

JMCC Public Opinion Poll No. 43

On Palestinian Attitudes Towards Politics including the Current Intifada - December 2001

- [Introduction](#)
 - [Methodology](#)
 - [Sample distribution](#)
 - [Occupation of respondents](#)
 - [Results](#)
-

Introduction

JMCC's most recent poll since the eruption of the al-Aqsa Intifada, conducted on December 6-9, 2001, showed that the majority of the Palestinian people (71.9%) do not see the recent arrests by the PNA against the Intifada activists as justifiable. The poll also shows that the majority of the Palestinian people (80.1%) support the continuation of al-Aqsa Intifada; moreover, a ratio of 54.6% support the continuation of al-Aqsa Intifada in both of its popular and military forms and 47.2% support the continuation of al-Aqsa Intifada to go side by side with the continuation of the negotiations.

- The majority of Palestinians (57.2%) believes that President Arafat is in control of the internal situation.
- The majority of the Palestinian public (24.5%) trusts mostly President Arafat.
- The poll also showed a notable majority (71.9%) with the belief that arresting the Intifada activists is unjustifiable.
- Regarding the ceasefire decision by President Arafat, a limited majority (57.6%) believes that the decision of President Arafat on the ceasefire is unjustifiable while 34.9% believe it is justifiable.
- 16.6% of the respondents only expects Zeene to succeed in his mission to the cease-fire.
- The poll also shows that the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian public (80.1%) supports the continuation of al-Aqsa Intifada.
- The results of the poll show that 20.2% only believe that the arrests are justifiable and 34.9% believe that the ceasefire decision is justifiable; in the same context, there was a decrease in ratio of those who believe that President Arafat is in control of the internal situation (partially or fully) from 71.6% last June to 57.2% in December 2001.
- Despite the above figures, President Arafat maintained the first rank in terms of public support; President Arafat is trusted by 24.5% while Sheikh Ahmed Yassin came in second place in terms of public trust but with an increase from 10.6% last September to 12.8% in this poll.
- As for the intifada, the majority of the public 80.1% supports its continuation, also the largest percentage of the public 47.2% see the importance of the continuation of the intifada and negotiations. Whereas, 34.8% think that the intifada should continue and stop negotiations against 13.9% who see that the intifada should stop and to pay attention to the negotiations.
- The poll showed that a majority (67.5%) supports the military operations as a Palestinian proper response under the current conditions while 26.1% oppose military operations, considering them harmful to the national interest.
- A majority of Palestinian public (64%) still support the continuation of suicide (martyrdom) operations inside Israel compared with 68.6% in June 2001.
- A significant result in the poll shows that 36.6% of Palestinians believe that the road of salvation from the current difficult conditions they are living is through the continuation of struggle and resistance in all forms: the Intifada and resistance; 19.4% only believe that the road of salvation is through negotiations, political and diplomatic actions.

- Regarding the end result of the current Intifada, 48.8% said the ultimate goal of the current Intifada is to end occupation on the basis of UN Security Council resolution 242 and the establishment of the Palestinian state while 39.6% believe that the end goal of the Intifada is to liberate all of historic Palestine.
- Regarding the level of trust in the political and religious factions, support for Fatah Movement decreased from 29.2% last September 2001 to 26.1% in this poll while Islamic Resistance Movement "Hamas" and Islamic Jihad Movement received a combined figure of 26.6% and 3% support the PFLP. 30.4% of the Palestinian public does not trust any political or religious faction.

Methodology

A random sample of 1201 people over the age of 18 were interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip between 6,7,8,9 December 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**, 761 people were surveyed from the following areas: **Jenin:** Jenin, Jenin Refugee Camp, Faqqua, Aaqba, Tubas and Arraba. **Nablus:** Nablus, Deir Al-hatab, Balata Refugee Camp, Rujeib, Beit Iba and Salfit. **Tulkarem & Qalqiliya:** Tulkarem, Tulkarem Refugee Camp, Qalqiliya, Anabta, Allar and Jayous. **Hebron:** Hebron, Halhul, Dura, Bani Naim, Idna, Tafouh, Beit-Kamel and Tarqumiya. **Bethlehem:** Bethlehem, al-Doha, Za'tara, Azza Refugee Camp. **Jericho:** Jericho and Aqabat Jaber Refugee Camp. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** al-Bireh, Ramallah, Beitunia, Qibia and Shuqba. **Jerusalem:** a-Dahiya, A-ram, Shufat, Beit Hanaia, Old City, Ras al-Amoud, Qalandiya Refugee Camp, al-Isawia, Silwan, Kafr 'Aqab, Anata, Ein Yabrud and a-Sheikh Jarah.

In the **Gaza Strip**, 440 people were surveyed from: **Gaza North:** Jabaliya refugee camp, Jabaliya, Beit Lahiya and Beit Hanoun. **Gaza:** Sheikh Radwan, al-Nasir, a-Durj, al-Tuffah, Sabra, a-Zaytoun, a-Shuja'ia, Beach Refugee Camp, al-Rimal south and al-Rimal north. **Deir al- Balah:** al-Nuseirat Refugee Camp, al-Maghazi Refugee Camp, Deir al- Balah and al-Bureij Refugee Camp. **Khan Younis:** Khan Younis Refugee Camp, Khan Younis, Bani Suheila, al-khuza' and al-Qarah. **Rafah:** Rafah, Rafah Refugee Camp, and Tal al-Sultan Refugee Camp

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

Sample Distribution

- 53.2% of the respondents were from West Bank, 10.2% from Jerusalem, 36.6% from the Gaza Strip.
- 24.8% said they live in villages, 15.6% in refugee camps, and 59.6% in towns/cities.
- 51.0% were male, 49.0% were female.
- 69.1% were married, 24.1%, single, 2.7% widowed, 1.9% divorced, 2.2% no answer.
- The average age of the respondents was 34 years.

Occupation respondents

- Students 11.5% laborers 9.1% Farmers/fishermen 4.1%
 - Craftsmen 1.7% Businessmen/private business 7.3%
 - Employees e.g. secretaries/municipal employees/teachers/nurses 20.0%
 - Professionals - e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers 2.0%
 - Housewives 32.1%, unemployed 10.9% and retired 0.7% , no answer 0.6%
-

Results

Q1. To what extent do you feel optimistic or pessimistic regarding the future in general? Would you say that you are very optimistic, optimistic, pessimistic or very pessimistic?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	N=1201	N=761	N=440
Very optimistic	4.4	5.4	2.7
Optimistic	40.4	36.7	46.8
Pessimistic	31.1	32.1	29.3
Very Pessimistic	23.7	25.6	20.5
No answer	0.4	0.2	0.7

Q2. To what degree do you feel optimistic or pessimistic regarding the possibility of reaching a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict? Would you say that you are very optimistic, optimistic, pessimistic or very pessimistic?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	N=1201	N=761	N=440
Very optimistic	2.5	3.4	0.9
Optimistic	28.5	28.4	28.6
Pessimistic	37.9	34.4	43.9
Very Pessimistic	29.5	31.5	25.9
No answer	1.6	2.3	0.7

Q3. In principle, do you strongly support or somewhat support or somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the resumption of peace negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Strongly support	9.3	10.8	6.8
Somewhat support	39.4	36.9	43.6
Somewhat oppose	21.0	19.1	24.3
Strongly oppose	27.6	29.4	24.3
No answer	2.7	3.8	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
	n= 12.1	n=761	n=440
Strongly support	4.4	5.0	3.4
Support	26.6	25.0	29.3
Oppose	32.5	28.3	39.8
Strongly oppose	29.6	33.4	23.2
No answer	6.9	8.3	4.3

Q5. Some say that the ideal way to achieve Palestinian national goals is through negotiations, others say through armed struggle, what is the opinion closer to your viewpoint?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Negotiations	22.8	26.3	16.8
Armed struggle	37.8	36.5	40.0
Negotiations and armed struggle	36.6	33.1	42.5
No answer	2.8	4.1	0.7

Q6. 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
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
The peace process is dead and there is no chance of resuming the negotiations	35.7	36.7	34.1
The peace process is passing through difficult conditions with an unclear future	46.5	44.5	49.8
The peace process is still alive and there is a possibility of resuming negotiations	14.8	14.8	14.8
Others	0.5	0.3	0.9
Don't know	2.4	3.5	0.4
No answer	0.1	0.2	0.0

Q7. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the continuation of al-Aqsa Intifada?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Strongly support	43.4	41.8	46.1
Somewhat support	36.7	34.6	40.5
Strongly oppose	11.7	12.7	9.8
Somewhat oppose	5.4	7.0	2.7
No answer	2.8	3.9	0.9

Q8. There is a discussion within the Palestinian society on the benefit of continuing the Intifada, what is your opinion? Should the Intifada continue in its current form, should it continue but in other forms or should it the intifada stop?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
The intifada should continue in its current form	63.4	60.7	68.0
The Intifada should stop	16.4	19.1	11.8
By reactivating the popular characteristic of the Intifada*	2.3	1.7	3.4
By reactivating the armed resistance*	5.2	4.3	6.6
By reinforcing national unity and straightening up and organizing the Intifada*	2.2	2.6	1.6
By getting the support and solidarity from the Arab world*	1.0	1.3	0.5
The Intifada should continue in other Forms*	5.3	5.3	5.4
No answer	4.2	5.0	2.7

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

Q9. 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
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Only the Intifada	34.8	36.3	32.3
Only negotiations	13.9	15.8	10.7
Intifada and negotiations together	47.2	42.4	55.5
I don't know	2.9	3.8	1.4
No answer	1.2	1.7	0.1

Q10. 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
	n= 1202	n=761	n=440
I am with the continuation of a popular resistance Intifada	20.6	25.8	11.6
I am with the military resistance Intifada	15.8	17.2	13.4
I am with both of them	54.6	46.6	68.4
I don't know	6.4	8.3	3.2
No answer	2.6	2.1	3.4

Q11. Do you support the continuation of military operations against Israeli targets as an appropriate response under current political conditions or do you oppose them and believe they harm Palestinian national interests?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1202	n=761	n=440
An appropriate response under current political conditions	67.5	61.5	78.0
Oppose them and believe they harm Palestinian national interests	26.1	29.3	20.5
I don't know	5.7	8.4	0.9
No answer	0.7	0.8	0.6

Q12. 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
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Inside Israel only	30.8	30.2	31.8
Inside the occupied territories only	7.1	7.8	5.9
Inside Israel and the occupied territories	36.6	31.3	45.9
I am not with the resumption of the military operations	20.5	23.9	14.5
No answer	5.0	6.8	1.9

Q13. What is your feeling towards suicide bombing operations against Israeli civilians, do you support it or oppose it?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Strongly support	43.5	39.0	51.4
Somewhat support	20.5	18.9	23.2
Strongly oppose	10.5	12.5	7.0
Somewhat oppose	15.5	15.8	15.0

I don't know	7.5	10.2	2.7
No answer	2.5	3.6	0.7

Q14. In your opinion, what should be the end result of the current Intifada is it improving the negotiation conditions for Palestinians, ending occupation based on UN Resolution 242 and the establishment of the Palestinian state or liberating all of historic Palestine?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Improve negotiation conditions for Palestinians	8.7	10.4	5.9
Ending occupation on basis of UN Resolution 242 and establishing the Palestinian State	48.8	48.4	49.5
Liberating all of historic Palestine	39.6	37.7	42.7
Other	0.7	0.7	0.7
I don't know	1.7	2.5	0.5
No answer	0.5	0.3	0.7

Q15. 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
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Very optimistic	6.1	5.4	7.3
Somewhat optimistic	41.3	35.9	50.7
Somewhat pessimistic	31.1	31.5	30.2
Very pessimistic	18.5	22.9	10.9
No answer	3.0	4.3	0.9

Q16. 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
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Two-state solution: an Israeli and a Palestinian	48.8	52.3	42.7
Bi-national state on all of historic Palestine	27.6	25.5	31.1
Palestinian State*	14.4	11.0	20.2
Islamic State*	3.2	3.4	3.0
Other	1.2	1.4	0.9
Do not know	3.9	5.4	1.4

No answer	0.9	1.0	0.7
-----------	-----	-----	-----

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

Q17. In general, how do you evaluate the performance of the Palestinian Authority? Very good, good, bad or very bad?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Very good	6.8	7.2	6.1
Good	38.1	37.6	38.9
Bad	27.0	26.3	28.2
Very bad	24.3	22.9	26.8
No answer	3.8	6.0	0.0

Q18. The Palestinian Authority is recently detaining some Palestinian activists, what is your opinion: is this measure justified, or is it unjustified?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Justified	20.2	19.6	21.4
Unjustified	71.9	69.9	75.2
No answer	7.9	10.5	3.4

Q19. 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
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
President Yasser Arafat is totally in control of the internal Palestinian situation	16.2	15.2	18.0
President Yasser Arafat is in control to a certain degree	41.0	40.2	42.5
President Yasser Arafat is not in control to a certain degree	22.9	20.4	27.3
President Yasser Arafat is not in control at all	15.2	17.2	11.8
No answer	4.7	7.0	0.4

Q20. Palestinian President Yasser Arafat calls for a cease-fire. There are those who believe that this decision is justified in the current circumstances and others who believe that this decision is unjustified in the current circumstances, what is your opinion?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Cease-fire is justified in the current circumstances	34.9	34.7	35.2

Cease-fire is unjustified in the current circumstances	57.6	55.1	62.0
No opinion/ no answer	7.5	10.2	2.8

Q21. 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
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Yes	16.6	15.5	18.4
No	73.7	72.7	75.5
No answer	9.7	11.8	6.1

Q22. What in your opinion is the road of salvation to the Palestinian people from the difficult conditions they live in?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Continuing struggle and resistance in all forms: Intifada and resistance	36.6	34.6	40.2
Negotiations, political and diplomatic work	19.4	17.2	23.2
National unity, self dependence, internal reform	6.4	6.0	7.0
Return to religion and seeking help from God (Islam is the solution)	4.1	4.9	2.7
Arab solidarity and support	3.7	3.9	3.4
Continuing struggle and resistance in all forms: Intifada and resistance with Negotiations, political and diplomatic work	3.5	3.3	3.9
International support , referring to international legitimacy and support	1.7	1.7	1.8
Other	17.7	18.8	15.7
I don't know	5.5	7.8	1.6
No answer	1.4	1.8	0.5

** The above question was open ended question.*

Q23. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Yasser Arafat	24.5	22.2	28.4
Ahmed Yassin	12.8	9.1	19.3
Marwan Barghouthi	2.7	2.2	3.6
Saeb Erekat	2.5	3.0	1.6

Haydar Abdel Shafi	1.9	1.3	3.0
Abdel Aziz Rantisi	1.8	1.4	2.5
Hanan Ashrawi	1.7	2.2	0.7
Ahmad Abdel- Rahman	1.1	1.4	0.5
Others	10.5	10.0	11.4
I don't trust anyone	33.1	37.8	24.8
No answer	7.4	9.4	4.2

** The above question was open ended question.*

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

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Fateh	26.1	23.3	30.9
Hamas	21.3	16.7	29.4
Islamic Jihad	5.3	4.7	6.4
PFLP	3.0	2.5	3.9
Other Islamic Faction	2.2	2.1	2.5
Other PLO Factions	1.9	2.5	0.9
Other Factions	1.0	1.3	0.5
I don't trust anyone	30.4	35.1	22.3
No answer	8.8	11.8	3.2

** The above question was open ended question.*