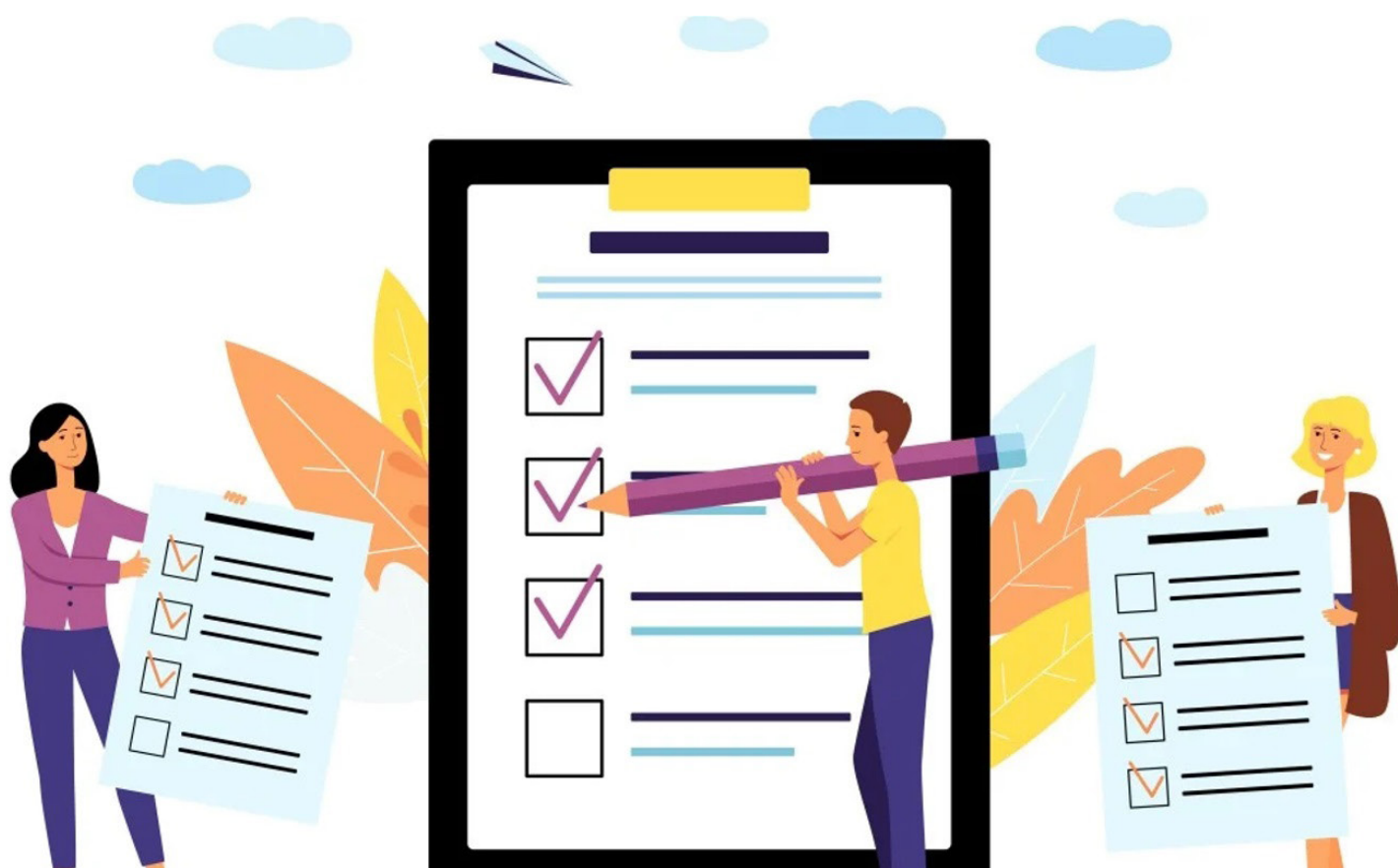




Survey on Palestinian Public Perceptions of 2024 Government Reform Priorities



2024



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**september
2024**



The Coalition for Accountability and Integrity (AMAN) is grateful to the Thabat Center for Survey Research and Polling for delivering this year's public survey. We are also indebted to our data analysis team, who supervised the survey, analyzed the data, derived insights, and contextualized the findings within the broader dynamics of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

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Executive Summary

As part of its ongoing efforts to monitor the government reforms introduced by the nineteenth Palestinian government, The Coalition for Accountability and Integrity (AMAN) conducted a public survey across the West Bank—including Jerusalem—and the Gaza Strip. Conducted between September 1 and 12, 2024, the survey gauged public attitudes and perspectives regarding the 2024 Government Reform Agenda¹.

The opinions and perspectives expressed in this survey may not align with the findings of other public surveys on reform conducted under different contexts and purposes. The scope and questions target public sentiment concerning the unique post–October 7 2023 political landscape and are confined to the 2024 Government Reform Program led by Prime Minister Mohammad Mustafa. Therefore, any similarities with other survey results do not imply uniformity across all contexts. Made amid the ongoing war on the Gaza Strip, the survey accounts for the sui generis reality in Gaza. These dynamics have led to shifts in the sentiment and opinions of displaced citizens, who are bleeding and struggling across displacement camps. Evident in respondents' perspectives and priorities, these changes remain challenging to interpret.

Given this context, it is imperative to consider the timing of government formation amid internal and external challenges. Although a reform program was announced, it is evident that this government—like its predecessors—lacks the power to bring its declared agenda to fruition. This limitation arises from the absence of a legislative council, which places all powers, decisions, and responsibilities in the president's hands, leaving the government without the plenary power to act and deliver across all sectors.

This executive summary presents the analyses and concerns voiced by the respondents concerning government reform priorities.

1. Public Knowledge of the Prime Minister's Government Reform Program

According to the survey results:

- Nearly two-thirds of citizens (64 percent) either did not know about the government reform program led by Dr. Mohammad Mustafa or did not review it.
- Only 22 percent of respondents reported knowing about the government reform program.

When asked about the sources through which they learned about the reform program, respondents provided the following responses:

Source	Respondents in occupied Palestinian territory (oPt) (%)
Social media	38
Local radio	18
Friends and acquaintances	18
Official media	13
Cabinet	7
International news	6

¹ AMAN contracted Thabat Center for Survey Research and Polling, a specialized research organization to conduct the survey according to the established standards and guidelines for statistical surveys.

2. Drivers of Reform

When asked about the catalysts for the government's reform, respondents identified a set of motives as follows:

Drivers	Respondents in oPt (%)
International pressure and national necessity	40
International pressure	29
National necessity	21
Other	—
Do not know/prefer not to answer	9

3. Reform Priority Areas

The survey asked respondents to rank various reform areas by importance. The results are as follows:

Reform Areas	Respondents in oPt (%)
Financial and administrative governance of government institutions	24
National political division	22
Combating corruption	20
Security sector and public resistance to occupation	19
Democratic processes (presidential and legislative elections)	14

While these figures represent average priorities across the West Bank and Gaza Strip, it is insightful to highlight regional differences. In Gaza, the top priority is ending the national political schism, with 41 percent of respondents indicating this as their top concern, compared to 20 percent in the West Bank. In the West Bank, combating corruption ranked first with 25 percent of respondents, whereas in Gaza, only 16 percent ranked it as their top priority.

4. Public Service Reform Priorities

The survey assessed the public perceptions and opinions concerning public service reform priorities by ranking them from the most to the least important. The findings are as follows:

Public Service Reform Priorities	Respondents in oPt (%)
Judicial/court services (justice)	22
Education	20
Healthcare	20
Security	15
Social protection, including social security	11
Infrastructure and municipal services	11

In the West Bank, 23 percent of respondents prioritized judicial and court service reforming. In Gaza, however, the focus shifts to enhancing security services, with 23 percent citing public safety and protection as the top priority.

These figures reflect the macabre conditions in Gaza, where the ongoing genocide has heightened the vital urgency for security and protection.

5. Administrative and Institutional Reform Priorities

According to survey findings, citizens prioritized administrative and institutional reform areas, from most to least important, as follows:

Administrative and Institutional Reform Priorities	Respondents in oPt (%)
Public, civil, security, and diplomatic appointments	31
Independence and effectiveness of oversight institutions	26
Unification of state institutions across the West Bank and Gaza Strip	24
Structural Consolidation and Agility of Civil and Security Forces (as needed)	20

The data indicate varying reform priorities between the West Bank and Gaza in this area. In the West Bank, 40 percent of respondents prioritized reforming the public, civil, security, and diplomatic appointment system. In contrast, 48 percent of respondents in Gaza emphasized the unification of state institutions across the West Bank and Gaza.

6. Transparency Enhancement

On citizens' priorities for enhancing transparency in government practices and institutions, the survey results show the following ranking, based on the average of the top three priority areas:

Transparency Enhancement Priorities by Significance	Respondents in oPt (%)
Public media governance (e.g., Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation, Voice of Palestine, Palestinian News & Information Agency-WAFA)	24
Government expenditure and revenue	20
Government communication and engagement with citizens	19
Public access to information (endorsement of the Right to Information bill)	19
Licensure, permits, grants, and aid delivery and distribution	18

According to citizens, the primary priorities for enhancing transparency are as follows:

Transparency Enhancement Primary Priorities	Respondents in oPt (%)
Government expenditure and revenue	24
Public media governance (e.g., Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation, Voice of Palestine, Palestinian News & Information Agency-WAFA)	20
Licensure, permits, grants, and aid delivery and distribution	20
Public access to information (endorsement of the Right to Information bill)	19
Government communication and engagement with citizens	17

In terms of transparency enhancement priority areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the survey reveals the following:

In the West Bank, the top priority for transparency is government expenditure and revenue management, cited by 26 percent of respondents. In Gaza, the highest priority centers on transparency in the issuance of licenses, permits, grants, and aid, also at 26 percent.

7. Financial Reform Priorities Aligned with Citizens' Economic Needs

The survey identified the financial reform priorities that citizens consider critical to address. Based on the average ranking of the top three priorities, the findings are as follows:

Financial Reform Priorities	Respondents in oPt (%)
Public personnel salary crisis	25
Inflation and Rising Cost of Living	22
Financial Assistance Programs for Low-Income and Poor Citizens	13
Public service fee review	11
Unpaid Water and Electricity Bills due to Economic Hardship	11
Medical Referrals (which cost the public treasury over ILS 1 billion/year)	10
Tax System Reform for Better Alignment with Social Equity	9

When it comes to financial reform, the survey reveals that 34 percent of Palestinian respondents place the highest priority on addressing the ongoing public sector salary crisis. Another 26 percent consider tackling the soaring cost of living and rising consumer prices to be crucial. The remaining areas of priority received less than 10 percent.

In the West Bank, 41 percent of respondents view the resolution of the public sector salary crisis as the top priority for financial reform. Meanwhile, in Gaza, 27 percent of respondents highlight the need to mitigate the burden of increasing living costs and consumer expenses.

The prominence given to the cost-of-living crisis and consumer prices in Gaza speaks to the profound challenges facing the region—ongoing genocide, starvation, and a context shaped by the exploitation of such dire circumstances. This indicates that the indicator results reflect the reality on the ground.

8. Priority Reform Key Actors

Survey respondents were asked which entities they believe are responsible for driving reforms. The results were as follows:

Actor/Agency	Respondents in oPt (%)
Government	37
Presidency	23
Security Forces	15
National intersectoral committee	25

9. Key Reform Challenges

The survey identified several impediments to reform. These challenges were ranked by significance, based on the average of the top three priorities, as follows:

Key Challenges	Respondents in oPt (%)
Israeli occupation	23
Division between West Bank and Gaza	20
Corruption	19
Lack of genuine political will and commitment to reform	12
Exclusively government-led reform, missing an inclusive, participatory, multistakeholder approach	9
Palestinian Authority's financial crisis	9
Lack of an active legislative council	8

The survey results underscore that Palestinian citizens across the oPt consider the Israeli occupation to be the most significant block to reform, cited by 28 percent of respondents. This is followed by internal divisions, at 19 percent, and corruption, at 17 percent.

In the West Bank, respondents likewise marked the Israeli occupation as the principal obstacle, with 26 percent naming it as the foremost challenge. In Gaza, both the Israeli occupation and national division emerged as equally pressing barriers, with each cited by 31 percent of respondents.

10. Government's Commitment to Reform

The survey assessed public perception of the government's commitment to reform, with results indicating the following:

Government's Reform Commitment	Respondents in oPt (%)
Not serious	51
Serious to a certain extent	33
Serious	9
I do not know/prefer not to answer	8

The survey results reveal differing perspectives between the West Bank and Gaza Strip on the government's commitment to reform. In the West Bank, a notable 66 percent of respondents perceive the government as lacking seriousness in its reform efforts, with only 21 percent indicating a partial commitment. Conversely, in Gaza, 51 percent view the government as somewhat committed to reform, while 28 percent believe it is not serious in its approach.

11. Government's Capacity to Reform

The survey assessed public perceptions about the government's capacity to carry out reforms, with the results as follows:

Government's Capacity to Reform	Respondents in oPt (%)
Not capable	38
Somewhat capable	34
Fully capable	23
Unsure/Prefer not to answer	6

As the survey results show, 24 percent of Gaza residents perceive the government as incapable of implementing reforms, while 51 percent believe it has a limited capacity to do so. In contrast, 47 percent of West Bank respondents believe that the government lacks the capability to implement reforms, with 22 percent considering it somewhat capable.

Introduction

In its concerted efforts to monitor the government reform agenda initiated by the nineteenth Palestinian government, the Coalition for Accountability and Integrity (AMAN) conducted a public opinion survey across the West Bank (including Jerusalem) and the Gaza Strip. The survey aimed to assess the attitudes, positions, and opinions of Palestinian members of the public.

To inform its interventions, AMAN engaged the Thabat Center for Survey Research and Polling to carry out the Survey on Palestinian Public Perceptions of 2024 Government Reform Priorities. The center conducted the survey and performed the field research in the West Bank (including Jerusalem) and Gaza Strip between September 1 and 12, 2024.

The survey sampled 1,400 individuals aged 18 and above, with 800 participants from the West Bank (including Jerusalem) and 600 from the Gaza Strip. The results carry a margin of error of ± 3 percent. All interviews were conducted in person at respondents' homes.

Methodology

1. Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire was developed at the start of the survey process in collaboration with AMAN, incorporating all questions necessary to meet the survey's objectives.

2. Sample Selection

The occupied Palestinian territory (oPt) is divided into strata of towns, cities, villages, and refugee camps across sixteen governorates. It is also subdivided into enumeration areas or clusters, each containing 80 to 160 households. The 2017 census provides detailed household data and maps marking every household within each cluster, with the oPt comprising a total of 7,294 clusters.

A random sample of eighty clusters was selected using the probability proportional to size method. Clusters were organized by size (i.e., number of households) to ensure representation across strata and clusters of various sizes. In Gaza, given the war conditions, thirty clusters were selected using a specialized methodology tailored to such circumstances, with twenty interviews conducted in each cluster, as detailed in the following sections.

West Bank

In the West Bank, fifty enumeration areas were chosen, with sixteen households systematically selected from each cluster. The total sample size was 1,400 households. Sampling was conducted in homes, tents, or shelters. Using the Kish grid, field researchers selected one adult (18 years or older) from among the household members for interviewing. All interviews were conducted face-to-face, and data was collected via tablets or paper questionnaires.

Gaza Strip

Thirty clusters were selected from the populations of Deir al-Balah, Khan Younis, and those displaced from northern Gaza, Rafah, and Gaza City and forcibly relocated to these areas under the dictates of the Israeli occupation forces.

These clusters were categorized either as enumeration areas, according to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) (notably in Khan Younis and parts of Deir al-Balah), or as displaced camps and shelters in government or Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees

in the Near East (UNRWA) schools or facilities. In some cases, the clusters consisted of tented communities scattered across areas like Deir al-Balah and Mawasi Khan Younis according to the following methodology:

1. In shelters, a systematic random sample was drawn from lists of residents at these locations, which covered all shelters in Deir al-Balah and Mawasi Khan Younis. These areas constituted ten clusters, including displacement camps and shelters.
2. In the enumeration areas designated by the PCBS, eight areas were included.
3. Additional enumeration areas were identified, including tented communities in Khan Younis and Deir al-Balah. These areas were mapped to determine their locations and divided into blocks, with twelve blocks being selected for interviews.

In each shelter, enumeration area, or tented community, twenty individuals were systematically and randomly selected for interviews.

3. Data Collection

Experienced field researchers conducted the face-to-face interviews. These researchers participated in specialized training sessions—some conducted in person and others remotely via phone—to review the survey's objectives, methodology, and questionnaire.

Data was collected using tablets equipped with a custom-built application for the questionnaire. This method adhered to strict quality control standards, enabling real-time monitoring and field supervision.

Questionnaire Pilot Testing

A pilot test of the questionnaire was conducted with a sample of thirty-six individuals: sixteen from the West Bank and twenty from the Gaza Strip. The test aimed to validate the questionnaire and ensure participants could understand the questions and response options. This process allowed for necessary adjustments before finalizing the questionnaire. It was also reviewed for internal consistency and reliability using Cronbach's alpha coefficient.

Researcher Training

To ensure the success of the survey, the Thabat Center (from now on, "the center"), in collaboration with AMAN, delivered specialized training workshops for field researchers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. These sessions provided comprehensive instruction on the survey's methodology, sampling, questionnaire design, interview techniques, and the use of tablets and the electronic questionnaire.

Monitoring and Follow-Up

The center deployed two levels of monitoring during the survey:

1. Field monitoring: Field coordinators and supervisors closely monitored the research team's activities, maintaining regular communication with researchers to ensure smooth operations, proper compliance with interview procedures, and prompt resolution of any issues. Further, the field research team submitted daily reports on their activities and any issues that emerged along the way.
2. Desk Monitoring: Desk monitoring includes the following tools:
 - a. Verification Calls: The center conducted random phone calls to survey participants to validate reported progress and interviews.
 - b. Desk Review: Completed questionnaires were desk reviewed to verify responses, ensure proper transitions among questions, and validate collected data. This process included monitoring the electronic questionnaires and tracking the movements of field researchers.

- c. Questionnaire Application: A custom electronic questionnaire system was designed with built-in controls and parameters to identify issues in real time, ensuring they were addressed promptly during fieldwork. The system also allowed for live monitoring of researchers' activities and confirmed their presence in the field.

Data Analysis

The data were analyzed via the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software upon comprehensive review and processing.

Survey on Palestinian Public Perceptions of 2024 Government Reform Priorities: Results

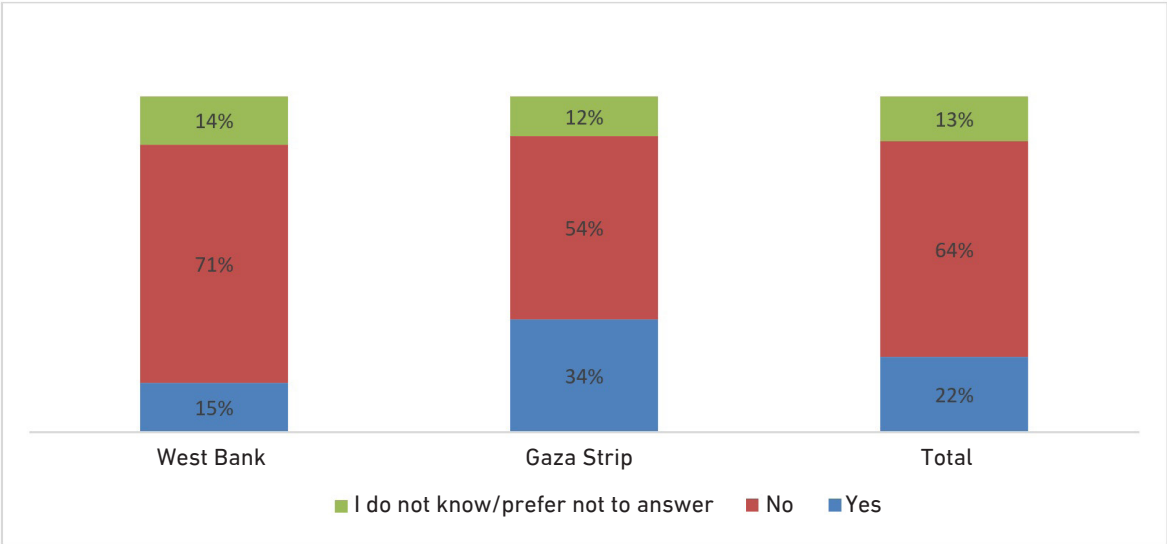
1. Public Knowledge of the Prime Minister’s Government Reform Program

Survey results indicate that 64 percent of respondents were unaware of the government reform program led by Prime Minister Mohammad Mustafa. Only 22 percent reported being aware of it. For further details, refer to Table 1 and Figure 1 below:

Table 1: Public knowledge of the Prime Minister’s government reform program

	West Bank (%)	Gaza Strip (%)	oPt (%)
Yes	15	34	22
No	71	54	64
Do not know/prefer not to answer	14	12	13

Figure 1: Public knowledge of the Prime Minister’s government reform program



Awareness levels are significantly lower in the southern West Bank, where 78 percent of respondents reported being unaware of the program, followed by 75 percent in the northern West Bank and 57 percent in the central West Bank. Women were less likely to be aware than men (68 percent versus 61 percent). This knowledge was also lower among those with less education (69 percent) compared to those with higher levels of education (63 percent). Employment status also influenced awareness levels: 69 percent of unemployed individuals reported being unaware of the program, compared to 58 percent of employed individuals. Among those employed, awareness was lower in the private sector (63 percent) than in the nongovernmental (NGO) sector (36 percent) and public sector (57 percent).

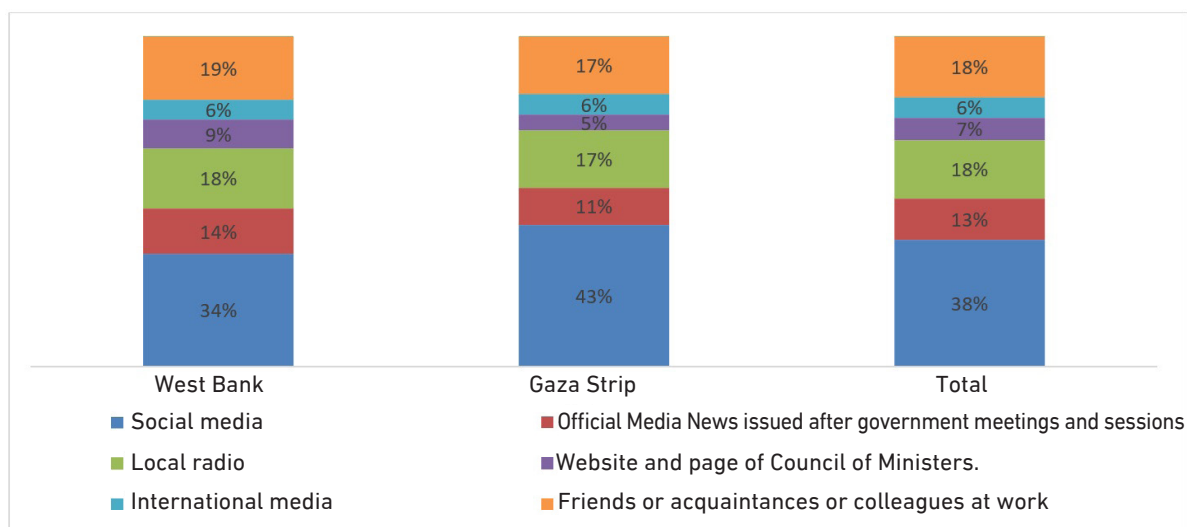
Sources of Information on the Government Reform Program

Respondents who were aware of the government reform program were asked about the source of their knowledge. Social media emerged as the most cited source, mentioned by 38 percent of respondents (34 in the West Bank and 43 percent in the Gaza Strip). Local radio and friends or acquaintances were each identified by 18 percent. Official media accounted for 13 percent, followed by the Prime Minister's Office website and social media page at 7 percent and international news at 6 percent. For further details, refer to Table 2 and Figure 2 below:

Table 2: Sources of information on the government reform program

	West Bank (%)	Gaza Strip (%)	oPt (%)
Social media	34	43	38
Official media (news released following government meetings and sessions)	14	11	13
Local radio stations	18	17	18
The Prime Minister's Office website and social media page	9	5	7
International news	6	6	6
Friends, acquaintances, or colleagues	19	17	18

Figure 2: Sources of information on the government reform program



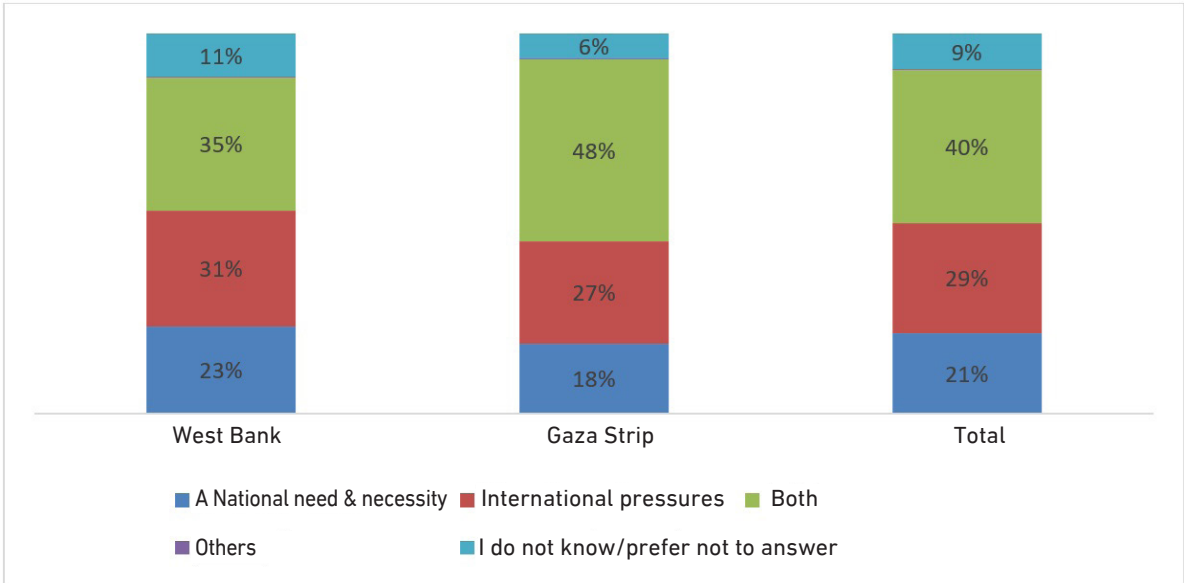
2. Drivers of Reform

The survey explored respondents' opinions concerning the primary reasons behind the government's decision to implement the reform program. As the figures stand, 29 percent of respondents cited international pressure as the main driver, while 21 percent pointed to national necessities. A majority, 40 percent, believed that both factors contributed. For further details, refer to Table 3 and Figure 3 below:

Table 3: Drivers of government's reforms

	West Bank (%)	Gaza Strip (%)	oPt (%)
National necessity	23	18	21
International pressure	31	27	29
Both	35	48	40
Other			
Do not know/prefer not to answer	11	6	9

Figure 3: Drivers of government's reforms



The perception that international pressure is the main driver of reform is notably higher in the central West Bank, where 49 percent of respondents held this position, compared to 28 percent in the southern West Bank and 21 percent in the northern West Bank. This perspective is also more prevalent among employed respondents (32 percent) than unemployed respondents (27 percent), among private sector employees (34 percent) compared to public sector employees (27 percent)—and among higher-income respondents (40 percent) compared to lower-income respondents (27 percent).

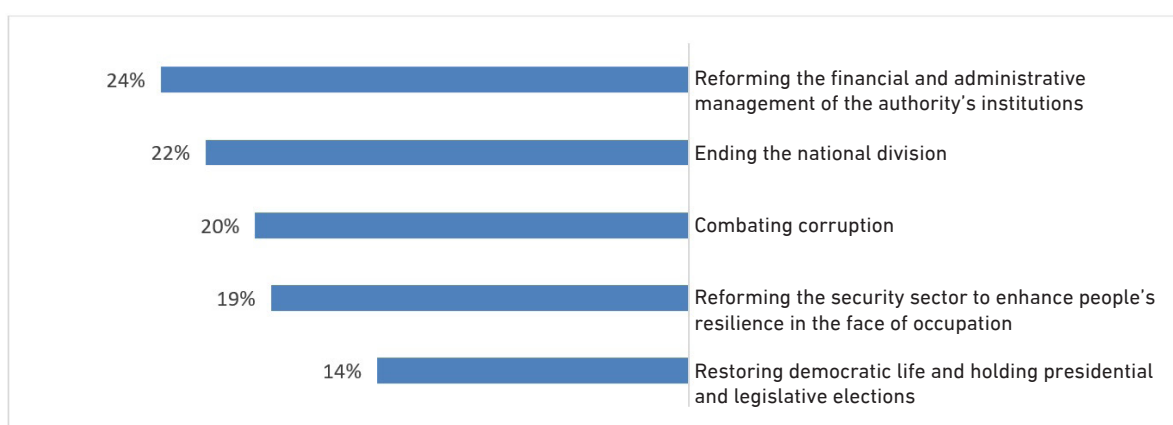
3. Reform Priority Areas

In the survey, respondents were asked to prioritize various reform areas based on their significance. To provide a deeper understanding of these priorities, the average of the top three reform priority areas was calculated. The average rankings of the top three priorities reveal that financial and administrative governance of government institutions ranks highest (24 percent), followed by the need to end the national political division (22 percent), combating corruption (20 percent), security sector reforms to strengthen public resilience against the Israeli occupation (19 percent), and restoration of democratic processes through presidential and legislative elections (14 percent). For more details, see Table 4 and Figure 4 below.

Table 4: Top priority areas by the average of the first three priorities

	1st Priority (%)	2nd Priority (%)	3rd Priority (%)	Average (%)
Financial and administrative governance of government institutions	15	25	32	24
National political division	29	19	19	22
Combating corruption	21	22	17	20
Security sector and public resistance to occupation	18	20	19	19
Democratic processes (presidential and legislative elections)	16	14	12	14

Figure 4: Top priority areas by the average of the first three priorities

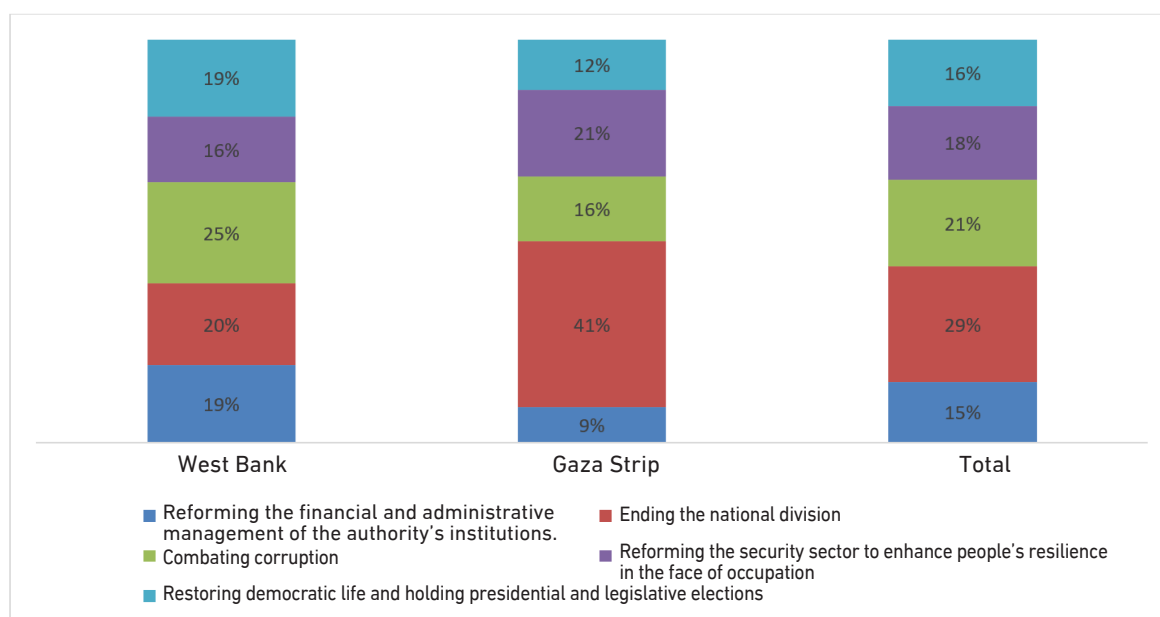


When asked about their top reform priority, respondents selected the end of the national division at a rate of 29 percent, with this priority ranking significantly higher in the Gaza Strip at 41 percent, compared to 20 percent in the West Bank. In the West Bank, the largest percentage (25 percent) chose combating corruption as their top priority. For further details, refer to Table 5 and Figure 5 below:

Table 5: Key reform areas according to the members of the public

	West Bank (%)	Gaza Strip (%)	oPt (%)
Financial and administrative governance of government institutions	19	9	15
National political division	20	41	29
Combating corruption	25	16	21
Security sector and public resistance to occupation	16	21	18
Democratic processes (presidential and legislative elections)	19	12	16

Figure 5: Key reform areas according to the members of the public



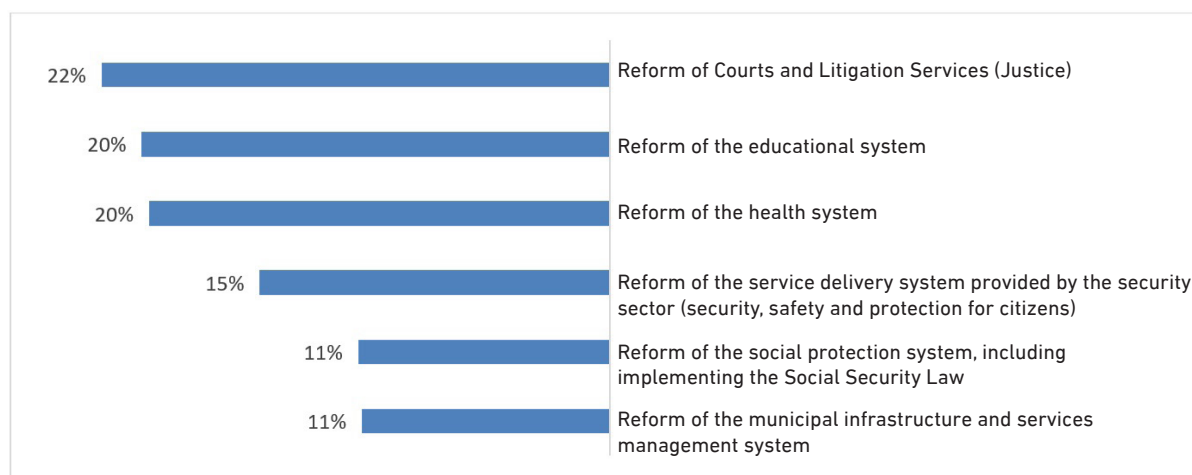
4. Public Service Reform Priorities

The survey also explored citizens' priorities for public service delivery reforms, asking respondents to rank a selection of services from most to least important. Results reveal that judicial and court services (justice) hold the highest average priority at 22 percent, followed by the educational and healthcare systems at 20 percent each. Security sector services (public safety and protection) rank next at 15 percent, followed by the social protection system, including the implementation of the Social Security Law, and infrastructure and municipal services management, each at 11 percent. For more details, see Table 6 and Figure 6 below:

Table 6: Public service reform priorities by the average the top three priorities

	1st Priority (%)	2nd Priority (%)	3rd Priority (%)	Average (%)
Judicial/court services (justice)	19	23	24	22
Education	20	21	21	20
Healthcare	17	24	20	20
Security sector services (public safety and protection)	20	12	13	15
Social protection system, including the approval and enforcement of the Social Security Law	12	11	10	11
Infrastructure and municipal services	12	8	12	11

Figure 6: Public service reform priorities by average the top three priorities

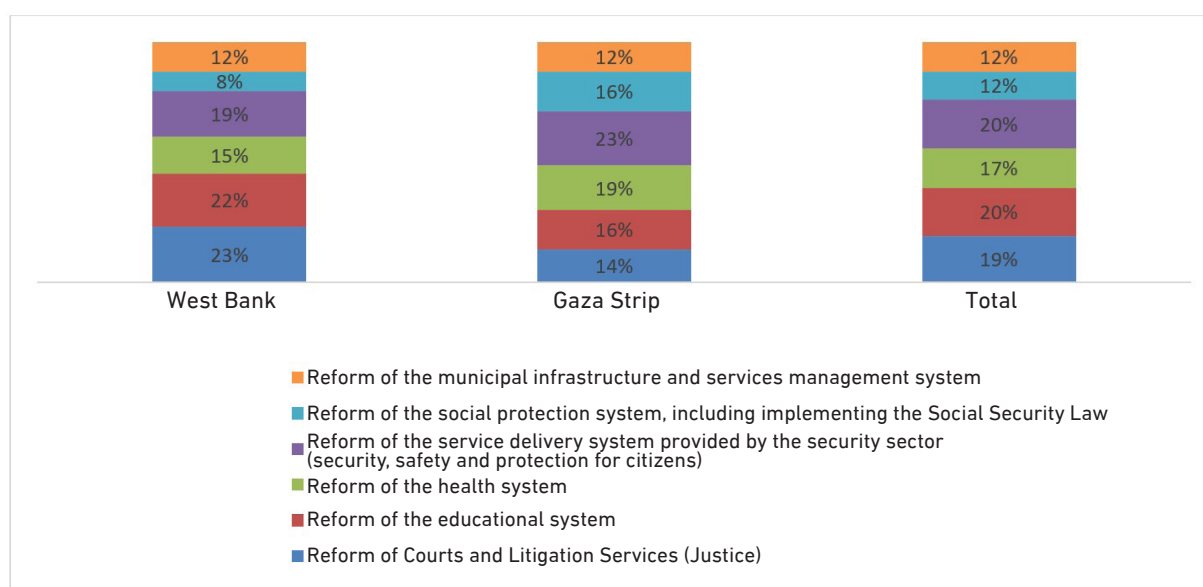


When respondents were asked to identify their highest priority for public service reform, the results varied between regions. In the West Bank, judicial and court services (justice) emerge as the top priority at 23 percent. In the Gaza Strip, security sector services (public safety and protection) rank first, also at 23 percent. For more details, see Table 7 and Figure 7 below:

Table 7: Key public service reform areas by top priority according to citizens

	West Bank (%)	Gaza Strip (%)	oPt (%)
Education	22	16	20
Security	19	23	20
Judicial/court services (justice)	23	14	19
Healthcare	15	19	17
Social protection, including the approval and enforcement of the Social Security Law	8	16	12
Infrastructure and municipal services	12	12	12

Figure 7: Key public service reform areas by top priority according to citizens



5. Administrative and Institutional Reform Priorities

The survey also explored citizens' priorities for administrative and institutional reform, asking respondents to rank a set of reforms from most to least important. The public, civil, security, and diplomatic appointment system has the highest average priority at 31 percent. This priority is followed by the independence and effectiveness of oversight institutions at 26 percent, unification of state institutions across the West Bank and Gaza at 24 percent, and civil and security institutional restructuring and rationalizing (as needed) at 20 percent. For further details, refer to Table 8 and Figure 8 below:

Table 8: Administrative and institutional reform priorities by the average of the first three priorities

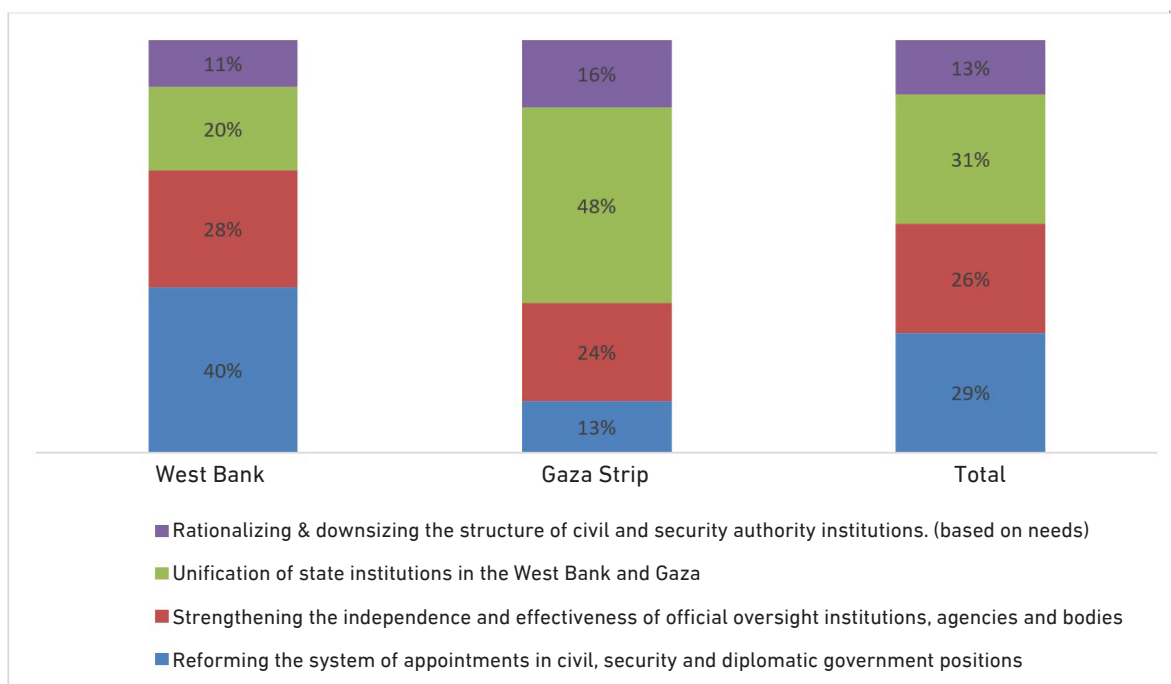
	1st Priority (%)	2nd Priority (%)	3rd Priority (%)	Average (%)
Public, civil, security, and diplomatic appointments	29	37	26	31
Independence and effectiveness of oversight institutions	26	27	23	26
Unification of state institutions across the West Bank and Gaza Strip	31	17	23	24
Structural consolidation and agility of civil and security forces (as needed)	13	18	28	20

Survey findings indicate that the unification of state institutions in the West Bank and Gaza emerges as the top priority for 31 percent of respondents, followed by reforming the appointment system for civil, security, and diplomatic positions at 29 percent. Strengthening the independence and effectiveness of oversight institutions is identified by 26 percent, while the restructuring and rationalization of the civil and security institutional framework (as needed) is prioritized by 13 percent. In Gaza, institutional unification leads with 48 percent, whereas in the West Bank, the appointment system for civil, security, and diplomatic positions takes precedence with 40 percent. For more details, refer to Table 9 and Figure 9 below:

Table 9: Priority administrative and institutional reform areas according to citizens

	West Bank (%)	Gaza Strip (%)	oPt (%)
Unification of state institutions across the West Bank and Gaza Strip	20	48	31
Public, civil, security, and diplomatic appointments	40	13	29
Independence and effectiveness of oversight institutions	28	24	26
Structural consolidation and agility of civil and security forces (as needed)	11	16	13

Figure 9: Priority administrative and institutional reform areas according to citizens



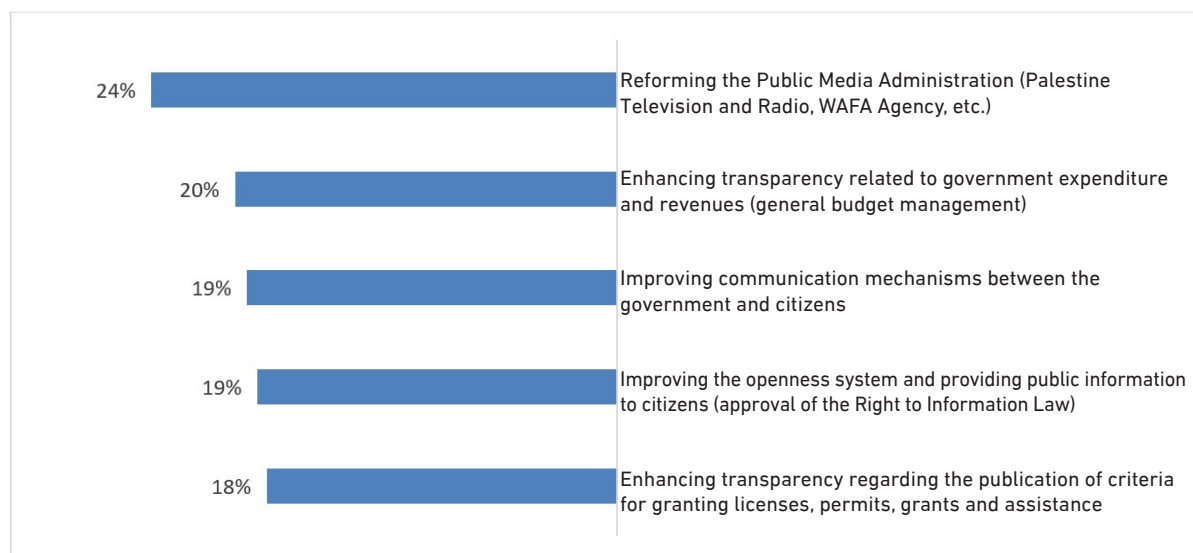
6. Transparency Priorities

Assessing citizens' priorities for improving government practices and institutional reforms to enhance transparency, the survey asked respondents to rank a range of areas by importance. Public media governance (e.g., Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation, Voice of Palestine, Palestinian News & Information Agency-WAFA) emerges as the highest priority, with an average ranking of 24 percent. This priority area is followed by transparency of government expenditure and revenue (budget management), improved government communication and engagement with citizens, and public access to information (endorsement of the Right to Information bill). Transparency of licensure, permits, grants, and aid distribution ranked last at 18 percent. For further details, see Table 10 and Figure 10 below:

Table 10: Transparency enhancement priorities by the average of the first three priorities

	1st Priority (%)	2nd Priority (%)	3rd Priority (%)	Average (%)
Public media governance (e.g., Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation, Voice of Palestine, Palestinian News & Information Agency-WAFA)	20	27	26	24
Government expenditure and revenue (budget management)	24	20	15	20
Government communication and engagement with citizens	17	19	21	19
Public access to information (endorsement of the Right to Information bill)	19	15	22	19
Transparency of licensure, permits, grants, and aid distribution	20	18	16	18

Figure 10: Transparency enhancement priorities by the average of the first three priorities



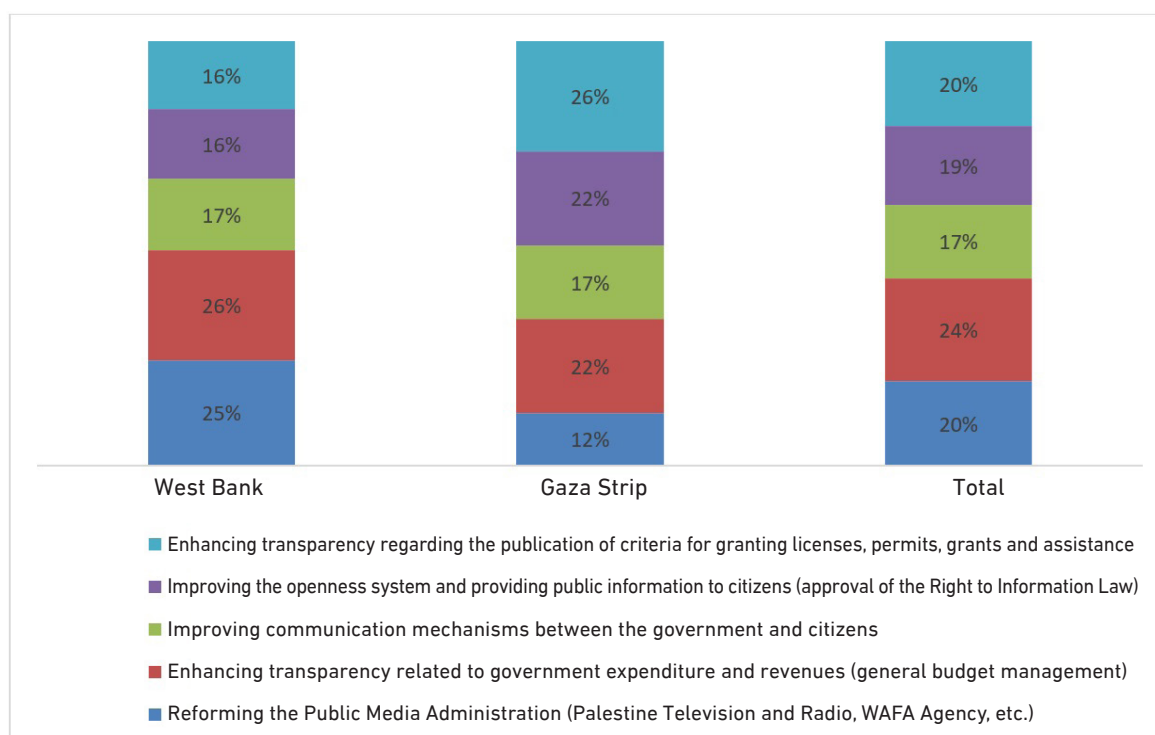
Notably, the top priority identified by respondents is the transparency of government expenditure and revenue (budget management), with 24 percent selecting this as their first choice. Public media governance (e.g., Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation, Voice of Palestine, Palestinian News & Information Agency-WAFA) and transparency of licensure, permits, grants, and aid distribution follow, each at 20 percent. The enhancement of public access to information (endorsement of the Right to Information bill) ranks next at 19 percent, and the improvement of government communication and engagement with citizens follows at 17 percent.

In the West Bank, the top priority is the transparency of government expenditure and revenue (budget management) at 26 percent, followed by public media governance at 25 percent and public access to information at 16 percent. In the Gaza Strip, transparency of licensure, permits, grants, and aid distribution ranks first at 26 percent, followed by transparency of government expenditure and revenue (budget management). For further details, see Table 11 and Figure 11 below:

Table 11: Transparency enhancement priorities according to citizens

	West Bank (%)	Gaza Strip (%)	oPt (%)
Government expenditure and revenue (general budget management)	26	22	24
Public media governance (e.g., Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation, Voice of Palestine, Palestinian News & Information Agency-WAFA)	25	12	20
Transparency of licensure, permits, grants, and aid distribution	16	26	20
Public access to information (endorsement of the Right to Information bill)	16	22	19
Government communication and engagement with citizens	17	17	17

Figure 11: Transparency enhancement priorities according to citizens



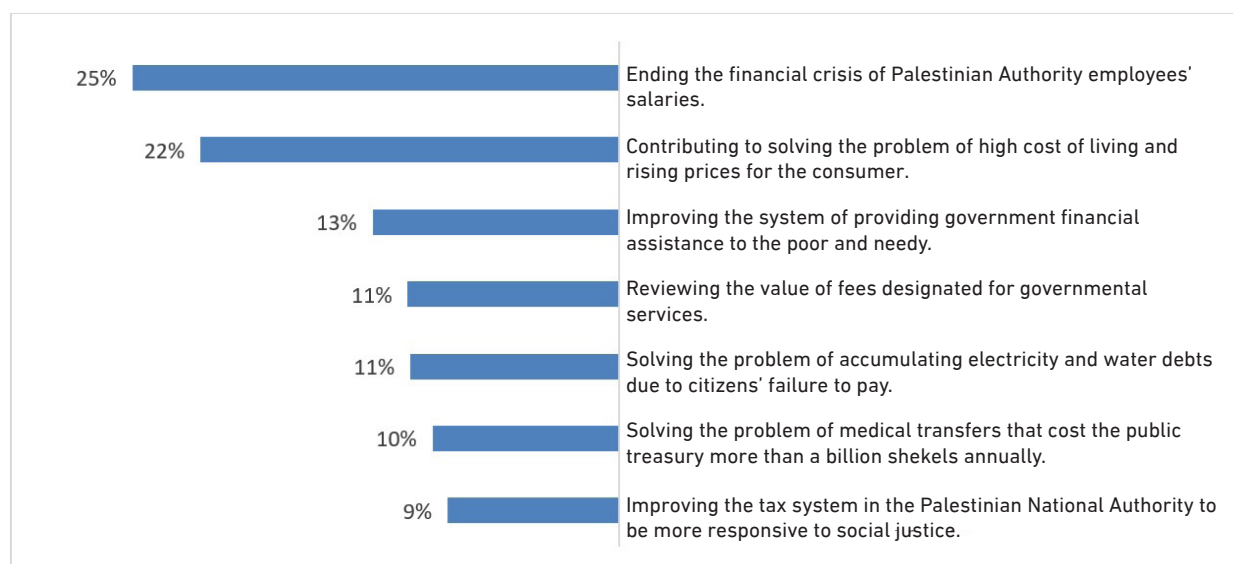
7. Financial Priorities

Designed to examine citizens' financial priorities, the survey asked the respondents to rank various areas by importance. The public sector salary crisis emerges as the highest priority, with 25 percent of respondents selecting it as their top concern. This priority is followed by the rising cost of living and consumer prices at 22 percent and the improvement of government financial assistance programs for low-income and poor citizens at 13 percent. Other areas combined constitute the remaining 23 percent. For more details, refer to Table 12 and Figure 12 below:

Table 12: Financial reform priorities by the average of the first three areas

	1st Priority (%)	2nd Priority (%)	3rd Priority (%)	Average (%)
Public personnel salary crisis	34	25	17	25
Inflation and rising cost of living	26	25	14	22
Financial assistance programs for low-income and poor citizens	9	14	15	13
Public service fee review	7	11	15	11
Unpaid water and electricity bills due to economic hardship	6	9	18	11
Medical referrals (which cost the public treasury over ILS 1 billion annually)	9	10	10	10
Tax system reform for better alignment with social equity	8	6	13	9

Figure 12: Financial reform priorities by the average of the first three areas



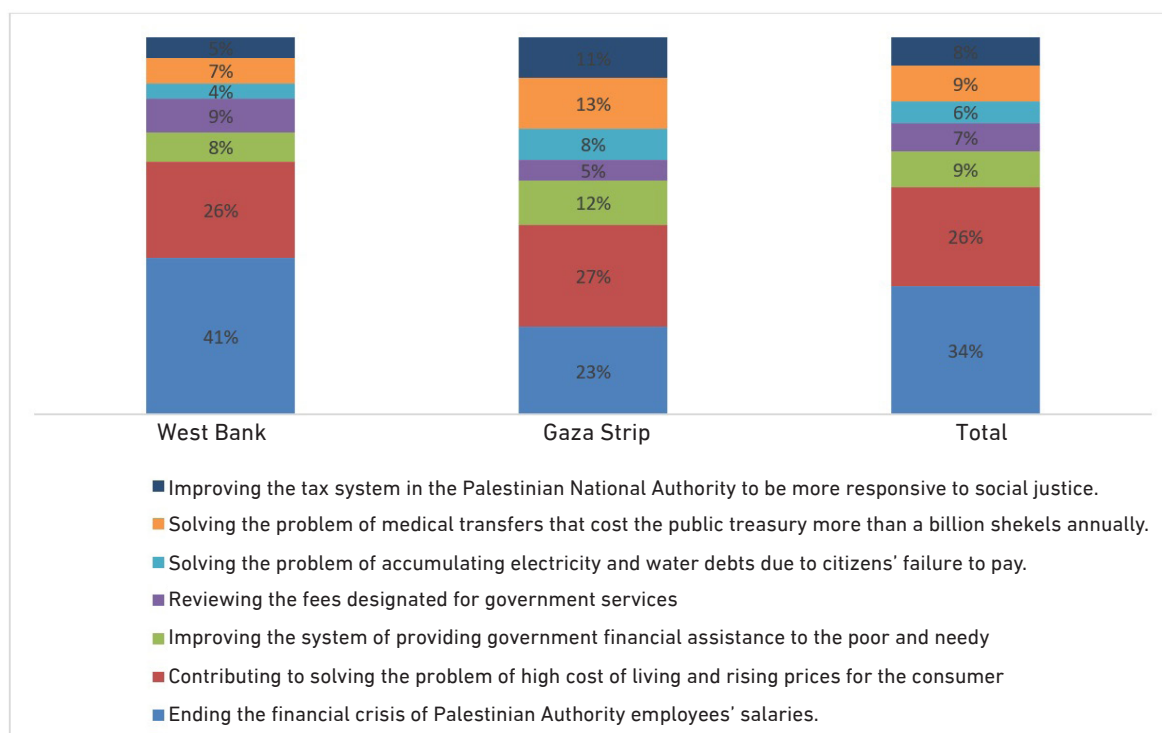
The most pressing financial concern for Palestinian citizens was the public sector salary crisis, selected by 34 percent of respondents. Addressing the rising cost of living and consumer prices ranked second at 26 percent, while all other areas received less than 10 percent.

In the West Bank, the public sector salary crisis is identified as the top financial priority by 41 percent of respondents. This concern is followed by the rising cost of living and consumer prices, selected by 26 percent, while the remaining areas account for less than 10 percent. In the Gaza Strip, the rising cost of living and consumer prices ranked first, with 27 percent of respondents selecting it as their top priority. This is matched by the public sector salary crisis, also at 23 percent. Other priorities in Gaza—including mitigating the high cost of medical referrals, which burden the public treasury with over ILS 1 billion per annum, at 13 percent, and enhancing government financial assistance programs for low-income and poor citizens—stood at 12 percent. For further details, see Table 13 and Figure 13 below:

Table 13: Top financial reform priorities according to citizens

	West Bank (%)	Gaza Strip (%)	oPt (%)
Public personnel salary crisis	41	23	34
Inflation and rising cost of living	26	27	26
Financial assistance programs for low-income and poor citizens	8	12	9
Public service fee review	9	5	7
Unpaid water and electricity bills due to economic hardship	4	8	6
Medical referrals (which cost the public treasury over ILS 1 billion annually)	7	13	9
Tax system reform for better alignment with social equity	5	11	8

Figure 13: Top financial reform priorities according to citizens



8. Priority Reform Key Actors

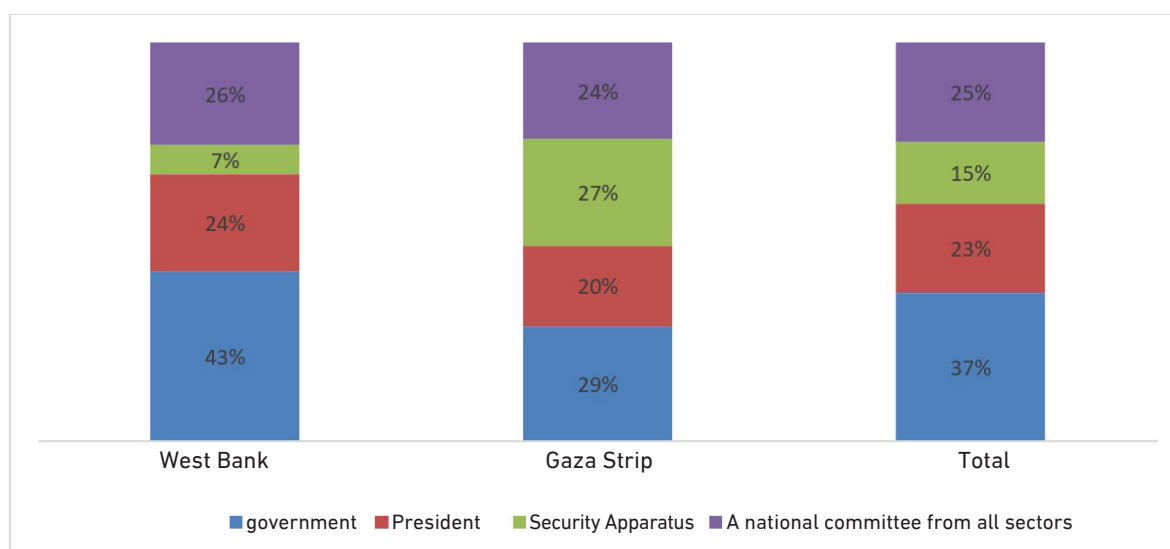
The survey explored citizens' perspectives on which stakeholders should be responsible for driving the reform process. A majority of respondents (37 percent) identify the government as the primary actor. Another 25 percent suggest a national intersectoral committee, while 23 percent pointed to the president's office. The remaining 15 percent believed the responsibility should lie with the security forces.

There is broad consensus across the West Bank and Gaza Strip that the government should take the lead in reforms. However, support is higher in the West Bank (43 percent) compared to Gaza (29 percent). Notable differences also emerge concerning the role of the security forces. Only 7 percent of respondents in the West Bank consider the security forces responsible for reforms, while this figure rises to 27 percent in Gaza. For more details, refer to Table 14 and Figure 14 below:

Table 14: Priority reform key actors according to citizens

	West Bank (%)	Gaza Strip (%)	oPt (%)
Government	43	29	37
Presidency	24	20	23
Security forces	7	27	15
National intersectoral committee	26	24	25

Figure 14: Priority reform key actors according to citizens



The perception that the government should bear responsibility for reform is notably higher in the southern West Bank, where 52 percent of respondents hold this view, compared to 38 percent in the northern West Bank and 39 percent in the central West Bank. This perspective is also more prevalent among NGO employees (47 percent) compared to public and private sector employees, both at 40 percent.

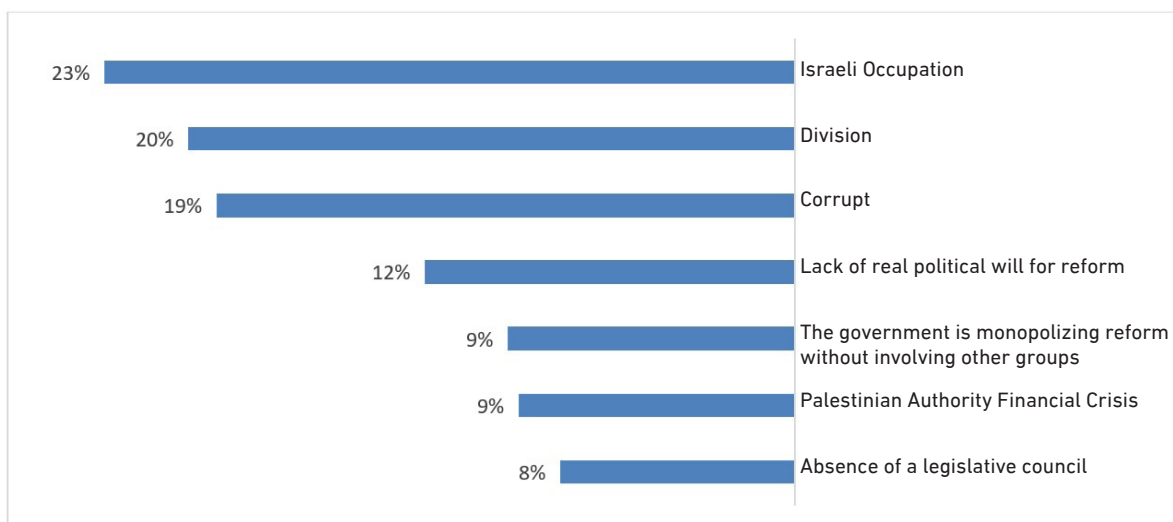
9. Key Challenges to Reform

Examining the main impediments to reform, the survey asked the respondents to rank a series of challenges by significance. Results indicate that the Israeli occupation is identified as the major challenge, with an average ranking of 23 percent. Following the occupation, the division between the West Bank and Gaza emerges at 20 percent and corruption at 19 percent. Other challenges include the lack of genuine political will for reform (12 percent), the government's unilateral approach to reform without stakeholder engagement, the Palestinian Authority (PA)'s financial crisis (both at 9 percent), and the lack of a functioning legislative council (8 percent). For further details, refer to Table 15 and Figure 15 below:

Table 15: Key challenges to reform based on the average of the first three priorities

	1st Priority (%)	2nd Priority (%)	3rd Priority (%)	Average (%)
Israeli occupation	28	25	16	23
Division between the West Bank and Gaza	19	24	17	20
Corruption	17	17	23	19
Lack of genuine political will and commitment to reform	13	13	11	12
Exclusively government-led reform, missing an inclusive, participatory, multistakeholder approach	10	7	11	9
PA's financial crisis	8	8	11	9
Lack of an active legislative council	5	7	11	8

Figure 15: Key challenges to reform based on the average of the first three priorities



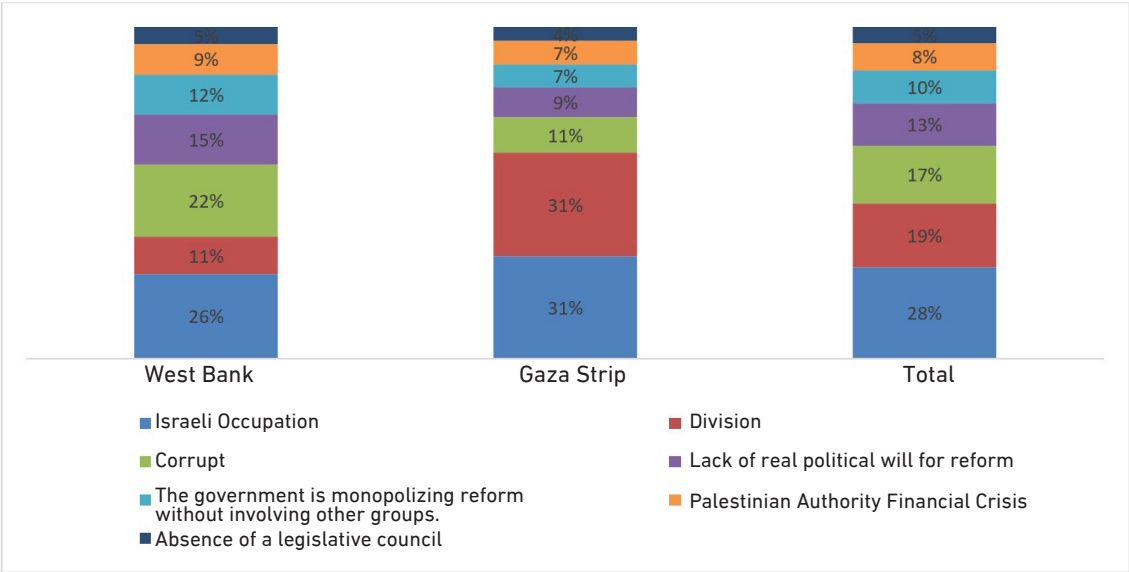
Identified by 28 percent of respondents, the Israeli occupation emerges as the foremost challenge. This critical impediment is followed by the political division between the West Bank and Gaza at 19 percent, corruption at 17 percent, and the absence of genuine political will for reform at 13 percent. Other obstacles include the government's unilateral approach to reform without stakeholder engagement at 10 percent, the PA's financial crisis at 8 percent, and the lack of a legislative council at 5 percent.

In the Gaza Strip, 31 percent of respondents cite the Israeli occupation and the political division as equally significant top challenges. In the West Bank, 26 percent of respondents identify the Israeli occupation as the primary obstacle, followed by corruption at 22 percent. For additional details, refer to Table 16 and Figure 16 below:

Table 16: Key reform challenges by priority according to citizens

	West Bank (%)	Gaza Strip (%)	oPt (%)
Israeli occupation	26	31	28
Division between the West Bank and Gaza	11	31	19
Corruption	22	11	17
Lack of genuine political will and commitment to reform	15	9	13
Exclusively government-led reform, missing an inclusive, participatory, multistakeholder approach	12	7	10
PA's financial crisis	9	7	8
Lack of an active legislative council	5	4	5

Figure no. (16): Key reform challenges by priority according to citizens



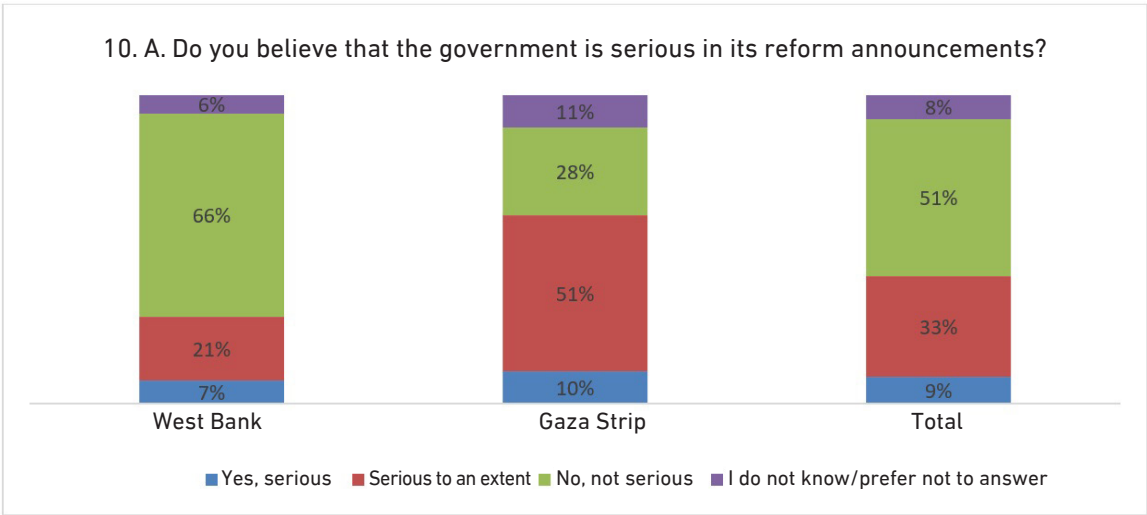
10. Government’s Commitment to Reform

The survey explored public perceptions concerning the government’s genuine commitment to pursuing its declared reform agenda. A majority of respondents (51 percent) believe that the government is not serious, while 9 percent believe the opposite. Around 33 percent consider it serious to a certain extent. Of note, these perceptions differ significantly between the West Bank and Gaza Strip: in Gaza, 28 percent of respondents believe that the government is not serious, compared to a striking 66 percent in the West Bank. For additional details, refer to Table 17 and Figure 17 below:

Table 17: Government’s commitment to reform as perceived by citizens

	West Bank (%)	Gaza Strip (%)	oPt (%)
Yes, serious	7	10	9
Serious to a certain extent	21	51	33
No, not serious	66	28	51
Do not know/prefer not to answer	6	11	8

Figure 17: Government’s commitment to reform as perceived by citizens



The perception that the government is not serious about reforms is notably higher in the southern West Bank, at 74 percent, followed by the central West Bank at 69 percent and the northern West Bank at 57 percent. This view is more prevalent among those with lower levels of education (58 percent) compared to those with higher levels of education (49 percent). It is also more common among private sector employees (58 percent) than among NGO and public sector employees (40 percent each).

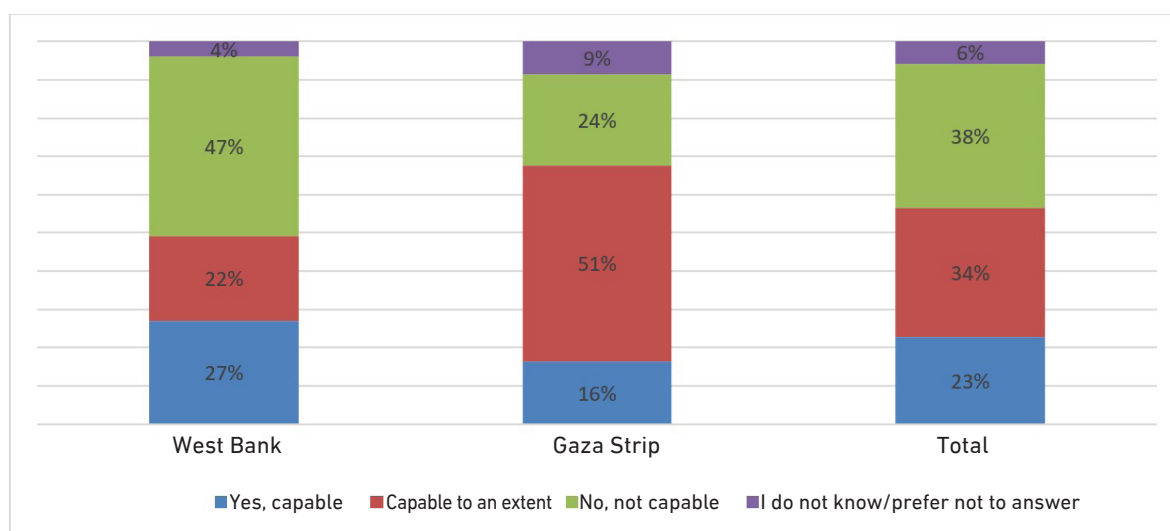
11. Government's Capacity to Reforms

Last but not least, the survey explored public perceptions of the government's capacity to deliver reforms if it were genuinely committed to doing so. A majority (38 percent) believe that the government cannot implement reforms, while 23 percent considered it capable, and 34 percent felt it was somewhat capable. Opinions vary significantly between the West Bank and Gaza Strip: in Gaza, only 24 percent of respondents consider the government incapable, compared to 47 percent in the West Bank. For further details, see Table 18 and Figure 18 below:

Table 18: Public perceptions of the government's capacity to reforms (if it were genuinely committed to doing so)

	West Bank (%)	Gaza Strip (%)	oPt (%)
Yes, capable	27	16	23
Capable to a certain extent	22	51	34
No, not capable	47	24	38
Do not know/prefer not to answer	4	9	6

Figure 18: Public perceptions of the government's capacity to reforms (if it were genuinely committed to doing so)



The perception that the government is incapable of delivering reforms, even with genuine commitment, is particularly pronounced in the northern West Bank, where 55 percent of respondents expressed this view, compared to 47 percent in the southern West Bank and 36 percent in the central West Bank. This sentiment is also more prevalent among men (40 percent) than women (36 percent), among individuals with lower levels of education (49 percent) compared to those with higher levels of education (35 percent), and among unemployed respondents (40 percent) compared to those who are employed (35 percent).

Appendix 1: Survey Questionnaire

Survey on Palestinian Public Perceptions of 2024 Government Reform Priorities

General Information

Questionnaire form no. _____ Researcher ID _____

Region

1. West Bank 2. Gaza Strip

District/Governorate

1. Jenin 2. Tubas 3. Tulkarm 4. Qalqilya 5. Salfit 6. Nablus
7. Ramallah 8. Jerusalem 9. Jericho 10. Bethlehem 11. Hebron 12. North Gaza
13. Gaza 14. Central Gaza 15. Khan Younis 16. Rafah

Worksite Location (Residential Cluster) _____

Place of Residence

1. City 2. Village/Town 3. Refugee Camp

Sample

Gender 1. Male 2. Female

# Individual	Age (18 years or older) Starting with the eldest	Age	Household Serial Number															
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2			2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1
3			3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3
4			4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
5			5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5
6			6	5	4	3	2	1	6	5	4	3	2	1	6	5	4	3

1. a. Do you know about the government reform program introduced by the current nineteenth government led by Prime Minister Mohammad Mustafa?

1) ☐ Yes

2) ☐ No

3) ☐ I don't know/Prefer not to answer

b. If you answered "Yes" to the previous question, what was your source of information about the reform program? (Select all that apply)

- 1) ☐ Social media
- 2) ☐ Official media: News issued following government meetings and sessions
- 3) ☐ Local radio
- 4) ☐ The Prime Minister's Office website or social media page
- 5) ☐ International news
- 6) ☐ Friends, acquaintances, or coworkers

1. What do you believe are the government's motives for pursuing reform?

- 1) ☐ National necessity
- 2) ☐ International pressure
- 3) ☐ Both
- 4) ☐ Other: _____
- 5) ☐ I don't know/Prefer not to answer

1. Please rank the following reform areas in order of priority, from most important to least important, based on your perspective:

(1 = Most important; 5 = Least important)

- 1) ☐ Government's institutional financial and administrative governance improvement
- 2) ☐ Security sector reform to support public resilience against the Israeli occupation
- 3) ☐ Ending the national political division
- 4) ☐ Combating corruption
- 5) ☐ Resumption of the democratic processes, including holding presidential and legislative elections

2. The current reform program includes the need to improve public service delivery.

Please rank the following areas of reform by priority:

(1 = Highest priority; 6 = Lowest priority)

- 1) ☐ Judicial and court services (justice)
- 2) ☐ Healthcare system
- 3) ☐ Education
- 4) ☐ Security sector services (public safety and protection)
- 5) ☐ Social protection system, including implementing the Social Security Law
- 6) ☐ Infrastructure and municipal services management

3. The current reform program emphasizes the need for administrative and institutional reform.

Please rank the following areas of reform in order of priority:

(1 = Highest priority; 4 = Lowest priority)

- 1) ☐ Public, civil, security, and diplomatic appointments
- 2) ☐ Civil and security institutional restructuring and rationalizing (as needed)
- 3) ☐ State institutional unification across the West Bank and Gaza
- 4) ☐ Independence and effectiveness of oversight institutions and bodies

4. The current reform program includes measures to enhance transparency.

Please rank the following areas of reform by priority:

(1 = Highest priority; 5 = Lowest priority)

- 1) ☐ Public media governance (e.g., Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation, Voice of Palestine, Palestinian News & Information Agency-WAFA)
- 2) ☐ Government communication and engagement with citizens
- 3) ☐ Government's openness and public access to information (endorsement of the Right to Information bill)
- 4) ☐ Transparency of government expenditure and revenue (budget management)
- 5) ☐ Transparency of licensure, permits, grants, and aid distribution

5. The current reform program includes efforts to address financial challenges.

Please rank the following financial reform priorities in order of importance:

(1 = Highest priority; 7 = Lowest priority)

- 1) ☐ Public sector salary crisis
- 2) ☐ Public service fee review
- 3) ☐ Unpaid electricity and water bills caused by nonpayment
- 4) ☐ Tax system reform to better align with social equity
- 5) ☐ Rising cost of living and consumer prices
- 6) ☐ Government financial assistance programs for low-income and poor sections of society
- 7) ☐ Medical referrals, which cost the public treasury over ILS 1 billion annually

6. In your opinion, which actor(s)/entity(s) should be responsible for leading the reform process?

- 1) ☐ Government
- 2) ☐ President
- 3) ☐ Security forces
- 4) ☐ A national committee representing all sectors

7. In your opinion, what are the main challenges to the reform process?

Rank them based on their level of impact (1 = Most impactful; 7 = Least impactful).

- 1) ☐ Israeli occupation
- 2) ☐ Political division between the West Bank and Gaza
- 3) ☐ Corruption
- 4) ☐ Absence of a legislative council
- 5) ☐ Lack of genuine political will for reform
- 6) ☐ Palestinian Authority's financial crisis
- 7) ☐ Government's unilateral approach to reform without stakeholder engagement

8 a. Do you believe the government is serious about its reform declarations?

- 1) ☐ Yes, it is serious
- 2) ☐ Somewhat serious
- 3) ☐ No, it is not serious
- 4) ☐ I don't know/I prefer not to answer

b. If the government is serious or to a certain extent, do you believe it is capable of implementing the declared reform program under the current circumstances?

- 1) ☐ Yes, it is capable
- 2) ☐ Somewhat capable
- 3) ☐ No, it is not capable
- 4) ☐ I don't know / I prefer not to answer

Demographic Information

Age

- 1) ☐ Under 30
- 2) ☐ 30–40
- 3) ☐ Over 40

Educational Level

- 1) ☐ Illiterate / Literate
- 2) ☐ Primary
- 3) ☐ Preparatory
- 4) ☐ Secondary
- 5) ☐ College / Diploma
- 6) ☐ Bachelor's degree
- 7) ☐ Master's degree or Higher

Employment Status

- 1) ☐ Employed
- 2) ☐ Unemployed

Work Sector (for employed respondents only)

- 1. ☐ Public/Government Sector
- 2. ☐ Private Sector
- 3. ☐ Nongovernmental organization Sector (NGOs)
- 4. ☐ UNRWA
- 5. ☐ International Organizations

Monthly Household Income (in ILS)

- 1. ☐ Less than 1,500
- 2. ☐ 1,500–2,500
- 3. ☐ 2,501–3,500
- 4. ☐ 3,501–4,500
- 5. ☐ 4,501–5,500
- 6. ☐ More than 5,500

Appendix 2: Survey Sample Results

		%
Region	West Bank	57.1
	Gaza Strip	42.9
	Total	100
Governorate	Jenin	6.9
	Tubas	2.3
	Tulkarm	3.4
	Qalqilya	2.3
	Salfit	2.3
	Nablus	6.8
	Ramallah	6.8
	Jerusalem	8.0
	Jericho	2.3
	Bethlehem	4.6
	Hebron	11.6
	Jabalia	5.9
	Gaza City	15.8
	Khan Younis	11.1
	Deir al-Balah	7.1
	Rafah	3.0
	Total	100
Gender	Male	50
	Female	50
	Total	100
Age groups	Under 30	37.6
	30–40	26.4
	Above 40	36.1
	Total	100
Educational level	Illiterate / Literate	.8
	Primary	4.2
	Preparatory	15.3
	Secondary	35.4
	College / Diploma	12.1
	Bachelor's degree	30.5
	Master's degree or Higher	1.7
	Total	100
	Employed	43.9

Employment status	Unemployed	56.1
	Total	100
Employment sector (for employed respondents only)	Public/Government Sector	27.2
	Private Sector	59.2
	NGOs	3.9
	UNRWA	6.2
	International organizations	3.6
	Total	100
Monthly household income (in ILS)	Less than 1,500	37.6
	1,500–2,500	33.1
	2,501–3,500	18.8
	3,501–4,500	7.4
	4,501–5,500	2.1
	More than 5,500	1.0
	Total	100



AMAN was established in 2000 as a civil society organization that seeks to combat corruption and promote integrity, transparency and accountability in the Palestinian society. The Coalition was first formed by an initiative from a number of civil society organizations working in the field of democracy, human rights and good governance. In 2006, the Coalition was accredited as a national chapter for Transparency International.

AMAN is a Palestinian think tank and a specialized body providing knowledge on corruption at the local and regional level through producing specialized reports and studies. The periodic publications include: The annual Integrity and Anti-Corruption Report, the annual Palestinian Integrity Index and the National Integrity System studies and reports, in addition to the Coalition's continued contributions to produce reports and studies on the status of corruption in the Arab region.

As part of the global anti-corruption movement - and of international alliances and partnerships with relevant specialized coalitions and organizations - AMAN plays a key role in the transfer and contextualization of necessary international knowledge and tools to combat corruption in all sectors.

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