

# **Results of an Opinion Poll**

## President Bush's Visit, President Carter's Visit, Hamas' Agenda, Evaluation of Government, and Popularity of Political Groups and Leaders

## Publication Date: Tuesday, 13 May 2008

## Field work: 3-5 May 2008

## Sample Size: 1200 Palestinians in the West Bank & Gaza Margin of error: <u>+</u> 3

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### **One: Introduction**

This poll took place after the latest visit by American ex-president Jimmy Carter. His visit was marked by his controversial meetings with Hamas leaders in the West Bank and Syria. During his visit, Khaled Mishal, the Head of the Political Bureau of Hamas, expressed the willingness of his party to accept a long-term truce with Israel. Mishal also indicated the acceptance of his group to a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, without an outright recognition of the State of Israel. Egypt continued to make efforts to bring about a truce between Hamas and Israel.

At the same time, negotiations had continued between the Palestinian Authority and Israel, with no results in sight. The government headed by Salam Fayyad continues to pay the salaries of the PA employees and provide funding for emergencies and other vital services. In fact, the Prime Minister has visited a number of regions within the West Bank and inaugurated a number of development projects. News of U.S. President Bush's upcoming visit to the region, (he is expected to arrive on the 13<sup>th</sup> of June), is slowly filtering down to the general public.

During this period, the closure of Gaza has continued, where in a number of occasions the fuel supply to the main electricity station was cut. Other basic supplies were also short in Gaza. Finally, the campaign to restore security continued in a number of cities including Nablus, with a renewed focus on the Jenin district.

### **Two: Highlights**

This poll shows the following significant findings and trends:

- 70% support a solution to the conflict between Hamas and Fateh based on a return to the pre-June 2007 take-over of the authority by Hamas in Gaza.
- Arafat is the most appreciated Palestinian leader in recent history.
- In a legislative election: Fateh (47%) and Hamas (37%).
- Marwan Bargouthi is the most popular candidate for the presidency.
- Mustafa Bargouthi competes head-to-head with Haneyyeh in a two-way race and wins over Fayyad.
- 53% do not think that President Carter's latest visit will help resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.
- 61% follow or partially follow the news on the upcoming visit of President Bush to the Middle East.
- One third of the respondents (36%) believe that President Bush's visit will energize the negotiations process between Palestinians and Israelis.
- However, a majority of 66% does not believe that his visit will create any changes on the ground.
- 43% support negotiations between Hamas and Israel, yet 63% oppose that Hamas recognize Israel at the present time.
- 69% support or support to an extent the declaration by Hamas leadership for a 10year truce with Israel.
- 53% support Hamas acceptance of a political solution based on establishing a Palestinian state as defined by the 1967 borders.
- 66% believe that Palestinian society is heading in the wrong direction.
- 51% believe that firing rockets from Gaza strip into Israeli Territories is harmful to the Palestinian cause.
- 57% of Gaza respondents oppose another break into the Egyptian borders.
- Support for President Abbas and Prime Minister Fayyad is declining, even more in the West Bank (where they have control and influence) than in Gaza (where Hamas has full control).
- Support for Hamas, Hanneyeh, Fateh and Marwan Bargouthi is stable.
- Around 40% of the public expresses dissatisfaction with the two major parties (Fateh and Hamas).
- Support for Hamas and Hanneyeh is highest among women, the poor, and the least educated.

## **Three: Analysis of Results**

### 1. American Ex-President Jimmy Carter's Visit:

President Jimmy Carter visited the region last April. The highlight of his visit was his meeting with Hamas leadership in Syria, including Khaled Mishal. This move went against the official American position of boycotting Hamas. This visit led to an announcement by Mr. Mishal expressing his willingness to accept a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza and a truce with Israel. The results of this poll show mixed public opinion about Carter's visit and Hamas' declarations:

- A majority of 78% believes that the visit made by American ex-president Jimmy Carter to the region will not help in resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict or that it is irrelevant. Only 12% believe that his visit will help.
- In addition, 66% of the respondents believe that Carter's visit did not change the Hamas' position in terms of their recognizing the state of Israel. A quarter believed that his visit had an influence in that direction.

### 2. Hamas's Positions:

- While 43% of the respondents support negotiations between Hamas and Israel, a majority of 63% opposes an immediate recognition of Israel by Hamas.
- Moreover, a majority (53%) supports Hamas' acceptance of a solution based on establishing a Palestinian state as defined by the 1967 borders, with higher support in Gaza (57%) than in the West Bank (51%).
- The poll also shows widespread support for a 10-year truce between Hamas and Israel, where 69% support or support to an extent such a truce, while 26% oppose it. Support for a long-term truce reaches 60% in Gaza, compared with 43% in the West Bank.
- As to how Palestinians view the positions declared by Mr. Mishal, the poll shows that 33% believe that they represent an improvement in Hamas' political positions. This view is dominant in Gaza where 46% believe that they represent an improvement. This is compared with 26% among West Bank respondents. In contrast, 29% of the respondents thought that his declarations represent a regression in the movement's political positions.

## **3.** President Bush's Planned Visit to the Region

On June 13<sup>th</sup>, U.S. President Bush is expected to visit the Middle East, including Palestine and Israel. While of interest to the Palestinians, no significant changes are expected from his visit.

- Palestinians expressed interest in the visit of Mr. Bush to the Middle East, where the majority (61%) is following or partially following the news on his visit.
- One third of the respondents (36%) believe that the President's visit will energize the negotiations process between Palestinians and Israelis.

- However, Palestinians do not have significant expectations from the visit. The majority (66%) do not think that his visit will bring about any changes. The same percentage believes that his positions are similar to previous American policy.
- A high percentage of Palestinians (81%) do not think that President Bush's visit will put a stop to Israeli settlement activities.
- On the contrary, the majority of respondents believe that his visit will reinforce the Israeli occupation in the West Bank and tighten the closure on Gaza (60% and 67% respectively).
- Moreover, according to 60% of Palestinians, President Bush's visit will increase the internal conflict between Palestinian factions.
- In general, the majority (73%) does not believe that Palestinians will make any political gains from President Bush's visit.
- Another 80% do not believe that his visit will help Palestinians achieve their national goals.
- In addition, 81% feel that he is not serious about his desire to establish a Palestinian state.
- Finally, 83% do not feel that he will be able to see his vision of a Palestinian state achieved by the end of 2008.

### 4. Feeling of Security and Future Prospects

- 51% of the respondents said that they feel insecure for themselves, their families or possessions. Only 24% said that they feel secure.
- It is very interesting to notice that respondents from Jenin expressed the least feeling of security. The poll took place at the same time when a large security operation by Palestinian forces was taking place in the district.
- The majority of respondents (66%) believe that the Palestinian society is heading in the wrong direction. Only 23% think that it is heading in the right direction.

### 5. Firing of Rockets and Negotiations

- The majority (51%) believe that firing rockets from the Gaza Strip into Israeli Territories is harmful to the Palestinian cause. This is compared with 40% who believe that firing rockets is helpful.
- Still, support for firing rockets from Gaza strip into Israeli territories is at 45%. In contrast, 37% oppose the firing of these rockets (35% in the West Bank and 40% in Gaza).
- It is also important to note that the majority of Palestinians are still supportive of negotiations, where 66% support or support to an extent the continuation of negotiations between the Palestinians and Israelis.

## **6.** Borders with Egypt:

In January 2008, Palestinians from Gaza broke into the Egyptian borders. Palestinians were questioned about their view of a similar event in the future. The results show that 47% oppose an attempt to break into Egyptian boarders. It is interesting to find that 57% of Gazans are opposed, compared with 42% of West bank respondents. Overall, 36% support such an act.

## 7. The Fateh–Hamas Conflict

- The vast majority (70%) of respondents supports a solution to the conflict between Hamas and Fateh based on a return to the pre-June take-over of the authority by Hamas in Gaza. Only 15% oppose such a scenario.
- Support for return to the pre-June 2007 situation is higher in Gaza (with 73% support) than in the West Bank (64% support).

## 8. Evaluation of Fayyad's and Hanneyeh's Cabinets

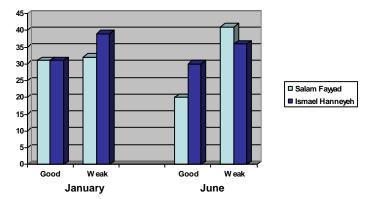
The 2 governments headed by Fayyad and Hanneyeh were evaluated. The poll results send a warning message to the Fayyad cabinet, as evaluation of its performance has declined significantly since January 2008.

### The Fayyad Cabinet

- The percentage of respondents who evaluated the performance of the Fayyad cabinet as good declined from 31% to 20% (11 points since January 2008).
- In contrast, the percentage of respondents who evaluated the performance of his cabinet as weak increased from 32% to 41% (9 points since January 2008).
- The Fayyad cabinet has lost popularity in both the West Bank and Gaza. In the West Bank, the percentage stating that the performance of his government is weak went from 27% to 39% (12-point increase). In Gaza, the percentage stating that the performance of his government is weak increased from 39% to 44% (5-point increase).

## The Hanneyeh Cabinet

- Overall, the Hanneyeh cabinet of ministers does not make any significant gains since AWRAD's last poll in January. The percentage that evaluated his cabinet's performance as good remained at approximately 30%.
- Hanneyeh's cabinet does not do much better in Gaza, where respondents are equally divided. Thirty-seven percent evaluate its performance as weak, and another 37% evaluate it as good.



#### Graph: Evaluation of Fayyad and Hanneyeh Cabinets

### 9. Palestinian Elections: Popularity Versus Predicted Voting

This poll distinguishes between popularity and predicted votes for each group. In a public opinion poll all of those who are eligible to vote are questioned about their political support. Popularity indicates the percentage of support for each political group among all respondents (whether they will vote, will not vote or undecided). Predicted vote is the percentage support for each group among those who indicate that they will vote and are decided, and therefore show their support for one group or another. The margin of error (plus or minus 3%) is awarded to Hamas and taken away from Fateh, as previous voting behavior had shown that a larger percentage of the undecided might vote for Hamas than Fateh.

### Popularity

- Overall, 38% of the respondents say that they are either undecided or that they will not vote in the next legislative elections.
- In a popularity contest, Fateh receives 31% support, and Hamas receives 22%. Independent Palestine and Abu Ali Mustafa lists receive close to 3%. All others receive less than 2%.

### **Predicted Voting for Lists**

In an election that is based on national lists and awarded votes according to proportional representation, and assuming that the same lists that ran in 2006 will run again, the poll predicts the following:

- Fateh will receive 47% of the vote, a decline from January 2008 where it received 53% of the vote.
- Hamas will receive 37% of the vote, an increase from the last poll, where it received 32%.
- Both groups will receive higher votes in Gaza than in the West Bank.
- Hamas wins among women, the poor, the less educated and older respondents. Women continue to provide Hamas with its majority of votes, for the older and less educated respondents, this represents a major change. Historically, Hamas had relied on a younger and more educated base of support. At the present time, Fateh is competing strongly with Hamas among these groups.
- It is also interesting to note that Fateh is making headways among younger and educated respondents, reflecting a new direction for the movement.

### **10.** Presidential Elections

The poll presents a number of two-way races for a presidential election. Two candidates compete: one representing the PLO and another representing the Islamist movement. The present poll shows a decrease in the support for the president Abbas and Prime Minister Fayyad as presidential candidates. On the other hand, and compared to the January poll, Hanneyeh is gaining support, but unable to compete with Marwan Bargouthi. The percentage of those who are undecided or who will not vote ranges from 24% to 37% depending on the race.

### Marwan Bargouthi (47%) vs. Hanneyeh (29%)

Marwan Bargouthi receives 47% of respondents' support and would win over Hanneyeh, who receives 29%.

#### Marwan Bargouthi (60%) vs. Salam Fayyad (10%)

According to the results, Marwan Bargouthi wins over Fayyad with a 50 point difference (60% for Marwan and 10% for Fayyad).

### Marwan Bargouthi (52%) vs. Mahmoud Abbas (17%)

Marwan receives 52% of the vote and would win over Abbas who receives 17%.

#### Abbas (32%) vs. Hanneyeh (34%)

Hanneyeh received 34% of respondents' support, winning over Abbas who received 32%. In the January poll, Abbas won over Hanneyeh with a 12-point difference. Abbas wins decisively over Hanneyeh in the West Bank, among the educated, the male respondents and youth.

#### Fayyad (26%) vs. Hanneyeh (37%)

Hanneyeh receives 37% of respondents' support, and would win over Fayyad, who receives 26%. In January, Fayyad won over Hanneyeh with a 3-point difference.

### Hanneyeh (32%) vs. Mustafa Bargouthi (32%)

Mustafa Bargouthi and Hanneyeh receive the same support of respondents (32%). Bargouthi receives 40% of the vote in Gaza and 30% of the vote in the West Bank.

#### Mustafa Bargouthi (39%) vs. Salam Fayyad (18%)

Mustafa Barghouthi wins over Fayyad with a 21-point difference. Mustafa receives 37% and Fayyad 18%.

Race	Candidate	Total	West	Gaza	Male	Female	Least	Most	Younger	Older
#	Canandate	Total	Bank	Gaza	Wate	Temate	Educated	Educated	Tounger	Oluci
1	Marwan Bargouthi	59.6	57.5	63.2	64.1	55.6	59.8	57.7	61.2	57.1
	Salam Fayyad	9.6	8.4	11.5	10.6	8.6	9.3	10.9	12.6	7.5
2	Mahmoud Abbas	32.3	30.4	35.5	38.7	26.6	30.7	36.9	37.7	26.0
	Ismael Hanneyeh	34.0	30.8	39.4	28.3	39.1	35.6	23.0	30.9	35.7
3	Ismael Hanneyeh	28.6	26.8	31.6	23.5	33.1	29.8	20.5	22.8	31.9
	Marwan Bargouthi	46.8	46.0	48.2	53.3	41.0	45.1	52.5	54.4	40.2
4	Salam Fayyad	26.4	24.1	30.4	32.1	21.4	23.5	33.6	32.0	21.1
	Ismael Hanneyeh	36.5	34.0	40.7	30.2	42.1	38.5	26.0	32.3	39.4
5	Mustafa Bargouthi	33.4	29.6	39.8	39.7	27.8	31.4	37.3	38.4	26.1
	Ismaeel Haneyyeh	33.0	30.2	37.8	27.1	38.3	34.7	23.8	29.1	37.6
6	Marwan Bargouthi	51.8	49.8	55.2	56.4	47.6	52.2	49.0	53.5	48.9
	Mahmoud Abbas	17.0	14.9	20.6	17.8	16.2	16.4	18.1	18.3	15.7
7	Mustafa Bargouthi	38.7	33.8	47.2	41.2	36.6	38.9	33.9	39.2	37.5
	Salam Fayyad	18.4	16.6	21.4	21.8	15.3	17.0	22.1	21.4	15.5

Table: Two-way Presidential Races

### **11.** The Most Appreciated Living Personality

AWRAD also polled Palestinians on the most appreciated personality of the present time. A list of 30 personalities was provided to the respondents, most of it comprised of political leaders reflecting the reality on the ground. Among them were 10 cultural and media personalities. As predicted, political figures were competing for the first positions.

- The most appreciated living personality out of the 30 was Marwan Bargouthi who received 27% of the votes.
- He was followed by Ismael Hanneyeh with (19%).
- Mahmoud Abbas came in third place and received 10% of the votes.
- Mustafa Bargouthi came in number 4, followed by Hanan Ashrawi in number 5 and Azmi Bishara (a Palestinian member in the Israeli parliament) in number 6.
- In number 7 came the well-known media personality from Al-Jazeera TV, Walid Al-Omari.
- In number 11 came Mahmoud Darwish (a Palestinian icon in poetry) and Shirin Abu Aqleh from Al-Jazeera TV.
- Muhamed Dahlan came in number 13, and Fayyad in number 15.
- Ammar Hasan (a Palestinian pop singer) was at number 17, in a tie with the reverend Father Atta Allah Hanna (from the Orthodox Church).

## **12.** Most Appreciated Historical Figure

The respondents voted for their most appreciated Palestinian leader from moderntime history. Results showed the following:

- Yaser Arafat is the most popular of all, with a majority of 55% stating that he is the one who they appreciate the most.
- He was followed by Ahmad Yassin with 23% of the votes.
- Hydar Abdelshafi and Abdel Aziz Rantisi received 6% and 7% of the votes respectively.
- Other leaders as Khalil Al Wazir and George Habash received 3% of the votes
- As for Samiha Khalil she received about 1%.



# **Results of an Opinion Poll**

(Tables)

Field work: 3-5 May 2008

Publication Date: 13 May 2008

Sample Size: 1200 Palestinians in The West Bank & Gaza Margin of error: <u>+</u> 3

# Section One: Hamas & the Political Process

# 1. Do you believe that the visit made by American ex-president Jimmy Carter to the region will help in resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	12.4	10.9	14.9
No	52.8	55.1	49.0
Will make no difference	25.3	24.2	27.1
Don't know/No opinion	9.5	9.9	9.0

# 2. Do you feel that Carter's meetings with Hamas leaders led to further change in their positions in way of recognizing the state of Israel?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	7.8	7.9	7.7
To some extent	17.5	20.4	12.5
No	66.1	63.0	71.3
Not sure	8.6	8.7	8.6

#### 3. Do you support or oppose Hamas' recognition of the state of Israel?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Support	17.3	16.3	19.0
To some extent	14.1	16.3	10.3
Oppose	63.0	60.4	67.3
Don't know/No opinion	5.6	7.0	3.3

#### 4. Do you support or oppose negotiations between Hamas and Israel?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Support	42.8	40.7	46.4
To some extent	22.8	26.9	15.9
Oppose	31.8	29.8	35.1
Don't know/No opinion	2.6	2.6	2.6

# 5. Do you support or oppose the declaration by Hamas leaders for a 10-year truce with Israel?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Support	49.2	43.0	59.7
To some extent	20.1	23.9	13.5
Oppose	26.1	27.2	24.4
Don't know/No opinion	4.6	5.9	2.4

# 6. Do you support or oppose that Hamas accept a solution based on establishing a Palestinian state as defined by the 1967 borders?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Support	53.0	50.7	56.8
To some extent	17.7	19.2	15.3
Oppose	24.3	23.9	24.8
Don't know/No opinion	5.0	6.2	3.1

7. Do you believe that the latest declarations by Mr. Khaled Mishal represent an improvement or a regression in Hamas' political positions?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Improvement	33.4	25.9	46.0
Regression	29.4	28.9	30.3
Don't know/No opinion	37.2	45.2	23.7

8. Do you support the opening of the Rafah crossing with the Presidential Guard in charge of the crossing?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Support	61.1	58.3	65.9
To some extent	14.9	16.6	12.0
Oppose	19.6	18.9	20.8
Don't know/No opinion	4.4	6.2	1.3

9. Do you support or oppose a solution to the conflict between Hamas and Fateh based on a return to the pre-June take-over of authority by Hamas in Gaza?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Support	69.5	72.5	64.3
To some extent	12.3	14.9	7.9
Oppose	15.2	8.8	26.1
Don't know/No opinion	3.0	3.8	1.8

### Section Two: U.S. President Bush's Upcoming Visit

George Bush, the President of the United States of America, will be making a visit to the region (including the West Bank) between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of June. On that issue, we would like to ask the following questions.

10. Are you following the news on President Bush's upcoming visit to the region (Middle East)?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	32.3	29.6	36.8
Partially	28.7	31.3	24.4
No	37.4	37.2	37.7
Don't Know/No opinion	1.6	1.9	1.1

#### 11. Do you think that President Bush's positions on the Palestinian issue represent:

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
A regress in American policy on the Palestinian question	20.6	22.1	18.0
An improvement on American policy on the Palestinian question	7.1	7.4	6.7
No change, his positions are similar to previous American policy	66.1	65.1	67.9
Don't Know/No opinion	6.2	5.4	7.4

#### 12. Do you believe that President Bush's visit will...:

#### A. Tighten the closure on Gaza

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	66.6	67.6	64.9
To an extent	14.6	14.8	14.3
No	14.6	14.0	15.7
Don't Know	4.2	3.7	5.1

### B. Reinforce the internal conflict between the Palestinian factions, especially Fateh and Hamas

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	60.2	58.9	62.5
To an extent	15.4	16.1	14.1
No	20.1	19.9	20.4
Don't Know	4.3	5.1	3.0

#### C. Reinforce the Israeli occupation of the West Bank

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	60.0	60.7	58.9
To an extent	15.1	14.6	16.0
No	19.8	19.5	20.2
Don't Know	5.1	5.2	5.0

#### D. Energize the negotiations process between Palestinians and Israelis

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	14.9	12.7	18.7
To an extent	21.0	22.4	18.5
No	60.3	61.8	57.9
Don't Know	3.8	3.1	4.9

### E. Give you more hope that a Palestinian state will be established

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	10.4	7.4	15.6
To an extent	13.5	15.0	11.1
No	73.8	75.5	70.8
Don't Know	2.3	2.1	2.4

#### **F.** Help in putting a stop to the Israeli settlement activities

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	5.7	4.4	7.9
To an extent	10.9	11.2	10.3
No	80.6	81.7	78.7
Don't Know	2.8	2.7	3.1

# 13. In general, do you believe that President Bush is serious about his desire to establish a Palestinian state?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	5.5	3.4	9.1
To an extent	11.0	12.1	9.1
No	80.7	81.3	79.6
Don't know/No opinion	2.8	3.2	2.2

14. In general, do you think that President Bush's visit will help the Palestinians achieve their national goals?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	3.4	2.6	4.7
To an extent	12.8	13.2	12.2
No	80.0	80.9	78.7
Don't know/No opinion	3.8	3.4	4.4

# 15. Do you think that Palestinians will achieve any political gains from President Bush's visit?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	7.0	4.4	11.3
To an extent	15.4	16.7	13.2
No	72.5	73.8	70.4
Don't know/No opinion	5.1	5.1	5.0

16. Do you think that President Bush will be able to see his vision of a Palestinian state achieved by the end of this year (2008)?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	4.3	4.3	4.3
To an extent	9.0	9.7	7.8
No	82.8	81.2	85.5
Don't know/No opinion	3.9	4.7	2.4

## Section Three: Internal Issues

17. Do you support or oppose the firing of rockets from the Gaza strip into Israeli territories?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Support	45.4	46.5	43.5
Oppose	36.7	34.8	40.0
In Between	14.4	13.9	15.2
Don't know/No opinion	3.5	4.8	1.2

# **18.** Do you believe that firing rockets into Israeli territories from Gaza is helpful or harmful to the Palestinian cause?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Helpful	40.0	38.3	42.9
Harmful	51.3	52.9	48.5
Don't know/No opinion	8.7	8.8	8.6

# **19.** Do you support or oppose a break into Egypt borders such as the one that took place end of January of this year?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Support	35.9	38.2	31.9
Oppose	47.2	41.5	56.7
In Between	14.6	17.0	10.4
Don't know/No opinion	2.4	3.3	1.0

# **20.** Do you support or oppose the continuation of negotiations between the Palestinians and Israelis?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Support	44.2	42.4	47.2
Support to an extent	21.9	25.9	15.2
Oppose to an extent	8.3	8.2	8.6
Oppose	24.2	21.3	29.0
Don't know/ No opinion	1.4	2.2	0.0

#### 21. How do you evaluate the Ministerial cabinet headed by Salam Fayyad?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Good	20.3	17.0	26.0
Average	25.4	25.9	24.4
Weak	41.0	39.4	43.5
Don't Know/No opinion	13.3	17.7	6.0

#### 22. How do you evaluate the Ministerial cabinet headed by Ismael Hanneyeh?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Good	30.4	26.5	37.0
Average	24.2	25.9	21.4
Weak	36.1	35.4	37.4
Don't Know/No opinion	9.2	12.2	4.2

#### 23. Do you think that the Palestinian society is heading in the right or wrong direction?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Right direction	23.3	21.6	26.0
Wrong direction	66.4	67.9	63.9
Don't know/No opinion	10.3	10.5	10.0

# Section Four: Palestinian Elections

# 24. If PLC elections took place today, which one of the following groups/lists would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Fateh	30.8	28.4	34.5
Change and Reform (Hamas)	21.8	20.5	24.5
Independent Palestine	2.7	2.7	2.6
Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa	2.7	3.7	1.1
Freedom and Social Justice	1.7	2.0	1.1
Al Badil	0.9	0.8	1.0
Third Way	0.8	1.3	0.0
Freedom and Independence	0.5	0.6	0.2
Social Justice	0.3	0.4	0.0
Martyr Abu Al Abbas	0.0	0.0	0.1
National Coalition for Justice and Democracy	0.0	0.0	0.1
I have not decided yet	13.5	16.2	8.9
Will not vote	24.4	23.5	25.8

()	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Marwan Bargouthi	27.0	30.0	22.3
Ismael Haniyeh	19.0	16.9	22.4
Mahmoud Abbas	9.9	8.0	13.0
Mustafa Bargouthi	6.7	7.4	5.7
Hanan Ashrawi	5.1	6.1	3.4
Azmi Bishara	4.2	3.5	5.3
Walid Omari	3.7	3.9	3.5
Aziz Duwaik	3.6	3.5	3.6
Mahmoud Al Zahar	3.6	3.2	4.3
Ahmad Sa'daat	2.5	2.6	2.4
Mahmoud Darwish	2.4	2.4	2.5
Shirin Abu Aqleh	2.4	3.1	1.3
Mohamad Dahlan	2.3	0.4	5.3
Miryam (Im Nidal) Farahat	1.3	0.7	2.3
Salam Fayyad	1.1	1.1	1.0
Al-Shiek Tayseer Al Tamimi	0.8	1.0	0.4
Father Attalah Hanna	0.7	1.2	0.0
Ammar Hasan	0.7	1.1	0.1
Munib Al Masri	0.6	0.8	0.2
Hamed El Bitawi	0.5	0.9	0.0
Intisar El Wazir	0.4	0.2	0.6
Naser Al-Qudwe	0.3	0.4	0.0
Qais Abdelkarim (AbuLaila)	0.3	0.4	0.0
Bassam Salhi	0.2	0.4	0.0
Hasan Al-Batal	0.1	0.1	0.1
Riyad Al-Malki	0.1	0.1	0.1
Talal Okal	0.1	0.1	0.1
Zahira Kamal	0.1	0.2	0.0
Sahar Khalifa	0.1	0.2	0.0
Hasan ElKashef	0.1	0.1	0.2

25. This is a list of 30 Palestinian cultural, social and political personalities, which one of them do you appreciate the most? (Separate list)

# 26. This a list of modern-time Palestinian leaders (who are deceased), which one of them do you appreciate the most?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yaser Arafat	55.3	53.6	58.2
Ahmad Yassin	22.7	22.3	23.3
Haydar Abeldshafi	6.9	7.7	5.6
Abdelaziz Rantisi	6.4	5.3	8.2
Khalil AlWazir	3.0	3.4	2.4
George Habash	2.7	3.6	1.3
Samiha Khalil	0.2	0.2	0.1
Other (specify)	2.7	3.7	0.9

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Marwan Bargouthi	22.7	26.2	16.6
Mahmoud Abbas	13.2	13.1	13.5
Muhamad Dahlan	3.0	0.5	7.3
Total	38.9	39.8	37.4
Ismael Hanneyeh	23.0	19.7	28.6
Mahmoud Al Zahar	1.6	1.3	2.1
Azeez Duweek	1.5	1.4	1.8
Total	26.1	22.4	32.5
Mustafa Bargouthi	4.5	5.4	3.0
Ahmad Sa'dat	2.7	3.5	1.2
Salam Fayyad	1.7	2.0	1.2
Total	8.9	10.9	5.4
I have not decided yet	10.9	12.8	7.6
I will not vote	15.0	13.9	16.9

#### 27. If Presidential elections took place today, who would you vote for?

# 28. If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Marwan Bargouthi	59.6	57.5	63.2
Salam Fayyad	9.6	8.4	11.5
I have not decided yet	10.8	13.8	5.7
Will not vote	20.0	20.3	19.6

# **29.** If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Mahmoud Abbas	32.3	30.4	35.5
Ismael Hanneyeh	34.0	30.8	39.4
I have not decided yet	11.3	14.7	5.6
Will not vote	22.4	24.1	19.6

# **30.** If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Ismael Hanneyeh	28.6	26.8	31.6
Marwan Bargouthi	46.8	46.0	48.2
I have not decided yet	9.5	12.3	4.8
Will not vote	15.1	14.9	15.5

# **31.** If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G) West Bank Ga		Gaza
Salam Fayyad	26.4	24.1	30.4
Ismael Hanneyeh	36.5	34.0	40.7
I have not decided yet	12.9	16.6	6.8
Will not vote	24.1	25.3	22.1

# **32.** If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G) West Bank Gaza			
Mustafa Bargouthi	33.4	29.6	39.8	
Ismael Haneyyeh	33.0	30.2	37.8	
I have not decided yet	12.3	16.2	5.6	
Will not vote	21.3	24.0	16.8	

# **33.** If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G) West Bank		Gaza
Marwan Bargouthi	51.8	49.8	55.2
Mahmoud Abbas	17.0	14.9	20.6
I have not decided yet	10.5	13.5	5.4
Will not vote	20.7	21.8	18.9

# **34.** If only the following two candidates ran for presidential elections, who would you vote for?

	Total (WB&G) West Bank C		Gaza
Mustafa Bargouthi	38.7	33.8	47.2
Salam Fayyad	18.4	16.6	21.4
I have not decided yet	15.1	19.7	7.4
Will not vote	27.8	30.0	24.0

#### 35. Do you feel that you, your family and possessions are safe?

	Total (WB&G)	West Bank	Gaza
Yes	24.3	16.4	36.0
To an extent	25.0	28.7	19.5
No	50.7	54.9	44.4



# **Results of an Opinion Poll**

# (Sample Distribution)

## Field work: 3-5 May 2008 Publication Date: Tuesday, 13 May 2008 Sample Size: 1200 Palestinians in the West Bank & Gaza Margin of error: <u>+</u> 3

Region	%	Type of locality	%	Refugee Status	%
West Bank	62.6	City	37.8	Refugee	46.7
Gaza Strip	37.4	Village- town	43.9	Non-refugee	53.3
Governorate	%	Camp	18.3	Sector	%
Jenin	6.7	Gender	%	Government	32.6
Tulkarm	4.4	Male	49.0	Private sector	45.1
Qalqilya	2.5	Female	51.0	Other	22.3
Nablus	8.6	Marital status	%	Education	%
Salfit	1.6	Single	21.8	1 Up to 9 yrs	34.1
Tubas	1.2	Married	74.6	2 Secondary/Tawjihi (9-12 yrs)	36.0
Ramallah	7.5	Others	3.6	3 More than Tawjihi	29.8
Jerusalem	10.3	Age	%	Occupation	%
Jericho	1.1	18-30	34.4	Laborers	8.4
Bethlehem	4.6	31-40	48.1	Employees	15.7
Hebron	14.0	> 40	17.5	Farmers	1.1
Jabalya	7.3	Income	%	Merchants	3.7
Gaza City	13.1	Good or More	16.7	Professional	0.7
Deir al-Balah	5.4	Not Good, not	50.0	Craftsman	3.4
Khan Younis	7.2	bad		Students	11.5
Rafah	4.4	Weak	33.2	Housewives	39.8
	-	-	-	Not working	13.6
				Retired	2.1