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Results of Palestinian Public Opinion Poll
No. 31
15-17 November 2007

Background

The Palestinian leadership finally resolved to participate in the Annapolis conference despite the fact that more than one Palestinian official declared that the conference is destined to fail. President Abu Mazen confirmed that he will not accept any political offer that late President Arafat rejected.

Hamas movement and the dissolved (by President Abbas) government launched a severe attack against the participants in the Annapolis Conference considering the Conference an attempt to compromise the Palestinian fixed and nonnegotiable rights. *Hamas* and the Palestinian factions in Damascus failed to hold a conference to counter Annapolis. The counter conference was supposed to take place in Damascus but was postponed sine die.

The aggressions, as testified by recognized jurists, committed by the Executive Force in Gaza against the citizens who went out to commemorate the third anniversary of the departure of Abu Ammar stirred a wave of Palestinian official and popular responses. What is important is the rift made between the two Palestinian conflicting factions at a time when unity is a much needed demand especially as the date of the Annapolis Conference is approaching.

The Results

Following are the results of the Palestinian Public Opinion Poll No. 31 conducted by the Center for Opinion Polls and Survey Studies at An-Najah National University during the period from 15-17 November, 2007. **The University sponsors all polls conducted by its Center.**

Palestinian public opinion poll no. 31 undertakes the current political realities especially the incidents that took place in the Gaza Strip, the domination of *Hamas* over the Strip, the accompanying development on the Palestinian arena, the Annapolis Conference in addition to political affiliations.

The sample included 1360 persons whose age group is 18 and above and who have the right to vote. The enclosed questionnaire was distributed on 860 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 4.2% of the members of the sample refused to answer the questionnaire.

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:

- 57.1% of respondents rejected the claim that the Palestinian Authority worked to end the role of the PLO and that the PA currently uses the PLO to counter *Hamas*; 27.4% supported these feelings.
- 33.3% of respondents supported *Hamas*' refusal to join the PLO as long as the Organization does not adopt *Hamas*' program, 53.7% rejected.
- 50.4% of respondents believed that it is necessary to add *Hamas* to the institutions of the PLO.
- 32.9% of respondents believed that *Hamas* is serious in its intentions to join the PLO.
- 68.4% of respondents considered the PLO the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.
- 69.8% of respondents rejected declarations made by some officials of *Hamas* that the PLO institutions are illegitimate and do not represent the Palestinian people; 24.7% supported that.
- 45.4% of respondents considered Salam Fayyad's government the legitimate Palestinian government; 19.3% considered Ismael Haniyeh's government the legitimate one.
- Regardless of legitimacy or illegitimacy, 51.7% supported the general policy of the government of Salam Fayyad.
- Regardless of legitimacy or illegitimacy, 22.6% supported the general policy of the dissolved government of Ismael Haniyeh.
- 43% of respondents considered *Hamas* bloc as the side which is impairing the work of the PLC; 24.5% considered *Fateh* bloc as the side.
- 55% of respondents called upon President Mahmoud Abbas to issue a decree by which he dissolves the PLC since it has been inactive for a long period of time.
- 46.2% of respondents saw that the PLC members put the interest of their political party first and that of their country second.
- 81.3% of respondents said that they will participate in the coming legislative elections. From among those who said they will participate, 50% said that they will give their votes to *Fateh*'s candidates; 14.6% said they will give their votes to *Hamas*' candidates.
- If PLC elections are to be conducted, 53.8% of respondents expected the winning of *Fateh* movement; 14.4% expected the winning of *Hamas*.
- 36.7% of respondents believed that *Hamas* cannot control the West Bank because of the Israeli Occupation; 23.3% believed that it is because *Fateh* is strong in the West Bank; 19.6% believed that it is because *Hamas* is weak in the West Bank.
- 72.6% of respondents rejected declarations made by a *Hamas* leader which were understood as revealing an intention of *Hamas* to dominate the West Bank as it did in the Gaza Strip.
- 18.9% of respondents supported forming an executive force in the West Bank; 72.8% opposed that.



- 34.1% of respondents supported the arrest of some of the *Hamas* affiliated individuals by the Palestinian security apparatuses.
- 13.6% of respondents supported the arrest of some of the *Fateh* affiliated individuals by the Executive Force in the Gaza Strip.
- 33.6% of respondents said that they believe the reports about the torture that the Palestinian security forces inflict on the arrested members of *Hamas* in the West Bank.
- 56.8% of respondents said that they believe the reports about the torture that the Executive Force inflict on the arrested members of *Fateh* in the Gaza Strip.
- 14.6% of respondents believed that freedom of expression in the Gaza Strip improved after the incidents of Gaza; 63.3% believed that it retreated.
- 21% of respondents believed that freedom of expression in the West Bank improved after the incidents of Gaza; 34.7% believed that it retreated.
- 16.3% of respondents believed that the meeting that took place between Mahmoud Abbas and a number of *Hamas* leaders in the West Bank was a result of personal initiatives by *Hamas* leaders, 18.8% saw that it was an indicator of a split within *Hamas*, and 21.8% saw that the vision of the leaders of *Hamas* in the West Bank is different from that of the leaders of *Hamas* in the Gaza Strip.
- 17% of respondents believed that the security conditions in the Gaza Strip after the domination of *Hamas* are improving; 64.9% said they are deteriorating.
- 41% of respondents believed that the security conditions were better before *Hamas* took hold of the Strip; 28.6% believed the contrary.
- 59.9% of respondents considered what *Hamas* did as a coup against Palestinian legitimacy.
- 68.3% of respondents believed that *Hamas* is endeavoring to create an entity of its own in the Gaza Strip in isolation from the West Bank; 25.7% believed the contrary.
- 21.9% of respondents believed that *Hamas* is capable of managing the life affairs of the citizens of the Gaza Strip.
- 30.6% of respondents said that when they listen to the news, they believe *Fateh* media, 13.2% said they believe the *Hamas* media, and 45.1% said they believe neither of them.
- In the point of view of respondents, the priorities of the present government led by Salam Fayyad should be as follows:
 - Restoring control over the Gaza Strip 59.4%
 - Restraining security chaos in the West Bank 70.1%
 - Restoring dialogue between *Fateh* and *Hamas* 50.7%
 - Improving the economic conditions 68.9%
 - Paying the salaries of employees 74.3%
 - Rebuilding Palestinian institutions 66.3%



- The personal priorities of respondents at the present time were as follows:
 - Restoring control over the Gaza Strip 67.1%
 - Restraining security chaos in the West Bank 81.5%
 - Restoring dialogue between *Fateh* and *Hamas* 70.9%
 - Improving the economic conditions 85.9%
 - Securing funds for the salaries of employees 86.2%
- 30.8% of respondents believed that the peace conference (Annapolis Conference) that the US called for holding in the coming fall will succeed; 54.9% believed it will fail.
- 61.3% of respondents supported the participation of the Palestinian Authority in the fall conference (Annapolis Conference); 29.2% rejected that.
- 68.2% of respondents supported the notion that Palestinian arms must only be in the hands of the Palestinian security apparatuses.
- 61.6% of respondents believed that the security campaign that the Palestinian Government began in Nablus to restore order and the rule of law will succeed; 24.6% believed that it will fail.
- 70.8% of respondents supported the universities' administrations in suspending students' extracurricular activities inside campuses to maintain a smooth running of the educational process and to avoid involving universities in political struggles.
- 38.5% of respondents believed that Al-Qassam Brigades will resume firing rockets from the Gaza Strip against Israel after the domination of *Hamas* on the Strip.
- 57.6% of respondents expressed fear for their lives under the present circumstances.
- 62.7% of respondents said that they are pessimistic of the general Palestinian situation at this stage.
- 78.7% of respondents said that they neither feel safe for themselves nor for their families and properties under the current circumstances.
- As for political affiliation respondents gave the following results:

People's Party	1.1%
Democratic Front	1.1%
Islamic <i>Jihad</i>	3.2%
<i>Fateh</i>	44.3%
<i>Hamas</i>	13.2%
<i>Fida</i>	0.4%
Popular Front	3.7%
Palestinian National Initiative	0.8%
I am an independent nationalist	5.7%
I am an independent Islamist	3.8%
None of the above	22.0%
Others	0.7%



The General Results of the Poll

There are claims that the PA worked towards ending the role of the PLO and that the PA uses the PLO to counter *Hamas*. Do you support such claims?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	27.4	32.0	19.4
I reject	57.1	53.0	64.0
No opinion/I do not know	15.6	15.0	16.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

***Hamas* has to reject joining the PLO as long as the PLO does not adopt *Hamas'* program. Do you support or reject such position.**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	33.3	33.1	33.6
I reject	53.7	56.4	49.0
No opinion/I do not know	13.0	10.5	17.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that there is a need to add *Hamas* to the institutions of the PLO?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	50.4	59.7	34.4
No	42.4	37.0	51.8
No opinion/I do not know	7.2	3.4	13.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that *Hamas* is serious in its demands to join the PLO?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	32.9	34.9	29.6
No	52.4	52.7	52.0
No opinion/I do not know	14.6	12.4	18.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you believe that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	68.4	68.6	68.0
No	24.8	29.6	21.2
No opinion/I do not know	6.8	4.5	10.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



More than one spokesperson of *Hamas* declared that the PLO institutions are illegitimate and do not represent the Palestinian people. Do you support or reject *Hamas*' position?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly support	9.9	7.7	13.6
I support	14.8	17.3	10.4
I reject	44.6	52.7	30.8
I strongly reject	25.2	17.0	39.4
No opinion/I do not know	5.5	5.3	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

There is a Palestinian Government led by Ismael Haniyeh that President Mahmoud Abbas ordered to resign after the June incidents in the Gaza Strip, and there is a Palestinian Government led by Salam Fayyad which could not win the confidence of the PLC. Which of the two governments do you consider legitimate?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Ismael Haniyeh's government	19.3	20.8	16.6
Salam Fayyad's government	45.4	39.0	56.4
Both are illegitimate	29.4	34.2	21.2
No opinion/I do not know	6.0	6.0	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Regardless of its legitimacy or illegitimacy, do you support or reject the general policy of the Palestinian government led by Salam Fayyad?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	51.7	49.5	55.4
I reject	35.8	39.8	29.0
No opinion/I do not know	12.5	10.7	15.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Regardless of its legitimacy or illegitimacy, do you support or reject the general policy of the dissolved government of Ismael Haniyeh?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	22.6	25.0	18.4
I reject	65.9	64.8	67.8
No opinion/I do not know	11.5	10.2	13.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



The Israeli measures against the members of the PLC aside, which Palestinian side, in your opinion, is responsible of impairing the PLC?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<i>Fateh</i> bloc	24.5	27.3	19.6
<i>Hamas</i> bloc	43.0	38.0	51.6
The other blocs	11.2	13.1	7.8
No opinion/I do not know	21.3	21.5	21.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Since the PLC has been disabled for a long period of time, are you in favor of a decision to be made by President Mahmoud Abbas to dissolve the PLC?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	55.0	54.0	56.8
No	33.2	36.6	27.2
No opinion/I do not know	11.8	9.4	16.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that the PLC members prioritize their interests to the interest of their country?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	46.2	46.2	46.2
May be	28.1	28.8	26.8
No	19.9	20.7	18.6
No opinion/I do not know	5.8	4.3	8.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

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

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Independent Islamists bloc	4.7	5.5	3.4
Independent Nationalist bloc	9.0	7.0	12.4
<i>Fateh</i> bloc	40.6	34.9	50.4
<i>Hamas</i> bloc	11.8	11.4	12.6
A bloc from leftist organizations	3.4	3.3	3.6
Others	2.0	2.2	1.6
I will not participate in the elections	18.8	24.4	9.0
No opinion/I do not know	9.8	11.4	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



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

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Independent Islamists bloc	3.6	3.4	4.0
Independent Nationalist bloc	8.3	6.7	11.0
<i>Fateh</i> bloc	53.8	52.3	56.4
<i>Hamas</i> bloc	14.4	15.8	12.0
A bloc from leftist organizations	2.0	1.7	2.4
No opinion/I do not know	17.9	20.0	14.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

What makes *Hamas* unable to dominate the West Bank?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The Israeli Occupation	36.7	41.3	28.8
The Strength of <i>Fateh</i> in the West Bank	23.3	21.2	27.0
The weakness of <i>Hamas</i> in the West Bank	19.6	19.7	19.6
The strength of the security apparatuses in the West Bank	13.0	11.3	16.0
No opinion/I do not know	7.4	6.6	8.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

One of the foremost leaders of *Hamas* in the Gaza Strip declared that he will try to pray in the Headquarters of the PA in Ramallah. Some inferred from this declaration that *Hamas* seeks to dominate the West Bank like it did with the Gaza Strip. Do you support or reject this declaration?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	16.8	17.3	16.0
I reject	72.6	74.3	69.6
No opinion/I do not know	10.6	8.4	14.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

If *Hamas* has an intention to form an executive force in the West Bank, will you support or reject it?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	18.9	19.9	17.2
I reject	72.8	74.2	70.4
No opinion/I do not know	8.3	5.9	12.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



The Palestinian security apparatuses are carrying out a campaign of arrests against some *Hamas* affiliated individuals under different pretexts. The most important of these pretexts is that these *Hamas* individuals are trying to shake the security situation in the West Bank. Do support or reject these arrests?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	34.1	26.2	47.8
I reject	56.3	68.1	36.0
No opinion/I do not know	9.6	5.7	16.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The Executive Force in the Gaza Strip is carrying out a campaign of arrests against some *Fateh* affiliated individuals under different pretexts. The most important of these pretexts is that these *Fateh* individuals are trying to shake the security situation in the Gaza Strip. Do support or reject these arrests?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	13.6	10.0	19.8
I reject	77.8	83.7	67.6
No opinion/I do not know	8.6	6.3	12.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

There are reports about cases of torture that the security apparatuses in the West Bank inflict on *Hamas* prisoners. Do you believe or disbelieve such reports?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I believe them	33.6	38.6	25.0
I disbelieve them	48.0	45.0	53.2
No opinion/I do not know	18.4	16.4	21.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

There are reports about cases of torture that the Executive Force in the Gaza Strip inflict on *Fateh* prisoners. Do you believe or disbelieve such reports?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I believe them	56.8	53.3	62.8
I disbelieve them	26.7	29.9	21.2
No opinion/I do not know	16.5	16.9	16.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



After the Gaza incidents, what do you think has happened to the freedom of expression in the Gaza Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
It remained the same as it was.	14.8	16.3	12.2
It improved	14.6	13.7	16.2
It retreated	63.3	61.7	66.0
No opinion/I do not know	7.3	8.3	5.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

After the Gaza incidents, what do you think has happened to the freedom of expression in the West Bank?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
It remained the same as it was.	35.3	35.1	35.6
It improved	21.0	20.1	22.4
It retreated	34.7	39.0	27.4
No opinion/I do not know	9.0	5.8	14.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

After the meeting that took place in Ramallah between President Mahmoud Abbas and a number of *Hamas* leaders in the West Bank, do you think that such meetings are indicators of -----?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Individual initiatives made by some of the leaders of <i>Hamas</i>	16.3	17.0	15.2
Prefaces to an intention of <i>Hamas</i> to recant from what it did in Gaza	11.7	9.2	16.0
Splits within <i>Hamas</i>	18.8	14.7	26.0
Delegations given to these members to negotiate with President Abbas.	17.6	19.9	13.8
The vision of <i>Hamas</i> leaders in the West Bank is different from that of <i>Hamas</i> leaders in the Gaza Strip.	21.8	24.9	16.4
Others	1.8	0.9	3.4
No opinion/I do not know	11.9	13.5	9.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Do you think that the security conditions in the Gaza Strip after the dominance of *Hamas* are -----?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
improving	17.0	17.2	16.6
deteriorating	64.9	62.7	68.8
the same	12.2	14.3	8.6
No opinion/I do not know	5.9	5.8	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you believe that the security situation in the Gaza Strip was in a better condition before *Hamas* took over.

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	41.0	38.7	44.8
May be	25.0	24.2	26.4
No	28.6	32.3	22.2
No opinion/I do not know	5.4	4.8	6.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think what *Hamas* did was a coup against the Palestinian legitimacy?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	59.9	57.0	65.0
No	28.3	33.4	19.6
No opinion/I do not know	11.8	9.7	15.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

There are those who say that *Hamas* is endeavoring to create an entity for itself in the Gaza Strip in isolation from the West Bank. What do you think?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
True	38.4	36.3	42.0
May be	29.9	26.5	35.6
Not true	25.7	31.7	15.4
No opinion/I do not know	6.0	5.5	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that *Hamas* is capable off managing the affairs of people in the Gaza Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	21.9	25.7	15.4
No	68.0	67.4	69.0
No opinion/I do not know	10.1	6.9	15.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



When you listen to the news through *Fateh* and *Hamas* media, whom do you tend to believe?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I believe <i>Fateh</i> media	30.6	22.7	44.2
I believe <i>Hamas</i> media	13.2	11.7	15.6
I believe both of them	4.1	3.5	5.2
I believe neither of them	45.1	56.6	25.2
No opinion/I do not know	7.1	5.5	9.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

What, in your opinion, are the priorities of the present Palestinian government led by Salam Fayyad? (State your opinion on a 0-10 scale)

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Extending its control over the Strip	5.9434	5.2105	7.2040
Restraining the chaotic security situation in the West Bank	7.0132	6.8860	7.2320
Restoring dialogue between <i>Fateh</i> and <i>Hamas</i>	5.0721	5.0593	5.0940
Improving the economic conditions	6.8860	6.4070	7.7100
Paying salaries to the employees	7.4338	7.1419	7.9360
Rebuilding Palestinian institutions	6.6279	6.2337	7.3060

What are your priorities at the present time? (State your opinion on a 0-10 scale)

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Extending its control over the Strip	6.7096	6.3256	7.3700
Restraining the chaotic security situation in the West Bank	8.1537	8.6814	7.2460
Restoring dialogue between <i>Fateh</i> and <i>Hamas</i>	7.0919	7.8872	5.7240
Improving the economic conditions	8.5882	8.9384	7.9860
Securing funds for salaries	8.6206	8.9523	8.0500

Do you think that the international conference (the Annapolis Conference) that the US called for this fall aiming at pushing the peace process forward will succeed?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	30.8	24.2	42.2
No	54.9	66.6	34.8
No opinion/I do not know	14.3	9.2	23.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



The Palestinian Authority decided from the very beginning to participate in the Annapolis Conference. Are you in favor of the PA's participation?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	61.3	61.6	60.8
No	29.2	32.1	24.2
No opinion/I do not know	9.5	6.3	15.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you support or reject the notion that Palestinian arms should be in the hands of Palestinian security apparatuses, and that any other arms in the hands of other Palestinian men will be considered arms for racketeering business?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	68.2	73.4	59.2
I reject	25.9	22.9	31.0
No opinion/I do not know	6.0	3.7	9.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The Palestinian Government started a large security campaign in the City of Nablus to restore order and the rule of law. Do you think that the campaign will ...

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Succeed	61.6	64.2	57.2
Fail	24.6	25.7	22.6
No opinion/I do not know	13.08	10.1	20.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The administrations of some Palestinian universities suspended student activities inside campuses to preserve the well-being of the educational process, and to keep universities uninvolved in political struggles. Do you support or reject such measures?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	70.8	77.9	58.6
I reject	21.2	17.6	27.4
No opinion/I do not know	8.0	4.5	14.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Now that *Hamas* dominated the Gaza Strip, do you think that Al-Qassam Brigades will resume firing rockets from the Strip against Israel?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	38.5	28.1	56.4
No	45.4	55.9	27.2
No opinion/I do not know	16.1	15.9	16.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Are you worried about your life under the present circumstances?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	57.6	55.1	61.8
No	37.4	42.3	29.0
No opinion/I do not know	5.0	2.6	9.2
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	30.4	36.7	19.6
Pessimistic	62.7	60.1	67.2
No opinion/I do not know	6.8	3.1	13.2
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	18.1	19.4	15.8
May be	30.4	33.3	25.6
No	48.3	46.4	51.6
No opinion/I do not know	3.2	0.9	7.0
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	1.1	0.6	2.0
Democratic Front	1.1	0.6	2.0
Islamic <i>Jihad</i>	3.2	1.7	5.8
<i>Fateh</i>	44.3	39.7	52.4
<i>Hamas</i>	13.2	13.7	12.2
<i>Fida</i>	0.4	0.2	0.8
Popular Front	3.7	2.8	5.2
Palestinian National Initiative	0.8	1.0	0.4
I am an independent nationalist	5.7	6.0	5.0
I am an independent Islamist	3.8	4.2	3.0
None of the above	22.0	28.6	10.6
Others	0.7	0.8	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0