

# check.punkt

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Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren,  
liebe Freundinnen und Freunde der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung,

die letzten Wochen in den Palästinensischen Gebieten waren turbulent: Die Veröffentlichung des Goldstone Berichts, die Rücknahme der Unterstützung der Palästinensischen Autonomiebehörde (PA) für den Bericht im UN Menschenrechtsrat, Demonstrationen gegen Abbas und die PA, sowie Ausschreitungen am Tempelberg und am Qalandia-Checkpoint nährten Spekulationen über eine Rückkehr zur gewaltsamen Auseinandersetzung im israelisch-palästinensischen Konflikt. Seit der außerordentlichen Sitzung des UN Menschenrechtsrats am 15. Oktober, bei der Resolution Nr. S-12/1 zur Menschenrechtssituation in den Besetzten Palästinensischen Gebieten inkl. Ost-Jerusalem verabschiedet wurde, hat sich die Lage beruhigt und es ist Zeit, eine vorläufige Bilanz zu ziehen.

In der letzten Woche veröffentlichte das Jerusalem Media und Communication Center (JMCC), ein langjähriger Partner der FES in Jerusalem, eine Meinungsumfrage, die sich den Themen des Goldstone Berichts, der Popularität der PA sowie der US-Regierung und der inneren Sicherheit widmete. Die Ergebnisse der Umfrage trafen auf großes Interesse sowohl in der palästinensischen als auch in der israelischen Öffentlichkeit. Ich freue mich, Ihnen heute die Ergebnisse der Umfrage zu präsentieren.

Mit den besten Grüßen aus Jerusalem



Dr. Michael Bröning  
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Poll no. 69\_October 2009

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## Press Release

A public opinion poll conducted by the Jerusalem Media & Communications Center

***A majority of the Palestinians hold the PNA responsible for deferring the vote on the Goldstone Report***

***Decline in the popularity of Abbas, Hanieh's popularity remains unchanged; rise in Fayyad's popularity; Fatah Movement still enjoys more support than Hamas***

***Level of confidence and trust in the US Administration decreasing***

***Increasing confidence in the security performance of Fayyad's government***

***Confidence in performance of Hanieh's government remains unchanged***

***Mustafa Barghouti enjoys largest support among candidates outside Hamas and Fatah. Al-Mubadara moves to fourth position among Palestinian parties as PFLP loses two percent***

### The ramifications of Goldstone Report

The most recent public opinion poll conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communications Center (JMCC) showed that the majority of the Palestinian public (43.8%) holds the PA responsible for deferring the vote on the Goldstone Report before the UN Human Rights Council compared with a ratio of 18.1% who said that the United States is to blame for this incident and a ratio of 17.2% said Israel is responsible, and a ratio of 14.5% said the Arab countries are to blame for deferring the voting on the Goldstone Report.

The poll, which included a random sample of 1,200 persons over the age of 18 in the West Bank and Gaza Strip with an error margin of + or – 3% showed that the Palestinian general public is divided on the neutrality of the Goldstone Report: a ratio of 35.3% of the respondents said the report is biased towards Israel while a ratio of 28.8% of the respondents said the report is neutral and 10.9% said Goldstone Report is biased towards the Palestinians.

### Popularity of leaders

The poll, which was conducted in the period October 7-11, 2009 showed that the conditions behind the vote deferral on the Goldstone Report had a clear impact on the popularity of Palestinian President Abbas and US President Obama. Ratio of Palestinians showing confidence in President Abbas decreased to 12.1% in this poll compared with a ratio of 17.8% last June and 15.5% last October. In the same context, the ratio of those who expressed satisfaction with the

way President Abbas runs the Palestinian Authority went down from 48.5% last October to 39.4% in this poll.

As for the level of confidence in the Prime Minister of the deposed government Ismaeel Hanieh, the ratio remained unchanged at 14.2%.

The level of confidence in PM Salam Fayyad increased to 4.5% compared with 2.1% last October.

When asked whom would they elect as President of the PNA if elections take place in 2010, the poll showed that there would be serious competition as a ratio of 16.8% said they would vote again for President Abbas and a similar ratio said they would vote for Marwan al-Barghouthi while a ratio of 16% said they would vote for Ismaeel Hanieh.

#### Popularity of the factions

It seems that the approach of Fatah Leadership to distance itself from the PNA with regards to the Goldstone Report helped Fatah in keeping its popularity ahead and more than Hamas' popularity among the Palestinian public. The current poll shows that a ratio of 34.6% still trusts Fatah Movement compared with a ratio of 17.9% who said they trust Hamas, followed by PFLP which received a ratio of 3.7% while Islamic Jihad Movement received 2.3%.

When asked about the faction that they will vote for in case general elections take place in 2010, a ratio of 40% of the respondents said they will vote for Fatah Movement compared with 18.7% who said they will vote for Hamas.

The poll shows that Fatah Sixth General Conference that was held last August in Bethlehem did not have major impact on the general public standpoint: a ratio of 40.6% said the conference didn't make any difference with regards to the Palestinian political performance compared with a ratio of 36.1% who said that the conference was an important development that serves the Palestinian political performance.

#### Security performance

The current poll tackled the general performance of both governments in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in the area of security. The poll results showed a notable increase in the ratio of respondents who said that security and safety have improved during the era of PM Salam Fayyad: a ratio of 42.7% said the security conditions improved compared with 37.7% who said that security has improved in October 2008. Ratio of respondents who said that security conditions during the era of Fayyad deteriorated went down from 26.8% last October to 20.2% in this poll.

On the other hand, the ratio of respondents who said that security and safety improved during the era of Hanieh's deposed government in Gaza have improved remained unchanged around 32.8% while the ratio of those who said security conditions have deteriorated increased from 24.4% last October to 29.7% in this poll.

#### The US Administration

With regard to US President Barack Obama, the ratio of respondents who said that there is improvement in the US' dealing with the Middle East problems went down from 40.6% last June to 25% in this poll.

In the same manner, the ratio of those noting deterioration in the US Administration performance on the Middle East issues rose from 6.6% last June to 12.8% in this poll.

Moreover, the ratio of Palestinians who believe that the US policy in the region would raise chances of achieving a just peace went down from 35.4% last June to 23.7% in this poll.

#### General public opinion and satellite TV stations

The poll also asked the Palestinian general public about the TV news stations they watch. When asked about the TV news station they watch, al-Jazeera TV Station got the highest rating with a

ratio of 57.2% followed by Arabia TV Station with a ratio of 15.2%. Al-Manar TV Station and Palestine TV came in third place with a ratio of 5.6% each and al-Aqsa TV Station received 5.3%.

### **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 7-11 October 2009. 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 60 sampling points chosen randomly according to population.

In the **West Bank** 760 people were surveyed from the following areas: **Hebron:** Hebron, Yatta, Beit Umar, Aroub RC, Sa'eer, Dura, Beit Ula, Beit Kahel. **Jenin:** Jenin, Jenin RC, 'Arabeh, Silat al-Harithia, Zababdeh, Sanour. **Bethlehem:** Bethlehem, Beit Sahour, Za'tara, Al-Khader, 'Azza RC. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** Ramallah, Al-Bireh Beit Rima, Deir Ghassaneh, al-Mazra'a a-Sharqiya, al-Amari RC, Koubar. **Jericho:** Jericho, Ein Sultan RC. **Jerusalem:** a-Dahia, a-Ram, Beir Nabala, Qalandia RC, Shu'fat, Old City, Beit Hanina, Beit Hanina a-tahta, al-'Issawia, Wadi al-Joz, Silwan, Jabal Al-Mukaber. **Nablus:** Nablus, Hiwara, Zawata, Kufr Qaleel, Balata RC, Salfit. **Tulkarem and Qalqilya:** Tulkarem, Tulkarem RC, Rameen, Beit Leed, Qalqilia, 'Azoun.

In the **Gaza Strip:** 440 people were surveyed from: **Gaza:** Shati RC, a-Nasser, Attufah, al-Durj, Sheikh Radwan, a-rimal a-Shamali, a-rimal al-Janoubi, Sabra, al-Shujai'a, a-Zeitoun.

**Khan Younis:** Absan al-Saghira, Khan Yunis, Bani Suheila, Abasan al-Kabira, Khan Yunis RC. **Rafah:** Rafah, Rafah RC, Tel al-Sultan RC. **Gaza North:** Jabalia, Beit Lahia, Jabalia RC, Beit Hanoun. **Deir al-Balah:** Deir Al Balah, Nussirat RC, al-Maghazi RC, Bureij RC.

The margin of error is  $\pm 3$  percent, with a confidence level of 95%.

#### **Sample Distribution**

51.7 % of the respondents were from the West Bank, 11.7 % from Jerusalem, 36.6 % from the Gaza Strip.

30.4% said they lived in villages, 15.8 % in refugee camps, and 53.8 % in towns/cities.

48.8% were male, 51.2 % were female.

66.9% were married, 24.6% single, 4.4 % widowed, 1.1 % divorced, 3.0 % no answer.

The average age of the respondents was 35 years.

#### **Occupation of Respondents**

- Students 13.1%
- Laborers 11.1%
- Farmers/fishermen 1.8%
- Craftsmen 0.7%
- Businessmen/private business 7.5 %
- Public Sector Employees 13.3 %
- Private Sector Employees 6.3 %
- Professionals (e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers) 0.5 %
- Housewives 34.0%
- Unemployed 8.7 %
- Retired 1.8%,
- No answer 1.2 %.

## **Results:**

**Q.1 In general, how optimistic or pessimistic do you feel towards the future? Would you say you are: very optimistic, optimistic, pessimistic, or very pessimistic?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
Very optimistic	9.4	9.2	9.8
Optimistic	54.0	52.1	57.3
Pessimistic	24.6	23.9	25.7
Very Pessimistic	11.6	14.2	7.0
No answer	0.4	0.6	0.2

**Q.2 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way President (Abu Mazen) is performing his job as president of the PNA?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
Very satisfied	15.0	13.6	17.5
Somewhat satisfied	24.4	22.1	28.4
Somewhat unsatisfied	17.5	17.9	16.8
Very unsatisfied	38.6	42.1	32.5
No answer	4.5	4.3	4.8

**Q.3 In general, under the current government headed by Salam Fayyad, do you think the security and internal security conditions in the West Bank have improved, deteriorated or have not changed?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
Security and internal security conditions have improved	42.7	46.4	36.1
Security and internal security have deteriorated	20.2	17.2	25.2
Security and internal security did not change	33.2	34.2	31.4
No answer	3.9	2.2	7.3

**Q.4. In general, under the current government headed by Isma'eel Haniyeh, do you think the security and internal security conditions in the Gaza Strip have improved, deteriorated or have not changed?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
Security and internal security conditions have improved	32.8	23.9	48.0
Security and internal security have deteriorated	29.7	32.6	24.5
Security and internal security did not change	30.8	33.9	25.5
No answer	6.7	9.6	2.0

**Q.5 Fateh Held a conference last month in which they have voted for a new leadership. Do you see this step as an important development in the Palestinian political performance? Or is this development not important and won't make any difference? Or is it a negative step and will only harm the Palestinian political performance?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
An important development in the Palestinian political performance	36.1	32.5	42.3
The development is not important and won't make any difference	40.6	41.8	38.4
A negative development and will only harm the Palestinian political performance	14.8	16.1	12.7
Don't know \ No answer	8.5	9.6	6.6

**Q.6 The media has recently talked about imposing Hijab (Head cover) in public places and schools in Gaza. Do you think this is a positive step? A negative one? Or is this issue not important and won't make any difference?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
A positive step	50.3	46.4	57.0
A negative step	18.4	20.4	15.0
The issue is not important and won't make any difference	29.2	31.7	24.8
Don't know \ No answer	2.1	1.5	3.2

**Q.7 Do you expect the Palestinian presidential and legislative elections to take place during the coming year of 2010?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
Yes	55.7	55.0	56.8
No	37.5	37.2	38.0
No answer	6.8	7.8	5.2

**Q.8 If elections were to take place during the year 2010, which of the following candidates for a presidential position will you vote for?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)	16.8	15.8	18.4
Marwan Barghouthi	16.8	18.2	14.5
Ismaeel Haniyeh	16.0	12.6	21.8
Moustafa Barghouthi	6.8	7.5	5.5
Mohammad Dahlan	4.3	1.3	9.5
Salam Fayyad	4.2	5.4	2.0
Khalid Misha'al	1.7	1.6	1.8
Mahmuod Zahhar	1.3	1.4	0.9
Ahmad Sa'adat*	1.2	1.7	0.2
Other	1.3	1.2	1.4
I won't vote	23.8	26.1	20.0
No answer	5.8	7.2	4.0

\* Not among the choices given to the interviewee

**Q. 9 If elections were to take place during 2010, which of the following party/faction will you vote for?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
Fateh	40.0	38.3	43.0
Hamas	18.7	15.5	24.1
PFLP	3.8	4.7	2.0
Palestinian National Initiative ( Al-Mubadarah)	3.4	4.3	1.8
Islamic Jihad	1.6	0.8	3.0
PPP	1.2	1.8	0.0
DFLP	0.8	0.9	0.7
FIDA	0.3	0.4	0.0
Other	1.3	1.3	1.4
I won't vote	23.5	25.0	20.9
No answer	5.4	7.0	3.1

**Q.10 On the 9<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Al Aqsa Intifada (the second Intifada), which faction, in your opinion is responsible for the highest number of suicide bombings?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
Fateh	15.7	16.4	14.3
Hamas	40.5	40.5	40.5
Both did the same number	30.6	29.2	33.0
No answer	13.2	13.9	12.2

**Q11. To what extent do you support the Arab Peace Initiative? Do you strongly support it, support it, oppose it, or strongly oppose it?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
Strongly support	19.3	18.7	20.5
Somewhat support	41.6	41.4	41.8
Somewhat oppose	15.8	14.7	17.7
Strongly oppose	15.6	16.3	14.3
Don't know	5.8	7.0	3.9
No answer	1.9	1.9	1.8

**Q12. Do you think that the policy of US President Obama will increase or reduce the chances of reaching a just peace between Palestinians and Israelis? Or that his policies won't make any difference?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
It will increase the chances	23.7	26.4	18.9
It will reduce the chances	12.9	14.1	10.9
It won't make any difference	58.4	53.4	67.0
Don't know	4.8	5.9	2.7
No answer	0.2	0.2	0.5

**Q13. What is your opinion about the performance of the new US Administration headed by President Obama 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?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
There has been improvement in the dealings of the United States with the Middle East problems	25.0	27.5	20.7
There has been regression in the dealings of the United States with the Middle East problems	12.8	12.9	12.7
There has been no change in the United States dealing with the Middle East problems	57.7	55.3	61.8
Don't know	4.1	3.8	4.5
No answer	0.4	0.5	0.3

**Q.14 A report was published by the fact finding commission headed by justice Richard Goldstone about human rights violations during the war on Gaza. What do you think of this report? Is it: an unbiased report, biased towards Israel, biased towards Palestine, or have you never heard about the report?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
Unbiased report	28.8	32.0	23.2
Biased towards Israel	35.3	33.4	38.4
Biased towards Palestine	10.9	8.6	15.0
Never heard about the report	21.6	22.6	19.8
No answer	3.4	3.4	3.6

**Q15. Who should be held responsible for the delay of the voting on the Goldstone report in the UN Human Rights Council in Genève?\***

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 941</b>	<b>n= 588</b>	<b>n= 353</b>
The Palestinian Authority	43.8	44.7	42.2
The Arab countries	14.5	12.2	18.1
The United States of America	18.1	16.3	21.0
Israel	17.2	19.2	13.9
No answer	6.4	7.6	4.8

\* This question was asked to everyone except those who didn't hear about the report

**Q16. President Mahmoud Abbas has recently met with the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu in New York in the presence of US President Obama to continue the peace negotiations. To what extent do you agree with the continuation of the direct Palestinian – Israeli negotiations?**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
Strongly agree	11.2	11.1	11.4
Somewhat agree	33.6	34.3	32.3
Somewhat disagree	27.1	27.1	27.0
Strongly disagree	21.0	19.5	23.6
No answer	7.1	8.0	5.7

**Q17. In general, which TV station news programs do you watch most?\***

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
Al Jazeera	57.2	62.1	48.6
Al Arabiya	15.2	12.8	19.3
Al Manar	5.6	7.9	1.6
Palestine	5.6	5.8	5.2
Al Aqsa	5.3	1.1	12.7
MBC1	1.6	2.1	0.7
Other	4.8	4.6	5.0
Don't know	1.3	0.8	2.0
No answer	3.4	2.8	4.9

\*This question was an open ended question

**Q18. Which Palestinian political or religious faction do you trust the most?\***

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
Fatah	34.6	33.9	35.7
Hamas	17.9	15.3	22.5
PFLP	3.7	4.9	1.6
Islamic Jihad	2.3	1.7	3.4
Palestinian National Initiative (Al-Mubadarah)	1.9	2.6	0.7
Other Islamic Factions	2.9	2.0	4.5
Others	1.5	1.6	1.4
Don't trust anyone	29.8	30.7	28.4
No answer	5.4	7.3	1.8

\*This question was an open ended question

**Q19. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?\***

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza</b>
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 760</b>	<b>n=440</b>
Ismaeel Haniyeh	14.2	10.0	21.4
Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)	12.1	12.9	10.7
Marwan Barghouthi	11.9	12.8	10.5
Salam Fayyad	4.5	5.7	2.5
Mustafa Barghouthi	3.4	4.2	2.0
Mohamad Dahlan	3.1	0.7	7.3
Khaled Mish'al	2.5	2.1	3.2
Ahmad Sa'adat	2.0	2.6	0.9
Yasser Arafat	1.9	1.4	2.7
Mahmoud Al Zahhar	1.1	0.9	1.4
Others	3.9	3.7	4.3
Don't trust anyone	31.3	34.7	25.5
No answer	8.1	8.3	7.6

\*This question was an open ended question