

## EDITORIAL

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

the Jerusalem Media and Communication Center (JMCC) has conducted its latest public opinion poll in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This survey was conducted around three weeks before the Israeli elections but more importantly for Palestinians six months after the Gaza war, from which Palestinian society is still reeling. A sense of frustration has set in, with fewer people viewing Hamas as the winning side in the war. After its surge in popularity following the war in Gaza last summer, Hamas' rating has once again dropped, to 22.0%, whereas 37.7% would vote for Fatah. Overall, however, satisfaction for the Palestinian leadership has decreased and the economic outlook is pessimistic, with 62.9% of the population in the West Bank agreeing that the economic situation there has deteriorated.

64.1% blame Israel for the economic crisis which has affected the PA and which has prevented the payment of salaries to PA employees. However, despite the punitive reaction of Israel to the Palestinians' effort to join the International Criminal Court, 69% want the Palestinian leadership to continue on this path. A large percentage of the population also supports efforts to boycott Israeli products, with only 6.5% of respondents saying they don't support boycotting Israeli products.

The overall pessimism extends to the efforts to end the occupation and resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The number of people supporting peaceful negotiations over armed resistance is minimal (33.6% vs. 33.1%), with 27% preferring nonviolent resistance. However, while the

appearance of 'ISIS'-associated flags at demonstrations in Gaza has worried many people, overall, only 3.3% of Palestinians have a positive view of 'ISIS' and only 1.8% think it serves the Palestinian cause.

What the poll appears to show is that Palestinians are becoming more concerned with matters of everyday life, be it the reconstruction of Gaza or economic prospects in the West Bank. The frustratingly slow pace of reconstruction in Gaza and the economic turbulence in the West Bank caused by the Israeli government's decision to withhold tax revenues owed to the Palestinian Authority are cause for worry. The dimmer prospects for economic and social development become, while settlements continue to grow, the less patience Palestinians may have to wait for the results of a peaceful negotiation process.

These results show the international community should pick up the pieces of the failed negotiation process and aim for a more concerted effort to push for a fair and just solution.

Warm wishes,

Your FES East-Jerusalem team



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## Poll No. 83 - March 2015

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**In a poll conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (JMCC)**

**Majority supports internationalization of the Palestinian cause and boycott of Israeli products**

**The largest proportion: Hamas is to blame for the division**

**Retreat in satisfaction over the performance of the President and the Prime Minister**

**Retreat in popularity of Hamas and consistency in support of Fatah**

**Rise in negativity towards ISIS**

The Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (JMCC) conducted an opinion poll in the West Bank and Gaza Strip between February 25 and March 1, 2015, which included a sample of 1,200 people. The poll showed changes in the level of satisfaction towards parties and leaders, continued support for the internationalization of the Palestinian cause, support for the boycott of Israeli products and blaming Hamas for the division. Meanwhile there was a rise in negative perceptions of ISIS.

### **Internationalizing the Palestinian cause**

The poll showed that the majority, 59.2%, of respondents support efforts to internationalize the Palestinian cause, saying such efforts help to achieve the goals of the Palestinian people in ending the occupation. At the same time, a majority of 69% said they favored the PA's continued efforts to go to the ICC and for it not to renege in the face of Israeli pressure, represented in halting the transfer of tax revenues. In contrast, 20.5% of respondents said they would rather the PA backtrack on going to the ICC in the wake of Israel halting the transfer of the PA's tax revenues.

### **Salary crisis**

Regarding the economic crisis as a result of Israel's withholding of tax revenues, which also resulted in PA employees receiving partial salaries, the majority of respondents, 64.1% said Israel was responsible for the crisis, while 16.8% held the PA responsible, 9.4% held international donors responsible and 7.8% held Arab states responsible.

### **Gaza: Hamas is to blame for the division**

According to the poll, the largest percentage, 34.3% blamed Hamas for the continued division in the PA in contrast with 23.1% who blamed Fatah, 17.8% who blamed both Fatah and Hamas, and 7.9% who blamed Israel. It is noteworthy that the largest proportion of those who put the responsibility of the division on Hamas (42.7%) are from the Gaza Strip in comparison to 29.2% from the West Bank.

There was also a clear setback in those who consider Hamas as the winning side in the recent war, from 57.1% in the October, 2014 poll to 40.4% in this poll. It is also noticeable that the largest proportion, 46.1% of those who considered Hamas as the winning side were from the West Bank, while the percentage was lower, 30.9%, in the Gaza Strip.

In response to the question over who is more responsible for the delay in the reconstruction of the Gaza Strip, 43.3% named Israel. After that, however, public opinion was divided between 16.7% who held the Hamas government in Gaza more responsible and 15.4% who held the PA responsible. It should be noted that the largest proportion of those who held Hamas responsible for the delay in Gaza's reconstruction (27.1%) were in the Gaza Strip in contrast with 10.4% from the West Bank.

### **Consensus over a boycott**

The poll showed that the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian public supports the boycott of Israeli products in Palestinian markets, with a discrepancy over the details. A majority of 59.2% said they support the boycott of all Israeli products while 15.7% said they support the boycott of products with a local alternative. 7.6% said they support the boycott of settlement products, while 8.5% said they support the boycott of settlement products and products with an alternative, in comparison to only 6.5% who said they do not support the boycott of Israeli products in general.

However, when respondents were asked at the personal level about the boycott, about half of those polled, 48.8% said they boycotted all Israeli products. 20.1% said they boycotted products with an alternative while 7.4% said they boycotted only Israeli settlement products.

### **Setback for parties and leaders**

The poll showed a setback in the percentage of those satisfied with the way President Mahmoud Abbas deals with his job as president of the Palestinian National Authority, from 57% in April of last year, to 50% in this poll. Furthermore, the percentage of those who think the performance of Prime Minister Rami Hamdallah is bad went up from 12.6% in November, 2013 to 26.6% in this poll.

Moreover, the percentage of those who said they would vote for Hamas if PLC elections were held dropped from 29% in October of last year to 22% in this poll, while the percentage of those who said they would vote for Fatah stayed the same at 37.7%. Meanwhile, there was a rise in the percentage of those who said they would not vote for anyone, from 19.1% to 24.6% in the same period.

### **Negative views of ISIS**

The percentage of those who consider ISIS's advance in Iraq and Syria as negative rose from 70.8% in October of last year to 87.1% in this poll. There was a drop in the percentage of those who consider ISIS's advance as positive, from 7.6% last October to 3.3% in this poll. Furthermore, the majority of those polled, 51.8% confirmed that ISIS harms the Palestinian cause in comparison to 1.8% who said it serves it, and 37.9% who said it does not affect the Palestinian cause.

### **TV is first**

When respondents were asked what their first and second source of news; the largest proportion (48.4%) said television was their first source. 21.4% said they depended on internet news sites, 16.8% on social networking sites, 8.3% on radio and 2.2% on newspapers. As for the second source of news, radio came in first place at 25.9%, followed by television at 24.3%, social networking sites at 15.7%, internet news sites at 15.4% and finally newspapers at 5.1%.

## **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 the 25<sup>th</sup> of February and the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 2015. 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:** Hebron, Beit Kahil, Adu-dhahiriya, Yatta, Tarqumiya, Dura, Halhul, Khursa, Al-Rihiya, Al-Fawwar refugee camp. **Jenin:** Jaba', Kafr Ra'l, Meithalun, Al-Yamoun, Arraba, Rummana, Siris, Jalabun, Jenin refugee camp. **Tubas:** Tubas, Tayaseer. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** Ramallah, Beit 'Ur al-Tahta, Beituniya, Deir Ibzi', Kharbatha al Misbah, Rantis, Kharbatha bani harith, Rammun, Al-Jalazun refugee camp. **Jericho:** Jericho, Al-Jiftlik. **Jerusalem :** As-Sawahira ash-Sharqiya, Biddu, Al-Ram and Dahiat al Bareed, Jaba', Beit Hanina, Shu'fat, Old City, Al-Issawiyeh, Ras Al-Amoud, Qalandia refugee camp. **Bethlehem:** Ad-Doha, Bethlehem, Beit Jala, Artas, Ayda refugee camp. **Nablus:** Asira ash-Shamaliya, Nablus, Zeita Jamma'in, Bizzariya, Qusin, Aqraba, Balata refugee camp. **Salfit:** Bidhya, Bruqin. **Tulkarem:** Attil, Deir al Ghusun, Tulkarem, Far'un, Zeita. **Qalqilya:** Qalqilya, Azzun 'atma.

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, Beit Hanoun, Jabalia Refugee Camp. **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  $\pm 3$  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.

50.6% were male, 49.4 % were female.

68.1% were married, 27.3%, single, 3.8% widowed 0.8% divorced, 0.0% no answer.

The average age of the respondents was 36 years.

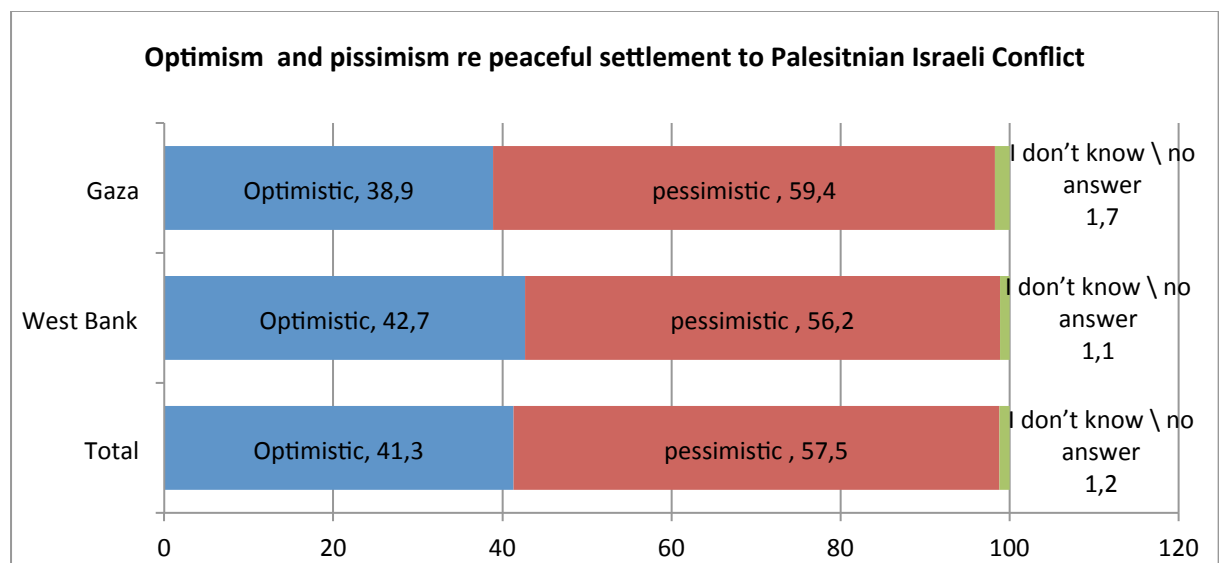
### **Occupation of Respondents**

- Students 14.3 %
- Laborers 12.4%
- Housewives 32.8%
- Farmers/fishermen 2.3%
- Craftsmen 0.6%
- Businessmen/private business 7.2%
- Public Sector Employees 10.7%
- Private Sector Employees 6.8%
- Professionals (e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers) 1.1%
- Unemployed 8.7 %
- Retired 3.0%,
- No answer 0.1%.

**Results:**

Q1. 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?

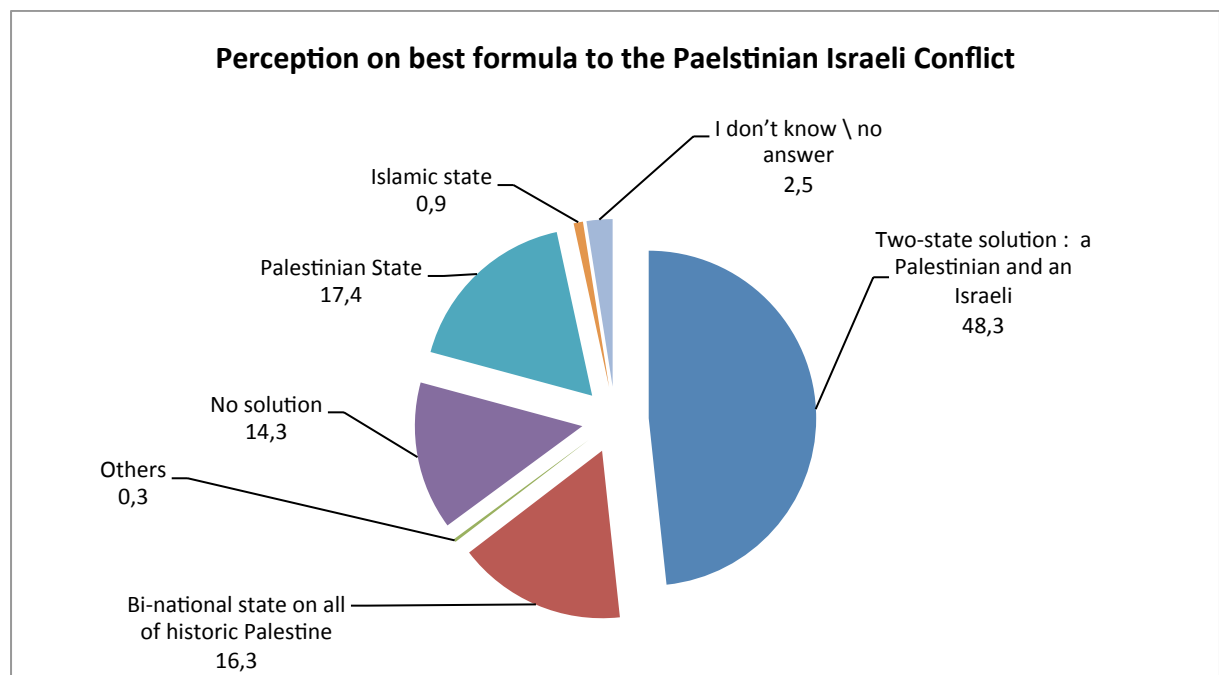
	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Very optimistic	2.8	2.3	3.6
Optimistic	38.5	40.4	35.3
Pessimistic	31.3	28.5	35.8
Very pessimistic	26.2	27.7	23.6
I don't know / no answer	1.2	1.1	1.7



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 state	48.3	48.1	48.4
Bi-national state on all of historic Palestine	16.3	18.4	12.9
Others	0.3	0.1	0.7
No solution	14.3	13.9	15.1
Palestinian state *	17.4	15.3	20.9
Islamic state *	0.9	1.2	0.4
I don't know / no answer	2.5	3.0	1.6

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



Q3. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree with peace negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis?

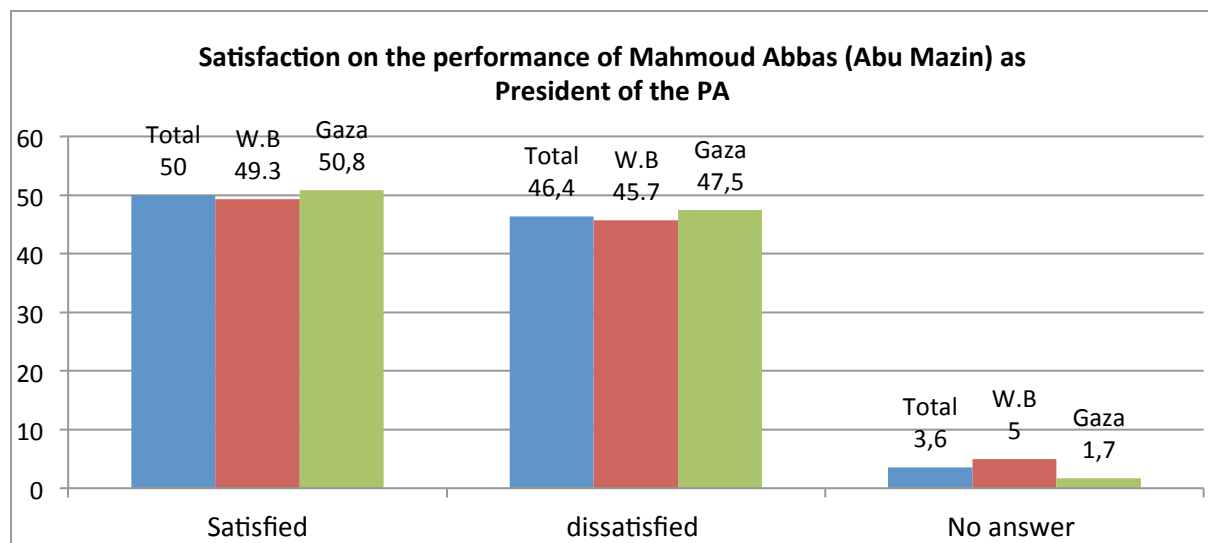
	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
Strongly agree	15.8	14.5	18.0
Somewhat agree	38.6	38.7	38.4
Somewhat disagree	18.9	18.3	20.0
Strongly disagree	24.8	25.7	23.1
I don't know / no answer	1.9	2.8	0.5





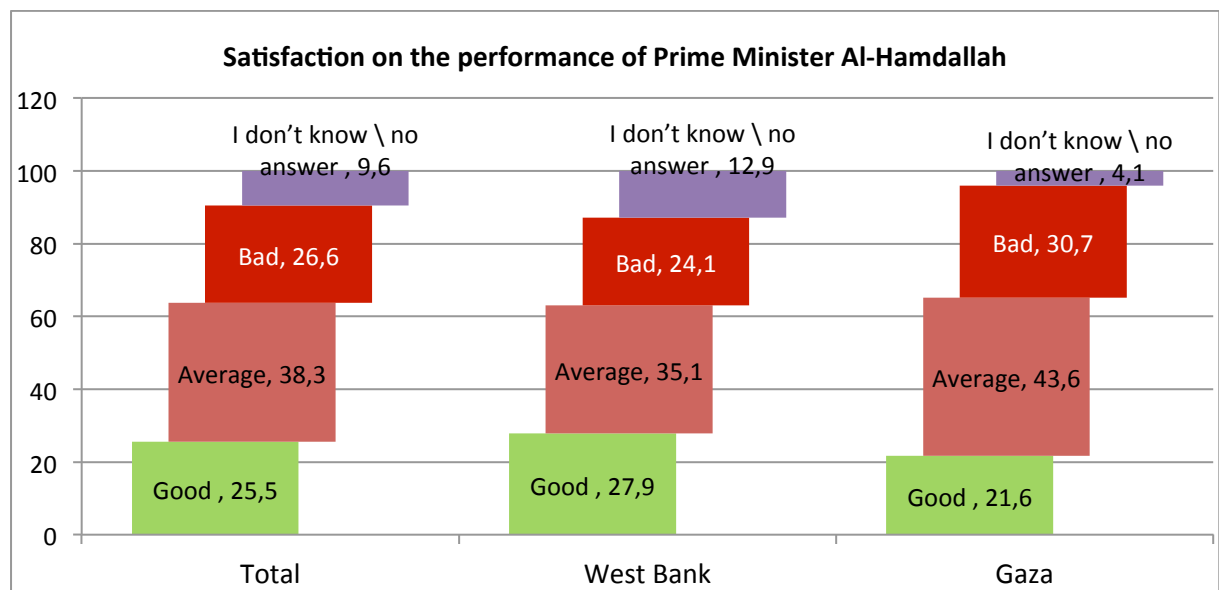
Q4. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied about the way that Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) is dealing with his job as a president to the Palestinian National Authority?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Very satisfied	17.8	17.3	18.4
Somewhat satisfied	32.2	32.0	32.4
Somewhat dissatisfied	13.8	14.1	13.3
Very dissatisfied	32.6	31.6	34.2
No answer	3.6	5.0	1.7



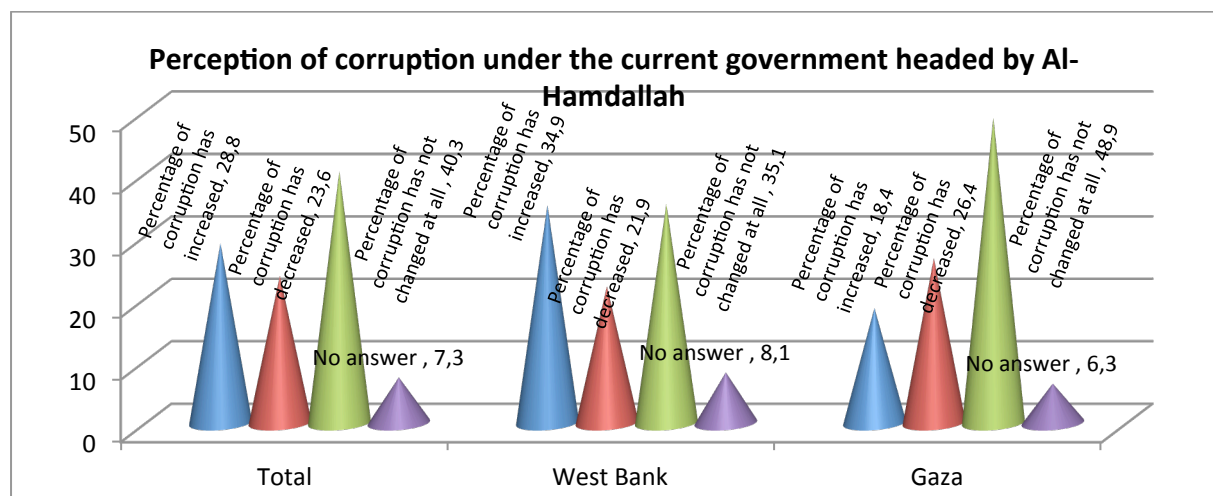
Q5. Do you think that Prime Minister Dr. Rami Al-Hamdallah is doing a good, average, or a bad job as a Prime Minister?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Good	25.5	27.9	21.6
Average	38.3	35.1	43.6
Bad	26.6	24.1	30.7
I don't know /no answer	9.6	12.9	4.1



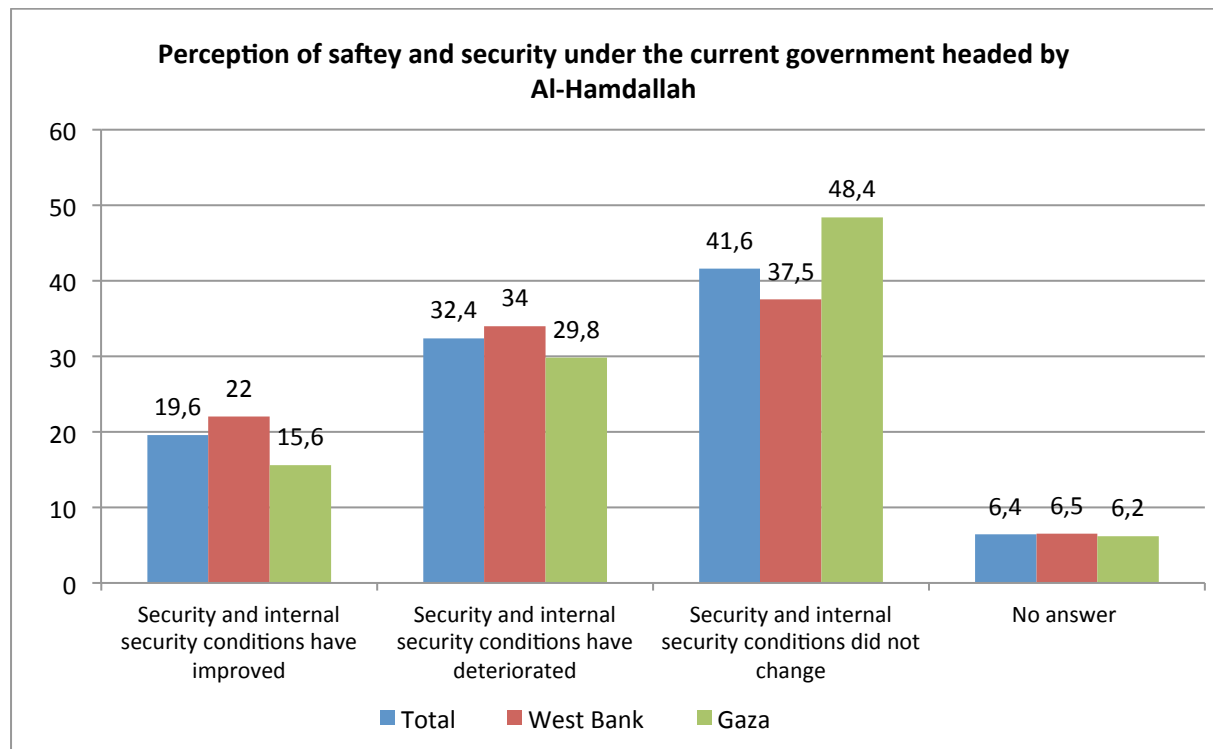
Q6. In general, under the current government headed by al-Hamdallah, do you think that the percentage of corruption has increased, decreased, or has not changed at all?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Percentage of corruption has increased	28.8	34.9	18.4
Percentage of corruption has decreased	23.6	21.9	26.4
Percentage of corruption has not changed at all	40.3	35.1	48.9
No answer	7.3	8.1	6.3



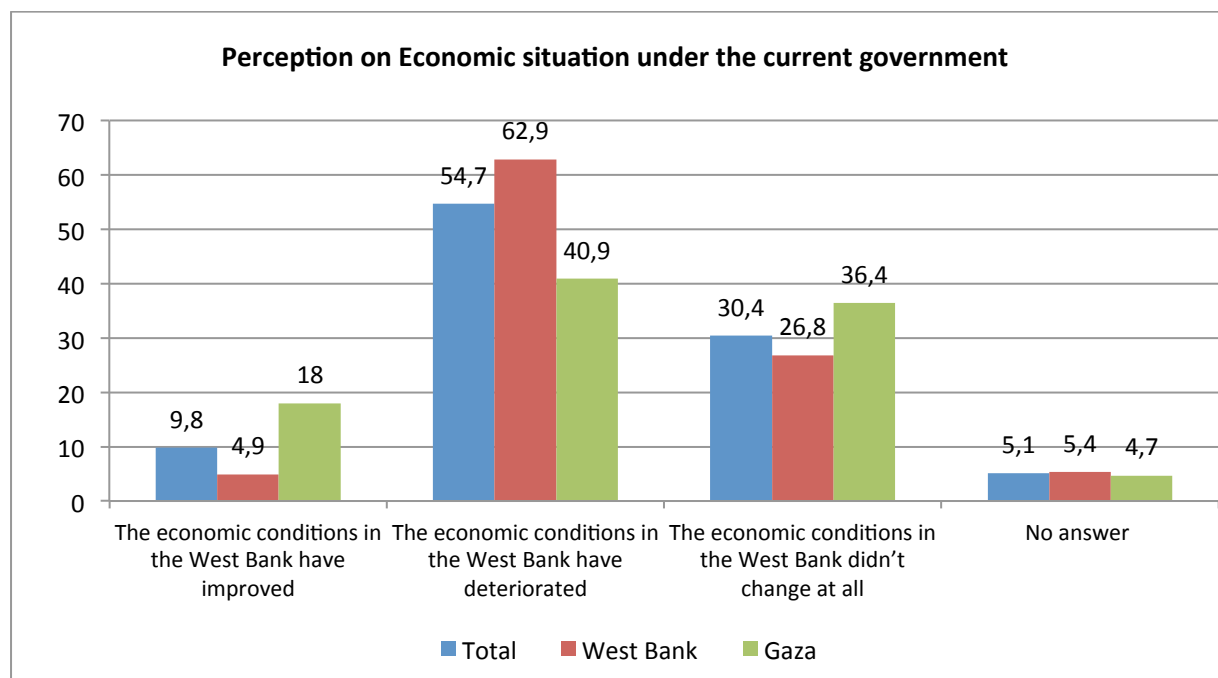
Q7. In general, under the current government headed by al-Hamdallah, do you think the security and internal security conditions in the West Bank have improved, deteriorated, or have not changed?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Security and internal security conditions have improved	19.6	22.0	15.6
Security and internal security conditions have deteriorated	32.4	34.0	29.8
Security and internal security conditions did not change	41.6	37.5	48.4
No answer	6.4	6.5	6.2



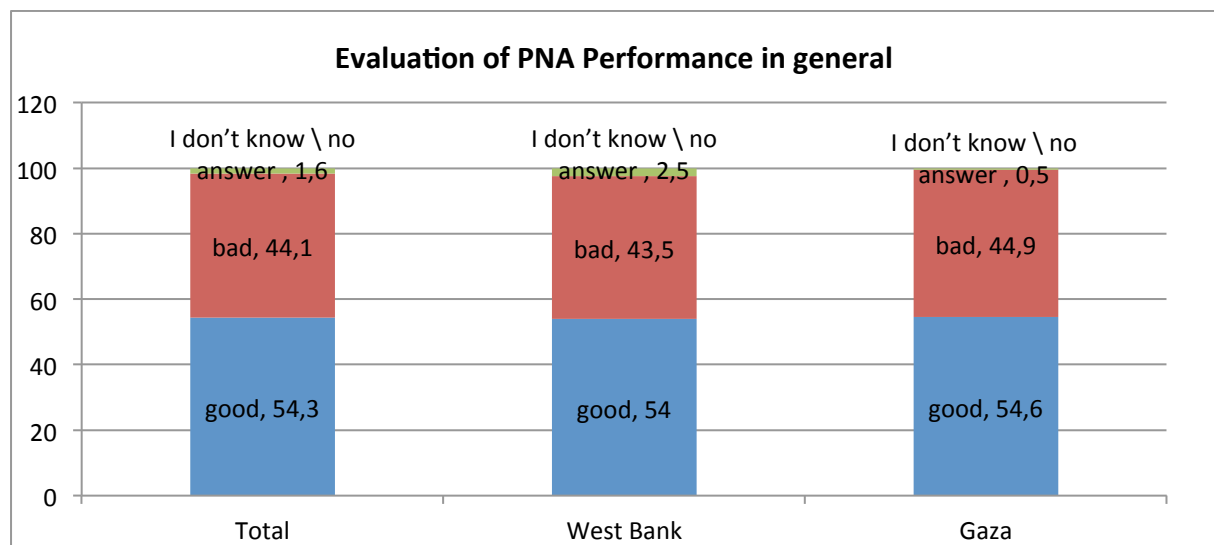
Q8. In general, under the current government headed by al-Hamdallah, do you believe that the economic conditions in the West Bank have improved, deteriorated, or didn't change at all?

	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
The economic conditions in the West Bank have improved	9.8	4.9	18.0
The economic conditions in the West Bank have deteriorated	54.7	62.9	40.9
The economic conditions in the West Bank didn't change at all	30.4	26.8	36.4
I don't know / no answer	5.1	5.4	4.7



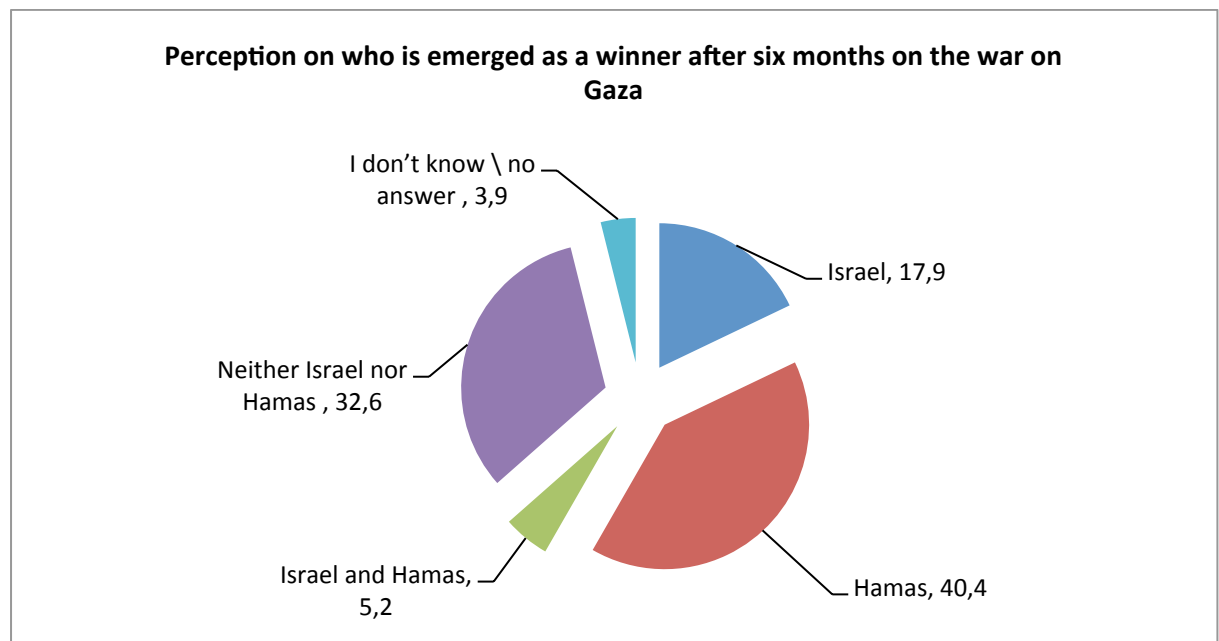
Q9. In general, how do you evaluate the performance of the PNA? Would you say it's performance is very good, good, bad or very bad?

	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
Very good	6.0	3.3	10.4
Good	48.3	50.7	44.2
Bad	25.3	23.1	28.9
Very bad	18.8	20.4	16.0
I don't know / no answer	1.6	2.5	0.5



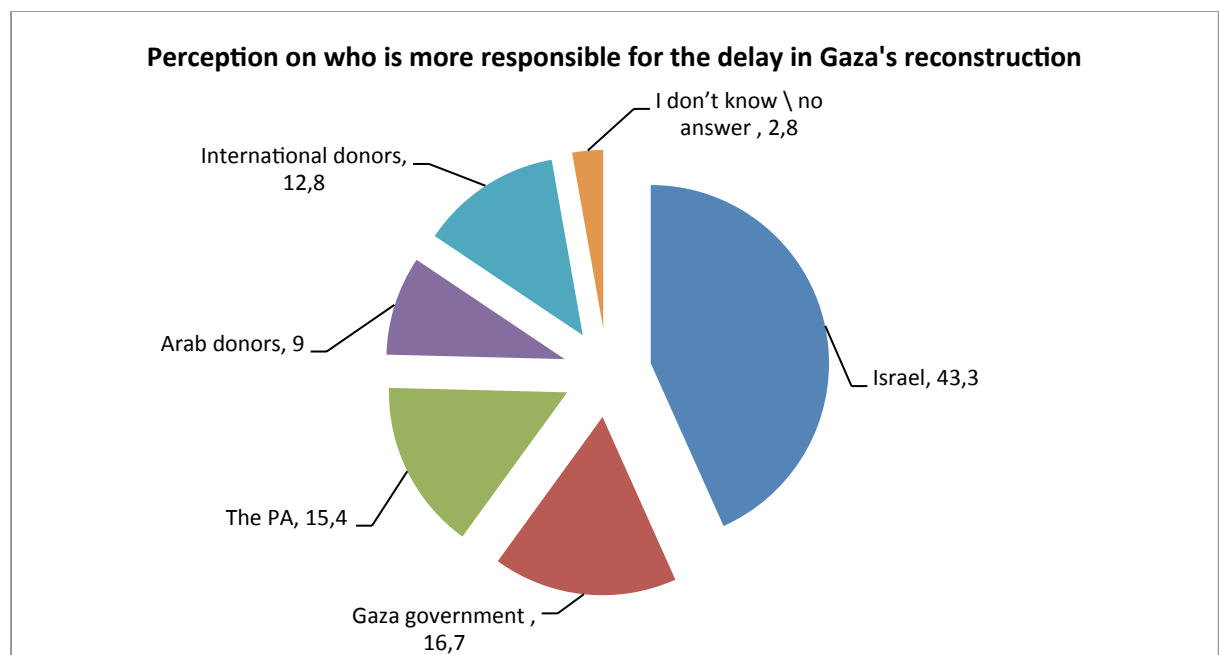
Q10. Six months after the war over Gaza Strip, who do you think is the winning side? Israel, Hamas, Israel and Hamas, or neither Israel nor Hamas?

	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
Israel	17.9	15.3	22.2
Hamas	40.4	46.1	30.9
Israel and Hamas	5.2	4.8	5.8
Neither Israel nor Hamas	32.6	28.9	38.7
I don't know / no answer	3.9	4.9	2.4



Q11. Six months after the destructive war on Gaza, attempts at reconstruction of the Gaza Strip have thus far been successful. Who do you think is more responsible for the delay in Gaza's reconstruction?

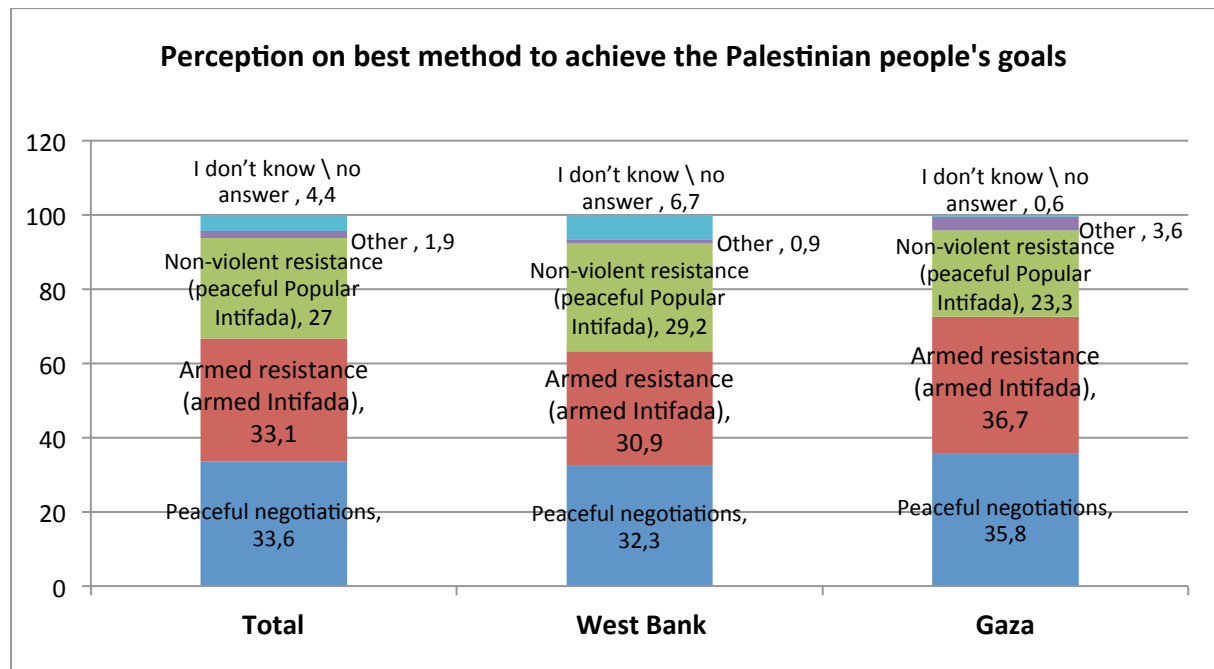
	Total n= 1200	West Bank n=750	Gaza n=450
Israel	43.3	44.5	41.3
Gaza government	16.7	10.4	27.1
The PA	15.4	16.4	13.8
Arab donors	9.0	10.9	5.8
International donors	12.8	13.5	11.8
I don't know / no answer	2.8	4.3	0.2





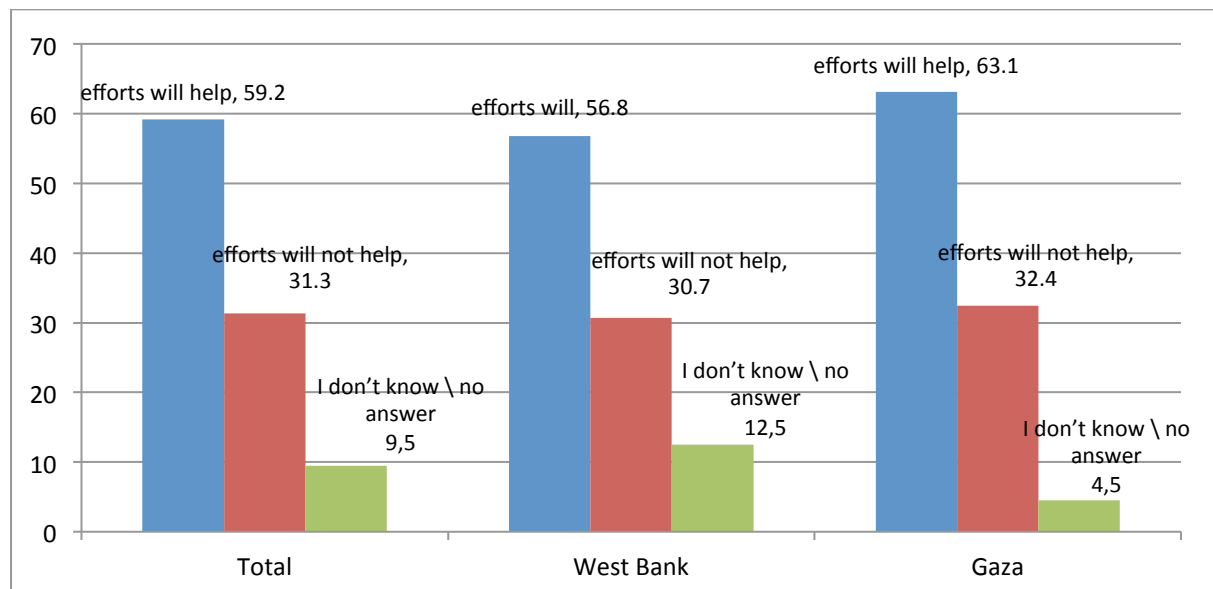
Q12. In general, what is the best method to achieve the Palestinian people’s goals of ending the occupation and establishing a state?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 750	n=450
Peaceful negotiations	33.6	32.3	35.8
Armed resistance (armed Intifada)	33.1	30.9	36.7
Non-violent resistance (peaceful Popular Intifada)	27.0	29.2	23.3
Other	1.9	0.9	3.6
I don't know / no answer	4.4	6.7	0.6



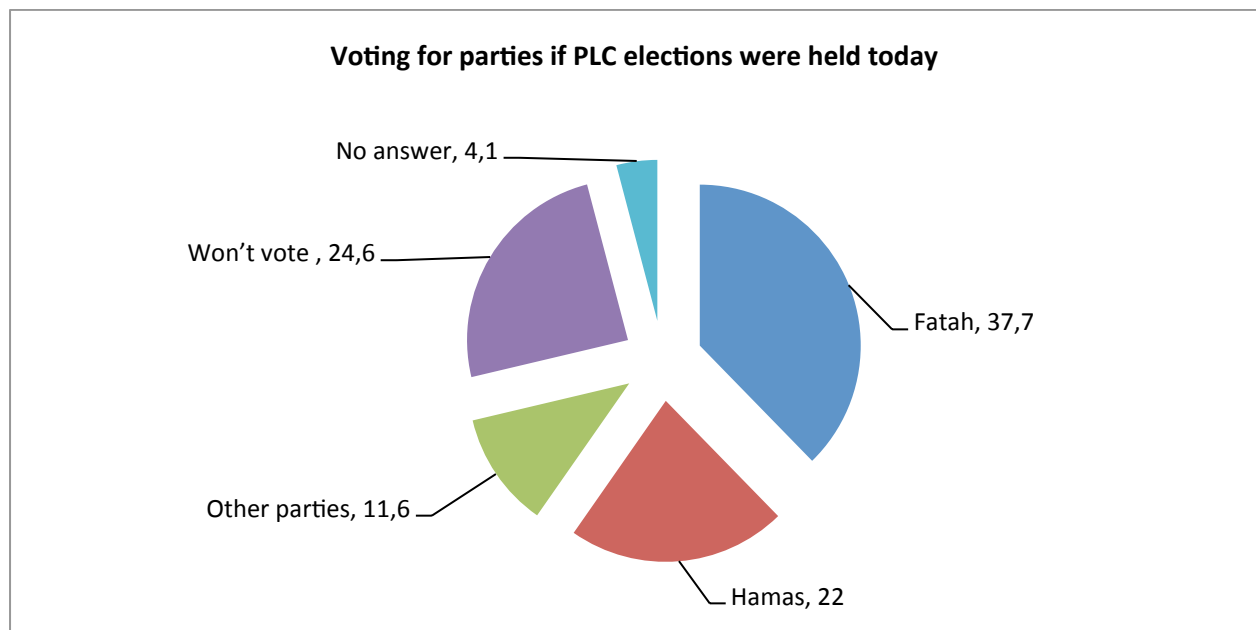
Q13. Recently, the Palestinian leadership has been active in trying to achieve the goal of the Palestinian people in ending the occupation by going to the international organizations such as the UN and the ICC and by utilizing international law. Do you think these efforts will help in achieving the goal of the Palestinian people in ending the occupation, or do you think these efforts will not help in achieving the goal of ending the occupation?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n=750	n= 450
I think these efforts will help in achieving the goal of the Palestinian people in ending the occupation	59.2	56.8	63.1
I think these efforts will not help in achieving the goal of the Palestinian people in ending the occupation	31.3	30.7	32.4
I don't know / no answer	9.5	12.5	4.5



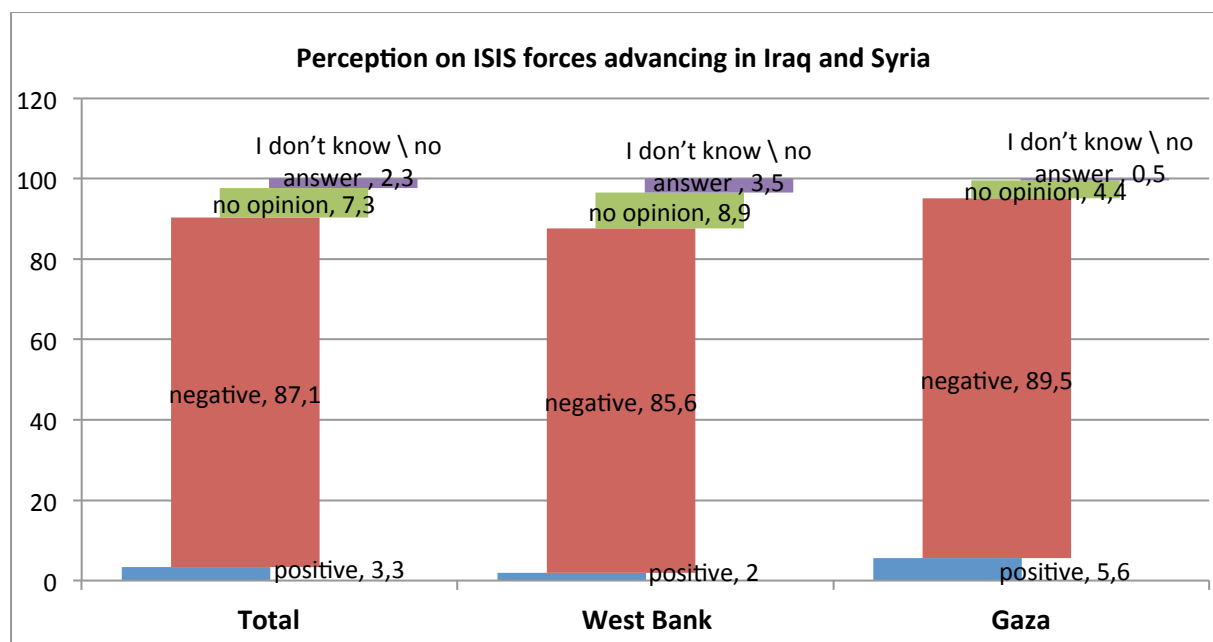
Q14. If PLC elections were held today, to which party would you vote for? Hamas, Fatah, or other parties?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n=1200</b>	<b>n= 750</b>	<b>n= 450</b>
Fatah	37.7	35.2	41.8
Hamas	22.0	20.5	24.4
Other parties	11.6	10.5	13.3
Won't vote	24.6	28.3	18.4
No answer	4.1	5.5	2.1



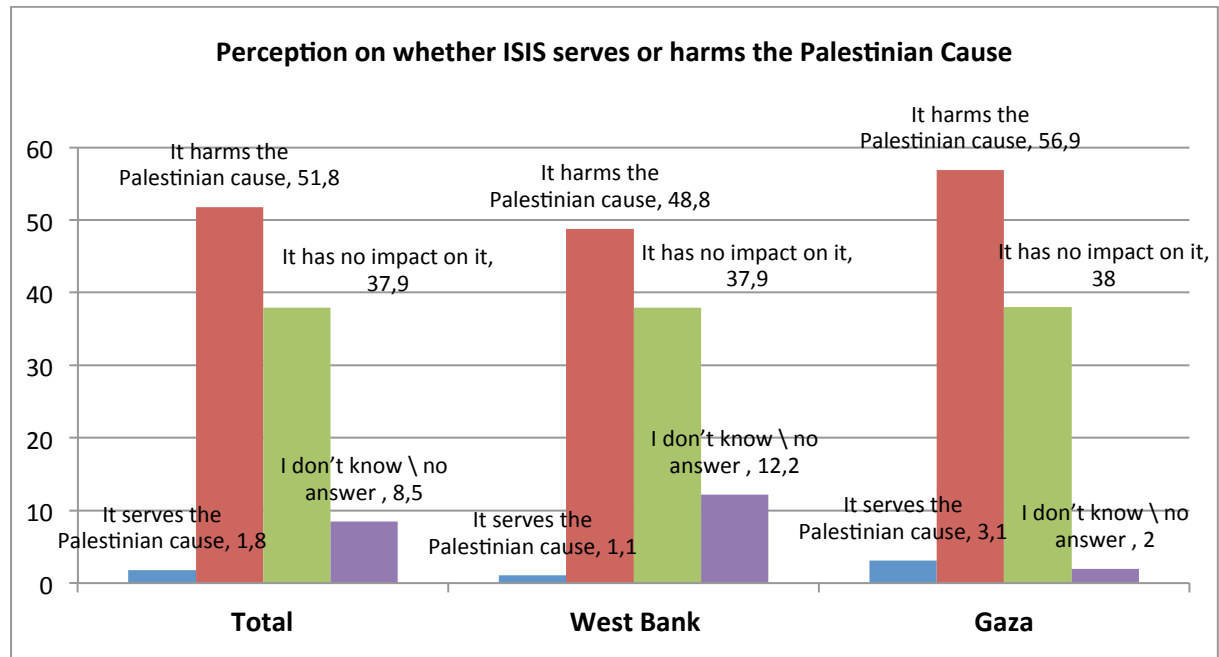
Q15. Lately, there has been news in the media about ISIS forces advancing in Iraq and Syria. What response do you have towards this: very positive, moderately positive, moderately negative or very negative?

	Total n=1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
Very positive	0.8	0.4	1.6
Somewhat positive	2.5	1.6	4.0
Somewhat negative	13.1	11.9	15.1
Very negative	74.0	73.7	74.4
No opinion	7.3	8.9	4.4
I don't know / no answer	2.3	3.5	0.5



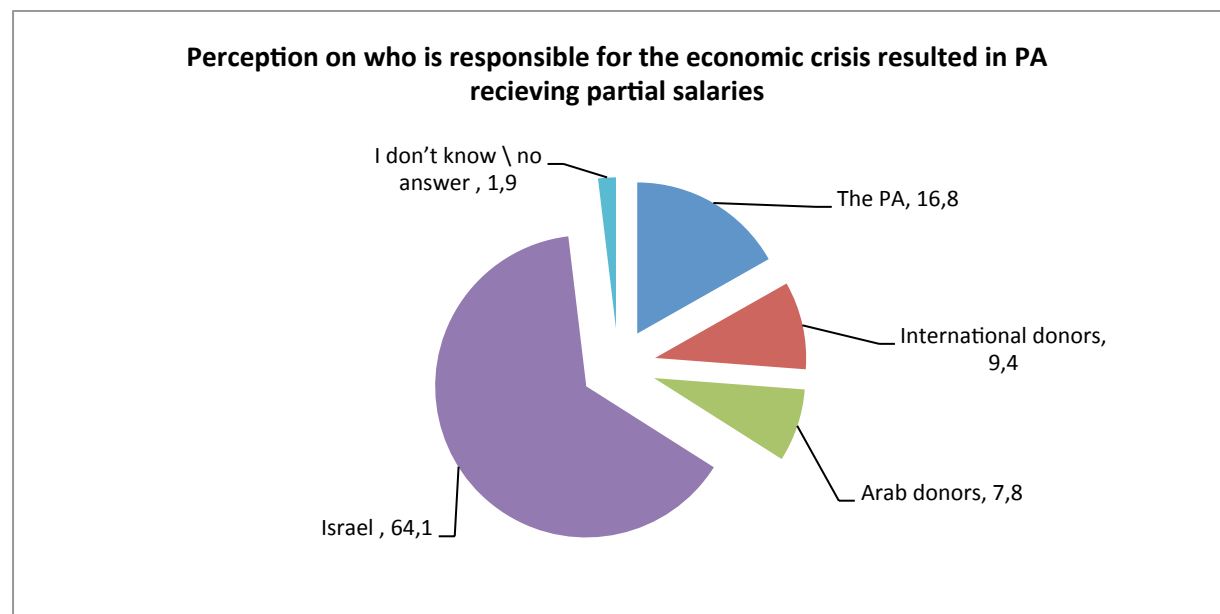
Q16. Do you think ISIS serves the Palestinian cause? Does it harm it? Or does it have no impact on the cause?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n= 750	n=450
It serves the Palestinian cause	1.8	1.1	3.1
It harms the Palestinian cause	51.8	48.8	56.9
It has no impact on it	37.9	37.9	38.0
I don't know / no answer	8.5	12.2	2.0



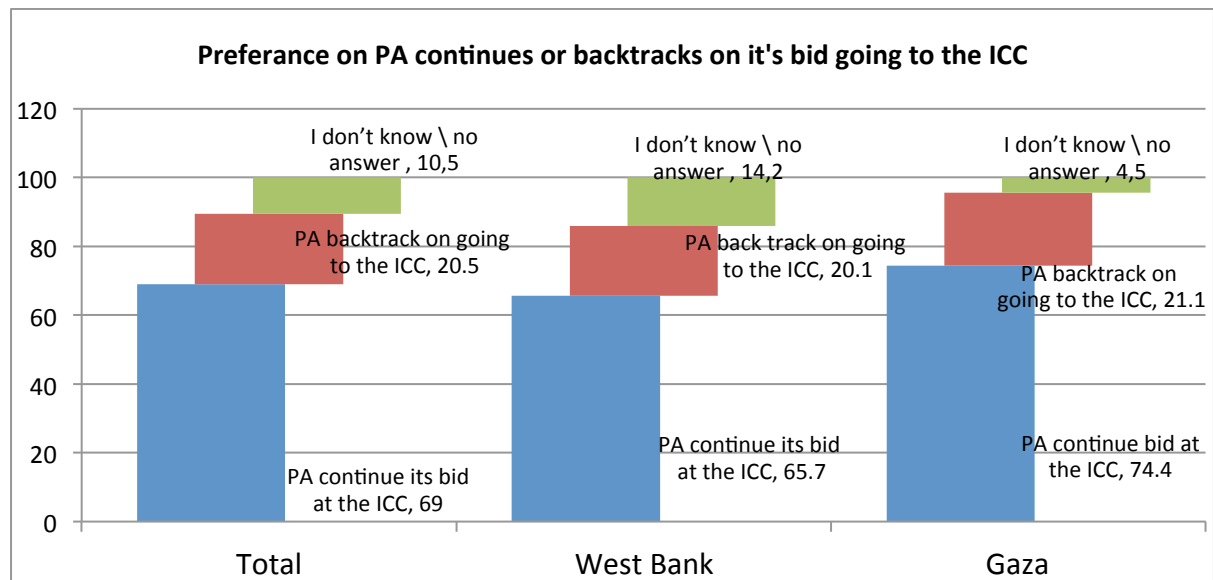
Q17. Who do you think is responsible for the economic crisis, which resulted in PA employees only receiving partial salaries for the past two months?

	Total n=1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
The PA	16.8	21.3	9.3
International donors	9.4	8.7	10.7
Arab donors	7.8	7.5	8.4
Israel	64.1	59.9	71.1
I don't know / no answer	1.9	2.6	0.5



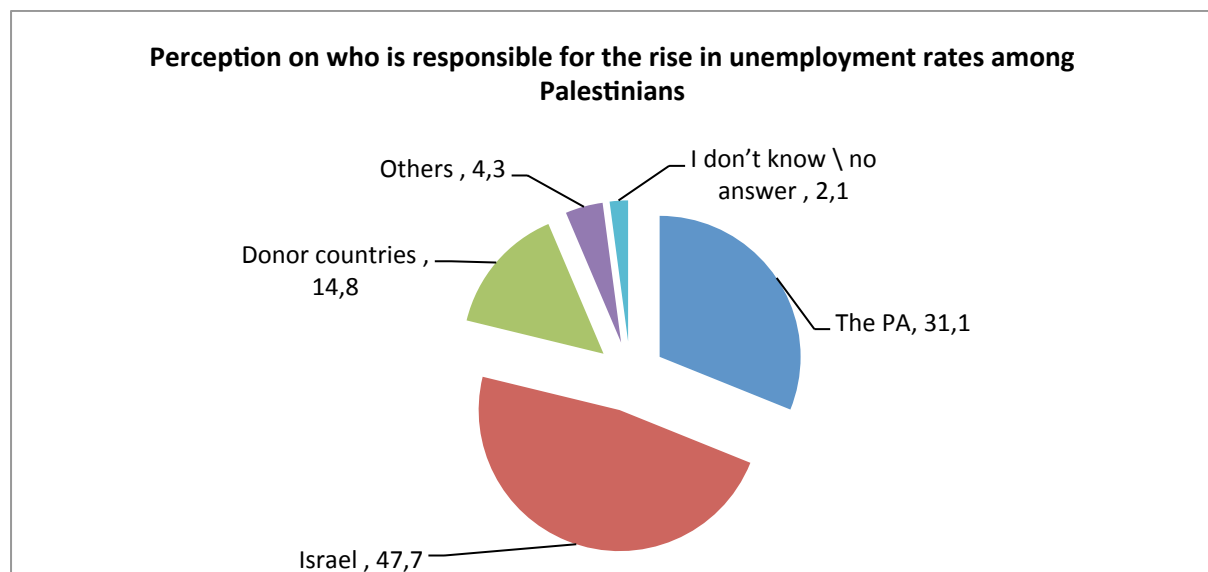
Q18. Israel has halted the transfer of tax revenues because the PA went to the ICC. Based on this would you rather that the PA continues its bid at the ICC or should it backtrack on this bid?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n= 750	n=450
I prefer that the PA continue its bid at the ICC	69.0	65.7	74.4
I prefer that the PA backtrack on going to the ICC	20.5	20.1	21.1
I don't know / no answer	10.5	14.2	4.5



Q19. Economics reports indicates a rise in the unemployment rates among youth in the Palestinian territories. Who do you think is responsible for this?

	Total n=1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
The PA	31.1	38.5	18.7
Israel	47.7	40.8	59.1
Donor countries	14.8	14.5	15.3
Others	4.3	2.9	6.4
I don't know / no answer	2.1	3.3	0.5

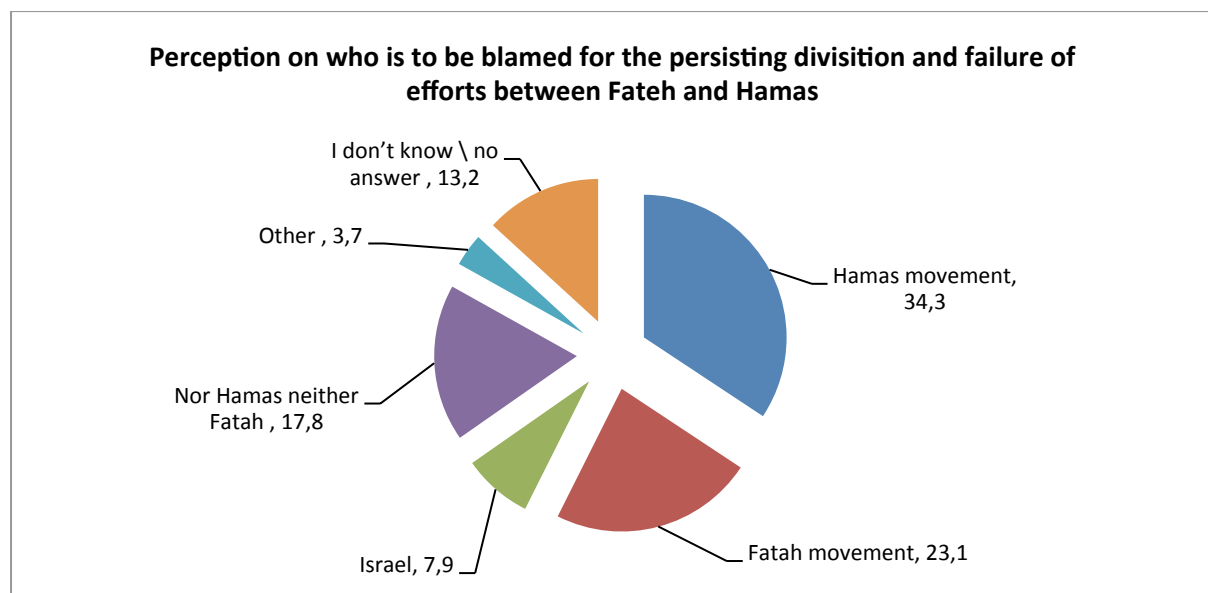




Q20. In your opinion, which side should be more blamed for the persisting division and the failure of efforts pertinent between Fatah and Hamas?

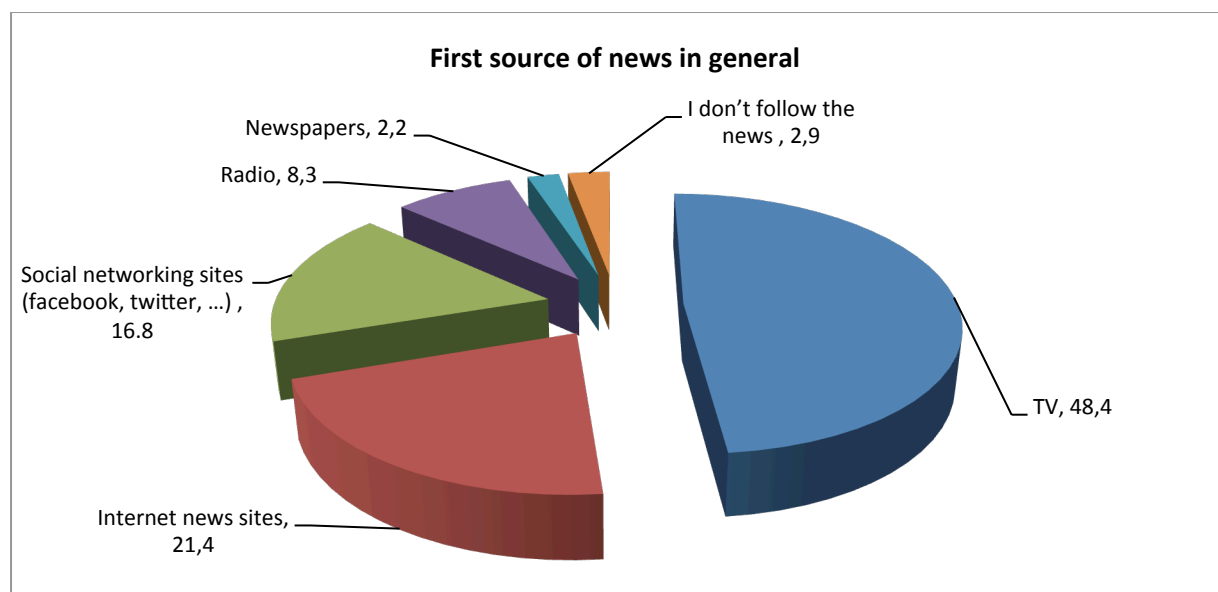
	Total n=1200	West Bank n=750	Gaza n=450
Hamas movement	34.3	29.2	42.7
Fatah movement	23.1	24.4	20.9
Israel *	7.9	7.7	8.2
Hamas and Fatah *	17.8	17.3	18.4
Other	3.7	2.5	5.6
I don't know / no answer	13.2	18.9	4.2

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



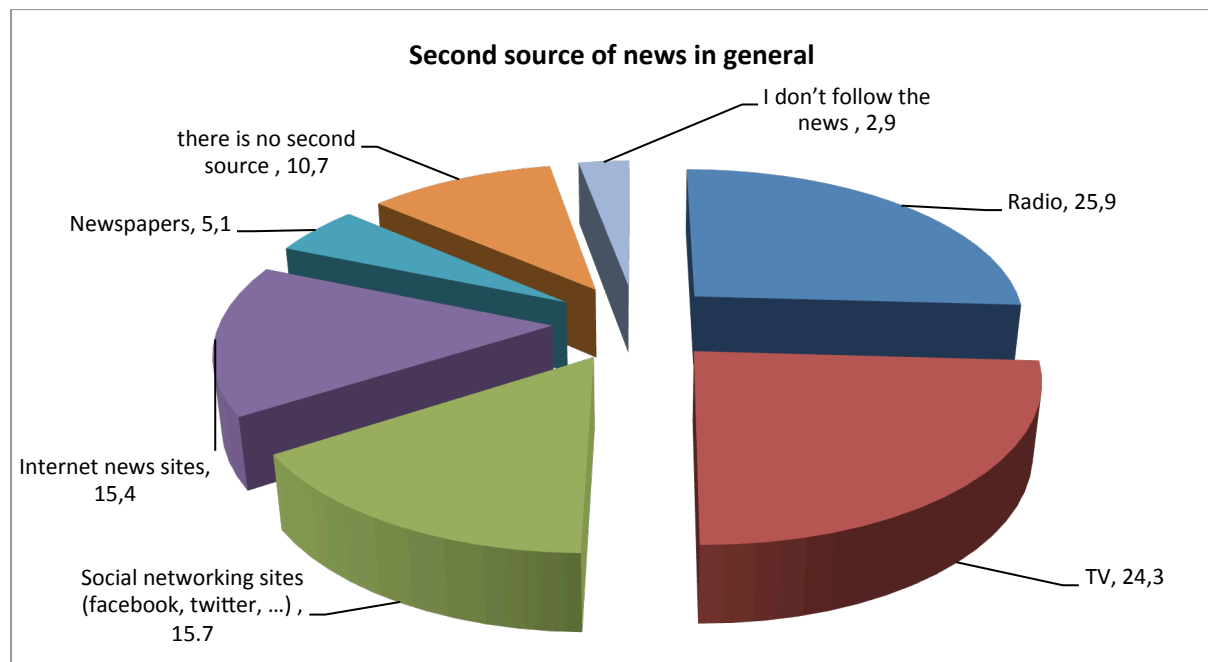
Q21. What is your **first** source of news in general?

	Total n= 1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
TV	48.4	49.7	46.2
Internet news sites	21.4	17.2	28.4
Social networking sites (facebook, twitter, ...)	16.8	22.3	7.6
Radio	8.3	6.5	11.3
Newspapers	2.2	2.4	1.8
I don't follow the news	2.9	1.9	4.7



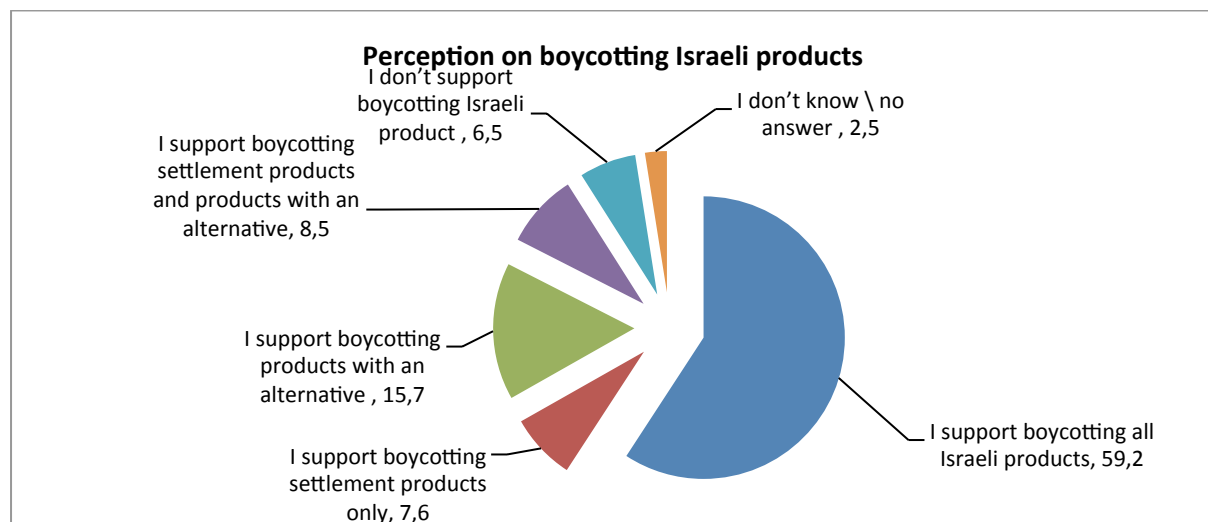
Q22. What is your **second** source of news in general?

	Total n=1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
Radio	25.9	24.3	28.7
TV	24.3	22.7	27.1
Social networking sites (facebook, twitter, ...)	15.7	18.3	11.3
Internet news sites	15.4	17.6	11.8
Newspapers	5.1	7.2	1.6
There is no second source	10.7	8.0	14.9
I don't follow the news	2.9	1.9	4.6



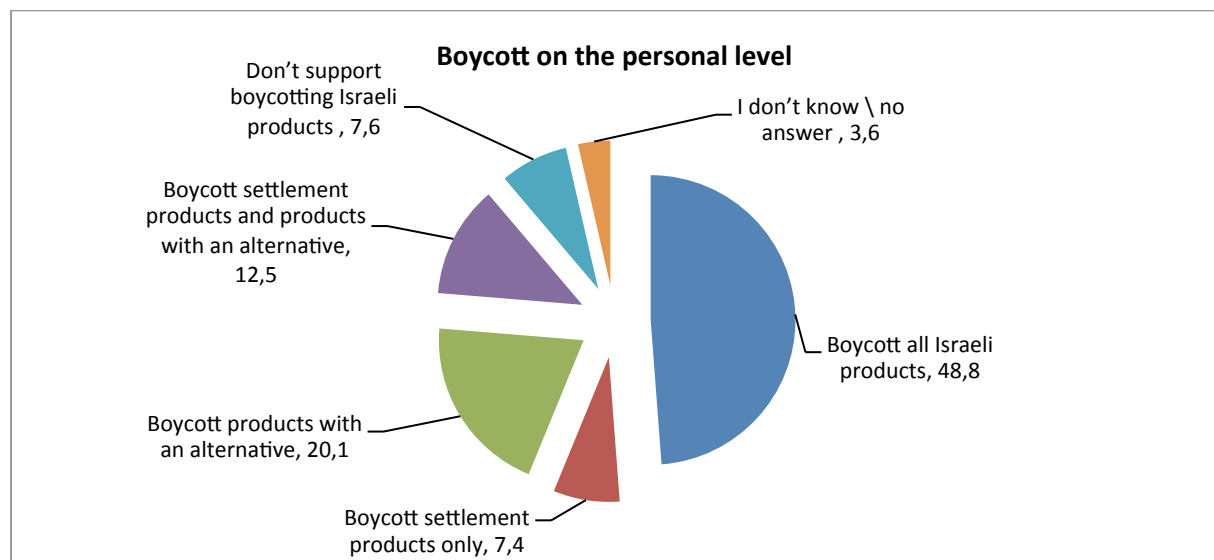
Q23. Currently, there are several attempts at boycotting Israeli products in Palestinian markets. Which of the following do you support most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n= 750	n=450
I support boycotting all Israeli products	59.2	62.3	54.0
I support boycotting settlement products only	7.6	9.1	5.1
I support boycotting products with an alternative	15.7	14.0	18.4
I support boycotting settlement products and products with an alternative	8.5	6.0	12.7
I don't support boycotting Israeli product	6.5	6.4	6.7
I don't know / no answer	2.5	2.2	3.1



Q24. At the personal level, would you say you:

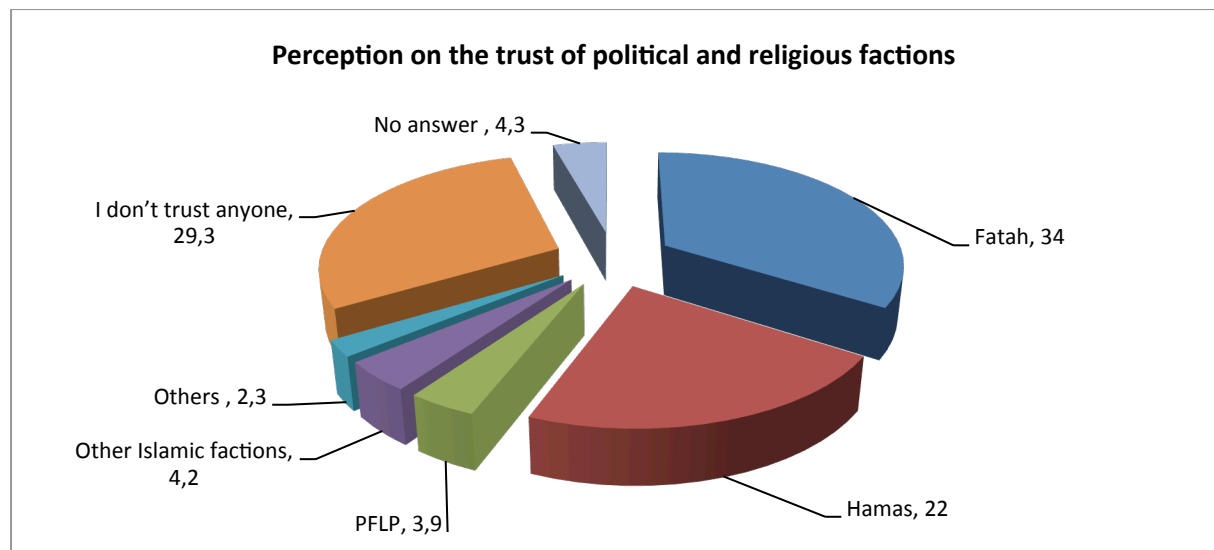
	Total n=1200	West Bank n=750	Gaza n=450
Boycott all Israeli products	48.8	54.0	40.2
Boycott settlement products only	7.4	9.5	4.0
Boycott products with an alternative	20.1	18.0	23.6
Boycott settlement products and products with an alternative	12.5	8.4	19.3
Don't support boycotting Israeli products	7.6	7.3	8.0
I don't know / no answer	3.6	2.8	4.9



Q25. Which Political or religious faction do you trust the most?

	Total n=1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
Fatah	34.0	30.8	39.3
Hamas	22.0	19.5	26.2
PFLP	3.9	3.9	4.0
Other Islamic factions	4.2	3.9	4.7
Others	2.3	2.4	2.0
I don't trust anyone	29.3	33.3	22.4
No answer	4.3	6.2	1.4

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



Q26. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?\*

	Total n=1200	West Bank n= 750	Gaza n=450
Mahmoud Abbas ( Abu Mazen)	21.8	21.2	22.7
Ismael Haniyeh	14.1	11.6	18.2
Marwan Barghouthi	5.4	6.4	3.8
Khaled Mish'al	3.2	3.5	2.7
Others	16.0	12.5	21.8
I don't trust anyone	33.9	36.5	29.6
No answer	5.6	8.3	1.2

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

