



## POLL NO.100 SEPTEMBER 2023

JERUSALEM MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION CENTER  
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**30 years after Oslo: declining support**  
**Palestinian public supports maintaining the PNA**  
**Rise in the percentage of support for armed resistance**  
**Increased discrepancy between public opinion in the West Bank and Gaza**

### **Continued decline of trust in the Oslo Accords**

A public opinion poll conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (JMCC) coinciding with the 30-year anniversary of the Oslo Accords, showed an increased decline in the percentage of those who support the accords, especially in the West Bank, compared to the Gaza Strip.

The percentage of those who support the accords in the past 10 years, dropped from 43.3% in 2013 to 27.3% in September of this year. It is noteworthy that the percentage of those who oppose it in the West Bank is more those in the Gaza Strip, at 61.4% in the West Bank and 50.9% in the Gaza Strip.

Similarly, the percentage of those who said they believe the Oslo Accords served Palestinian national interests, dropped from 24.6% in 2013 to 14.9% in September of this year. In comparison, the percentage of those in the West Bank who said it had harmed national interests was 52.2% and 38.1% in the Gaza Strip.

### **Majority in the West Bank support the one-state solution while the majority in the Gaza Strip support the two-state solution**

The poll also showed a continuing slow but steady decline in the overall position on the two-state solution, whereby the percentage of respondents who said the two-state solution was the preferred solution, dropped from 39.3% in April, 2021 to 27.3% this September. However, there was a noticeable, continued increase in the percentage of respondents who support the two-state solution in the Gaza Strip, in comparison with the West Bank, whereby in the Gaza Strip, support stood at 35.3% while in the West Bank, it was 22%.

Nonetheless, the poll reflected pessimism towards the possibility of the establishment of a Palestinian state, with 52.3% of respondents saying they did not expect a Palestinian state to be established in the coming 10 years, opposed to 39.9% who said they did expect this.

In all cases, the largest percentage of respondents, 57.5%, said they believed the end of the occupation, the establishment of a Palestinian state on the 1967 borders, including Jerusalem, and the return of refugees, could constitute a suitable solution, with the percentage of those who said it was suitable in the West Bank, 62.2%, were more than those in the Gaza Strip, 50.3%.

On the issue of Palestinian national reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas, the poll showed slight optimism, with 52.8% of respondents saying they expected reconciliation to be achieved in the next five years, while 37.8% said they did not. Also, optimism towards reconciliation was higher in the West Bank than in the Gaza Strip.

### **Two-thirds of the public supports maintaining the PNA**

The poll showed a steady two-thirds percentage of those who believe it is necessary to maintain the PNA and not dissolve it. 27% of respondents said it should be dissolved as opposed to 67% who said it should be maintained.

### **Noticeable increase in public support for armed struggle and armed resistance**

The poll results showed a rise in the percentage of those who support military and armed operations as the best method of achieving the goals of the Palestinian people, from 30% in July of last year, to 37.1% this September, as opposed to a drop in support for peaceful negotiations as a method of achieving the goals of the Palestinian people, from 37.5% last July to 28% this September.

Likewise, the percentage of those who support continued armed operations against Israeli targets and consider them as an appropriate response to the current conditions, went up from 38.1% last July, to 43.8% this September.

Nevertheless, respondents were divided over their position towards one method of resistance, rocket fire from the Gaza Strip into Israel, whereby 48.4% of respondents said it was an effective means, most of whom are from the West Bank while 39.4% said it was ineffective, most of whom are from the Gaza Strip.

### **Continued drop in the public's trust in political factions and personalities**

The public's trust in political factions and personalities continued to decline, with a rise in the percentage of those who do not trust political factions, from 43.3% last July, to 59% this September. Moreover, the percentage of those who do not trust any political personality rose from 48.1% last July to 56.6% this September.

In response to the question of whether the PLO represents Palestinians everywhere, respondents were divided between those who said the PLO does represent the people, at 49.1% and those who said it does not represent the people, at 43.3%, in addition to 7.5% who had no answer.

### **Majority supports the government's reintroduction of the topic of social security**

76.3% of respondents said they encouraged the Palestinian government's reintroducing the idea of social security, while 19.7% who said they did not. It should be noted that the percentage of those who support social security in the Gaza Strip was 91.5% as opposed to 66% in the West Bank.

### **Majority believes strikes harm Palestinian interests**

With the recent increase of strikes on the Palestinian street, the majority of respondents, 72.3% said the strikes harmed Palestinian national interests, it is noteworthy that percentage of those who said that the strikes harmed are from the West Bank (82.6%) as opposed to 57.2% from the Gaza Strip.

While 23.2% of the respondents said the strikes serve these interests, noting that the most support for strikes comes from the Gaza Strip.

### **Freedom of expression**

In regards to the recent debate on freedom of expression in Palestinian society, the poll showed that 26.2% of respondents said freedom of expression was not permissible, as opposed to 71.4% who said it was permissible to a low or great extent. In response to the question about the extent to which they feel free to express their opinions on social media, 33.6% said they do not feel free, while 61.3% said they feel free to a great, moderate or minimal extent.

## Methodology:

A random sample of 1200 people over the age of 18 was interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip between 13<sup>rd</sup> And 18<sup>th</sup> September 2023 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 134 sampling points chosen randomly according to population.

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

**Hebron:** Hebron, Yatta, Halhul, Tafuh, Beit Ummar, Beit Ula, Bani Na'im, Deir Samit, Hadab al-Fawwar, Khursa, Al-Fawwar refugee camp. **Jenin:** Jenin, Y'abed, Araba, Qabatiya, Al Yamun, Hashmiya, Raba, Beit Qad, Jenin refugee camp. **Tubas:** Tammun, Bardala. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** Ramallah, Al-Bireh, Betoniya, Sinjil, Al Mazra'a Al Qibliya, Beit Sira, Deir Ghassana, Beitin, Al-Am'ari refugee camp. **Jericho:** Jericho, Aqbet Jaber refugee camp. **Jerusalem:** Anata, Al-Ram, Qalandia refugee camp, Beit Hanina Al-Balad, Al-Ezariyeh, Shu'fat, Silwan, Beit Hanina, Old city Wadi Qadoom,. **Bethlehem:** Bethlehem, Beit Jala, Al Khader, Al Ma'sara, Duheisha refugee camp. **Nablus:** Nablus, Sabastiya Rujeib, Deir Sharaf, Beit Dajan, Balata refugee camp. **Salfit:** Salfit, Kafr Al-Dik. **Tulkarem:** Tulkarem, Attil, Al-Nazla Al-Sharqiya, Nur shams refugee camp. **Qalqilya:** Qalqilya, Kufr Thulth.

### **In the Gaza Strip 485 people were surveyed from the following areas:**

**Gaza:** Al-Jdaideh, Al-Tufah, Al-Shekh Radwan, Al-Zaytoun, Al-Rimal South, Tal Al-Hawa, Sabra, Al-Rimal North, Al-Shekh Ajleen, Old City, Al-Durj, Al-Naser, Al-Turkuman, Al-Shati refugee camp, Al-Mughraqa . **Khan Younis:** Khan Younis, Bani Suheila, Al-Qarara, Abasan al-Saghira, Khan Younis refugee camp. **Rafah:** Rafah, Rafah refugee camp. **Gaza North:** Beit Hanoun, Jabalya, Jabalya refugee camp. **Deir al-Balah:** Deir al Balah, Al-Bureij Al-Zawaydeh, Al-Nuseirat, Al-Maghazi refugee camp, Al-Bureij refugee camp.

The margin of error is  $\pm 3$  percent, with a confidence level of 95%.

#### Sample Distribution

50.4% of the respondents were from the West Bank, 9.2% from Jerusalem, 40.4% from the Gaza Strip.

15.4% said they live in villages, 8.3% refugee camps, and 76.3% in towns/cities.

50% were male, 50% female.

68.8% were married, 24.7% single, 5% widowed, 1.5% divorced.

The average age of the respondents was 39 years.

#### Occupation of Respondents

- 8.7% Students
- 13.8% Laborers
- 28.2% Housewives (not looking for a job)
- 8.3% Housewives (looking for a job)
- 1% Farmers/fishermen
- 1.3% Craftsmen
- 10.2% Businessmen/private business
- 7.7% Public Sector Employees
- 5.2% Private Sector Employees
- 1.2% Professionals (e.g., doctors/lawyers/pharmacists/engineers)
- 11.7% Unemployed
- 2.7% Retired

**Results:**

Q1-To what extent do you feel optimistic or pessimistic regarding the future in general, Would you say that you are very optimistic, optimistic, pessimistic or very pessimistic?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Very Optimistic	8.0	10.8	3.9
Optimistic	54.0	58.3	47.6
Pessimistic	21.7	19.2	25.4
Very pessimistic	15.7	11.3	22.1
No answer	0.6	0.4	1.0

Q2- To what extent do you feel optimistic or pessimistic regarding the Palestinian future? Would you say that you are optimistic, cautiously optimistic, pessimistic or very pessimistic?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Very Optimistic	21.5	27.6	12.6
Optimistic	37.8	36.1	40.4
Pessimistic	21.3	19.4	23.9
Very pessimistic	17.9	16.2	20.4
No answer	1.5	0.7	2.7

Q3- Have you ever visited Jerusalem?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
No	39.5	12.9	78.8
Yes: once	16.7	19.7	12.2
Yes: many times	43.8	67.4	9.0

Q4- In general, is religion an important part of your life?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Yes	98.9	98.5	99.6
No	1.1	1.5	0.4

Q5- There has been a debate recently on the issue of freedom of expression in the Palestinian society. In your opinion to what extent is the freedom of expression permissible in the PNA controlled territories?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
to a very great extent	2.8	2.7	2.9
to a great extent	15.3	14.8	16.1
to a low extent	35.1	34.7	35.7
to a very low extent	18.2	18.0	18.4
Freedom of expression is not permissible at all	26.2	28.5	22.7
Don't know\no answer	2.4	1.3	4.2

Q6- To what extent do you feel free to express your opinions on social media?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Very free	8.3	10.8	4.7
Moderately free	23.3	24.1	22.1
Minimally free	29.7	26.2	34.8
Not free at all	33.6	33.6	33.6
Don't know	4.4	4.3	4.5
No answer	0.7	1.0	0.3

Q7- What's your opinion of the Oslo agreement? Would you say that you strongly support, support, oppose or strongly oppose?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Strongly support	4.3	3.5	5.4
Support	23.0	19.2	28.7
Oppose	20.3	18.5	23.1
Strongly oppose	36.8	42.9	27.8
Don't know/ No answer	15.6	15.9	15.0

Q8- On the 30th anniversary of the Oslo Accords, do you think that the Oslo Accords served or harmed the Palestinian national interests or made no difference?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
The Oslo Accords served the Palestinian national interests	14.9	11.6	19.8
The Oslo Accords harmed the Palestinian national interests	46.5	52.2	38.1
The Oslo Accords made no difference	30.1	27.1	34.4
No answer	8.5	9.1	7.7

Q9- The Palestinian government has reintroduced the idea of a social security law (health insurance, pension, unemployment). Do you encourage this or not?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Yes, I encourage it	76.3	66.0	91.5
No, I do not encourage it	19.7	28.4	6.8
Don't know	3.8	5.2	1.7
No answer	0.2	0.4	0.0

Q10 – To what extent do you think strikes serve or harm Palestinian national interests?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
They largely serve them	4.5	4.6	4.3
They somewhat serve them	18.7	10.6	30.5
They somewhat harm them	28.8	24.6	35.1
They largely harm them	43.5	58.0	22.1
Don't know	4.1	1.5	7.8
No answer	0.4	0.7	0.2

Q11- In general, how would you evaluate the performance of the PNA? Would you say its performance is very good, good, bad or very bad?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Very good	7.3	7.1	7.4
Good	39.7	39.3	40.2
Bad	25.2	22.7	28.9
Very bad	20.7	24.6	14.8
Don't know / No answer	7.1	6.3	8.7

Q12 – There is a debate on the future of the PNA whereby some people believe that dissolving the PNA is necessary now while others believe that the PNA should be maintained. What do you think?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Dissolving the PNA is necessary	27.0	27.7	26.0
Maintain the PNA is a necessity	67.0	67.1	66.8
Don't know/ No answer	6.0	5.2	7.2

Q13 – Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way that Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) is doing his job as President of the PNA?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Very satisfied	7.2	7.7	6.4
Somewhat satisfied	29.2	29.1	29.3
Somewhat dissatisfied	20.9	15.7	28.7
Very dissatisfied	35.8	38.7	31.5
Don't know / no answer	6.9	8.8	4.1

Q14 – Do you think the PLO represents the Palestinian people everywhere?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Yes	49.1	48.4	50.1
No	43.4	43.6	43.1
Don't know	6.5	6.7	6.2
No answer	1.0	1.3	0.6



Q15 – 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 in all of Palestine where Palestinians and Israelis enjoy equal rights. Which solution do you prefer?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 715	n= 485
I prefer the two state solution: Palestinian and an Israeli	27.3	22.0	35.3
I prefer the bi-national state in all of Palestine	25.9	29.5	20.6
I prefer another solution	0.4	0.6	0.2
There is no solution for the problem	18.8	19.0	18.4
Palestinian State*	24.7	26.4	22.1
Don't know/No answer	2.9	2.5	3.4

\* This option was not as part of the options read to the interviewee

Q16 – In general, what is the best method to achieve the Palestinian people's goals of ending the occupation and establishing a state?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 715	n= 485
Peaceful negotiations	28.0	25.7	31.3
Military means (armed intifada)	37.1	33.7	42.1
Non-violent resistance (peaceful popular intifada)	23.8	25.0	21.9
Other	1.9	2.4	1.2
Don't know/ No answer	9.2	13.2	3.5

17. 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?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
I support them under the current conditions	43.8	41.5	47.0
I oppose them and believe they harm Palestinian national interests	43.4	43.2	43.7
Other	0.8	0.3	1.4
Don't know/ No answer	12.0	15.0	7.9

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

Q18 – Recently, there has been an increase in lone wolf operations. Do you see this as an effective or ineffective means of achieving national goals?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Effective means	47.3	42.0	55.1
Ineffective means	41.7	46.3	34.8
Don't know	6.8	6.4	7.2
No answer	4.2	5.3	2.9

Q19 – Recently, the resistance has increasingly taken on the form of rocket fire from the Gaza Strip into Israel. Do you see this as an effective means of achieving national goals?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Effective means	48.4	48.0	49.1
Ineffective means	39.4	38.5	40.8
Don't know	6.7	6.7	6.6
No answer	5.5	6.9	3.5

Q20 – Do you think ending the occupation and establishing an independent Palestinian state on the 1967 borders including Jerusalem and the return of refugees, is a suitable final solution to the Palestinian cause?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Very suitable	27.2	34.1	16.9
Somewhat suitable	30.3	28.1	33.4
Somewhat unsuitable	14.3	9.9	20.6
Very unsuitable	23.1	23.9	21.9
Don't know	4.6	2.9	7.0
No answer	0.5	1.1	0.2

Q21 – Do you expect an end of the occupation and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state within the next 10 years?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Yes	39.9	44.1	33.8
No	52.3	50.3	55.3
Don't know	7.8	5.6	10.9

Q22 – Do you expect “Fatah” and “Hamass” movements to reach reconciliation by the end of the year

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Yes	21.9	26.4	15.3
No	71.9	67.4	77.7
I don't know	5.7	4.9	6.8
No answer	0.5	1.3	0.2

Q23 – In your opinion, which side should be more blamed for the persisting division and the failure of efforts pertinent between Fatah and Hamas?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 715	n= 485
Hamas and Fatah	34.3	30.8	39.4
Israel	26.4	29.2	22.3
Hamas movement	9.9	4.1	18.6
United States	6.6	8.1	4.3
Fatah movement	4.0	5.6	1.6
Egypt	2.0	1.7	2.5
Others	2.3	2.7	1.6
All the above*	3.2	2.9	3.5
Don't know	9.1	11.6	5.4
No answer	2.2	3.3	0.8

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

Q24 – To what extent do you support or oppose each of the following phrases: strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 715	n= 485
<b>1. Elections are the right way to address the PA's problems</b>			
Strongly support	47.6	42.2	55.5
Somewhat support	27.8	29.5	25.4
Somewhat oppose	8.8	10.3	6.4
Strongly oppose	12.8	14.8	9.7
Don't know	3.0	3.2	3.0

**2. Diplomacy and peaceful resistance is the best way to achieve goals**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 715	n= 485
Strongly support	30.0	28.7	32.0
Somewhat support	29.8	28.1	32.2
Somewhat oppose	15.5	13.7	18.1
Strongly oppose	19.6	23.1	14.4
Don't know	5.1	6.4	3.3

**3. Palestinian national interests will be achieved in the next five years**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 715	n= 485
Strongly support	27.2	31.3	21.0
Somewhat support	25.6	25.3	26.0
Somewhat oppose	14.2	13.4	15.3
Strongly oppose	23.6	21.4	26.8
Don't know	9.4	8.5	10.9

Q25 – Some shake hands with the other sex while others don't, how about you? Do you shake hands with the other sex, or you don't shake hands with the other sex?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 715	n= 485
I shake hands with the other sex	18.5	24.8	9.3
I don't shake hands with the other sex	81.2	75.0	90.3
No answer	0.3	0.2	0.4

Q26 – Why don't you shake hands with the other sex? Is it for religious or social reasons (traditions and habits)?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 974</b>	<b>n= 536</b>	<b>n= 438</b>
Religious reasons	93.8	92.7	95.2
Social reasons (traditions and habits)	6.1	7.3	4.6
No answer	0.1	0.0	0.2

Q27 – Have you performed Al Umra (pilgrimage to Mecca performed by Muslims that can be undertaken at any time of the year)?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Yes	25.1	35.1	10.3
No	74.9	64.9	89.7

Q28– Did you fast during the month of Ramadan?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Most of the days or all of the days	96.7	95.2	98.8
few days	1.2	1.4	0.8
I didn't fast	1.8	2.8	0.4
No answer	0.3	0.6	0.0

Q29– During the month of Ramadan, did you perform all religious prayers?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
I prayed all days	91.3	87.7	96.5
Prayed only on Fridays	4.1	5.3	2.3
I didn't pray	3.7	5.9	0.4
No answer	0.9	1.1	0.8

Q30– Do you agree or disagree with co-education in schools?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
I agree till elementary	33.0	27.3	41.4
I agree till secondary	8.9	12.7	3.3
I disagree with co-education in schools	57.7	59.7	54.6
No answer	0.4	0.3	0.7

Q31– How would you define yourself- only in one word- in terms of particular affiliation?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n=715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Palestinian	46.3	38.3	57.9
Muslim	17.3	17.2	17.3
National	7.3	9.1	4.7
Arabic	3.2	3.5	2.7
Religious	3.1	4.6	0.8
Fathawee (Belong to Fatah)	2.5	2.5	2.5
Others	6.8	9.4	2.9
Don't know	8.5	10.1	6.6
No answer	5.0	5.3	4.6

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

Q32– Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	<b>n= 1200</b>	<b>n= 715</b>	<b>n= 485</b>
Mahmoud Abbas	5.3	1.8	10.3
Marwan Al- Barghouthi	3.0	1.8	4.7
Mohammad Dahlan	2.7	0.0	6.6
Ismail Haniyeh	2.0	1.3	3.1
Yasser Arafat	2.1	1.7	2.7
Others	16	20.6	9.3
Don't trust anyone	56.6	57.8	54.6
No answer	12.3	15	8.7

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

Q33– Which political or religious faction do you trust the most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n= 1200	n= 715	n= 485
Fatah	22.4	17.5	29.7
Hamas	6.8	5.7	8.2
Islamic Jihad	1.6	1.4	1.9
Others	1.8	2.0	1.4
Don't Trust anyone	59.0	64.8	50.5
No answer	8.4	8.6	8.3

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