

The International MA Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation

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

Findings - The Peace Index – July 2025

The Peace Index is conducted by Dr. Nimrod Rosler of The International Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation of Tel Aviv University and Dr. Alon Yakter from the School of Political Science, Government and International Affairs, Tel Aviv University.

The survey was conducted in Hebrew and in Arabic by the iPanel research institute between 17-22 July 2025 among 612 respondents: 506 Jewish respondents and 106 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?

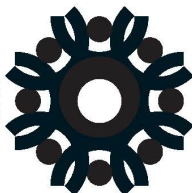
	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Very much in favor	40	7.9%	66	62.3%	106	17.3%
Moderately in favor	112	22.1%	23	21.7%	135	22.1%
Moderately opposed	111	21.9%	6	5.7%	117	19.1%
Very much opposed	183	36.2%	2	1.9%	185	30.2%
Don't know	60	11.9%	9	8.5%	69	11.3%
Total	506	100%	106	100%	612	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	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Very much believe	10	2%	23	21.7%	33	5.4%
Moderately believe	50	9.9%	38	35.8%	88	14.4%

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	Jews		Arabs		Total	
Moderately disbelieve	163	32.2%	19	17.9%	182	29.5%
Very much disbelieve	257	50.8%	12	11.3%	269	44%
Don't know	26	5.1%	14	13.2%	40	6.5%
Total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

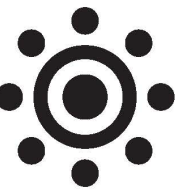
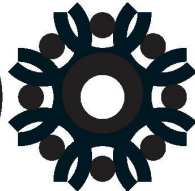
3. In your opinion, what is the position among Jews/ Palestinians regarding peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority? (Each group was asked about the opinion of the other group.)

	Jews		Arabs	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Very much in favor	8	1.6%	8	7.5%
Moderately in favor	62	12.3%	32	30.2%
Moderately opposed	134	26.5%	26	24.5%
Very much opposed	226	44.7%	24	22.6%
Don't know	76	15%	16	15.1%
Total	506	100%	106	100%

4. In your opinion, do Jews/Palestinians believe or disbelieve that negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority will lead to peace between Israel and the Palestinians in the coming years. (Each group was asked about the opinion of the other group.)

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	Jews		Arabs	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Very much believe	5	1%	8	7.5%
Moderately believe	41	8.1%	15	14.2%
Moderately disbelieve	114	22.5%	36	34%
Very much disbelieve	291	57.5%	29	27.4%
Don't know	73	10.9%	18	17%
Total	506	100%	106	100%

5-6. Regarding each of the following solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, please state to what extent you support or oppose each of them.

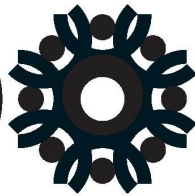
The creation of an independent Palestinian state alongside the State of Israel

	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Very much support	22	4.3%	58	54.7%	80	13.1%
Moderately support	96	19%	29	27.4%	125	20.4%
Moderately oppose	81	16%	5	4.7%	86	14.1%
Very much oppose	276	54.5%	3	2.8%	279	45.6%
Don't know	31	6.1%	11	10.4%	42	6.9%
Total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

The creation of a binational state between the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea with full and equal rights for Jews and Palestinians

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	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Very much support	3	0.6%	31	29.2%	34	5.6%
Moderately support	24	4.7%	23	21.7%	47	7.7%
Moderately oppose	92	18.2%	3	2.8%	95	15.5%
Very much oppose	335	66.2%	26	24.5%	361	59%
Don't know	52	10.3%	23	21.7%	75	12.3%
Total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

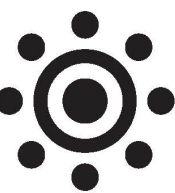
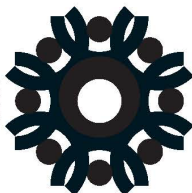
Annexation of the occupied territories and the creation of one state under Israeli rule with limited rights for Palestinians.

	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Very much support	87	17.20%	1	0.90%	88	14.40%
Moderately support	117	23.10%	6	5.70%	123	20.10%
Moderately oppose	81	16%	14	13.20%	95	15.50%
Very much oppose	174	34.40%	66	62.30%	240	39.20%
Don't know	47	9.30%	19	17.90%	66	10.80%
Total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

Continuing the existing situation

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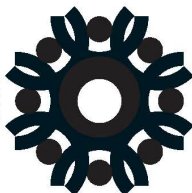
	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Very much support	26	5.10%	2	1.90%	28	4.60%
Moderately support	107	21.10%	8	7.50%	115	18.80%
Moderately oppose	155	30.60%	23	21.70%	178	29.10%
Very much oppose	144	28.50%	59	55.70%	203	33.20%
Don't know	74	14.60%	14	13.20%	88	14.40%
Total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

7. Which of these solutions do you believe has the best chance of being achieved in the foreseeable future?

	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Creation of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel.	64	12.60%	45	42.50%	109	17.80%
Creation of a binational state between the Jordan and the sea with full and equal rights for Jews and Palestinians	11	2.20%	9	8.50%	20	3.30%
Annexation of the territories and the creation of one state under Israeli rule with limited rights to Palestinians	118	23.30%	6	5.70%	124	20.30%

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	Jews		Arabs		Total	
Continuing the existing situation	221	43.70%	26	24.50%	247	40.40%
Don't know	92	18.20%	20	18.90%	112	18.30%
Total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

8. To what extent do you believe that continuing the conflict with the Palestinians harms or does not harm Israel?

	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Greatly harms	227	44.90%	53	50%	280	45.80%
Harms	177	35%	32	30.20%	209	34.20%
Minimally harms	58	11.50%	11	10.40%	69	11.30%
Does not harm at all	22	4.30%	3	2.80%	25	4.10%
Don't know	22	4.30%	7	6.60%	29	4.70%
Total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

9. What should now be the most important objective of the government in the war?

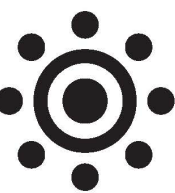
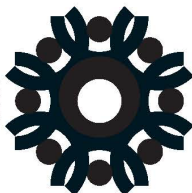
	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
The destruction of Hamas in Gaza in any way possible.	170	33.60%	4	3.80%	170	28.40%
Returning the hostages from Gaza in any way possible.	311	61.50%	88	83%	399	65.20%
Don't know	25	4.90%	14	13.20%	39	6.40%
Total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

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

- a. From a security standpoint

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	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Full Israeli control	294	58.10%	14	13.20%	308	50.30%
Control by international and regional forces	175	34.60%	27	25.50%	202	33%
Palestinian Authority control	14	2.80%	47	44.30%	61	10%
Don't know	23	4.50%	18	17%	41	6.70%
Total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

b. From a political-civilian standpoint

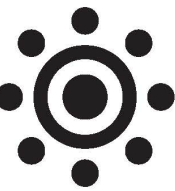
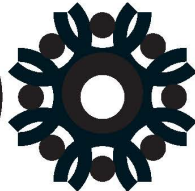
	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Full Israeli control	163	32.20%	6	5.70%	169	27.60%
Control by international and regional forces	270	53.40%	26	24.50%	296	48.40%
Palestinian Authority control	39	7.70%	53	50%	92	15%
Don't know	34	6.70%	21	19.80%	55	9%
Total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

11. To what extent do you support or oppose the establishment of Israeli civilian settlements in the Gaza Strip after the end of the war?

	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Completely support	141	27.90%	3	2.80%	144	23.50%
Relatively support	94	18.60%	6	5.70%	100	16.30%

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	Jews		Arabs		Total	
Relatively oppose	95	18.80%	10	9.40%	105	17.20%
Completely oppose	123	24.30%	68	64.20%	191	31.20%
Don't know	53	10.50%	19	17.90%	72	11.80%
Total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

12. To what extent do you support or oppose the following measures:

a. Israel providing incentives that would lead to voluntary departure of Palestinians from the Gaza Strip to other countries:

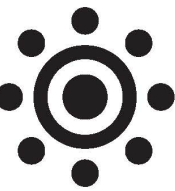
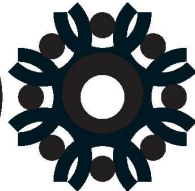
	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly support	207	40.90%	3	2.80%	210	34.30%
Somewhat support	165	32.60%	7	6.60%	172	28.10%
Somewhat oppose	62	12.30%	20	18.90%	82	13.40%
Strongly oppose	33	6.50%	60	56.60%	93	15.20%
Don't know	39	7.70%	16	15.10%	55	9%
Total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

b. Israel evacuating Palestinians from the Gaza Strip, even by force and military means, to other countries:

	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly support	158	31.20%	1	0.90%	159	26%
Somewhat support	115	22.70%	5	4.70%	120	19.60%
Somewhat oppose	92	18.20%	10	9.40%	102	16.70%

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	Jews		Arabs		Total	
Strongly oppose	90	17.80%	76	71.70%	166	27.10%
Don't know	51	10.10%	14	13.20%	65	10.60%
Total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

13. In your opinion, has the number of war casualties been justified or unjustified in order to achieve the war aims?

a. The number of casualties on the Palestinian side.

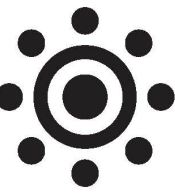
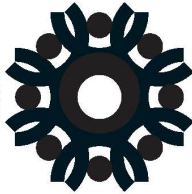
	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Completely justified	261	51.60%	7	6.60%	268	43.80%
Relatively justified	102	20.20%	1	0.90%	103	16.80%
Relatively unjustified	51	10.10%	15	14.20%	66	10.80%
Completely unjustified	41	8.10%	66	62.30%	107	17.50%
Don't know	51	10.10%	17	16%	68	11.10%
Sum total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

b. The number of casualties on the Israeli side.

	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Completely justified	24	4.70%	4	3.80%	28	4.60%
Relatively justified	54	10.70%	6	5.70%	60	9.80%
Relatively unjustified	129	25.50%	21	19.80%	150	24.50%

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	Jews		Arabs		Total	
Completely unjustified	241	47.60%	53	50%	294	48%
Don't know	58	11.50%	22	20.80%	80	13.10%
Sum total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

14. Israel's Defense Minister, Israel Katz, proposed that the IDF relocate all residents of the Gaza Strip to a closed tent camp to be established by Israel in the Rafah area, permitting them to leave it only for other countries.

To what extent do you support or oppose this proposal?

	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very much support	181	35.80%	1	0.90%	182	29.70%
Moderately support	139	27.50%	11	10.40%	150	24.50%
Moderately oppose	65	12.80%	7	6.60%	72	11.80%
Very much oppose	60	11.90%	62	58.50%	122	19.90%
Don't know	61	12.10%	25	23.60%	86	14.10%
Sum total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

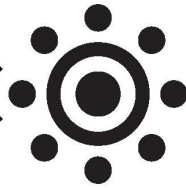
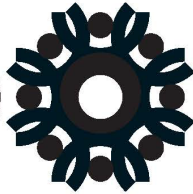
15. In your opinion, to what extent this proposal is...

c. Essential security operation and aid for civilian population

	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Not at all	63	12.50%	48	45.30%	111	18.10%
To a small extent	114	22.50%	9	8.50%	123	20.10%
To a large extent	121	23.90%	13	12.30%	134	21.90%
To a very large extent	126	24.90%	16	15.10%	142	23.20%
Don't know	82	16.20%	20	18.90%	102	16.70%

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Sum total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%
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b. Expulsion of Palestinian civilian population in violation of international law

	Jews		Arabs		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Not at all	109	21.50%	18	17%	127	20.80%
To a small extent	81	16%	6	5.70%	87	14.20%
To a large extent	96	19%	17	16%	113	18.50%
To a very large extent	143	28.30%	48	45.30%	191	31.20%
Don't know	77	15.20%	17	16%	94	15.40%
Sum total	506	100%	106	100%	612	100%

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