

PALESTINE 2023

Prepared for the Tony Blair Institute

ECONOMIC WELL-BEING

Table 1. When you think about your personal economic situation, are you better off or worse off that you were 5 years ago, or is there no difference in your situation?

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Better off	17	28	55
Worse off	59	33	14
No difference	24	38	31

Table 2. When you look to the future, 5 years from now, do you feel that your personal economic situation will be better off or worse off, or do you feel that there will be no difference in your situation?

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Better off	30	37	46
Worse off	44	29	17
No difference	26	34	38

Table 3. Considering your family income, would you say that it is...

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
more than enough to take care of our needs, enjoy life, and save for the future	6	5	17
just enough and we are able to get by	38	46	57
not enough and we have some difficulty getting by	56	49	26

Table 4. Current Employment Status

	Gaza				West Bank				East Jerusalem
	All	Under 30	30-44	45+	All	Under 30	30-44	45+	All
Employed	19	7	23	28	42	24	58	42	50
Unemployed	34	40	39	16	10	18	7	5	12
Retired	8	1	6	24	4	--	--	14	4
Student	10	28	3	--	13	38	<1	1	2
Homemaker	27	23	29	30	30	21	35	35	16

Table 5. Where are you employed? [Only asked of those who are employed]

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Self-employed/Palestine	21	15	19
Private sector/Palestine	23	25	3
Public sector/Palestine	43	23	6
Nonprofit/Palestine	1	5	3
In Israel	13	28	53
In Israeli settlement	--	4	16

Table 6. If a job were available, would you consider a job...

	Gaza		West Bank	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
In Israel	74	26	37	63
with the Palestinian Authority (West Bank) or Hamas (Gaza)	73	27	41	59

West Bank Satisfaction: By Employment**Table 7. When you think about your personal economic situation, are you better off or worse off that you were 5 years ago, or is there no difference in your situation?**

	Pal/Private	Pal/Public	Israel/Settlements	Unemployed
Better off	36	18	56	17
Worse off	31	33	21	31
No difference	33	49	23	52

West Bank Optimism: By Employment**Table 8. When you look to the future, 5 years from now, do you feel that your personal economic situation will be better off or worse off, or do you feel that there will be no difference in your situation?**

	Pal/Private	Pal/Public	Israel/Settlements	Unemployed
Better off	32	26	61	48
Worse off	31	34	16	23
No difference	37	40	23	29

THE PA AND HAMAS

Table 9. Effectiveness of the Palestinian Authority and Hamas

		Gaza		West Bank		East Jerusalem	
		Effective	Not Effective	Effective	Not Effective	Effective	Not Effective
Providing services	PA	50	30	49	21	17	74
	Hamas	27	40	24	40	20	60
Providing security and safety	PA	42	34	35	37	13	73
	Hamas	35	36	32	38	20	62
Dealing with the Israeli government	PA	39	32	35	35	12	72
	Hamas	32	37	38	28	21	63
Stopping corruption and favoritism	PA	33	37	28	42	11	71
	Hamas	33	41	32	40	20	59
Protecting personal and political freedom	PA	38	33	30	35	12	72
	Hamas	31	39	25	44	18	60
Serving the interests of the Palestinian people	PA	38	35	38	33	13	71
	Hamas	30	43	29	36	22	60
Representative of aspirations of Palestinian people	PA	36	35	23	40	9	73
	Hamas	30	42	21	46	16	61
Overall performance	PA	28	35	26	34	13	69
	Hamas	20	49	27	38	24	52

Respondents were asked to evaluate the effectiveness of both the Palestinian Authority and Hamas on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being “very effective” and 5 being “not effective at all.” Effective is the aggregation of ratings of 1 and 2. Not effective is the aggregation of ratings of 4 and 5. Percentages do not add up to 100% because ratings of 3 are not included.

Palestinian Security Services

Table 10. Compared to five years ago, how do you rate the PA security services performance as it relates to your daily life?

	Gaza	West Bank
Better	37	38
Worse	63	62

Better is the aggregation of responses of “much better” and “somewhat better.” Worse is the aggregation of responses of “somewhat worse” and “much worse.”

Table 11. Do you think security coordination between the PA and Israel has an overall positive or negative impact on Palestinians living in the West Bank?

	Gaza	West Bank
Positive	41	51
Negative	59	49

Positive is the aggregation of responses of “very positive” and “somewhat positive.” Negative is the aggregation of responses of “somewhat negative” and “very negative.”

**Table 12. How strongly do you agree with the following statement:
The Palestinian Security Forces protect the interests of the Palestinian people.**

	Gaza	West Bank
Agree	49	44
Disagree	51	56

Agree is the aggregation of responses of “strongly agree” and “somewhat agree.” Negative is the aggregation of responses of “somewhat disagree” and “strongly disagree.”

Table 13. Extent to Which the PA Is Represented by Each of the Following

	Gaza		West Bank		East Jerusalem	
	Representative	Not Representative	Representative	Not Representative	Representative	Not Representative
A future Palestinian state, or a state-in-the-making	64	36	68	32	65	35
A service provider and a source of benefits and employment	46	54	50	50	32	68
An entity that works for the Israeli occupation	49	51	39	61	45	55
A failure that should be dismantled	51	49	47	53	55	45

Respondents were asked to rate the extent to which they view the PA as representing each, on a scale of 1 to 4, with 1 being “very much” and 4 being “not at all.” Represents is the aggregation of responses of 1 and 2. Does not represent is the aggregation of responses of 3 and 4.

Legitimacy of the PA and Hamas

Table 14. Both the PA/PLO and Hamas replace officials using internal decisions rather than holding elections. In your opinion, with respect to the PA and Hamas, how legitimate are the leaders chosen by this internal process?

	Gaza		West Bank		East Jerusalem	
	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate
PA/PLO	62	38	69	31	28	72
Hamas	38	62	60	40	48	52

Respondents were asked to evaluate the legitimacy of PA and Hamas leaders on a scale of 1 to 4, where 1 is “very legitimate” and 4 is “very illegitimate.” Legitimate is the aggregation of ratings of 1 and 2. Illegitimate is the aggregation of ratings of 3 and 4.

THE WAY FORWARD

Table 15. How desirable are each of the following political strategies to advance Palestinian national interests?

	Gaza		West Bank		East Jerusalem	
	Desireable	Undesireable	Desireable	Undesireable	Desireable	Undesireable
Negotiations and peaceful non-armed resistance	69	31	71	29	57	43
Resistance to occupation, including armed struggle	66	34	64	36	80	20
A combination of both negotiations/peaceful non-armed resis	80	20	72	28	71	29
Unify the Palestinian ranks, dissolve the PA, and call for one-state	70	30	51	49	58	42
Continue the situation as it is, but press for more and better pay	69	31	68	32	61	39

Desirable is the aggregation of responses of “very desirable” and “somewhat desirable.” Undesirable is the aggregation of responses of “somewhat undesirable” and “very undesirable.”

Table 16. Under the current political conditions and given the facts on the ground, how close do you think we are to a one-state reality?

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Very close	7	4	9
Somewhat close	30	39	26
Not very close	40	48	30
Far	22	9	36

THREATS

Table 17. Respondents in the WB and Gaza were asked to identify the seriousness of a number of threats they face, both those emanating from Israelis and those from Palestinians. There is agreement in both regions as to the rank order of the seriousness of each of these threats, although in every case, respondents in Gaza rated each threat just a few points more serious than their compatriots in the WB.

	Gaza			West Bank			East Jerusalem		
	A very serious threat	Somewhat of a threat	No threat at all	A very serious threat	Somewhat of a threat	No threat at all	A very serious threat	Somewhat of a threat	No threat at all
Settler violence	76	20	4	72	25	3	76	19	5
Israeli security forces raiding Palestinian communities	60	34	6	53	34	13	35	26	39
Israeli home demolitions	72	23	5	69	22	9	29	63	8
Israeli land seizures	71	23	6	67	26	7	58	35	7
The behaviour of Palestinian security forces	49	37	14	35	47	18	21	33	47
The lack of leadership by the PA/Hamas	47	42	11	45	44	11	23	43	34
Violent acts by Palestinian groups or individuals that result in Israeli attacks	53	37	10	45	43	12	30	54	16
The Israeli checkpoints and economic restrictions	62	31	7	56	33	11	40	30	30

DEMOGRAPHICS

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Under 30	32	33	20
30-44	45	40	52
45+	23	27	28
Male	45	50	61
Female	55	50	39
Urban	77	70	—
Rural	23	30	—
Refugee—yes	66	18	—
Refugee—no	34	82	—

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Sample size	537	755	254 (+add'l 132 for Q1–5)
Margin of error	±4.2	±3.6	± 6.2 (± 5.0 for Q1–5)
Dates of survey	6/27–7/18/23	6/27–7/18/23	6/27–7/18 (add'l sample 7/26–8/2)
Geographic coverage	Gaza City, North Gaza, Deir al Balah, Khan Yunis, Rafah	Jenin, Nablus, Ramallah, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Hebron, Jericho, Tulkarem, Tubas, Qalqilya, Salift	East Jerusalem