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# Poll No. 84 August 2015

Public opinion poll conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre
Uncertainty over a successor: What if President Abbas does not run for president again
Setback in trust in the government and political personalities
Majority wants elections even without reconciliation
No sympathy with ISIS in West Bank and Gaza

A public opinion poll conducted by JMCC showed interesting results in Palestinian public opinion circles, including contradictions and several surprises. Perhaps the most significant of these was the absence of a real successor to President Mahmoud Abbas if he does not run for the presidency. The results also showed a setback in the popularity of Palestinian forces and factions and a lack of any sympathy or support for ISIS or its sister movements, whether in the Gaza Strip or the West Bank. What was even more peculiar was the setback in campaigns to boycott Israeli products, both in practice and in support.

#### Uncertainty: Who will succeed Abu Mazen if he does not run for president?

One question posed to the public was about their choices if presidential elections were held and the current President Mahmoud Abbas does not run. 10.5% (9.1% from the West Bank and 12.9% from Gaza) said they would vote for Marwan Barghouti for president making him the most popular candidate, while 9.8% (7.5% from the West Bank and 13.8% from Gaza) said they would vote for Ismail Haniyeh; 5.1% (1.3% from the West Bank and 11.3% from Gaza) answered Mohammed Dahlan and 3.3% said they would vote for Saeb Erekat; another 3.3% answered Khaled Meshaal, while the largest proportion 33.6% said they had not yet decided for whom they would vote.

## Setback in popularity of political personalities

The poll also showed a setback in the level of trust in political personalities, whereby the percentage of those who trust President Abbas dropped from 21.8% in March of this year to 16.1% in this August poll. The level of trust in Ismail Haniyeh also dropped from 14.1% to 12.5% in the same period. Moreover, the level of trust in Marwan Barghouti rose from 5.4% in March to 7.1% within the same period.

In terms of evaluating the performance of the government, the percentage of those who believe its performance has retreated rose from 15.8% in April, 2014 to 26.4% this August. Also, the percentage of those who believe the government deals transparently with the administration of financial issues dropped from 24.3% in May 2012 to 17.3% this August.

In regards to the latest reshuffle in Dr. Rami Hamdallah's government, the majority, 44.3% of those polled, said the step would make no difference, in comparison to 34.9% who said the step would serve the interests of the Palestinian people.

The public was then asked the question: "How would you define yourself- only in one word- in terms of particular affiliation?". The majority, 32.4% answered Palestinian; 16.8% said Muslim, 6.8% said Fatah; and 2.7% answered Hamas.

## **Increasing demand for elections**

Meanwhile, there was a rise in the percentage of those who support holding legislative and presidential elections, even if reconciliation is not completed, from 34.8% in November, 2012 to 58.9% in this August. In contrast,, the percentage of those who support holding elections only once reconciliation is completed, dropped from 60.8% in November, 2012 to 35.8% this August.

In response to the question whether it is important for Palestine National Council elections to be held, 74% said it was important while 16.9% said it was not important.

In response to the question If PLC elections were held today, to which party you would vote for, 41.1% said Fatah 20.2% Hamas while 22.7% said they will not vote.

#### Setback in support for and practice of a boycott of Israeli products

It was clear from the poll that there has been a distinct setback in the level of support for and practice of boycott campaigns of Israeli products in general. The percentage of those who support the boycott of all Israeli projects dropped from 59.2% last March to 49.1% this August. Moreover, the percentage of those who support the boycott of Israeli settlement products only rose from 7.6% last March to 9.4% this August.

In response to a question about their direct practice of boycotting, the percentage of respondents who said they boycott all Israeli products dropped from 48.8% last March to 34.1% this August.

## No sympathy for ISIS or its sister movements

The poll clearly showed there is no sympathy for or any noteworthy presence of ISIS or Salafist movements in the Palestinian territories, including in the Gaza Strip. The majority, 64.9% said they were unsympathetic with them while 3.8% said they were sympathetic.

In regards to the strength of Salafist movements in the Gaza Strip, the majority of respondents, 60.3% said the presence of Salafist movements in the Strip was limited and had little strength. Meanwhile, 2.8% said they were very strong. Upon considering the responses to this question in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank separately, it is apparent that 53.4% of the West Bank and 71.8% of the Gaza Strip consider these movements to have little and limited strength.

#### Two-state solution: continuous setback

There was a continuous, slight decline in the percentage of those who believe the two-state formula is the favored solution, whereby the percentage of the supporters for this solution dropped from 44% this August after it had been 48.3% in March of this year and 52.4% in March, 2013. Contrastingly, the percentage of those who support a bi-national state rose to 21.3% in this poll after it was 16.3% in March of this year and 23.4% in March, 2013.

## Maintaining the PNA

The poll showed that 71.7% of respondents believe there is a need to perpetuate and maintain the PNA. This includes the majority, 78.4% in the Gaza Strip and 67.7% in the West Bank including Jerusalem, in comparison to 23.7% who support the dissolution of the PNA.

## What is more important

As for the question on what should be a priority for the PNA, the majority, 27.4% clearly stated that the priority should be dealing with the cost of living problem, followed by 21.4% who said the priority should be the reconstruction of the Gaza Strip; this was followed by 20.3% who said it should be enforcing the law; 14.8% said confronting settler attacks, while 10.4% said education.

#### **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 19-23 August 2015. 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 **749** people were surveyed from the following areas:

Hebron: Hebron, Yatta, As-Samu', Beit Ummar, Dura, Bani Na'im, Halhul, Beit Kahil, Hadab al-Fawwar, al-Karmil, al-Fawwar Refugee Camp. Jenin: Arraba, Jaba', Siat adh-dhar, Qabatiya, Jenin, al-Mughayir, Rummana, Ti'inik, Jenin Refugee Camp. Tubas: Tubas, Tayasir. Ramallah & al-Bireh: al-Bireh, Ramallah, Deir Dibwan, Silwad, Beitin, Surda, Abwein, Rantis, al-Am'ari Refugee Camp. Jericho: Jericho, al-Nuwei'ma. Jerusalem: al-Ram and Dahiat al Bareed, Hizma, Abu Dis, Jaba', Beit Hanina, Shu'fat, Old City, al-Issawiyeh, Ras-al Amoud, Qalandiya Refugee Camp. Bethlehem: Al-Khader, Tuqu', Bethlehem, Beit Jala, Battir, Ad-Duheisha Refugee Camp. Nablus: Nablus, Beit Furik, Huwwara, Talfit, Awarta, Osarin, al-Badhan, Balata Refugee Camp. Salfit: Bidyya, Deir Istiya. Tulkarem: Tulkarem, Illar, Baga ash-sharqiya, far'un, Nazlat 'Issa. Qalqilya: Habla, Qalqiliya, Kafr Thutlh.

In the Gaza Strip: 450 people were surveyed from the following ares:

Gaza: al-Rimal a-Shamali, a-Rimal a-Janoubi, a-Zeitoun, a-Shuja'ia, a-Tufah, a-Daraj, a-Naser, a-Sheikh Radwan, Tal al-Hawa, al-Mughraga, Shati Refugee Camp . **Khan Younis**: Khan Younis, Absan al-Kabira, Abasan al-Saghira, Bani Suheila, al-Qarara, Khuza', Khan Younis Refugee Camp. **Rafah**: Rafah, Shouket a-Soufi, Rafah Refugee Camp. **Gaza North**: Jabalia, Beit Lahia, Beit Hanoun, Jabalia Refugee Camp. **Deir al-Balah**: Deir al-Balah, Burij, -Zawaydeh, Nussirat, al-Maghazi Refugee Camp, Bureij Refugee Camp, Deir al-Balah Refugee Camp.

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.

50.5% were male, 49.5% were female.

67.4% were married, 27.3%, single, 3.9% widowed 1.3% divorced, 0.1% no answer.

The average age of the respondents was 37 years.

#### Occupation of Respondents

- · Students 13.7%
- · Laborers 11.2%
- · Housewives 33.8%
- · Farmers/fishermen2.7 %
- · Craftsmen 0.8%
- Businessmen/private business 7.7%
- · Public Sector Employees 12.0%
- · Private Sector Employees 6.0%
- Professionals (e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers) 1.2 %
- Unemployed 7.8%
- · Retired 3.1%,
- · No answer 0.0%.

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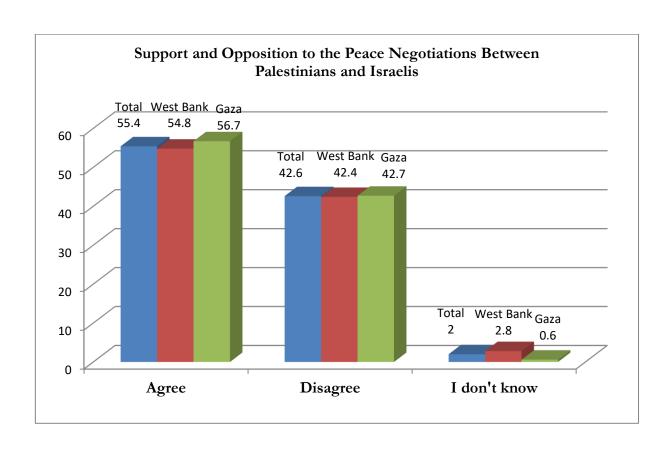
## Occupation of Respondents

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- · Public Sector Employees 12.0%
- · Private Sector Employees 6.0%
- · Professionals (e.g. doctors/lawyers/pharmacists/engineers) 1.2 %
- · Unemployed 7.8%
- · Retired 3.1%,
- · No answer 0.0%.

# Results:

Q1. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with peace negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis?

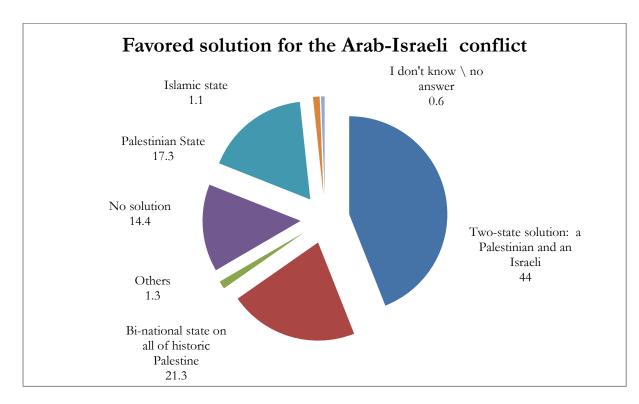
	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Strongly agree	16.0	14.2	19.1
Somewhat agree	39.4	40.6	37.6
Somewhat disagree	19.8	19.6	20.0
Strongly disagree	22.8	22.8	22.7
I don't know \ no answer	2.0	2.8	0.6



Q2. 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?

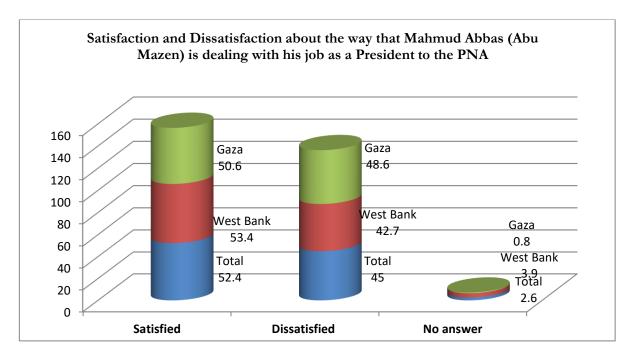
	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Two-state solution: a Palestinian and an	44.0	45.9	40.9
Israeli state			
Bi-national state on all of historic Palestine	21.3	21.8	20.4
Others	1.3	0.4	2.7
No solution	14.4	13.2	16.4
Palestinian state *	17.3	16.6	18.4
Islamic state *	1.1	1.5	0.4
I don't know∖no answer	0.6	0.6	8.0

<sup>\*</sup> These answers were not included as part of the options read to the interviewee



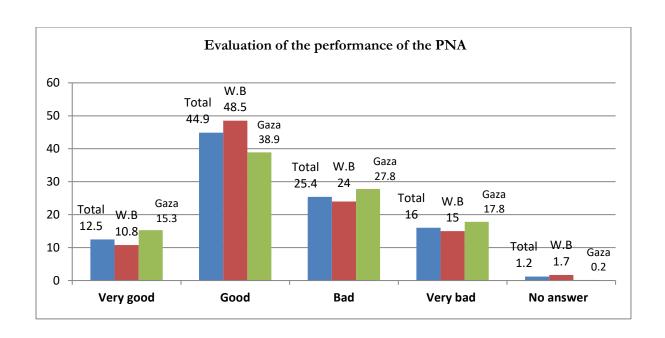
Q3. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied about the way that Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) is dealing with his job as a president to the Palestinian National Authority?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Very satisfied	20.4	18.6	23.3
Somewhat satisfied	32.0	34.8	27.3
Somewhat dissatisfied	13.8	13.5	14.2
Very dissatisfied	31.2	29.2	34.4
No answer	2.6	3.9	0.8



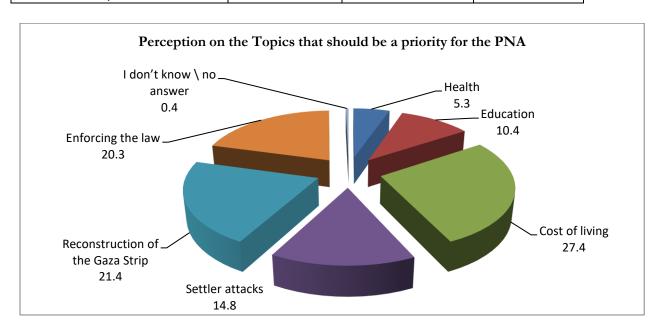
Q4. In general, how do you evaluate the performance of the PNA? Would you say its performance is very good, good, bad or very bad?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Very good	12.5	10.8	15.3
Good	44.9	48.5	38.9
Bad	25.4	24.0	27.8
Very bad	16.0	15.0	17.8
No answer	1.2	1.7	0.2



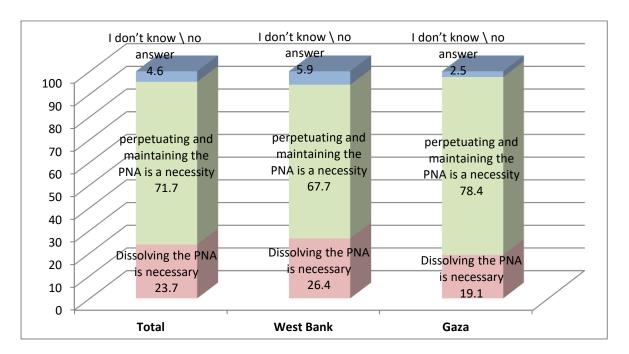
Q5- In your opinion, which of the following topics should be a priority for the PNA?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Health	5.3	4.5	6.4
Education	10.4	11.5	8.7
Cost of living	27.4	28.8	24.9
Settler attacks	14.8	19.5	7.1
Reconstruction of the Gaza	21.4	14.8	32.4
Strip			
Enforcing the law	20.3	20.4	20.0
I don't know \ no answer	0.4	0.5	0.5



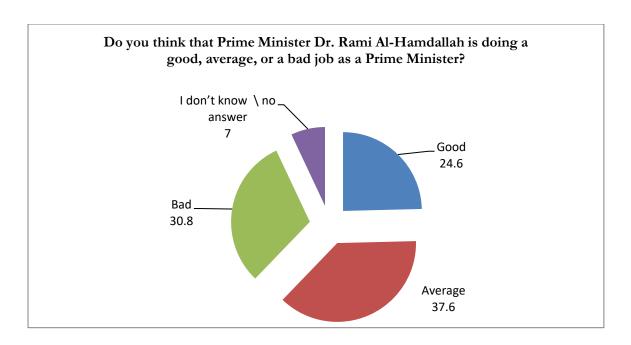
Q6- There is a debate on the future of the PNA whereby some people believe that dissolving the PNA is necessary now while others believe that the perpetuation of the PNA and maintaining it is a necessity. What do you think?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Dissolving the PNA is	23.7	26.4	19.1
necessary			
Perpetuating and maintaining	71.7	67.7	78.4
the PNA is a necessity			
I don't know \ no answer	4.6	5.9	2.5



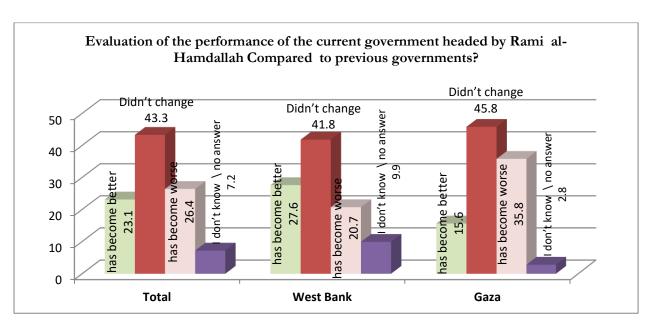
Q7.Do you think that Prime Minister Dr. Rami Al-Hamdallah is doing a good, average, or a bad job as a Prime Minister ?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Good	24.6	29.1	17.1
Average	37.6	37.0	38.7
Bad	30.8	24.3	41.6
I don't know \ no answer	7.0	9.6	2.6



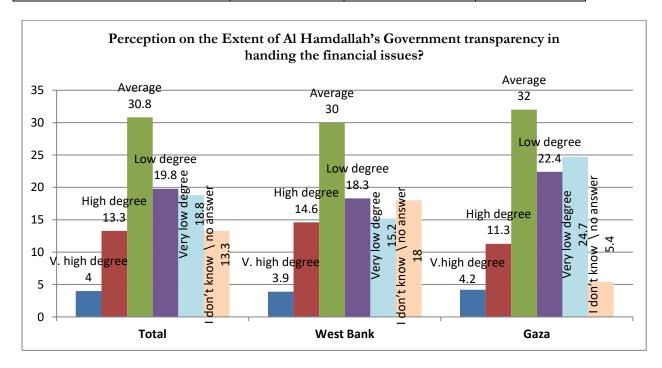
Q8- In general, do you think the performance of the current government headed by Rami al-Hamdallah is better when compared to previous governments? Didn't change, or become worse?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
It's performance has become	23.1	27.6	15.6
better			
Didn't change	43.3	41.8	45.8
It's performance has become	26.4	20.7	35.8
worse			
I don't know ∖ no answer	7.2	9.9	2.8



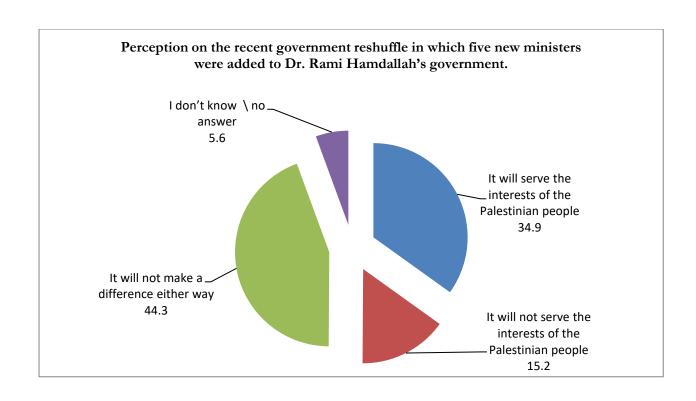
Q9- To what extent do you think that Al Hamdallah's government is being transparent in handling the financial issues? To a very high degree, high degree, average degree, low degree or very low degree?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
To a very high degree	4.0	3.9	4.2
High degree	13.3	14.6	11.3
Average	30.8	30.0	32.0
Low degree	19.8	18.3	22.4
Very low degree	18.8	15.2	24.7
I don't know ∖ no answer	13.3	18.0	5.4



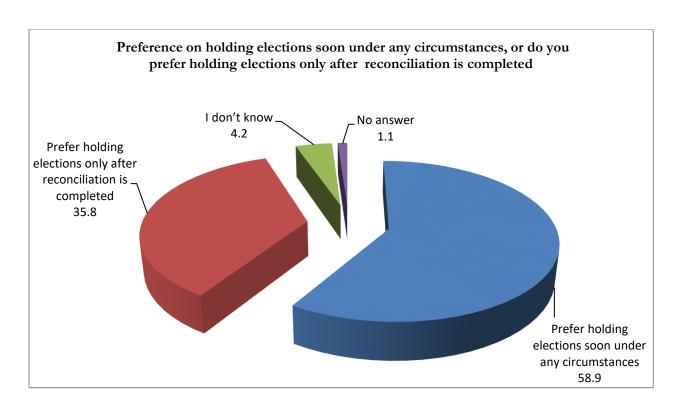
Q10- Recently, a government reshuffle took place in which five new ministers were added to Dr. Rami Hamdallah's government. What do you think? Will this reshuffle be a positive step that serves the interests of the Palestinian people? Will it not serve their interests? Or will it make no difference either way?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
It will serve the interests of the	34.9	36.8	31.6
Palestinian people			
It will not serve the interests of	15.2	12.6	19.6
the Palestinian people			
It will not make a difference	44.3	43.3	46.0
either way			
I don't know ∖ no answer	5.6	7.3	2.8



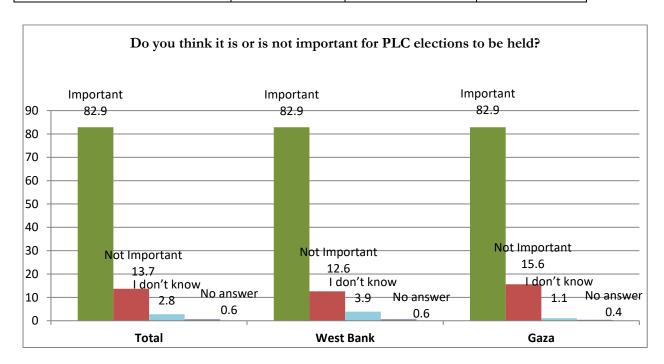
Q11- According to the basic Law, the legislative and presidential elections should have been held four years ago. Do you prefer holding elections soon under any circumstances, or do you prefer holding elections only after reconciliation is completed?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Prefer holding elections soon under any circumstances	58.9	55.1	65.1
Prefer holding elections only after reconciliation is completed	35.8	38.2	31.8
I don't know	4.2	5.7	1.6
No answer	1.1	1.0	1.5



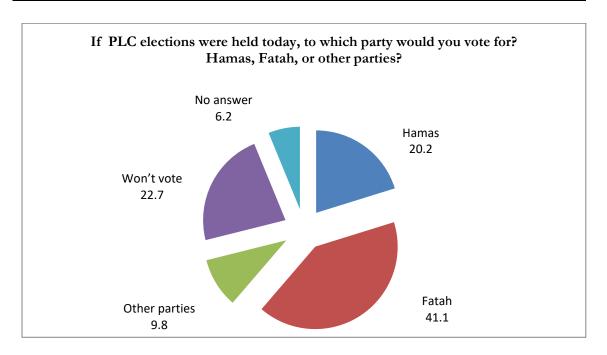
Q12- Do you think it is or is not important for PLC elections to be held?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Important	82.9	82.9	82.9
Not Important	13.7	12.6	15.6
I don't know	2.8	3.9	1.1
No answer	0.6	0.6	0.4



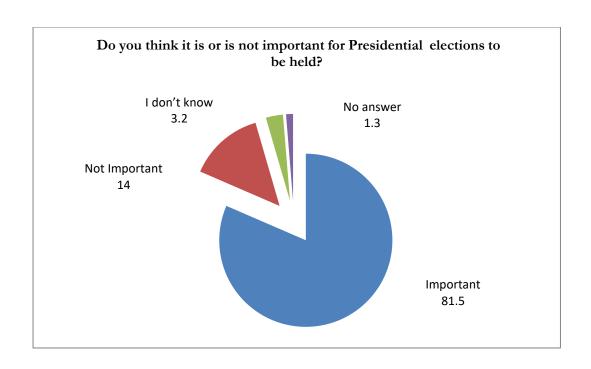
Q13- If PLC elections were held today, to which party would you vote for? Hamas, Fatah, or other parties?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n= 749	n= 450
Hamas	20.2	19.5	21.3
Fatah	41.1	41.4	40.7
Other parties	9.8	8.1	12.7
Won't vote	22.7	24.8	19.1
No answer	6.2	6.2	6.2



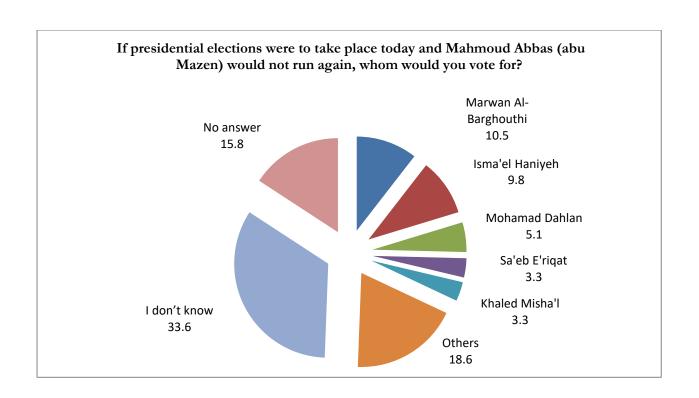
Q14- Do you think it is or is not important for Presidential elections to be held?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Important	81.5	80.0	84.0
Not Important	14.0	13.6	14.7
I don't know	3.2	4.7	0.7
No answer	1.3	1.7	0.6



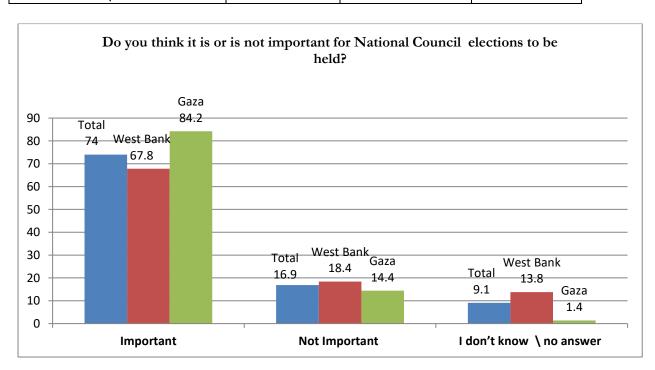
Q15- If presidential elections were to take place today and Mahmoud Abbas (abu Mazen) would not run again, whom would you vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Marwan Al-Barghouthi	10.5	9.1	12.9
Isma'el Haniyeh	9.8	7.5	13.8
Mohamad Dahlan	5.1	1.3	11.3
Sa'eb E'riqat	3.3	2.9	3.8
Khaled Mish'al	3.3	3.2	3.6
Others	18.6	18.7	18.4
I don't know	33.6	39.7	23.6
No answer	15.8	17.6	12.6



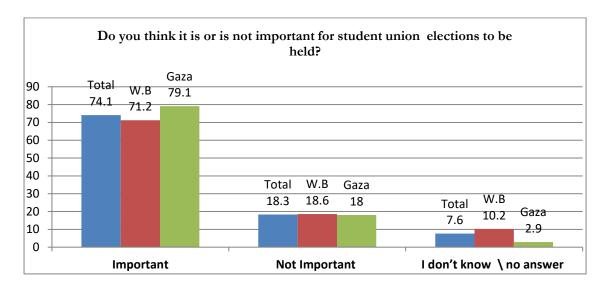
Q16- Do you think it is important or not important for National Council elections to be held?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Important	74.0	67.8	84.2
Not Important	16.9	18.4	14.4
I don't know \ no answer	9.1	13.8	1.4



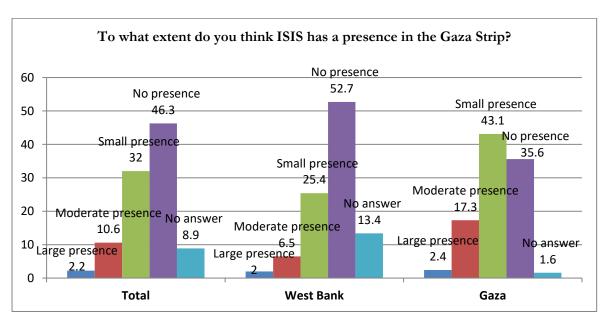
Q17- Do you think it important or not important for student union elections to be held?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Important	74.1	71.2	79.1
Not Important	18.3	18.6	18.0
I don't know ∖ no answer	7.6	10.2	2.9



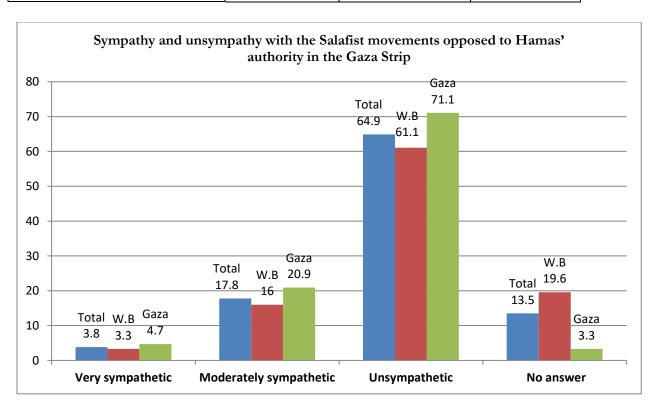
Q18- To what extent do you think ISIS has a presence in the Gaza Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Large presence	2.2	2.0	2.4
Moderate presence	10.6	6.5	17.3
Small presence	32.0	25.4	43.1
No presence	46.3	52.7	35.6
No answer	8.9	13.4	1.6



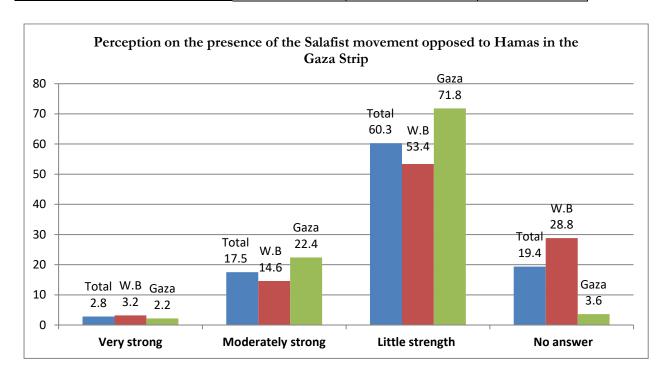
Q19- How sympathetic are you with the Salafist movements opposed to Hamas' authority in the Gaza Strip? Would you say you are very sympathetic, moderately sympathetic or unsympathetic?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Very sympathetic	3.8	3.3	4.7
Moderately sympathetic	17.8	16.0	20.9
Unsympathetic	64.9	61.1	71.1
No answer	13.5	19.6	3.3



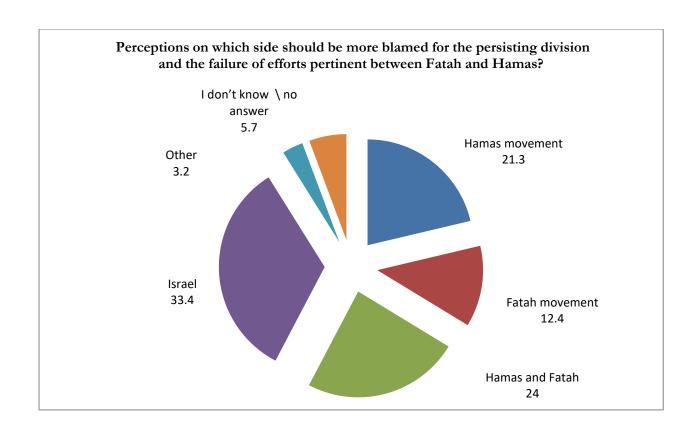
Q20- Recently, there has been a growing presence of the Salafist movement opposed to Hamas in the Gaza Strip. How strong is this movement in Gaza? Would you say it is very strong, moderately strong or has little strength?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Very strong	2.8	3.2	2.2
Moderately strong	17.5	14.6	22.4
Little strength	60.3	53.4	71.8
No answer	19.4	28.8	3.6



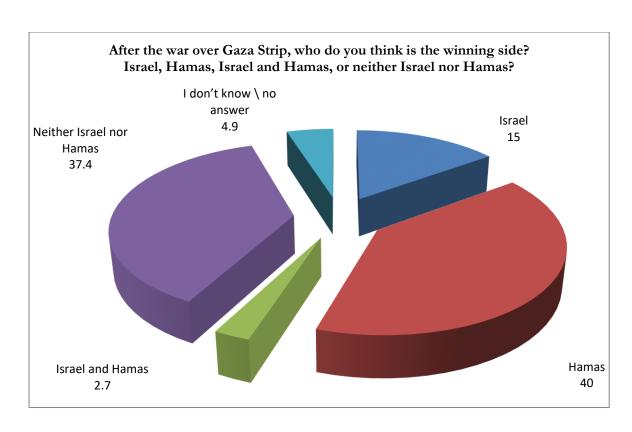
Q21- In your opinion, which side should be more blamed for the persisting division and the failure of efforts pertinent between Fatah and Hamas?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n=749	n=450
Hamas movement	21.3	17.6	27.3
Fatah movement	12.4	12.1	12.9
Hamas and Fatah	24.0	22.7	26.2
Israel	33.4	36.8	27.8
Other	3.2	3.2	3.1
I don't know \ no answer	5.7	7.6	2.7



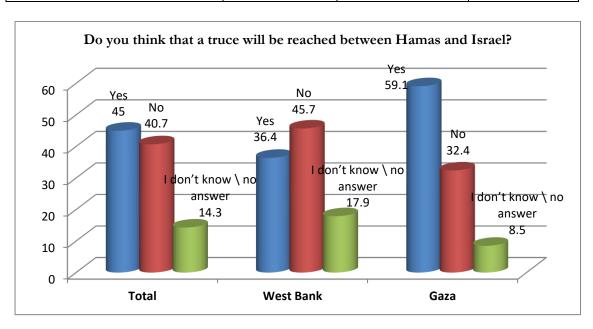
Q22. After the war over Gaza Strip, who do you think is the winning side? Israel, Hamas, Israel and Hamas, or neither Israel nor Hamas?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Israel	15.0	10.1	23.1
Hamas	40.0	44.2	33.1
Israel and Hamas	2.7	2.9	2.2
Neither Israel nor Hamas	37.4	36.8	38.2
I don't know \ no answer	4.9	6.0	3.4



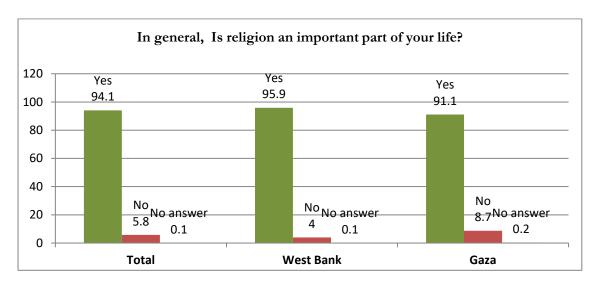
Q23- Do you think that a truce will be reached between Hamas and Israel?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n= 749	n=450
Yes	45.0	36.4	59.1
No	40.7	45.7	32.4
I don't know \ no answer	14.3	17.9	8.5



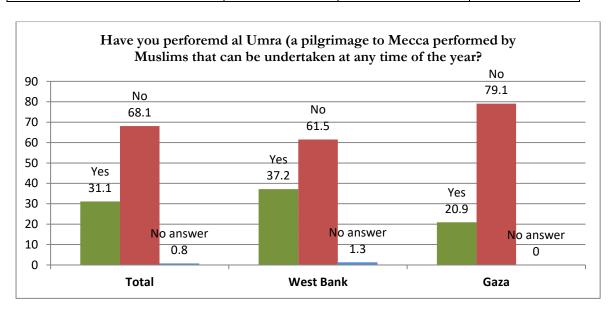
Q24- In general, is religion an important part of your life?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n= 749	n=450
Yes	94.1	95.9	91.1
No	5.8	4.0	8.7
No answer	0.1	0.1	0.2



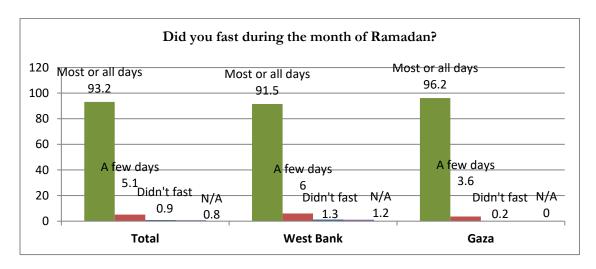
Q25- Have you perforemd al Umra (a pilgrimage to Mecca performed by Muslims that can be undertaken at any time of the year?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n= 749	n=450
Yes	31.1	37.2	20.9
No	68.1	61.5	79.1
No answer	0.8	1.3	0.0



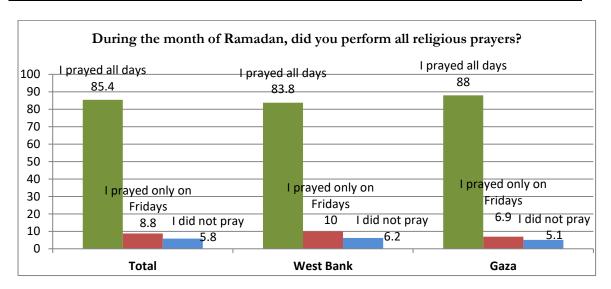
Q26- Did you fast during the month of Ramadan?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n= 749	n=450
Most of the days or all of the	93.2	91.5	96.2
days			
A few days	5.1	6.0	3.6
I did not fast	0.9	1.3	0.2
No answer	0.8	1.2	0.0



Q27- During the month of Ramadan, did you perform all religious prayers?

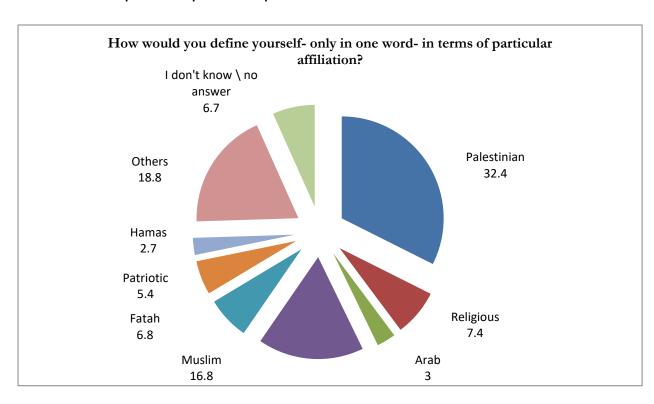
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	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n= 749	n=450
I prayed all days	85.4	83.8	88.0
I prayed only on Fridays	8.8	10.0	6.9
I did not pray	5.8	6.2	5.1



Q28- How would you define yourself- only in one word- in terms of particular affiliation?

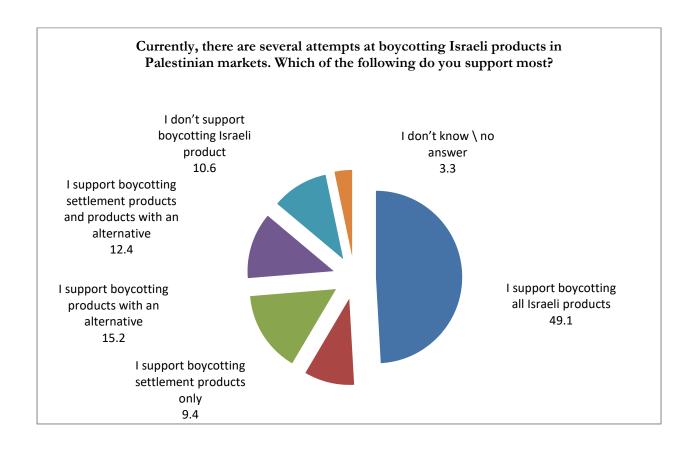
	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n= 749	n=450
Palestinian	32.4	34.4	28.9
Religious	7.4	2.1	16.2
Arab	3.0	4.1	1.1
Muslim	16.8	21.5	8.9
Fatah	6.8	6.7	6.9
Patriotic	5.4	4.7	6.7
Hamas	2.7	2.8	2.4
Others	18.8	15.1	25.1
I don't know \ no answer	6.7	8.6	3.8

• This is an open-ended question no options were read to the interviewee



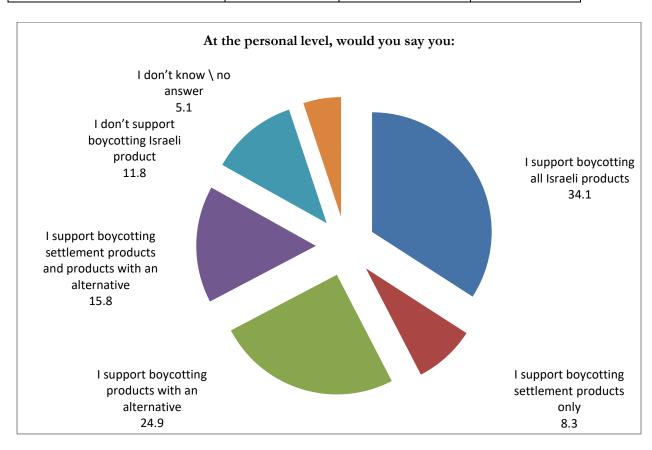
Q29- Currently, there are several attempts at boycotting Israeli products in Palestinian markets. Which of the following do you support most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n= 749	n=450
I support boycotting all Israeli products	49.1	52.1	44.2
I support boycotting settlement products only	9.4	9.6	9.1
I support boycotting products with an alternative	15.2	14.0	17.1
I support boycotting settlement products and products with an alternative	12.4	14.0	9.8
I don't support boycotting Israeli product	10.6	7.3	16.0
I don't know \ no answer	3.3	3.0	3.8



Q30- At the personal level, would you say you:

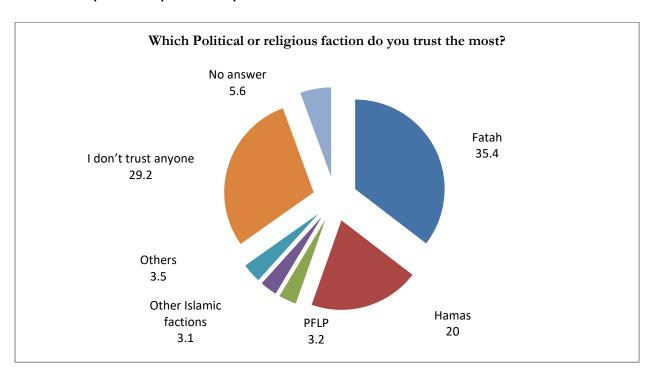
	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n=749	n=450
Boycott all Israeli products	34.1	37.7	28.2
Boycott settlement products	8.3	9.3	6.7
only			
Boycott products with an	24.9	23.6	26.9
alternative			
Boycott settlement products	15.8	16.2	15.1
and products with an			
alternative			
Don't support boycotting	11.8	8.7	16.9
Israeli products			
I don't know \ no answer	5.1	4.5	6.2



Q31- Which Political or religious faction do you trust the most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n= 749	n=450
Fatah	35.4	34.8	36.2
Hamas	20.0	18.6	22.4
PFLP	3.2	3.1	3.3
Other Islamic factions	3.1	1.9	5.1
Others	3.5	4.0	2.7
I don't trust anyone	29.2	31.1	26.0
No answer	5.6	6.5	4.3

<sup>\*</sup>This was an open-ended question no options were read to the interviewee



Q32. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?\*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n= 749	n=450
Mahmoud Abas ( Abu Mazen)	16.1	16.6	15.3
Isma'el Haniyeh	12.5	10.0	16.7
Marwan Al-Barghouthi	7.1	7.3	6.7
Khaled Misha'l	4.2	3.7	4.9
Mohamad Dahlan	3.2	0.7	7.3
Others	16.3	17.8	14.0
I don't trust anyone	32.3	34.6	28.4
No answer	8.3	9.3	6.7

<sup>\*</sup>This was an open-ended question no options were read to the interviewee

