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Poll no. 77_November 2012

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

Setback in the satisfaction of the public over the performance of the PNA and its leaders

Increase in the percentage of supporters for dissolving the PNA

Majority: Exit from current political crisis is through holding general elections

Majority: Going to the UN is to the benefit of the Palestinian cause

Division over the impact of the Arab Spring on the Palestinian cause

A public opinion poll conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communications Centre (JMCC) showed that there was an increase among those who believe it is necessary to dissolve the PNA from 22.2% in November 2011 to 27.8% November 2012. This is in spite of the fact that the majority (65.0%) still believe in the necessity of the PNA's perpetuation and maintenance.

The poll, which the JMCC conducted at the beginning of November and which included a sample of 1,200 people, showed that the majority (58.3%) of respondents feel an exit to the existing political crisis is possible through holding legislative and presidential elections, compared to 32.3% who said cancelling signed agreements with Israel is the best option for exiting the crisis.

Furthermore, the poll indicated to an increase in the percentage of supporters of a bi-national state from 22.3% November 2011 to 27.5% November 2012, even though supporters of the two-state solution hardly changed, remaining at 51.2%. The poll also showed that the majority of respondents 48.0% said the leadership heading to the United Nations would benefit the Palestinian cause while 35.6% said it would neither be to the benefit nor to the detriment of the cause; 12.2% said it would be to its detriment.

Setback in performance

The poll also showed an overall setback in the public's evaluation of the performance of the PNA and its leaders. There was a retreat in the percentage of those who find the PNA's performance as good or very good from 67.6% November 2011 to 54.9% November 2012. There was also a setback in the percentage of those satisfied with the way in which President Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) performs his job as the President of the PNA from 55.5% November 2011 to 49.2% November 2012. There was also a setback in the evaluation of the performance of Salam Fayyad's government from 42.9% in April, 2010 to 29.6% November 2012.

Furthermore, the poll showed that a slight majority of respondents who were dissatisfied with the way the PNA handled the recent economic crisis with 52.2% saying it was bad or very bad while 45.4% said the way in which the PNA handled the crisis was good or very good.

Pessimism regarding reconciliation

In terms of the reconciliation efforts between Hamas and Fatah, the percentage of those who expect reconciliation to be reached in 2013 decreased from 40.2% in May to 35.9% November 2012.

In spite of this pessimism, the percentage of those who favor holding elections increased, but only if reconciliation is complete, from 51.3% in May to 60.8% in November 2012 whereby the percentage of those who favor holding elections under any circumstances decreased from 42.7% in May to 34.8% this November 2012.

The Arab Spring and the Palestinian cause

The JMCC poll showed that the public was divided over the impact of current events in the Arab world on the Palestinian cause, whereby 35.8% said they had a positive impact while 34.0% said they had a negative impact on the Palestinian cause.

Likewise, the public was divided over the impact of the Muslim Brotherhood's assumption of power in Egypt on the Palestinian cause where 44.8% said it had a positive impact while 42.2% said it had a negative impact. However, the poll showed a discrepancy between the West Bank and Gaza Strip whereby the majority of those polled in Gaza 52.2% said the impact of the Muslim Brotherhood's assumption of power in Egypt had a positive impact on the Palestinian cause compared to 40.4% in the West Bank.

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 28 October and 4th of November 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 **750** people were surveyed from the following areas:

Hebron: Bani Na'im, Surif, As-Samu', Yatta, Beit Kahil, Dura, Nuba, Taffuh, Sa'ir, Hebron, Khursa, Al-Arrub Refugee Camp. **Jenin:** Al-Yamun, Jenin, Jaba', Siris, Fahma, Jenin Refugee Camp. **Tubas:** Tubas, Aqaba.

Ramallah & al-Bireh: Ni'lin, Ramallah, Beit 'U r at-Tahta, Al-Birch, Deir Ibz'I, Abud, Kafr Ein, Qarawa, Ein Qiniya, Al-Jalazun Refugee Camp. **Jericho:** Jericho, Nwi'meh. **Jerusalem :** Al-Ram, Al-Dahyeh, Biddo, Beit Ikssa, Beit Hanina, Shu'fat, Old City, Silwan, Ras Al-Amoud, Shu'fat Refugee Camp. **Bethlehem:** Beit Fajjar, Beit Jala, A-Doha, Ash-Shawawreh, Ayda Refugee Camp. **Nablus:** Nablus, Beit Furik, Jamma'in, Beita, Al-Badhan, Einabous, Madama, Ein Beit al-Ma' Refugee Camp. **Salfit :** Salfit, Deir Istiya. **Tulkarem:** Attil, Qoffin, Tulkarem, Anabta, Kafr al-Labad, Seida. **Qalqilya:** Qalqilya, Azzun, Jayyous.

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, Absan al-Sagheerah, 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, Buri, -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.

15.8% said they live in villages, 8.8 % in refugee camps, and 75.4% in towns/cities.

49.9% were male, 50.1 % were female.

67.8% were married, 26.2 %, single, 4.4% widowed, 1.5% divorced, 0.1 % no answer.

The average age of the respondents was 36 years.

Occupation of Respondents

- Students 13.3 %
- Laborers 12.3 %
- Housewives 35.1 %
- Farmers/fishermen 2.6 %
- Craftsmen 0.8%
- Businessmen/private business 8.3 %
- Public Sector Employees 10.8%
- Private Sector Employees 4.8%
- Professionals (e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers) 0.6%
- Unemployed 9.0 %
- Retired 1.9%,
- 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= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Very optimistic	4.8	4.5	5.3
Optimistic	56.3	58.0	53.2
Pessimistic	27.6	24.7	32.4
Very pessimistic	10.6	12.3	7.8
No answer	0.7	0.5	1.3

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	1.3	0.7	2.2
Optimistic	26.5	26.9	25.8
Pessimistic	42.8	38.5	49.8
Very pessimistic	27.4	31.6	20.4
I don't know \ No answer	2.0	2.3	1.8

Q3. 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	3.8	4.0	3.6
Good	51.1	50.0	52.9
Bad	30.6	30.0	31.6
Very bad	13.3	14.3	11.8
No answer	1.2	1.7	0.1

Q4. Do you think that there is corruption in the PNA?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Yes	81.1	81.9	79.8
No	13.3	11.3	16.4
I don't know \ No answer	5.6	6.8	3.8

Q4-1 To what extent do you think there is corruption in the PNA?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 973	n= 614	n=359
To a great extent	40.6	44.1	34.5
To an average extent	43.3	43.6	42.6
To a low extent	15.1	11.1	22.0
I don't know \ No answer	1.0	1.2	0.9

- This question was asked to those who answered yes in question 4

Q5. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way that president Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) is performing his job as president to the PNA?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n= 450
Very satisfied	17.8	19.3	15.3
Somewhat satisfied	31.4	32.1	30.2
Somewhat unsatisfied	17.7	17.5	18.0
Very unsatisfied	29.3	26.3	34.4
No answer	3.8	4.8	2.1

Q6. President Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazren) recently presented the Palestinian leadership with two options for exiting the current political crisis : to cancel signed agreements with Israel or to conduct legislative and presidential elections. In your opinion, what is the best option for exiting the current political crisis?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n= 450
To cancel signed agreements with Israel	32.3	35.9	26.4
To conduct legislative and presidential elections	58.3	52.9	67.3
Others	2.3	2.8	1.3
I don't know \ No answer	7.1	8.4	5.0

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	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n= 450
The performance of Fayyad's government is better than the performance of Hanieh's government	29.6	26.3	35.1
The performance of Fayyad's government is similar to the performance of Hanieh's government	28.4	28.4	28.4
The performance of Fayyad's government is worse than the performance of Hanieh's government	31.3	32.7	28.9
I don't know \ No answer	10.7	12.6	7.6

Q8. The Palestinian leadership is planning to head to the UN General Assembly next month in order to request an upgrade of their status to become a non-member state. In your opinion, do you think this will be to the benefit of the Palestinian cause, to the detriment of the Palestinian cause or neither to the benefit nor to the detriment of the Palestinian cause?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n= 450
This will be to the benefit of the Palestinian cause	48.0	47.9	48.2
This will be to the detriment of the Palestinian cause	12.2	11.6	13.1
Neither to the benefit nor to the detriment of the Palestinian cause	35.6	35.6	35.6
I don't know \ No answer	4.2	4.9	3.1

Q9. 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	27.8	26.8	29.6
Perpetuating and maintaining the PNA is a necessity	65.0	65.1	64.9
I don't know \ No answer	7.2	8.1	5.5

Q10. There has been a debate recently on the issue of freedom of expression in the Palestinian society. In your opinion to what extent the freedom of expression is permissible in the PA-controlled territories?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
To a very great extent	4.9	7.1	1.3
To a great extent	21.8	23.5	19.1
To a low extent	39.6	37.9	42.4
To a very low extent	14.3	12.1	18.0
Freedom of expression is not permissible at all	17.9	17.7	18.2
I don't know \ No answer	1.5	1.7	1.0

Q11. 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 : A Palestinian and an Israeli	51.2	50.9	51.8
Bi-national state on all of historic Palestine	27.5	33.9	16.9
Palestinian State *	9.8	5.2	17.3
Islamic State *	2.3	2.5	1.8
No solution	6.4	4.9	8.9
I don't know \ No answer	2.8	2.6	3.3

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

Q12. 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= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Peaceful negotiations	39.4	40.9	36.9
Non-violent resistance (peaceful Popular Intifada)	25.2	19.9	34.0
Armed resistance (armed Intifada)	28.1	30.9	23.3
Other	2.1	1.3	3.3
I don't know \ No answer	5.2	7.0	2.5

Q13. 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 unclear future, and a third group believes that the peace process is still alive and there is a possibility of resuming negotiations?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
The peace process is dead and there is no chance of resuming the negotiations	33.8	32.4	36.2
The peace process is passing through difficult times with an unclear future	44.2	44.5	43.6
The peace process is still alive and there is a possibility of resuming negotiations	19.9	20.5	18.9
I don't know \ No answer	2.1	2.6	1.3

Q14. In your opinion, to what extent does the PA respect civil rights and political freedom in the West Bank?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Fully	8.4	8.0	9.1
Sufficiently	31.2	32.7	28.7
Not sufficiently	33.7	33.6	33.8
Not at all	22.3	22.1	22.7
I don't know \ No answer	4.4	3.6	5.7

Q15. In your opinion to what extent does the Hamas government respect civil rights and political freedom in the Gaza Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Fully	4.8	3.6	6.9
Sufficiently	20.3	21.1	18.9
Not sufficiently	28.8	25.9	33.8
Not at all	33.8	30.7	39.1
I don't know \ No answer	12.3	18.7	1.3

Q16. 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	36.7	29.3	48.9
Oppose them and believe they harm Palestinian national interests	55.8	62.8	44.0
Others	2.9	2.0	4.4
I don't know \ No answer	4.6	5.9	2.7

Q17. 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= 1200	n= 750	n=450
The United States	5.8	6.3	5.1
The European Union	22.4	24.4	19.1
The Mideast Quartet	19.8	20.7	18.4
The United Nations	28.6	28.7	28.4
I don't know \ No answer	23.4	19.9	29.0

Q18- According to the Palestinian Basic Law, the legislative and presidential elections should have been held three years ago. Do you favor holding elections this year under any circumstances, or do you favor holding elections only after reconciliation is completed?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Prefer holding elections soon under any circumstances	34.8	32.8	38.2
Prefer holding elections only after reconciliation is completed	60.8	61.2	60.2
I don't know \ No answer	4.4	6.0	1.6

Q19- If PLC elections were to take place today, which party would you vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n= 750	n=450
Fatah	39.3	38.8	40.0
Hamas	16.6	13.1	22.4
PFLP	3.9	4.4	3.1
PNI	2.6	2.8	2.2
PPP	1.4	1.5	1.3
DFLP	0.5	0.7	0.2
Others	4.3	3.7	5.1
I won't vote	24.0	24.7	22.9
I don't know	5.3	7.1	2.4
No answer	2.1	3.2	0.4

Q20. 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= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Marwan al-Barghouthi	11.5	10.3	13.6
Isma'el Hanieh	10.2	7.1	15.3
Salam Fayyad	3.5	3.7	3.1
Mohamad Dahlan	3.3	0.8	7.3
Mustafa al-Barghouthi	3.3	3.6	2.9
Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)	1.3	1.5	1.1
I don't know	1.8	2.7	0.2
Others	11.1	10.5	12.0
I won't vote	0.5	0.5	0.4
Depends	6.4	6.5	6.2
I don't trust any one	31.6	32.3	30.4
No answer	15.5	20.5	7.5

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

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= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Hamas movement	34.5	35.6	32.7
Fatah movement	20.3	20.4	20.2
Others	1.5	2.3	0.2
Fatah and Hamas *	27.1	21.1	37.1
Israel *	6.4	6.8	5.8
I don't know \ No answer	10.2	13.8	4.0

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

Q22- Do you expect "Fatah" and "Hamas" movements to reach reconciliation within 2013?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Yes	35.9	38.9	30.9
No	51.1	47.7	56.7
I don't know \ No answer	13.0	13.4	12.4

Q23- Since "Fatah" held its convention in 2009, to what degree has this movement succeeded in the following:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
1-Combating corruption	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Greatly succeeded	4.9	5.3	4.2
Somewhat succeeded	31.8	30.4	34.2
Somewhat failed	33.0	28.1	41.1
Totally failed	24.2	28.4	17.1
No answer	6.1	7.8	3.4

2-Structural reform in the movement	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Greatly succeeded	5.4	4.7	6.7
Somewhat succeeded	30.5	28.1	34.4
Somewhat failed	31.3	27.1	38.2
Totally failed	25.4	30.3	17.3
No answer	7.4	9.8	3.4

3-Peaceful resistance	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Greatly succeeded	9.1	9.3	8.7
Somewhat succeeded	34.3	33.1	36.2
Somewhat failed	26.4	21.5	34.7
Totally failed	22.8	26.4	16.9
No answer	7.4	9.7	3.5

Q24. Hamas political chief Khaled Meshaal announced he will not run again for the head of Hamas politburo elections. In general, do you consider this a very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or a very negative step?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Very positive step	12.2	10.9	14.2
Somewhat positive step	19.9	20.7	18.7
Somewhat negative step	15.3	12.8	19.3
Very negative step	10.1	10.5	9.3
Not positive nor negative	35.2	34.4	36.4
I don't know	6.8	9.7	2.0
No answer	0.5	1.0	0.1

Q25. In the light of the recent protests against price hikes, how do you evaluate the performance of the PNA handling the economic crisis? Would you say it's performance was:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Very good	2.9	2.5	3.6
Good	42.5	38.9	48.4
Bad	33.9	34.0	33.8
Very bad	18.3	21.9	12.4
No answer	2.4	2.7	1.8

Q26. In general, what do you think about the impact of the underway revolutions in some Arab states on the Palestinian cause? Was the impact very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, very negative, or that they did not have any impact on the Palestinian cause?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Very positive impact	9.4	7.5	12.7
Somewhat positive impact	26.4	27.1	25.3
Somewhat negative impact	16.9	13.5	22.7
Very negative impact	17.1	18.5	14.7
These revolutions did not impact the Palestinian cause	26.7	28.7	23.3
I don't know \ No answer	3.5	4.7	1.3

Q27. If the Muslim Brotherhood's assumption of power in Egypt leads to a closer political and economic relationship with the Gaza Strip, what effect do you think this will have on the Palestinian cause? Will it have:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
A very positive effect	14.0	12.3	16.9
A somewhat positive effect	30.8	28.1	35.3
A somewhat negative effect	23.4	22.3	25.3
A very negative effect	18.8	20.4	16.2
I don't know \ No answer	13.0	16.9	6.3

Q28. Israeli Parliamentary elections will be held in February 2013, do you expect the results of these elections to either increase or decrease chances of reaching an agreement with Israel?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Increase the chances to a great extent	4.2	4.9	2.9
Increase the chances to a low extent	8.3	8.4	8.0
Will have no influence	26.5	25.5	28.2
Will decrease to a low extent	14.1	14.3	13.8
Will decrease to a very great extent	21.5	22.1	20.4
Depends on the results of elections	20.3	18.7	22.9
I don't know \ No answer	5.1	6.1	3.8

Q29. Which political or religious faction do you trust the most?*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Fatah	36.8	36.0	38.0
Hamas	16.8	13.2	22.7
PFLP	3.6	3.9	3.1
PNI	1.5	1.9	0.9
Others	2.8	3.5	1.8
Other Islamic factions	1.3	0.5	2.4
I don't trust any one	31.8	33.3	29.1
No answer	5.4	7.7	2.0

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

Q30. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n= 450
Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)	18.3	19.7	15.8
Isma'el Hanieh	11.1	7.9	16.4
Marwan al-Barghouthi	7.2	6.0	9.3
Khaled Mish'al	3.0	2.9	3.1
Others	16.4	15.2	18.4
I don't trust any one	35.9	38.1	32.2
No answer	8.1	10.2	4.8

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