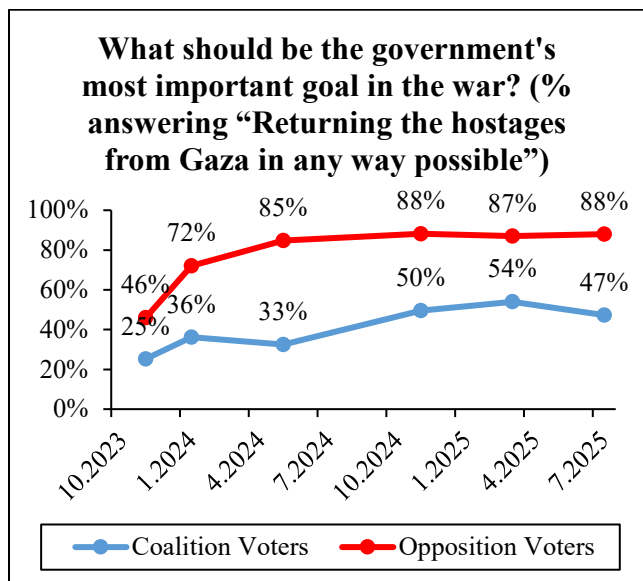


Peace Index – July 2025

Dr. Nimrod Rosler and Dr. Alon Yakter

Swords of Iron War: Aims and the Day After

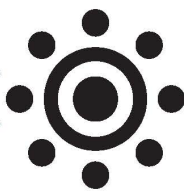
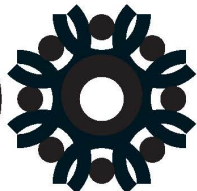
- After nearly twenty-two months of ongoing combat, the current Peace Index survey indicates **stability in public opinion regarding the prioritization of hostage release and post-war arrangements**. The majority of the Israeli public continues to prefer that the government's **primary objective in the war be the release of the hostages (65%) rather than the elimination of Hamas by any means necessary (28%)**. This preference for prioritizing hostage release remains **overwhelmingly dominant among opposition voters (88%)**, whereas **coalition supporters are divided** between favoring Hamas's elimination (53%) and the release of hostages (47%).



- Relative stability is also evident in public opinion concerning arrangements for the **“day after” the war**. Among the Jewish public, a **slim majority supports continued Israeli security control (58%) alongside civilian administration by international and regional forces (53%)**. Only about one-third of Jewish respondents (32%) favor Israeli civilian governance of the Gaza Strip.
- Views among Jewish respondents **vary significantly according to ideological self-identification**. A large majority of those self-identifying as **right-wing** continue to

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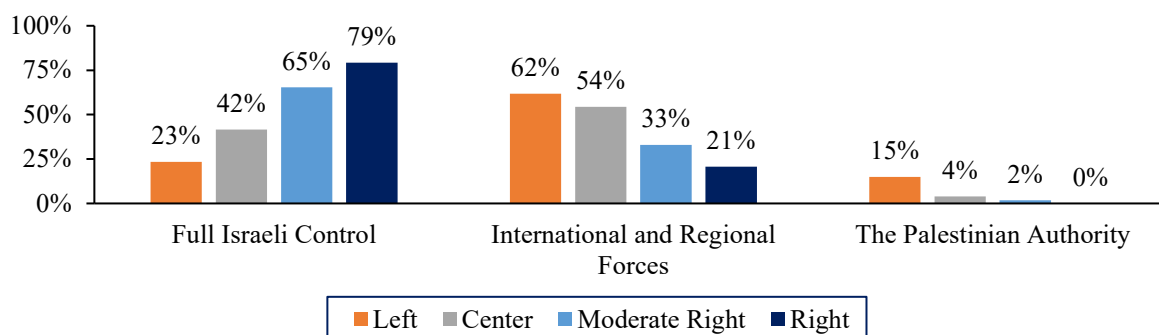
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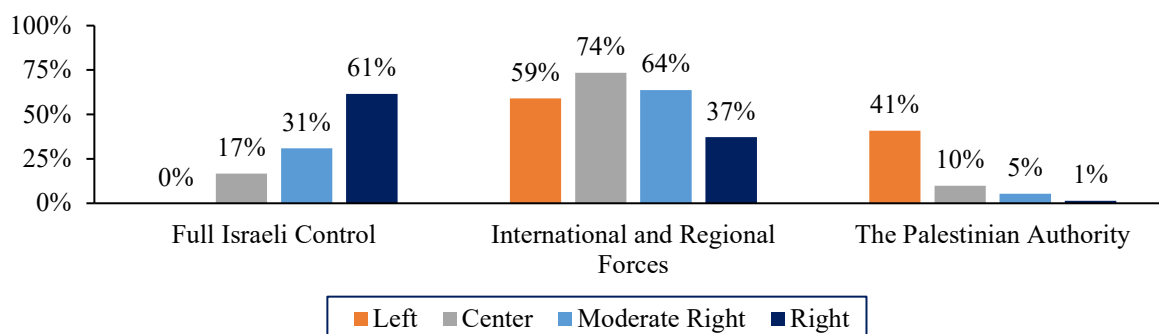
prefer full Israeli control of Gaza, both in terms of security (79%) and civilian administration (61%). Most respondents self-identifying as **moderate right favor Israeli security control**, similar to findings in previous Peace Index surveys, but **international civilian-political administration** (65% and 64%, respectively). Respondents self-identifying as **centrist or left-wing tend to prefer full international and regional control**, both in security matters (55% and 62%, respectively) and in civilian governance (74% and 59%, respectively). Notable changes compared to the previous survey include a rise in support for Israeli security control among centrists (42% in the current index versus 35% in March 2025) and moderate right respondents (65% versus 59%), as well as increased support for Palestinian Authority civilian governance among left-wing respondents (41% versus 31%).

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



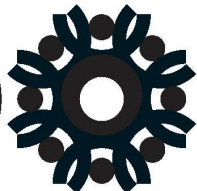
From a Political-Civilian Standpoint



- Among Arab respondents, a significant shift is observed concerning the “day after,” with a marked increase in support for Palestinian Authority control, both in security

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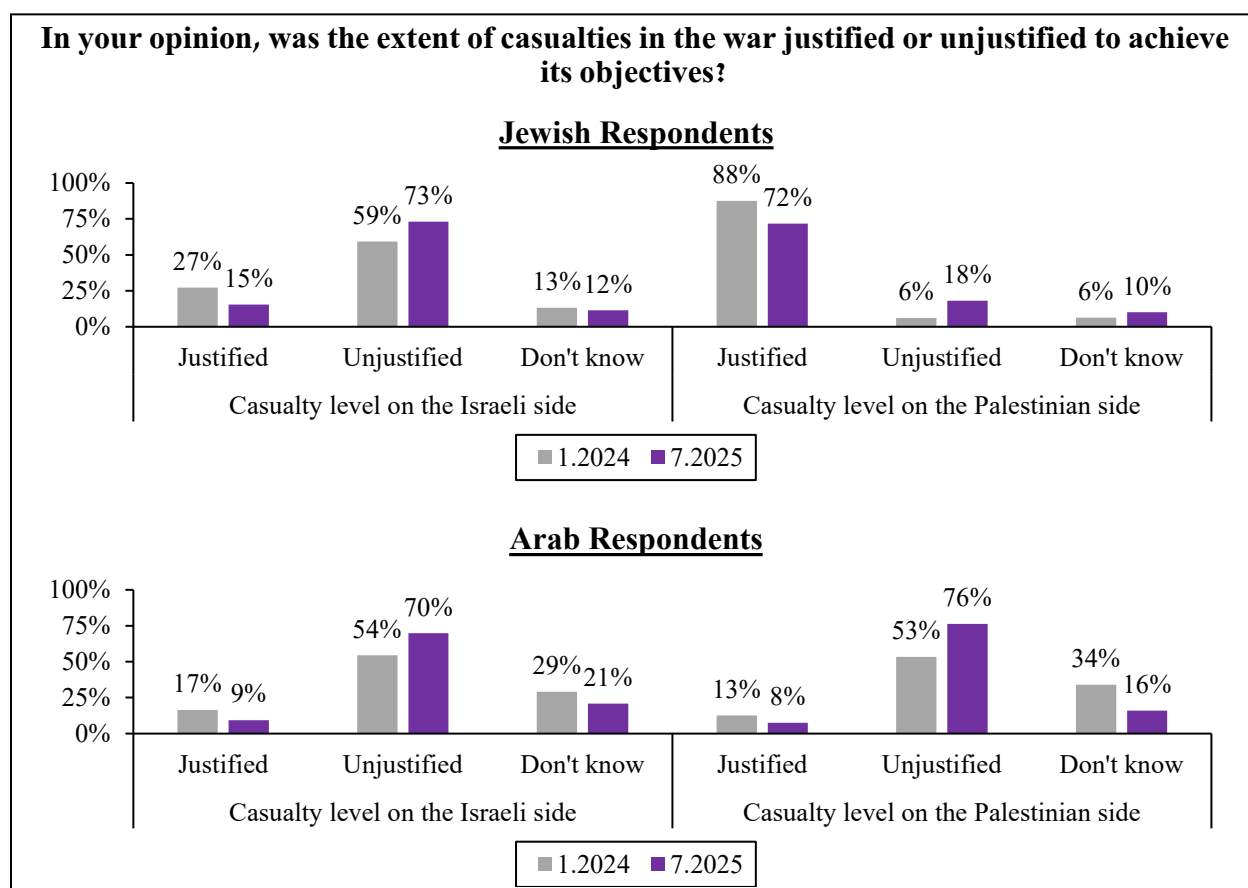
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(44% in the current survey versus 29% in March 2025) and civilian domains (50% versus 37%). **Only a small minority supports Israeli security (13%) or civilian control (6%),** while many Arab respondents prefer not to express an opinion (17% and 20%, respectively).

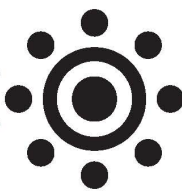
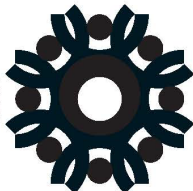
Perceptions of War Casualty Levels on Both Sides

- Against the backdrop of the protracted war, which has claimed the lives of over 60,000 Palestinians and approximately 1,900 Israelis, we revisited a question posed in January 2024 regarding the scope of casualties on both sides. **A majority of Jewish respondents feel the number of Israeli casualties is unjustified, while they do justify the scale of Palestinian casualties.** However, compared to January 2024, **a decline is evident in the justification of both Israeli casualties (15% versus 27%) and Palestinian casualties (72% versus 88%).**
- Among Arab respondents, the majority perceive the number of casualties as unjustified on both the Israeli (70%) and Palestinian (76%) sides.** This view, already dominant in January 2024, has grown even stronger over time.



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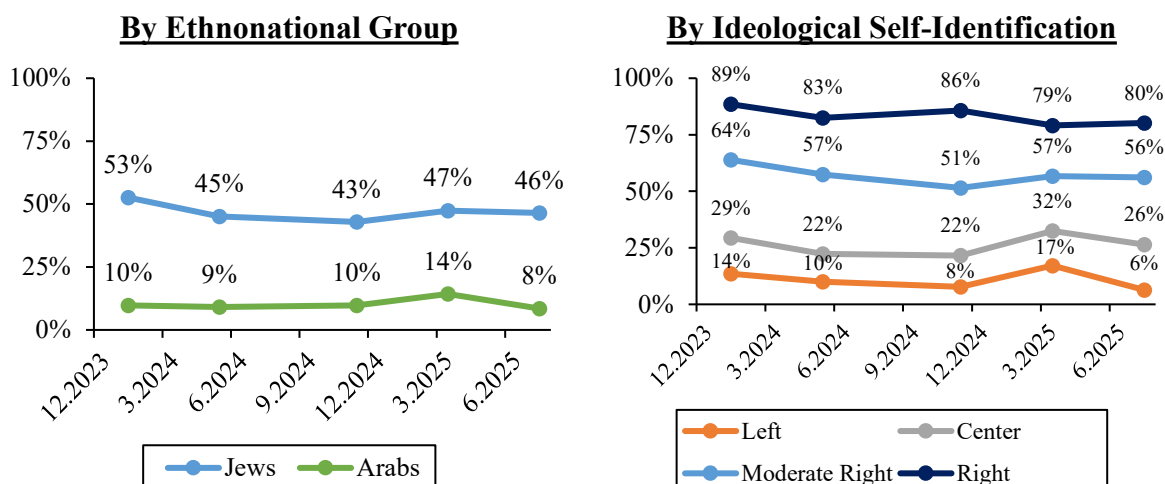
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Establishment of New Settlements in Gaza, Palestinian Population Transfer from Gaza, and the Defense Minister's Plan

- Despite the stable public support for a hostage deal and the transfer of civilian control of Gaza to external actors, the Israeli government has recently amplified rhetoric favoring long-term Israeli control over Gaza. These proposals include, among other measures, annexing parts of the Strip and establishing new settlements, incentivizing or forcibly evacuating the Palestinian population to foreign countries, and concentrating them in a closed tent camp in southern Gaza.
- Survey results indicate that **the majority of both Jewish and Arab respondents do not support establishing new settlements in Gaza** (46% and 8% support, respectively). As expected, **Jewish support varies by ideological self-identification**: a large majority (80%) of right-wing respondents and a smaller majority (56%) of moderate right respondents support establishing settlements, whereas Jewish centrists and leftists overwhelmingly oppose the idea (26% and 6% support). Over time, **a moderate decline is observed in support for settlement construction, especially among right-leaning groups**.

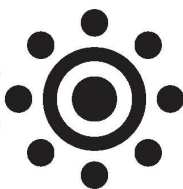
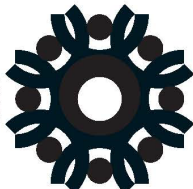
To what extent do you support or oppose that Israel would establish civic settlements in the Gaza Strip after the war? (Support rate)



- Another idea that has gained prominence in public discourse, particularly after being publicly endorsed by President Trump in February 2025, is the **voluntary or forced emigration of Gaza's Palestinian population**. This proposal, which contravenes international law, has also received recent backing from Defense Minister Katz, who presented a plan to transfer all Gaza residents into a closed tent camp in Rafah, allowing them to leave only for foreign countries.

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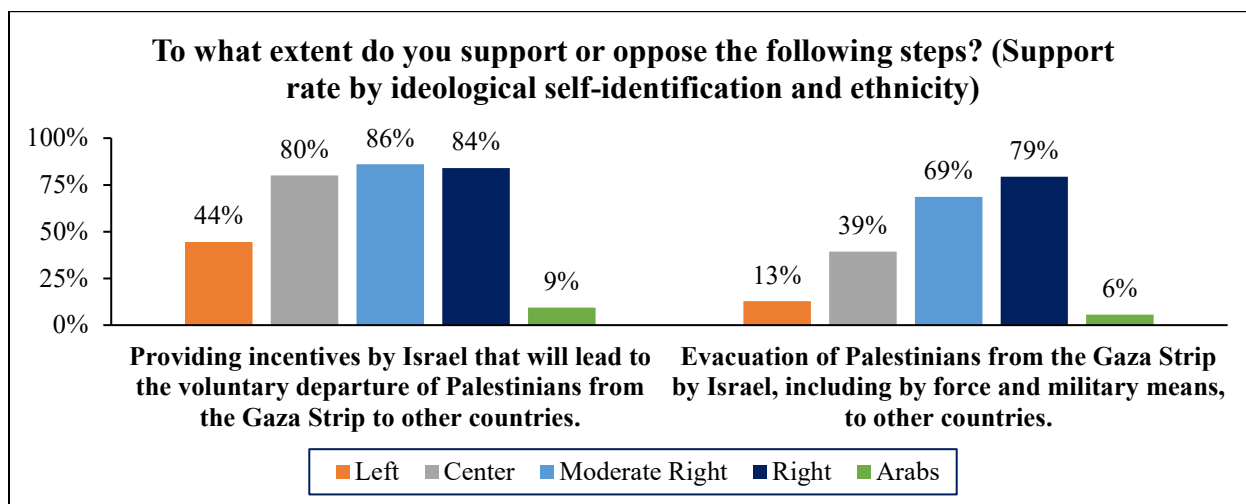
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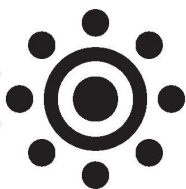
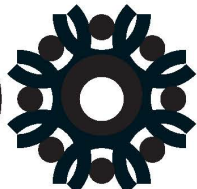
- When framed as voluntary departure, a substantial majority of the Jewish public (74%), across the political spectrum, supports offering Israeli incentives to encourage Palestinian emigration from Gaza to other countries. By contrast, an equally large majority of the Arab public (76%) opposes the proposal.
- By contrast, support for the forced evacuation of Palestinians from Gaza by Israel has declined compared to the previous survey, though it still holds a slim majority among Jewish respondents (54% versus 62%). This decline is evident across all ideological groups, particularly among right-wing (80% versus 90%), centrist (39% versus 50%), and left-wing respondents (13% versus 24%). This trend reflects a clear preference for incentivized emigration over forced removal across the Jewish ideological spectrum. Among Arab respondents, opposition to forced evacuation remains overwhelmingly strong (81%).



- Regarding attitudes toward Defense Minister Katz's plan, a majority of the Jewish public supports it (54%), with near-consensus among right-wing respondents (97%) and strong majority support among the moderate right (82%). Conversely, majorities of centrists (53%) and left-wing respondents (85%) oppose the plan. **Among Arab respondents, about two-thirds oppose it (65%), while nearly a quarter expressed no opinion (24%).**
- Among Jewish respondents, opinions are nearly evenly divided between perceiving Katz's plan as a vital security measure and humanitarian assistance (49%) versus viewing it as the expulsion of Palestinian civilians in violation of international law (47%). Interestingly, even among staunch right-wing supporters of the plan, nearly half characterize it as an act of forced expulsion in breach of international law (49% among moderate right and 47% among right-wing respondents). This suggests that criticism of Israel's military conduct in Gaza has permeated Jewish public opinion but has not significantly eroded support for policies of this kind.

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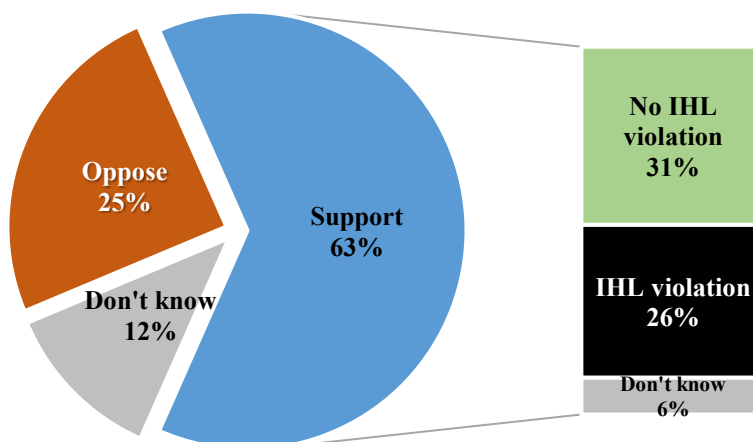
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- Among Arab respondents, a small minority perceives the plan as a vital security measure and humanitarian assistance (27%), while a strong majority defines it as forced expulsion in violation of international law (61%).

Defense Minister Israel Katz proposed that the IDF transfer all residents of the Gaza Strip to a closed tent camp that Israel would establish in the Rafah area, and allow them to leave only to other countries. To what extent do you support or oppose this action?

(Breakdown by level of agreement that this constitutes the expulsion of a Palestinian civilian population in violation of international law; Jewish respondents only.)

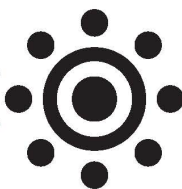
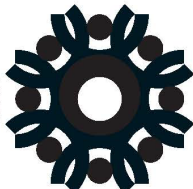


Attitudes Regarding the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

- **Support for negotiations with the Palestinian Authority remains low and stable among the Jewish public (30%).** As the war drags on, the decline in support observed after October 7—dropping from approximately 48% in September 2023—appears entrenched. Among Arab respondents, support for negotiations remains high and has even increased (84%).
- **Belief in the possibility of achieving peace with the Palestinians in the coming years also remains low among Jewish respondents (12%),** compared to a significantly higher level of optimism among Arab respondents (58%).

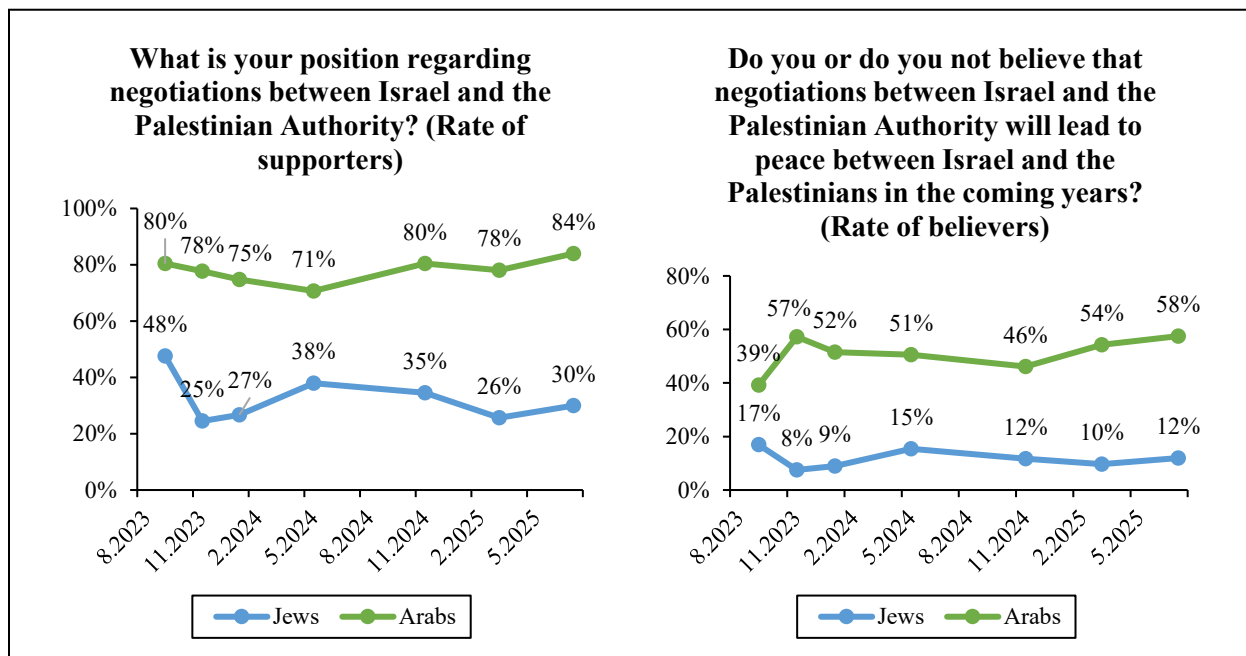
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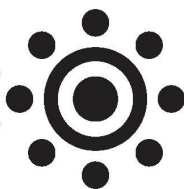
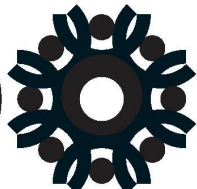
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- Regarding long-term solutions, the decline in support for negotiations and the high levels of support for Palestinian emigration from Gaza are reflected in **consistently low Jewish support for the two-state solution** (23% versus 38% in September 2023). In contrast, Arab respondents express strong and increasing support (82%).
- As in previous surveys, **no alternative solution commands a Jewish majority**. Annexation of the territories without granting equal rights to Palestinians has attracted relatively higher support over the past two years (40%) but still falls short of majority endorsement. Support for a binational state (5%) or maintaining the status quo (26%) remains even lower. Among Arab respondents, a slim majority favors a binational state (51%), alongside broad rejection of annexation (7%) and the status quo (9%).

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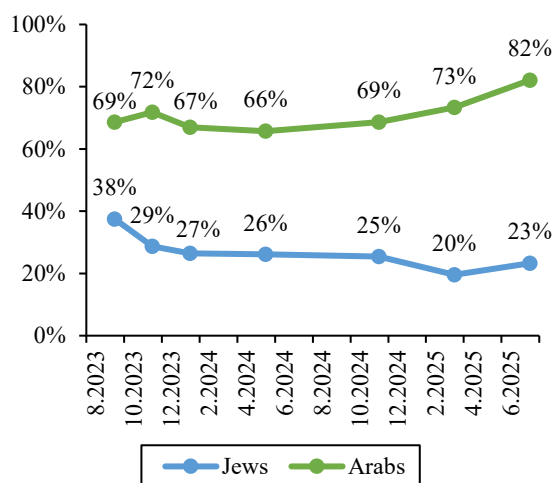


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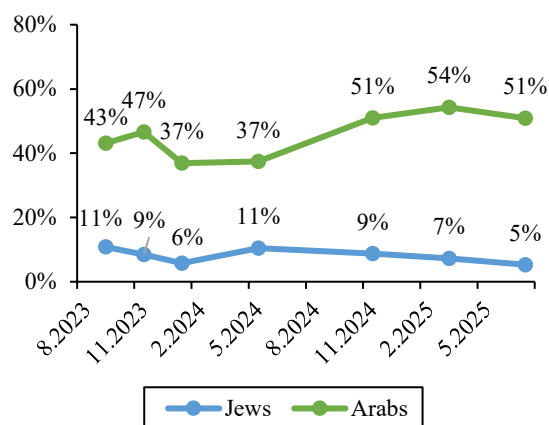
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Rate of Positive Support for Various Solutions to the Conflict

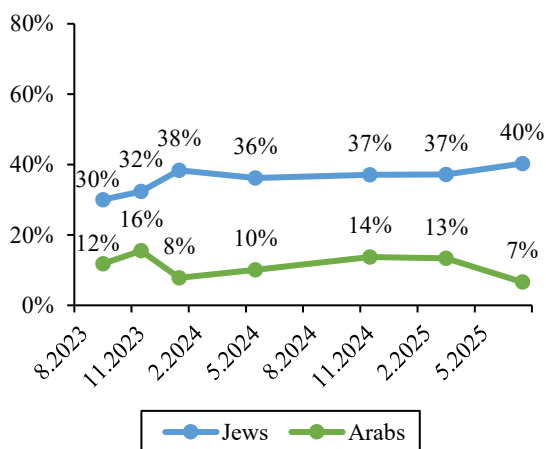
The Establishment of an Independent Palestinian State Alongside the State of Israel



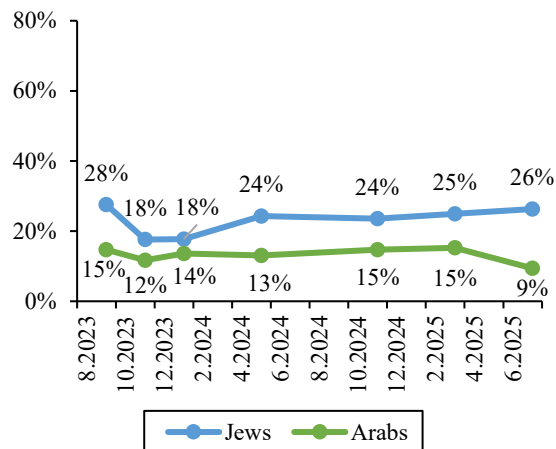
The Establishment of a Binational State Between the River and the Sea with Equal Rights for Jews and Palestinians



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: 27.2 (an increase of 3.8 points from the previous index)

General sample: 34.9 (an increase of 3.9 points from 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 Affairs at Tel Aviv University. The survey was conducted online by the iPanel company on July 17-22, 2025, among 612 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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