



Poll No. 200

November 16, 2015

The latest poll on the Palestinian public opinion, prepared by Dr. Nabil Kukali, revealed the following key results:

- (62.3%) of the Palestinian public oppose the resumption of the peace negotiations with Israel.**
- (68.5%) oppose the Russian intervention in Syria.**
- (43.5%) are optimistic about the perspective of an eventual reconciliation between the two major movements, Fatah and Hamas.**
- (58.9%) are to various degrees discontent with the performance of the PA-president Mahmoud Abbas.**
- (50.1%) are of the opinion that the media coverage in the Palestinian Territories is not inflated.**
- (50.4%) are in favor of an outbreak of a third uprising (Intifada).**
- (42.1%) are in favor of a violent uprising, whilst (29.9%) favor, however, a peaceful, popular uprising.**
- (47.8%) call for the resignation of the President Mahmoud Abbas.**

Beit Sahour –Public Relations’ Section – by Adham Kukali:

The latest poll prepared by **Dr. Nabil Kukali** and conducted by the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion (www.pcpo.org), during the period from October 18 – November 12, 2015 covered a random sample of (1000) Palestinian respondents representing the various demographic specimens of Palestinians (18 years and above) living in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and Gaza Strip. It revealed that (50.4%) of the Palestinian public are in favor of an outbreak of a third popular uprising (Intifada).



Dr. Kukali

Dr. Nabil Kukali, President and founder of the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion, said in a statement that there is a remarkable rise in the support of the Palestinian public for the outbreak of a third Intifada by (21.7%) in comparison with a previous poll conducted during the period 27.5 – 15.6.2015. This rise in support might be attributable to the Jerusalem uprising, which came as an expression of the Palestinian indignation over the Israeli practices at the premises of al-Aqsa Mosque and the frequent aggressions against the Palestinian people, which now threaten their existence, security and stability and exacerbate thereby their sufferings. Add thereto, the Palestinian people, in fact, want only their freedom and independence and refuse the continuation of this occupation, under the yoke of which they live since 1967. The

mere occupation, in itself, is the main reason behind the current bloody events in the Palestinian territories.

Dr. Kukali indicated the anticipated consequences in case a third Intifada might break out and further continue. According to the results of this poll a third Intifada would conduce to suicide bombings inside Israel, the matter which would exert more genuine pressure by the international community on the Israeli public and its government, pushing thereby Israel to moderate its stances towards the two-state solution on the one side, and might also promote the Palestinian cause on the international forums. This means that the Palestinian cause would score a better position at the Arab and the international level and, subsequently, would give the Palestinians a better perspective to improve their militancy and negotiation positions.

Dr. Kukali further pointed out that the consequences of a third Intifada would be a much vicious deterioration of the economic and living conditions of the Palestinians, which might also conduce to a political, social chaos and lawlessness, and to a heartbreaking setback of the educational process in the Palestinian territories. Furthermore, such an environment would encourage Israel to wage a new war against Gaza Strip, which would create there more catastrophic conditions and leave thousands of casualties among the Palestinians.

Dr. Kukali added that this Intifada, according to the poll results, is supposed to be led by the Palestinian factions as these scored the major rate of confidence (46.6%) of the Palestinians, followed by the young people at the national universities and institutions (30.5%). This might be attributed to the fact that the Palestinian public to a great extent trust the Palestinian factions and that there is a growing trust towards the youth movements that are capable of directing and making miracles.

Dr. Kukali further stated that the majority of the Palestinian public, namely (62.3%), oppose the resumption of the peace talks with the Israelis. This might be the result of their frustration, disappointment and indignation about more than twenty years of shuttle negotiations, that couldn't achieve any tangible progress in the peace process. Consequently, a third anticipated Intifada would spread out and turn to be more violent and bloody in the near future if no progress in the negotiations would take place that might lead to the two-state solution on the basis of the international resolutions.

Referring to the performance of the PA President, Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen), under the prevailing conditions, **Dr. Kukali** said that the poll results distinctly reveal the discontent of the Palestinian public with the President's performance and their disappointment about his speech at the UN and his stance, particularly his appeal that the Palestinian stir should be carried out with peaceful terms and away from violence, the matter which pushed them to call for his resignation and to relinquish his duties. The rate of this discontent public reached the red line of (47.8%),

showing for the first time such a negative Palestinian public attitude towards the president. **Dr. Kukali** tries to justify that from the President's point of view on the painful Arab reality and the global public opinion that is preoccupied with more hot issues all over the world, the matter which increased the complexity made the President's position more vulnerable, besides his inability to take decisive decisions.

Regarding the schism between Fatah and Hamas, **Dr. Kukali** said that the Palestinian public is optimistic about putting an end to this schism and completing the reconciliation process in a manner that is of benefit to the status quo and giving a forward thrust to the Palestinian issue. He also indicated that the majority of the Palestinian public are of the opinion that the media coverage of events in the Palestinian territories are not inflated, but broadcast a realistic picture of events.

Hereunder are the poll results in details:

The Russian Intervention in Syria

Responding to the question: "Are you for or against the Russian intervention in Syria?", (31.5%) said "Pro the Russian intervention", (68.5%) said "Contra the Russian intervention". And further to the question in this context: "How do you see the new reality on the Syrian ground after the Russian intervention?", (20.9%) said: "It will change the course of events to the benefit of the Syrian president Bashar Assad", (33.3%) said: "The situation will remain unchanged", (18%) "It will have a negative impact on the political settlement of the conflict between the Syrian adverse parties", and (27.8%) said: "I don't know".

The Reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas

Regarding the question: "In view of the current political developments that are taking place in the Palestinian territories these days, do you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the perspective of reaching a reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas?", (43.5%) said they are optimistic, (40.7%) are pessimistic and (15.8%) said: "I don't know".

The Peace Negotiations

(62.3%) of the Palestinian public oppose going back to the peace talks between the Palestinians and the Israelis under the prevailing conditions, whilst only (22.3%) of the respondents support that and (15.4%) declined to answer the corresponding question.

The Position of President Mahmoud Abbas

With respect to the question: "President Mahmoud Abbas said that the leadership aims to achieve a political solution with peaceful terms, not with something else at all, so as to spare this country dangers that could bring upon all parties involved massive woes, destruction and misfortune. Do

you support this statement, or not?”, (56.1%) said:”No, I don’t”, (28.0%) said “yes, I do” and (15.9%) said:” I don’t know”.

The Speech of the President at the UN

With regard to the question:”*Some people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip think that the speech of President Mahmoud Abbas before the UN General Assembly on September 30 is important and detailed and has put an end to an old era and set a beginning to a new one. Others believe that the speech was below the expectations and didn’t bring something new and lacks vision. Which opinion is closer to your point of view ?*”. (22.4%) said:”It’s important, detailed and has put an end to an old era and set a beginning to a new one”, (53.8%) said:”It was below the expectations and didn’t bring something new and lacks vision”, and (23.8%) answered:”I don’t know”.

Performance of President Mahmoud Abbas

Regarding the question:”*To which extent are you content or discontent with the performance of the president Mahmoud Abbas in his capacity as president of the Palestinian Authority ?*”, (9.3%) said “very content”, (20.3%) “somehow content”, (32.2%) “somehow discontent”, (26.7%) “very discontent” and (11.5%) said “I don’t know”.

Resignation of President Mahmoud Abbas

Regarding the question:”*Some people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are in favor of maintaining Mahmoud Abbas in his position as president of the Palestinian Authority, whilst others are in favor of his resignation from the presidency post of the Palestinian Authority. Which is closer to your opinion ?*”, (30.8%) answered:”the President should stay in his post”, (47.8%) answered:”the President should resign”, and (21.4%) answered:”I don’t know”.

The Presidency Elections

With respect to the question:”*Suppose new presidential elections would be held now and Mahmoud Abbas would run these elections as candidate for Fatah and Ismael Haniyyeh as a candidate for Hamas, for whom would you vote ?*”, (32.1%) of the respondents said “for Mahmoud Abbas”, (28.7%) “for Ismael Haniyyeh, and (39.2%) said they didn’t decide yet.

The Palestinian Uprising (Intifada)

Responding to the question:”*According to your opinion, is what happening now in the West Bank and East Jerusalem are fleeting confrontations, a popular stir or a third Intifada ?*”,(14.8%) said:”These are fleeting confrontations”, (49.4%) said:”a popular stir as an onset of a third Intifada”, (32.2%) said:”It’s a third Intifada” and (3.6%) said:”I don’t know”.

Nature of the Uprising (Intifada)

Regarding the question: "Supposedly, a third uprising (intifada) erupts; would you be in favor of a peaceful popular uprising (intifada) or in favor of a violent one?", (29.9%) of the respondents said: "in favor of a peaceful, non-violent, popular uprising", (42.1%) are "in favor of a violent uprising", (27.8%) said: "not in favor of either of them", and (0.2%) answered: "I don't know".

Supporting the Intifada

The poll results have revealed that (50.4%) of the Palestinian people support the outbreak of a third intifada, while (35.2%) oppose that and (14.4%) declined to answer the relevant question.

The Stance of Dr. Mahmoud al-Zahhar

Responding to the question: "the member of the politburo of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), Dr. Mahmoud al-Zahhar, said in a statement that the opportunity of an outbreak of a third intifada is available, and that in a likely more violent manner than that of al-Aqsa intifada (2. Intifada), stressing that the only solution for defending al-Aqsa is that the citizens of the occupied West Bank and Jerusalem should carry weapons. Do you support this statement or not?", (45.8%) said: "Yes, I support it", (29.7%) said: "I oppose it", and (24.5%) answered: "I don't know".

Leadership of the Uprising (Intifada)

With respect to the question: "Who, do you think, is supposed to lead the uprising (intifada) in the event of its eruption?", (14.4%) said: "the Palestinian National Authority", (46.6%) "the Palestinian factions", (30.5%) "the young people at the universities and institutions", and (8.5%) replied: "Otherwise".

The Potential Consequences of the Uprising

Responding to the question: "I shall read you now a list of potential consequences that are likely to happen in case a third intifada would erupt, using thereby a scale from (1) to (5), where (1) stands for 'a very small degree' and (5) for 'a very big degree'." The outcome was as follows:

1. *Would put Pressure on Israel from different international parties.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (2.87) at a standard deviation of (1.41) degree.
2. *Would serve the interests of Israel and harms the Palestinian interests.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (2.89) at a standard deviation of (1.24) degree.
3. *Would deepen the schism between the factions.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (2.73) at a standard deviation of (1.20) degree.
4. *Would thrust Palestinian suicide bombings inside Israel.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (3.43) at a standard deviation of (1.28) degree.
5. *Would exert increased pressure of the Israeli public on their government.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (3.22) at a standard deviation of (1.35) degree.

6. *Would enhance Hamas power.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (3.00) at a standard deviation of (1.29) degree.
7. *Would enhance Fatah power.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (3.04) at a standard deviation of (1.24) degree.
8. *Would conduce to the deterioration of the economic and living conditions of the Palestinians.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (3.20) at a standard deviation of (1.19) degree.
9. *Would cause more casualties among the Palestinians.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (3.39) at a standard deviation of (1.22) degree.
10. *Would grant the Palestinians the opportunity to improve their militancy and negotiation positions.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (3.19) at a standard deviation of (1.18) degree.
11. *Would freeze the remittance of the PA funds coming from the Palestinian customs and tax revenues through Israel.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (3.22) at a standard deviation of (1.25) degree.
12. *Would harm Israel interests from the aspect of imposing an international embargo against it, thereby ruining tourism, investments, economy and the society.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (3.22) at a standard deviation of (1.24) degree.
13. *Would bring negative consequences on the Palestinians.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (2.95) at a standard deviation of (1.22) degree.
14. *Would conduce to an internal reconciliation between the Palestinian factions.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (3.13) at a standard deviation of (1.18) degree.
15. *Would once again promote the Palestinian issue as to take a priority position at the regional, Arab, Islamic and international levels.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (3.17) at a standard deviation of (1.19) degree.
16. *Would increase the perspectives for peace between the Palestinians and the Israelis.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (2.48) at a standard deviation of (1.24) degree.
17. *Would force President Mahmoud Abbas to resign from his presidential office.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (2.91) at a standard deviation of (1.20) degree.
18. *Would embarrass the security forces acting in the territories of the Palestinian Authority.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (2.90) at a standard deviation of (1.20) degree.
19. *Would conduce to a political and social chaos, as well as lawlessness, in the Palestinian Territories.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (2.97) at a standard deviation of (1.21) degree.
20. *Would raise the potential of waging a new war by Israel on Gaza Strip.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (3.26) at a standard deviation of (1.25) degree.
21. *Would cause a setback to the educational process in the Palestinian Territories.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (3.13) at a standard deviation of (1.27) degree.
22. *Would enhance the social solidarity between the people.*
The result was: Arithmetic average (3.43) at a standard deviation of (1.30) degree.

The Media role during the Uprising (Intifada)

With regard to the question: "Do you strongly agree to, somewhat agree to, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the following statement:

'The means of media inflate the currently events taking place in the Palestinian territories upon their broadcasting', (15.1%) said: "I strongly agree", (28.0%) "I somewhat agree", (37.4%) "I somehow oppose", (12.7%) "I strongly oppose" and (6.8%) said: "I don't know".

A Comparison between the Poll Results of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and Gaza Strip:

1. The rate of the respondents, who opposed the outbreak of a third intifada in Gaza, was (27.4%), while those in the West Bank were at (40.2%). Conversely, the rate of those in favor of an outbreak of a third intifada in Gaza Strip came at (66.2%), against (40.2%) in the West Bank.
2. The poll results on the return to the peace negotiations with Israel revealed in Gaza Strip a rate of (37.7%) whilst in the West Bank only (12.3%)
3. The rates of the respondents, who aren't in favor of either a peaceful uprising, or a violent one, were in the West Bank (35.5%) and in Gaza Strip (16.2%).
4. The rates of those respondents, who are calling for the resignation of the President, were (55%) in Gaza Strip against (43.1%) in the West Bank.
5. Regarding the reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas, (50.2%) in Gaza Strip are pessimistic against (34.5%) in the West Bank.
6. And in respect of the statement of President Mahmoud Abbas that the leadership aims to achieve a political solution with peaceful terms, not with something else, the rate of its supporters in Gaza Strip was (39.6%) against (20.4%) in the West Bank.

Methodology of the Survey Study

Mr. Elias Kukali, Head of the Quantitative Researches Department at the **PCPO**, said that all interviews of this survey were conducted inside the respondents' homes, i.e. face-to-face during different working hours, at least 5 hours a day, including the evening time, in order to ensure proper representation of those sub-groups of the population, which would otherwise be difficult to reach and selecting one individual in each household using Last Birthday Method. The choices were taken from a total of (173) election sites, from which (127) sites are located in West Bank and (46) sites in Gaza Strip according to the distribution of the Central Election Commission.

These election sites were randomly chosen by using the method of the simple random sample. These in turn were the beginning of the random sample choice made from those regions in accordance with PCPO's long experienced methodology.

Mr. Elias Kukali has further established that the margin of error was ($\pm 3.1\%$) at a significance and confidence levels of (5.0%) and (95%) respectively. He added that the rate of the female respondents in this survey was (49.7%) against (50.3%) male respondents. The distribution of the random sample between the Palestinian two major regions was (61.4%) in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and (38.6%) in Gaza Strip.

About PCPO

The Palestinian Center for Public Opinion (PCPO) is a leading full service research institute in Palestine and in a position to organize, implement, handle and conduct national and regional field surveys, studies and researches of any size within the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). The PCPO is founded in February 1994 in Beit Sahour by Dr. Nabil Kukali, who became the president of this center since that time. After the arrival of the Palestinian Authority (PA), the PCPO was registered as a research center under license number (Am/2). The Palestinian Ministry of information issued the license that permits establishing satellite offices elsewhere in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Furthermore, PCPO is registered as a licensed business at the Ministry of Treasury under number 989326251. The Palestinian Center for Public Opinion (PCPO) is an independent institution and is not affiliated or biased to any political inclination or party. In addition, public opinion polls and surveys are conducted by PCPO with utmost neutrality and professionalism and PCPO is devoted to provide researchers, research centers and universities, policy makers, Palestinian political parties, business men, the media, any parties interested or involved in Palestinian affairs as well as ordinary people with reliable information and data on the level and inclinations of the Palestinian public opinion with regard to topics and politics of general, public interest. In addition, we are a member of WIN/Gallup International, ANPOP, WAPOR and ESOMAR.

Since its foundation, PCPO is dedicated to the following activities:

- 1) Conducting public opinion surveys.
- 2) Omnibus polls and services.
- 3) Market studies on all kinds of trading activities.
- 4) Surveys of consumer attitudes, consumption habits, and market shares.
- 5) Pre- and Post-Advertising and Communication Research
- 6) Pricing.
- 7) Focus group sessions and workshops on various topics.
- 8) Rendering services in the field of investment, including feasibility studies.
- 9) In-depth interviews & brainstorming workshops.

- 10) Branding and brand tracking.
- 11) Customer care research.
- 12) Social and Public Space research.
- 13) Household consumer survey.
- 14) Business – to- business survey.
- 15) Market Appraisal Studies.
- 16) Media Research.
- 17) Usage and Attitude.
- 18) Mystery shopping survey.
- 19) Translation services from Arabic into English, German & Hebrew and vice-versa.
- 20) Training services that include civic education issues i.e. political systems, democracy and human rights, pluralism, citizenship, gender equality, women rights, conflict resolution, elections, media, leadership, team work, statistical programs, institution management.

PCPO is now a name for reliability, credibility, competence and experience not only in Palestine, but all over the world.

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