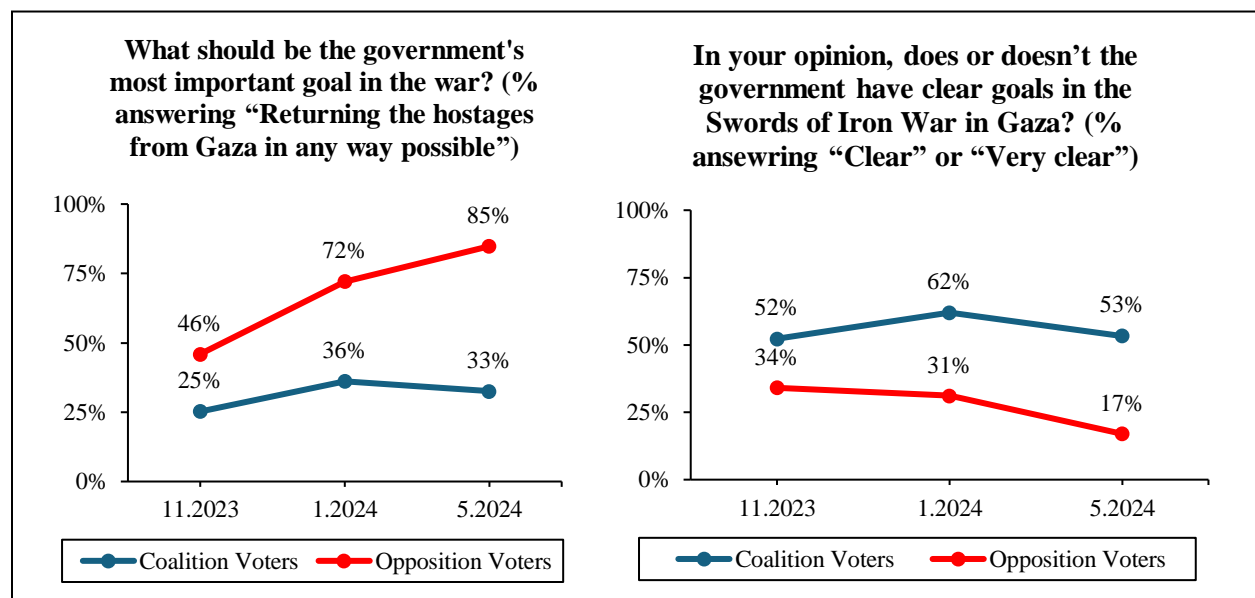


Peace Index- May 2024

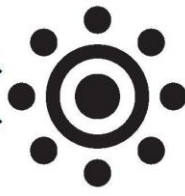
Dr. Nimrod Rosler and Dr. Alon Yakter

Swords of Iron War: Aims and War Management

- For the first time since the beginning of the war, **there has been a dramatic change in respondents' preferred priorities for the government** in the dilemma between the elimination of Hamas and the release of the hostages by any means possible. **There is now a majority both among the entire sample (57%) and among the Jewish sample (55%) that prefers the release of the hostages** in any way possible over the former option. **The partisan divide regarding this issue is widening.** Among opinion holders who voted for the coalition parties, a similar majority as in the previous survey favors the elimination of Hamas (68%). By contrast, support for releasing the hostages increased by 13% among opinion holders who voted for opposition parties (85% in the current survey). The majority of the Arab public retains its preference for the release of the hostages (66%), while the share of those who do not express an opinion on the issue now rises to 27%.
- Criticism of the way the war is managed is increasing among the Israeli public. **A clear majority (63%) of respondents believe the government does not have clear goals in the war.** The growing criticism leads even **opinion holders among coalition voters to be divided** between those who believe that the government has clear goals (53%) and those who believe that it does not (47%). **Among opinion holders voting for the opposition, an absolute majority (83%) believe that the government has no clear goals for the war.**



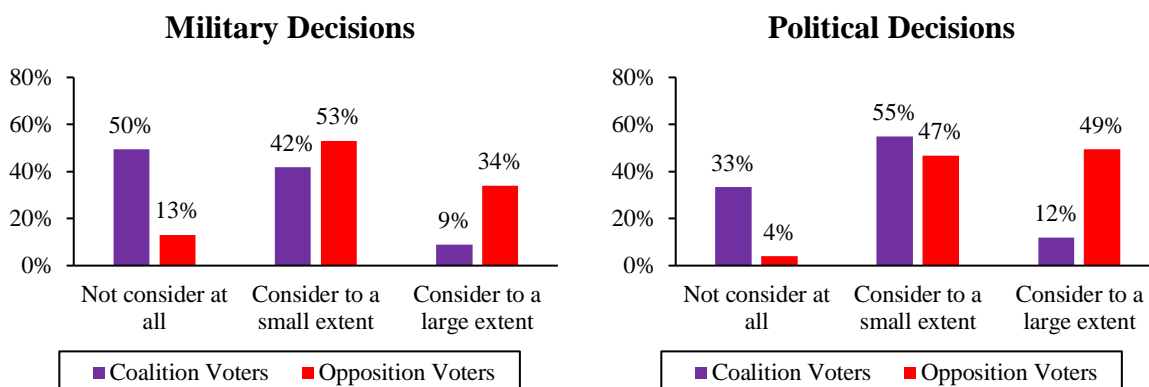
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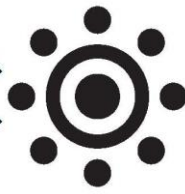


Israel's Position in the World and the Need to Consider Its Allies

- Against the backdrop of growing international criticism, the current survey examined to what extent the public believes that Israel is isolated globally and whether it should consider the opinions of its allies in its decisions. Regarding the first question, **a clear majority of respondents (70%) believe that Israel is relatively isolated but has the support of a small handful of allies.** About three-quarters (74%) of the Jewish respondents think so compared to about half (51%) of the Arab respondents. The remaining respondents are divided between those who believe that Israel has many allies in the world (15% among Jews and 13% among Arabs) and those who believe that Israel is completely isolated (7% among Jews, and 13% among Arabs). **Interestingly, Jews who define themselves as right-wingers express the strongest belief that Israel has many allies in the world (23%) compared to all other ideological groups** (15% among the moderate right-wingers, 13% among the centrists, and 11% among left-wingers). Similar to other questions, about a quarter (23%) of the Arab respondents do not express a position on this subject.
- Among the Jewish respondents who do not think that Israel is completely isolated, a **significant gap appears between right-wing respondents and all other opinion-holders regarding Israel's desired consideration of its allies' positions on security matters.** While most right-wingers believe that Israel should not take its allies into account at all on these issues (57%), only a minority among the moderate right-wing (37%), the center (16%), and the left (2%) agreed. Concerning political issues, the most common answer among opinion holders on the right (57%), the moderate right (64%), and the center (48%) was that Israel should consider the positions of its allies to a small extent, compared to those on the left who believe that it should do so to a great extent (63%).

To what extent should Israel consider the positions of its allies? (Only respondents who did not answer that Israel was completely isolated)





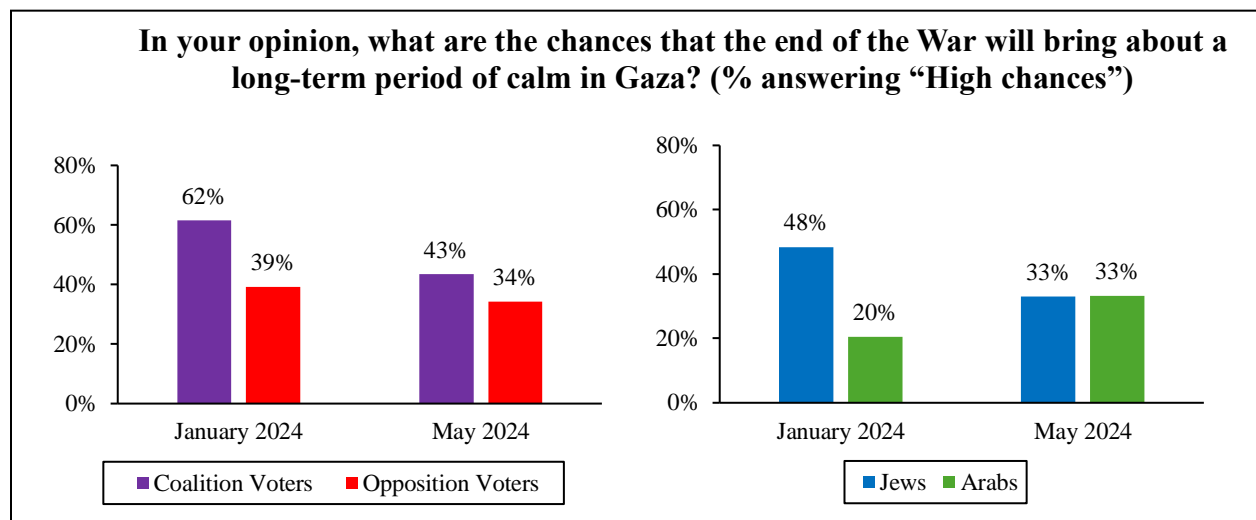
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- Among the Arab respondents who did not answer that Israel is completely isolated, most believe that Israel should consider the positions of its allies to a large extent both on security issues (40%) and on political issues (43%). A large group chose not to answer these questions (36% and 37% respectively).

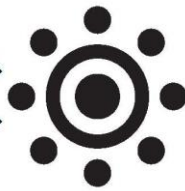
Swords of Iron War: The Day After

- The gap between coalition and opposition voters and between Jewish and Arab respondents has narrowed concerning **the possibility of achieving a long-term period of calm** in Gaza after the war. Currently, **most Jewish opinion holders (62%) believe that the chances of achieving this are low**. Only a minority of opposition (34%) and coalition (43%) voters believe that there is a high chance of a long-term calm in Gaza once the war ends. **Among the Arab public, a larger group (33%) compared to the previous survey (20%) believe that there is a high chance that the war will lead to a long-term period of quiet**, but still over a half (55%) believe that the chances are low.



- Regarding the **desired arrangement in the Gaza Strip after the end of the war** from a security and a political-civilian standpoint, the answers in the Jewish public are divided according to ideological identification on the left-right spectrum. However, compared to the previous survey, a change is evident mainly among those in the ideological center. **A majority among the opinion holders from the right (88%) and the moderate right (61%) still prefer full Israeli security control in Gaza. Among centrist opinion holders, there is now a clear majority (66% compared to only 35% in the previous survey) who prefer security control by international and regional forces. This share is similar to those on the left (68%). Concerning political-civilian control in Gaza, the positions remain similar to the previous survey, with a majority among opinion holders on the**

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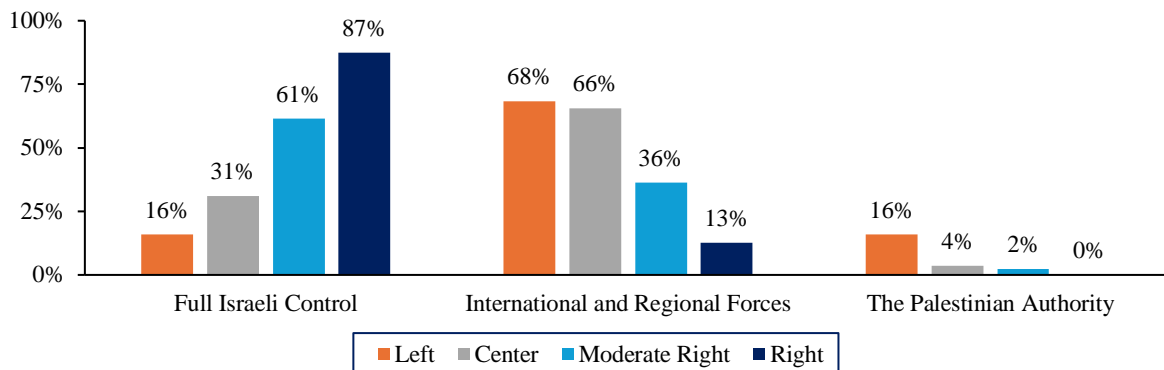
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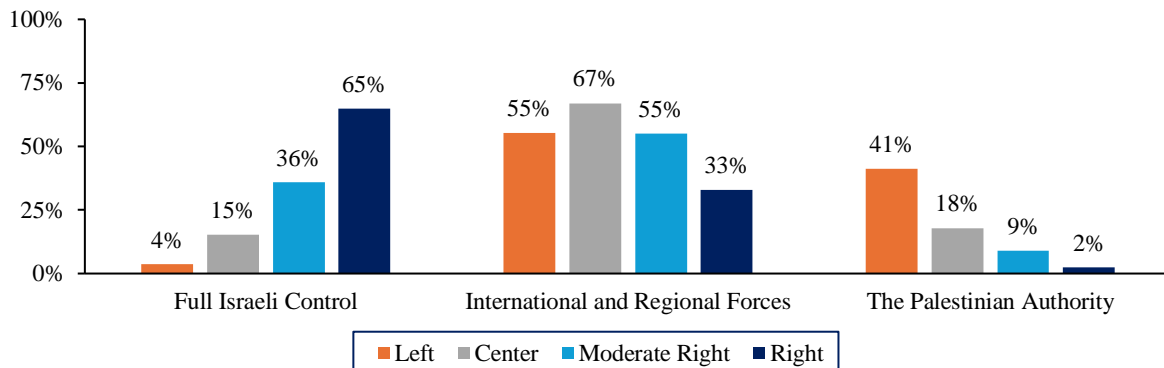
left (55%), the center (67%), and the moderate right (55%) preferring control by international and regional forces, compared to about two-thirds of right-wing respondents (65%) who prefer Israeli control. A considerable minority among the left-wing (41%) support political-civilian control by the Palestinian Authority, although all other ideological groups are much less supportive of this option.

In your opinion, what is the desired political-security arrangement in Gaza after the end of the war?

From a Security Standpoint

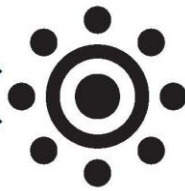


From a Political-Civilian Standpoint



- The Arab public is divided between those who support security and political-civilian control by international and regional forces (29% and 25%, respectively) and those who support security and political-civilian control by the Palestinian Authority (28% and 31%, respectively). A very small minority (6%) supports Israeli control of any kind in Gaza after the end of the war and a considerable group does not express a position on the issue (36-37%).
- On the question of support for the re-establishment of Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip after the end of the war, the Jewish public is divided between opposers (46%) and

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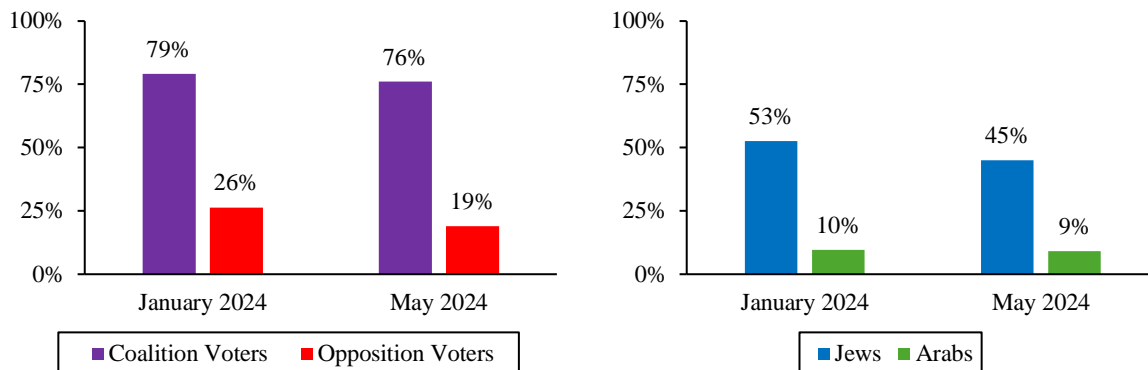


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supporters (45%). The wide partisan gap between coalition and opposition voters is maintained: **the majority of support comes from voters for the coalition parties (76%), compared to broad opposition among voters for the opposition parties (81%).** The percentage of those opposed to the establishment of settlements in the Gaza Strip remains high (66%) among Arab respondents.

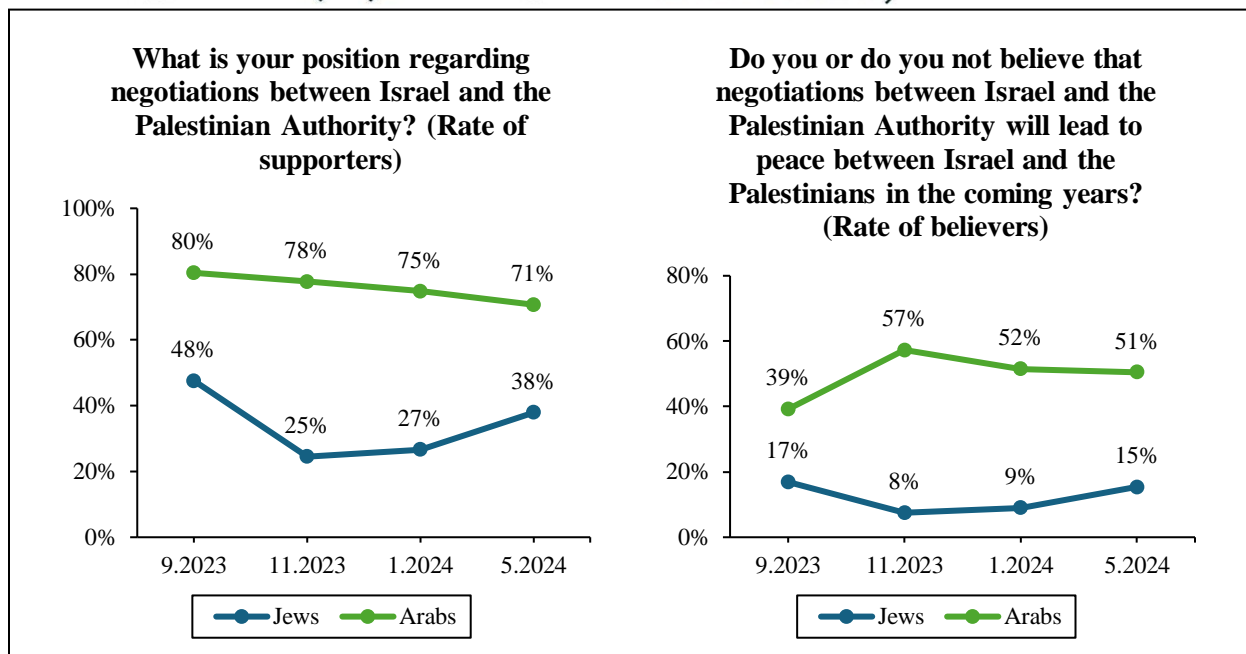
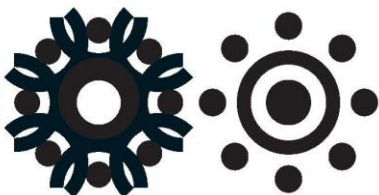
To what extent do you support or oppose the establishment of Israeli civilian settlements in the Gaza Strip after the end of the war? (% positively supporting)



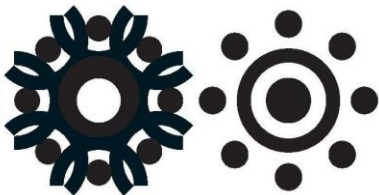
Attitudes Regarding the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

- **For the first time since the October 7th events, we see a resurgence in the share of Jewish respondents who support peace negotiations with the Palestinian Authority.** Although this percentage remains lower than its levels before the October events (38% currently compared to 48% in September 2023), this rise offsets about half of the sharp drop that occurred after October 7th.
- **The share of respondents that believe that such a process will lead to peace in the coming years also shows a recovery but remains very low (15%) as it was before the events (17% in September 2023).**
- In contrast to the fluctuations in Jewish attitudes, **the Arab respondents remain stable in their high support for negotiations (71%),** with a small majority believing that a peace agreement will be reached in the coming years (51%).

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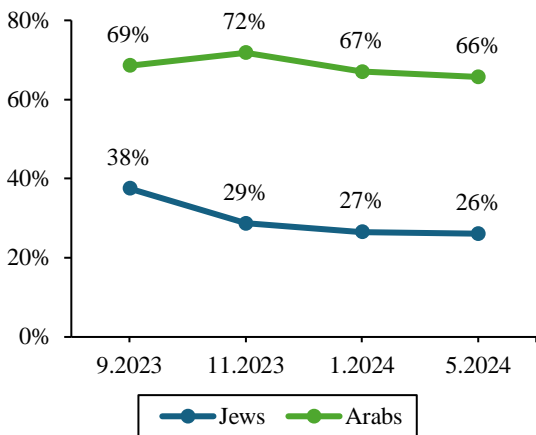


- Nevertheless, **the upward trend in Jewish respondents' willingness to negotiate with the Palestinian Authority is not reflected in support for concrete solutions.** Examining the shares of support for different solutions to the conflict shows a relative stagnation and **the continued rejection of all proposed solutions.** The rate of support for the establishment of a Palestinian state, which plummeted after the events of October 7th, remains very low (26%). By contrast, support for the annexation of the territories without giving full rights to the Palestinians receives higher percentages of support, but these are still relatively low (36%). The establishment of one bi-national state with equal rights remains the least popular solution. The only trend change identified among the Jewish respondents is the increase in the share who prefer to continue with the current status quo (26% now compared to 18% in the two previous surveys).
- Compared to the Jewish respondents, **the Arab respondents are stable in their support levels for the various solutions, particularly the high rate of support for a Palestinian state alongside Israel (66%).** In addition, the data show a steady decline in the number of Arab respondents who support a bi-national state solution, which dropped from 47% to 37% as the war in Gaza expanded and has remained at that level since.

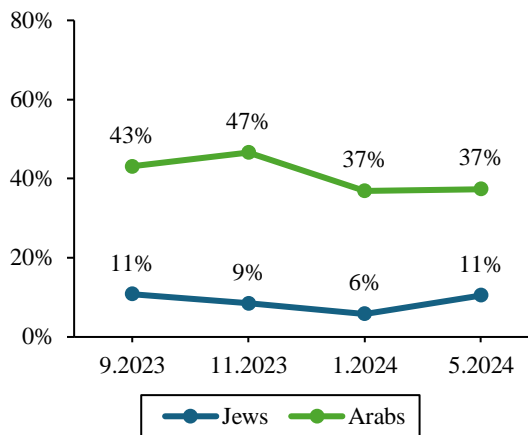


Rate of Positive Support for Various Solutions to the Conflict

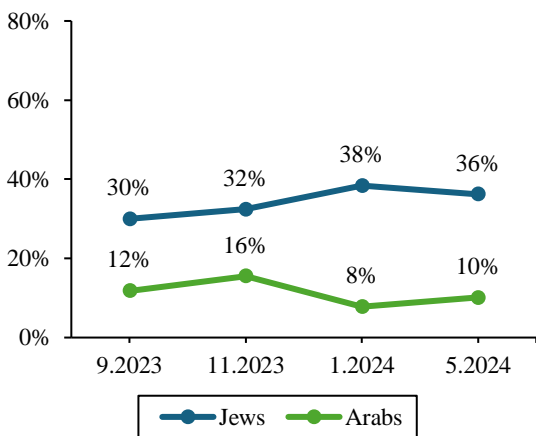
**The Establishment of an
Independent Palestinian State
Alongside the State of Israel**



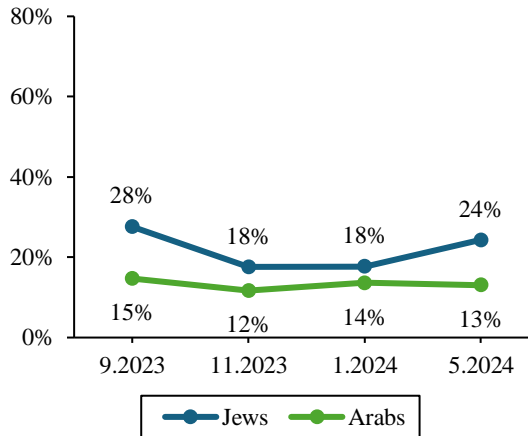
**The Establishment of a
Binational State Between the
River and the Sea with Equal
Rights for Jews and Palestinians**

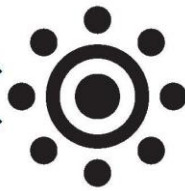


**The Annexation of the
Territories and Establishment of
One State Under Israeli Rule
with Limited Palestinian Rights**



**Continuing the Current
Situation**





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The Negotiation Index:

Jewish sample: 29.9 (an increase of 5.6 points compared to the previous index)

General sample: 35.3 (an increase of 4.2 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.

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 May 1-3, 2024, among 605 interviewees, who are a representative national sample of the entire adult population (ages 18 and over) in Israel. The maximum sampling error for the entire sample - 4.2%± at a confidence level of 95%.

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