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Poll no. 75_November 2011

A public opinion poll conducted by the Jerusalem Media & Communications Centre

Majority satisfied with halt of negotiations and UN bid
Consistency in popularity of parties and Palestinian figures
Majority views Quartet as biased towards Israel, and assessment of Obama's policy at its lowest
Majority supports perpetuation of Palestinian Authority, and sees rockets harmful

Ramallah (JMCC) – A public opinion poll conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communications Centre showed that the majority of respondents (51.2%) said they were satisfied with the decision of the Palestinian leadership to halt negotiations and resort to the United Nations while 15.1% said they were dissatisfied. In response to a question on how the Palestinian leadership's UN bid affected their position towards Fatah, almost half of the respondents (46.5%) said they were affected positively while 11.8% said they were affected negatively and 37.1% said they were affected neither positively nor negatively.

Meanwhile, regarding the recent prisoner exchange between Hamas and Israel the majority of respondents (85.6%) said they considered the prisoner swap good while 4.1% said it was bad. The prisoner exchange positively affected the position of the majority of respondents (58.1%) towards Hamas while it negatively impacted the position of a limited number of respondents (3.8%). For 36.3% of respondents, the prisoner exchange neither positively nor negatively affected their position towards Hamas.

Consistency in popularity of factions and parties

The poll showed that the balance of powers between Fatah and Hamas remained the same, with 39.6% of respondents saying they trusted Fatah more compared to (39.2%) in a poll conducted June 2011. Furthermore, 18.6% of respondents said they trusted Hamas compared to 16.6% in the June 2011 poll, that is before the UN bid and the prisoner exchange deal.

As for public figures, 25.5% of respondents said they trusted President Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) more than others compared to 22.2% of the respondents in the June 2011 poll. The same applied for Ismail Haniyeh where 13.9% of respondents in this poll said they trusted him more in comparison with 13.6% of respondents in the June poll.

Majority supports perpetuation of PA

Regarding the future and role of the Palestinian Authority, the majority of respondents (65.8%) said it was necessary to perpetuate and maintain the PA while 22.2% said it should be dissolved. In response to the question about the role of the PA and who it serves more, the majority of respondents (62.7%) said it serves the interests of the Palestinian people while 24.6% said it serves the interests of Israel.

The Quartet is biased and its role is negative

The poll showed the public's negative assessment of the Quartet committee's role. A plurality of respondents (41.6%) said it played a negative role in the peace process while (15.9%) said it played a positive role. Furthermore, (63.5%) of respondents said the Quartet was biased towards Israel while (5.7%) said it was biased towards the Palestinians.

Obama's policy at its lowest

The poll showed that the Palestinians' assessment of US President Barack Obama's policy is still in continuous retreat and has reached its lowest point; 4.9% of respondents said Obama's policy would increase the chances for achieving peace after it had been 9.9% in April 2010, 23.7% in October 2009 and 35.4% in June 2009.

Popularity of armed resistance drops

The poll showed an ongoing drop in the public's support of violent resistance. The majority of respondents (56.3%) opposed the resumption of military operations against Israeli targets compared to 45.5% in April 2008. Furthermore, the percentage of supporters of military operations dropped to 29.3% in this poll after it was 49.5% in April 2008. The same trend was found regarding rockets fired from the Gaza Strip, where there was an increase in the percentage of respondents who found them harmful (40.8%) in this poll after it was 35.7% in April 2008.

Differences between Gaza and West Bank in support for perpetuation of the PA, government and rockets

The poll showed similar opinions between the West Bank and Gaza regarding general political issues and balances of power. However, there were discrepancies in three areas: the performance of the government, the armed resistance and the future of the PA. A plurality of (44.7%) of respondents in the West Bank said the performance of the Fayyad government had improved while 28.7% of respondents in the Gaza Strip said the same thing.

The poll also showed that the percentage of those surveyed in Gaza (71.1%) who want the PA to remain is higher than the percentage in the West Bank (62.7%). Furthermore, 58.8% of respondents in the West Bank said the PA serves the interests of the people while 69.3% said the same thing in Gaza. Also, the poll found that 24.8% of those surveyed in the West Bank said that economic conditions have improved under Haniyah's government compared with 14.9% who said this in the Gaza Strip.

It is noteworthy that, regarding the question about the harmfulness of rockets, 38.9% of respondents in the West Bank said they were harmful compared to 44% in the Gaza Strip.

Methodology:

A random sample of 1200 people over the age of 18 was interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip between 17th and 20th of November and 2011. 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 130 sampling points chosen randomly according to population.

In the **West Bank** 750 people were surveyed from the following areas: **Hebron:** Hebron, as-samu', Yatta, Beit Ula, Sa'ir, ad-dhahiriya, Deir Samit, Idhna, Khursa, al-Rihiyeh, al-Fawwar Refugee Camp. **Jenin:** Qabatiya, Jaba', Jenin, Meithalun, Ya'bad, Ajja, Deir Abu Da'if, Jenin Refugee Camp. **Tubas :** Aqqaba, Wadi al Far'a. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** Beit Liqya, al-Itihad, al-Bireh, Ramallah, Beit 'ur at-tahta, Turmus'ayya, Kafr 'Ein, al-Zaytouneh, Bet Sira, Deir 'Ammar Refugee Camp. **Jericho:** Jericho, al-Nuwei'ma. **Jerusalem :** Al-Ram, al-Dahyeh, Biddo, Beit Ikssa, Beit Hanina, Shu'fat, Old City, Silwan, Ras -Al Amoud, Shu'fat Refugee Camp. **Bethlehem:** Tuqu', Beit Fajjar, al-Khader, Bethlehem, Irtas, Ayda Refugee Camp. **Nablus:** Nablus, Qabalan, Zawata, Madama, Majdal Bani Fadil, Qaryut, Ein Beit el ma Refugee Camp. **Salfit :** Bidyaa, Bruqin. **Tulkarem:** Beit Lid, Qoffin, Kafr al Labad, Nazlat 'Issa. **Qalqilya:** Qalqilia, al-Funduq.

In the **Gaza Strip** 450 people were surveyed from: **Gaza:** al-Rimal a-Shamali, a-Rimal a-Janoubi, a-Zeitoun, a-Shuja'ia, a-Tufah, a-Daraj, a-Naser, a-Sheikh Radwan, a-sheikh Ajleen, Tal al-Hawa, al-Mughraga, Shati RC. **Khan Younis:** Khan Younis, Absan al-Kabira, Bani Suheila, al-Qarara, Khuza', Khan Younis RC. **Rafah:** Rafah, Shouket a-Soufi, Rafah RC. **Gaza North:** Jabalia, Beit Lahia, Jabalia RC, Beit Hanoun. **Deir al-Balah:** Deir al-Balah, Buriq, -Zawaydeh, Nussirat, al-Maghazi RC, Bureij RC, Deir al-Balah RC.

The margin of error is ± 3 percent, with a confidence level of 95%.

Sample Distribution

52.5% of the respondents were from the West Bank, 10.0 % from Jerusalem, 37.5 % from the Gaza Strip.

16.7% said they live in villages, 8.8% in refugee camps, and 74.5 % in towns/cities.

50.3% were male, 49.7 % were female.

69.5% were married, 26.3%, single, 2.8 % widowed, 1.1% divorced, 0.3% no answer.

The average age of the respondents was 36% years.

Occupation of Respondents

- Students 13.4 %
- Laborers 12.6%
- Housewives 35.8%
- Farmers/fishermen 1.8 %
- Craftsmen 0.5%
- Businessmen/private business 7.5%
- Public Sector Employees 12.3 %
- Private Sector Employees 6.3%
- Professionals (e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers) 0.6 %
- Unemployed 7.2%
- Retired 1.6 %,
- No answer 0.4%.

Results:

Q1. To what extent do you feel optimistic or pessimistic regarding the future in general? Would you say that you are very optimistic, optimistic, pessimistic, or very pessimistic?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Very optimistic	9.2	8.4	10.4
Optimistic	64.2	60.9	69.6
Pessimistic	20.4	21.6	18.4
Very Pessimistic	5.8	8.5	1.3
No answer	0.4	0.6	0.3

Q2. How optimistic or pessimistic are you towards reaching a peaceful settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict? Would you say that you are very optimistic, optimistic, pessimistic, or very pessimistic?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Very optimistic	4.5	3.7	5.8
Optimistic	43.7	41.3	47.6
Pessimistic	31.3	30.7	32.2
Very Pessimistic	17.9	20.1	14.2
Don't know \ No answer	2.6	4.2	0.2

Q3. In general, how do you feel about the Palestinian-Israeli peace process? Would you say that you strongly support, somewhat support, neither support nor oppose, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
Strongly support	15.2	15.3	14.9
Somewhat support	41.6	42.7	39.8
Neither support nor oppose	21.7	21.5	22.0
Somewhat oppose	11.5	11.5	11.6
Strongly oppose	8.3	6.7	11.1
No answer	1.7	2.3	0.6

Q4. Under the current conditions, some believe that the peace process is dead and there is no chance of resuming the negotiations, while others see that the peace process is passing through difficult times with an uncertain future, and a third group believes that the peace process is still alive and there is a possibility of resuming negotiations. What do you think?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
The peace process is dead and there is no chance of resuming the negotiations	29.1	28.4	30.2
The peace process is passing through difficult times with an uncertain future	44.9	46.3	42.7
The peace process is still alive and there is a possibility of resuming negotiations	20.5	19.6	22.0
Don't know \ No answer	5.5	5.7	5.1

Q5. Some believe that a two-state formula is the favored solution for the Arab-Israeli 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?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
Two-state solution : an Israeli and a Palestinian	52.3	54.5	48.4
Bi-national state on all of historic Palestine	22.3	25.5	16.9
Palestinian State *	9.6	6.4	14.9
Islamic State *	1.3	1.3	1.1
Others	0.3	0.4	0.2
No solution	10.9	8.1	15.6
I don't know	3.3	3.8	2.9

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

Q6. What do you think of the Quartet Committees' role in the peace process between the Palestinian and Israelis? Do you think it is a positive role, neither positive nor negative role or a negative role?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
Positive	15.9	15.9	16.0
Neither positive nor negative	28.8	30.7	25.8
Negative	41.6	36.4	50.2
Don't know	13.4	16.7	8.0
No answer	0.3	0.3	0.0

Q7. What do you think of the Quartet Committees' position towards Israeli-Palestinian relations? Do you think it is neutral, more biased towards the Palestinians or more biased towards the Israelis?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Neutral	17.3	17.2	17.6
More biased towards Palestinians	5.7	6.0	5.1
More biased towards Israelis	63.5	59.7	69.8
Don't know	13.3	16.8	7.3
No answer	0.2	0.3	0.2

Q8. In general, do you think the performance of the current government headed by Salam Fayyad is better when compared to previous governments? Didn't change? Or become worse?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
It's performance has become better	38.7	44.7	28.7
Didn't change	36.8	36.3	37.8
It's performance has become worse	19.8	13.6	30.0
Don't know \ No answer	4.7	5.4	3.5

Q9. In general, under the current government headed by Fayyad, do you think that the percentage of corruption has increased, decreased, or has not changed at all?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Percentage of corruption has increased	25.1	24.4	26.2
Percentage of corruption has decreased	39.9	42.5	35.6
Percentage of corruption has not changed	31.0	28.8	34.7
No answer	4.0	4.3	3.5

Q10. In general, under the current government headed by Fayyad, do you believe that the economic conditions in the West Bank have improved, deteriorated, or have not changed at all?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
The economic conditions have improved	34.9	34.5	35.6
The economic conditions have deteriorated	30.0	30.4	29.3
The economic conditions didn't change at all	30.6	32.0	28.2
Don't know	4.2	2.7	6.7
No answer	0.3	0.4	0.2

Q11. In general, under the current government headed by Ismael Haniyeh, do you believe that the economic conditions in Gaza have improved, deteriorated, or have not changed at all?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
The economic conditions have improved	21.1	24.8	14.9
The economic conditions have deteriorated	41.5	29.7	61.1
The economic conditions didn't change at all	24.8	25.7	23.3
Don't know	12.2	19.2	0.4
No answer	0.4	0.6	0.3

Q12. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied about the way that Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) is dealing with his job as a president to the Palestinian National Authority?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Very satisfied	23.5	24.3	22.2
Somewhat satisfied	32.0	34.1	28.4
Somewhat dissatisfied	17.3	15.2	20.7
Very dissatisfied	22.3	19.7	26.4
No answer	4.9	6.7	2.3

Q13. In general, how do you evaluate the performance of the PNA? Would you say it's performance is very good, good, bad or very bad?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Very good	14.3	15.6	12.2
Good	53.3	54.5	51.3
Bad	22.6	22.4	22.9
Very bad	7.9	4.7	13.3
No answer	1.9	2.8	0.3

Q14. Do you think that there is corruption in the PNA?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
Yes	75.8	77.3	73.3
No	14.2	12.9	16.2
Don't know	9.2	8.5	10.2
No answer	0.8	1.3	0.3

Q15. There is a debate on the future of the PNA whereby some people believe that dissolving the PNA is necessary now while others believe that the perpetuation of the PNA and maintaining it is a necessity. What do you think?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
Dissolving the PNA is necessary	22.2	23.2	20.4
Perpetuating and maintaining the PNA is a necessity	65.8	62.7	71.1
Don't know	10.8	12.4	8.2
No answer	1.2	1.7	0.3

Q16. There is a debate among the Palestinian circles on the evaluation of the role of the PNA and whom does it serve more. Some people think it serves the interests of Israel more than it does to the Palestinian people's interests, while others believe that it serves the Palestinian people's interests more. What do you think?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
The PNA serves the interests of Israel more than it does to the Palestinian people's interests	24.6	27.2	20.2
The PNA serves the Palestinian people's interests more	62.7	58.8	69.3
Don't know	11.5	12.4	10.0
No answer	1.2	1.6	0.5

Q17. The Palestinian leadership has recently ceased its participation in bilateral negotiations with Israel and it has turned to the UN. To what extent are you satisfied with this matter? Would you say that you are: satisfied, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, or you are dissatisfied?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
Satisfied	51.2	55.3	44.2
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	27.5	25.7	30.4
Dissatisfied	15.1	12.1	20.0
Don't know \No answer	6.2	6.9	5.4

Q18. What is the impact of the Palestinian leadership's approach to the UN on you stance towards Fatah Movement. Is the impact positive, negative, or neither positive nor negative?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Positive impact	46.5	48.0	44.0
Negative impact	11.8	9.9	15.1
Neither positive nor negative	37.1	37.2	36.9
Don't know \No answer	4.6	4.9	4.0

Q19. A prisoner's swap deal was implemented recently between Israel and Hamas Movement. What is your opinion on this deal? Would you say it is:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
A very good deal	53.8	56.9	48.7
A good deal	31.8	30.4	34.0
A mediocre deal	9.7	8.8	11.1
A bad deal	2.8	2.4	3.3
A very bad deal	1.3	1.1	1.6
Don't know \ No answer	0.6	0.4	1.3

Q20. What is the impact of the prisoner's swap deal on your stance towards Hamas Movement? Is the impact positive, negative, or neither positive nor negative?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Positive impact	58.1	59.2	56.2
Negative impact	3.8	3.2	4.7
Neither positive nor negative	36.3	35.5	37.6
Don't know \ No answer	1.8	2.1	1.5

Q21. If presidential elections were held today, with Ismael Haniyeh and Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) as the only candidates running the elections, for which one of them would you vote?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)	44.2	44.0	44.4
Ismael Haniyeh	23.2	20.8	27.1
Don't know	22.9	23.6	21.8
No answer	9.7	11.6	6.7

Q22. If PLC elections were to take place today, which party would you vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Hammas	21.7	20.0	24.4
Fatah	42.4	43.7	40.2
Other factions	3.9	4.0	3.8
PFLP	2.5	2.3	2.9
Independence	1.8	1.3	2.7
Won't vote	22.0	21.7	22.4
No answer	5.7	7.0	3.6

Q23. Do you support the continuation of military operations against Israeli targets as an appropriate response under current political conditions or do you oppose them and believe they harm Palestinian national interests?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
An appropriate response under current political conditions	29.3	23.6	38.9
Oppose them and believe they harm Palestinian national interests	56.3	61.3	47.8
Don't know	11.3	11.9	10.4
No answer	3.1	3.2	2.9

Q24. When making up your mind whether to support or oppose the military operations, did the following influence your decision?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
1- The economic situation			
Yes	72.2	71.1	74.0
No	19.2	18.8	19.8
Don't know	6.3	7.3	4.4
No answer	2.3	2.8	1.8

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
2- The political situation			
Yes	72.9	74.8	69.8
No	18.0	14.7	23.6
Don't know	6.6	7.7	4.7
No answer	2.5	2.8	1.9

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
3- Moral considerations			
Yes	63.2	64.9	60.2
No	26.8	23.9	31.6
Don't know	7.5	8.3	6.2
No answer	2.5	2.9	2.0

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
4- Their results			
Yes	61.4	63.5	58.0
No	28.7	25.3	34.2
Don't know	7.2	8.1	5.8
No answer	2.7	3.1	2.0

5- Religious considerations	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Yes	53.7	52.9	54.9
No	36.3	36.6	36.4
Don't know	6.9	7.7	5.6
No answer	3.1	2.8	3.1

Q25. To what extent do you support or oppose the possibility of an Israeli military strike on Iran? Do you support it? Neither support nor oppose it? Or oppose it?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
I support	9.3	6.3	14.2
I neither support nor oppose	22.3	17.1	30.9
I oppose	61.8	69.1	49.6
Don't know \ No answer	6.6	7.5	5.3

Q26. Do you think that the locally-made rockets fired from Gaza Strip towards Israeli regions help, harm or don't make any difference with regards to the Palestinian goals?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Help	27.0	25.5	29.6
Harm	40.8	38.9	44.0
Don't make any difference	26.3	29.5	20.9
Don't know \ No answer	5.9	6.1	5.5

Q27. Do you think that the Policy of the 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?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
It will increase the chances	4.9	6.1	2.9
It will reduce the chances	43.8	39.1	51.8
It won't make any difference	45.9	48.0	42.4
Don't know \ No answer	5.4	6.8	2.9

Q28. Is religion an important part of your life?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Yes	94.1	94.4	93.6
No	5.4	5.2	5.8
No answer	0.5	0.4	0.6

Q29. Have you performed Al Umra (a pilgrimage to Mecca performed by Muslims that can be undertaken at any time of the year)?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Yes	26.0	28.9	21.1
No	73.7	70.7	78.7
No answer	0.3	0.4	0.2

Q30. Did you fast during the month of Ramadan?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
Most of the days or all of the days	93.5	91.6	96.7
A few days	3.8	4.8	2.0
I did not fast	2.0	2.5	1.1
No answer	0.7	1.1	0.2

Q31. During the month of Ramadan, did you perform all religious prayers?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
I prayed all days	82.6	78.4	89.6
I prayed only on Fridays	9.2	12.4	3.8
I didn't pray	7.4	8.0	6.4
No answer	0.8	1.2	0.2

Q32. Do you support having multiple wives?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
Yes	28.1	27.3	29.3
No	70.6	71.2	69.6
I don't know \ No answer	1.3	1.5	1.1

Q33. Do you think that the Palestinian Personal Law must be based on the principles of Islamic Sharia or on the Civil Law?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
The Islamic Sharia	50.2	54.8	42.4
The Civil Law	15.2	13.5	18.0
Both	33.7	30.4	39.1
Don't know \ No answer	0.9	1.3	0.5

Q34. Which political or religious faction do you trust the most?*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n=450
Fatah	39.6	40.1	38.7
Hammas	18.6	16.4	22.2
PFLP	2.7	2.0	3.8
Islamic Jihad	1.4	0.9	2.2
Other Islamic factions	1.4	0.9	2.2
Others	3.3	3.6	2.9
Don't trust any one	27.9	29.2	25.8
No answer	5.1	6.9	2.2

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

Q35. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n= 450
Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)	25.5	26.8	23.3
Ismael Haniyeh	13.9	10.8	19.1
Marwan Barghouthi	4.3	4.4	4.0
Salam Fayyad	2.9	3.9	1.3
Khaled Misha'l	2.3	2.3	2.4
Others	13.5	11.4	16.9
Don't trust any one	30.8	31.6	29.6
No answer	6.8	8.8	3.4

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