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Poll no. 62 16 – 20 August 2007

A public opinion poll conducted by Jerusalem Media & Communications Center

- * If elections were to happen today, 20.6% would vote for President Abbas while 18.8% would vote for Ismaeel Hanieh***
- * As part of the final status solution, 93.5% oppose giving Israel any jurisdictions in the area of al-Aqsa Mosque and 81.9% oppose allowing Israel to keep the major settlement blocs in the West Bank while 67.2% oppose declaring parts of East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian state***
- * 68.5% support return of all refugees to their original homeland***
- * Dialogue between the Palestinian factions is the most preferred solution to end the current internal crisis***

* In the first public opinion poll conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communications Center (JMCC) following Hamas control over the Gaza Strip, results shows that a majority of the Palestinian public (46.7%) generally believes that the situation in the Gaza Strip worsened following Hamas control over Gaza Strip compared with a ratio of 27.1% who think that the situation improved.

* On the other hand, a slight majority (35.4%) think that the situation in the West Bank improved after the formation of Fayyad's government compared with 27.9% who think the situation worsened after the formation of Fayyad's government.

* However, the majority of the respondents in the Gaza Strip (43.6%) said their feeling of security after Hamas control has improved when compared with the past, compared with 31.5% who believe the opposite.

* In general, the ratio of those who blame Hamas for the internal fighting in Gaza is higher (43.5%) than those who blame the Fatah Movement for the internal fighting (28.4%) while a ratio of 17.5% blame both Fatah and Hamas.

* A majority of the respondents (38.3%) said signs of chaos and absence of the rule of the law decreased during the new government of Fayyad compared with a ratio of 23.0% who think that security chaos increased. The remaining ratio (34.4%) believes they have not noticed any change in the security conditions under the new government of Fayyad.

* When asked a specific and direct question comparing the performance of the Fayyad government in the West Bank and the discharged government of Hanieh in the Gaza Strip, a majority (46.5%) said the performance of Fayyad's government is better and only 24.4% said the performance of Fayyad's government is worse than Hanieh's government, while 22.8% don't see any difference between the two governments.

* A notable majority of the respondents (67.9%) don't expect the repetition of Gaza internal fighting in the West Bank and, in the same manner, a large fraction of respondents (79.6%) don't expect to see Hamas control the West Bank as Hamas does in the Gaza Strip.

* On the public assessment of Hamas strength in the West Bank, a majority (77.2%) said the strength of Hamas in Gaza is greater than in the West Bank while only 5.1% saw the opposite. A ratio of 12.3% said Hamas strength in the West Bank is the same as it is in the Gaza Strip.

* With regards to the detailed solutions on ending the current split between the West Bank and Gaza Strip, a slight majority (27.9%) believe that dialogue between the factions is the solution while (26.1%) believe that the solution lies in returning to the National Unity Government. A ratio of 23.5% view that the solution lies in conducting early elections. Only 16.9% believe that the solution lies in dissolving Hanieh's government and having Fayyad's government assume its control over Gaza. With regards to the expectations of the public on a potential agreement, a majority (46.8%) expect the return to the formation of a National Unity Government compared with (43.8%) who don't expect this to happen.

* President Mahmoud Abbas still enjoys the largest chance of winning the presidential elections if they happened today. A ratio of 20.6% said they would vote for President Abbas while 18.8% said they would vote for Ismaeel Hanieh and 16.6% said they would vote for Marwan al-Barghouthi. It is noted that Abbas gains popularity in Gaza (23.9%) slightly more than in the West Bank (18.7%) while there is a major gap between the popularity of Hanieh in the Gaza Strip (26.1%) and in the West Bank (14.5%). Generally speaking, there is a slight improvement in the confidence in Abbas (18.3%) compared with 12.4% last March and 13.0% in June 2006.

* On the other hand, there is slight decrease in confidence in Hanieh (16.2%) compared with 19.5% last March and 18.2% in June 2006. With regards to the trust in the factions, Hamas suffered a setback in popular trust (21.6%) compared with 25.2% last March and 28.9% in June 2006. On the other hand, the Fatah Movement gained popular trust (34.4%) compared with 31.4% last March and 33.7% in June 2006.

* At the level of the Palestinian general public position regarding the external political negotiations, half of the respondents support the idea of reaching a Declaration of Principles and the other half rejects this idea. Regarding exchange of land with Israel in the context of the final-status negotiations, a notable majority (61.4%) opposes the idea while a ratio of 38% supports the idea. In a more clear referendum, an overwhelming majority of the Palestinian respondents (81.9%) oppose allowing Israel to keep control over settlements in the West Bank in return for Israeli land while only 17.4% agree to this. The most salient political position was on the issue of the Palestinian refugees' cause, as a notable majority (68.5%) said the resolution of this issue is through the return of the refugees to their homes while a ratio of 12.8% said the solution lies in return of the refugees to the Palestinian state. A ratio of 6.7% supports a solution based on compensation while 11.8% support a solution that includes the return of the refugees to their homes and to the Palestinian state as well as compensation.

The following are the full details:

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 16th and 20th of August 2007. 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** 759 people were surveyed from the following areas: **Hebron:** Hebron, Halhoul, Idna, Yatta, Dura, Fawwar refugee camp (RC), Soureef, Tarqoumia. **Jenin:** Jenin, Jenin RC, Al Yamoun, Zababdeh, 'Aqaba, Arrabeh, Kufor Rai', Maythaloun, Sarees. **Bethlehem:** Bethlehem, Beit Sahour, al-Khader, Aduha, Artas, Deheishe RC. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** Ramallah, al- Bireh, Beit Reema, Kufor Malek, al-Amari RC, Ni'leen. **Jericho:** Jericho, Aqbat Jaber RC. **Jerusalem:** A-Dahia, Al-Ram, Beit Anan, Qalandia RC, Shufat, Old City, Beit Hanina, Beit Hanina a-tahta, al-Isaweieh, Wadi al-Joz Silwan, Ras al-Amod. **Nablus:** Nablus, Madama, Asira Al Qibliya, Bidya, Marda, Beit Fureek, Balata RC, Sabastia, Zawata. **Tulkarem and Qalqilya:** Tulkarem, Tulkarem RC, Bal'a, Beit Leed, Qalqilya, Azzoun.

In the **Gaza Strip:** 440 people were surveyed from: **Gaza:** Shati RC, a-Shuja'a, a-Tufah, a-Daraj, a-Sheikh Radwan, a-Nasser, a-Rimal al-Shamali, a-Rimal al-Janoubi, Sabra, a-Zaytoun. **Khan Younis:** Abasan a-Saghira, Khan Younis, Bani Suheila, Absan al-Kabira, Khan Younis RC. **Rafah:** Rafah, Rafah RC, Tal Al Sultan RC. **Gaza North:** Jabalia, Beit Lahia, Jabalia RC, Beit Hanoun. **Deir al-Balah:** Deir Al Balah, al-Maghazi RC, al- Nusseirat RC.

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

Sample Distribution

51.7 % of the respondents were from West Bank, 11.6 % from Jerusalem, 36.7 % from the Gaza Strip.

30.5% said they live in villages 14.9% in refugee camps, and 54.6 % in towns/cities.

52.2% were male, 47.8% were female.

64.6 % were married, 29.4%, single, 2.9% widowed, 1.9% divorced, 1.2% no answer.

The average age of the respondents was 34 years.

Occupation of Respondents

Students 14.3%	Professionals - e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers 1.8%
laborers 9.4%	Housewives 33.6%
Farmers/fishermen 2.3 %	Unemployed 7.8%
Craftsmen 1.7%	Retired 1.6 %,
Businessmen/private business 8.0%	No answer 0.5%.
Public Sector Employees 11.6%	
Private Sector Employees 7.4%	

Results:

Q.1 In general, how optimistic or pessimistic do you feel towards the future? Could you tell me if you are very optimistic, optimistic, pessimistic, or very pessimistic?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Very optimistic	7.4	7.8	6.8
Optimistic	50.7	50.9	50.5
Pessimistic	27.4	26.6	28.6
Very Pessimistic	14.1	14.2	13.9
No answer	0.4	0.5	0.2

Q.2 How optimistic or pessimistic are you towards reaching a peaceful settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict? Could you tell me if you are very optimistic, optimistic, pessimistic, or very pessimistic?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Very optimistic	4.1	4.7	3.0
Optimistic	37.9	35.3	42.3
Pessimistic	35.8	34.1	38.6
Very Pessimistic	21.5	24.9	15.7
No answer	0.7	1.0	0.4

Q. 3 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 into two states, and thus the favored solution is a bi-national state on all of Palestine where Palestinians and Israeli enjoy equal representation and rights, which of these two solutions do you prefer?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Two- state solution: an Israeli state and a Palestinian state	51.1	49.1	54.5
Bi –national state on all of historic Palestine	30.0	30.8	28.6
One Palestinian state *	9.8	9.2	10.7
Islamic state *	2.3	2.8	1.6
Other solution	0.5	0.7	0.2
No solution	5.4	6.2	4.1
No answer/don't know	0.9	1.2	0.3

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

Q4. In general, do you support or oppose the idea of early elections?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
I support	57.4	57.8	56.6
I oppose	37.6	35.7	40.9
I don't know	4.3	5.5	2.0
No answer	0.7	1.0	0.5

Q5. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way President (Abu Mazen) is performing his job as a president of the PNA?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Very satisfied	18.9	16.9	22.5
Somewhat satisfied	26.4	26.4	26.6
Somewhat dissatisfied	16.8	18.2	14.3
Very dissatisfied	34.6	34.5	34.8
No answer	3.3	4.0	1.8

Q6. How would you evaluate the performance of the current PM Salam Fayyad compared with his predecessor the discharged PM Ismail Hanieh?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Performance of Fayyad is better than performance of Hanieh	45.3	45.1	45.7
Performance of Fayyad is worse than performance of Hanieh	23.4	20.0	29.1
There is no difference between the performance of Fayyad and Hanieh	26.4	28.2	23.4
No answer	4.9	6.7	1.8

Q7. How would you evaluate the performance of the government of Salam Fayyad in the West Bank at the present time compared with the performance of Hanieh's government in Gaza; would you say that the performance of Fayyad's government is better, similar, or worse than the performance of Hanieh's government ?

	Total n= 1199	West Bank n= 759	Gaza N= 440
The performance of Fayyad's government is better than the performance of Hanieh's government	46.5	46.2	46.8
The performance of Fayyad's government is similar to the performance of Hanieh's government	22.8	24.8	19.3
The performance of Fayyad's government is worse than the performance of Hanieh's government	24.4	20.4	31.4
No answer	6.3	8.6	2.5

Q8. The recent years witnessed forms of chaos, lack of implementation of the law, and security and public disorder, in your opinion did these forms increase, didn't change or did they decrease in Fayyad current government compared to Hanieh's previous government?

	Total n= 1199	West Bank n= 759	Gaza N= 440
Forms of chaos have increased	23.0	22.1	24.5
Didn't change	34.4	35.7	32.3
Forms of chaos have decreased	38.3	37.3	40.0
Don't know\ no answer	4.3	4.9	3.2

Q9. Do you think that the transparency in Fayyad's government has increased, decreased, or didn't change if compared to the Hanieh's previous government?

	Total n= 1199	West Bank n= 759	Gaza N= 440
Increased	27.5	24.4	33.0
Decreased	24.0	21.3	28.6
Didn't change	41.4	44.7	35.7
I don't know	6.3	8.7	2.3
No answer	0.8	0.9	0.4

Q10. Which of the following parties is more to blame for the internal fighting in Gaza? Is it Hamas or Fatah?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Hams	43.5	45.1	40.7
Fatah	28.4	26.9	30.9
Hams and Fatah*	17.5	17.4	17.7
External elements*	1.5	1.2	2.0
Internal elements	1.3	1.1	1.6
Israel*	1.3	1.6	0.9
Other	0.8	0.5	1.1
I don't know	4.8	5.5	3.6
No answer	0.9	0.7	1.5

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

Q11. Following the Internal fighting in Gaza, would you say that your feeling about your security is better now, or has not changed, or become worse?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
It is better now	27.0	17.4	43.6
Has not changed	36.3	42.8	25.0
Become worst	34.6	36.5	31.4
I don't know	1.9	3.0	0.0
No answer	0.2	0.3	0.0

Q12- 1 In general, how would you evaluate the situation in Gaza now after the internal fighting and having Hamas in control of the Gaza strip, has it become better, worse, or has not changed?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
The situation is better than before	27.1	23.1	34.1
The situation is worse	46.7	47.6	45.2
Has not changed	21.1	21.7	20.0
Don't know	4.9	7.5	0.5
No answer	0.2	0.1	0.2

Q12-2. How would you evaluate the situation in the West Bank after the internal fighting in Gaza and the formation of Fayyad's government has become better, worse, or hasn't change?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
The situation is better than before	35.4	32.9	39.5
The situation is worse	27.9	24.5	33.9
Has not changed	33.6	38.9	24.5
Don't know	2.7	3.2	1.8
No answer	0.4	0.5	0.3

Q13. The internal fighting in Gaza led to split between the West Bank and Gaza with the presence of two governments; what is your opinion on the best solution to end this problem?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Dialogue between the factions	27.9	29.4	25.2
To cancel the government of Fayyad and return to the national unity government	26.1	21.3	34.3
To hold early elections	23.5	24.4	22.0
To cancel the government of Hanieh and enforce the rule of Fayyad's government over the West Bank and Gaza Strip	16.9	17.7	15.7
To call on international troops to assume responsibilities in Gaza strip	3.0	3.3	2.5
Others	1.0	1.4	0.2
I don't know	1.5	2.4	0.0
No answer	0.1	0.1	0.1

Q14. Currently, with one government in Gaza strip and another government in the West Bank, how long would the current split last?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Less than six months	20.4	13.7	32.0
Six months	20.8	17.0	27.3
One year	17.5	17.7	17.3
Longer than one year	25.7	31.9	15.0
I don't know	15.0	19.1	8.0
No answer	0.6	0.6	0.4

Q15. Which Palestinian Personality do you trust the most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Mahmoud Abbas	18.3	17.1	20.5
Ismaeel Hanieh	16.2	11.1	25.0
Marwan Barghouthi	9.6	9.5	9.8
Mustafa Barghouthi	3.7	3.6	3.9
Salam Fayyad	3.5	3.6	3.4
Khaled Masha'al	2.9	2.9	3.0
Mahmoud a-Zahar	1.7	1.8	1.4
Yasser Arafat	1.3	1.2	1.4
Mohammed Dahlan	1.3	0.1	3.2
Ahmad Saadat	1.0	1.2	0.7
Others	9.0	10.3	6.8
Don't trust any one	29.2	35.0	19.1
No answer	2.3	2.6	1.8

Q16. Which Palestinian Faction do you trust the most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Fatah	34.4	32.7	37.5
Hams	21.6	17.7	28.4
PFLP	2.8	3.2	2.3
Islamic Jihad	2.1	1.3	3.4
National Initiative	1.8	2.2	0.9
Other Islamic parties	2.3	3.2	0.7
Other parties	2.2	2.5	1.6
Don't trust any one	29.1	32.8	22.7
No answer	3.7	4.4	2.5

Q17. As the Palestinian and Israeli prepare to engage in direct negotiations that would reach to a final solution to establish a Palestinian state, to what extent do you support or oppose each of the following:

1. Reaching a declaration or agreement of principles between both sides that will deal with the final issues in general terms and postpone the practical details for later?	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	n= 440
Strongly support	15.8	16.6	14.5
Somewhat support	34.1	35.4	31.8
Somewhat oppose	22.6	23.5	21.1
Strongly oppose	26.6	23.7	31.6
No answer	0.9	0.8	1.0

2. Any land swap between both sides to reach a final settlement	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Strongly support	10.8	10.3	11.6
Somewhat support	27.2	30.7	21.1
Somewhat oppose	25.0	24.8	25.5
Strongly oppose	36.4	33.7	40.9
No answer	0.6	0.5	0.9

3. Declaring parts of East Jerusalem as the capital of the future Palestinian State	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Strongly support	11.4	11.7	10.9
Somewhat support	19.0	23.7	10.9
Somewhat oppose	24.7	26.9	20.9
Strongly oppose	42.5	34.9	55.5
No answer	2.4	2.8	1.8

4. Allowing Israel to keep control of major settlement blocs inside the West Bank in exchange for equal Israeli land	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	n= 440
Strongly support	3.8	4.0	3.4
Somewhat support	13.6	15.7	10.0
Somewhat oppose	25.0	28.9	18.4
Strongly oppose	56.9	51.0	67.0
No answer	0.7	0.4	1.2

5. Keeping Israel's authority in the area of Al- Aqsa Mosque	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Strongly support	1.8	2.4	0.7
Somewhat support	3.9	3.4	4.8
Somewhat oppose	15.4	18.1	10.9
Strongly oppose	78.1	75.6	82.3
No answer	0.8	0.5	1.3

Q18. As for the negotiations about the refugee issue which solution do you prefer:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Return of all refugees to their original land.	68.5	68.9	67.7
Return of all refugees to the Palestinian state (West Bank and Gaza).	12.8	12.8	13.0
Return of some refugees to their original land, some to the Palestinian state and compensating others.	11.8	9.7	15.2
Compensating the refugee for their lost properties and not returning to it.	6.7	8.2	4.1
No answer	0.2	0.4	0.0

Q19. If presidential elections were held today whom of the following candidate would you vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)	20.6	18.7	23.9
Ismaeel Hanieh	18.8	14.5	26.1
Marwan Barghouthi	16.6	17.4	15.2
Mustafa Barghouthi	7.1	7.1	7.0
Salam Fayyad	5.3	4.9	6.1
Khaled Mishal	4.5	4.5	4.5
Mahmoud A- Zahar	2.1	2.8	0.9
Ahmed Qurei (Abu Ala')	0.6	0.8	0.2
I will not vote	22.2	26.2	15.2
No answer	2.2	3.1	0.9

Q20. If the legislative council elections were held today to which of the following list would you vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Fatah List	37.9	36.6	40.2
Change and reform List	23.9	20.0	30.7
Independent Palestine list (Mustafa Barghouthi and the independents)	4.7	5.3	3.6
Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa List	3.2	3.4	2.7
The Third Road List	2.5	2.0	3.4
Alternative list (DFLP, PPP, FIDA, and independents coalition)	1.8	2.8	0.2
Freedom and independence List	0.4	0.5	0.2
Palestine justice List	0.5	0.5	0.5
Freedom and Social Justice List	0.3	0.3	0.2
Martyr Abu Abbas List	0.3	0.5	0.0
The National Coalition for Democratic Justice (Waed)	0.1	0.1	0.0
I will not vote	22.1	25.3	16.6
No answer	2.3	2.7	1.7

Q21. Do you think that Hamas is stronger in Gaza than it is in West Bank, Hamas is less strong in Gaza than it is in West Bank, or is it as strong in West Bank as it is in Gaza?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Hamas is stronger in Gaza than it is in the West Bank	77.2	75.6	80.0
Hamas is less strong in Gaza than it is West Bank	5.1	4.5	6.1
Hamas is strong in both Gaza and West Bank	12.3	13.2	10.9
I don't know	4.3	5.8	1.8
No answer	1.1	0.9	1.2

Q22. Do you expect the Gaza incident (Internal Fighting) to repeat in West Bank as well?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Yes	25.9	22.7	31.4
No	67.9	69.7	64.8
I don't know	5.8	7.0	3.6
No answer	0.4	0.6	0.2

Q23. Do you expect Hamas to take control over West Bank as it did in Gaza?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	N= 440
Yes	14.5	12.9	17.3
No	79.6	80.0	78.9
I don't know	5.3	6.2	3.6
No answer	0.6	0.9	0.2

Q24. Do you think that the Gaza incident was a result of any of the following foreign parties interference?

Total (1199):	Yes	No	No answer
Israel	81.8	14.9	3.3
USA	72.3	23.0	4.7
Iran	54.0	38.2	7.8
Syria	41.9	49.9	8.2

West Bank (759):	Yes	No	No answer
Israel	82.7	13.6	3.7
USA	75.4	19.9	4.7
Iran	51.1	39.0	9.9
Syria	39.4	50.7	9.9

Gaza (440):	Yes	No	No answer
Israel	80.2	17.3	2.5
USA	67.0	28.4	4.6
Iran	58.9	36.8	4.3
Syria	46.1	48.4	5.5

Q25. Do you expect that all the parties will agree once again to the National Unity government through the national dialogue between Fatah and Hamas?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 759	n= 440
Yes, I expect the parties to agree to the national government	46.8	40.8	57.0
No, I don't expect parties to agree to the national government	43.8	48.0	36.6
I don't know	5.3	6.9	2.5
No answer	4.1	4.3	3.9