



Program on International Policy Attitudes

A joint Program of the Center on Policy Attitudes and the Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland

Surveys on The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada II

Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: November 24-26, 2002
Sample Size: 508 Respondents

Margin of Error: Full Sample +/-4.5%

Q1. Please tell me how you feel about the Israeli military actions conducted over the last few months in response to Palestinian terrorism. Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being you disapprove strongly and 10 being that you approve strongly.

0	3.1%
1	.4
2	.8
3	1.4
4	1.8
5	8.7
6	5.1
7	10.4
8	15.0
9	4.9
10	46.7
(Don't know/refused)	1.8
Mean	8.05

Q2. How likely do you think it is that these military actions will achieve their goal of controlling Palestinian terrorism? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being very unlikely and 10 being very likely.

0	14.0%
1	1.4
2	3.7
3	3.9
4	4.1
5	16.5
6	7.5
7	13.8
8	11.8
9	5.9
10	15.2
(Don't know/refused)	2.2
Mean	5.73

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada II: Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Q3. As a general rule, do you think the Israeli government should or should not try to stop Palestinians from carrying out large nonviolent demonstrations?

Should try to stop	42.2%
Should NOT try to stop	53.1
(Don't know/refused)	4.7

Q4. Do you think that the IDF imposing curfews on Palestinian towns over the last few months has been *[alternate reverse order first three options]*:

A good practice	51.6%
Mostly a good practice, but in some cases it has gone too far	29.1
Not a good practice	15.9
(Don't know/refused)	3.4

Q5. Do you think that the imposition of curfews in Palestinian towns has increased Palestinian support for suicide bombing, reduced support or had no real effect?

Increased support	43.8%
Reduced support	16.8
Had no real effect	33.7
(Don't know/refused)	5.7

Q6. As you may know in the course of conducting operations in the West Bank and Gaza a number of Palestinian civilians, including women and children, who were not involved in Palestinian terrorism were killed. Do you feel that:

In nearly all cases the IDF was acting in an appropriate and restrained manner.	64.6%
In most cases the IDF was acting in an appropriate and restrained manner, but in some cases the IDF was using excessive force.	28.3
In nearly all cases the IDF was using excessive force.	3.0
(Don't know/refused)	4.0

Q7. How much have you seen, heard or read about the large-scale demonstrations in a number of Palestinian cities that have been nonviolent but in violation of the curfew?

A lot	1.8%
Some	7.3
Not very much	28.0
Nothing at all	62.0
(Don't know/refused)	1.0

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada II: Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Q8. On balance do you think these large-scale demonstrations in a number of Palestinian cities that have been nonviolent but in violation of the curfew are: *[options alternately reverse ordered]*

A positive development because they show a movement away from violent forms of protest	36.4%
A negative development because they show continuing resistance to Israeli authority?	45.1
Both positive and negative (vol)	4.9
(Don't know/refused)	13.6

Q9. In some Palestinian towns large numbers of Palestinians have conducted mass nonviolent demonstrations in defiance of the curfew. In some cases the IDF has cracked down harshly using live munitions, in other cases they have taken a less harsh approach by simply monitoring the demonstrations and only intervening in the case of violent incidents. Do you favor the harsh approach or the less harsh approach?

Favor the harsh approach	35.6%
Favor less harsh approach	58.7
(Don't know/refused)	5.7

Q10. When dealing with nonviolent demonstrations do you think the IDF should: *[options alternately reverse ordered]*

Show restraint so as to encourage a shift toward nonviolent forms of protest	64.9%
Crack down on the demonstrations because they are a challenge to IDF authority	28.2
(Don't know/refused)	6.9

Q11. As you may know, some Fatah leaders have been recently calling for nonviolent rather than violent forms of resistance and have requested that Hamas halt suicide attacks on Israeli civilians. Do you think this development is:

Very important	12.2%
Somewhat important	26.4
Not very important	23.9
Not at all important	35.5
(Don't know/refused)	2.0

Q12. How likely do you think it is that a significant Palestinian movement committed to only nonviolent action will emerge?

Very likely	1.6%
Somewhat likely	10.8
Not very likely	44.4
Not at all likely	39.6
(Don't know/refused)	4.0

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada II: Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Q13. What percentage of the Palestinian people do you think support the idea of using only nonviolent methods in the Intifada?

0	10.4%
1	1.2
2	1.6
3	.4
4	.2
5	3.8
6	.2
8	.8
10	10.0
13	.4
15	1.8
17	.2
20	12.0
25	3.0
30	13.9
34	.2
35	1.0
40	4.8
45	.6
50	8.8
55	.2
60	4.2
65	.4
70	5.2
75	1.8
80	1.2
85	.4
90	.2
95	.2
99	.2
100	.6
(Don't know/refused)	12.4
Mean	29.3

Q14. Suppose there were a Palestinian movement calling for greater use of nonviolent action against Israeli occupation using such methods as demonstrations, boycotts, and large-scale defiance, but other Palestinian groups continued to use violence. Would you see the emergence of this nonviolent movement a significant development or an insignificant development in your opinion?

Significant	53.2%
Insignificant	39.5
(Don't know/refused)	7.3

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada II: Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Q15. If the Palestinians increasingly emphasized nonviolent form of protest and significantly reduced the amount of violent forms of protest, do you think this would lead the international community to put more pressure on Israel to make compromises with the Palestinians or do you think it would not have any significant effect?

More pressure	72.0%
No effect	12.4
Less pressure	11.6
(Don't know/refused)	4.0

Q16. If the Palestinians committed to stop using violence against Israel and in fact stopped all violence for an extended period, would you favor or oppose Israel allowing the establishment of a Palestinian state outside the 1967 borders, except for some agreed-upon land swaps?

Favor	51.0%
Oppose	41.6
(Don't know/refused)	7.4

[Those who say "oppose" in Q16]

Q16a. Is this because you do not believe that the Palestinians will ever truly forgo the use of violence, or because you think that Israel must continue holding on to the Territories?

Do not believe Palestinians	50.5%
Must continue to hold Territories	18.5
Both	26.1
(Don't know/refused)	5.0

Q17. Do you think that when Israelis use armed force that harms Palestinian civilians this leads to an increase or decrease in Palestinian violence against Israelis?

Results in an increase	64.4%
Results in a decrease	6.4
Makes no difference	24.9
(Don't know/refused)	4.3

Q18. Do you think that when Palestinians use violence against Israeli civilians, this makes Israelis more willing or less willing to make concessions to the Palestinian side in order to find a solution to the conflict and to put an end to bloodshed?

Makes Israelis more willing	15.3%
Makes Israelis less willing	60.3
Makes no difference	19.2
(Don't know/refused)	5.2

Q19. Would you be willing to participate in demonstrations or in other ways express support for non-violent Palestinian protests against the occupation?

Would be willing	12.9%
Would not be willing	83.9
(Don't know/refused)	4.2

Q20. Gender *[recorded by observation]*

Male	49.2%
Female	50.8

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada II: Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Q21. To which age group do you belong?

18-22	10.4%
23-29	8.9
30-39	11.9
40-49	23.7
50-59	23.0
60 and over	22.2
(Refused)	-

Q22. What is the last year of schooling that you have completed?

8 years or less	5.2%
9-11 years	9.3
12 yrs (completed secondary school)	20.3
15 yrs (academic degree)	23.3
(Don't know/refused)	1.0

Q23. In what country were you born? [If Israel] Where was your father born?

Born in Asia/Africa	11.6%
Born in Europe/America	14.2
Born in former Soviet Union	9.3
Born in Israel, father born in Israel	24.4
Born in Israel, father born in Asia/Africa	23.4
Born in Israel, father born in Europe/America	16.1
Refused	1.0

Q24. What is your religious affinity?

Orthodox	8.8%
Religious	8.4
Traditional	25.4
Secular	54.0
Other	2.6
Refused	.6

Q25. Today's average household income in Israel is 8,500 ns net. Is your family income:

Much below the average	22.2%
Somewhat below the average	16.1
Average	24.6
Somewhat above the average	20.4
Much above the average	8.3
Kibbutz member	2.4
(Refused)	8.5

Q26. What was the last type of school you attended?

Did not attend school	.8
Primary and intermediate	4.1
Secondary school	45.9
Post-secondary, vocational training	8.5
Post-secondary	12.8
Academic	28.0
(Refused)	-

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada II: Palestinian Questionnaire

Palestinian Questionnaire

Date of Survey: November 17-21, 2002
Sample Size: 599 respondents

Margin of Error: Full Sample +/- 4%

Q1. As you may know, throughout the Palestinian territories there have been substantial nonviolent demonstrations and some mass violations of the Israeli-imposed curfew. How closely have you followed the news about these actions?

Very closely	46.7%
Somewhat closely	33.1
Not very closely	11.5
Not at all closely	6.3
(Don't know/refused)	2.3

Q2. In your town, have there been any large-scale nonviolent demonstrations or mass violations of the Israeli-imposed curfew?

Yes	39.9%
No	53.8
(Don't know/refused)	6.3

[If "yes" in Q2]

Q2a. Did you participate in any of these demonstrations or mass violations of the curfew?

Did	54.0%
Did not	43.9
(Don't know/refused)	2.1

Q3. Now I would like to know how you feel personally about large-scale nonviolent demonstrations in general, keeping in mind both the potential risks and benefits of this action, please choose from the following options.

I do not support them	10.9%
I support others participating in them	33.9
I am willing to participate myself	20.7
I am willing to participate and to encourage others to participate	30.4
(Don't know/refused)	4.2

Q4. As you may know, IDF forces killed a number of Palestinians as they were demonstrating. Do you regard these Palestinians as martyrs or not?

Yes	91.2%
No	2.7
(Don't know/refused)	6.1

[If "yes" in Q4]

Q4a. Would that be more, less or the same as a suicide bomber?

More	9.3%
Less	32.4
Same	42.1
(Don't know/refused)	16.1

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada II: Palestinian Questionnaire

Q5. Thinking about the kind of large-scale nonviolent demonstrations in violation of the curfew that have been happening lately, as compared to violent means, do you think they will be less effective, more effective or equally effective as a means of resisting the occupation?

Less effective	41.7
More effective	19.2
Equally effective	32.1
(Don't know/refused)	7.0

[If "less effective" in Q5]

Q5a. I would like you to imagine that the numbers of Palestinians participating in such large-scale nonviolent demonstrations in violation of the curfew expanded until large numbers in every Palestinian town were resisting in this way at once. As compared to violent means do you think such large-scale demonstrations would be less effective, more effective or equally effective as a means of resisting the occupation?

Less effective	45.2%
More effective	24.8
Equally effective	25.6
(Don't know/refused)	4.4

Q6. Now let me ask you about something different. Do you think large numbers of Palestinians should regularly refuse to abide by the curfew and go about their lives, or do you feel that this would be too dangerous? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Should, strongly	32.1%
Should, somewhat	26.2
Would be too dangerous—somewhat	18.0
Would be too dangerous—strongly	17.0
(Don't know/refused)	6.6

Q7. Now I would like to know how you would feel personally if there were an effort to organize large-scale refusals to abide by the curfew in your town. Keeping in mind both the potential risks and benefits of this action, please choose from the following options.

I would not support it	13.7%
I would support others doing it	30.6
I would participate myself	13.2
I would participate and encourage others to participate	32.2
(Don't know/refused)	10.4

Q8. In the future would you like to see the Intifada put more emphasis on [violent methods] or [nonviolent methods] of resistance? *[bracketed options alternately reverse ordered]*

Violent methods	25.0%
Nonviolent methods	19.0
Both (vol.)	43.9
Neither (vol.)	7.0
(Don't know/refused)	5.0

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada II: Palestinian Questionnaire

Q9. I will now read you a list of different methods for resisting the Israeli occupation. For each one, I would like to know whether you think it is a good idea or not a good idea. Please answer on a scale of 0-10, with 0 meaning that you strongly feel that it is NOT a good idea, 10 meaning that you strongly feel it IS a good idea, and 5 meaning you are neutral. What about:

Q9a. Mass protest demonstrations

0	1.2%
1	1.5
2	2.5
3	1.3
4	2.8
5	8.5
6	4.5
7	7.0
8	12.7
9	13.4
10	44.1
(Don't know/refused)	.5
Mean	8.07

Q9b. Mass defiance of curfews

0	4.3%
1	4.2
2	1.8
3	2.2
4	3.3
5	7.3
6	5.0
7	5.3
8	9.0
9	12.9
10	39.2
(Don't know/refused)	5.3
Mean	7.52

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada II: Palestinian Questionnaire

Q9c. Armed attacks on Israeli soldiers

0	2.3%
1	1.0
2	2.3
3	.8
4	1.3
5	4.8
6	1.7
7	3.5
8	7.5
9	11.9
10	60.4
(Don't know/refused)	2.3
Mean	8.64

Q9d. Suicide bombing of Israeli civilians

0	5.3%
1	1.0
2	3.3
3	3.5
4	2.2
5	12.5
6	4.8
7	7.3
8	8.5
9	12.2
10	36.7
(Don't know/refused)	2.5
Mean	7.33

Q10: As you may know, the Fatah leadership has recently called for nonviolent rather than violent forms of resistance and have requested that Hamas halt suicide attacks on Israeli civilians. Do you think this is:

Very significant	18.0%
Somewhat significant	30.1
Not very significant	23.0
Not at all significant	21.9
(Don't know/refused)	7.0

Q11. Do you support or oppose the call of some Fatah leaders for nonviolent rather than violent forms of resistance?

Support	32.2%
Oppose	57.3
(Don't know/refused)	7.0

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada II: Palestinian Questionnaire

Q12. If Israel would commit to withdraw its forces to where they were before the start of the current Intifada, refrain from all violence against Palestinian civilians, and enter into negotiations on a peace agreement, would you favor all Palestinian groups committing to stop violence against Israeli civilians or would you favor continuing the violence?

Stopping violence	36.4%
Continuing violence	53.6
(Don't know/refused)	10.0

Q13. If Israel would agree to allow the establishment of a Palestinian state within the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem, evacuate most of the settlements, and negotiate in good faith on other Final Status issues, on condition that there was a period without violence against Israel, would you favor stopping violence for this period or would you favor continuing the violence?

Stopping violence	42.2%
Continuing violence	48.4
(Don't know/refused)	9.3

[Those who say "continue violence" in Q13]

Q13a. Is this because you do not believe that Israel would really agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state on terms acceptable to Palestinians or because you favor continuing the violent struggle with the goal of gaining all of the territory of historic Palestine?

Do not believe Israel would agree to Palestinian state on terms acceptable to Palestinians	62.1%
Favor continuing violent struggle to secure all of historic Palestine	37.2
(Don't know/refused)	.7

Q14. Do you think that when Palestinians use violence that injures and kills Israeli civilians this makes the Israelis more willing or less willing to make compromises?

Makes Israelis more willing	63.9%
Makes Israelis less willing	16.9
Makes no difference	16.0
(Don't know/refused)	3.2

Q15. Do you think that when Israelis use armed force that injures and kills Palestinian civilians this makes Palestinians more willing or less willing to make compromises?

Makes Palestinians more willing	10.2%
Makes Palestinians less willing	62.4
Makes no difference	23.4
(Don't know/refused)	4.0

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada II: Palestinian Questionnaire

Q16. Do you think that when Israelis use armed force that injures and kills Palestinian civilians this leads to an increase or decrease in Palestinian violence against Israelis?

Results in an increase	78.3%
Results in a decrease	4.7
Makes no difference	13.0
(Don't know/refused)	4.0

Q16. Gender [*recorded by observation*]

Male	47.1%
Female	52.9

Q17. What is your age?

18-24	22.7%
25-29	20.0
30-39	32.4
40-49	15.4
50 or over	9.0
(Refused)	.5

Q18. What is the last year of schooling that you have completed?

None	5.7%
9 years or less	16.0
10-13 years	36.9
Two years of college	20.0
College graduate	19.7
Master's or Ph.D.	.7
(Refused / no answer)	1.0

Q19. What is your religion?

Muslim	97.2%
Christian	2.2
(Refused / no answer)	.7

Q20. Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are a supporter of...

Fateh	23.2%
Hamas	23.2
Islamic Jihad	8.2
People's front for the liberation of Palestine	4.5
Democratic front for the liberation of Palestine	2.3
Others	1.5
Independent/ unaffiliated	26.7
(Don't know/refused)	10.4