

PALESTINE 2024

Prepared for the Tony Blair Institute

GAZA: A CLOSER LOOK

Table 1. Where did you live before Oct. 7?

Districts	Gaza
North Gaza	24
Gaza	48
Deir al-Balah	7
Khan Yunis	10
Rafah	12

Percentages may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Table 2. How many times have you and your family had to relocate in the past 9 months?

	Gaza
1-2 times	26
3-5 times	49
6-9 times	22
10+	4

Percentages may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Where is the shelter [you are currently living] in located?

	Gaza
North Gaza	11
Gaza	15
Deir al-Balah	44
Khan Yunis	30

Table 4. Do you want to return to where you were living in Gaza before Oct 7?

	Gaza
Yes	88
No	7
I'm not sure	4

Percentages may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Table 5. Have any members of your family been killed during the past 9 months?

	Gaza
Yes	53
No	47

Table 5a. How many?

	Gaza	
	% of those who responded yes	% of all respondents in Gaza
1-2	35	19
3-4	25	13
5-9	24	13
10+	16	8

Table 6. How would you evaluate the availability of...?

	Gaza			
	Always available	Sometimes available	Rarely available	Not available at all
Drinking water	14	44	37	5
Medical services	6	38	43	13
Food	8	42	43	8
Toilets	13	26	40	22
Shelter	4	17	33	46

Percentages may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Table 7. If a job were available, would you consider a job with the Palestinian Authority/Hamas?

	Gaza
Yes, with either PA/Hamas.	14
No, with neither.	42
Only with the PA.	40
Only with Hamas.	4

Table 8: How satisfied are you with the performance of the following entities in providing assistance to Gaza during the war?

	Gaza	
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
UNWRA	77	23
Other international organizations	73	27
Palestinian civil society organizations	44	56
Palestinian government entities in Gaza	39	61
Palestinian Authority	43	57

Satisfied is the aggregation of responses of “very satisfied” and “somewhat satisfied.” Dissatisfied is the aggregation of responses of “somewhat dissatisfied” and “very dissatisfied.”

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE WAR, PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP, AND THE FUTURE OF GAZA

Table 9: What is the level of responsibility of each of the following for the current conflict in Gaza today?

	Gaza		West Bank		East Jerusalem	
	Responsible	Not responsible	Responsible	Not responsible	Responsible	Not responsible
Hamas	87	13	69	31	61	39
PA	58	42	65	35	65	35
Israel	85	15	94	6	84	16
US	83	17	88	12	89	11

Respondents used a scale of 1 to 4, with 1 being “very responsible” to 4 being “not responsible at all.” Responsible is the aggregation of responses of 1 and 2. Not responsible is the aggregation of responses of 3 and 4.

Table 10: Please evaluate the effectiveness of both the Palestinian Authority and Hamas prior to Oct. 7 in each of the following areas:

		Gaza		West Bank		East Jerusalem	
		Effective	Not Effective	Effective	Not Effective	Effective	Not Effective
Providing services	PA	52	23	44	31	38	32
	Hamas	37	37			29	44
	Israel					43	30
Providing security and safety	PA	35	36	35	36	33	30
	Hamas	38	38			27	48
	Israel					40	35
Dealing with the Israeli government	PA	48	32	37	35	39	28
	Hamas	33	43			20	61
Stopping corruption and favoritism	PA	34	36	28	47	30	43
	Hamas	34	41			30	41
	Israel					35	40
Protecting personal and political freedom	PA	36	36	34	33	30	32
	Hamas	31	43			30	45
	Israel					46	27
Serving the interests of the Palestinian people	PA	37	36	33	34	35	26
	Hamas	25	47			33	46

Respondents used a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being “very effective” to 5 being “not effective at all.” Effective is the aggregation of responses of 1 and 2. Not effective is the aggregation of responses of 4 and 5. Percentages do not add up to 100% because responses of 3 are not included.

Table 11: How effective has the PA's response been to the conflict in Gaza?

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Very effective	9	4	9
Somewhat effective	22	34	36
Somewhat ineffective	38	42	29
Very ineffective	31	21	26

Percentages do not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Table 12: What kind of services/support did you receive from the PA prior to October 7? [Select all that apply.]

	Gaza
Salary	32
Benefits	9
Healthcare (medical transfers)	27
Education	27
Infrastructure (sewage, water, electricity)	15
Travel/permit coordination	16
Banking	13
Other	0
None of the above	30

Table 13: To what extent do you view the PA as representing 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	70	30	59	41	77	23
A service provider and a source of benefits and employment	61	39	53	47	71	29
An entity that works for the Israeli occupation	40	60	55	45	59	41
A failure that should be dismantled	41	59	59	41	37	63

Respondents used a scale of 1 to 4, with 1 being “very much” to 4 being “not at all.” Representative is the aggregation of responses of 1 and 2. Not Representative is the aggregation of responses of 3 and 4.

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	65	35	57	43	43	57
Hamas	26	74	69	31	38	62

Respondents used a scale of 1 to 4, with 1 being “very legitimate” to 4 being “very illegitimate.” Legitimate is the aggregation of responses of 1 and 2. Illegitimate is the aggregation of responses of 3 and 4.

THE FUTURE OF GAZA

Table 15: Which entity would you prefer to govern Gaza immediately after the war?

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Hamas	7	38	23
A reformed and strengthened PA under Abbas	23	9	3
A national unity government including Hamas and Fateh	17	34	8
Gaza administration made up of Gazan representatives (with international oversight and linked to the PA)	29	11	9
UN	9	2	6
A coalition of Arab/Islamic countries	12	5	36
Israel	3	1	16

Percentages do not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Table 16: If an Arab/Islamic coalition were to be established to govern Gaza, which regional powers would you like to see incorporated? [Select all that apply.]

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Saudi Arabia	15	5	10
United Arab Emirates	22	9	16
Qatar	37	24	40
Egypt	20	11	30
Jordan	17	19	29
Turkey	15	16	34
Morocco	5	8	6
I do not favor an Arab/Islamic coalition.	45	52	25

Table 17: Which entity would you prefer to see in control of overall security in the Gaza Strip immediately following the war?

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Israeli military	3	1	14
Hamas security forces	11	49	24
PA security forces (under Abbas)	24	19	2
PA security forces (not under Abbas)	29	17	9
UN peacekeeping forces	22	8	17
Arab/Islamic forces	12	5	34

Percentages may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

CURRENT SITUATION IN THE WEST BANK AND EAST JERUSALEM

Table 18: When you think about your personal economic situation, are you better off or worse off than you were 5 years ago, or is there no difference in your situation?

	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Better off	15	37
Worse off	58	38
No difference	27	25

Table 19: 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 than it is today, or do you feel that there will be no difference in your situation?

	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Better off	23	14
Worse off	41	44
No difference	36	42

Table 20: How serious a threat do you view each of the following to you and your future?

	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
Settler violence	79	19	2	95	5	0
Israeli security forces raiding Palestinian communities	78	21	2	89	11	0
Israeli home demolitions	81	17	2	96	4	0
Israeli land seizures	81	18	1	94	6	0
The behaviour of Palestinian security forces	47	34	20	50	33	17
Breakdown in law and order	56	40	4	79	20	1
The lack of leadership by the PA/Hamas	54	36	10	71	22	6
Violent acts by Palestinian groups or individuals that result in Israeli attacks	51	40	10	72	10	18
The Israeli checkpoints and economic restrictions	69	29	2	94	6	0

Table 21: Compared to five years ago, how do you rate the PA security services performance as it relates to your daily life?

	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Much better	3	3
Somewhat better	36	38
Somewhat worse	43	39
Much worse	18	20

Table 22: Do you think security coordination between the PA and Israel has an overall positive or negative impact on Palestinians living in the West Bank?

	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Very positive	2	5
Somewhat positive	29	21
Somewhat negative	44	32
Very negative	24	42

Table 23: Considering your family income, would you say that . . .

	West Bank	East Jerusalem
It is more than enough to take care of our needs, enjoy life, and save for the future.	6	11
It is just enough and we are able to get by.	49	54
It is not enough and we have some difficulty getting by.	45	35

Table 24: What is your present employment status?

	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Employed	31	67
Unemployed and looking for work	21	6
Unemployed and not looking for work	2	<1
Retired	2	5
Student	13	5
Homemaker	31	16
Refused	<1	<1

Table 24a: Where are you employed? [Asked of those who responded "Employed"]

	West Bank [Employed]	East Jerusalem [Employed]
Self-employed in my own business in Palestine	32	17
Work for a company/business in the private sector in Palestine	23	2
Work in the public sector (government office, security forces, etc) in Palestine	26	2
Work for a non-profit or international entity in Palestine	7	5
Work in Israel	11	65
Work in an Israeli settlement.	2	8

Table 24b: If a job were available, would you consider a job in Israel or settlements? [Asked only of those who responded "Unemployed"]

	West Bank [Unemployed]
Yes, in either.	39
Only in Israel.	18
Only in the settlements.	1
No.	42

Table 24c: If a job were available, would you consider a job with the Palestinian Authority? [Asked only of those who responded "Unemployed"]

	West Bank [Unemployed]
Yes	36
No	64

REFORM AND THE WAY FORWARD

Table 25: To what extent do you view the new 19th Palestinian government led by Prime Minister Dr. Mohammad Mustafa as legitimate and representative?

	West Bank	East Jerusalem
1. Very legitimate/representative	10	19
2.	35	37
3.	37	29
4. Not at all legitimate/representative	18	15

Table 26: To what extent do you expect that the new government will govern effectively?

	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Very likely to be effective	4	17
Likely to be effective	43	41
Unlikely to be effective	40	31
Very unlikely to be effective	13	10

Table 27: PM Dr. Mohammad Mustafa has laid out plans for a comprehensive reform agenda to be carried out by the PA. To what extent do you agree that the PA requires reform?

	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Not at all	3	1
Superficial reform	16	14
Moderate reform	36	31
Deep reform	45	54

Table 28: Rank the following reforms in terms of importance - from 1 to 5, with 1 being the most important priority and 5 being the least important priority.

Rank	West Bank
1	Service provision (e.g. education, health, digitisation)
2	Governance (e.g. corruption, rule of law, regulation)
3	Security (e.g. Palestinian Security Forces, civil police)
4	Economic/fiscal (e.g. trade, finance, business)
5	Democratic (e.g. PLO reform, elections, freedom of expression)

Among respondents in the West Bank, service provision is clearly the most important priority, followed by governance and then security. Economic/fiscal reforms and democratic reforms are lower priorities to these respondents.

Table 29: Of the following political strategies to advance Palestinian national interests, which is the most desirable?

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Negotiations and peaceful non-armed resistance.	14	14	9
Resistance to occupation, including armed struggle.	10	23	28
A combination of both negotiations/peaceful non-armed resistance and resistance to occupation, including armed struggle.	16	28	6
Unify the Palestinian ranks, dissolve the PA, and call for one-state with equal rights for all citizens.	33	23	29
Continue the situation as it was pre Oct. 7 but press for more and better paying jobs and improvement in services and quality of life.	27	13	29

Table 30: 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	13	5	27
Somewhat close	23	40	42
Not very close	33	38	19
Very far	32	17	12

Demographics

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Male	51	50	51
Female	49	50	49
18-34	52	53	41
35-54	36	38	37
55+	11	9	23
Not college educated	76	60	49
College educated	24	40	51
Urban	65	67	83
Rural	9	26	17
Refugee camp	27	7	--
Refugee	62	20	49
Not a refugee	38	80	51
Fatah	31	22	12
Hamas	14	23	21
Very religious	76	38	24
Moderately religious	15	52	53
Not religious	9	10	22

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Sample size	437	772	254
Margin of error	±4.8	±3.6	±6.3
Dates of survey	7/22/2024–8/3/2024	7/23/2024–8/3/2024	7/23/2024–8/4/2024