Findings - The Peace Index - November 2023
The Peace Index is conducted by Dr. Nimrod Rosler of The International Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation and Dr. Alon Yakter from the School of Political Science, Government and International Affairs at Tel Aviv University.

The survey was conducted in Hebrew and in Arabic by the iPanel research institute between October 23 and 28, 2023 among 609 respondents: 506 Jewish respondents and 103 Arab respondents. Calculations were adjusted so that the respondents would constitute a representative national sample of the adult population aged 18 and above. Maximum sampling error: +/- 4.2\%

1. What is your opinion regarding negotiations for peace between Israel and the Palestinian Authority?

|  | Jews |  | Arabs |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Very much <br> in favor | 34 | $6.7 \%$ | 59 | $57.3 \%$ | 93 | $15.3 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> in favor | 90 | $17.8 \%$ | 21 | $20.4 \%$ | 111 | $18.2 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> opposed | 96 | $19 \%$ | 7 | $6.8 \%$ | 103 | $16.9 \%$ |
| Very much <br> opposed | 238 | $47 \%$ | 2 | $1.9 \%$ | 240 | $39.4 \%$ |
| Don't know | 48 | $9.5 \%$ | 14 | $13.6 \%$ | 62 | $10.2 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

2. Do you or do you not believe that negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority will lead to peace between Israel and the Palestinians in the coming years?

|  | Jews |  | Arabs |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Very much <br> believe | 8 | $1.6 \%$ | 22 | $21.4 \%$ | 30 | $4.9 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> believe | 30 | $5.9 \%$ | 37 | $35.9 \%$ | 67 | $11 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> disbelieve | 142 | $28.1 \%$ | 14 | $13.6 \%$ | 156 | $25.6 \%$ |
| Very much <br> disbelieve | 301 | $59.5 \%$ | 21 | $20.4 \%$ | 322 | $52.9 \%$ |
| Don't know | 25 | $4.9 \%$ | 9 | $8.7 \%$ | 34 | $5.6 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

The International MA Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation
The Gershon H. Gordon Faculty of Social Sciences
Tel Aviv University
3. In your opinion, what is the position among Palestinians (for Jews) / Jews (for Arabs) regarding peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority?

|  | Jews |  | Arabs |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Very much <br> in favor | 12 | $2.4 \%$ | 4 | $3.9 \%$ | 16 | $2.6 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> in favor | 50 | $9.9 \%$ | 22 | $21.4 \%$ | 72 | $11.8 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> opposed | 119 | $23.5 \%$ | 37 | $35.9 \%$ | 156 | $25.6 \%$ |
| Very much <br> opposed | 260 | $51.4 \%$ | 25 | $24.3 \%$ | 285 | $46.8 \%$ |
| Don't know | 65 | $12.8 \%$ | 15 | $14.6 \%$ | 80 | $13.1 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

4. In your opinion, do Palestinians (for Jews) / Jews (for Arabs) believe or not believe that negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority will lead to peace between Israel and the Palestinians in the coming years?

|  | Jews |  | Arabs |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Very much <br> believe | 4 | $0.8 \%$ | 6 | $5.8 \%$ | 10 | $1.6 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> believe | 25 | $4.9 \%$ | 16 | $15.5 \%$ | 41 | $6.7 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> disbelieve | 137 | $27.1 \%$ | 39 | $37.9 \%$ | 176 | $28.9 \%$ |
| Very much <br> disbelieve | 303 | $59.9 \%$ | 25 | $24.3 \%$ | 328 | $53.9 \%$ |
| Don't know | 37 | $7.3 \%$ | 17 | $16.5 \%$ | 54 | $8.9 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

5-6. For each of the solutions to the Israel-Palestinian conflict, indicate the extent to which you support or oppose it.

The creation of an independent Palestinian state alongside the State of Israel

|  | Jews |  | Arabs | Total |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Very much <br> support | 35 | $6.9 \%$ | 36 | $35 \%$ | 71 | $11.7 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> support | 110 | $21.7 \%$ | 38 | $36.9 \%$ | 148 | $24.3 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> oppose | 73 | $14.4 \%$ | 5 | $4.9 \%$ | 78 | $12.8 \%$ |
| Very much <br> oppose | 245 | $48.4 \%$ | 9 | $8.7 \%$ | 254 | $41.7 \%$ |
| Don't know | 43 | $8.5 \%$ | 15 | $14.6 \%$ | 58 | $9.5 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

The creation of a binational state between the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea with full and equal rights for Jews and Palestinians

|  | Jews |  | Arabs | Total |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Very much <br> support | 12 | $2.4 \%$ | 22 | $21.4 \%$ | 34 | $5.6 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> support | 31 | $6.1 \%$ | 26 | $25.2 \%$ | 57 | $9.4 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> oppose | 98 | $19.4 \%$ | 12 | $11.7 \%$ | 110 | $18.1 \%$ |
| Very much <br> oppose | 320 | $63.2 \%$ | 22 | $21.4 \%$ | 342 | $56.2 \%$ |
| Don't know | 45 | $8.9 \%$ | 21 | $20.4 \%$ | 66 | $10.8 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

Annexation of the occupied territories and the creation of one state under Israeli rule with limited rights for Palestinians.

|  | Jews |  | Arabs |  | $\%$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Very much <br> in favor | 70 | $13.8 \%$ | 2 | $1.9 \%$ | 72 | $11.8 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> in favor | 94 | $18.6 \%$ | 14 | $13.6 \%$ | 108 | $17.7 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> opposed | 104 | $20.6 \%$ | 13 | $12.6 \%$ | 117 | $19.2 \%$ |


| Very much <br> opposed | 198 | $39.1 \%$ | 60 | $58.3 \%$ | 258 | $42.4 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Don't know | 40 | $7.9 \%$ | 14 | $13.6 \%$ | 54 | $8.9 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

Continuing the existing situation

|  | Jews |  | Arabs |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Very much <br> in favor | 23 | $4.5 \%$ | 4 | $3.9 \%$ | 27 | $4.4 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> in favor | 66 | $13 \%$ | 8 | $7.8 \%$ | 74 | $12.2 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> opposed | 136 | $26.9 \%$ | 23 | $22.3 \%$ | 159 | $26.1 \%$ |
| Very much <br> opposed | 239 | $47.2 \%$ | 53 | $51.5 \%$ | 292 | $47.9 \%$ |
| Don't know | 42 | $8.3 \%$ | 15 | $14.6 \%$ | 57 | $9.4 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

7. Which of these solutions do you believe has the best chance of being achieved in the foreseeable future?

|  |  |  |  | Arabs |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |  |
| Creation of an <br> independent <br> Palestinian <br> state alongside <br> Israel. | 74 | $14.6 \%$ | 39 | $37.9 \%$ | 113 | $18.6 \%$ |  |
| Creation of a <br> binational <br> state between <br> the Jordan and <br> the sea with <br> full and equal <br> rights for Jews <br> and <br> Palestinians | 13 |  | $2.6 \%$ | 11 |  | $10.7 \%$ | 24 |
| Annexation of <br> the territories <br> and the | 115 | $22.7 \%$ | 4 | $3.9 \%$ | 119 | $3.9 \%$ |  |


| creation of one <br> state under <br> Israeli rule <br> with limited <br> rights to <br> Palestinians |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Continuing the <br> existing <br> situation | 221 | $43.7 \%$ | 37 | $35.9 \%$ | 258 | $42.4 \%$ |
| Don't know | 83 | $16.4 \%$ | 12 | $11.7 \%$ | 95 | $15.6 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

8. To what extent to you believe that continuing the conflict with the Palestinians harms or does not harm Israel?

|  | Jews |  |  | Arabs |  | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Very greatly <br> harms | 309 | $61.1 \%$ | 63 | $61.2 \%$ | 372 | $61.1 \%$ |
| Harms | 128 | $25.3 \%$ | 30 | $29.1 \%$ | 158 | $25.9 \%$ |
| Minimally <br> harms | 39 | $7.7 \%$ | 4 | $3.9 \%$ | 43 | $7.1 \%$ |
| Does not harm <br> at all | 13 | $2.6 \%$ | 2 | $1.9 \%$ | 15 | $2.5 \%$ |
| Don't know | 17 | $3.4 \%$ | 4 | $3.9 \%$ | 21 | $3.4 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

9. In your opinion, does the government have or does not have clear goals for Swords of Iron war in Gaza?

|  | Jews |  | Arabs |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| It has very <br> clear goals | 74 | $14.6 \%$ | 14 | $13.6 \%$ | 88 | $14.4 \%$ |
| It has <br> moderately <br> clear goals | 133 | $26.3 \%$ | 22 | $21.4 \%$ | 155 | $25.5 \%$ |
| The goals are <br> not <br> completely <br> clear | 223 | $44.1 \%$ | 28 | $27.2 \%$ | 251 | $41.2 \%$ |


| There are no <br> clear goals at <br> all | 61 | $12.1 \%$ | 26 | $25.2 \%$ | 87 | $14.3 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Don't know | 15 | $3 \%$ | 13 | $12.6 \%$ | 28 | $4.6 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

10. How would you characterize the IDF's use so far of its firepower in Gaza?

|  | Jews |  |  | Arabs |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |  |
| Appropriate <br> use | 185 | $36.6 \%$ | 19 | $18.4 \%$ | 204 | $33.5 \%$ |  |
| Too much use <br> of firepower | 9 | $1.8 \%$ | 52 | $50.5 \%$ | 61 | $10 \%$ |  |
| Too little use <br> of firepower | 291 | $57.5 \%$ | 12 | $11.7 \%$ | 303 | $49.8 \%$ |  |
| Don't know | 21 | $4.2 \%$ | 20 | $19.4 \%$ | 41 | $6.7 \%$ |  |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |  |

11. -12. How do you assess the performance of each of the following in Swords of Iron war so far?
a. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

|  | Jews |  | Arabs |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Very good <br> performance | 43 | $8.5 \%$ | 1 | $1 \%$ | 44 | $7.2 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> good <br> performance | 70 | $13.8 \%$ | 5 | $4.9 \%$ | 75 | $12.3 \%$ |
| Not so good <br> performance | 105 | $20.8 \%$ | 17 | $16.5 \%$ | 122 | $20 \%$ |
| Poor <br> performance | 269 | $53.2 \%$ | 71 | $68.9 \%$ | 340 | $55.8 \%$ |
| Don't know | 28 | $3.8 \%$ | 9 | $8.7 \%$ | 28 | $4.6 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

b. The government

|  | Jews |  |  | Arabs |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |  |
| Very good <br> performance | 24 | $4.7 \%$ | 2 | $1.9 \%$ | 26 | $4.3 \%$ |  |

The Gershon H. Gordon Faculty of Social Sciences
Tel Aviv University

| Moderately <br> good <br> performance | 77 | $15.2 \%$ | 4 | $3.9 \%$ | 81 | $13.3 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Not so good <br> performance | 102 | $20.2 \%$ | 21 | $20.4 \%$ | 123 | $20.2 \%$ |
| Poor <br> performance | 285 | $56.3 \%$ | 65 | $63.1 \%$ | 350 | $57.5 \%$ |
| Don't know | 18 | $3.6 \%$ | 11 | $10.7 \%$ | 29 | $4.8 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

c. The IDF

|  | Jews |  | Arabs |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Very good <br> performance | 174 | $34.4 \%$ | 11 | $10.7 \%$ | 185 | $30.4 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> good <br> performance | 222 | $43.9 \%$ | 30 | $29.1 \%$ | 252 | $41.4 \%$ |
| Not so good <br> performance | 77 | $15.2 \%$ | 15 | $14.6 \%$ | 92 | $15.1 \%$ |
| Poor <br> performance | 27 | $5.3 \%$ | 27 | $26.2 \%$ | 54 | $8.9 \%$ |
| Don't know | 6 | $1.2 \%$ | 20 | $19.4 \%$ | 26 | $4.3 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

d. The Israeli public

|  | Jews |  | Arabs |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Very good <br> performance | 401 | $79.2 \%$ | 23 | $22.3 \%$ | 424 | $69.6 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> good <br> performance | 86 | $17 \%$ | 24 | $23.3 \%$ | 110 | $18.1 \%$ |
| Not so good <br> performance | 10 | $2 \%$ | 12 | $11.7 \%$ | 22 | $3.6 \%$ |
| Poor <br> performance | 5 | $1 \%$ | 25 | $24.3 \%$ | 30 | $4.9 \%$ |
| Don't know | 4 | $0.8 \%$ | 19 | $18.4 \%$ | 23 | $3.8 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

13. What, in your opinion, are the chances that Swords of Iron war will lead to a long-term quiet from Gaza from the moment that it ends?

|  | Jews |  | Arabs |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Very low <br> chances | 47 | $10.5 \%$ | 17 | $16.5 \%$ | 64 | $10.5 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> low chance | 152 | $31 \%$ | 37 | $35.9 \%$ | 189 | $31 \%$ |
| Moderately <br> high chance | 155 | $29.1 \%$ | 22 | $21.4 \%$ | 177 | $29.1 \%$ |
| Very high <br> chances | 68 | $12.2 \%$ | 6 | $5.8 \%$ | 74 | $12.2 \%$ |
| Don't know | 84 | $17.2 \%$ | 21 | $20.4 \%$ | 105 | $17.2 \%$ |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

14. What should be the most important goal of war for the government at this point of time?

|  | Jews |  | Arabs |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Destroying <br> Hamas in any <br> possible way | 317 | $62.6 \%$ | 41 | $39.8 \%$ | 358 | $58.8 \%$ |
| Bringing back <br> the hostages <br> in any <br> possible way | 165 | $32.6 \%$ | 36 | $35 \%$ | 201 | $33 \%$ |
| Don't know | 24 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sum total | 506 | $100 \%$ | 103 | $100 \%$ | 609 | $100 \%$ |

