

**Public Opinion Poll #18  
Redeployment Agreement, PNA Performance, Prisoners Release, Electoral System, and  
Other Topics, July 6-9, 1995**

**Sample Distribution**

(Expressed as a % of the total sample)

<b>Sample Distribution July 1995</b>		<b>Education July 1995</b>			
		<b>Up to 9 yrs.</b>	47.0 (53.0)		
<b>West Bank</b>	64.8 (63.0)	<b>10-12 years</b>	30.4 (27.0)		
<b>Gaza Strip</b>	35.2 (37.0)	<b>Two-Yr. Coll.</b>	11.3		
		<b>University</b>	(20***)		
		<b>Degree(s)</b>	11.3		
<b>Muslim</b>	95.9 (95.5)	<b>Male</b>	48.4 (49.0)		
<b>Christian</b>	04.1 (04.5)	<b>Female</b>	51.6 (51.0)		
<b>City</b>	40.8			<b>Single</b>	20.6
<b>Town/Village</b>	35.7	<b>Refugee</b>	49.5 (42.0)	<b>Married</b>	75.7
<b>Refugee Camp</b>	23.5	<b>Non-Refugee</b>	50.5 (58.0)	<b>Divorced or</b>	03.7
				<b>Widowed</b>	
		<b>Occupation</b>			
<b>Age</b>		<b>Laborers</b>	10.0		
<b>18-22</b>	15.4 (20.1)	<b>Craftsmen</b>	09.4		
<b>23-26</b>	12.2	<b>Housewives</b>	40.4		
<b>27-30</b>	14.2	<b>Specialists*</b>	02.9		
<b>31-35</b>	14.6	<b>Employees**</b>	11.0		
<b>36-42</b>	15.5	<b>Merchants</b>	04.3		
<b>43-50</b>	12.5	<b>Students</b>	08.1		
<b>Over 50</b>	15.6	<b>Farmers</b>	02.7		
		<b>Retired</b>	01.3		
		<b>None</b>	09.8		

\*Specialists (University teacher, engineer, doctor, lawyer, pharmacist, executive).

\*\*Employees(school teacher, government employee, nurse, lower-level company employee).

Population Estimates are based on the "Statistical Abstract of Israel" (1993) and FAFO (1993).

\*\*\* for all post-secondary degrees

**Data Collection**

Our data collectors have participated in a number of workshops where the goals of the poll were discussed. They were also lectured on household interviewing, confidence building, mapping, sampling techniques, survey methods, and scientific research. Four special training seminars for data collectors were conducted during this month, attended by a total of sixty-four fieldworkers. Training for data collection was conducted in the field where actual illustrations of the sample selection and interviewing techniques were conducted.

Data collectors worked in groups supervised by qualified researchers. CPRS researchers made random visits to interview stations and discussed the research process with data collectors. More than fifty percent of our data collectors were female, so as to ensure the representation of women in the sample. Data collectors were assigned a limited number of interviews (an average of 18 per day) to allow for careful interviewing.

Interviews took place primarily over a three day period (Thursday, Friday, and Saturday) after 1:00 pm in order to obtain a more representative sample and were conducted on a face-to-face basis. Household interviews resulted in a lower non-response rate, estimated at 7%. Some respondents, we believe, were reluctant to state their political views out of fear or disinterest in the present political factions .

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## Data Analysis

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Data were processed through the use of SPSS, a computer package that is able to detect illogical answers and other inconsistencies. The margin of error for this poll is less than 3%.

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## Results

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### Unemployment

The results of the poll show that unemployment rate in the West Bank and Gaza is 29%, dropping 7 points from May. Unemployment rate is 27% in the West Bank and 33% in the Gaza Strip where it was 39% last May (see Table 3).

**Table 3**

### Unemployment Demographics

	DEC. 1994 %	FEB. 1995 %	MAR. 1995 %	MAY 1995 %
July 1995 %				
Unemployment Rate	30.0	51.0	38.0	36.0
29.0				
Region				
West Bank Total	22.0	48.0	35.0	27.0
27.0				
WB North	31.0	56.0	40.8	31.0
31.0				

WB Middle	16.0	34.0	19.6	10.0
12.0				
WB South	18.0	52.0	47.6	32.0
32.0				
Gaza Total	44.0	57.0	43.0	39.0
33.0				
Gaza City	31.0	51.0	28.8	33.0
25.0				
Gaza Other	49.0	65.0	50.4	42.0
39.0				
Place				
City	20.0	43.0	25.0	27.0
23.0				
Village/Town	36.0	56.0	44.1	30.0
35.0				
Camp	39.0	58.0	49.7	40.0
32.0				
Gender				
Male	29.0	49.0	36.1	30.0
27.0				
Female	37.0	60.0	50.8	42.0
37.0				
Refugee Status				
Refugee	37.0	56.0	43.4	37.0
29.0				
Non-refugee	25.0	47.0	35.2	27.0
37.0				
Education				
Primary	37.0	60.0	45.2	33.0
31.0				
Secondary	34.0	53.0	42.9	36.0
36.0				
2-yr college	24.0	43.0	34.6	12.0
24.0				
University degree	22.0	32.0	23.9	27.0
18.0				
Marital Status				
Single		45.0	30.8	38.0
40.0				
Married		53.0	35.6	39.0
26.0				
Age				
18-30	42.0	54.0	46.7	41.0
38.0				
31-43	25.0	54.0	35.9	24.0
25.0				
44-64	20.0	58.0	26.1	25.0
20.0				

### **The Proposed Agreement on Redeployment, Elections, and Extending Palestinian Authority.**

The majority of the respondents said that they approve of the proposed agreements. Less than 30% showed their disapproval. The results show that support for the agreement was higher in the West Bank than in the Gaza Strip. Support was higher in the North of the West Bank than the

Middle and the South. For Example, 41% of the respondents from the Hebron area opposed the proposed agreement. In the South of the Gaza, opposition to the proposed agreement reached to 48%. The results show that refugee camp residents are less supportive of the proposed agreement than city and village residents. Support for the agreement decreases with education as 60% of the least educated support the agreement and only 23% of the most educated support it (see Table 4)

**Table 4**

**Support for Redeployment Agreement by Education**

	Yes%	No%	Don't Know%
Up to 9-Years	59.6	22.5	17.9
Tawjihi	52.7	31.6	15.7
College	55.6	33.9	10.5
Bachelor	49.6	42.7	07.7

**Table 5**

**Support for Redeployment Agreement by Political Affiliation**

	Yes%	No%	Don't Know%
Hamas	38.7	47.9	13.4
PFLP	25.5	61.7	12.8
Fateh	75.4	13.7	10.9
Jihad	32.4	52.9	14.7
Is. Ind.	33.3	51.9	14.8
Na. Ind.	54.9	31.4	13.7
Others	58.6	25.3	16.1
No one	34.5	38.4	27.1

**Extending Palestinian authority to the West Bank in view of redeployment**

The majority of Palestinians viewed the extension of Palestinian authority in the West Bank with either indifference or reservation. In contrast, less than a majority said that they were looking forward to PNA authority in view of the proposed redeployment plan. The percentage of those looking forward to extending PNA authority is slightly higher among West Bank respondents than those from Gaza. Jerusalem and Ramallah residents expressed most reservations concerning the issue. In Bethlehem and South Gaza the percentage of those looking forward to extending PA to West bank didn't exceed 30%. The results show that refugee camp residents are less enthused to extending PA to West Bank than village and city residents. Reservations are also high among men as 55% of them expressed a cautious attitude. University graduates, employees, and specialists expressed high degrees of reservations (see Table 6).

**Table 6**

**Considering Redeployment, View of Extending PNA by Education**

	Forward%	Neutral%	Reservations%	Don't Know%
Up to 9-Years	51.6	29.4	12.4	06.6
Tawjihi	43.4	31.1	20.7	04.8
College	31.5	35.5	29.8	03.2
Bachelor	27.4	28.2	39.3	05.1

**Table 7**

### **Considering Redeployment, View of Extending PNA by Political Affiliation**

	Forward%	Neutral%	Reservations%	Don't Know%
Hamas	28.7	35.7	29.4	06.3
PFLP	14.9	40.4	42.6	02.1
Fateh	60.3	25.2	12.8	01.7
Jihad	20.6	41.2	17.6	20.6
Is. Ind.	14.8	22.2	51.9	11.1
Na. Ind.	28.8	42.3	26.9	01.9
Others	55.7	19.3	17.0	08.0
No one	30.5	38.9	20.7	09.9

### **Palestinian state is near?**

A total of 43.5% said that redeployment means the beginning of a Palestinian state while 38.9% disagreed with them. There was no difference between the West Bank and Gaza respondents concerning this question. Division regarding this issue is most pervasive if we look at educational attainment of the respondents. A total of 28% of the least educated said that redeployment doesn't mean the beginning of a Palestinian state, compared with 60% of the most educated. In addition, more than 53% of students, employees, and specialists said that redeployment doesn't mean the beginning of a Palestinian state. The largest percentage of respondents in Nablus, Ramallah, Hebron, Bethlehem, and South Gaza shared this view (see Table 8).

**Table 8**

### **Does Redeployment Mean a Possible State by Education**

	Yes %	No%	Don't Know%
Up to 9-Years	49.1	28.4	22.4
Tawjihi	44.6	42.5	12.9
College	29.0	52.4	18.5
Bachelors	29.1	59.0	12.0

### **The Performance of Palestinian Leadership in the Negotiations**

Less than one-third of the respondents described the performance of the Palestinian negotiators as "good". Another one-third said it was *mutawasit*\*(fair) while a quarter of the respondents

described their performance as "weak". More Gazans said that the Palestinian performance during the negotiations was "*mutawasit*" or "good" than did West Bank respondents. A total of 47% of the most educated said that the performance was "weak", compared with 18% of the least educated. The largest percentage among refugee camp residents, men, employees, merchants, and specialists evaluated this performance as "weak" (see Table 9).

\**mutawasit* in Arabic literally means "middle". Those interested in comparing these results with previous results should be advised that it has sometimes been translated as "average" though CPRS believes that "fair" is a better translation, as long as it is not mistakenly understood as "just".

**Table 9**

**Palestinian Leadership Performance in Negotiations by Education**

	Good%	Average%	Weak%	Don't Know%
Up to 9-Years	36.6	30.6	18.2	14.7
Tawjihi	30.3	36.6	24.0	09.0
College	24.2	31.5	39.5	04.8
Bachelor	17.9	24.8	47.0	10.3

**PNA Performance Concerning Palestinian Prisoners**

Palestinians were split over this issue with 37.6% describing the performance of the PNA concerning the release of Palestinian prisoners as "weak" and 36.2% describing it as "good". Negative evaluation was more widespread in Gaza than in the West Bank. A total of 46% of refugee camp residents said that the performance of the PNA in this regard was "weak"; only 24% of them said it was "good." Men were more critical of the performance of PNA than women, as 44% of the men said that the performance of the PNA was "weak" and 33% of the women said so. Critical evaluation of the PNA performance concerning release of prisoners reached 50% among students, university graduates, and it reached 59% among specialists (see Table 10).

**Table 10**

**PNA Performance with Regard to Prisoners by Education**

	Good%	Average%	Weak%	Don't Know%
Up to 9-Years	43.9	17.4	29.2	09.5
Tawjihi	31.7	22.8	41.6	03.9
College	26.6	22.6	48.4	02.4
Bachelor	25.6	15.4	50.4	08.5

**Table 11**

**PNA Performance with Regard to Prisoners by Political Affiliation**

	Good%	Average%	Weak%	Don't Know%
Hamas	37.8	14.7	42.7	04.9
PFLP	19.1	08.5	68.1	04.3
Fateh	46.0	20.8	28.4	04.8
Jihad	26.5	08.8	58.8	05.9
Is. Ind.	18.5	22.2	55.6	03.7
Na. Ind.	30.8	26.9	38.5	03.8
Others	30.7	14.8	36.4	18.2
No One	24.6	22.2	44.3	08.9

## Palestinian views of Israel

The results of this poll show that Palestinians do not trust Israel. While lack of trust of Israel is widespread in Palestine, it is higher in the West Bank than in the Gaza Strip.

## Appointments to PNA institutions

Palestinians were polled concerning their views of the employment practices of PNA institutions. They said that appointments were made, primarily, based on *wastah* (i.e. connections) while only one-fifth of the respondents said that these appointments were primarily based on qualifications. The results show a stark difference between West Bank and Gaza respondents regarding this issue; more Gazans felt that *wasta* was necessary to be appointed in a PNA institution. A total of 78% of refugee camp respondents said that *wasta* was the primary basis for PNA appointments; 75% of students, employees, and specialists shared this view (see Table 12).

**Table 12**

## Appointment to PNA Institutions by Education

	Qualifications%	Wasta%	Others%
Up to 9-Years	27.1	54.6	18.3
Tawjihi	15.7	71.7	12.7
College	11.7	75.8	12.5
Bachelor	09.7	74.3	15.9

**Table 13**

## Appointment to PNA Institutions by Political Affiliation

	Qualifications%	Wasta%	Others%
Hamas	10.7	77.9	11.4
PFLP	08.5	78.7	12.8
Fateh	27.9	58.2	13.9
Jihad	11.8	82.4	05.9
Is. Ind.	11.5	65.4	23.1
Na. Ind.	13.5	73.1	13.5
Others	14.9	55.2	29.9

No one	14.6	64.6	20.7
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### Choice of electoral system

The majority of Palestinians polled chose an electoral system based on proportional representation, and less than one-third chose a majority system. While support for proportional representation is equal among respondents from the West Bank and Gaza, there is less support for a majority system in Gaza than in the West Bank. Support for proportional representation was highest among university graduates as it reached 69%. Students and employees were also supportive of a proportional system (see Table 14).

**Table 14**

### Electoral System by Education

	Majority%	Proportional%	Don't Know%
Up to 9-Years	34.5	42.2	23.3
Tawjihi	31.1	53.6	15.3
College	19.4	68.5	12.1
Bachelor	30.8	63.2	06.0

**Table 15**

### Electoral System by Political Affiliation

	Majority%	Proportional%	Don't Know%
Hamas	28.7	55.2	16.1
PFLP	27.7	61.7	10.6
Fateh	39.1	46.6	14.3
Jihad	35.3	44.1	20.6
Is. Ind.	33.3	51.9	14.8
Na. Ind.	19.2	75.0	05.8
Others	26.1	56.8	17.0
No one	23.3	46.5	30.2

### Participation in elections

The results of this poll show that there has been a decline in willingness to participate in elections. In our March poll, 75% of those questioned replied that they would participate where as only 68.4% replied affirmatively in this poll (see Tables 16 and 17).

**Table 16**

### Participation in Elections by Education

Yes%	No%	Don't Know%
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Up to 9-Years	69.1	22.6	08.3
Tawjihi	64.9	24.0	11.1
College	70.2	25.0	04.8
Bachelor	75.2	15.4	09.4

**Table 17**

**Participation in Elections by Political Affiliation**

	Yes%	No%	Don't Know%
Hamas	65.7	25.9	08.4
PFLP	57.4	27.7	14.9
Fateh	80.9	13.9	05.3
Jihad	41.2	58.8	---
Is. Ind.	66.7	25.9	07.4
Na. Ind.	75.0	19.2	05.8
Others	70.5	18.2	11.4
No one	44.8	35.5	19.7



**President of the PNA**

The results of this poll show a drop in the popularity of Yassir Arafat as he received votes from 49.4% of the respondents compared with 55.4% of the vote in May of 1995. Decline in support for Arafat was mainly in the Gaza Strip where he received 52% of the vote compared with 64% in May. In contrast, we note a 5% increase in the percentage of those choosing "others" from May. Also compared to their popularity in May, support for Ahmad Yassin was slightly higher, and there was no appreciable change for Haydar Abdel Shafi or George Habash (see Table 20).

**Table 18**

**Future PNA President by Education**

	Yassin%	Shafi%	Arafat%	Habash%
Others%				
Up to 9-Years	12.4	05.2	53.6	03.0
25.9				
Tawjihi	15.7	07.4	47.8	03.7
25.3				
College	12.3	09.0	46.7	05.7
26.2				
Bachelor	13.8	13.8	39.7	06.9
25.9				

**Table 19**

**Future PNA President by Political Affiliation**

	Yassin%	Shafi%	Arafat%	Habash%
Others%				
Hamas	69.0	04.9	13.4	00.7
12.0				
PFLP	---	02.2	15.2	76.1
06.5				
Fateh	01.9	03.4	85.4	---
09.3				
Jihad	36.4	03.0	21.2	03.0
36.4				
Is. Ind.	40.0	04.0	24.0	---
32.0				
Na. Ind.	06.0	38.0	22.0	06.0
28.0				
Others	04.5	12.5	22.7	---
60.2				
No one	03.0	10.7	24.9	01.0
60.4				

**Table 20**

### Comparison of PNA President Election Results

	Arafat %	Yassin %	Abdel Shafi %	Habash %
Other %				
Nov 1994	44.2	19.7	08.9	06.8
Dec 1994	48.5	18.4	08.6	05.8
Feb 1995	53.4	14.6	10.0	03.6
Mar 1995	56.5	13.5	07.6	03.2
May 1995	55.4	11.9	08.4	04.0
July 1995	49.3	13.4	07.6	03.9



### Political affiliation

The popularity of Fateh has dropped from 49.2% in May to 43.6% this month. While the popularity of this group has not changed in the West Bank, it has lost 13 points in Gaza, dropping from 56.6% to 43.7%. Support for the opposition groups has not changed although more Palestinians declared disinterest in the political groups listed in the question. Support for Fateh is less than average in the areas of South Gaza, Ramallah, Hebron, Jericho, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem (see Table 21).

**Table 21**

### Political Affiliation by Place of Residence\*

	Hamas %	PFLP %	Fateh%	Is.	Is. Ind.	Na. Ind.
Other %						
No one %						
				Jihad %	%.	%

Nablus	15.2	02.7	50.9	01.8	03.6	03.6
06.3	13.4					
Tulkarm	16.1	03.4	58.6	01.1	00.0	01.1
06.9	11.5					
Jenin	15.3	02.4	49.4	01.2	02.4	01.2
03.5	22.4					
Jericho	16.0	04.0	40.0	---	00.0	00.0
12.0	28.0					
Ramallah	13.5	04.8	31.7	04.8	00.0	07.7
20.2	17.3					
Hebron	16.3	05.7	32.5	04.1	07.3	08.9
02.4	19.5					
Bethlehem	09.6	11.0	41.1	02.7	01.4	12.3
01.4	17.8					
Jerusalem	08.1	05.4	41.9	04.1	08.1	09.5
04.1	16.2					
Gaza North	13.6	10.6	48.5	04.5	00.0	03.0
09.1	10.6					
Gaza City	08.1	02.0	48.3	02.7	00.7	04.7
12.8	18.1					
Gaza Middle	13.5	01.6	46.8	04.0	02.4	00.8
07.1	21.4					
Gaza South	14.9	01.5	28.4	04.5	01.5	01.5
10.4	35.8					

\*DFLP, Fida, and PPP are not included in this table because of small sample size.



## Municipal Councils

Residents of the cities of Nablus, Hebron, and Gaza, were polled about the performance of their city councils. The residents of Nablus city gave a positive evaluation as 77.3% said that the council's performance was "good". In Gaza city, 29.3% said that the performance of their council was "good". The Hebron city council received the lowest marks as only 12.1% of the residents said that the performance of their council was "good" (see Tables 22 and 23).

**Table 22**

### Evaluation of Municipal Councils by Education

	Good%	Average%	Weak%	Don't Know%
Up to 9-Years	41.9	24.8	22.2	11.1
Tawjihi	34.7	30.7	24.8	09.9
College	33.3	24.2	39.4	03.0
Bachelor	41.4	24.1	27.6	06.9

**Table 23**

### Evaluation of Municipal Councils by Political Affiliation

	Good%	Average%	Weak%	Don't Know
Hamas	31.4	31.4	28.6	08.6
PFLP	---	75.0	25.0	---
Fateh	53.2	23.0	17.5	06.3
Jihad	---	20.0	60.0	20.0
Is. Ind.	30.0	20.0	50.0	---
Na. Ind.	31.6	26.3	42.1	---
Others	40.0	24.0	24.0	12.0
No one	26.0	32.0	28.0	14.0




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## Appendix

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	Total	West Bank	Gaza
<b>*Unemployment rate</b>	29.0%	27.0%	33.0%
<b>1. Do you support the proposed Palestinian-Israeli agreement which concerning elections, redeployment, and transfer of authority in the West Bank?</b>			
a. Yes	55.9%	59.0%	50.3%
b. No	29.0%	27.7%	31.3%
c. Don't know	15.1%	13.3%	18.4%
<b>2. How do you view the Palestinian Authority's assumption of control in the remaining areas of the West Bank after redeployment of the Israeli forces outside populated areas?</b>			
a. Looking Forward	44.1%	45.3%	41.6%
b. Neutral	30.7%	29.8%	32.3%
c. With Reservations	19.7%	20.0%	19.8%
d. Don't Know	05.2%	05.9%	05.4%
<b>3. Do you think the redeployment of Israeli forces in the West Bank (outside populated areas) might mean that the establishment of a Palestinian State is near?</b>			
a. Yes	43.5%	42.8%	44.6%
b. No	38.9%	38.4%	39.7%
c. Don't Know	17.6%	18.8%	15.7%
<b>4. How do you evaluate the Palestinian leadership's management of the current negotiations regarding redeployment, elections, and transfer of authorities?</b>			
a. Good	31.2%	30.6%	32.3%
b. Fair*	32.0%	29.9%	35.9%
c. Weak	25.5%	27.2%	22.3%
d. Don't Know	11.3%	12.3%	09.5%
<b>5. How do you evaluate the performance of the Palestinian Authority regarding the issue of the release of Palestinian prisoners?</b>			
a. Good	36.2%	38.5%	31.8%
b. Fair	19.4%	18.9%	20.3%
c. Weak	37.6%	36.2%	40.3%
d. Don't Know	06.3%	06.4%	07.6%
<b>6. Do you trust the Israeli intentions towards the peace process with the Palestinians?</b>			
a. Yes	06.9%	06.1%	08.2%
b. No	81.1%	83.4%	76.9%
c. Don't Know	12.0%	10.5%	14.9%
<b>7. Do you think the appointments in PNA institutions are based mostly on:</b>			
a. Qualifications	19.7%	23.9%	11.8%

b. <i>Wasta</i> (family/factional connections)	64.4%	59.1%	74.5%
c. Others	15.9%	17.0%	13.7%

**8. The electoral system that should be adopted in the upcoming elections of the Palestinian Authority Council is:**

a. A Majority system	31.5%	35.3%	24.4%
b. A Proportional representation system	50.9%	50.3%	51.9%
c. Don't Know	17.6%	14.4%	23.7%

**9. Will you participate in general political elections to select members of the Palestinian Authority Council?**

a. Yes	68.4%	70.8%	64.1%
b. No	22.7%	21.2%	25.4%
c. Don't Know	08.9%	08.0%	10.5%

**10. If a separate election for the head of the National Authority takes place, and the following nominate themselves, I will choose:**

a. Hayder Abdel Shafi	07.6%	09.1%	04.9%
b. George Habash	03.9%	04.3%	03.1%
c. Yassir Arafat	49.3%	47.9%	52.1%
d. Ahmed Yassin	13.4%	14.3%	11.8%
e. Other (Specify)	25.7%	24.4%	28.1%

**11. If elections were held today, and you decided to participate, you would vote for candidates affiliated with:**

a. PPP	01.0%	00.7%	01.6%
b. Hamas	13.1%	13.8%	11.9%
c. Fateh	43.6%	43.6%	43.7%
d. Islamic Jihad	02.8%	03.6%	03.1%
e. DFLP	00.1%	---	00.3%
f. PFLP	04.3%	04.8%	03.4%
g. Feda	00.8%	01.3%	---
h. Islamic independents	02.5%	03.1%	01.3%
i. Nationalist independents	04.8%	05.8%	02.8%
j. Other (specify)	08.1%	07.2%	09.6%
k. None of the above	18.6%	16.9%	21.8%

**12. How do you evaluate the performance of the elected city council in your city one year after it has been formed? [asked only in Nablus city, Hebron city, and Gaza city]**

	Nablus	Hebron	Gaza
a. Good	77.3%	12.1%	29.3%
b. Fair	13.3%	27.6%	33.3%
c. Weak	04.0%	56.9%	24.0%
d. Don't know	05.4%	03.4%	13.4%