



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

Poll no. 63 _November 2007

A public opinion poll conducted by Jerusalem Media & Communications Center

*** The majority expects the failure of Annapolis Conference and desires to give the peace negotiations a chance**

*** Slight continuous rise in the popularity of Abbas and Fatah compared with similar downward trend with regards to popularity of Hanieh and Hamas**

*** The general public is satisfied with the performance of President Abbas and the government of Fayyad; the general public prefers a government with a majority of independent figures**

*** Rise in level of optimism regarding the formation of a national unity government through dialogue between Fatah and Hamas**

The public opinion poll conducted by Jerusalem Media and Communications Center (JMCC) with a sample of 1,200 respondents showed that the majority of the respondents (62%) expects the failure of Annapolis Conference which has been called for by US President Bush, while a ratio of (35.3%) expects

the success of the meeting. When asked about the expected scenario in case the Annapolis Conference

fails, a ratio of (47%) said nothing will change in the Palestinian general situation, while (28%) of the respondents expect the eruption of a new Intifada, and (21.7%) pointed to the possibility of a third party intervention.

When asked if they desire to give the peace negotiations between the Palestinian and Israeli sides a chance, it is clear that the preliminary negotiations in preparation for Annapolis Conference had a positive

impact as a large majority (67.9%) supported peace negotiations in general between the Israelis and Palestinians, which shows a notable rise in support to such negotiations compared with the answers of the respondents during the Intifada. A ratio of (51.3%) supported the negotiations in our April 2003 poll and a ratio of (46.5%) supported the negotiations in our September 2002 poll.

On the other hand, a ratio of (30.6%) of the respondents opposed holding negotiations compared with (45.7%) in April 2003, and (51.9%) in September 2002.

The other index on the desire of the Palestinian public to give a chance to negotiations to end the conflict

is clear in the ratio of (53%) who prefer a solution based on two states (one Palestinian state and one Israeli state) compared with (51.1%) in August 2007, and (46.7%) in March 2007. the option of one bi-national state in all of historical Palestine came in second place with a ratio of (23.5%) supporting this option while a ratio of (8.9%) believe that the solution lies in the establishment of a Palestinian state on all lands of historical Palestine.

On the issue of the right of return for the refugees, a ratio of (66.8%) stress on the need for the return of the refugees to their original homeland while a ratio of (9.7%) supported their return to the Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and a ratio of (9%) supported compensating the refugees as an alternative to return.

On the question of what is the best solution for the Jerusalem question, a majority (52.9%) said Jerusalem must be the capital of all Muslims while a ratio of (26.3%) demand that Jerusalem become the capital of the Palestinian state and West Jerusalem become the capital of the state of Israel. a ratio of (10.6%) only supported the solution of a unified and open Jerusalem as capital of the two states compared with (7.4%) who demanded that Jerusalem become an international city.

Level of trust in politicians and parties :

The poll conducted by JMCC during the period November 3-6, 2007 showed a slight rise in popularity of President Mahmoud Abbas and Fatah Movement compared with slight decrease in popularity of the discharged PM Ismail Hanieh and Hamas Movement.

When asking the respondents an open question about the figure they trust most, President Mahmoud Abbas maintained the first rank and got a ratio of (18.3%) support followed by the discharged PM Ismail Hanieh who received (16.3%). PLC member Marwan Barghouti (in Israeli prison) came in third place with a ratio of (14.3%) and fourth place went equally between PM Salam Fayyad and PLC member Mohammed Dahlan with a ratio of (2.3%) for each. Ratio of those who don't trust any figure decreased to (27.4%) compared with (29.2%) in our August 2007 poll.

When asking the respondents an open question about the faction they trust most, Fatah Movement kept its first rank in enjoying the trust of the majority (40%) compared with (34.4%) in August 2007, and (31.4%) in March 2007, and (30.7%) in September 2006. Hamas retreated in terms of public confidence compared with previous polls. A ratio of (19.7%) supported Hamas Movement in this poll compared with (21.6%) in August 2007, and (25.2%) in March 2007, and (29.7%) in September 2006.

Performance of the PNA

When asked about their satisfaction regarding the performance of President Abbas as President of the PNA, a ratio of (50.3%) expressed satisfaction with the performance of the President which is an increase in level of satisfaction compared with the poll conducted last August where the President got then (45.3%).

On the occasion of 100 days after the caretaker government headed by Dr. Salam Fayyad assumed office with the majority of its ministers from independent figures and without any representation from Hamas and is almost empty of any Fatah representation, a majority of the respondents (39.0%) prefer that the majority of the ministers in the next government to be independent figures compared with (32.3%)

preferring a government with a Fatah majority while (18.3%) prefer a government with a Hamas majority.

When comparing between the performance of the government of Fayyad and the performance of the discharged government of Hanieh in Gaza, a majority believes (43.3%) that the performance of Fayyad's government is better compared with (24.8%) who believe that the performance of Fayyad's government is

worse while (23.6%) believe that there is no difference in the performance between the two governments.

Overall, there is relative positive assessment to the performance of the government of Fayyad as a ratio of (37.5%) believes that the performance was better than previous governments while (21.8%) believe the opposite. A ratio of (37.8%) said the government of Fayyad contributed in pushing reform forward

compared with (16.8%) who said the opposite. A ratio of (35.2%) said Fayyad's government contributed in

Internal split :

Half of the respondents said there is a possibility to return to a national unity government through dialogue and this opinion represents an increase in level of optimism on solving this crisis compared with (46.8%) who expected unity through dialogue in August 2007 poll.

When asked whether the internal fighting events in Gaza Strip would be repeated in the West Bank, a large majority (68.6%) said there is no chance of seeing the same events happening in the West Bank compared with (27.7%) who expect that the events that happened in Gaza Strip would be repeated in the West Bank. In the same way, a majority (79.6%) don't expect to see Hamas control the West Bank like it did in Gaza Strip while (15.7%) expect the opposite, and maybe the reason for this is that a majority of the people (79%) believes that Hamas power in Gaza Strip is more than its power in the West Bank, compared with (15.8%) who said that Hamas power in the West Bank is either equal or even more than its power in Gaza.

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 3-6 of November 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** 760 people were surveyed from the following areas: **Hebron:** Hebron, Addahiriyya, Yatta, Sa'eer, Beit Ummar, Aroub RC, Tarqoumiya, Beit 'Awa . **Jenin:** Jenin, Jenin RC, Tamoun, Ajja, Saris, Al-Yamoun, Ya'bad, Arrabeh, Qabatiya. **Bethlehem:** Bethlehem, Beit Jala, Za'tara, Al I'bidiya, Husan, 'Azza RC. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** Ramallah, Al-Bireh, Qarawet Bani Zaid, Biet Rima, Silwad, Ein Yabroud, Shuqba, Amari RC, Biet Diqou, Biet 'Our Al Tahta. **Jericho:** Jericho, 'Aqbat Jaber RC. **Jerusalem:** A-Dahia, Al-Ram, Shu'fat, Old City, Biet Hanina, Qalandia RC, Al'Issawia, Wadi Al-Joz, Silwan, Ras Al-Amoud. **Nablus:** Nablus, Kifel Haris, Sarta, Huwara, Qabalan, Boureen, Balata RC, Sabastiya, Til. **Tulkarem and Qalqilya:** Tulkarem, Tulkarem RC, Kufor Al Labad, I'lar, Qalqilia, Baqat Al Hatab.

In the **Gaza Strip**: 440 people were surveyed from: **Gaza:** Shati RC, A- Naser, Attufah, Al-Durj, Sheikh Radwan, Al-Rimal a-Shamali, Al-Rimal al-Janoubi, Sabra, Al-Shujai', A-Zeitoun . **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 Hanon, Jabalia RC. **Deir al-Balah:** Deir Al Balah, Nussirat RC, al-Maghazi RC, Bureij 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.

31.3% said they live in villages 15.8% in refugee camps, and 52.9 % in towns/cities.

47.8% were male, 52.2% were female.

68.5% were married, 25.4%, single, 2.7% widowed, 1.5% divorced, 1.9% no answer.

The average age of the respondents was 34 years.

Occupation of Respondents

- Students 12.8%
- laborers 9.5%
- Farmers/fishermen 2.7%
- Craftsmen 1.1%
- Businessmen/private business 7.9%
- Public Sector Employees 11.8%
- Private Sector Employees 6.3%
- Professionals (e.g. doctors/lawyers/pharmacists/engineers) 0.8%
- Housewives 37.4%
- Unemployed 8.3%
- Retired 0.7 %,
- No answer 0.7%.

Results:

Q1. In general, how optimistic or pessimistic do you feel towards the future? Do you say that you are: Very Optimistic, Optimistic, Pessimistic, or Very Pessimistic

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Very optimistic	7.6	6.8	8.9
Optimistic	50.1	50.5	49.3
Pessimistic	25.9	25.1	27.3
Very Pessimistic	16.2	17.2	14.3
No answer	0.2	0.4	0.2

Q2. How optimistic or pessimistic are you towards reaching a peaceful settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict? Do you say that you are Very Optimistic, Optimistic, Pessimistic, or Very Pessimistic?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Very optimistic	2.8	2.8	2.7
Optimistic	36.8	35.4	39.3
Pessimistic	37.4	36.2	39.5
Very Pessimistic	21.8	24.5	17.3
No answer	1.2	1.1	1.2

Q3. 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= 1200	n=760	n=440
Two- state solution: an Israeli state and a Palestinian state	53.0	51.7	55.2
Bi –national state on all of historic Palestine	23.5	23.0	24.3
Other solution	0.6	0.8	0.2
No solution	9.5	12.0	5.2
One Palestinian state *	8.9	7.8	10.9
Islamic state *	2.4	2.4	2.5
I don't know/ No answer	2.1	2.3	1.7

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

Q4. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree; strongly disagree to the peace negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israeli?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Strongly agree	23.6	22.6	25.2
Somewhat agree	44.3	42.5	47.5
Somewhat disagree	15.8	16.6	14.3
Strongly disagree	14.8	16.2	12.3
I don't know	1.3	1.7	0.5
No answer	0.2	0.4	0.2

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= 1200	n=760	n=440
Very satisfied	21.0	21.2	20.7
Somewhat satisfied	29.3	29.7	28.4

Somewhat dissatisfied	17.5	18.6	15.7
Very dissatisfied	30.2	27.5	34.8
No answer	2.0	3.0	0.4

Q6. With regards to the negotiations over the issue of the refugees, which of the following solutions do you favor?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Return of all the refugees to their original homes	66.8	67.2	65.9
Return of all the refugees to the Palestinian state (West Bank and Gaza Strip)	9.7	7.6	13.2
To compensate the refugees for their properties which they lost and for not returning to their properties and homes	9.0	11.2	5.2
Return of some refugees to their homes, and return of some others to the Palestinian state and compensate the others	13.3	12.4	15.0
I don't know	0.8	1.1	0.2
No answer	0.4	0.5	0.5

Q7. In your opinion, what is the best solution to finalize the Jerusalem dilemma?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
A unified Jerusalem (East and West) as a capital of the state of Israel	1.9	2.0	1.8
East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian state and West Jerusalem as the capital of the state of Israel.	26.3	25.0	28.4
A unified open Jerusalem and capital of the two states.	10.6	11.7	8.6
An international Jerusalem	7.4	7.9	6.6
A capital of the Muslims	52.9	52.5	53.6
I don't know	0.4	0.5	0.2
No answer	0.5	0.4	0.8

Q8. Do you think that Hamas force is stronger in Gaza than it is in the West Bank or it's force in Gaza is weaker than it's force in the West Bank, or it's equivalent to it's force in the West Bank?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Hamas' force in Gaza is stronger than in the West Bank	79.0	81.1	75.5
Hamas' force in Gaza is weaker than in the West Bank	5.9	4.9	7.7
Hamas' force in Gaza is equivalent to it's force in the West Bank	9.9	8.3	12.7
I don't know	4.5	5.3	3.2
No answer	0.7	0.4	0.9

Q9. Do you expect the Gaza incident (Internal Fighting) to repeat in the West Bank as well?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Yes	27.7	27.1	28.6
No	68.6	68.8	68.2
I don't know	3.2	3.6	2.5
No answer	0.5	0.5	0.7

Q10. Do you expect Hamas to take control over West Bank as it did in Gaza?

Palestinians' opinions towards Fayyad's Government and the Fall Peace Meeting

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Yes	15.7	16.4	14.3
No	79.6	77.6	83.0
I don't know	4.0	4.9	2.5
No answer	0.7	1.1	0.2

Q11. 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=760	n=440
The performance of Fayyad's government is better than the performance of Hanieh's government	43.3	43.0	43.9
The performance of Fayyad's government is similar to the performance of Hanieh's government	23.6	24.6	21.8
The performance of Fayyad's government is worse than the performance of Hanieh's government	24.8	22.0	29.5
I don't know	6.7	8.0	4.3
No answer	1.6	2.4	0.5

Q12. Do you expect that all the parties will agree once again to the national unity government through the national dialogue between Fateh and Hamas?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Yes, I expect the parties to agree to the national government	50.0	47.8	53.9
No, I don't expect parties to agree to the national government	44.8	46.1	42.7
I don't know	3.8	4.6	2.5
No answer	1.4	1.5	0.9

Q13. If presidential Elections were to be held today, and the only candidates were Isma'eel Haniyeh and Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen), to which one will you vote?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)	47.1	47.0	47.3
Isma'eel Haniyeh	23.3	20.7	27.7
Won't vote	27.2	29.6	23.0
No answer	2.4	2.7	2.0

Q14. If presidential Elections were to be held today, and the only candidates were Marwan Barghouti and Ismae'el Haniyeh to which one will you vote?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Marwan Barghouti	53.1	51.8	55.2
Ismae'el Haniyeh	23.1	20.8	27.0
Won't vote	21.6	24.3	16.8
No answer	2.2	3.1	1.0

Q15. In general, do you think the performance of the current government of Salam Fayyad is better when compared to previous governments? Didn't change, or become worse?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Its performance has become better	37.5	39.5	34.1
Didn't change	35.6	35.1	36.4
Its performance has become worse	21.8	18.8	26.8
I don't know	4.5	5.7	2.5
No answer	0.6	0.9	0.2

Q16. Do you think that Fayyad's current government assisted pushing the current PA reform process forward? Backward? Or it didn't have any influence on the current reform process?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
It assisted pushing the current PA reform process forward	37.8	37.0	39.1
It assisted pushing the current PA reform process backward	16.8	14.1	21.4
It didn't have any influence on the current reform process	40.3	42.5	36.6
I don't know	4.6	5.7	2.7
No answer	0.5	0.7	0.2

Q17. In general, under the current government headed by Fayyad, do you think that the percentage of corruption has increased, decreased, or didn't change?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Increased	23.0	22.6	23.6
Decreased	35.2	34.7	35.9
Didn't change	36.8	36.7	37.0
I don't know	4.5	5.3	3.2
No answer	0.5	0.7	0.3

Q18. In general, under the current government headed by Fayyad, do you think the security and internal security conditions have improved, deteriorated or have not changed?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Security and internal security conditions have improved	32.9	36.4	26.8
Security and internal security conditions have deteriorated	27.3	24.2	32.5
No change	36.7	36.3	37.3
No answer	3.1	3.1	3.4

Q19. To what extent do you think Fayyad's government is transparent in handling the financial issues?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
To a very high extent	8.6	4.6	15.5
To a high extent	13.4	14.5	11.6
To an average extent	28.4	32.0	22.3
To a low extent	18.3	15.8	22.7
To a very low extent	20.8	18.8	24.1

I don't know	9.9	13.4	3.8
No answer	0.6	0.9	0.0

Q20. To what degree do you trust that the Palestinian leadership will continue to insist on its negotiating position represented in ending the occupation on all the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Jerusalem, and the return of the refugees and the establishment of the independent state? Are you very confident, are you confident to some extent, are you not confident to some extent, or are you not confident at all that the Palestinian leadership would cling to its above-mentioned constants in the current negotiations?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
I am very confident that the Palestinian leadership would cling to its above mentioned constants	22.4	20.7	25.5
I am confident to some extent that the Palestinian leadership would cling to its above mentioned constants	28.8	29.5	27.5
I am not confident to some extent that the Palestinian leadership would cling to its above mentioned constants	23.0	22.9	23.2
I am not confident at all that the Palestinian leadership would cling to its above mentioned constants	22.3	22.5	22.0
I don't know	2.9	3.8	1.4
No answer	0.6	0.6	0.4

Q21. Upon an initiative from the United States, this fall will witness a Palestinian-Israeli peace meeting to be attended by international and Arab parties, to what extent do you expect this meeting to succeed or fail?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
I expect the meeting to succeed to a large extent	6.4	3.9	10.7
I expect the meeting to succeed to some extent	28.9	29.7	27.5
I expect the meeting to fail to some extent	25.6	26.7	23.6
I expect the meeting to fail to a large extent	36.4	35.9	37.3
No answer	2.7	3.8	0.9

Q22. If the peace meeting to be held this fall fails, what do you expect as a result of this failure, do you expect the renewal of the Intifada, or the intervention of a third party or do you expect matters to remain the same?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
I expect the renewal of the Intifada	28.0	22.6	37.3
I expect the intervention of a third party	21.7	20.9	23.0
I expect matters to remain the same	47.0	51.6	39.1
No answer	3.3	4.9	0.6

Q23. The Palestinian people have tried a Fatah-majority government and a Hamas-majority government, now there is a government with the majority of its ministers as independent figures, in your opinion and from the past experiences, which is the government that best serves the interests of the Palestinian people?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
A Fatah-majority government	32.3	32.2	32.5
A Hamas-majority government	18.3	16.2	21.8
A government with the majority of its ministers as independent figures	39.0	38.2	40.5
No answer	10.4	13.4	5.2

Q24. Do you support or oppose the right of the Arab countries to possess a nuclear program for peaceful and energy purposes?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
I support	73.3	74.1	71.8
I oppose	22.8	21.2	25.5
No answer	3.9	4.7	2.7

Q25. Which Palestinian Personality do you trust the most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)	18.3	18.0	18.6
Isma'eel Haniyeh	16.3	11.8	23.9
Marwan Barghouti	14.3	13.6	15.5
Salam Fayyad	2.3	1.7	3.4
Mohamad Dahlan	2.3	0.1	6.1
Musataf Barghouti	1.8	2.0	1.6
Ahmad Sa'adat	1.7	2.0	1.1
Yasser Arafat	1.3	1.6	0.9
Sa'eb Iriqat	1.2	1.6	0.5
Khaled Mish'al	1.1	1.1	1.1
Mahmoud Azzahar	1.1	0.8	1.6
Others	7.4	8.0	6.4
Don't trust any one	27.4	32.4	18.2
No answer	3.5	5.3	1.1

** This is an open ended question*

Q26. Which Political or Religious Palestinian Faction do you trust the most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=760	n=440
Fateh	40.0	38.0	43.4
Hamas	19.7	16.4	25.2
PFLP	2.8	3.2	2.3
Islamic Jihad	2.3	1.4	3.6
Others	2.5	3.6	0.5
Other Islamic Factions	1.1	1.2	0.9
Don't trust any one	26.9	30.7	20.5
No answer	4.7	5.5	3.6

** This is an open ended question*