

Palestinian Peace Coalition

Geneva Initiative

Making Peace Our Horizon

Sunrise Bldg, 2nd floor, Irsal Street, Ramallah. Tel: 02 2972535/6 Fax: 02 2972538 E-mail: info@ppc.org.ps. Web: www.ppc.org.ps, Joint Web: www.geneva-accord.org

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PPC May 2025 Poll Findings

These are the results of the latest poll conducted for the *Palestinian Peace Coalition/Two State Coalition* by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR) in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip between 1-4 May 2025. The period prior to the poll witnessed the continuation of the war on the Gaza Strip and the failure of all attempts to reach a new ceasefire after the collapse of the three-phase agreement reached on January 15, 2025, which lasted for a little more than two months after Israel refused to enter into negotiations to implement its second phase.

The survey was conducted face-to-face in both the West Bank and Gaza Strip using tablets or phones. When each interview is completed, it is automatically sent directly to PCSR server where only our researchers can access. There is no way for anyone to intercept or manipulate the collected data.

The sample size of this survey was 1270 people, of whom 830 were interviewed face-to-face in the West Bank (in 83 residential locations) and 440 in the Gaza Strip (in 44 locations). The margin of error stands at $\pm -3.5\%$.

In the Gaza Strip, the interviews for this poll included 44 census "counting areas" in all areas of the Gaza Strip, with the exception of some areas whose residents were displaced in the Rafah governorate and some other specific areas of Gaza City, Khan Younis, and the northern Gaza Strip, so that the number of areas that were not accessible stood at 13 counting areas (five in the Rafah governorate, five in Gaza Governorate, two in Khan the Yunis governorate, and one in the northern Gaza Strip). Residents of these 13 displaced counting areas were interviewed in shelters and refugee camps in the same governorate from which they were displaced. These were randomly selected from an updated list of shelters and refugee camps located in their governorates, with the exception of the Rafah governorate, whose residents were displaced to areas in the Khan Younis governorate.

The poll covered three main topics: the two-state solution, the Gaza war, and the role played by Iran since October 7:

Two-state solution, its alternatives, and the most effective means of ending the occupation and building a Palestinian state:

When asked about support or opposition to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the territories occupied in 1967, i.e. defining the borders of the state and without linking it to the two-state solution, support stands at 61% (66% in the West Bank and 54% in the Gaza Strip), while 36% opt for other options or don't know.

We asked about the public support for three possible solutions to the conflict: the two-state solution based on the 1967 borders, the solution of a confederation between the two states of Palestine and Israel, and a one-state solution in which the Jews and Palestinians live with equality, 47% (46% in the West Bank and 48% in the Gaza Strip) prefer the two-state solution based on the 1967 borders, while 15% (9% in the West Bank and 24% in the Gaza Strip) prefer a confederation between two states. 14% (12% in the West Bank and 18% in the Gaza Strip) prefer the establishment of a single state with equality between the two sides. 24% said they did not know or did not want to answer.

When asking about the "Global Alliance for the Implementation of the Two-State Solution", only 23% say they have heard and 72% say they have not heard about the "Global Alliance for the Implementation of the Two-State Solution" launched by the EU & Saudi Arabia with other Arab and international stakeholders.

We presented the public with three ways to end the Israeli occupation and establish an independent Palestinian state and asked them to choose the most effective one: 41% (48% in the West Bank and 31% in the Gaza Strip) chose "armed struggle"; 33% (29% in the West Bank and 40% in the Gaza Strip) chose negotiations; and 20% (15% in the West Bank and 26% in the Gaza Strip) chose popular peaceful resistance.

Gaza war:

If an agreement is reached to end the war on the Gaza Strip, 40% (46% in the Gaza Strip and 37% in the West Bank) support the return of the PA to managing the affairs of the Gaza Strip and providing for the requirements of daily life and responsibility for reconstruction and 56% do not support it. Last September, 70% said they oppose the return of President Abbas and the PA to the Gaza Strip and control of the Rafah crossing after a ceasefire is reached, and 27% supported it at the time, with support in the Gaza Strip at that time standing at 42% compared to only 17% in the West Bank.

If the PA resumes its administration of the affairs of the Gaza Strip, only 31% (38% in the Gaza Strip and 25% in the West Bank) support asking for Arab forces from Jordan and Egypt to enable it to maintain security and 65% oppose that. In September 2024, support for the deployment of an Arab security force from Egypt and Jordan in the Gaza Strip to assist the

Palestinian security forces stood at 32% and opposition at 66%. In June 2024, support stood at 23% and opposition at 75%.

When asked whether it supports or opposes the disarmament of Hamas in the Gaza Strip in order to stop the war on the Gaza Strip, an overwhelming majority (85% in the West Bank and 64% in the Gaza Strip) said it is opposed to that; only 18% support it.

Do you support or oppose the disarmament of Hamas in the Gaza Strip in order to stop the war on Gaza?

When asked whether it supports or opposed the departure of some Hamas military leaders from the Gaza Strip if that was a condition for stopping the war, 65% said they oppose it and 31% support it. Support for this step stands at 47% in the Gaza Strip and only 20% in the West Bank.

In comparison with the September 2024 findings, the belief that the war on Gaza since October 7 has "revived international attention to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and that it may lead to increased recognition of the Palestinian state" drops by 4-points standing today at 64%, and only 34% said they did not believe so.

Role Iran since October 7:

We asked the public about its assessment of Iran's role in Palestine in light of what has been happening since October the 7th, is it a useful role or harmful to the Palestinian cause? A majority of 54% believes Iran's role is harmful while only 32% believe it is beneficial.

TABLE OF FINDINGS

1) In the event that the Palestinian 1) Yes

May 2025

Authority returns to manage the affairs of the Gaza Strip, Would you in this case support assisting it by an Arab force from the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and Egypt to enable it to maintain security and public orde	.,			
	2) N0	68.7%	60.5%	65.4%
	3) DK/NA	5.8%	1.5%	4.1%
2) Once the war in Gaza is stopped, do	1) Yes	36.5%	46.0%	40.3%
you want the PA to return to manage the affairs of the Gaza Strip and provide for the necessities of life and responsibility for reconstruction?	,			
	2) N0	58.6%	52.6%	56.2%
	3) DK/NA	4.9%	1.5%	3.5%
3) Do you support or oppose the disarmament of Hamas in the Gaza Strip in order to stop the war on Gaza?	1) Yes	8.8%	32.7%	18.3%
	2) N0	84.6%	64.4%	76.5%
	3) DK/NA	6.6%	2.9%	5.1%

25.5%

38.1%

30.5%

4) Do you support or oppose the departure of some Hamas military leaders from the Gaza Strip if this is a condition for stopping the war on Gaza?	1) Support	19.8%	47.1%	30.7%
	2) Oppose	73.7%	50.9%	64.7%
	3) DK/NA (do not read)	6.4%	2.0%	4.7%
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5) Do you support or oppose the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the territories occupied in 1967?	1 Support	66.1%	54.3%	61.4%
	2 Oppose	29.9%	44.3%	35.7%
	3 DK/NA	4.0%	1.4%	3.0%
6) In your view, what is the best means	1. Negotiations	28.9%	39.8%	33.2%
of achieving Palestinian goals in ending	2. Peaceful popular resistance	15.5%	26.3%	19.8%
the occupation and building an independent state?	3. Armed struggle	48.1%	31.3%	41.4%
	4. Don't know (do not read)	7.6%	2.6%	5.6%
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7) In your opinion, has the war on	1) Yes	75.6%	46.4%	63.9%
Gaza since October 7 revived	2) N0	22.0%	50.9%	33.6%
international attention to the Israeli- Palestinian conflict that it could lead to increased recognition of Palestinian statehood?	3) DK/NA	2.4%	2.7%	2.5%
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8) Last September, under Saudi, Arab, and international leadership, the Alliance for the Two-State Solution was launched. Have you heard about this alliance?	1) Yes	18.1%	31.0%	23.2%
	2) N0	75.4%	65.8%	71.6%
	3) DK/NA	6.5%	3.2%	5.2%
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9) In light of the current war, what solution do you prefer to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?		46.2%	48.0%	47.0%
	according to the 1967 borders 2. The existence of two states,	9.1%	23.6%	14.9%
	Palestine and Israel, with a confederation between them	0.170	20.070	11.070
	3. One state in which Jews and Palestinians live equally together	12.1%	17.7%	14.3%
	4. DK/NA	9.9%	2.9%	7.1%
	5. Other	22.7%	7.8%	16.7%
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10) How do you assess Iran's role in Palestine in light of what has been happening since October 7? Is it beneficial or harmful to the Palestinian cause?	1. Iran's role is beneficial	27.7%	39.5%	32.5%
	2. Iran's role is harmful	54.5%	53.1%	53.9%
	3. DK/NA (do not read)	17.8%	7.3%	13.6%
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