

**Surveys on
The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada**

Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: August 12-19, 2002
Sample Size: 504 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	1.6%
1	.6
2	1.6
3	1.2
4	1.8
5	6.2
6	4.6
7	7.7
8	14.9
9	5.2
10	51.8
(Don't know)	2.6
(Refused)	.4
Mean	8.35

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	9.9%
1	1.8
2	3.2
3	3.6
4	4.4
5	13.5
6	8.7
7	14.1
8	15.1
9	5.2
10	17.3
(Don't know)	-
(Refused)	3.4
Mean	6.19

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Q3. Do you think that Israel should agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state within the framework of a permanent peace agreement with the Palestinians?

Yes	60.7%
No	34.9
Don't know	4.0
Refused	.4

Q4. What percentage of the Palestinian public do you think has given up the goal of destroying Israel and is willing to live in a Palestinian state side-by-side with Israel?

0	19.2%
1	1.8
2	1.8
3	.6
4	.6
5	4.0
6	.2
9	.2
10	6.2
12	.2
15	1.6
20	10.3
25	1.0
30	7.9
40	5.0
45	.2
46	.2
50	9.5
55	.4
60	5.6
65	1.2
70	5.6
75	1.8
80	4.0
85	.2
90	.2
95	.2
96	.2
99	.2
100	.2
(Don't know)	9.7
(Refused)	-
Median	30.0

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Q5. With which of the following statements do you most agree? [random order]

The Palestinians have a legitimate right to seek a Palestinian state provided that they do using nonviolent means	77.8%
No matter whether they use violent or nonviolent methods, the Palestinians do not have a legitimate right to seek a Palestinian state	19.4
The Palestinians have a legitimate right to seek a Palestinian state by any means necessary to achieve this goal	1.4
(Don't Know)	1.0
(Refused)	.4

Q6. With which of the following statements do you most agree? [random order]

The Palestinians have a legitimate right to oppose the expansion of the settlements, provided that they do so by nonviolent methods	55.5%
No matter whether they use violent or nonviolent methods, the Palestinians do not have a legitimate right to oppose the expansion of the settlements	39.2
The Palestinians have a legitimate right to oppose the expansion of the settlements by any means necessary to achieve this goal	3.2
(Don't Know)	1.8
(Refused)	.4

Q7. If there was a Palestinian movement committed to nonviolent action against Israeli occupation using such methods as demonstrations, boycotts, and large-scale defiance, would you approve or disapprove of such a movement? Would that be strongly or somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly Approve	22.1%
Somewhat Approve	34.4
Somewhat Disapprove	13.5
Strongly Disapprove	24.7
(Don't Know)	5.4

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Q8. How likely do you think it is that a significant Palestinian movement committed to nonviolent action will emerge?

Very likely	.8%
Somewhat likely	8.6
Not very likely	42.0
Not at all likely	43.6
(Don't Know)	4.8
(Refused)	.2

Q9. Please tell me which view is closer to yours: *[random reverse order]*

a. If Palestinians were to limit themselves to nonviolent forms of protest for a significant period of time, the Israeli government should respond by making some concession because reinforcing a trend toward nonviolence is in the Israeli national interest.

b. If Palestinians were to limit themselves to nonviolent forms of protest for a significant period of time, the Israeli government should not respond by making some concession, because it should not have to reward Palestinians just for acting in a civilized manner.

Respond with concession	52.4%
No concession	42.5
(Don't Know)	4.4
(Refused)	.8

Statement: I would now like you to consider some points of view on whether the Israeli government should or should not try to stop Palestinians from organizing boycotts of Israeli products. For each one please tell me if you find it convincing or unconvincing and whether you feel that way strongly or somewhat.

[For 7-10, whether Pro or Con comes first is randomized. Pros and Cons are then alternated.]

Pros

Q10. Israel is a democracy, therefore it would be contrary to its principles to prevent Palestinians from peacefully expressing their views by doing things like organizing boycotts.

Do you find this statement convincing or unconvincing? Would that be somewhat or strongly?

Very Convincing	13.5%
Somewhat Convincing	27.0
Somewhat Unconvincing	17.1
Very Unconvincing	37.5
(Don't Know)	4.6
(Refused)	.4

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Q11. Because organizing boycotts can substitute for violent methods of protest, it is a constructive development for Israeli interests and should be tolerated.

Do you find this statement convincing or unconvincing? Would that be somewhat or strongly?

Very Convincing	10.5%
Somewhat Convincing	28.2
Somewhat Unconvincing	21.6
Very Unconvincing	31.4
(Don't Know)	5.4
(Refused)	.2

Cons

Q12. The Israeli government should try to stop Palestinians from organizing boycotts because it is a challenge to Israeli authority.

Do you find this statement convincing or unconvincing? Would that be somewhat or strongly?

Very Convincing	17.0%
Somewhat Convincing	21.6
Somewhat Unconvincing	21.4
Very Unconvincing	34.5
(Don't Know)	4.9
(Refused)	.6

Q13. The Israeli government should try to stop Palestinians from organizing a boycott because if it grew, it could hurt our economy.

Do you find this statement convincing or unconvincing? Would that be somewhat or strongly?

Very Convincing	25.9%
Somewhat Convincing	28.8
Somewhat Unconvincing	15.3
Very Unconvincing	26.1
(Don't Know)	3.1
(Refused)	.8

Q14. So, having heard these points of view, do you think that the Israeli government should or should not try to stop Palestinians from organizing boycotts of Israeli products?

Should try to stop	60.2%
Should NOT try to stop	35.3
(Don't Know)	4.0
(Refused)	.6

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

15. Do you think the Israeli government should or should not try to stop Palestinians from carrying out a boycott by preventing them from purchasing those products from another country?

Should try to stop	30.9%
Should NOT try to stop	62.5
(Don't Know)	6.8
(Refused)	.6

16. 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	34.6%
Should NOT try to stop	63.2
(Don't Know)	2.2

Statement: I would like you to imagine that there is a Palestinian movement that uses nonviolent forms of protest against the settlements. Some people would say that Israel has a right to build settlements and that the government should crack down harshly on such a movement. Others would say that it is better for Palestinians to use nonviolent forms of protest; thus, while it is necessary to enforce the law, this should not be done in a harsh manner. For each of the following forms of protest, please tell me if you think the Israeli government should or should not crack down on it harshly by, for example, jailing protestors and organizers for extended periods.

[If asked "What does harshly mean?": Jailing protestors and organizers for extended periods.]

[After each, prompt: Should the government crack down harshly or should the government not crack down harshly?]

Q17. Large groups blocking construction activity in the settlements

Should crack down harshly	54.4%
Should NOT crack down harshly	41.1
(Don't Know)	4.4
(Refused)	.2

Q18. Large groups blocking access to the settlements

Should crack down harshly	65.1%
Should NOT crack down harshly	31.7
(Don't Know)	3.0
(Refused)	.2

Q19. Organizing work stoppages and strikes of Palestinian workers in the settlements

Should crack down harshly	23.6%
Should NOT crack down harshly	67.3
(Don't Know)	6.2
(Refused)	1.0

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Q20. Imagine there were strikes of Palestinian workers in the settlements and international organizations were providing money to the striking workers. Should the Israeli government try to prevent those international organizations from providing money to the striking workers, or should it not interfere?

Should try to prevent	50.8%
Should NOT interfere	42.5
(Don't Know)	6.5
(Refused)	.2

Q21. Do you favor or oppose Israel freezing the expansion of all settlements? Would that be strongly or somewhat?

Strongly favor	37.5%
Somewhat favor	21.8
Somewhat oppose	12.2
Strongly oppose	25.0
(Don't know)	3.2
(Refused)	.4

[If oppose or don't know in previous question]

Q22. What if the Palestinians were clearly shifting away from violent methods and were instead using nonviolent methods of protest such as demonstrations, boycotts and mass blockages--would you then favor or oppose freezing the expansion of all settlements?

Would that be strongly or somewhat?

	[% of all asked Q21]	
Strongly favor	3.5%	1.4%
Somewhat favor	18.7	7.3
Somewhat oppose	21.2	8.3
Somewhat oppose	48.0	18.8
(Don't know)	8.6	3.4

Q23. Do you favor or oppose phasing out the checkpoints between Palestinian towns inside the Palestinian territories? Would that be strongly or somewhat?

Strongly favor	11.9%
Somewhat favor	13.0
Somewhat oppose	18.7
Somewhat oppose	50.8
(Don't know)	5.6

[If oppose or don't know in previous question]

Q24. What if the Palestinians were clearly shifting away from violent methods and were instead using nonviolent methods of protest such as demonstrations, boycotts and mass blockages--would you then favor or oppose phasing out the checkpoints between Palestinian towns inside the Palestinian territories. Would that be strongly or somewhat?

	[% of all asked Q23]	
Strongly favor	11.6%	8.3%
Somewhat favor	38.0	27.4
Somewhat oppose	16.0	11.5
Somewhat oppose	29.2	21.0
(Don't know)	5.2	3.8

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Statement: I would like you to think about how the Israeli government should respond if there was no Palestinian violence for a given period. You should assume, however, that during this period that there may be other nonviolent forms of protest such as demonstrations or boycotts.

Q25. Suppose there was no violence by Palestinians for three months? Would you then favor showing more flexibility in negotiations on the borders of a Palestinian state?

Favor	52.2%
Oppose	44.1
(Don't know)	3.2
(Refused)	.2

[If oppose or don't know in previous question]

Q26. What if there was no violence by Palestinians for half a year? Would you then favor showing more flexibility in negotiations on the borders of a Palestinian state?

		[% of all asked Q25]
Favor	11.9%	5.6%
Oppose	80.1	37.5
(Don't know)	8.1	3.8

Q27. If the Palestinians made a clear shift away from violence and instead used nonviolent forms of protest, would you see it as evidence that they have given up the goal of destroying Israel or would you not?

Would see it as evidence	36.7%
Would not see it as evidence	56.8
(Don't know)	6.4
(Refused)	.2

Q28. Gender *[RECORDED BY OBSERVATION]*

Male	49.0%
Female	51.0

Q29. What is your age?

18-28	18.9%
25-32	19.3
33-44	20.5
45-59	25.0
Over 60	15.7
(Refused)	.6

Q30. What is the last year of schooling that you have completed?

Up to 11 years	10.0%
12 years	47.0
13-14 years	17.2
College graduate	25.0
(Don't know)	.2
(Refused)	.6

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Q31. Politically, where do you see yourself: *[READ LIST; alternate reverse order]*

Right	26.0%
Somewhat right	25.6
Center	20.0
Somewhat left	10.7
Left	7.9
(Don't know)	7.9

Q32. Who would you vote for Prime Minister if elections were held today? *[randomize order of names]*

Ariel Sharon	30.4%
Benjamin Netanyahu	21.0
Chaim Ramon	1.6
Binyamin Ben Eliezer	1.8
Amram Mitzna	13.5
Ami Ayalon	4.0
Efi Eitam	1.6
Undecided	24.6
(Refused)	1.4

Q33. What party would you vote for if elections were held today?

Labor/Meimad	13.1%
Likud	38.4
Shas	2.4
Meretz	3.6
National Union/Israel Beiteinu (Leiberman)	3.4
Shinui (Lapid)	7.4
NRP	1.6
UJT (Yahadut Hatorah")	2.4
Democratic Choice	.2
One Nation (Peretz)	.4
Arab Parties (includes Hadash)	.4
Undecided	23.3
Refused	3.4

Q34. In what country were you born? [If Israel] Where was your father born?

Born in Asia/Africa	11.2%
Born in Europe/America	11.8
Born in former Soviet Union	7.6
Born in Israel, father born in Israel	30.3
Born in Israel, father born in Asia/Africa	21.4
Born in Israel, father born in Europe/America	17.5
Refused	.6

Q35. [If not born in Israel] In what year did you emigrate?

Before 1959	42.8%
1960-1989	31.9
1990- present	24.6
(Refused)	.7

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Israeli Jewish Questionnaire

Q36. What is your religious affinity?

Orthodox	7.2%
Religious	8.3
Traditional	26.8
Secular	55.7
Other	2.0
Refused	.2

Q37. Today's average household income in Israel is 8,500 ns net. Is your family income:

Much below the average	19.2%
Somewhat below the average	14.5
Average	21.6
Somewhat above the average	23.2
Much above the average	10.5
Kibbutz member	2.0
(Refused)	8.9

Q38. What was the last type of school you attended?

Did not attend school	.4
Primary and intermediate	4.6
Secondary school	42.9
Post-secondary, vocational training	9.9
Post-secondary	13.1
Yeshiva	2.6
Academic	26.3
Refused	.4

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Palestinian Questionnaire

Palestinian Questionnaire

Date of Survey: August 12-19, 2002
Sample Size: 600 respondents

Margin of Error: Full Sample +/- 4%

Q1. Please tell me how you feel about the current Intifada? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being you oppose it completely, 10 being that you support it completely, and 5 being neutral.

0	3.7%
1	1.3
2	1.0
3	1.3
4	1.8
5	10.0
6	2.8
7	7.2
8	11.0
9	6.7
10	52.8
(Don't know)	.2
(Refused / no answer)	.2
Mean	8.10

Q2. How likely do you think it is that the current Intifada will achieve its goals? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10 with 0 being very unlikely and 10 being very likely?

0	8.3%
1	3.2
2	3.3
3	3.2
4	3.2
5	8.7
6	6.2
7	12.0
8	14.3
9	9.7
10	27.2
(Don't Know)	.8
(Refused / no answer)	-
Mean	6.75

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Palestinian Questionnaire

Q3. Thinking about the current methods of the Intifada, do you think there is a need to try some new approaches, or don't you think so?

Need to try new approaches	61.5%
Don't think so	29.2
(Don't know)	8.3
(Refused)	.7

Q4. 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:

Q4a. Mass protest demonstrations

0	3.5%
1	2.0
2	1.0
3	.7
4	1.8
5	9.3
6	4.7
7	8.3
8	11.2
9	9.7
10	47.2
(Don't know)	.6
(Refused / no answer)	-
Mean	7.99

Q4b. Mass boycotts of products made in Israeli settlements

0	.7%
1	.3
2	.8
3	.3
4	.7
5	4.3
6	2.7
7	5.7
8	6.5
9	9.2
10	68.3
(Don't know)	.3
(Refused / no answer)	.2
Mean	9.05

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Palestinian Questionnaire

Q4c. Mass boycotts of Israeli-made products like cigarettes or soft drinks:

0	.2%
1	.5
2	.3
3	1.0
4	.7
5	5.3
6	2.7
7	5.8
8	7.7
9	7.7
10	67.5
(Don't know)	.3
(Refused / no answer)	.4
Mean	9.01

Q4d. Large groups of Palestinians blocking bulldozers from demolishing Palestinian homes.

0	6.2%
1	2.2
2	1.8
3	2.3
4	1.5
5	11.0
6	3.7
7	7.2
8	10.8
9	10.3
10	41.3
(Don't know)	1.8
(Refused / no answer)	.7
Mean	7.51

4e. Large groups of Palestinians blocking construction activity in an Israeli settlement:

0	1.7%
1	1.0
2	1.5
3	.8
4	1.0
5	8.3
6	2.7
7	6.7
8	10.8
9	6.7
10	56.3
(Don't know)	1.8
(Refused / no answer)	.7
Mean	8.45

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Palestinian Questionnaire

Q4f. Palestinians who work in settlements going on strike for limited periods:

0	2.5%
1	1.5
2	1.3
3	.8
4	1.0
5	8.7
6	3.5
7	8.2
8	9.0
9	8.0
10	53.5
(Don't know)	1.5
(Refused / no answer)	.5
Mean	8.27

Q4g. Armed attacks on Israeli soldiers:

0	2.2%
1	.8
2	1.2
3	.5
4	.5
5	3.8
6	1.2
7	3.3
8	6.2
9	7.7
10	72.2
(Don't know)	-
(Refused / no answer)	.5
Mean	9.0

Q4h. Suicide bombing of Israeli civilians:

0	7.8%
1	2.8
2	2.0
3	.8
4	.5
5	11.8
6	3.5
7	6.5
8	8.3
9	7.0
10	47.8
(Don't know)	.5
(Refused / no answer)	.5
Mean	7.52

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Palestinian Questionnaire

Q5. Now I would like to know how you would respond personally if there was a large-scale effort to organize mass protest demonstrations. Please choose from the following options.

What about:

Q5a. Boycotts of products made in Israeli settlements:

I wouldn't support it	2.5%
I would support others doing it	28.8
I would participate myself	17.0
I would participate and encourage others to participate	48.0
(Don't know)	3.2
(Refused / no answer)	.5

Q5b. Boycotts of Israeli products such as cigarettes or soft drinks.

I wouldn't support it	1.8%
I would support others doing it	26.3
I would participate myself	20.0
I would participate and encourage others to participate	49.3
(Don't know)	2.2
(Refused)	.3

Q5c. Large groups of Palestinians blocking bulldozers from demolishing Palestinian homes

I wouldn't support it	11.0%
I would support others doing it	38.0
I would participate myself	13.8
I would participate and encourage others to participate	30.3
(Don't know)	6.0
(Refused)	.8

Q5d. Large groups of Palestinians blocking construction activity in a settlement

I wouldn't support it	3.7%
I would support others doing it	52.5
I would participate myself	10.2
I would participate and encourage others to participate	26.0
(Don't know)	7.0
(Refused ./ no answer)	.7

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Palestinian Questionnaire

Q6. Do you think that when Palestinians use armed force against Israelis this makes the Israeli people more willing or less willing to make compromises with the Palestinians?

More willing	56.5%
Less willing	19.7
Makes no difference [vol.]	15.5
(Don't know)	7.0
(Refused no answer)	1.4

Q7. As you may know, some Palestinians are discussing whether using mass nonviolent action would be effective for the Palestinian cause. I am going to read you some of the arguments that are made on both sides of this issue. For each one, I would like to know if you find the argument convincing or not convincing. *[READ ARGUMENT]*

[After each, ask:] Do you find that argument convincing or unconvincing? Would that be strongly or somewhat (convincing/unconvincing)?

Pro Arguments

Q7a. When Palestinians use nonviolent forms of resistance this improves the image of Palestinians in the eyes of the world.

Very convincing	13.5%
Somewhat convincing	24.8
Somewhat unconvincing	25.3
Very unconvincing	31.7
(Don't know)	3.3
(Refused / no answer)	1.3

Q7b. Mass nonviolent action can help direct international attention to unjust Israeli behavior and repression.

Very convincing	13.7%
Somewhat convincing	27.5
Somewhat unconvincing	27.2
Very unconvincing	24.7
(Don't know)	6.0
(Refused / no answer)	1.0

Q7c. Mass nonviolent action puts pressure on Israel while also undermining its excuse that it cannot negotiate as long as there is violence.

Very convincing	11.8%
Somewhat convincing	24.3
Somewhat unconvincing	26.8
Very unconvincing	32.0
(Don't know)	4.0
(Refused / no answer)	1.0

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Palestinian Questionnaire

Con Arguments

Q7d. Israelis are so stubborn that mass nonviolent action will have no impact on their behavior.

Very convincing	38.5%
Somewhat convincing	23.3
Somewhat unconvincing	21.3
Very unconvincing	11.8
Don't know	4.2
(Refused / no answer)	.8

Q7e. Palestinians have tried mass nonviolent action in the past and it did not succeed in changing Israel's behavior.

Very convincing	42.8%
Somewhat convincing	25.5
Somewhat unconvincing	18.5
Very unconvincing	8.2
(Don't know)	4.2
(Refused / no answer)	.8

Q7f. It would take too long for mass nonviolent action to produce any real change.

Very convincing	30.0%
Somewhat convincing	31.2
Somewhat unconvincing	17.2
Very unconvincing	15.5
(Don't know)	5.2
(Refused / no answer)	1.0

Q8a. Suppose that a Palestinian is killed while engaging in nonviolent action, such as blocking an Israeli bulldozer trying to demolish a Palestinian home. Would you regard this person as a martyr, or not?

Yes	88.3%
No	2.5
(Don't Know)	7.2
(Refused / no answer)	2.0

[Only If 'Yes' in Q8a]

Q8b. Would that be more, less or the same as a suicide bomber?

More	7.2%
Less	21.2
Same	47.3
(Don't Know)	11.5
(Refused / no answer)	1.2
(Not applicable)	11.7

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Palestinian Questionnaire

Q9. Do you favor or oppose the idea of all Palestinians refusing to work in the construction of the settlements or for businesses located in the settlements?

Favor	76.7%
Oppose	13.5
(Don't know)	7.2
(Refused / no answer)	2.7

[If oppose or don't know in Q9a]

Q9b. What if those who lost their job as a result were compensated for the period of their unemployment out of an international fund set up for this purpose--would you then favor or oppose this idea?

Favor	12.2%
Oppose	1.2
(Don't Know)	1.2
(Refused / no answer)	1.7
(Not applicable)	83.8

Q10a. If there was a large-scale Palestinian movement committed to nonviolent action against Israeli occupation using such methods as demonstrations, boycotts, and civil disobedience, would you approve or disapprove of such a movement? Would that be strongly or somewhat?

Approve strongly	36.3%
Approve somewhat	44.0
Disapprove somewhat -skip to q11	7.8
Disapprove strongly- skip to q11	5.0
(Don't know)	5.5
(Refused / no answer)	1.4

[If 'approve' in Q10a]

Q10b. Would you be willing to participate in such a movement, or not?

Yes	56.0%
No	14.3
(Don't know)	12.8
(Refused / no answer)	4.0
(Not applicable)	12.8

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Palestinian Questionnaire

Q11. As you may know there is some discussion among Palestinians about whether Palestinians should conduct operations that kill Israeli civilians. Here are some arguments on this issue. Please tell me if you find them convincing or unconvincing. *[READ ARGUMENT]*

[After each, ask:] Do you find that argument convincing or unconvincing? Would that be strongly or somewhat (convincing/unconvincing)?

Q11a. Since Palestinian civilians suffer at the hands of Israelis, then Israeli civilians should suffer at the hands of Palestinians.

Very convincing	60.0%
Somewhat convincing	24.7
Somewhat convincing	9.5
Very unconvincing	3.5
(Don't know)	1.7
(Refused / no answer)	.6

Q11b. Violence that hurts women and children is inconsistent with the true moral character of the Palestinian people.

Very convincing	24.7%
Somewhat convincing	31.0
Somewhat convincing	23.7
Very unconvincing	15.0
(Don't know)	4.3
(Refused / no answer)	1.3

Q11c. Using violence against Israeli civilians increases the likelihood that Israel will make compromises.

Very convincing	26.7%
Somewhat convincing	34.3
Somewhat convincing	20.2
Very unconvincing	13.3
(Don't know)	4.7
(Refused / no answer)	.9

Q11d. When Palestinians use violence against civilians this undermines international support for the Palestinian cause.

Very convincing	11.5%
Somewhat convincing	24.8
Somewhat convincing	31.3
Very unconvincing	28.0
(Don't know)	3.5
(Refused / no answer)	.9

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Palestinian Questionnaire

Q12. Do you think that when Israel uses armed force against Palestinians this makes the Palestinian people more willing or less willing to make compromises with Israel?

More willing	11.5%
Approve somewhat	65.7
Makes no difference (volunteered)	15.5
(Don' t know)	6.3
(Refused / no answer)	1.0

Q13. Suppose that, in the future, Israeli and Palestinian leaders agree that Israel will withdraw to the 1967 borders and recognize a Palestinian state, and that the Palestinian state will then renounce the use of violence against Israel and imprison Palestinians who do attempt such violence. If they made such an agreement, would you approve or disapprove of Palestinian leaders? Would that be strongly or somewhat?

Approve strongly	19.8%
Approve somewhat	23.8
Disapprove somewhat	18.5
Disapprove strongly	31.8
(Don't know)	4.7
(Refused / no answer)	1.3

Q14. If Israel would take conciliatory steps, like stopping the military incursions and ending the checkpoints, should the Palestinians respond by suspending violence for a limited period, or not?

Should	42.3%
Should not	46.8
(Don't know)	7.8
(Refused / no answer)	3.0

Q15. As you may know, over the years various Palestinians have made statements saying that Palestinians should use violence to seek the complete destruction of the state of Israel.

Q15a. Do you think that such statements have helped or hurt the Palestinian cause in general?

Helped	34.5%
Hurt	35.8
Made no difference(volunteered)	20.2
(Don't know)	8.3
(Refused / no answer)	1.2

Q15b. Do you think that such statements have made Israel more or less willing to negotiate?

More willing	33.5%
Less willing	34.7
Makes no difference (volunteered)	19.5
(Don't know)	8.2
(Refused / no answer)	4.2

The Potential for a Nonviolent Intifada: Palestinian Questionnaire

Q16. Gender [*recorded by observation*]

Male	48.7%
Female	51.0

Q17. What is your age? [READ LIST]

18 – 28	34.3%
29 - 39	38.0
40 - 52	15.3
Over 50	10.7

Q18. What is the last year of schooling that you have completed? [READ LIST]

None	6.8%
9 years or less	20.5
10-13 years	32.5
Two years of college	19.5
College graduate	18.5
Master's or Ph.D.	1.3
(Refused / no answer)	.9

Q19. What is your religion?

Muslim	98.2%
Christian	1.3
(Refused / no answer)	.5

Q20. Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are a supporter of...[READ LIST]

Fateh	21.2%
Hamas	22.0
Islamic Jihad	6.5
People's front for the liberation of Palestine	6.0
Democratic front for the liberation of Palestine	1.3
Others	2.8
Independent/ unaffiliated	31.0
(Don't know)	3.3
(Refused / no answer)	5.0
(No one)	.8