

# The Social Media's Stance

# What Do Palestinian Users of TikTok, Telegram, Facebook and Twitter Tell Us?





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**Israel's Defense & Security Forum**

**IDSF-Habithonistim**, Israel's Defense and Security Forum, is a movement with over 20,000 members - commanders, officers, and former members of the Israeli defense and security forces. It was founded for the purpose of defending Israel's defense needs in a manner that ensures its existence and prosperity for generations to come.

**We follow a clear line:** We uphold Israel's right to exist, within its safe borders – the borders of the Land of Israel. We believe that Israel's defense needs are at the top of the national agenda, and believe that the State of Israel cannot afford to lose any war. The IDF must operate freely throughout the territory to fulfill its responsibility and defend the State of Israel.

We would like to make it clear that we are not a political movement, but one that is guided by the values and vision that define it.

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## ■ Our Research Department

IDSF-Habithonistim's research department has made its mission to serve as a resounding, forthright and relevant voice in the public debate in Israel, which through actionable research provides the public and the decision-makers with the necessary tools to tackle an evolving political-security reality, while instilling the State of Israel's principles and values of national security to ensure prospers for generations to come as the nation state of the Jewish people.

We promote a substantive, professional and inviting dialogue that views the principles and values of Zionism and Israel's national security as an unquestionable point of departure. These include Israel's identity as a Jewish and democratic state; its basis in the Zionist vision; national security that is built inside-out and from which the principles of governance and sovereignty are derived; full Israeli security command of the entire territory; peace through strength; the cultivation of human capital, and a people's army model.

The department operates on two complementary planes: research and its communication. We provide reports, research and position papers concerning our core issues, combined with professional recommendations. This research is made accessible to the public and to decision makers alike, on various platforms – from meetings with decision-makers through media appearances to open lectures and social media posts.

We see education and the training of the public – and the young generation in particular – as our guiding light.

**Head of research department:** Or Yissachar

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## Executive Summary

- **"The Day after Abbas", or scenarios for the Palestinian society in the period following the death of Chairman of the Palestinian Authority Mahmoud Abbas ("Abu Mazen"), is presenting Israel, the Palestinians and the Middle East with both great uncertainty alongside unprecedented opportunities.** During his 19-year-long tenure, Chairman Abbas from the Palestinian faction Fatah has avoided holding formal elections while holding on to power, as his popularity is plummeting and the Palestinian Authority itself is losing its legitimacy in the eyes of the Palestinian public. **This implies that the vacuum left after his departure from the stage could trigger instability, in light of the fragmentation that is characterizing the Palestinian society,** with clanships, local affiliations and local militant factions who control enclaves in supposedly PA-control areas.
- **Inspecting the Palestinian public's view on the different political factions – Fatah and Hamas, alongside the Popular Front, Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), and independent militant factions such as the Lions' Den – could lay the groundwork for a better understanding of the temperature in the Palestinian street and the risk of a major political overhaul in PA-controlled areas or localities.**
- **For that purpose, we compared several indexes:**
  - Exclusive research of Telegram groups and channels that are operated by or sympathize with the above Palestinian factions, and compared their engagement and reach to learn about the political tendencies among Palestinians.
  - Exclusive research of TikTok hashtags – the engagement Hamas-affiliated hashtags gain as opposed to Fatah, as well as engagement according to geographic location in specific Palestinian cities. TikTok is a predominant and popular social media among the Palestinian society for political expression, while unlike other societies, Facebook and Twitter are significantly less popular, especially among the youth.
  - Exclusive research of Twitter followers – followers of Hamas-affiliated accounts as opposed to Fatah.
  - Exclusive research of Facebook subscribers – subscribers of Hamas-affiliated pages as opposed to Fatah.
  - Exclusive outlook at elections conducted in major Palestinian universities – the only free elections in the Palestinian society since 2005.
  - Exclusive opinion poll among Israeli Jews and Arabs on the Day After Abbas.



- Exclusive compilation of publicly-available data from opinion polls among Palestinians conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research.
- These results have shown surprising correlation, which indicates their credibility and sheds a new light and an often-disregarded angle of the real sentiments among Palestinians on their political institutions and their view on the way their future should be shaped.
- **This project was conducted as complementary to a comprehensive study on The Day After Abbas**, which includes scenarios, strategic goals, comprehensive actor mapping (groups and office holders), and content analysis that maps repetitive and typical messaging of Hamas and Fatah.

# Telegram

*All data featured in this chapter is owned by the "Palestinian Media Watch" research institute and was commissioned by IDSF-Habithonistim – Israel's Defense and Security Forum.*

## Methodology

- After monitoring and collecting Telegram groups and channels for 11 months, we managed to join 232 Palestinian sources, of which 175 support one of the five main factions – Fatah and the Palestinian Authority (PA) under its control, Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) – together with non-political organizations, such as Lion's Den. We compared their engagement according to the following criteria:
  - Number of groups and channels
  - Number of subscribers
- We crossed this data according to two methods: general comparison, and comparison of sources with +10,000 subscribers.
- The channels vary in size, with the smallest channel having approximately 32 members and the largest having approximately 248,449 members.
- Through the analysis of the organizational affiliation of each of the sources, it is possible to generate data that opens a window to Palestinian society and give tantalizing hints of possible political developments in the Palestinian Authority.

## Key findings

- Out of 175 Telegram groups and channels with a total of 2,428,859 users, it appears that the **relative popularity of Hamas is higher than that of Fatah.**
  - 78 groups and channels (44.6%) are identified with Hamas, as opposed to 67 (38.3%) who are identified with Fatah, 15 (8.6%) with PIJ, and 11 (6.3%) with independent factions such as the Lions' Den. Other factions – PFLP and DFLP – only have 2 and 1 sources that are identified with them.
  - The average number of members per Fatah-affiliated channel is 9,622.18 whilst the average number of members per Hamas-affiliated channel is 12,833.78.

- Of all the big channels – those whose members exceed 10,000 – of which 34.9% are affiliated with Fatah and an identical number are affiliated with Hamas, Hamas gets 40.7% of all members on these channels while Fatah only gets 24.4% - approximately 10% less than its footfall. Hamas channels 57,991.93, and Fatah channels get just 34,704 members per major channel on average.
- In addition to Fatah and Hamas, there are also independent factions, such as the Lions' Den, that are not affiliated with any of the big organizations and focus on apolitically uniting forces for the benefit of an armed struggle.
  - The average number of members per communication channel of the independent factions is 32,504.45, and not far behind lies the PIJ with an average of 26,277.26 members per channel.
  - Among the major channels, the average number of members per channel representing or affiliated with independent factions reaches 86,620, and PIJ channels with 53,404.71.
- **Comparison with real-life political distribution showed correlation with the Telegram data:** In Betlehem, a Fatah-controlled city, the official Fatah channel has approximately 4,500 subscribed users, while its counterpart from Hamas only has approximately 380 subscribed users. At Bir Zeit University, unlike Bethlehem, where the Hamas-affiliated list has recently won the student association's election, dominates a sentiment that leans toward Hamas: the channel of the student movement of Fatah – "Shabiba" – in Bir Zeit has approximately 940 subscribed users, compared to the channel of the student movement of Hamas, which has approximately 5,050 subscribed users.

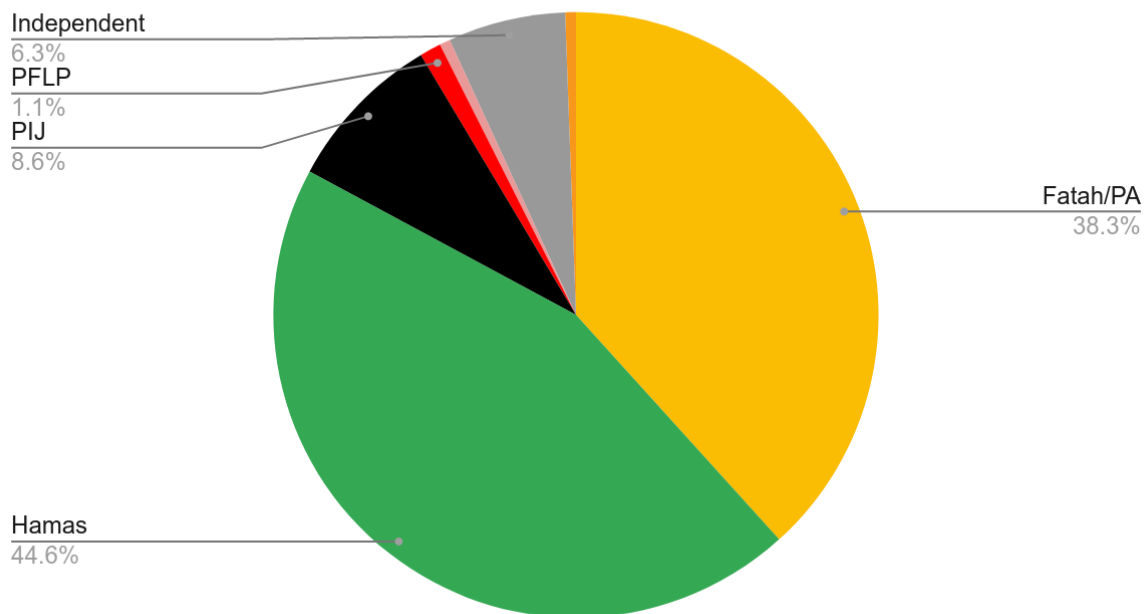
## Results

### General data

The analysis is based on 175 groups and channels that have not changed since the beginning of the monitoring. Out of these 175 channels and groups:

1. 67 channels (38.3%) are identified with Fatah
2. 1 channel (0.6%) is identified with Fatah but openly opposes Mahmoud Abbas
3. 78 channels (44.6%) are identified with Hamas
4. 15 channels (8.6%) are identified with PIJ
5. 2 channels (1.1%) are identified with PFLP
6. 1 channel (0.6%) is identified with DFLP
7. 11 channels (6.3%) are identified with independent factions such as the Lion's Den

### Distribution of channels by affiliation



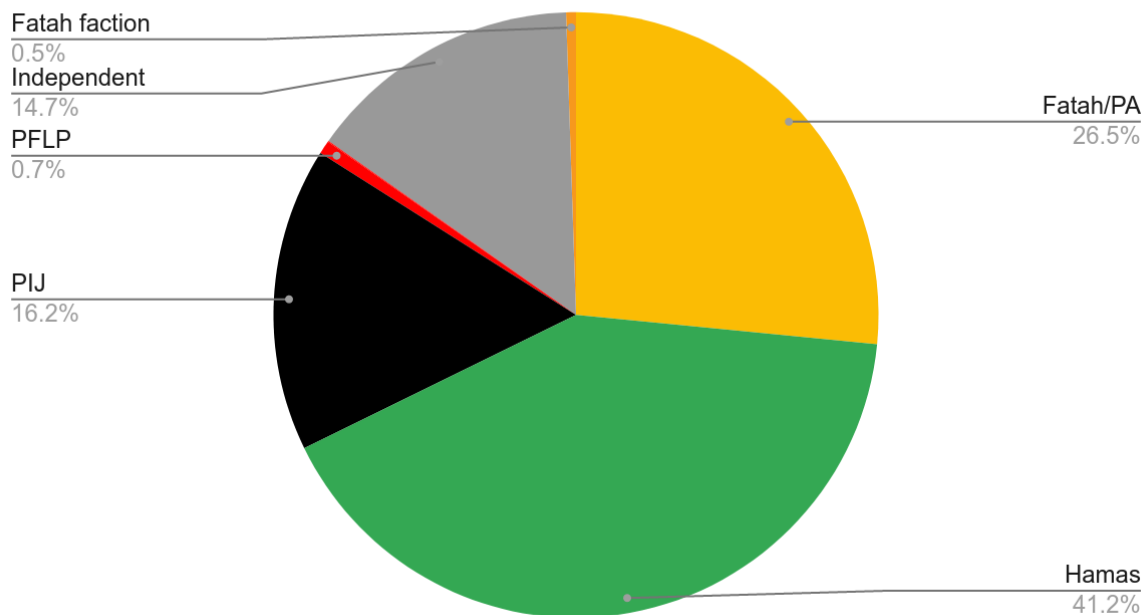


The distribution of members in these channels and groups is as follows:

1. 644,686 (26.5%) are members of Fatah-affiliated groups and channels
2. 12,756 (0.5%) are members of the Fatah-affiliated channel that opposes Abbas
3. 1,001,035 (41.2%) are members of Hamas-affiliated groups and channels
4. 394,159 (16.2%) are members of PIJ-affiliated groups and channels
5. 17,297 (0.6%) are members of PFLP-affiliated groups and channels
6. 1,377 (>0.1%) members of the DFLP-affiliated channel
7. 357,549 (14.7%) are members of channels affiliated with independent factions

A total of 2,428,859 members participate in all the channels and groups on which the study focuses.

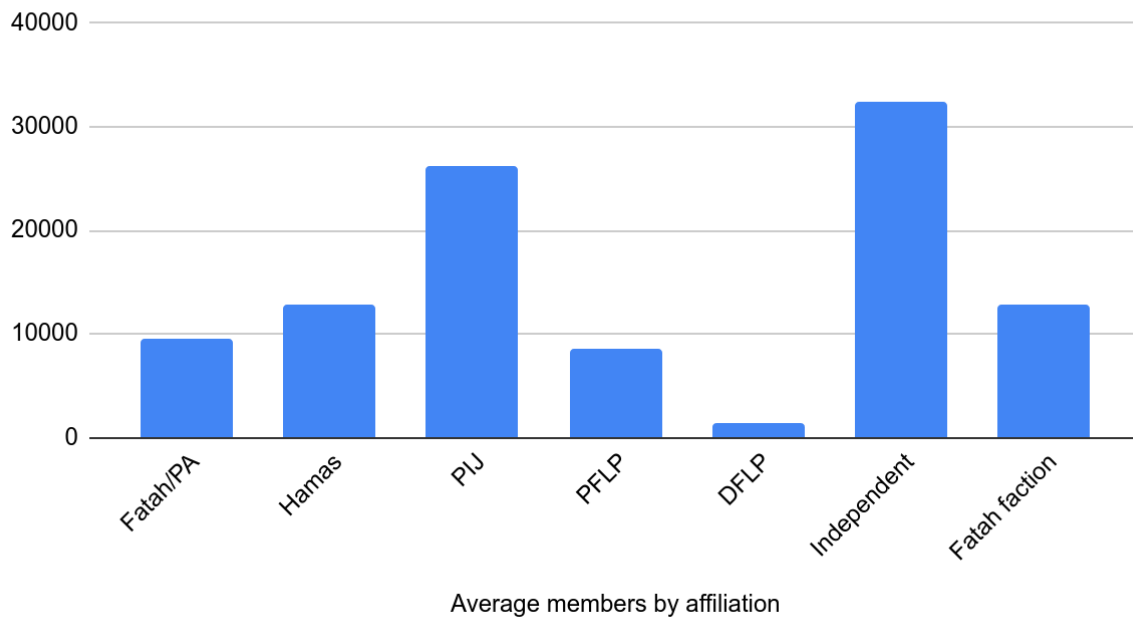
### Distribution of channel members by affiliation



The average number of members per channel is as follows:

1. ~9,622.17 members on average per Fatah-affiliated channel
2. ~12,756 members on average per channel affiliated with the Fatah faction that opposes Abbas
3. ~12,833.78 members on average per Hamas-affiliated channel
4. 26,277.27~ members on average per PIJ-affiliated channel
5. ~8,648.5 members on average per PFLP-affiliated channel
6. ~1,377 members on average per DFLP-affiliated channel
7. ~32,054.45 members on average per channel affiliated with independent factions

### Average members by affiliation

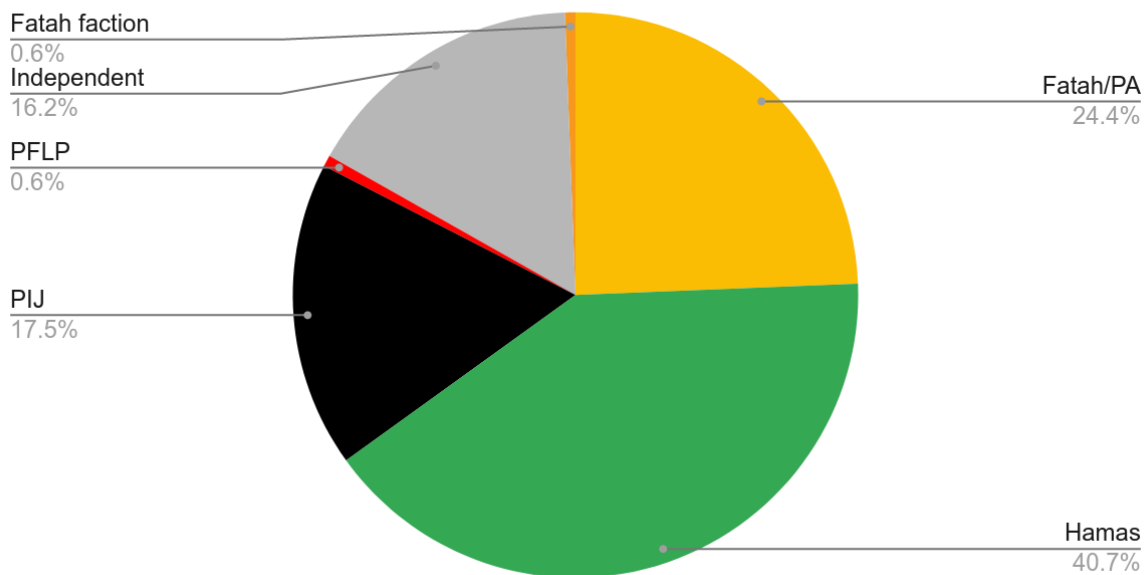


### Big channels data

Out of the 175 channels and groups there are 46 large channels with over 10,000 members. Of them:

1. 15 channels (34.9%) are identified with Fatah
2. 1 channel (2.3%) is identified with the Fatah faction that opposes Abbas
3. 15 (34.9%) channels are identified with Hamas
4. 7 channels (16.3%) are identified with PIJ
5. 1 channel (2.3%) identified with PFLP
6. 4 channels (9.3%) are identified with independent factions
7. DFLP does not have a channel or group with 10,000 or more members.

Distribution of channel members by affiliation (over 10,000 members)

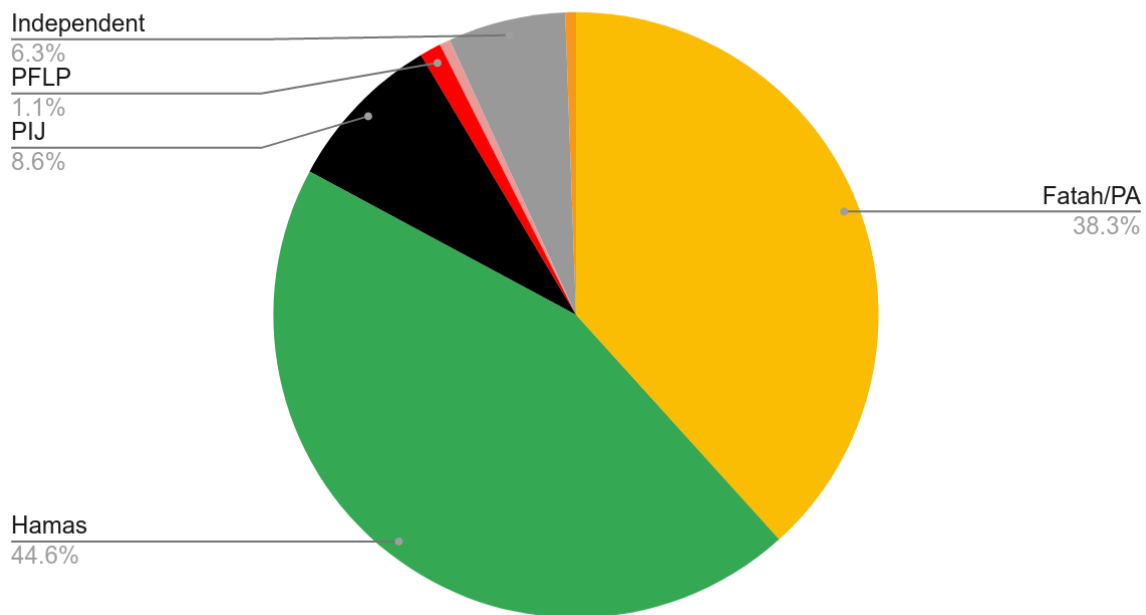


The distribution of members in the big channels and groups is as follows:

1. 520,560 (24.4%) members of groups and channels affiliated with Fatah
2. 12,756 (0.6%) members of groups and channels affiliated with the Fatah faction that opposes Abbas
3. 869,879 (40.7%) are members of groups and channels affiliated with Hamas
4. 373,833 (17.5%) are members of PIJ-affiliated groups and channels
5. 13,568 (0.6%) members of the PFLP-affiliated channel
6. 346,480 (16.2%) are members of channels affiliated with independent factions

A total of 2,137,076 members in all channels and groups on which the research focuses, and to which over 10,000 members are subscribed.

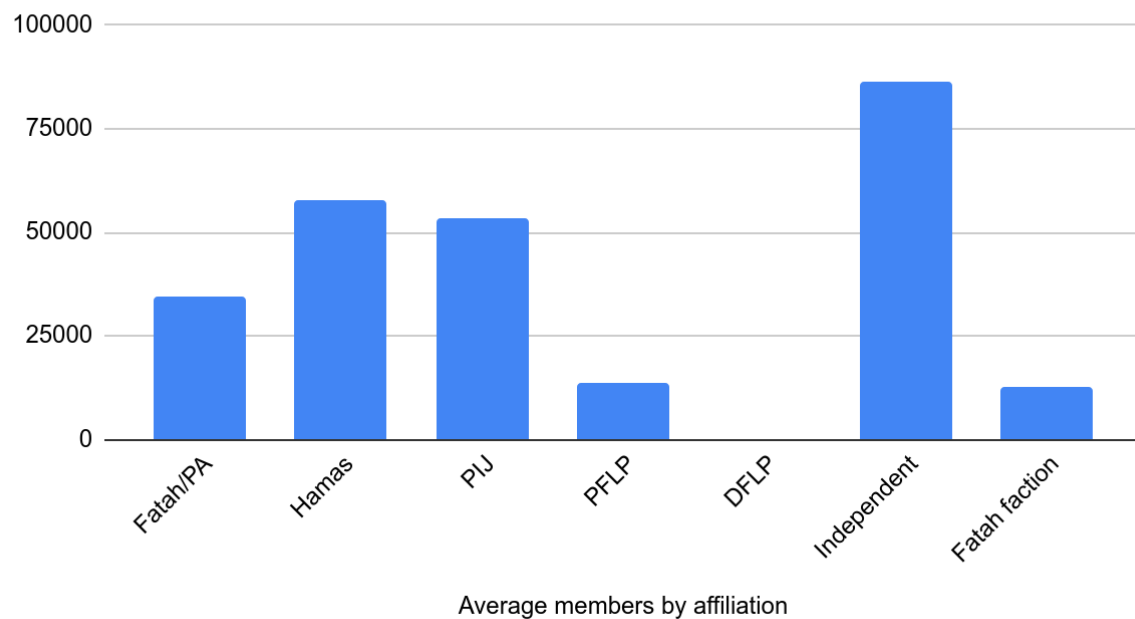
Distribution of channels by affiliation



The average number of members per big channel is as follows:

1. ~34,704 members on average per Fatah-affiliated channel
2. ~12,756 members on average per Fatah-affiliated channel that opposes Abbas
3. ~57,991.93 members on average per Hamas-affiliated channel
4. 53,404.71~ members on average per PIJ-affiliated channel
5. ~13,568 members on average per PFLP-affiliated channel
6. ~86,620 members on average per channel affiliated with independent factions

### Average members by affiliation (over 10,000 members)



## Analysis

Each faction's distinct strategies have clear effects on the degree of popularity of each of the organizations, with the most popular organizations relatively being the independent ones, both in a general analysis and in the analysis of the major channels only. This is probably due to the fact that the Palestinian public using Telegram supports terrorism against Israel on any possible scale and in any form, and since the independent factions do not represent any religious or political current, no person is pushed aside due to one or another political or religious positions.

Not far behind the independent organizations, the most popular organization in the general channels is PIJ. There are several possible reasons for this, among others the organization's lack of accountability to population or place in the Palestinian leadership, which positions it in an advantage above factions perceived as "institutional"; its significance in inter-factional unions as well as it being apolitical; or how much the reader enjoys consuming the organization's content. The fact that the PIJ is less popular than the independent factions can be attributed to being religious, unlike the independent factions which, as mentioned, are not necessarily religious. Another reason could be the PIJ's almost complete dependence on Iran, which can cause the average Palestinian to dislike the organization for nationalist reasons.

After the PIJ, by a twice as large margin, stands Hamas. A possible reason for this is the number of tiny channels – those with less than 1,000 members – that are affiliated with Hamas. Another reason could be that it is a religio-political organization that rejects both its religious and political opponents.

After Hamas stands Fatah with about 75% of the participants per channel on average compared to Hamas. The reasons for this can be both religious and political, since on the one hand Fatah is not a religious organization but it has an affinity with religion, and on the other hand there is a lot of criticism of it by the management of the PA, something that can naturally cause potential opposers for Fatah.

Looking at the big channels with over 10,000 subscribed members, the picture appears to be slightly different, but the trend still goes against Fatah. As mentioned above, even on the major channels, the independent factions have the most participants on average per channel. In second place is Hamas, and not far behind is the PIJ. The average number of participants in any major channel affiliated with Fatah is less than 60% of that of an average channel affiliated with Hamas.

**In the two types of analyzes in question, the most popular political organization is Hamas, followed only by Fatah.** PFLP and the DFLP are too small to have an impact on the future of the PA after Abbas' death,



but they are third and fourth respectively in both cases. Hence, the war for control of the Palestinian Authority after the death of Abbas can end with the victory of Hamas and its control of Judea and Samaria in addition to the Gaza Strip, if this is the case and no successor to Abbas is appointed from within Fatah.

Another possibility is the possible military takeover by the independent factions of the districts in which they are located, like criminal organizations, and prevent the Palestinian Authority from entering the areas under their control in fields where they want control, such as terrorism against Israel. This can be seen in Abbas's visit to Jenin after an operation "Home and Garden", which only happened after negotiations by a delegation from the PA with senior officials of the Jenin Brigade of the PIJ in order to allow the visit to pass without interference from the local factions, that is despite Abbas being the President of the Palestinian Authority and his arrival with many security forces to secure it. It is likely that in the event that the independent factions take control of the PA territories militarily, they will allow the PA to operate in their territories in the areas of management and logistics, and they will replace the PA's security mechanisms - the power will be with those factions, but the responsibility be on the PA.

### **Interesting angles – Telegram / Real life comparison**

The official Fatah channel in the Bethlehem area has approximately 4,500 subscribed users, while its counterpart from Hamas only has approximately 380 subscribed users. At Bir Zeit University, unlike Bethlehem, you can see a sentiment that leans more toward Hamas: the channel of the student movement of Fatah – "Shabiba" – in Bir Zeit has approximately 940 subscribed users, compared to the channel of the student movement of Hamas, which has approximately 5,050 subscribed users.

It is apparent that in the largest channels, those with hundreds of thousands of subscribers, such as the official channel of Hamas's Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades with over 200,000 subscribed users, the independent Lion's Den with almost 250,000 subscribed users, or PIJ's Jerusalem Brigades with approximately 140,000 subscribed users, the language is often done in a much more elegant way than the other forums, even those that are not particularly small. There are two types of messages in channels of this kind - long and eloquent messages called Bayan (plural - bayanat, translated as "announcement" or "proclamation"), and sometimes news updates in a higher level language than is customary in other Telegram channels. Fatah does not have such a channel apart from official channels of the Palestinian Authority, to which people may subscribe out of a desire or need to be updated, rather than support, and

the biggest of which does not pass 15,000 subscribers. Fatah channels sometimes issue such statements, but they do not put a special emphasis on it like other organizations.

These announcements, combined with the relevance of the organizations, can be the reason for those channels having so many members, since users will probably prefer to read a coherently written message over a short and unclear message, which sometimes will even include spelling mistakes, as sometimes happens in other channels. The relevance of the organization greatly affects the channel's popularity as well, since PFLP and DFLP issue statements almost daily, but since they are not politically relevant like Fatah or Hamas, or militarily like PIJ and the independent factions, despite the statements they do not manage to gain broad support on Telegram like the others.

The seemingly apolitical character that characterizes PIJ and the independent factions is not unique to it. The largest Palestinian channel, "Jenin Al-Qassam", is engaged in unaffiliated news coverage of terrorism in Jenin and has over 360,000 subscribed users. This channel is not included in the statistics due to being a news channel that is not affiliated with any faction. Despite being unaffiliated, its owner, Ali al-Ghoul, was a 17-year-old Hamas operative. Al-Ghoul was killed in Operation "Home and Garden" on 02 July 2023. The channel gained over 55,000 subscribers within a month of Al-Ghoul's death. Apparently, when it became known that al-Ahul owned the channel, many users signed up to it, and it is possible that this was done as a tribute to the "Martyr" after his death. Along with the news that al-Ghoul was the owner of the channel until his death, his organizational affiliation was also revealed, and it should be noted as a possible cause to the rapid growth of the channel after his death.

# TikTok

Due to increased content moderation on Facebook and Twitter, content affiliated with Fatah and Hamas exists, albeit scarce. Not only do many of the users and groups affiliated with extremist content closed or suspended shortly after their creation, the content that remains suffers extremely poor engagement, with few likes and shared even in profiles that enjoy hundreds of thousands of followers. This could indicate the popularity of these platforms in the Palestinian society when it comes to politics.

However, on Tiktok there seems to be wide-scale and authentic involvement of Palestinians. Content supporting and slandering each of the two movements, Fatah and Hamas, gains hundreds of thousands of views, even reaching over a billion views. While many Israelis perceive Tiktok as an entertainment platform for the younger generation, it is viewed as a political hub among Palestinians.

TikTok's popularity among young Palestinians is evidenced by the fact that the "Guardian of the Walls" events were accompanied by videos uploaded by young Palestinians and Israeli Arabs documenting their participation in nationalist incidents against Jews. Such was the TikTok "trend" of attacking ultra-Orthodox youth on the streets of Jerusalem and on the light rail.

TikTok has also fostered the popularity of the Lions' Den terrorist group, and of "freelance" terrorists such as Ibrahim Nabulsi, who thrived as he uploaded documentation of terror attacks against Israelis on TikTok. This turned him into a star, and inspired some young Palestinians to follow suit.

What can we learn from TikTok on the popularity of different Palestinian factions?

## Comparative analysis of Hamas- and Fatah-affiliated hashtags

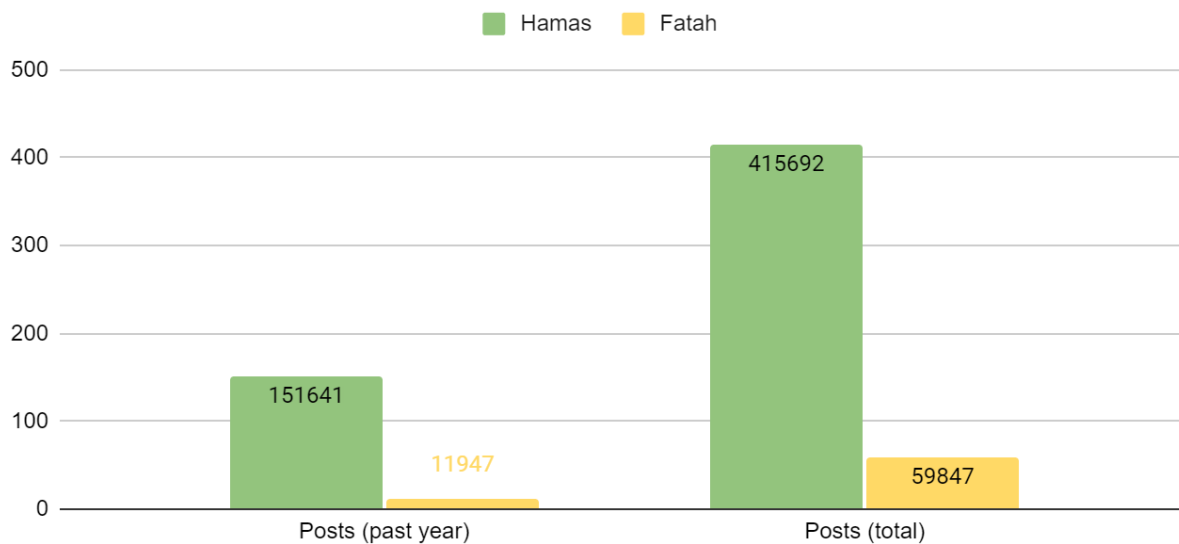
### Methodology:

- Comparative analysis of the popular hashtags associated with Hamas and Fatah, segmented by the number of views in the last year and in general, the number of posts in the last year and in general, and age groups.

## Key findings

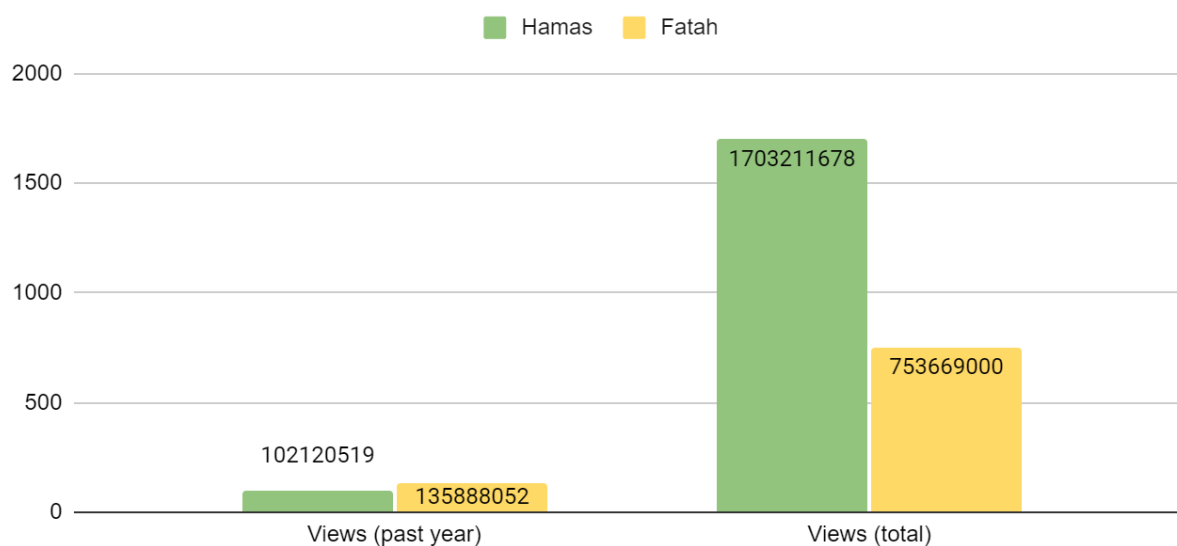
- When analyzing posts as per Hamas- and Fatah-affiliated hashtags, the data shows clear advantage for Hamas on TikTok over Fatah, in particular among the youngest age group of 18-24. On top of that, Lions' Den, a relatively new and non-official armed group with far less maturity than that of well-established Palestinian factions such as Hamas and Fatah gains massive support which even exceeds Fatah's.
- Hamas holds a clear advantage over Fatah in terms of the number of posts with Hamas-affiliated hashtags with 12.6 more posts in the past year – June 2022 to June 2023 (151,641 as opposed to 11,947) and 6.9 more posts in total (415,692 as opposed to 59,847).
- Considering the number of views, Fatah holds an advantage over Hamas when analyzing the total number of views with 135.8 million views of Fatah-affiliated videos as opposed to 102.1 million views of Hamas-affiliated videos. However, this trend turns opposite way when considering the number of views in the past year – June 2022 to June 2023, with 2.25 more views of Hamas-affiliated videos (1.7 billion as opposed to 753.6 million).

### Hamas vs Fatah -affiliated Hashtags on TikTok: Posts (last year) and Posts (total) [in thousand posts]



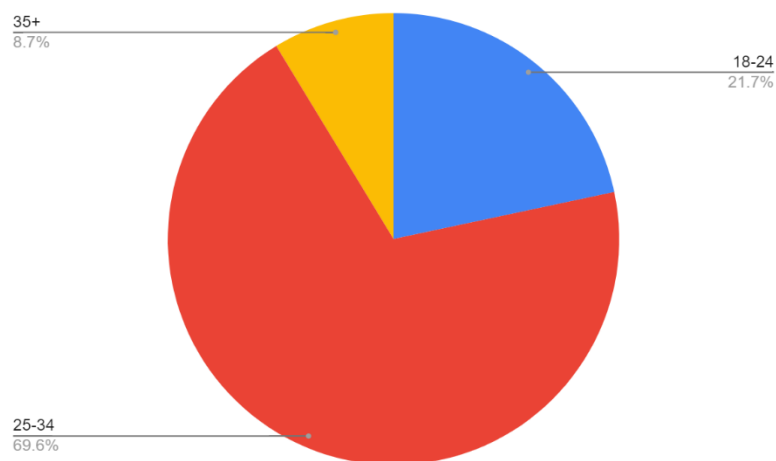
Hamas vs Fatah-affiliated hashtags on TikTok by number of posts

## Hamas vs Fatah -affiliated Hashtags on TikTok: Views (last year) and Views (total) [in million views]

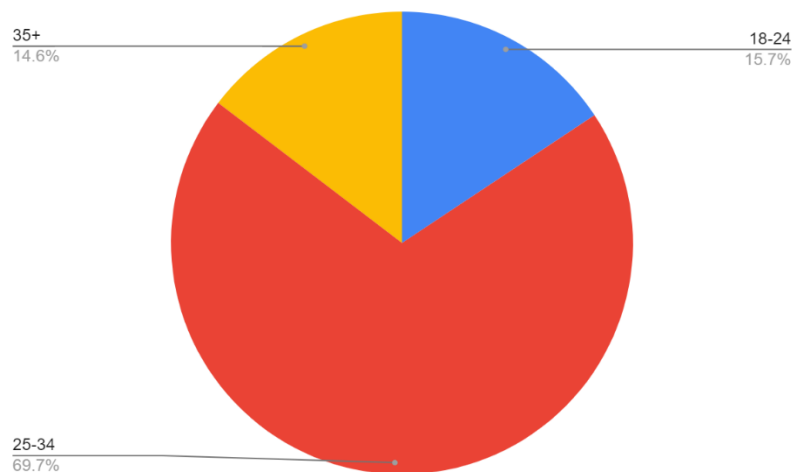


Hamas vs Fatah-affiliated hashtags on TikTok by number of views

- In addition, Hamas-affiliated hashtags enjoy more popularity among the youngest and have the least popularity among the oldest.
  - Among the 18-24 age group, Hamas's share is 37.96% higher than Fatah's, with 21.66% of its video views originating in this age group as opposed to 15.7% among Fatah videos.
  - Among the 25-34 age group, Hamas's share is slightly larger than Fatah's, with 69.63% of its video views originating in this age group as opposed to 65.61% among Fatah videos.
  - Among the 35+ age group, Fatah's advantage is clear – 67% higher than Hamas', with 14.76% of its video views originating in this age group as opposed to 8.69% among Hamas videos.
  - It is to be noted that TikTok does not enable analyzing engagement among users younger than the age of 18.



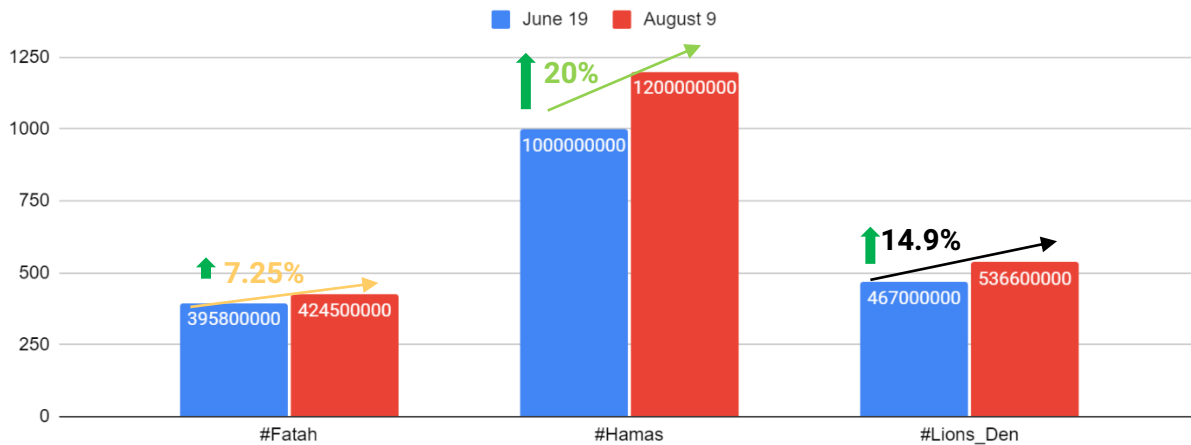
Segmentation of Hamas-affiliated hashtags on TikTok by age group



Segmentation of Fatah-affiliated hashtags on TikTok by age group



### 50 days of change: Increase in Total Views of Main Hashtags Comparing Hamas, Fatah, and Lions' Den on TikTok (Between June 19-August 9, 2023)



TikTok – comparative analysis of increase in views of videos with the hashtag #Hamas, #Fatah and #Lions\_Den during the 50 days between June 19 and August 9, 2023, TikTok

### Comparative analysis of engagement gained by Hamas- and Fatah-affiliated content as per combination with geographic areas-related hashtags (location tags)

#### Terminology

**View count:** In the context of TikTok, the term "view count" refers to the numerical representation of the total number of times a video has been viewed by users. Each time a user opens and watches a video, the view count increases by one. This metric provides insights into the popularity and reach of a particular video, helping content creators and researchers gauge the level of audience engagement and the overall impact of the content on the platform.

**Like count:** The "like count" on TikTok represents the total number of times users have expressed appreciation for a video by tapping the heart-shaped "like" button. This action indicates that the viewer enjoyed the content and serves as a measure of positive engagement. The like count helps content creators assess the reception of their videos and contributes to TikTok's algorithm, influencing the likelihood of the video being recommended to a wider audience.

**Comment count:** The "comment count" denotes the total number of user-generated comments posted in response to a specific TikTok video. Comments provide a platform for users to interact with the content creator and other viewers, allowing for discussions, feedback, and community engagement. Higher comment counts can indicate that a video has sparked significant interest or has resonated with the audience on a deeper level.

**Share count:** In the TikTok context, the "share count" reflects the number of times users have redistributed or re-shared a particular video on their own TikTok accounts or other social media platforms. When users come across content they find compelling, they can share it with

their followers, friends, or broader networks, amplifying the video's reach beyond its original audience. The share count serves as an indicator of how shareable and viral a video may be, showcasing its potential for widespread dissemination.

**Save count:** The "save count" pertains to the total number of times a video has been saved by TikTok users to their personal collections. The "save" feature allows users to bookmark videos they find interesting or valuable for future reference, re-watching, or sharing with others. The save count is an essential metric that helps content creators understand the long-term impact and enduring appeal of their videos, as well as the level of audience investment in preserving and revisiting the content.

**Bot:** In the context of TikTok and other social media platforms, a "bot" refers to an automated software application or script that operates with minimal human intervention. These bots are designed to perform specific tasks repeatedly and at high volumes, often mimicking human behavior. When discussing bots in the context of TikTok, it typically pertains to spamming videos with artificial engagement, or repeatedly uploading the same video in order to spam search results, thus skewing any metrics.

## Methodology

To conduct the analysis of data from TikTok related to Hamas and Fatah, a multi-faceted methodology is employed. The first step involves data collection, where hashtag combinations affiliated with both organizations are systematically retrieved from the TikTok platform. This process ensures a comprehensive dataset representing the content associated with Hamas and Fatah. The combination of generic hashtags ensures a content analysis that is focused on Fatah and Hamas, and avoiding "dumpster" results by combining generic keywords (e.g. "shabiba"/"youth" or "kutlatna"/"our list") with geographical locations (e.g. Bethlehem, Jenin, etc.).

Next, a general analysis of the collected data is performed, focusing on key metrics such as views and engagement indicators, including likes, comments, shares, and saves. These metrics provide valuable insights into the popularity and interaction level of the content related to the targeted groups. This analysis aids in understanding the trends, preferences, and content dynamics associated with Hamas and Fatah on TikTok.

Subsequently, a more specific analysis based on geographic location is conducted. By leveraging location hashtags from TikTok posts, the content's popularity and engagement are examined across different regions. This geographical segmentation allows for a deeper understanding of how the content resonates with specific audiences in different locations, identifying potential regional variations in interest and engagement patterns.

Overall, this comprehensive methodology combines data collection, general analysis, and location-based insights to provide a holistic view of the TikTok content related to Hamas and Fatah. The findings from this study contribute to a better understanding of the organizations' presence and impact on the platform and offer valuable insights for researchers interested in these communities and their interactions on TikTok.

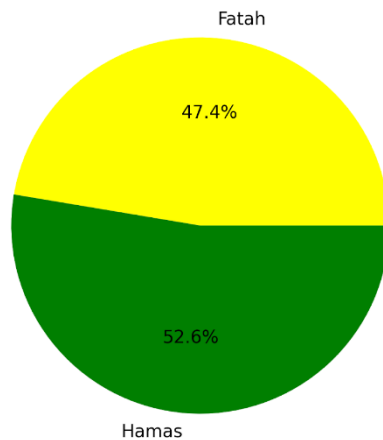
## Data

### General data

The analysis is based on 19,122 videos. Out of these videos:

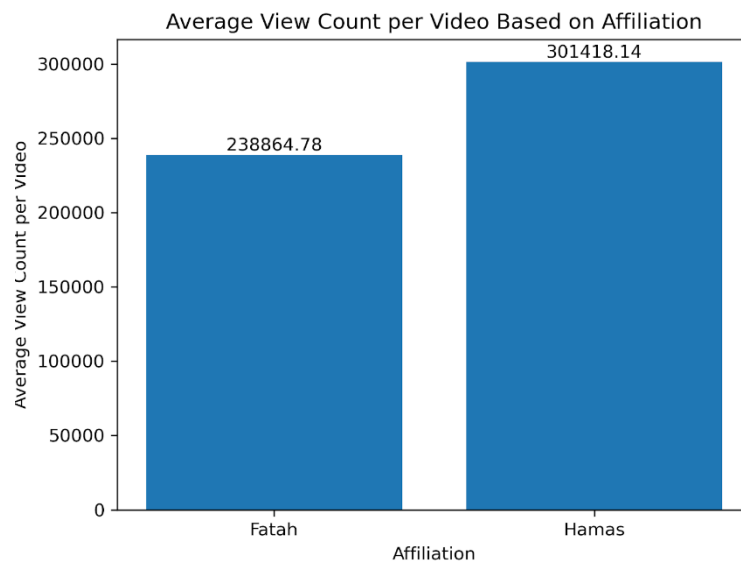
1. 9,055 (47.4%) are affiliated with Fatah
2. 10,067 (52.6%) are affiliated with Hamas

Distribution of videos based on affiliation



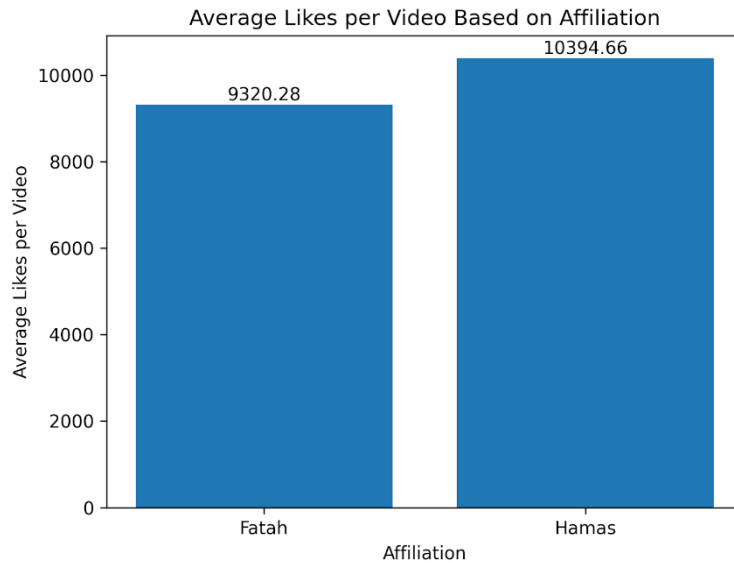
The average number of views per affiliation is as follows:

1. 238,864.78 views per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 301,418.14 views per video affiliated with Hamas



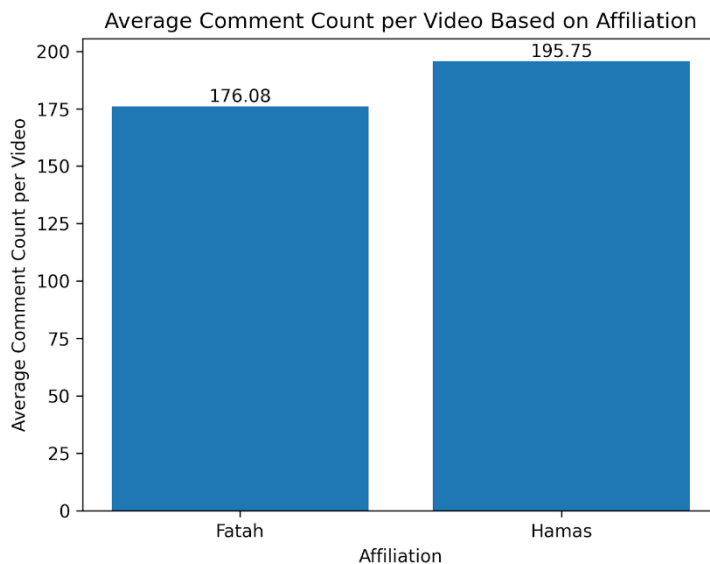
The average number of likes per affiliation is as follows:

1. 9,320.28 likes per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 10,394.66 likes per video affiliated with Hamas



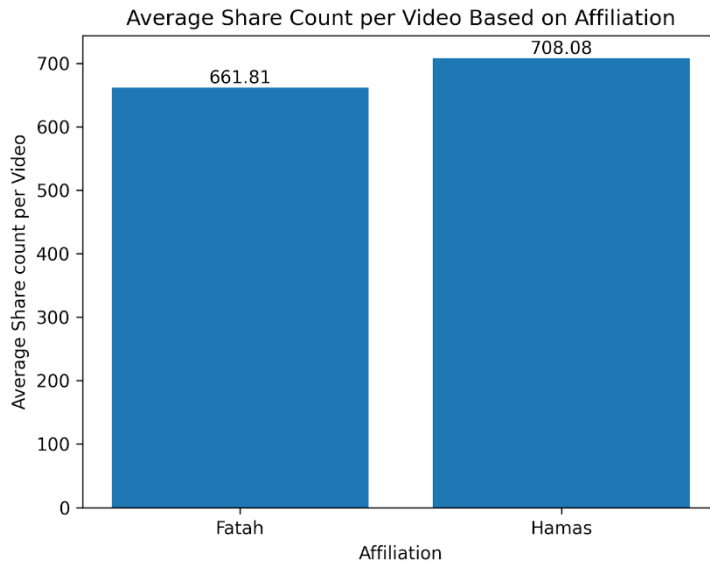
The average number of comments per affiliation is as follows:

1. 176.08 comments per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 195.75 comments per video affiliated with Hamas



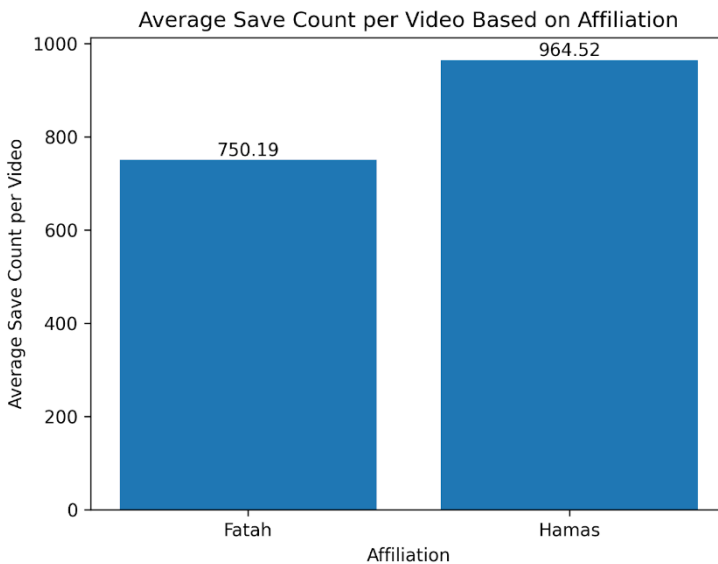
The average number of shares per affiliation is as follows:

1. 661.18 shares per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 708.08 shares per video affiliated with Hamas



The average number of saves per affiliation is as follows:

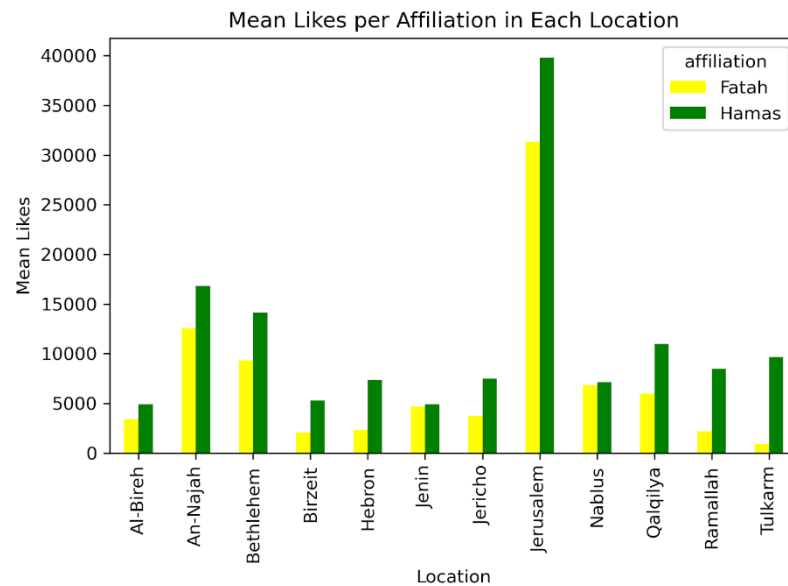
1. 750.19 saves per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 964.52 saves per video affiliated with Hamas



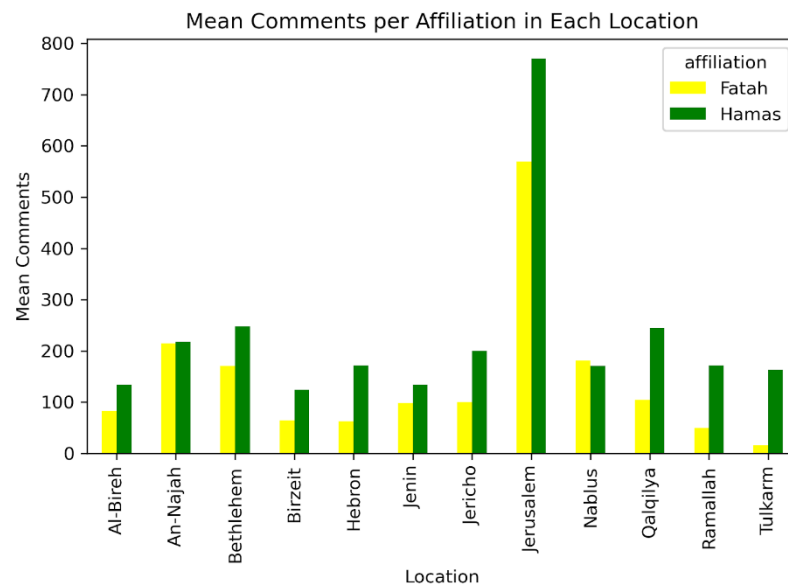




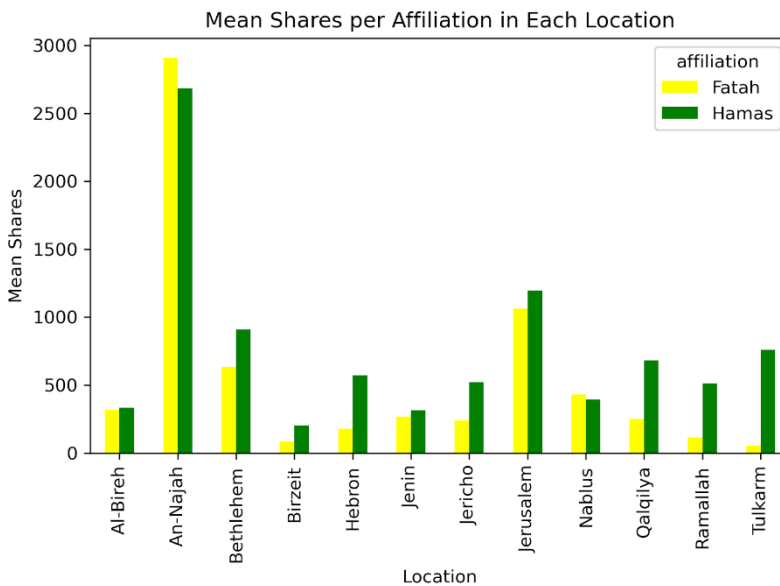
Average like count per location:



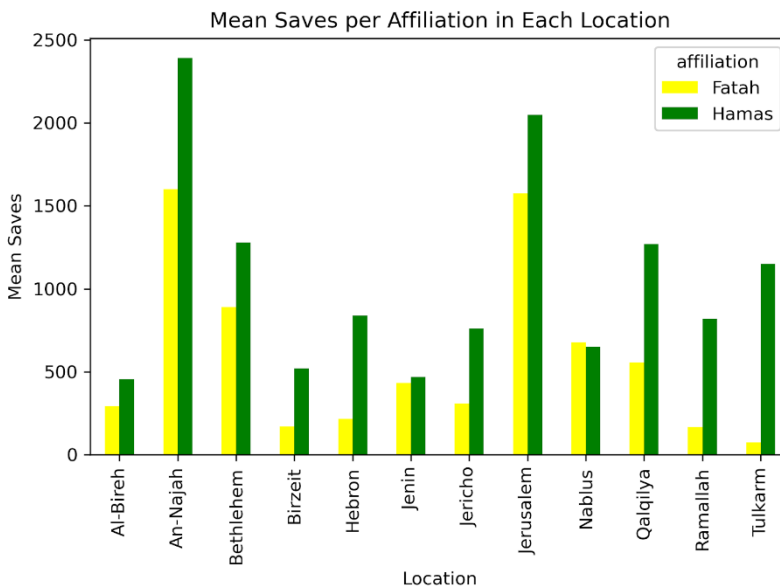
Average comment count per location:



Average share count per location:



Average save count per location:



*Please see Appendices A and B for the full geotag-based data and analysis.*

## Outlook at the results of the Bir Zeit University's student association election – 2007-2023

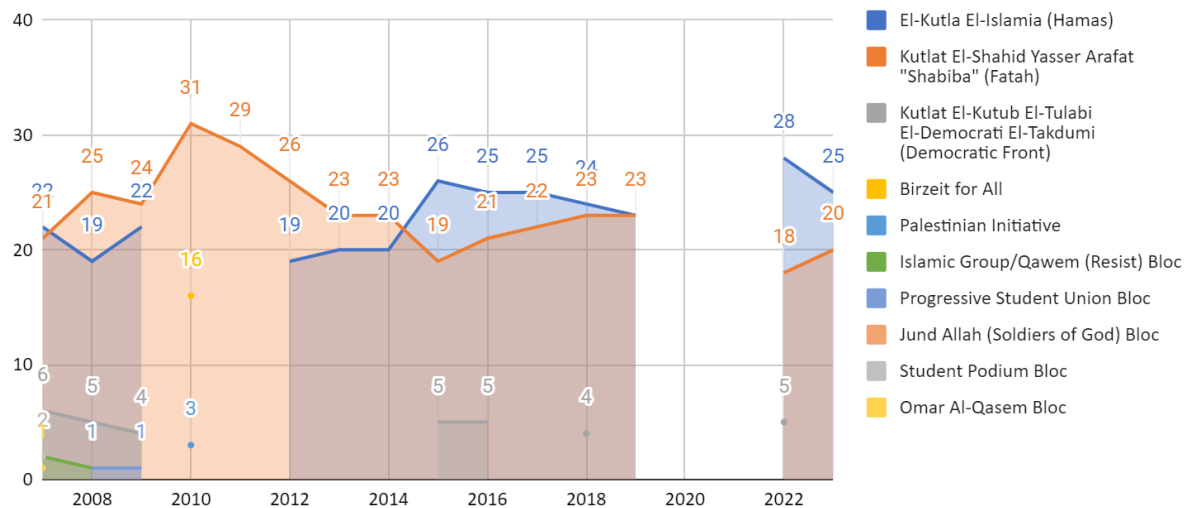
Over the past 19 years, no presidential or parliamentary elections have been held among Palestinians. The only frameworks that have been facilitating elections were municipalities – where in some cases the results are dependent on agreed-upon candidates representing certain ethnicities or clans – and the universities. This litmus test attests more than any poll on the trends in popularity of the main Palestinian political factions, Hamas and Fatah, represented by means of their respective student groups, “Kutla Islamia” and “Shabiba” (Kutlat Al-Shahid Yasser Arafat), alongside other, much more marginal groups.

Elections for the student association are held annually in all Palestinian universities. The Birzeit University case study attests to the level of popularity of a once-firm Fatah stronghold, where Hamas has reclaimed solid and consistent majority over the past several years. In 2009-2010 Hamas refused to participate in the election, citing corruption and marginalization. In 2020-2021 no election has been held due to the covid-19 pandemic.

Hamas has gained clear victories in all student association elections held since 2015, except the tied result in 2019. It is to be noted that these accomplishments have been obtained in spite of the Palestinian Authority's efforts to undermine Hamas' student groups in fear of a questioning the PA rule in A and B territories around Judea and Samaria, especially in light of the 2007 Gaza coup d'état. The PA has done that by means of, *inter alia*, arrests of student activists, raids on their facilities and possible irregularities. Israel has also arrested on a number of occasions “Kutla” activists following intelligence indicating their ties to terrorism.

It is worth mentioning that elections for the universities' student associations are not necessarily representative of political trends among the general population. Students are often associated with more educated or affluent population groups. They tend to be younger and prone to political influence. However, campuses are precisely where revolutions and major political movements have historically thrived. Both Chairman Abbas and Hamas senior official Haniyyeh identified their potential, and cited universities as a major battlefield to win hearts and minds. Major arch-terrorists such as Yahia Ayash and Marwan Barghouti are alumni of the Birzeit University and were politically active over the course of their studies there.

## Trends in the Birzeit University Student Association Election 2007-2023



## IDSF Index – The Day After Abbas

The stability of the PA following President Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)'s retirement is a question that affects the security coordination between Israel and the PA, and naturally on the viability of future negotiation with the Authority. Instability would hold off any sustainable agreements.

Only a minority (9%) of the Israeli public thinks that after Mahmoud Abbas's rule, the transfer of power will occur in an orderly manner. 35% think Hamas will take over the Palestinian Authority in effect; 28% predict anarchy in the Palestinian Authority, forcing the State of Israel to intervene militarily, and 28% did not answer as they felt they do not know what will happen in the Palestinian Authority with the end of Mahmoud Abbas's rule.



A segmentation of the responses shows that the Jewish public as well is uncertain about what the day after Abu Mazen holds: 5% believes that the transfer of power will proceed in an orderly fashion; nearly a third (28%) maintain that anarchy will break out in the PA forcing Israel to intervene militarily; 20% think that Hamas in effect will take control; 21% predict a coup or military takeover of Judea and Samaria by Hamas, and 26% replied “I don’t know”.

The situation among Israeli Arabs does not paint a dramatically different picture: almost a third (28%) of Israeli Arabs foresee anarchy in the Palestinian Authority with the State of Israel forced to intervene militarily; 17% predict a transfer of power in effect to Hamas; 18% think that Hamas will affect a coup or military takeover of Judea and Samaria, and only 9% think there will be an orderly transfer of power (28% answered “I don’t know”).

In such a state of uncertainty characterizing the near future of the PA’s security and politics, it is to be expected that the State of Israel would be well prepared for what the future might bring. However, the Israeli public does not believe it is: over half (52%) of the public deem Israeli unprepared for the eventualities of the day after Abu Mazen; approximately a third (28%) of the respondent did not know, and only 20% was confident of Israeli preparedness.



The survey was conducted by the IDS F research department and with statistical guidance from Dr. Hagai Elkayam. The sample was conducted among 1,191 respondents from the adult population (18+) in Israel who use the Internet. For the Jewish sample (956 respondents), the maximum margin of error is  $\pm 3.17\%$  with a probability of 95%; For the combined sample (1,191 respondents), the maximum margin of sampling error is  $\pm 2.84\%$  with a 95% probability; For the Arab sample (235 respondents), the maximum margin of error is  $\pm 6.39\%$  with a probability of 95%.



## PCPSR Opinion Poll Compilation

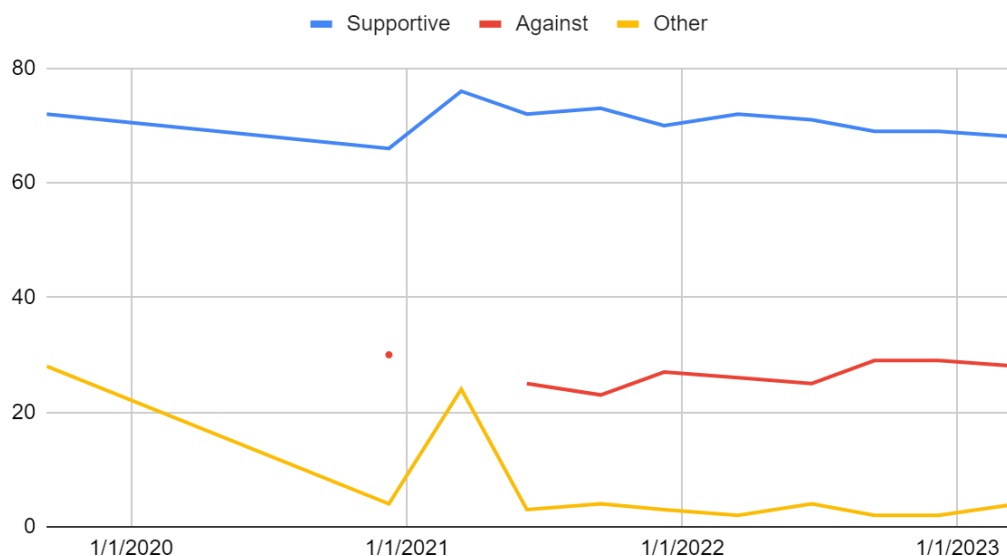
Public opinion polls provide another angle that teaches about the moods on the Palestinian street in preparation for the day after Abbas. The Ramallah-based Palestinian Institute for Policy Survey Research (PCPSR) is one of the important sources in this context. PCPSR describes itself as an independent research institute and non-profit institution whose goal is policy analysis and academic research in the context of Palestinian society – domestic politics and governance, strategic analysis and foreign policy, and public opinion polls and survey research. The institute is managed by Dr. Khalil Shkaki, who holds a PhD from Columbia University; its board of directors includes Dr. Modar Kassis, program director and research fellow at Bir Zeit University, Dr. Yazid Sayeh from the Carnegie Center for Middle East Studies in Beirut, and Dr. Azmi Al-Shu'aibi, senior at the Palestinian Research Institute AMAN for the Study of Corruption and former council member The Palestinian legislature.

We exclusively analyzed the results of the PCPSR public opinion polls on a 5-year timeline: every quarter between 2021-2023 and every year between 2020-2018. An analysis of the survey trend sheds light on the significant trends on the Palestinian street in the context of the day after Abbas:

### Domestic Politics: Fatah vs Hamas, PA's Popularity, Demanding Abbas's Resignation

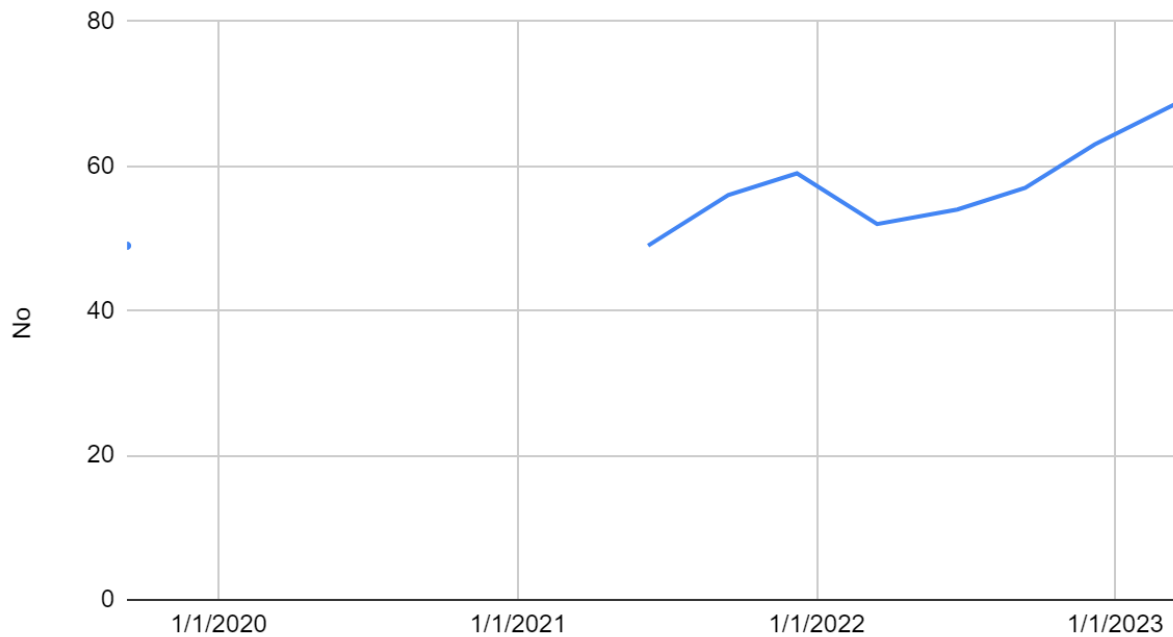
Do you support the holding of presidential and legislative elections in the Palestinian territories in the near future?

#### Supportive, Against and Other



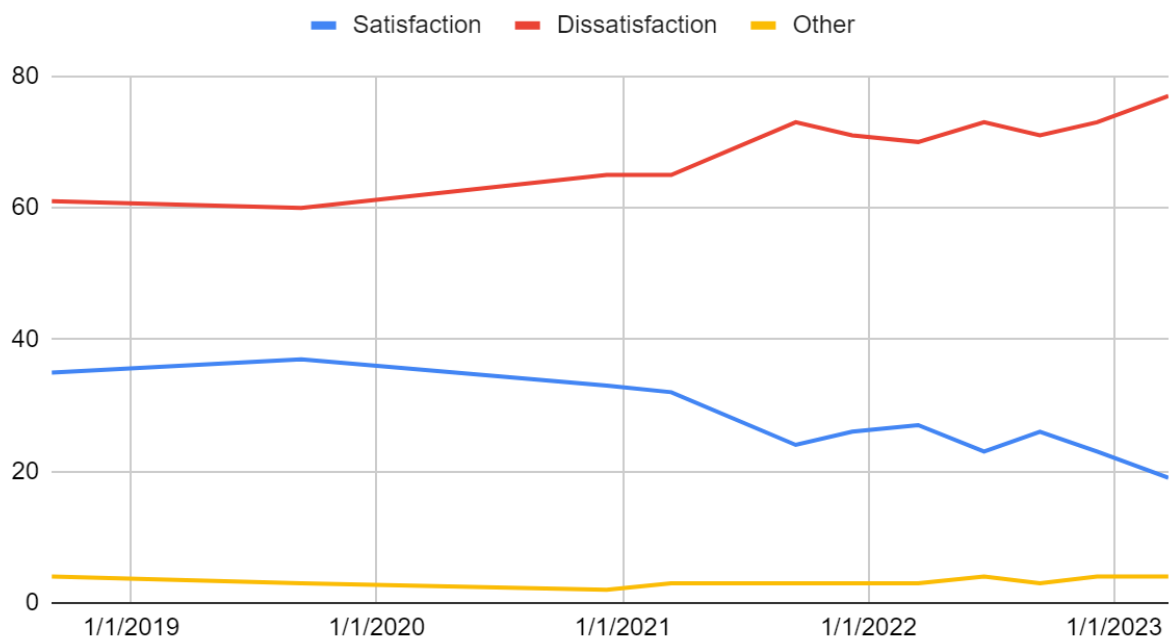
Do you believe any legislative, or legislative and presidential, elections will take place soon?

No vs.



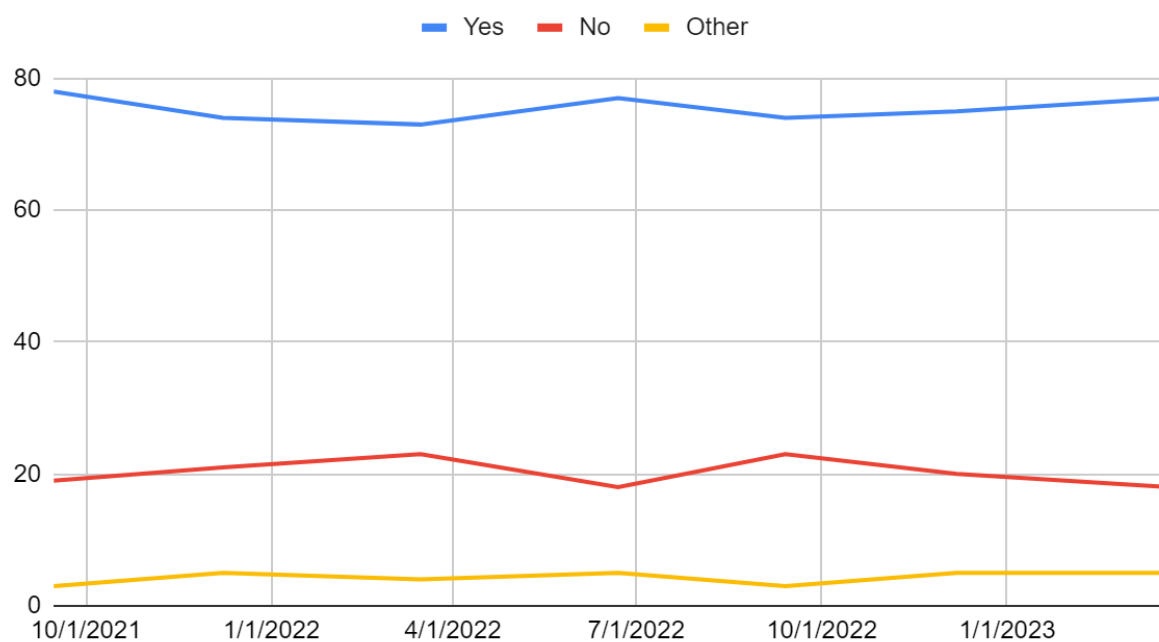
Level of satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas

Satisfaction, Dissatisfaction and Other



Do you want President Abbas to Resign?

Yes, No and Other

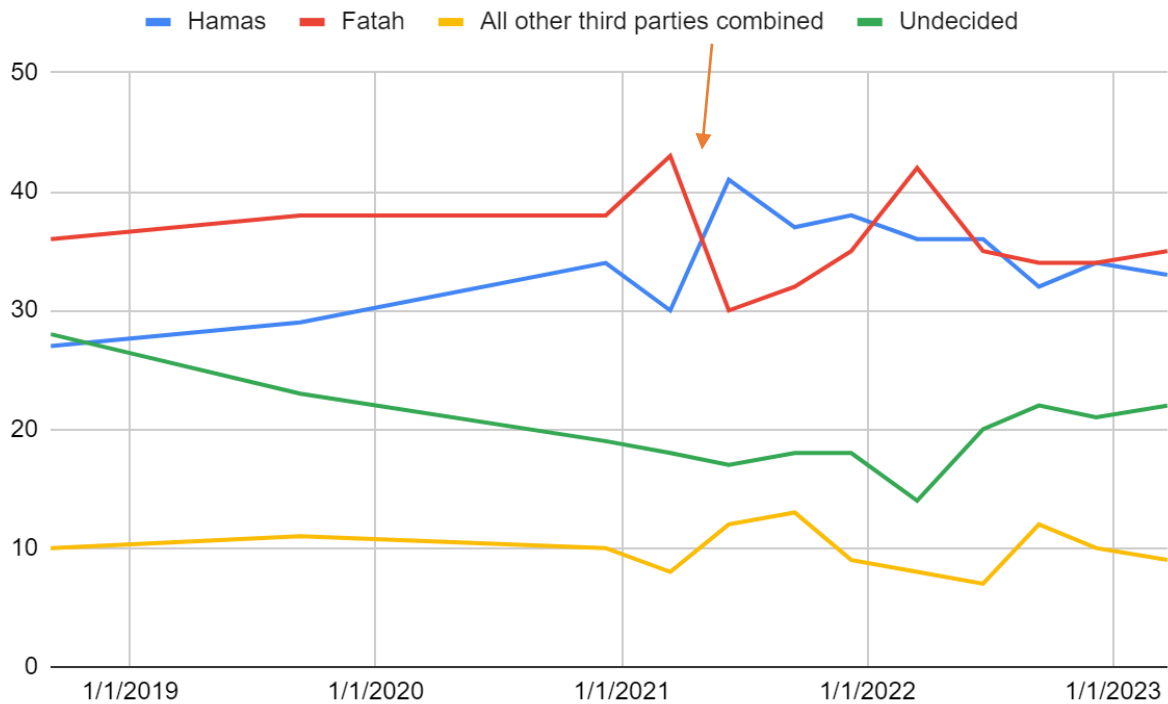


Who is most deserving of representing and leading the Palestinian people?

	3/23/2023	12/7/2022	9/13/2022	6/22/2022	3/16/2022	12/8/2021	9/15/2021
<b>Hamas</b>	26	28	27	33	31	34	45
<b>Fatah under President Abbas</b>	24	25	26	23	29	23	19
<b>Neither side</b>	44	40	42	38	33	36	28
<b>Other</b>	6	7	5	6	7	7	8

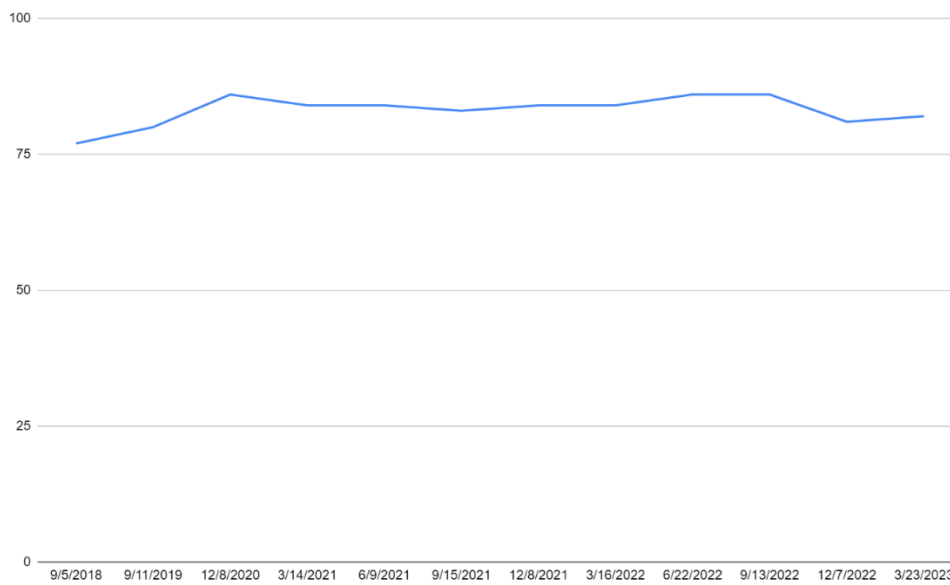
If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions that participated in the 2006 elections, which list will you vote for?

**\*Notice May 2021 – Guardian of the Walls**

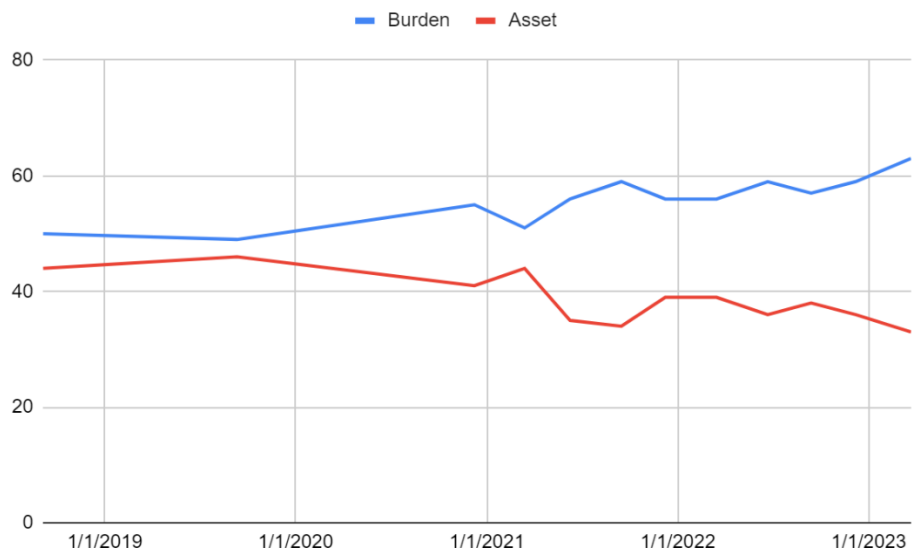


## Perception of corruption in PA institutions

Yes:



## Assessment of the PA

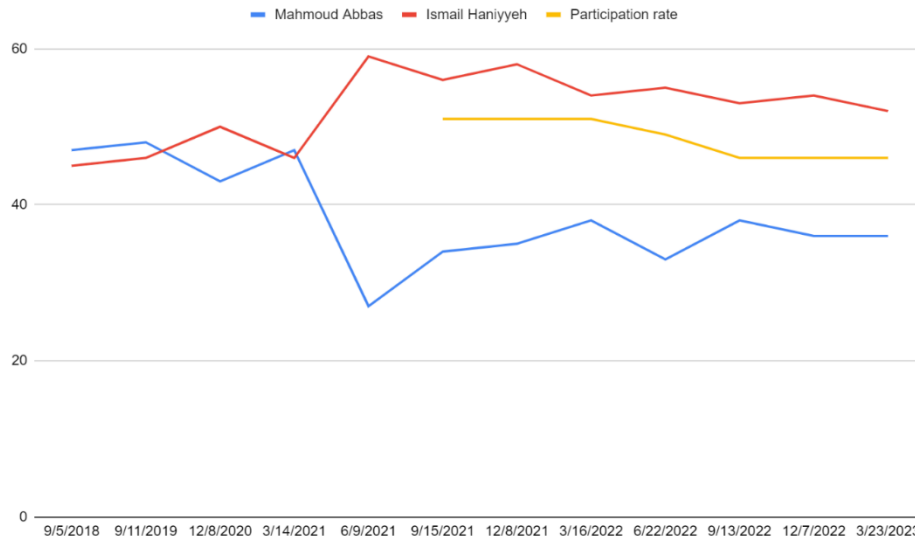


## Election results

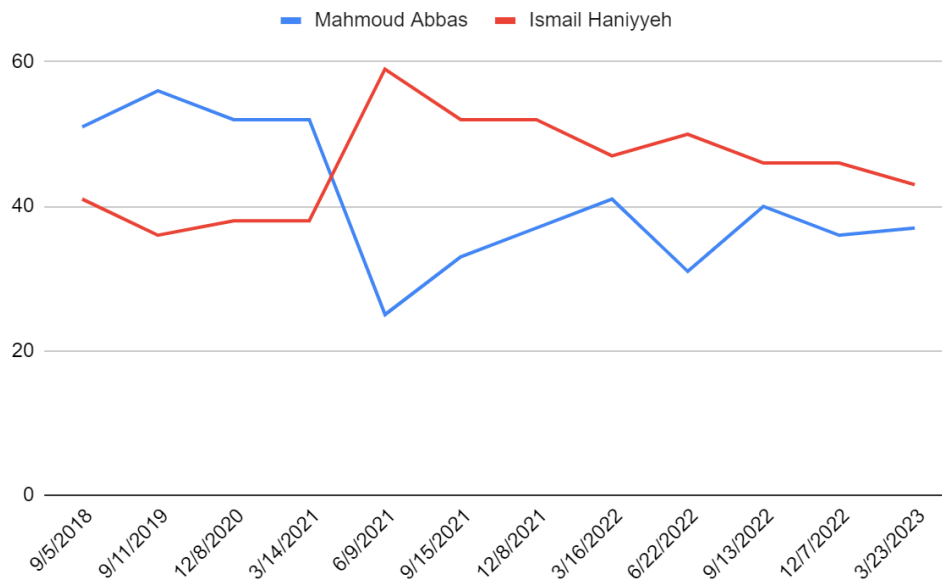
If new presidential elections were held today and only two were nominated, whom will you vote to?

**\*Notice May 2021 here as well**

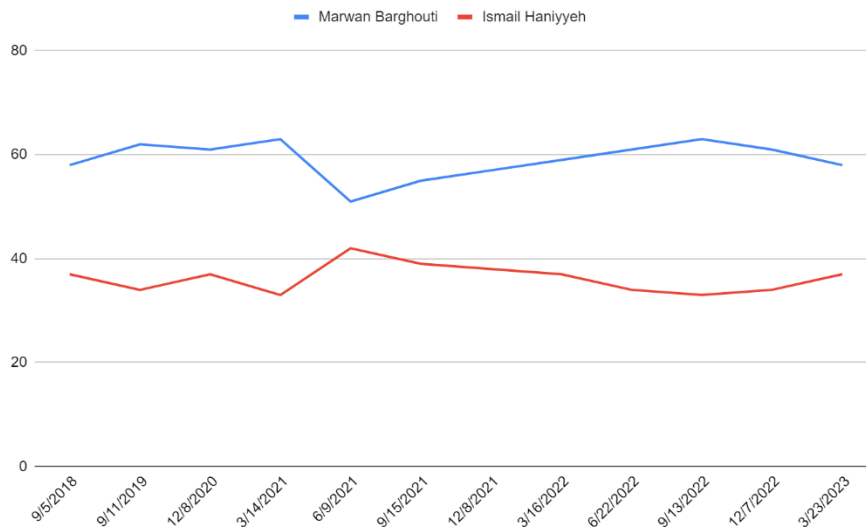
**Between Mahmoud Abbas and Ismail Haniyyeh**



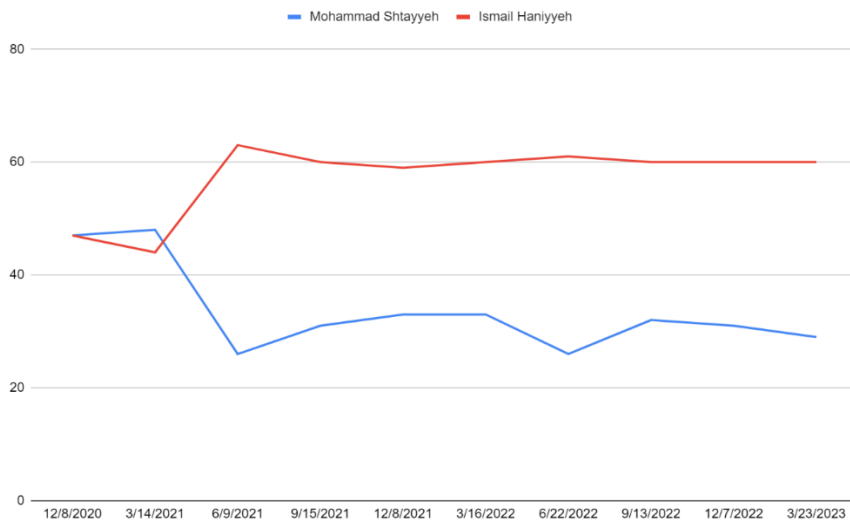
**“West bank”**



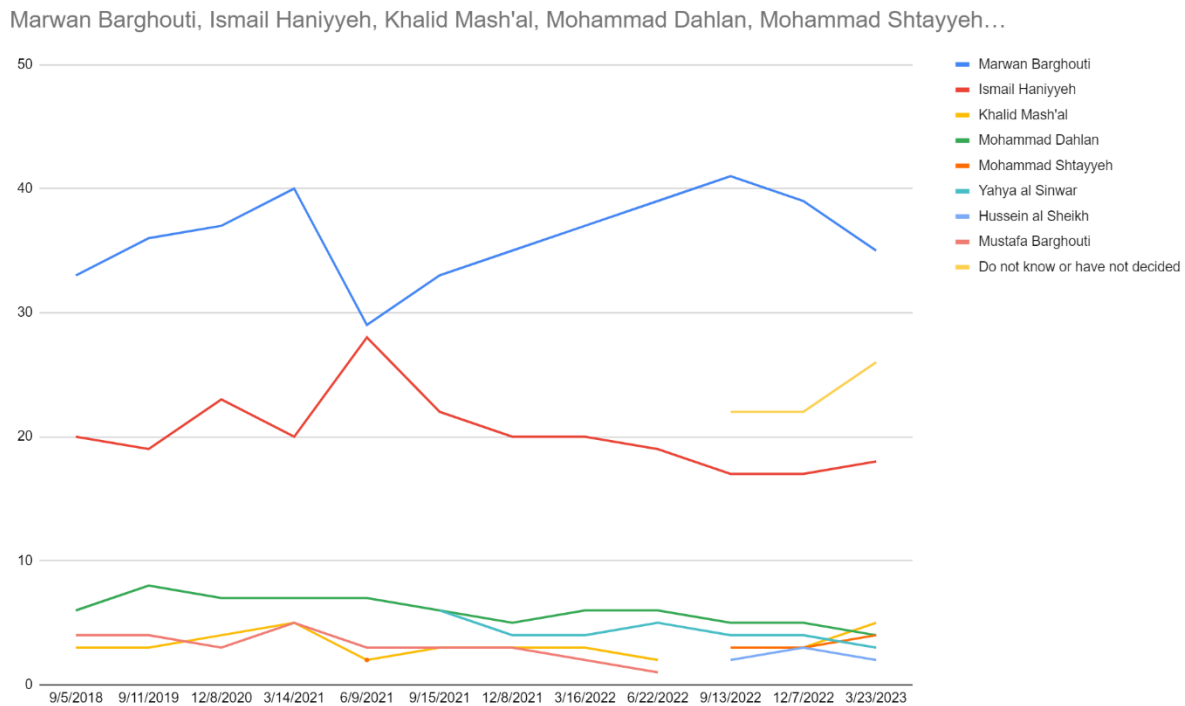
### Between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyyeh



### Between Prime Minister Mohammad Shtayyeh and Ismail Haniyyeh

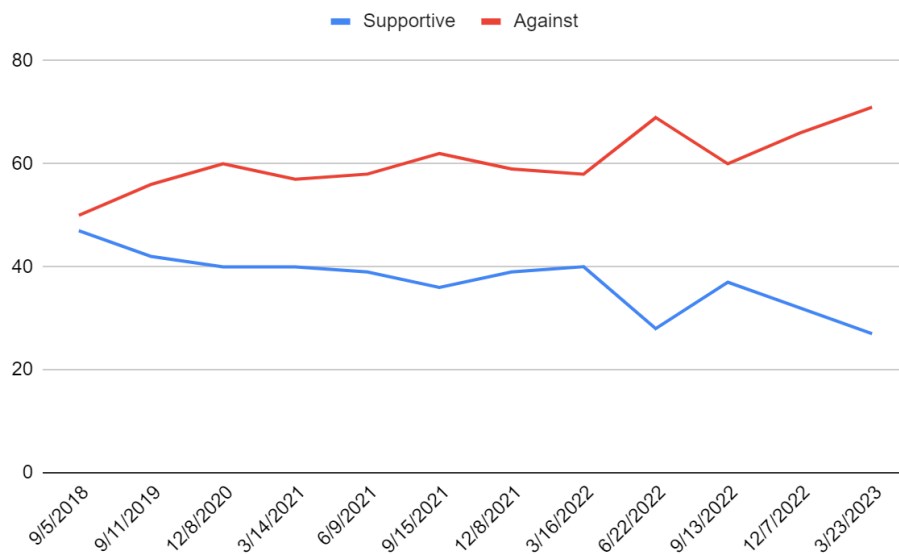


If Abbas does not run for elections, whom will you prefer as successor? (close-ended question)



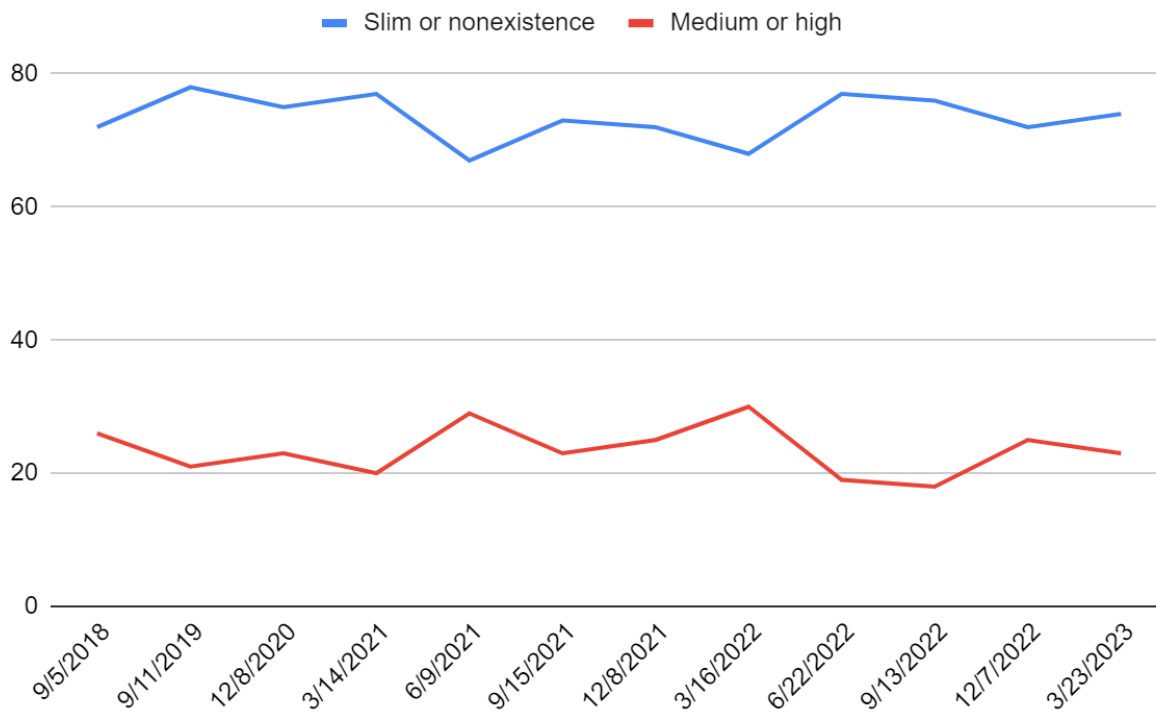
## Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Support for the concept of the two-state solution

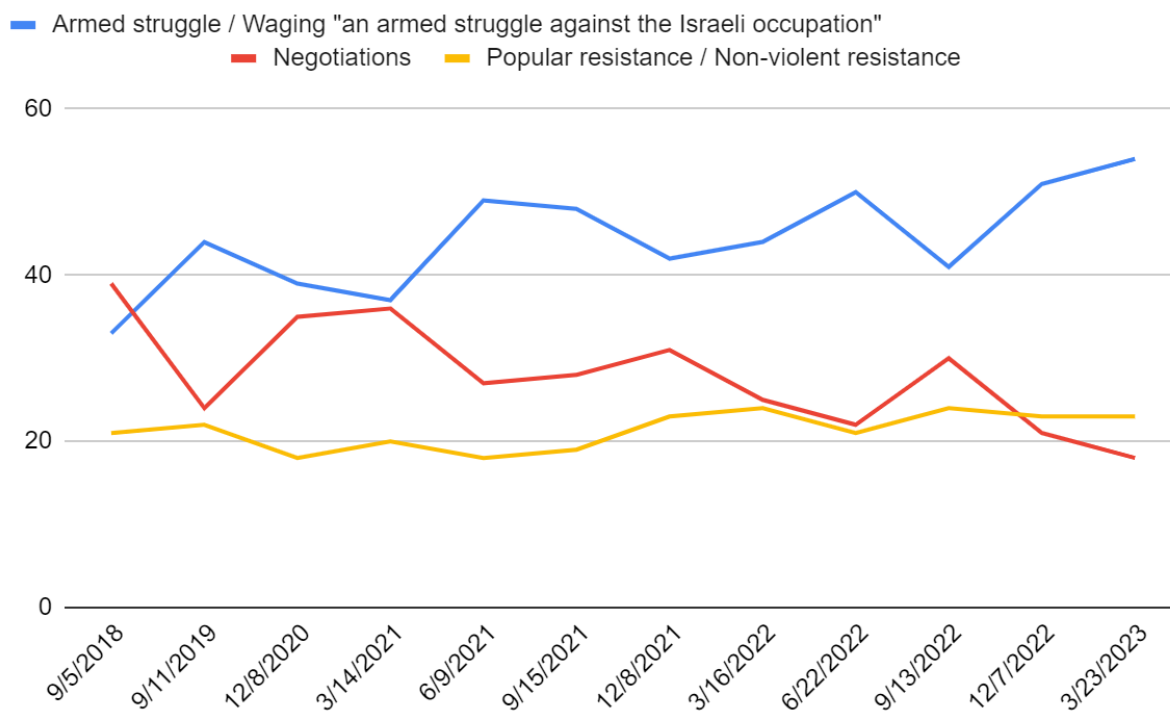




What are the chances for the creation of a Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel in the next five years?

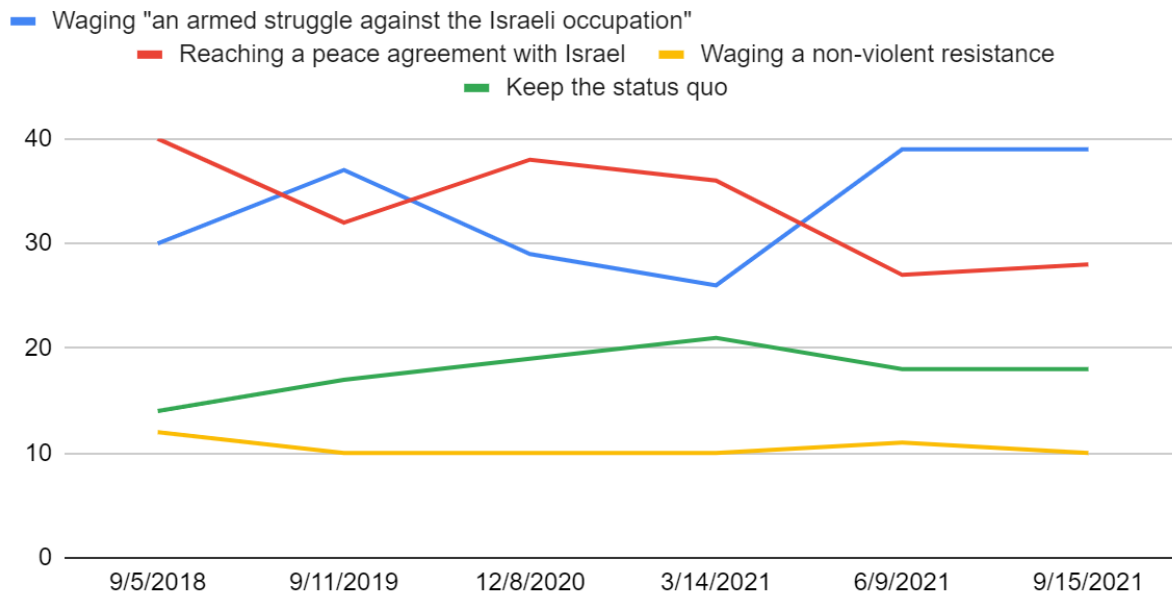


What are the most effective means of ending "the Israeli occupation" and building an independent state?

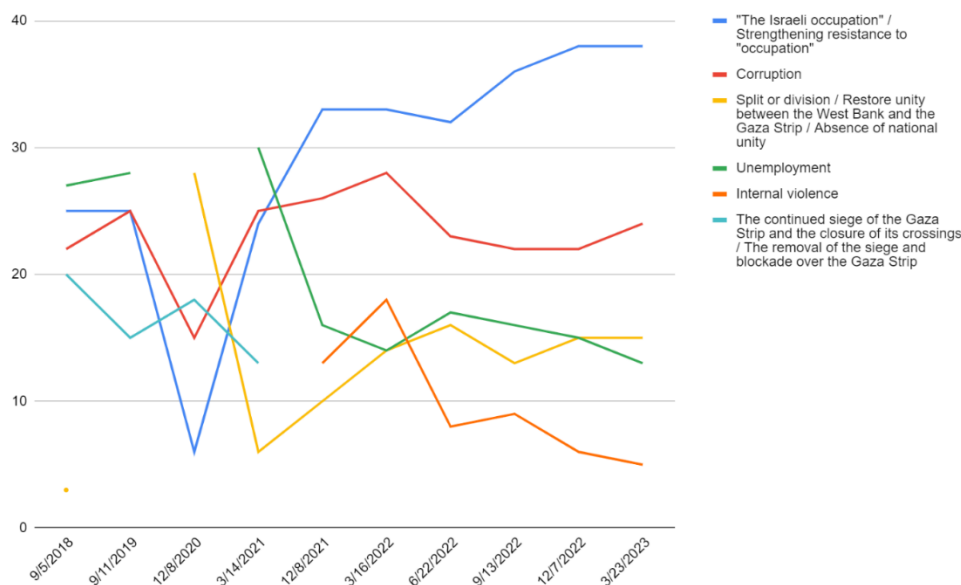


The most preferred way out of the current status quo

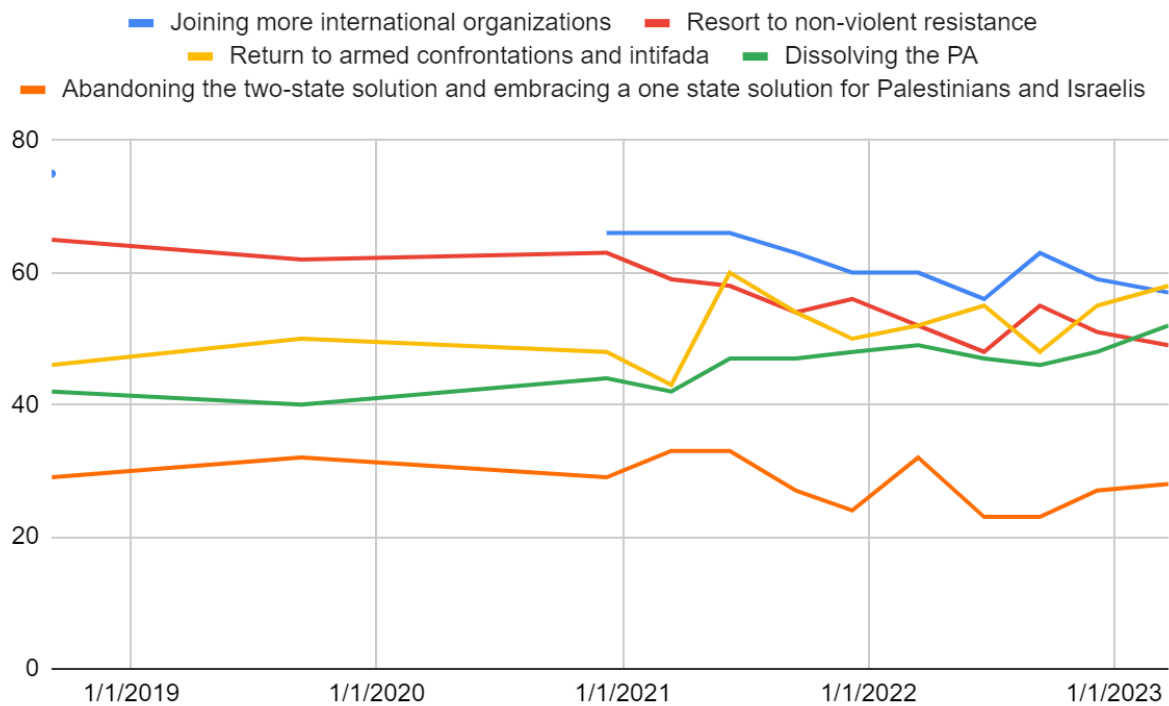
## Waging "an armed struggle against the Israeli occupation", Reaching a peace agreement with Israel, Waging a non-viole...



What is the most pressing problem confronting the Palestinians today?



Multi-choice: Support for specific policy choices to break the current deadlock



## Armed Groups

Support of the formation of armed groups, such as the "Lions' Den"

	3/23/2023	12/7/2022
Supportive	68	72
Against	25	22

Does the PA have the right to arrest member of these armed groups in order to prevent them from carrying out attacks against Israel or to provide them with protection?

	3/23/2023	12/7/2022
Yes	8	10
No	87	87

## PA's Security Coordination with Israel

Supportive of the ending of security coordination with Israel that was announced recently by the PA

	3/23/2023	3/16/2022	12/8/2020
Supportive	63	61	53
Against	32		44

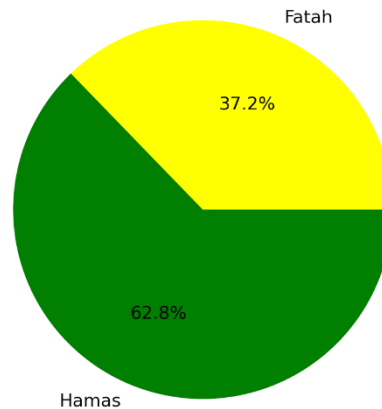
## Appendix A: Data based on location tags

### Al-Bireh

In Al-Bireh, the distribution of videos affiliated with each organization is as follows:

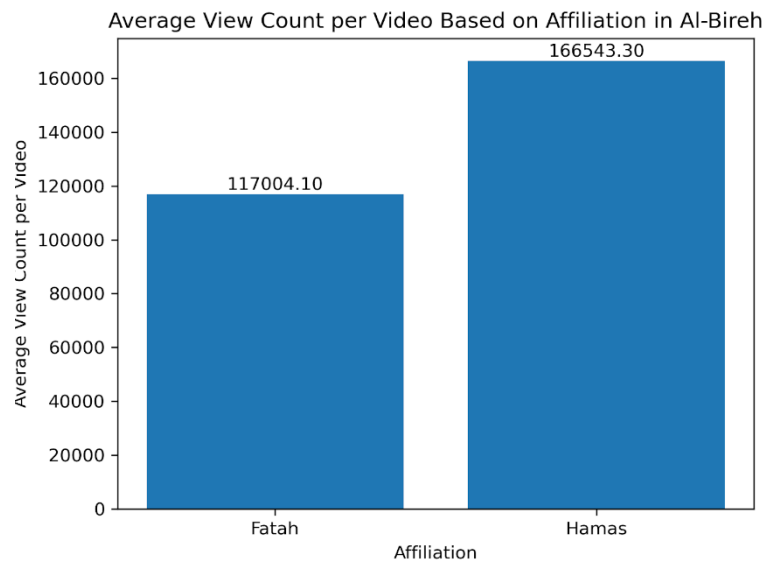
1. 37.2% of the videos are affiliated with Fatah
2. 62.8% of the videos are affiliated with Hamas

Distribution of Videos Based on Affiliation in Al-Bireh



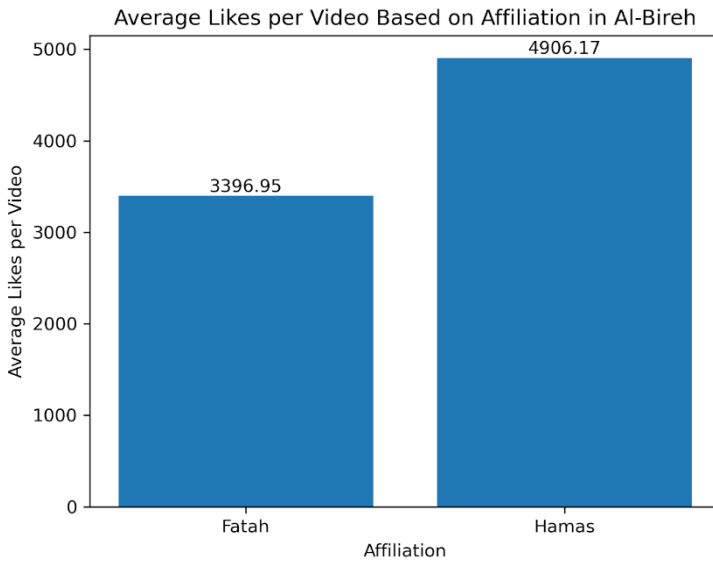
The average number of views per affiliation in Al-Bireh is as follows:

1. 117,004.1 views per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 166,543.3 views per video affiliated with Hamas



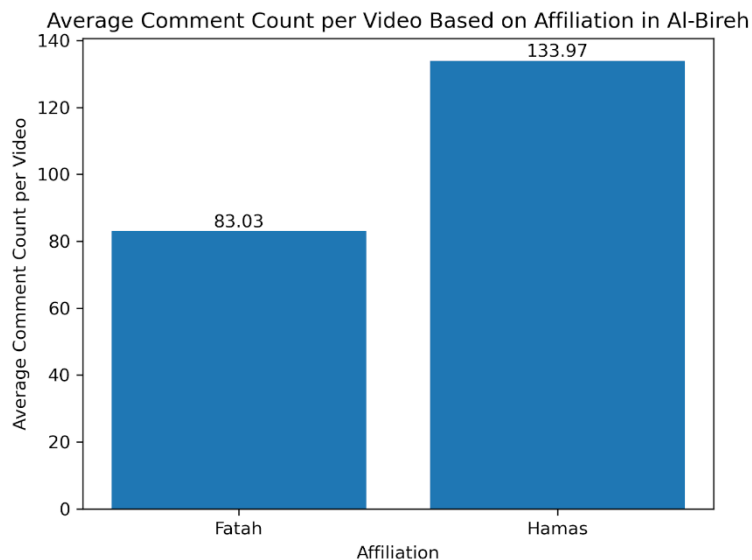
The average number of likes per affiliation in Al-Bireh is as follows:

1. 3,396.95 likes per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 4,906.17 likes per video affiliated with Hamas



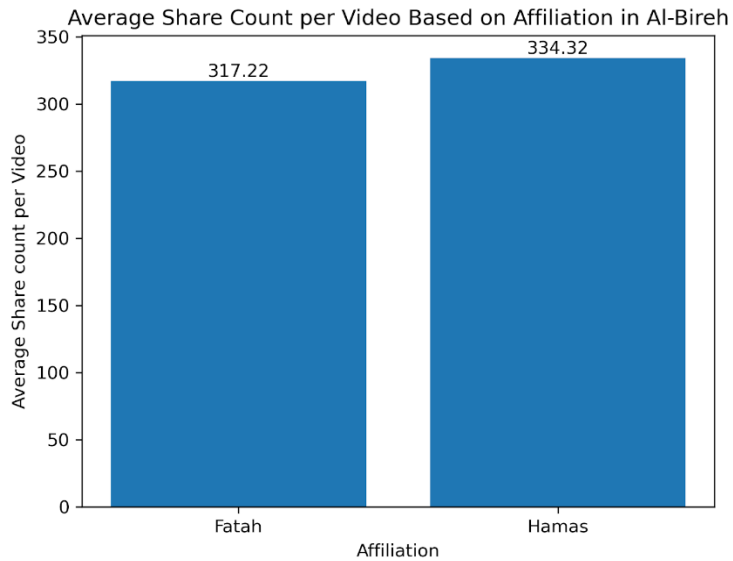
The average number of comments per affiliation in Al-Bireh is as follows:

1. 83.03 comments per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 133.97 comments per video affiliated with Hamas



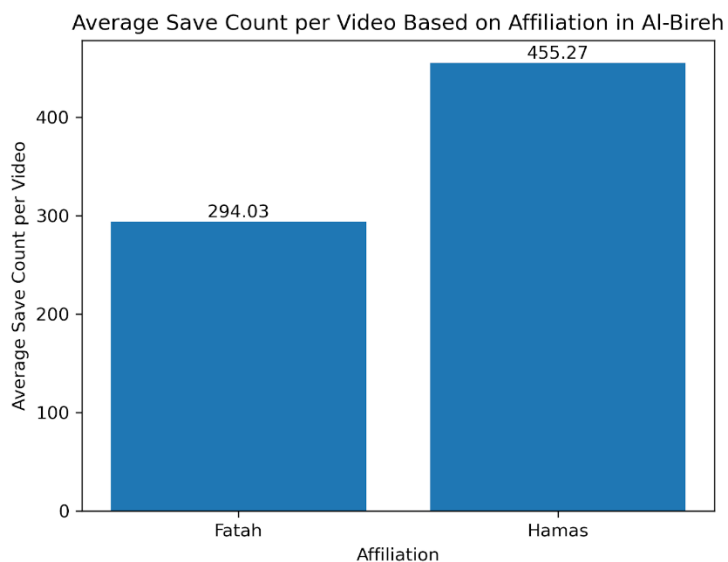
The average number of shares per affiliation in Al-Bireh is as follows:

1. 317.22 shares per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 334.32 shares per video affiliated with Hamas



The average number of saves per affiliation in Al-Bireh is as follows:

1. 294.03 saves per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 455.27 saves per video affiliated with Hamas

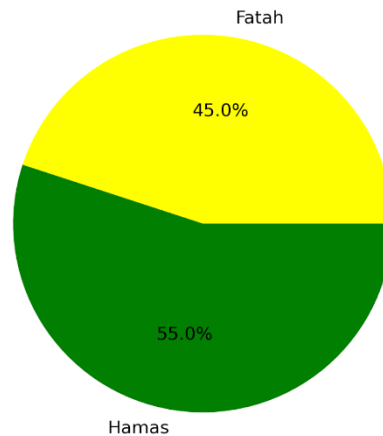


## An-Najah

In An-Najah, the distribution of videos affiliated with each organization is as follows:

1. 45% of the videos are affiliated with Fatah
2. 55% of the videos are affiliated with Hamas

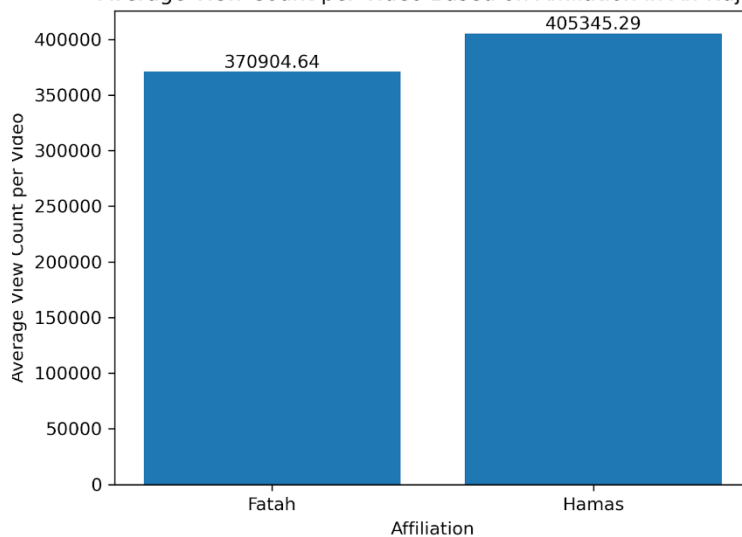
Distribution of Videos Based on Affiliation in An-Najah



The average number of views per affiliation in An-Najah is as follows:

1. 370,904.64 views per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 405,345.29 views per video affiliated with Hamas

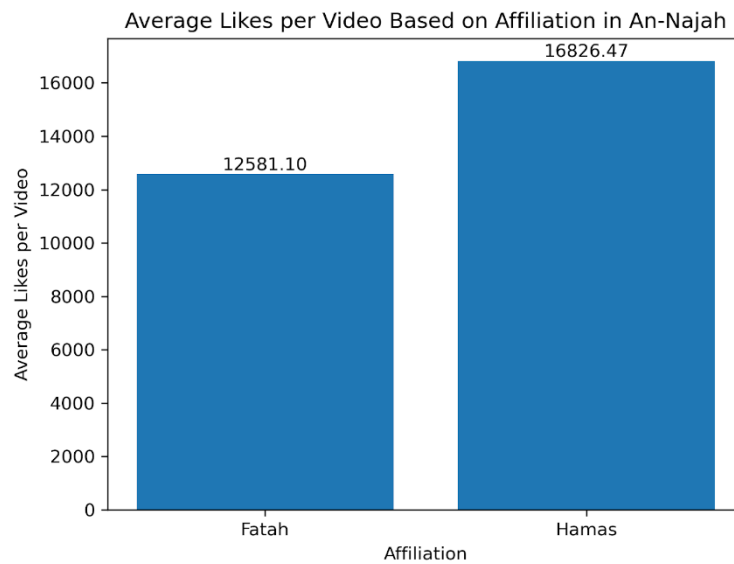
Average View Count per Video Based on Affiliation in An-Najah





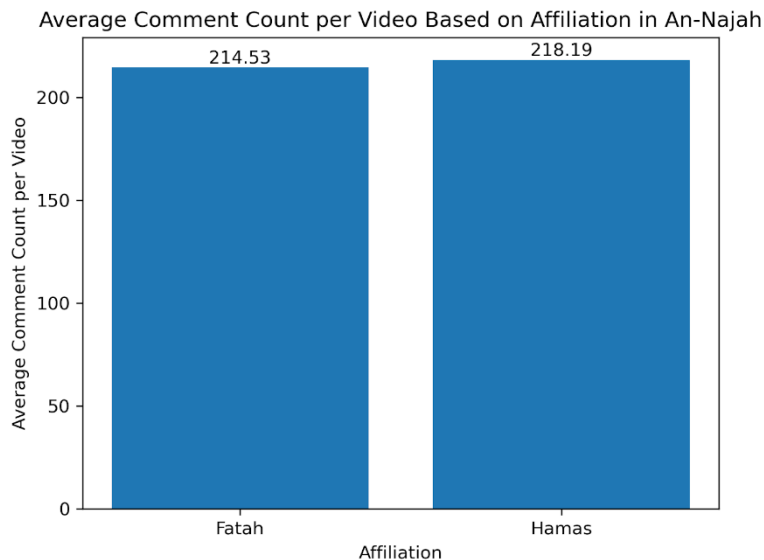
The average number of likes per affiliation in An-Najah is as follows:

1. 12,581.1 likes per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 16,826.47 likes per video affiliated with Hamas



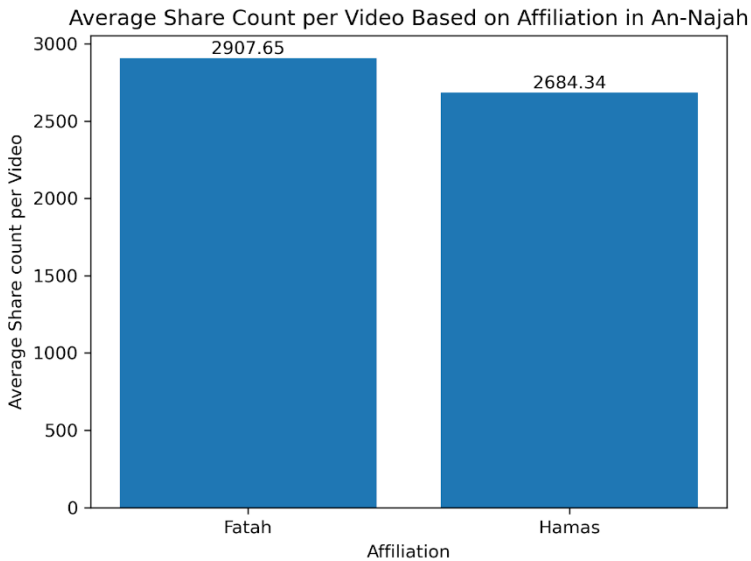
The average number of comments per affiliation in An-Najah is as follows:

1. 214.53 comments per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 218.19 comments per video affiliated with Hamas



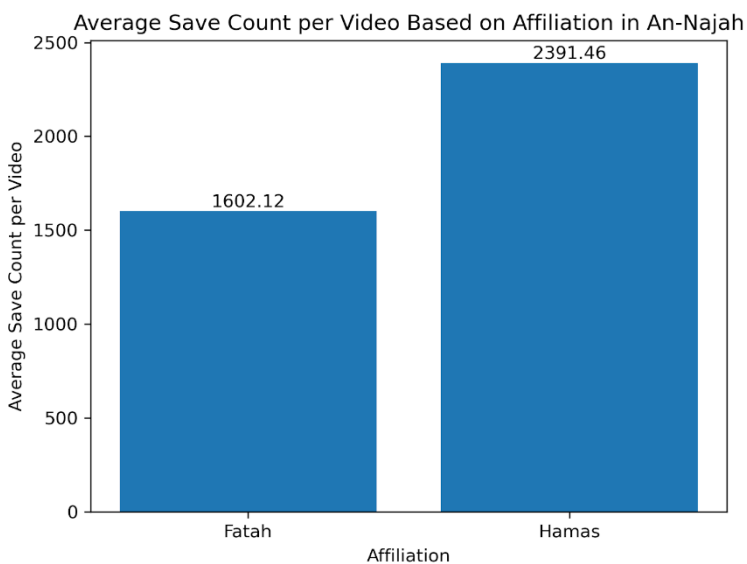
The average number of shares per affiliation in An-Najah is as follows:

1. 2,907.65 shares per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 2,684.34 shares per video affiliated with Hamas



The average number of saves per affiliation in An-Najah is as follows:

1. 1,602.12 saves per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 2,391.46 saves per video affiliated with Hamas

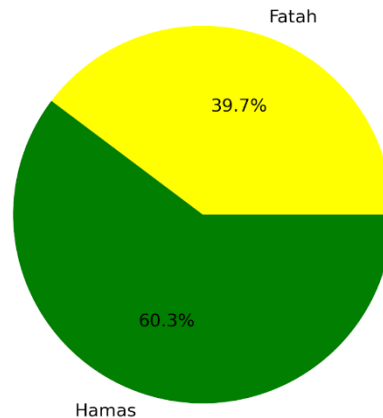


## Bethlehem

In Bethlehem, the distribution of videos affiliated with each organization is as follows:

1. 39.7% of the videos are affiliated with Fatah
2. 60.3% of the videos are affiliated with Hamas

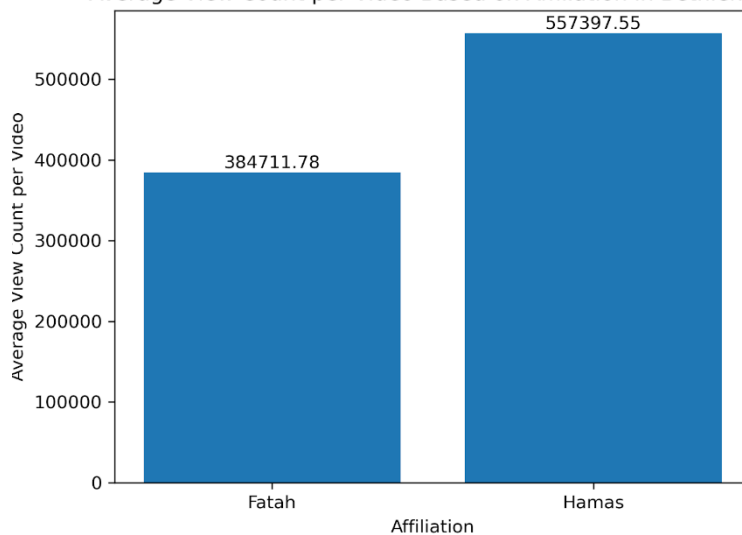
Distribution of Videos Based on Affiliation in Bethlehem



The average number of views per affiliation in Bethlehem is as follows:

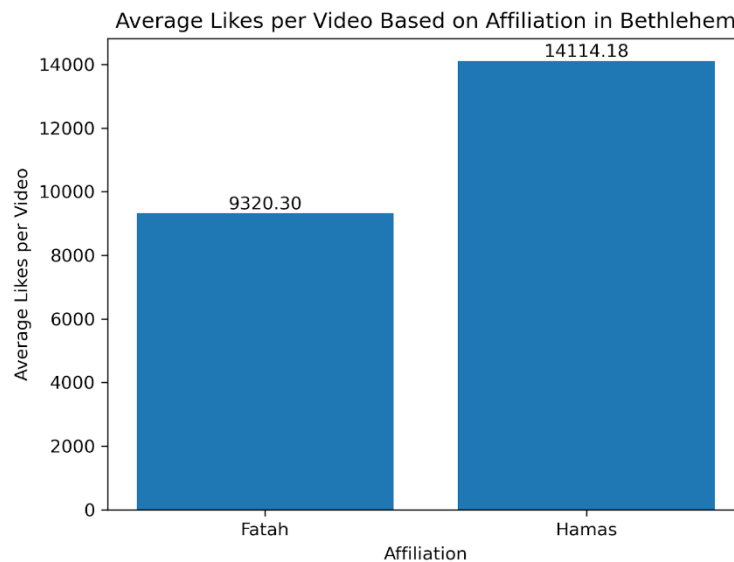
1. 384,711.78 views per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 557,397.55 views per video affiliated with Hamas

Average View Count per Video Based on Affiliation in Bethlehem



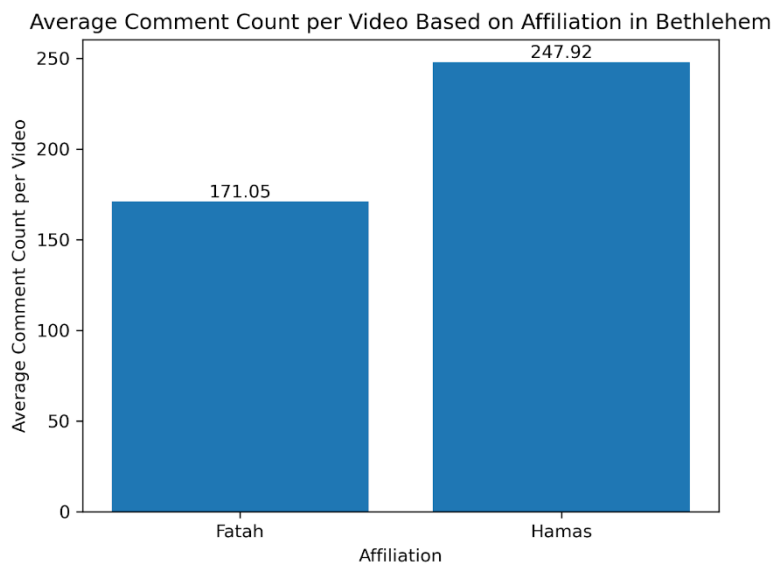
The average number of likes per affiliation in Bethlehem is as follows:

1. 9,320.3 likes per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 14,114.18 likes per video affiliated with Hamas



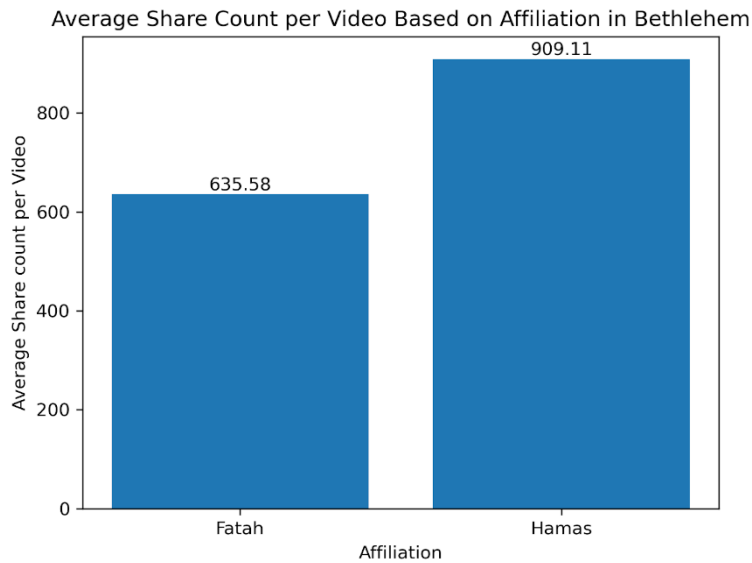
The average number of comments per affiliation in Bethlehem is as follows:

1. 171.05 comments per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 247.92 comments per video affiliated with Hamas



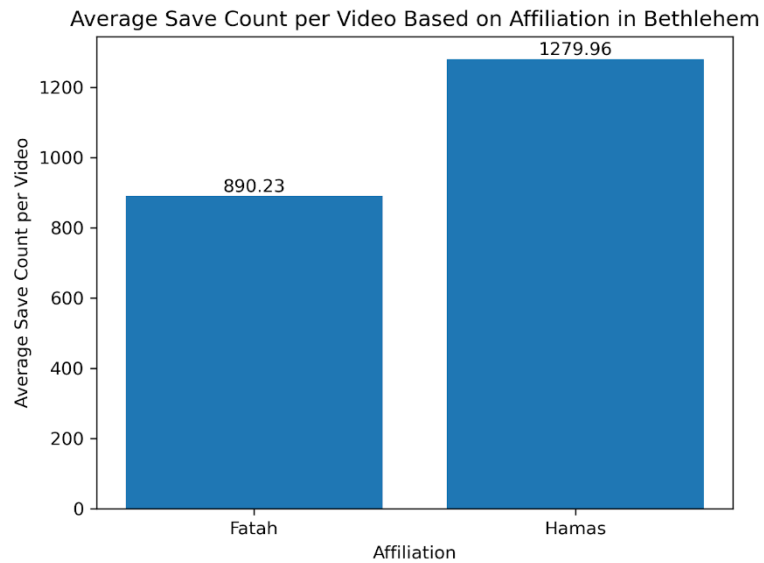
The average number of shares per affiliation in Bethlehem is as follows:

1. 635.58 shares per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 909.11 shares per video affiliated with Hamas



The average number of saves per affiliation in Bethlehem is as follows:

1. 890.23 saves per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 1,279.96 saves per video affiliated with Hamas

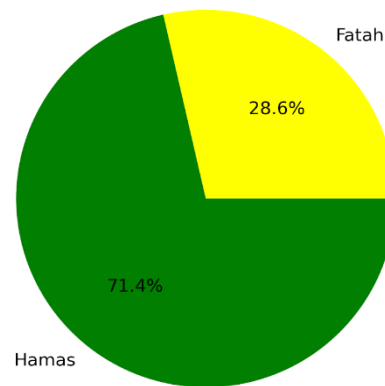


## Birzeit

In Birzeit, the distribution of videos affiliated with each organization is as follows:

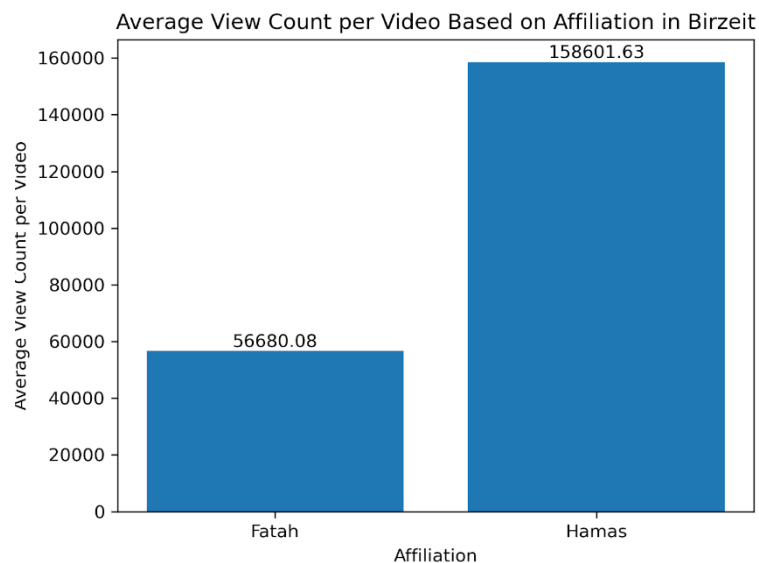
1. 28.6% of the videos are affiliated with Fatah
2. 71.4% of the videos are affiliated with Hamas

Distribution of Videos Based on Affiliation in Birzeit



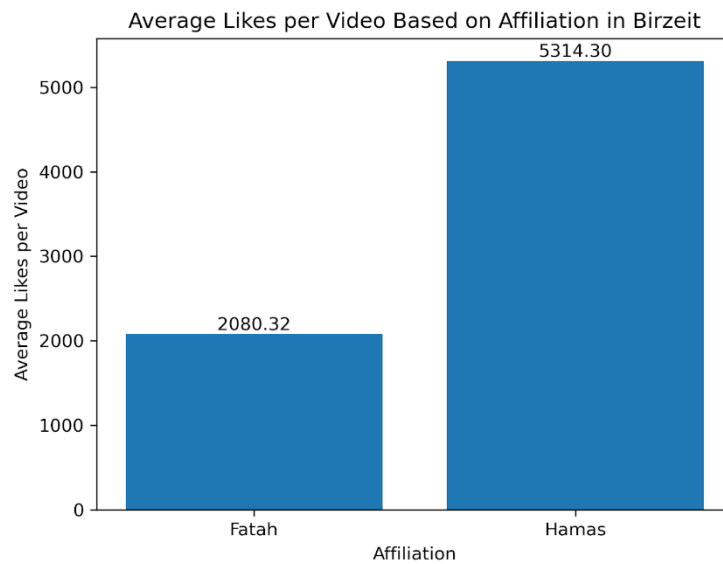
The average number of views per affiliation in Birzeit is as follows:

1. 56,680.08 views per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 158,601.63 views per video affiliated with Hamas



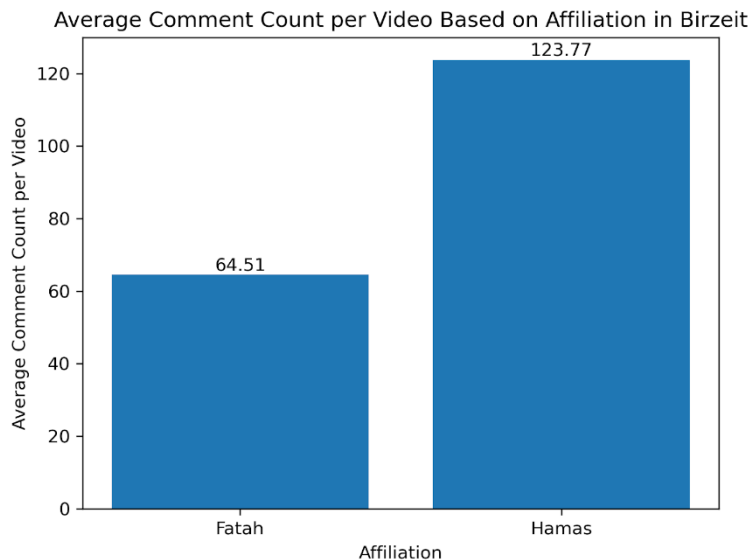
The average number of likes per affiliation in Birzeit is as follows:

1. 2,080.32 likes per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 5,314.3 likes per video affiliated with Hamas



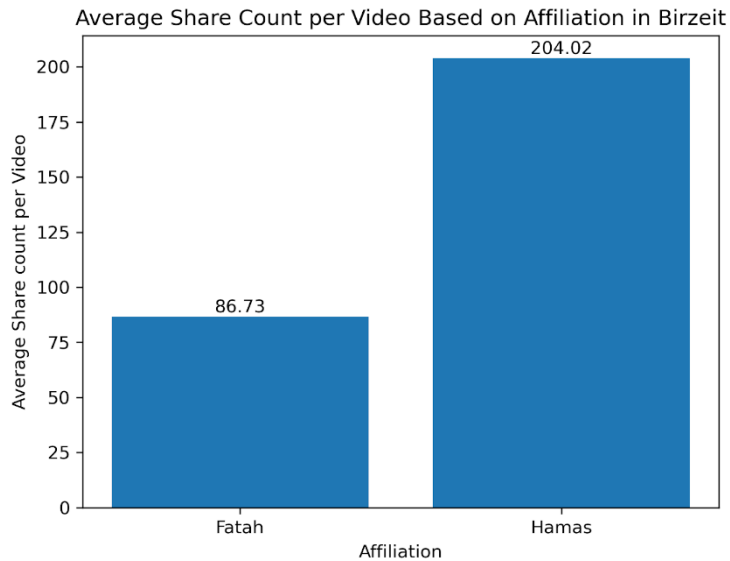
The average number of comments per affiliation in Birzeit is as follows:

1. 64.51 comments per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 123.77 comments per video affiliated with Hamas



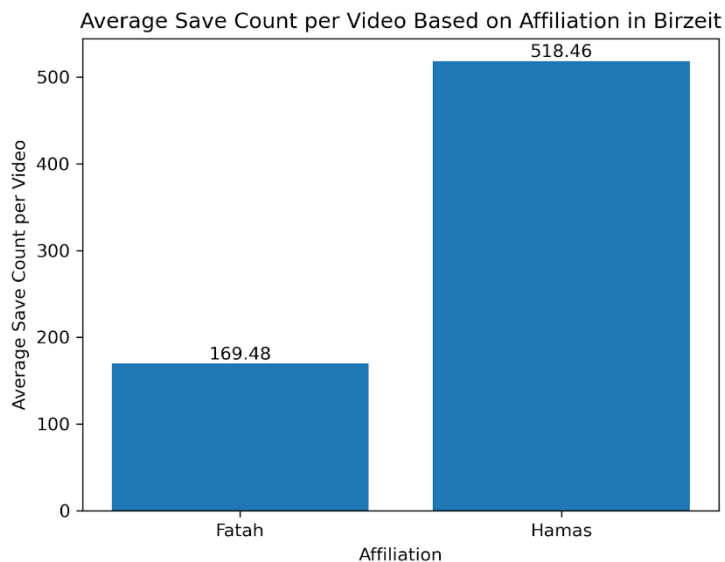
The average number of shares per affiliation in Birzeit is as follows:

1. 86.73 shares per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 204.02 shares per video affiliated with Hamas



The average number of saves per affiliation in Birzeit is as follows:

1. 169.48 saves per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 518.46 saves per video affiliated with Hamas



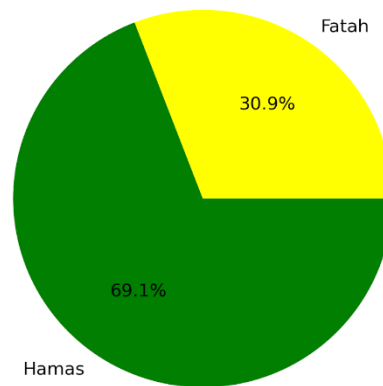


## Hebron

In Hebron, the distribution of videos affiliated with each organization is as follows:

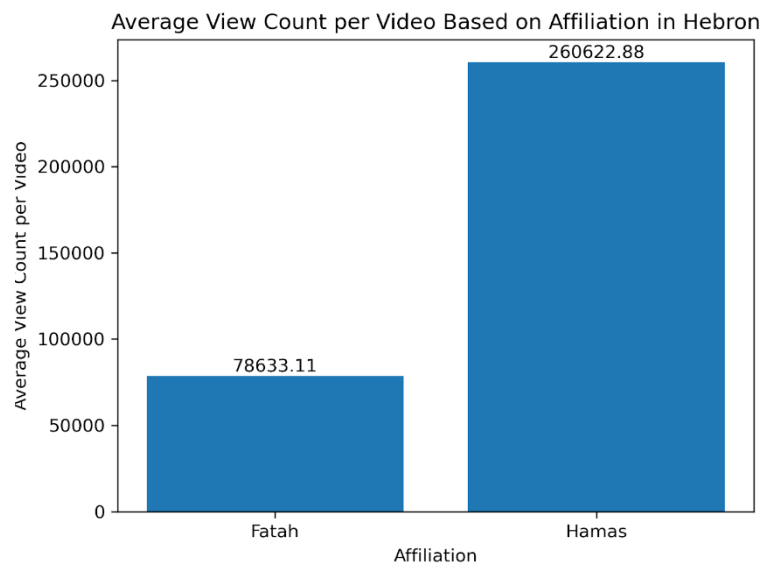
1. 30.9% of the videos are affiliated with Fatah
2. 69.1% of the videos are affiliated with Hamas

Distribution of Videos Based on Affiliation in Hebron



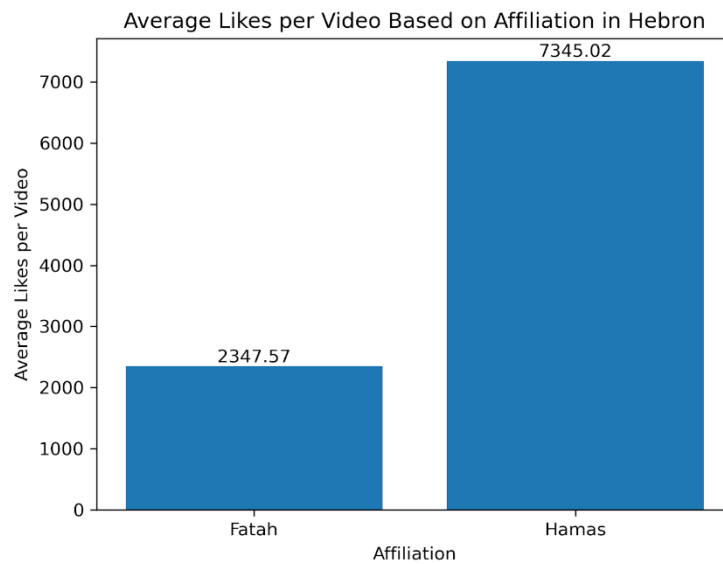
The average number of views per affiliation in Hebron is as follows:

1. 78,633.11 views per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 260,622.88 views per video affiliated with Hamas



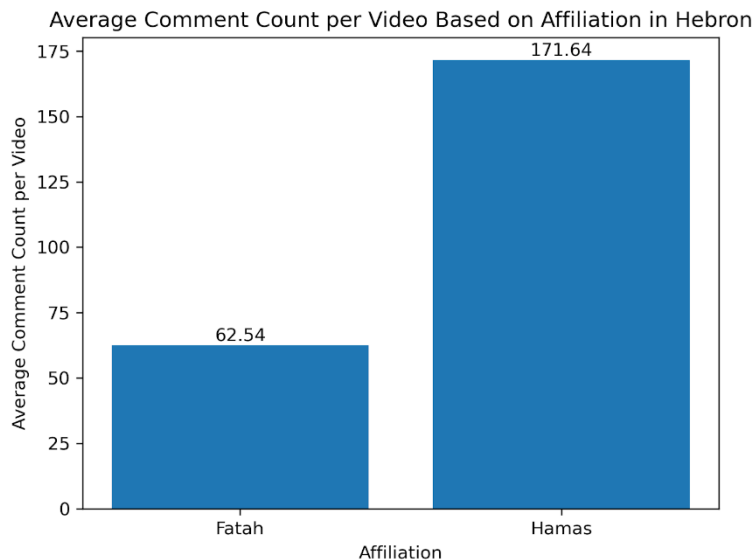
The average number of likes per affiliation in Hebron is as follows:

1. 2,347.57 likes per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 7,345.02 likes per video affiliated with Hamas



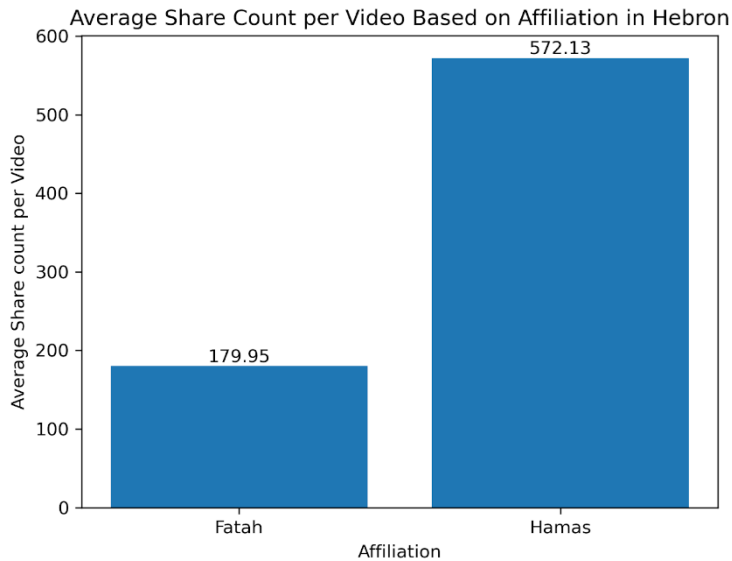
The average number of comments per affiliation in Hebron is as follows:

1. 62.54 comments per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 171.64 comments per video affiliated with Hamas



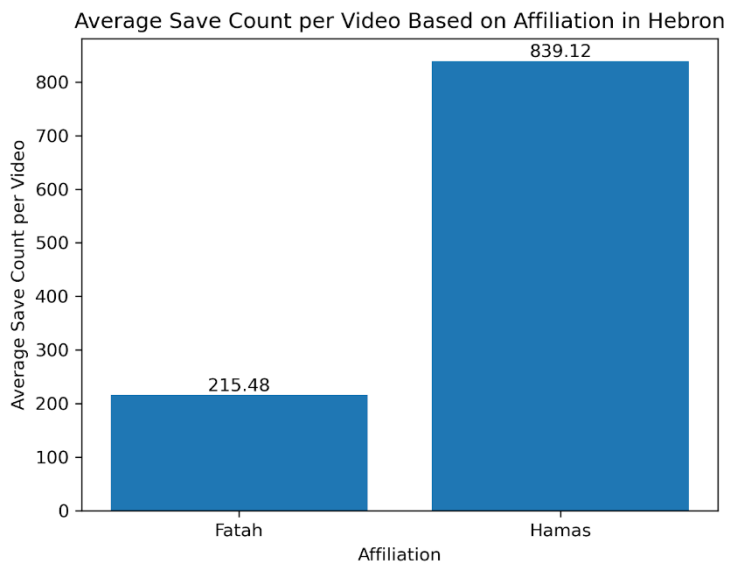
The average number of shares per affiliation in Hebron is as follows:

1. 179.95 shares per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 572.13 shares per video affiliated with Hamas



The average number of saves per affiliation in Hebron is as follows:

1. 215.48 saves per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 839.12 saves per video affiliated with Hamas

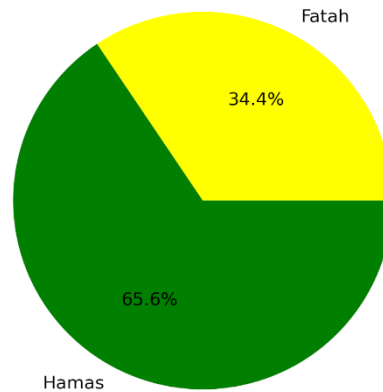


## Jenin

In Jenin, the distribution of videos affiliated with each organization is as follows:

1. 34.4% of the videos are affiliated with Fatah
2. 65.6% of the videos are affiliated with Hamas

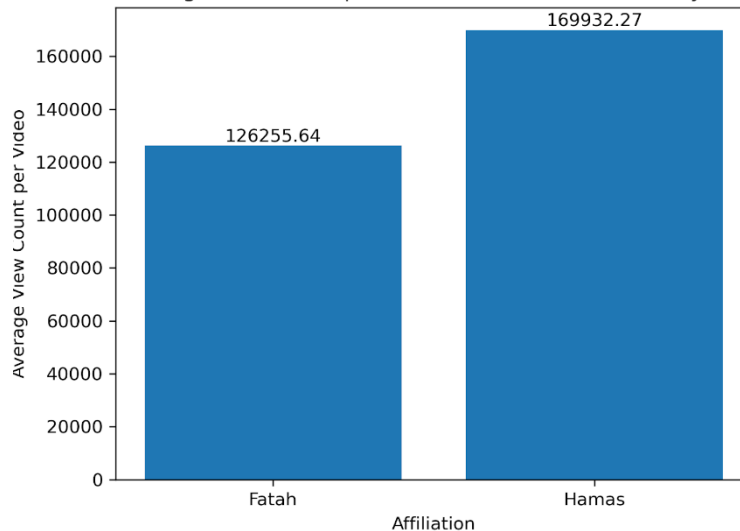
Distribution of Videos Based on Affiliation in Jenin



The average number of views per affiliation in Jenin is as follows:

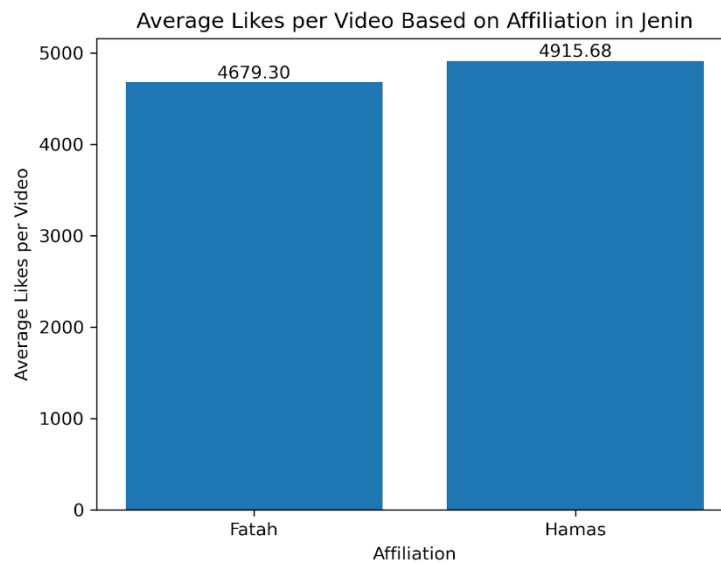
1. 126,255.64 views per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 169,932.27 views per video affiliated with Hamas

Average View Count per Video Based on Affiliation in Jenin



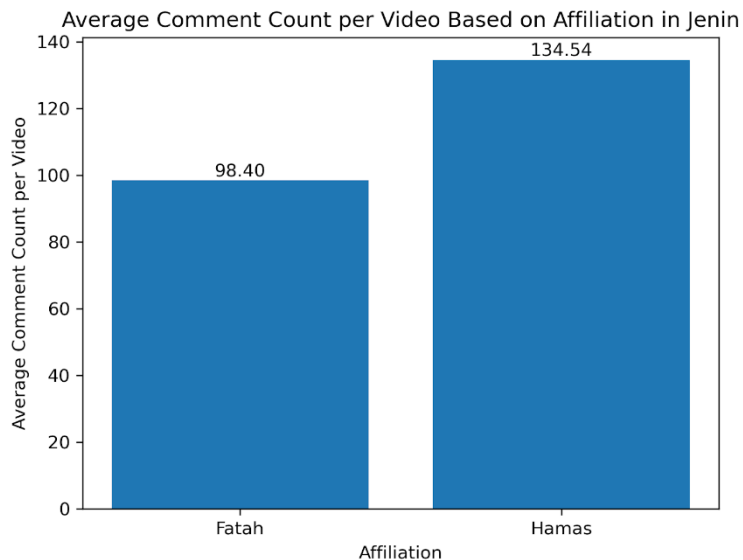
The average number of likes per affiliation in Jenin is as follows:

1. 4,679.3 likes per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 4,915.68 likes per video affiliated with Hamas



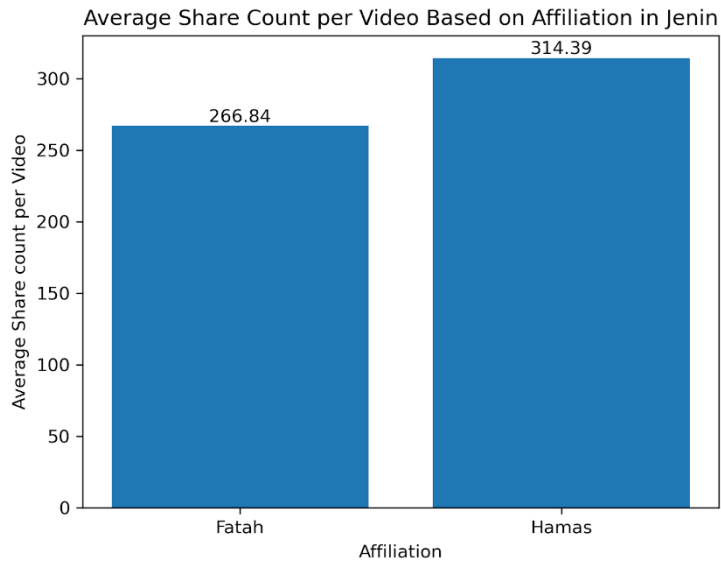
The average number of comments per affiliation in Jenin is as follows:

1. 98.40 comments per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 134.54 comments per video affiliated with Hamas



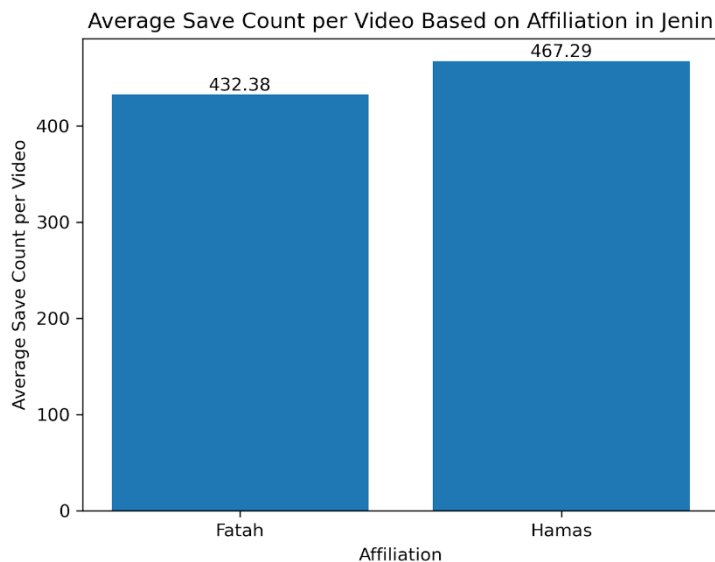
The average number of shares per affiliation in Jenin is as follows:

1. 266.84 shares per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 314.39 shares per video affiliated with Hamas



The average number of saves per affiliation in Jenin is as follows:

1. 432.38 saves per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 467.29 saves per video affiliated with Hamas

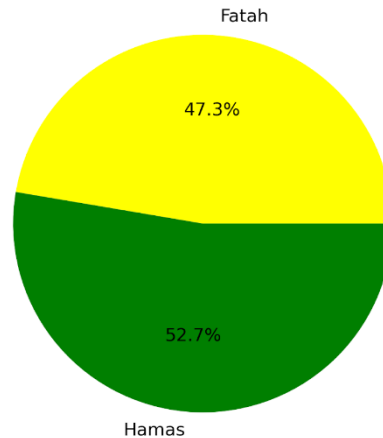


## Jericho

In Jericho, the distribution of videos affiliated with each organization is as follows:

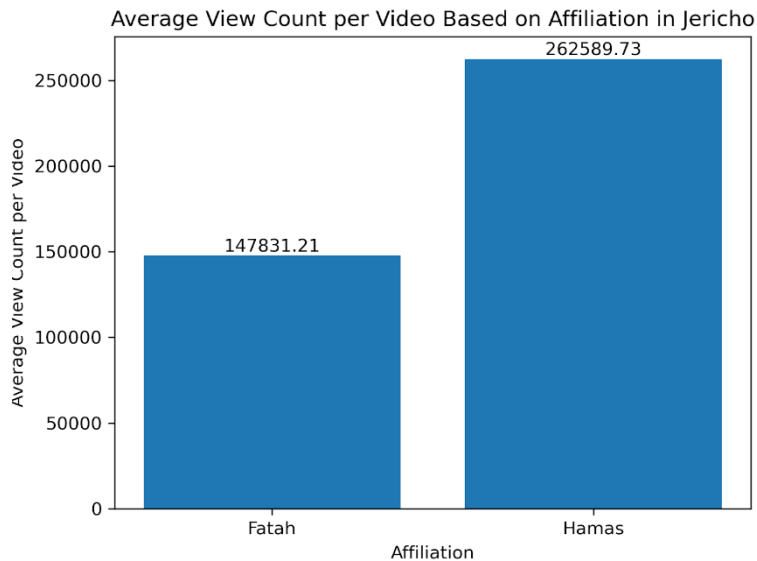
1. 47.3% of the videos are affiliated with Fatah
2. 52.7% of the videos are affiliated with Hamas

Distribution of Videos Based on Affiliation in Jericho



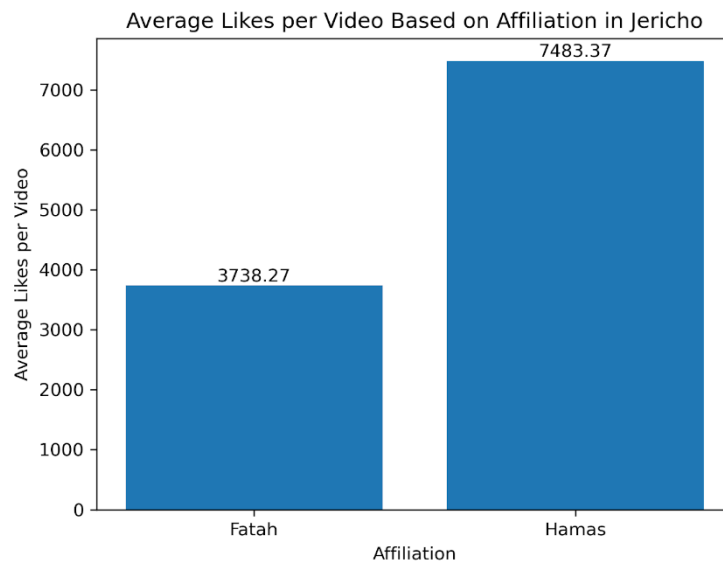
The average number of views per affiliation in Jericho is as follows:

1. 147,831.21 views per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 262,589.73 views per video affiliated with Hamas



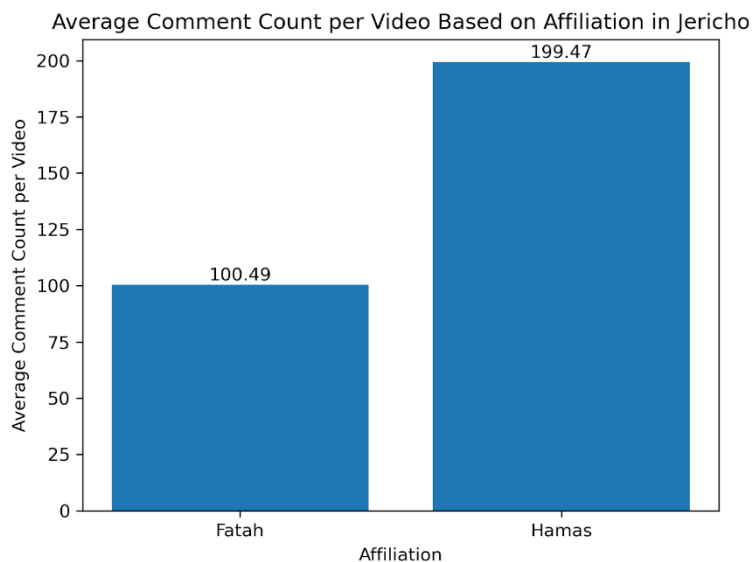
The average number of likes per affiliation in Jericho is as follows:

1. 3,738.27 likes per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 7,483.37 likes per video affiliated with Hamas



The average number of comments per affiliation in Jericho is as follows:

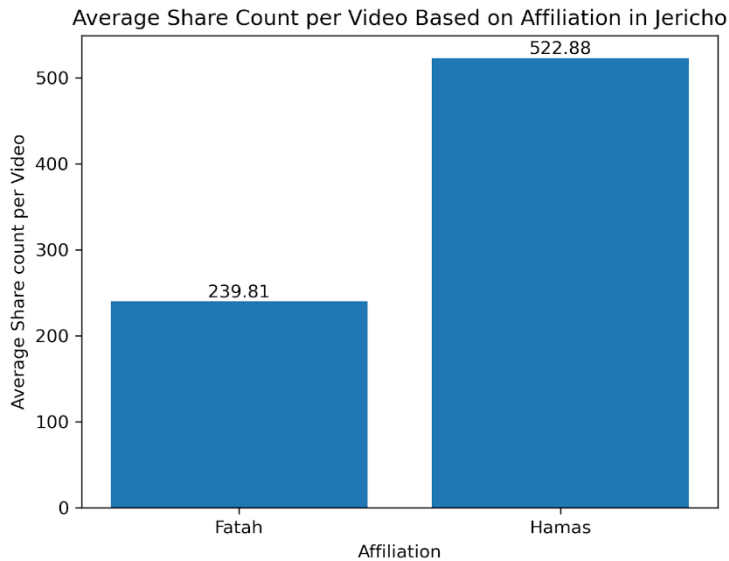
1. 100.49 comments per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 199.47 comments per video affiliated with Hamas





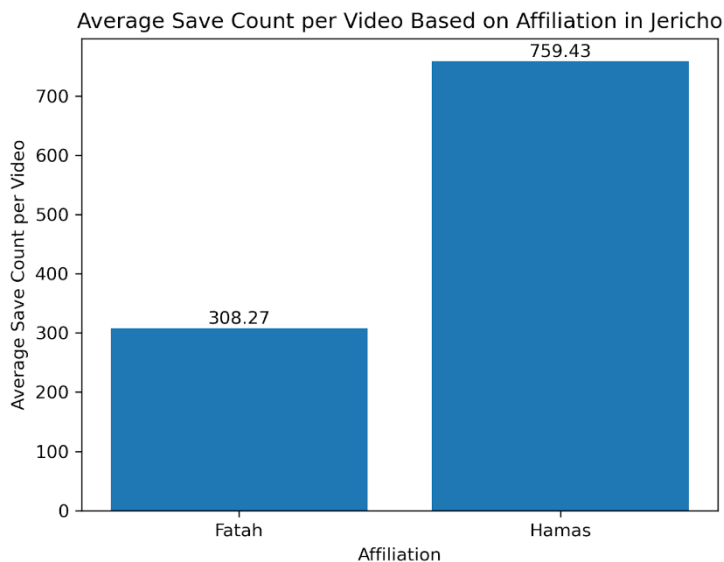
The average number of shares per affiliation in Jericho is as follows:

1. 239.81 shares per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 522.88 shares per video affiliated with Hamas



The average number of saves per affiliation in Jericho is as follows:

1. 308.27 saves per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 759.43 saves per video affiliated with Hamas

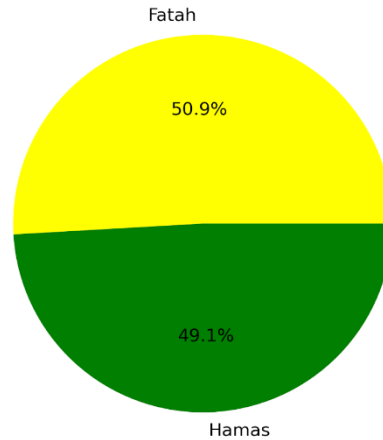


## Jerusalem

In Jerusalem, the distribution of videos affiliated with each organization is as follows:

1. 50.9% of the videos are affiliated with Fatah
2. 49.1% of the videos are affiliated with Hamas

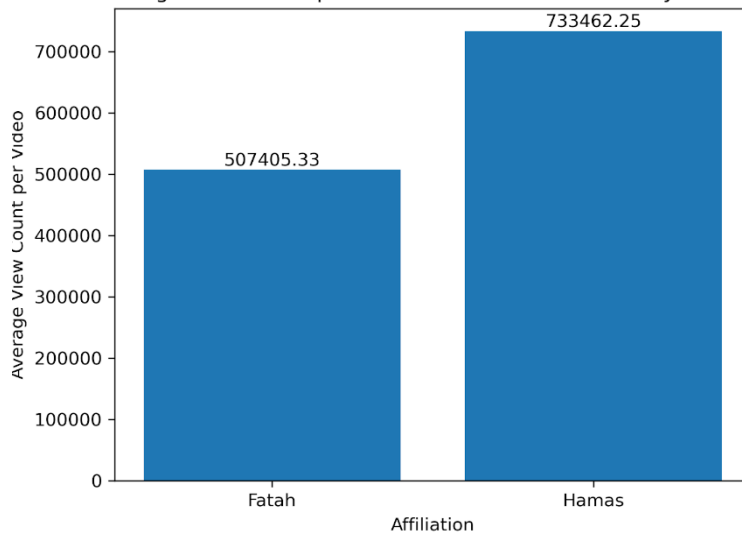
Distribution of Videos Based on Affiliation in Jerusalem



The average number of views per affiliation in Jerusalem is as follows:

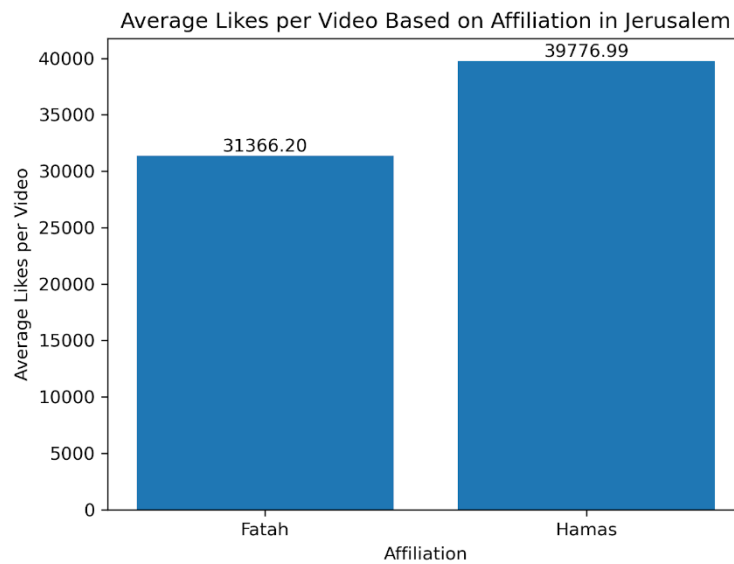
1. 507,405.33 views per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 733,462.25 views per video affiliated with Hamas

Average View Count per Video Based on Affiliation in Jerusalem



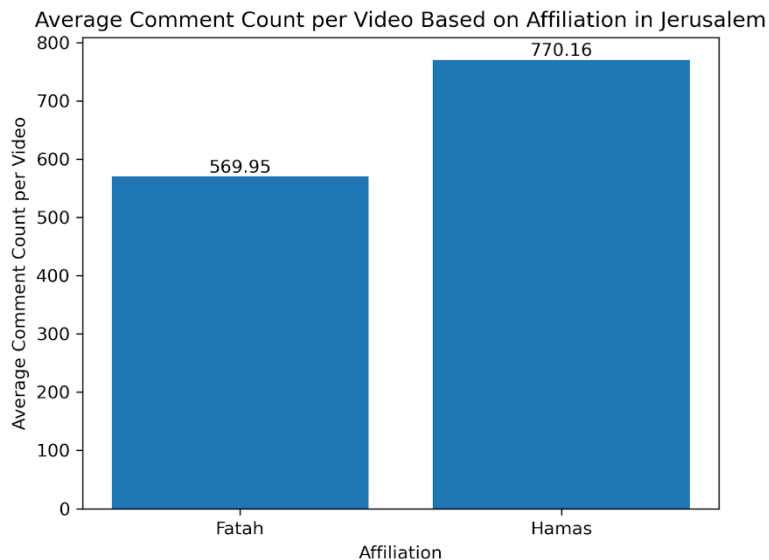
The average number of likes per affiliation in Jerusalem is as follows:

1. 31,366.2 likes per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 39,776.99 likes per video affiliated with Hamas



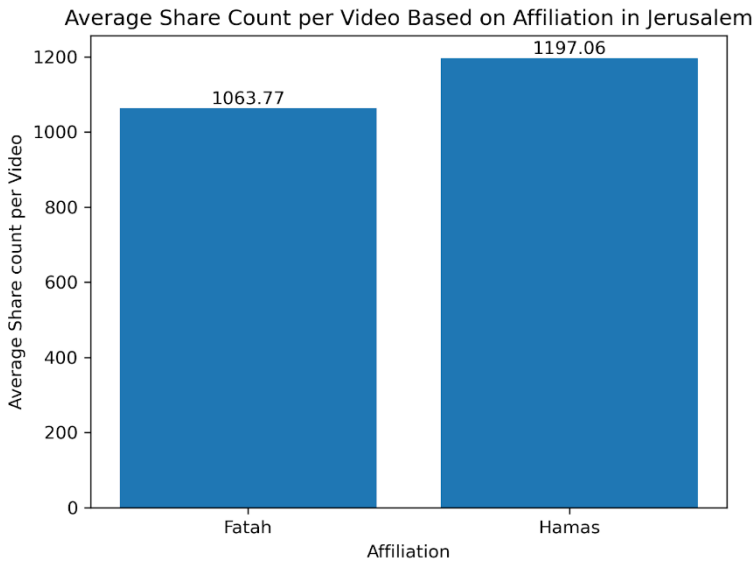
The average number of comments per affiliation in Jerusalem is as follows:

1. 569.95 comments per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 770.16 comments per video affiliated with Hamas



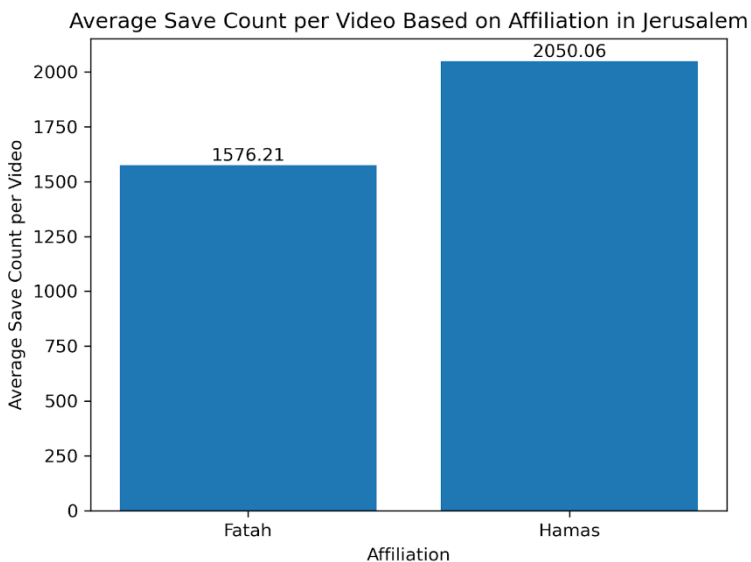
The average number of shares per affiliation in Jerusalem is as follows:

1. 1,063.77 shares per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 1,197.06 shares per video affiliated with Hamas



The average number of saves per affiliation in Jerusalem is as follows:

1. 1,576.21 saves per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 2,050.06 saves per video affiliated with Hamas

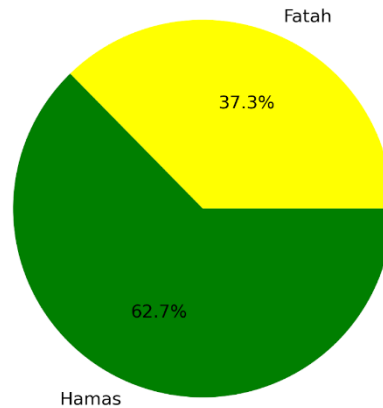


## Nablus

In Nablus, the distribution of videos affiliated with each organization is as follows:

1. 37.3% of the videos are affiliated with Fatah
2. 62.7% of the videos are affiliated with Hamas

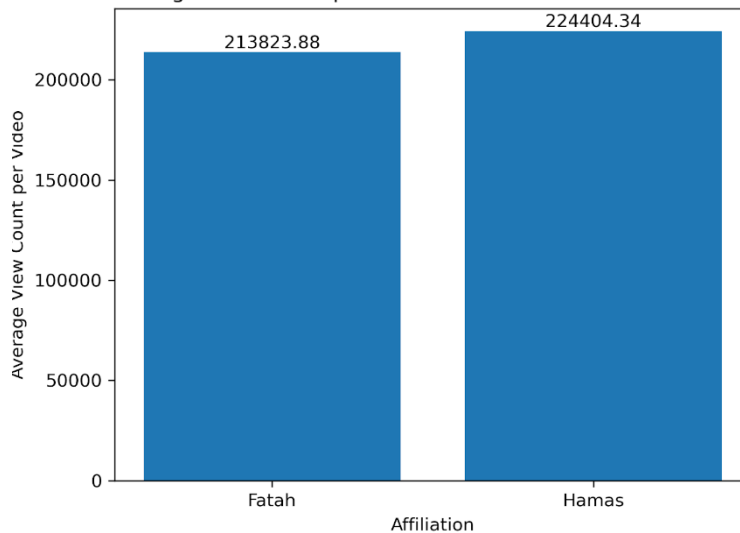
Distribution of Videos Based on Affiliation in Nablus



The average number of views per affiliation in Nablus is as follows:

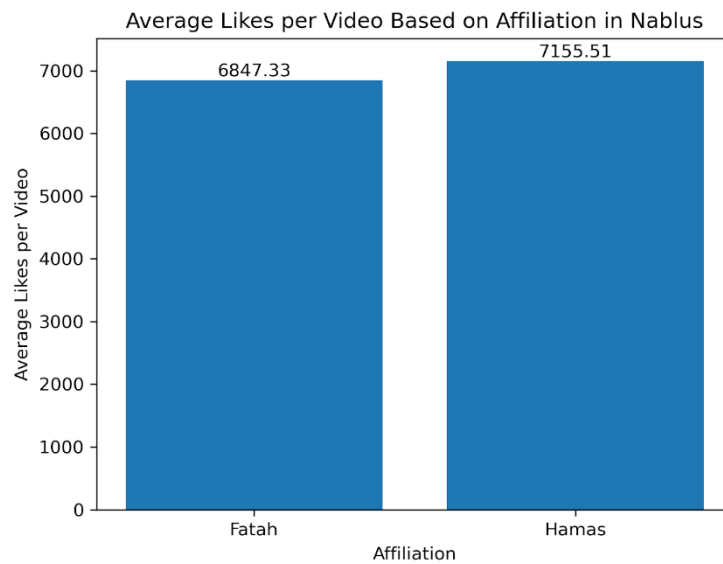
1. 213,823.88 views per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 224,404.34 views per video affiliated with Hamas

Average View Count per Video Based on Affiliation in Nablus



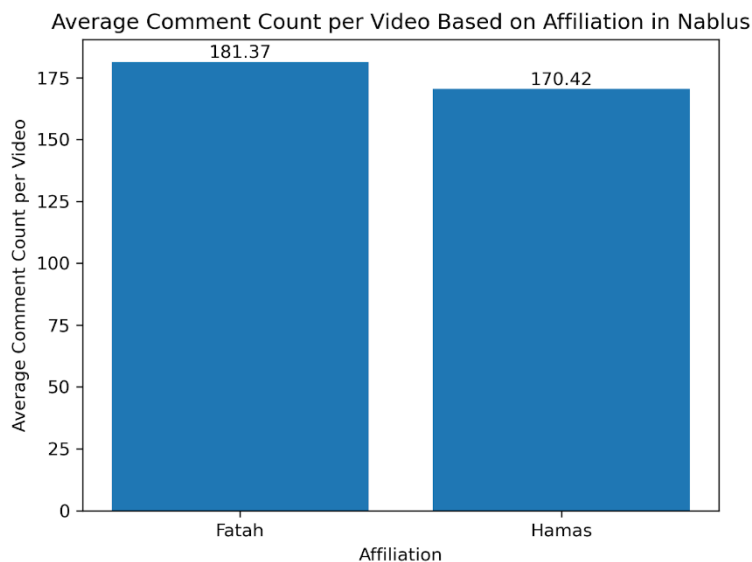
The average number of likes per affiliation in Nablus is as follows:

1. 6,847.33 likes per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 7,155.51 likes per video affiliated with Hamas



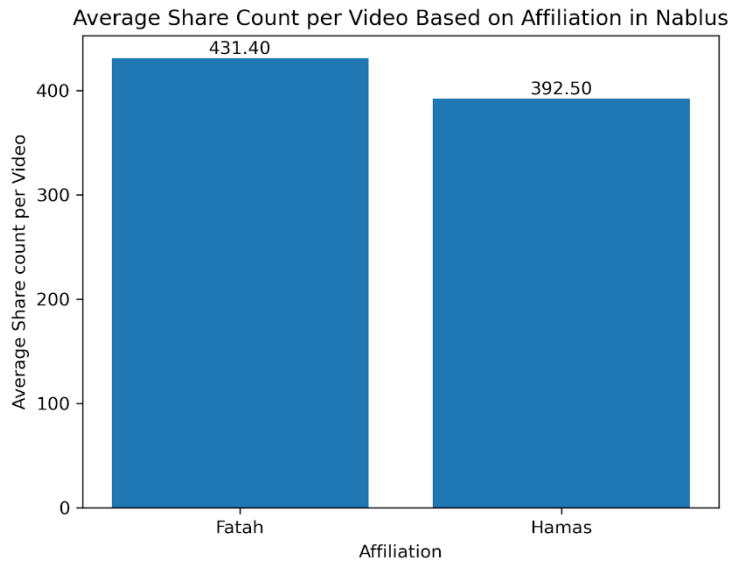
The average number of comments per affiliation in Nablus is as follows:

1. 181.37 comments per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 170.42 comments per video affiliated with Hamas



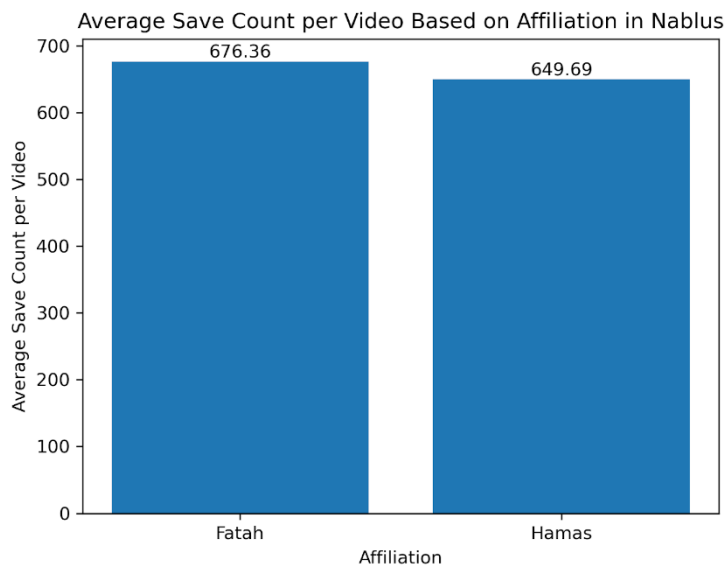
The average number of shares per affiliation in Nablus is as follows:

1. 431.4 shares per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 392.5 shares per video affiliated with Hamas



The average number of saves per affiliation in Nablus is as follows:

1. 676.36 saves per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 649.69 saves per video affiliated with Hamas

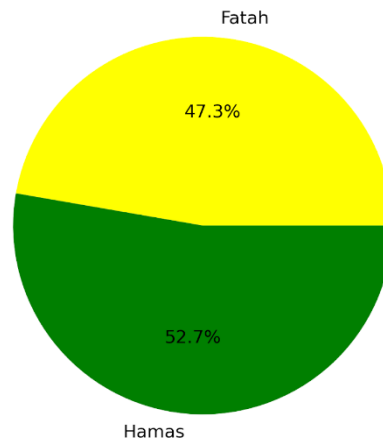


## Qalqilya

In Qalqilya, the distribution of videos affiliated with each organization is as follows:

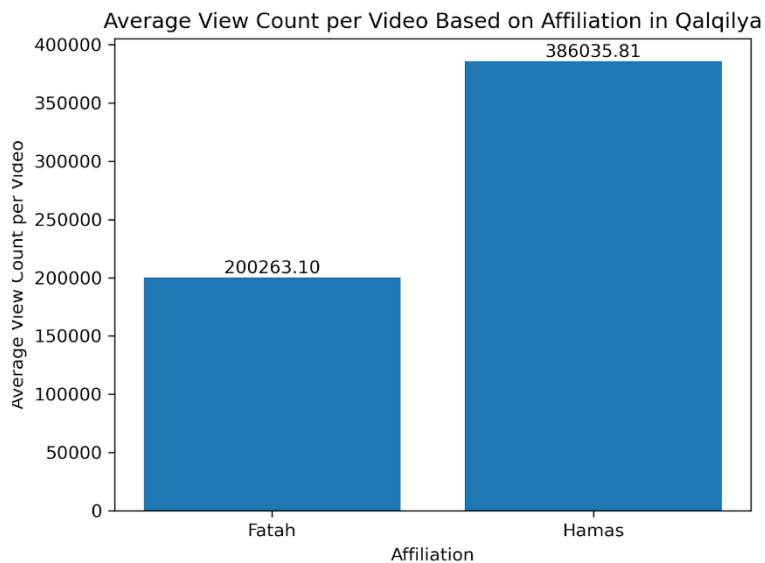
1. 47.3% of the videos are affiliated with Fatah
2. 52.7% of the videos are affiliated with Hamas

Distribution of Videos Based on Affiliation in Qalqilya



The average number of views per affiliation in Qalqilya is as follows:

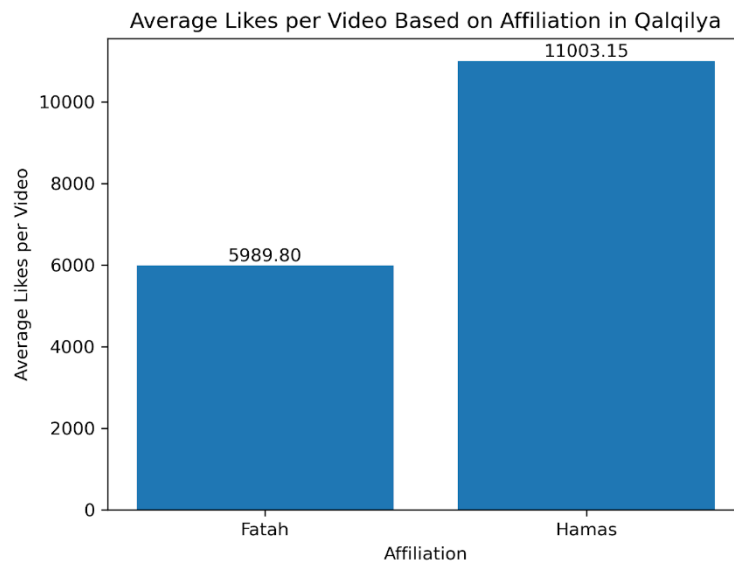
1. 200,263.1 views per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 386,035.81 views per video affiliated with Hamas





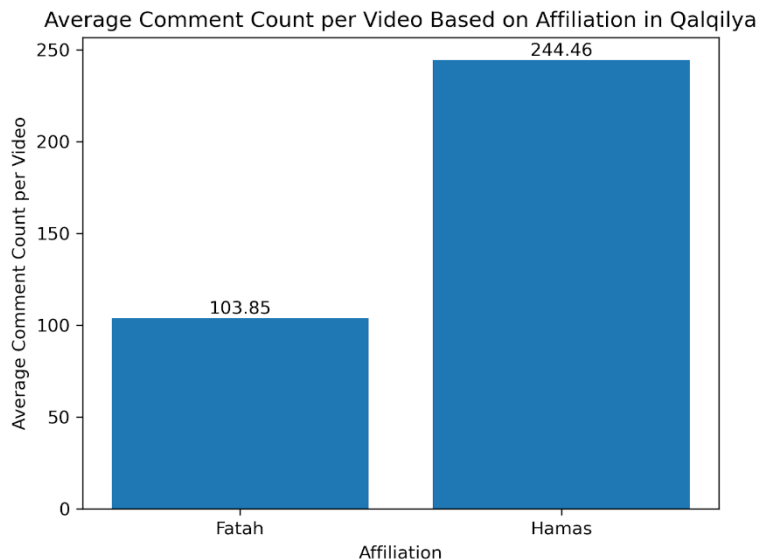
The average number of likes per affiliation in Qalqilya is as follows:

1. 5,989.8 likes per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 11,003.15 likes per video affiliated with Hamas



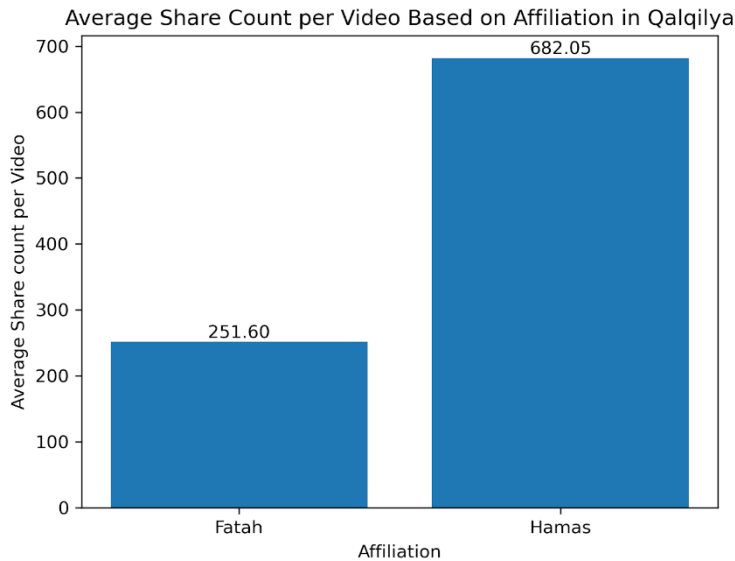
The average number of comments per affiliation in Qalqilya is as follows:

1. 103.85 comments per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 244.46 comments per video affiliated with Hamas



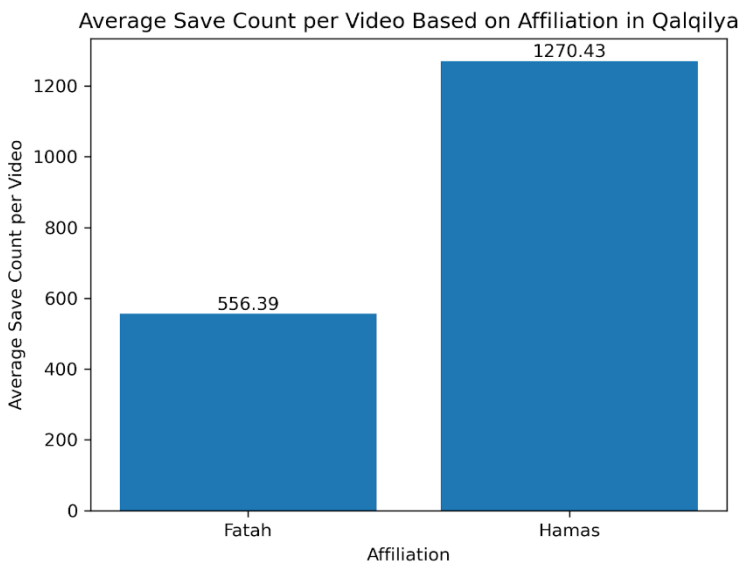
The average number of shares per affiliation in Qalqilya is as follows:

1. 251.6 shares per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 682.05 shares per video affiliated with Hamas



The average number of saves per affiliation in Qalqilya is as follows:

1. 556.39 saves per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 1,270.43 saves per video affiliated with Hamas

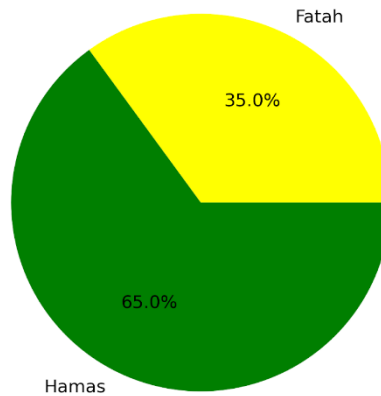


## Ramallah

In Ramallah, the distribution of videos affiliated with each organization is as follows:

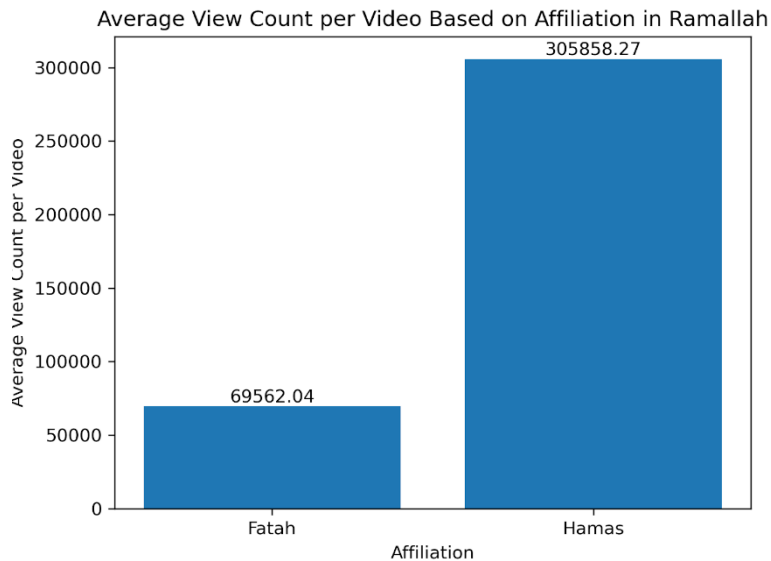
1. 35% of the videos are affiliated with Fatah
2. 65% of the videos are affiliated with Hamas

Distribution of Videos Based on Affiliation in Ramallah



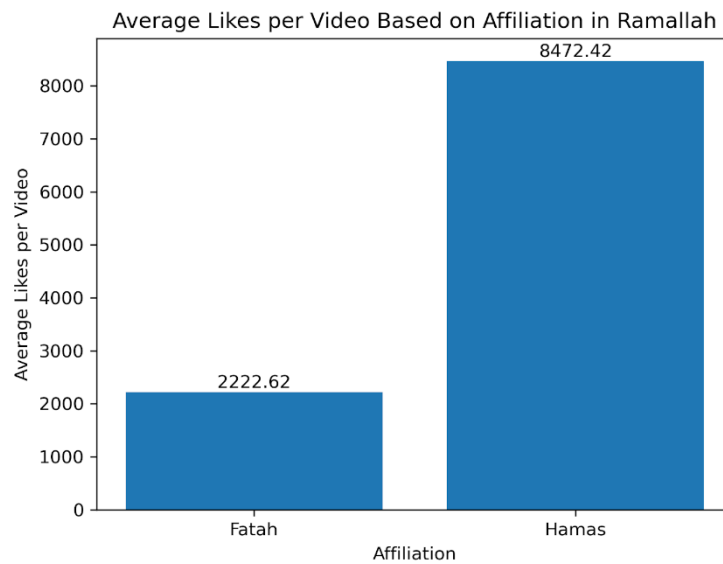
The average number of views per affiliation in Ramallah is as follows:

1. 69,562.04 views per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 305,858.27 views per video affiliated with Hamas



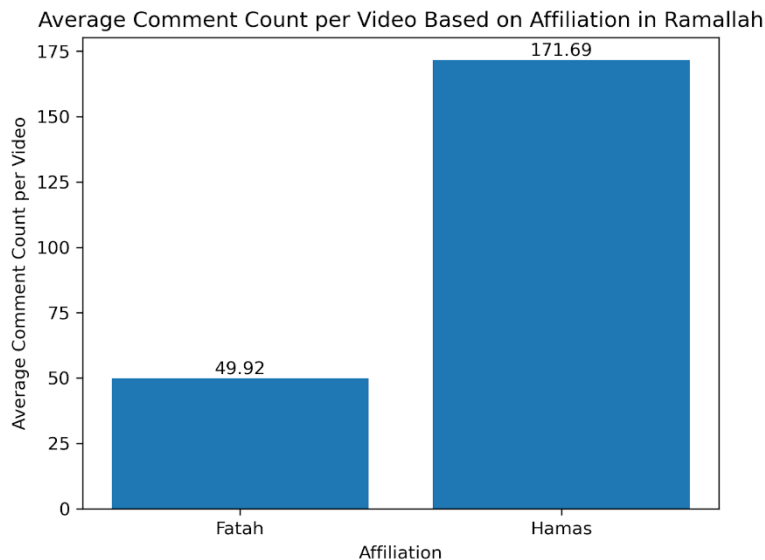
The average number of likes per affiliation in Ramallah is as follows:

1. 2,222.62 likes per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 8,472.42 likes per video affiliated with Hamas



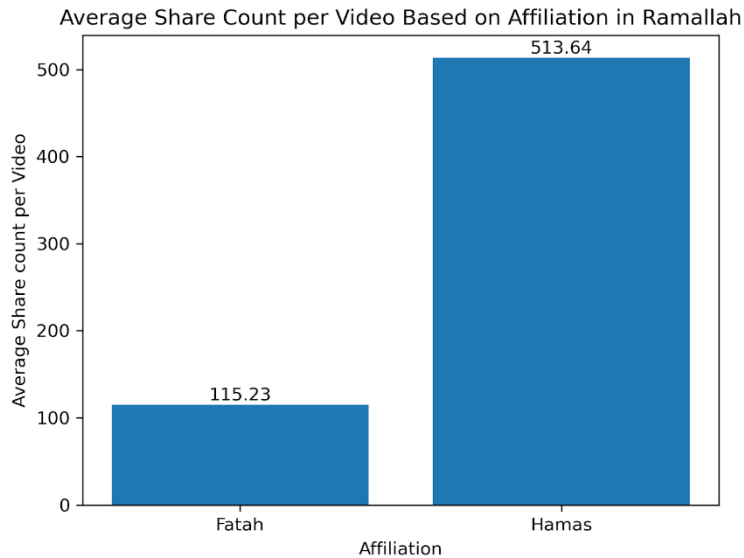
The average number of comments per affiliation in Ramallah is as follows:

1. 49.92 comments per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 171.69 comments per video affiliated with Hamas



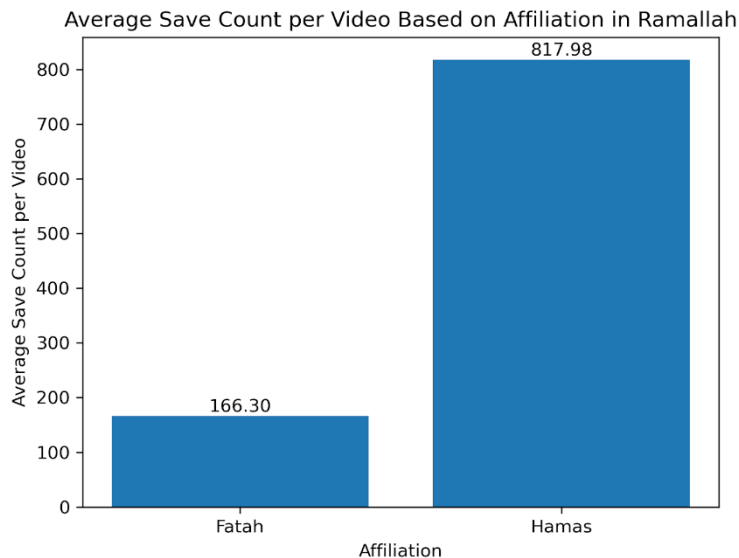
The average number of shares per affiliation in Ramallah is as follows:

1. 115.23 shares per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 513.64 shares per video affiliated with Hamas



The average number of saves per affiliation in Ramallah is as follows:

1. 166.30 saves per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 817.98 saves per video affiliated with Hamas

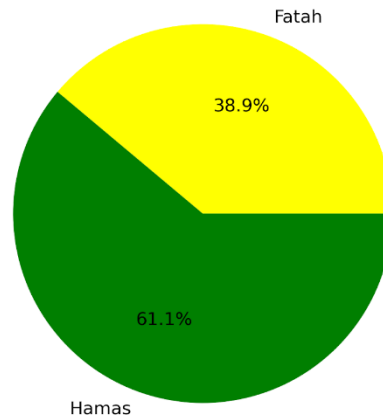


## Tulkarm

In Tulkarm, the distribution of videos affiliated with each organization is as follows:

1. 38.9% of the videos are affiliated with Fatah
2. 61.1% of the videos are affiliated with Hamas

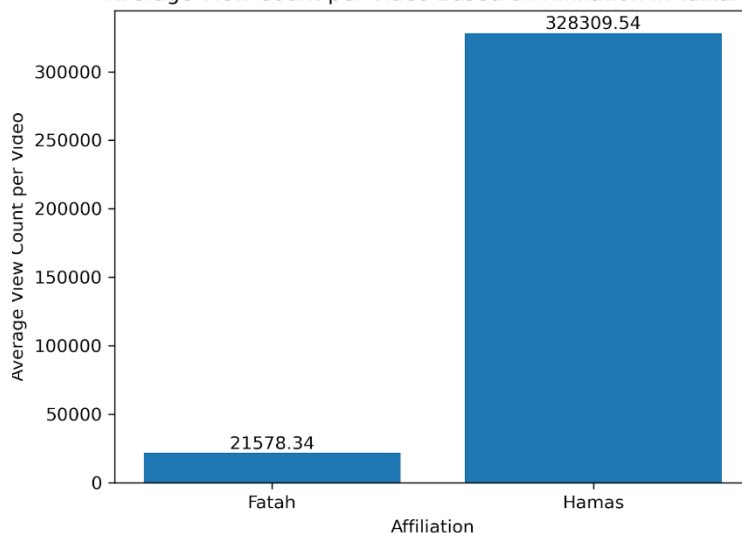
Distribution of Videos Based on Affiliation in Tulkarm



The average number of views per affiliation in Tulkarm is as follows:

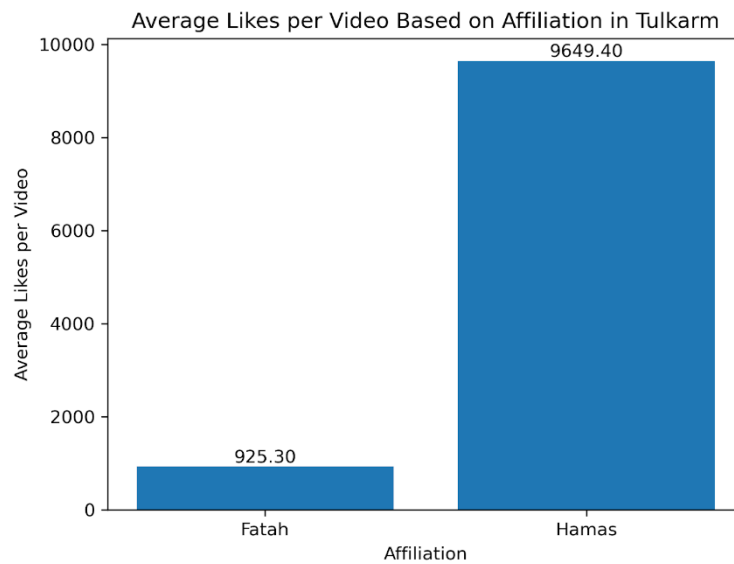
1. 21,578.34 views per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 328,309.54 views per video affiliated with Hamas

Average View Count per Video Based on Affiliation in Tulkarm



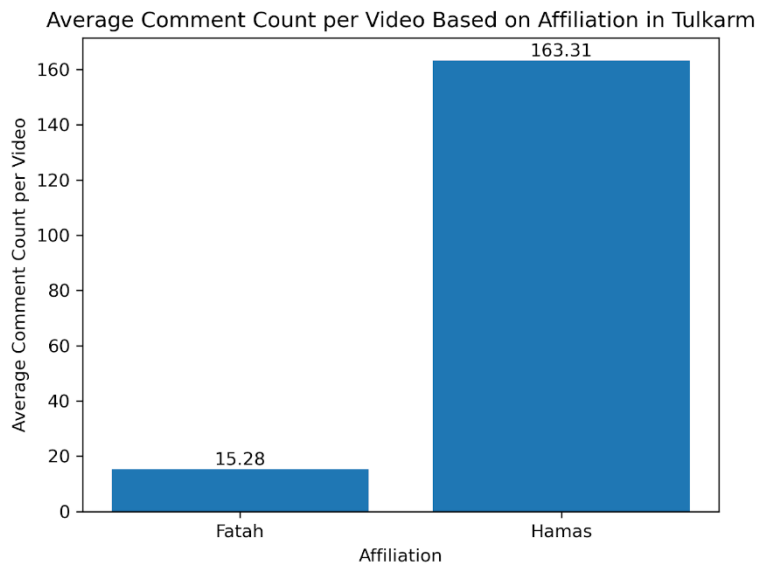
The average number of likes per affiliation in Tulkarm is as follows:

1. 925.3 likes per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 9,649.4 likes per video affiliated with Hamas



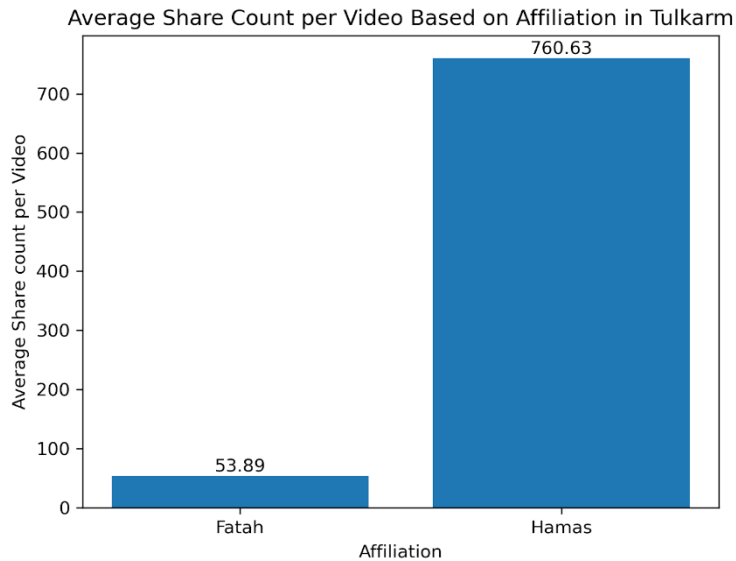
The average number of comments per affiliation in Tulkarm is as follows:

1. 15.28 comments per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 163.31 comments per video affiliated with Hamas



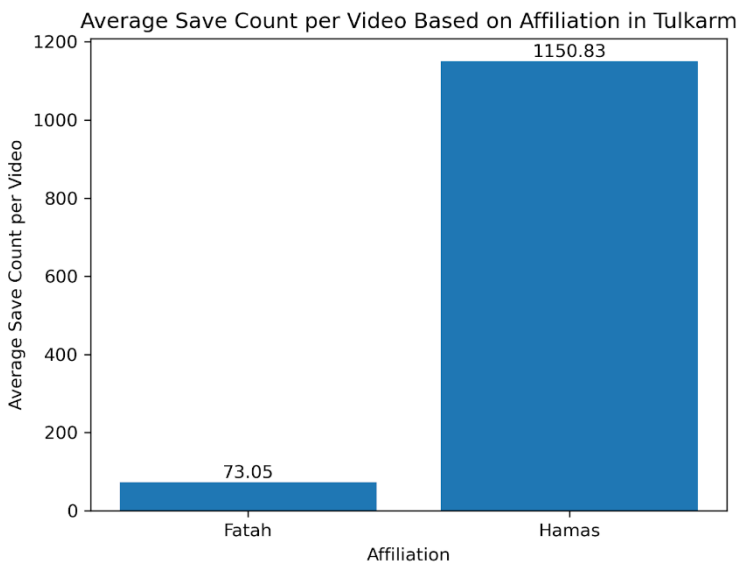
The average number of shares per affiliation in Tulkarm is as follows:

1. 53.89 shares per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 760.63 shares per video affiliated with Hamas



The average number of saves per affiliation in Tulkarm is as follows:

1. 73.05 saves per video affiliated with Fatah
2. 1,150.83 saves per video affiliated with Hamas





## Popularity of Fatah and Hamas on TikTok in Judea and Samaria

### General Popularity

Examining the same number of hashtags affiliated with Fatah and Hamas on TikTok, it is apparent that Hamas is more popular – both in the number of videos, and in each video's relative popularity.

Although Fatah has ~89.95% of the videos Hamas does in the same number of queries, it has marginal meaning, as it is not uncommon to have bots spamming videos with tags that could possibly affiliate hundreds or thousands of videos with one party, but since the videos were spammed onto the platform by bots and not by real users, they can be deemed worthless. In order to get a more accurate perspective, the properties to compare between the videos should be average views and engagement rate per video, rather than the absolute number of videos.

Each Fatah video has, on average, ~20.75% less views than that of Hamas. Given Hamas' divisor – number of videos – is higher, one could expect its average view count to be lower, had the case been spambot video uploading. This may show that Hamas likely did not have any spambot uploading, but rather real people uploading videos, which can indicate that Palestinian TikTok creators may favor Hamas over Fatah.

As for engagement rates, Hamas gets ~11.53% more likes and ~11.17% more comments on average per video. From now on, likes and comments will sometimes be grouped and referred to as “user approval engagement.” Social media algorithms take those numbers into account in order to determine the popularity and support for a certain video.

When considering engagement metrics, the sharing and saving behaviors of TikTok users provide valuable insights into the popularity and resonance of content. The actions may be grouped and referred to from now on as “spread and return engagement.” Both actions go beyond mere views, indicating a deeper level of connection and interest from the audience.

Sharing a video on TikTok involves users actively disseminating content within their network. When a user shares a video, it serves as a personal endorsement, introducing the content to a broader audience beyond the creator's immediate followers or the original target audience targeted by the algorithm. Consequently, shared videos are more likely to reach users who have a genuine interest in the topic, as they are reached by people getting direct access to the video via people who know them, rather than by an algorithm that has to guess their interests.

In our analysis, Hamas-leaning videos outperformed Fatah-leaning ones in terms of sharing. Hamas videos received approximately 6.99% more shares compared to Fatah videos. This indicates that the TikTok audience finds Hamas content more shareable within their social circles, leading to increased exposure, potentially attracting a wider audience.

Saving a video, on the other hand, reveals an individual's intention to revisit and engage with the content multiple times. By saving a video, users demonstrate a deeper personal connection to the ideas, views, or actions featured in the content. This level of commitment and support can be seen as a form of endorsement that reinforces the video's significance.

In our analysis, Hamas-leaning videos significantly outperformed Fatah-leaning ones in terms of saves. Hamas videos garnered approximately 28.57% more saves than Fatah videos. This suggests that Palestinian TikTok users are more inclined to save Hamas content, expressing a higher level of interest and commitment to the ideas represented in those videos.

The disparity in both sharing and saving metrics indicates that Hamas content resonates more strongly with the TikTok audience than Fatah content. The increased sharing suggests that Hamas-leaning videos have a higher likelihood of being shared within users' social circles, effectively amplifying their reach. Additionally, the higher number of saves implies that Hamas content is more likely to be revisited, reinforcing its impact on individual users.

#### Difference in Popularity Based on Location Tags

To assess the popularity of Hamas and Fatah across various locations, all relevant hashtags were searched in conjunction with location tags spanning major cities in Judea and Samaria, along with Jerusalem and two universities. The locations examined include (in alphabetical order): Al-Bireh, An-Najah, Bethlehem, Birzeit, Hebron, Jenin, Jericho, Jerusalem, Nablus, Qalqilya, Ramallah, and Tulkarm.

A comprehensive analysis reveals that Hamas enjoys greater popularity than Fatah in most locations across all measured aspects. In each location, Hamas videos garner more average views, with the narrowest margin observed in Nablus, where Hamas enjoys a ~4.95% advantage. Similarly, Hamas videos receive more likes in every location, with the most significant disparity found in Tulkarm, where Hamas receives over ten times the number of likes per video on average compared to Fatah.

Perhaps the most intriguing observation emerges from Bethlehem, where Fatah triumphed in the last student elections and seems to have more support. Surprisingly, the TikTok statistics diverge from the real-world scenario, with not a single metric favoring Fatah over Hamas. The most substantial margin against Fatah lies in the like count, with Hamas garnering over 50% more likes per video on average. In other metrics as well, the margins never fall below 40% in favor of Hamas. This could suggest a preference for Hamas among younger audiences, with approximately 38.4% of global TikTok users under the age of 25.

Conversely, in An-Najah University, where Hamas secured victory in the last student election by a slim 40-38 margin, the TikTok data aligns more closely with the real-world scenario. The TikTok data exhibits smaller margins and occasionally even favors Fatah over Hamas in some aspects. This congruence between the virtual and real-world results suggests a certain level of accuracy and consistency in the TikTok platform's reflection of the preferences of An-Najah's audience.

These insights provide valuable evidence of Hamas' prevailing popularity on TikTok in various regions, hinting at potential shifts in political leanings among the younger demographic. It also underscores the platform's relevance as a dynamic tool to gauge public sentiment, especially within the context of student communities and universities. The data sheds light on how TikTok can serve as an influential medium in shaping public perceptions and preferences, with implications that extend beyond virtual spaces into the broader social and political landscapes of these regions.

## ***Al-Bireh***

Al-Bireh, a prominent Palestinian city and the capital of the Ramallah and Al-Bireh governorate within the Palestinian Authority, forms a single urban block alongside Ramallah, which is effectively serving as the de facto capital of the PA. Given the close proximity to a PA stronghold, the political situation is very complicated. Despite that, the TikTok data provides valuable insights into the preferences of the young audience regarding these organizations. Notably, the numbers paint a clear picture, showcasing which organization holds greater appeal among the youth.

The data reveals that a significant 62.8% of all videos in Al-Bireh are affiliated with Hamas. This percentage translates to an absolute difference of 25.6% when compared to Fatah, representing approximately 68.82% higher popularity for Hamas among the total number of videos on the platform.

Beyond the overall popularity, a closer analysis of average views and engagement rates indicates that Hamas maintains a considerable advantage, although the margins are somewhat smaller in this aspect. On average, videos associated with Hamas receive approximately 42.34% more views than those leaning towards Fatah.

The user engagement metrics further emphasize the preference for Hamas among the young audience. In terms of approval engagement, Hamas garners approximately 44.43% more likes and approximately 61.35% more comments compared to Fatah-affiliated videos. Even when considering spread and return engagement, Hamas maintains a similar edge, though the margin is relatively smaller, sitting at approximately 5.39% more shares in favor of Hamas. Interestingly, the trend continues in the save count, with a significant 54.84% advantage for Hamas over Fatah.

In conclusion, the data from TikTok unequivocally highlights the youth's strong preference for Hamas, indicating its higher appeal and engagement among this demographic when compared to Fatah. The complexities of the political landscape should not be ignored, but the digital platform's data provides a compelling glimpse into the dynamics of popularity and engagement within this region.

## ***An-Najah***

An-Najah National University, situated in the Nablus governorate within the Palestinian Authority, holds a prominent position as one of the largest and most influential educational institutions in the PA. In the recent student council elections, Hamas secured a narrow victory, winning 40 seats, while Fatah obtained 38 seats, highlighting the competitive nature of the political landscape within the university. This close margin is also evident in the data from TikTok, where the preference for Hamas is discernible, albeit with relatively small margins.

Analyzing the total video count relating to the university on TikTok, it becomes apparent that Hamas holds a majority, with 55% of all videos associated with the organization, while Fatah accounts for the remaining 45%, similar to the real-life data reflected in the student council elections. Despite the clear preference for Hamas, the difference in view count between the two organizations is relatively small, with Hamas enjoying an advantage of approximately 9.29%. This slim margin indicates that both organizations have a significant presence and engagement on the platform.

Looking at engagement rates, Hamas continues to maintain an edge over Fatah. On average, Hamas-affiliated videos receive approximately 33.74% more likes than Fatah-affiliated videos, demonstrating a higher level of approval from the TikTok audience. Similarly, Hamas videos receive approximately 1.7% more comments, a marginal difference that still slightly favors Hamas. While the gap in comments is relatively small, it emphasizes the consistent appeal of Hamas content on the platform.

Interestingly, the share count presents a noteworthy shift, with Fatah gaining an advantage of approximately 8.32%. This is one of the rare instances where Fatah surpasses Hamas in a metric, indicating that Fatah's content is particularly resonating with the TikTok users in terms of sharing.

However, the save count restores the trend of Hamas being more prominent, with an approximate 49.27% advantage over Fatah. The higher number of saves indicates that the TikTok users find Hamas-related content more valuable and worth preserving for future reference.

In conclusion, An-Najah National University in the Nablus governorate showcases a vibrant and competitive political landscape, evident from both the recent student council elections and the data from TikTok. While Hamas holds a majority of the videos and enjoys higher engagement in terms of likes and comments, Fatah manages to excel in the share count. Nevertheless, Hamas remains dominant in the save count, indicating a strong and consistent preference for its content on the platform.

#### *Bethlehem*

Despite Fatah's recent victory in the student council elections at the local university and the presence of different social media data, such as Telegram, indicating alternative trends, the TikTok audience in Bethlehem unmistakably displays a stronger affinity for Hamas over Fatah.

In terms of video distribution, the content alignment in Bethlehem clearly tilts in favor of Hamas, with approximately 60.3% of the videos affiliated with the organization, while Fatah's videos make up only 39.7% of the total. This contrast between the TikTok distribution and the real election results emphasizes the popularity and appeal of Hamas content within the TikTok community in the region.

The view count data further reinforces the preference for Hamas, as the average view count per Hamas video surpasses that of Fatah by approximately 44.89%. This higher number of views suggests that the TikTok audience in Bethlehem finds Hamas-related content more engaging and compelling, leading to increased viewership.

Engagement rates on TikTok tell a similar story, with Hamas consistently outperforming Fatah. On average, Hamas videos receive approximately 51.43% more likes per video, indicating a significantly higher level of approval and support from the audience. Additionally, the comment count shows that Hamas videos garner approximately 44.94% more comments, signifying increased interaction and interest in the content.

When examining the spread and return engagement metrics, Hamas maintains its advantage. The data reveals approximately 43.04% more shares for Hamas-affiliated videos, indicating that the TikTok users in Bethlehem are more likely to share content related to Hamas compared to Fatah. Similarly, Hamas videos receive approximately 56.05% more saves, suggesting that users find Hamas content more valuable and worthy of being saved for future revisit.

In conclusion, despite Fatah's recent success in the student council elections and the presence of varied social media data, the TikTok audience in Bethlehem overwhelmingly demonstrates a preference for Hamas over Fatah. The data from TikTok reveals a significant alignment of content distribution, higher view counts, and increased engagement rates for Hamas, highlighting its greater popularity and appeal among the TikTok community in the region.

#### *Birzeit*

Birzeit University (BZU), situated in the town of Birzeit within the North of the Ramallah and Al-Bireh governorate of the PA, has recently held elections for its student council, in which Hamas emerged victorious, securing 25 out of 51 seats, while Fatah managed to attain 20 seats. The remaining seats were distributed among various other factions.

When analyzing the TikTok data associated with BZU, it becomes evident that there is a noteworthy alignment with real-world occurrences. A staggering 71.4% of the videos associated with the university are found to be linked to Hamas, while a mere 28.6% are affiliated with Fatah. Furthermore, an analysis of the seats at the BZU student council reveals that approximately 55.56% of those held by either Fatah or Hamas are in the possession of the latter, which indicates that TikTok is mirroring an authentic campus atmosphere, although it seems to display a slightly more pronounced polarization.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this data pertains to the average number of views per video, which reveals a substantial advantage of approximately 179.82% in favor of Hamas over Fatah. This finding is particularly noteworthy given the youthful demographic of the TikTok audience and suggests that Hamas might be poised for increased influence and empowerment within the university as new students enroll in the upcoming years.

Moreover, the disparities in engagement rates on TikTok between the two factions don't show any remarkable differences. Hamas garners approximately 155.46% more likes and approximately 91.86% more comments per video, indicating a higher level of active interaction and support from the audience. The discrepancies in share and save counts remain unusually high, with Hamas receiving approximately 135.24% more shares and approximately 205.91% more saves per video on average. These figures point to a heightened interest and resonance of Hamas-related content among TikTok users within the BZU community.

In conclusion, the TikTok data provides intriguing insights into the dynamics of political affiliations at Birzeit University, with Hamas emerging as the dominant faction on the platform. As TikTok continues to be a popular medium among the university's younger population, these trends may signal potential shifts in the balance of power within the campus political landscape in coming years.

## **Hebron**

In the city of Hebron, the official control lies with the Palestinian Authority (PA), but de facto control is exerted by influential clans such as the Qawasmeh and Jabari ones. Despite the absence of direct PA, hence Fatah, control, an interesting revelation emerges from the analysis of the TikTok audience in Hebron: there appears to be a stronger fondness for Hamas compared to Fatah. This finding challenges any potential claims of Hamas support solely arising from animosity towards Fatah.

Adding to this, the recent student council elections at Palestine Polytechnic University in Hebron resulted in Fatah securing victory with 21 out of the 41 available seats, while Hamas only managed to win 19 seats. The remaining seat went to a more left-leaning bloc, highlighting the complexity and diversity of political affiliations in the region.

Despite the real-world evidence suggesting a balanced distribution of power between Fatah and Hamas, the TikTok data remains surprisingly consistent with itself, portraying a higher level of support for Hamas. Approximately 69.1% of the videos associated with Hebron are affiliated with Hamas, while only 30.9% of the videos are aligned with Fatah. This stark difference in representation on the platform may signal unique preferences among the TikTok users in Hebron.

Diving deeper into the statistics, it becomes evident that Hamas enjoys a commanding lead in average view counts, garnering approximately 231.44% more views per video than Fatah. Such a significant advantage suggests a stronger engagement with Hamas-related content within the TikTok community in Hebron.

Moreover, the disparities in engagement rates between the two factions on TikTok are quite pronounced. Hamas receives approximately 212.88% more likes and approximately 174.45% more comments per video on average compared to Fatah. This implies a higher level of enthusiasm and interaction with Hamas content, as evidenced by the active engagement from the audience.

Furthermore, videos leaning towards Hamas enjoy a remarkable edge in terms of sharing and saving, with approximately 217.94% more shares and a staggering 289.42% more saves per video on average. This heightened interest in saving and sharing Hamas-affiliated content points to a sense of affinity and resonance with the values and messages conveyed by the faction.

While the real-world dynamics may present a balanced political landscape, the TikTok data provides intriguing insights into the preferences and inclinations of the TikTok audience in Hebron. The platform's influence and ability to amplify certain viewpoints can contribute to shaping public perceptions and may reflect unique nuances in political sentiment within the city.

## **Jenin**

In the city of Jenin, a complex situation prevails, as it is currently considered a no-man's land, with control wielded by a militant group known as the "Jenin Brigade." The PA finds itself in a delicate position, continuously praising the Jenin Brigade to maintain its support and cooperation. This arrangement is crucial for ensuring alignment with the Palestinian Islamic Jihad



(PIJ), the organization that exercises control over the Jenin Brigade, with one of its members being its founder.

What adds another layer to the dynamics in Jenin is the apparent grooming of Fatah's military wing, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, by the PIJ. This grooming process has been uncovered multiple times by Palestinian Media Watch, suggesting a strategic relationship between the two factions.

The impact of these unique circumstances on the TikTok landscape in Jenin is worth examining. Unlike some other locations, the margins between the two main political factions, Hamas and Fatah, appear to be narrower, although still favoring Hamas. Approximately 65.6% of the videos associated with Jenin are affiliated with Hamas, while 34.4% are aligned with Fatah.

Looking closer at view and engagement rates on TikTok, Hamas maintains a lead over Fatah, although the margin is relatively smaller compared to other areas. Hamas videos receive approximately 34.59% more views per video than Fatah videos, indicating a stronger, yet not overwhelmingly, dominant presence.

In terms of engagement rates, Hamas enjoys an advantage over Fatah, albeit with narrower gaps. The like count per Hamas video surpasses that of Fatah by approximately 5.05%, while the comment count per Hamas video is greater by approximately 36.72%. The share count per Hamas video also demonstrates a lead, surpassing Fatah by approximately 17.82%. Additionally, the save count per Hamas video exceeds Fatah's by approximately 8.07%. These figures indicate that Hamas-affiliated content elicits slightly higher levels of engagement and interaction from the TikTok audience in Jenin.

The factors contributing to these slimmer margins on TikTok in Jenin might be influenced by the less overtly political nature of the factions in the region, their emphasis on militant activities, and the strategic relationships between the more dominant PIJ in the area and Fatah.

#### *Jericho*

Located in the Jordan Valley to the East of Jerusalem, Jericho stands as a significant city and serves as the capital of the Jericho governorate within the PA. The area is known for its relatively subdued atmosphere compared to other areas. Despite its reputation for being more tranquil, Jericho is not exempt from the political currents that define the broader Palestinian landscape.

On TikTok, Hamas maintains a presence in Jericho that retains a lead in terms of the number of videos. However, this advantage is characterized by a closely contested margin, with Hamas claiming 52.7% of the total video count and Fatah accounting for 47.3%. This narrow divide suggests a competitive digital landscape where both factions actively engage the platform's audience to convey their narratives and messages.

The story evolves when we consider metrics beyond video count, such as views and engagement. A deeper analysis reveals a more pronounced disparity, with Hamas enjoying an approximate 77.63% advantage over Fatah in terms of views per video. This data implies that

despite the close competition in terms of video production, Hamas content tends to attract a larger viewership, possibly indicating a more resonant message or a more engaged audience.

Engagement rates, a key indicator of audience involvement, demonstrate notable differences between the two factions in Jericho. Hamas exhibits a significant increase in its like count per video, showcasing an approximate 100.18% upsurge compared to Fatah. The discrepancy extends to the comment counts, with Hamas garnering an approximate 98.5% advantage over Fatah. These findings underscore the potency of Hamas content in eliciting reactions and interactions from the TikTok audience, indicating a higher level of engagement with their narrative.

The intensity of these trends becomes even more pronounced when considering the sharing and saving behaviors of TikTok users in Jericho. Hamas videos exhibit an approximately 118.04% higher rate of shares compared to Fatah videos, highlighting a preference for disseminating Hamas-affiliated content among the audience. Similarly, Hamas videos witness approximately 146.35% more saves than Fatah videos, signifying a higher perceived value and relevance of their content to the audience.

In conclusion, our examination of TikTok's political landscape in Jericho offers insights into the multifaceted nature of political affiliations and engagement on the platform. While the city maintains a reputation for being relatively tame, the digital realm provides a dynamic space for factions like Hamas and Fatah to actively compete for attention, influence, and resonance. The data illustrates the intricate interplay between video count, views, engagement rates, and audience responses, shedding light on the nuanced ways in which political narratives unfold and are received in this digital age.

#### *Ramallah*

Situated as the de facto capital of the Palestinian Authority (PA), Ramallah is a city that inherently possesses complex political dynamics due to its role as the epicenter of PA control, which is predominantly under the auspices of Fatah. However, within this context, the landscape of political support and preference among the city's younger demographic, particularly on TikTok, offers a compelling avenue for exploration.

Ramallah, like Al-Bireh, harbors a multitude of potential arguments for both sides of the Palestinian political spectrum due to the prominent presence of Fatah, the governing faction of the PA. Yet TikTok has the unique ability to provide a clearer insight into the nuanced allegiances that younger audiences exhibit.

When scrutinizing the distribution of videos on TikTok, a discernible pattern emerges: 65% of the videos show sympathy towards Hamas, while the remaining 35% align with Fatah. This stark contrast in content distribution offers a glimpse into the political leanings of the TikTok users in Ramallah, underscoring their preference for content associated with Hamas over Fatah.

Delving deeper into the metrics, the disparities become even more pronounced. Hamas videos outshine Fatah videos by a significant margin in terms of view counts, averaging approximately 339.69% more views per video. This substantial discrepancy implies that Hamas-affiliated content is not only more prevalent but also garners a substantially higher viewership, potentially indicating a more compelling narrative or more engaged audience.



The engagement rates, though somewhat tamer in contrast, still reveal notable imbalances. Hamas videos manage to amass approximately 281.19% more likes and approximately 243.93% more comments on average compared to Fatah videos. These figures demonstrate the palpable influence of Hamas-related content in eliciting reactions and interactions from the TikTok audience in Ramallah.

The dynamics surrounding sharing and saving content mirror the trends observed in view counts, with Hamas content leading by wide margins. Hamas videos enjoy approximately 345.75% more shares and a staggering 391.87% more saves per video, suggesting a heightened level of resonance and relevance attributed to this faction's content by the audience.

Despite Ramallah's status as a city with strong affiliations to the PA and hosting various official PA buildings, the TikTok landscape unveils a remarkable contrast. The younger demographic on TikTok, through their preferences and interactions, expresses considerably greater support for Hamas in comparison to Fatah. This divergence highlights the interplay between the traditional political landscape and the digital realm, underscoring the complexity of political allegiances among the youth in a contemporary context.

In conclusion, the analysis of TikTok data in Ramallah serves as a testament to the evolving nature of political affiliations and expressions in the digital age. The findings emphasize the critical role that digital platforms play in shaping and amplifying certain political narratives, offering researchers and policymakers valuable insights into the complex tapestry of Palestinian political sentiments among the younger generation.