
Poll no. 47 – December, 2002

**Poll Result On Palestinian Attitudes Towards
The Palestinian Situation in General**

Significant Opinion results

* **By the end of 2002, more Palestinians believe in achieving national goals through both negotiations and armed struggle believing that the peace process is passing though difficult times, yet a majority is pessimistic a peaceful settlement would be reached.**

* **A large majority of Palestinians do not see a difference between Israeli Likud and Labor candidates for premiership as far as peace is concerned.**

* The majority of Palestinians support the continuation of al-Aqsa Intifada in its current form with both popular (i.e. demonstrations, economic boycotts) and military resistance to end Israeli military occupation and establish a Palestinian state based on UN Resolution 242.

* A large number of Palestinian believes the end result of the Intifada is liberating all of historic Palestine.

* The majority of Palestinians believe military operations (including suicide bombings) against Israeli targets are a suitable response to Israeli occupation within the current political situation. Most Palestinians support military operations both inside Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory.

* A vast majority of Palestinians believe the Palestinian Authority is corrupt to a high degree with a lack of seriousness for reform. Yet, a majority believes Palestinian President Yasser Arafat would be re-elected in free, democratic elections.

Intifada and Resistance

A great majority of Palestinians, 80.7 percent, steadily remained all through the past year supportive of continuing the Intifada with 46 percent saying its goal is to end the Israeli military occupation and establish an independent Palestinian state based on UN Security Council resolution 242. Only 4.4 percent said the end result would be to improve negotiation conditions as opposed to 8.7 percent in December 2001. Another 47 percent believe the end result of the Intifada is to liberate all of historic Palestine compared with 43 percent in last September and only 39.6 percent in December 2001. Only 16.6 percent steadily remained all through the past year strongly or somewhat oppose the continuation of the Intifada.

A majority of those interviewed, 58.8 percent, said that the Intifada should continue in its current form compared with 26 percent in December 2001. Only 17.2 percent said the Intifada should stop compared with 34.3 percent in December 2001. Only 3.1 percent said it should remain as a popular resistance similar to the first Intifada compared with 9.1 percent in December 2001. Another 6.4 percent said the Intifada should continue but in other forms compared with 14.4 percent in December 2001.

The majority of Palestinians, 49.7 percent, believe that the continuation of the Intifada and negotiations together is the best path to achieve Palestinian national goals and end the occupation, compared with 51.4 percent last June and 47.2 percent in December 2001.

Throughout the Intifada, the majority of Palestinians, 58.3 percent, support the continuation of both popular and military forms of resistance compared with 54.6 percent in December 2001. A significant majority, 69.3 percent, believes that Palestinian military operations against Israeli targets are a suitable response during the current political situation compared with 67.5 percent in December 2001. Of those interviewed, 24 percent opposed military operations and consider them harmful to Palestinian national interests compared with 26.1 percent in December 2001. Yet, as in previous surveys this year, 44.7 percent do not see a difference between Palestinian military operations conducted inside Israel or in the occupied territories compared with 36.6 percent in December 2001, while only 18.8 percent support them inside Israel only and 12.1 percent support them inside the occupied territories only.

As for suicide bombing operations against Israeli civilians, there is a slight trend of decreased support for them since 62.7 percent of those interviewed supported them dropping from 64.3 percent last September, 68.1 last June, 72 percent last March and 74 percent in December 2001. Of those surveyed, 29.8 percent opposed them compared with 26 percent.

Peace Process

Of those interviewed, 72.1 percent said they are either pessimistic or very pessimistic that a peaceful settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict would be achieved compared with 67 percent in December 2001. While 26 percent said they are optimistic or very optimistic, very similar beliefs were found last June and March. Still, 57.2 percent believe that the peace process is alive either having an unknown future, 43.6 percent, or negotiations could be resumed, 15.1 percent, compared with 66.3 percent who believed the process is alive last June and 61.3 percent in December 2001. Those who believe the peace process is dead were 37.1 percent compared with 28.4 percent last March and 35.7 percent in December 2001.

A great majority of Palestinians, 74.5 percent, do not see a difference between Israeli prime ministerial candidates Ariel Sharon (Likud Party) and Amiram Mitsna' (Labor Party) when it comes to opportunities to achieve peace with the Palestinian side. Expectedly, only 3.7 percent said Sharon should be elected for the sake and interest of peace, while 16.6 percent said Mitsna' should be elected for the sake and interest of peace.

A majority of Palestinians, 64.2 percent, are not acquainted with the US-proposed roadmap solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Of the 32 percent who are acquainted with the roadmap, 49.7 percent said the Palestinian leadership should reject this plan, while 41.4 percent said the Palestinian leadership should work on improving it. Only 7 percent said the Palestinian leadership should accept the roadmap plan.

When asked what is the favored solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, 46.5 percent said a two-state solution compared with 48.8 percent in December 2001, 26.2 percent said a bi-national state in historic Palestine compared with 27.6 percent in December 2001, and 11.2 percent said one Palestinian state with one nationality compared with 14.4 percent in December 2001. In March 2002, 41.6 percent preferred a two-state solution, 31.6 percent said a bi-national state

Reform and Trust in Figures and Factions

An overwhelming majority of Palestinians 82.7 percent said they think there is corruption in the Palestinian Authority while only 7.8 percent said there is not. Last September 60.6 percent said there is corruption while 28.6 said there is not. When asked to what extent is the Palestinian Authority corrupt, 58.3 percent said to a high degree, 30.7 percent said to a medium degree and 9.8 percent said to a low degree. Only 1.2 percent said they didn't know.

Last June, 57.6 percent of Palestinians said the time is ripe for reform, but last September, 64.2 percent of Palestinians said the Palestinian leadership is incapable of conducting serious reform and internal changes because of the current political situation of Israeli re-occupation of Palestinian territory and the besiegement of Yasser Arafat's headquarters in Ramallah. Last September, 23.9 percent said the leadership was still capable of reforming and 10.7 percent said they didn't know.

A large number of Palestinians, 46.9 percent, said that the Palestinian Authority is not serious in implementing reform, while 13.1 percent said they are serious, but 33.1 percent said that the political situation (Israeli military re-occupation and siege of Palestinian territory) obstruct the success of these reforms. Last September 46 percent of Palestinians believe the Palestinian leadership is serious in conducting reform as opposed to 40.7percent who do not believe so while 12.1 percent said they did not know.

When asked of the reason why some reform was successful and others was not, most Palestinians, 42.5 percent, said it is due to PA lack of seriousness in reform, 39.7 percent said it is due to Israeli restrictions on the PA imposed by the military occupation (re-occupation, siege), while 9.6 percent said it is due to financial difficulties.

Despite Palestinian strong views on the Palestinian Authority, a majority of Palestinians, 56.3 percent expect Palestinian President Yasser Arafat to be re-elected if free, democratic elections were held compared with 60.6 percent last September and 47.5 percent last June, while 32.7 percent expected otherwise compared with 28.6 percent last September and 37.8 percent last June.

Yasser Arafat and his mainstream Fateh faction are still the most popular amongst the Palestinian public with a slight drop in popularity. A slight drop to 25.5 percent of Palestinians who said Arafat is the most trusted Palestinian figure compared with 27.6 percent last September and 24.5 percent in December 2001.

The second in line of trust is Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, founder and spiritual leader of Hamas, who was chosen by 11.5 percent of those interviewed as opposed to 8.8 percent last June and 12.8 percent in December 2001.

The third in line of trust is Marwan Barghouti, Fateh leader detained in Israeli jails, who was chosen by 5.2 percent rising from 3.3 percent last September and who was not significantly named by those surveyed in December 2001.

There are 30 percent of Palestinians who do not trust any Palestinian figure compared with 26.7 percent last September and 33.1 percent in December 2001.

As for Palestinian factions, Fateh maintained the most trusted faction slipping to 28.1 percent from 32.9 percent last September and 26.1 percent in December 2001.

The Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, was chosen by 20.1 percent compared with 20.9 percent last September and 21.3 percent in December 2001.

There are 31.4 percent of Palestinians who do not trust any faction compared with 25.8 percent last September and 30.4 percent in December 2001.

Methodology

A random sample of 1200 people over the age of 18 were interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip between 8 and 12 December 2002. 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** 760 people were surveyed from the following areas: **Jenin:** Jenin, Jenin Refugee Camp (RC), Arabeih, Zababdeh, Aqabeh, Sarees, al-Jdaydeh and al-Yamoun . **Nablus:** Nablus, Til, Ain Abous, 'Oreef , Rujeeb, Askar RC, Kifl Haris and Marda. **Tulkarem and Qalqilya:** Tulkarem, Tulkarem RC, Qalqilya, Zzzoun, Illar and Ateel. **Hebron:** Hebron, Dura, Beit Ummar, Shayoukh, Tafouh, Yatta, al- 'Aroub RC and Tarqoumia. **Bethlehem:** Bethlehem, Bateer, al-Khader, Za'tara and Aza RC . **Jericho:** Jericho, Ain al-Sultan RC. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** al-Bireh, Ramallah, Beit Shriek, Jana, al-Am'ari RC, Deir Dibwan and Biddu . **Jerusalem:** ad-Dahia, A-ram, Shufat, Shufat RC, Beit Hanina, Old City, Ras al-Amoud, Sheikh Jarrah, Silwan, Wadi Al-Joz, Jabal Al-Mukaber and Sur Baher.

In the **Gaza Strip:** 440 people were surveyed from: **North Gaza:** Jabalia RC, Jabalia, Beit Lahia, Beit Hanoun. **Gaza City:** Sheikh Radwan, al-Durj, Attufah, Sabra, al-Zaytoun, Tel al-Hawa, al-Shaja'ieh, al-Rimal South, Shati RC and al-Ghefari. **Deir al-Balah:** Deir al-Balah, Deir al-Balah RC and Nuseirat RC. **Khan Younis:** Khan Younis, Khan Younis RC, Bani Sahila, Abssan al-Kabeera, al-Khuza' And Kizran an-Najar. **Rafah:** Rafah, Rafah RC, Tal al-Sultan RC.

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

Sample Distribution

50.0% of the respondents were from West Bank, 13.3% from Jerusalem, 36.7% from the Gaza Strip.

33.0% said they live in villages, 16.0% in refugee camps, 51.0% in towns/cities.

48.0% were male, 51.9% were female.
71.2% were married, 22.0%, single, 3.3% widowed, 1.8% divorced, 1.9% no answer.

The average age of the respondents was 34 years.

Occupation of Respondents

Students 10.3%	Professionals - e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers 1.4%
laborers 8.9%,	Housewives 37.8%,
Farmers/fishermen 4.3%	Unemployed 8.4%
Craftsmen 1.6%	Retired 0.8%,
Businessmen/private business 7.1%	No answer 1.2%.
Employees e.g. secretaries/municipal employees/teachers/nurses 18.3%	

* *JMCC Public Opinion Polls are supported by a fund from Fredrich Ebert Stiftung Foundation, Germany.*

Results:

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

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Very optimistic	2.3	3.0	1.1
Optimistic	38.9	36.8	42.5
Pessimistic	33.7	32.0	36.6
Very Pessimistic	23.9	26.4	19.5
No answer	1.2	1.8	0.3

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

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Very optimistic	1.2	1.7	0.2
Optimistic	24.8	21.8	29.8
Pessimistic	44.2	43.8	44.8
Very Pessimistic	27.9	29.9	24.5
No answer	1.9	2.8	0.7

Q.3 In principle, do you strongly support , Somewhat Support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose peace negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Strongly support	11.4	10.7	12.7
Somewhat support	42.7	40.4	46.6
Somewhat oppose	21.3	22.6	18.9
Strongly oppose	21.3	22.0	20.0
No answer	3.3	4.3	1.8

Q.4 What do you think of the Oslo agreement? Would you say you strongly support, support, oppose or strongly oppose it?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Strongly support	4.2	5.4	2.0
Support	28.3	27.2	30.0
Oppose	33.7	32.8	35.2
Strongly oppose	25.4	25.1	25.9
No answer	8.4	9.5	6.9

Q.5 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
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Negotiations	21.0	20.9	21.4
Armed struggle	35.5	35.7	35.2
Negotiations and armed struggle	39.8	38.6	42.0
No answer	3.7	4.8	1.4

Q.6 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 believes that the peace process is still alive and there is a possibility of resuming negotiations?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
The peace process is dead and there is no chance of resuming the negotiations	37.1	37.6	36.1
The peace process is passing through difficult conditions with an unclear future	43.6	42.5	45.5
The peace process is still alive and there is a possibility of resuming negotiations	15.1	14.2	16.6
Others	0.7	1.1	0.0
Don't know	2.1	2.9	0.7
No answer	1.4	1.7	1.1

Q7. 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
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Strongly support	42.8	42.2	43.9
Somewhat support	37.9	35.7	41.8
Somewhat oppose	12.0	11.7	12.5
Strongly oppose	4.6	6.4	1.4
No answer	2.7	4.0	0.4

8. 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
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
The Intifada should continue in its current form.	58.8	57.9	60.2
The Intifada should stop	17.2	19.5	13.2
The Intifada should continue in other Forms	6.4	5.5	8.0
By reactivating the popular characteristic of the Intifada*.	3.1	3.7	2.0
By reactivating armed resistance*.	6.0	4.3	8.9
By reinforcing national unity and organize the Intifada*.	3.8	3.6	4.3
No answer	4.7	5.5	3.4

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

Q.9 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
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Only the Intifada	29.9	30.3	29.3
Only negotiations	16.2	17.5	13.9
Intifada and negotiations together	49.7	47.1	54.1
I don't know	2.8	3.0	2.3
No answer	1.4	2.1	0.4

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
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
I am with the continuation of a popular resistance Intifada	20.9	23.2	17.0
I am with the military resistance Intifada	14.3	15.1	12.7
I am with both of them	58.3	53.2	67.0
I don't know	4.8	6.2	2.3
No answer	1.7	2.3	1.0

Q.11 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
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
A suitable response within the current political conditions	69.3	65.3	76.1
I reject it and find it harmful to Palestinian national interests	24.0	26.8	19.1
I don't know	4.8	5.3	3.9
No answer	1.9	2.6	0.9

Q.12 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
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Inside Israel only	18.8	19.6	17.5
Inside the occupied territories only	12.1	13.3	10.0
Inside Israel and the occupied territories	44.7	38.6	55.2
I am not with the resumption of the military operations	19.8	22.6	15.0
No answer	4.6	5.9	2.3

Q.13 What is your feeling towards suicide bombing operations against Israeli civilians, do you support it or oppose it?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Strongly support	42.4	37.5	50.9
Somewhat support	20.3	20.3	20.2
Strongly oppose	9.3	10.9	6.4
Somewhat oppose	20.5	21.6	18.6
I Don't Know	5.1	6.3	3.0
No answer	2.4	3.4	0.9

Q.14 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
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Improve negotiation conditions for Palestinians	4.4	5.8	2.0
Ending occupation on basis of UN Resolution 242 and establishing the Palestinian state	46.0	46.3	45.5
Liberating all of historic Palestine	47.0	44.2	51.8
Other	0.4	0.7	0.0
I don't know	1.2	1.7	0.2
No answer	1.0	1.3	0.5

Q. 15 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
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Very optimistic	9.1	7.0	12.7
Somewhat optimistic	43.8	41.4	47.7
Somewhat pessimistic	28.5	26.8	31.4
Very pessimistic	15.4	20.0	7.5
No answer	3.2	4.8	0.7

Q.16 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 solution do you prefer?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Two-state solution: an Israeli and a Palestinian	46.5	48.3	43.4
Bi-national state on all of historic Palestine	26.2	26.1	26.4
One Palestinian State with one nationality*	11.2	10.0	13.2
Islamic independent state and Jerusalem as it's capital*	5.4	3.9	8.0
Islamic State*	4.6	4.7	4.3
Do not know	3.8	4.5	2.7
No answer	2.3	2.5	2.0

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

Q17. Do you think that there is a corruption in the PNA?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Yes	82.7	78.8	89.3
No	7.8	8.2	7.3
Don't Know	8.3	11.2	3.2
No answer	1.2	1.8	0.2

Q17a. For those who answered yes in the previous question, to what extent do you think there is corruption in the PNA, to a high level, to a medium level or a low level?*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=992	N=760	N=440
High level	58.3	59.6	56.2
Medium level	30.7	29.9	32.1
Low level	9.8	9.3	10.4
Don't Know	1.2	1.2	1.3
No answer	0.0	0.0	0.0

* This question was asked for those who answered yes in Q17

Q.18 The Palestinian Authority has been working in recent months on implementing reform, some find the reform serious, others find it not serious while others see that the political situation (re-occupation and checkpoints) obstruct the success of these reforms, what is your opinion?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
I find it serious	13.1	8.2	21.6
I find it not serious	46.9	46.6	47.5
Political situation (re-occupation and checkpoints) obstruct the success of these reforms	33.1	35.8	28.4
No answer	6.9	9.4	2.5

Q19. In the process of reform conducted by the Authority there are parts that were reformed and others did not succeed in reform, what is the reason? Is it the lack of seriousness by the Authority in reform; restrictions imposed by the occupation on the Authority (re-occupation and siege), is it financial difficulties? Or something else, please state?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Lack of seriousness of the Authority in reform	42.5	41.3	44.5
Restrictions imposed by occupation on Authority (re-occupation and siege)	39.7	38.7	41.4
Financial difficulties	9.6	9.3	10.0
Other	1.8	2.2	1.1
No answer	6.4	8.5	3.0

Q20. If free democratic elections are held under these conditions, do you expect the Palestinian people to re-elect Yasser Arafat?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Yes	56.3	51.7	64.3
No	32.7	34.3	29.8
No answer.	11.0	14.0	5.9

Q21. If free, democratic elections took place in these conditions, would you elect Arafat as the President of the Palestinian people?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Yes	46.8	43.6	52.5
No	43.0	43.7	41.8
No answer.	10.2	12.7	5.7

Q22. Israel is preparing for elections where Likud's Sharon and Labor's Mitsna' are competing for premiership, what is your opinion? Do you see that for the interest of peace Sharon should be elected? Or Mitsna'? or you do not see a difference between both of them in regards to achieving peace opportunities with the Palestinian side?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
For the interest of peace Sharon should be elected.	3.7	5.7	0.2
For the interest of peace Mitsna' should be elected	16.6	15.7	18.2
I don't see a difference between them regarding opportunities to achieve peace with the Palestinian side	74.5	72.4	78.2
No answer	5.2	6.2	3.4

Q23. The United States recently proposed a solution project named "roadmap", are you acquainted with it enough to give an opinion and stance?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Yes (move to 23-a)	32.0	35.3	26.4
No (move to 24)	64.2	60.0	71.4
No answer	3.8	4.7	2.2

Q23a. For those who answered yes in the previous question, do you believe the Palestinian leadership should approve this plan, reject it or work on improving it?*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=384	N=760	N=440
the Palestinian leadership should approve this plan	7.0	6.0	9.5
the Palestinian leadership should reject this plan	49.7	47.4	55.2
the Palestinian leadership should work on improving it	41.4	44.0	35.3
No answer.	1.9	2.6	0.0

* This question was asked for those who answered yes in Q23

Q24. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most ?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Yasser Arafat	25.5	23.9	28.2
Ahmed Yassin	11.5	10.0	14.1
Marwan Barghouthi	5.2	5.0	5.5
Sa'eb Erekat	3.1	3.4	2.5
Abdul Aziz Rantisi	2.4	2.4	2.5
Haider Abdul Shafi	2.0	1.6	2.7
Hanan Ashrawi	1.8	1.8	1.8
Ahmad Sa'adat	1.5	1.6	1.4
'Abdallah al-Shami	1.2	1.2	1.1
Yasser Abed Rabbo	1.2	1.7	0.2
Others	7.6	7.9	7.0
I Don't trust anyone	30.0	32.9	25.0
No answer	7.0	6.6	8.0

* The question was open-ended

Q25. Which Palestinian political or religious faction do you trust most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1200	N=760	N=440
Fateh	28.1	24.1	35.0
Hamas	20.1	19.5	21.1
Islamic Jihad	5.7	6.1	5.0
PFLP	2.1	2.2	1.8
Other Islamic faction	1.6	2.0	0.9
Other Factions	1.9	2.0	1.8
Don't trust anyone	31.4	35.3	24.8
No answer	9.1	8.8	9.6

* The questions was open-ended