JMCC Public Opinion Poll No. 10

On Palestinian Attitudes Towards the Taba Agreement and the PNA's Assumption of Authority over West Bank Towns October 1995

In cooperation with Al-Hayat Newspaper - London

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Introduction

JMCC conducted an opinion poll on the attitude of Palestinians towards the Taba Agreement (Oslo 2). The poll was conducted on the 6th and 7th of October 1995 in the West Bank including Jerusalem and in the Gaza Strip.

The poll shows over whelming support for the peace process and the Taba Agreement. Support for the opposition is declining, and the majority of the opponents of the peace process feel that the opposition, in general, is either impractical or its approach is vague.

- Only 16.4% opposed the Taba Agreement compared to 23.7% who strongly support it, and 41.9% who cautiously support it.
- 19.1% of the respondents believe that the Taba Agreement solidifies the occupation, while 14.7% believe that the agreement is a step toward the full realization of the Palestinian aspirations (independent Palestinian State with Jerusalem as its capital). The majority, 54.6% of the respondents believe that Taba is a step toward the realization of some of the aspiration of the Palestinian people.
- 25.5% of the respondents say that they are very optimistic about the future, 48.4% say that they are somehow optimistic. Only 22.2% say they are pessimistic or very pessimistic.
- 62.3% say they will feel more secure once the PA assumes responsibility in the West Bank: 66.8% were from the West Bank and 50.9% from the Gaza Strip. (In 21 June 1995, only 35.8% of West Bankers said they feel more secure compared to 69.3% from the Gaza Strip).
- Only 17.8% say that they oppose the peace process while 72.7% say they support it. Of those who say they oppose the peace process, 49.8% criticized the opposition as being impractical and vague, compared to 33.9% who say the opposition is practical.
- Support to Hamas declined from 18% in 21 June 1995 to 10.7%. Support for Fatch fell marginally from 46.6% (21 June 1995) to 4.6%.
- A surprising increase in the percentage of those who say that Rabin is sincere about implementing the peace agreements with the Palestinians, whereas those who say Rabin is sincere was only 9.9% in 21 June 1995, the percentage increased to 27.2%.
- Of all the respondents 65.2% said that Israel has no right to exist, while 26.4% say it does. Of those who trust Hamas most, 9.8% say that Israel has the right to exist, compared to 34.9% Fateh Supporters.

Methodology

A random sample of 1318 Palestinians, over the age of 18 years, were interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip on 6-7 October 1995. The interviews were conducted on randomly selected homes, and the subjects inside each home were also selected randomly according to Kish tables. The interviews were conducted in 53 sampling points chosen randomly according to population.

In the West Bank, 972 people were surveyed from the following areas: Jerusalem, Al-Ram, Dahiyat al-Bareed, Ramallah, Al-Bireh, Beit Rima, Nilin, Ein Yabrud, Jericho, Husan, Bethlehem, Dheisheh Refugee camp, Zatara, Al-Thahiriya, Hebron, Al-Fawwar Refugee Camp, Dura, Sair, Halhul, Jenin Refugee Camp, Tubas, Jenin, Kafr Rai, Silat al-Dahr, Al-Yamoun, Al-Zababdeh, Nablus, Balta Refugee Camp, Aqraba, Beita, Kafr Qaddum, Tulkarem, Jinsafut, Salfit, Qalqiliya.

In the Gaza Strip, 346 people were surveyed from: Gaza, Rafah, Jabaliya, Deir al- balah, Beit Lahiya, Khan Younis Refugee Camp, Rafah Refugee Camp, Deir al-balah Refugee Camp, Jabaliya Refugee Camp.

The major of error is plus or minus 3% with a confidence level of 95%.

Sample Distribution

- 72.9% of the respondents were from the West Bank (including East Jerusalem)
- 27.1% from the Gaza Strip
- 49.6% were male
- 50.4% were female
- 62.8% were married
- 30.7% were single
- 6.5% were widowed divorced
- The average of age of the respondents was 34 years.

Occupation respondents

- Students 8.4%
- Waged laborers 16.5%
- Housewives 25.2%
- Employees e.g. secretaries/teachers/nurses/municipal employees 16.5%
- Businessmen/private business 4.5%
- Farmers/fishermen 1.6%
- Professionals e.g. doctors/lawyers/pharmacists/engineers 13.3%
- Unemployed 7.8%
- Retired 1.6%
- Other 4.6%

Results

Q1. After signing the Interim Phase Agreement in Washington last week, how optimistic are you about the future in general? Would you say you are very optimistic, somehow optimistic, pessimistic, or very pessimistic?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Very optimistic	25.5%	25.8%	24.9%
Somehow optimistic	48.4%	48.2%	49.4%
Pessimistic	14.7%	15.5%	12.7%
Very Pessimistic	7.5%	6.5%	10.1%
No opinion	3.9%	4.0%	2.9%

Q2. Upon the Palestinian Authority's assumption of responsibility in the West Bank, would you say that your feeling of security, in general, would be better, worse, or would you say that your feeling of security will not change?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Better	62.3%	66.8%	50.9%
Worse	11.2%	11.0%	11.8%
Will not change	21.2%	17.2%	32.1%
Other	1.3%	1.3%	1.2%
No opinion	4.0%	3.7%	4.0%

Q3. To what extent would you say that the Taba Agreement is a step towards the realization of the aspiration of the Palestinian people in establishing their independent state with Jerusalem as its capital?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
A step towards the full realization of Palestinian aspirations	14.7%	15.1%	13.6%
A step towards the realization of some of the Palestinian aspirations	54.6%	53.9%	56.9%
This agreement strengthens the occupation	19.1%	19.1%	19.1%
No opinion	11.6%	11.9%	10.4%

Q4. To what extent would you say you support or oppose the agreement reached between the PA and Israel over the Interim Phase? Would you say you strongly support, you cautiously support it, or would you say you totally oppose it?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Strongly support	23.7%	24.7%	21.4%
Cautiously support	41.9%	42.7%	40.2%
Totally oppose	16.4%	16.1%	17.1%
I don't know the provisions of the agreement	12.9%	11.7%	16.2%
No opinion	5.1%	4.8%	5.1%

Q5. How do you evaluate the performance of the PNA after one year of its work? Would you say its performance is good, fair, or poor?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Good	37.1%	35.0%	43.1%
Fair	38.0%	39.6%	34.1%
Poor	15.0%	14.3%	16.5%
Other	1.5%	1.6%	1.2%
No opinion	8.4%	9.5%	5.1%

Q6. Do you think that president Arafat is carrying out his work as the head of the PNA in a good, average, or bad way?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Good	51.4%	49.9%	55.8%
Average	25.9%	26.8%	23.7%
Bad	11.8%	13.2%	8.4%
No opinion	10.9%	10.1%	12.1%

Q7. After the passage of a year since the return of President Arafat and his assumption of the leadership of the PNA, has your support increased, decreased, not changed, or did you never support him?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
My support increased	32.0%	31.1%	34.7%
My support declined	10.4%	12.5%	4.9%
My support did not change	33.2%	34.3%	30.3%
I never supported him	16.8%	16.0%	18.8%
No opinion	7.6%	6.1%	11.3%

Q8. Within the present political circumstances, do you believe that the Palestinian delegation would have been able to reach a better agreement than the one reached last week?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	32.2%	36.6%	20.8%
No	43.0%	39.3%	53.2%
I do not know	13.7%	14.1%	12.7%
I am not interested in any agreement	4.5%	3.8%	6.6%
No opinion	6.6%	6.2%	6.7%

Q9. How do you evaluate the performance of the Palestinian delegation during the Taba negotiations?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Good	35.7%	35.8%	35.5%
Fair	34.6%	36.1%	30.9%
Poor	13.3%	12.6%	15.0%
No opinion	16.4%	15.5%	18.6%

Q10. To what extent would you say you know about the agreement?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I know about the agreement	11.0%	12.3%	7.5%
I know something about the agreement	54.9%	53.3%	59.2%
I do not know the agreement	26.2%	28.3%	20.8%
No opinion	7.9%	6.1%	12.5%

Q11. Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the removal of Israeli settlements?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Optimistic	43.0%	40.0%	51.4%
Pessimistic	45.6%	49.2%	36.4%
I do not know	7.5%	7.7%	6.9%
No opinion	3.9%	3.1%	5.3%

Q12. In general, would you say you support or oppose the peace process?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Support the peace process	72.7%	73.7%	70.8%
Oppose the peace process	17.8%	17.2%	19.7%

No opinion	9.5%	9.1%	9.5%
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Q13. If you are opponent to the peace process, would you say the opposition is practical in its program, not practical in its program, or would you say that the opponent follows an unclear path? (This question was asked only to those who say they oppose the peace process in Q12).

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Practical	33.9%	24.5%	55.9%
Not practical	15.4%	18.2%	8.8%
Path unclear	34.4%	42.1%	16.2%
No opinion	16.3%	15.2%	19.1%

Q14. Is Rabin sincere about implementing the agreements he signed with the Palestinians?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	27.2%	25.9%	30.9%
No	54.8%	56.0%	51.7%
No opinion	18.0%	18.1%	17.4%

Q15. If the labor falls and Likud takes over the Israeli government in the coming elections, do you think the general Palestinian political situation will:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Improve	7.6%	7.6%	7.8%
Worsen	42.2%	44.1%	37.0%
Remain the same	36.1%	34.6%	40.2%
No opinion	14.1%	13.7%	15.0%

Q16. Which is the most political or religious faction you trust most?

First Choice

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Fateh	41.3%	41.7%	40.5%
Hamas	10.7%	8.8%	15.6%
PFLP	3.6%	3.9%	2.9%
DFLP	0.5%	0.6%	0.3%
Islamic Jihad	2.4%	1.7%	4.0%
PPP	1.0%	1.0%	1.2%
FIDA	0.5%	0.5%	0.6%

Palestinian Struggle Front	0.1%		
Islamic religion	0.9%	1.3%	
Democracy building movements	0.1%		0.3%
Do not trust anyone	20.9%	22.9%	15.9%
PLO	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%
No answer	17.8%	17.4%	18.4%

Q17. Which Palestinian figure do you trust most?

First Choice

	Total
Yasser Arafat	36.8%
Nayef Hawatmeh	0.3%
Haydar Abdel Shafi	4.6%
Ahmed Qurei	0.9%
Jibril al-Rajoub	0.4%
Yasser Abed Rabbo	0.9%
Suleiman Najjab	0.2%
Bassam Jarrar	
Mahmoud al-Zahar	0.2%
Ahmed Yassin	5.5%
Hanan Ashrawi	2.4%
Fathi Shikaki	0.5%
Saeb Erekat	0.5%
Nabil Shaath	0.9%
Abdel Aziz Rantisi	0.3%
Bashir Barghouthi	0.1%
Yehia Ayyash	0.2%
Farouq Kaddumi	1.9%
Amin Maraka	0.1%
Abu Mazen - Mahmoud Abbas	0.5%
Faisal Husseini	2.1%
George Habash	3.4%
Ahmed Tibi	0.3%
Abbas Zaki	0.5%
I do not trust anyone	16.1%
Others	2.7%
No opinion	17.7%

Q18. Do you think Israel has the right to exist?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	26.4%	26.3%	26.9%
No	65.2%	66.1%	63.0%
No opinion	8.4%	7.6%	10.1%