



Jerusalem Office
Tel.: +972-2-532 83 98
Fax: +972-2-581 96 65
Email: info@fespal.org Web:
www.fespal.org



POBox: 25047 Jerusalem
Tel: 02-2976555
Fax: 02-2976557
Email: poll@jmcc.org
Website: www.jmcc.org

Poll no. 78_December 2012

A public opinion poll conducted by the Jerusalem Media & Communications Centre following the Gaza war and the UN status upgrade

Rise in the percentage of supporters of armed resistance Majority believes Hamas was the winning side during the war on Gaza

Egypt emerges as the preferred mediator for negotiations with Israel

Rise in popularity of President Abbas; drop in popularity of Fatah and rise in Hamas' popularity

Overwhelming majority support President Abbas heading to the UN and call for the reform of the PLO.

Two weeks after the end of the war, a public opinion poll conducted by the JMCC, with support of Friedrich-Ebert- Stiftung East Jerusalem, aimed at studying the impact of the Gaza war and the UN initiative. Results indicate that there is a rise in the percentage of supporters of armed resistance among the Palestinian public. The majority of the public was also content with the decision of the Palestinian leadership to head to the UN. According to the poll, which included a sample of 1,199 people with a margin of error of +/- 3%, there was a noticeable rise in the popularity of President Mahmoud Abbas while there was a drop in the popularity of Fatah and an increase in Hamas' popularity, which still remained lower than Fatah's popularity. Similarly, there was a noticeable improvement in the public's stance and satisfaction with the role of Egypt and the Muslim Brotherhood while their stance remained negative towards the United States and Europe in general during the latest war on Gaza.

The latest Gaza war

The majority of those polled, (70.6%) considered Hamas to be the winning side during the recent war waged by Israel on Gaza. This constituted a noticeable rise in comparison to the Gaza war in 2009 when 46.7% said that Hamas was the winning side in the war (JMCC poll from January 2009). In comparison, 21.9% said neither Hamas nor Israel were the winning sides in the 2012 war in comparison to 37.4% who said the same thing in January 2009. Furthermore, 87.3% said Israel would have waged a war on Gaza in all cases while only 8.2% said the war could have been avoided by the Palestinians. 79.4% said Israel targeted civilians during the war while only 14.8% said Hamas was hiding among civilians during the 2012 war.

The war and international and local positions

Regarding the satisfaction of the public with the level of solidarity in general during the Gaza war, the poll showed a discrepancy in people's opinions in this regard. Satisfaction with Fatah in this poll was 78.3% and 75.5% with President Mahmoud Abbas. However, upon comparison between the percentage of satisfaction with the level of solidarity between the recent war and the war in 2009, there was a rise in the level of satisfaction with the performance of the West Bank, standing at 85.1% while it was 58.7% in a poll conducted in January 2009. Satisfaction with Egypt was 90.1% while in the 2009 it was 35.1%. Satisfaction with the Muslim Brotherhood was 72.9% in the 2012 poll while it was 57.6% in the 2009 poll. Moreover, 76.7% of respondents showed satisfaction with Turkey in the 2012 poll while it stood at 89.6% in 2009. Furthermore, there is still a rise in the dissatisfaction with the performance of Western countries and international organizations. Dissatisfaction ranged from 93.4% with the US, 83.3% with Britain and 82.5% with Germany to 58.9% with the UN and 58.9% with the EU.

The resistance and rockets

There was a rise in the percentage of those who considered that the locally-made rockets fired from the Gaza Strip towards Israeli regions are helpful, from 25.4% in April, 2011 to 74% in December 2012, while the percentage of those who believe the rockets were harmful dropped from 38.6% in April 2011 to 9.7% in this 2012 poll. At the same time, there was a rise in the percentage of those who support the resumption of military operations against Israeli targets as an appropriate response in the current political situation, from 29.3% in January 2011 to 50.9% in the current December 2012 poll. Likewise, there was a drop in opponents to military operations who believe they are harmful to Palestinian interests from 56.3% to 42% in the same time period. The poll also showed a rise in supporters of armed resistance among the Palestinian public from 25.2% in November 2012 to 32.6% in this December 2012 poll. Nonetheless, an overwhelming majority of 62.3% peaceful negotiations and non-violent resistance as the best methods to achieve an end to the occupation.

The United Nations

Regarding the Palestinian leadership heading to the UN and the status upgrade of Palestine's representation, 74.9% said this was a good move that served Palestinian national interests while 5.8% only said it was a bad move that harmed Palestinian national interests. Furthermore, 74.6% expressed their satisfaction with the leadership's decision to take this step. In terms of how the UN bid influenced public opinion on Fatah, 64.4% said it had a positive impact in comparison to 5.1% that said it had a negative impact and 27.9% that said it did not have either

a negative or positive impact. Furthermore, 86.2% of those polled said going to the UN and Palestine obtaining a non-member state status confirms the need to hold elections in order to reform the PLO compared to 8.1% who said the opposite.

Parties and leaderships and their popularity

The poll showed a large rise in the public's trust in President Mahmoud Abbas from 17.9% in April 2011 to 30.1% in December 2012. There was also a slight rise in the public's trust in Ismail Haniyeh from 11.4% to 17.3%. At the same time, there was a drop in the people's trust in Fatah from 39.2% in the June 2011 poll to 34.9% in the December 2012 poll as opposed to a rise in the public's trust in Hamas from 16.6% to 26% in the same time period.

A question was also posed if respondents would vote for Fatah, Hamas or other parties in Legislative Council elections if they were held today. 38.5% said they would vote for Fatah while 28.2% said they would vote for Hamas. 43% said they would vote for President Mahmoud Abbas for the Palestinian presidency if he ran against Ismail Haniyeh, for whom 29.4% said they would vote in such elections.

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 6th and 11th of December 2012. 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: Halhul, Yatta, Hebron, Idhna, Beit Kahil, As-samu', Bani Na'im, Ash-shuyukh, Ar-rihiya, Imreish, al-'Arrub refugee camp. **Jenin:** jenin, Jaba', Qabatiya, Silat al-Harithiya, Siris, Ajja, Misliya, Jenin refugee camp. **Tubas:** Tubas, Aqaba. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** Al-Bireh, Al-Ithihad, Beituniya, Beit liqya, Kobar, Ein 'Arik, Der abu Misha'l, Shuqba, Al-Jalazun refugee camp. **Jericho:** Jericho, Nwi'meh. **Jerusalem :** Al-Ram, Al-Dahyeh, Biddo, Beit Ikssa, Beit Hanina, Shu'fat, Old City, Jabal al Mukaber, Ras Al-Amoud, Qalandia refugee camp. **Bethlehem:** Ad-doha, Beit Jala, Al-Khader, Battir, Ad-duheisha refugee camp. **Nablus:** Nablus, Awarta, Ijnisinya, As-sawiya, Salim, Ein Beit al Ma' refugee camp. **Salfit :** Biddya , Burqin **Tulkarem:** Tulkarem, Qoffin, Shufa, Seida. **Qalqilya:** Qalqiliya, Kafr Thulth.

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 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, Jabalia Refugee Camp, Beit Hanoun. **Deir al-Balah:** Deir al-Balah, Buriij, -Zawaydeh, Nussirat, al-Maghazi Refugee Camp, Bureij Refugee Camp, Deir al-Balah RefugeeCamp.

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, 9.9 % from Jerusalem, 37.6 % from the Gaza Strip.

16.3% said they live in villages, 9.6% in refugee camps, and 74.1 % in towns/cities.

50.8% were male, 49.2% were female.

70.1% were married, 25.1 %, single, 3.8% widowed, 0.9% divorced, 0.1% no answer.

The average age of the respondents was 36 years.

Occupation of Respondents

- Students 14.0%
- Laborers 9.5%
- Housewives 35.4 %
- Farmers/fishermen 2.2 %
- Craftsmen 0.9 %
- Businessmen/private business 9.1%
- Public Sector Employees 11.3 %
- Private Sector Employees 5.5 %
- Professionals (e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers) 1.0 %
- Unemployed 8.8%
- Retired 1.8%,
- No answer 0.5%.

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= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Very optimistic	11.7	9.6	15.1
Optimistic	64.8	64.5	65.3
Pessimistic	18.6	19.0	18.0
Very pessimistic	4.5	6.3	1.6
No answer	0.4	0.6	0.0

Q2. In general, what is the best method to achieve the Palestinian people's goals of ending the occupation and establishing a state?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Peaceful negotiations	40.4	45.3	32.2
Armed resistance (armed Intifada)	32.6	26.0	43.6
Non-violent resistance (peaceful Popular Intifada)	21.9	22.0	21.8
Other	1.5	1.3	1.8
I don't know \ no answer	3.6	5.4	0.6

Q3. 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 necessary	20.0	23.1	14.9
Perpetuating and maintaining the PNA is a necessity	74.9	71.4	80.7
I don't know \ no answer	5.1	5.5	4.4

Q4. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree with peace negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Strongly agree	22.4	27.4	14.2
Somewhat agree	38.5	38.3	38.9
Somewhat disagree	18.8	15.8	23.8
Strongly disagree	17.8	14.8	22.7
I don't know \ no answer	2.5	3.7	0.4

Q5. If negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians were to be resumed, who would you prefer to act as mediator between the two sides?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n= 749	n=450
The United States	1.5	2.0	0.7
The European Union	10.8	13.5	6.2
The Mideast Quartet	10.6	11.5	9.1
The United Nations	17.9	19.5	15.3
Egypt	49.4	40.5	64.2
I don't know \ no answer	9.8	13.0	4.5

Q6. Now that the Gaza war has ended, 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	1.8	1.7	1.8
Hamas	70.6	72.0	68.4
Israel and Hamas	3.0	2.0	4.7
Neither Israel nor Hamas	21.9	20.8	23.6
I don't know \ no answer	2.7	3.5	1.5

Q7. Hamas accuses Israel of targeting the civilians in this war while Israel accuses Hamas of hiding among the civilians, what do you think?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Hamas was hiding among the civilians	1.7	1.5	2.0
Israel was targeting the civilians	79.4	78.1	81.6
Hamas was hiding among the civilians and Israel targeted the civilians	14.8	14.4	15.6
I don't know \ no answer	4.1	6.0	0.8

Q8. Now that the Gaza war has ended, do you believe that it was possible for the Palestinian side to avoid it, or was Israel planning to launch the war in all cases?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Palestinians could have avoided it	8.2	7.1	10.0
Israel planned to launch the war in all cases	87.3	87.7	86.7
I don't know \ no answer	4.5	5.2	3.3

Q9. To what extent are you satisfied with West Bank solidarity with the Gaza Strip during the war?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Very satisfied	49.8	45.7	56.7
Somewhat satisfied	35.3	36.2	33.8
Somewhat dissatisfied	10.5	11.5	8.9
Very dissatisfied	3.3	4.9	0.6
I don't know \ no answer	1.1	1.7	0.0

Q10- To what extent are you satisfied with the role of the following countries, organizations, leaders and parties in the Gaza war? Very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
1-France	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Very satisfied	6.0	6.9	4.4
Somewhat satisfied	19.7	23.0	14.2
Somewhat dissatisfied	17.8	15.2	22.2
Very dissatisfied	48.2	42.7	57.3
I don't know \ no answer	8.3	12.2	1.9

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
2- Britain	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Very satisfied	0.3	0.4	7.8
Somewhat satisfied	7.3	7.1	24.2
Somewhat dissatisfied	19.2	16.2	66.2
Very dissatisfied	64.1	62.8	1.8
I don't know \ no answer	9.1	13.5	0.0

3- Germany	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Very satisfied	0.5	0.8	5.8
Somewhat satisfied	7.3	8.3	22.2
Somewhat dissatisfied	19.4	17.8	69.6
Very dissatisfied	63.1	59.1	2.4
I don't know \ no answer	9.7	14.0	0.0

4- The United States	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Very satisfied	0.3	0.5	0.0
Somewhat satisfied	1.3	1.3	1.1
Somewhat dissatisfied	7.5	6.5	9.1
Very dissatisfied	85.9	84.0	89.1
I don't know \ no answer	5.0	7.7	0.7

5- Egypt	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Very satisfied	54.7	46.2	68.9
Somewhat satisfied	35.4	40.9	26.4
Somewhat dissatisfied	4.7	5.9	2.7
Very dissatisfied	3.3	4.0	2.0
I don't know \ no answer	1.9	3.0	0.0

6- Qatar	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Very satisfied	32.6	19.1	31.1
Somewhat satisfied	40.1	39.7	40.9
Somewhat dissatisfied	14.4	14.4	14.4
Very dissatisfied	17.8	20.4	13.6
I don't know \ no answer	4.1	6.4	0.0

7- Fatah	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Very satisfied	39.0	38.2	40.4
Somewhat satisfied	39.3	38.5	40.7
Somewhat dissatisfied	12.3	10.0	16.0
Very dissatisfied	6.5	8.8	2.7
I don't know \ no answer	2.9	4.5	0.2

8- The Muslim Brotherhood Movement in Egypt	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Very satisfied	31.6	27.4	38.7
Somewhat satisfied	41.3	41.8	40.4
Somewhat dissatisfied	13.8	15.1	11.6
Very dissatisfied	8.6	9.1	7.8
I don't know \ no answer	4.7	6.6	1.5

9- The UN	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Very satisfied	7.8	10.5	3.0
Somewhat satisfied	27.4	30.7	22.0
Somewhat dissatisfied	23.9	17.8	34.2
Very dissatisfied	35.0	32.0	40.0
I don't know \ no answer	5.9	9.1	0.8

10-The EU	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Very satisfied	6.7	8.5	3.6
Somewhat satisfied	28.4	33.6	19.8
Somewhat dissatisfied	25.7	17.9	38.7
Very dissatisfied	33.2	30.7	37.3
I don't know \ no answer	6.0	9.3	0.6

11-Mahmoud Abass (Abu Mazen)	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Very satisfied	38.3	39.8	35.8
Somewhat satisfied	37.2	35.1	40.7
Somewhat dissatisfied	12.6	9.6	17.6
Very dissatisfied	8.9	10.7	5.9
I don't know \ no answer	3.0	4.8	0.0

12-Iran	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Very satisfied	19.5	22.2	15.1
Somewhat satisfied	36.6	36.8	36.2
Somewhat dissatisfied	17.8	13.9	24.4
Very dissatisfied	20.1	18.0	23.6
I don't know \ no answer	6.0	9.1	0.7

13-Hizbullah	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Very satisfied	16.8	21.1	9.6
Somewhat satisfied	37.0	36.6	37.8
Somewhat dissatisfied	20.6	15.0	30.0
Very dissatisfied	20.0	18.8	22.0
I don't know \ no answer	5.6	8.5	0.6

14-Turkey	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Very satisfied	37.3	35.5	40.2
Somewhat satisfied	39.4	40.5	37.6
Somewhat dissatisfied	8.6	7.3	10.7
Very dissatisfied	10.0	9.5	10.9
I don't know \ no answer	4.7	7.2	0.6

Q11. 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= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Help	74.0	70.6	79.6
Harm	9.7	10.5	8.2
Don't make any difference	13.5	15.0	11.1
Other	0.3	0.3	0.2
I don't know \ no answer	2.5	3.6	0.9

Q12. 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= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
An appropriate response under current political conditions	50.9	48.7	54.4
Oppose them and believe they harm Palestinian national interests	42.0	41.0	43.6
Others	1.1	1.1	1.1
I don't know \ no answer	6.0	9.2	0.9

Q13. 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= 1199	n= 749	n=450
Satisfied	74.6	71.3	80.2
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	16.4	16.6	16.2
Dissatisfied	7.1	9.5	3.1
I don't know \ no answer	1.9	2.6	0.4

Q14. 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= 1199	n=749	n= 450
Positive impact	64.4	57.4	76.0
Negative impact	5.1	5.9	3.8
Neither positive nor negative	27.9	33.1	19.3
I don't know \ no answer	2.6	3.6	0.9

Q15. The Palestinian leadership recently headed to the UN to obtain an upgrade in Palestine's status at the UN. Do you believe this is a good step that serves Palestinian national interests, a bad step that harms Palestinian national interests or a step that won't make any difference?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
A good step that serves Palestinian national interests	74.9	70.8	81.8
A bad step that harms Palestinian national interests	5.8	7.6	2.9
The step won't make any difference	17.2	18.4	15.1
I don't know \ no answer	2.1	3.2	0.2

Q16. Now, after the UN General Assembly recognized Palestine as a non-member state, to what extent do you agree or disagree on the need to hold elections to reform the PLO?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Strongly agree	50.0	46.2	56.2
Somewhat agree	36.2	36.0	36.4
Somewhat disagree	5.8	7.2	3.6
Strongly disagree	2.3	2.7	1.8
I don't know	4.8	6.4	2.0
No answer	0.9	1.5	0.0

Q17. Which political or religious faction do you trust the most?*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Fatah	34.9	32.2	39.3
Hamas	26.0	21.8	33.1
PFLP	2.9	3.2	2.4
Other Islamic factions	3.5	1.7	6.4
Others	2.8	2.7	2.9
I don't trust anyone	21.7	26.3	14.0
No answer	8.2	12.1	1.9

***This was an open-ended question no options were read to the interviewee**

Q18. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1199	n= 749	n= 450
Mahmoud Abass (Abu Mazen)	30.1	29.8	30.7
Ismail Haniyeh	17.3	12.3	25.8
Khaled Misha'l	6.0	5.7	6.4
Marwan al-Barghouthi	4.2	3.1	6.0
Ahmad Sa'adat	2.2	2.5	1.6
Others	9.9	7.3	14.2
I don't trust anyone	22.3	27.0	14.4
No answer	8.0	12.3	0.9

***This was an open-ended question no options were read to the interviewee**

Q19- If PLC elections were to take place today, which of the following parties would you vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n= 749	n= 450
Fatah	38.3	36.0	42.0
Hamas	28.1	24.4	34.2
PFLP	3.4	3.6	3.1
PNI	1.6	1.1	2.4
PPP	1.0	1.2	0.7
DFLP	0.5	0.4	0.7
Others	1.9	1.5	2.7
I won't vote	15.8	19.0	10.4
I don't know	5.5	7.5	2.2
No answer	3.9	5.3	1.6

Q20- If PLC elections were held today, which of the following parties would you vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1199	n= 749	n= 450
Fatah	38.5	36.2	42.4
Hamas	28.2	24.6	34.2
Other parties	9.8	9.2	10.7
I won't vote	17.1	20.6	11.3
No answer	6.4	9.4	1.4

Q21- If presidential elections were held today, with Ismael Haniyeha 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=1199	n= 749	n=450
Mahmoud Abass (Abu Mazen)	43.0	40.3	47.3
Ismail Haniyeh	29.4	26.3	34.4
I don't know	14.1	15.4	12.0
No answer	13.5	18.0	6.3