



POLL NO.104 SEPTEMBER 2025

WEST BANK

JERUSALEM MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION CENTER
TEL: 02-2976555/ E-mail: Poll@jmcc.org

Declining optimism about outcomes of the current war and drop in popularity of Hamas

The most recent public opinion poll conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communications Centre (JMCC) between September 4th and 8th 2025 in cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert- Stiftung, marking two years since the events of October 7 2023, showed a clear decline in popular optimism about the outcomes of the current war in Gaza and a drop in Hamas' popularity.

The percentage of respondents who said the attack waged by Hamas on Israel on October 7 serves Palestinian national interests, dropped from 45% last September to 30.9% in this poll. Meanwhile, the respondents who said they believe the attack harmed national interests rose from 30.2% last May to 35.2%, while 25.9% of respondents said it neither served nor harmed national interests.

Furthermore, optimism that the war will end in Hamas' favor dropped from 67.1% in October, 2023 to 25.9% in this poll, while the largest percentage, 46.3% said the war would not end in favor of either party. Likewise, the percentage of respondents who expect the war would lead to an improvement in Hamas' popularity dropped from 71.6% in October 2023 to 41.4% in this poll. Meanwhile, the percentage of those who believe the war will end with a decline in Hamas' popularity rose from 7.6% in October, 2023 to 22.2% in this poll.

It should be noted that the poll was conducted in the West Bank, including Jerusalem, but did not include the Gaza Strip given the inability to provide a random sample due to the current circumstances in the Strip.

The post-war future of Gaza

The poll showed a drop in the percentage of those who expect Gaza to remain under Hamas control from 52.2% last May to 34.4% in this poll, while there was a rise in the percentage of respondents who expect Gaza to be under international administration, from 17.3% to 27.8%. However, in response to a question about their personal preference, 44.2% of those polled said they preferred Gaza to remain under Hamas control, while 26.4% said they preferred the PA to play a role in running Gaza's affairs and 18.7% who said they preferred it to be under international administration.

Public attitudes towards the PA

The poll showed that a majority of the public, 73.3%, continue to be dissatisfied with the stance and performance of the PA regarding the ongoing war in Gaza, while 23.1% expressed satisfaction.

Regarding evaluation of the PA's performance, 55.8% of respondents considered it to be bad, compared to 41.8% who viewed it as good. This is a slight decline compared to the September 2023 poll, in which 47.3% rated the performance as bad, while 46.4% rated it as good.

As for evaluation of the performance of PA leaders, the approval rating of President Mahmoud Abbas rose to 34.4% compared to 26.8% in September 2023. As for current Prime Minister, Dr. Mohammad

Mustafa, public opinion was divided, with 40.4% who said his performance was good or average, while 44.1% considered his performance bad. Sixteen months after the formation of the government, 65.3% of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with its performance, compared to 26.4% who expressed satisfaction.

Likewise, the public's evaluation of the performance of some PA agencies varied, with 51.8% of respondents who evaluated the educational system as good or average, while 47.8% who said it was bad. Meanwhile, 61.1% said the health system was good or average while 37.1% said it was bad. Meanwhile, 69.4% of respondents said they had great or average confidence in the police, while 30.6% said they had little or no confidence in them.

PA's financial crisis

45.7% of respondents expected the financial crisis to lead to the collapse of the PA, compared to 48.8% who did not expect its collapse. In the event of its collapse, 41.1% of respondents predicted that Israel would divide the West Bank into separate administrative areas resembling cantons, while 29.4% expected a state of chaos and insecurity. Meanwhile, 23.8% anticipated that Israel would resume administration of the West Bank, as was the case before the establishment of the PA.

As for responsibility for the crisis, the largest percentage, 48.7%, held Israel accountable, while 36.6% blamed the PA, and 11.6% said donor countries were responsible.

Public opinion trends on prominent political issues

Supporters of the two-state solution dropped to 25.9% (compared to 32% in May 2024), while support for a one-state, binational solution rose to 30.8% (compared to 25% in September 2024).

The percentage of those who view peaceful negotiations as the best means of achieving the goals of the Palestinian people increased to 44.8%, from 25.7% in September 2023. Meanwhile, support for armed resistance dropped from 33.7% in September 2023 to 27.8% in this poll.

Regarding military operations against Israeli targets, support dropped to 32% (compared to 41.5% in September 2023), while opposition rose to 56.9% (from 43.2% in September, 2023).

Palestinian reconciliation

The majority of respondents, 59.6%, expressed their pessimism regarding prospects for reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas, while 33.1% expected it to happen within the coming year. Regarding responsibility for the continuation of the division, 14.4% blamed Fatah, 3.5% said Hamas was responsible, 25.9% blamed both, 10.2% said the United States was responsible, while 10.8% did not respond.

Arab–Israeli normalization

The percentage of those who believe the war will advance normalization projects increased to 47.8% (compared to 38.5% in May 2024), while the percentage of who expected a decline in these projects dropped to 17.6% (compared to 26% in May 2024).

Trust in factions and political figures

Trust in Hamas dropped to 8.5% (from 18.7% in October 2023), while trust in Fatah rose slightly to 11% (from 7.1% in October 2023). Meanwhile, the overwhelming majority of respondents, 68.5%, said they did not trust in any political organization.

Regarding political figures, Marwan Barghouti ranked first in terms of trust among respondents, followed by President Mahmoud Abbas, while the majority of those polled, 61%, expressed no trust in any political figure. For comparison, a survey conducted by JMCC in October, 2023 (three weeks after the events of October 7) showed that Abu Obeida, (Hamas spokesperson), was the most trusted figure, at 10.3%, followed by Mohammed Deif, at 7.4%, while 57.8% of respondents said they had no trust in any figure at that time.

Methodology:

A random sample of 715 people over the age of 18 were interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank including East Jerusalem between 4th and 8th September 2025 the interviews were conducted in randomly selected homes, and the respondents inside each home were also selected randomly according to Kish tables. The interviews were conducted in 45 sampling points chosen randomly according to population.

In the West Bank 715 people were surveyed from the following areas:

Hebron: Hebron, Dura, Tarqumia Al- Dahiriyeh, Taffuh, Halhul, Bani N’iem, Al Karmel, Al Rihiyeh . **Jenin:** Al-Yamun, Qabatiya, Ya’bad, Siris, Zbabdeh. **Tubas:** Aqqaba. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** Beituniya, Beit Liqya, Deir Ammar, Bittello, Kufr N’ima. **Jericho:** Jericho. **Jerusalem:** Al-Ram, Al E’zariya, Qalandia Refugee Camp, Kufr Aqab, Sheikh Jarrah, Ras Al Amoud, Silwan. **Bethlehem:** Bethlehem, Al-‘Ubeidiya, Battir. **Nablus:** Nablus, Jammai Beit Iba, Beit Dajan, Askar Refugee Camp. **Salfit:** Bidya. **Tulkarem:** Attil, Bala’a, Iktaba. **Qalqilya:** Qalqilya, Beit Amin.

The margin of error is ±3 percent, with a confidence level of 95%.

Sample Distribution	Occupation of Respondents
<p>24.3% said they live in villages, 4.5% refugee camps, and 71.2% in towns/cities.</p> <p>50.1% were male, 49.9% female.</p> <p>71.7% were married, 22.2% single, 3.6% widowed, 2.0% divorced.</p> <p>The average age of the respondents was 40 years.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · 6.2% Students · 10.1% Laborers · 8.1% Housewives (not looking for a job) · 30.5% Housewives (looking for a job) · 1.3% Farmers/fishermen · 0.8% Craftsmen · 11.3% Businessmen/private business · 5.2% Public Sector Employees · 7.6% Private Sector Employees · 0.6% Professionals (e.g., doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers) · 14.7% Unemployed · 3.6% Retired

Results:

Q1- In general, how optimistic are you about the Palestinians' future? Would you say you are very optimistic/optimistic/pessimistic/ or very pessimistic?

	West Bank
	n= 715
Very optimistic	5.5
Optimistic	35.5
Pessimistic	27.1
Very pessimistic	31.3
No answer	0.6

Q2- Some believe that the two state formula is the most preferred solution for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; others believe that Historical Palestine cannot be divided into two states, so the best solution would be to have a bi-national state from sea to river where Palestinians and Israelis enjoy equal rights. Which solution do you prefer?

	West Bank
	n= 715
I prefer the two state solution: Palestinian and an Israeli	25.9
I prefer the bi-national state from sea to river	30.8
I prefer another solution	0.1
There is no solution for the problem	12.3
Palestinian State*	25.3
Don't know/ No answer	5.6

*It was not among the options given to the respondent.

Q3- In general, what is the best method to achieve the Palestinian people's goals of ending the occupation and establishing a state?

	West Bank
	n= 715
Peaceful negotiations	44.8
Military means (armed intifada)	27.8
Non-violent resistance (peaceful popular intifada)	17.6
Others	2.2
No answer	7.6

Q4- Do you support the continuation of military operations against Israeli targets as an appropriate response under current political conditions or do you oppose them and believe they harm Palestinian national interests?

	West Bank
	n= 715
I support them under the current conditions	32.0
I oppose them and believe they harm Palestinian national interests	56.9
Other	0.7
Don't know/ No answer	10.4

Q5- Do you think the recognition of a Palestinian state by European countries such as France and the UK will positively contribute to achieving the Palestinian people's goals of independence and ending the occupation, or will it have no impact?

	West Bank
	n= 715
Positive impact	52.2
No impact	45.5
Don't know/ No answer	2.3

Q6– In general, how would you evaluate the performance of the PNA? Would you say its performance is very good, good, bad or very bad?

	West Bank
	n= 715
Very good	8.1
Good	33.7
Bad	18.5
Very bad	37.3
Don't know / No answer	2.4

Q7– Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way that Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) is doing his job as President of the PNA?

	West Bank
	n= 715
Very satisfied	8.4
Somewhat satisfied	26.0
Somewhat dissatisfied	16.9
Very dissatisfied	45.3
Don't know/ No answer	3.4

Q8– After around Two years on the formation of the new government, are you satisfied of its performance? Do you say that you are?

	West Bank
	n= 715
Very satisfied	2.8
Somewhat satisfied	23.6
Somewhat dissatisfied	19.6
Very dissatisfied	45.7
No answer	8.3

Q9– Do you think that current Prime Minister Dr. Mohammad Mustafa is doing a good, average, or bad job?

	West Bank
	n= 715
Good	10.1
Average	30.3
Bad	44.1
No answer	15.5

Q10– To what extent do you have confidence in the police

	West Bank
	n= 715
To a great extent	27.3
To some extent	42.1
To a small extent	17.3
I don't have confidence in the police	13.3

Q11– How do you evaluate the performance of the following Palestinian Authority agencies?

	West Bank
	n= 715
1. Palestinian Education System	
Good	23.8
Average	28.0
Bad	47.8
No answer	0.4

	West Bank
	n= 715
2. Palestinian Health System	
Good	26.7
Average	34.4
Bad	37.1
No answer	1.8

Q12– The Palestinian National Authority is going through a financial crisis that has worsened in the past months, culminating in not being able to regularly pay its employees. Do you expect this crisis to lead to the collapse of the PNA?

	West Bank
	n= 715
Yes, it will lead to the collapse of the PNA	45.7
No, it will not lead to the collapse of the PNA	48.8
I don't know/no answer	5.5

Q13– If Israeli pressure leads to the collapse of the PA, what is the most probable scenario you expect will happen?

	West Bank
	n= 715
I expect the Israeli occupation to go back to managing the affairs of the West Bank like before the establishment of the PA.	23.8
I expect disorder and security chaos will ensue in the West Bank.	29.4
I expect Israel will turn the West Bank into separate administrative areas through municipalities or cantons.	41.1
Other	0.8
No answer	4.9

Q14– Who do you think bears more responsibility for the PNA’s financial crisis? Israel, the PNA or donor countries?

	West Bank
	n= 715
Israel	48.7
PNA	36.6
Donor countries	11.6
I don’t know/no answer	3.1

Q15– Do you expect “Fatah” and “Hamass” movements to reach reconciliation the next year?

	West Bank
	n= 715
Yes	33.1
No	59.6
I don’t know/ No answer	7.3

Q16– In your opinion, which side should be more blamed for the persisting division and the failure of efforts pertinent between Fatah and Hamas?

	West Bank
	n= 715
Hamas movement	3.5
Fatah movement	14.4
Hamas and Fatah	25.9
Israel	31.0
Egypt	1.0
United States	10.2
Others	3.2
Don’t know/ No answer	10.8

Q17– Do you think it is in the interest of the Palestinian people that the PA continues with the current political approach under President Mahmoud Abbas’ leadership? Should its policy be more stringent or more flexible?

	West Bank
	n= 715
It should adopt the same political approach	11.9
It should adopt a more stringent policy	40.6
It should adopt a more flexible policy	35.7
Don’t know	7.7
No answer	4.1

Q18– Hamas waged an attack on Israel on October 7, 2023 followed by a war between both parties, which is still ongoing. Do you think this serves Palestinian national interests? Does it hurt Palestinian national interests? Does it neither serve nor harm these interests?

	West Bank
	n= 715
It serves Palestinian national interests	30.9
It harms Palestinian national interests	35.2
It neither serve nor harm the Palestinian national interests.	25.9
Don’t know/no answer	8.0

Q19– Do you think the war between Israel and Hamas, which has been ongoing for 2 years, will end in favor of Israel, Hamas, neither Israel nor Hamas, or both?

	West Bank
	n= 715
In favor of Hamas	25.9
In favor of Israel	10.9
In favor of neither party	46.3
In favor of both parties	6.9
No answer	10.0

Q20– Do you expect the war to end with a setback or advancement of Arab-Israeli normalization projects in the region?

	West Bank
	n= 715
I expect the war to end with a setback in Arab-Israeli normalization projects	17.6
I expect the war to end with an advancement of Arab-Israeli normalization projects	47.8
This war will not affect normalization projects	28.8
Don't know/no answer	5.8

Q21– Do you expect the war will end with a rise or drop in Hamas' popularity among the Palestinians?

	West Bank
	n= 715
Hamas' popularity will rise	41.4
Hamas' popularity will drop	22.2
Hamas' popularity will not change	29.7
Don't know/no answer	6.7

Q22– Which of these phrases expresses your views on the Gaza situation after the war?

	West Bank
	n= 715
I expect Gaza to remain under Hamas control after the war.	34.4
I expect Gaza to remain under Israeli control after the war.	11.9
I expect the PA to play a role in managing Gazan affairs after the war.	14.8
I expect Gaza to be under international administration after the war	27.8
No Opinion	8.0
Don't know/no answer	3.1

Q22-1 – And among these different possible options mentioned in the previous question, which option do you prefer?

	West Bank
	n= 715
I prefer Gaza to remain under Hamas control after the war.	44.2
I prefer Gaza to remain under Israeli control after the war.	1.4
I prefer the PA to play a role in managing Gazan affairs after the war.	26.4
I prefer Gaza to be under international administration after the war	18.7
Don't know/no answer	9.3

Q23 – Do think it is appropriate in the current situation in the Gaza Strip for Hamas to turn itself into a political party?

	West Bank
	n= 715
It is appropriate for Hamas to turn into a political party	18.7
It is better if Hamas remains the same	58.9
I have no opinion	14.0
Don't know/ No answer	8.4

Q24 – How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the stance and performance of the PNA on the current war between Israel and the Gaza Strip?

	West Bank
	n= 715
Very satisfied	4.2
Somewhat satisfied	18.9
Somewhat dissatisfied	16.9
Very dissatisfied	56.4
No answer	3.6

Q25 – How would you define yourself- only in one word- in terms of particular affiliation?*

	West Bank
	n= 715
Palestinian	54.5
Muslim	12.4
National	10.2
Arabic	3.5
Religious	2.0
Fathawee (Belong to Fatah)	1.5
Other	5.6
Don't know	10.3
No answer	

* This is an open ended questions- no options were given to the interviewee

Q26 – Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?*

	West Bank
	n= 715
Mahmoud Abbas	3.9
Marwan Al-Barghouthi	5.3
Others	8.5
Don't trust any one	61.0
No answer	21.3

* This is an-open ended questions- no options were given to the interviewee

Q27 – Which political or religious faction do you trust the most?*

	West Bank
	n= 715
Fatah	11.0
Hamas	8.5
Others	2.8
Don't trust any one	68.5
No answer	9.2

* This is an-open ended questions- no options were given to the interviewee