



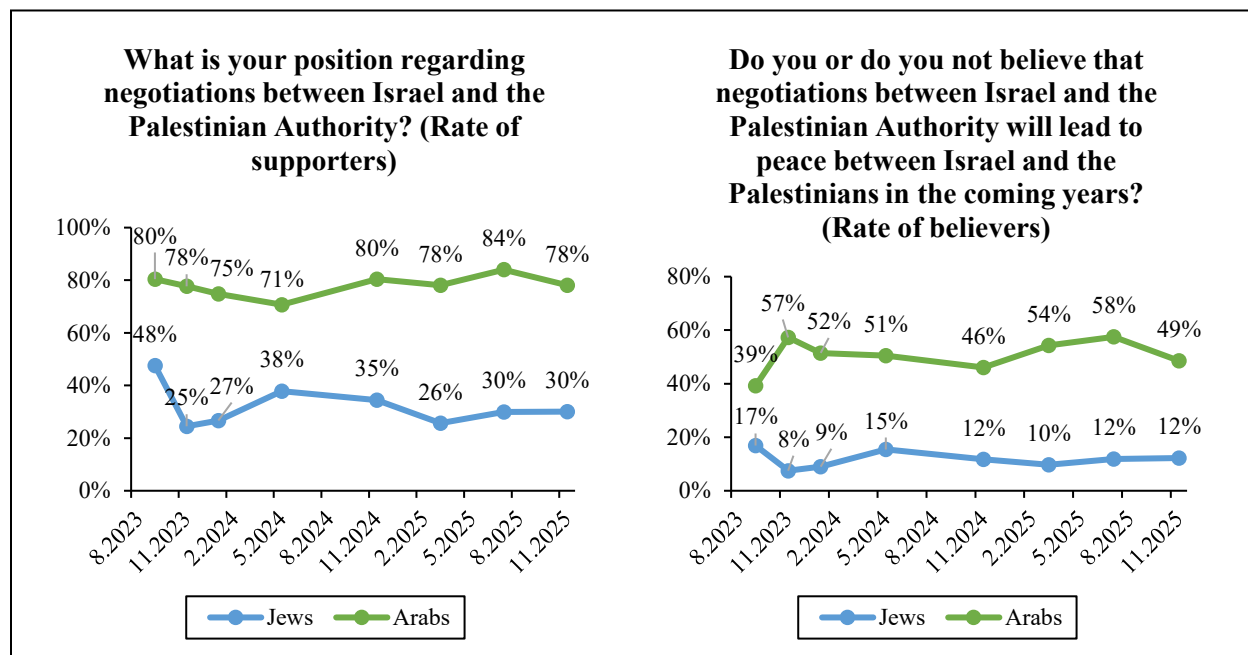
## Peace Index – November 2025

Dr. Nimrod Rosler and Dr. Alon Yakter

In the present survey, we focused on assessing Israeli public attitudes regarding the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and the potential impact of President Donald Trump’s “20-Point Plan” for ending the war on these attitudes.

### Support for Negotiations

- Even with the ceasefire in the Gaza war and the release of most hostages, **the level of support for negotiations with the Palestinian Authority among Jewish respondents stabilizes at 30%**, identical to the rate measured in the previous survey conducted in July 2025. From a long-term perspective, the decline observed since October 7, 2023 remains unchanged, even after the cessation of hostilities and the return of most hostages.
- Internally, **opposition to negotiations stems predominantly from the right-wing side of the political map**, whereas respondents self-identifying as centrist or left-wing express substantial or very substantial support (60% and 82%, respectively). By contrast, **Arab respondents continue to express very high levels of support for negotiations (78%)**.
- **Jewish respondents’ belief that peace with the Palestinians can be achieved in the coming years also stabilizes at a very low rate**, identical to that found in recent surveys (12%). **Among Arab respondents, following a modest rise in recent months, the level of belief decreases by 9 percentage points compared to the previous survey, falling once again below the 50% threshold.**



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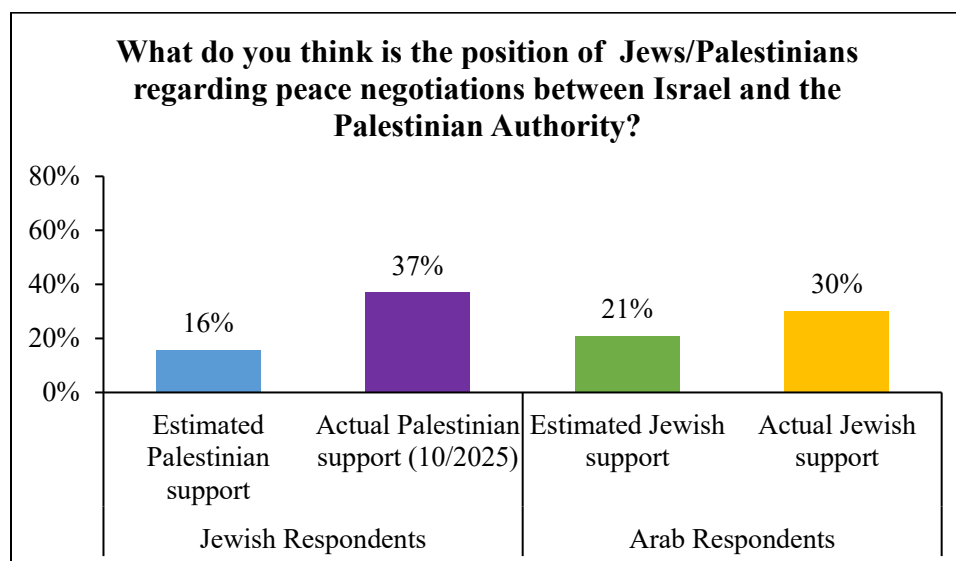
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- When asked what they believe Palestinians think about conducting negotiations with Israel, **Jewish respondents estimated that only 15% of Palestinians support such negotiations. This perception is less than half the actual rate of Palestinian support for negotiations** as the preferred path to ending the conflict in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as measured in the most [recent survey](#) by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PCPSR) in Ramallah, conducted on October 22–25, 2025.
- **Arab respondents, too, underestimated Jewish support for negotiations** (estimating 21% compared to the actual 30%). **However, the gap between their perception and the actual stance of the Jewish public is considerably smaller** than the gap between Jewish respondents' perceptions and actual Palestinian attitudes (based on external polling).



### Support for Future Solutions

- **None of the four long-term solutions presented gains majority support among Jewish respondents.** The consistently low levels of Jewish support for all options—including maintaining the status quo—reflect a long-standing trend that has deepened since the events of October 7.
- **The most popular option is annexation of the territories** without granting equal rights to Palestinians (38%), **though half of Jewish respondents oppose it.** Among those with a stated opinion, **annexation receives majority support only among right-wing respondents** (64% support), while majorities of moderate right, centrist, and left-wing respondents oppose it (53%, 74%, and 93% oppose, respectively).
- **Support for the two-state solution among Jewish respondents returns to its lowest recorded level (20%),** similar to the findings from March 2025. **Support for maintaining the current status quo increases to 30%, reaching levels similar to those**

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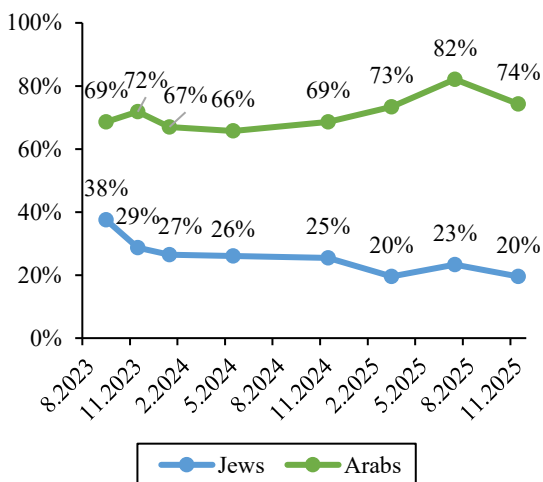
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observed before the October 7 attacks. Support for a binational state with equal rights for Jews and Palestinians remains lowest (9%).

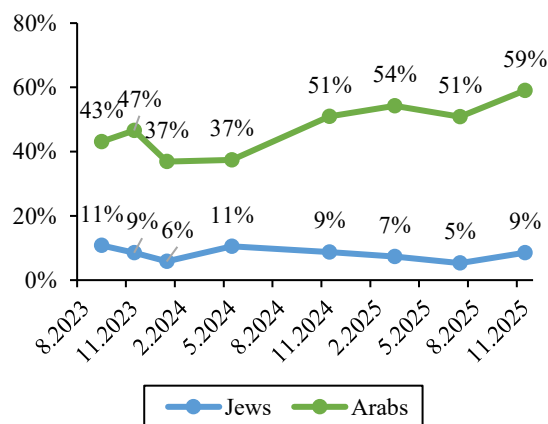
- **Among Arab respondents, support for the two-state solution remains very high (74%),** though it decreases slightly from the previous survey (82%). Support for a binational state rises modestly to 59%. Opposition to annexation and to maintaining the status quo remains extremely high (72% and 71%, respectively) within this group.

### Rate of Positive Support for Various Solutions to the Conflict

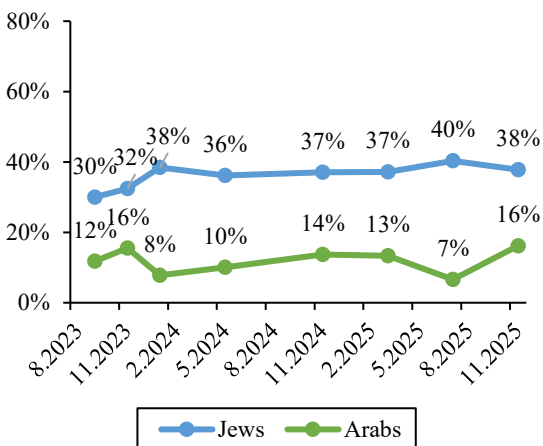
#### The Establishment of an Independent Palestinian State Alongside the State of Israel



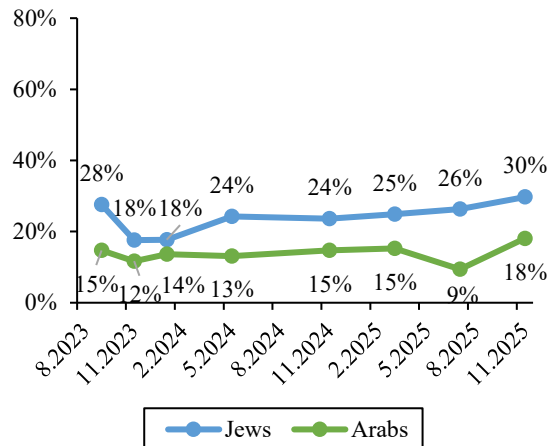
#### The Establishment of a Binational State Between the River and the Sea with Equal Rights for Jews and Palestinians



#### 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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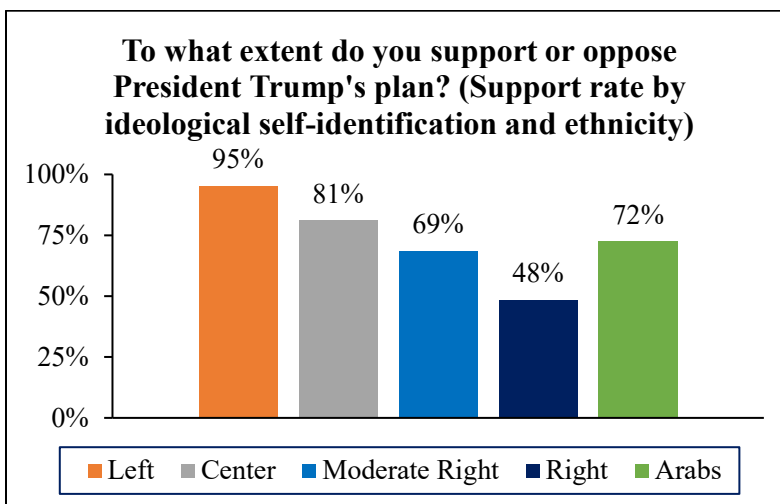
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- The gaps between Jewish and Arab respondents are also reflected in the solution each group considers most likely to materialize in the foreseeable future. While 46% of Jewish respondents believe the current situation is most likely to persist, 41% of Arab respondents believe a Palestinian state alongside Israel will eventually be established.
- In contrast, there is broad agreement between the groups that continuing the conflict harms Israel (79% among Jews and 72% among Arabs).

### **The Impact of Trump's Plan on Public Attitudes**

- The attitudes presented above reflect the existing baseline. In the second part of the survey, we examined the impact of Trump's 20-Point Plan on public attitudes toward the conflict. After presenting respondents with the main components of the plan (published in late September), we asked the extent to which they support it. **Trump's plan receives majority support among the Jewish public (61%). Among those with a stated opinion, the plan receives majority support among both coalition voters (58%) and opposition voters (84%). It also receives strong majority support among Arab respondents (72%).**



- After assessing support for the plan itself, we asked respondents again about their **support for negotiations with the Palestinian Authority**, their preferences among the four proposed long-term solutions, and their belief that negotiations could lead to peace, assuming the plan will be fully and successfully implemented.
- **Presenting the plan in the scenario of its full and successful implementation leads to an average increase of 15 percentage points in support for negotiations among Jewish opinion-holders.** Support rises particularly among those self-identifying as moderate right (from 22% to 42%), right-wing (from 5% to 19%), and centrist (from 60% to 75%). It does not alter the already high level of support among left-wing respondents (82%). These increases **restore support for negotiations among the first**

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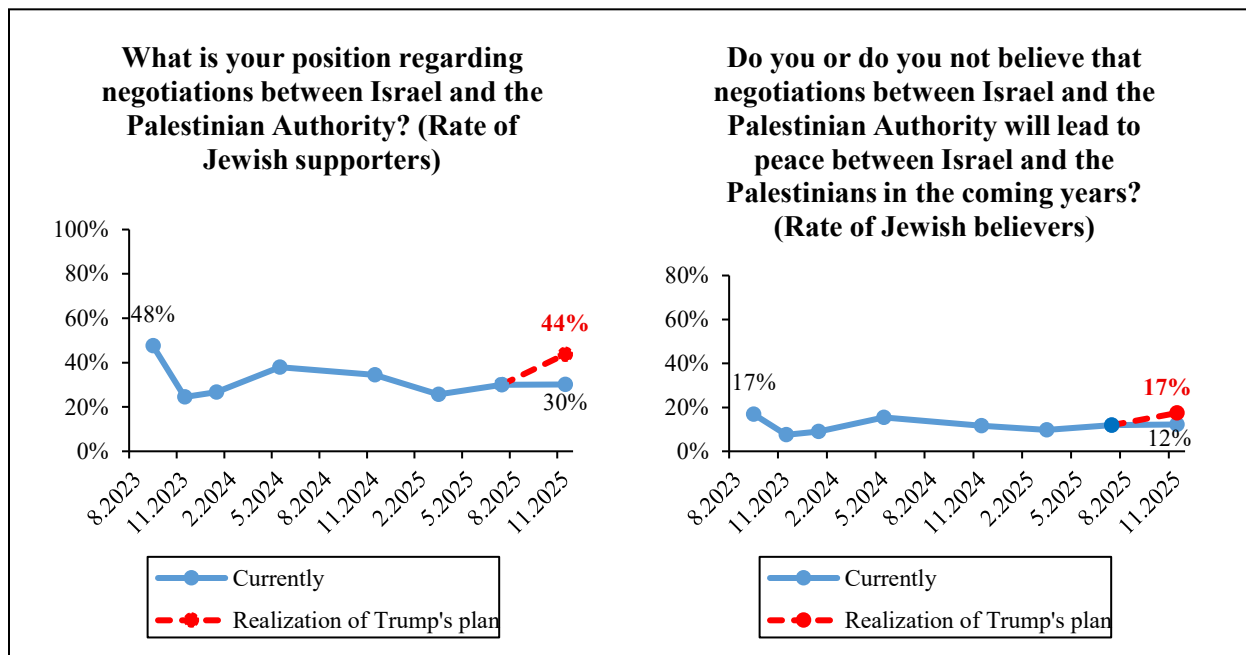


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three groups to the levels recorded in September 2023, before the long-term decline following October 7 and the war.

- Under this scenario, belief that negotiations could lead to peace also returns to pre-October 7 levels (rising from 12% to 17%). However, given that levels were low even then, this represents only a modest change within the survey's margin of error.



- Despite the scenario's effect on support for negotiations, **it does not produce a comparable increase in support for long-term solutions**, possibly reflecting persistent pessimism about the prospects of successful negotiations and the need for further progress and confidence-building measures. Specifically, support for the two-state solution rises only slightly (from 20% to 22%), a change within the margin of error, while support for the other long-term options remains nearly identical to current levels.
- **Among Arab respondents, presenting Trump's plan and assuming its full implementation has virtually no effect** on reported levels of support for negotiations, belief that negotiations can lead to peace, or support for the two-state solution. This may be due to the fact that baseline support levels among Arab respondents are already relatively high.

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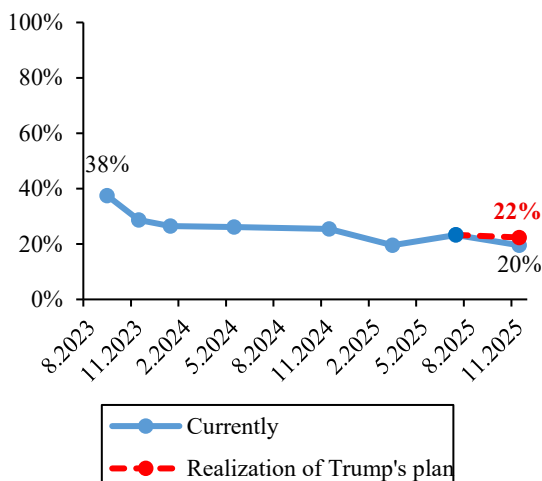


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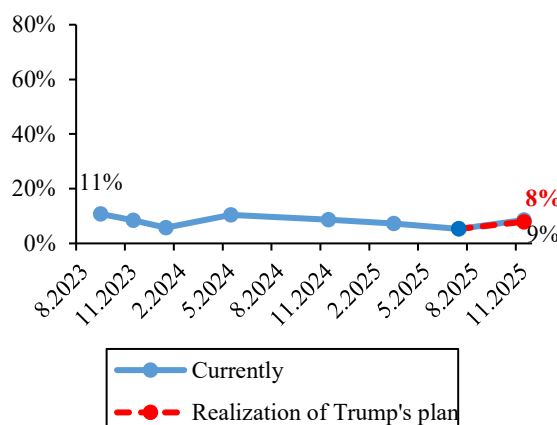
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### Rate of Positive Support for Various Solutions to the Conflict (Jewish Respondents)

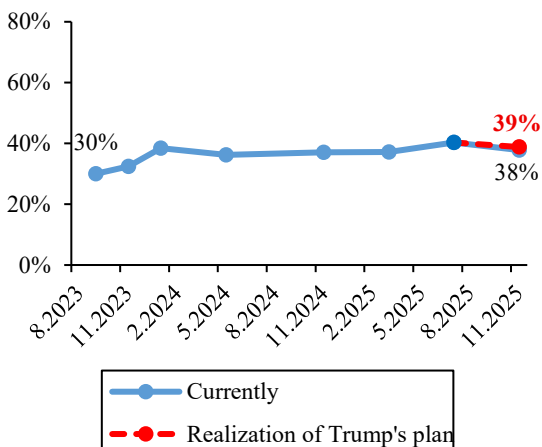
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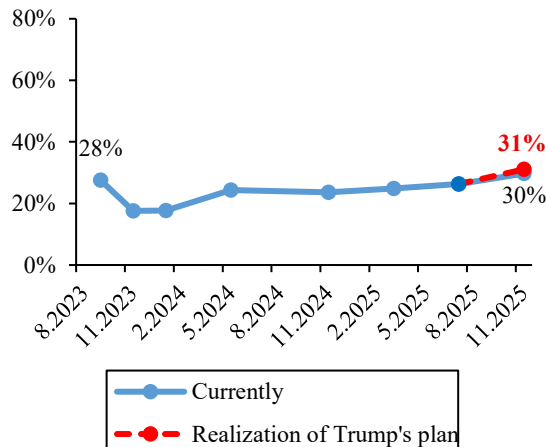
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### **The Negotiation Index:**

**Jewish sample: 27.1** (a decrease of 0.1 points from the previous index)

**General sample: 33.5** (a decrease of 1.4 points from 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 Affairs at Tel Aviv University. The survey was conducted online by the iPanel company on November 6-13, 2025, among 610 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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