

JMCC

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Opinion Poll

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Introduction

- A widening gap between the Palestinian public and the existing political forces and figures, along with declining trust in both Fatah and Hamas, reflecting a broader crisis of confidence in the Palestinian political system and its main components in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- Clear differences in views, attitudes, and priorities among the Palestinian public in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, resulting from prolonged separation and differing circumstances and challenges.
- A clear overall tendency toward more moderate positions and attitudes, both regarding final-status solutions and the means and methods of achieving them.
- The continued decline in the standing and popularity of Hamas, which had risen significantly following October 7, 2023.

Doubts about the Possibility of Holding Elections

A survey conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (JMCC) in August 2026, in cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, found that only 28.8% of respondents in the West Bank expect the elections decreed to be held will take place as scheduled. Meanwhile, 35.5% expect the elections to be postponed, 22.4% expect them to be cancelled, and 13.3% said they do not know.

Respondents were divided over the usefulness of elections. While 46.8% said that elections would contribute to improving the Palestinian situation, 46.4% said that they would either have no impact on the situation or would make it worse. Another 6.8% said they did not know.

Regarding voting intentions if legislative elections were held, Fatah ranked first, with 27.5% of respondents saying they would vote for the movement (23.5% in the West Bank and 33.4% in the Gaza Strip). In contrast, 7.6% said they would vote for Hamas (5.6% in the West Bank and 10.5% in the Gaza Strip). Meanwhile, 9% said they would vote for independent candidates outside political organizations and parties.

The largest share, 40.2%, said they would not vote, with a clear difference between the West Bank and Gaza Strip (49.9% in the West Bank compared with 25.8% in the Gaza Strip). Another 6.2% said they did not know whom they would vote for, while 4.1% gave no response.

Continued Decline in Trust in Political Parties and Figures

Regarding the balance of power among political organizations and figures, the survey showed an overall decline in levels of trust. The percentage of those who do not trust any of the existing political organizations or parties increased from 43.3% in the July 2022 survey to 55% in the current survey.

Among those who trust one of the political organizations or parties, the most notable finding is the continued decline in the standing and popularity of Hamas. In the current survey, the percentage of respondents in the West Bank and Gaza Strip who trust Hamas fell to 6.7%, compared with 12% in July 2022. Trust in Fatah also declined to 22.3%, compared with 28.8% in the July 2022 survey.

The decline in Hamas's popularity in the West Bank is particularly noteworthy. After rising significantly following October 7, the percentage of respondents in the West Bank who trust Hamas declined from 18.7% in October 2023 to 8.5% in September 2025, and to 4.5% in the current survey.

As for trust in political figures, 58.6% said they do not trust any political figure. The remaining responses were distributed among a limited number of figures, particularly President Mahmoud Abbas, Marwan Barghouti, and Mohammed Dahlan.

Trust in President Mahmoud Abbas stood at 6.9%, compared with 5.3% in September 2023. Trust in Marwan Barghouti increased to 6.3%, compared with 3% in the same survey, while trust in Mohammed Dahlan rose to 5.8%, compared with 2.7% in September 2023.

October 7 and the Future of the Gaza Strip

The positive assessment of the October 7 attack among respondents in the West Bank continued to decline. The percentage who believe that the attack serves the Palestinian national interest fell to 15.7% in the current survey, compared with 30.9% in September 2025 and 45% in September 2024.

In contrast, the percentage in the West Bank who believe that Hamas's October 7, 2023 attack harms the Palestinian national interest increased to 50.1%, compared with 35.2% in September 2025 and 24.5% in September 2024.

The percentage who believe that the attack neither serves nor harms the Palestinian national interest changed only

slightly, reaching 23.9% in the current survey, compared with 25.9% in September 2025 and 20.1% in September 2024.

Regarding the future of the Gaza Strip after the war ends, the largest share of respondents in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, 42.9%, expected Gaza to come under international administration. This was followed by 17.3% who expected the Palestinian Authority to have a role in administering Gaza's affairs after the war.

Meanwhile, 14.7% expected Gaza to remain under Hamas control, while 14.8% expected it to remain under Israeli control.

Future Priorities

When asked about the main priority that the Palestinian leadership should focus on in the coming period, a majority of respondents in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, 50.1%, said that the priority should be ending the war in Gaza. Improving economic conditions ranked second at 16.9%, followed by rebuilding Gaza at 13.4%, achieving national unity at 8.9%, and confronting settlement activity at 7%.

The survey shows a notable shift in attitudes toward the means that Palestinians consider most effective for achieving their goals. The percentage who believe that armed resistance is the best way to achieve Palestinian

objectives fell to 13.3% in the current survey (15.7% in the West Bank and 9.7% in Gaza), compared with 37.1% in September 2023 and 30% in July 2022.

In contrast, the percentage who believe that peaceful negotiations are the best approach rose to 55.8%, compared with 28% in September 2023 and 37.5% in July 2022.

Support for a peaceful popular uprising declined to 17.8% in the current survey, compared with 23.8% in September 2023 and 21% in July 2022.

Increased Preference for the Two-State Solution

The survey recorded a notable increase in preference for the two-state solution compared with recent years. The percentage who prefer the two-state solution over other options rose to 47.9%, compared with 27.3% in September 2023 and 26% in July 2022.

In contrast, the percentage who prefer a single binational state declined to 21.7%, compared with 25.9% in September 2023 and 28.4% in July 2022.

The percentage who prefer establishing a single Palestinian state throughout all of Palestine also declined to 18.6% in the current survey, compared with 24.7% in September 2023 and 22.8% in July 2022.

The Future of the Palestinian Authority

Regarding the future of the Palestinian National Authority in light of the current financial crisis, 39.6% expected the crisis to lead to the collapse of the Palestinian Authority, while 50.4% expected that it would not lead to its collapse.

Asked about the objectives of Israeli policies toward the Palestinian Authority, and whether Israel seeks to bring down the Authority or merely weaken it, a majority of 58.1% said that Israel aims to keep the Authority in place while weakening it and reducing its role.

Regarding the usefulness of maintaining or dissolving the Palestinian Authority, a majority of 69.4% said that the Authority needs to remain in place, compared with 23% who believed that it should be dissolved. Another 7.6% gave no response.

Settler Attacks

The survey revealed a widespread perception that both Palestinian society and the Palestinian Authority are failing to provide sufficient support to residents of Palestinian villages exposed to settler attacks.

A majority of respondents in the West Bank, 70.6%, said that residents of these villages do not receive sufficient support from Palestinian society. Meanwhile, 18.7% said they receive some support, and 7.8% said they receive substantial support.

The same applies to the Palestinian Authority. A majority of 77.9% in the West Bank said that residents of these villages do not receive sufficient support from the Palestinian Authority, while 16.2% believed that the Authority provides some support, and only 1.5% considered the Authority's support sufficient.

Household Economic Situation

The survey findings highlight the economic pressures facing Palestinian households. A majority of 58.9% described their economic situation as poor (48.4% in the West Bank and 74.2% in the Gaza Strip), compared with 24.1% who described it as average and 17% who considered it good.

Regarding households' main source of income, partial wages ranked first at 33.1%, followed by full wages at 20.1%, assistance from institutions at 19.2%, income from self-employment or private work at 9.7%, assistance from relatives at 7.1%, borrowing at 3%, and remittances from relatives abroad at 2.8%.

European Countries’ Positions on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

In response to a question about the positions of a number of Western countries on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the U.S. position was viewed most negative by respondents, with 84.8% describing it as bad.

The British position ranked second, with 71.9% describing it as bad, followed by the German position at 70.3%, and the French position at 61.1%.

Spain was the only country whose position assessed relatively positively. A total of 54.7% said that Spain’s position was good or average, compared with 33.4% who described it as bad.

Methodology

A random sample of 1200 people over the age of 18 were interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank including East Jerusalem and Gaza Strip between 20th and 25th August 2026 the interviews were conducted in randomly selected homes in West Bank and East Jerusalem , In the Gaza Strip, interviews were conducted in tents, shelters, and buildings. Based on the demographic and population distribution across tents, shelters, and buildings, updated data on the current population distribution in residential communities were obtained from official sources, and the sample was distributed accordingly. And the respondents inside each home were also selected randomly according to Kish tables. The interviews were conducted in 125 sampling points chosen randomly according to population. Some questions could not be included in the Gaza Strip due to the sensitivity of the current situation.

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

Hebron: Hebron, Beit ‘Awa, Yatta, Beit Ummar, Al-Dahriyeh, Bani Na’im, Al-Shuikh, Hadab al-Fawwar, Deir Alasal Alfoqa, Al-Arrub refugee camp. **Jenin:** Jenin, Qabatiya, Al Yamun, Maithalon, Silat Al Daher, Al Arqa, Jalqamus, Anin. **Tubas:** Tammun, Ras Al Far’aa. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** Ramallah, Betoniya, Beit Liqya, Silwad, Abu Qash, Ubein, Kharbtha Al Misbah, Kufr Ni’ma **Jericho:** Jericho, Aqbet Jaber refugee camp. **Jerusalem:** Anata, Al-Ram, Qalandia refugee camp, Biddo, Al Qbaiba, Shu’fat, Old City, Al Siwaneh, Al Eisawyeh, Al Tur, Ras Al Amoud,

Kufr Aqab. **Bethlehem:** Beit Jala, Beit Sahur, Al Eibdiya, Tuqu’, Battir, Duheisha refugee camp. **Nablus:** Nablus, Huwara, Kufr Qalil, Salim, Asira Al Qibliya, Askar refugee camp. **Salfit:** Salfit, Kafr Al-Dik. **Tulkarem:** Tulkarem, Deir Ghusson, Al- Jaroshya, Kufr Al Labad. **Qalqilya:** Qalqilya, Sinirya.

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

Gaza: Gaza, Al Rimal North, Al Tuffah, Sabra, Al Shekh Radwan, Al Naser. **Khan Younis:** Khan Younis. Al Qarara, Khan Younis Refugee Camp **Rafah:** Rafah. **Gaza North:** Jabalya. **Deir al-Balah:** Deir Al Balah, Al Nuseirat, Al Zawaydeh Al Bureij, Al Maghazi.

The margin of error is ±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.
- 50% were male, 50% female.
- 63.6%were married, 28.3% single, 6.1% widowed, 2% divorced.
- The average age of the respondents was 38 years.

Occupation of Respondents:

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|--|
| • 9.8% Students | • 9.4% Housewives (looking for a job) | • 10.9% Businessmen/ private business |
| • 11.7% Laborers | • 0.8% Craftsmen | • 6.8% Public Sector Employees |
| • 25.8% Housewives (not looking for a job) | • 2.7% Retired | • 6.1% Private Sector Employees |
| • 0.7% Farmers/ fishermen | • 14.9% Unemployed | • 0.8% Professionals (e.g., doctors/ lawyers.) |

Results

Q1- In general, how would you evaluate the current situation in the Palestinian territories?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
Very Good	0.9	0.8	1.0
Good	3.2	3.4	2.9
Average	7.3	9.7	3.7
Bad	27.2	29.4	23.9
Very Bad	61.4	56.7	68.5

Q2- What are the two priorities that you think the Palestinian leadership should focus on during the coming period?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
1. First Priorities	n=1200	n=715	n=485
Ending the war in Gaza	50.1	39.2	66.2
Rebuilding Gaza	13.4	4.3	26.8
Addressing settlement expansion in the West Bank	7.0	11.7	0.0
Improving economic conditions	16.9	27.0	2.1
Achieving national unity	8.9	12.9	3.1
Holding elections	2.6	3.8	0.8
Other	1.1	1.1	1.0

Q2- What are the two priorities that you think the Palestinian leadership should focus on during the coming period?

	West Bank
2. Second Priorities	n=715
Ending the war in Gaza	20.4
Rebuilding Gaza	13.7
Addressing settlement expansion in the West Bank	22.9
Improving economic conditions	25.0
Achieving national unity	12.6
Holding elections	5.2
Other	0.2

Q3 – 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	47.9	40.0	59.6
I prefer the bi-national state in all of Palestine	21.7	26.2	15.1
I prefer another solution	0.7	0.8	0.4
There is no solution for the problem	6.4	5.0	8.5
Palestinian State*	18.6	23.9	10.7
Don't know/No answer	4.7	4.1	5.7

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

Q4 – 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	55.8	49.7	64.7
Military means (armed intifada)	13.3	15.7	9.7
Non-violent resistance (peaceful popular intifada)	17.8	21.3	12.6
Other	1.9	1.1	3.1
Don’t know/ No answer	11.2	12.2	9.9

Q5- 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
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
Very good	6.2	7.6	4.1
Good	30.3	30.2	30.5
Bad	25.8	23.2	29.7
Very bad	32.8	35.9	28.2
Don’t know / No answer	4.9	3.1	7.5

Q6- A decree has been issued to hold legislative and presidential elections at the end of this year. In your opinion, will these elections take place?

	West Bank
	n=715
Yes, on schedule	28.8
It will be postponed	35.5
It will be cancelled	22.4
Don’t know	13.3

Q7- If the elections are held, do you think they will contribute to improving the situation in Palestine?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
Yes, to a great extent	14.8	7.4	25.6
Yes, to some extent	32.0	28.0	37.9
They will have no impact	30.2	36.4	21.0
They will make the situation worse	16.2	22.9	6.2
Don't know	6.8	5.3	9.3

Q8- If Legislative council elections were held today, which party would you vote for?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
Fatah	27.5	23.5	33.4
Hamas	7.6	5.6	10.5
PFLP	1.7	1.1	2.5
DFLP	0.7	0.4	1.0
PNI	1.1	0.6	1.9
PPP	0.2	0.3	0.0
FIDA	0.2	0.3	0.0
Independents	9.0	7.4	11.3
Others	1.5	0.6	2.7
Won't vote	40.2	49.9	25.8
Don't know	6.2	4.6	8.8
No answer	4.1	5.7	2.1

Q9- 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	15.7
It harms Palestinian national interests	50.1
It neither serve nor harm the Palestinian national interests.	23.9
I don't know/no answer	10.3

Q10- Which of these phrases expresses your views on the Gaza situation after the war?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
I expect Gaza to remain under Hamas control after the war.	14.7	18.5	9.1
I expect Gaza to remain under Israeli control after the war.	14.8	14.5	15.1
I expect Gaza to be under the administration of the PA after the war.	17.3	16.8	18.1
I expect Gaza to be under international administration after the war	42.9	38.6	49.3
No Opinion	10.3	11.6	8.4

Q11- 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?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
Yes, it will lead to the collapse of the PNA	39.6	44.9	31.8
No, it will not lead to the collapse of the PNA	50.4	47.6	54.6
I don't know/no answer	10.0	7.5	13.6

Q12- In your opinion, what is the main objective of the Israeli policy toward the Palestinian Authority?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
Bringing down the Palestinian Authority	33.0	28.8	39.2
Maintaining it while reducing its role	58.1	63.6	49.9
Don't know	8.9	7.6	10.9

Q13 – 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
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
Dissolving the PNA is necessary	23.0	27.0	17.1
Maintain the PNA is a necessity	69.4	66.6	73.6
Don't know/ No answer	7.6	6.4	9.3

Q14 – To what extent do residents of Palestinian villages that are subject to settler attacks receive support from Palestinian society?

	West Bank
	n=715
To a great extent	7.8
To some extent	18.7
They do not receive support	70.6
Don't know/ No answer	2.9

Q15 – To what extent does the Palestinian Authority provide support to residents of these villages?

	West Bank
	n=715
To a great extent	1.5
To some extent	16.2
They do not receive support	77.9
Don't know/ No answer	4.4

Q16 – How would you describe your household's economic situation currently?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
Very Good	3.1	4.8	0.6
Good	13.9	18.2	7.6
Average	24.1	28.6	17.6
Bad	27.8	24.3	32.8
Very Bad	31.1	24.1	41.4

Q17. What is the main source your household relies on to cover its living expenses?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
Full salary	20.1	30.6	4.5
Partial salary	33.1	35.8	29.1
Savings	3.7	3.2	4.3
Assistance from organizations	19.2	3.2	42.7
Assistance from relatives inside Palestine	7.1	7.8	6.0
Remittances from abroad	2.8	1.1	5.2
Borrowing	3.0	2.8	3.3
From self-employment or private work*	9.7	13.0	4.7
From family members*	1.0	1.5	0.2
Other sources	0.3	1.0	0.0

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

Q18 – How would you evaluate the role of each of the following countries towards the Palestinian-Israeli conflict? Do you see their role as good, bad, or average?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
1. United State			
Good	3.3	3.1	3.7
Average	7.3	86.4	82.5
Bad	84.8	6.3	8.9
Don't Know	4.6	4.2	4.9
	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
2. Germany			
Good	3.6	4.5	2.3
Average	13.1	69.7	71.1
Bad	70.3	12.3	14.2
Don't Know	13.0	13.5	12.4
	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
3. France			
Good	7.5	6.7	8.7
Average	19.0	64.6	55.9
Bad	61.1	16.1	23.3
Don't Know	12.4	12.6	12.1
	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
4. Britain			
Good	4.0	4.1	3.9
Average	11.5	72.7	70.7
Bad	71.9	9.9	13.8
Don't Know	12.6	13.3	11.6
	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
5. Spain			
Good	31.2	35.0	25.6
Average	23.5	30.9	37.1
Bad	33.4	21.7	26.2
Don't Know	11.9	12.4	11.1

Q19 – In your opinion, do you think Germany is biased toward Israel, supportive of the Palestinian people, or does it follow a neutral policy in the ongoing conflict between the Palestinians and Israelis?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
Biased toward Israel	66.4	62.7	72.0
Supportive of the Palestinian people	2.5	2.5	2.5
Neutral in the ongoing conflict between the Palestinians and Israelis	18.4	20.4	15.5
Don't know/No answer	12.7	14.4	10.0

Q20– Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)	6.9	3.4	12.2
Marwan Barghouti	6.3	6.9	5.4
Mohammed Dahlan	5.8	0.7	13.4
Others	9.8	8.1	12.2
Don't trust anyone	58.6	67.1	46.0
No answer	12.6	13.8	10.8

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

Q21– Which political or religious faction do you trust the most?*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n=1200	n=715	n=485
Fatah	22.3	17.1	30.1
Hamas	6.7	4.5	9.9
Others	4.2	1.5	8.0
Don't Trust anyone	55.0	64.8	40.6
No answer	11.8	12.1	11.4

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

