



Survey No. 209

March 16, 2025

In the latest opinion poll regarding President Trump's proposal regarding the displacement of Palestinians, prepared by **Dr. Nabil Kukali**, the following results were found:

- Results showed that residents of Gaza are more concerned about the displacement proposal compared to residents of the West Bank (73.6% vs. 53.4%).
- A majority of participants in Gaza (61.3%) and the West Bank (54.0%) expect pressure on Egypt and Jordan to accept the displacement of Palestinians.
- Gaza residents are more optimistic about their ability to prevent displacement (61.3%) compared to West Bank residents (46.4%).
- The majority (66.9%) believe that Arab and Islamic countries are not fulfilling the required role to support Palestinians in Gaza.
- (38.4%) of participants believe that the United States may push towards future displacement of Palestinians from the West Bank.



Dr Nabil Kukali

Beit Sahour - Public Relations In the latest opinion poll conducted by **Dr. Nabil Kukali** and published by the **Palestinian Center for Public Opinion (PCPO)**, a random sample of 1500 individuals representing population samples from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, aged 18 and above, was included. The poll indicated that one-third of respondents see displacement within the context of a long-term Israeli strategy to impose new facts on the ground, aligning with settlement and annexation policies in the West Bank.

Dr. Nabil Kukali, President of the Center, stated that the purpose of this poll is to gauge Palestinian reactions to former US President Donald Trump's proposal to displace Palestinians from their lands, as well as to examine the potential impact of this proposal on political and social stability in Palestinian territories. He added that the margin of error in this survey was ($\pm 2.53\%$). The study was conducted between March 5-15, 2025, using SurveyToGo software, with female participation at 49.7% and male participation at 50.3%. The sample distribution by residential area was as follows: 62.0% from the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and 38.0% from Gaza. The average age of the sample was 30.2 years. Key survey findings reflect significant impact of Trump's proposal on residents of Gaza and the West Bank as follows:

Political and Security Impact:

In response to the question "Do you think Trump's proposal to displace Palestinians will have a negative impact on the political and security situation in the region?", (58.8%) answered yes, it will have a negative impact, (34.4%) said it will not, and (6.8%) responded "I don't know". The figures show that the majority of Gaza residents believe the proposal will negatively affect political and security conditions, up to (73.6%), while the proportion is lower in the West Bank at (53.4%), reflecting widespread concern among Palestinians about their future. This can be explained by several factors:

- Gaza is more vulnerable to military risks and economic blockade, making its residents more sensitive to any changes affecting their existence.
- Hamas' control in Gaza and the absence of a Palestinian Authority recognized internationally increase instability, making Gaza residents more fearful of plans like displacement.
- In contrast, the West Bank benefits from the presence of the Palestinian Authority and security coordination with Israel, which may make some residents less concerned about scenarios like this.

There is widespread consensus among Palestinians that the displacement proposal will have serious political and security implications, especially among Gaza residents. Overall, the results confirm that Palestinians view the displacement issue as a genuine threat and are acutely aware of its significant political and security repercussions.

International Pressures:

In response to the question "In your opinion, will Egypt and Jordan face international pressures to accept Trump's proposal?", (55.9%) answered yes, definitely, (34.8%) said they will not face pressures, and (9.3%) responded "I don't know". It is notable that a majority of participants in Gaza (61.3%) and the West Bank (54.0%) expect Egypt and Jordan to face pressures to accept the displacement of Palestinians. This percentage indicates a widespread belief that external pressures will be part of efforts to achieve political goals under Trump's plan. This result may reflect Palestinian concerns that international pressures could lead to changes in the traditional positions of Egypt and Jordan on the Palestinian issue, especially amidst recent political shifts and increased American influence in the region.

A moderate percentage of participants in Gaza (28.8%) and the West Bank (36.9%) believe that Egypt and Jordan will not face pressures. This percentage reflects a more optimistic view or greater confidence in the ability of both countries to resist external pressures, possibly due to their previous stances in dealing with the Palestinian issue and maintaining their independent positions. A low percentage of undecided participants ranges from (9.1%) in the West Bank to (10.0%) in Gaza,

indicating that the majority of people do not have a clear opinion on whether Egypt and Jordan will face pressures, either through acceptance or rejection.

The results also show that the vast majority of Palestinians, whether in Gaza or the West Bank, expect significant international pressures on Egypt and Jordan to accept Trump's proposal. This reflects growing concern among Palestinians that these pressures could impact the positions of these two pivotal countries in the Middle East. These results indicate that Palestinians closely monitor the role played by Arab countries in accepting or rejecting American proposals and tend to believe that international pressures could be effective in changing the positions of these countries.

Evaluation of the Role of Arab and Islamic Countries:

Regarding the question, "Do you believe that Arab and Islamic countries are playing their role in supporting the resilience of Palestinian citizens in the Gaza Strip?" the results revealed that 66.9% of respondents believe that Arab and Islamic countries are not playing an adequate role in supporting Palestinians, especially in Gaza, where this percentage rose to 73.0%. In the West Bank, it was 64.7%. On the other hand, 28.4% believe that these countries are performing their appropriate role, with this percentage being higher in the West Bank (30.5%) compared to Gaza (22.5%).

These results indicate that the vast majority of the Palestinian public feel that Arab and Islamic countries have not fulfilled their expected role in supporting Palestinians in Gaza. This reflects dissatisfaction with these countries' positions, which is a predictable outcome in light of regional developments, including the growing normalization processes with Israel, creating a sense of betrayal among Palestinians. The absence of tangible Arab support to lift the siege on Gaza has reinforced this impression. However, there is still a segment (28.4%) who believes that these countries are providing the necessary support, which could reflect approval of initiatives such as humanitarian aid and diplomatic stances supporting the Palestinian cause.

Overall, the results highlight a sense of popular frustration towards the positions of Arab and Islamic countries, calling for increased efforts and effective initiatives to support the resilience of Palestinians in Gaza.

Objective of President Trump's Proposal:

In response to the question, "What is the main goal behind U.S. President Trump's proposal to deport Palestinians from Gaza?", the responses were as follows: 33.2% said it is to impose a new political reality in favor of Israel, 27.4% said it is to eliminate the Hamas movement, 20.5% said it is to control Gaza's natural resources such as gas, and 18.7% said it is to reduce the number of Palestinians in the region.

An analysis of these results reveals varying opinions on the true motivation behind the deportation proposal. A third of respondents believe that the deportation is part of a long-term Israeli strategy to impose new facts on the ground, which aligns with Israel's settlement and annexation policies in the West Bank. The belief that the objective is to eliminate Hamas reflects the view that Israel and its allies are applying military and political pressure to undermine the movement's rule in Gaza. Conversely, the belief that control over natural resources is the primary goal suggests a growing awareness among Palestinians of the economic dimensions of the conflict, particularly since Gaza has substantial natural gas reserves off its coast. Finally, the view that the goal is to reduce the number of Palestinians in the region indicates concerns about gradual ethnic cleansing policies that could alter the demographic balance in Palestine.

Alternative Solutions to the Deportation Proposal:

In response to the question, "What is the best solution for the Gaza issue instead of deportation?", the answers were as follows: 28.4% said the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, 24.7% said increased international pressure on Israel to end the siege, 22.8% said improving the economic conditions within Gaza, 17.4% said restoring the Palestinian Authority's control over Gaza instead of Hamas, and 6.5% said "There is no clear solution."

These results reflect several key implications:

1. **Continued Support for a Two-State Solution:** Despite increasing challenges, a significant proportion of Palestinians still see the establishment of an independent Palestinian state as the ideal solution, highlighting a continued commitment to the political path despite its diminishing prospects in the current reality.
2. **Importance of International Diplomacy:** The focus on international pressure to end the siege indicates a growing awareness of the potential role that diplomatic efforts and the international community can play in improving the situation in Gaza.
3. **Economic Concerns as a Priority:** The percentage that advocates for improving the economic conditions in Gaza reflects an urgent need for better living standards, showing that Palestinians are seeking tangible changes in their daily lives, not just political solutions.
4. **Ending Palestinian Division:** The support for restoring Palestinian Authority control in Gaza reflects a desire among some Palestinians to end the political division between Fatah and Hamas. This proposal is more prominent in Gaza (28.0%) compared to the West Bank (13.6%), suggesting that residents of Gaza, directly impacted by the current situation, are more inclined toward changing the internal political landscape.

Palestinians' Determination to Stay in Gaza:

In response to the question, "Do you think Palestinians in Gaza will choose to stay despite the difficult conditions?", the results were as follows:

- The majority of Palestinians, both in Gaza and the West Bank, believe that Gaza's residents will not abandon their land despite the harsh conditions. The proportion of those agreeing with this view was 56.1% in Gaza and 70.0% in the West Bank, with a total of 66.3% across the entire sample.
- However, a significant proportion of Gaza residents (36.6%) believe that some may seek to leave the Strip in search of better opportunities abroad, compared to 26.4% in the West Bank, reflecting the impact of difficult economic and social conditions on individual choices.
- On the other hand, 7.3% of participants in Gaza and 3.7% in the West Bank were unsure, indicating some uncertainty or ambiguity regarding the future of staying in the Strip.

These results reflect significant resilience among Palestinians in Gaza, but at the same time, they highlight the suffering of a large portion of the population considering emigration due to harsh living conditions. This reality underscores the urgent need to improve economic and social conditions in Gaza to ensure the stability of the population and prevent further emigration.

Handing Over Gaza's Governance to the Palestinian Authority:

In response to the question, "Do you support transferring Gaza's governance to the Palestinian Authority instead of Hamas?", the survey results showed a clear divide between Gaza residents and those in the West Bank regarding the future governance of Gaza:

- 62.5% of Gaza residents support transferring governance to the Palestinian Authority, reflecting a strong desire for change, likely due to the economic and political challenges faced under Hamas rule.
- In contrast, support for this idea in the West Bank is lower, at 26.2%, which may reflect differing perceptions of the Palestinian Authority's performance or varying political views between the West Bank and Gaza.

Divergent Views on Hamas and the Palestinian Authority:

- 47.5% of West Bank residents consider Hamas to represent Palestinian resistance, compared to only 17.7% in Gaza, indicating greater support for Hamas in the West Bank, perhaps due to geographical distance or differing political narratives.

- 20.9% of respondents across the sample see no difference between the Palestinian Authority and Hamas, reflecting a lack of trust in both parties or a belief that political change would be ineffective.
- 3.6% were undecided, indicating unclear public opinion on this matter.

Analysis of the Results: These results reflect substantial differences in how Gaza and West Bank residents assess governance in Gaza. While Gaza residents seem more inclined to seek political and administrative change through the return of the Palestinian Authority, those in the West Bank are more supportive of Hamas. This divergence may be linked to the differing lived experiences in each region and the influence of political and economic circumstances on citizens' opinions.

The Possibility of Expelling Palestinians from the West Bank:

In response to the question, "Do you expect the United States to push for the expulsion of Palestinians from the West Bank in the future?", the survey results revealed varying opinions between the residents of Gaza and the West Bank:

The survey showed that 34.9% of the Palestinian public believe that the United States may push for the expulsion of Palestinians from the West Bank, including 48.0% of residents of Gaza, compared to only 34.9% of residents of the West Bank who think so. This indicates that residents of Gaza are more skeptical of the U.S. intentions compared to those in the West Bank, possibly due to the harsh political and humanitarian conditions they experience, making them more sensitive to existential threats.

On the other hand, 43.5% reject this possibility, including 49.3% of residents of the West Bank, believing that expulsion is unlikely, which is a much higher percentage compared to Gaza (27.5%). This may reflect the belief among West Bank residents that the geopolitical situation there is relatively more stable or that there are obstacles preventing the implementation of such a scenario.

There was also a notable percentage of those uncertain of their response, with 24.5% in Gaza and 15.9% in the West Bank, indicating that a significant portion of Palestinians, especially in Gaza, are unsure about this matter. This uncertainty may be due to the political ambiguity and the lack of clarity regarding U.S. intentions toward Palestinians in the West Bank.

The results can be interpreted as suggesting that Gaza residents may be more pessimistic due to their ongoing sense of threat from the blockade and continuous security tensions, while West Bank residents may have more confidence that the international community will prevent their expulsion, or they perceive that the current situation does not indicate a move toward expulsion. The level of uncertainty reflects divisions in perspectives, possibly due to the lack of information regarding actual U.S. policies toward the Palestinian issue.

In general, there is clear concern among a large portion of Palestinians about the potential U.S. support for policies to expel Palestinians from the West Bank, with distinct differences in viewpoints between Gaza and the West Bank. A significant portion of Palestinians, especially in the West Bank, do not believe such a scenario is feasible, possibly reflecting a degree of reassurance or reliance on international and regional factors that may prevent its occurrence.

The Role of the International Community:

In response to the question, "Do you think the international community can play an important role in finding a fair solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?", the results showed differing opinions between Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank regarding the international community's ability to influence the resolution of the conflict:

54.6% of Gaza residents believe the international community can play an important role, compared to 48.2% in the West Bank, suggesting relatively more optimism among Gaza residents about the international role. This may be related to the Gaza residents' need for external intervention to end the blockade and improve their living conditions.

On the other hand, distrust in the international community is higher in the West Bank, with 39.4% answering "No," compared to 31.4% in Gaza. This could reflect frustration with past experiences or the belief that the solution should be local or regional rather than dependent on the international community.

The percentage of hesitant or uncertain responses was similar in both regions, with 13.9% in Gaza and 12.3% in the West Bank, reflecting a sense of doubt or lack of clarity among some respondents about the effectiveness of the international community in resolving the conflict.

The results reflect a division in views regarding the role of the international community, with Gaza residents more likely to believe in the value of international intervention, while West Bank residents are more skeptical. These differences may stem from varying priorities and political and economic conditions in each region, as well as historical experiences that have shaped Palestinians' views toward the international community and its institutions.

The Two-State Solution:

The survey results indicate a clear division in Palestinian views on the possibility of achieving a two-state solution in light of recent developments, with support and opposition figures closely aligned, and a notable percentage of the undecided:

The percentage of those who believe a two-state solution is still possible was 36.8%, including 40.0% of Gaza residents, while the percentage in the West Bank was similar at 35.6%. This

suggests that a portion of Palestinians still believes a two-state solution is achievable despite the political challenges and on-the-ground realities.

Conversely, 43.7% oppose the two-state solution, with a higher percentage in the West Bank (45.1%) compared to Gaza (40.0%). This may be linked to increased settlement expansion and political changes that have affected Palestinians' confidence in the feasibility of this solution.

The percentage of those uncertain about the viability of a two-state solution was 19.5% across both regions, with 20.0% in Gaza and 19.3% in the West Bank, reflecting uncertainty about the future of the conflict and potential solutions.

These results reflect a deep division in Palestinian public opinion on the possibility of a two-state solution, with a higher tendency in the West Bank to doubt its feasibility compared to Gaza. This could be related to field conditions such as settlement activity in the West Bank compared to the different geopolitical situation in Gaza. The high percentage of undecided respondents suggests ambiguity regarding future political solutions, pointing to a need for tangible developments to rebuild trust in the possibility of a two-state solution.

The Future of the Palestinian Cause:

In response to the question, "How do you view the future of the Palestinian cause in light of regional and international changes?", the results were as follows:

1. Pessimism about the future:

The largest percentage of respondents believe that the future of the Palestinian cause is heading "towards worse," with 57.5% of Gaza residents and 47.5% of West Bank residents agreeing. This reflects a widespread pessimistic outlook, influenced by regional political developments and challenges facing Palestinians, such as settlement expansion, normalization between some Arab countries and Israel, and changes in international policies toward the Palestinian issue.

2. Limited optimism:

Only 19.8% of Gaza residents and 17.3% of West Bank residents believe the situation could improve, reflecting a low level of confidence in the likelihood of significant positive changes in the near future. This suggests that Palestinians do not see current regional and international conditions as offering real opportunities for improvement.

3. Belief that things will remain the same:

Conversely, 29.4% of West Bank residents believe the situation will remain the same, compared to only 14.5% in Gaza. West Bank residents may feel that political changes will not significantly affect their daily lives, while Gaza residents, enduring a prolonged blockade and difficult humanitarian conditions, may feel more acutely the deterioration of the situation.

4. Uncertainty about the future:

The percentage of those unsure or unable to determine their stance was 8.2% in Gaza and 5.7% in the West Bank, reflecting uncertainty about the future course of the Palestinian cause due to changing political factors and the lack of clear solutions in sight.

It is notable that there is a generally pessimistic mood regarding the future of the Palestinian cause, particularly in Gaza, where people feel that conditions are worsening. A significant portion of Palestinians in the West Bank believe that the situation will remain unchanged, possibly due to their recognition of the difficulty in achieving political progress or meaningful change under current circumstances. Very few expect improvement, reflecting widespread frustration with the lack of effective solutions and the international community's retreat from supporting the Palestinian cause.

Overall Summary:

1. There is widespread concern about the proposal to expel Palestinians, with the majority believing it will negatively affect the political and security situation.
2. Most Palestinians believe that Egypt and Jordan will face international pressure to accept expulsion.
3. There is a division of opinion on whether Palestinians and Arab countries can prevent the implementation of such proposals.
4. Palestinians believe that Arab countries are not doing enough to support Gaza.
5. The primary objectives Palestinians believe the expulsion seeks to achieve are to impose a new reality favorable to Israel and eliminate Hamas.
6. The best solution to Gaza's problem, according to the majority, is the establishment of an independent Palestinian state or ending the blockade and improving economic conditions.
7. Despite harsh conditions, Palestinians in Gaza remain attached to their land, but a significant portion is looking for external opportunities.
8. There is increasing skepticism about the possibility of a two-state solution, particularly among West Bank residents.
9. The international community is still viewed as a potential factor for help but does not enjoy absolute trust.
10. General expectations regarding the future of the Palestinian cause are pessimistic, with a widespread belief that the situation is heading toward worsening.

In conclusion, this survey reflects deep concern among Palestinians about proposals to expel them, with most participants believing such measures would negatively impact regional political and security stability. There are expectations that neighboring countries will face international pressure to accept the plan, while views vary on whether Palestinians and Arab countries can prevent its implementation. As for the future of the Palestinian cause, the majority believe the situation will deteriorate in light of the ongoing regional and international developments.

Conclusions and Recommendations:

- The survey reveals broad rejection of the expulsion proposal, with deep awareness of its dangers to the future of the Palestinian cause.
- There is a growing call for enhanced diplomatic efforts and international awareness of the issue.
- The need to unify the Palestinian stance in facing any similar scenarios in the future is essential.
- These results highlight the importance of building a unified national vision to confront challenges and strengthening political and diplomatic efforts to garner international and regional support for Palestinians' position.

Final Notes:

- This survey was conducted according to the highest standards of scientific research.
- The results reflect the views of participants during the data collection period and may change over time.

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