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## Article

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Review of Economics and Political Science (REPS)

## Provided in Cooperation with:

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*Suggested Citation:* Temeiza, Thaer Jamal (2022) : The impact of clans and parties on mobilizing and guiding voters in Palestine: (a field study: Hebron governorate), Review of Economics and Political Science (REPS), ISSN 2631-3561, Emerald, Bingley, Vol. 7, Iss. 3, pp. 204-216, <https://doi.org/10.1108/REPS-02-2020-0024>

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/316062>

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# The impact of clans and parties on mobilizing and guiding voters in Palestine (a field study: Hebron governorate)

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## Abstract

**Purpose** – This paper aims to identify the impact of Clans and parties on mobilizing and guiding voters in the municipal elections in Palestine, from the point of view of Municipal Council members, especially the municipal elections in Hebron governorate for 2005 and 2017. The Palestinian society in Hebron governorate is characterized by the penetration of parties and clans, and this governorate is one of the most clan-based Palestinian provinces. It also relies on clans to run its social and political system as well as managing and shaping the guiding of its citizens.

**Design/methodology/approach** – The quantitative research method was used in this study, and the study population is consisted of members of the municipal councils in Hebron governorate, especially the councils classified (A, B). Whereas, the municipalities classified under category (A) are the ones in the center of the governorate, and the municipalities classified under category (B) are the most in the population. The study depended on a purposive sample of (200) Municipal Council members, including 100 municipal councilors in 2005 and 100 municipal councilors in 2017. The survey was conducted in the academic year (2018–2019). The method Four-Jurors (Reviewers) was used in collecting data.

**Findings** – The results of the study showed that clans and political parties are among the most prominent means of mobilizing and guiding voters in Palestine. The field study indicated that clans and parties had a high impact on the mobilization and guiding of voters in the municipal elections in Hebron governorate in 2005 and 2017. This is due to the unity of the clan, its association with political parties and the overlapping between the clan and the party. Parties have also penetrated the Palestinian society besides its support to people who are loyal even it did not choose them in the elections. Moreover, many members of the electoral blocs are attributing themselves to the parties to gain their support in elections. Although Hamas did not participate in the 2017 elections, it had an impact on the electoral process by guiding its members not to elect Fatah blocs in the elections, or to support those who are close to this movement.

**Originality/value** – This study can be regarded as an introduction to identify the impact of clans and parties on mobilizing and guiding voters in the municipal elections in Palestine. Comparing that effect between the 2005 and 2017 elections, to find out how the strength of clans and parties differs in guiding their voters depending on the time period, as well as the ability of clans and parties to make political change by its influence on the political participation of its citizens.

**Keywords** Clans, Guiding voters, Municipal elections, Palestinian elections, Parties

**Paper type** Research paper



## 1. Introduction

As one of the most important pillars of democratic governance, the elections have received great attention in the field of political science at the theoretical and practical levels, either through academic studies on this subject or through applied studies conducted on elections in the Arab region in general, and on Palestine in particular. The importance of elections is due to the fact that citizens are able to choose their representatives among the candidates and aim to enhance the legitimacy of political systems through the peaceful transfer of power.

The municipal elections in Palestine are of particular importance due to daily and direct dealings between municipal councils and citizens, and the impact that the work of these councils has on the minds of citizens on the image of the political system. In addition, clans and parties intervened in the Palestinian electoral process by supporting some candidates and excluding the others, as well as their important role in mobilizing and guiding voters.

This study aimed at identify the impact of clans and parties on mobilizing and guiding voters in the municipal elections in Hebron governorate for 2005 and 2017. The Hebron governorate is one of the most Clan-based Palestinian provinces. It also relies on clans to run its social and political system as well as managing and shaping the guiding of its citizens. The Quantitative research method was used in this study, and the study population is consisted of members of the municipal councils in Hebron governorate. The study depended on a purposive sample of (200) Municipal Council members 2005 and 2017.

### 1.1 Literature review and research problem

Regarding the impact of clan in the electoral process, [Khagai \(2004\)](#) confirmed that the clans had crucial impact in the political process in Central Asian countries after the collapse of the Soviet Union. This is because clans, as major informal forces in these countries, played an important role in state-building and electoral processes mobilizing voters to elect certain candidates. [Simon \(1997\)](#) also highlighted how elections were devoted to clan social structure in parliamentary elections, as the case in Eastern Europe, which applied the Western model with preserving its historical traditions. [Pyeatt and Yanus \(2008\)](#) concluded that the impact of clans on electoral process varies according to the size of the clans. [Palmer and Simon \(2008\)](#) also agree that the size of political participation varies from clan to clan depending on the size and political weight of each tribe.

[Gubser \(1973\)](#) also referred to the important role played by the clan in political participation in Jordan through the clan alliance, and the opportunities that these clans provide to its men to occupy political positions and run for election, the matter that strengthens the clan's position in the social and political system. [Al-Essa \(2018\)](#) also stated that Jordanian clans have an impact on political participation in Jordan, where clans affects the voters' electoral behavior in parliamentary elections. On the other hand, [Ahmed \(2003\)](#) stresses the idea that the clan has an important role in selecting candidates in Yemeni elections and mobilizing its men and supporting them in Yemen. While [Al-Naqip \(1996\)](#) refers to the important role that clan play in Kuwaiti society and mentioned its important role in guiding Kuwait toward democracy. However, he did not mention the impact of clan on electoral process in Kuwait. [Ahmed's \(2006\)](#) study concluded that Palestinian clans with a historical, economic and social background played a prominent role in mobilizing and guiding Palestinian voters in the first municipal and legislative elections.

Regarding the influence of parties in the electoral process, [Nascimento \(2016\)](#) noted that the large parties in Brazil had a strong influence on political participation, especially elections, while small parties did not find a greater opportunity to influence the political and electoral process. [Mansour \(2001\)](#) asserted that the political participation of parties in Yemen

was not strong, because the parties did not exceed the institutional crisis, and the clans controlled them in the elections. [Lindberg and Morrison \(2008\)](#) also concluded the role of parties in influencing voters in African countries. [Ferree and Horowitz \(2007\)](#) agree, as well, with the role of parties in influencing the behavior of voters.

[Mesfin \(2008\)](#) also referred to the important role played by parties in the electoral process in Africa, especially the major parties, in their role in guiding voters and supporting their candidate members, and [Colomer \(2007\)](#) mentioned the influence of parties on the results of the elections by mobilizing their resources and members to support their candidates. On the other hand, the study of [Ahmed \(2006\)](#) concluded that Palestinian parties with different national, secular, left and religious trends, especially those that fought for Palestine liberation, became part of the daily life of the Palestinian citizen, and consequently, it had an influence on voters in the legislative elections.

The review of previous literature shows that some of them dealt with the role of clans as well as the role of parties individually in influencing voters and the electoral process in different countries; especially Arab countries such as Yemen, Jordan and Kuwait, others dealt with the role of clans as well as parties individually in influencing voters in Palestine, but most focused on municipal elections in 2005 and legislative elections in 2006. The current study is distinguished by a combination of the influence of clans and parties on municipal elections in Palestine and comparison between them, especially for the 2005 municipal elections and their comparison with the 2017 elections.

The electoral process is one of the most important bases of democracy in any country, as it represents a continuation of the peaceful succession of power, and therefore, researches in the field of political science focused on factors affecting the electoral process, whether demographic, clans or parties. Although the municipal elections in Palestine were the most affected by those factors, given the influence of the clans and parties on the process of political participation and the political guiding of their members, there is a dearth of studies covering the municipal elections in Palestine, particularly the Hebron governorate. This study aims to discuss the effect of clans and parties on mobilizing and guiding voters in the municipal elections in Palestine, because of the importance of municipalities in their services to citizens, and because of the penetration of parties and clans into the Palestinian society.

So the research problem is the following main question:

*RQ1.* What is the effect of clans and parties on mobilizing and guiding voters in the municipal elections in Palestine?

## 2. Theoretical framework

### *2.1 The effect of clans and parties on mobilizing and guiding voters*

Durkheim has expressed the concept of the clan as a community characterized by its unity and does not divided into several units that differ from each other ([Ghoneim, 2009](#), p. 47). The difference between the tribe and the clan is that the clan descends from one grandfather, whereas the tribe consists of several clans. The tribe is defined as: "A group of people who form a community and are united with each other." the clan is defined as: "A group of individuals descended from one lineage, have common roots, and belonging to it is by descent to the father" ([Hamdan, 2009](#), p. 114). A clan is a social unit whose members descend from a single ancestor to which they belong, and includes a number of family units, obligations and duties in the clan imposed on all its members, regardless of their kinship ([Khazaleh, 1993](#), p. 71). Likewise, the clan includes a group of people who gather around the founding member or first father ([Daggar, 2009](#), p. 27). The clans are part of the social

formation of Arab countries, as the clan has been the main component of social and political life in Jordan and Yemen (Hamdan, 2009, p. 113).

The relationship between clans or tribes and the State took two tracks from the outset, the first leading to the formation of tribal and clan-supported States that continued to exist after the birth of their States, but this track of development is the oldest, despite its continuation. The second track led to the formation of countries that systematically subjugated, changed or marginalized the tribes and clans that supported them. Therefore; the first track ensures the sharing of sovereignty between the tribes and the state that they are most often controlled and dominated, in which members of the tribe or clan generally maintain their right to bear arms, while in the second track of development the state gradually disarms the groups under their control, and then feel the need to establish a police and army to exercise its authority within their territory (Godelier, 1980, pp. 609–615).

Many politicians also resorted to their clans to use their weight to increase their chances of success in elections. Many members of the parties and clans also do the same to benefit from the support of the clans (Al-Zayoud, 2000, p. 4).

The clans in Palestine have a great role in the rule and administration of Palestine throughout history, among the most prominent of these clans are Al-Husseini, Al-Jabari, Al-Nabulsi, Al-Khoury, Al-Barghouthi, Al-Tamimi, Al-Shaka'a. The Ottomans relied on them during their rule, and the British relied on them during the mandate period, as well as Egypt and Jordan.

The sons of these families were the heads of local and village councils, and they have a great social and political impact on Palestinian society. but after the Oslo agreement and under the Palestinian Authority, new elites emerged that weakened the traditional role of the clans. However, for the sake of balance, *Yasser Arafat* relied on the clans and reestablished their power, which began to grow and have a prominent role in the 2005 municipal elections and the 2006 legislative elections, by selecting and consolidating the candidates, and escalating the parliamentary elites in their constituencies (Robinson, 2008, pp. 4–6).

In the Hebron Governorate under study, the most socially and politically influential clans are The Tamimi clans, the Jabari, the Kurds, the Natsha, Kawasme. The Hebron Governorate consists of 17 towns, the most prominent of which are: Halhul in the north of the city of Hebron and includes the Al-Saada, Al-Zamara and Al-Karajah clans. As well as the town of Samou, in the south of the city of Hebron, and it includes the Hawamidh, Zaarir and Abu Awwad clans. Al-Fawwar camp is located to the east and to the south of Hebron and includes refugees from the occupied territories in 1948. The town of Dura is located in the west of Hebron, with the clans of Sweetty, Rajoub and Amr Kawasme (Guidebook of Hebron City, 2019).

The 2005 municipal elections in Hebron governorate witnessed a significant role for the clan in the context of the rivalry between Fatah and Hamas, and the clans took control of the parties at that stage, which lasted until the 2017 elections, and with Hamas withdrawing from participating in those elections. Fatah candidates went to clans to get support, giving clans a central role in selecting some candidates and excluding others, and in controlling the guiding of their members voters (Guidebook of Hebron City, 2018).

## 2.2 The effect of parties on mobilizing and guiding voters

Parties play important roles in political life within countries, preparing leaders, promoting and participating in political culture, setting priorities and grouping interests, principles and ideas. The party is defined as “An organized gathering of citizens established to defend their opinions and interests, and to implement their program to participate in political life” (Odeh, 2004, p. 14). It is also defined as “Organizing the election process of individuals by

introducing the party candidates to them, and pushing them to elect those candidates” (Al-Khazraji, 2004, p. 209).

Political parties have four characteristics; the first is continuity; that is, the continuation of the party’s activity and ideas, with different leaders and members. Second, inclusiveness; that is, the party should include all groups of society. The third is power; the quest for power or influence over its decisions; the fourth is political support; through popular support (Abu Sebaa, 2014, p. 6). Al-Zayoud added to this the existence of the party’s ideology; that is, a set of common ideas, principles and priorities that may be put into different programs offered to citizens, as well as the creation of channels of communication between party units at all local and national levels (Al-Zayoud, 2000, p. 71.)

The Palestinian people have exercised political and party pluralism since the early twentieth century, but it has been in the heat of national struggle against occupation, on the one hand, and in the absence of Palestinian national sovereignty, on the other. The post-1948 period witnessed the emergence of several major Palestinian parties: The Islamic Liberation Party, the Arab nationalists Movement, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Fatah Movement and the Hamas Movement (AWAD, 2016, pp. 9–10). The Declaration of the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization stated that it is not a government, does not exercise sovereignty, but rather aims at the Palestinian diaspora, that it would be the political entity that would embody unity for all the Palestinian people, and that it would be representative of its aspirations at various levels (Al-Khazraji, 2004, p. 31).

After the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, a political phase has begun, which was different from the previous phase, and the Palestinian Legislative Council had the authority to enact national legislation. The Palestinian political parties had a big role in political participation, as the Palestinian parties entered the first legislative elections in 1996, as well as the presidential elections in 2005, but Hamas and Jihad did not participate in them. Hamas participated in the municipal elections in 2005 and in the second legislative elections in 2006. Hamas also did not participate in the municipal elections in 2017.

Article (5) of the Palestinian Basic Law stipulates that the Palestinian system of government is a representative democratic system that allows political and party pluralism. Article (26) of the same law stipulates the right of political participation of the Palestinian citizen, where the citizen has the right to stand for election, to form and join parties.

### *2.3 The municipal elections system in Palestine*

Municipal councils play an important role in preparing and implementing local development plans, and the law regulates their competences and their relationship to the central authority, and how to control them, and given the specificity of the Palestinian case as it is under occupation, the Palestinian Authority has not been able, since its arrival after the 1994 Oslo Agreement, to hold local elections, so it has to appoint temporary local councils as an alternative for the previous councils appointed by the Israeli occupation. Although these councils were temporary until elections were held, their duration lasted until 2005, when the first municipal elections were held in Palestine (Addis, 2005, pp. 12–13).

Law No. (5) of 1996 was the law governing municipal elections, and it adopted the system of (simple) majorities in elections, meaning that the winner is the one who receives the highest number of votes, without requiring an absolute majority (Odeh, 2004, p. 11). However, Law 1996 was modified by Law No. (10) of 2005. Some articles of the 2005 law on the election of the President of the local Council and the representation of women with at least two seats were amended. The amendments included the adoption of a proportional



representation system, and the candidate's age should not be less than 25 years, and he must be full competent, not a member of the local government, and not affiliated with one of the security agencies. His candidacy in a district is required to be resident in for more than a year (Zaamara, 2013, pp. 36–38). With regard to the amendments to the Elections Law that took place in 2012 and 2017, which resulted in Law No. (2) amended and issued in 2017, it did not affect the essence of the electoral process but rather administrative procedures aimed at achieving the public interest.

The Palestinian Municipal Councils Act No.) 2 (amended by Article 2017) 6 (has approved the classification of municipalities into four classifications: (A, B, C, D); municipalities vary in structure and the number of members of their councils according to their classification:

- (1) a: the municipalities in the governorate centers are held regardless of population;
- (2) b: for municipalities with a population of (10,000-15,000);
- (3) c: for municipalities with a population of (5,000-10,000); and
- (4) d: for municipalities with a population of (1,000-5,000).

Classifications (b) and (c) refer to modern municipalities in rural areas.

### 3. Methodology of this research

This study aims at identifying the effect of clans and parties on mobilizing and guiding voters in the municipal elections in Palestine, from the viewpoint of members of municipal councils, especially the municipal elections in Hebron governorate for the years 2005 and 2017. The Palestinian society in Hebron governorate is characterized by the penetration of parties and clans, which is one of the most important Palestinian governorates that rely on clans in running their municipal and political system, and managing and shaping the attitudes of their youth. Clans and political parties are also among the most prominent mobilization means in the governorate to participate in the municipal elections. It also has 44 municipalities and a village Council, where the members of these councils range between (7) members of the classified village council (D), (9) members of municipalities classified (c), (13) members of municipalities classified (b) and (15) members of the municipality classified (a).

The quantitative research method was used in this study, and the Study population is consists of members of the municipal councils of Hebron, particularly the designated councils (a, b), the designated municipalities (a) are those in the governorate center, and the municipalities (b) are the most in the population. The study focused on municipal elections of the years (2005) and (2017), since the elections of (2005) were the first elections held under the Palestinian Authority after the signing of the Oslo Agreement, and although the elections (2017) was the third as it was preceded by the elections (2012), it was more competitive between the parties; The competition between the clans and the parties has reached its peak.

The study was based on purposive sample of 200 members of municipal councils, including 100 members of municipal councils in 2005 and 100 members of municipal councils in 2017. The survey was conducted in the academic year 2018–2019. The judging questionnaire of four Jurors (Reviewer) was used for data collection. The questionnaire included two parts, the first dealt with questions concerning the effect of clans on the mobilization and guiding voters in municipal elections, and the second part dealt with questions regarding the effect of parties on mobilizing and guiding voters in municipal elections.

The main hypothesis:

H1. The clans and parties influence the mobilization and guiding of voters in the municipal elections in Hebron Governorate, Palestine.

Two sub-hypotheses emanate from this main hypothesis:

H1a. Clans influence the mobilization and guiding voters in the municipal elections in Hebron.

H1b. The parties influence the mobilization and guiding voters in the municipal elections in Hebron.

4. Results and discussion

The survey was conducted on the members of the municipal councils in Hebron Governorate to identify the influence of the clans and parties on mobilizing and guiding voters in the municipal elections in Hebron, Palestine. The results revealed that:

The first sub-hypothesis:

H1a. Clans influence the mobilization and guiding voters in the municipal elections in Hebron.

Table 1 shows the influence of clans on mobilizing and guiding voters in the municipals elections in Hebron governorate as follows.

4.1 Elections of 2005

Table 1 shows that the influence of the clan on the mobilization and guiding voters in the 2005 municipal elections was 73.7%, which is somewhat high, despite the fact that clans leaders mobilized their members to maintain the clan's position in the municipal councils by supporting their candidates to win was high by 98%, and the mobilization of the clan members to achieve the public interest of the town or city at the time of the elections, was

Table 1.  
The clans influence on mobilization and guiding voters in the municipal elections in Hebron governorate

| No. Item         |  | 2005<br>Votes (%) |      | 2017<br>Votes (%) |    |
|------------------|--|-------------------|------|-------------------|----|
| 1                | The leaders of the clan mobilize the clans members to preserve the clan's position in the municipal council to support their candidates to win | Yes               | 98   | 98                | 94 |
|                  |  | No                | 2    | 2                 | 6  |
| 2                | The public interest of the town or city mobilizes the clans members at the time of the elections   | Yes               | 82   | 82                | 77 |
|                  |  | No                | 18   | 18                | 23 |
| 3                | The clan's competition with other clans pushes it to the mobilization  | Yes               | 79   | 79                | 89 |
|                  |  | No                | 21   | 21                | 11 |
| 4                | The candidate's membership in a political party that has a role in the mobilization process for his success                                    | Yes               | 65   | 65                | 76 |
|                  |  | No                | 35   | 35                | 24 |
| 5                | The candidate's closeness to the authority has a role in the mobilization process among the clans men  | Yes               | 56   | 56                | 60 |
|                  |  | No                | 44   | 44                | 40 |
| 6                | Financial spending is the basis of the clan mobilization process to guide voters   | Yes               | 72   | 72                | 52 |
|                  |  | No                | 28   | 28                | 48 |
| 7                | The customs and traditions of the clan influence the attitudes of the electorate in selecting the candidates                                   | Yes               | 64   | 64                | 74 |
|                  |  | No                | 36   | 36                | 26 |
| Average response |  | Yes               | 73.7 | 74.5              |    |
|                  |  | No                | 26.3 | 25.5              |    |



high, at 82%, in addition to the fact that the clans competition with other clans, which pushed toward the mobilization was high by 79%, as well as financial spending as the basis of the mobilization process of the clans to guide voters was high somewhat by 72%, but candidate's affiliation with a political party has a role in the mobilization was average by 65%, and the candidate's closeness to authority and the role of that in the mobilization process was average by 56%. The influence of the clan's customs and traditions on voter attitudes in selecting candidates was average, at 64%.

#### 4.2 Elections of 2017

Table 1 shows that the influence of the clan on the mobilization and guiding voters in the 2017 municipal elections was 74.5%, which is somewhat high, despite the fact that clans leaders mobilized their members to maintain the clan's position in the municipal councils by supporting their candidates to win was high by 94%, in addition to the fact that the clans competition with other clans, which pushed toward the mobilization was high by 89%, and the mobilization of the clan members to achieve the public interest of the town or city at the time of the elections, was high, at 77%, also the role of candidate's affiliation with a political party in the mobilization was high by 74%, and The influence of the clan's customs and traditions on voter attitudes in selecting candidates was high, at 74%; however, the candidate's closeness to authority and the role of that in the mobilization process was average by 60%, as well as financial spending as the basis of the mobilization process of the clans to guide voters was average by 52%.

The second sub-hypothesis:

*H1b.* The parties influence the mobilization and guiding voters in the municipal elections in Hebron.

Table 2 shows the influence of parties on mobilizing and guiding voters in the municipals elections in Hebron governorate as follows.

#### 4.3 Elections of 2005

Table 2 shows that the influence of the parties on the mobilization and guiding voters in the 2005 municipal elections was 75.1%, which is somewhat high, despite the fact that party leaders mobilized their members to maintain the party position in the municipal councils by supporting their candidates to win was high by 99%, in addition to the fact that the party competition with other parties, which pushed toward the mobilization was high by 84%, and the mobilization of the clan members to achieve the public interest of the town or city at the time of the elections, was high, at 79%; furthermore, the positive effect of the duration of the party's participation in political process was high by 74%, and the affiliation of parties with external states and systems as a negative effects on guiding voters was high by 74%, and the party's militant history positive effect on guiding voters was high by 74%, also the negative effect of failing to hold internal elections for a long time was somewhat high by 72%. However, financial spending is the basis of the party mobilization process was average by 67%, also the positive impact of the party's history of providing services to citizens was average by 64%; finally, the positive effect of the party being on top of the authority was average by 63%.

#### 4.4 Elections of 2017

Table 2 shows that the influence of the parties on the mobilization and guiding voters in the 2017 municipal elections was 77.3%, which is at high percentage, despite the fact that party

**Table 2.**  
The parties influence  
on mobilization and  
guiding voters in the  
municipal elections  
in Hebron  
governorate

| No. Item  | 2005 |           | 2017  |      |
|---|------|-----------|-------|------|
|   | Yes  | Votes (%) | Votes | (%)  |
| 1 The parties mobilize the clans members to preserve the party position in the municipal council to support their candidates to win | Yes  | 99        | 99    | 94   |
|   | No   | 1         | 1     | 6    |
| 2 The public interest of the town or city mobilizes the parties members at the time of the elections                                | Yes  | 79        | 79    | 85   |
|   | No   | 21        | 21    | 15   |
| 3 The competition with other parties pushes to the mobilization   | Yes  | 84        | 84    | 90   |
|   | No   | 16        | 16    | 10   |
| 4 Financial spending is the basis of the party mobilization process to guide voters   | Yes  | 67        | 67    | 71   |
|   | No   | 33        | 33    | 29   |
| 5 The party's militant history positively influences the guiding voters   | Yes  | 74        | 74    | 75   |
|   | No   | 26        | 26    | 25   |
| 6 The presence of the party at the top of the authority has a positive role in the guiding voters                                   | Yes  | 63        | 63    | 74   |
|   | No   | 37        | 37    | 26   |
| 7 The duration of the party's participation in political process positively affects the behavior of voters                          | Yes  | 74        | 74    | 73   |
|   | No   | 26        | 26    | 27   |
| 8 The party's history of providing services to citizens has a positive impact on voters' guiding                                    | Yes  | 64        | 64    | 83%  |
|   | No   | 36        | 36    | 17   |
| 9 The party's failure to hold internal elections for a long time negatively affects voters' guiding                                 | Yes  | 72        | 72    | 76   |
|   | No   | 28        | 28    | 24   |
| 10 The affiliation of parties with external states and systems negatively affects voters  | Yes  | 75        | 75    | 59   |
|   | No   | 25        | 25    | 41   |
| Average response  | Yes  | 75.1      |       | 77.3 |
|   | No   | 24.9      |       | 22.7 |

leaders mobilized their members to maintain the party position in the municipal councils by supporting their candidates to win was at high percentage by 94%, in addition to the fact that the party competition with other parties, which pushed toward the mobilization was at high percentage by 90%, and the mobilization of the clan members to achieve the public interest of the town or city at the time of the elections, was high, at 85%, also the negative effect of failing to hold internal elections for a long time was high by 76%, also the positive impact of the party's history of providing services to citizens was high by 76%, and the party's militant history positive effect on guiding voters was high by 75% and the positive effect of the party being on top of the authority was high by 74%. Furthermore, the positive effect of the duration of the party's participation in political process was high by 73%. Also financial spending as the basis of the party mobilization process was high by 71%; however, the affiliation of parties with external states and systems as a negative effects on guiding voters was average 59%.

The results of the field study showed that there is an effect of clans on mobilizing and guiding voters in the municipal elections in Hebron Governorate, by a percentage of 71.6% as it was in 2005 elections, and a percentage of 73.6% as it was in 2017 elections. This demonstrates the high role the clan plays in affecting the behavior of voters in the municipal elections for the two periods by guiding their members. This is consistent with the study (Simon, 1997) of the devotion of elections to the social and clan structure of elections. It is also consistent with the study of Pyeatt and Yanus (2018) that concluded that the effect of clans on the election process differs between clans. Also, with Ahmed's (2006) study, the Palestinian clans have a prominent role in mobilizing and guiding the Palestinian voters in the elections. Compared to other societies, it illustrates that the clan has an active role in Jordan, according to Al-Zayoud (2000). The clan has contributed to mobilizing and guiding voters in Jordanian parliamentary elections. Likewise in Yemen, the clan played a major role

in mobilizing voters, according to [Daggar \(2009\)](#). The tribes contributed to the wining of some members of Parliament with their political and financial support.

The results of the field study also showed that parties have an effect on mobilizing and guiding voters in the municipal elections in Hebron governorate, by a ratio of 72.5% as it was in 2005 elections, and a ratio of 74.8% as it was in 2017 elections. This demonstrates the high role of parties in affecting the behavior of voters in municipal elections for the two periods. This can be explained by the fact that the parties penetrate into Palestinian society, as the parties support people close to them even if they do not select them, and that many members of the electoral blocs attribute themselves to the parties to gain their support in the elections. This is consistent with the study of [Nascimento \(2016\)](#) which indicated that the parties in Brazil had a strong effect on the elections. This is also consistent with the study of [Mesfin \(2008\)](#) which emphasized the role of parties in guiding voters and supporting their members of candidates. In addition to Ahmed's study (2006) which indicated that the Palestinian parties have an effect on the voters in the elections. Compared to other societies, it illustrates that political parties have an active role in Jordan, according to [Al-Essa \(2015\)](#). Political parties have contributed to mobilizing voters in Jordanian parliamentary elections. Likewise in Yemen, political parties played a major role in mobilizing voters, according to [Mansour \(2001\)](#). Political parties contributed to the support of some candidates for the parliamentary elections.

## 5. Conclusion

The study concluded that there is an effect of clans and parties on mobilizing and guiding voters in the municipal elections of 2005 and 2017. This demonstrates the high role of parties in affecting the behavior of voters in municipal elections for the two periods. This is due to the unity of the clan as well as its association with political parties. This indicates the large volume of the clan's interference with the party. Besides, the parties penetrate into Palestinian society, as the parties support people close to them even if they do not select them, and that many members of the electoral blocs attribute themselves to the parties to gain their support in the elections. On the other hand, Hamas, despite not participating in the 2017 elections, directed its citizens not to elect Fatah blocs in the elections or to support those close to them.

It is worth noting three scenarios for the future, as follows:

- With regard to clans, in light of the deteriorating conditions in the occupied Palestinian territories and the inability of the Palestinian Authority to impose its absolute control over the Palestinian street because of the presence of the occupation, which weakens the role of the authority, the clans remain a major actor in their influence on the behavior of their members, and this includes all activities, including political ones such as the electoral process and the direct impact on the behavior of voters and the selection of candidates, where clans impose their control in their areas by the loyalty of their members, especially in the absence of a real pillar for the citizen, which leads to weakness in the application of the law, so the citizen resorting to his clan in many conditions, this scenario will be the strongest in the tribal societies because of the deteriorating state of trust between Palestinian factions and the public, which led to a crisis of confidence and a state of frustration toward Palestinian factions.
- With regard to political parties, Palestinian parties are taking a bold step forward by re-establishing themselves and building bridges of trust with citizens to get around them as was the situation in the Stone Intifada in 1948, and the Al-Aqsa

Intifada in 2000, as the Palestinian factions lead these two Intifada against the occupier and it gained a great legitimacy derived from the street that made the parties the main influence on the behavior of voters after these two periods, especially the legislative elections in 1996 and the municipal, legislative and presidential elections after 2005 until before 2012, as the parties began to decline in favor of the clans to share the influence on the voters and choosing candidates on many occasions. This does not mean that the Palestinian factions will ignite revolutions to win the masses. Rather, they must be modern o fit the successive generations so that their goals are consistent with their principles and the interests of their members.

- The third scenario, which is the least likely to occur, in terms of the existence of a real authority for a fully fledged Palestinian state, this state provides a law that guarantees the rights of citizens, and provides them a state of security, justice and freedom to think and choose like democratic societies, so that the state and its institutions are incubator and protect citizens not the clans, political parties and political programs that satisfy the citizen's desire and aim to satisfy their needs to be the main influence on the behavior and guiding the voters and the selection of candidates, not the desires, kinship and affection that the party's member or clan is attracted to.

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Appendix. The Questionnaire

First part: The effect of clans on mobilizing and guiding voters

| S/N | Item   | Yes | No |
|-----|--|-----|----|
| 1   | The leaders of the clan mobilize the clans members in order to preserve the clan's position in the municipal council to support their candidates to win. |     |    |
| 2   | The public interest of the town or city mobilizes the clans members at the time of the elections.  |     |    |
| 3   | The competition with other clans pushes to the mobilization.   |     |    |
| 4   | The candidate's membership in a political party that has a role in the mobilization process for his success  |     |    |
| 5   | The candidate's closeness to the authority has a role in the mobilization process among the clans members.   |     |    |
| 6   | Financial spending is the basis of the clan mobilization process to orient voters.   |     |    |
| 7   | The customs and traditions of the clan influence the attitudes of the electorate in selecting the candidates.  |     |    |

Second part: The effect of parties on mobilizing and guiding voters

| S/N | Item  | Yes | No |
|-----|---|-----|----|
| 1   | The parties mobilize the clans members in order to preserve the party position in the municipal council to support their candidates to win. |     |    |
| 2   | The public interest of the town or city mobilizes the clans members at the time of the elections.   |     |    |
| 3   | The competition with other parties pushes to the mobilization.  |     |    |
| 4   | Financial spending is the basis of the party mobilization process to orient voters.   |     |    |
| 5   | The party's militant history positively influences the orientation of the voters.   |     |    |
| 6   | The presence of the party at the top of the authority has a positive role in the orientation of the voters.                                 |     |    |
| 7   | The duration of the party's participation in political process positively affects the behavior of voters                                    |     |    |
| 8   | The party's history of providing services to citizens has a positive impact on voters' orientation  |     |    |
| 9   | The party's failure to hold internal elections for a long time negatively affects voters' orientation                                       |     |    |
| 10  | The affiliation of parties with external states and systems negatively affects voters   |     |    |

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