

PALESTINE 2025

PREPARED FOR THE TONY BLAIR INSTITUTE

1. GAZA: A CLOSER LOOK

A. CONDITIONS

Where did you live before Oct. 7?		
	Gaza	
Districts	2024	2025
North Gaza	24	24
Gaza	48	47
Deir al-Balah	7	7
Khan Yunis	10	10
Rafah	12	12

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

How many times have you and your family had to relocate in the past 9 months?		
	Gaza	
	2024	2025
1-3 times	48	35
4-6 times	37	37
7+	15	27

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

Were you able to return to your original home district?	
	Gaza
	2025
Yes	23
No	77

Did you travel from south to north Gaza during the ceasefire?	
	Gaza
	2025
Yes	48
No	52

If you are aware of it, what is the current condition of the home you lived in prior to Oct. 7?

	Gaza
	2025
Completely damaged – uninhabitable	70
Moderately damaged	19
Slightly damaged	4
Undamaged	3
Unknown	4

Which of the below most accurately describes your living situation?

	Gaza
	2025
Returned to previous home	12
Rented new accommodation	10
Staying in a public shelter	14
Staying in a tent	51
Staying with relatives or friends	13

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

	Gaza			
	2024		2025	
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
UNWRA	77	23	69	31
Other international organizations	73	27	–	–
Other UN agencies (e.g., UNICEF, WFP, OCHA)	–	–	75	25
NGOs like ANERA, Rahma Worldwide, World Central Kitchen	–	–	56	44
Palestinian civil society organizations	44	56	32	68
Palestinian government entities in Gaza	39	61	23	77
Palestinian Authority	43	57	35	65

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

If you were to remain in Gaza during reconstruction, which of the following entities would you prefer as a provider of a temporary camp/shelter?

	Gaza
	2025
Palestinian or Arab government-run entity	26
The UN	48
An NGO	9
Israel	5
None of the above. I would remain where I am	12

Which of the following best describes your attitude towards remaining in or leaving Gaza?

	Gaza
	2025
I will not leave under any circumstances	38
I would leave temporarily while reconstruction takes place, but only if I am guaranteed that I can return	32
I would prefer to leave Gaza for another country	30

If you were to temporarily leave Gaza with the guarantee that you could return, where would you prefer to go? [Only asked of those who said they would leave temporarily.]

	Gazans willing to leave temporarily during reconstruction
	2025
Sinai—close to the Gaza border	12
Arab states	32
European states	49
North America	3
Other	4

There has been talk from US and Israeli leaders of displacing Palestinians from parts or all of Gaza. How concerned are you that these threats may be implemented?

	Gaza
	2025
Very concerned	45
Somewhat concerned	23

Somewhat unconcerned	11
Not concerned at all	22

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

B. HAMAS

With which political group do you most identify?		
	Gaza	
	2024	2025
Fatah	31	44
Hamas	14	3

What is the level of responsibility of each of the following for the current conflict in Gaza today?				
	Gaza			
	2024		2025	
	Responsible	Not responsible	Responsible	Not responsible
Hamas	87	13	92	8
PA	58	42	41	59
Israel	85	15	93	7
US	83	17	93	7

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.”

Before Oct. 7 how satisfied were you with Hamas’ handling of each of the following . . .		
	Gaza	
	2025	
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Governance (e.g. laws, regulations, rule of law)	52	48
Security (e.g. military wing, civil police)	65	35
Fiscal/economic (e.g. taxation, price controls)	45	55
Service provision (e.g. distributing aid, health, education, issuing documentation)	45	55

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

In which areas and to what extent does Hamas still control the Gaza Strip today?				
	Gaza			
	2025			
	Completely	To a significant degree	To a limited degree	Not at all
Governance (e.g. laws, regulations, rule of law)	23	13	38	25
Security (e.g. military wing, civil police)	13	11	42	34
Fiscal/economic (e.g. taxation, price controls)	21	7	22	50
Service provision (e.g. distributing aid, health, education, issuing documentation)	16	11	31	42

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

C. HAMAS VS PA

Which entity would you prefer to govern Gaza immediately after the war?		
	Gaza	
	2024	2025
Hamas	7	4
The PA under Abbas ^	23	35
A national unity government including Hamas and Fateh	17	22
A transitional international coalition working with a local Gaza administration made up of Gazan representatives#	29	27
UN	9	–
A coalition of Arab/Islamic countries	12	–
Israel	3	5
Other/Refused	–	7

In 2024 some of the options had slightly different wording: ^A reformed and strengthened PA under Abbas, #Gaza administration made up of Gazan representatives (with international oversight and linked to the PA). “UN” and “A coalition of Arab/Islamic countries” were not options in 2025. Percentages do not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Should the PA's return to governing Gaza be conditional upon reforms?	
	Gazan respondents who said “The PA under Abbas” to the previous question
	2025
Yes	89
No	11

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

	Gaza
	2025
Israeli military	4
Hamas security forces	8
PA security forces	40
International coalition forces	42
Private military contractor(s)	6

If an international coalition were to be established to govern and secure Gaza, which powers would you like to see incorporated? [Select all that apply.]

	Gaza
	2025
Saudi Arabia	19
United Arab Emirates	19
Qatar	46
Egypt	37
Jordan	17
Another Muslim Country	10
US	14
Other	>1
None	3

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

	Gaza	
	2024	2025
Yes, with either PA/Hamas.	14	14
No, with neither.	42	38
Only with the PA.	40	46
Only with Hamas.	4	2
A coalition of Arab/Islamic countries	12	5
Israel	3	1

D. LOOKING FORWARD

The Arab States have offered a plan for Gaza. It consists of the following terms:

- \$53 billion investment for 5-year reconstruction of Gaza without displacing Palestinians
- Committee of independent Palestinian experts under the supervision of the PA to govern Gaza
- International peacekeeping force to oversee security in Gaza after Israeli troop withdrawal
- Palestinian security forces trained by Egypt and Jordan to patrol Gaza and supervise Hamas and other militant groups

How supportive are you of this plan?

	Gaza
	2025
Support	89
Opposed	11

Support is the aggregation of responses of “strongly support” and “somewhat support.” Opposed is the aggregation of responses of “somewhat opposed” and “strongly opposed.”

What is your preferred long-term solution to the conflict with Israel?

	Gaza
	2025
A two-state solution based on the 1967 borders.	63
A one state solution with equal rights for Palestinians and Israelis.	13
A confederation between two states of Palestine and Israel.	3
None of the above.	21

Under the current political conditions and given the facts on the ground, how close do you think we are to a one-state reality—where Israel controls Palestinians throughout Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza?

	Gaza		
	2023	2024	2025
Very close	7	13	27
Somewhat close	30	23	35
Not very close	40	33	16
Very far	22	32	22

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

Of the following political strategies to advance Palestinian national interests, which is the most desirable?		
	Gaza	
	2024	2025
Negotiations and peaceful non-armed resistance.	14	24
Resistance to occupation, including armed struggle.	10	4
A combination of both negotiations/peaceful non-armed resistance and resistance to occupation, including armed struggle.	16	–
Dissolve the PA	–	12
Unify the Palestinian ranks, dissolve the PA, and call for one-state with equal rights for all citizens.	33	–
Palestinian reconciliation	–	27
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	33

N.B.: Despite the fact that the options presented to respondents in 2024 and 2025 differed, we present both for comparison.

E. ADDITIONAL DATA

If you were to imagine a vision for Gaza's future, which state(s) would you most like Gaza to be like?	
	Gaza
	2025
Saudi Arabia	12
United Arab Emirates	27
Egypt	11
Turkey	15
Islamic Republic of Iran	2
Singapore	14
UK	10
Other	5
Qatar	3
Jordan	2

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

II. WEST BANK AND EAST JERUSALEM

A. CONDITIONS

1. ECONOMIC

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?

	2023		2024		2025	
	West Bank	East Jerusalem	West Bank	East Jerusalem	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Better off	28	55	15	37	16	15
Worse off	33	14	58	38	63	46
No difference	38	11	27	25	21	39

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

Current Employment Status

	2023		2024		2025	
	West Bank	East Jerusalem	West Bank	East Jerusalem	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Employed	42	50	31	67	29	58
Unemployed	10	12	23	6	29	10
Retired	4	4	2	5	3	2
Student	13	2	13	5	8	12
Homemaker	30	16	31	16	30	16

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

Where are you employed? [Asked of those who responded "Employed"]

	West Bank [Employed]			East Jerusalem [Employed]		
	2023	2024	2025	2023	2024	2025
Self-employed in my own business in Palestine	15	32	35	19	17	18
Work for a company/business in the private sector in Palestine	25	23	26	3	2	4
Work in the public sector (government office, security forces, etc.) in Palestine	23	26	31	6	2	8
Work for a non-profit or international entity in Palestine	5	7	1	3	5	7
Work in Israel	28	11	5	53	65	61
Work in an Israeli settlement	4	2	1	16	8	3

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

Considering your family income, would you say that...

	2023		2024		2025	
	West Bank	East Jerusalem	West Bank	East Jerusalem	West Bank	East Jerusalem
It is more than enough to take care of our needs, enjoy life, and save for the future.	5	17	6	11	6	14
It is just enough and we are able to get by.	46	57	49	54	43	58
It is not enough and we have some difficulty getting by.	49	26	45	35	52	28

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

When you look to the future, 5 years from now, do you feel that your personal situation will be better off of worse off than it is today, or do you feel that there will be no difference in your situation?

	2023		2024		2025	
	West Bank	East Jerusalem	West Bank	East Jerusalem	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Better off	37	46	23	14	46	28
Worse off	29	17	41	44	28	29
No difference	34	38	36	42	26	42

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

2. THREATS

How serious a threat do you view each of the following to you and your future? Responses of "A very serious threat"

	West Bank			East Jerusalem		
	2023	2024	2025	2023	2024	2025
Settler violence	72	79	91	76	95	93
Israeli security forces raiding Palestinian communities	53	78	87	35	89	89
Israeli home demolitions	69	81	92	29	96	90
Israeli land seizures	67	81	91	58	94	94
The behaviour of Palestinian security forces	35	47	25	21	50	–
Breakdown in law and order	–	56	69	–	79	75
The lack of leadership by the PA/Hamas	45	54	50	23	71	51
Violent acts by Palestinian groups or individuals that result in Israeli attacks	45	51	53	30	72	71
The Israeli checkpoints and economic restrictions	56	69	87	40	94	76
Forced expulsions of Palestinians from [the West Bank/East Jerusalem]	–	–	91	–	–	92

B. THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY

Effectiveness of the Palestinian Authority in each of the following areas:						
	West Bank					
	2023		2024		2025	
	Effective	Not Effective	Effective	Not Effective	Effective	Not Effective
Providing services	49	21	44	31	34	37
Providing security and safety	35	37	35	36	34	41
Dealing with the Israeli government	35	35	37	35	37	43
Stopping corruption and favoritism	28	42	28	47	34	44
Protecting personal and political freedom	30	35	34	33	30	47
Serving the interests of the Palestinian people	38	33	33	34	30	47

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 of rounding and because responses of “3” are not included.

How effective has the PA's response been to the conflict in Gaza?		
	West Bank	
	2024	2025
Very effective	4	6
Somewhat effective	34	19
Somewhat ineffective	42	28
Very ineffective	21	47

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

To what extent do you view the PA as representing each of the following?												
	2023				2024				2025			
	West Bank		East Jerusalem		West Bank		East Jerusalem		West Bank		East Jerusalem	
	Rep	Not Rep	Rep	Not Rep	Rep	Not Rep	Rep	Not Rep	Rep	Not Rep	Rep	Not Rep
A future Palestinian state, or a state-in-the-making	68	32	65	35	59	41	77	23	46	54	35	65
A service provider and a source of benefits and employment	50	50	32	68	53	47	71	29	43	57	46	54
An entity that works for the Israeli occupation	39	61	45	55	55	45	59	41	44	56	46	54
A failure that should be dismantled	47	53	55	45	59	41	37	63	48	52	41	59

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.

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

	2024		2025	
	West Bank	East Jerusalem	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Very positive	2	5	9	9
Somewhat positive	29	21	33	43
Somewhat negative	44	32	32	23
Very negative	24	42	27	25

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

Please evaluate the effectiveness of the Israeli government in each of the following areas:

	East Jerusalem			
	2024		2025	
	Effective	Not Effective	Effective	Not Effective
Providing services	43	30	22	57
Providing security and safety	40	35	16	66
Stopping corruption and favoritism	35	40	18	65
Protecting personal and political freedom	46	27	20	66

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 of rounding and because responses of “3” are not included.

C. REFORMS

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

	West Bank	
	2024	2025
1. Very legitimate/representative	10	15
2.	35	22
3.	37	19
4. Not at all legitimate/representative	18	44

To what extent do you expect that the new government is governing effectively?

	West Bank	
	2024	2025
Very likely to be effective	4	7
Likely to be effective	43	41
Unlikely to be effective	40	26
Very unlikely to be effective	13	26

In 2024, the question was "To what extent do you expect that the new government will govern effectively?"

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	
	2024	2025
Not at all	3	5
Superficial reform	16	11
Moderate reform	36	27
Deep reform	45	58

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

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.

	West Bank	
Rank	2024	2025
1	Service provision (e.g. education, health, digitisation)	Security (e.g. Palestinian Security Forces, civil police)
2	Governance (e.g. corruption, rule of law, regulation)	Economic/fiscal (e.g. trade, finance, business)
3	Security (e.g. Palestinian Security Forces, civil police)	Service provision (e.g. education, health, digitisation)
4	Economic/fiscal (e.g. trade, finance, business)	Governance (e.g. corruption, rule of law, regulation)
5	Democratic (e.g. PLO reform, elections, freedom of expression)	Democratic (e.g. PLO reform, elections, freedom of expression)

D. LOOKING FORWARD

1) GAZA'S FUTURE

A) THE ARAB STATES PLAN

The Arab States have offered a plan for Gaza. It consists of the following terms:

- \$53 billion investment for 5-year reconstruction of Gaza without displacing Palestinians
- Committee of independent Palestinian experts under the supervision of the PA to govern Gaza
- International peacekeeping force to oversee security in Gaza after Israeli troop withdrawal
- Palestinian security forces trained by Egypt and Jordan to patrol Gaza and supervise Hamas and other militant groups

How supportive are you of this plan?

	2025		
	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Support	89	76	50
Opposed	11	24	50

Support is the aggregation of responses of “strongly support” and “somewhat support.” Opposed is the aggregation of responses of “somewhat opposed” and “strongly opposed.”

B) WHO WILL GOVERN GAZA POST-CONFLICT?

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

	2024			2025		
	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Hamas	7	38	23	4	28	26
The PA under Abbas [^]	23	9	3	35	11	9
A national unity government including Hamas and Fateh	17	34	8	22	45	31
A transitional international coalition working with a local Gaza administration made up of Gazan representatives	29	11	9	27	10	7
UN	9	2	6	–	–	–
A coalition of Arab/Islamic countries	12	5	36	–	–	–
Israel	3	1	16	5	1	2
Other/Refused	–	–	–	7	6	25

In 2024 some of the options had slightly different wording: [^]A reformed and strengthened PA under Abbas, #Gaza administration made up of Gazan representatives (with international oversight and linked to the PA). “UN” and “A coalition of Arab/Islamic countries” were not options in 2025. Percentages may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

2) FUTURE STRATEGY

Of the following political strategies to advance Palestinian national interests, which is the most desirable?						
	2024			2025		
	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Negotiations and peaceful non-armed resistance.	14	14	9	24	24	14
Resistance to occupation, including armed struggle.	10	23	28	4	18	22
A combination of both negotiations/peaceful non-armed resistance and resistance to occupation, including armed struggle.	16	28	6	–	–	–
Dissolve the PA	–	–	–	12	10	6
Unify the Palestinian ranks, dissolve the PA, and call for one-state with equal rights for all citizens.	33	23	29	–	–	–
Palestinian reconciliation	–	–	–	27	23	38
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	33	26	20

N.B.: Despite the fact that the options presented to respondents in 2024 and 2025 differed, we present both for comparison.

What is your preferred long-term solution to the conflict with Israel?			
	2025		
	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
A two-state solution based on the 1967 borders.	63	42	12
A one state solution with equal rights for Palestinians and Israelis.	13	14	10
A confederation between two states of Palestine and Israel.	3	3	2
None of the above.	21	41	76

Under the current political conditions and given the facts on the ground, how close do you think we are to a one-state reality—where Israel controls Palestinians throughout Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza?									
	2023			2024			2025		
	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Very close	7	4	9	13	5	27	27	26	34
Somewhat close	30	39	26	23	40	42	35	31	27
Not very close	40	48	30	33	38	19	16	12	10
Very far	22	9	36	32	17	12	22	32	28

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

E. ADDITIONAL DATA

Where do you go for political guidance?			
	2025		
	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Religious leaders	9	16	14
Political leaders	22	10	4
Leaders in my community	4	7	3
Leaders in my family/clan	25	22	10
No one	40	46	69

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

Think back to prior to Oct. 7. Has your source of political guidance changed since then?			
	2025		
	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Yes	49	33	40
No	51	67	60

DEMOGRAPHICS

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Male	52	50	50
Female	48	50	50
Under 30	40	31	40
30-44	37	35	38
45+	23	34	21
Not college educated	64	67	56
College educated	36	33	44
Urban	77	67	75
Rural	6	26	14
Refugee camp	17	7	11
Refugee	66	26	43
Not a refugee	34	74	57
Fatah	44	19	8
Hamas	3	14	16

	Gaza	West Bank	East Jerusalem
Sample size	426	759	250
Margin of error	±4.8	±3.6	±6.3
Dates of survey	4/12/2025–5/7/2025	4/9/2025–5/8/2025	4/13/2025–5/12/2025
Geography covered	North Gaza, Gaza City, Deir al-Balah, Khan Yunis, Rafah	Jenin, Tubas, Tulkarem, Qal-qilya, Salfit, Nablus, Ramal-lah and Al-Bireh, Jericho, Bethlehem, Hebron, Jerusalem	