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**Results of Palestinian Public Opinion Poll**  
**No. 41**  
**17-19 September 2010**

**Background**

After ending a round of proximity talks directed by the American senator, George Mitchell, the United States called for holding direct talks between the Palestinians and the Israelis under American patronage. Direct talks face a group of stipulations set by both sides (the Israelis and the Palestinians).

The Palestinian Government announced postponing local councils' elections, which were scheduled to take place during this summer, without assigning a date for conducting them.

The state of division between the West Bank and Gaza still persists; each side continues to adhere to their convictions and there are no signs for an imminent reconciliation nor are there mediations to end the division.

**The Results**

Following are the results of the Palestinian Public Opinion Poll no. 41 conducted by the Center for Opinion Polls and Survey Studies at An-Najah National University during the period from 17-19 September 2010. **The University sponsors all polls conducted by its Center.**

Palestinian Public Opinion Poll no. 41 undertakes the new political developments on the Palestinian side as they relate to direct negotiations that are going on between the Palestinians and the Israelis under US patronage and the possible consequences that result from the failure or success of these negotiations. The poll also undertakes the performance of the governments of Salam Fayyad and Ismail Haniyeh, in addition to political affiliations and other issues.

The sample included 1361 persons whose age group is 18 and above and who have the right to vote. The enclosed questionnaire was distributed on 861 persons from the West Bank and 500 persons from the Gaza Strip. The sample was drawn randomly and the margin of error is about  $\pm 3\%$ ; still 1.3% of the members of the sample refused to answer the questionnaire.

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*The opinions represented in the results reflect those of the study; they do not, by any means, represent the opinion of An-Najah National University.*



## The General Results:

- 56.7% of respondents supported the participation of the Palestinian Authority (PA) in direct talks with the Israeli Government; 38.4% rejected.
- 23.1% of respondents expected the direct talks between the PA and Israel to succeed; 67.9% expected them to fail.
- If direct negotiations fail, 10.5% expected the PA to be responsible for that failure, 63.3% expected Israel to be responsible and 20.9% expected the USA
- 26.7% of respondents believed that the USA will succeed in pressuring Israel to extend the freeze of constructing buildings in the settlements and in East Jerusalem; 68.7% believed it will not.
- 33.4% of respondents believed that the USA will exert pressure on Israel to make negotiations succeed; 60.5% believed it will not
- 81% of respondents supported the decision of the Palestinian Authority not to negotiate with the Israeli Government while the latter continues to build settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.
- 81.9% of respondents rejected conducting negotiations between the Palestinian Authority and Israel in case Israel continues to build settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem; 15% supported.
- 52.5% of respondents agreed on the establishment of a Palestinian State within the total area of the 1967 borders; 43.6% rejected.
- 32.9% of respondents agreed on the establishment of a Palestinian State within the 1967 borders with some land exchange as a final solution for the Palestinian problem; 62.9% rejected.
- 66.4% of respondents saw that the final solution of the Palestinian problem should be implemented on the basis of a permanent solution; 28.4% saw that it should be implemented on stages.
- 19.4% of respondents supported making Jerusalem as the capital of two states: Palestine and Israel; 78% rejected.
- In case direct negotiations between the PA and Israel fail, respondents had the following expectations:
  - 31.4% Expected dissolving the PA
  - 50.3% Expected the eruption of a third intifada
  - 52.4% Expected retreat to the previous state of security chaos
  - 84.5% Expected an escalation of settlement activities
  - 84.3% Expected an escalation in the volume of strife between Palestinians and the Israeli settlers
- 35.5% of respondents supported a confederation between the PA and Jordan
- 42.3% of respondents supported the deployment of Arab peace forces in the West Bank
- 33.3% of respondents supported the deployment of international peace forces in the West Bank
- 32.3% of respondents believed that the Palestinian opposition forces are serious in their objection to direct negotiations with Israel, 29.6% believed that their



opposition is only an attempt to outwit the PA, and 27.9% believed that their objection is one means of exerting pressure on the PA

- 47.5% of respondents believed that it is possible to reach a national reconciliation agreement between Fateh and Hamas in the near future.
- 38.6% of respondents believed that signing a national reconciliation agreement will lead to speeding up the peace process; 15.9% believed that signing a reconciliation agreement will entangle and stop the peace process.
- 31.8% of respondents believed that Gaza will remain separate from the West Bank for ever
- 34.5% of respondents believed that concluding the Shalit deal will speed up the national reconciliation process.
- 4.1% of respondents believed that the cessation of Arab funds to the PA is because of shortages in Arab financial resources, 8.1% believed that it is because Arab countries support sides other than the Palestinians, 27.8% believed that it is because of the state of division among Palestinians, 7.9% believed that it is because Arab countries think that their funds to the PA are not spent in the right projects, 18.9% believed that it is because Arab countries think that there is financial corruption among Palestinians, and 31.7% believed that it is because of foreign pressures exerted on Arab countries to prevent them from offering financial aids to Palestinians.
- 16% of respondents believed that the delay in reforming Salam Fayyad's Government is attributed to the disagreement on a proper coalition of a reformed Palestinian Government, 31.1% attributed it to the absence of an agreement among members of Fateh movement on who will participate in the government, 32.8% attributed it to foreign pressures, 17.8% attributed it to awaiting a national reconciliation agreement.
- 79.2% of respondents said that they will participate in the coming presidential elections. From among those who said they will participate, 40.7% said that they will give their votes to Fateh's candidate; 13.2% said they will give their votes to Hamas' candidate.
- 79.1% of respondents said that they will participate in the coming legislative elections. From among those who said they will participate, 42% said that they will give their votes to Fateh's candidates; 13.5% said they will give their votes to Hamas' candidates.
- If PLC elections are to be conducted, 47.4% of respondents expected the winning of Fateh movement; 15.9% expected the winning of Hamas.
- 82.7% of respondents said that they will participate in the coming municipality and local council elections. From among those who said they will participate, 36.2% said that they will give their votes to Fateh's candidate, 14% said they will give their votes to Hamas' candidate and 10.4% said they will give their votes to the representative of their family or clan.
- 61.3% of respondents saw that the government of Salam Fayyad is the most capable of managing the Palestinian internal affairs; 22% saw that the government of Ismail Haniyeh is the most capable.



- 68.3% of respondents assessed the performance of the government of Salam Fayyad as “good”.
- 35.1% of respondents assessed the performance of the government of Ismail Haniyeh as “good”.
- 48.6% of respondents expressed fear for their lives under the present circumstances.
- 60.2% of respondents said that they are pessimistic of the general Palestinian situation at this stage.
- 74.2% of respondents said that they neither feel safe for themselves nor for their families and properties under the current circumstances.
- 35 As for political affiliation respondents gave the following results:

People’s Party	1.5%
Democratic Front	1.1%
Islamic Jihad	2.6%
Fateh	37.9%
Hamas	11.6%
Fida	0.5%
Popular Front	2.7%
Palestinian National Initiative	0.6%
I am an independent nationalist	7.2%
I am an independent Islamist	3.3%
None of the above	30.6%
Others	0.3%



## The General Results of the Poll

**Do you support or reject the PA's engagement in direct talks with the Israeli Government?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	56.7	59.2	52.4
I reject	38.4	36.8	41.2
No opinion/I do not know	4.8	3.9	6.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Do you expect failure or success of the direct talks between the PA and the Israeli Government?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I expect success	23.1	22.9	23.6
I expect failure	67.9	70.0	64.2
No opinion/I do not know	9.0	7.1	12.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**If you expect that the direct talks will fail, who do you think will be the responsible party for the failure?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The Palestinian Authority	10.5	11.6	8.6
The Israeli Government	63.3	59.5	70.0
The United States	20.9	24.7	14.4
No opinion/I do not know	5.2	4.2	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Do you think that the United States will succeed in exerting pressure on Israel to extend the freeze in the construction of buildings in the settlements and in East Jerusalem?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	26.7	28.1	24.4
No	68.7	69.0	68.2
No opinion/I do not know	4.6	2.9	7.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Do you think that the United States will exert pressure on Israel to lead the direct talks to a successful end?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	33.4	36.0	29.0
No	60.5	60.6	60.4
No opinion/I do not know	6.0	3.4	10.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



**The Palestinian Authority decided not to negotiate with the Israeli Government while the latter continues to build settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Do you support or reject the PA's decision?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	81.0	82.7	78.2
I reject	15.1	14.8	15.8
No opinion/I do not know	3.8	2.6	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Do you support or reject conducting talks between the Palestinian Authority and the Israeli Government in case Israel continues building settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	15.0	13.9	16.8
I reject	81.9	84.1	78.0
No opinion/I do not know	3.2	2.0	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Do you accept the creation of a Palestinian state on the total area of the 1967 borders as a final solution for the Palestinian problem?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	52.5	55.5	47.4
No	43.6	42.9	45.0
No opinion/I do not know	3.8	1.6	7.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Do you accept the creation of a Palestinian state within the 1967 borders with some land exchange as a final solution for the Palestinian problem?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	32.9	31.4	35.6
No	62.9	65.4	58.6
No opinion/I do not know	4.2	3.3	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**What form do you envision the final solution of the Palestinian problem will take?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
A comprehensive solution	66.4	68.5	62.8
A piecemeal solution (on stages)	28.4	26.8	31.0
No opinion/I do not know	5.2	4.6	6.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



**Do you support or reject making Jerusalem a capital for two states: Palestine and Israel?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
I support	19.4	21.3	16.2
I reject	78.0	76.8	80.2
No opinion/I do not know	2.6	2.0	3.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**If direct talks between the PA and Israel fail, what do you expect?**

<b>Total</b>				
	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No opinion/ I do not know</b>	<b>Total</b>
Dissolving the PA	31.4	60.0	8.5	100.0
The eruption of a third intifada	50.3	42.3	7.3	100.0
A retreat to the previous state of security chaos	52.4	40.6	7.1	100.0
An escalation in settlement activities	84.5	10.2	5.3	100.0
An escalation in the volume of strife between Palestinians and the Israeli settlers	84.3	10.4	5.3	100.0
<b>West Bank</b>				
	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No opinion/ I do not know</b>	<b>Total</b>
Dissolving the PA	31.9	61.7	6.4	100.0
The eruption of a third intifada	56.2	39.0	4.8	100.0
A retreat to the previous state of security chaos	57.0	38.6	4.4	100.0
An escalation in settlement activities	88.2	9.9	2.0	100.0
An escalation in the volume of strife between Palestinians and the Israeli settlers	87.9	9.9	2.2	100.0
<b>Gaza Strip</b>				
	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No opinion/ I do not know</b>	<b>Total</b>
Dissolving the PA	30.6	57.2	12.2	100.0
The eruption of a third intifada	40.2	48.2	11.8	100.0
A retreat to the previous state of security chaos	44.4	44.0	11.6	100.0
An escalation in settlement activities	78.2	10.8	11.0	100.0
An escalation in the volume of strife between Palestinians and the Israeli settlers	78.2	11.2	10.6	100.0



**Do you support or reject a confederation between the PA and Jordan?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
I support	35.3	38.8	29.2
I reject	56.1	55.3	57.4
No opinion/I do not know	8.7	5.9	13.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Do you support or reject a deployment of Arab peace forces in the West Bank?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
I support	42.3	43.3	40.6
I reject	53.4	53.7	53.0
No opinion/I do not know	4.3	3.0	6.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Do you support or reject a deployment of international peace forces in the West Bank?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
I support	33.3	34.3	31.6
I reject	61.9	62.1	61.4
No opinion/I do not know	4.8	3.6	7.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Do you think that the Palestinian opposition forces are serious in their rejection of direct negotiations?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
Yes, they are serious	32.3	31.5	33.8
They only try to outwit the PA	29.6	30.9	27.4
It is one kind of pressure on the PA	27.9	29.2	25.8
No opinion/I do not know	10.1	8.5	13.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Do you think that it is possible to reach a national reconciliation agreement between Fateh and Hamas in the near future?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
Yes	47.5	53.7	36.8
No	47.8	41.8	58.0
No opinion/I do not know	4.8	4.5	5.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>





**In case a national reconciliation agreement is signed, what do you think the consequences will be?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
Speeding the Peace process	38.6	38.6	38.6
Entangling and stopping the peace process	15.9	16.8	14.2
It will not have any effect	39.2	39.4	38.8
No opinion/I do not know	6.4	5.2	8.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Do you think that Gaza will continue to be separate from the West Bank forever?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
Yes, I think it will	31.8	36.4	24.0
No, I think it will not	65.4	61.2	72.6
No opinion/I do not know	2.8	2.4	3.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Do you think that concluding the Shalit deal will speed up the process of national reconciliation?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
Yes	34.5	33.1	36.8
No	55.4	58.3	50.4
No opinion/I do not know	10.1	8.6	12.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>



**In your opinion, what is the reason for the cessation of Arab funds to the PA?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
Shortages in Arab financial resources	4.1	3.5	5.2
Arab countries support sides other than the Palestinians	8.1	7.3	9.4
The state of division among Palestinians	27.8	24.2	34.2
Arab countries think that their donations are not spent in the right projects	7.9	8.1	7.6
Arab countries think that there is financial corruption among Palestinians	18.9	21.5	14.4
Foreign pressures exerted on Arab countries to prevent them from offering financial aids to Palestinians	31.7	34.0	27.8
Other	14.1	1.4	1.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**In your opinion what is the reason for the delay in the intended reform of Salam Fayyad's Government?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
The disagreement on a proper coalition of a reformed Palestinian Government	16.0	12.9	21.4
The absence of an agreement among members of Fateh movement on who will participate in the government	31.1	35.0	24.4
Foreign pressures	32.8	33.3	31.8
Awaiting a national reconciliation agreement	17.8	16.1	20.6
Other	2.4	2.7	1.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>



**If presidential elections are held in the present time, to whom from among the following do you give your vote?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
An independent candidate	5.7	5.6	6.0
A candidate from the left	3.2	2.3	4.6
A candidate from Hamas	10.4	7.2	16.0
A candidate from Fateh	32.3	30.7	35.0
A national independent candidate	5.0	5.1	4.8
An Islamic independent candidate	3.5	3.7	3.0
I will not participate in the elections	20.8	23.9	15.4
I have not decided yet	19.2	21.5	15.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**If new PLC elections are conducted, whom do you vote for?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
An independent ticket	6.0	5.8	6.4
A ticket from the left	3.2	2.3	4.8
A ticket from Hamas	10.7	7.5	16.0
A ticket from Fateh	33.2	31.4	36.4
A national independent ticket	4.6	4.9	4.0
An Islamic independent ticket	3.6	3.9	3.0
I will not participate in the elections	20.9	23.2	16.8
I have not decided yet	17.9	20.9	12.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**If new legislative elections were to be held today, which of the following would win?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
Independent Islamists bloc	3.1	2.8	3.6
Independent Nationalist bloc	7.9	7.9	8.0
Fateh bloc	47.4	49.5	43.8
Hamas bloc	15.9	14.6	18.0
A bloc from leftist organizations	2.1	1.7	2.8
No opinion/I do not know	23.6	23.5	23.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>



**If municipality and local council elections were to be held, who do you vote for?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
A block that represents the family or clan	8.6	10.2	5.8
An independent ticket	4.8	4.6	5.2
A ticket from the left	2.6	2.1	3.6
A ticket from Hamas	11.6	8.7	16.6
A ticket from Fateh	29.9	27.5	34.0
A national independent ticket	4.6	5.1	3.6
An Islamic independent ticket	2.6	2.9	2.2
I will not participate in the elections	17.3	18.7	14.8
I have not decided yet	17.9	20.1	14.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**As you know, there is a government in the West Bank led by Salam Fayyad and another government in the Gaza Strip led by Ismail Haniyeh. In your opinion which government is more capable of managing the internal Palestinian affairs?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The government of Salam Fayyad	61.3	65.5	54.0
The Government of Ismail Haniyeh	22.0	21.8	22.4
No opinion/I do not know	16.7	12.7	23.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**How do you assess the performance of the government of Salam Fayyad?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Good	68.3	73.9	58.6
Bad	23.0	18.4	31.0
No opinion/I do not know	8.7	7.8	10.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**How do you assess the performance of the government of Ismail Haniyeh?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Good	35.1	37.7	30.6
Bad	43.9	36.2	57.2
No opinion/I do not know	20.9	26.0	12.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



**Are you worried about your life under the present circumstances?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	48.6	43.8	57.0
No	49.2	55.3	38.8
No opinion/I do not know	2.1	0.9	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Are you pessimistic or optimistic towards the general Palestinian situation at this stage?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Optimistic	36.4	40.2	29.8
Pessimistic	60.2	57.4	63.2
No opinion/I do not know	3.5	1.4	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Under the present circumstances, do you feel that you, your family and your properties are safe?**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	24.8	30.4	15.0
May be	38.8	35.4	44.6
No	35.4	33.8	38.2
No opinion/I do not know	1.0	0.3	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Which of the following political affiliations do you support?**

PARTY	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
People's Party	1.5	1.0	2.4
Democratic Front	1.1	0.8	1.6
Islamic Jihad	2.6	0.9	5.4
Fateh	37.9	38.4	37.0
Hamas	11.6	9.2	15.8
Fida	0.5	0.2	1.0
Popular Front	2.7	1.7	4.4
Palestinian National Initiative	0.6	0.3	1.0
I am an independent nationalist	7.2	7.3	7.0
I am an independent Islamist	3.3	3.3	3.4
None of the above	30.6	36.7	20.2
Others	0.3	0.0	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0