BIRZEIT UNIVERSITY
Development Studies Programme

Elections and Registration
Publication date: 20 September, 2004

Let's hope a new figure will come out and be able to do something to deal with what we're facing.

A 35 year old man, Nablus Governorate

Nothing will change.

A 40 year old man, Nablus Governorate

89% heard about the registration procedures

Registration rate is expected to be 66%-13% have already registered and 53% said that they intend to register..

If legislative elections were held on a voluntary basis with no money remunerations involved, no one would run.

A 55 year old woman, Nablus Governorate

I prefer and wish that elections be held every 6 months.

A senior citizen, Nablus Governorate

33% do not know where registration centers are located.

73% support presidential elections
82% support legislative elections
85% support local council elections

Whether we vote or not makes no difference, whoever will be brought in will be of the same breed.

A 22 year old woman, Nablus Governorate

I would like to see a true national group other than the authority or the Islamic bloc.

25 year old young man, Nablus Governorate

68% are willing to participate in presidential elections.
65% are willing to participate in legislative elections.
69% are willing to participate in local council elections

34% support Fateh
32% support an Islamic bloc
4% support the a leftist bloc

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1. General Background – Palestinian Elections

- The need to hold new presidential and legislative elections was at the core of the Palestinian and international calls for reform within the PA. The Road Map stipulated the need to prepare the ground for elections in Palestinian areas as part of the over-all reform process. This was also part of the 100-day plan endorsed by the Palestinian government in mid-2002.

- President Arafat issued a decree in October 2002 to establish the Palestinian Central Elections Commission to prepare for general elections.

- The Central Elections Commission prepared plans to hold elections within 100 days from an date of an Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian areas. A tentative date was set January 20, 2003.

- The PA released a statement on January 20, 2003 holding Israel responsible for the disruption of the elections due to be held on that date.

- The Ministerial Reform Committee prepared a new draft of the Elections Law on August 2003, stressing that the previous election law is the basic framework for the legislative elections based on the principle of majority vote within 16 electoral districts with specified numbers of seats.

- The process of voter registration in the West Bank and Gaza Strip began on September 4, 2004 in over than 1000 centers and is due to continue until October 7, 2004.

- Hamas declared its support and intent to participate in elections in a statement that was released on the first day of registration.

- There are eight parties and political organizations involved in the oversight of the registration process. Other than Hamas, they include the Popular Struggle Front, PFLP, Palestinian People's Party, Fida, the Palestinian National Initiative, the Arab Front, the Liberation Front and the Islamic Salvation Party.

- The Israeli authority sought to disrupt election registration procedures especially in East Jerusalem where some registration centers were shut down and staff detained.

- 82 local bodies announced plans to monitor the elections, in addition to three international bodies. They involve 5500 local and international observers.

- The PLC terminated the Local Elections Committee on August 31, 2004, and assigned the responsibility for them to the Central Elections Commission. The PLC allowed the Local Council Elections Committee to proceed with its work for the current elections only. The legislative body declared that elections for the local councils will be held in phases starting from December 10, 2004.

- There are 130 small local bodies known as project committees, 252 village councils and 121 municipal councils. Only 36 communities will have local elections in the first phase during December 2004 (none of them is major center).

- The PLC approved in its session held on August 31, 2004 a proposed amendment to the local council elections, allocating 20% of the seats in municipal and local councils to women. The amendment is still controversial.

2. The Results

First Part: The Registration Process and Attitudes

1. Information availability and knowledge of about registration procedures

- 89% declared that they have already heard about election registration
- 63 % declared that they do not have information about registration procedures.
- 33% of those polled did not know where to register, while 67% declared that they actually knew where to register.
- In general, the data reveal that women, the poor, the elderly, the less educated, urban dwellers and those living in northern Gaza and the center of the West Bank have less information on registration procedures or knowledge about registration locations (as detailed in the following table).

Table (1): Information availability according to social variables												
	Gender		**Age**				**Education**			**Economic Situation**		
	Female	Male	17-26	27-40	41-52	Over 52	Preparatory or less	secondary	Diploma or above	Good	Medium	Bad
Heard about registration process	86%	92%	90%	90%	87%	88%	87%	94%	97%	89%	91%	88%
Know where to go to register	58%	76%	74%	63%	68%	59%	62%	79%	84%	72%	70%	62%
Know about the registration procedures	30%	43%	40%	38%	32%	31%	31%	47%	62%	39%	40%	32%

	Type of residence			Region					
	City	Village	Camp	Southern W. Bank	Middle West Bank	Northern West Bank	Northern Gaza	Gaza city	Middle &Southern Gaza
Heard about registration	88%	90%	90%	91%	78%	94%	83%	91%	93%
Know about registration procedures	30%	36%	36%	38%	27%	51%	34%	27%	39%
Know where to go to register	59%	74%	70%	70%	60%	75%	58%	61%	70%

2. Sources of information concerning registration for elections
The following sources of information were utilized by the respondents:

- Banners   54%.
- TV and Radio   44%.
- Local papers   31%.
- Phone calls   12%.
- Other means   31% (such as school, work place, relatives, friends, and neighbors):

3. Registration for elections:

- (13%) declared that they have already registered between <u>4-11 September, 2004</u> (almost 8 days after the start of registration).
- Women, the elderly, the less educated, the poor and the rich, urban dwellers, living in and around Gaza city and those in the middle of the West Bank were at the time of this survey, the least registered for elections.

Table (2): Registering for elections according to social variables											
	Gender		**Age**				**Education**			**Economic Situation**		
	Female	Male	17-26	27-40	41-52	Over 52	Preparatory or less	secondary	Diploma or above	Good	Medium	Bad
Actually registered	8%	18%	14%	13%	15%	12%	11%	17%	21%	12%	15%	12%

	Type of Residence			Region					
	City	Village	Camp	Southern W. Bank	Middle West Bank	Northern West Bank	Northern Gaza	Gaza city	Middle &Southern Gaza
Actually registered	8%	17%	16%	12%	11%	19%	14%	9%	17%

4. Intent to register and expected registration rates

- 53% of those polled or <u>58% of the currently unregistered voters</u> indicated that they intend to register before the end of the registration period.
- If such intentions are fulfilled, the rate of registration is expected to be (66%): 13% already registered and 53% intend to do so.
- Women, youth, the poor, the least-educated, urban and camp dwellers, people in the middle part of the West Bank are the least inclined to register in the coming period.

Table (3): Intent to register according to social variables

	Gender		Age				Education			Economic Situation		
	Female	Male	17-26	27-40	41-52	Over 52	Preparatory or less	secondary	Diploma or above	Good	Medium	Bad
Shall register	53%	63%	55%	58%	64%	58%	57%	59%	64%	61%	59%	55%

	Type of Residence			Region					
	City	Village	Camp	Southern West Bank	Middle West Bank	Northern West Bank	Northern Gaza	Gaza city	Middle &Southern Gaza
Shall register	55%	62%	54%	63%	41%	61%	57%	62%	59%

‒ A 66% registration rate would an increase over earlier projections. According to a poll conducted by DSP in January, 2004, 60% said they would register.

‒ The registration targets conform with attitudes towards participation in elections (see below).

Second part: Position on Holding and Participation in the Elections

‒ 73% are in favor of holding presidential elections.

‒ Support for holding legislative elections is 82%.

‒ Support for holding local council elections in 85%.

‒ 68% intend to participate in presidential elections (the figure was 75% in January 2004).

‒ 65% intend to participate in local council elections (this was 72% in last January 2004).

‒ 69% intend to participate in the legislative elections (66% in January 2004).

‒ If the opposition were to call for an election boycott, 71% declared that they would ignore the call.

‒ The results indicate similar trends in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. However, there is slightly more readiness to participate in elections in the Gaza Strip.

Third Part: Election Blocs

1.Fatah bloc, Islamic bloc, and leftist bloc.

-   34% of those polled indicated that they would vote for Fatah and its partners in case elections are held on the basis of blocs.
-   32% would vote for the Islamic bloc (Hamas and Jihad).
-   Support for the leftist bloc was 4%.
-   30% indicated that they would not vote to any of the three above-mentioned blocs.

2. **Regarding political support, Fatah got 29% of the support of those polled, Hamas 24%, Islamic Jihad 3% and the combined leftist groups, 4%, 39% do not support any of those factions.**

Fourth Part: Election for the President of the PA

1. **Scenario One: Arafat is the favorite choice among 11 candidates of various tendencies. Among those polled on presidential elections. The results were as follows[1]:**
    -   President Arafat received 46% of the vote.
    -   Marwan Barghouthi 12%.
    -   No other Fatah affiliated candidate came close to that in the poll (such as Muhammed Dahlan 1.6%, Sa'eb Erekat 1.2%, Ahmad Qurei 1%, Mahmoud Abbas 0.5%).
    -   Among Islamist candidates Mahmoud Zahhar got 9%, and Isma'il Haniye 8%.
    -   Amongst of the democratic current, Haydar Abdul Shafi got 6%, Mustafa Barghouthi 1.7% and Hanan Ashrawi 1.4%.
    -   12% of those polled expressed that they would not vote to any of the eleven above-mentioned candidates.

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[1] Of various tendencies the proposed names appeared in earlier studies conducted by the program and other research institutes. These names were proposed by scores of focus group groups in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

2. **In a line up of Presidential candidates from the three main streams (Fatah, the Islamists and the democratic current), the results were as follows:**

   The second scenario with: Arafat topping between three candidates:

   - Yasir Arafat   58%
   - Mahmoud Zahhar   25%
   - Haydar Abdel Shafi   13%

3. **Other Scenarios:**

   Marwan Barghouthi, representing Fateh, against candidates from the Islamist and democratic current:

   - Marwan Barghouthi   51%
   - Isma'il Haniya   28%
   - Mustafa Barghuth: 11%

   Mohammed Dahlan, representing Fateh, against candidates from the Islamist and democratic current:

   - Isma'il Haniya   40%
   - Mustafa Barghouthi   32%
   - Mohammed Dahlan   14%

   Sa'eb Ereikat, representing Fateh, against candidates from the Islamist and democratic current candidates, with Mahmoud Zahhar gaining more votes:

   - Mahmoud Zahhar   44%
   - Sa'eb Erekat   24%
   - Hanan Ashrawi   19%

4. **Additional remarks**

   - Higher support for Arafat among those polled in the West Bank compared to those in the Gaza strip.
   - Higher support for the Islamist candidate for the presidency in the Gaza strip compared to the West Bank.
   - Equal support for Marwan Barghouthi among those polled in the West Bank and the Gaza strip.

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Annex 1

Results of Opinion Poll # 18

First Section

Elections and Registration

Date of Publication:20/9/2004
Field Research: 9-11/9/2004

Sample size: 1204 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza

Number of sampling localities: 75

Margin of error: $\pm$ 3%

Palestinian Elections			
	Total %	**West Bank %**	**Gaza Strip %**
Information and practices			
1. Have you heard about the election registration process?			
1) Yes	89.2	88.6	90.1
2) No	10.8	11.4	9.9
2. Do you have sufficient information about the voter registration process?			
1) Yes	36.7	38.6	33.7
2) No	63.3	61.4	66.3
3. Do you know where to go to for registration?			
1) Yes	66.9	68.8	63.8
2) No	33.1	31.2	36.1
4. Have you registered?			
1) Yes	13.1	13.0	13.3
2) No	86.9	87.0	86.7
5. If not, do you plan to register within the period specified by the Election Commission (i.e., by October 7, 2004)?			
1) Yes	57.8	56.7	59.6
2) No	42.2	43.3	40.4
6. How have you received information on election registration?			
Banners			
1) Yes	53.8	52.2	56.3
2) No	46.2	47.8	43.7
T.V. and Radio			
1) Yes	44.3	42.2	47.6
2) No	55.7	57.8	52.4
Material distributed in the streets			
1) Yes	38.3	38.6	37.9
2) No	61.7	61.4	62.1
Local newspapers			
1) Yes	31.2	28.4	35.8
2) No	68.8	71.6	64.2
Phone calls from the commission staff			
1) Yes	12.4	9.1	17.7
2) No	87.6	90.9	82.3
Others (word of mouth, friends, relatives, …. etc.)			
1) Yes	30.5	28.0	34.5
2) No	69.5	72.0	65.5

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
Attitudes towards elections			
7. Do you support holding a presidential election?			
1) Yes	72.6	72.4	72.7
2) No	25.6	25.0	26.4
3) No opinion	1.9	2.6	0.8
8. Do you support holding a parliamentary election?			
1) Yes	82.2	81.1	84.0
2) No	14.5	14.9	13.7
3) No opinion	3.3	3.9	2.3
9. Do you support holding local council elections?			
1) Yes	85.2	85.8	84.1
2) No	11.4	10.5	13.0
3) No opinion	2.8	2.7	2.9
10. If a presidential election were to take place, would you vote?			
1) Yes	68.4	65.3	73.3
2) No	29.1	32.2	24.4
3) Don't know	2.4	2.5	2.3
11. If a legislative election were to take place, would you vote?			
1) Yes	65.2	63.0	68.7
2) No	32.6	34.8	29.1
3) Don't know	2.2	2.2	2.3
12. If local council elections were to take place, would you vote?			
1) Yes	68.5	67.8	69.4
2) No	29.4	30.0	28.6
3) Don't know	2.1	2.2	2.0
13. If the opposition called for a boycott, would you boycott?			
1) Yes	19.8	19.3	20.5
2) No	71.0	69.4	73.5
3) Don't know	9.2	11.4	5.9

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
Political support			
14. Which of the following political groups do you support?			
1) Fateh	29.1	28.8	29.6
2) Hamas	23.9	21.4	27.8
3) Islamic Jihad	3.4	3.8	2.9
4) PFLP	2.1	2.5	1.5
5) PPP	1.3	1.9	0.3
6) Al Tahreer Islamic Party	0.3	0.4	0.1
7) DFLP	0.3	0.3	0.3
8) Nidal Popular Front	0.2	0.4	0.0
9) Arab Liberation Front	0.1	0.1	0.0
10) Arab-Palestine Front	0.1	0.2	0.0
11) Palestinian Liberation Front	0.1	0.2	0.0
12) Feda	0.0	0.0	0.0
13) Others	2.6	3.6	1.1
14) No one	36.4	36.3	36.5
15. If the following blocks ran for elections and you had to choose one of them, which one would you choose?			
1) A block led by Fateh	33.8	33.0	35.1
2) An Islamic block (Hamas and Islamic Jihad)	31.5	29.4	34.9
3) A leftist block (DFLP, PFLP, Feda, Nidal, Initiative … etc)	4.3	5.1	3.1
4) Others	1.6	1.4	1.9
5) None of the existing blocks or parties	28.8	31.2	25.0
Presidential candidates			
16. If the following candidates ran for president, who would you vote for?			
1) Yaser Arafat	46.2	46.7	45.4
2) Marwan Barghouti	11.9	13.0	10.2
3) Mahmoud Azzahar	8.6	9.2	7.5
4) Ismaiel Haneyah	8.0	5.0	12.7
5) Haidar Abdel shafi	6.1	5.1	7.8
6) Mustafa Barghouti	1.7	1.8	1.4
7) Mohammed Dahlan	1.6	0.8	2.9
8) Hanan Ashrawi	1.4	1.7	1.0
9) Sae'b Eireqat	1.2	1.5	0.7
10) Ahmad Queri'	1.0	1.3	0.5
11) Mahmoud Abbas	0.5	0.1	1.1
12) Others	0.5	0.5	0.5
13) No one	11.3	13.2	8.3

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
17. If the following three candidates ran for president, who would you vote for?			
1) Yaser Arafat	57.9	60.2	54.4
2) Mahmoud Azzahar	24.6	24.3	25.2
3) Haidar Abdel shafi	13.0	11.2	15.9
4) None of the above	4.4	4.3	4.5
18. If the following three candidates ran for president, who would you vote for?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	51.4	51.1	51.9
2) Ismaie'l Haneyah	28.2	26.9	30.4
3) Mustafa Barghouti	11.2	11.5	10.6
4) None of the above	9.2	10.6	7.1
19. If the following three candidates ran for president, who would you vote for?			
1) Ismae'l Haneyah	39.8	38.5	42.0
2) Mustafa Barghouti	32.2	36.4	25.7
3) Mohammed Dahlan	14.3	9.4	22.1
4) None of the above	13.6	15.7	10.3
20. If the following three candidates ran for president, who would you vote for?			
1) Mahmoud Azzahar	44.3	42.4	47.4
2) Sae'b Eireqat	23.5	21.6	26.5
3) Hanan Ashrawi	18.9	21.9	14.1
4) None of the above	13.2	14.1	11.9

Annex 2: Sample distribution

Region	%	Type of locality	%	Refugee Status	%
West Bank	61.3	City	41.7	Refugee	41.9
Gaza Strip	38.7	Village- town	42.3	Non-refugee	58.1
Governorate	**%**	Camp	16.0	**Sector**	**%**
Jenin	6.6	**Gender**	**%**	Private sector	70.1
Tubas	1.6	Male	52.8	N.G.O.'s	7.3
Tulkarm	3.1	Female	47.2	Public Sector	21.6
Nablus	10.2			**Education**	**%**
Qalqilya	2.5	**Marital status**	**%**	Illiterate	20.0
Salfit	1.4	Single	28.2	Preparatory	21.2
Jericho	1.4	Married	66.1	Elementary	31.3
Ramallah	8.7	Others	5.7	Secondary	16.7
Jerusalem	8.0	**Age**	**%**	Diploma	5.0
Bethlehem	5.3	16.17	8.1	B.A. or more	5.7
Hebron	12.5	18-22	17.8	**Place of Residence prior to 1994**	**%**
North Gaza	8.1	23-27	15.2		
Gaza City	14.6	28-32	12.6		
Deir al-Balah	5.5	33-37	10.9	West Bank & Gaza	93.7
Khan Younis	8.6	38-42	8.9	Abroad	6.3
Rafah	1.9	43-47	6.3	**Income (NIS)***	**%**
Occupation	**%**	48-52	4.9	No Income	7.8
Laborers	13.4	> 52	15.3	Less than 700	34.1
Craftsman	4.0	**Occupation**	**%**	700-1000	19.8
Housewives	39.9	Professional	0.8	1001-1700	16.0
Unemployed	14.6	Employees	7.8	1701-2500	13.6
Merchants	3.0	Retired	1.1	2501-3000	4.0
Students	14.8	Farmers	0.8	More than 3000	4.7
*1$= 4.45NIS					