#### Public Opinion Poll # 27

## **Living Conditions**

### National Dialogue and the Referendum

### **Evaluation of Institutions**

### [ Highlights][ Analysis of Results ][ Detailed Results ][ Sample Distribution ]

## [<u>In Arabic</u>]

First Section: Living Conditions		
Total %	6	W
1. How do you evaluate the economic condition	ns of your family?	I
1) Very good	3.9	4.7
2) Good	12.2	14.
3) Fair	36.4	36.
4) Bad	29.2	29.
5) Very Bad	18.3	16

2. Are you optimistic or pessimistic?				
1) Optimistic	30.6		27.	
2) In between	23.6		24.2	
3) Pessimistic	45.6		47.	
4) Do not know	0.3		0.5	
3. Do you feel secure about the future of the coming generations?				
1) Yes		47.3	39.	
2) To some extent		20.2	23.	
3) No		31.9	36.	
4) Don't know/No opinion 0.6		0.6	0.7	
4. At the present time, do you feel safe	/secure (about yourself, you	r family, and property)?		
1) Yes		41.2	36.	

2) To some extent	18.1	18
3) No	36.4	39.
4) Don't know/No opinion	4.3	5.3
5. Is there a working breadwinner for the family?		
1) Yes, regular	38.6	40
2) Irregular / Part time	44.6	54
3) No	16.7	4.6
6. Do you feel that your family is going through a finan	ncial crisis?	
1) Yes	64.1	61
2) To some extent	23.3	26.
3) No	12.6	12.
7. Does your financial situation allow your family to co	over the following expenses?	
Food and nutritional needs		
1) Yes	40.3	44.
2) To some extent	48.4	45.
3) No	11.1	10.
Health expenses		
1) Yes	26.2	29.
2) To some extent	37.6	37.
3) No	36.2	33.
Transportation and communication expenses		
1) Yes	24.7	30.
2) To some extent	36.9	37.
3) No	33.4	27.
4) Doesn't apply	5.1	4.1
Educational expenses		
1) Yes	22.5	25.
2) To some extent	28.0	28.
3) No	31.1	28.
4) Doesn't apply	18.4	17.
Rent		
1) Yes	4.4	6.2
2) To some extent	5.2	5.4
3) No	9.5	11
4) Doesn't apply	80.9	77.
8. Compared with before the PLC elections of January	y 2006, do you feel that your fa	mily income
1) Improved?	1.6	1.6

	I	ı
3) Stayed the same?	34.5	36.
4) Don't know.	0.4	0.4
9. Compared with before the PLC elections of January 200	06, do you feel more or les	s secure?
1) More secure	13.9	7.2
2) Less secure	40.6	40.
3) No change	45.5	52.
Second Section: Evaluation of Institutions 10. How do you evaluate the performance of the following in	estitutions in dealing with	the opgoing (
10. How do you evaluate the performance of the following in	istitutions in dealing with	the ongoing (
The Government		
1) Good	25.6	22.
2) Medium	23.0	22.
3) Weak	43.1	44.
4) No opinion	8.3	10.
The Presidential Office		
1) Good	23.1	21.
2) Medium	24.0	23.
3) Weak	46.2	45.
4) No opinion	6.8	9.2
The PLC		
1) Good	20.7	15.
2) Medium	20.5	21.
3) Weak	45.8	46.
4) No opinion	12.9	15.
NGOs		
1) Good	14.8	13.
2) Medium	25.9	26.
3) Weak	40.7	38.
4) No opinion	18.6	21.
Private sector and banks		
1) Good	13.5	13.
2) Medium	24.2	26.
3) Weak	46.3	42.
4) No opinion	16.0	17.
Political groups	-	
1) Good	12.6	11.
2) Medium		1

3) Weak	54.3	53.
4) No opinion	12.1	14.

International organizations

1) Good	11.1	8.1
2) Medium	16.6	16.
3) Weak	57.7	58.
4) No opinion	14.7	17.

11. Do you believe that the government is serious about resolving the current crisis?

1) Yes	61.6	58.
2) No	32.1	33.
3) Don't know	6.3	7.9

12. Do you believe that the government is capable of resolving the current crisis?

1) Yes	42.4	38.
2) No	48.4	51.
3) Don't know	9.2	10.
		_

13. The Minister of Interior established and dispatched a (security force) in Gaza comprised of mer do you support or oppose the establishment of such a force?

1) Yes	49.2	44.
2) To some extent	39.4	39.
3) No	11.4	15.

14. Do you support or oppose the establishment of this force, if the President said no to its establish

1) Yes	34.7	31.
2) No	54.9	55.
3) Don't know	10.4	13.

15. Do you support or oppose the establishment of a similar force in the West Bank?

1) Yes	45.9	43.
2) No	44.9	44.
3) Don't know	9.2	11.
16. How do you evaluate the role of the following parties in leading to the current crises? Did they		

Israel

15/401		
1) A primary role	95.7	95.
2) A moderate role	2.2	2.4
3) No role	2.2	1.8
The United States		

1) A primary role	94.8	94.
2) A moderate role	3.1	3.5

3) No role	2.1	1.9
The European Union		
1) A primary role	76.4	75.
2) A moderate role	18.1	19.
3) No role	5.6	5.0
The Arab countries		
1) A primary role	58.5	61.
2) A moderate role	27.6	26.
3) No role	14.0	11.
Fateh		
1) A primary role	33.5	31.
2) A moderate role	30.1	31.
3) No role	36.5	37.
Hamas		
1) A primary role	32.8	32.
2) A moderate role	19.8	21.
3) No role	47.4	45.
17. What is the best means to transfer money from international don	ors to the Pales	stinian society
1) Through the President's office	18.8	19.
2)Through an international institution such as the World Bank	26.0	24.
3) None of these two choices, but through the Ministry of Finance	49.0	47.
4) Don't know	6.2	7.6
18. In dealing with the current crisis faced by the Palestinians, which	one of these pr	
1) Continuation of the current Hamas-led government	21.0	18.
2) Forming a unified government with all political parties	63.7	64.
3) Forming a technocratic government of independents	11.6	12.
4) Don't know	3.7	4.0
19. As to funding the Palestinian National Authority, which one of th		
1) Hamas continues to reject recognizing Israel, while reaching out	60.8	58.
to countries like Iran and the Arab world to get funding		50.
2) Hamas recognizes Israel and continue to receive funding from the	31.0	32.
international community		

	8.2	9.4
20. Do you believe that the current government is hand	lling the issue of international	funding?
1) Appropriately	26.2	21
2) Somewhat Appropriately	31.5	32
3) Not Appropriately	33.9	35
4) Don't know	8.4	11
21. What is your evaluation of the performance of the	current government?	
1) Good	31.2	26
2) To some extent	29.7	31
3) Weak	35.7	36
4) Don't know	3.3	4.7
22. Do you believe that the government distributes the	funds that it collects to needy	Palestinians
1) Yes	30.9	27.
2) To some extent	54.3	54
3) No	14.7	18.
23. What is your evaluation of the performance of Prin	ne Minister Ismail Haneyyeh?	
1) Good	57.2	50.
2) Fair	20.4	24.
3) Weak	15.7	16.
4) I don't know	6.7	8.5
24. What is your evaluation of the performance of Pre	sident Mahmoud Abbas?	
- •		
	47.5	46.
1) Good	47.5	46.
1) Good 2) Fair	26.4	27.
1) Good 2) Fair 3) Weak	26.4 22.7	27. 22.
1) Good 2) Fair	26.4 22.7 3.4	27. 22. 4.0
<ol> <li>Good</li> <li>Fair</li> <li>Weak</li> <li>I don't know</li> <li>Do you support or oppose that the Prime Minister, oppose that the</li></ol>	26.4 22.7 3.4	27 22 4.0
1) Good 2) Fair 3) Weak 4) I don't know 25. Do you support or oppose that the Prime Minister, of political agenda?	26.4 22.7 3.4 ther ministers and political gr	27 22 4.0 oups use mo 28
<ol> <li>Good</li> <li>Fair</li> <li>Weak</li> <li>I don't know</li> <li>Do you support or oppose that the Prime Minister, opolitical agenda?</li> <li>Yes</li> </ol>	26.4 22.7 3.4 ther ministers and political gr 28.3	27 22 4.0 <b>oups use mo</b> 28 66
<ol> <li>Good</li> <li>Fair</li> <li>Weak</li> <li>I don't know</li> <li>Do you support or oppose that the Prime Minister, opolitical agenda?</li> <li>Yes</li> <li>To some extent</li> </ol>	26.4 22.7 3.4 ther ministers and political gr 28.3 67.9 3.8	27 22 4.0 <b>oups use mo</b> 28 66 5.0
<ol> <li>Good</li> <li>Fair</li> <li>Weak</li> <li>I don't know</li> <li>Do you support or oppose that the Prime Minister, opolitical agenda?</li> <li>Yes</li> <li>To some extent</li> <li>No</li> </ol>	26.4 22.7 3.4 ther ministers and political gr 28.3 67.9 3.8	27 22 4.0 700 ps use mo 28 66 5.0 700 ps use mo
<ol> <li>Good</li> <li>Fair</li> <li>Weak</li> <li>I don't know</li> <li>Do you support or oppose that the Prime Minister, opolitical agenda?</li> <li>Yes</li> <li>To some extent</li> <li>No</li> <li>Do you believe that preachers in mosques play a pos</li> </ol>	26.4         22.7         3.4         ther ministers and political gr         28.3         67.9         3.8         itive or a negative role in dealities	27 22 4.0 700 ps use mo 28 66 5.0 700 ps use mo 5.0 700 ps use mo 5.0 700 ps use mo 700 ps use ps us
<ol> <li>Good</li> <li>Fair</li> <li>Weak</li> <li>I don't know</li> <li>Do you support or oppose that the Prime Minister, opolitical agenda?</li> <li>Yes</li> <li>To some extent</li> <li>No</li> <li>26. Do you believe that preachers in mosques play a pos</li> <li>Positive</li> </ol>	26.4 22.7 3.4 ther ministers and political gr 28.3 67.9 3.8 itive or a negative role in deali	27 22 4.( roups use mo 28 66 5.( ing with the 55 32
<ol> <li>Good</li> <li>Fair</li> <li>Weak</li> <li>I don't know</li> <li>Do you support or oppose that the Prime Minister, opolitical agenda?</li> <li>Yes</li> <li>To some extent</li> <li>No</li> <li>Do you believe that preachers in mosques play a pos</li> <li>Positive</li> <li>Negative</li> </ol>	26.4 22.7 3.4 ther ministers and political gr 28.3 67.9 3.8 itive or a negative role in deali 58.0 31.6 10.4	27 22 4.0 <b>oups use mo</b> 28 66 5.0 <b>ing with the</b> 55 32 12
<ol> <li>Good</li> <li>Fair</li> <li>Weak</li> <li>I don't know</li> <li>Do you support or oppose that the Prime Minister, opolitical agenda?</li> <li>Yes</li> <li>To some extent</li> <li>No</li> <li>Do you believe that preachers in mosques play a pos</li> <li>Positive</li> <li>Negative</li> <li>Don't know</li> </ol>	26.4 22.7 3.4 ther ministers and political gr 28.3 67.9 3.8 itive or a negative role in deali 58.0 31.6 10.4	27 22 4.0 <b>oups use mo</b> 28 66 5.0 <b>ing with the</b> 55 32 12

3) No	51.1	51.
4) Don't know	7.3	8.4
28. Do you believe that Arab and local media pla		
1) Positive	42.5	39.
2) Negative	49.1	50.
3) Don't know	8.4	10.
29. Do you believe that the media instigate again		10.
1) Yes	49.7	47.
2) To some extent	41.2	41.
3) No	9.1	10.
<b>30.</b> Do you believe that the national dialogue service	ves mainly the interests of the politica	l groups or t
1) The political groups	33.2	36
2) The general public	58.7	54
3) No opinion	8.1	9.2
31. Do you think that the political groups partici	pating in the national dialogue take in	nto considera
1) Yes	32.9	28
2) To some extent	31.1	30
3) No	31.0	34
4) No opinion	5.1	6.7
<b>32.</b> Do you believe that the political groups are se	erious about resolving the current cri	ses?
1) Yes	44.3	41
2) To some extent	25.0	25
3) No	26.4	27
4) Don't know	4.3	5.6
Do you support or oppose the following statemer	nts?	
<b>33.</b> The PLO is the sole and legitimate represent		
1) Support	73.5	71
2) Oppose	22.5	23
3) No Opinion	3.9	4.5
34. Hamas and Islamic Jihad joining the PLO.		
1) Yes	82.5	82
2) To some extent	15.0	14
3) No	2.5	3.(
<b>35.</b> The establishment of a Palestinian state on the	*	
1) Yes	84.2	83
2) To some extent	13.6	13
3) No	2.2	2.7

<b>36.</b> Forming a national unity government wit	90.7	90
2) To some extent	7.1	90 7.3
3) No	2.2	2.7
<b>37. Commitment to resistance with a focus in</b>		∠.
1) Yes	83.4	81
2) To some extent	12.6	13
3) No	4.0	5.2
38. A Palestinian united political initiative on		
1) Yes	89.6	88
2) To some extent	6.8	7.7
3) No	3.6	4.3
<b>39. Reforming and modernizing the security</b>		
1) Yes	94.0	93
2) To some extent	3.6	3.8
3) No	2.4	2.8
40. Protecting and reinforcing the PNA as th	e core for the future Palestinian state.	
1) Yes	91.4	91
2) To some extent	5.6	5.3
3) No	2.9	3.2
41. Commitment to democracy and to regula	r elections.	
1) Yes	94.1	93
2) To some extent	3.8	3.9
3) No	2.1	2.7
42. Do you support or oppose that the (Prison	ners' Declaration) be the basis for a natio	nal unity pro
1) Support	81.1	80
2) Oppose	13.0	12
3) No opinion	5.9	6.8
43. Do you support or oppose that President	Mahmoud Abbas calls for a referendum	in case that t
1) Support	76.8	77
2) Oppose	18.5	16
3) No opinion	4.8	5.5
44. If a referendum is about adopting the (Pr	isoners' Declaration) as a basis for nation	nal consensus
1) Yes	77.0	76
2) No	13.3	12
3) Don't know	9.7	11
45. If PLC elections took place today, which	n one of the following lists would you vote	e for?
1) Change and Reform	36.9	34
,	0.007	

2) Fateh Movement	36.6	35.
3) Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa	2.0	1.9
4) Independent Palestine	1.2	1.6
5) The Third Way	0.7	0.6
6) Martyr Abu Al-Abbas	0.4	0.6
7) The Alternative	0.3	0.3
8) National coalition for Justice and Democracy	0.2	0.1
9) The Palestinian Justice	0.2	0.3
10) Freedom and social Justice	0.1	0.1
11) Freedom and independence	0.0	0.0
12) Others	21.5	24.
46. Which of the following political groups do you support?		
1) Fateh	35.7	35.
2) Hamas	32.7	32.
3) Independent, with Islamic leaning	4.1	3.4
4) Independent, with Fateh leaning	2.8	2.3
5) PFLP	2.3	2.0
6) Islamic Jihad	1.0	0.3
7) DFLP	0.5	0.3
8) Independent Palestine	0.4	0.7
9) Feda	0.3	0.3
10) Third Way	0.2	0.4
11) Other Islamic Factions	0.2	0.1
12) PPP	0.1	0.0
13) Other Leftist Faction	0.1	0.1
14) Independent, with Leftist leaning	0.1	0.1
15) Other National Faction	0.0	0.0
16) None	19.5	

#### **Analysis of Results**

#### 1. The Referendum: (Yes) to the Referendum

- 77% support President Abbas's call to hold a referendum if political parties do not come to agreement based on the (Prisoners Declaration); 21% do not support such a call.
- 77% will vote (YES) to the (Prisoners' Declaration), while 14% will vote (NO).
- 81% support Abbas's call to adopt the (Prisoners' Declaration) as the basis for dialogue and Palestinian future vision.
- 74% support the view that the PLO is the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinians.

- 83% support that Hamas and Islamic Jihad join the PLO.
- 84% support the establishment of the Palestinian state over the 1967 territory of the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza.
- 83% support that (resistance) be restricted in the Occupied Territories.
- 94% support a commitment to a democratic political system and regular elections.

#### 2. Political Support: Decline in support for Hamas; Fateh does not gain

- Willingness to vote for Hamas declined from 50% (5 April 2006) to 37% now, bringing its vote to an equal standing with Fateh (also at 37%).
- General support for Hamas is, however, at 33%, while support for Fateh is at 36%.
- 25% consider themselves as independents, over 2% support PFLP, while all other parties score 1% or less each.

#### **3.** Use of Mosques as Political Platforms: No to using mosques as political platforms

- 68% oppose the use of mosques as a platform for agenda promotion by the Palestinian Prime Minister, other ministers and political groups; 28% support such action.
- 41% believe that mosques are used (always or sometimes) to instigate against some Palestinian leaders, while 51% disagree.
- 58% feel that preachers in mosques have a positive role in confronting the current Palestinian crises, while 32% disagree.

#### 4. The Role of Media: More doubt than support

- 43% believe that the media (Arab satellite stations and local media) play a positive role in confronting the current crises, while 49% find them to have a negative effect.
- 50% feel that some media outlets instigate against some Palestinian leaders, while 41% feel otherwise.

## 5. Evaluation of President and Government: support for leaders; but split over government

- 48% evaluate the performance of President M. Abbas as (good) a 5 points increase from (29 April 2006) poll. In addition, 26% feel it is (medium), while 23% evaluate his performance as (weak).
- 57% evaluate the performance of Prime Minster I. Hanneyeh as (good), with no change from previous poll. In addition, 20% feel it is (medium), while 16% evaluate his performance as (weak).
- 31% evaluate the overall performance of the current government as (good). In addition, 30% evaluate it as (medium), while 36% evaluate its performance as (weak) indicating a 9 point increase in negative evaluation from previous poll.
- 54% believe that the current government distributes the money that it collects through donations in an (unfair) manner, while 31% disagree.
- 21% support the continuation of the present Hamas led government, while 64% would like to replace it with a national unity government. Support for a technocratic government is at 12%.
- 62% feel that the current government is (serious) about its intentions to resolve the current crises, while 32% feel that the government is not serious.
- 42% feel that the current government is capable of resolving the current crises, while 48% feel otherwise.

# 6. Funding: Split over government's handling of funding; but no concessions for money by Hamas

- 26% believe that the government is handling the funding crisis in an appropriate manner. In addition 32% believe that its handling of the crises is (medium), while 34% believe that it is (inappropriate).
- While continued polling show a majority support for a two-state solution, the majority of respondents (61%) will not accept that Hamas recognize Israel now in exchange for funding. In contrast, 31% want Hamas to recognize Israel immediately to continue receiving international funding as in the past.
- Only 19% support that money is channeled through the President's office, and 26% support that an international organization (such as the World Bank) take charge of the disbursement of funding. In contrast, 49% believe that international funding should go directly to the Ministry of Finance without any intermediary.

#### 7. Responsibility for the Crises: everyone is to blame; some more than others

• 95% say that Israel and the United States have a primary role in the exacerbation of the current crises.

- 76% say that the European Union has a primary role in the exacerbation of the current crises.
- 59% say that Arab countries have a primary role in the exacerbation of the current crises.
- 33% blame Fateh and Hamas for having a primary role in the exacerbation of the current crises. In contrast, 20% say that Hamas has a moderate role in the crises, while 30% say that Fateh has a moderate role in the crises. In addition, 47% feel that Hamas didn't contribute to the crises, while 37% say that Fateh didn't contribute to the crises.

#### 8. Dealing with the Crises: No delivery from anyone!

- 26% feel that the handling of the current crises by the Ministerial cabinet is (good), while 23% feel that it is (medium) and 43% feel that it is (weak).
- 23% feel that the handling of the current crises by the Presidential office is (good), while 24% feel that it is (medium) and 46% feel that it is (weak).
- 21% feel that the handling of the current crises by the Palestinian Legislative Council is (good), while 21% feel that it is (medium) and 46% feel that it is (weak).
- 15% feel that the handling of the current crises by the NGOs is (good), while 26% feel that it is (medium) and 41% feel that it is (weak).
- 14% feel that the handling of the current crises by the private sector and banks is (good), while 24% feel that it is (medium) and 46% feel that it is (weak).
- 13% feel that the handling of the current crises by the political parties is (good), while 21% feel that it is (medium) and 54% feel that it is (weak).
- 11% feel that the handling of the current crises by international institutions is (good), while 17% feel that it is (medium) and 58% feel that it is (weak).

#### 9. The (Security Force): Conditional Support

- 49% support the decision by the Minister of Interior to establish a new (security force); while opposition is at 39%.
- Palestinians are equally split on the issue of establishing a similar force in the West Bank (at 45% on each side).
- Support for the Minister's decision to establish such a force declines to 35% if it was not agreed upon by President M. Abbas. Opposition to the establishment of the new force reaches 55% if not supported by President Abbas.

## 10. Evaluation of Living Conditions and Prospects for Future: Less security; more economic hardship

- 41% of the respondents feel less secure than they did before the elections of the new PLC and the establishment of the new government. In contrast, 14% feel more secure, and 46% say that nothing has changed.
- Overall, 31% feel secure for themselves and their families, while 24% feel (somewhat secure), and 46% feel (insecure).
- 63% say that their household's income level had declined since the latest PLC elections, while less than 2% say that their income has increased. 35% say that their income level didn't change.
- Overall, 16% describe the income level of their families as (good or very good), 36% describe it as (medium). In contrast, 48% describe the economic conditions of their families as (bad or very bad).
- 64% believe that their families are going through a financial crisis. In addition, 23% believe that their families are going through a financial crisis (to some extent). Only 13% said that they don't believe that their families are going through such a crisis.
- 36% say that their families are not able to afford medical services, 31% say that they are unable to afford educational expenses, and 33% cannot afford transportation and communication expenses.
- 11% cannot afford food expenses, and 9.5% cannot afford rent-related expenses.
- 17% say that their families have no working breadwinner, while 45% say that they have a breadwinner who works only occasionally. Only 39% have a breadwinner with a stable job.
- Despite all of the previous indicators, 47% continue to say they feel (optimistic) about the future, and 20% say that they are (somewhat optimistic). In contrast, 32% say that they are pessimistic.

## Sample distribution

Region	%	Type of	%		Refugee	%
		locality			Status	
West Bank	62.7			44.5	0	38.7
Gaza Strip	37.3	Village- town		39.8		61.3
Governorate	%	Camp		15.7	Education	%
Jenin	6.6	Gender	%		Illiterate	20.4
Tubas	1.9	Male		50.1	Preparatory	21.3
Tulkarm	3.2	Female		49.1	Elementary	31.2
Nablus	9.5	Marital	%		Secondary	16.6
		status				
Qalqilya	3.1	Single		25.3	Diploma	5.0
Salfit	0.8	Married		70.3	B.A. or more	5.6
Jericho	1.1	Others		4.4	Place	
					of	
Ramallah	10	Age	%		Residence	%
					prior	
Jerusalem	10	18-22		19.3	to 1994	
Bethlehem	3.7	23-27		16.3	West Bank &	92.5
					Gaza	
Hebron	12.7	28-32		13.6	Abroad	7.5
North Gaza	7.5	33-37		11.9	•	%
					Income	
					(NIS)*	
Gaza City	14.3	38-42		9.6	No Income	3.7
Deir al-Balah	4.6	43-47		6.8		31.2
Khan Younis	7.7	48-52		5.3	700-1000	19.4
Rafah	3.2	> 52		17.2	1001-1700	18.0
Religiosity	%	Employment status	%		1701-2500	16.8
Religious	50.7	Working		27	2501-3000	5.9
Somewhat	46.6	Not Working		73	More than	5.1
religious		J			3000	
Not religious	2.6					
1  = 4.5 NIS	-					