



An-Najah National University
Center for Opinion Polls and Survey Studies
Tel: (972)(9) 2381113/7, 2386584 Fax: (972)(9) 2387982
Nablus – Palestinian: P.O.Box 7, 707
Email: Polls@najah.edu husein569@yahoo.com

Result of Palestinian Public Opinion Polls
No. 9
November 3-5, 2004

Background

After successive negations by top Palestinian officials of the news reporting a deterioration of Arafat's health, he was taken to a military hospital in Paris for a possible diagnosis that would reveal the nature of his sickness. Despite all assurances that the Palestinian president does not suffer from a dangerous disease, fear among Palestinian people is not contained.

Despite Arafat's absence from the Palestinian scene because of his sickness, Palestinian officials confirmed that such absence will not leave any political or security gaps, nor will it lead to any kind of chaos in the Palestinian street.

Within this atmosphere of assurances, the PLO's Executive Committee held a meeting chaired by Mahmoud Abbas and Ahmad Qurai' was said to chair the Palestinian Security Council until the return of Arafat.

On the other side of the scene, the Israeli Knesset approved of Sharon's unilateral disengagement plan, which calls for a redeployment of Israeli forces from the Gaza Strip and the evacuation of settlements there. The Palestinian official response to this plan confirmed adherence to the Road Map agreement and stated that any withdrawal from Gaza should be in co-ordination with the Palestinian Authority. Several Palestinian factions consider the withdrawal a victory resulting from Palestinian resistance.

On the side of elections, the registration come to an end and official data have not been fixed neither for conducting the local council election nor the presidential and legislative ones.

* The Opinions represented in the results reflect those of the study; they do not represent by any means the opinion of An-Najah National University.



The Results

Following are the results of the ninth public opinion poll conducted by the Center for Opinion Polls and Survey Studies at An Najah National University during the period from 3-5 November 2004. **The University takes full sponsorship of all polls conducted by its Center.**

The ninth poll undertakes several topic related basically to the President's sickness and its consequences on the Palestinian arena, the Israeli approved of the unilateral disengagement plan in the Gaza Strip, the elections registration campaign, the Legislative Council and local councils elections, in addition to political sympathies and other issues.

The sample included 1360 persons whose age group is 18 years and above and who have the right to vote. The sample forms one per thousand from among the total number of Palestinian people of this age group. The enclosed questionnaire was distributed on 860 persons from the West Bank and 500 persons from the Gaza Strip. The sample was drawn randomly and the margin of error is about ± 3 . Still 2.5% of the members of the sample refused to answer the questionnaire.

Major Results:

- 41.1% from among respondents assert that Israel will not allow Arafat to come back to his headquarters in Ramallah after he completed his medical treatment abroad; 50.7% see that it will.
- 74.7% see that the departure of Arafat left a political and security gap on the Palestinian arena.
- 83.2% from among respondents support the necessity of forming a united Palestinian leadership under the present circumstances.
- 44.0% from among respondents see that the most important step that Arafat may take in the present situation is forming a united national government.
- 28.4% believe that Ahmad Qurai' is capable of managing the Palestinian Authority's affairs, while 59.8% see the contrary.
- 42.9% believe that Abu Mazen is capable of managing PLO's affairs, while 41.9% see the contrary.
- 42.0% from among respondents assert that the Authority's institutions are capable of rectifying the security and administrative gaps in the present situation; 51.3% see that they are incapable.
- 42.1% see that the stand of Palestinian organization toward the current situation is a positive one, and 29.0% see that it is negative.
- 41.3% see that the best option that guarantees a settled internal situation is the formation of a united national leadership; while 10.9% see that the



best option is to form an emergency government, and 4.7% see that the best option is to leave things as they are without changes.

- 44.5% from among respondents see that the unilateral disengagement plan that the Israeli government and Knesset adopted is an Israeli substitute of the Road Map.
- 46.7% from among respondents believe that the Israeli redeployment from the Gaza Strip is a result of Palestinian resistance.
- 31.8% see that the Palestinian Authority's response to the disengagement plan is good; while 54.7% see that it is bad.
- 29.8% see that the absence of Arafat will hinder the Israeli implementation of the unilateral disengagement plan.
- 35.4% from among respondents believe that the unilateral disengagement plan will escalate the Palestinian struggle over the authority; 22.7% do not see that.
- 63.4% believe that the unilateral disengagement plan will push the Palestinian people to reinforce their national unity.
- 49.9% expect that Israel will dismantle the settlements in the Gaza Strip once they pull out.
- 37.9% believe the Israeli redeployment of forces will lead to the improvement of the political and economic situation; 27.7% see the contrary.
- 50.7% from among respondents say that aids and donations for reconstruction and development will be concentrated in the Gaza Strip at the expense of the West Bank.
- In case of a redeployment:
 - 66.8% from respondents see that the benefit of disengagement plan is to facilitate the movement of people and goods.
 - 64.3% see that it is reducing the number of checkpoints in Palestinian areas.
 - 43.3% see that it is regulating the transfer of the Authority's financial dues from Israel.
 - 64.9% see that it is reducing the number of closure days and siege in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
 - 60.3% see that it is reopening the airport, constructing Gaza port and developing the infrastructure.
 - 56.1% see that it is rebuilding the industrial zones on the borders.
 - 37.8% see that it is handing in the settlement to the Palestinian Authority.
 - 55.2% see that it is the retreat of the percentage of poverty and unemployment.



- 61.8% see that it is the increase of local and international investments.
- 65.4% see that it is the increase of foreign aid.
- 74.9% say that they participated in the registration for election.
- 72.4% say that the elections registration procedure was good.
- 36.3% suggest conducting registrations in Palestinian home to raise the percentage of registration for election; 21.1% suggest reopening registration opportunity; 28.8% suggest elections by showing the ID; 6.2% suggest using the lists of the Ministry of Interior for elections.
- Only 1.8% of the respondents assert that they will reelect the same members of the PLC that they elected before, and 8.8% assert that they will reelect only some of the old members. While 17.3% assert that they will not reelect any of the previous members, 58.4% assert that they will decide on whom to vote for at the polls. Further, 11.2% assert that they will not participate in the elections.
- As for the characteristics they desire to see in future candidates running for the PLC, they favor the following in a descending order.
 - An average of 90.49% care for candidates who are not accused of corruption
 - An average of 89.16% favor the educational qualifications.
 - An average of 85.69% care for the administrative skills of the candidate.
 - An average of 72.04% favor the patriotic record of the candidate.
 - An average of 56.32% favor the political affiliation of the candidate.
 - An average of 53.07% favor male gender.
 - An average of 34.70% care for the family belongness of the candidate.
 - An average of 33.42% care for place of dwelling.
 - An average of 29.00% favor the female gender.
 - An average of 28.91% favor previous PLC members.
- 19.0% from among respondents assert that the current circumstances are suitable for conducting general elections while 25.1% assert that the circumstances are not suitable. 44.3% from among respondents say that it is possible to disregard the present circumstances and conduct elections; 7.6% however, say that it is not possible to disregard the present circumstances and conduct elections.
- In case of running for legislative elections, 22.1% choose Fateh block, 16.1% choose Hamas block, while a joint block from the Palestinian left received 2.5.
- 36.9% from among respondents reject launching attacks against Israel from the Gaza Strip if Israel pulls out.
- 66.5% from among respondents support the implementation of a new ceasefire between the Israeli's and the Palestinian's if Israel is really committed to a ceasefire.



- As for Political affiliations they were distributed as follows:

- People's party	0.7
- Democratic Front	2.1
- Islamic Jihad	4.9
- Fateh	27.2
- Hamas	20.0
- Fida	0.4
- Public Front	2.7
- Independent Nationalist	6.7
- Independent Islamist	7.7
- None of the above	26.8
- Other	0.8



The General Results of the Poll

Several resources assert that Israel will be committed to allowing Arafat to return to his headquarters in Ramallah after the completion of his medical treatment. Do you think that Israel will allow the President to go back to Ramallah?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
It will certainly not	50.7	51.2	50.0
It will not	41.1	42.1	39.4
No opinion, I do not know	8.2	6.7	10.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

After Arafat departure for treatment, do you think that he left behind him a political and security vacuum?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly do	38.6	38.6	38.6
I do	36.1	38.8	31.4
I do not	16.8	17.1	16.4
I strongly do not	6.2	3.1	11.4
No opinion, I do not know	2.3	2.3	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In view of the current situation, do you support or reject the formation of a united national leadership to manage the affairs of the Palestinian Authority until conducting general election?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly support	40.8	35.1	50.6
I Support	45.4	51.6	34.8
I reject	9.0	9.3	8.4
I strongly reject	2.7	2.6	3.0
No opinion, I do not know	2.1	1.4	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Under the current circumstances, what is the most important step that Arafat should take?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Conducting general elections	28.2	29.3	26.2
Nominating a vice president	23.3	25.2	20.0
Forming a united national government	44.0	41.6	48.0
No opinion, I do not know	4.6	3.8	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Do you believe that Ahmad Qurai' is capable of managing the affairs of the Palestinian National Authority?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	28.4	33.4	19.8
No	59.8	53.5	70.6
No opinion, I do not know	11.8	13.1	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you believe that Mahmoud Abbas is capable of managing the affairs of the PLO?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	42.9	42.6	43.6
No	41.9	42.7	40.6
No opinion, I do not know	15.1	14.8	15.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you believe that the institutions of the Palestinian Authority are capable of filling in the administrative and security gap in the present situation?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	42.0	46.2	34.8
No	51.3	48.3	56.4
No opinion, I do not know	6.8	5.6	8.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

What position does Palestinian organizations take towards the current situation?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Positive	42.1	42.8	40.8
Negative	29.0	26.0	34.0
No position	21.3	42.0	16.8
No opinion, I do not know	7.6	7.2	8.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

What, in your opinion, is the best choice that guarantees a stable internal situation?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The formation of a united national leadership	31.3	41.6	40.8
The formation of an emergency government	10.9	9.8	12.8
Leaving the current situation as it is without any changes	4.7	4.9	4.4
A collective leadership from among the qualified people who are not involved in corruption	32.8	33.0	32.4
A collective leadership including the PLC Chair, PNC Chair, the Prime Minister and the Secretary of the PLO's executive committee	8.0	8.5	2.7
No opinion, I do not know	2.3	2.2	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Do you think that the unilateral disengagement plan is an Israeli substitute for the Road Map?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	44.5	40.0	52.2
No	44.3	48.4	37.4
No opinion, I do not know	11.2	11.6	10.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that the Israeli Government and the Knesset's approval of the redeployment from Gaza Strip came as a result of ...?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The pressure caused by Palestinian resistance	46.7	43.5	52.2
The economic and security uselessness of staying in the Gaza Strip	32.5	32.1	33.2
The international pressure on Israel	15.4	18.8	9.6
No opinion, I do not know	5.4	5.6	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

How do you evaluate the Palestinian Authority's dealings with the unilateral disengagement plan?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Good	31.8	34.2	27.6
Bad	54.7	54.2	55.6
No opinion, I do not know	13.5	11.6	16.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that Arafat's absence will hinder the implementation of the Israeli disengagement plan?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	29.8	29.4	30.4
No	63.3	64.3	61.6
No opinion, I do not know	6.9	6.3	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Do you think that the Israeli disengagement will lead to an escalation of Palestinian struggle over leadership?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	35.4	38.1	30.6
Partially	37.2	33.5	43.6
No	22.7	24.0	20.6
No opinion, I do not know	4.7	4.4	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that the disengagement plan will push the Palestinian people towards reinforcing the national unity?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	63.4	71.9	48.8
No	29.0	22.9	39.4
No opinion, I do not know	7.6	5.2	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you think that Israel will dismantle the settlements if it withdraws from the Gaza Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	49.9	48.5	52.4
No	42.9	45.2	39.0
No opinion, I do not know	7.1	6.3	8.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The redeployment from the Gaza Strip will lead politically and economically to ...?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
an improvement	37.9	38.7	36.6
A deterioration	30.0	28.4	32.8
no change	27.7	29.4	24.8
No opinion, I do not know	4.3	3.5	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



In case of the implementation of redeployment from the Gaza Strip, will aids for reconstruction and development be concentrated on the Gaza Strip at the expense of the West Bank?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	50.7	55.6	42.4
No	36.6	35.0	39.4
No opinion, I do not know	12.6	9.4	18.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

What benefits can be drawn from the disengagement plan?

Total			
	Support	Reject	No opinion
Facilitating the movement of people and goods	66.8	29.9	4.3
Reducing the number of closure days and siege in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip	64.9	30.1	5.0
Reducing the number of checkpoints in Palestinian areas	64.3	31.5	4.2
Reopening the airport, building Gaza port and developing the infrastructure	60.3	30.2	9.5
Regulating the transfer of due funds from Israel to the Palestinian Authority	43.3	43.0	13.7
Rebuilding the industrial zones on the borders	56.1	33.8	10.1
Handing settlements to the Palestinian Authority	37.8	52.4	9.9
A retreat in the percentage of unemployment and poverty	55.2	38.6	6.2
Increasing national and international investment	61.8	29.6	8.7
An increase in foreign aids	65.4	24.0	10.6
West Bank			
	Support	Reject	No opinion
Facilitating the movement of people and goods	60.3	36.0	3.6
Reducing the number of closure days and siege in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip	61.2	35.5	3.4
Reducing the number of checkpoints in Palestinian areas	55.8	41.0	3.1
Reopening the airport, building Gaza port and developing the infrastructure	60.3	32.8	6.9
Regulating the transfer of due funds from Israel to the Palestinian Authority	45.7	44.7	9.7
Rebuilding the industrial zones on the borders	61.0	30.9	8.0
Handing settlements to the Palestinian Authority	35.7	57.2	7.1
A retreat in the percentage of unemployment and poverty	55.6	40.3	4.1
Increasing national and international investment	65.7	29.2	5.1
An increase in foreign aids	66.5	25.0	8.5



Gaza Strip			
	Support	Reject	No opinion
Facilitating the movement of people and goods	77.8	16.6	5.6
Reducing the number of closure days and siege in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip	71.4	20.8	7.8
Reducing the number of checkpoints in Palestinian areas	78.8	15.2	6.0
Reopening the airport, building Gaza port and developing the infrastructure	60.2	25.8	14.0
Regulating the transfer of due funds from Israel to the Palestinian Authority	39.2	40.2	20.6
Rebuilding the industrial zones on the borders	47.6	38.6	13.8
Handing settlements to the Palestinian Authority	41.4	44.0	14.6
A retreat in the percentage of unemployment and poverty	54.6	35.6	9.8
Increasing national and international investment	55.0	30.2	14.8
An increase in foreign aids	63.4	22.4	14.2

Do you participate in the registration for election?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	74.9	76.6	72.0
No	25.1	23.4	28.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Do you like to register for elections (from among those who didn't register)?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Yes	44.6	43.3	46.3
No	51.7	54.2	48.3
No opinion, I do not know	3.7	2.5	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

How do you evaluate the process of registration for elections?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Very good	15.9	12.7	20.6
Good	56.5	62.4	47.8
Bad	7.9	7.7	8.2
Very bad	11.1	8.1	15.6
No opinion, I do not know	8.5	9.1	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



What do you suggest to raise the percentage of registration for elections?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Reopening the opportunity for registration	21.1	24.8	14.8
Conducting registration in Palestinian homes	36.3	36.6	35.6
Participating in the elections by the use of the ID	28.8	28.4	29.4
Using the lists prepared by the Ministry of Interior	6.2	5.5	7.4
No opinion, I do not know	7.7	4.8	12.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

If new Palestinian parliamentary elections are to be held (for the Legislative Council), whom do you vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The same members I voted for in the past	1.8	1.9	1.6
Some of the members I voted for in the past	8.8	8.4	9.6
I will not vote for any from among the members I voted for in the past	17.3	15.6	20.2
I will decide on the time of elections	58.4	62.7	51.0
I will not participate in the elections	11.2	10.5	20.4
I do not know; no opinion	2.6	1.0	50.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

What qualities do you seek in the person that you intend to vote for in the coming legislative elections?

	Rank 0-10 (Average)		
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Kinship	9.0493	9.1279	8.9140
Educational qualifications	8.9162	9.1453	8.5220
Political affiliation	5.6316	5.3326	6.1460
Family relations	3.4699	2.9895	4.2960
Record of resistance	7.2044	7.3512	6.9520
Place of habitation	3.3419	3.0209	3.8940
Economic situation	8.5691	8.9640	7.8900
Being an ex-council member	2.8912	2.9291	2.8260
Gender, male	5.3066	4.9791	5.8700
Gender, female	2.9000	3.0093	2.720



There are people who say that the current political and security circumstances prevent conducting general elections (for the PLC and presidential election), others say the contrary. What is your opinion?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
The circumstances are suitable for conducting elections	19.0	20.0	17.4
The circumstances are not suitable	25.1	29.9	17.0
It is possible to disregard the circumstances and conduct elections	44.3	39.9	52.0
It is not possible to disregard the circumstances	7.6	7.7	7.6
I do not know; no opinion	3.8	2.6	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

If elections for the Legislative Council are held and the following blocks run for elections, which will you, vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Members from Fateh	22.1	22.9	20.8
Members from Hamas	16.1	13.7	20.2
Members from the Palestinian left	2.1	2.4	2.6
Independent nationalist members	4.0	3.8	4.2
Independent Islamist members	6.9	5.1	10.0
Members representing the PLO	2.6	2.2	3.2
I will decide on the time of elections	34.9	40.0	26.2
I will not participate in the elections	6.8	7.1	6.2
No opinion; I do not know	4.1	2.7	6.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

If Israel withdraws from the Strip do you support or reject launching attacks against Israel from inside the Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly support	22.5	18.0	30.2
I support	33.8	41.3	20.8
I reject	26.5	27.7	24.6
I strongly reject	10.4	6.3	17.6
No opinion; I don not know	6.8	6.7	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



If Israel is really committed to a new ceasefire, do you support or reject a new ceasefire between Israel and the Palestinian Authority?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
I strongly support	18.2	11.6	29.4
I support	48.3	54.3	38.0
I reject	21.1	24.1	16.0
I strongly reject	8.8	7.1	11.8
No opinion; I don not know	3.6	2.9	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

What of the following parties and political affiliations do you support?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
People's party	0.7	0.6	1.0
Democratic Front	2.1	2.4	1.4
Islamic Jihad	4.9	4.3	5.8
Fateh	27.2	28.1	25.6
Hamas	20.0	17.8	23.8
Fida	0.4	0.1	0.8
Public Front	2.7	2.3	3.4
I am an independent nationalist	6.7	6.2	7.6
I am an independent Islamist	7.7	5.9	10.8
I do not support any of the above	26.8	31.4	19.0
Others, specify	0.8	0.8	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0