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مركز العالم العربي للبحوث والتنمية  
Arab World For Research & Development

## **Results of an Opinion Poll**

**Hamas and the Truce, the Government, Security Campaigns,  
The Peace Process and Elections**

**Publication Date: 18 August, 2008**

**Field work: 6-8 August 2008**

**Sample Size: 1200 Palestinians in the West Bank & Gaza  
Margin of error:  $\pm 3$**

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- **With support from the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI)**

## **One: Introduction**

This poll took place during the final days of fighting between the Executive Force of the Hamas-led government and the Helles clan in Gaza. The violence followed a number of explosions that took place in various locations in Gaza City, leading to the killing of 6 Palestinians, most of them from Hamas' military wing. The subsequent fighting led to the killing of 11 Palestinians, among them were two Hamas fighters and eight members of the Helles clan. AWRAD's field work had to be postponed during the early period of heavy fighting, as the movement in Gaza was highly restricted by Hamas. Some areas selected to be included in the poll were out of reach and dangerous. The reality on the ground in Gaza led to shifts in public opinion towards Hamas and Fateh at the same time, confirming the fact that both factions are losing in Gaza, most especially Hamas.

Moreover, months of discussions and negotiations have produced no visible progress on key issues of the conflict such as Jerusalem, refugees and borders. Furthermore, no signs of hope have followed the announcement of Prime Minister Ehud Olmert's resignation.

## **Two: Highlights**

This poll shows the following significant findings and trends:

- **President Abbas enjoys a 63% approval rate, 18 points higher than Haniya.**
- **The popularity of Haniya and Hamas in both the West Bank and Gaza declined immediately after the Helles neighborhood fighting.**
- **The positive evaluation of Haniya's government decreased from 55% to 46%.**
- **The positive evaluation of the Fayyad government increased from 46% to 55%.**
- **Intent of voting for Fateh increased from 47% to 53%; intent of voting for Hamas decreased from 37% to 29%.**
- **35% believe that Fateh is more capable in leading the Palestinian society; 17% believe that Hamas is more capable.**
- **Abbas, Fayyad, Marwan Bargouthi or Mustafa Bargouthi could defeat Haniya in a presidential election.**
- **93% of Gazans say that economic conditions in the Strip have worsened or have not improved.**
- **57% of Gazans feel that the security situation has deteriorated or stayed the same.**
- **59% of West Bank respondents believe that the security agencies are fighting crime more effectively now than before.**
- **65% say that they are witnessing less car theft now than before.**
- **74% support carrying out a legislative election now.**
- **92% experience no improvement in the quality of their lives after the Annapolis Meeting.**
- **64% believe that the current negotiations will not lead to a Palestinian state.**
- **Still, 63% support the continuation of negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis.**
- **61% believe that Hamas should continue to commit to the truce.**
- **52% support that Hamas prevents rockets attacks, while 42% are opposed.**

## **Three: Analysis of Results**

### **1. Hamas and the Truce:**

- Hamas has a truce agreement with Israel, and is negotiating through Egypt with Israel. Given these developments, a large percentage of Palestinians (46%) does not see any real differences between Fateh and Hamas and sees them both as the same.
- However, 27% of the Palestinians believe that there are differences between the two factions, and that Fateh is more loyal to the Palestinian cause. A larger percentage (30%) in Gaza thinks that Fateh is more loyal than Hamas, compared to 25% in the West Bank.
- 19% also believe that there is a difference between the factions, and believe that Hamas is more loyal than Fateh to the Palestinian cause.
- This comes at the same time as a majority of 61% believes that Hamas should continue its truce. Whereas, 30% oppose it.
- With the Truce Agreement, the majority of Palestinians (56%) believe that Hamas did not give up its armed struggle against Israel.
- In contrast, a large group (36%) of the respondents stated that Hamas had given up on armed struggle against Israel.
- Interestingly more respondents from Gaza (46%) believed that Hamas gave up its armed struggle against Israel, compared to 30% in West Bank.
- In terms of rocket attacks, the majority (52%) of the respondents believe that Hamas should prevent firing rockets from Gaza. Respondents in Gaza are more supportive of this (57%) than respondents in West Bank (50%).
- However, a large percentage (42%) opposes the idea of Hamas preventing the firing rockets from Gaza.

### **2. Conditions in Gaza under Hamas**

- The respondents were asked to state whether the general conditions in Gaza had improved or not under Hamas. Only 10% believe that conditions have improved after the Hamas take-over in Gaza. 12% believe that they have somewhat improved. In contrast, the majority (52%) believe that conditions in Gaza have worsened, and 26% believe that they have not improved.
- A much larger percentage of Gaza respondents state that the general conditions have worsened (58%) compared with West Bank respondents (49%).
- Gaza respondents were specifically asked to evaluate the economic situation. 81% of them said that the economic situation is deteriorating, and 12% see that there has been no change. In contrast, only 7% believe that economic conditions are improving.
- They were also asked to evaluate the security situation, where 42% said that it is less safe now than a year ago, and 15% see no difference. In comparison, 43% believe that it is safer now than before.
- As much as 46% of Gaza respondents think that the closure will be lifted within the coming few months. In contrast, 49% believe that it will continue.

### 3. Evaluation of Leaders and Government Institutions

#### President Abbas, Fayyad & Haniya

President Abbas received a 63% positive evaluation, compared with 59% for Fayyad and 55% for Haniya. In October 2007, Abbas received a 67% positive evaluation, Fayyad 66% and Haniya 55%.

#### Security agencies

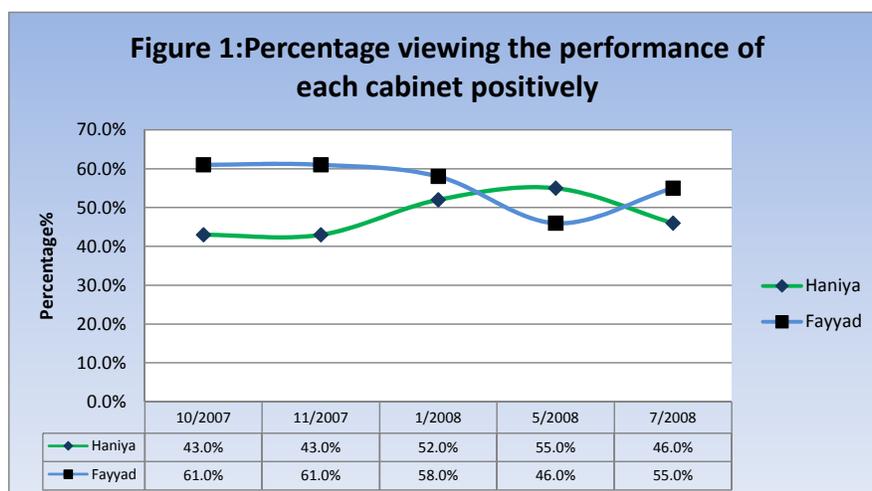
- 34% of the respondents evaluated the security agencies performance as good. At the same time 33% of the respondents evaluated their performance as weak.
- Another 28% stated that their performance is medium.

#### Courts

- As for the courts, 33% of the respondents evaluated their performance as weak. And 28% evaluated their performance as good.
- Respondents in Gaza gave lower positive points to the courts, where 46% evaluated the courts' performance as weak, compared to 25% in West Bank.

### 4. Haniya and Fayyad governments

- The respondents were asked to evaluate the performance of the Fayyad and the Haniya ministerial cabinets.
- The evaluation of the Fayyad cabinet is showing signs of recovery after a period of decline, going up from 46% last May to 55% now.
- In contrast, the evaluation of the Haniya cabinet is witnessing significant decline, from 55% last May to 46% now.
- The positive evaluation of the Fayyad cabinet is higher in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
- The percentage of those who evaluated the cabinet of Haniya negatively in Gaza has risen from 37% last May to 46% now. In contrast, the negative evaluation of the Fayyad cabinet decreased from 44% in May to 38% now.



The respondents were asked to evaluate the performance of each cabinet in different fields of interest. Generally, the Fayyad government does much better in most fields than Haniya's (with the exception of ending the occupation). Most respondents in most fields evaluate the performance of the Haniya government as weak.

**a- Economic conditions**

62% evaluate the performance of Haniya's government in improving the economic conditions as weak, compared to 42% who evaluate Fayyad's government in this field as weak.

**b- Providing services (electricity and water)**

47% evaluate the performance of Haniya's government in providing electricity and water as weak, compared to 32% who evaluate Fayyad's government in this field as weak.

**c- Providing health and education:**

44% evaluate the performance of Haniya's government in providing health and education services as weak, compared to 31% who evaluate Fayyad's government in this field as weak.

**d- Job opportunities:**

67% evaluate the performance of Haniya's government in providing job opportunities as weak, compared to 56% who evaluate Fayyad's government in this field as weak.

**e- Improving government institutions**

54% evaluate the performance of Haniya's government in improving the performance of government institutions as weak, compared to 40% who evaluate Fayyad's government in this field as weak.

**f- Achieving transparent financial accounting**

52% evaluate the performance of Haniya's government in achieving transparency as weak, compared to 45% who evaluate Fayyad's government in this field as weak.

**g- Providing security**

53% evaluate the performance of Haniya's government in providing security as weak, compared to 49% who evaluate Fayyad's government in this field as weak.

**h- Ending the occupation**

64% evaluate the performance of Haniya's government in coming closer to ending the occupation, compared to 67% who evaluate Fayyad's government in this field as weak.

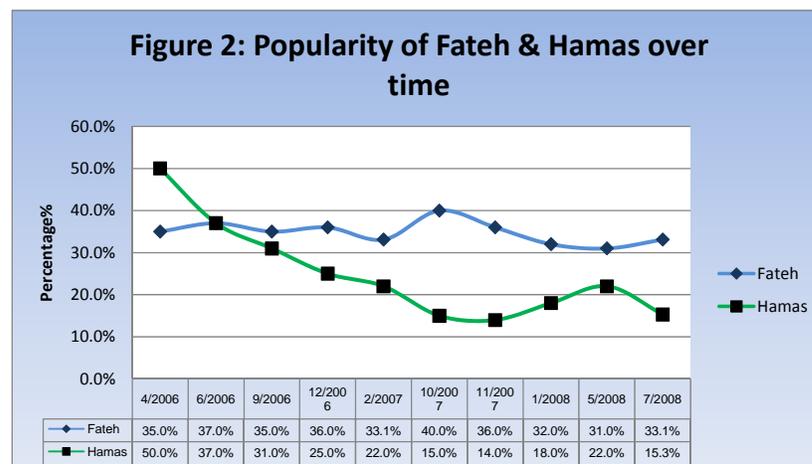
## 5. Support for Elections

- Palestinians are supportive of carrying out presidential and legislative elections as soon as possible.
- 72% of the respondents support carrying out a presidential election as soon as possible. Respondents in Gaza were more supportive (79%) than in West Bank (68%).
- 74% of the respondents support carrying out a legislative election as soon as possible. Only 21% are opposed.

## 6. Predicted voting for lists:

The following results assume that an election is based on national lists and the awarding of seats is according to proportional representation. It also assumes that the same lists that ran in 2006 will run again, in addition to Islamic Jihad and Hizb Tahreer.

- **The most significant finding is that 41% of the respondents declared that they are either undecided or will not vote in any upcoming legislative elections. More than anything else, it is their voting behavior that will determine the outcome of the elections.**
- The results of the poll show popularity among the public, which includes those who are undecided. Voting, however, is different as the votes of the undecided will influence the outcome. If the votes of the undecided and the apprehensive are distributed taking into consideration the possibility that the margin of error will be on the side of Hamas as it was during last elections (2006), the following results are predicted:
  - Fateh will receive 53% of the vote, a 6- point increase from the May 2008 poll.
  - Hamas will receive 29% of the vote, an 8- point decline from the last poll.
  - In Gaza, Fateh might receive 52% and Hamas might receive 35%.
  - In the West Bank, Fateh might receive 54% and Hamas might receive 25%.
  - Other Islamic groups might receive 3%, while all other democratic groups might receive 16%.
- Fateh is strongly favored among youth, whereas Hamas is losing support among them. Hamas still has wide support among women, yet Fateh is also competing strongly compared to previous polls.



## 7. Presidential elections

The poll presents a number of two-way and three-way races for a presidential election. The present poll shows an increase in support for President Abbas and Prime Minister Fayyad as presidential candidates. On the other hand, and compared to the May poll, Haniya is losing support. The following shows both predicted voting, as well as popularity among the public (including the undecided).

### Two - way races

#### **Mahmoud Abbas (60%) vs. Haniya (40%)**

The current poll shows a change in trend compared to the May poll, in which Haniya was competitive with President Abbas. According to the current results, Abbas wins over Haniya with a 12-point difference in terms of popularity (37% for Abbas and 25% for Haniya). 38% of the respondents are either undecided or say that they will not vote. **If the undecided are taken into consideration and proportionally divided among the two candidates, Abbas might receive 60% of the vote and Haniya 40%.**

#### **Ismail Haniya (30%) vs. Marwan Barghouthi (70%)**

Marwan is more popular (50%) than Haniya (21%). If the undecided (29%) are taken into consideration, Marwan might receive 70% and Haniya 30%.

#### **Fayyad (54%) vs. Haniya (46%)**

Fayyad is more popular (32%) than Haniya (27%). In the May poll, Haniya won over Fayyad with an 11-point difference. Now, Fayyad wins over Haniya, even in Gaza. In an election, Fayyad might receive 54% of the vote and Haniya 46%.

#### **Mustafa Barghouthi (60%) vs. Haniya (40%)**

Mustafa Barghouthi is more popular (37%) than Haniya (25%). They received equal support during the last May poll. In an election, Mustafa might receive 60% of the votes and Haniya 40%.

#### **Mustafa Barghouthi (44%) vs. Mahmoud Abbas (56%)**

Mahmoud Abbas is more popular than Mustafa Barghouthi with a 7-point difference. If elections were carried out today, Abbas might receive 56% of the votes and Mustafa 44% of the votes.

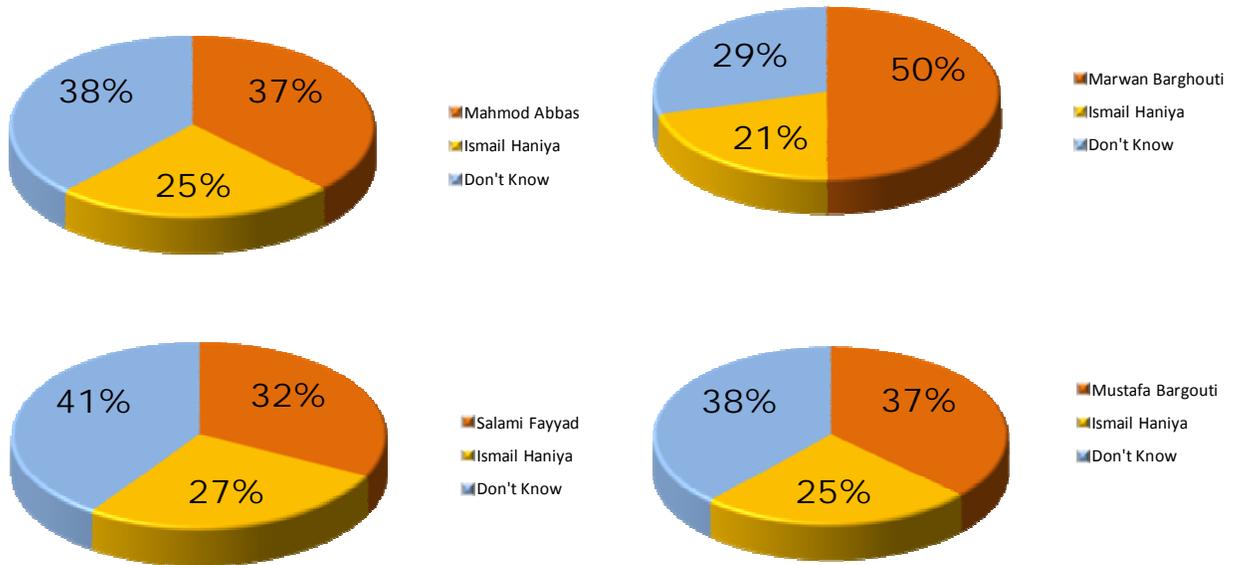
#### **Marwan Barghouthi (83%) vs. Fayyad (17%)**

Marwan Barghouthi is more popular than Fayyad. In a 2-way race for presidential elections Marwan might receive 83% and Fayyad 17%.

**Mustafa Barghouti (59%) vs. Fayyad (41%)**

Mustafa Barghouti is more popular (33%) than Fayyad (23%). Mustafa receives more votes in Gaza (38%) than in West Bank (30%). If elections were carried out Barghouti might receive 59% of the votes and Fayyad 41%.

**Figure 3: Popularity of presidential candidates (Two-way races)**



**Three - way races:**

**Mahmoud Abbas (45%) vs. Ismail Haniya (32%) vs. Mustafa Barghouti (23%)**

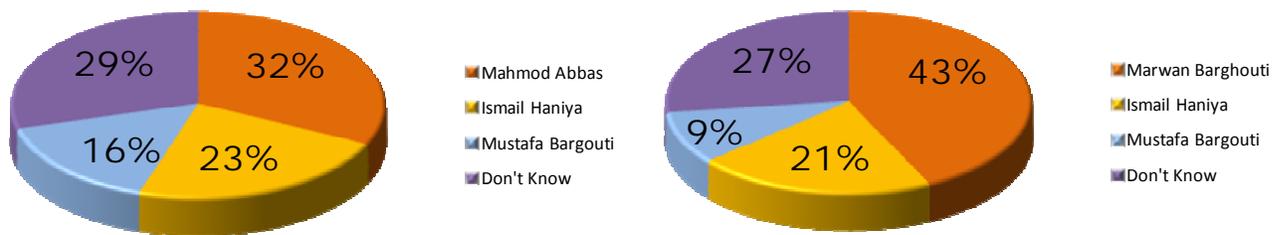
In a three-way race, Mahmoud Abbas wins over Haniya and Mustafa Barghouti. He receives 32% of the support followed by Haniya who receives 23% of the support and in third place is Mustafa Barghouti who receives 16% of the votes. **If the undecided were taken into consideration, Abbas might receive 45%, Haniya 32% and Mustafa 23%.**

**Marwan Barghouti (59%) vs. Ismail Haniya (29%) vs. Mustafa Barghouti (12%)**

Marwan Barghouti wins over Ismail Haniya and Mustafa Barghouti. Marwan receives (43%) of the support followed by Haniya who receives 21% and Mustafa Barghouti at (9%).

**If the undecided were taken into consideration, Marwan might receive 59%, Haniya 29% and Mustafa 12%.**

**Figure 4: Popularity of presidential candidates (Three-way races)**



## 8. Feeling of Security and Future Prospects

- 47% of the respondents said that they feel insecure for themselves, their families and possessions. In contrast, 27% confirmed that they feel secure and another 25% said that they feel secure to some extent.
- The feeling of insecurity is somewhat higher in the West Bank (49%) than in Gaza (42%).
- The results show that women and youth are less secure than men and older people.
- In a related matter, the majority of respondents (71%) believe that Palestinian society is heading in the wrong direction. Only 21% think that it is heading in the right direction.

## 9. Security Campaigns

The Palestinian Government has been engaged in security campaigns in various regions in the West Bank. The poll showed the following results in terms of its impact:

- 57% of the respondents in West Bank felt (to varying degrees) the impact of the security campaigns in their areas.
- In contrast, 41% of the West Bank respondents stated that they do not feel the impact.
- 53% of the respondents feel more secure or to some extent more secure now as compared to before the campaigns.
- However, 45% of them do not feel more secure now than before.
- The majority of the respondents (65%) see fewer stolen cars in the streets nowadays than before the security campaign.
- As for the illegal guns, a majority of the respondents (52%) witness fewer illegal guns in the streets than before.
- In general, the majority of respondents (59%) believe that the security agencies are fighting crime more effectively now than before. About 12% say that they are less effective now than before. About 22% say that they see no change yet.

- 37% of the respondents stated that they became more supportive of the Fayyad government as a result of the security campaign. 34% stated that their support did not change as a result. Another 20% stated that they became less supportive of the Fayyad government.

## **10. Peace Process:**

- Since the Annapolis conference in November 2007, Palestinians seem to be more pessimistic and ambivalent.
- 92% of the respondents say that they did not experience any improvement in their quality of life since Annapolis.
- The vast majority (91%) also did not notice any positive changes on the ground since the conference.
- Palestinians are pessimistic towards reaching a peace agreement in the next 12 months. Only 26% believe that Abbas will be able to negotiate a peace agreement in the next 12 months. About 64% believe the opposite is true.
- Against this pessimism, the majority (63%) of Palestinians still support the continuation of the negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis.
- In comparison, 34% of the Palestinians do not support the continuation of negotiations.
- Interestingly the vast majority of the respondents (76%) do not have any details about the issues discussed by the negotiators. And only 21% say that they know any details.
- At the same time, most of the respondents (64%) think that the current negotiations will not lead to a Palestinian state in West Bank and Gaza.
- Only 30% think that it will lead to a Palestinian state.

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## **Results of an Opinion Poll**

**(Tables)**

**Publication Date: 18 August 2008**

**Field work: 6-8 August 2008**

**Sample Size: 1200 Palestinians in the West Bank & Gaza**  
**Margin of error:  $\pm 3$**

## **Section One: Hamas and the Truce**

1. Now that Hamas has a truce agreement with Israel, and is negotiating through Egypt with Israel, do you see any real difference between Hamas and Fateh?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
No, they are both the same	45.9	46.4	45.1
Yes, Hamas is still more loyal to the Palestinian cause	18.6	16.1	22.8
Yes, Fateh is more loyal to the Palestinian cause	27.1	25.3	30.1
Don't know	8.4	12.2	2.0

2. Do you think that Hamas should continue to commit to the truce agreement?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	61.3	59.6	64.3
No	30.2	29.1	31.9
Don't know	8.5	11.3	3.8

3. Do you support or oppose that Hamas prevents firing rockets from the Gaza strip?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Support	52.2	49.5	56.8
Oppose	41.5	41.4	41.8
No opinion	6.3	9.2	1.3

4. 5. Do you believe that Hamas has given up on its armed struggle against Israel?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	35.9	29.8	46.2
No	55.7	58.0	51.8
Don't know	8.4	12.2	2.0

5. Have conditions in Gaza improved under Hamas?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Improved	10.2	9.8	10.7
Somewhat improved	11.8	11.4	12.3
Did not improve	26.1	30.2	19.2
Worsened	52.0	48.5	57.7

## **Section Two: The Government**

6. How do you evaluate the performance of the following institutions?

### President's Office

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Good	28.6	26.1	32.8
Medium	26.5	28.5	23.2
Weak	35.5	31.9	41.5
Don't know	9.4	13.6	2.5

**Ministerial cabinet headed by Salam Fayyad**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	27.8	23.7	34.6
Medium	27.3	29.0	24.3
Weak	35.4	33.6	38.4
Don't know	9.6	13.7	2.7

**Ministerial cabinet headed by Ismail Haniya**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	24.3	18.9	33.3
Medium	21.5	22.7	19.4
Weak	43.4	41.9	46.0
Don't know	10.8	16.5	1.3

**Security agencies**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	33.8	32.0	36.8
Medium	28.2	33.9	18.5
Weak	32.4	25.4	44.2
Don't know	5.6	8.6	0.4

**Courts**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	28.1	28.1	28.1
Medium	27.6	32.2	19.9
Weak	33.0	25.4	45.8
Don't know	11.3	14.4	6.3

**7. How do you evaluate the performance of the following personalities/leaders?****Mahmoud Abbas**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	34.0	31.9	37.5
Medium	28.8	31.4	24.6
Weak	34.0	31.8	37.7
Don't know	3.2	4.9	0.2

**Salam Fayyad**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	29.3	26.3	34.4
Medium	29.8	33.0	24.6
Weak	33.9	30.2	40.2
Don't know	6.9	10.5	0.9

**Ismail Haniya**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	31.0	24.7	41.5
Medium	23.7	26.2	19.4
Weak	38.9	39.1	38.6
Don't know	6.4	10.0	0.4

8. How do you evaluate the performance of the government led by Ismail Haniya in the following fields...?

**Improving economic conditions**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	11.3	10.2	13.2
Medium	19.6	20.9	17.4
Weak	62.3	58.0	69.4
Don't know	6.8	10.9	.0

**Providing services such as electricity and water**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	16.6	13.3	22.1
Medium	26.5	22.7	32.8
Weak	47.4	48.9	44.9
Don't know	9.5	15.0	0.2

**Providing health and education**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	22.1	18.1	28.8
Medium	25.2	23.9	27.2
Weak	44.3	44.4	44.0
Don't know	8.5	13.6	.0

**Providing job opportunities**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	7.0	5.5	9.6
Medium	15.4	15.4	15.4
Weak	68.7	65.5	74.1
Don't know	8.8	13.6	0.9

**Improving the performance of the government institutions**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	15.0	12.8	18.8
Medium	20.7	19.7	22.3
Weak	53.7	52.0	56.5
Don't know	10.7	15.6	2.5

**Achieving transparent financial accounting**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	18.6	15.3	24.1
Medium	18.4	18.1	19.0
Weak	52.2	50.7	54.7
Don't know	10.8	16.0	2.2

**Providing individual security**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	22.8	11.4	42.0
Medium	16.5	16.6	16.3
Weak	53.4	60.4	41.7
Don't know	7.3	11.6	.0

**Providing security for the community at large**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	19.8	9.0	37.9
Medium	17.3	17.0	17.6
Weak	55.8	62.5	44.4
Don't know	7.2	11.4	.0

**Coming closer to ending the occupation**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	14.3	9.2	22.8
Medium	12.4	10.2	16.1
Weak	64.4	67.2	59.8
Don't know	8.9	13.4	1.3

**9. How do you evaluate the performance of the government led by Salam Fayyad in the following fields...?****Improving economic conditions**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	23.9	18.5	32.9
Medium	29.6	33.0	23.9
Weak	41.9	41.5	42.5
Don't know	4.6	6.9	0.7

**Providing services such as electricity and water**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	28.9	28.1	30.4
Medium	33.1	35.9	28.3
Weak	31.8	27.4	39.3
Don't know	6.2	8.6	2.0

**Providing health and education**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	33.4	30.9	37.7
Medium	30.7	33.2	26.3
Weak	30.6	28.1	34.8
Don't know	5.3	7.8	1.1

**Providing job opportunities**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	14.7	10.8	21.2
Medium	23.7	25.3	21.0
Weak	56.5	56.3	56.9
Don't know	5.2	7.7	0.9

**Improving the performance of the government institutions**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Good	22.6	20.7	25.7
Medium	29.0	32.2	23.7
Weak	39.8	35.8	46.4
Don't know	8.7	11.3	4.2

### Achieving transparent financial accounting

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Good	21.5	15.4	31.8
Medium	25.3	27.5	21.5
Weak	45.0	44.9	45.0
Don't know	8.3	12.1	1.8

### Providing individual security

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Good	18.4	16.8	21.2
Medium	27.5	30.0	23.4
Weak	48.9	45.7	54.2
Don't know	5.2	7.6	1.1

### Providing security for the community at large

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Good	16.8	15.4	19.0
Medium	26.9	28.6	23.9
Weak	51.0	47.9	56.3
Don't know	5.3	8.0	0.9

### Coming closer to ending the occupation

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Good	10.1	8.3	13.2
Medium	16.6	14.1	20.8
Weak	66.7	68.2	64.3
Don't know	6.6	9.5	1.8

### 10. Do you think that Hamas or Fateh is more capable of leading the Palestinians out of the current crisis?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Hamas is more capable	16.9	14.4	21.2
Fateh is more capable	34.6	34.6	34.6
None of them is capable	41.6	41.9	41.1
Don't know	6.8	9.1	3.1

## **Section Three: Elections**

### 11. Do you support or oppose carrying out a presidential election as soon as possible?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Support	64.7	59.0	74.3
Support to an extent	7.6	9.2	4.9
Oppose to an extent	4.2	5.5	2.0
Oppose	18.9	19.8	17.4
Don't know	4.6	6.5	1.3

### 12. Do you support or oppose carrying out a legislative election as soon as possible?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Support	66.3	60.4	76.1
Support to an extent	7.8	10.5	3.1
Oppose to an extent	3.9	5.2	1.8
Oppose	17.4	17.3	17.6
Don't know	4.7	6.6	1.3

13. If PLC elections took place today, which one of the following groups/lists would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Al Badil	0.9	0.9	0.9
Independent Palestine	3.1	3.3	2.7
Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa	2.2	2.7	1.3
Martyr Abu Al Abbas	0.3	0.1	0.7
Freedom and Social Justice	0.9	1.2	0.4
Change and Reform ( Hamas)	15.3	12.1	20.5
National Coalition for Justice and Democracy	0.2	0.3	.0
Third Way	1.0	1.3	0.4
Freedom and Independence	0.3	0.1	0.4
Social Justice	0.3	0.3	0.2
Fateh	33.1	31.6	35.7
Islamic Jihad	0.8	0.4	1.3
Hizb Tahreer	0.6	0.9	.0
I have not decided yet	17.0	20.0	12.1
Will not vote	24.2	24.8	23.2

14. If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Marwan Bargouthi	54.9	50.3	62.5
Salam Fayad	10.9	10.5	11.6
I have not decided yet	11.3	14.8	5.6
Will not vote	22.9	24.4	20.3

15. If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Mahmoud Abbas	37.3	35.3	40.6
Ismail Haniya	24.9	21.0	31.3
I have not decided yet	12.0	14.9	7.1
Will not vote	25.9	28.8	21.0

16. If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Ismail Haniya	20.8	16.9	27.2
Marwan Bargouthi	50.0	48.7	52.0
I have not decided yet	10.3	12.6	6.3
Will not vote	19.0	21.7	14.5

17. If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Salam Fayad	32.4	29.7	36.8
Ismail Haniya	27.2	24.1	32.4
I have not decided yet	12.5	15.4	7.6
Will not vote	27.9	30.8	23.2

18. If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Mustafa Bargouthi	36.7	36.0	37.9
Ismail Haniya	24.6	20.2	31.9
I have not decided yet	13.2	15.3	9.6
Will not vote	25.5	28.5	20.5

19. If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Marwan Bargouthi	46.7	43.8	51.6
Mahmoud Abbas	19.8	17.6	23.7
I have not decided yet	10.3	13.7	4.7
Will not vote	23.1	24.9	20.1

20. If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Mustafa Bargouthi	32.9	30.1	37.5
Salam Fayyad	23.2	21.3	26.3
I have not decided yet	13.8	17.6	7.6
Will not vote	30.1	31.0	28.6

21. If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Mustafa Bargouthi	26.8	24.5	30.6
Mahmoud Abbas	33.8	31.6	37.5
I have not decided yet	11.6	14.7	6.5
Will not vote	27.8	29.2	25.4

22. If only the following THREE candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Mustafa Bargouthi	15.8	17.1	13.6
Mahmoud Abbas	32.1	30.3	35.0
Ismail Haniya	22.8	19.2	28.8
I have not decided yet	11.2	13.9	6.7
Will not vote	18.1	19.5	15.8

23. If only the following THREE candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Ismail Haniya	21.0	17.5	26.8
Mustafa Bargouthi	9.4	10.4	7.8
Marwan Bargouthi	43.2	41.6	46.0
I have not decided yet	10.1	13.1	5.1
Will not vote	16.3	17.5	14.3

24. Do you think that the Palestinian society is heading in the right or wrong direction?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Right direction	20.9	19.7	23.0
Wrong direction	71.0	69.5	73.4
Don't know/No opinion	8.1	10.8	3.6

**25. Do you feel secure about yourself, your family and property?**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Yes	27.3	18.9	41.3
To some extent	25.2	30.4	16.5
No	46.8	49.7	42.0
Don't know/No opinion	0.8	1.1	0.2

***Section Four: The Security campaigns***

The Palestinian Government had been engaged in a campaign in various regions in the West Bank (the following are questions specific to the West Bank respondents).

**26. Do you feel the impact of this campaign in your area?**

	<b>West Bank</b>
Yes	37.2
To some extent	19.7
No	41.0
Don't know/No opinion	2.1

**27. Do you feel more secure now than before the campaign started?**

	<b>West Bank</b>
Yes	27.6
To some extent	25.3
No	45.0
Don't know/No opinion	2.1

**28. Do you witness more or less stolen cars in the streets?**

	<b>West Bank</b>
More	19.4
Less	64.7
Don't know	15.8

**29. Do you witness more or less illegal guns in the streets?**

	<b>West Bank</b>
More	27.7
Less	52.9
Don't know	19.4

**30. Do you think that the security agencies are fighting crime more or less effectively these days?**

	<b>West Bank</b>
More effectively	58.7
Less effectively	11.6
Same as before	22.4
Don't know	7.3

**31. Does the security campaign make you more supportive or less supportive of the current government headed by Mr. Salam Fayyad?**

	<b>West Bank</b>
More supportive	37.3
Less supportive	20.0
Same as before	34.4
Don't know	8.3

### **Section Five: Gaza situation**

(The following are questions specific to Gaza respondents).

32. After over one year of a new authority in Gaza, do you feel safer than before?

	<b>Gaza</b>
Safer	42.9
No difference	15.4
Less Safe	41.7
Don't Know	42.9

33. Compared with one year ago, do you feel that the economic situation in Gaza is improving or deteriorating?

	<b>Gaza</b>
Improving	6.7
No change	12.1
Deteriorating	80.8
No Opinion	0.4

34. Do you have hope that the closure of Gaza will be lifted within the coming few months?

	<b>Gaza</b>
Yes	46.2
No	48.9
Don't know	4.9

### **Section Six : The Peace Process**

35. Have you experienced any improvement in your quality of life since the Annapolis conference?

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Yes	4.9	5.9	3.3
No	92.1	89.5	96.4
Don't know	3.0	4.7	0.2

36. Have you noticed any positive changes on the ground since the conference?

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Yes	5.8	7.1	3.6
No	90.6	87.2	96.2
Don't know	3.7	5.7	0.2

37. Do you have confidence that President Abbas will be able to negotiate a peace agreement during the next 12 months?

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Yes	25.6	19.3	36.2
No	64.0	66.1	60.5
Don't know	10.4	14.5	3.3

**38. Do you have any details about the issues being discussed by negotiators?**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Yes	21.1	20.8	21.7
No	75.6	74.7	77.2
Don't know	3.3	4.5	1.1

**39. Do you support the continuation of the negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis?**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Yes	62.7	59.7	67.8
No	34.4	35.7	32.2
Don't know	2.8	4.5	.0

**40. Do you think that the current negotiations will lead to a Palestinian state in West Bank and Gaza?**

	<b>Total (WB&amp;G)</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
Yes	30.0	25.1	38.2
No	63.7	66.0	59.8
Don't know	6.3	8.9	2.0

## Results of an Opinion Poll

(Sample Distribution)

Field work: 6-8 August 2008

Publication Date: 18 August 2008

Sample Size: 1200 Palestinians in the West Bank & Gaza

Margin of error:  $\pm 3$

Region	%	Type of locality	%	Refugee Status	%
West Bank	62.7	City	38.7	Refugee	43.5
Gaza Strip	37.3	Village- town	35.6	Non-refugee	56.5
Governorate	%	Camp	25.7	Sector	%
Jenin	5.3	Gender	%	Government	29.9
Tulkarm	4.0	Male	50	Private sector	46.7
Qalqilya	2.7	Female	50	NGOs & Other	23.4
Nablus	9.3	Marital status	%	Education	%
Salfit	1.3	Single	23.7	1 Up to 9 yrs	29.9
Tubas	2.7	Married	70.9	2 Secondary/Tawjihi (9-12 yrs)	37.6
Ramallah	8.0	Others	5.4	3 More than Tawjihi	32.4
Jerusalem	10.7	Age	%	Occupation	%
Jericho	1.3	18-30	39.7	Laborers	8.6
Bethlehem	2.7	31-50	41.8	Employees	14.4
Hebron	14.7	> 50	18.4	Farmers	1.2
Jabalya	6.7	Income	%	Merchants	4.1
Gaza City	13.3	Good or More	13.7	Professional	0.6
Deir al-Balah	5.3	Not Good, not Bad	53.1	Craftsman	3.8
Khan Younis	8.0			Students	13.5
Rafah	4.0	Weak	33.1	Housewives	38.1
				Not working	12.3
				Retired	2.7