

JMCC Public Opinion Poll No. 44

On Palestinian Attitudes Towards the Palestinian situation in general - March 2002

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Introduction

- The Jerusalem Media and Communication Center (JMCC) conducted its most recent public opinion poll to study the Palestinian public attitudes towards a number of crucial and sensitive political topics in current affairs such as the Palestinian-Israeli peace process and al-Aqsa Intifada. The survey was conducted in all Palestinian territory on 20-23 March 2002 except Bethlehem where the survey was conducted on 28-29 March 2002 due to the Israeli military closure and siege of the district.

The most significant results of the survey could be summarized as follows:

Support for the Palestinian-Israeli peace process is 46.6 percent, while support for the Oslo agreements is 31.6 percent.

The majority of Palestinians, 72.4 percent, do not believe that signing a permanent Palestinian-Israeli peace agreement based on “two states for two peoples” means, from a Palestinian viewpoint, an end to the historical Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Of those interviewed, 41.6 percent, believe that the most favored solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is a two-state solution, while 31.6 percent believe that historic Palestine cannot be divided into two states and that a bi-national state in all of historic Palestine, where Palestinians and Israelis enjoy equal representation and rights, is the most favored solution. Meanwhile, 12.5 percent believe that a Palestinian state on the whole historic Palestine, with the return of refugees, is the favored solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

There are 29.4 percent who believe that the peace process is dead and negotiations cannot be resumed, while 49.7 percent believe that the peace process is passing through difficult times with an unknown future. Of those interviewed, 18.5 percent believe that United States envoy Anthony Zinni will succeed in his mission of a cease-fire and return of Palestinians and Israelis to the negotiation table.

The majority of Palestinians, 83.9 percent, support the continuation of al-Aqsa Intifada in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, while 67.5 percent believe that the Palestinian Intifada has increased Israeli readiness to come closer to Palestinian demands to achieve a peace agreement. Forty nine percent believe that the Palestinian Intifada to this moment has increased chances of a peace agreement with Israel.

Of those surveyed, 48.1 percent believe that the final goal of the current Intifada is ending the Israeli military occupation based on UN Security Council resolution 242 and the establishment of the state of Palestine, while 43.9 percent believe the final goal to be liberated all of Palestinian soil: historic Palestine.

Palestinians who support the continuation of popular and military aspects of the Intifadah are 66.3 percent. Also, 73.6 percent support the continuation of military operations against Israeli targets as a suitable response to the current political situation, and 72 percent support suicide bombing operations against Israeli civilians.

There are 58.9 percent of those interviewed who believe Palestinian Authority performance is between good and very good, while 20.6 percent believe Palestinian President Yasser Arafat is in full control of internal affairs and 44.7 percent believe that Arafat is in control of internal affairs to some extent.

Popular trust of Palestinian personalities is 27.9 percent for Yasser Arafat, 9.7 percent trust Ahmed Yassin and 32.1 percent do not trust anyone. As for political factions, 29.5 percent trust Fateh, 19.8 percent trust Hamas and 29.6 percent do not trust anyone.

Methodology

A random sample of 1160 people over the age of 18 were interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip between 23, 24 March 2001. 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: Jenin: Jenin, Jenin Refugee Camp (RC), Kufr Ra'ee, Arabeh, Zababdeh, Akabeh, Sarees, al-Jadaydeh, Sylet al-Harthieh and T'enek. Nablus: Nablus, Deir Sharaf, Beit Iba, Askar RC, Roujeeb, Arabeh and Boureen. Tulkarem: Tulkarem, Illar, Ateel, Tulkarem RC. Qalqilya: Qalqilya, Azoun. Hebron: Hebron, Halhoul, Sa'eer, Doura, Al-Aroub RC, Beit Ulla, Yatta and Tarqoumia. Bethlehem: Bethlehem, Beit Jala, Bateer, Hussan, Za'atra, Al-Azeh RC. Jericho: Jericho, Ein al-Sultan RC. Ramallah and Jerusalem: Al-Bireh, Ramallah, Jifna, Jalzon RC, Qabia, Beit Rima, Bido, al-Izrieh, Abu Deis, Shufat, Beit Hanina, Shufat RC, Jabal al-Mukaber, Sur Baher, Old City, Wadi al-Joz, al-Isswieh, Sheikh Jarrah, Ras al-Amoud and Silwan.

In the Gaza Strip: North Gaza: Jabalia RC, Jabalia, Beit Lahia, Beit Hanoun. Gaza City: Sheikh Radwan, al-Darj, al-Tufah, Sabra, Tal al-Hawa, al-Naser, al-Zaytoun, al-Shaja'ieh, al-Rimal north and south, Shati RC. Deir al-Balah: Deir al-Balah, Nuseirat RC. Khan Younis: Khan Younis, Khan Younis RC, Bani Sahila, Abssan al-Kabeera, Khuza'a, Qayzaran and al-Najjar. Rafah: Rafah, Rafah RC, Tal al-Sultan RC.

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

Sample Distribution

- 51.7% of the respondents were from West Bank, 10.3% from Jerusalem, 38.0% from the Gaza Strip.
- 31.2% said they live in villages, 16.6% in refugee camps, 52.2% in towns/cities.
- 51.0% were male, 49.0% were female.
- 69.8% were married, 25.9%, single, 2.6% widowed, 1.4% divorced, 0.3% no answer.
- The average age of the respondents was 34 years.

Occupation respondents

- Students 9.9% laborers 9.3% Farmers/fishermen 4.8%
- Craftsmen 1.6% Businessmen/private business 5.9%

- Employees e.g. secretaries/municipal employees/teachers/nurses 18.0%
 - Professionals - e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers 1.7%
 - Housewives 34.1%, unemployed 9.3% and retired 1.7%, self employee 2.8%, No answer 0.9%.
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Results

Q1. In general how optimistic or pessimistic do you feel towards the future?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Very optimistic	6.0	5.3	7.3
Optimistic	42.3	43.3	40.7
Pessimistic	34.0	35.3	31.8
Very Pessimistic	17.4	16.1	19.5
No answer	0.3	-	0.7

Q2. How do you feel about the recent peace process between the Palestinians and the Israelis? Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Strongly support	6.5	6.0	7.3
Somewhat support	40.1	39.4	41.1
Somewhat oppose	28.8	30.8	25.5
Strongly oppose	22.4	21.0	24.8
No answer	2.2	2.8	1.3

Q3. In principle, do you strongly support, Somewhat Support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose peace negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Strongly support	7.8	6.3	10.2
Somewhat support	42.1	41.8	42.5
Somewhat oppose	27.1	29.2	23.6
Strongly oppose	21.6	20.8	22.7
No answer	1.4	1.9	1.0

Q4. What do you think of the Oslo agreement? Would you say you strongly support, support, oppose or strongly oppose it?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Strongly support	2.9	2.4	3.9
Somewhat support	28.7	26.7	32.0
Somewhat oppose	34.0	36.7	29.5

Strongly oppose	26.5	25.1	28.6
No answer	7.9	9.1	6.0

Q5. How optimistic or pessimistic are you towards reaching a peaceful settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Very optimistic	1.3	1.5	0.9
Optimistic	31.5	31.4	31.6
Pessimistic	42.8	40.4	46.6
Very pessimistic	21.9	23.3	19.5
No answer	2.5	3.4	1.4

Q6. If the Israelis and the Palestinians did sign a permanent peace agreement on the basis of “Two states for two peoples”, from a Palestinian point of view, does it mean to end the Palestinian-Israeli historic conflict?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Of course yes	5.7	3.6	9.1
Possibly yes	16.7	16.5	17.0
Possibly no	18.7	18.8	18.6
Of course no	53.7	53.5	54.1
I don't know	4.7	6.8	1.2
No answer	0.5	0.8	-

Q7. Some believe that a two-state formula is the favored solution for the Arab-Israeli conflict, while others believe that historic Palestine cannot be divided and thus the favored solution is a bi-national state on all of Palestine wherein Palestinians and Israelis enjoy equal representation and rights. Which of these solutions do you prefer?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1. Two state solution: an Israeli and a Palestinian	41.6	36.8	49.5
2. Bi-national state on all of historic Palestine	31.6	32.6	30.0
3. Palestinian state	0.2	0.3	-
4. Islamic state	3.4	3.9	2.7
5. Sovereign, Independent Palestinian with Jerusalem as it's capital	5.7	5.0	6.8
6. Palestinian state on all of historic Palestine and return of refugees	12.5	14.6	9.1
7. There is no solution	0.1	-	0.2
8. I don't know	3.9	5.8	0.7
9. No answer	1.0	1.0	1.0

Q8. Under the current conditions, some believe that the peace process is dead and there is no chance of resuming the negotiations, while others see that the peace process is passing through difficult conditions with an unclear future and there is another group who believe that the peace process is still alive and there is a possibility of resuming negotiations?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1. The peace process is dead and there is no chance of resuming the negotiations	29.4	31.9	25.2
2. The peace process is passing through difficult conditions with an unclear future	49.7	48.6	51.4
3. The peace process is still alive and there is a possibility of resuming negotiations	16.6	14.3	20.5
4. Impossible to reach a peace with the Jews	0.3	0.4	0.2
5. The Jews do not want peace	0.3	0.3	0.2
6. The peace process was born dead	0.4	0.1	0.9
7. Negotiations are a waste of time	0.2	0.3	-
8. Negotiations based on right principles	0.1	0.1	-
9. I don't know	2.6	3.6	0.9
10. No answer	0.4	0.4	0.7

Q9. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the continuation of the al-Aqsa Intifada in the West Bank and Gaza Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Strongly support	48.0	43.3	55.7
Somewhat support	35.9	38.8	31.4
Somewhat oppose	9.4	9.2	9.8
Strongly oppose	4.2	4.9	3.1
No answer	2.5	3.8	-

Q10. Some believe that the Intifada is the best path to achieve our national goals and end the occupation, others believe that the negotiations are the best way to do so. There are some who believe that the continuation of the Intifada and the negotiations together is the method to achieve Palestinian national goals, so in your perspective what is the best way to achieve our national goals?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Only Intifada	32.3	33.6	30.2
Only negotiations	10.9	11.7	9.8
Intifada and negotiations together	54.5	51.8	58.9
I don't know	1.4	1.8	0.7
No answer	0.9	1.1	0.4

Q11. Do you think that the Palestinian Intifada increase or decrease the Israelis ability to understand the Palestinians demands in order to reach a peace agreement?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Increase	67.5	66.1	69.8
Decrease	17.7	16.7	19.3
It has no affect	7.1	6.9	7.3
I don't know	6.1	8.5	2.3
No answer	1.6	1.8	1.3

Q12. If we review the Palestinian Intifada until this moment, do you think the chance of a peace agreement with Israel increased or decreased?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Increased	49.0	44.3	56.6
Decreased	32.5	34.4	29.3
It has no affect	7.6	7.5	7.7
I don't know	8.8	11.1	5.0
No answer	2.1	2.7	1.4

Q13. In your opinion, what should be the end result of the current Intifada is it improving the conditions of negotiations for Palestinians, ending occupation based on UN Resolution 242 and the establishment of the Palestinian state or liberation of all historic Palestine?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1. Improving the conditions of negotiations for Palestinians	6.6	7.5	5.2
2. Ending occupation based on UN Resolution 242 and the establishment of the Palestinian state	48.1	44.6	53.9
3. Liberating of all historic Palestine	43.9	46.7	39.3
4. Others	0.2	-	0.4
5. I don't know	0.9	0.8	0.9
6. No answer	0.3	0.4	0.3

Q14. After more than one year of the Intifada are you very optimistic, somewhat optimistic, somewhat pessimistic or very pessimistic towards achieving its objective that you chose in the previous question:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Very optimistic	14.7	11.3	20.2
Somewhat optimistic	50.3	52.1	47.5
Somewhat pessimistic	21.8	21.1	23.0
Very pessimistic	10.3	11.9	7.7
No answer	2.9	3.6	1.6

Q15. The current Intifada includes popular characteristics such as the demonstrations and military characteristics in your opinion; do you support the continuation of a popular or military Intifada or both of them together?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1. I am with the continuation of a popular resistance Intifada	13.0	13.5	12.3
2. I am with the continuation of a military resistance Intifada	15.0	17.8	10.5
3. I am with the continuation of a popular and military Intifada	66.3	61.9	73.4
4. I don't know	4.0	4.9	2.5
5. No answer	1.7	1.9	1.3

Q16. Do you support the resumption of the military operations against Israeli targets as a suitable response within the current political conditions, or do you reject it and find it harmful to Palestinian national interests?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1. A suitable response within the current political conditions	73.6	71.3	77.5
2. I reject it and find it harmful to Palestinian national interests	20.0	20.4	19.3
3. Others	0.2	0.1	0.2
4. I don't know	4.4	5.6	2.5
5. No answer	1.8	2.6	0.5

Q17. Are you with the resumption of the military operations only inside Israel, only inside the occupied territories or inside Israel and the occupied territories?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1. Inside Israel only	20.4	25.8	11.6
2. Only inside the occupied territories	9.3	9.7	8.6
3. Inside Israel and the occupied territories	49.1	40.0	64.1
4. I am not with the resumption of the military operations	15.9	16.7	14.5
5. No answer	5.3	7.8	1.2

Q18. What is your feeling towards suicide bombing operations against Israeli civilians; do you support it or oppose it?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Strongly support	49.2	45.0	56.1
Somewhat support	22.8	25.1	18.9
Somewhat oppose	14.7	14.0	15.9
Strongly oppose	7.0	6.5	7.7
I don't know/No opinion	4.3	6.1	1.4
No answer	2.0	3.3	-

Q19. Are you satisfied of the Arab solidarity with the Intifada, do you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat unsatisfied or not satisfied at all?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Very satisfied	0.9	1.0	0.9
Somewhat satisfied	14.4	14.2	14.8
Somewhat unsatisfied	23.5	21.4	27.0
Not satisfied at all	60.5	62.5	57.3
I don't know	0.3	0.3	-
No answer	0.4	0.6	-

Q20. Do you believe that US envoy Zinni will succeed in his mission of a cease-fire and return Palestinians and Israelis to the negotiating table?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	18.5	16.9	21.1
No	74.5	76.0	72.0
No answer	7.0	7.1	6.9

Q21. In general, how do you evaluate the performance of the Palestinian Authority? Do you think it's very good, good, bad or very bad?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Very good	7.3	7.6	6.8
Good	51.6	51.4	52.0
Bad	24.7	24.4	25.0
Very bad	10.3	9.4	11.6
No answer	6.1	7.2	4.6

Q22. There is a debate among international circles as to whether the Palestinian president is in control of the internal Palestinian situation, in control up to a certain degree, not in control up to a certain degree, or whether he is not in control at all, what is your opinion?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1. President Yasser Arafat is totally in control of the internal Palestinian situation	20.6	18.5	24.1
2. President Yasser Arafat is in control up to a certain degree	44.7	44.9	44.5
3. President Yasser Arafat is not in control up to a certain degree	19.6	20.3	18.4
4. President Yasser Arafat is not in control at all	11.3	11.4	11.1
5. No answer	3.8	4.9	1.9

Q23. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1. Yasser Arafat	27.9	25.0	32.7
2. Ahmad Yassin	9.7	7.8	13.0
3. Marwan Barghouti	2.8	2.4	3.6
4. Abdul Aziz al-Rantisi	2.6	2.4	3.0
5. Haidar Abdul Shafi	2.5	1.8	3.6
6. Saeb Erekat	2.0	1.7	2.5
7. Others	15.5	17.1	13.6
8. I don't trust anyone	32.1	37.1	23.9
9. No answer	4.9	4.7	4.1

** The above question was open ended question*

Q24. Which Palestinian political or religious faction do you trust most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1. Fateh	29.5	26.0	35.2
2. Hamas	19.8	18.5	22.0
3. Popular Front for liberation of Palestine	3.9	4.0	3.6
4. Islamic Jihad	3.7	4.0	3.2
5. Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades	1.9	1.1	3.2
6. Others	5.3	5.3	5.5
7. I don't trust anyone	29.6	34.0	22.3
8. No answer	6.3	7.1	5.0

** The above question was open ended question*

Q25. From your point of view, list the following Israeli violations from the most harmful to the less harmful to Palestinian people?

	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six
1. Closure and checkpoints	28.0	17.2	15.6	14.7	12.4	10.9
2. Assassinations	34.5	25.9	16.2	12.6	7.3	3.1
3. Incursion of PA areas	14.8	16.4	17.1	15.9	23.0	11.7
4. Settlers attacks	2.4	7.4	8.8	15.2	20.7	43.9
5. Killings	9.9	17.6	22.4	21.3	17.4	10.5
6. Shelling	10.2	15.1	19.2	19.2	17.5	17.5
7. No answer	0.2	0.4	0.7	1.1	1.7	2.4

Q26. Martial status

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Single	25.9	24.3	28.4
Married	69.8	72.1	66.1
Divorced	1.4	1.0	2.0
Widowed	2.6	2.1	3.4
No answer	0.3	0.5	0.1

Q27. Occupation

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Worker	9.3	11.0	6.6
Employee	18.0	17.2	19.3
Housewife	34.1	36.0	30.9
Student	9.9	8.3	12.5
Farmer	4.8	5.7	3.4
Businessman	5.9	6.5	4.8
Professional (physician...etc)	1.7	1.8	1.6
Craftsman (Electrician...etc)	1.6	0.8	3.0
Unemployment	9.3	7.6	12.0
Retired	1.7	1.8	1.6
Self Employee	2.8	2.5	3.4
No answer	0.9	0.8	0.9

Q28. Are you refugee or non-refugee?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Refugee	44.9	34.2	62.5
Non-refugee	54.5	64.9	37.5
No answer	0.6	0.9	-

Q29. Gender:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Male	50.8	50.3	51.6
Female	48.9	49.2	48.4
No answer	0.3	0.5	-

Q30.Area:

	Total
West Bank	51.7
Gaza	37.9
Jerusalem	10.4

Q31.Location:

	Total
City	52.2
Refugee Camp	16.6
Village	31.2