



Development Studies Programme

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Press Release
Public Opinion Poll 21 (Part 1)

President's Performance Index (PPI)
Evaluation of the Ministerial Cabinet

Date of fieldwork: 21-23 April 2005

Number of field researchers: 75

Margin of error (+ or -): 3%

Sample size: 1200 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip

Number of locations in the sample: 75

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- * **Many thanks to our field researchers, and to the International Republican Institute (IRI) for their support.**

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Main Findings

- The DSP herein presents its President's Performance Index (PPI). The PPI measures how Palestinians perceive the performance of Mahmoud Abbas – President of the PNA – as measured against his campaign platform. One hundred days after his election, Mr. Abbas's PPI is 33 out of a possible 100 points (33%).
- The President received his best approval ratings in the areas of security agencies reform (43%) and improving the status of women in society (40%).
- Roughly one-third of poll respondents evaluated the performance of the Prime Minister Ahmad Qurei as weak. Another 33% evaluated the performance of his cabinet as weak.
- The poll reflected a slight improvement in the approval rating of the current government as a whole, as compared to ratings established six months ago.
- 53% of respondents believe the main obstacle preventing President Abbas from implementing his election platform are the Israeli occupation measures. Another 18% said that the main obstacle to platform implementation is the high level of corruption still present in PNA institutions).
- 61% of respondents expect that the presidential election will lead to resumption of negotiations with Israel; another 60% expect that it will lead to improvement in the performance of the PNA.
- 41% of respondents state that their first priority is to end the occupation, and 30% maintain that improvement in the overall economic situation is their first priority.

President's Performance Index (Introduction)

- The DSP initiated a new quarterly measurement of Palestinian perceptions as to how President Abbas is performing his duties as President of the PNA. The President's Performance Index (PPI) measures President Abbas's progress in fulfilling his campaign promises (as stipulated in his election platform).
- The PPI is based on 10 indicators that cover the main pillars of President Abbas's campaign platform in political, social, economic, and security areas.
- Each indicator is evaluated separately, and then a composite index is derived from a mean score for all 10 indicators.
- The respondents are asked to evaluate the President's performance by giving a score from 0 (low) to 10 (high). The individual scores and the mean score are then transformed to percentage points.
- This poll provides the first PPI, conducted one hundred days after the election of President Abbas. In three months time, the DSP will conduct and publish the second PPI.

Analysis of the Results

The current evaluation of the performance of President Abbas is contextualized through an examination of four related factors:

- The priorities of the Palestinian public.
- The expectations of Palestinians for an elected president.
- The obstacles hinder his ability to implement his platform.
- The performance of other PNA institutions, such as the ministerial cabinet.

1. Priorities:

- The most urgent priority for Palestinians is Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian cities (41%), followed by an improvement in the economic situation (30%) – see Table 1. Ironically, these two priorities are the ones least expected to be achieved as illustrated in Table 2.

| | |
|--|------|
| Withdrawal of Israel from Palestinian cities | 41 % |
| Improving the economic situation | 30 % |
| Reducing suffering related to roadblocks | 11 % |
| Improving internal security | 8 % |
| Resumption of negotiations with Israel | 5 % |
| Improving PNA performance | 3 % |
| Reinforcing democratic practices | 2 % |

2. Expectations

- 61% of the public expect that the presidential election (which took place in January 2005) will lead to the resumption of negotiations with Israel.
- 60% expect that it will lead to improvement in the performance of PNA institutions.
- Palestinians also expect improvements in the following areas: security, alleviation of suffering at roadblocks, reinforcement of democratic practices, improvement of economic conditions, and Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian cities (See Table 2).
- Gaza respondents are more optimistic than West Bank respondents. It is also noticeable that the least expectation is the achievement of an Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian cities.

| | Total | West Bank | Gaza Strip |
|--|--------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Resumption of negotiations with Israel | 61% | 56% | 70% |
| Improving PNA performance | 60% | 54% | 63% |
| Improving internal security | 54% | 50% | 60% |
| Reducing suffering due to roadblock delays | 53% | 48% | 62% |
| Reinforcing democratic practices | 48% | 43% | 55% |
| Improving the economic situation | 48% | 43% | 56% |
| Withdrawal of Israel from Palestinian cities | 25% | 21% | 38% |

3. Obstacles facing President Mahmoud Abbas

Implementation of the election program proposed by President Abbas is hindered by a number of obstacles (as perceived by respondents).

- The most difficult obstacle is the Israeli occupation practices and the continuation of the occupation (as seen by 53% of the respondents).

- Internal obstacles also exist. Eighteen percent of respondents felt that the prevalence of corrupt practices held over from the preceding government is an obstacle. Eight percent of the respondents blamed the leaders of the PLO and Fateh for making it difficult for Abbas to implement his program. Others (7%) believe the actions of militant groups are an obstacle. In the opinion of 6% of respondents, President Abbas lacks professional competence. Actions of opposition groups and their lack of coordination with the PNA are seen as an obstacle by another 6%.

| Table (3): Obstacles facing President Mahmoud Abbas | |
|--|-----|
| Israeli practices | 53% |
| Corruption existing prior to the Abbas presidency | 18% |
| The practices of P.L.O. and Fateh leadership | 8% |
| The practices of armed groups who deny his authority | 7% |
| The practices of opposition groups and lack of coordination with the PNA | 6% |
| Professional incompetence | 6% |

4. Evaluation of the Performance of the Ministerial Cabinet

- One-third of the respondents evaluated the performance of Prime Minister Ahmad Qurei as weak.
- 25% of the respondents evaluated the performance of Prime Minister Qurei as good, 34% as fair, and 31% as weak.
- The performance of the cabinet is generally perceived as fair to weak.
- 21% of respondents evaluated the performance of the cabinet as good, 37% as fair, and 33% as weak.
- In evaluating specific areas of concern, the respondents evaluated the performance of the cabinet negatively.
- 71% of respondents feel that the performance of the cabinet is weak in the area of resisting construction of the Separation Wall; 66% feel that it is weak in the area of reducing unemployment; 63% feel it is weak in the area of achieving an Israeli withdrawal; 60% feel it is weak in its control of illegal guns.
- Despite these relatively negative evaluations, a slight overall improvement in performance evaluation was observed. In almost all areas the poll showed an improvement in Palestinians' evaluation of cabinet performance as compared with the results of a DSP poll published in October 2004 – six months ago (see table 4).

Table 4: Percentage of Respondents who Evaluate the Performance of the Government as Weak in the following fields

| Fields | Evaluation of Poll 21 (April 2005) | Evaluation of Poll 19 (October 2004) |
|--|---|---|
| Resisting construction of the Separation Wall | 71% | 74% |
| Reducing unemployment | 66% | 75% |
| Achieving Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian cities | 63% | 79% |
| Ridding society of illegal weapons | 60% | 71% |
| Resolving the problems facing political prisoners and securing their release | 53% | 67% |
| Fighting corruption | 50% | 69% |
| Easing Israeli closures | 50% | 81% |
| Improving economic conditions | 47% | 68% |
| Providing internal security | 46% | 72% |
| Progressing in negotiations with Israel | 44% | 71% |
| Reinforcing the rule of law | 42% | 58% |
| Supporting the judiciary | 42% | 64% |
| Improving services of government institutions | 38% | 54% |

5. President's Performance Index (First Quarter 2005)

- The PPI for the first quarter of 2005 and the first 100 days of Abbas's presidency is 33%. The PPI is the mean score for an evaluation of 10 indicators listed in Table 4. It evaluates how well President Abbas is delivering on the promises made in his election platform (as perceived by the public).
- The evaluation scores vary to a large degree on an indicator-by-indicator basis. President Abbas scored relatively higher in the areas of reforming security agencies (43%), improving the status of women in society (40%).
- President Abbas scored 37% in the area of promoting democratic practices, 35% in the area of improving government services, and 32% in promoting social development and security.
- His lowest evaluation scores are observed in the areas of improving economic conditions (30%), and achieving equality between the geographic regions (28%). The lowest score was given in the area of achieving an Israeli withdrawal (25%).

| Table (5): Responses to Poll Question: "About 100 days have passed since the election of the new president (President Mahmoud Abbas). How do you evaluate his performance in the following areas?"(scores measured from 0-10 and converted to percentages) | | | |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Good | Fair | Weak |
| Improving the performance of security agencies | 42.6% | 42.7% | 42.3% |
| Improving the status of women | 39.9% | 39.4% | 39.9% |
| Achieving higher levels of democracy and freedom of expression | 36.6% | 35.2% | 38.9% |
| Improving government services | 34.5% | 35.0% | 33.8% |
| Supporting social development and social security programs | 31.5% | 32.8% | 29.5% |
| Achieving internal security | 31.0% | 30.0% | 32.5% |
| Eradicating corruption | 30.9% | 30.3% | 31.8% |
| Improving economic conditions | 29.8% | 30.4% | 28.8% |
| Achieving equality between geographic regions | 28.4% | 27.8% | 29.4% |
| Achieving Israeli withdrawal | 24.7% | 24.1% | 25.8% |
| PPI | 33.0% | 32.8% | 33.4% |



Annex 1

Results of Opinion Poll # 21

(Part 1)

President's Performance Index (PPI)

Evaluation of the Government

Expectations and Priorities

Date of Publication: 28/04/2005

Field Research: 21-23/04/2005

Sample size: 1200 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza

Number of sampling localities: 75

Margin of error: $\pm 3\%$

President's Performance Index (PPI)

| About 100 days have passed since the election of President Mahmoud Abbas: how do you evaluate his performance in the following areas: (score measured from 0-10 and transferred to grade from 100) | | | |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Total | West Bank | Gaza Strip |
| 1) Improving the performance of security agencies | 42.6 | 42.7 | 42.3 |
| 2) Upgrading the situation of women | 39.9 | 39.4 | 39.9 |
| 3) Achieving more democracy and freedom of expression | 36.6 | 35.2 | 38.9 |
| 4) Improving government services | 34.5 | 35.0 | 33.8 |
| 5) Supporting social development and social security programs | 31.5 | 32.8 | 29.5 |
| 6) Achieving internal security | 31.0 | 30.0 | 32.5 |
| 7) Uprooting corruption | 30.9 | 30.3 | 31.8 |
| 8) Improving economic conditions | 29.8 | 30.4 | 28.8 |
| 9) Achieving equality between regions | 28.4 | 27.8 | 29.4 |
| 10) Achieving Israeli withdrawal | 24.7 | 24.1 | 25.8 |
| PPI | 33.0 | 32.8 | 33.4 |

Section One: Expectations from the Presidential Election and Priorities

| | Total % | West Bank % | Gaza Strip % |
|---|---------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Do you believe that the presidential election that took place will lead to the following: | | | |
| Resumption on talks with Israel | | | |
| 1) Yes | 61.1 | 55.7 | 69.9 |
| 2) No | 31.0 | 34.9 | 24.7 |
| 3) Don't know | 7.9 | 9.4 | 5.5 |
| Improving PNA Performance | | | |
| 1) Yes | 56.9 | 53.5 | 62.6 |
| 2) No | 34.1 | 36.1 | 32.4 |
| 3) Don't know | 8.4 | 10.4 | 8.0 |
| Improving the internal security | | | |
| 1) Yes | 53.7 | 50.1 | 59.7 |
| 2) No | 39.7 | 42.1 | 35.7 |
| 3) Don't know | 6.6 | 7.8 | 4.6 |
| Reducing suffering related to roadblocks | | | |
| 1) Yes | 53.3 | 47.8 | 62.4 |
| 2) No | 42.5 | 46.5 | 36.0 |
| 3) Don't know | 4.1 | 5.6 | 1.6 |
| Reinforcing democratic practices | | | |
| 1) Yes | 47.7 | 43.2 | 55.0 |
| 2) No | 43.1 | 44.8 | 40.2 |
| 3) Don't know | 9.3 | 12.1 | 4.7 |
| Improving the economic situation | | | |
| 1) Yes | 47.6 | 42.5 | 56.0 |
| 2) No | 47.2 | 51.4 | 40.5 |
| 3) Don't know | 5.1 | 6.1 | 3.5 |
| Withdrawal of Israeli occupation forces from Palestinian cities | | | |
| 1) Yes | 27.2 | 20.8 | 37.7 |
| 2) No | 67.3 | 72.9 | 58.3 |
| 3) Don't know | 5.4 | 6.3 | 4.0 |
| 2. In your opinion, which priority is most important? | | | |
| 1) Resumption of talks with Israel | 5.3 | 5.7 | 4.6 |
| 2) Improving the economic situation | 29.9 | 29.8 | 30.0 |
| 3) Reducing suffering related to roadblocks | 10.9 | 13.2 | 7.1 |
| 4) Improving internal security | 8.3 | 7.3 | 9.8 |
| 5) Improving PNA performance | 2.6 | 2.8 | 2.3 |
| 6) Reinforcing democratic practices | 2.0 | 1.8 | 2.3 |
| 7) Withdrawal of Israel from Palestinian cities | 41.1 | 39.4 | 43.9 |

| | Total % | West Bank % | Gaza Strip % |
|--|---------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>Section Two: Impediments to the President</i> | | | |
| 3. Which one of the following factors is most important in impeding the ability of President Mahmoud Abbas to implement his election program? | | | |
| 1) Israel's practices | 52.7 | 51.3 | 55.0 |
| 2) The corruption existent before his presidency | 17.8 | 18.3 | 17.0 |
| 3) The practices of P.L.O. and Fateh leadership | 7.5 | 7.0 | 8.4 |
| 4) The practices of the armed groups refusing to give him a chance | 6.9 | 6.7 | 7.3 |
| 5) The practices of the opposition and lack of coordination with the PNA | 5.9 | 6.1 | 5.5 |
| 6) His personal competence is insufficient | 7.5 | 8.5 | 5.7 |
| <i>Section Three: Evaluation of the Government</i> | | | |
| 4. How do you evaluate the performance of Prime Minister Mr. Ahmad Queri' | | | |
| 1) Good | 25.4 | 24.4 | 27.1 |
| 2) Fair | 33.9 | 34.4 | 33.1 |
| 3) Weak | 30.9 | 30.9 | 31.3 |
| 4) Don't know | 9.8 | 10.6 | 8.5 |
| 5. How do you evaluate the performance of the present government? | | | |
| 1) Good | 21.4 | 21.7 | 20.7 |
| 2) Fair | 37.4 | 36.8 | 38.6 |
| 3) Weak | 33.3 | 33.1 | 33.8 |
| 4) Don't know | 7.9 | 8.4 | 7.0 |
| 6. How do you evaluate the performance of the government in the following areas? | | | |
| Progressing in negotiations with Israel | | | |
| 1) Good | 20.3 | 18.4 | 23.5 |
| 2) Fair | 30.4 | 29.7 | 31.5 |
| 3) Weak | 44.2 | 45.6 | 42.0 |
| 4) Don't know | 5.0 | 6.3 | 3.0 |
| Reinforcing the rule of law | | | |
| 1) Good | 20.1 | 20.7 | 19.2 |
| 2) Fair | 32.0 | 31.6 | 32.7 |
| 3) Weak | 42.2 | 41.0 | 44.1 |
| 4) Don't know | 5.7 | 6.8 | 4.0 |
| Improving services of government institutions | | | |
| 1) Good | 19.9 | 19.3 | 20.9 |
| 2) Fair | 34.7 | 34.3 | 35.2 |
| 3) Weak | 38.0 | 37.8 | 38.4 |
| 4) Don't know | 7.4 | 8.6 | 5.4 |

| | Total % | West Bank % | Gaza Strip % |
|---|---------|-------------|--------------|
| Supporting the judiciary | | | |
| 1) Good | 16.5 | 17.2 | 15.4 |
| 2) Fair | 30.4 | 29.6 | 31.7 |
| 3) Weak | 42.2 | 40.5 | 45.0 |
| 4) Don't know | 10.9 | 12.7 | 7.9 |
| Providing internal security | | | |
| 1) Good | 16.4 | 14.1 | 20.1 |
| 2) Fair | 32.8 | 33.9 | 30.9 |
| 3) Weak | 46.3 | 46.8 | 45.6 |
| 4) Don't know | 4.5 | 5.2 | 3.4 |
| Fighting corruption | | | |
| 1) Good | 16.3 | 16.6 | 15.7 |
| 2) Fair | 26.4 | 25.4 | 28.1 |
| 3) Weak | 50.4 | 49.9 | 51.1 |
| 4) Don't know | 6.9 | 8.1 | 5.1 |
| Resolving the problems facing political prisoners and securing their release | | | |
| 1) Good | 16.0 | 15.5 | 16.8 |
| 2) Fair | 27.3 | 28.1 | 26.1 |
| 3) Weak | 53.0 | 52.1 | 54.4 |
| 4) Don't know | 3.7 | 4.2 | 2.8 |
| Easing Israeli closures | | | |
| 1) Good | 15.2 | 13.5 | 18.0 |
| 2) Fair | 32.1 | 30.2 | 35.0 |
| 3) Weak | 49.8 | 53.1 | 44.4 |
| 4) Don't know | 2.9 | 3.1 | 2.6 |
| Improving economic conditions | | | |
| 1) Good | 14.9 | 14.7 | 15.2 |
| 2) Fair | 32.7 | 33.3 | 31.6 |
| 3) Weak | 47.4 | 46.3 | 49.2 |
| 4) Don't know | 5.0 | 5.7 | 4.0 |
| Confiscating illegal weapons | | | |
| 1) Good | 12.8 | 13.7 | 11.3 |
| 2) Fair | 21.2 | 20.2 | 22.6 |
| 3) Weak | 60.4 | 59.4 | 62.1 |
| 4) Don't know | 5.6 | 6.6 | 4.0 |
| Getting the Israeli forces to withdraw from Palestinian cities | | | |
| 1) Good | 11.4 | 9.5 | 14.5 |
| 2) Fair | 22.2 | 22.6 | 21.6 |
| 3) Weak | 62.5 | 63.8 | 60.5 |
| 4) Don't know | 3.9 | 4.2 | 3.4 |

| | Total % | West Bank % | Gaza Strip % |
|--|---------|-------------|--------------|
| Resisting the building of the Separation Wall | | | |
| 1) Good | 9.0 | 7.6 | 11.1 |
| 2) Fair | 16.3 | 18.7 | 12.5 |
| 3) Weak | 70.8 | 70.1 | 71.9 |
| 4) Don't know | 3.9 | 3.6 | 4.4 |
| Reducing unemployment | | | |
| 1) Good | 8.3 | 7.0 | 10.2 |
| 2) Fair | 22.4 | 21.7 | 23.6 |
| 3) Weak | 65.7 | 67.1 | 63.3 |
| 4) Don't know | 3.7 | 4.2 | 2.9 |

Annex 2: Sample distribution

| Region | % | Type of locality | % | Refugee Status | % |
|--------------------|----------|-------------------------|-------------|---|----------|
| West Bank | 62.1 | City | 39.4 | Refugee | 45.1 |
| Gaza Strip | 37.9 | Village- town | 38.5 | Non-refugee | 54.9 |
| Governorate | % | Camp | 22.0 | Sector | % |
| Jenin | 6.5 | Gender | % | Private sector | 73.7 |
| Tubas | 1.2 | Male | 50.3 | N.G.O.'s | 3.0 |
| Tulkarm | 4.1 | Female | 49.7 | Public Sector | 23.3 |
| Nablus | 10.3 | | | Education | % |
| Qalqilya | 2.3 | Marital status | % | Illiterate | 20.3 |
| Salfit | 1.1 | Single | 23.9 | Preparatory | 21.3 |
| Jericho | 1.0 | Married | 71.1 | Elementary | 31.2 |
| Ramallah | 8.4 | Others | 5.0 | Secondary | 16.6 |
| Jerusalem | 7.8 | Age | % | Diploma | 5.0 |
| Bethlehem | 5.3 | 18-22 | 18.5 | B.A. or more | 5.7 |
| Hebron | 14.0 | 23-27 | 16.4 | Place of Residence prior to 1994 | % |
| North Gaza | 7.0 | 28-32 | 13.6 | | |
| Gaza City | 13.4 | 33-37 | 11.9 | | |
| Deir al-Balah | 5.4 | 38-42 | 9.9 | West Bank & Gaza | 92.8 |
| Khan Younis | 8.0 | 43-47 | 7.1 | Abroad | 7.2 |
| Rafah | 3.7 | 48-52 | 5.4 | Income (NIS)* | % |
| Occupation | % | > 52 | 17.3 | No Income | 6.4 |
| Laborers | 13.3 | | | Less than 700 | 26.4 |
| Craftsman | 5.3 | Occupation | % | 701-1000 | 20.8 |
| Housewives | 42.4 | Professional | 0.5 | 1001-1700 | 18.8 |
| Unemployed | 13.9 | Employees | 8.8 | 1701-2500 | 15.2 |
| Merchants | 3.6 | Retired | 1.1 | 2501-3000 | 6.0 |
| Students | 8.9 | Farmers | 2.2 | More than 3000 | 6.5 |