

JMCC Public Opinion Poll No. 39 - Part One

On Palestinian Attitudes Towards Politics including the Current Intifada - December 2000

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Introduction

- The majority of Palestinians (70.1%) support the Intifada while 17.8% opposed the continuation of the Intifada. Moreover, 54.5% of those interviewed believe in the need to have both popular and military forms of the Intifada, while 15.5% supported the only popular form of the Intifada and 18.5% only supported the military form of the Intifada.
- A slight majority (52%) believes that the best means to achieve the national goals is through having both the Intifada and the negotiations continue at the same time, while 28.4% view that the national interest stipulates the continuation of the Intifada only, but 21.1% saw the national interest is only in the continuation of the negotiations.
- The poll also showed a notable increase in the support of military and suicide operations. A large majority believes that military operations constitute an appropriate response under the current political conditions compared with 35.7% in a poll conducted in March 1999. Another significant change lies in the increasing support to suicide operations; 66.2% of the Palestinian people believe that the suicide operations are an appropriate response under the current conditions compared with 26.1% in March 1999.
- As for the impact of the Intifada on the Palestinian public opinion regarding the Oslo Accords, the level of support for the Oslo Accords went down to its lowest mark (39%) compared with 57.9% in June 2000, and 64.5% in May 2000, and 74.9% in December 1996, where it was the highest.
- The most striking result is the change in the level of popular trust in the Palestinian political and religious figures; the ratio of those who trust President Arafat went down the most since it reached only 25.7% in this poll compared with 31.8% in June 2000 while the level of trust in Sheikh Yassin rose to 12.2% from 6.1% in June 2000. Moreover, the name of Marwan Barghouthi appears for the first time as the most trusted Palestinian figure who gained a percentage of 2.6% while Dr. Haydar Abdel Shafi got 3.6% and Saeb Erekat 4.2%. However, the percentage of Palestinians who do not trust any Palestinian figures remained unchanged at 31.9%.
- Regarding the level of trust in the political and religious factions, Fateh Movement maintained the same level of confidence at 32.1% compared with 34.5% in June 2000 while the level of support for Hamas Movement rose to 19.2% compared with 12% in June 2000. Those who do not trust any Palestinian political or religious faction decreased to 28.1% compared with 37.3% in June 2000.
- Regarding the performance of the PNA, 55.5% said they are satisfied with the Authority's performance compared with 60.7% in June 2000 and 71.4% in November 1997 which was the highest.

- The poll showed that the majority of the Palestinian people are dissatisfied with the level of Arab solidarity with the Intifada; 60.5% of the sample said they are not satisfied with the Arab solidarity while 39% said they are satisfied.
- With regards to the upcoming Israeli elections, the poll showed that both candidates Barak and Sharon are bad in the eyes of the majority of the sample; only 4.1% said they prefer a government under the leadership of Sharon while 6.6% prefer a government to be headed by Barak. The overwhelming majority (86%) said there is no difference between both candidates; this figure constitutes a significant increase in the percentage of Palestinians who see no difference between the Labor and Likud Parties in Israel when compared with 50.2% in March 1999.
- Regarding the US mediation role in the peace process, an overwhelming majority (95.1%) believe that the US is biased towards Israel while only 3.1% believe the US is neutral.

Methodology

A random sample of 1199 people over the age of 18 were interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip on 21,22,23,24 December 2000. 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**, 759 people were surveyed from the following areas: **Jenin:** Jenin, Jenin refugee camp, Kafr Rai, Arraba, Yabad, a-Zababdeh, Meithalun, Aqaba, Sanur. **Nablus:** Nablus, Burqa, Beit Furik, Haris, Sabastiya, Balata refugee camp, Biddya, Burin. **Tulkarem:** Tulkarem, Ramin, Qalqiliya, Tulkarem refugee camp, Beit Lid, Jayous. **Hebron:** Hebron, Dura, Al-Fawwar refugee camp, Beit Umar, a-Taffuh, Yatta, Halhul, al-Dahiriya. **Bethlehem:** Bethlehem, Za'atara, Artas, Beit Sahour, Beit Tamir, Dheisheh Refugee Camp. **Jericho:** Jericho, Aqbet Jaber. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** al-Bireh, Ramallah, Bir Zeit, al-Mazraa al-Sharqiya, Kharbatha Bani Harith, al-Amari refugee camp. **Jerusalem:** a-Ram, Kafr Aqab, Old City, Beit Hanina, Shufat, al-I'ssawia, Jabal al-Mukaber, Silwan, Sheikh Jarrah, Sawahreh.

In the **Gaza Strip**, 440 people were surveyed from: **Gaza North:** Jabalia refugee camp, Jabalia, Beit Lahia and Beit Hanoun. **Gaza:** Sheikh Radwan, a-Darji, a-Tufah, Sabra, a-Zeitoun, a-Nasser, a-Shujaieh, a-Rimal north and south and Shati refugee camp, Saftawi, a-Sha'af, Sheikh 'Ajleen. **Deir al-Balah:** al-bureij refugee camp, Deir al Balah, refugee camp, al-Maghazi refugee camp. **Khan Younis:** Khan younis, Khan Younis refugee camp, Bani Suheila, Absan al-Saghira, Absan al-Kabira, al-Qarara. **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

- 51.6% of the respondents were from West Bank, 11.7% from Jerusalem, 36.7% from the Gaza Strip.
 - 30.5% said they live in villages, 16.7% in refugee camps, 52.8% in towns/cities.
 - 51.1% were male, 48.9% were female.
 - The average age of the respondents was 34 years.
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Occupation respondents

- Students 10.6% laborers 13.3% Farmers/fishermen 2.6%
 - Craftsmen 1.8% Businessmen/private business 7.7%
 - Employees e.g. secretaries/municipal employees/teachers/nurses 19.2%
 - Professionals - e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers 1.5%
 - Housewives 34.9%, unemployed and retired 7.6%
 - No answer 0.8%
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Results

Q1. Do you support or oppose the continuation of the current Palestinian Intifada?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Support	70.1	66.8	75.9
Oppose	17.8	18.3	16.8
I don't know	8.9	10.7	5.9
No answer	3.2	4.2	1.4

Q2. The current Intifada includes popular characteristics such as the demonstrations and military characteristics. In your opinion, are you with the continuation of a popular or military Intifada or both of them together?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
I am with the continuation of a popular resistance Intifada	15.5	20.0	7.7
I am with the continuation of a military resistance Intifada	18.5	16.3	22.3
I am with both a popular and military resistance Intifada	54.5	49.5	63.0
I don't know	8.0	10.0	4.5
No answer	3.5	4.2	2.5

Q3. 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 negotiations together is the method to achieve Palestinian national goals. What in your opinion is the best way to achieve Palestinian national goals?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Only the Intifada	28.4	24.2	35.7
Only negotiations	12.1	14.2	8.4
Intifada and negotiations together	52.0	53.1	50.2
I don't know	5.3	5.8	4.5
No answer	2.2	2.7	1.2

Q4. 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= 1199	n=759	n=440
I see it as appropriate response under the current political conditions	72.1	66.9	80.9
I oppose them and believe they harm Palestinian national interests	16.8	19.2	12.7
I don't know	7.4	8.6	5.5
No answer	3.7	5.3	0.9

Q5. What about suicide operations? Do you see them as a suitable response within the current political conditions or do you oppose them and see them harmful to national interests?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
I see them suitable response within the current political conditions	66.2	61.5	74.3
I oppose them and see it as harmful to Palestinian national interests	22.2	24.5	18.2
I don't know	7.8	9.0	5.9
No answer	3.8	5.0	1.6

Q6. How satisfied are you with Arab solidarity with the Intifada. Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or totally dissatisfied?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Very satisfied	7.1	5.7	9.5
Somewhat satisfied	31.9	26.1	41.8
Somewhat dissatisfied	27.4	29.1	24.3
Totally dissatisfied	33.1	38.3	24.1
I don't know	0.3	0.5	0.0
No answer	0.2	0.3	0.3

Q7. 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= 1199	n=759	n=440
Strongly support it	3.2	4.5	0.9
Support it	35.8	37.3	33.2
Oppose it	36.0	34.4	38.9
Strongly oppose it	18.5	15.4	23.9
No answer	6.5	8.4	3.1

Q8. If Jerusalem formed the last obstacle in signing a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians, do you then approve making Jerusalem the unified capital of Israel?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Agree	2.7	4.1	0.2
Disagree	94.3	91.4	99.3
I don't know	2.4	3.7	0.2
No answer	0.6	0.8	0.3

Q9. Which Palestinian political or religious faction do you trust the most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Fateh	32.1	31.8	32.7
Hamas	19.2	16.9	23.2
PFLP	1.7	1.4	2.0
DFLP	0.3	0.4	0.2
Islamic Jihad	3.0	2.6	3.6
PPP	0.9	1.4	0.0
Fida	0.4	0.7	0.0
Other Islamic Faction	0.8	0.5	1.5
PLO	0.3	0.4	0.0
Hezbollah	0.8	0.9	0.7
Other Factions	0.8	0.9	0.7
Don't trust anyone	28.1	28.2	28.0
No answer	11.6	13.9	7.4

Q10. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Yasser Arafat	25.7	23.7	29.1
Ahmed Yassin	12.2	9.2	17.3
Geroge Habash	0.5	0.3	0.9
Nayef Hawatmeh	0.2	0.1	0.2
Haydar Abdel Shafi	3.6	3.0	4.5
Faisal Husseini	1.0	0.9	1.1
Hanan Ashrawi	1.0	1.3	0.5
Saeb Erekat	4.2	5.3	2.3
Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)	0.9	1.2	0.5

Yasser Abed Rabbo	1.0	1.3	0.5
Marwan Barghouti	2.6	2.0	3.6
Others	6.5	7.0	5.7
Don't trust anyone	31.9	33.9	28.6
No answer	8.7	10.8	5.2

Q11. In general, how do you evaluate the Palestinian Authority's performance? Would say its performance is very good, good, bad, or very bad?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Very good	5.2	3.8	7.5
Good	50.3	55.2	41.8
Bad	23.4	22.0	25.7
Very bad	13.9	10.4	20.0
No answer	7.2	8.6	5.0

Q12. How do you evaluate the performance of the following Palestinian Authority agencies?

Security agencies

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Good	31.5	29.8	34.5
Average	35.3	37.7	31.1
Bad	28.4	25.7	33.2
No answer	4.8	6.8	1.2

Legislative Council

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Good	19.3	17.8	22.0
Average	33.7	34.0	33.2
Bad	37.6	34.8	42.5
No answer	9.4	13.4	2.3

Ministerial Cabinet (Executive Authority)

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Good	21.3	20.7	22.3
Average	32.5	32.4	32.7
Bad	33.4	29.6	39.8
No answer	12.8	17.3	5.2

Palestinian Education System

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Good	54.1	52.4	57.0
Average	33.6	35.6	30.2
Bad	11.2	10.5	12.3
No answer	1.1	1.5	0.5

Palestinian Health System

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Good	48.6	42.2	59.8
Average	32.4	37.0	24.5
Bad	17.7	19.0	15.5
No answer	1.3	1.8	0.2

Palestinian Television

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Good	47.7	49.7	44.3
Average	34.6	35.0	33.9
Bad	15.3	11.9	21.4
No answer	2.4	3.4	0.4

Palestinian Radio (Voice of Palestine)

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Good	47.7	48.4	46.6
Average	33.7	35.0	31.4
Bad	15.4	12.6	20.2
No answer	3.2	4.0	1.8

Q13. There will be elections held soon in Israel, which from a Palestinian viewpoint is better an Israeli government headed by the Labor Party (Barak) or an Israeli government headed by the Likud Party (Sharon or Netanyahu), or both of them are bad?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
An Israeli government headed by the Labor Party (Barak)	6.6	6.2	7.3
An Israeli government headed by the Likud Party (Sharon or Netanyahu)	4.1	5.8	1.1
Both are bad	86.0	83.7	90.0
No answer	3.3	4.3	1.6

Q14. The United States acts as the sponsor of the peace process and a mediator in the negotiations. Do you believe that it is conducting its mediation in a biased manner towards the Palestinians, in a neutral manner or in a biased manner towards the Israelis?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	n= 1199	n=759	n=440
Biased manner towards the Palestinian	1.0	1.3	0.5
Neutral manner	3.1	4.1	1.4
Biased manner towards the Israelis	95.1	93.4	98.0
I don't know	0.7	0.9	0.1
No answer	0.1	0.3	0.0

Q15. 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= 1199	n=759	n=440
Very Optimistic	3.8	4.0	3.4
Optimistic	45.0	47.3	41.1
Pessimistic	37.0	35.6	39.5
Very Pessimistic	13.2	11.9	15.5
No answer	1.0	1.2	0.5

