The International MA Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation
The Gershon H. Gordon Faculty of Social Sciences
Tel Aviv University

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 in favor	34	6.7%	59	57.3%	93	15.3%
Moderately in favor	90	17.8%	21	20.4%	111	18.2%
Moderately opposed	96	19%	7	6.8%	103	16.9%
Very much 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 believe	8	1.6%	22	21.4%	30	4.9%
Moderately believe	30	5.9%	37	35.9%	67	11%
Moderately disbelieve	142	28.1%	14	13.6%	156	25.6%
Very much 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%

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 in favor	12	2.4%	4	3.9%	16	2.6%
Moderately in favor	50	9.9%	22	21.4%	72	11.8%
Moderately opposed	119	23.5%	37	35.9%	156	25.6%
Very much 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 believe	4	0.8%	6	5.8%	10	1.6%
Moderately believe	25	4.9%	16	15.5%	41	6.7%
Moderately disbelieve	137	27.1%	39	37.9%	176	28.9%
Very much 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 support	35	6.9%	36	35%	71	11.7%
Moderately support	110	21.7%	38	36.9%	148	24.3%
Moderately oppose	73	14.4%	5	4.9%	78	12.8%
Very much 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 support	12	2.4%	22	21.4%	34	5.6%
Moderately support	31	6.1%	26	25.2%	57	9.4%
Moderately oppose	98	19.4%	12	11.7%	110	18.1%
Very much 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 in favor	70	13.8%	2	1.9%	72	11.8%
Moderately in favor	94	18.6%	14	13.6%	108	17.7%
Moderately opposed	104	20.6%	13	12.6%	117	19.2%

Very much 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 in favor		23	4.5%		4	3.9%		27	4.4%
Moderately in favor		66	13%		8	7.8%		74	12.2%
Moderately opposed		136	26.9%		23	22.3%		159	26.1%
Very much 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?

	Jews			Arabs			Total		
		Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent
Creation of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel.		74	14.6%		39	37.9%		113	18.6%
Creation of a binational state between the Jordan and the sea with full and equal rights for Jews and Palestinians		13	2.6%		11	10.7%		24	3.9%
Annexation of the territories and the		115	22.7%		4	3.9%		119	19.5%

creation of one state under Israeli rule with limited rights to Palestinians									
Continuing the existing 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 harms		309	61.1%		63	61.2%		372	61.1%
Harms		128	25.3%		30	29.1%		158	25.9%
Minimally harms		39	7.7%		4	3.9%		43	7.1%
Does not harm 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 clear goals		74	14.6%		14	13.6%		88	14.4%
It has moderately clear goals		133	26.3%		22	21.4%		155	25.5%
The goals are not completely clear		223	44.1%		28	27.2%		251	41.2%

There are no clear goals at 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 use	185	36.6%	19	18.4%	204	33.5%
Too much use of firepower	9	1.8%	52	50.5%	61	10%
Too little use 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 performance	43	8.5%	1	1%	44	7.2%
Moderately good performance	70	13.8%	5	4.9%	75	12.3%
Not so good performance	105	20.8%	17	16.5%	122	20%
Poor 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 performance	24	4.7%	2	1.9%	26	4.3%

Moderately good performance		77	15.2%		4	3.9%		81	13.3%
Not so good performance		102	20.2%		21	20.4%		123	20.2%
Poor 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 performance		174	34.4%		11	10.7%		185	30.4%
Moderately good performance		222	43.9%		30	29.1%		252	41.4%
Not so good performance		77	15.2%		15	14.6%		92	15.1%
Poor 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 performance		401	79.2%		23	22.3%		424	69.6%
Moderately good performance		86	17%		24	23.3%		110	18.1%
Not so good performance		10	2%		12	11.7%		22	3.6%
Poor 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 chances	47	10.5%	17	16.5%	64	10.5%
Moderately low chance	152	31%	37	35.9%	189	31%
Moderately high chance	155	29.1%	22	21.4%	177	29.1%
Very high 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 Hamas in any possible way	317	62.6%	41	39.8%	358	58.8%
Bringing back the hostages in any possible way	165	32.6%	36	35%	201	33%
Don't know	24	4.7%	26	25.2%	50	8.2%
Sum total	506	100%	103	100%	609	100%