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EDITORIAL

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen, dear friends of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung,

as the nine-month negotiations period between Israel and Palestinians draws to a close, JMCC conducted its latest poll on Palestinian public opinion. The negotiations hit a stalemate over the Israeli refusal to release the last batch of pre-Oslo prisoners. The Palestinians did not feel bound to the deal anymore that required them to restrain from pursuing the international track: Signing international conventions and treaties that would pave the way for further internationalizing the conflict. As a consequence, President Abbas signed the Geneva conventions and other documents. Israelis are further irritated by a sudden move by Abbas that seeks to end the intra-Palestinian split between Hamas and Fatah, Gaza and the Westbank. Last week, an agreement was signed between the PLO and the Hamas leadership in Gaza to implement the previous commitments to restore national unity through elections. Abbas stated publicly that he is still willing to extend negotiations, if Israelis commit to a settlement freeze and release the remaining batch of pre-Oslo prisoners. The negotiations are lead by the PLO, the internationally recognized representative of the Palestinian people living in the Palestinian Territories and in the diaspora. Therefore, from his point of view, national unity should not be seen as an obstruction to negotiations.

The results of the public opinion poll show that President Abbas receives much back up from the Palestinian public for these moves. The majority of the public (62%) in the Westbank, Gaza and East Jerusalem is in favor of extending the negotiations, if the fourth group of pre-Oslo prisoners is

being released. Without a release, however, 52% of the public is against extending negotiations. The two-state solution is still the most favored model for ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. With regards to the question of which strategies the Palestinians should pursue to achieve their aims, a clear commitment to non-violence and negotiations is shown: 64.4% support peaceful negotiations or non-violent resistance. The approach of "Going to the UN" receives support of 68% of the Palestinian public. However, pessimism prevails that the conflict will be solved any time soon. The performance of US Secretary of State John Kerry as a mediator of the negotiations was judged as very poor: 74% were discontent with his role.

Concerning the perspectives of upcoming parliamentary and presidential national elections Abbas and the Fatah movement have little to fear: The poll indicates that 43% trust Fatah the most, whereas Hamas receives trust from only 17% of the public. In case of presidential elections, the majority thinks that Marwan Barghouti would be the best figure to run for such a position. To release Barghouti as part of a deal in order to extend negotiations beyond the nine-month period has been discussed more seriously lately. It is, of course, up to Israel to decide whether they want to give Barghouti a chance to return to the political scene. If not, Hamas leader Ismael Haniyeh ranks second in the poll as a figure to run for the presidency.

Below you will find the complete study. We hope you find it interesting reading!

With kind regards from Jerusalem,
Your FES East-Jerusalem team



Jerusalem Office
Tel.: +972-2-532 83 98
Fax: +972-2-581 96 65
Email: info@fespal.org
Web: www.fespal.org



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

Public Opinion Poll 81 April 2014

Conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre

Majority opposes extending negotiations and majority supports extending them in exchange for Oslo prisoners

Barghouthi most popular figure to run for election in which President Abbas is not a candidate

Plurality sympathizes with President Abbas over Dahlan

Division in satisfaction with performance of the PA

Large majority has negative view of Kerry's performance; dissatisfaction with performance of Obama Administration

A public opinion poll conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (JMCC) in mid-April 2014 showed a significant discrepancy in public opinion on the subject of extending the negotiations. The majority of Palestinians, 52.4%, said they objected to any extension after the nine-month period as opposed to 39.6% who said they supported an extension. When the respondents were asked the same question but this time linking an extension with the release of the fourth group of pre-Oslo prisoners, the majority, 62%, said they supported an extension if the prisoners were released, while 30.1% said they opposed it.

When respondents were asked about the best options currently being discussed regarding the negotiations, 34.7% said they supported extending negotiations and going to the UN at the same time, as opposed to 33.4% who said they supported a halt to the negotiations and going to the UN; 19.9% said they supported a continuation of negotiations without going to the UN.

National Unity

Respondents were split over the possibility that the dialogue between Fatah and Hamas could result in the formation of a national unity government. While 47.3% said they expected this to happen, 46.4% said the opposite.

Marwan Barghouthi

In regards to the popularity of factions and leaders, the poll showed that if presidential elections were held and President Abbas was not a candidate, 20.4% of respondents would favor Marwan Barghouthi as a candidate for the post while 10.3% said they preferred Ismail Haniyeh; the majority of those polled (47.2%) said they did not know or did not have an answer.

As for which Palestinian figure is most trusted by the people, 25.2% said they trusted President Abbas, 13.5% said they trusted Haniyeh and 10% said they trusted Marwan Barghouthi; the plurality of those polled (28.4%) said they did not trust anyone. In regards to the political faction they trust most, 41.7% said they trusted Fatah while 16.8% said they trusted Hamas; the majority of those polled (28.5%) said they did not trust any faction.

Dahlan

It is clear that respondents sympathized more with President Mahmoud Abbas in his dispute with Mohammed Dahlan. Respondents were asked the question who they felt more sympathetic towards. 37.1% said they were more sympathetic towards President Abbas as opposed to only 5.4% who said they sympathized more with Dahlan. However, 46.1% said they did not sympathize with either.

Solutions to the conflict

In regards to solutions to the Palestinian cause in general and to a number of sensitive subjects in particular such as Jerusalem and refugees, the majority of respondents to this poll, 48.7% still said they supported the two-state solution. 52.4% supported the two-state solution in the March 2013 poll and 49.5% in the May 2012 poll. The solution of a binational state was the second choice of the public, with 18.8% in support of it in this poll, while 23.4% supported it in the March 2013 poll and 25.9% supported it in the May 2012 poll.

As for the best solution to the issue of Jerusalem, the majority of respondents, 39.8%, said it was to have East Jerusalem as the capital of a Palestinian state with West Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. This is opposed to 22.6% who favored the option of a unified Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian state, while 13.9% said they would prefer it to be an international city. As for the refugee issue, the majority, 66.8% favored their return to their original homes, while 9.5% said they supported their return to an independent Palestinian state.

With regards to the best method of achieving the goals of the Palestinian people in ending the occupation and establishing their state, 39.1% supported negotiations as the best method. The public was equally split on the option of resistance, whereby 26.3% said they favored peaceful resistance and 26% said they favored armed resistance.

The poll also showed a consistently high level of pessimism among the public regarding the possibility of achieving a peaceful settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict. 63.1% said in this poll that they were pessimistic while 70.2% said they were pessimistic in the November 2012 poll and 64.6% in the April 2011 poll.

Performance of the PA

The poll showed a drop in the level of satisfaction towards the PA's performance, decreasing from 67.6% in November 2011 to 61.6% in November 2013, and to 56% in this poll. As for the performance of the current government headed by Rami al-Hamdallah in comparison to previous governments, the plurality, 38.8%, said it had not changed.

As to whether Rami al-Hamdallah's current government has assisted in pushing the current PA reform process forward, 42.3% said it did not have any influence on the current reform process, 27.9% said it assisted in pushing the reform process forward and 12% said it pushed the reform process backward.

Performance of the US

In regards to the performance of US Secretary of State John Kerry and his role in sponsoring the negotiations, 73.8% said his performance was bad while 15.2% said it was good. As for the performance of the US Administration towards the Middle East, 51.7% of respondents said there was no change in its dealings with the Middle East's problems, while 33.6% said there was regression in its dealings, and 7.0% said it had improved.

Methodology:

A random sample of **1200** people over the age of 18 was interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip between 9th and 14th of April 2014. The interviews were conducted in randomly selected homes, and the subjects inside each home were also selected randomly according to Kish tables. The interviews were conducted in 130 sampling points chosen randomly according to population.

In the West Bank **750** people were surveyed from the following areas:

Hebron : Dura, Hebron, Taffuh, Beit 'Awwa, Yatta, Beit Ummar, Beit Kahil, Adu-hiriya, Kurza, Karma, Al-'Arrub refugee camp. **Jenin**: Qabatiya, Al-Yamun, Kafr Ra'l, Silat adh-daher, Meithalun, Az-Zababidah, Al-Tayba, Jablabun, Jenin refugee camp. **Tubas**: Aqqaba, Wadi al-Far'a. **Ramallah & al-Bireh**: Silwad, Der al-Ghossan, Ramallah, Al-Bireh, Beit Liqiya, Ras Karkar, Khirbet abu falah, Al-Tira, Yabrud, Al-Jalazun refugee camp. **Jericho**: Jericho, al-Jiftlik. **Jerusalem** : Anata, Hizma, Birnabala, Jaba', Beit Hanina, Shu'fat, Old City, Al-Issawiyeh, Ras al Amoud, Qalandia refugee camp. **Bethlehem**: Nahalin, Bethlehem, Beit Fajjar, Beit Jala, Battir, Ad-duheisha refugee camp. **Nablus**: Nalbus, Beit Furik, Rujeib, Awarta, Urif, Einabus, Ein beit il ma' refugee camp. **Salfit** : Bidhya, Deir Istiya. **Tulkarem**: Illar, Qoffin, Bal'a, Tulkarem, Zeita, Seida. **Qalqilya**: Qalqiliya, Jayyus.

In the Gaza Strip **450** people were surveyed from the following areas:

Gaza: al-Rimal a-Shamali, a-Rimal a-Janoubi, a-Zeitoun, a-Shuja'ia, a-Tufah, a-Daraj, a-Naser, a-Sheikh Radwan, a-sheikh Ajleen, Tal al-Hawa, al-Mughraga, Shati Refugee Camp . **Khan Younis**: Khan Younis, Absan al-Kabira, Abasan al-Saghira, Bani Suheila, al-Qarara, Khuza', Khan Younis Refugee Camp . **Rafah**: Rafah, Shouket a-Soufi, Rafah Refugee Camp. **Gaza North**: Jabalia, Beit Lahia, Jabalia Refugee Camp, Beit Hanoun. **Deir al-Balah**: Deir al-Balah, Buriy, -Zawaydeh, Nussirat, al-Maghazi Refugee Camp, Bureij Refugee Camp, Deir al-Balah Refugee Camp.

The margin of error is ± 3 percent, with a confidence level of 95 %.

Sample Distribution

52.5% of the respondents were from the West Bank, 10.0% from Jerusalem, 37.5% from the Gaza Strip.

16.7% said they live in villages 8.8% in refugee camps, and 74.5% in towns/cities.

47.7% were male, 52.3% were female.

68.8% were married, 24.3 % single, 5.3% widowed, 1.6% divorced, 0.0% no answer.

The average age of the respondents was 37.6 years.

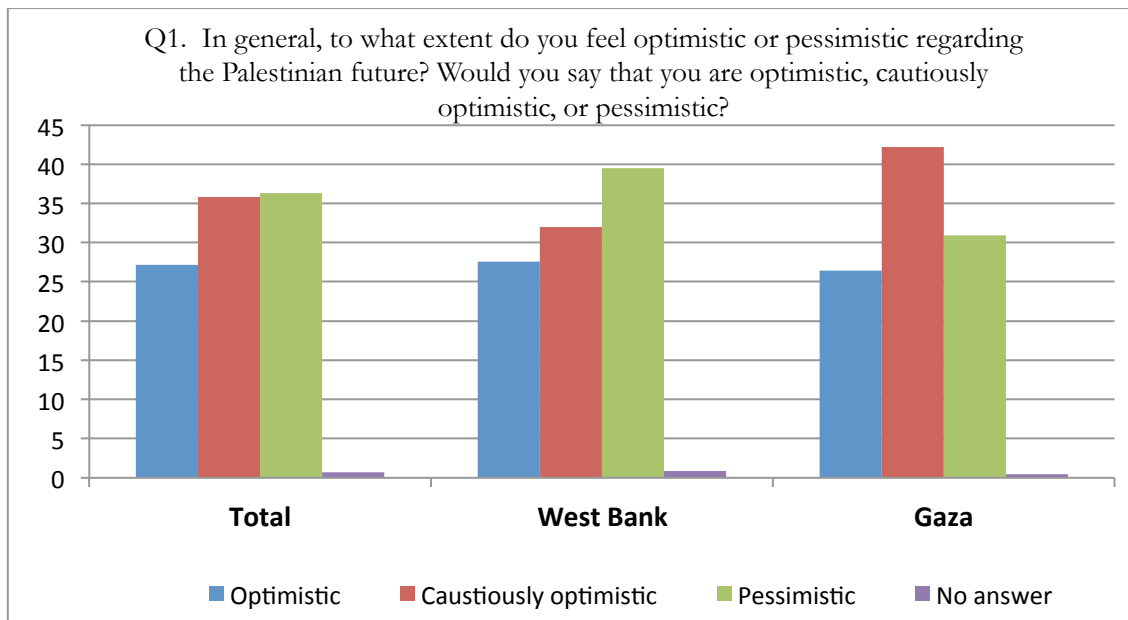
Occupation of Respondents

- Students 11.8%
- Laborers 10.9%
- Housewives 38.9 %
- Farmers/fishermen 2.0%
- Craftsmen 0.2%
- Businessmen/private business 8.0%
- Public Sector Employees 9.1 %
- Private Sector Employees 5.9 %
- Professionals (e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers) 0.5%
- Unemployed 9.9%
- Retired 2.5%,
- No answer 0.3%.

Results:

Q1. In general, to what extent do you feel optimistic or pessimistic regarding the Palestinian future? Would you say that you are optimistic, cautiously optimistic, or pessimistic?

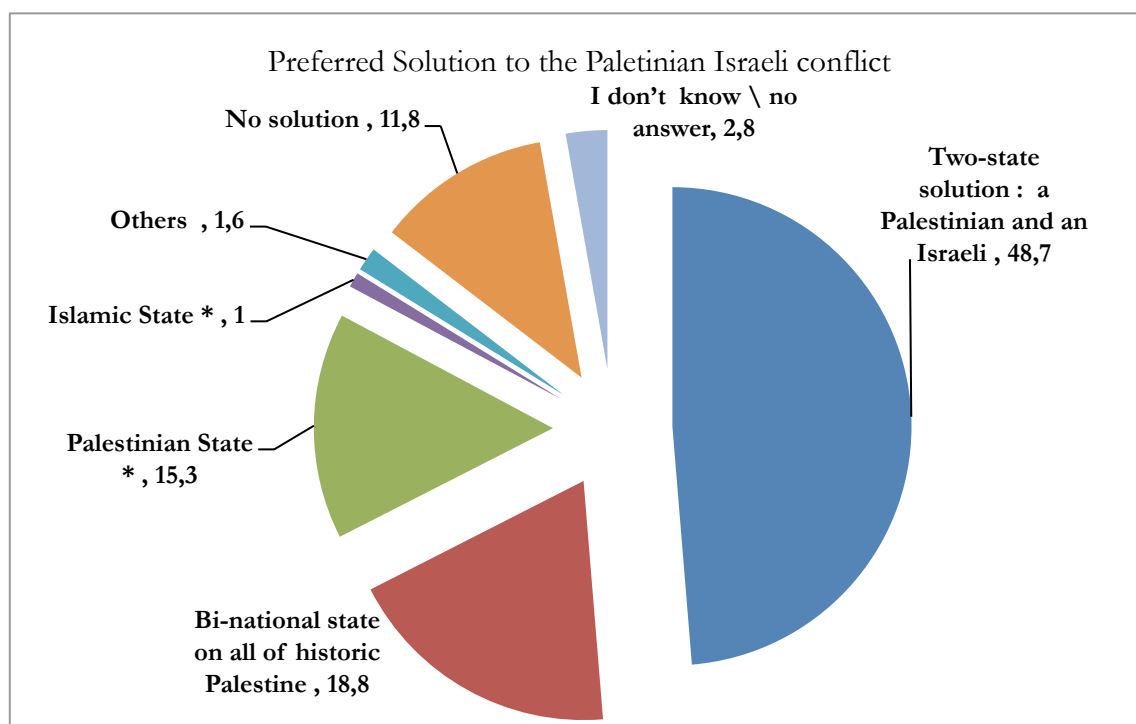
	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1200	n= 750	n= 450
Optimistic	27.2	27.6	26.4
Caustiously optimistic	35.8	32.0	42.2
Pessimistic	36.3	39.5	30.9
No answer	0.7	0.9	0.5



Q2. Some believe that a two-state formula is the favored solution for the Arab-Israeli conflict, while others believe that historic Palestine cannot be divided and thus the favored solution is a bi-national state on all of Palestine where Palestinians and Israelis enjoy equal representation and rights. Which of these solutions do you prefer?

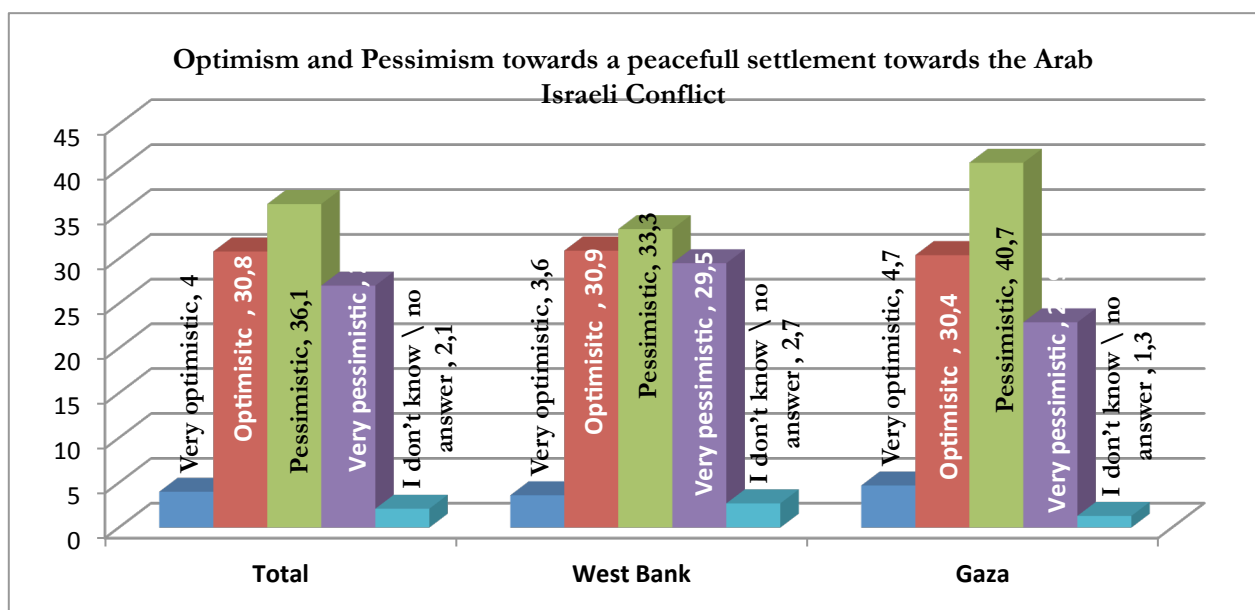
	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n= 450
Two-state solution : a Palestinian and an Israeli	48.7	45.2	54.4
Bi-national state on all of historic Palestine	18.8	23.9	10.2
Palestinian State *	15.3	13.9	17.8
Islamic State *	1.0	1.2	0.7
Others	1.6	0.8	2.9
No solution	11.8	11.9	11.8
I don't know \ no answer	2.8	3.1	2.2

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



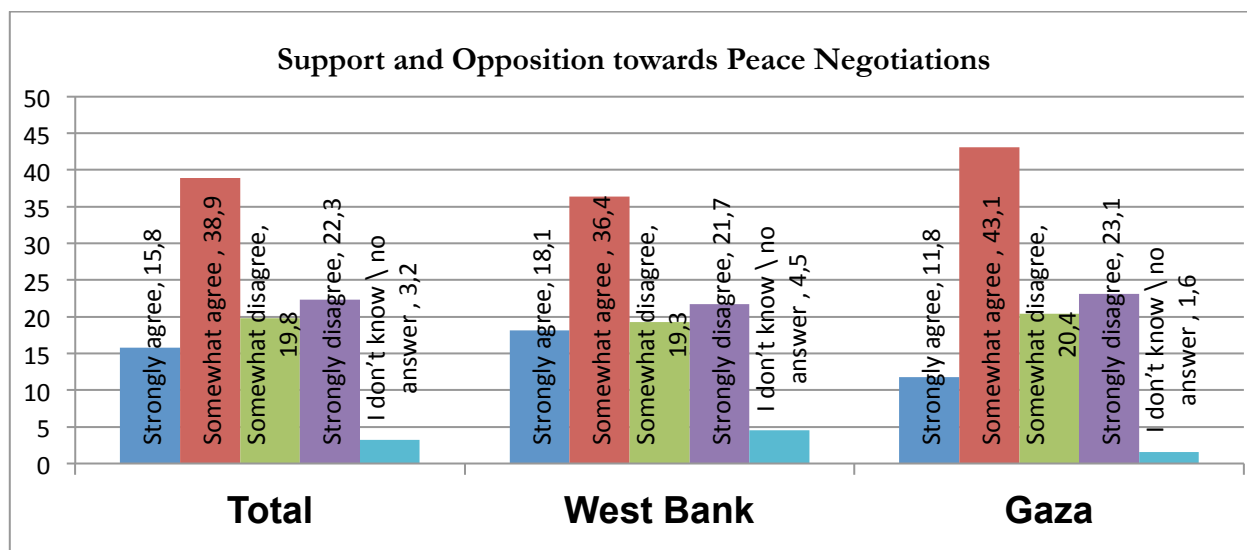
Q3. How optimistic or Pessimistic are you towards reaching a peaceful settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict? Would you say that you are very optimistic, optimistic, pessimistic, or very pessimistic?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1200	n= 750	n= 450
Very optimistic	4.0	3.6	4.7
Optimistic	30.8	30.9	30.4
Pessimistic	36.1	33.3	40.7
Very pessimistic	27.0	29.5	22.9
I don't know \ no answer	2.1	2.7	1.3



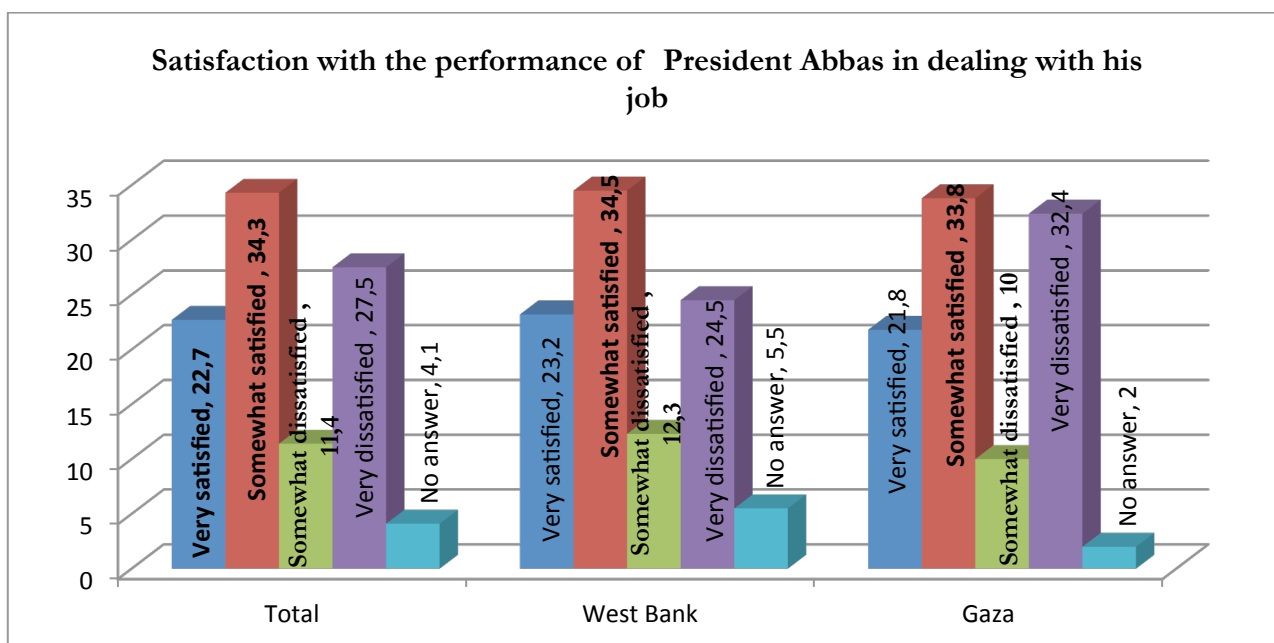
Q4. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree peace negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israeli?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1200	n= 750	n= 450
Strongly agree	15.8	18.1	11.8
Somewhat agree	38.9	36.4	43.1
Somewhat disagree	19.8	19.3	20.4
Strongly disagree	22.3	21.7	23.1
I don't know \ no answer	3.2	4.5	1.6



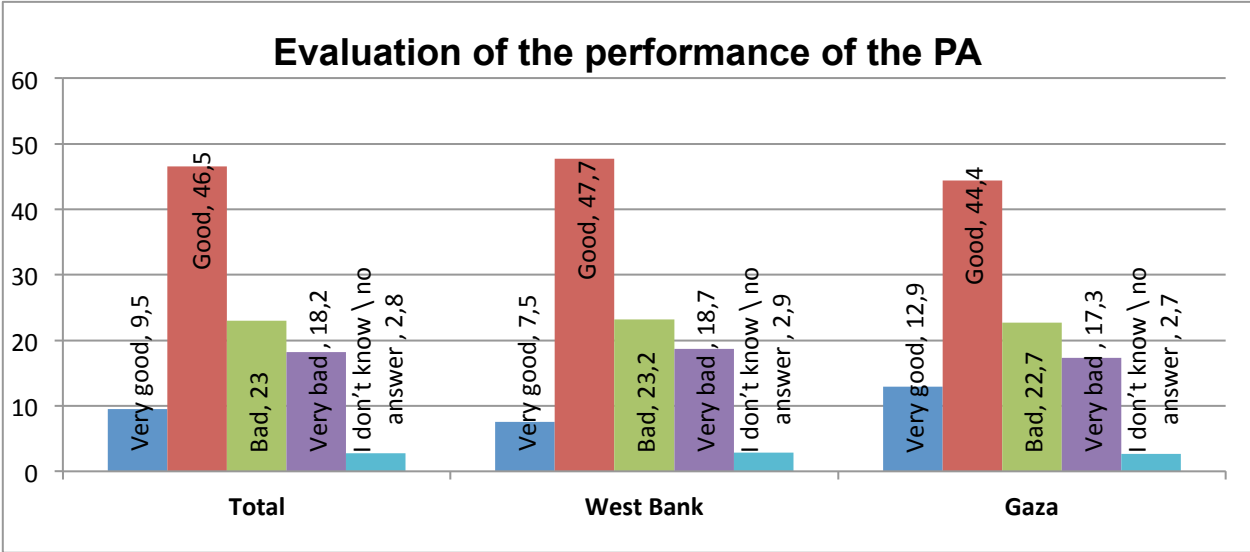
Q5. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied about the way that Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) is dealing with his job as a president to the Palestinian National Authority?

	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
Very satisfied	22.7	23.2	21.8
Somewhat satisfied	34.3	34.5	33.8
Somewhat dissatisfied	11.4	12.3	10.0
Very dissatisfied	27.5	24.5	32.4
No answer	4.1	5.5	2.0



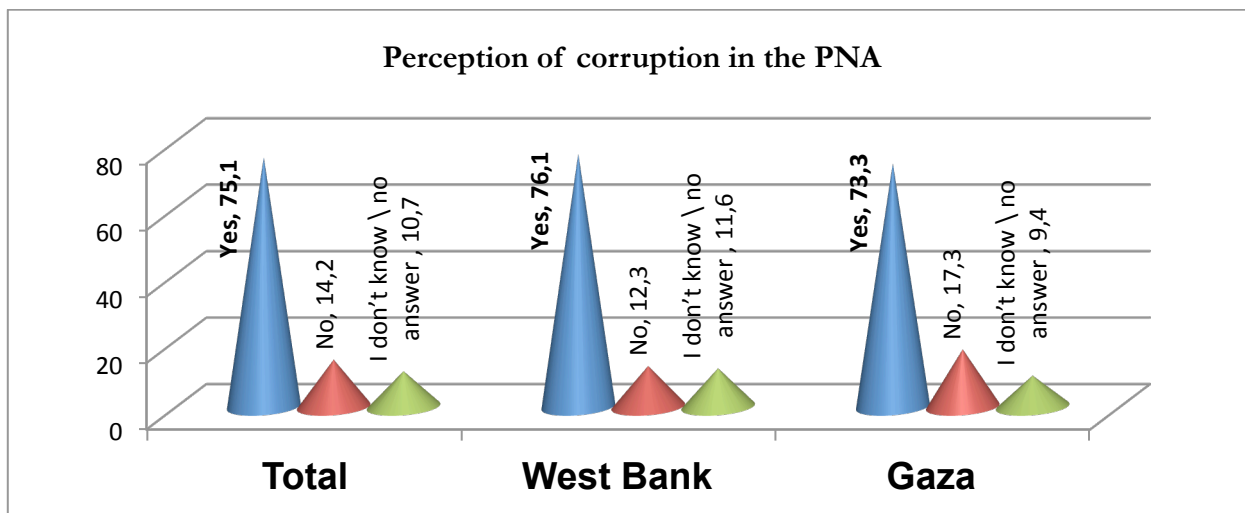
Q6. In general, how do you evaluate the performance of the PNA? Would you say it's performance is very good, good, bad or very bad?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Very good	9.5	7.5	12.9
Good	46.5	47.7	44.4
Bad	23.0	23.2	22.7
Very bad	18.2	18.7	17.3
I don't know \ no answer	2.8	2.9	2.7



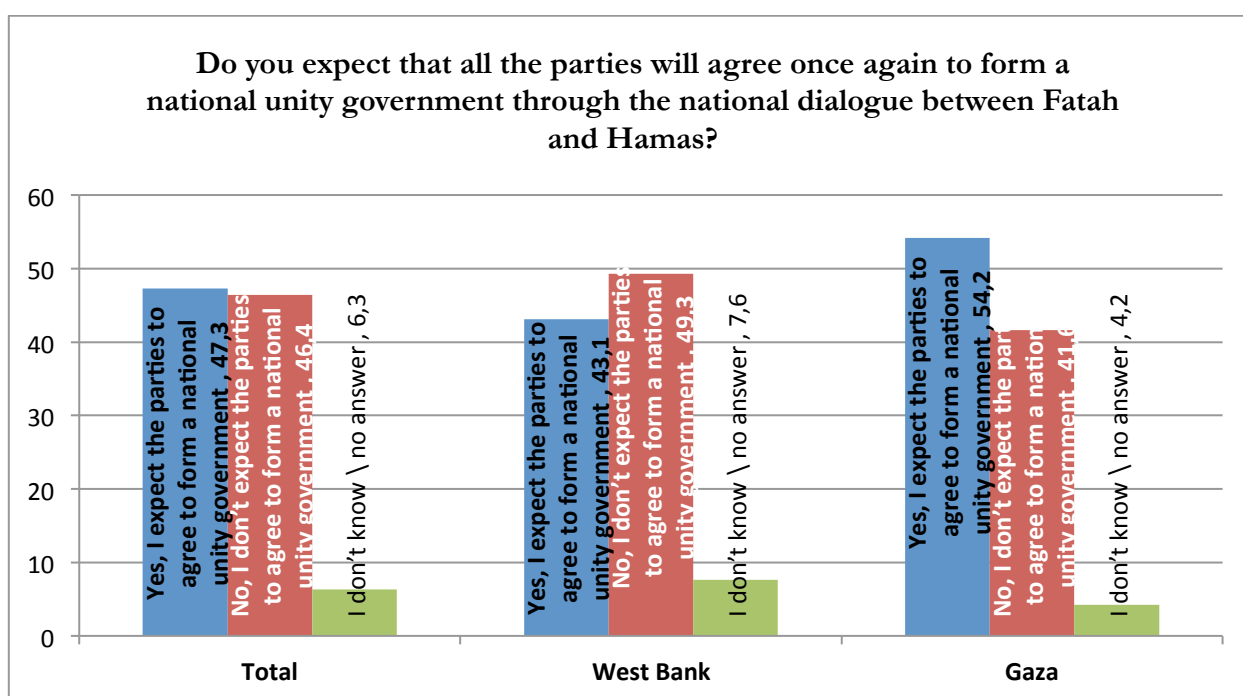
Q7. Do you think that there is corruption in the PNA?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Yes	75.1	76.1	73.3
No	14.2	12.3	17.3
I don't know \ no answer	10.7	11.6	9.4



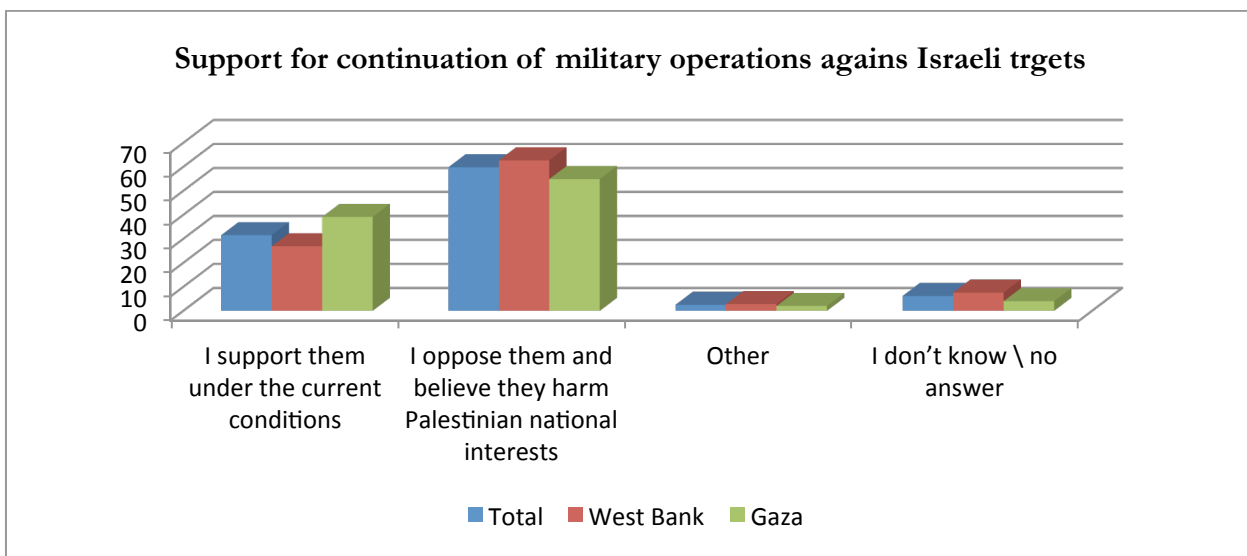
Q8. Do you expect that all the parties will agree once again to form a national unity government through the national dialogue between Fatah and Hamas?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Yes, I expect the parties to agree to form a national unity government	47.3	43.1	54.2
No, I don't expect the parties to agree to form a national unity government	46.4	49.3	41.6
I don't know \ no answer	6.3	7.6	4.2



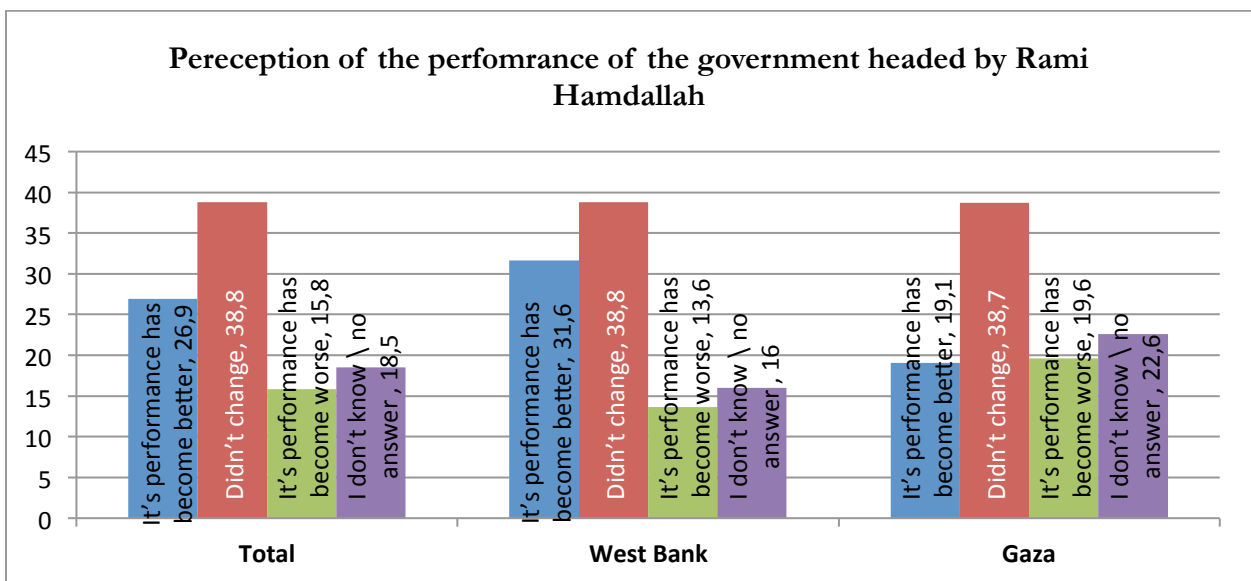
Q9. Do you support the continuation of military operations against Israeli targets as an appropriate response under current political conditions or do you oppose them and believe they harm Palestinian national interests?

	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
I support them under the current conditions	31.5	26.9	39.1
I oppose them and believe they harm Palestinian national interests	59.8	62.7	54.9
Other	2.5	2.8	2.0
I don't know \ no answer	6.2	7.6	4.0



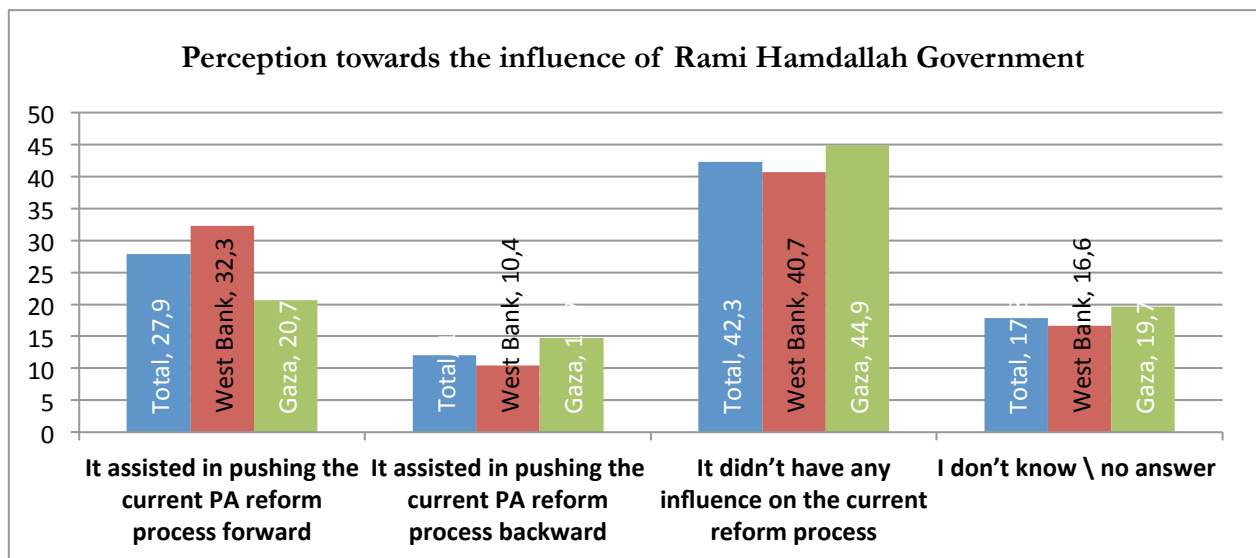
Q10. In general, do you think the performance of the current government headed by Rami al-Hamdallah is better when compared to previous governments? Didn't change, or become worse?

	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
It's performance has become better	26.9	31.6	19.1
Didn't change	38.8	38.8	38.7
It's performance has become worse	15.8	13.6	19.6
I don't know \ no answer	18.5	16.0	22.6



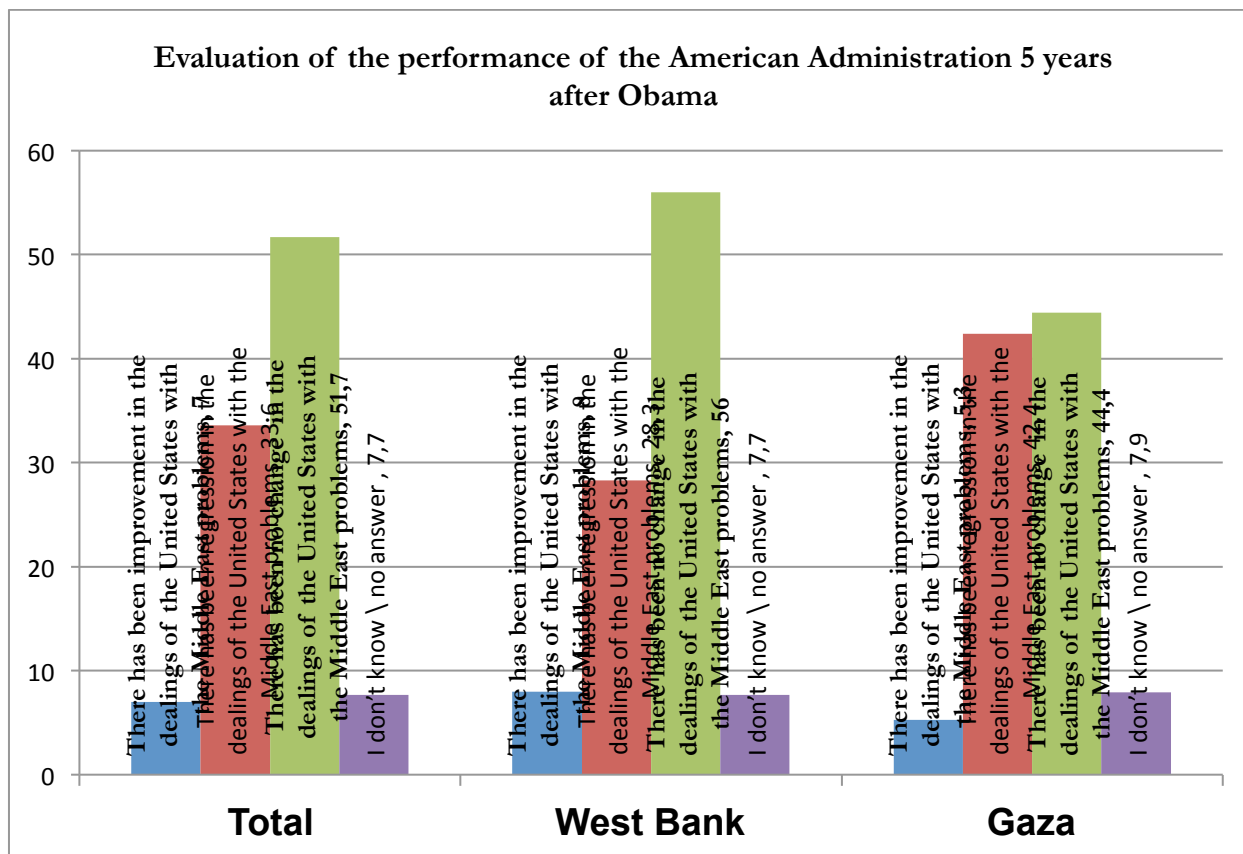
Q11. Do you think that the current government headed by Rami al-Hamdallah assisted in pushing the current PA reform process forward? Backward? Or it didn't have any influence on the current reform process?

	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
It assisted in pushing the current PA reform process forward	27.9	32.3	20.7
It assisted in pushing the current PA reform process backward	12.0	10.4	14.7
It didn't have any influence on the current reform process	42.3	40.7	44.9
I don't know \ no answer	17.8	16.6	19.7



Q12. What is your opinion about the performance of the US Administration headed by President Barack Obama five years after his inauguration regarding the Middle East? Do you think the United States has improved its dealings with the Middle East problems, or have you noticed regression or no change?

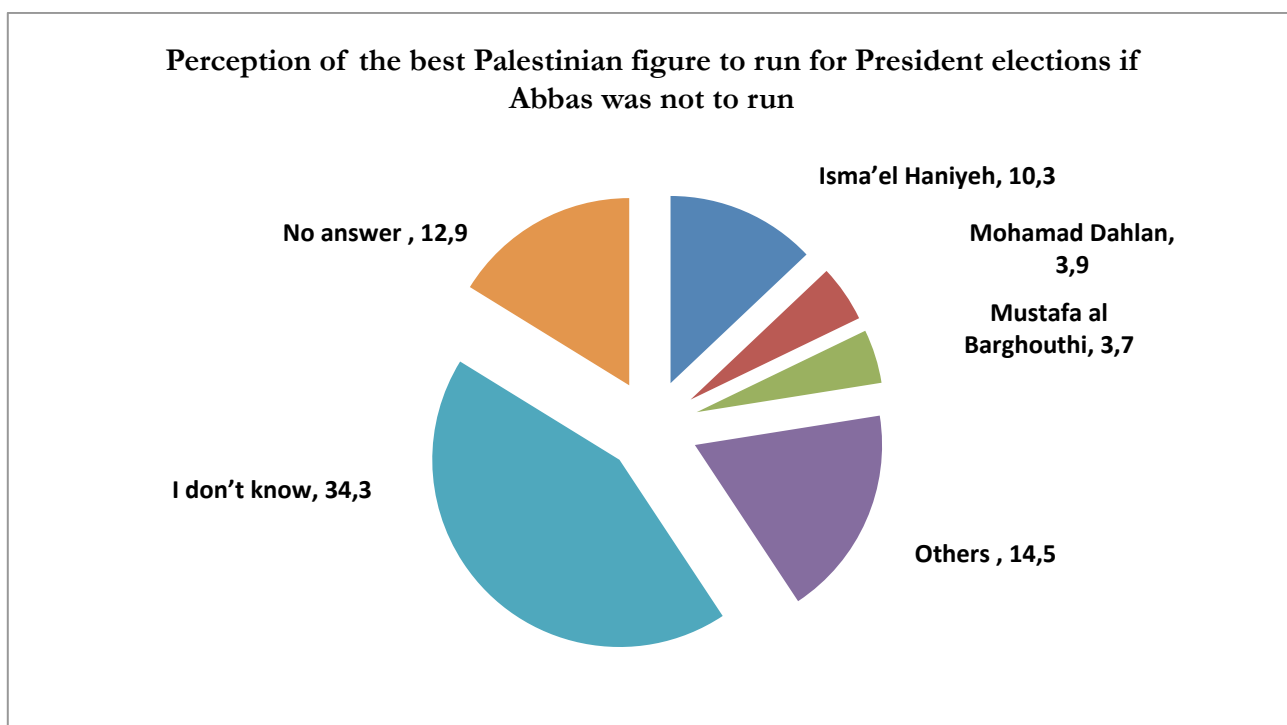
	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
There has been improvement in the dealings of the United States with the Middle East problems	7.0	8.0	5.3
There has been regression in the dealings of the United States with the Middle East problems	33.6	28.3	42.4
There has been no change in the dealings of the United States with the Middle East problems	51.7	56.0	44.4
I don't know \ no answer	7.7	7.7	7.9



Q13. If presidential elections were to be held soon and Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) was not a candidate, who do you think is the best Palestinian figure to run for such a position?

	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
Marwan al Barghouthi	20.4	20.0	21.1
Isma'el Haniyeh	10.3	5.1	19.1
Mohamad Dahlan	3.9	0.9	8.9
Mustafa al Barghouthi	3.7	3.3	4.2
Others	14.5	15.6	12.7
I don't know	34.3	40.1	24.7
No answer	12.9	15.0	9.3

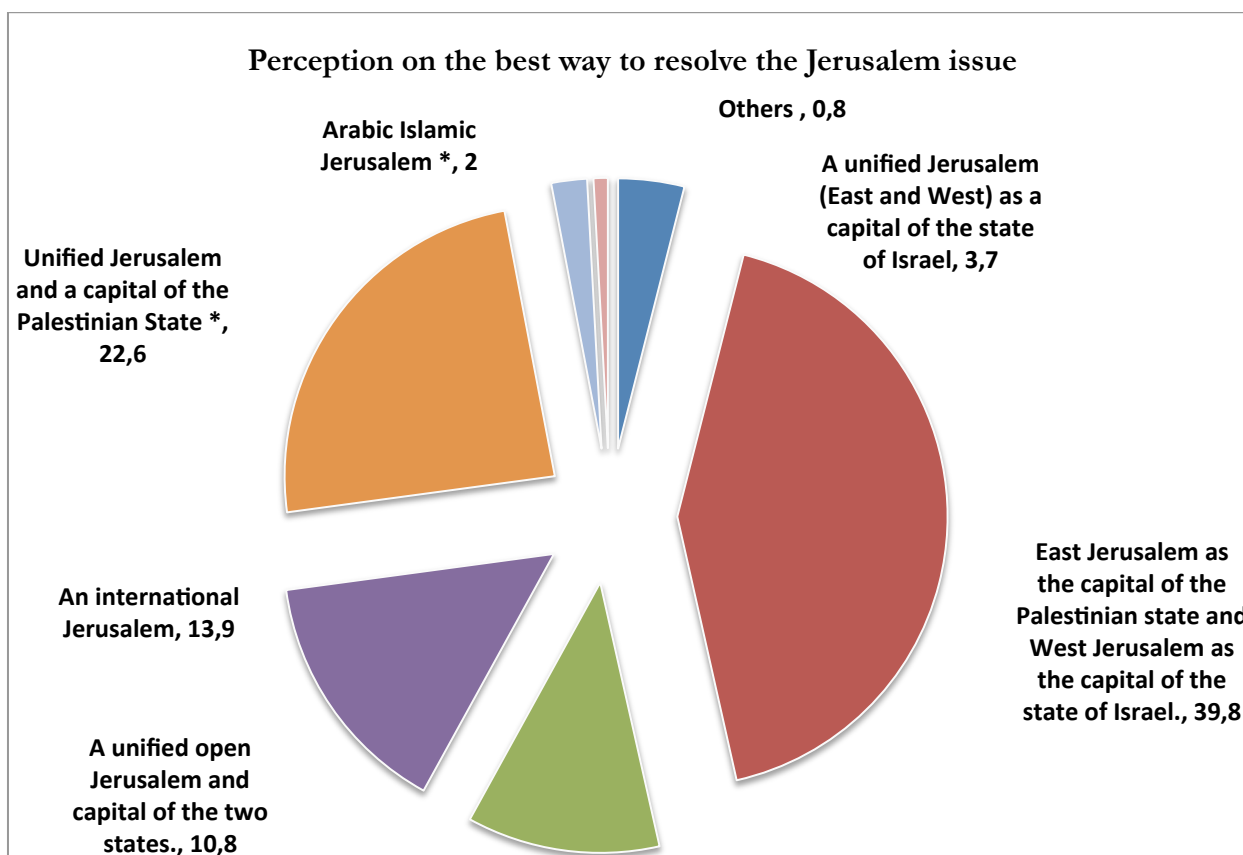
***This was an open-ended question; no options were read to the interviewee**



Q14. In your opinion, what is the best solution to the question of Jerusalem?

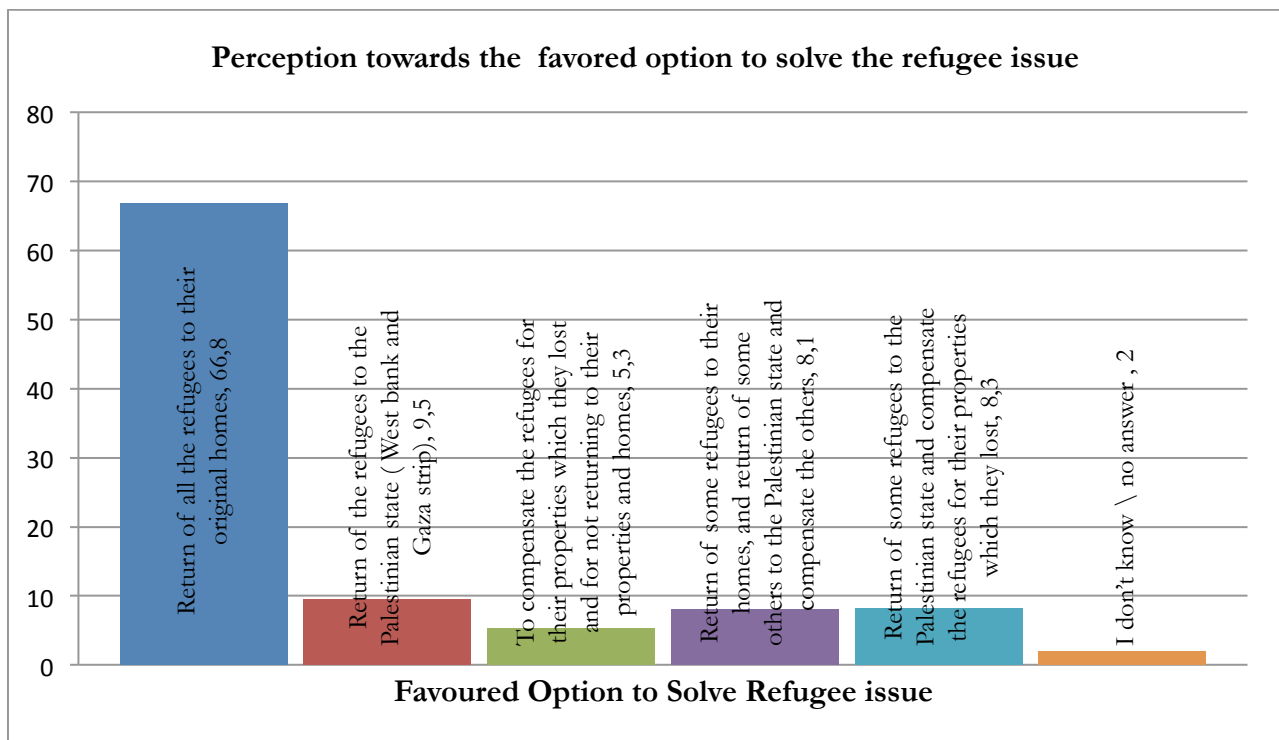
	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
A unified Jerusalem (East and West) as a capital of the state of Israel	3.7	2.1	6.2
East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian state and West Jerusalem as the capital of the state of Israel.	39.8	36.8	44.7
A unified open Jerusalem and capital of the two states.	10.8	14.0	5.3
An international Jerusalem	13.9	14.9	12.2
Unified Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian State *	22.6	23.5	21.1
Arabic Islamic Jerusalem *	2.0	1.3	3.1
Others	0.8	1.1	0.4
I don't know \ no answer	6.4	6.3	7.0

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



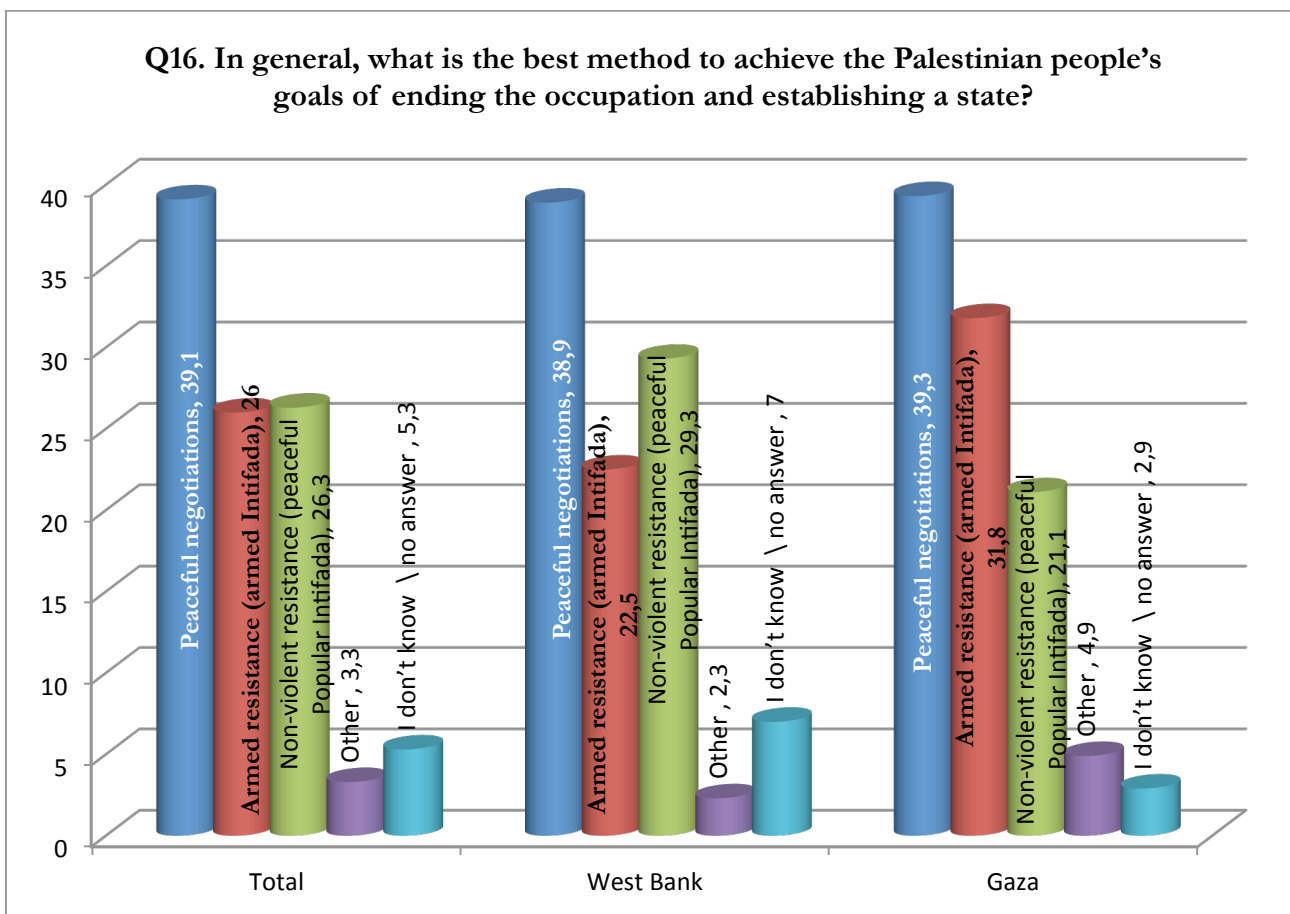
Q15. With regards to the negotiations over the issue of the refugees, which of the following solutions do you favor?

	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
Return of all the refugees to their original homes	66.8	62.9	73.3
Return of the refugees to the Palestinian state (West bank and Gaza strip)	9.5	9.9	8.9
To compensate the refugees for their properties which they lost and for not returning to their properties and homes	5.3	6.7	3.1
Return of some refugees to their homes, and return of some others to the Palestinian state and compensate the others	8.1	8.4	7.6
Return of some refugees to the Palestinian state and compensate the refugees for their properties which they lost	8.3	10.7	4.4
I don't know \ no answer	2.0	1.4	2.7



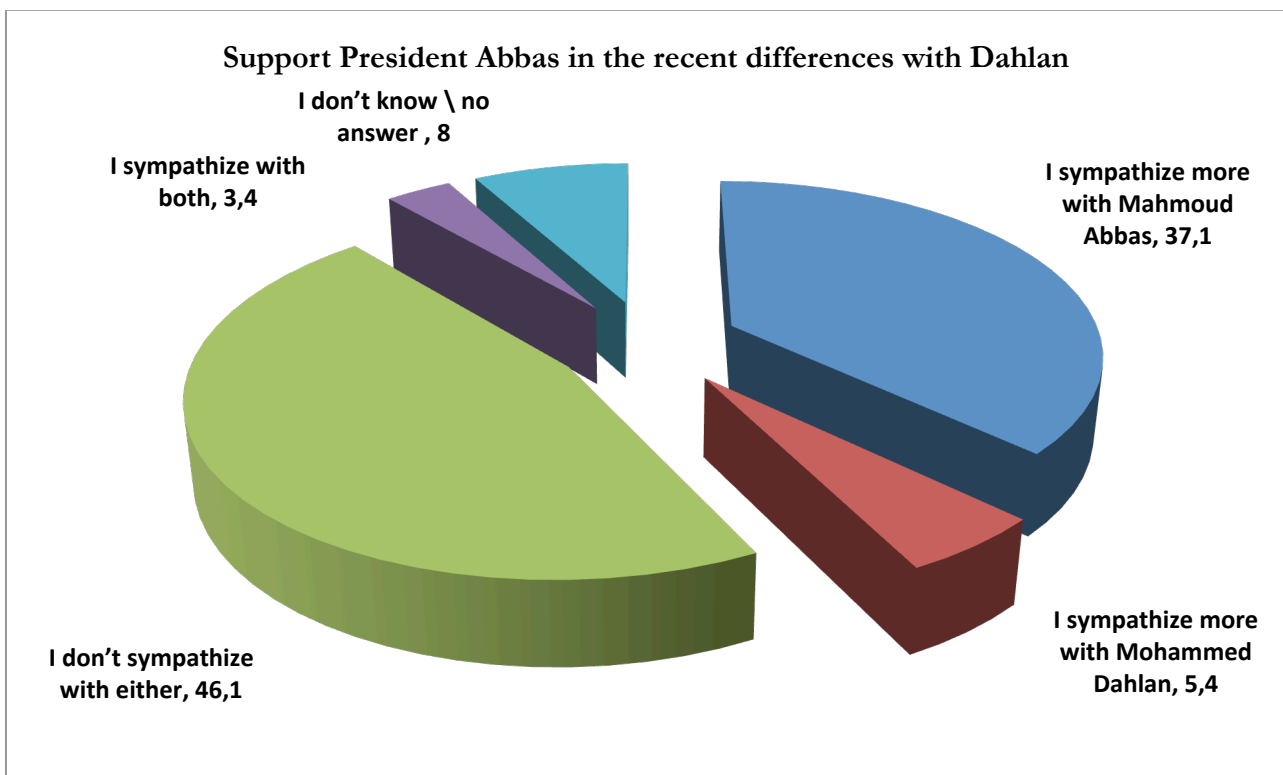
Q16. In general, what is the best method to achieve the Palestinian people’s goals of ending the occupation and establishing a state?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Peaceful negotiations	39.1	38.9	39.3
Armed resistance (armed Intifada)	26.0	22.5	31.8
Non-violent resistance (peaceful Popular Intifada)	26.3	29.3	21.1
Other	3.3	2.3	4.9
I don’t know \ no answer	5.3	7.0	2.9



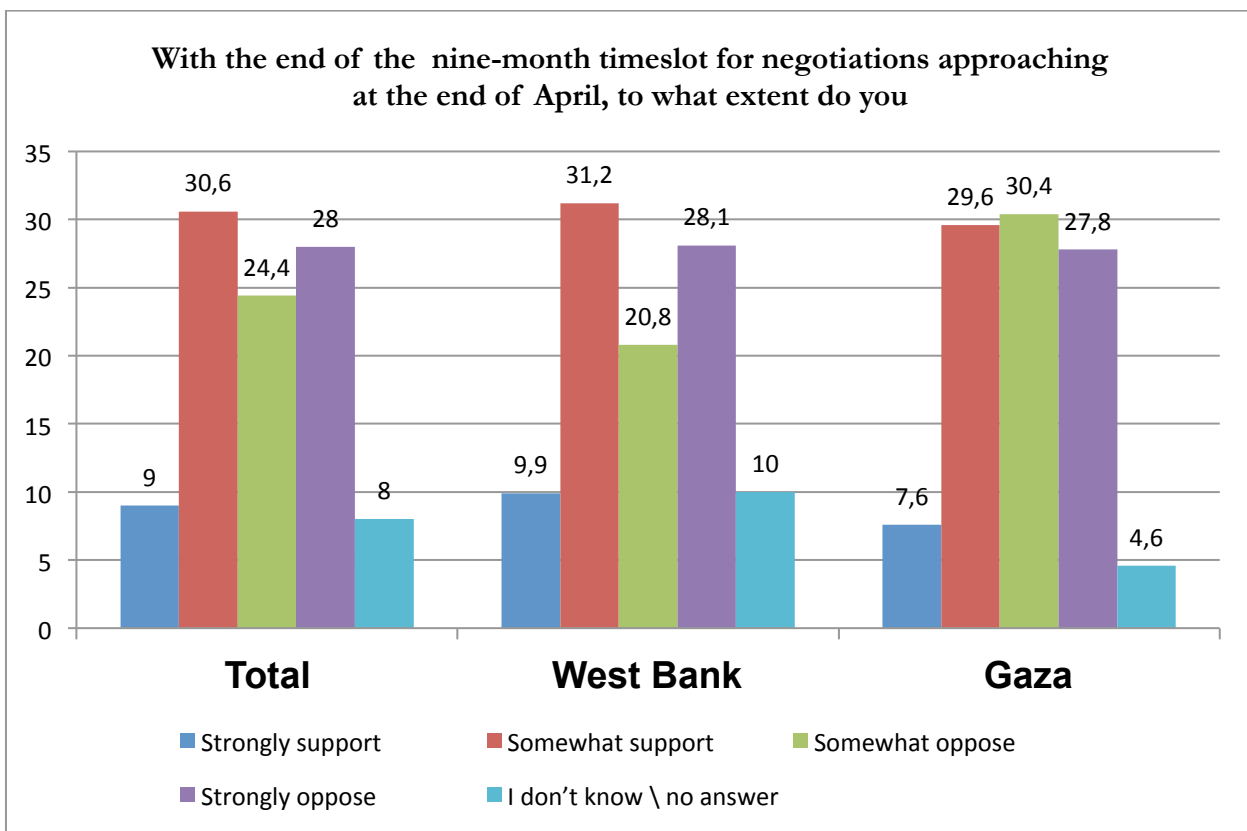
Q17. Differences between President Mahmoud Abbas and Mohammed Dahlan have recently escalated, reaching the point of mutual and public accusations. In light of the disparate accusations between them, who do you find yourself more sympathetic towards?

	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
I sympathize more with Mahmoud Abbas	37.1	41.1	30.4
I sympathize more with Mohammed Dahlan	5.4	2.3	10.7
I don't sympathize with either	46.1	44.3	49.1
I sympathize with both	3.4	2.5	4.9
I don't know \ no answer	8.0	9.8	4.9



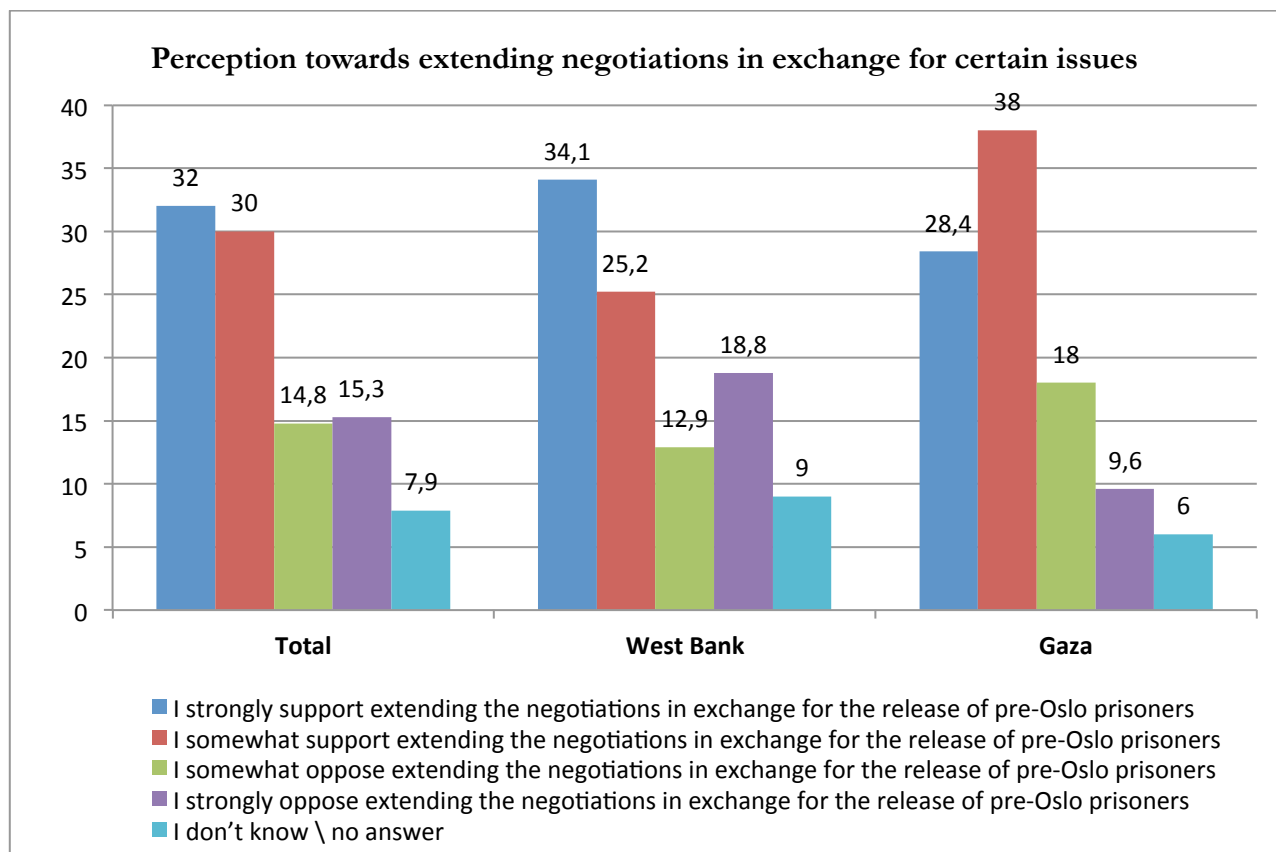
Q18. With the end of the nine-month timeslot for negotiations approaching at the end of April, to what extent do you support or oppose extending the negotiations?

	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
Strongly support	9.0	9.9	7.6
Somewhat support	30.6	31.2	29.6
Somewhat oppose	24.4	20.8	30.4
Strongly oppose	28.0	28.1	27.8
I don't know \ no answer	8.0	10.0	4.6



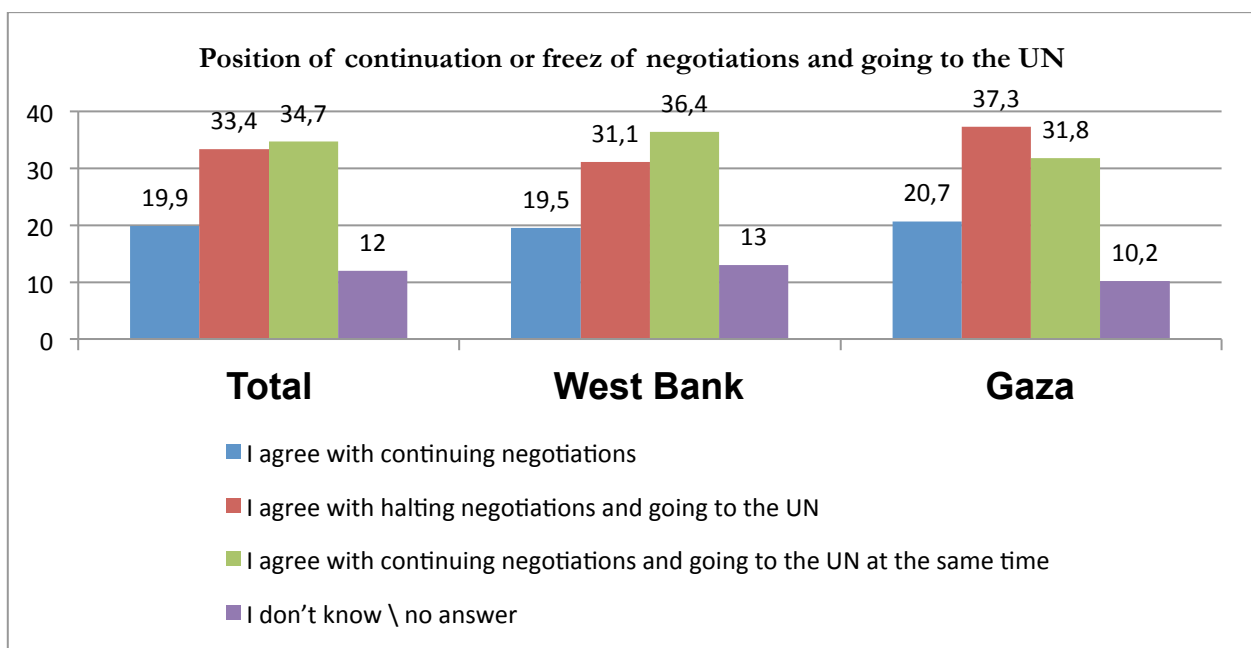
Q19. With the end of the nine-month timeslot for negotiations approaching at the end of April, American-Palestinian-Israeli talks have recently been conducted on extending the negotiations in exchange for releasing the (fourth group) of pre-Oslo [Accords] prisoners. What do you think?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
I strongly support extending the negotiations in exchange for the release of pre-Oslo prisoners	32.0	34.1	28.4
I somewhat support extending the negotiations in exchange for the release of pre-Oslo prisoners	30.0	25.2	38.0
I somewhat oppose extending the negotiations in exchange for the release of pre-Oslo prisoners	14.8	12.9	18.0
I strongly oppose extending the negotiations in exchange for the release of pre-Oslo prisoners	15.3	18.8	9.6
I don't know \ no answer	7.9	9.0	6.0



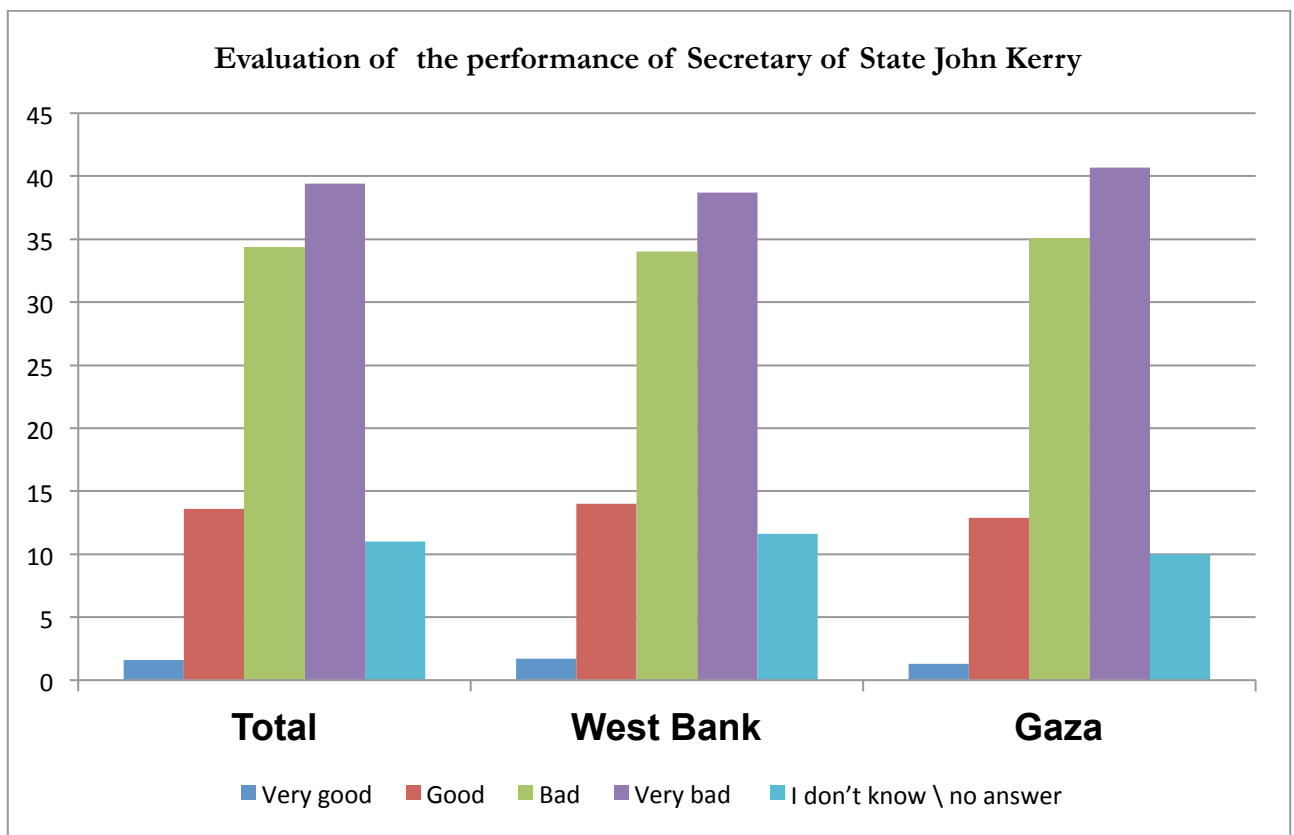
Q20. With the end of the nine-month timeslot for negotiations approaching at the end of April, the current discussions revolve around what is the best option, extending the negotiations for an additional period or halting negotiations and going to the United Nations to complete procedures for membership of the PLO in the UN and in other international organizations?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
I agree with continuing negotiations	19.9	19.5	20.7
I agree with halting negotiations and going to the UN	33.4	31.1	37.3
I agree with continuing negotiations and going to the UN at the same time	34.7	36.4	31.8
I don't know \ no answer	12.0	13.0	10.2



Q21. Around one year ago U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry succeeded to resume the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations. How do you evaluate the performance of the U.S. Secretary of State in sponsoring the ongoing negotiations? Would you say that his performance is very good, good, bad, or very bad?

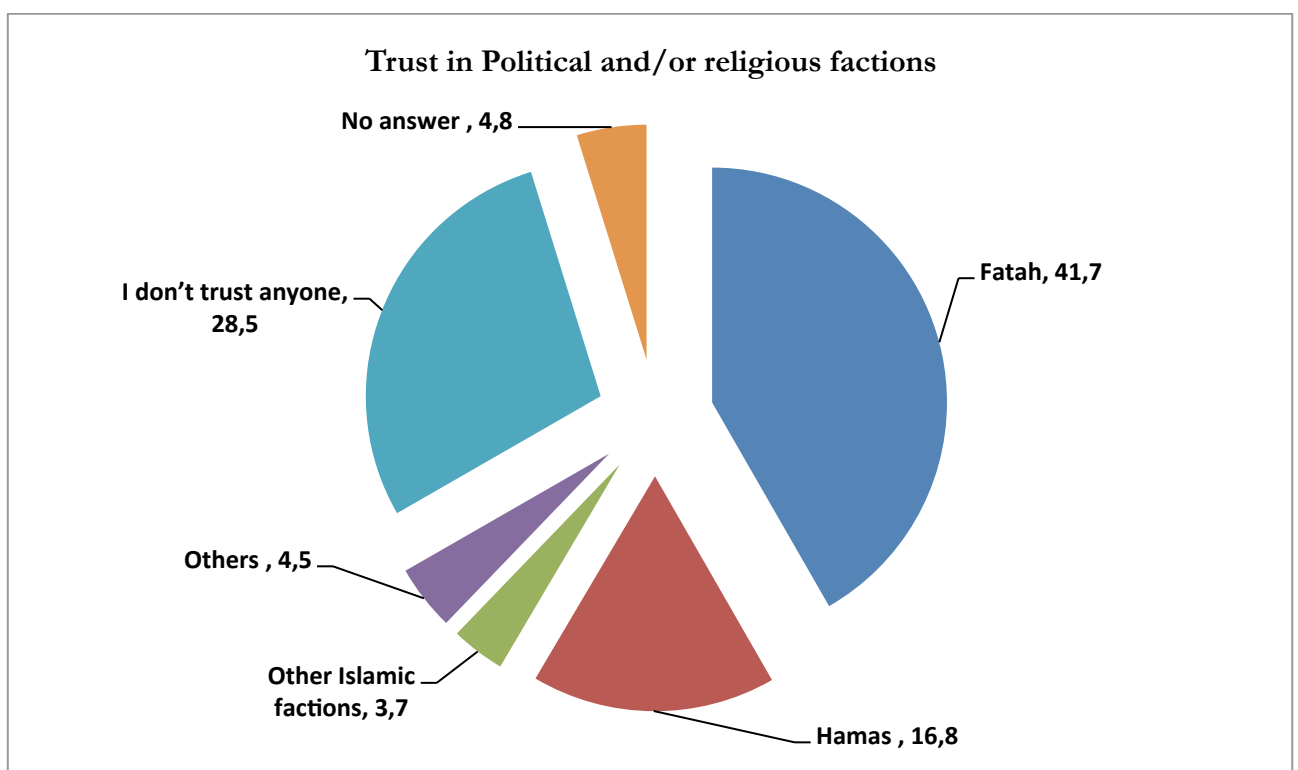
	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
Very good	1.6	1.7	1.3
Good	13.6	14.0	12.9
Bad	34.4	34.0	35.1
Very bad	39.4	38.7	40.7
I don't know \ no answer	11.0	11.6	10.0



Q22. Which political or religious faction do you trust the most?*

	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n= 450
Fatah	41.7	41.7	41.6
Hamas	16.8	11.7	25.1
Other Islamic factions	3.7	2.7	5.3
Others	4.5	6.0	2.0
I don't trust anyone	28.5	31.2	24.0
No answer	4.8	6.7	2.0

*This was an open-ended question; no options were read to the interviewee



Q23. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?*

	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n= 450
Mahmoud Abass	25.2	27.7	20.9
Isma'el Haniyeh	13.5	8.5	21.8
Marwan al Barghouthi	10.0	10.4	9.3
Mohamad Dahlan	3.0	0.5	7.1
Others	12.8	12.5	13.1
I don't trust anyone	28.4	30.8	24.4
No answer	7.1	9.6	3.4

*This was an open-ended question; no options were read to the interviewee

