

Center for Palestine Research & Studies (CPRS)

Public Opinion Poll NO (19)

Armed Attacks, Palestinian-Jordanian Relations, Negotiations, Elections and Other Issues of Concern, August-September 1995

This is the nineteenth public opinion poll conducted by the Survey Research Unit (SRU) at the Center for Palestine Research and Studies. The SRU has been conducting regular public opinion polls to document an important phase in the history of the Palestinian people and to record the reactions of the Palestinian community with regard to current political events. CPRS does not adopt political positions and does not tolerate politically motivated attempts to influence the conclusions reached or published. CPRS is committed to providing a scholarly contribution to analysis and objective study and to publishing the results of all our studies and research. Poll results provide a vital resource for the community and for researchers needing statistical information and analysis. The polls give members of the community opportunity to voice their opinion and to seek to influence decision makers on issues of concern to them. This poll focuses on prospects for peace, direction of the Palestinian society, the PNA performance, armed attacks, elections, and political affiliation. The main findings are:

- A majority of Palestinians (59.5%) do not expect a lasting peace with Israel; only 23% expect a lasting peace.
- Respondents were equally divided as to whether or not Palestinian society is headed in the correct direction: 32.6% affirm the present direction and 28.9% question it.
- A majority of 97.1% believe the PNA must guarantee freedom of speech.
- A total of 37.4% of respondents support a form of unity with Jordan and 61.2% support two independent states.
- A total of 49.5% were optimistic about the future compared to 28.8% who said they were pessimistic.
- Support for the continuation of peace negotiations is at 70.6%.
- About 70% of Palestinians support armed attacks against Israeli army targets and against settlers, while less than 19% support attacks against other civilians.
- Most Palestinians feel their economic situation or standard of living has either gotten worse (43.5%) or stayed the same (45.2%).
- About 39% of Palestinians feel that the performance of the PNA is above average.
- Support for Arafat is at 53.7%, and Fateh is at 43.2%.
- A large majority (86.3%) believe that political elections offer the best means to choose the members of PISGA.
- 74.1% say that they will participate in the elections if and when they occur.

Enclosed are the results of the current public opinion poll that has been conducted in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (See [Appendix](#)), including a summary of the analysis of the results. For the

full text of the poll or for further information, please contact Dr. Khalil Shikaki or the coordinator of SRU, Dr. Nader Izzat Sa'id, at Tel (09) 380383/381619 - Fax (09) 380384.

General Background

The period preceding this poll was marked by increasing provocations by settlers as they occupied a number of mountain tops around the West Bank and succeeded in closing several roads. The negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis faced problems especially regarding the issue of withdrawal from Hebron. Two suicide bombings were carried out against Israeli targets in Ramat Gan and Jerusalem resulting in the death of eleven Israelis. The Israeli military and the Palestinian Authority arrested a large number of Hamas and Islamic Jihad activists. The West Bank and Gaza Strip were under tightened closures on several occasions. The PNA issued an order to close two newspapers supportive of Hamas and the Islamic Jihad. In this period, Jerusalem was the focus of many observers as settlers and the Jewish city council waged a campaign against Palestinian institutions in the city, resulting in confrontations between Palestinians and Israelis.

Methodology

The present poll is part of a larger survey of social and political attitudes that includes 300 items, the results of which will be published in the near future. The results of this survey will be the basis for a large number of scholarly research papers on political and social attitudes among Palestinians. For the purpose of this survey, some adjustments had to be made in the research methodology. More specifically, the selection of the respondents in the household was based on a table designed by CPRS researchers to guarantee the representation of all ages, education levels, and men and women. Our system resulted in the over representation of educated Palestinians as 40% of the respondents had more than 12 years of education. To adjust the sample, we had to weight for education by deflating the percentage of the educated sample.

Survey Instrument

The questionnaire was designed through consultations with experts. A pre-test involving fifty questionnaires was conducted in the Nablus area prior to the poll. The questionnaire instrument includes a large number of demographic variables as indicated in the section on sample distribution.

Household Sample Selection

SRU researchers adopted a multi-stage sample selection process. The process of sample selection began with the creation of lists of all locations in the West Bank and Gaza according to district, population size and distribution, and type of locality (city, town, village, and refugee camp). A simple random sample of locations to be surveyed was selected from these lists. Fieldworkers and researchers created maps for these localities. These maps indicated the boundaries, main streets, and clusters of residential neighborhoods in these localities which were further divided into a number of sampling units (blocks) with each unit comprising an average of two hundred housing units. The sample units (blocks) to be surveyed were selected randomly.

Sample Distribution

(Expressed as a % of the total sample / Data is not weighted in this table)

Sample Distribution	Aug/Sept 1995 (Population)	Sample Distribution	Aug/Sept 1995 (Population)
West Bank	62.3(63)	Refugee	44.4(42)
Gaza Strip	37.7(37)	Non Refugee	55.6(58)
City	39.9	Single	**33.1
Town/Village	41.6	Married	**64.4
Ref. Camp	18.5	Divorced or Widowed	**02.5
<u>Age</u>		<u>Occupation</u>	
18-22	25.3(15.4)	Laborers	06.9
23-26	16.9(12.2)	Craftsmen	08.8
27-30	13.2(14.2)	Housewives	31.8
31-35	13.6(14.6)	Specialists*	03.1
36-42	12.7(15.5)	Employees**	14.6
43-50	09.3(12.5)	Merchants	05.6
Over 50	09.0(15.6)	Students	14.5
		Farmers	02.2
		Retired	01.4
		Unemployed	10.9
Male	49.7(49)	Muslim	95.9(95.5)
Female	50.3(51)	Christian	04.1(04.5)
<u>Education</u>		Nablus	10.5
Up to 9 Yrs.	32.6(53)	Tulkarm	09.2
10-12 Yrs.	27.4(27)	Jenin	08.0
Two-Yrs. Coll.	16.7(20*)	Jericho	01.3
University	23.3	Ramallah	08.8
Degree(s)	*for all	Hebron	11.2
	post secondary	Bethlehem	05.8
	degrees	Jerusalem	07.5
		Gaza North	05.5
		Gaza City	13.1
		Gaza Middle	13.6
		Gaza South	05.5

*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), FAFO(1993), and Palestinian Statistical Bureau, 1995.

Households were selected based on a systematic sampling framework. For example, if the fieldworker estimated the number of houses in the sampling unit to be one hundred and is assigned five interviews, the fieldworker divided the 100 by 5, obtaining 20. Therefore, the fieldworker would conduct the first interview in the 20th house, and the secin the 40th, and so on. Fieldworkers were asked to start their sample selection of housing units from a well-defined point in the area such as a post office, mosque, business, etc. They were asked to report on the direction of their sampling walks. Fieldworkers played an active role in drawing the maps for the localities in the sample and in estimating the number of houses in each block. We received 740

questionnaires from the West Bank and 449 from Gaza, representing a total of 1190 interviews with Palestinians 18 years or older.

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 seventy-five 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 5 per day) to allow for careful interviewing.

Household interviews resulted in a non-response rate estimated at 2%. Some respondents, we believe, were reluctant to state their political views out of fear or disinterest in the present political factions.

Data Analysis

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%.

Results

1. Lasting peace between Palestinians and Israelis

When asked about the prospects for lasting peace between Palestine and Israel, a majority of 59.7% of those polled replied with skepticism. While 16.9% stated that they believe there will be lasting peace, another 13.3% anticipated lasting peace to an extent. Men were less confident in the prospects for a lasting peace than were women of whom a majority did not think there will be lasting peace (see Table 2).

Table 2
Lasting Peace by Gender

	Yes	To a Large Extent	To an Extent	No	Don't Know
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	%		%	%	%
Male	15.6	03.0	11.8	65.4	04.2
Female	22.4	05.1	12.9	54.0	05.6

Opinion was fairly equal among West Bank and Gaza respondents, although residents of the West Bank were slightly (2.1%) more doubtful than Gazans. Refugee camp residents were noticeably less confident about the possibility of a lasting peace than were other Palestinians (see Table 3).

Table 3
Lasting Peace by Place of Residence

	Yes %	To a Large Extent	To an Extent %	No %	Don't Know %
City	18.1	05.0	13.0	56.9	07.0
Town	21.4	---	16.2	58.8	03.6
Village	19.9	03.9	12.4	58.9	04.9
Ref. Camp	19.0	04.1	09.5	66.7	00.7

We notice that doubt of lasting peace is directly correlated with education; respondents with a Bachelors degree were more skeptical than illiterate respondents (see Table 4).

Table 4
Lasting Peace by Education

	Yes %	To a Large Extent	To an Extent %	No %	Don't Know %
Illiterate	27.5	5.0	10.0	51.3	6.3
1-9 yrs.	26.1	5.2	10.7	53.7	4.2
<i>Tawjihi</i>	17.6	3.4	11.7	61.4	5.9
2 yrs.	10.6	3.5	16.7	66.2	3.0
B.A.	8.1	3.1	15.0	68.8	5.0

We also notice a correlation between political affiliation and views of peace with Israel where Fateh supporters were less skeptical than supporters of Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and the PFLP (see Table 5).

Table 5
Lasting Peace by Political Affiliation

	Yes %	To a Large Extent	To an Extent %	No %	Don't Know %
Hamas	11.9	02.1	04.1	79.3	02.6
Fateh	21.5	05.3	19.4	49.4	04.3
Is. Jihad	16.0	04.0	---	80.0	---
PFLP	04.1	---	14.3	79.6	02.0
Is. Ind.	09.3	02.5	07.6	76.3	04.2
Na. Ind.	15.4	---	21.5	53.8	09.2
Others	11.1	---	---	88.9	---

No one	20.0	20.0	20.0	40.0	---
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2. Direction of Palestinian society

Almost one-third of those polled do not think that Palestinian society is headed in the correct direction. Here, also, we see a difference between the West Bank and Gaza, where residents of Gaza tend to be less satisfied with the present direction than those from the West Bank. Older Palestinians are more in agreement with the present direction than are younger Palestinians (see Table 6).

Table 6
Direction of Palestinian Society by Age

	Yes %	To a Large Extent	To an Extent %	No %	Don't Know %
18-22 yrs.	28.5	03.7	28.1	34.3	05.3
23-26 yrs.	29.7	04.7	23.1	37.5	05.0
27-30 yrs.	29.2	03.6	27.3	35.4	04.4
31-35 yrs.	31.4	02.4	36.6	25.3	04.4
36-42 yrs.	35.7	05.6	28.6	23.3	06.9
43-50 yrs.	40.8	07.3	27.0	18.3	05.4
51+ yrs.	41.3	04.8	30.9	16.2	07.7

The least satisfied with the present direction are the educated and refugee camp residents (see Tables 7 and 8).

Table 7
Direction of Palestinian Society by Education

	Yes %	To a Large Extent	To an Extent %	No %	Don't Know %
Illiterate	32.5	03.8	33.8	16.3	13.8
Up to 9 yrs.	43.6	05.9	21.2	25.1	04.2
Tawjihi	29.6	02.8	29.3	34.3	04.0
College	28.8	05.1	29.8	31.8	04.5
Bachelor	16.3	05.0	39.9	30.6	08.1

Table 8
Direction of Palestinian Society by Refugee Status

	Yes %	To a Large Extent	To an Extent %	No %	Don't Know %
Yes	28.0	05.2	30.7	31.7	04.5
No	36.0	03.8	27.0	26.9	06.2

3. PNA and Freedom of Speech

A total of 58.2% of Palestinians strongly agree that the PNA must guarantee the human right of free speech. An additional 38.1% pronounced that they "agree" that the PNA has this responsibility. Only 3.7% of those polled either responded negatively or didn't know.

4. Configuration of future Palestinian-Jordanian relations

Many Palestinians (61.2%) believe that future Palestinian/Jordanian relations should be based on the establishment of two independent states eventhough some prefere the establishment of a confederation or complete unity between Palestine and Jordan. However, support for a form of unity has increased from 29% in March to 37.4% this month. Support for unity is high in Bethlehem, at 56%, followed by Jenin (52%) and Nablus (45%). Support for unity in Hebron is within average (see Table 9).

Table 9
Palestinian-Jordanian Relations by Residence

	2 Independent States	Complete Unity %	Confederation %	Other %
Nablus	52.4	20.9	24.4	02.3
Tulkarm	60.7	18.8	19.3	01.2
Jenin	47.7	22.9	28.8	00.6
Jericho	68.2	16.2	15.6	---
Ramallah	67.3	15.4	12.3	04.9
Hebron	60.6	27.7	11.7	---
Bethlehem	42.2	18.5	37.4	02.0
Jerusalem	68.9	07.6	22.1	01.4
Gaza North	71.1	14.2	14.7	---
Gaza City	65.8	13.2	21.0	---
Gaza Middle	65.5	15.9	16.9	01.7
Gaza South	68.7	07.0	23.4	00.9

The formation of two independent states was the preferred alternative for the majority in each level of education. The most support for unity was among the least educated (see Table 10).

Table 10
Palestinian-Jordanian Relations by Education

	2 Independent States	Complete Unity %	Confederation %	Other %
Illiterate	50.6	29.1	19.0	01.3
Up to 9 yrs.	62.9	20.5	15.9	00.7
Tawjihi	61.1	15.1	21.3	02.5
College	65.5	14.2	20.3	---
Bachelor	62.7	09.2	26.5	01.5

5. Future Outlook

The poll results show that 49.5% of respondents were optimistic about the future, while 28.8% said they were pessimistic. Almost as many people (21.7%) were not sure. Optimism decreases

drastically with education: only 35% of BA holders said they were optimistic compared with 62% of the illiterate (see Table 11).

Table 11
Future Outlook by Education

	Optimistic %	Pessimistic %	Not Sure %
Illiterate	61.3	22.5	16.3
Up to 9 yrs.	57.8	26.1	16.0
<i>Tawjihi</i>	48.0	27.7	24.3
College	38.9	33.3	27.8
Bachelor	35.0	37.7	26.9

The majority of specialists were also pessimistic (see Table 12).

Table 12
Future Outlook by Occupation

	Optimistic %	Pessimistic %	Not Sure %
Students	35.4	35.7	28.9
Waged Labourers	45.1	35.0	19.9
Housewives	55.0	21.2	23.8
Employees	45.3	34.5	20.3
Merchants	54.5	26.9	18.5
Farmers	55.2	31.9	12.9
Craftsmen	53.2	31.1	15.7
Specialists	21.5	56.1	22.4
Unemployed	52.4	27.5	20.2
Retired	43.6	43.0	13.4

Continuation of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations

Though slightly higher in the Gaza Strip (73.1%), respondents from both the West Bank and Gaza strongly support the continuation of peace negotiations between the PLO and Israel. Opposition to the continuation of the negotiations increases among the youth, and the educated (see Tables 13 and 14).

Table 13
Support for Negotiations by Age

	Yes %	No %	Not Sure %
18-22 yrs.	64.8	23.8	11.9
23-26 yrs.	63.2	23.1	11.7
27-30 yrs.	68.2	24.2	05.7

31-35 yrs.	72.8	13.7	10.8
36-42 yrs.	74.2	14.4	10.9
43-50 yrs.	76.1	14.8	11.6
51+ yrs.	78.7	08.3	09.8

Table 14
Support for Negotiations by Education

	Yes	No	Not Sure
Illiterate	73.8	15.0	11.3
Up to 9 yrs.	75.8	14.7	09.5
<i>Tawjihi</i>	68.6	20.6	10.8
College	69.2	20.7	10.1
Bachelor	63.8	25.0	11.2

7. Armed attacks

The poll results showed that 67.6% of Palestinians support armed attacks against Israeli army targets. Support for these attacks is widespread among students, the educated, and refugees. Regarding attacks against Israeli civilian targets, the majority of Palestinians (73.9%) are opposed. Support for these attacks decreases with age as about 11% of those 43 years or older are supportive. The percentage of support increases among students and B.A. holders. A total of 71.2% of residents of the West Bank support armed attacks against Israeli settlers, while fewer Gazans (65.8%) advocated such attacks (see Table 15).

Table 15
Support for Armed Attacks Against Israeli Targets by Education, Age, Gender, and Selected Occupations

	Civilian Targets			Military Targets			Settler Targets		
Education									
	Support	Oppose	No Opinion	Support	Oppose	No Opinion	Support	Oppose	No Opinion
Illiterate	22.5	72.5	05.0	66.3	22.5	11.3	65.8	27.8	06.3
Up to 9 yrs.	12.7	80.4	06.9	59.2	32.4	08.5	61.2	33.2	05.6
Tawjihi	21.5	70.2	08.3	70.8	21.5	07.7	74.2	19.7	06.2
College	15.2	77.8	07.1	72.7	18.7	08.6	73.7	20.7	05.6
Bachelor	23.6	65.6	10.8	76.8	13.1	10.0	74.2	15.0	10.8
Age									
	Support	Oppose	No Opinion	Support	Oppose	No Opinion	Support	Oppose	No Opinion
18-22 yrs.	22.2	66.6	11.2	68.9	24.4	06.7	66.3	25.7	08.0
23-26 yrs.	26.3	67.7	06.0	73.8	19.5	06.6	75.2	19.5	05.4
27-30 yrs.	15.7	77.8	06.4	74.7	18.8	06.6	77.3	21.4	01.2
31-35 yrs.	17.2	71.6	11.1	64.9	21.0	14.1	70.1	21.9	08.0
36-42 yrs.	16.1	76.8	07.2	60.9	29.5	09.6	67.1	27.0	05.9
43-50 yrs.	10.6	84.1	05.2	60.0	28.4	11.6	63.5	28.8	07.7

51+ yrs.	11.0	86.3	02.7	65.5	26.4	08.1	63.9	28.3	07.8
Gender									
	Support	Oppose	No Opinion	Support	Oppose	No Opinion	Support	Oppose	No Opinion
Male	17.2	75.7	07.2	65.5	25.8	08.6	72.0	21.9	06.1
Female	19.4	72.2	08.4	69.5	21.8	08.7	66.5	26.8	06.7
Selected Occupations									
	Support	Oppose	No Opinion	Support	Oppose	No Opinion	Support	Oppose	No Opinion
Students	29.6	58.2	12.1	79.3	11.4	09.3	75.4	15.0	09.6
Craftsmen	18.2	75.0	06.8	56.4	32.6	11.0	68.2	28.2	03.6
Housewives	17.5	74.1	08.4	66.5	24.0	09.6	64.0	28.9	07.1
Workers	19.1	74.3	06.7	69.4	20.0	10.6	78.1	15.3	06.6

8. Economic conditions

The results show that approximately the same percentage of Palestinians in the West Bank (10%) as in and Gaza (10.9%) feel that economic conditions have improved. In contrast, 54.9% of Gazans described them as worse compared to 34.1% in the West Bank. The worst economic conditions were reported by residents of the South of Gaza followed by those living in other Gaza areas, Jericho and Hebron (see Table 16).

Table 16
Economic Conditions by Residence

	Better %	Worse %	Same as Before %	Don't Know %
Nablus	14.6	34.1	50.4	00.9
Tulkarm	05.5	42.1	51.7	01.2
Jenin	09.1	32.3	56.7	01.9
Jericho	---	72.2	27.8	---
Ramallah	10.5	28.0	59.4	02.1
Hebron	11.2	49.7	38.1	01.0
Bethlehem	09.4	38.9	50.8	00.9
Jerusalem	03.5	17.4	79.3	---
Gaza North	17.1	45.2	31.8	05.9
Gaza City	10.5	59.4	29.7	00.4
Gaza Middle	09.6	54.1	34.7	01.6
Gaza South	07.9	70.2	19.9	02.0

The least educated in all geographical areas reported the worst economic conditions (see Table 17).

Table 17
Economic Conditions by Education

	Better %	Worse %	Same as Before %	Don't Know %
Illiterate	13.7	42.5	40.0	03.8

Up to 9 yrs.	09.7	50.7	38.9	00.7
<i>Tawjihi</i>	07.1	41.8	50.8	00.3
College	12.1	35.4	49.5	03.0
Bachelor	13.0	37.7	46.2	03.1

9. Evaluation of the PNA

Results in the current poll indicate that 38.6% evaluate the PNA as "excellent" or "good". Positive evaluation was higher in the West Bank than in Gaza, but within the Gaza Strip, respondents from the North and South tended to evaluate PNA performance as average or less (see Table 18).

Table 18
Evaluation of the PNA by Residence

	Excellent %	Good %	Average %	Weak %	Bad %	Don't Know
Nablus	07.7	36.7	30.3	13.1	04.7	14.5
T'lkrm	15.5	24.2	34.4	13.5	09.6	02.8
Jenin	15.9	33.9	34.0	05.8	07.9	02.5
Jericho	---	28.1	40.1	15.6	16.2	---
Ram'h	14.4	24.2	35.1	18.8	02.1	5.4
Hebron	07.5	31.1	28.0	10.7	06.0	16.7
Bth'hem	03.9	24.8	39.5	11.6	08.7	11.5
J'salem	05.6	29.5	33.1	06.9	05.4	19.5
Gaza N.	04.0	20.8	54.3	11.1	00.9	08.9
Gaza C.	14.8	22.5	33.5	18.3	06.6	04.3
Gaza M.	13.4	27.0	36.8	11.6	07.2	04.0
Gaza S.	05.0	33.2	42.9	09.0	04.9	05.0

T'lkrm - Tulkarm, Ram'h - Ramallah, Bth'hem - Bethlehem, J'salem - Jerusalem, N-north, C-city, M-middle, S-south

Palestinians in the age group of 23-30 year-olds were critical of the PNA (see Table 19).

Table 19
Evaluation of the PNA by Age

	Excellent %	Good %	Average %	Weak %	Bad %	Don't Know
18-22 yrs.	08.3	31.4	37.5	13.4	03.5	05.9
23-26 yrs.	10.0	21.9	39.9	15.3	08.2	04.7
27-30 yrs.	05.7	26.0	39.2	13.1	09.8	06.2
31-35 yrs.	06.0	33.7	38.9	08.2	03.9	09.3
36-42 yrs.	14.1	26.6	32.5	10.3	05.6	10.9
43-50 yrs.	19.7	26.8	27.8	12.0	06.2	07.5
50+ yrs.	15.5	27.9	22.4	13.7	08.3	12.2

With regard to education, we find that the more educated respondents are the most critical of the PNA (see Table 20).

Table 20
Evaluation of the PNA by Education

	Excellent %	Good %	Average %	Fair %	Bad %	Don't Know
Illiterate	15.0	23.8	35.0	07.5	05.0	13.7
Up to 9 yrs.	15.4	25.8	35.9	11.8	04.2	06.9
Tawjihi	08.0	28.6	34.8	13.5	06.8	08.3
College	06.6	32.3	40.9	10.1	05.6	04.5
Bachelor	06.2	33.5	30.0	15.0	09.2	06.1

10. President of the PNA

The results of this poll show that the popularity of Yassir Arafat, is 53.7%. The percentage of those choosing "others" was 17.3%. Compared to his popularity in July, support for Ahmad Yassin was higher (see Table 21).

Table 21
Comparison of PNA President Election Results

	Arafat %	Yassin %	Abdel Shafi %	Habash %	Others %
Nov 1994	44.2	19.7	08.9	06.8	20.4
Dec 1994	48.5	18.4	08.6	05.8	18.7
Feb 1995	53.4	14.6	10.0	03.6	18.4
Mar 1995	56.5	13.5	07.6	03.2	19.2
May 1995	55.4	11.9	08.4	04.0	20.2
July 1995	49.3	13.4	07.6	03.9	25.7
Aug 1995	53.7	17.2	07.2	04.3	17.3

11. Best way to choose PISGA

Holding general elections is by far the most popular choice among Palestinians for choosing the members of PISGA as indicated by 86.3% of the respondents, compared to only 9% in favor of appointments by the PLO or 2.8% for appointment by political groups on a per quota basis. Support for elections increased with education.

12. Participation in elections

There has been a slight increase in people's positive attitudes towards participating in elections. In our July poll, 68.4% of those questioned replied that they would participate whereas 74.1% replied affirmatively in this poll. Housewives and specialists are least enthusiastic about participating in the proposed elections.

13. Political affiliation

The popularity of Fateh has not changed in the West Bank (43.9%), but has dropped almost 2% in the Gaza Strip bringing Fateh's total support to 43.2%. Support for independent groups has increased with Islamic Independents receiving 9.9% in this poll compared to July's 2.5% and Nationalist Independents' support increasing from 4.8% to 6.4% this month. National Leftist groups (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and Fida) received only a total of 6.1%. The least support for Fateh is in the areas of Bethlehem and Jerusalem (see Table 22).

Table 22
Political Affiliation by Place of Residence*

No one/ Sympathy %	Other %	Nat. Ind. %	Is. Ind. %	Is. Jihad %	Fateh %	PFLP %	Hamas %	
11.1	1.6	4.0	7.2	1.6	52.0	2.4	17.6	Nablus
6.9	2.7	3.6	14.5	1.8	41.8	5.5	19.1	Tulkarm
8.2	3.2	3.2	9.5	3.2	48.4	2.1	17.9	Jenin
26.7	1.0	2.9	8.6	1.9	41.0	3.8	10.5	Ramallah
13.9	4.5	4.5	7.6	2.3	43.9	4.5	17.4	Hebron
18.0	---	14.5	7.2	2.9	30.4	5.8	15.9	Bethlehem
18.0	1.1	12.4	7.9	3.4	39.3	6.7	5.6	Jerusalem
1.8	---	4.6	15.4	3.1	47.7	4.6	18.5	Gaza N.
18.5	0.6	5.8	13.5	1.9	35.5	1.3	23.2	Gaza City
16.1	---	4.9	10.5	1.2	41.4	6.8	17.9	Gaza M.
25.7	1.5	4.5	7.6	1.5	45.5	3.0	6.1	Gaza S.

*DFLP, Fida, and PPP are not included in this table because of small sample size resulting in row totals of less than 100% in some cases. Results for Jericho are not included for the same reason.

* Margin of error is more than 3% because of small sample size.

Appendix

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
1. I expect a lasting peace between Palestinians and Israelis.			
a. Yes	19.1%	18.9%	19.6%
b. To a large extent	4.1%	3.0%	6.0%
c. To some extent	12.4%	13.2%	10.9%
d. No	59.5%	60.2%	58.4%
e. Don't know	04.9%	04.7%	05.1%
2. In general, I think Palestinian society is headed in the right direction.			
a. Yes	32.6%	36.2%	26.0%
b. To a large extent	04.4%	03.3%	06.2%
c. To some extent	28.6%	27.6%	30.4%
d. No	28.9%	26.5%	33.4%
e. Don't know	05.5%	06.4%	04.0%
3. Palestinian Authority must guarantee the human right of free speech.			
a. Strongly agree	58.2%	56.0%	62.0%
b. Agree	38.1%	39.8%	35.1%
c. Disagree	01.8%	02.1%	01.4%
d. Strongly disagree	00.6%	00.7%	00.2%

e. Don't know	01.3%	01.4%	01.3%
4. With regard to future Palestinian-Jordanian relations, I support the establishment of:			
a. Two independent states	61.2%	58.1%	67.0%
b. A complete unity	17.2%	19.3%	12.4%
c. A confederation	20.2%	20.9%	18.9%
d. Other	01.4%	01.7%	01.7%
5. Given the political and economic circumstances here, and the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations, are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future?			
a. Optimistic	49.5%	49.4%	49.5%
b. Pessimistic	28.8%	30.2%	26.3%
c. Not sure	21.7%	20.4%	24.2%
6. Do you support the continuation of the current peace negotiations between the PLO and Israel?			
a. Yes	70.6%	69.2%	73.1%
b. No	18.8%	20.4%	15.9%
c. Not sure	10.6%	10.4%	11.0%
7. With regard to armed attacks against Israeli civilian targets, I...			
a. Support them	18.3%	17.6%	19.6%
b. Oppose them	73.9%	74.9%	72.2%
c. Have no opinion	07.8%	07.5%	08.2%
8. With regard to armed attacks against Israeli army targets, I...			
a. Support them	67.6%	66.7%	69.2%
b. Oppose them	23.7%	23.2%	24.6%
c. Have no opinion	08.7%	10.1%	06.2%
9. With regard to armed attacks against Israeli settlers, I...			
a. Support them	69.2%	71.2%	65.8%
b. Oppose them	24.3%	22.8%	27.1%
c. Have no opinion	06.5%	06.0%	07.1%
10. Following the peace process and implementation of autonomy in Gaza and Jericho, my economic situation and standard of living is...			
a. Better	09.8%	09.2%	10.8%
b. Worse	43.5%	35.9%	57.0%
c. Same as before	45.2%	53.7%	30.4%
d. Don't know	01.5%	01.1%	01.8%
11. What is your evaluation of the performance of the Palestinian National Authority?			
a. Excellent	10.5%	10.1%	11.3%
b. Good	28.1%	29.6%	25.4%
c. Fair	35.2%	33.0%	39.0%
d. Weak	12.5%	11.8%	13.6%
e. Bad	06.1%	06.3%	05.8%
d. Don't know	07.6%	09.2%	04.9%
12. If an independent election to choose the president of the Palestinian Authority takes place and the following nominate themselves, I will choose:			
a. Ahmed Yassin	17.2%	17.8%	14.5%
b. Yassir Arafat	53.7%	50.3%	59.4%
c. Hayder Abdel Shafi	07.2%	08.8%	05.7%
d. George Habash	04.3%	04.5%	03.6%
e. Other	17.6%	18.6%	16.8%
13. In my opinion, the best way to choose the members of the Palestinian Council of the Palestinian Interim Self-Governing Authority is...			
a. Appointment by PLO	09.0%	09.3%	07.6%
b. Appointment by political groups on a quota basis.	02.8%	02.2%	04.0%
c. Political elections	86.3%	86.3%	86.4%
d. Other	01.9%	02.2%	02.0%
14. Will you participate in general political elections to choose the members of the PISGA council?			
a. Yes	74.1%	75.7%	71.2%
b. No	16.0%	15.7%	16.4%
c. Not sure	9.9%	8.6%	12.4%
15. Which of the following factions do you support:			
a. Hamas	16.6%	15.6%	18.4%
b. Fateh	43.2%	43.9%	41.8%
c. Islamic Jihad	02.6%	02.7%	01.7%

d. PFLP	04.2%	04.1%	04.3%
e. Fida	00.6%	00.7%	00.3%
f. PPP	00.6%	00.7%	00.3%
g. DFLP	00.7%	00.8%	00.4%
h. Islamic Ind.	09.4%	08.5%	11.1%
i. Nationalist Ind.	05.8%	06.1%	05.0%
j. None of the above/ No sympathy	15.2%	14.6%	16.1%
k. Other	01.1%	02.3%	00.6%