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**Results of an Opinion Poll**

***The Public Mood***

***UN Vote***

***Gaza Confrontation***

***Elections***

***Reconciliation***

***PA and Government***

***Evaluation of Leadership***

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**Fieldwork: 1-2 December, 2012**

**Sample Size: 1200 Palestinians**

**Margin of error: ±3%**

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| **Part One: The Public Mood** | | **West Bank** | **Gaza** | **Total** |
| 1. **In general, would you say that things in Palestine are heading in the right direction or the wrong direction?** | | | | |
| Right direction | | 65.2% | 77.6% | 69.8% |
| Wrong direction | | 24.9% | 20.2% | 23.2% |
| Don’t know | | 9.9% | 2.2% | 7.0% |
| 1. **In general, are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future?** | | | | |
| Optimistic | | 72.4% | 81.8% | 75.9% |
| Pessimistic | | 23.6% | 16.7% | 21.0% |
| Don’t know | | 4.0% | 1.6% | 3.1% |
| **Part Two: UN** | | **West Bank** | **Gaza** | **Total** |
| 1. **In the wake of President Abbas’achieving non-member state status for Palestine at the UN, do you agree or disagree with thefollowing statements?** | | | | |
| The UN vote was a victory for the Palestinian cause | Strongly agree | 42.7% | 66.4% | 51.6% |
| Agree | 38.4% | 25.3% | 33.5% |
| Disagree | 11.5% | 6.7% | 9.7% |
| Strongly disagree | 5.6% | 1.3% | 4.0% |
| I don’t know | 1.9% | 0.2% | 1.3% |
| The UN vote will be followed by tangible progress towards Palestinian independence | Strongly agree | 31.2% | 48.9% | 37.8% |
| Agree | 42.1% | 40.0% | 41.3% |
| Disagree | 16.8% | 8.7% | 13.8% |
| Strongly disagree | 5.3% | 1.1% | 3.8% |
| I don’t know | 4.5% | 1.3% | 3.3% |
| The UN vote is a victory for President Abbas’ peace-oriented approach to Palestinian independence | Strongly agree | 32.3% | 55.3% | 40.9% |
| Agree | 41.3% | 31.6% | 37.7% |
| Disagree | 18.1% | 10.0% | 15.1% |
| Strongly disagree | 3.1% | 2.0% | 2.7% |
| I don’t know | 5.2% | 1.1% | 3.7% |
| The UN is a better vehicle to achieve Palestinian independence than direct negotiations with Israel | Strongly agree | 29.1% | 50.7% | 37.2% |
| Agree | 44.6% | 35.6% | 41.2% |
| Disagree | 17.4% | 12.2% | 15.4% |
| Strongly disagree | 3.9% | 0.9% | 2.8% |
| I don’t know | 5.1% | 0.7% | 3.4% |
| The UN vote will have no impact on Palestinian affairs | Strongly agree | 16.2% | 18.7% | 17.1% |
| Agree | 26.0% | 26.0% | 26.0% |
| Disagree | 44.7% | 47.6% | 45.8% |
| Strongly disagree | 7.9% | 6.0% | 7.2% |
| I don’t know | 5.2% | 1.8% | 3.9% |
| The UN vote will negatively affect the economy of the West Bank | Strongly agree | 23.6% | 25.8% | 24.4% |
| Agree | 36.8% | 28.9% | 33.8% |
| Disagree | 27.0% | 31.8% | 28.8% |
| Strongly disagree | 5.1% | 7.1% | 5.8% |
| I don’t know | 7.5% | 6.4% | 7.1% |

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|  | | **West Bank** | **Gaza** | **Total** |
| The UN vote will strengthen the Palestinian Authority | Strongly agree | 35.5% | 54.7% | 42.7% |
| Agree | 45.1% | 35.8% | 41.6% |
| Disagree | 13.8% | 7.3% | 11.4% |
| Strongly disagree | 2.3% | 2.0% | 2.2% |
| I don’t know | 3.3% | 0.2% | 2.2% |
| The UN vote will make it harder to restart peace negotiations between the Palestinian Authority and the Government of Israel | Strongly agree | 19.9% | 28.9% | 23.3% |
| Agree | 42.1% | 35.6% | 39.7% |
| Disagree | 26.8% | 29.6% | 27.8% |
| Strongly disagree | 4.3% | 4.2% | 4.3% |
| I don’t know | 6.9% | 1.8% | 5.0% |
| The UN vote will lead to punitive actions such as expanded settlement activity in the West Bank | Strongly agree | 40.8% | 37.1% | 39.4% |
| Agree | 37.6% | 40.0% | 38.5% |
| Disagree | 14.1% | 16.7% | 15.1% |
| Strongly disagree | 2.9% | 5.6% | 3.9% |
| I don’t know | 4.5% | 0.7% | 3.1% |
| 1. **In general, do you believe that the Palestinian cause will be advanced by the recent UN vote?** | | | | |
| Advanced | | 60.5% | 80.2% | 67.9% |
| Set back | | 17.6% | 6.0% | 13.3% |
| Not changed | | 19.1% | 12.9% | 16.8% |
| I don’t know | | 2.8% | 0.9% | 2.1% |
| 1. **Are the principles of direct negotiations leading to a two-state solution still a valid formula for resolving the Palestinian-Israeli struggle?** | | | | |
| Yes | | 44.5% | 54.9% | 48.4% |
| No | | 44.3% | 41.8% | 43.4% |
| I don’t know | | 11.2% | 3.3% | 8.3% |
| **Part Three: Gaza** | | **West Bank** | **Gaza** | **Total** |
| 1. **In the wake of the cease-fire agreement in Gaza between Palestinian groups led by Hamas and the Government of Israel, do you agree or disagree with the following statements?** | | | | |
| The confrontation and the resulting truce represent a victory for Palestinians | Strongly agree | 51.3% | 67.8% | 57.5% |
| Agree | 37.3% | 23.6% | 32.2% |
| Disagree | 8.9% | 7.8% | 8.5% |
| Strongly disagree | 1.6% | 0.9% | 1.3% |
| I don’t know | 0.8% | 0.0% | 0.5% |
| The results of the Gaza conflict will lead to tangible progress towards Palestinian independence | Strongly agree | 41.3% | 48.4% | 44.0% |
| Agree | 42.5% | 36.2% | 40.2% |
| Disagree | 10.8% | 12.2% | 11.3% |
| Strongly disagree | 1.1% | 1.6% | 1.3% |
| I don’t know | 4.3% | 1.6% | 3.3% |

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|  | | | **West Bank** | **Gaza** | **Total** |
| The results of the recent Gaza conflict prove that armed struggle, as adopted by Hamas, is the best means of achieving Palestinian independence | | Strongly agree | 50.4% | 64.2% | 55.6% |
| Agree | 36.0% | 25.6% | 32.1% |
| Disagree | 8.8% | 9.6% | 9.1% |
| Strongly disagree | 1.5% | 0.7% | 1.2% |
| I don’t know | 3.3% |  | 2.1% |
| The results of the Gaza conflict will lead to reconciliation and unity | | Strongly agree | 45.2% | 58.0% | 50.0% |
| Agree | 37.7% | 35.6% | 36.9% |
| Disagree | 11.7% | 5.6% | 9.4% |
| Strongly disagree | 2.3% | 0.7% | 1.7% |
| I don’t know | 3.1% | 0.2% | 2.0% |
| The Gaza conflict and resulting truce will lead to no real change in the realities of Palestinians | | Strongly agree | 16.7% | 26.0% | 20.2% |
| Agree | 29.8% | 29.3% | 29.6% |
| Disagree | 41.7% | 35.1% | 39.2% |
| Strongly disagree | 5.7% | 8.9% | 6.9% |
| I don’t know | 6.1% | 0.7% | 4.1% |
| 1. **In general, do you believe that the Palestinian cause has been advanced by recent events in Gaza?** | | | | | |
| Advanced | | | 66.9% | 83.6% | 73.2% |
| Set back | | | 11.4% | 2.4% | 8.0% |
| Not changed | | | 19.2% | 13.6% | 17.1% |
| I don’t know | | | 2.5% | 0.4% | 1.8% |
| 1. **In the wake of the UN initiative and the Gaza conflict, would you say that your view of the following parties/leaders has improved or diminished?** | | | | | |
| The PA | Improved | | 38.9% | 58.2% | 46.1% |
| Somewhat improved | | 38.9% | 30.0% | 35.5% |
| Diminished | | 13.2% | 9.8% | 11.9% |
| Somewhat diminished | | 1.1% | 0.2% | 0.8% |
| Don’t know | | 8.0% | 1.8% | 5.7% |
| President Abbas | Improved | | 43.2% | 60.0% | 49.5% |
| Somewhat improved | | 37.6% | 25.8% | 33.2% |
| Diminished | | 13.2% | 10.9% | 12.3% |
| Somewhat diminished | | 1.7% | 2.2% | 1.9% |
| Don’t know | | 4.3% | 1.1% | 3.1% |
| Fatah | Improved | | 41.7% | 52.2% | 45.7% |
| Somewhat improved | | 37.9% | 30.9% | 35.3% |
| Diminished | | 14.4% | 13.3% | 14.0% |
| Somewhat diminished | | 0.5% | 1.3% | 0.8% |
| Don’t know | | 5.5% | 2.2% | 4.3% |
| Hamas | Improved | | 57.6% | 64.0% | 60.0% |
| Somewhat improved | | 29.6% | 26.7% | 28.5% |
| Diminished | | 8.1% | 5.3% | 7.1% |
| Somewhat diminished | | 0.7% | 2.4% | 1.3% |
| Don’t know | | 4.0% | 1.6% | 3.1% |

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|  | | **West Bank** | **Gaza** | **Total** |
| Islamic Jihad | Improved | 51.9% | 52.4% | 52.1% |
| Somewhat improved | 30.7% | 35.8% | 32.6% |
| Diminished | 8.1% | 6.4% | 7.5% |
| Somewhat diminished | 0.9% | 2.0% | 1.3% |
| Don’t know | 8.4% | 3.3% | 6.5% |
| Ismael Haniyeh | Improved | 55.2% | 61.6% | 57.6% |
| Somewhat improved | 28.0% | 27.8% | 27.9% |
| Diminished | 8.3% | 6.7% | 7.7% |
| Somewhat diminished | 1.9% | 2.4% | 2.1% |
| Don’t know | 6.7% | 1.6% | 4.8% |
| KhaledMeshaal | Improved | 49.9% | 62.2% | 54.5% |
| Somewhat improved | 29.5% | 26.9% | 28.5% |
| Diminished | 8.7% | 5.8% | 7.6% |
| Somewhat diminished | 1.7% | 2.4% | 2.0% |
| Don’t know | 10.1% | 2.7% | 7.3% |
| The Egyptian Government | Improved | 51.3% | 73.8% | 59.8% |
| Somewhat improved | 28.4% | 21.3% | 25.8% |
| Diminished | 9.2% | 2.4% | 6.7% |
| Somewhat diminished | 3.7% | 0.9% | 2.7% |
| Don’t know | 7.3% | 1.6% | 5.2% |
| 1. **In your opinion, who benefited the most from the conflict in Gaza?** | | | | |
| Palestinians in general | | 49.5% | 54.0% | 51.2% |
| Hamas | | 27.3% | 23.8% | 26.0% |
| The residents of Gaza | | 8.1% | 14.7% | 10.6% |
| Government of Egypt | | 0.9% | 2.9% | 1.7% |
| Government of Israel | | 1.9% | 1.1% | 1.6% |
| Fatah and the PA | | 1.3% | 0.9% | 1.2% |
| No one benefited from the conflict | | 8.1% | 2.2% | 5.9% |
| I don’t know | | 2.8% | 0.4% | 1.9% |
| 1. **In your opinion, who lost the most from the conflict in Gaza?** | | | | |
| Palestinians in general | | 3.7% | 5.3% | 4.3% |
| Hamas | | 1.1% | 0.4% | 0.8% |
| The residents of Gaza | | 12.1% | 10.4% | 11.5% |
| Government of Egypt | | 0.4% | 0.2% | 0.3% |
| Government of Israel | | 72.4% | 81.6% | 75.8% |
| Fatah and the PA | | 2.5% | 1.3% | 2.1% |
| Everyone lost | | 2.4% | 0.7% | 1.8% |
| I don’t know | | 5.3% | 0.0% | 3.3% |

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|  | **West Bank** | **Gaza** | **Total** |
| 1. **In the wake of recent events, which approach do you Prefer to advance Palestinian independence?** | | | |
| The approach supported by Fatah and President Abbas | 28.3% | 40.2% | 32.8% |
| The approach supported by Hamas and other militant groups | 41.9% | 37.1% | 40.1% |
| None | 13.5% | 14.9% | 14.0% |
| I don’t know | 16.4% | 7.8% | 13.2% |
| 1. **Do you support or oppose the return to negotiations at this time?** | | | |
| Support | 42.5% | 49.6% | 45.2% |
| Oppose | 49.3% | 49.1% | 49.3% |
| I don’t know | 8.1% | 1.3% | 5.6% |
| 1. **Do you support the principle of a two-state solution with a Palestinian state living side-by-side in peace with Israel?** | | | |
| Support | 44.4% | 50.9% | 46.8% |
| Oppose | 50.7% | 47.6% | 49.5% |
| I don’t know | 4.9% | 1.6% | 3.7% |
| 1. **Which country do you believe is the most credible broker in mediating a solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?** | | | |
| Turkey | 24.6% | 16.4% | 21.5% |
| Egypt | 49.9% | 73.3% | 58.7% |
| Saudi Arabia | 3.6% | 1.3% | 2.8% |
| Qatar | 2.0% | 2.2% | 2.1% |
| Iran | 7.7% | 1.6% | 5.4% |
| United States | 2.3% | 1.6% | 2.0% |
| France | 2.7% | 0.7% | 1.9% |
| Russia | 2.6% | 2.0% | 2.3% |
| Other | 4.7% | 0.9% | 3.3% |
| **Part Four: Elections** | **West Bank** | **Gaza** | **Total** |
| 1. **Did you follow the news about the recent local elections in the West Bank?** | | | |
| Yes | 50.7% | 23.8% | 40.6% |
| To some extent | 28.7% | 21.3% | 25.9% |
| No | 20.6% | 54.9% | 33.4% |
| 1. **In general, how do you view the conduct of these elections?** | | | |
| Positively | 36.7% | 21.3% | 30.9% |
| Neutral | 38.0% | 16.7% | 30.0% |
| Negatively | 12.7% | 13.3% | 12.9% |
| I don’t now | 12.7% | 48.7% | 26.2% |
| 1. **Do you believe that similar local elections should be carried out in Gaza?** | | | |
| Yes | 73.2% | 76.4% | 74.4% |
| No | 15.5% | 19.8% | 17.1% |
| I don’t know | 11.3% | 3.8% | 8.5% |

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|  | **West Bank** | **Gaza** | **Total** | |
| 1. **Do you support the immediate holding of legislative elections in both the West Bank and Gaza?** | | | | |
| Yes | 74.4% | 84.9% | | 78.3% |
| To some extent | 15.7% | 14.2% | | 15.2% |
| No | 9.9% | 0.9% | | 6.5% |
| 1. **Do you support the immediate holding of presidential elections in both the West Bank and Gaza?** | | | | |
| Yes | 70.1% | 84.9% | | 75.7% |
| To some extent | 20.7% | 13.8% | | 18.1% |
| No | 9.2% | 1.3% | | 6.3% |
| 1. **If elections took place today and the following lists ran, which one would you vote for?** | | | | |
| DFLP | 1.3% | 0.2% | | 0.9% |
| HizbTahrir | 0.9% | 0.7% | | 0.8% |
| Islamic Jihad | 2.0% | 1.1% | | 1.7% |
| PFLP | 3.2% | 2.0% | | 2.8% |
| Palestinian Struggle Front | 1.2% | 0.2% | | 0.8% |
| Al Mubadara | 1.3% | 0.7% | | 1.1% |
| Hamas | 21.0% | 25.6% | | 22.7% |
| Fatah | 32.8% | 44.0% | | 37.0% |
| Fida | 0.0% | 0.0% | | 0.0% |
| PPP | 0.5% | 0.2% | | 0.4% |
| Other | 2.1% | 1.8% | | 2.0% |
| I didn’t decide yet | 20.5% | 13.8% | | 17.9% |
| I will not vote | 13.1% | 9.8% | | 11.9% |
| 1. **If the following leaders ran for president, for whom would you most likely vote?** | | | | |
| Mahmoud Abbas | 25.4% | 24.9% | | 25.2% |
| Salam Fayyad | 1.7% | 2.4% | | 2.0% |
| Ahmad Saadat | 2.7% | 3.8% | | 3.1% |
| Mohammed Dahlan | 0.4% | 6.2% | | 2.6% |
| Ramadan Shalah | 1.3% | 0.4% | | 1.0% |
| Marwan Barghouthi | 11.1% | 14.4% | | 12.4% |
| Mustafa Barghouthi | 2.9% | 4.7% | | 3.6% |
| Nasser Al Deen Al Shaer | 1.1% | 0.2% | | 0.8% |
| Mahmoud Al Zahhar | 0.7% | 0.9% | | 0.8% |
| Ismael Haniyeh | 16.7% | 18.9% | | 17.5% |
| Mahmoud Aloul | 0.7% | 0.0% | | 0.4% |
| KhaledMeshaal | 5.3% | 6.9% | | 5.9% |
| I don’t know/ Not sure | 12.6% | 8.0% | | 10.9% |
| I will not vote | 17.4% | 8.2% | | 13.9% |

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| **Part Five: Reconciliation** | **West Bank** | **Gaza** | **Total** |
| 1. **Are you optimistic or pessimistic about achieving reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas?** | | | |
| Optimistic | 81.6% | 84.2% | 82.6% |
| Pessimistic | 15.2% | 14.7% | 15.0% |
| I don’t know | 3.2% | 1.1% | 2.4% |
| 1. **Do you believe that Fatah is serious about ending the division?** | | | |
| Yes | 65.4% | 82.2% | 71.7% |
| No | 22.6% | 16.7% | 20.4% |
| I don’t know | 12.0% | 1.1% | 7.9% |
| 1. **Do you believe that Hamas is serious about ending the division?** | | | |
| Yes | 67.8% | 69.6% | 68.5% |
| No | 20.7% | 28.0% | 23.4% |
| I don’t know | 11.5% | 2.4% | 8.1% |
| 1. **To end the present impasse between Fatah and Hamas, which one of the following is the best approach in your opinion?** | | | |
| Immediate call for legislative and presidential elections in the West Bank and Gaza | 22.6% | 33.8% | 26.8% |
| Continue to pursue reconciliation talks | 25.1% | 15.6% | 21.5% |
| Popular pressure on both Fatah and Hamas | 38.9% | 42.9% | 40.4% |
| Nothing will work to resolve this issue | 9.4% | 7.1% | 8.5% |
| Don’t know | 4.0% | 0.7% | 2.8% |
| **Part Six: The PA and Government** | **West Bank** | **Gaza** | **Total** |
| 1. **Within the medium term, do you believe that the PA will be able to survive?** | | | |
| Will definitely survive | 38.1% | 55.3% | 44.5% |
| Possible that it will survive | 28.4% | 20.7% | 25.5% |
| Possible that it will collapse | 14.0% | 12.9% | 13.6% |
| Will definitely collapse | 6.0% | 5.1% | 5.7% |
| I don’t know | 13.5% | 6.0% | 10.7% |
| 1. **In general, how do you evaluate the performance of the government led by Salam Fayyad** | | | |
| Positive | 22.4% | 27.6% | 24.4% |
| Average | 40.3% | 40.4% | 40.4% |
| Negative | 31.4% | 28.4% | 30.3% |
| I don’t know | 5.9% | 3.6% | 5.0% |
| 1. **In general, how do you evaluate the performance of the government led by Ismael Haniyeh** | | | |
| Positive | 41.2% | 36.2% | 39.3% |
| Average | 36.0% | 37.1% | 36.4% |
| Negative | 11.0% | 23.6% | 15.7% |
| I don’t know | 11.9% | 3.1% | 8.6% |
| 1. **If you had a choice between the two governments, the Fayyad-led and the Haniyeh-led, which would you chose to govern in your region?** | | | |
| The Haniyeh – led government | 33.4% | 35.8% | 34.3% |
| The Fayyad – led government | 20.8% | 32.7% | 25.3% |
| None of the two | 35.9% | 29.8% | 33.6% |
| Don’t know | 9.9% | 1.8% | 6.8% |

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|  | | **West Bank** | **Gaza** | **Total** |
| 1. **If a unity government was agreed upon, which one of the following leaders would you prefer to see as a Prime Minister?** | | | | |
| Ismael Haniyeh | | 36.1% | 29.1% | 33.5% |
| Salam Fayyad | | 17.5% | 22.4% | 19.4% |
| MunibMasri | | 9.8% | 3.8% | 7.5% |
| Mustafa Barghouthi | | 16.4% | 23.8% | 19.2% |
| Ziad Abu Amer | | 0.7% | 0.4% | 0.6% |
| Hanan Ashrawi | | 4.4% | 2.7% | 3.8% |
| Jamal al Khudari | | 1.5% | 2.7% | 1.9% |
| Other | | 13.6% | 15.1% | 14.2% |
| 1. **Would you say that you approve or disapprove of the overall performance of the following leaders?** | | | | |
| Mahmoud Abbas | Approve | 62.3% | 65.6% | 63.6% |
| Disapprove | 31.0% | 32.7% | 31.6% |
| I don’t know | 6.7% | 1.8% | 4.8% |
| Salam Fayyad | Approve | 43.3% | 44.7% | 43.8% |
| Disapprove | 48.5% | 52.9% | 50.1% |
| I don’t know | 8.3% | 2.4% | 6.1% |
| Ismael Haniyeh | Approve | 61.8% | 57.8% | 60.3% |
| Disapprove | 28.7% | 40.7% | 33.2% |
| I don’t know | 9.5% | 1.6% | 6.5% |
| KhaledMeshaal | Approve | 58.1% | 56.4% | 57.5% |
| Disapprove | 29.8% | 41.1% | 34.0% |
| I don’t know | 12.1% | 2.4% | 8.5% |

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| **Sample Distribution** | | | |
| **District** | | **Gender** | |
| Jenin | 6.7% | Male | 51.3% |
| Tulkarm | 5.0% | Female | 48.8% |
| Qalqilya | 1.7% | **Age** | |
| Nablus | 8.3% | 18-30 | 43.6% |
| Salfit | 1.6% | 31-40 | 25.1% |
| Tubas | 1.6% | 41+ | 31.3% |
| Ramallah &Albireh | 8.3% | **Marital Status** | |
| Jerusalem | 10.0% | Single | 26.5% |
| Jericho | 1.8% | Married | 69.8% |
| Bethlehem | 4.8% | Other | 3.7% |
| Hebron | 12.8% | **Refugee status** | |
| Jabalya | 7.2% | Refugee | 48.8% |
| Gaza | 14.6% | Non-refugee | 51.2% |
| DeirAlbalah | 5.3% | **Educational level** | |
| Khanyounis | 5.3% | Up to 9 years | 22.6% |
| Rafah | 5.3% | Secondary (10-12) | 40.7% |
| **Residence** | | More than 12 years | 36.7% |
| City | 52.2% | **Occupation** | |
| Village | 23.8% | Laborer | 13.3% |
| Camp | 24.0% | Employee | 19.7% |
| **Work Sector** | | Farmer |  |
| Government | 29.7% | Merchant | 4.7% |
| Private | 53.6% | Professional | 1.1% |
| NGOs | 6.6% | Craftsman | 2.8% |
| Other | 10.2% | Student |  |
| **Income** | | Housewife | 33.6% |
| Above average | 17.0% | Does not work | 10.9% |
| Average | 60.2% | Retired | 1.2% |
| Below average | 22.8% | **Do you use the internet?** | |
|  | | Yes | 50.5 |
|  |  | No | 49.5 |