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Results of Palestinian Public Opinion Poll
No. 30
13-15 September 2007

Background

Since the domination of *Hamas* movement over the Gaza Strip, it has become obvious that the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) has become completely impaired. Such reality prompted President Abu Mazen to issue a group of presidential decrees in the form of laws the most important of which was amending the elections law to make the whole country one electoral circle. This amendment was rejected by *Hamas* considering the President's decree unconstitutional.

In Gaza, the PLO factions called upon all citizens to hold the Friday prayer in the open, instead of holding it in mosques since, they believe, *Hamas* uses mosques for incitement. *Hamas* denied such allegations and issued a religious decree (*fatwa*) denying the sanctity and holiness of prayers outside mosques (in the open). The Executive Force encountered the worshippers, beat them and arrested several. Even media personnel were not spared harassments. Such harassments were condemned by several Palestinian factions and civil society institutions considering them attacks on public liberties and an attempt to confound people.

On the side of negotiations, meetings between President Abbas and the Israeli Prime Minister continued aiming at laying out a detailed frame work for a Palestinian Israeli solution that will be discussed in the international meeting intended to take place in the coming fall.

The Results

Following are the results of the Palestinian Public Opinion Poll No. 30 conducted by the Center for Opinion Polls and Survey Studies at An-Najah National University during the period from 13-15 September, 2007. **The University sponsors all polls conducted by its Center.**

Palestinian public opinion poll no. 30 undertakes the current political realities especially the incidents that took place in the Gaza Strip, the domination of *Hamas* over the Strip, the accompanying development on the Palestinian arena, in addition to political affiliations.

The sample included 1360 persons whose age group is 18 and above and who have the right to vote. The enclosed questionnaire was distributed on 860 persons from the West Bank and 500 persons from the Gaza Strip. The sample was drawn randomly and the margin of error is about $\pm 3\%$; still 3.8% of the members of the sample refused to answer the questionnaire.

The opinions represented in the results reflect those of the study; they do not, by any means, represent the opinion of An-Najah National University.



The General Results:

- 69.7% of respondents considered the PLO the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.
- 77.6% of respondents believed that there is a need to reconstruct the institutions of the PLO.
- 45.4% of respondents believed that it is necessary to add *Hamas* to the institutions of the PLO.
- 31% of respondents believed that *Hamas* is serious in its intentions to join the PLO.
- 67% of respondents rejected declarations made by some officials of *Hamas* that the PLO institutions are illegitimate and do not represent the Palestinian people; 26.4% supported that.
- 17.9% of respondents believed that the security conditions in the Gaza Strip after the domination of *Hamas* are improving; 65.4% said they are deteriorating.
- 38.2% of respondents believed that the security conditions were better before *Hamas* took hold of the Strip; 30.1% believed the contrary.
- 57.6% of respondents considered what *Hamas* did as a coup against Palestinian legitimacy.
- 39.2% of respondents believed that *Hamas* is endeavoring to create an entity of its own in the Gaza Strip in isolation from the West Bank; 28.5% believed the contrary.
- 21.8% of respondents believed that *Hamas* is capable of managing the life affairs of the citizens of the Gaza Strip.
- 21.7% of respondents supported *Hamas'* declaration that it will not recognize the legitimacy of the government that President Mahmoud Abbas formed.
- 73.7% of respondents rejected the move made by the dissolved government in Gaza to prevent worshippers from praying in the public quarters.
- 45.4% of respondents believed that *Hamas* employs religion to achieve political ends.
- 16% of respondents believed that *Fateh* employs religion to achieve political ends.
- 84.1% of respondents rejected using religion to achieve political ends.
- 11.5% of respondents considered the practices of the Executive Force in the Gaza Strip sound while 78.9 % considered them wrong.
- 24.7% of respondents considered the Executive Force a legitimate one that should be integrated within the security apparatuses; 51% believed the opposite.
- 20.1% of respondents supported forming an executive force in the West Bank; 68.7% opposed that.
- 38.9% of respondents considered *Hamas* bloc as the side which is impairing the work of the PLC; 23.2% considered *Fateh* bloc as the side.



- 35.7% of respondents saw that the PLC members do not serve the interest of their country.
- 45.7% of respondents saw that the PLC members put the interest of their political party first and that of their country second.
- 44.6% of respondents believed that the existence of the PLC is nationally expedient; 28.4% saw the opposite.
- 75.6% of respondents said that they will participate in the coming legislative elections. From among those who said they will participate, 50.6% said that they will give their votes to *Fateh's* candidates; 14.7% said they will give their votes to *Hamas'* candidates.
- 72.1% of respondents said that they will participate in the coming presidential elections. From among those who said they will participate, 55.3% said that they will give their votes to *Fateh's* candidate; 18.5% said they will give their votes to *Hamas'* candidate.
- In the point of view of respondents, the priorities of the present government led by Salam Fayyad should be as follows:
 - Restoring control over the Gaza Strip 60.0%
 - Restraining security chaos in the West Bank 69.6%
 - Restoring dialogue between *Fateh* and *Hamas* 49.4%
 - Improving the economic conditions 69.9%
 - Paying the salaries of employees 77.0%
- The personal priorities of respondents at the present time were as follows:
 - Restoring control over the Gaza Strip 74.5%
 - Restraining security chaos in the West Bank 87.5%
 - Restoring dialogue between *Fateh* and *Hamas* 70.2%
 - Improving the economic conditions 89.3%
 - Securing funds for the salaries of employees 90.9%
- 42.9% of respondents believed that the government of Salam Fayyad is capable of improving the economic conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
- 37.4% of respondents believed that the government of Salam Fayyad is capable of putting an end to the security chaos in the West Bank.
- 49.6% of respondents considered the Palestinian government in the West Bank as the legitimate one, 14.5% considered the government in the Gaza Strip the legitimate one, and 24.7% considered both governments illegitimate.
- Regardless of legitimacy or illegitimacy, 56.3% supported the general policy of the government of Salam Fayyad.
- Regardless of legitimacy or illegitimacy, 22.2% supported the general policy of the dissolved government of Ismael Haniyeh.
- If conditions in the Gaza Strip went back to normal and President Abbas wanted to appoint a new prime minister, 21.1% of respondents would advise Abbas to appoint a *Fateh* affiliated personality; 7.4% would advise him to appoint a *Hamas* affiliated personality.



- 54.2% of respondents supported the cancellation by President Abbas of the previous electoral system which was based on a combination of electoral circles and the proportional representation system to become based solely on the proportional representation system; 31.7% rejected that.
- 31.4% of respondents said that when they listen to the news, they believe *Fateh* media, 14.3% said they believe the *Hamas* media, and 41.9% said they believe neither of them.
- 23.8% of respondents believed that the peace conference that the US called for holding in the coming fall will succeed; 57.3% believed it will fail.
- 70.5% of respondents supported the notion that arms should only be in the hands of the members of the security apparatuses.
- 59.3% of respondents believed that what happened in the Gaza Strip was directed by outside incitement.
- 54.2% of respondents believed that the incidents that took place in the campuses of An-Najah, Birzeit, and Hebron universities were premeditated.
- 46.9% of respondents believed that Al-Qassam Brigades will resume firing rockets from the Gaza Strip against Israel after the domination of *Hamas* on the Strip.
- 53.1% of respondents expressed fear that what happened in the Gaza Strip may be transferred to the West Bank.
- 57.4% of respondents expressed fear for their lives under the present circumstances.
- 67.9% of respondents said that they are pessimistic of the general Palestinian situation at this stage.
- 79.4% of respondents said that they neither feel safe for themselves nor for their families and properties under the current circumstances.
- As for political affiliation respondents gave the following results:

People's Party	1.1%
Democratic Front	1.0%
Islamic <i>Jihad</i>	2.8%
<i>Fateh</i>	41.0%
<i>Hamas</i>	13.8%
<i>Fida</i>	0.2%
Popular Front	2.5%
Palestinian National Initiative	0.9%
I am an independent nationalist	5.8%
I am an independent Islamist	3.9%
None of the above	26.2%
Others	0.9%



The General Results of the Poll

Do you believe that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	69.7	68.3	72.2
No	24.7	26.4	21.8
No opinion/I do not know	5.7	5.3	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you believe that there is a need to reconstruct the institutions of the PLO?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	77.6	82.6	69.0
No	16.7	12.3	24.2
No opinion/I do not know	5.7	5.1	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that there is a need to add *Hamas* to the institutions of the PLO?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	45.4	52.9	32.6
No	44.6	40.0	52.4
No opinion/I do not know	10.0	7.1	15.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that *Hamas* is serious in its demands to join the PLO?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	31.0	34.3	25.4
No	51.5	48.6	56.6
No opinion/I do not know	17.4	17.1	18.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



More than one spokesperson of *Hamas* declared that the PLO institutions are illegitimate and do not represent the Palestinian people. Do you support or reject *Hamas*' position?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly support	9.2	5.2	16.0
I support	17.2	21.2	10.4
I reject	42.1	52.3	24.4
I strongly reject	24.9	13.6	44.2
No opinion/I do not know	6.7	7.7	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that the security conditions in the Gaza Strip after the dominance of *Hamas* are -----?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
improving	17.9	17.9	18.0
deteriorating	65.4	63.4	68.8
the same	11.5	12.9	9.2
No opinion/I do not know	5.1	5.8	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you believe that the security situation in the Gaza Strip was in a better condition before *Hamas* took over.

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	38.2	40.7	33.8
May be	23.8	21.0	28.6
No	30.1	31.0	28.6
No opinion/I do not know	7.9	7.2	9.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think what *Hamas* did was a coup against the Palestinian legitimacy?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	57.6	53.1	65.4
No	29.9	33.3	24.2
No opinion/I do not know	12.4	13.6	10.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



There are those who say that *Hamas* is endeavoring to create an entity for itself in the Gaza Strip in isolation from the West Bank. What do you think?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
True	39.2	32.8	50.2
May be	25.3	25.8	24.4
Not true	28.5	34.3	18.6
No opinion/I do not know	7.0	7.1	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that *Hamas* is capable off managing the affairs of people in the Gaza Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	21.8	23.4	19.0
No	67.9	67.2	69.0
No opinion/I do not know	10.4	9.4	12.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

***Hamas* has declared that it will not recognize the legitimacy of the government that President Mahmoud Abbas formed. Do you support or reject *Hamas*' position?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	21.7	22.3	20.6
I reject	66.6	64.9	69.6
No opinion/I do not know	11.7	12.8	9.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The resigned government in the Gaza Strip prevented people from praying in the public yards. Do you support or reject the government's position?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	18.5	17.9	19.6
I reject	73.7	74.5	72.2
No opinion/I do not know	7.8	7.6	8.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that *Hamas* employs religion to achieve political ends?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	45.4	38.8	56.8
May be	21.8	23.7	18.6
No	26.5	31.2	18.4
No opinion/I do not know	6.3	6.3	6.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Do you think that *Fateh* employs religion to achieve political ends?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	16.0	18.6	11.4
May be	22.9	22.4	23.8
No	54.3	52.0	58.2
No opinion/I do not know	6.8	7.0	6.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you support or reject employing religion to achieve political ends?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	8.9	9.7	7.6
I reject	84.1	83.5	85.2
No opinion/I do not know	7.0	6.9	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that the measures used by the Executive Force in the Gaza Strip were -----?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Sound	11.5	14.4	9.9
Wrong	78.9	76.8	80.1
No opinion/I do not know	9.6	8.8	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that the Executive Force is a legitimate one and that it must be integrated within the security apparatuses of the Palestinian Authority?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	24.7	27.9	19.2
May be	16.9	17.9	15.2
No	51.0	45.5	60.4
No opinion/I do not know	7.4	8.7	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

If *Hamas* has an intention to form an executive force in the West Bank, will you support or reject it?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	20.1	20.2	19.8
I reject	68.7	69.8	66.8
No opinion/I do not know	11.3	10.0	13.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



The Israeli measures against the members of the PLC aside, which Palestinian side, in your opinion, is responsible of impairing the PLC?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<i>Fateh</i> bloc	23.2	22.1	25.2
<i>Hamas</i> bloc	38.9	34.5	46.4
The other blocs	9.9	10.9	8.2
No opinion/I do not know	27.9	32.4	20.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In general, do you think that the PLC members serve the interests of Palestinian citizens?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	26.6	26.5	26.8
May be	31.8	29.0	36.6
No	35.7	39.1	30.0
No opinion/I do not know	5.9	5.5	6.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that the PLC members prioritize their interests to the interest of their country?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	45.7	46.6	44.4
May be	28.7	26.3	32.8
No	18.7	20.3	15.8
No opinion/I do not know	7.0	7.0	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that the existence of the PLC is nationally expedient?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	44.6	45.3	43.2
May be	21.1	19.9	23.2
No	28.4	29.5	26.4
No opinion/I do not know	6.0	5.2	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



If new PLC elections are conducted, whom do you vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Independent Islamists bloc	4.9	4.8	5.0
Independent Nationalist bloc	6.5	6.9	6.0
Fateh bloc	38.2	31.3	50.2
Hamas bloc	11.1	10.1	12.8
A bloc from leftist organizations	3.2	2.9	3.6
Others	1.6	1.6	1.6
I will not participate in the elections	24.4	29.8	15.2
No opinion/I do not know	10.1	12.7	5.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

If new presidential elections are conducted, whom do you vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
For a <i>Fateh</i> candidate	39.9	35.9	46.6
For a <i>Hamas</i> candidate	13.3	10.3	18.4
For a candidate from the left	3.4	2.7	4.6
For an independent candidate	8.4	9.4	6.6
I will not participate in the elections	27.9	33.4	18.4
No opinion/I do not know	7.2	8.3	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

What, in your opinion, are the priorities of the present Palestinian government led by Salam Fayyad? (State your opinion on a 0-10 scale)

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Extending its control over the Strip	5.9949	5.7442	6.4260
Restraining the chaotic security situation in the West Bank	6.9559	7.2407	6.4660
Restoring dialogue between <i>Fateh</i> and <i>Hamas</i>	4.9426	5.6744	3.6840
Improving the economic conditions	6.9904	7.1012	6.8000
Paying salaries to the employees	7.6978	7.8849	7.3760

What are your priorities at the present time? (State your opinion on a 0-10 scale)

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Extending its control over the Strip	7.4515	6.9570	8.3020
Restraining the chaotic security situation in the West Bank	8.7449	9.0453	8.2280
Restoring dialogue between <i>Fateh</i> and <i>Hamas</i>	7.0199	7.8198	5.6440
Improving the economic conditions	8.9324	9.1163	8.6160
Securing funds for salaries	9.0934	9.2930	8.7500



Do you think that the government of Salam Fayyad is capable of improving the economic conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	42.9	35.1	56.2
May be	31.8	35.2	26.0
No	19.0	22.2	13.6
No opinion/I do not know	6.3	7.4	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that the government of Salam Fayyad is capable of ending the state of security chaos in the West Bank?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	37.4	30.0	50.0
May be	29.6	32.0	25.6
No	27.1	31.5	19.4
No opinion/I do not know	6.0	6.5	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Which government do you consider legitimate and represents you?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The West Bank Government	49.6	45.7	56.4
The Gaza Strip Government	14.5	10.8	20.8
Both governments are illegitimate and do not represent me	24.7	31.5	13.0
No opinion/I do not know	11.2	12.0	9.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Regardless of its legitimacy or illegitimacy, do you support or reject the general policy of the Palestinian government led by Salam Fayyad?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	56.3	53.4	61.2
I reject	29.1	30.7	26.4
No opinion/I do not know	14.6	15.9	12.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Regardless of its legitimacy or illegitimacy, do you support or reject the general policy of the dissolved government of Ismael Haniyeh?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	22.2	22.6	21.6
I reject	65.0	63.7	67.2
No opinion/I do not know	12.8	13.7	11.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



If things went back to normal in the Gaza Strip and President Abbas wanted to appoint a new prime minister, which personality would you advise the President to nominate for the position?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
A national independent personality	23.8	30.1	13.0
An independent Islamist personality	15.1	18.3	9.8
A Fateh affiliated personality	21.1	14.9	31.8
A Hamas affiliated personality	7.5	5.2	11.4
A notable business personality	6.0	7.6	3.2
Holding on to Salam Fayyad as the Prime Minister	13.5	10.5	18.8
Another personality	2.4	2.8	1.8
No opinion/I do not know	10.5	10.7	10.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

President Mahmoud Abbas issued a decree that cancelled the previous elections system which was based on a combination of electoral circles and a proportional system and enacted a system totally based on proportional representation instead. Do you support or reject this change?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly support	19.9	11.3	34.6
I support	34.3	38.7	26.8
I reject	24.0	28.5	16.4
I strongly reject	7.7	6.7	9.4
No opinion/I do not know	14.0	14.8	12.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

When you listen to the news through *Fateh* and *Hamas* media, whom do you tend to believe?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I believe <i>Fateh</i> media	31.4	23.0	45.8
I believe <i>Hamas</i> media	14.3	12.1	18.2
I believe both of them	4.2	4.8	3.2
I believe neither of them	41.9	51.2	26.0
No opinion/I do not know	8.2	9.0	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Do you think that the international conference that the US called for in the coming fall aiming at pushing the peace process forward will succeed?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	23.8	19.8	30.6
No	57.3	66.2	42.0
No opinion/I do not know	19.0	14.1	27.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you support or reject the notion that Palestinian arms should be in the hands of Palestinian security apparatuses, and that any other arms in the hands of other Palestinian men will be considered arms for racketeering business?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	70.5	72.3	67.4
I reject	23.4	22.2	25.4
No opinion/I do not know	6.1	5.5	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think what happened in the Gaza Strip was caused by outside incitement?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	59.3	61.8	57.8
No	29.3	25.2	31.7
No opinion/I do not know	11.4	13.0	10.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that the incidents that happened in the campuses of An-Najah, Birzeit and Hebron universities were premeditated?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	54.2	56.9	49.6
No	24.3	25.9	21.6
No opinion/I do not know	21.5	17.2	28.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Now that *Hamas* dominated the Gaza Strip, do you think that Al-Qassam Brigades will resume firing rockets from the Strip against Israel?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	46.9	54.8	33.4
No	34.9	28.1	46.4
No opinion/I do not know	18.2	17.1	20.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Are you worried that what happened in Gaza may be transferred to the West Bank?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	53.1	57.6	45.4
No	41.3	39.0	45.4
No opinion/I do not know	5.6	3.5	9.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Are you worried about your life under the present circumstances?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	57.4	53.5	64.2
No	39.7	44.3	31.8
No opinion/I do not know	2.9	2.2	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Are you pessimistic or optimistic towards the general Palestinian situation at this stage?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Optimistic	27.4	30.6	22.0
Pessimistic	67.9	66.6	70.2
No opinion/I do not know	4.6	2.8	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Under the present circumstances, do you feel that you, your family and your properties are safe?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	19.2	19.1	19.4
May be	28.1	28.8	26.8
No	51.3	51.4	51.0
No opinion/I do not know	1.5	0.7	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Which of the following political affiliations do you support?

PARTY	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
People's Party	1.1	0.9	1.4
Democratic Front	1.0	0.9	1.2
Islamic <i>Jihad</i>	2.8	1.2	5.6
<i>Fateh</i>	41.0	35.2	50.8
<i>Hamas</i>	13.8	12.3	16.2
<i>Fida</i>	0.2	0.1	0.4
Popular Front	2.5	2.6	2.4
Palestinian National Initiative	0.9	0.9	0.8
I am an independent nationalist	5.8	7.3	3.2
I am an independent Islamist	3.9	4.3	3.2
None of the above	26.2	33.5	13.6
Others	0.9	0.7	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0