cause of the Arab world falling behind is internal, compared with a similar 48% among people who are somewhat religious or not religious.

Likewise, the differences are limited between those who support Fatah and Islamists as well as those who support other political parties and movements. Among supporters of other political parties and movements, 60% believe that the cause is internal, while this decreases to 50% among supporters of Fatah and 41% between supporters of Hamas.

Positive Aspects to American Culture: Belief that there are some positive aspects to the influence of Western and American culture varies according to education, age, and social beliefs, such as preference for democracy and the belief that Sharia should be the sole basis for law. In Chart 13 we see that as the level of education increases, so to does the belief that there are positive aspects to American culture. Chart 14 shows that youth are more likely to believe this as well.



Likewise, Table 6 shows that those who believe that democracy is the best form of government are more likely to see positive aspects of American culture, whereas individuals who hold that the Sharia should be the sole basis of law are less likely to see positive aspects.

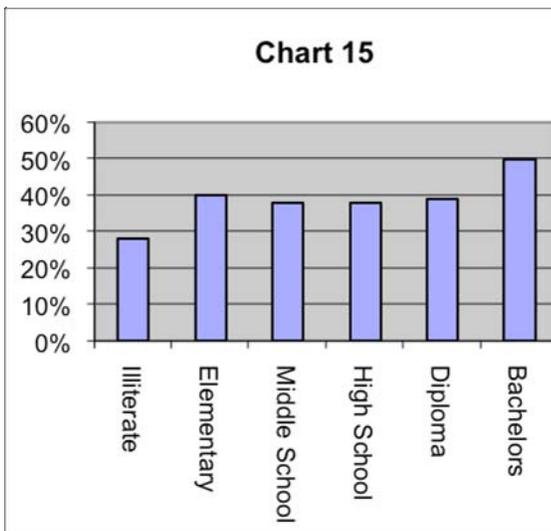
Table 6: Percent believers that American culture has positive aspects by political preference

	Position towards the statement that democracy, despite its problems, is the best system of governance			
Percent of believers that American culture has some positive aspects	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		64%	62%	52%
	Position towards the statement that a government or a parliament that legislates solely based on Sharia is the best system of governance			
Percent of believers that American culture has some positive aspects	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	49%	58%	67%	69%

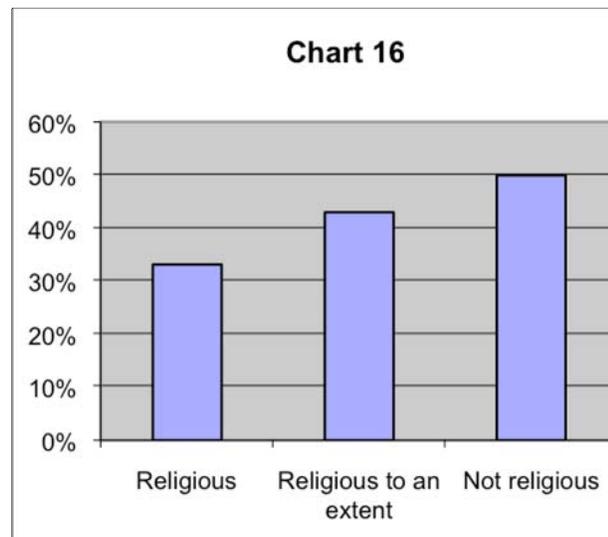
Terrorism: Attitudes towards the Madrid bombings were affected by a number of factors, including level of education, political affiliation, religiosity, attitude to the public/private nature of religious practice, married women's work outside the home, and co-education.

Chart 15 shows that as the level of education increases, so does the proportion of individuals who believe that the bombings in Madrid were terrorist acts (50% of College and 28% of Illiterate). Chart 16 shows that as religiosity increases the number of individuals who believe that the attacks in Madrid were terrorist decreases (33% of Religious and 50% of non-religious). Chart 17 shows that attitudes change according to political affiliation, with 34% of Islamist supporters labeling the Madrid attacks as

Percent believers that American culture has positive aspects by educational attainment

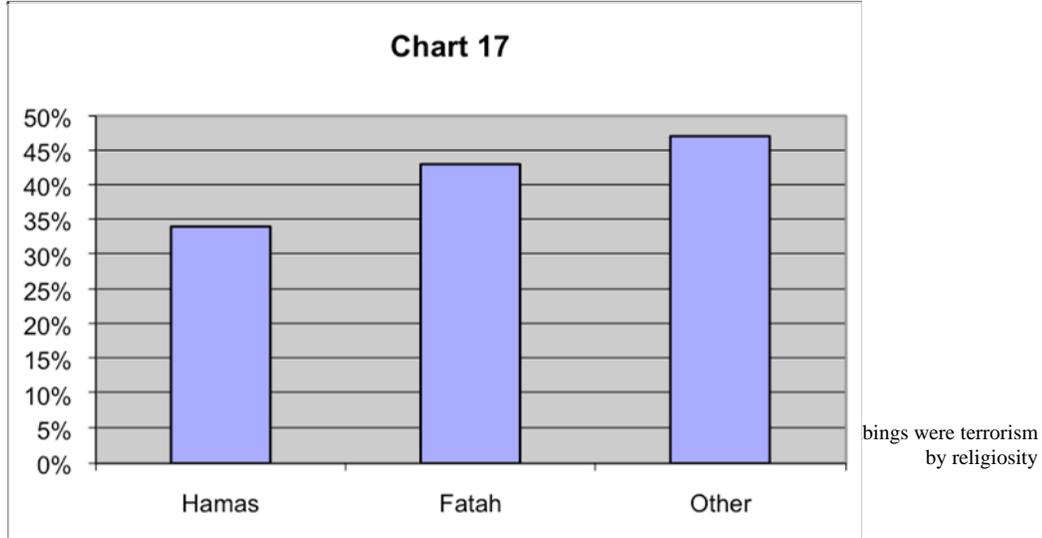


Percent believers that American culture has positive aspects by age



terrorist, compared to 43% of Fatah supporters and 47% of supporters of other parties.

Percent believers that the Madrid bombings were terrorism by educational attainment



Percent believers that the Madrid bombings were terrorism by political affiliation

Table 7 shows agreement between the view that religious practices are private and should be separated from economic, political, and social life, and the view that is against a government based on Sharia with no political parties and the view that married women should be able to work outside of the house if they want to and study in co-ed universities. People who hold these views are more likely to see the attacks in Madrid as terrorism.

Table 7: Percent of believers that the Madrid bombings were terrorism by different positions

Position towards the view that religious practices should be separate from economic, political, and social life			
Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
47%	43%	36%	33%
Position towards a system of government based on Sharia without elections or political parties			
Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
28%	35%	42%	47%
Position towards the view that a married woman can work outside the home			
Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
51%	38%	32%	20%
Position towards that coeducation should be allowed in universities			
Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
54%	45%	33%	28%

Appendix: Selected Results of the Arab Barometer Survey, Jordan.

Views of Democracy

If you have to choose one, what is the most important feature of democracy?

The ability to change governments through elections	33.1
Freedom to criticize those in positions of power	23.5
Reducing the gap between rich and poor	16.1
Providing basic needs, such as food, housing, and clothing to all individuals	28.6
Other	2.8

What is the second most important?

The ability to change governments through elections	19.8
Freedom to criticize those in positions of power	24.2
Reducing the gap between rich and poor	23.2
Providing basic needs, such as food, housing, and clothing to all individuals	29.0
Other	3.7

232) Do you agree or oppose the following statement: Democracy may have its problems but it is better than any other form of government.

Agree Strongly	25.0
Agree	57.6
Disagree	13.2
Disagree Strongly	4.2
Other	--

234) To which degree do you believe it is justified to disrespect human rights in Palestine for security?

To a large degree	15.0
To a moderate degree	19.6
To a small degree	10.7
Not justified	54.7
Other	--

255.2) What is the importance of the following in terms of an individual being qualified for being in the country's political leadership: Openness to political ideas

Very important	59.4
Important	37.2
Not important	3.2
Not important at all	0.3
Don't know	--

Focus of Citizenship

207) Did you participate in the last parliamentary elections which took place

Yes	72.5
No	25.5
I did not have the right to vote	2.0

215) In general, what is your interest in politics

Very interested	24.7
Interested	29.6
Interested a little	23.0
Not interested	22.7
Other	--

230.1) There are a range of activities usually carried out by citizens. In the pass three years did you attend or participate in a meeting to discuss an issue or sign a petition

One time	8.7
More than once	21.1
I did not participate at all	70.1
Other	--

507.2) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements: Politicians are interested in the needs of the average citizen

Strongly Agree	11.7
Agree	40.0
Disagree	37.1
Strongly Disagree	11.2
Don't know	--

507.5) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements: In some cases, politics is so complicated I can't understand what is going on

Strongly Agree	27.8
Agree	51.4
Disagree	16.4

Strongly disagree	4.5
Don't know	--

213.1) I will ask you some questions about some services. Based on actual experiences, how difficult or easy is to access certain personal documents (birth certificate, passport, identity card)

Very easy	26.5
Easy	45.7
Difficult	14.7
Very difficult	5.8
I haven't tried	7.3
I don't know	--

213.5) I will ask you some questions about some services. Based on actual experience, how easy or difficult is it to file a complaint if you feel your rights have been infringed

Very easy	6.2
Easy	18.2
Difficult	26.1
Very difficult	23.8
I haven't tried	25.8
I don't know	--

The Place of Religion in Public and Private Life

302) What is your primary social or geographic group

Family/Clan/Tribe	23.2
City/Village/Camp in which you live	3.6
Governorate in which you now live	1.2
Jordan generally	37.1
The Arab Homeland	3.1
The Islamic World	31.4
Other	0.5

401.3) To what extent do you think the following statements are appropriate: Religious leaders have an impact on political decisions

Agree strongly	15.6
Agree	40.4
Disagree	33.3
Disagree strongly	10.7
I don't know	--

401.4) To what extent do think the following statements are appropriate: Religious practices are practices that must be separated from economic and social life

Agree strongly	14.5
Agree	33.7

Disagree	35.9
Disagree strongly	15.9
I don't know	--

502.1) To what extent are the following statements impediments to the marriage of your son, daughter, brother or sister: Non-prayer

A large impediment	62.7
A moderate impediment	18.6
A small impediment	5.7
Not an impediment at all	13.0
Other	--

504.1) Different religious scholars disagree in their interpretations of some issues in Islam, we would like to know your interpretation: The democratic system is incompatible with Islam

Agree strongly	9.9
Agree	23.4
Disagree	49.2
Disagree strongly	17.0
Don't know	--

504.2) Different religious scholars disagree in their interpretations of some issues in Islam, we would like to know your interpretation: Political rights for non-Muslims should be less than rights of Muslims in a Muslim country

Agree strongly	5.9
Agree	20.0
Disagree	53.6
Disagree strongly	20.5
Don't know	--

504.6) Different religious scholars disagree in their interpretations of some issues in Islam, we would like to know your interpretation: Women must dress modestly without the need to wear the veil

Agree strongly	14.8
Agree	36.9
Disagree	30.8
Disagree strongly	17.5
Other	--

Views of public institutions and confidence in their efficiency

201.1) I will name several institutions, I want you tell me your degree of confidence in each of these institutions: the government

A high level of confidence	31.9
A moderate level of confidence	37.3
A small level of confidence	10.2
Not confident at all	20.5
Don't know	--

211) In general, how do you assess the freeness and fairness of the last parliamentary election

Absolute freedom and integrity	70.5
Free and fair with some problems and interference (secondary)	19.2
Free and fair with some problems and interference (core)	4.7
Not free or fair	5.5
Don't know	--

219) In general, do you feel that government policies have an impact on your daily life

A very positive impact	7.4
A positive impact	24.7
An impact that is not positive or negative	30.6
A negative impact	26.4
A very negative impact	10.9
Other	--

244) Please rate how pleased you are with the Palestinian Government on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 meaning not pleased at all, and 10 meaning very pleased.

1	22.8
2	4.8
3	4.7
4	3.2
5	15.6
6	7.5
7	7.7
8	10.1
9	4.8
10	18.7

507.4) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements: The government provides appropriate conditions for citizens to improve their lives through their efforts

Agree strongly	14.1
Agree	50.1
Disagree	25.7
Disagree strongly	10.2
Don't know	--

Arab World Issues and International Affairs

601) Some people believe that the lack of development in the Arab World compared to other areas is the result of internal or external factors, what do you think is more important

Internal factors	46.0
External factors	34.8
They are both of the same importance	19.2
Don't know	--

602) To what degree do you think the Arab League has been effective in advancing and strengthening joint Arab initiatives

To a large degree	5.7
To a moderate degree	28.8
To a small degree	16.4
Not effective at all	49.2
Don't know	--

608) Among the many aspects of Western and American culture, there are some positive aspects

Agree	59.6
Disagree	39.9
Don't know	0.5

603.1) How would you characterize the bombing of Hotels in Amman, terrorism or not terrorism?

Terrorism	
Not terrorism	
Other	

603.2) How would you characterize the bombing of Hotels in Sharm el Sheikh, Egypt, terrorism or not terrorism?

Terrorism	66.8
Not terrorism	33.2
Other	--

603.4) How would you characterize the bombings in Madrid, terrorism or not terrorism

Terrorism	39.5
Not terrorism	60.5
Other	--
Have not heard of it	--

604) Do you agree or disagree with this statement: "The US presence in the region justifies attacks against the US everywhere"

Agree Strongly	35.7
Agree	30.2
Disagree	23.8
Disagree Strongly	10.2
Don't know	--

605) Do you agree or disagree that it is justified to use violence against Iraqi civilians under the pre-text of resisting the American occupation

Agree strongly	3.4
Agree	10.3
Disagree	46.9
Disagree strongly	39.4
Don't know	--