

The International MA Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation

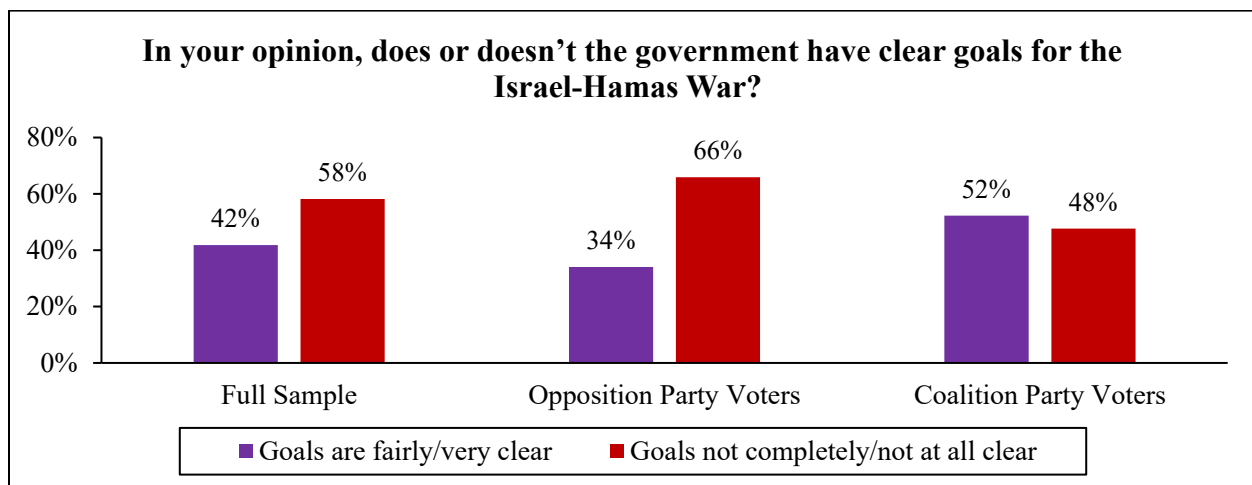
The Gershon H. Gordon
Faculty of Social Sciences
Tel Aviv University

Peace Index – November 2023

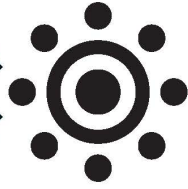
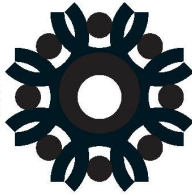
Dr. Nimrod Rosler and Dr. Alon Yakter

The Israel-Hamas (“Swords of Iron”) War

- At the time of the survey, about two and a half weeks after the events of October 7, a **majority of the full sample (58%)** thought that the goals of the Israel-Hamas War were not clear enough. This criticism is more acute among voters of the opposition parties, about two-thirds of whom think that the war does not have clear enough goals. Nevertheless, about half of the coalition voters (48%) think the same.

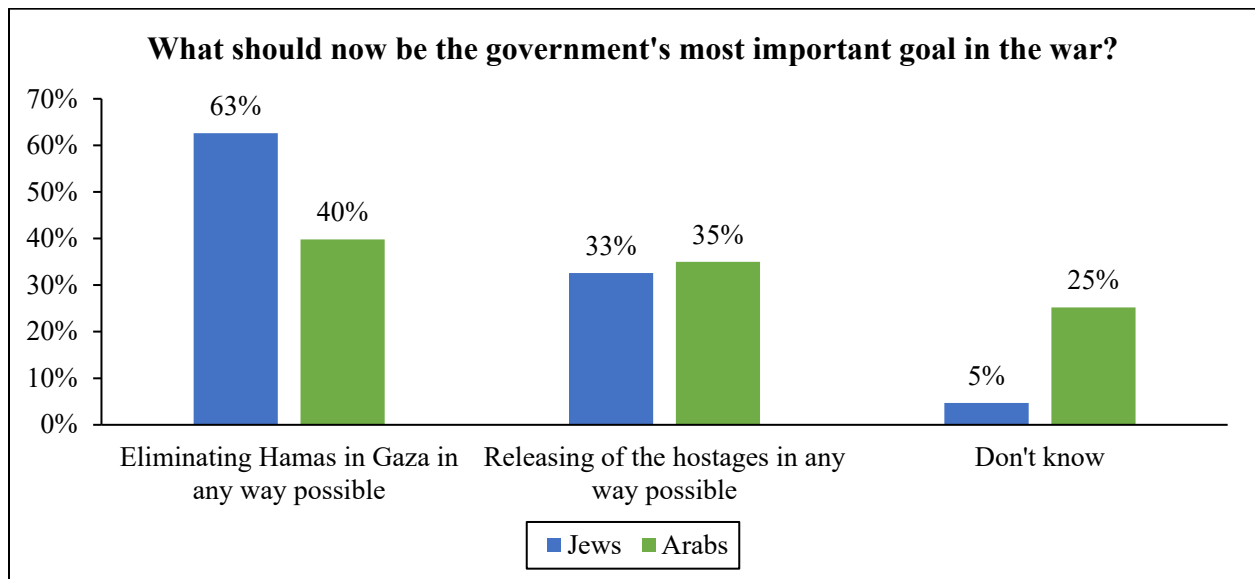
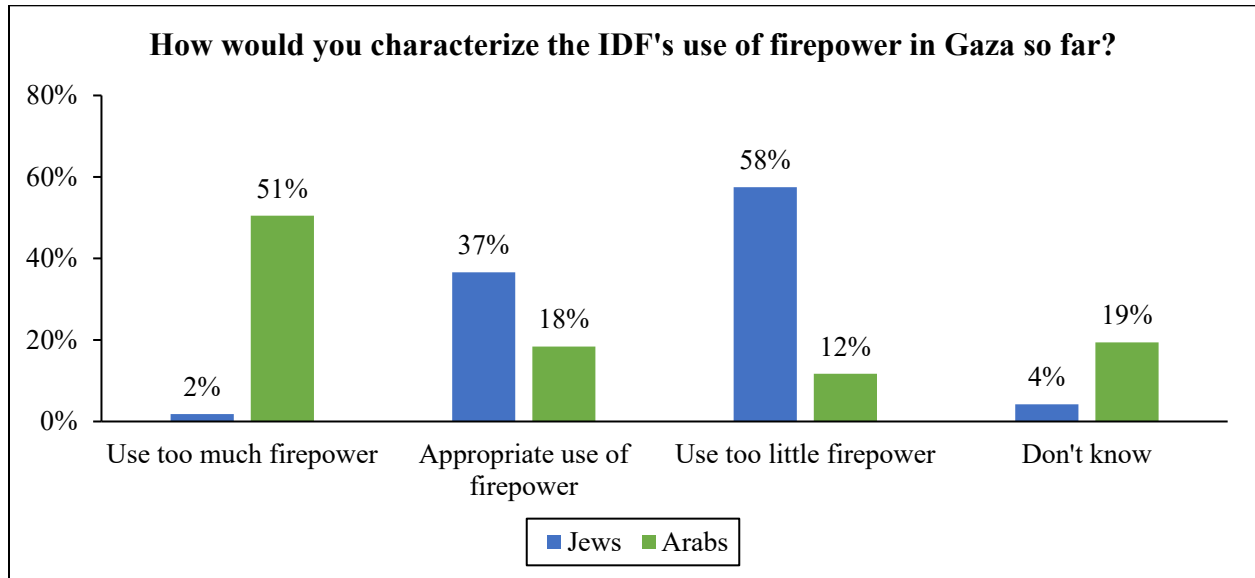


- The aforementioned criticism of the clarity of the war's goals is similar among Jews and Arabs, but both groups differ on the means to be used. **The majority of Jews (58%) think that the IDF uses too little firepower against Gaza**, and another 37% think that the amount of firepower is correct. In fact, only 2% of the Jewish respondents think that the IDF uses excessive firepower in Gaza. By contrast, **the majority of Arabs (51%) think that the IDF uses too much force**. In addition, about a fifth of the Arab respondents (19%) have not formed an opinion on the issue or do not wish to express it, compared to only 4% of Jews.
- Similarly, **Jewish and Arab respondents also disagree about the war's desired priorities, and in particular, the dilemma between the elimination of Hamas and the release of the hostages**. Almost two-thirds of Jews (63%) cite the elimination of Hamas as the government's most important goal, even more so than the return of those taken hostage. In contrast, Arab respondents are divided between the two alternatives, without a clear majority for either, and about a quarter do not know or do not want to take a position.

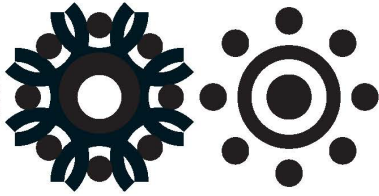


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- Finally, evaluations of the performance of various state authorities also illustrate the differences between the political-partisan fault line and the sectoral-national fault line. **Opposition and coalition voters are united in the high marks they give to the Israeli public and the army but divided on the performance of the government and Prime Minister Netanyahu.** However, even among coalition voters, only a minority are satisfied with the latter two's performance (39% and 44% respectively). **Meanwhile, the majority of Arab respondents do not give good marks to the performance of the IDF and Israeli society as a whole.** In other words, the differences of opinion between the opposition and coalition voters, most of whom are Jewish, are political and narrower, while the fault line

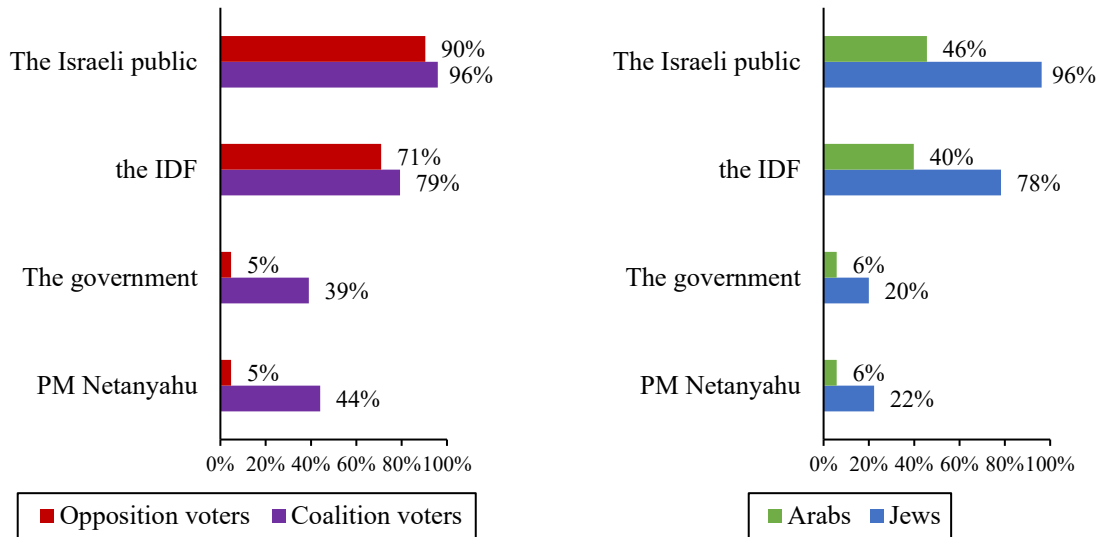


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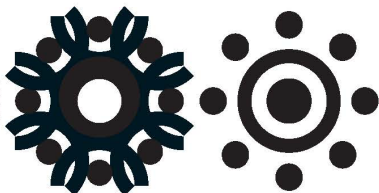
between Jews and Arabs runs wider and deeper and also concerns the mobilization of the army and entire society for the needs of the war in Gaza.

How would you assess the performance of each of the following in the Israel-Gaza War so far? (Rate of respondents who assess the functioning as good or very good)



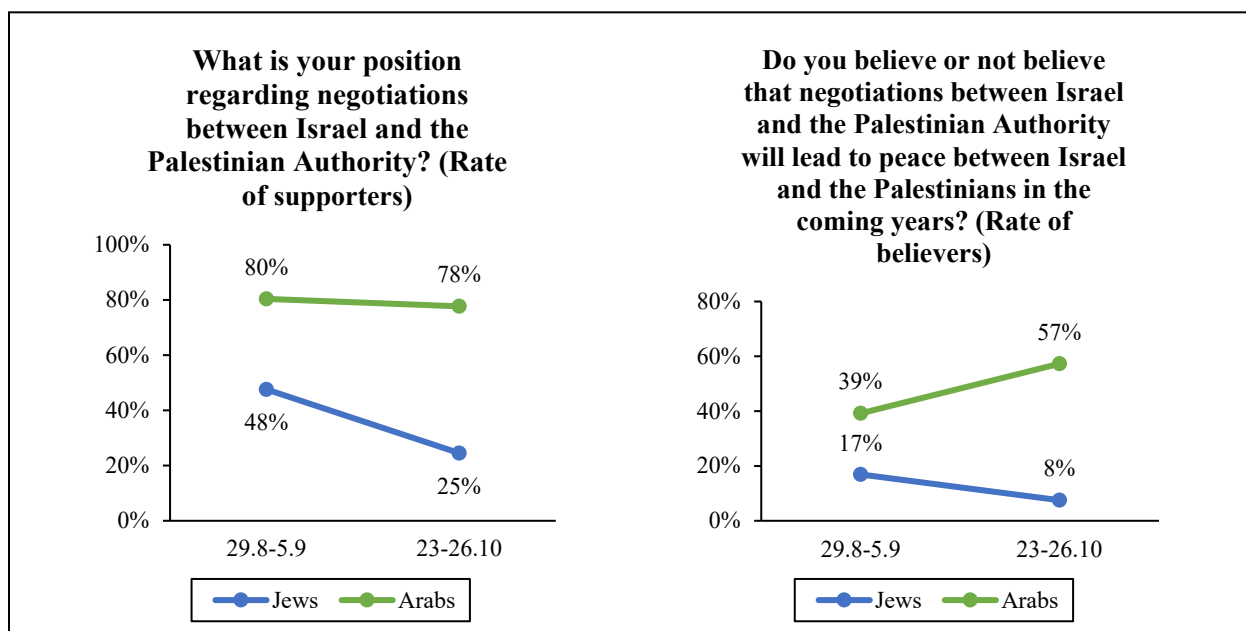
Attitudes regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict after the events of October 7

- The current survey included the recurring questions of the "Peace Index" about two and a half weeks after the events of October 7. This makes it possible to compare them with the survey that preceded it, which was conducted between August 29 and September 5, about a month before the events. **The data indicate an unprecedented drop in the support rate of Jewish respondents for compromise-based solutions.**
- **There is a dramatic decrease in Jewish respondents' willingness to negotiate peace with the Palestinian Authority in principle and in their belief that such a process could lead to peace in practice.** Support for negotiations among Jews is cut by half, from 48% to 25%, and the belief that negotiations will lead to peace in practice drops from 17% to 8%. **For both questions, this is an all-time low since their inclusion in the Peace Index surveys starting in 2001, even compared to the Second Intifada and other rounds of violence.**
- Among the Arab respondents, on the other hand, there is no apparent change in the high level of support for negotiations, and surprisingly there is even a significant increase in the belief that negotiations will now lead to peace.



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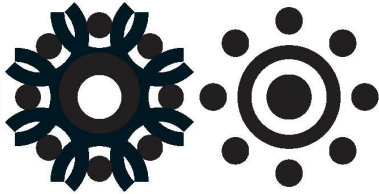
- An examination of the rate of support for specific solutions demonstrates that **the main erosion among the Jewish public is concentrated in support for a two-state solution**, which falls by about 10%. Meanwhile, **there is no apparent corresponding increase in support for alternative solutions on the right or the left**, such as the annexation of the territories or a binational state. However, although the support for all solutions is very low, among Jewish respondents **there is also a decrease in the share of those who support the continuation of the existing situation**. It seems, therefore, that the events create **dissonance among the Jewish public**: less willingness to continue with the existing situation but also low support for all the solutions included in the survey.
- Arab respondents, on the other hand, again show stable positions before and after the events of October 7: support by a large majority for the two-state solution, support of a significant minority for a binational state, and clear rejection of annexation or the continuation of the existing situation.

The Negotiation Index:

Jewish sample: 21.6 (an unprecedented decrease of 16.4 points compared to the previous index, about two months ago)

General sample: 29.4 (a decrease of 12.9 points compared to the previous index)

The negotiation index is calculated by weighing two questions: the degree of support for negotiations with the Palestinian Authority, and the degree of belief that negotiations with the PA will lead to peace in the coming years.

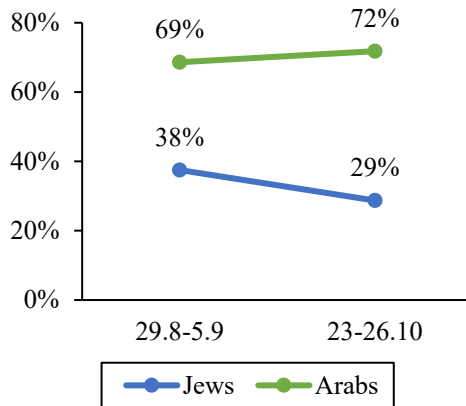


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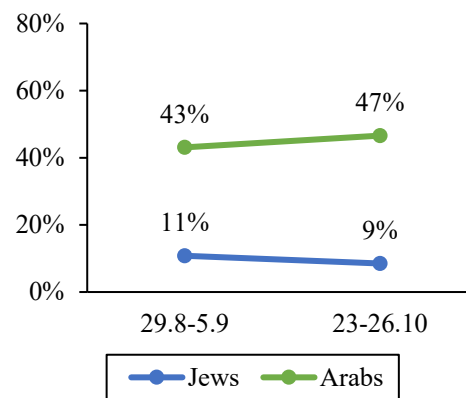
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Rate of Positive Support for Various Solutions to the Conflict

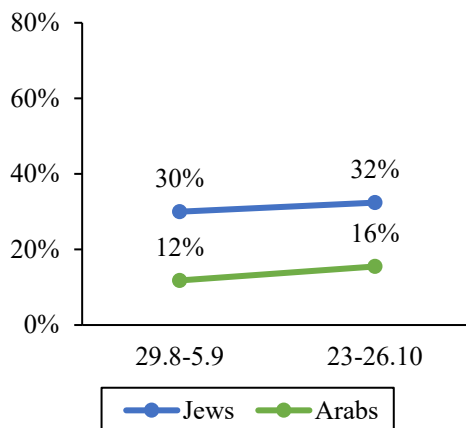
The establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside the State of Israel



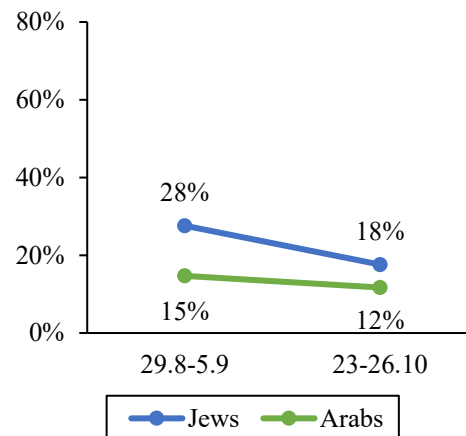
The establishment of a binational state between the river and the sea with equal rights for Jews and Palestinians



The annexation of the territories and establishment of one state under Israeli rule with limited Palestinian rights



Continuing the current situation



The Peace Index is conducted by Dr. Nimrod Rosler from the International Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation and Dr. Alon Yakter from the School of Political Science, Government and International Relations at Tel Aviv University. The survey was conducted online by the iPanel company on October 23 to 28, 2023, among 609 interviewees, who are a nationally representative sample of the entire adult population (ages 18 and over) in Israel. The maximum sampling error for the whole sample is +/-4.2% at a confidence level of 95%.