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|   | [Opinion Polls](http://home.birzeit.edu/dsp/opinionpolls/)Poll No. 3**Survey # 3: The Impact of the Israeli-imposed Siege on Palestinian Living Conditions****[ Analysis of Results ] [** [**Detailed Results**](http://home.birzeit.edu/cds/opinionpolls/poll3/results.html) **] [** [**Sample Distribution**](http://home.birzeit.edu/cds/opinionpolls/poll3/sample.html) **]** [**[ PDF Format ]**](http://home.birzeit.edu/cds/opinionpolls/poll3/poll3_en.pdf) **[** [**In Arabic**](http://home.birzeit.edu/dsp/arabic/opinionpolls/poll3/) **]**  **Main Results**  1. **The Impact of the Israeli-imposed Siege on Palestinian Living Conditions**
	* **73% of Palestinian households have seen their income decline over the past four months.**
	* **27% of Palestinian households have completely lost their source of income.**
	* Two thirds of the households (regardless of family size) have a monthly income that doesn’t exceed US$300.
	* In the West Bank & Gaza, 46% of the respondents said that at least one family member had completely lost his/her job. Additionally, in 25% of the households, at least one family member had partly lost his/her job.
	* In Gaza, 54% of those surveyed said that at least one family member had completely lost his/her job.
	* 53% of those living in refugee camps said that a family member had completely lost his/her job, in comparison with 46% in villages and 43% in cities.
	* **75% of those interviewed said that they are suffering from “psychological and emotional difficulties” as a result of the economic and political hardship during the Intifada.**
	* **Teenagers and children are those who suffer most from psychological trauma**; 69% of those between 5-14 years of age are facing psychological trauma. In Gaza, the percentage is 72.
	* **More women (87%) are suffering from psychological trauma than men (62%).**
	* 11% of the respondents said that at least one family member has been deprived completely form attending school (or university. In addition, 60% said that a family member has partly lost his/her access to education.
	* 42% of the sample population have experienced additional difficulties in gaining access to health services. 50% of West Bank village residents faced such difficulties.
	* **77%  of respondents feel insecure about their well-being and the well-being of their families and property.**
	* 28% of Palestinian households have received cash or in-kind assistance during the Intifada period. The percentage in Gaza was (41%) double that in the West Bank (20%).
	* 84% of Palestinian households had to reduce their expenditures in order to cope with the economic difficulties of the past four months. Over 55% had to spend existing savings and 43% had to take a loan. In 31% of Gaza households, women had to sell their gold and wedding gifts. About 52% of households in Gaza had to take a loan to be able to cope.
	* **Only 12.4%  of respondents said that the Arab countries lived up to their commitments in assisting the Palestinians people. In contrast, 58% said that they didn’t live up to their commitments.**
	* **56% of the respondents felt that assistance is not being distributed to those who need it most**. About 16% said that the distribution is fair and 19% said that it was “fair to some extent.” Dissatisfaction with the way aid is being distributed is higher in the West Bank (60%) than in Gaza (50%).
	* Palestinians were divided in their analysis of “internal conditions”, 37% said that “chaos and violence are on the increase” in their communities. In contrast, 40% said that this was not the case; and 19% said that it was the case “to some extent.” The feeling of living in 'chaos and violence' is higher among West Bank respondents (41%) than among Gaza respondents (29%).
	* 17% of respondents would leave the country and live abroad, if they were given the chance to do so. Willingness to emigrate is much higher among younger Palestinians; as 38% of males in the age group (18-22) would emigrate if given the chance. The rate among young women (ages 23-27) is 28%.
2. **The Intifada and the Peace Process**
	* About 12% of respondents believe that the newly elected Israeli government (led by Ariel Sharon) will be serious about reaching a comprehensive peace deal with the Palestinians. 13% believe that it will be “somewhat serious”, and 64% believe that it will not be serious.
	* 70% support the continuation of negotiations until a final agreement is reached.
	* 60% support a lasting peace deal between Palestinians and Israelis based on UN Resolutions. 7% support this “to some extent,” and 27% oppose.
	* 27% believe that Israel will recognize the right of Palestinian refugees to return to land lost in 1948.
	* 25% said that they would accept an agreement signed by the current leadership. 67% said that they will decide only when they know the details of any such agreement.
	* 38% believe that Palestinian negotiators are working in the best interest of the Palestinian people. 19% agreed with this “to some extent,” and 32% disagreed.
	* 44% are satisfied with how the Intifada is proceeding, and 20% are satisfied to “some extent.” In contrast, 33% are dissatisfied.
	* **17% feel that the new American president George Bush will be more balanced in dealing with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict than his predecessor Bill Clinton. 58% feel that there will be no change. About 25% are undecided.**
3. **Military Operations**
	* 53% of respondents support suicide or other attacks against civilians inside Israeli cities, while 40% oppose such attacks. Opposition to suicide attacks is higher in the West Bank where the population is divided between 47% supporters and 44% opponents. Support for suicide attacks is much higher in Gaza, where it reaches 64%, with 33% opponents.
	* 40% of those who support military attacks in general want such attacks directed only against settlers or military targets.
4. Boycott of Israeli Products
	* 91% of the respondents have heard of the campaigns waged to boycott Israeli products. About 57% think that such a boycott could be implemented. 74% are buying less Israeli products now than before the Intifada.
5. **The Death Penalty**
	* 66% of the respondents believe that all citizens, even when accused of collaboration with Israel, should have the right to appeal their verdict. In contrast, 25% disagree with that.
	* A specific question was asked about whether the death penalty should be imposed  on those who collaborate with Israel in killing other fellow Palestinians; 85% said that they support such a penalty, and 11% opposed it.
	* 77% believed that the death penalty is effective in deterring others from collaborating with Israel.
	* Only one third of the respondents feel that those who were executed were posing the most danger to the Palestinian cause. In contrast, 53% felt that they did not represent the most danger to the Palestinian cause. In Gaza, only 25% feel that those who were executed were the ones who deserved such a punishment the most.
	* Palestinians see that the ability of the Israeli intelligence service (MOSSAD) to blackmail and manipulate fellow Palestinians in times of economic hardship is the primary cause leading to collaboration.
6. **Evaluation of Institutions**
	* **47% of respondents evaluate the performance of President Yasser Arafat as "positive". 28% evaluate his performance as “fair” ("Fair" generally refers to middle of the road or half way, or between negative and positive), while 15% give his performance a negative evaluation.** 52% of the Gaza respondents gave a positive evaluation of the performance of President Arafat, compared to 44% in the West Bank.
	* 28% feel that the PA is doing enough to combat corruption within its ranks. In contrast, 48% feel that the PA is not doing enough. 21% said that they don’t know.
	* 43% think that there is a need to replace the current Palestinian Ministerial Cabinet and leadership of major governmental institutions. Support for change is higher in Gaza (50%) than in the West Bank (38%). In both regions,  38% think that there is no need for change.
	* 21% evaluate the performance of the Palestinian Legislative Council during the Intifada as “positive”. 34% feel that its performance was “fair”, and 43% feel it was “negative”.
	* 48% feel that PA security services are fulfilling their role in protecting citizens.
	* 81.4% believe that those who are accused of corruption must be brought to trial before being punished. Only 15% said that the “Palestinian Street” should punish them.
	* 52% of respondents evaluate the role of Islamist factions (like Hamas and the Islamic Jihad) in the Intifada as “satisfactory”. 30% feel it was “fair”, and 10% were dissatisfied. Satisfaction with the performance of Islamist factions reaches as high as 63% in the Gaza Strip, compared to 45% in the West Bank.
	* 53% see that Fatah and the PA are “one and the same thing”; in Gaza the percentage was 57%. In contrast, 27% of West Bank and Gaza respondents feel that Fatah is independent from the PA, while 4% said that it was in the opposition.
	* 21% believe that the PA ministries and institutions are effectively serving the public. 30% believe that they serve the public “to some extent,” and 36% believe that they are not effectively serving the public.
	* 60% are satisfied with the current garbage collection services.
	* 47% are satisfied with traffic control in cities and towns.
	* If an independent election for the presidency would take place today, 52% would be “undecided” or would not participate. Out of the remaining 48% (who are decided), 28% would vote for Yasser Arafat; 12% will vote for Sheikh Ahmed Yassin; and  9% would vote for Haider Abdel-Shafi. Support for President Arafat is higher in Gaza (34%) than in the West Bank (24%).
	* The largest group of Palestinians (48%) does not support any of the existing political factions. The remaining are divided as follows: Fatah (26%); Hamas (18.5%);  Islamic Jihad (4.3%), PFLP (2.3%).
	* **In Gaza, however, for the first time ever, Fatah and Hamas received the same rate of support (24% each), while in the West Bank support for Fatah is still higher (27%) than for Hamas (15%).**
7. **Education as a Decisive Factor in Shaping Attitudes**
	* Educated respondents are less inclined to support the continuation of the negotiations than the least educated. Whereas 76% of the least educated support the continuation of negotiations, only 61% of the educated do so ("The Educated" refers to those holding Bachelors degrees and more; while the "least educated" refers to the "illiterates").
	* 50% of the educated support a lasting peace deal with Israel based on UN resolutions, compared to 71% among the least educated.
	* 70% of the educated feel that the current American president will be the same as his predecessor, while 50% of the least educated share that feeling.
	* The educated are less supportive of the death penalty for collaboration with with Israel;  20% of them opposed, in comparison with 11% among the least educated.
	* The educated were more supportive of the right of any Palestinian (even if accused of collaboration) to appeal to a higher court, with 80% in support, compared to 62% among the least educated.
	* Only 20% of the educated feel that the current negotiations team represents the best interests of the Palestinians, compared to 50% among the least educated.
	* 50% of the least educated are satisfied with the current proceedings of the Intifada, compared to only 27% among the educated.
	* Dissatisfaction with the performance of Arab countries in providing aid to Palestinians is higher among the educated (70%), compared to 49% among the least educated.
	* 34% of the educated are satisfied with how cash and food aid is being distributed, compared to 16% among the least educated.
	* The least educated and the poor are those who face the greatest difficulties gaining access to health services as a result of the current sieges. 50% of the least educated are facing problems gaining access to health services, compared to 32% among the educated.
	* 65% of the educated think that it is time to change the current Ministerial cabinet and leadership of the major governmental institutions, compared to only 26% among the least educated.
	* 63% of the educated feel that Fatah and the PA are “one and the same”, compared to 47% among the least educated.
8. **Regional Variations**

The above-mentioned results reveal that the current crisis is bringing more homogeneity to the state of public opinion when comparing the West Bank with Gaza. No major differences exist on most issues. However, there are some counter- indicators that show that Gaza respondents are becoming more and more disenfranchised (destitute and hard-line):* + All indicators show that economic hardship is higher in Gaza than it is in the West Bank. In Gaza, more people have lost their jobs and more have lost all sources of income. This, of course, can be explained by the fact that Gaza residents, even more than West Bank residents, rely on work in Israel as a source of income.
	+ Support for attacks against Israeli civilians is higher in Gaza than it is in the West Bank.
	+ Support for Hamas is higher in Gaza than it is in the West Bank. For the first time ever, support for Hamas in Gaza is equal to that of Fatah. Satisfaction with the performance of Islamist factions is much higher in Gaza than it is in the West Bank.
	+ Support for the idea of replacing the current Palestinian Government is also higher in Gaza than it is in the West Bank.
	+ In contrast, however, support for Yasser Arafat (and evaluation of his performance) are higher in Gaza than they are in the West Bank.
1. A Generation Gap

The data show a wide generation gap. A youth political culture is in place and varies drastically in form to that of older Palestinians. The age groups 16-17 and  18-22 are the most “radical” in their views regarding most issues, a sign of disappointment and desire for change.* + Opposition to the continuation of negotiations until a final agreement is reached is 31% among the age group 16-17, in contrast to 16% among those who are over 52 years old.
	+ Support for a lasting peace deal reaches about 70% among older Palestinians, compared to 50% among the youngest.
	+ 47% of older Palestinians oppose suicide attacks, while 44% support them. In contrast, 33% of the young oppose, while 64% support such attacks. (A difference of 20% ).
	+ The older are more supportive of the right of every citizen to “due process”. Whereas about 80% of the age group 43-47 support that all Palestinians (including collaborators with Israel) should have the right to appeal to a higher court; only 51% of the youngest group (17-18) support this.
	+ Older Palestinians are facing more difficulties gaining access to health services.
	+ The young are more opinionated about changing the current government. 43% of the age group (16-22) believe that there is a need for change, while 40% of them do not believe so. In contrast, 35% of the elderly feel the need for change, in comparison to 37% who don’t feel that way, and 28% who had no opinion on the issue.

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