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### Poll no. 68\_June 2009

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A public opinion poll conducted by Jerusalem Media & Communications Center

- \* Pessimistic feelings towards success of the national dialogue in Cairo*
- \* Performance of the security services shows improvement*
- \* Fayyad achieves progress*
- \* Fatah enjoys more support and Hanieh's popularity declines*
- \* Obama and his speech bring about positive climate*

The results of the public opinion poll conducted by Jerusalem Media & Communications Center shows that the Palestinian public is pessimistic regarding the success of the current national dialogue in Cairo between Fatah and Hamas Movements. A ratio of 52.1% of the respondents expect the dialogue to fail in achieving reconciliation compared with a ratio of 37% who said the opposite.

A majority of the respondents (26.5%) blames Israel for the failure of the dialogue while a ratio of 23.5% said Hamas is responsible for the failure of the dialogue and a ratio of 15.5% said Fatah is responsible for the deadlock.

The JMCC's public opinion poll conducted during the period 20-24 June, 2009, showed positive assessment of the performance of PM Salam Fayyad. A ratio of 30% said his performance is good while a ratio of 38.1% described his performance as average while 27.4% of the respondents said his performance is bad.

With regards to the formation of Fayyad's government in the West Bank, a ratio of 23.3% described it as a negative step that harms the Palestinian interests compared with a ratio of 35.8% who said it was a positive step while a ratio of 37.4% said the step wont make any difference.

Regarding the level of satisfaction with the performance of Fayyad's government, a ratio of 48.6% said they are satisfied or very satisfied while a ratio of 44.5% said they are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the performance of Fayyad's government. The same trend applies also to the economic performance of Fayyad's government. A ratio of 48.6% said they are satisfied or very satisfied compared with a ratio of 47.3% of the respondents who said they are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the economic performance of Fayyad's government.

On the performance of President Abbas, a ratio of 48.2% of the respondents said they are satisfied or very satisfied with his performance compared with a ratio of 49.4% who said they are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the performance of President Abbas.

With regards to the performance of the security services, it seems that there is some kind of satisfaction as a ratio of 48.6% of the respondents in the West Bank said the performance

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improved compared with a ratio of 18.9% said the performance of the security services worsened. The same trend could be noticed in assessing the performance of the security services in Gaza but to a lesser extent; a ratio of 44.4% said the performance improved compared with a ratio of 27.1% who said the opposite.

A ratio of 36.8% of the respondents in the West Bank said the performance of the security services is good compared with a ratio of 24.3% who said the performance is bad. In Gaza Strip, a ratio of 31.2% said the performance of the security services is good compared with a ratio of 30.8% who said the performance is bad.

Further proof on improvement of the performance of the security services can be seen in the rise of ratio of respondents who believe that the security services performance in the West Bank from 21.9% in June 2006 to 36.8% in June 2009; the same applies to Gaza Strip as the ratio also jumps from 25.3% in June 2006 to 31.2% in June 2009.

On the current debate in the Palestinian society on the work priority of the security services, a majority in the West Bank (55.8%) said their work is focused on maintaining internal order and security compared with a ratio of 36.3% who said the work of the security services is focused on preventing resistance activities against Israel.

The same applies to Gaza Strip; a ratio of 55.8% said the work of the security services is focused on maintaining internal order and security while a ratio of 36.2% said their work is focused on preventing resistance against Israel.

The poll tackled the issue of Fatah Sixth General Conference and the results showed that there is division inside Fatah Movement on the chances of holding the General Conference. A ratio of 26.6% of the respondents believes that Fatah will succeed in holding the Conference this summer while a ratio of 33.8% said Fatah will not succeed in holding the Conference. A ratio of 28% said Fatah will hold the Conference within an unidentified period in the future.

On the place of Fatah Conference, a majority (52.3%) believes that holding the Conference in the West Bank serves Fatah's interests while a ratio of 35.1% said the interests of Fatah stipulate holding the Conference abroad.

On the level of Palestinian support to the Palestinian political forces and factions, Fatah's popularity arose to 34.9% in June 2009 compared with a ratio of 26% in the January 2009 poll.

On the other hand, Hamas' popularity suffered a setback for the same period as the support ratio declined from a ratio of 27.7% in January 2009 to 18.8% in June 2009.

A ratio of 30.4% said they don't support any Palestinian faction.

The popularity of the Head of the discharged government in Gaza Ismail Hanieh also suffered a setback from 21.1% in January 2009 to 14.8% in June 2009.

In the meantime, the popularity of President Abbas for the same period moved up from 13.4% in January 2009 to 17.8% in June 2009. It is interesting to note that a ratio of 32.9% said they trust no Palestinian figure or leader.

When asked about the party they will vote for in case elections occur today, a ratio of 38.5% said they will vote for Fatah Movement while a ratio of 18.8% said they will vote for Hamas Movement and 5.6% for the PFLP. A ratio of 26.5% said they will not vote for anyone.

On the impact of the US Administration performance on the Palestinian public, a ratio of 40.8% said the United States dealing with the Middle East problems has improved since Obama took office compared with a ratio of 49.8% who said nothing has changed.

With regards to the speech of Obama to the Muslim societies, a ratio of 37.9% are more optimistic after the speech while a ratio of 48% said they don't feel any change.

A ratio of 31.8% said the United States is serious on its attempts to push Israel to stop expansion of settlements compared with a ratio of 60% who said the United States is not serious.

A ratio of 35.4% of the respondents said the policy of US President Obama will maximize the chances to reach a just peace between the Palestinians and Israelis compared with a ratio of 49.1% who said Obama's policy won't have any impact on the peace process.

Finally, the poll questions tackled the new Israeli government headed by Benjamin Netanyahu. A ratio of 61.1% of the respondents said Netanyahu's government will have

negative impact on the chances to achieve peace with the Palestinians while a ratio of 31.1% said Netanyahu's government will not have any impact on the peace process. A ratio of 7.6% said the government of Netanyahu will have positive impact on the chances to achieve peace.

## **Methodology:**

A random sample of 1199 people over the age of 18 was interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip between 20-24 June 2009. The interviews were conducted in randomly selected homes, and the subjects inside each home were also selected randomly according to Kish tables. The interviews were conducted in 60 sampling points chosen randomly according to population.

In the **West Bank** 760 people were surveyed from the following areas: **Hebron:** Hebron, Yatta, Halhoul, Sourif, Dura, Fawwar RC, Ithna, Assamou'. **Jenin:** Jenin, Jenin RC, Ya'bad, Al-Taybah, Zbouba, Al-Jalameh, Al-Jalabon, Qabatya, Al-Zababdeh. **Bethlehem:** Bethlehem, Biet Sahour, Al-Khader, Tqou', Hindaza, Dhaisheh RC. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** Ramallah, Al-Bireh, Der Ammar, Der Ammar RC, Sinjil, Turmos'ayya, Qarawa bani zed, Kufr Ein. **Jericho:** Jericho, Ein Sultan RC. **Jerusalem:** Abu Dis, Al-Ezarriyeh, Biddo, Qalandiya RC, Shufat, Old City, Biet Hanina, Biet Hanina tahta, Al-Issawiya, Wadi Al-Joz, Jabel Al-Mukaber, Sour Baher. **Nablus:** Nablus, Der Al-Hatab, Salem, Qousin, Sabastiya, Roujib, Balata RC, Howara, Ourif. **Tulkarem and Qalqilya:** Tulkarem, Nour Shams RC, Attil, Zeta, Qalqilia, Azzoun.

In the **Gaza Strip:** 439 people were surveyed from: **Gaza:** Shati RC, a-Shuja'ia, Attufah, Sheikh Radwan, a-Nasser, a-rimal a-Shamali, a-rimal, a-Janoubi, Sabra, A-Zeitoun. **Khan Younis:** Absan al-Saghira, Khan Yunis, Bani Suheila, Abasan al-Kabira, Khan Yunis RC. **Rafah:** Rafah, Rafah RC. **Gaza North:** Jabalia, Beit Lahia, Jabalia RC, Beit Hanoun. **Deir al-Balah:** Deir Al Balah, Nussirat RC, al-Maghazi RC.

The margin of error is  $\pm 3$  percent, with a confidence level of 95%.

### **Sample Distribution**

51.7 % of the respondents were from West Bank, 11.7 % from Jerusalem, 36.6 % from the Gaza Strip.

31.7% said they live in villages 15.0% in refugee camps, and 53.3 % in towns/cities.

50.8% were male, 49.2% were female.

64.5% were married, 28.9%, single, 2.6% widowed, 0.9% divorced, 3.1% no answer.

The average age of the respondents was 34 years.

### **Occupation of Respondents**

- Students 15.8%
- laborers 9.7%
- Farmers/fishermen 1.8%
- Craftsmen 0.8%
- Businessmen/private business 8.1%
- Public Sector Employees 13.7%
- Private Sector Employees 7.2%
- Professionals (e.g. doctors/lawyers/pharmacists/engineers) 1.0%
- Housewives 32.4%
- Unemployed 7.4%
- Retired 1.4 %
- No answer 0.7%.

**Results:**

**Q.1 In general, how optimistic or pessimistic do you feel towards the future? Would you say you are: very optimistic, optimistic, pessimistic, or very pessimistic**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1199</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=439</b>
Very optimistic	7.5	8.4	5.9
Optimistic	60.5	59.6	62.0
Pessimistic	23.5	23.4	23.7
Very Pessimistic	8.3	8.4	8.0
No answer	0.2	0.2	0.4

**Q.2 In general, how would you evaluate the performance of Prime Minister Dr. Salam Fayyad ? would you say: good, average, or bad**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1199</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n= 439</b>
Good	30.0	32.8	25.3
Average	38.1	36.3	41.2
Bad	27.4	25.3	31.0
Don't know	3.8	4.6	2.3
No answer	0.7	1.0	0.2

**Q.3 A new Palestinian government headed by Dr. Salam Fayyad has been formed recently. Do you consider the step of forming this government a positive step that serves the Palestinian interests or a negative step that harms the Palestinian interests? Or do you think the step does not make any difference?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1199</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=439</b>
A positive step that serves the Palestinian interests	35.8	38.4	31.2
A negative step that harms the Palestinian interests	23.3	20.3	28.5
A step that does not make any difference	37.4	37.2	37.8
Don't know	2.9	3.4	2.1
No answer	0.6	0.7	0.4

**Q.4. One month after the formation of the new government of Salam Fayyad, how satisfied are you regarding the performance of this new government in general? Would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1199</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n= 439</b>
Very satisfied	10.8	9.7	12.8
Satisfied	37.8	41.3	31.7
Dissatisfied	29.0	25.9	34.4
Very dissatisfied	15.5	15.0	16.4
Don't know	5.8	6.6	4.3
No answer	1.1	1.5	0.4

**Q.5 How satisfied are you regarding the performance of Salam Fayyad's government in the economic field? Would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1199</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n= 439</b>
Very satisfied	13.3	21.1	15.5
Satisfied	35.3	37.1	32.8
Dissatisfied	29.7	28.6	31.7
Very dissatisfied	17.4	18.2	16.2
Don't know	3.7	3.8	3.4
No answer	0.6	0.2	0.4

**Q.6 How satisfied are you regarding the performance of Salam Fayyad's government in the security field? Would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n=1199</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=439</b>
Very satisfied	13.3	12.6	14.6
Satisfied	36.4	41.4	27.6
Dissatisfied	29.1	26.4	33.7
Very dissatisfied	16.3	14.2	20.0
Don't know	4.3	4.7	3.6
No answer	0.6	0.7	0.5

**Q.7 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way President (Abu Mazen) is performing his job as a president of the PNA?**

	<b>Total n=1199</b>	<b>West Bank n=760</b>	<b>Gaza n= 439</b>
Very satisfied	18.8	16.2	23.2
Somewhat satisfied	29.4	31.2	26.4
Somewhat dissatisfied	15.5	15.5	15.5
Very dissatisfied	33.9	33.9	33.9
No answer	2.4	3.2	1.0

**Q.8 In general how would you evaluate the performance of the Security Services?**

	<b>Total n=1199</b>	<b>West Bank n=760</b>	<b>Gaza n= 439</b>
Good	34.8	36.8	31.2
Average	36.8	37.0	36.4
Bad	26.7	24.3	30.8
No answer	1.7	1.9	1.6

**Q. 9 Recently, do you think that the Palestinian Security Services have improved, became worse, or did not change in terms of order, security and law enforcement?**

	<b>Total n= 1199</b>	<b>West Bank n= 760</b>	<b>Gaza n= 439</b>
The performance of the Palestinian security services have improved	47.0	48.6	44.4
The performance of the Palestinian security services became worse	21.9	18.9	27.1
The performance of the Palestinian security services didn't change	28.3	30.3	24.8
Don't know	2.3	1.8	3.2
No answer	0.5	0.4	0.5

**Q.10 According to your assessment and observation, do you think that the priority of the security services in the West Bank\Gaza Strip\* is to maintain internal order and security for the Palestinian citizen or is it to prevent any resistance activities against Israel?**

	<b>Total n= 1199</b>	<b>West Bank n= 760</b>	<b>Gaza n= 439</b>
To maintain internal order and security for the Palestinian citizen	55.8	55.8	55.8
To prevent resistance activities against Israel	36.3	36.3	36.2
Don't know	6.3	5.9	7.1
No answer	1.6	2.0	0.9

- This question was asked in the West Bank about the Security services in the West Bank and in Gaza Strip about the security services in Gaza Strip

**Q11. If PLC elections were to take place today, which party would you vote for? Fatah, Hamas, Popular Front, National Initiative, Islamic Jihad, PPP, Democratic Front, or FIDA?**

	<b>Total</b> <b>n= 1199</b>	<b>West Bank</b> <b>n=760</b>	<b>Gaza</b> <b>n= 439</b>
Fatah	38.5	38.7	38.3
Hamas	18.8	13.9	27.3
Popular Front	5.6	5.8	5.2
Islamic Jihad	2.3	1.3	3.9
National Initiative	2.2	1.7	3.0
Democratic Front	1.0	1.3	0.5
PPP	0.8	1.3	0.0
FIDA	0.2	0.3	0.0
I won't vote	26.5	30.4	19.8
No answer	4.1	5.3	2.0

**Q12. Do you expect that the Palestinian internal dialogue sponsored by Cairo would succeed? Or do you think it would fail to achieve a national unity government?**

	<b>Total</b> <b>n= 1199</b>	<b>West Bank</b> <b>n= 760</b>	<b>Gaza</b> <b>n= 439</b>
The Palestinian internal dialogue will succeed	37.0	30.8	47.8
The Palestinian internal dialogue will fail	52.1	55.4	46.5
Don't know	9.3	11.4	5.7
No answer	1.6	2.4	0.0

**Q13. Which party do you think is responsible for the failure of the Palestinian internal dialogue so far? Hamas, Fatah, Israel, the Arab countries or other parties?**

	<b>Total</b> <b>n= 1199</b>	<b>West Bank</b> <b>n= 760</b>	<b>Gaza</b> <b>n= 439</b>
Israel	26.5	27.9	24.1
Hamas	23.5	22.5	25.3
Fatah	15.1	13.2	18.5
The Arab Countries	13.8	14.9	12.1
Hamas & Fatah *	7.4	5.4	10.9
All Parties *	2.7	2.6	2.7
Others	3.3	3.3	3.2
Don't know	5.8	8.0	1.8
No answer	1.9	2.2	1.4

\* These answers were not included as part of the options read to the interviewee



**Q.14 Some believe that a two-state formula is the favored solution for the Israeli –Palestinian conflict, while others believe that historic Palestine cannot be divided and thus the favored solution is a bi-national state on all of Palestine where Palestinians and Israelis enjoy equal representation and rights. Which of these solutions do you prefer?**

	<b>Total</b> <b>n= 1199</b>	<b>West Bank</b> <b>n= 760</b>	<b>Gaza</b> <b>n= 439</b>
<b>Two-state solution : an Israeli and a Palestinian</b>	55.2	55.4	54.9
<b>Bi-national state on all of historic Palestine</b>	20.6	23.9	14.8
<b>Palestinian State *</b>	10.8	6.6	18.2
<b>Islamic State *</b>	1.0	0.8	1.4
<b>Others</b>	0.3	0.3	0.2
<b>No solution</b>	9.3	10.0	8.2
<b>I don't know</b>	1.8	1.7	1.8
<b>No answer</b>	1.0	1.3	0.5

\* These answers were not included as part of the options read to the interviewee

**Q15. The General Conference of Fatah Movement has been postponed several times so far; do you expect that Fatah Movement would succeed in holding its general conference this coming summer? Or do you believe that Fatah would never succeed in holding its general conference? Or that it would succeed in holding its general conference within an unidentified period in the future?**

	<b>Total</b> <b>n= 1199</b>	<b>West Bank</b> <b>n= 760</b>	<b>Gaza</b> <b>n= 439</b>
Fatah Movement will succeed in holding its general conference this coming summer	26.6	25.7	28.2
Fatah Movement will never succeed in holding its general conference	33.8	33.3	34.6
Fatah Movement will succeed in holding its general conference within an unidentified period in the future	28.0	27.4	29.2
Don't know	9.8	11.2	7.3
No answer	1.8	2.4	0.7

**Q16. One of the points of disagreement that obstruct holding Fatah General Conference is the venue to host the conference; some members of Fatah want to hold it inside the West Bank while others want to hold it abroad; what do you think? Do you think that Fatah's interest is to hold the conference inside the West Bank or abroad?**

	<b>Total</b> <b>n= 1199</b>	<b>West Bank</b> <b>n= 760</b>	<b>Gaza</b> <b>n= 439</b>
Fatah's interest is to hold the conference inside the West Bank	52.3	55.8	46.2
Fatah's interest is to hold the conference abroad	35.1	30.9	42.4
Don't know	10.3	10.4	10.3
No answer	2.3	2.9	1.1

**Q.17 To what extent do you support the Arab Peace Initiative? Do you strongly support it, support it, oppose it, or strongly oppose it?**

	<b>Total n= 1199</b>	<b>West Bank n= 760</b>	<b>Gaza n= 439</b>
Strongly support	18.1	17.4	19.4
Somewhat support	51.3	52.8	48.7
Somewhat oppose	16.6	14.1	21.0
Strongly oppose	9.8	10.5	9.6
Don't know	3.7	5.0	1.3
No answer	0.5	0.2	0.0

**Q.18 Five months after Obama assumed his post as President of the United States, and according to your observation on the performance of the new US Administration towards the Middle East, do you think that there is improvement in the methods adopted by the United States in dealing with the Middle East problems? Or there is retreat? Or there is no change?**

	<b>Total n= 1199</b>	<b>West Bank n= 760</b>	<b>Gaza n= 439</b>
There is improvement in the United States dealing with the Middle East problems	40.6	42.0	38.3
There is retreat in the United States dealing with the Middle East problems	6.6	7.9	4.3
There is no change in the United States dealing with the Middle East problems	49.8	46.2	56.0
Don't know	2.8	3.6	1.4
No answer	0.2	0.3	0.0

**Q.19 United States President Obama delivered a speech in Cairo on June 4; did the speech make you feel more optimistic, more pessimistic, or it didn't change your ideas on the United States policies towards the Middle East?**

	<b>Total n= 1199</b>	<b>West Bank n= 760</b>	<b>Gaza n= 439</b>
More optimistic	37.9	39.2	35.5
More pessimistic	9.5	10.4	8.0
It didn't change my opinion on the United States policy towards the Middle East	48.0	43.9	54.9
Don't know	4.5	6.2	1.6
No answer	0.1	0.3	0.0

**Q20. News reports talk about American-Israeli disagreement on the Israeli settlement activities; do you think that the United States is serious on its attempts to force Israel to halt settlement expansion in the West Bank, including Jerusalem? Or do you think that the United States is not serious?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1199</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n= 439</b>
The United States is serious	31.8	33.4	28.9
The United States is not serious	60.0	56.6	65.8
Don't know	7.7	9.2	5.0
No answer	0.5	0.8	0.3

**Q21. Do you think that the policy of the new US President Obama will increase or reduce the chances of reaching a just peace between the Palestinians and Israelis? Or that his policies won't make any difference?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1199</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n= 439</b>
It will increase the chances	35.4	36.3	33.9
It will reduce the chances	11.5	12.1	10.5
It won't make any difference	49.1	46.8	53.1
Don't know	3.2	3.9	1.8
No answer	0.8	0.9	0.7

**Q22. Four months after the formation of the Likud Government headed by Netanyahu, do you think that the presence of this government has positive impact on the chances of achieving peace with the Arabs and Palestinians? Or does it have negative impact? Or it has no impact whatsoever?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1199</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n= 439</b>
It has positive impact on the chances of achieving peace with the Arabs and Palestinians	7.6	7.9	7.1
It has negative impact on the chances of achieving peace with the Arabs and Palestinians	61.1	62.2	59.2
It has no impact whatsoever on the chances of achieving peace with the Arabs and Palestinians	31.1	29.6	33.7
No answer	0.2	0.3	0.0

**Q23. Which Palestinian political or religious faction do you trust the most?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n=1199</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n= 439</b>
<b>Fatah</b>	34.9	35.1	34.6
<b>Hamas</b>	18.8	14.1	26.9
<b>PFLP</b>	4.4	4.6	4.1
<b>Islamic Jihad</b>	2.8	1.7	4.8
<b>Other Islamic Factions</b>	0.8	1.3	0.0
<b>Others</b>	2.4	3.6	0.5
<b>Don't trust anyone</b>	30.4	32.9	26.2
<b>No answer</b>	5.5	6.7	2.9

\* These answers were not included as part of the options read to the interviewee

**Q24. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1199</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n= 439</b>
<b>Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)</b>	17.8	16.8	19.4
<b>Ismaeel Haniyeh</b>	14.8	9.2	24.4
<b>Marwan Barghouthi</b>	8.5	8.7	8.2
<b>Salam Fayyad</b>	4.2	5.3	2.3
<b>Mustafa Barghouthi</b>	2.7	2.9	2.3
<b>Ahmad Sa'adat</b>	2.6	2.4	3.0
<b>Mohamad Dahlan</b>	2.5	0.1	6.6
<b>Khaled Mish'al</b>	2.0	2.0	2.1
<b>Ramadan Shalah</b>	1.2	0.5	2.3
<b>Others</b>	5.1	5.0	5.2
<b>Don't trust anyone</b>	32.9	39.5	21.6
<b>No answer</b>	5.7	7.6	2.6

\* These answers were not included as part of the options read to the interviewee