### **JMCC Public Opinion Poll No. 41**

### On Palestinian Attitudes Towards Politics including the Current Intifada - June 2001

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#### Introduction

- This poll showed the continuation of popular support, 79 percent, for the intifada compared to 80.2 percent last April. In December 2000, support for the intifada was 70.1 percent.
- The majority of Palestinians, 54.4 percent, still continue to support both military and popular forms of the intifada. The percentage has decreased since the previous poll conducted in April, when support for both forms of the intifada was 62.3 percent. Palestinians who supported the continuation of only the popular forms of the intifada increased to 19.7 percent as opposed to 13.5 percent two months ago.
- The majority of Palestinians, 70.6 percent considered Palestinian military operations against Israeli targets a suitable response in the current circumstances, while only 19.8 percent opposed it and considered it disadvantageous for national interests. The results are similar to the December 2000 survey when this question was last asked.
- A significant number of Palestinians, 40.7 percent, supported the continuation of Palestinian armed operations within the occupied Palestinian territory and Israel at the same time. Those who only supported the continuation of these operations only within Israel reached 31.8 percent, while 3.6 percent said that they are with the continuation of these operations in the occupied territory only. Only 17.2 percent of those interviewed said they do not support the continuation of military operations.
- Support for suicide bombings continued as an adequate response during the current circumstances reaching 68.6 percent as opposed to 73.7 percent last April. It is worth noting that support for suicide bombings during March 1999 was only 26.1 percent, which was the last date this question was asked.
- A slight increase from 52 percent to 55.6 percent occurred amongst Palestinians believing that Palestinian interests demand the continuation of the intifada and negotiations at the same time. Those who support only the path of negotiations dropped from 21.1 percent in December 2000 to 11.5 percent in this survey.
- A large number of the Palestinian people, 45.6 percent, see that the aim of this intifada is to end the Israeli military occupation based on UN Security Council Resolution 242 and the establishment of a Palestinian state, while 41.2 percent of those interviewed said that the aim of the intifada is total liberation of Palestinian land and only 9.2 percent considered the intifada's aim a tactic for improving the negotiation track conditions.
- Sixty-nine percent of Palestinians believe that the current circumstances necessitates establishing a Palestinian national unity while 18.6 percent prefer to keep the internal political situation as is.

- The majority of those surveyed, 67.1 percent did not approve ending the intifada in return to ending Jewish settlement. Only 25.1 percent of Palestinians said they approve ending the intifada in return to ending Jewish settlement.
- As for the public's opinion on Palestinian President Yasser Arafat's order to cease-fire, 52.3 percent strongly to somewhat supported this decision, while 44.2 strongly to somewhat opposed this decision. Those who support the cease-fire are more than those who oppose it.
- Palestinian opinion on discussions circulating only outside Palestine on Arafat's control of the situation shows that 71.6 percent see the Palestinian president in total or somewhat control of the situation while only 25.8 percent say that he totally or somewhat not in control.
- There is an increase in the number of Palestinians who are dissatisfied with Arab solidarity with the intifada reaching 84.7 percent compared to 60.5 percent in December 2000.
- As for support of factions and politicians, Fateh Movement continued to gain the same trust of 34.9 percent of Palestinians as well as Hamas Movement remaining at 18.6 percent. Yasser Arafat continued to have the highest trust of all Palestinian political personalities although the trust went down to 27.8 percent from 32.3 percent in April 2001.

#### Methodology

A random sample of 1201 people over the age of 18 were interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip on 14,15,16,17 June 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, Ya'bad, Zababdeh, Kafr Rai', Fahma, Silat al-Harthiya, T'nik. **Nablus**: Nablus, Madama, Kifl Haris, Marda, Beit Furik, Balata Refugee Camp, Sabastiya, Zawata. **Tulkarem & Qalqiliya**: Tulkarem, Tulkarem Refugee Camp, Bala', Beit Lid, Qalqiliya, Jayous. **Hebron**: Hebron, Yatta, Halhoul, Dahiriya, Fawwar Refugee Camp, Surif, Tarqumiya. **Bethlehem:** Bethlehem, Beit Sahour, Duha, al-Khader, Artas, Dheisheh Refugee Camp. **Jericho**: Jericho, Aqbat Jaber Refugee Camp. **Ramallah & al-Bireh**: al-Bireh, Ramallah, Beit Rima, Jalazon Refugee Camp, Kafr Malik, Nilin. **Jerusalem:** a-Dahiya, A-ram, Shufat, Beit Hanaia, Old City, Wadi al-Joz, Ras al-Amoud, Beir Nabal, Qalandiya RC, Beit Hanaian a-tahta, al-'Isawia, Silwan.

In the **Gaza Strip**, 440 people were surveyed from: **Gaza North:** Jabaliyaa refugee camp, Jabaliya, Beit Lahiya and Beit Hanoun. **Gaza:** Sheikh Radwan, a-Naser, a-Daraj, a-Tufah, Sabra, Zaytoun, Shouja'ia, Beach Refugee Camp, a-Rimal **Deir al- Balah:** al-Nuseirat Refugee C amp, al-Maghazi Refugee Camp, Deir al- Balah and al-Bureij Refugee Camp . **Khan Younis:** 'Abasan al-Kabir , Khan Younis Refugee Camp, Khan Younis, Bani Suheila and Abasan al-Saghir . **Rafah:** Rafah, Rafah Refugee Camp, 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.
- 30.2% said they live in villages, 16.3% in refugee camps, and 53.5% in towns/cities.
- 50.5% were male, 49.5% were female.

- 66.1% were married, 25.9%, single, 4.2% widowed, 1.7% divorced, 2.1% no answer.
- The average age of the respondents was 34 years.

### Occupation respondents

- Students 11.7% laborers 10.8% Farmers/fishermen 1.9%
- Craftsmen 1.7% Businessmen/private business 8.2%
- Employees e.g. secretaries/municipal employees/teachers/nurses 18.7%
- Professionals e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers 1.5%
- $\bullet$  Housewives 34.9% , unemployed 8.2% and retired 1.6% , no answer 0.8%

#### 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	46.2	45.5	47.5
Pessimistic	34.1	35.2	32.0
Very Pessimistic	14.6	13.3	16.8
No answer	0.7	0.6	1.0

Q2. In general, what is your feeling about the current peace process between the Palestinians and the Israelis? Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, strongly oppose?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	N=1201	N=761	N=440
Strongly support	11.4	12.4	9.8
Somewhat support	36.0	37.5	33.4
Strongly oppose	26.9	22.3	34.8
Somewhat oppose	20.8	21.6	19.5
No answer	4.9	6.2	2.5

Q3. What's your opinion of the Oslo agreement? Would you say that you strongly support it, support it, oppose it, or strongly oppose it?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Strongly support	4.2	5.8	1.4
Support	33.9	33.2	35.0
Oppose	34.0	34.3	33.4
Strongly oppose	19.9	16.4	25.9
No answer	8.0	10.3	4.3

Q4. In general, how do you evaluate the Palestinian Authority's performance? Would you say its performance is very good, bad, or very bad?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip	
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440	
Very good	6.9	6.7	7.3	
Good	55.6	60.2	47.7	

Bad	23.1	21.2	26.6
Very bad	11.2	8.1	16.4
No answer	3.2	3.8	2.0

### Q5. How do you evaluate the performance of the following Palestinian Authority agencies?

### a. Security agencies:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Good	37.4	40.5	32.0
Average	33.5	34.0	32.5
Bad	25.7	21.4	33.2
Strongly oppose	3.4	4.1	2.3

### **b.** Legislative Council:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Good	21.9	23.8	18.6
Average	36.7	37.5	35.5
Bad	33.9	29.0	42.3
Strongly oppose	7.5	9.7	3.6

### c. Ministerial Cabinet (Executive Authority):

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Good	21.8	22.5	20.7
Average	36.1	36.7	35.0
Bad	31.2	27.6	37.5
Strongly oppose	10.9	13.2	6.8

### d. Palestinian Education System:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Good	58.9	59.0	58.6
Average	32.5	32.2	33.0
Bad	7.7	7.5	8.0
Strongly oppose	0.9	1.3	0.4

### e. Palestinian Health System:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Good	45.1	41.4	51.6
Average	35.0	36.1	33.0
Bad	18.3	20.1	15.2
Strongly oppose	1.6	2.4	0.2

#### f. Palestinian Television:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Good	46.0	49.1	40.5
Average	37.6	36.4	39.8
Bad	13.0	10.0	18.2
Strongly oppose	3.4	4.5	1.5

### g. Palestinian Radio:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Good	50.0	52.8	45.2
Average	36.4	34.0	40.5
Bad	9.5	7.9	12.3
Strongly oppose	4.1	5.3	2.0

Q6. 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 opinion, what is the best way to achieve our national goals?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Only the Intifada	28.8	23.5	38.0
Only negotiations	11.5	14.3	6.6
Intifada & negotiations together	55.6	56.9	53.4
I don't know	3.4	4.6	1.4
No answer	0.7	0.7	0.6

### Q7. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Yasser Arafat is handling his job as President of the Palestinian Authority?

	Total	Total West Bank	
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Very satisfied	21.3	21.6	20.9
Somewhat satisfied	34.7	36.8	31.1
Very dissatisfied	17.4	13.1	25.0
Somewhat dissatisfied	21.5	22.1	20.5
No answer	5.1	6.4	2.5

### Q8. Do you support or oppose the continuation of the current Palestinian Intifada?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Support	79.0	72.9	89.5
Oppose	14.8	18.8	8.0
I don't know	5.4	7.1	2.5
No answer	0.8	1.2	0.0

## Q9. 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= 1201	n=761	n=440
I support the continuation of a popular resistance Intifada	19.7	24.2	11.8
With the continuation of a military resistance Intifada	14.9	16.2	12.7
I am for both a popular and military resistance Intifada	54.4	45.9	69.1
I don't know	9.2	11.4	5.2
No answer	1.8	2.3	1.2

# Q10. 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= 1201	n=761	n=440
I see it as appropriate response under current political conditions	70.6	62.8	84.1
I oppose them and believe they harm Palestinian national interests	19.8	24.3	12.0
I don't know	7.6	10.1	3.2
No answer	2.1	2.8	0.7

### Q11. Are you with the resumption of the military operations 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
Only inside Israel	31.8	33.6	28.6
Only inside the occupied territories	3.6	4.7	1.6
Inside Israel and the occupied territories	40.7	31.0	57.5
I am not with the continuation of the military operations	17.2	21.2	10.2
No answer	6.7	9.5	2.1

### Q12. What about the suicide bombing operations? Do you see them as a suitable response in the current political conditions or do you oppose them and see them harmful to national interests?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
I see them as a suitable response in the current political conditions	68.6	63.1	78.2
I oppose it and see it as harmful to Palestinian national interests	23.1	26.4	17.5
I don't know	6.2	8.1	2.7
No answer	2.1	2.4	1.6

### Q13. How satisfied are you with Arab solidarity with the Intifada. Would you say you are satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or totally dissatisfied?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Very satisfied	1.3	1.6	0.9
Somewhat satisfied	13.5	11.8	16.4
Somewhat dissatisfied	21.6	18.7	26.6
Totally dissatisfied	63.1	67.4	55.7
I don't know	0.2	0.1	0.2
No answer	0.3	0.4	0.2

# Q14. 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 that believes 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 negotiations	27.4	25.1	31.4

The peace process is passing through difficult conditions with an unclear future	50.1	52.4	46.1
The peace process is still alive and there is a possibility of resuming the negotiations	17.9	17.3	18.9
Other	0.6	0.4	0.9
I don't know	3.2	4.2	1.6
No answer	0.8	0.6	1.1

Q15. Some believe that the "Two - State Formula" is the best solution for the Israeli - Palestinian conflict while others believe that the historical Palestine cannot be divided into two states and therefore the best solution would be a "Bi-National State" in all of Palestine where Palestinians and Israelis enjoy equal rights, which of these two solutions would you prefer?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Two states Israeli & Palestinian	47.2	47.8	46.1
Bi-national state in all of Palestine	22.2	21.0	24.3
Other	0.7	1.1	0.2
No solution	11.5	13.4	8.2
Palestinian State*	11.7	8.3	17.7
Islamic State*	1.4	1.4	1.4
I don't know	3.8	5.5	0.9
No answer	1.5	1.5	1.2

<sup>\*</sup> These answers were not included as part of the options read to the interviewees

Q16. Some believe that the current conditions stipulate the formation of a national unity government while others believe that it is better to keep the political situation in Palestine as it is. What do you think?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Formation of national unity government	69.0	65.6	75.0
Keep the political situation in Palestine as it is	18.6	21.6	13.4
No answer	12.4	12.8	11.6

Q17. In your opinion what should be the final goal for the current intifada. Is it the improvement of the Palestinians negotiations situation, end the occupation based on resolution 242, formation of a Palestinian State, or the freedom of all Palestine or other?

Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
n= 1201	n=761	n=440

The improvement of the Palestinians negotiations	9.2	11.3	5.5
End the occupation on the basic resolution 242	45.6	45.6	45.7
The liberation of all Palestine	41.2	37.8	47.0
Other	1.2	1.7	0.5
I don't know	2.2	3.0	0.7
No answer	0.6	0.6	0.6

Q18. If the Palestinians are offered the possibility of the cessation of settlements in return for the cessation of the Intifada? What is your opinion, do you agree to the cessation of the Palestinian Intifada in return for cessation of Israeli settlement on the occupied territories or not?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
I agree	25.1	26.8	22.0
I disagree	67.1	62.8	74.5
Other	1.2	1.4	0.7
I don't know / I have no idea	4.9	6.6	2.0
No answer	1.7	2.4	0.8

Q19. There is a debate among international circles whether the Palestinian president is in control of the internal Palestinian situation, or whether he is in control to a certain degree or whether he is not in control 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 Arafat is in control of the internal Palestinian situation	20.6	19.2	23.0
President Arafat is in control to a certain degree	51.0	49.9	52.7
President Arafat is not in control to a certain degree	18.6	19.3	17.3
President Arafat has no control on the internal Palestinian situation	7.2	7.8	6.4
No answer	2.6	3.8	0.6

Q20. President Arafat has announced his decision of a cease-fire. What is your opinion of his decision, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Strongly support	16.7	18.8	13.0
Somewhat support	35.6	38.2	31.1
Somewhat oppose	22.6	22.1	23.6
Strongly oppose	21.6	17.1	29.5
No answer	3.5	3.8	2.8

### Q21. The Mitchell Committee has recently published its report, so did you look at its context?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1021	n=761	n=440
Yes	52.4	53.7	50.0
No	44.7	42.2	49.1
No answer	2.9	4.1	0.9

### Q22. What is your opinion of the acceptance of Mitchell report by the Palestinian authority, do you support it strongly, somewhat, or do you oppose it strongly or somewhat?\*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 629	n=409	n=220
Strongly support	7.6	7.8	7.3
Somewhat support	36.1	40.3	28.2
Somewhat oppose	25.3	23.0	29.5
Strongly oppose	27.8	24.7	33.6
No answer	3.2	4.2	1.4

<sup>\*</sup> This question was asked to those who answered yes in q21

### Q23. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Yasser Arafat	27.8	27.2	28.9
Ahmed Yassin	9.8	7.2	14.3
Saeb Erekat	4.0	5.1	2.0
Haydar Abdel Shafi	3.6	2.1	6.1
Faisal Husseini	2.2	1.8	3.0
Marwan Barghouthi	2.2	2.5	1.8
Hanan Ashrawi	1.8	2.0	1.6
George Habash	1.2	1.1	1.4
Yasser Abed Rabbo	1.2	1.3	0.9
Others	11.6	12.0	10.9
Don't trust anyone	26.6	28.6	23.2
No answer	8.0	9.1	5.9

### Q24. Which Political or religious faction do you trust most?

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	Total	West Bank	Gaza Suip

	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
Fateh	34.9	32.9	38.4
Hamas	18.6	15.1	24.5
Islamic Jihad	5.2	5.1	5.5
PFLP	2.7	2.2	3.6
Other Islamic faction	2.5	2.1	3.2
Other factions	2.3	3.2	0.9
Don't trust anyone	24.6	27.3	19.8
No answer	9.2	12.1	4.1

### Q25. Do you find the United States of America an ally to Israeli in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, neutral, or an ally to the Palestinians?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1201	n=761	n=440
An ally to Israel	96.4	96.3	96.6
Neutral	1.7	1.6	2.0
An ally to the Palestinians	0.2	0.3	0.2
No answer	1.7	1.8	1.2