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Poll no. 76_May 2012

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

Over half of respondents support general elections in light of reconciliation

Setback in performance of the PA; majority support its perpetuation

Haniyeh surpasses Meshaal in Hammas

Negativity towards freedom of speech and expression

Large percentage: Fatah failed in internal reforms and combating corruption after its 2009 conference

A public opinion poll conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communications Center (JMCC) showed that around half of Palestinian society (51.3%) support holding parliamentary and presidential elections but only if reconciliation is reached, as opposed to 42.7% who said they supported elections being held under any circumstances.

If elections are held, 42% of respondents said they would vote for Fatah while 19.5% said they would vote for Hamas; 2.2% would vote for the PFLP, 3.5% for other parties and 2.9% for independent figures. The poll also showed that if elections were held and the race was between Marwan Barghouti and Khaled Meshaal only, 50.2% said they would vote for Marwan Barghouti, 20.5% would vote for Khaled Meshaal and 25.1% would not vote at all.

Pessimism regarding the reconciliation

Regarding the chances for the reconciliation to succeed, the poll showed that Palestinian society is more pessimistic towards this possibility. The majority of those polled (48.7%) said they did not expect reconciliation to be reached between Fatah and Hamas this year as opposed to 40.2% who said they did. In the same context, 37.2% of respondents said Hamas was more responsible for the continued Palestinian split and the failure of the reconciliation compared to 19.1% who held Fatah responsible; 18.9% said both parties were responsible while 7.1% held Israel responsible.

Setback in PA performance

Regarding the performance of the Palestinian National Authority, 60.2% said its performance was either good or very good in this poll compared to 67.6% who said the same thing in the poll conducted last November. While 37.9% said in this poll that its performance was either poor or very poor as opposed to 30.5% who said the same thing in the November poll.

On the debate over the future of the PA, the poll shows that the majority of those polled, 66.6% believed there was a need to perpetuate and maintain the PA as opposed to 26.9% of those who think it should be dissolved.

Regarding the new Palestinian government under Dr. Salam Fayyad, 31.6% considered this a positive step in improving government performance in comparison to 14.4% who said it was a negative step. The majority of respondents (49%) said the formation of this government would not make any difference in the government's performance.

As for the performance of Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, 56.9% of those polled said they were somewhat satisfied or very satisfied with his performance while 40.7% said they were somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with his performance.

Haniyeh and Meshaal

The poll addressed the question of whom respondents would prefer to lead Hamas and set its strategies, Khaled Meshaal or Ismail Haniyeh. 40.1% they would prefer Haniyeh while 25.8% said they preferred Meshaal. The poll also showed Haniyeh (46.5%) clearly surpassing Meshaal (18.7%) in Gaza.

Fatah

The poll showed that a large percentage of respondents believe Fatah somewhat failed or totally failed in reforming the movement's structure (49.1%) while the same percentage said the movement somewhat failed or totally failed in combating corruption.

Spread of Corruption

On the issue of corruption in the Palestinian Authority, the majority 82.3% of those polled said there was corruption in the PA compared to 12.1% who said there was not. Regarding the anti-corruption commission recently set up by the PA, the majority (50.9%) said its presence contributed to fighting corruption as opposed to 36.4% who said it did not contribute at all.

Freedom of Expression

Regarding the ongoing debate over freedom of opinion and expression in Palestinian society, the poll showed that the people's perception was negative towards this issue. The majority of respondents, 55.2% said freedom of opinion in Palestinian society was permissible to little or very little extent while 29.7% said it was permissible to a large or very large extent.

Political prospects

Politically, the majority (68.1%) of those polled said the Palestinian leadership should resume its efforts at the United Nations in pursuit of recognition of an independent Palestinian state. As for the ideal solution to the Palestinian question, the majority (49.5%) still believe the two-state solution is the most preferable as opposed to 25.9% who believe the best solution would be a bi-national one state solution. Furthermore, the majority of respondents (79.9%) said they preferred peaceful resistance to regain Palestinian rights compared to 55.5% who supported armed resistance. The majority (42.8%) said the PA supports peaceful resistance to a moderate extent while 26.9% said it does not support it at all.

Methodology:

A random sample of **1188** people over the age of 18 was interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip between 20th and 26th of May 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: Hebron, Yatta, Beit Ula, Idna, Sa'ir, Kharas, Taffuh, Bani Na'im, Ad-Dahiriya, Khursa, al-Karmil, al-'Arrub Refugee Camp. **Jenin:** Kafr Ra'I, Al-Yamun, Jenin, Qabatiya, Jaba', Kafr Qud, Rummana, Jalabun, Jenin Refugee Camp. **Tubas:** Aqqaba, Tayaseer. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** Ramallah, Ni'lin, Al-Bireh, Sinjil, Kafr Malik, Bet Sira, Saffa, At-Tayba, Deir Ammar Refugee Camp. **Jericho:** Jericho, Ein Ad-youk al-Fawka. **Jerusalem :** Al-Ram, Al-Dahyeh, Biddo, Beit Ikssa, Beit Hanina, Shu'fat, Old City, Silwan, Ras Al-Amoud, Sh'fat Refugee Camp. **Bethlehem:** Beit Sahour, Al-Khader, Bethlehem, Nahalin, Wadi Fukin, Ayda Refugee Camp. **Nablus:** Nablus, Huwwara, Jamma'in, Azmut, Odala, Sarra, As-Sawyeh, Jalud, Ein Beit al-Ma' Refugee Camp. **Salfit :** Salfiti, Haris. **Tulkarem:** Anabta, Illar, Qoffin, Beit Lid, Zeita, Shufa. **Qalqilya:** Qalqiliya, Kafr Thulth.

In the Gaza Strip **439** 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

53.0 % of the respondents were from the West Bank, 10.0% from Jerusalem, 37.0 % from the Gaza Strip.

16.9 % said they live in villages, 8.8 % in refugee camps, and 74.3 % in towns/cities.

49.7% were male, 50.3 % were female.

66.8 % were married, 26.0 %, single, 4.4% widowed, 1.4% divorced, 1.4 % no answer.

The average age of the respondents was 36 years.

Occupation of Respondents

- Students 14.6 %
- Laborers 12.3 %
- Housewives 35.9%
- Farmers/fishermen 2.3%
- Craftsmen 0.9%
- Businessmen/private business 7.9%
- Public Sector Employees 10.1%
- Private Sector Employees 6.0%
- Professionals (e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers) 0.8 %
- Unemployed 6.8 %
- Retired 2.2 %,
- No answer 0.2 %.

Results:

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

	Total n= 1188	West Bank n= 749	Gaza n=439
Optimistic	31.6	31.4	31.9
Cautiously optimistic	40.3	40.6	39.9
Pessimistic	27.5	27.5	27.6
No answer	0.6	0.5	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 n= 1188	West Bank n= 749	Gaza n= 439
Two-state solution : an Israeli and a Palestinian	49.5	48.1	51.9
Bi-national state on all of historic Palestine	25.9	29.5	19.8
Palestinian State *	7.2	5.2	10.7
Islamic State *	1.6	1.9	1.1
Others	0.5	0.1	1.1
No solution	13.5	14.0	12.5
Don't know	1.0	0.9	1.1
No answer	0.8	0.3	1.8

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

Q3. Under the two-state solution, Palestine and Israel on pre-1967 lands, do you agree that part of the Israeli settlers stay under sovereignty of the Palestinian state?

	Total n= 1188	West Bank n= 749	Gaza n=439
Strongly agree	4.7	2.7	8.2
Somewhat agree	15.0	10.9	21.9
Somewhat disagree	15.7	15.5	16.2
Strongly disagree	62.4	69.6	50.1
Don't know	1.9	1.2	3.0
No answer	0.3	0.1	0.6

Q4. “Kadima” party recently joined the Israeli government coalition. Do you think this step would:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Increase chances to re-launch peace process	8.4	8.0	9.1
Decrease chances to re-launch peace process	33.8	33.6	34.2
Make no change at all	50.3	48.9	52.6
Don't know	7.4	9.3	4.1
No answer	0.1	0.2	0.0

Q5. 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= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Very good	11.0	11.3	10.5
Good	49.2	51.7	44.9
Bad	26.5	24.8	29.4
Very bad	11.4	9.9	14.1
No answer	1.9	2.3	1.1

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= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Dissolving the PNA is necessary	26.9	23.0	33.7
Perpetuating and maintaining the PNA is a necessity	66.6	70.8	59.5
Don't know	6.1	5.9	6.6
No answer	0.4	0.3	0.2

Q7- Do you think the Palestinian leadership should resume effort at the UN in pursuit of recognition of an independent Palestinian state even if this would lead to sanctions by the USA and Israel?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Yes	68.1	66.6	70.6
No	25.8	26.2	25.1
Don't know	6.0	7.2	3.9
No answer	0.1	0.0	0.4

Q8- In your opinion, to what extent has the PA been supportive of peaceful resistance against the occupation? Do you think the PA supports peaceful resistance largely, fairly or not at all?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Largely supports it	24.2	23.9	24.6
Fairly supports it	42.8	42.5	43.5
Do not support it at all	26.9	27.2	26.2
Don't know	5.7	6.0	5.2
No answer	0.4	0.4	0.5

Q9. 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= 1188	n= 749	n=439
To a very great extent	4.4	5.6	2.3
To a great extent	23.5	27.0	17.5
To a low extent	39.8	38.5	42.1
To a very low extent	15.4	14.4	17.1
Freedom of expression is not permissible at all	15.7	13.0	20.5
Don't know	1.2	1.5	0.5

Q10- Do you think that there is corruption in the PNA?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Yes	82.3	81.8	83.1
No	12.1	11.5	13.2
Don't know	5.2	6.4	3.2
No answer	0.4	0.3	0.5

Q11- An anti-corruption commission was recently established in Palestine. Do you think that this commission is combating corruption, or not combating corruption?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Is combating corruption	50.9	50.3	51.9
Is not combating corruption	36.4	35.1	38.5
Don't know	11.9	13.8	8.7
No answer	0.8	0.8	0.9

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= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Very satisfied	23.7	25.2	21.0
Somewhat satisfied	33.2	35.1	30.1
Somewhat dissatisfied	13.6	13.1	14.4
Very dissatisfied	27.1	23.8	32.8
No answer	2.4	2.8	1.7

Q13- According to the 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= 1188	n= 749	n=439
I accept holding the legislative and presidential election under any circumstances	42.7	38.2	50.3
I accept holding the election only after reconciliation is completed	51.3	54.7	45.3
Don't know	5.5	6.4	3.9
No answer	0.5	0.7	0.5

Q14- Do you expect holding local elections within 2012?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Yes	44.7	46.7	41.2
No	42.8	39.1	49.2
Don't know	11.9	13.9	8.4
No answer	0.6	0.3	1.2

Q15- If PLC elections were to take place today, which party would you vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Hammas	19.5	16.8	24.1
Fatah	42.0	43.5	39.4
The Independents *	2.9	1.7	5.0
PFLP *	2.2	2.3	2.1
Others	3.5	3.7	3.2
I won't vote	25.2	26.4	23.0
No answer	4.7	5.6	3.2

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

Q16- If presidential elections were held today, with Marwan al-Barghouthi and Khaled Meshaal as the only candidates running in the elections, for which one of them would you vote?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Marwan Al-Barghouthi	50.2	49.7	51.0
Khaled Meshaal	20.5	18.2	24.6
I won't vote	25.1	27.0	21.9
No answer	4.2	5.1	2.5

Q17- In your opinion, which side should be more blamed for the persisting division and the failure of efforts pertinent between Fatah and Hammas?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Hammas Movement	37.2	39.8	32.8
Fatah Movement	19.1	17.2	22.3
Hammas and Fatah *	18.9	16.4	23.0
Israel *	7.1	5.9	9.3
Others	2.7	3.1	2.1
Don't know	12.6	15.2	8.2
No answer	2.4	2.4	2.3

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

Q18- Do you expect "Fatah" and "Hammas" movements to reach reconciliation within 2012?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Yes	40.2	41.5	38.0
No	48.7	45.8	53.5
Don't know	10.7	12.3	8.0
No answer	0.4	0.4	0.5

Q19- A competition recently appeared between Khaled Mish'al and Ismail Haniyyeh over the leadership of "Hamas" and its strategy. Whom do you favor to win this competition?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=465
Ismail Haniyeh	40.1	36.3	46.5
Khaled Meshaal	25.8	30.0	18.7
Don't know	26.7	25.2	29.2
No answer	7.4	8.5	5.6

Q20- Since "Fatah" held its convention in 2009, to what degree has this movement succeeded in the following, would you say it: Greatly succeeded, somewhat succeeded, somewhat failed, or totally failed?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n=749	n=439
1-Combating corruption			
Greatly succeeded	11.8	12.7	10.3
Somewhat succeeded	33.2	33.0	33.5
Somewhat failed	28.3	25.4	33.3
Totally failed	20.6	21.8	18.7
No answer	6.1	7.1	4.2

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
2-Structural reform in the movement			
Greatly succeeded	10.4	11.2	8.9
Somewhat succeeded	32.1	31.8	32.6
Somewhat failed	26.6	22.7	33.3
Totally failed	22.5	23.6	20.5
No answer	8.4	10.7	4.7

Q21- In general, to what degree do you favor the following methods of struggle to end the Israeli occupation? Would you say you : strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat disfavor, or totally disfavor?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
1-Peaceful resistance			
Strongly favor	39.0	46.1	26.9
Somewhat favor	40.9	35.1	50.8
Somewhat disfavor	9.4	6.4	14.6
Totally disfavor	6.6	7.7	4.6
No answer	4.1	4.7	3.1

2-Armed struggle	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Strongly favor	23.7	17.4	34.4
Somewhat favor	31.8	25.8	42.1
Somewhat disfavor	19.5	22.6	14.4
Totally disfavor	20.5	29.0	5.9
No answer	4.5	5.2	3.2

Q22. 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= 1188	n= 749	n=439
An appropriate response under current political conditions	32.5	25.6	44.2
Oppose them and believe they harm Palestinian national interests	57.7	64.1	46.7
Others	3.9	3.5	4.6
Don't know	5.1	6.0	3.6
No answer	0.8	0.8	0.9

Q23- There are international efforts to re-launch Palestinian-Israeli negotiations. What do you think?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
I favor re-launch of negotiation under any circumstances	21.6	21.8	21.4
I favor re-launch of negotiations only with a halt of settlement-related policy	51.2	52.5	49.0
I oppose re-launch of negotiations under any circumstances	23.4	21.0	27.6
Don't know	3.6	4.7	1.8
No answer	0.2	0.0	0.2

Q24- A new Salam Fayyad-led government was recently composed. Do you think this change will positively affect the government performance, will negatively affect the government performance, or will not contribute at all?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
This change will positively affect the government performance	31.6	35.0	26.0
This change will negatively affect the government performance	14.4	11.6	19.1
This change will not contribute at all	49.0	47.9	50.8
Don't know	4.6	4.9	4.1
No answer	0.4	0.6	0.0

Q25- In the Light of the present government, to what extent do you feel the presence of nepotism in providing public services?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
To a great extnet	42.8	45.5	38.0
To an average extnet	25.3	27.2	21.9
To a low extnet	21.6	19.9	24.6
No nepotisim at all	7.3	4.5	12.1
Don't know	2.9	2.7	3.2
No answer	0.1	0.2	0.2

Q26- To what extent do you think Fayyad's government is being transparent in handing the financial issues? To a very high degree, high degree, average degree, low or very low?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
To a very high degree	8.2	6.1	11.8
High degree	16.1	17.6	13.4
Average	31.1	31.6	30.1
Low degree	21.4	19.6	24.4
Very low degree	15.9	16.6	14.8
Don't know	7.0	8.0	5.2
No answer	0.3	0.5	0.3

Q27- To what extent do you think that the government will collect taxes and other fees from all citizens in a fair manner?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
To a great extent	14.3	12.1	18.0
To some extent	37.7	38.3	36.7
To a small extent	39.7	39.3	40.5
Don't know	7.3	9.6	3.4
No answer	1.0	0.7	1.4

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

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Palestinian	35.3	35.2	35.3
Fathawee	14.2	10.0	21.4
Muslim	6.9	10.4	0.9
Hamsawee	6.4	2.5	13.0
Independent	4.6	2.1	8.9
Patriotic	3.5	5.3	0.5
An Arab	3.5	5.1	0.7
Party	1.3	0.9	1.8
Religious	1.0	1.6	0.0
I don't belong	2.8	2.0	4.1
I don't know	2.9	3.9	1.1
Others	13.8	15.4	11.2
No answer	3.8	5.6	1.1

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

Q29- Which radio station do you trust its news the most?*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Ajyal	11.5	17.5	1.4
Al-Aqsa	8.8	0.0	23.7
Al-Quds	8.1	0.8	20.5
Al-Hureyah	7.4	9.7	3.4
Sawt Falasteen	7.2	9.6	3.0
Israel	3.0	4.3	0.9
Al-Najah	2.3	3.6	0.0
Al-Sha'b	2.2	0.1	5.7
Al-Rabi'ah	1.7	2.5	0.2
Al-Ahlam	1.4	2.3	0.0
Shams	1.2	1.9	0.0
Amwaj	1.1	1.7	0.0
Raya FM	1.1	1.7	0.0
Nagham	1.0	1.6	0.0
Al-Qur'an	1.0	1.3	0.5
Al-Khaleel	1.0	1.6	0.0
Bethlehem 2000	1.0	1.6	0.0
Others	12.4	12.8	11.6
I don't hear any radio station	17.4	17.1	18.0
I don't know	2.9	1.6	5.0
No answer	6.3	6.7	6.1

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

Q30- Which TV station do you trust its news the most?*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Al-Jazeera	40.2	40.3	39.9
Al-Arabeyeh	16.8	15.5	18.9
Falasteen	16.2	22.2	6.2
Al-Aqsa	7.1	2.4	15.0
MBC 1	4.4	6.3	1.1
Al-Quds	2.6	1.7	4.1
Al-Manar	1.8	2.3	0.9
Falasteen al-Yawm	1.3	1.9	0.5
BBC	1.0	0.3	2.3
Others	5.1	4.5	6.2
I don't watch TV	1.5	1.1	2.3
I don't know \ No answer	2.0	1.5	2.6

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

Q31. Which political or religious faction do you trust the most?*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1188	n= 749	n= 439
Fatah	38.9	41.3	34.9
Hammas	18.4	14.3	25.5
PFLP	2.5	2.5	2.5
Islamic Jihad	1.5	0.5	3.2
Other Islamic factions	1.6	2.3	0.5
Others	3.0	3.6	2.1
Don't trust any one	29.5	29.4	29.8
No answer	4.6	6.1	1.5

***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= 1188	n= 749	n=439
Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)	21.3	22.3	19.6
Marwan Barghouthi	12.5	11.5	14.4
Ismail Haniyeh	11.2	6.8	18.7
Khaled Meshaal	6.4	7.5	4.6
Others	13.2	13.0	13.4
Don't trust any one	30.5	31.9	28.0
No answer	4.9	7.0	1.3

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