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Press Release

AN OPINION POLL CONDUCTED BY JERUSALEM MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION CENTER ON THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF OSLO ACCORD

- * **THE MAJORITY SUPPORTS HOLDING PRESIDENTIAL AND LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS AT THE SAME TIME IN JANUARY 2010**
- * **OSLO ACCORD HARMED THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL INTERESTS MORE THAN IT SERVED THEM**
- * **RISE IN LEVEL OF SUPPORT TO THE IDEA OF A BI-NATIONAL STATE**
- * **THE TRUCE BETWEEN HAMAS AND ISRAEL SERVES THE ISRAELI INTERESTS**
- * **RATIO OF SATISFACTION WITH PERFORMANCE OF FAYYAD'S GOVERNMENT ON THE RISE; POPULARITY OF PALESTINIAN PARTIES AND FIGURES REMAINED UNCHANGED**
- * **A MAJORITY SHOWS INDIFFERENCE TOWARDS THE US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND CANDIDATES**

The dialogue and the parties

The results of the public opinion poll conducted by Jerusalem Media and Communications Center (JMCC) during the period 2-6 October, 2008 showed that the majority of the respondents (51.4%) support holding simultaneous presidential and legislative elections at the end of the PLC term in January 2010 while a ratio of (36.5%) support holding presidential elections at the end of President Abbas' term in January 2009.

Despite the positive climate in which the Palestinian national dialogue is taking place in Cairo, the Palestinians are divided on their expectations regarding the results of the dialogue as a ratio of (47.7%) expects the parties to agree on the formation of a national unity government while a ratio of (45.7%) says agreement on a national unity government is unlikely.

The poll with a random sample of 1,194 persons in the West Bank and Gaza Strip showed constant levels of popularity of the basic Palestinian factions and political figures. When asked about the Palestinian figure they will vote for in case presidential elections, a ratio of (24.7%) said they would vote for President Mahmoud Abbas while (19.5%) said they will vote for Marwan al-Barghouthi and a ratio of (17.3%) said they would vote for Ismail Hanieh.

When asked to choose between Mahmoud Abbas and Ismail Hanieh as the sole presidential candidates in case elections are held, a ratio of (43.3%) said they would vote for President

Palestinians' opinions on the 15th anniversary of the OSLO agreement

Abbas while a ratio of (23.5%) said they would vote for Ismail Hanieh and a ratio of (29.6%) said they will not give their vote to anyone.

With regards to the political factions, especially Fatah and Hamas, results showed that Fatah Movement still maintains the lead with a ratio of (30.5%) while (16.4%) said they trust Hamas.

Negotiations and the peace process

The Jerusalem Media and Communication Center (JMCC) conducted the current public opinion poll on the 15th anniversary of signing the Oslo Accord. Results have shown that a majority of the respondents (41%) believes that Oslo Accord harmed the Palestinian national interests more than it served them while (20.4%) said Oslo Accord served the Palestinian national interests and a ratio of (34.3%) said Oslo Accord made no difference.

Regarding the positions on the final-status issues, one can note a rise in the level of support to the idea of a bi-national state from (23.4%) in November 2007 to (23.5%) in April 2008 and to (28.6%) in the current poll – October 2008.

On the position of the Palestinian refugees cause, the ratio remained constant at (65.2%) who support the return of all refugees to their original homeland.

The governments of Fayyad and Hanieh

The JMCC Poll made a comparison between the performance of the governments of Fayyad and Hanieh in terms of reform, the economic conditions, and security. The results showed that the government of Fayyad has a notable lead in these areas.

The results show that there is improvement in satisfaction level towards the performance of Fayyad's government; the ratio of those who believe that Fayyad's government pushed forward reforms rose from (32.2%) last April to (39.4%) this month. In the West Bank, a ratio of (40.5%) said Fayyad's government pushed forward the reform process while (21.1%) opposed this belief.

On feelings of personal security and general security conditions, the ratio of those who believe that the security conditions improved during Fayyad's government increased from (29.6%) last April to (37.7%) this month. In the West Bank, a ratio of (40.1%) said the security conditions improved while (23.9%) said the security conditions deteriorated and a ratio of (33.2%) said the situation has not witnessed any change.

At the economic level, Fayyad's government achieved significant improvement in the eyes of the general public; a ratio of (36.3%) said the economic conditions under Fayyad's government improved compared with a ratio of (23.7%) who said the same last April. On the other hand, a ratio of (31.3%) said the economic conditions deteriorated compared with (49.9%) who said the same last April.

When asked if the economic conditions improved or deteriorated under Hanieh's government, a ratio of (8.6%) only said the economic conditions in Gaza Strip improved while the majority (75.9%) in Gaza Strip said the economic conditions under Hanieh's government deteriorated.

On the security performance, a majority (44.1%) in Gaza Strip said the security conditions under Hanieh's government improved while a ratio of (39.8%) said the security conditions deteriorated, with a ratio of (15.5%) who said the security conditions witnessed no change.

It is worth mentioning that Fayyad's government enjoyed a high ratio of support when the interviewers in the Gaza strip were asked about its performance. This ratio is higher than the ratio of support that Hanieh's government received in the West Bank. For instance, a ratio of (37.7%) of the interviewers in the Gaza strip said that Fayyad's government has contributed to pushing forward the process of reform while a ratio of (26.8 %) said the opposite. The same situation applies to the issue of security for a ratio of (33.6%) of the interviewers in the Gaza strip said that security and safety have improved during the tenure of Fayyad's government while a ratio (31.8%) said the opposite.

On the other hand, a ratio of (23.5%) of the interviewers in the west Bank said that security and safety have improved during the tenure of Hanieh's government while a ratio of (43.%) viewed these issues as deteriorating. When answering the question about the extent Hanieh's government has contributed to pushing reforms forwards, a ration of (17.5%) from the West Bank said it did so as oppose to a ratio of (40.6%) from the west Bank saying that Hanieh's government has contributed to pushing the reforms backward.

The truce

The results of the poll showed that a majority of the Palestinians (57.5%) believe that the truce reached between Hamas and Israel around three months ago serves the Israeli interests more than the Palestinian interests, in particular in Gaza Strip. A ratio of (56.2%) in the West Bank and a majority (59.5%) in Gaza Strip said the truce serves the Israeli interests more than the Palestinian interests while (31.2%) in the West Bank and (33.4%) in Gaza Strip said the truce serves the Palestinian people interests more than the Israeli interests.

The United States Presidential Elections

On the issue of the upcoming US Presidential Elections, a ratio of (37.3%) prefer to see Barack Obama win the elections while a ratio of (15.3%) prefer to see McCain win the elections, but the majority (47.4%) said they don't prefer any candidate or they don't have a specific position on this issue.

Methodology:

A random sample of 1194 people over the age of 18 was interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip between 2-6 October, 2008. 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** 754 people were surveyed from the following areas: **Hebron:** Hebron, Biet Ommar, Bani Naim, Sa'ir, Dahiriyeh, Fawwar RC, Taffouh, Beit Kahel. **Jenin:** Jenin, Jenin RC, Ya'bad, Misiliyeh, Raba, Anza, Ajje, Aqabeh, az-zababdeh. **Bethlehem:** Bethlehem, Biet Jala, Za'tara, al-Khader, Husan, al-Azzeh RC. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** Ramallah, al-Bireh, Kufr Nimeh, Jalazon RC, Silwad, Der Jrir, Biet Rima, Deir Ghassaneh. **Jericho:** Jericho, Ein es-Sultan RC. **Jerusalem:** el-Ezariyeh, Abu Dis, Biet Liqya, Qalandiya RC, Shufat, Old City, Biet Hanina, Biet Hanina el-Tahta, al-'Issawia, Wadi al-Joz, Jabel el-Mukkaber, Sour Baher. **Nablus:** Nablus, Bidya, Salfit, Qabalan, Aqraba, Burqa, Biet Ein Elma RC, Burin, Ourif. **Tulkarem and Qalqilya:** Tulkarem, Tulkarem RC, Deir Lighsoun, Qiffin, Qalqilia, Kufr Qaddoum.

In the **Gaza Strip:** 440 people were surveyed from: **Gaza:** Shati RC, a-shoja'ia, Attufah, al-Durj, Sheikh Radwan, a-Nasser, a-rimal a-shamali, a-rimal a-janoubi, sabra, a-Zeitoun. **Khan Younis:** Abasan al-Sagheerah, Khan Younis, Bani Suheila, Abasan al-Kabeerah, Khan Younis RC. **Rafah:** Rafah, Rafah RC. **Gaza North:** Jabalia, Beit Lahia, Jabalia RC, Beit Hanoun. **Deir al-Balah:** Deir Al Balah, Nussirat RC, al-Maghazi RC.

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

Sample Distribution

51.5 % of the respondents were from West Bank, 11.6 % from Jerusalem, 36.9 % from the Gaza Strip.

30.2% said they live in villages 15.1% in refugee camps, and 54.7 % in towns/cities.

52.2% were male, 47.8% were female.

62.1% were married, 32.8%, single, 2.9% widowed, 1.0% divorced, 1.2% no answer.

The average age of the respondents was 33 years.

Occupation of Respondents

- Students 17.4%
- laborers 10.4%
- Farmers/fishermen 1.9%
- Craftsmen 0.8%
- Businessmen/private business 6.5%
- Public Sector Employees 13.0%
- Private Sector Employees 7.6%
- Professionals (e.g. doctors/lawyers/pharmacists/engineers) 0.8%
- Housewives 31.2%
- Unemployed 8.5%
- Retired 1.3 %,
- No answer 0.6%.

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

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
Very optimistic	7.7	7.4	8.2
Optimistic	56.3	59.7	50.5
Pessimistic	26.9	24.5	30.9
Very Pessimistic	8.4	7.3	10.2
No answer	0.7	1.1	0.2

Q.2 On the 15th anniversary of the Oslo Accords, do you think that the Oslo Accords served or harmed the Palestinian national interests or made no difference?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
The Oslo Accords served the Palestinian national interests	20.4	19.0	23.0
The Oslo Accords harmed the Palestinian national interests	41.0	40.5	41.8
The Oslo Accords made no difference	34.3	34.5	34.1
Don't know	3.9	5.4	1.1
No answer	0.4	0.6	0.0

Q.3 Some believe that a two state formula is the favored solution for the Israeli – Palestinian conflict while others believe that historic Palestine cannot be divided into two states, and thus the favored solution is a bi-national state on all of Palestine where Palestinians and Israeli enjoy equal representation and rights, which of these two solutions do you prefer?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
Two- state solution: an Israeli state and a Palestinian state	43.7	44.2	43.0
Bi –national state on all of historic Palestine	28.6	28.5	28.6
Palestinian State*	11.9	8.5	17.7
Islamic State*	1.8	2.0	1.4
Other solution*	0.3	0.4	0.2
No solution*	11.5	14.1	7.0
No answer/don't know	2.2	2.3	2.1

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

Q.4 Do you strongly agree , Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree , or Strongly disagree with the peace negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n=440
Strongly agree	20.4	17.8	25.0
Somewhat agree	42.4	45.1	37.7
Somewhat disagree	19.3	17.4	22.7
Strongly disagree	15.4	16.3	13.9
I don't know \ No answer	2.5	3.4	0.7

Q.5 In your opinion, is the performance of the judicial system becoming better recently? Or becoming worse? Or it didn't change?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
The performance of the judicial law is becoming better	35.8	39.0	30.2
The performance of the judicial law is becoming worse	23.2	19.6	29.3
It didn't change	33.9	33.0	35.5
I don't know	6.6	8.0	4.3
No answer	0.5	0.4	0.7

Q. 6 Do you expect that all the parties will agree once again to the national unity government through the national dialogue between Fateh and Hamas?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
Yes, I expect the parties to agree to the national unity government	47.7	46.9	48.9
No, I don't expect the parties to agree to the national unity government	45.7	45.0	47.0
I don't know	6.0	7.6	3.4
No answer	0.6	0.5	0.7

Q.7 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way that President (Abu Mazen) is performing his job as the President of the PNA?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
Very satisfied	18.6	16.0	23.0
Somewhat Satisfied	29.9	33.2	24.3
Somewhat dissatisfied	17.9	18.0	17.7
Very dissatisfied	30.1	28.5	32.7
No answer	3.5	4.3	2.3

Q.8 Which do you prefer to see winning in the US presidential elections?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
Barack Obama	37.3	37.5	36.8
John McCain	15.3	14.9	16.1
Don't know	38.4	39.3	37.0
No answer	9.0	8.3	10.1

Q.9 What do you think is the best option for the Palestinian national interests : to hold Palestinian presidential elections at the end of the term of President Abbas in January 2009 or to hold presidential and legislative elections at the end of the legislative council term in January 2010?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
To hold presidential elections at the end of President Abbas term in January 2009	36.5	32.8	43.0
To hold presidential & legislative elections at the end of the legislative council's term in January 2010	51.4	51.3	51.6
Don't know	10.4	13.7	4.8
No answer	1.7	2.2	0.6

Q.10 If presidential elections were held today, for which of the following candidates would you vote?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n=754	n= 440
Mahmoud Abass (Abu Mazen)	24.7	24.1	25.7
Marwan Barghouthi	19.5	20.7	17.5
Ismaeel Haniyeh	17.3	13.5	23.6
Mustafa Barghouthi	6.2	5.8	6.8
Salam Fayyad	3.7	4.4	2.5
Mahmoud a-Zahar	2.6	3.2	1.6
Rafiq Hussein	1.2	1.3	0.9
Ahmed Qurei (Abu alla)	1.0	1.6	0.0
I will not vote	20.9	21.2	20.2
No answer	2.9	4.2	1.2

Q.11 If presidential elections were held today, with Isma'eel Haniyeh and Mahmoud Abbas (Abo Mazen) as the only candidates running in the elections, for which one of them would you vote?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)	43.3	44.8	40.7
Isma'eel Haniyeh	23.5	21.1	27.7
Won't vote	29.6	29.0	30.5
No answer	3.6	5.1	1.1

Q.12 With regards to the negotiations over the issue of the refugees, which of the following solutions do you favor?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
Return of all the refugees to their original homes	65.2	68.3	59.8
Return of the refugees to the Palestinian state (West bank and Gaza strip)	7.0	5.7	9.1
To compensate the refugees for their properties which they lost and for not returning to their properties and homes	4.2	4.5	3.6
Return of some refugees to their homes, and return of some others to the Palestinian state and compensate the others	21.7	18.7	26.8
Return of some refugees to the Palestinian state and compensate the refugees for their properties which they lost	0.8	1.1	0.2
I don't know	0.6	0.8	0.2
No answer	0.5	0.9	0.3

Q13. In your opinion, what is the best solution to the question of Jerusalem?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
A unified Jerusalem (East and West) as a capital of the state of Israel	1.8	2.3	1.1
East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian state and West Jerusalem as the capital of the state of Israel.	38.9	41.6	34.3
A unified open Jerusalem and capital of the two states.	16.8	19.2	12.5
An international Jerusalem	14.1	10.7	19.8
Unified Jerusalem for the Palestinians only *	22.6	19.4	28.2
Capital for the Muslims*	1.8	1.9	1.8
I don't know	2.9	3.6	1.8
No answer	1.1	1.3	0.5

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

Q. 14 Do you think that the current government headed by Salam Fayyad assisted in pushing the current PA reform process forward? Backward? Or it didn't have any influence on the current reform process?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n=754	n=440
It assisted in pushing the current PA reform process forward	39.4	40.5	37.7
It assisted in pushing the current PA reform process backward	23.2	21.1	26.8
It didn't have any influence on the current reform process	31.5	31.0	32.3
Don't know	5.2	6.5	3.0
No answer	0.7	0.9	0.2

Q. 15 Do you think that the current government headed by Haniyeh assisted in pushing the current PA reform process forward? Backward? Or it didn't have any influence on the current reform process?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
It assisted in pushing the current PA reform process forward	22.0	17.5	29.8
It assisted in pushing the current PA reform process backward	42.9	40.6	46.8
It didn't have any influence on the current reform process	30.0	34.6	22.0
Don't know	4.9	7.0	1.4
No answer	0.2	0.3	0.0

Q. 16 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?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
Security and internal security conditions have improved	37.7	40.1	33.6
Security and internal security conditions have deteriorated	26.8	23.9	31.8
Security and internal security conditions did not change	31.7	33.2	29.1
No answer	3.8	2.8	5.5

Q.17 In general, under the current government headed by Isma'eel Haniyeh, do you think the security and internal security conditions in Gaza Strip have improved, deteriorated or have not changed?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
Security and internal security conditions have improved	31.1	23.5	44.1
Security and internal security conditions have deteriorated	42.3	43.8	39.8
Security and internal security conditions did not change	22.8	27.1	15.5
No answer	3.8	5.6	0.6

Q. 18 In general, under the current government headed by Salam Fayyad, do you believe that the economic conditions in the West Bank have improved, deteriorated or have not changed at all?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n= 754	n= 440
The economic conditions have improved	36.3	32.9	42.3
The economic conditions have deteriorated	31.3	35.0	25.0
The economic conditions didn't change	27.1	28.6	24.5
Don't know	4.4	2.4	7.7
No answer	0.9	1.1	0.5

Q.19 In general, under the current government headed by Isma'eel Haniyeh , do you believe that the economic conditions in Gaza Strip have improved, deteriorated or have not changed at all?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1194	n=754	n= 440
The economic conditions have improved	7.5	6.8	8.6
The economic conditions have deteriorated	67.5	62.6	75.9
The economic conditions didn't change	20.4	23.3	15.5
Don't know	3.9	6.2	0.0
No answer	0.7	1.1	0.0

Q.20 Three months after the truce agreement between Israel and Hamas in Gaza, do you think that the truce or calm serves the interests of the Palestinian people more than it serves the interests of Israel ?

	Total n= 1194	West Bank n= 754	Gaza n= 440
The truce serves the Palestinian people interests more	32.0	31.2	33.4
The truce serves Israel's interests more	57.5	56.2	59.5
Don't know	9.6	11.7	6.1
No answer	0.9	0.9	1.0

Q. 43 Which Palestinian Faction do you trust the most?

	Total n= 1194	West Bank n=754	Gaza n=440
Fateh	30.5	29.3	32.5
Hamas	16.4	12.7	22.7
PFLP	2.3	2.5	2.0
Islamic Jihad	2.1	0.8	4.3
National Initiative	0.6	0.9	0.0
PPP	0.4	0.7	0.0
DFLP	0.3	0.3	0.2
FIDA	0.1	0.1	0.0
Other Islamic factions	3.1	4.0	1.6
Others	1.3	1.6	0.9
Don't trust any one	36.7	38.5	33.6
No answer	6.2	8.6	2.2

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

Q. 44 Which Palestinian Personality do you trust the most?

	Total n= 1194	West Bank n=754	Gaza n=440
Mahmoud Abbas	15.5	13.9	18.2
Isma'eel Haniyeh	12.8	9.2	19.1
Marwan Barghouthi	12.6	14.5	9.3
Yasser Arafat	3.0	3.4	2.3
Mustafa Barghouthi	3.0	2.7	3.6
Salam Fayyad	2.1	1.9	2.5
Mahmoud Al-zahar	1.8	2.1	1.4
Ahmad Sa'adat	1.4	1.3	1.6
Khaled Mish'al	1.3	0.7	2.5
Ramadan Shalah	1.2	0.5	2.3
Mohamad Dahlan	1.4	0.1	3.6
Others	3.6	3.7	3.4
Don't trust any one	33.8	36.9	28.4
No answer	6.5	9.1	1.8

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