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Results of Palestinian Public Opinion Poll
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Background

The PLO Central Council called for conducting early elections for the Presidency and the Legislative Council of the Palestinian Authority (PA). While *Fateh* supported the call, *Hamas* rejected it considering early elections illegitimate since the call for such elections came from an institution which, according to a *Hamas* leader, has already lost its validity. President Abbas has repeatedly emphasized that he will not negotiate with *Hamas* since it has turned its back to legitimacy and that he is no longer concerned with the Cairo accords whose terms call for reactivating the PLO to include *Hamas* among its members.

The Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) has failed repeatedly to convene since the incidents of Gaza despite the urgent need for a PLC meeting to vote on granting a motion of confidence to the new government.

On the international political level, President Bush called for an international conference (meeting) in which the PA and Israel participate, in addition to a number of Arab countries; the PA welcomed the call.

Locally, the PA called on all "wanted" people to hand in their arms and join the Palestinian security apparatuses. In support of this move, Israel issued a list of the names of "wanted" people with the promise that it will cease pursuing them if they commit themselves to the PA's call. Al-Aqsa Brigades accepted the call while other factions and armed groups rejected it. In the meanwhile Israel released 250 Palestinian prisoners.

The Results

Following are the results of the 29th Palestinian Public Opinion Poll conducted by the Center for Opinion Polls and Survey Studies at An-Najah National University during the period from 25-27 July, 2007. **The University sponsors all polls conducted by its Center.**

Palestinian public opinion poll no. 29 undertakes the current political realities especially the incidents that took place in Gaza, the domination of *Hamas* over the Strip, and the consequent decrees that President Abbas issued by which he dissolved the Palestinian unity government, declared a state of emergency, and formed an emergency government. The poll also undertakes Palestinian people's attitudes towards the coming elections in addition to political affiliations.

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 3.4% 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:

- 68.6% of respondents considered the PLO the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.
- 77.4% of respondents believed that there is a need to reconstruct the institutions of the PLO.
- 50.8% of respondents believed that it is necessary to add *Hamas* to the institutions of the PLO.
- 37.5% of respondents believed that *Hamas* is serious in its intentions to join the PLO.
- 66.5% of respondents rejected declarations made by some officials of *Hamas* that the PLO institutions are illegitimate and do not represent the Palestinian people; 26.5% supported that.
- 61.1% of respondents supported the authorization given to President Mahmoud Abbas by the PLO Central Council allowing him to conduct early presidential and legislative elections as circumstances allow.
- 54.1% of respondents believed that President Mahmoud Abbas will go ahead in conducting early presidential and legislative elections.
- 70% of respondents supported conducting early presidential elections.
- 68.5% of respondents supported conducting early legislative elections.
- 63.3% of respondents believed that, if conducted, presidential and legislative elections will relieve Palestinians from the present political impasse.
- 34.2% of respondents believed that *Hamas* is capable of hindering and aborting elections if they are conducted without a general consensus (the approval of *Hamas*).
- 37.4% of respondents believed that *Hamas* will use violent means to abort elections if the PA decides to conduct them.
- 36.4% of respondents believed that early legislative elections would form a coup against the results of the last elections which were conducted about a year and a half ago.
- 37.2% of respondents believed that the PA is capable in the present time of conducting legislative elections in the Gaza Strip.
- 43% of respondents supported conducting piecemeal (on stages) legislative elections while % rejected.
- 57.3% of respondents said that if new presidential and legislative elections were conducted they would participate in them.
- 75.9% of respondents said that they will participate in the coming presidential elections. From among those who said they will participate, 55.3% said that they will give their votes to *Fateh's* candidate; 15.8% said they will give their votes to *Hamas'* candidate.
- 74.6% of respondents said that they will participate in the coming legislative elections. From among those who said they will participate, 54.4% said that they will give their votes to *Fateh's* candidates; 16.4% said they will give their votes to *Hamas'* candidates.



- 25.6% of respondents believed that the security conditions in the Gaza Strip after the domination of *Hamas* are improving; 49.7% said they are deteriorating.
- 53.4% of respondents believed that the security conditions were better before *Hamas* took hold of the Strip; 39.9% believed the contrary.
- 55.6% of respondents considered what *Hamas* did as a coup against Palestinian legitimacy.
- 58.8% of respondents believed that *Hamas* is endeavoring to create an entity of its own in the Gaza Strip in isolation from the West Bank; 33.4% believed the contrary.
- 26.2% of respondents believed that *Hamas* is capable of managing the life affairs of the citizens of the Gaza Strip.
- 27.2% of respondents supported *Hamas'* declaration that it will not recognize the legitimacy of the government that President Mahmoud Abbas formed.
- 60.2% of respondents believed that Salam Fayyad's government is capable of putting an end to the chaotic security situation in the West Bank.
- 45.6% of respondents believed that Salam Fayyad's government is capable of dominating the Gaza Strip in the coming period; 47.9% believed the contrary.
- As for the priorities of the emergency government from the point of view of the respondents, they were as follows:
 - Restoring control over the Gaza Strip 55.5%
 - Restraining security chaos in the West Bank 71.0%
 - Restoring dialogue between *Fateh* and *Hamas* 54.8%
 - Improving the economic conditions 77.2%
 - Paying the salaries of employees 82.3%
- 27.6% of respondents supported asking the "wanted" people to hand in their arms to the PA; 65.8% rejected.
- 72.4% of respondents supported the notion that arms should only be in the hands of the members of the security apparatuses.
- 41.2% of respondents supported sending Bader Troops to the West Bank.
- 32.2% of respondents supported sending international forces to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip
- 58.8% of respondents believed that what happened in the Gaza Strip was incited by outside instigations.
- 41.3% of respondents considered Salam Fayyad's government formed by Mahmoud Abbas the legitimate government that represents them; 22.3% considered Ismael Hanyieh's government the legitimate one that represents them.
- 42.9% 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.
- 48.6% of respondents supported a confederation between the West Bank and Jordan.
- 31.7% of respondents believed that Saudi Arabia's position towards Mahmoud Abbas after the incidents of Gaza was positive.



- 24.1% of respondents believed that Saudi Arabia's position towards *Hamas* after the incidents of Gaza was positive.
- 60.8% of respondents expressed fear that what happened in the Gaza Strip will be transferred to the West Bank.
- 57.9% of respondents expressed fear for their lives under the present circumstances.
- 68% of respondents said that they are pessimistic of the general Palestinian situation at this stage.
- 80.9% 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	1.0%
Democratic Front	1.0%
Islamic <i>Jihad</i>	2.7%
<i>Fateh</i>	42.0%
<i>Hamas</i>	15.1%
<i>Fida</i>	0.2%
Popular Front	3.0%
Palestinian National Initiative	0.6%
I am an independent nationalist	4.8%
I am an independent Islamist	3.5%
None of the above	25.5%
Others	0.7%



The General Results of the Poll

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

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	68.6	68.2	69.4
No	26.5	28.1	23.8
No opinion/I do not know	4.8	3.7	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you believe that there is a need to reconstruct the institutions of the PLO?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	77.4	82.9	68.0
No	16.7	12.7	23.6
No opinion/I do not know	5.9	4.4	8.4
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	50.8	61.3	32.6
No	37.3	33.1	44.6
No opinion/I do not know	11.9	5.6	22.8
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	37.5	43.3	27.6
No	43.9	43.1	45.2
No opinion/I do not know	18.6	13.6	27.2
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	9.8	8.0	13.0
I support	16.7	20.3	10.4
I reject	47.5	53.3	37.6
I strongly reject	19.0	10.5	33.6
No opinion/I do not know	7.0	7.9	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In its last meeting in Ramallah, the PLO Central Council authorized President Mahmoud Abbas to conduct early presidential and legislative elections as the given circumstances allow. Are you in favor of this authorization?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	61.1	60.5	62.0
No	33.4	34.1	32.0
No opinion/I do not know	5.6	5.3	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that President Mahmoud Abbas will go ahead with conducting early presidential and legislative elections?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	54.1	59.8	44.2
No	28.2	29.5	26.0
No opinion/I do not know	17.7	10.7	29.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you support or reject early presidential elections?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly support	30.0	21.4	44.8
I support	40.0	49.7	23.2
I reject	19.7	21.6	16.4
I strongly reject	7.3	4.8	11.6
No opinion/I do not know	3.1	2.6	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Do you support or reject early legislative elections?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly support	30.1	20.4	46.8
I support	38.4	48.3	21.2
I reject	19.9	23.1	14.4
I strongly reject	8.6	5.5	14.0
No opinion/I do not know	3.0	2.7	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do think that legislative elections, if conducted, will relieve Palestinians from the present political impasse?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	31.4	29.0	35.4
May be	31.9	31.4	32.8
No	31.6	35.9	24.2
No opinion/I do not know	5.1	3.7	7.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

After the declaration made by *Hamas* that it will abort elections if they are enacted without a national consensus (*Hamas*' approval), do you think that *Hamas* is capable of hindering elections?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	34.2	34.7	33.2
May be	36.1	29.5	47.6
No	22.0	29.6	8.8
No opinion/I do not know	7.7	6.2	10.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that *Hamas* will use violent means to defeat elections if the PA decides to conduct them?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	37.4	32.2	46.4
May be	28.1	27.2	29.6
No	25.5	32.9	12.8
No opinion/I do not know	9.0	7.8	11.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Do you think that conducting early legislative elections form a coup against the last elections conducted one and a half years ago?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	36.4	41.8	27.0
May be	15.1	14.1	17.0
No	42.0	38.2	48.4
No opinion/I do not know	6.5	5.9	7.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that the PA is capable at the present time of conducting legislative elections in the Gaza Strip the same way it is in the West Bank?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	18.4	14.3	25.4
May be	18.8	14.3	26.6
No	57.9	67.0	42.2
No opinion/I do not know	4.9	4.4	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you support or reject conducting piecemeal legislative elections, i.e. conducting elections first in the West Bank and when circumstances permit conducting them in the Gaza Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly support	11.5	4.9	22.8
I support	31.5	37.6	21.0
I reject	35.9	40.0	29.0
I strongly reject	15.9	13.2	20.4
No opinion/I do not know	5.2	4.3	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In case new legislative elections are held, will you participate in these elections?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	57.3	52.7	65.2
May be	11.8	11.8	11.8
No	28.4	34.3	18.2
No opinion/I do not know	2.5	1.2	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



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

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
For a <i>Fateh</i> candidate	40.5	36.2	47.8
For a <i>Hamas</i> candidate	12.0	8.9	17.2
For a candidate from the left	2.9	2.7	3.2
For an independent candidate	10.1	10.3	9.8
I will not participate in the elections	24.1	30.9	12.4
No opinion/I do not know	10.4	10.9	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

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

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
For a <i>Fateh</i> candidate	40.6	36.6	47.4
For a <i>Hamas</i> candidate	12.2	9.5	16.8
For a candidate from the left	2.4	1.9	3.4
For an independent candidate	9.8	9.6	10.2
I will not participate in the elections	25.4	32.3	13.6
No opinion/I do not know	9.6	10.1	8.6
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	25.6	26.6	23.8
deteriorating	49.7	44.1	59.4
the same	16.4	19.9	10.4
No opinion/I do not know	8.3	9.4	6.4
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	36.1	36.1	36.0
May be	17.3	15.1	21.2
No	39.9	40.7	38.6
No opinion/I do not know	6.7	5.1	4.2
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	55.6	51.8	62.2
No	32.5	37.0	24.8
No opinion/I do not know	11.8	11.1	13.0
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	35.4	30.7	43.6
May be	23.4	23.2	23.8
Not true	33.4	39.5	22.8
No opinion/I do not know	7.8	6.6	9.8
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	26.2	29.5	20.6
No	63.4	61.0	67.6
No opinion/I do not know	10.4	9.5	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Hamas has declared that it will not recognize the legitimacy of the government that President Mahmoud Abbas formed. Do you support or reject Hamas' position?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	27.2	30.1	22.2
I reject	61.4	58.4	66.6
No opinion/I do not know	11.4	11.5	11.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that the government of Salam Fayyad will be capable of ending the sate of security chaos in the West Bank?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	31.4	27.4	38.2
May be	28.9	28.1	30.2
No	33.1	37.7	25.0
No opinion/I do not know	6.7	6.7	6.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Do you think that the government of Salam Fayyad will be able to have control over the Gaza Strip in the near future?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	18.8	12.2	30.2
May be	26.8	23.5	32.6
No	47.9	58.1	30.4
No opinion/I do not know	6.5	6.3	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

What, in your opinion, are the priorities of the new emergency government? (On a 0-10 scale)

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Extending its control over the Strip	5.5503	5.6388	5.3980
Restraining the chaotic security situation in the West Bank	7.0992	7.5110	6.3900
Restoring dialogue between <i>Fateh</i> and <i>Hamas</i>	5.4827	6.4750	3.7740
Improving the economic conditions	7.7157	8.0441	7.1500
Paying salaries to the employees	8.2263	8.3647	7.9880

Israel gave a commitment to stop pursuing a group of Palestinian "wanted" men in return for handing in their arms to the Palestinian Authority and refraining from fighting against Israel. Do you support or reject the handing in of "wanted" people's arms?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	27.6	31.5	20.8
I reject	65.8	62.0	72.2
No opinion/I do not know	6.7	6.5	7.0
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	72.4	83.3	53.8
I reject	23.1	14.3	38.4
No opinion/I do not know	4.4	2.4	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Do you support sending Bader Troops to the West Bank?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	41.2	38.6	45.8
I reject	48.7	52.7	41.8
No opinion/I do not know	10.1	8.7	12.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you support or reject sending international forces to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I support	32.2	26.0	42.8
I reject	61.6	69.8	47.6
No opinion/I do not know	6.2	4.2	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think what happened in the Gaza Strip was caused by outside instigation?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	58.8	57.7	60.6
No	27.3	29.0	24.4
No opinion/I do not know	13.9	13.2	15.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Which of the following governments represents you?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Ismael Hanyieh's government which was dissolved by President Abbas	22.3	21.5	23.6
Salam Fayyad's government which was formed by President Mahmoud Abbas after declaring the state of emergency.	41.3	36.2	50.0
Neither one of the two governments.	29.5	37.2	16.4
No opinion/I do not know	6.9	5.1	10.0
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	42.9	53.4	24.8
No	38.6	31.2	51.2
No opinion/I do not know	18.5	15.3	24.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you support a confederation between the West Bank and Jordan?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly support	9.8	10.1	9.2
I support	38.8	51.5	17.0
I reject	26.0	23.5	30.4
I strongly reject	13.4	9.8	19.8
No opinion/I do not know	12.0	5.2	23.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

How do you assess the position of Saudi Arabia towards Mahmoud Abbas after the incidents of Gaza?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Positive	31.7	30.7	33.6
Negative	36.3	37.0	35.0
No opinion/I do not know	32.0	32.3	31.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

How do you assess the position of Saudi Arabia towards Hamas after the incidents of Gaza?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Positive	24.1	24.5	23.4
Negative	44.4	42.4	47.8
No opinion/I do not know	31.5	33.1	28.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Are you worried that what happened in Gaza may be transferred to the West Bank?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	60.8	64.6	54.4
No	33.4	33.4	33.2
No opinion/I do not know	5.8	2.0	12.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Are you worried about your life under the present circumstances?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	57.9	55.6	61.8
No	39.8	43.6	33.2
No opinion/I do not know	2.4	0.8	5.0
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	28.4	29.5	26.6
Pessimistic	68.0	68.4	67.2
No opinion/I do not know	3.6	2.1	6.2
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	17.8	17.5	18.2
May be	26.5	27.9	24.2
No	54.4	54.0	55.2
No opinion/I do not know	1.2	0.6	2.4
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	1.0	0.9	1.0
Democratic Front	1.0	0.7	1.4
Islamic Jihad	2.7	1.7	4.4
Fateh	42.0	38.8	47.4
Hamas	15.1	14.5	16.2
Fida	0.2	0.1	0.4
Popular Front	3.0	2.1	4.6
Palestinian National Initiative	0.6	0.6	0.6
I am an independent nationalist	4.8	4.4	5.6
I am an independent Islamist	3.5	3.4	3.6
None of the above	25.5	32.5	13.4
Others	0.7	0.2	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0