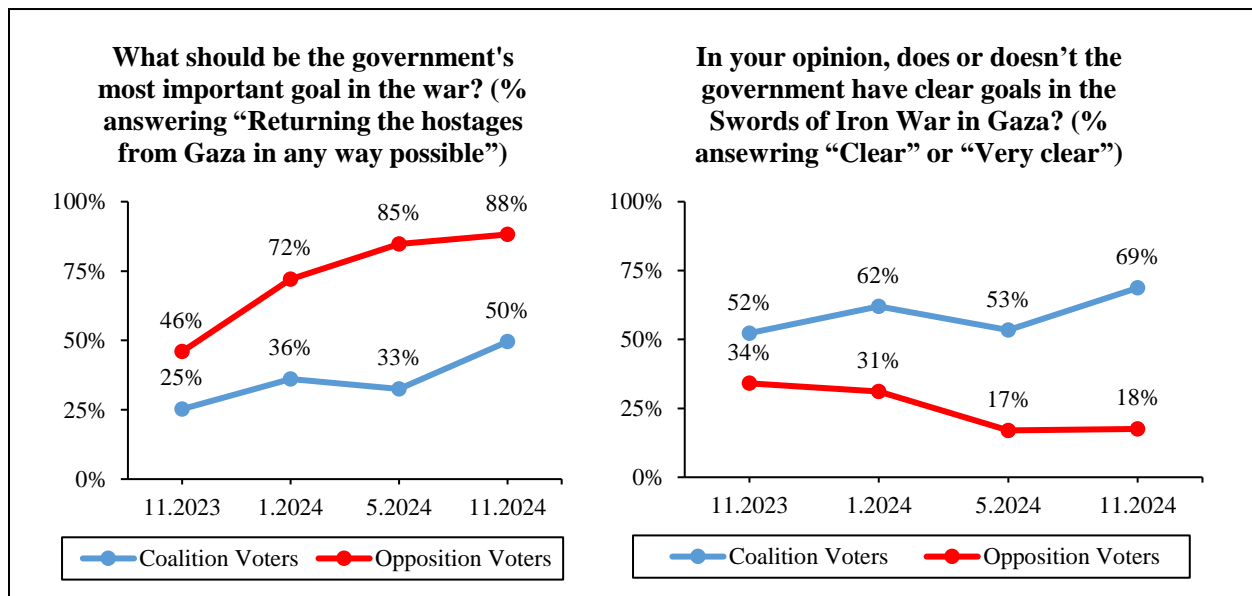


Peace Index- November 2024

Dr. Nimrod Rosler and Dr. Alon Yakter

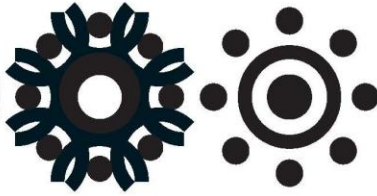
Swords of Iron War: Aims and War Management

- **A solid majority, approximately two-thirds of the entire sample (66%) and the Jewish sample (65%), prefer the release of hostages by any means over the elimination of Hamas by any means as the government's primary objective in the war. The partisan divide on this issue has narrowed:** an overwhelming majority (88%) among opinion holders who voted for the opposition parties favour the release of the hostages. **For the first time since the war began, half of the opinion holders who voted for the coalition parties also support this option.** The majority of Arab respondents that prefer the release of hostages also increased (74%), while the proportion of those who do not express an opinion on the matter dropped to 20%.
- **Criticism of the government's management of the war in Gaza has declined** compared to the previous survey, although **a majority (57%) still believes that the government lacks clear goals in the war.** On this issue, the partisan divide has actually widened: while an overwhelming majority among opinion holders who voted for the opposition parties (83%) continue to believe that the government has no clear goals for the war, a majority of opinion holders who voted for the coalition parties (67%) reverted to their previous position from a year ago, asserting that the government does have clear goals.



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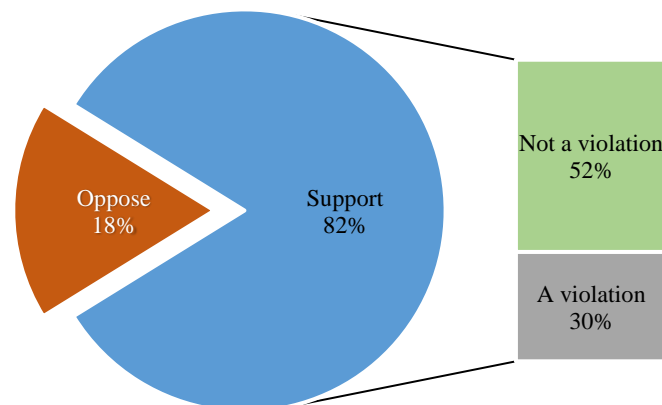
The International MA Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation

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

- Against the backdrop of statements made by former Defence Minister Moshe Ya'alon regarding Israel's actions in the northern Gaza Strip, **half of opinion holders who voted for the opposition parties (50%) and a significant minority of opinion holders who voted for the coalition parties (40%) believe that Israel's evacuation of Palestinian residents, prevention of their return, and establishment of a significant presence in the area constitute an act of expulsion that violates international law.** Nevertheless, a large majority in both groups (67% and 86%, respectively) also regard these actions as essential security measures for the protection of innocent civilians. As a result, **a significant majority of the Jewish public (74%) supports the actions.** Notably, **30% of Jewish opinion holders both support the measures and agree that they significantly or very significantly violate international law.** In contrast, **the majority of the Arab public (66%) opposes these actions by Israel,** with 53% perceiving them as the expulsion of a civilian population in violation of international law. Approximately half of the Arab public does not view these measures as essential security operations.

According to reports, Israel is evacuating Palestinian residents from the northern Gaza Strip on a large scale, preventing their return and establishing a significant presence in this area. To what extent do you support or oppose this activity?

(Segmented by the level of agreement that these actions constitute an act of expulsion that violates international law; Jewish respondents with opinion only)



Swords of Iron War: The Day After

- The level of opposition (46%) to the re-establishment of Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip after the end of the war remains higher than the level of support (43%),** with significant divisions persisting between voters of coalition and opposition parties on this issue. Notably, while an overwhelming majority (86%) of those who identify as ideologically right-wing support the move, those who identify as moderate right are split, with 52% in favour and 49% opposed. Support among the moderate right has declined over

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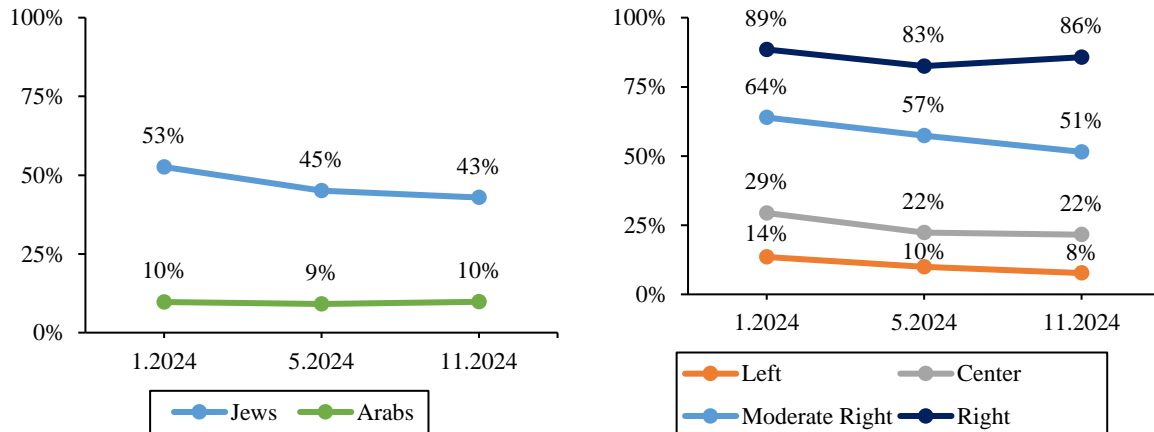


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the past year. Opposition to the re-establishment of settlements in Gaza is strong among centrists (78%) and the left (92%), as well as the majority of the Arab public (73%).

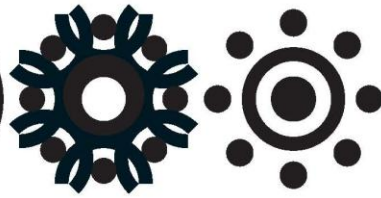
To what extent do you support or oppose the establishment of Israeli civilian settlements in the Gaza Strip after the end of the war? (% positively supporting)



- Regarding the preferred arrangement for the Gaza Strip following the end of the war, from both a security and a political-civilian standpoint, responses within the Jewish public are divided according to ideological identification on the left-right spectrum. This division reflects differing preferences for Israeli control versus control by international and regional forces, respectively. Compared to May 2024, support for political-civilian control by international forces has increased across all ideological camps except the right, rising from 55%-67% in May to 61%-74% in the current survey. Similarly, there has been a notable shift in support for Israeli security control over Gaza, particularly among centrist opinion holders, where support grew from 31% in May 2024 to 44% in the current survey. Among the Arab public, opinions are divided between those favouring security and political-civilian control by the Palestinian Authority (32% and 36%, respectively), those preferring control by international and regional forces (29% in both cases), and those who did not express an opinion on the matter (25% and 23%, respectively).

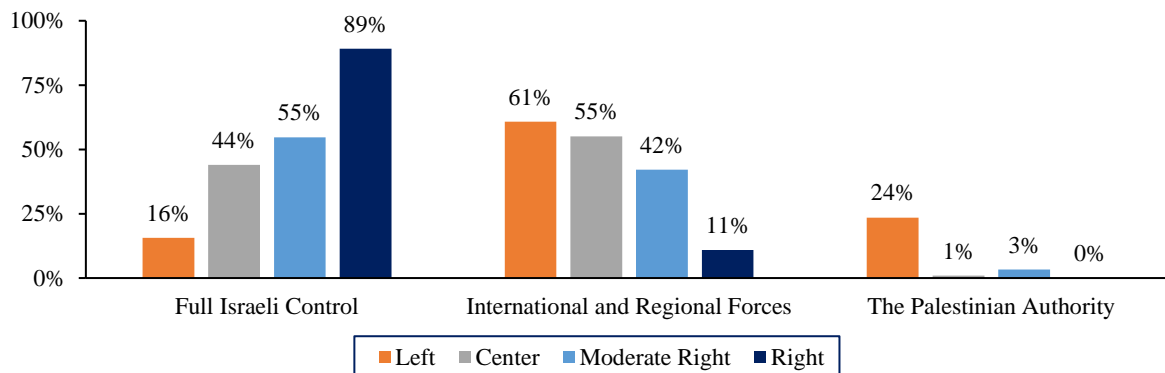
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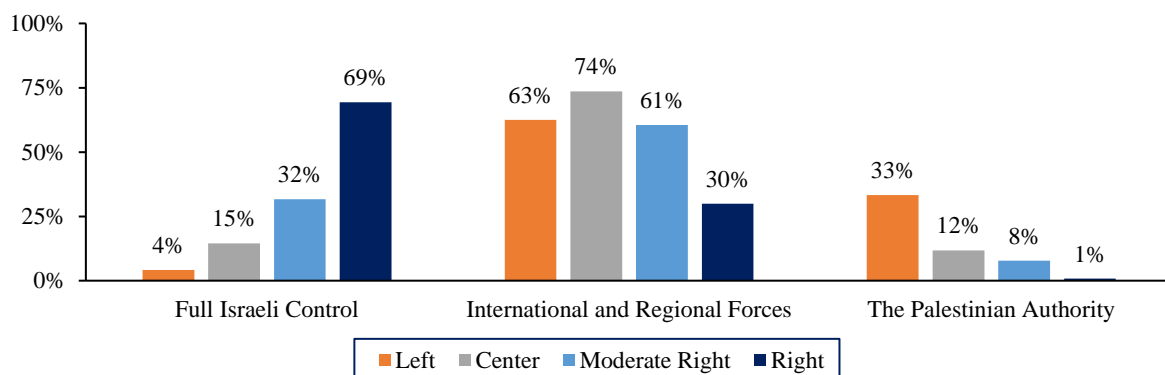


In your opinion, what is the desired political-security arrangement in Gaza after the end of the war?

From a Security Standpoint



From a Political-Civilian Standpoint

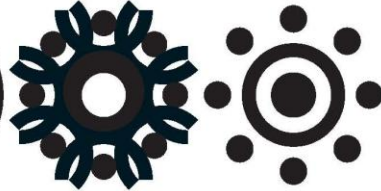


The Influence of the U.S. Administration

- In light of Donald Trump's election for President of the United States and the expectations surrounding him in Israel, we examined the extent to which the position of the U.S. administration influences the various policy options available to Israel regarding the territories. The Jewish public is divided between those who believe that the stance of the current administration, still led by President Biden, increases the likelihood of establishing a Palestinian state in parts of the West Bank and Gaza (32%) and those who believe it decreases the likelihood (27%). Among the Arab public, opinions are similarly divided, with 32% believing the administration's position increases the likelihood, while 36% did not express an opinion.
- Regarding the possibility of annexing all Jewish settlements in the territories into Israel, the most common response among the Jewish public is that the position of the current administration reduces the likelihood of such a move (44%). Among the Arab public,

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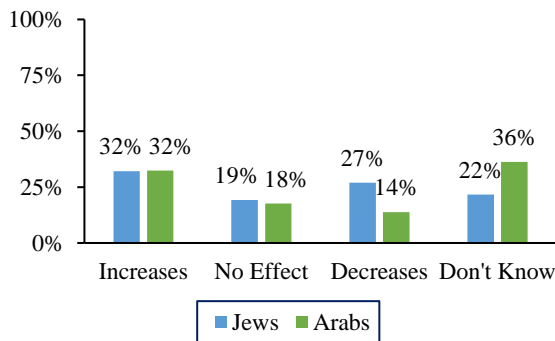
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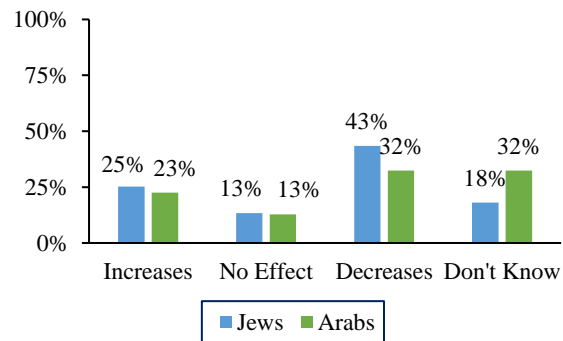
opinions were split, with 32% believing the current stance reduces the likelihood of annexation, while an equal share (32%) did not express an opinion.

To What Extent Does the US Administration's Position Influence the Likelihood to Enact the Following Policy:

Establishing a Palestinian State in Parts of the West Bank and Gaza



Annexing All Jewish Settlements in the West Bank into Israel

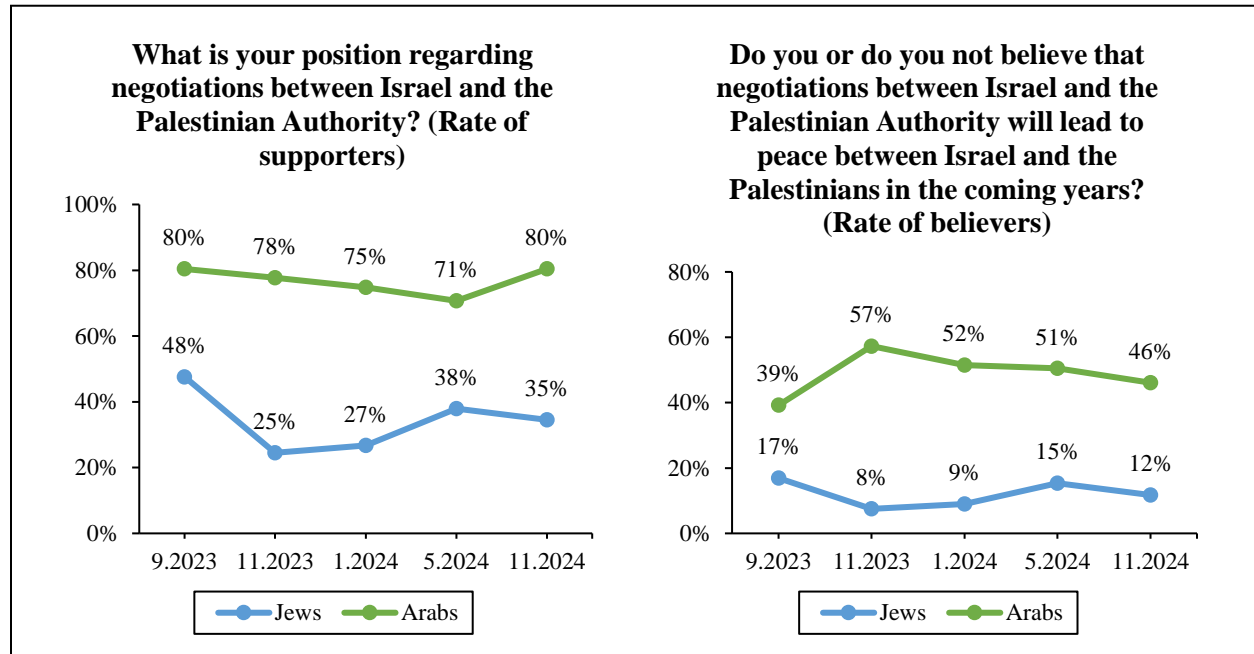
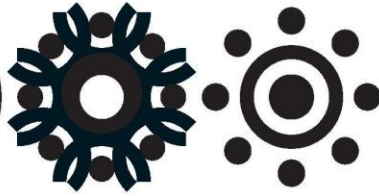


Attitudes Regarding the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

- **The level of support for negotiating peace with the Palestinian Authority among the Jewish public** remains similar to the previous survey (35% in the current survey compared to 38% in May 2024) and **is still lower than the level of support recorded prior to the events of October 7th** (48% in September 2023). **The proportion of those who believe that peace will be achieved in the coming years also remains very low and largely unchanged** (12%).
- **Among Arab respondents, support for peace negotiations has strengthened** (80% in the current survey compared to 71% in May 2024). However, the proportion of those who believe that a peace agreement will be reached in the coming years has slightly declined (46% compared to 51%, respectively).

For full results, visit our website:

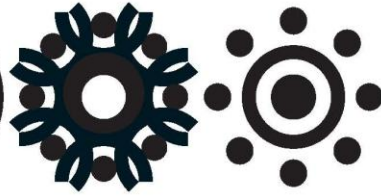
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- **The current survey reflects a stabilization in the levels of support among the Jewish public for various options regarding the future of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.** The most popular option is the annexation of the territories without granting full rights to Palestinians (37%), followed by the two-state solution (25%) and maintaining the status quo (24%), which receive similar levels of support. The least popular option is a one-state solution with equal rights for all (9%). Approximately one year after the events of October 7th, **the primary shift within the Jewish public is a decline in support for a Palestinian state, alongside a modest increase in support for the annexation of the territories.** These shifts have since stabilized. Notably, none of the proposed solutions, nor the continuation of the status quo, has the support of a majority within the Jewish public.
- **Among Arab respondents, support for the two-state solution remains high (69%), alongside a significant increase in support for the one-state solution with equal rights, reaching levels similar to those observed about a year ago (51% in the current survey, compared to 37% in May 2024 and 47% in November 2023).** Support for annexation remains low (14%).

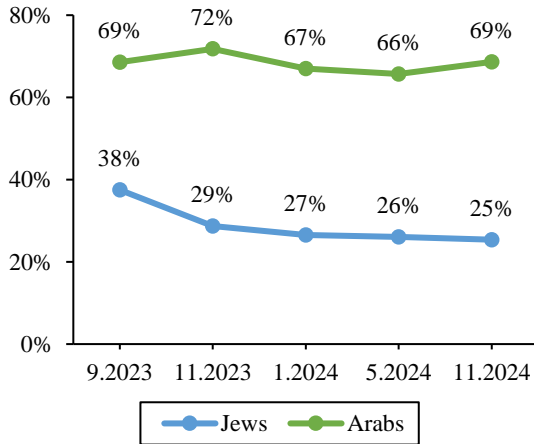
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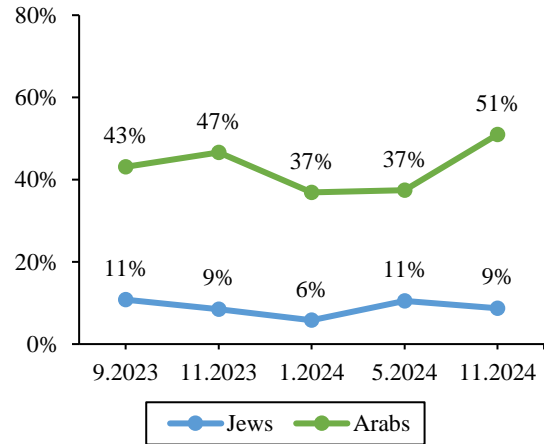


Rate of Positive Support for Various Solutions to the Conflict

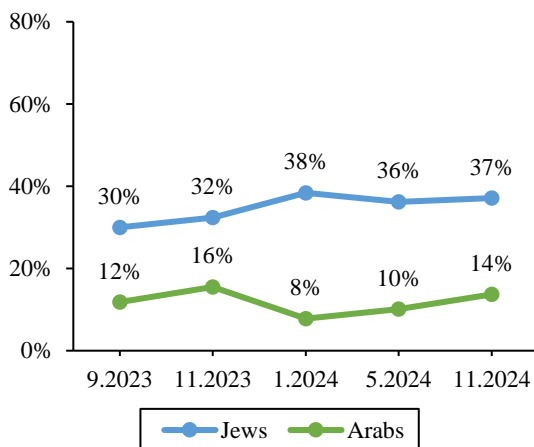
The Establishment of an Independent Palestinian State Alongside the State of Israel



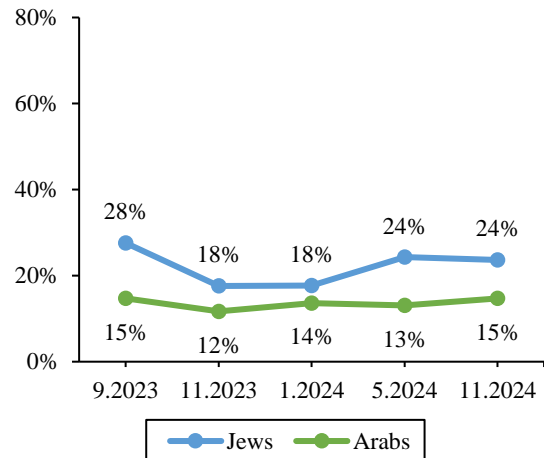
The Establishment of a Binational State Between the River and the Sea with Equal Rights for Jews and Palestinians



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

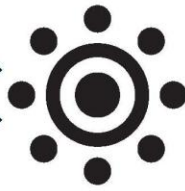


Continuing the Current Situation



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The Negotiation Index:

Jewish sample: 28.5 (a decrease of 1.4 points compared to the previous index)

General sample: 34.8 (a decrease of 0.4 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 November 27-30, 2024, among 606 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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