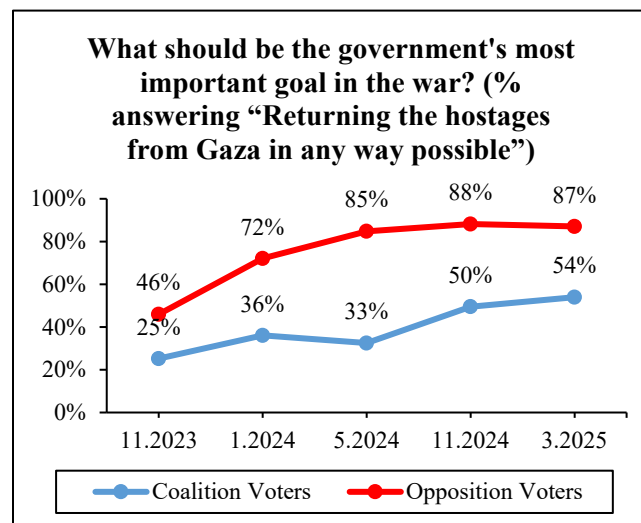


Peace Index – March 2025

Dr. Nimrod Rosler and Dr. Alon Yakter

Swords of Iron War: Aims and the Day After

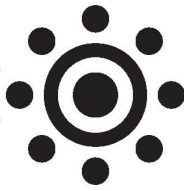
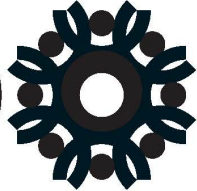
- The survey was conducted in early March, still under the ceasefire in Gaza and approximately one week before its collapse and the resumption of hostilities as part of IDF Operation "Might and Sword". Just before this shift, and despite the imminent return to combat, the data indicate **noticeable stability and consolidation of public opinion regarding the desire for hostage release and potential post-war solutions.**
- One aspect of this stability is preferences for **the government's primary objective** in the war. When given the choice between the release of the hostages from Gaza by any means and eliminating Hamas by any means, **a majority of 66% favored the release of the hostages over the elimination of Hamas.** These figures are nearly identical to the previous survey conducted in November 2024, before the ceasefire and the second hostage deal took place. **The preference for hostage release extends across political lines,** with a stable majority among opinion holders who voted for the coalition (54%) and among opposition voters (87%). While the share of support differs between political camps, it has gradually narrowed over the past year.



- Another aspect of stability in public opinion concerns **preferred post-war arrangements for the Gaza Strip.** Among Jewish respondents, opinions map onto ideological self-identification and remain almost identical to the findings from November 2024. **Most**

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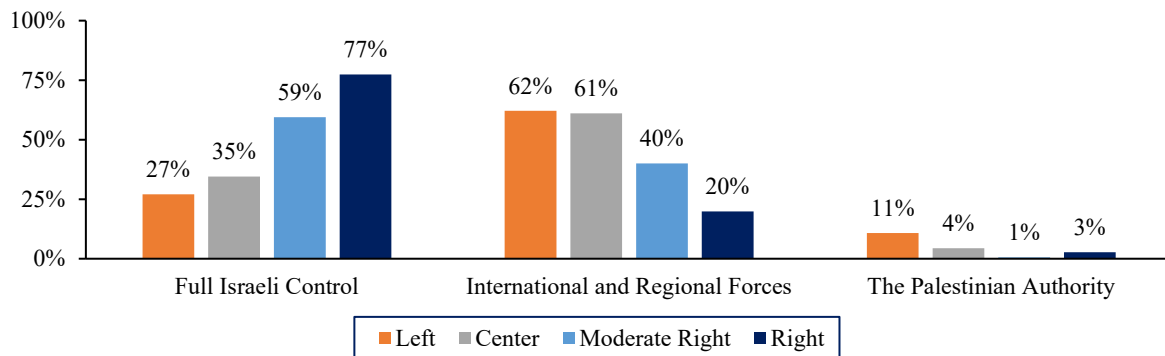
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right-wing opinion holders favor full Israeli control over Gaza, in terms of both security (77%) and civilian governance (66%). **A majority of moderate rightists support Israeli control only in security matters** but prefer civilian control by international forces (59% and 60%, respectively). **Most centrists and leftists, meanwhile, favor full control by international and regional forces** over both security (61% and 62%, respectively) and civilian administration (67% and 64%, respectively). Notably, **no ideological camp exhibits majority support for Palestinian Authority control** in either security or civilian affairs.

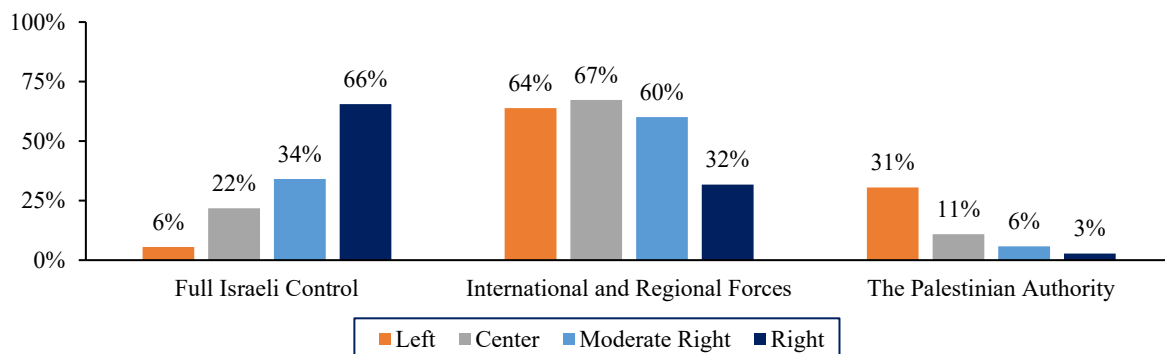
- Regarding the post-war period, **Arab respondents are divided** between supporting international forces (38% for security control and 31% for civilian control) and the Palestinian Authority (29% for security control and 37% for civilian control). **Only a small minority of Arab respondents support Israeli control over security (14%) or civilian matters (10%).**

In your opinion, what is the desired political-security arrangement in Gaza after the end of the war? (Support rate among Jewish respondents by ideological self-identification)

From a Security Standpoint

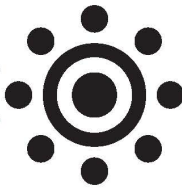
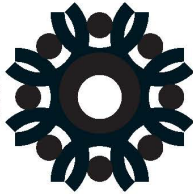


From a Political-Civilian Standpoint



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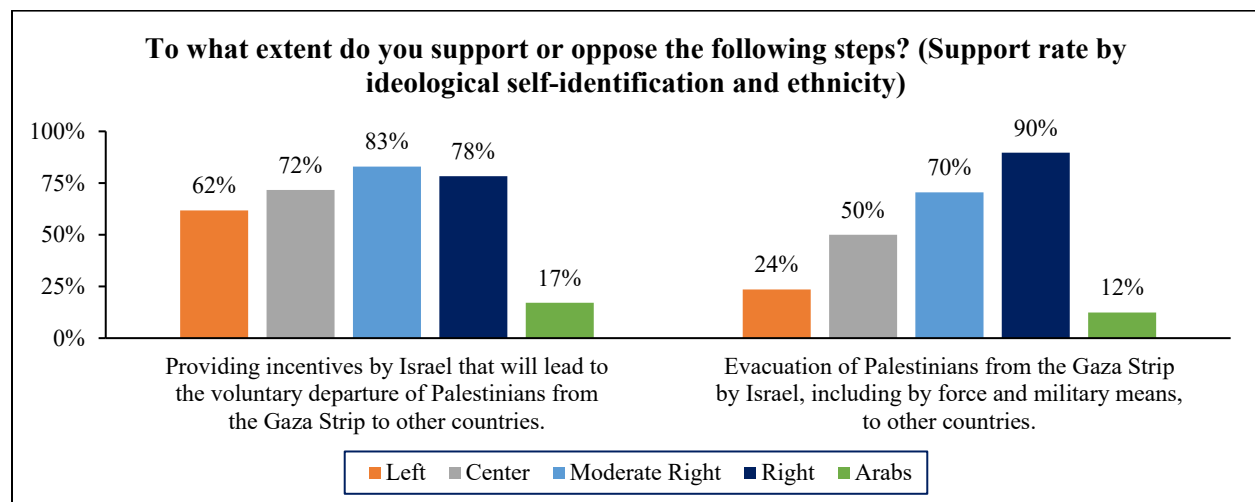


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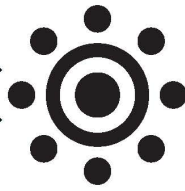
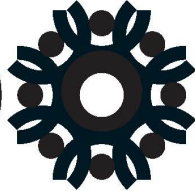
The Idea of Evacuating Palestinians from Gaza, Voluntarily or by Force

- In recent weeks, a **new post-war suggestion**, previously discussed only in extremist circles, has entered Israeli public discourse: **the voluntary or forced departure of the Palestinian population from Gaza**. Against the backdrop of Donald Trump's statement that Palestinians should leave Gaza to facilitate its reconstruction by the United States, and the endorsement of this idea by Israeli politicians despite its violation of international law, we sought to examine current public support for this proposal.
- First, we asked to what extent the Israeli public supports or opposes that **Israel provide incentives to encourage Palestinians to leave Gaza voluntarily** for other countries. **A large majority of the Jewish public (71%)—spanning the entire political spectrum—supports this measure, while a similar majority (70%) of the Arab public opposes it.**
- Second, we examined the level of support or opposition to a **forced evacuation of Palestinians from Gaza by Israel using military means**. **A majority of the Jewish public supports this option as well (62%), although here ideology matters**. While a strong majority of left-wing respondents oppose the idea (77%), centrist respondents are split (50% in favor, 50% against), and large majorities of moderate-right and right-wing respondents support it (71% and 90%, respectively). **Among the Arab public, opposition to forced evacuation is even stronger than opposition to voluntary departure (79% of Arab respondents).**
- Notably, **a larger majority of moderate-right respondents preferred voluntary departure over forced evacuation (83% versus 71%, respectively), whereas right-wing respondents favored forced evacuation over the former (90% versus 78%, respectively).**



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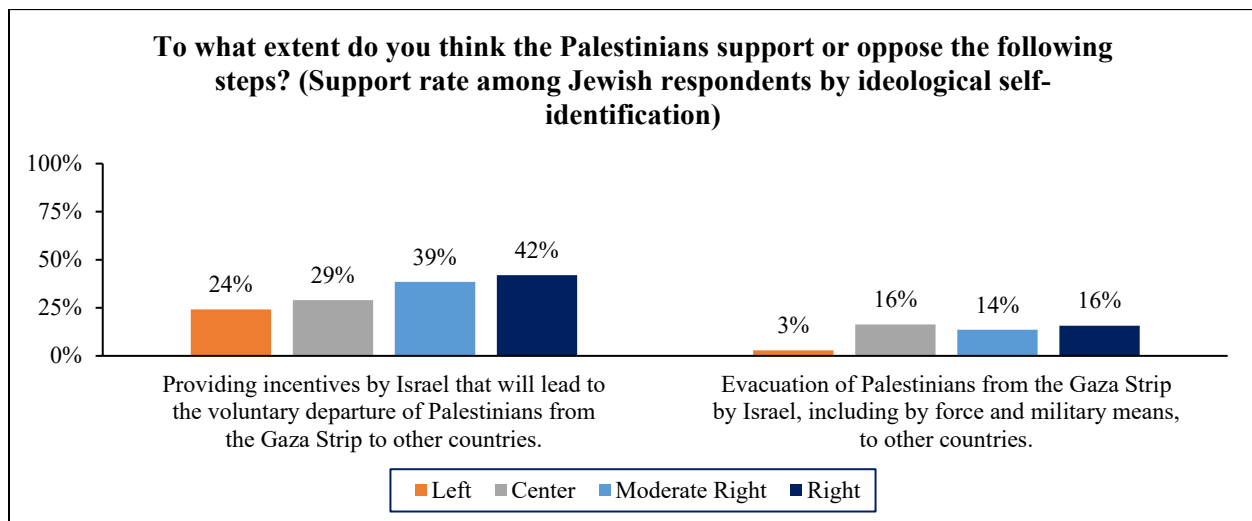
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- **Third, we assessed the level of support for allowing Palestinians who would leave Gaza to return after its reconstruction. A substantial majority of the Jewish public (70%) believes Israel should not permit their return, with only a small minority supporting partial (17%) or full (6%) repatriation. Conversely, most Arab respondents (55%) believe Israel should allow full repatriation.**
- Finally, we examined whether the Jewish public believes that Palestinians themselves would support or oppose their evacuation from Gaza in exchange for voluntary incentives or by force. **The majority (55%) acknowledge that Palestinians would oppose leaving voluntarily for financial incentives, while approximately one-third (31%) believe they would support it. A large majority (78%) recognize that Palestinians would oppose forced evacuation.**

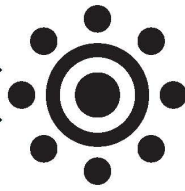
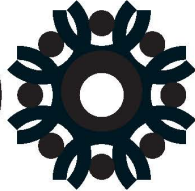


The Influence of the Trump Administration

- One possible explanation for the high level of support for evacuation, despite its extremity and violation of international law, is **the Trump administration's explicit endorsement of the idea**. To examine how the US administration's stance influences Israeli public perceptions of the conflict's future, the latest survey repeated a question previously asked in November 2024, still under the Biden administration: **To what extent does the US administration's position influence Israel's possibilities regarding the territories?**
- The data indicate that a **majority of the Israeli public (54%) believes that the Trump administration's views increase the likelihood of annexing Jewish settlements in the West Bank**—a sharp rise compared to only 25% who believed so under the Biden administration. Conversely, in November 2024, approximately 42% of respondents thought that the Biden administration's positions reduced the likelihood of annexation.

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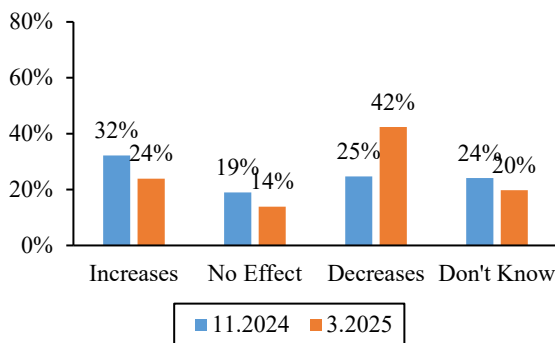
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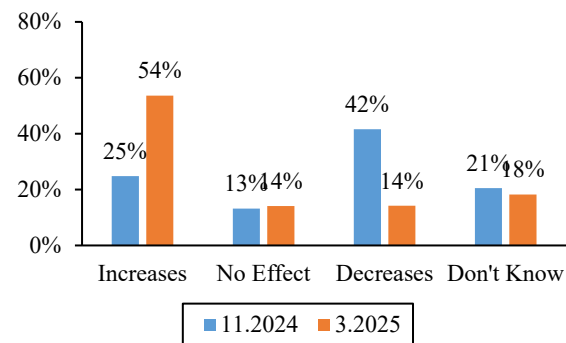
This shift extends to the two-state solution: **42% of respondents believe that the Trump administration's position decreases the chances of establishing a Palestinian state**, compared to only 25% who held this view under the Biden administration.

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



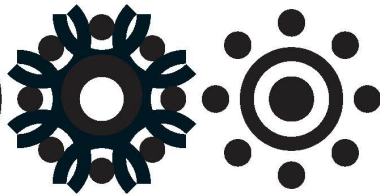
Annexing All Jewish Settlements in the West Bank into Israel



Attitudes Regarding the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

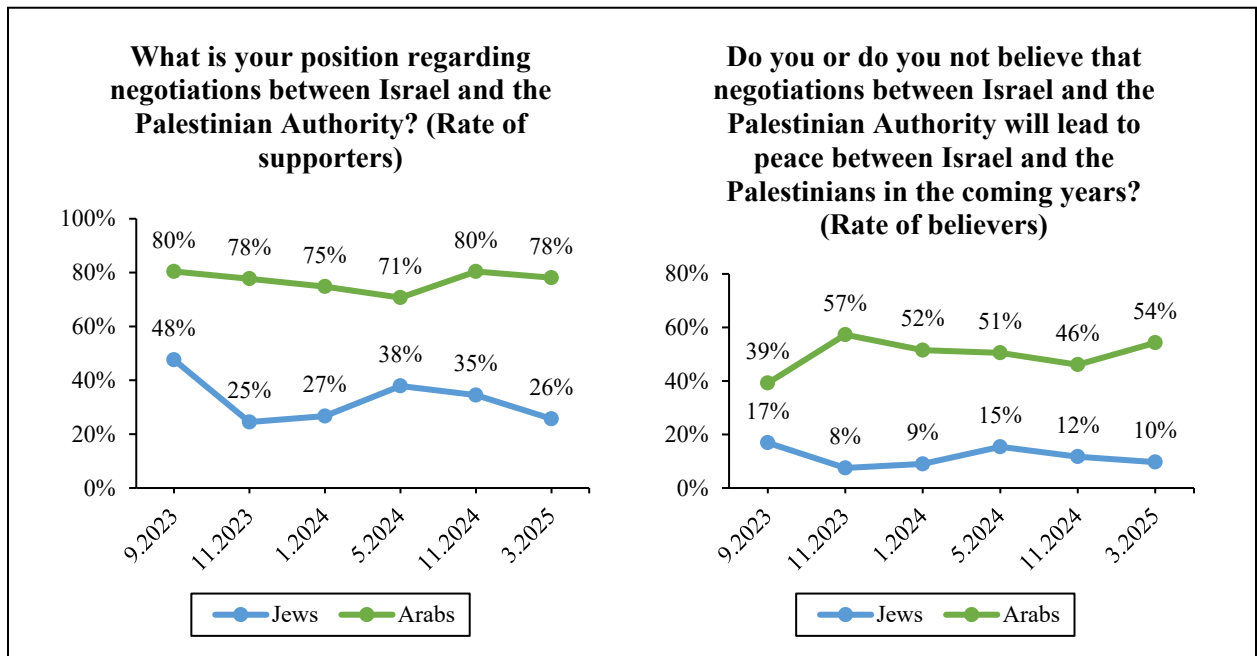
- After some recovery over the past year, **there has been a renewed decline in support for peace negotiations with the Palestinian Authority** among the Jewish public (26%, compared to 35-38% in May and November 2024). In fact, **support levels in March 2025 revert to their lowest point right after the October 7 attacks**.
- **Belief in the possibility of peace within the coming years remains very low** among the Jewish public (10%), while there has been a slight increase among the Arab public after a drop in November 2024.

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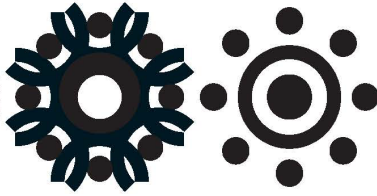
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- Regarding the conflict's long-term solutions, the decline in support for negotiations and the high support for the departure of Palestinians from Gaza are reflected in a **significant decrease in Jewish public support for the two-state solution (20%)**, reaching a **record low not observed even immediately after October 7**. In contrast, Arab respondents continue to express high support (73%) for this solution.
- Nevertheless, **the decline in support for the two-state solution is not accompanied by an increase in support for any alternative long-term solution**. Among Jewish respondents, only a minority supports annexation (37%), a binational state (7%), or maintaining the status quo (25%), figures that have remained stable since the events of October 7. Among Arab respondents, support for a binational state remains high and has even slightly increased (54%), whereas support for annexation (13%) and maintaining the status quo (15%) remains minimal.

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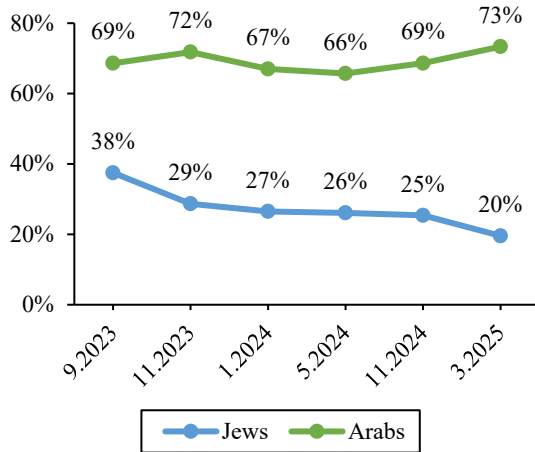


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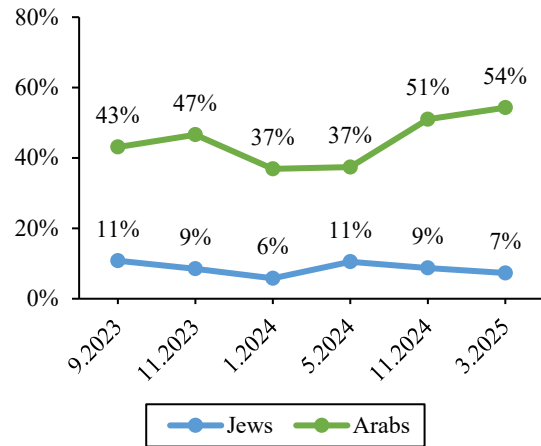
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Rate of Positive Support for Various Solutions to the Conflict

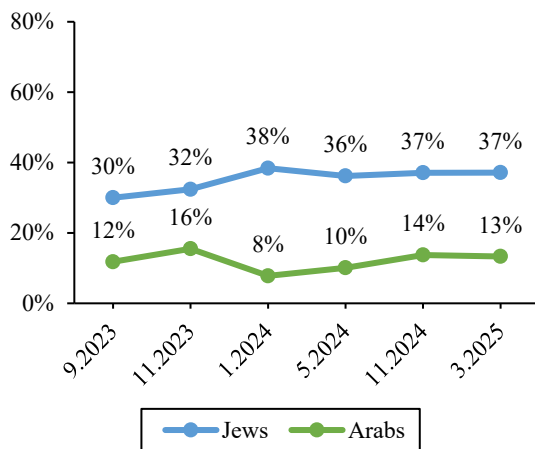
The Establishment of an Independent Palestinian State Alongside the State of Israel



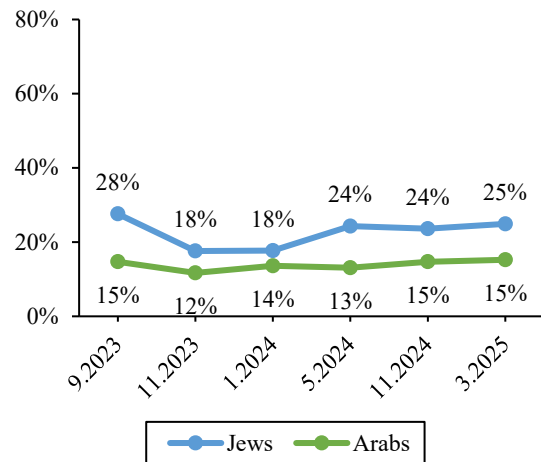
The Establishment of a Binational State Between the River and the Sea with Equal Rights for Jews and Palestinians



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



Continuing the Current Situation



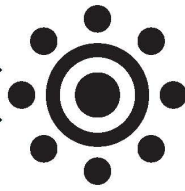
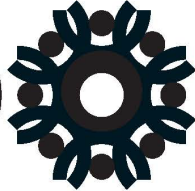
The Negotiation Index:

Jewish sample: 23.4 (a decrease of 5.1 points compared to the previous index)

General sample: 31 (a decrease of 3.8 points compared to the previous index)

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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 March 5-10, 2025, among 611 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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