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# Israeli Views of the Israel-Hamas War

Jewish Israelis and Arab Israelis see the war very differently

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## How we did this

This Pew Research Center analysis covers Israeli attitudes on the Israel-Hamas war, including opinions on how it's being conducted, the country's future, Israeli political leaders and the United States' role in the conflict.

The data is from a survey of 1,001 Israeli adults conducted face-to-face from March 3 to April 4, 2024. Interviews were conducted in Hebrew and Arabic, and the survey is representative of the adult population ages 18 and older, excluding those in East Jerusalem and non-sanctioned outposts. (The survey also did not cover the West Bank or Gaza.) The survey included an oversample of Arabs in Israel. It was subsequently weighted to be representative of the Israeli adult population with the following variables: gender by ethnicity, age by ethnicity, education, region, urbanicity and probability of selection of respondent.

Here are the <u>questions used for the report</u>, along with responses, and the <u>survey methodology</u>.

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# Israeli Views of the Israel-Hamas War

Jewish Israelis and Arab Israelis see the war very differently

A new Pew Research Center survey finds that 39% of Israelis say Israel's military response against Hamas in Gaza has been about right, while 34% say it has not gone far enough and 19% think it has gone too far.

According to the survey, conducted in March and early April, roughly two-thirds of Israelis are also confident that Israel will either probably (27%) or definitely (40%) achieve its goals in the war

# Israelis are divided over the country's military response against Hamas in Gaza

% who say Israel's military response against Hamas in Gaza has ...

Gone	Been	Not gone	Don't
too far	about right	far enough	know
19%	39%	34%	

% who say Israel will \_\_\_\_ in achieving its goals in the war against Hamas

Definit fail		Probably fail	y Probably succeed	Definitely succeed	Don't know
	6%	13%	27%	40%	12%

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted March 3-April 4, 2024. Q79, Q80. "Israeli Views of the Israel-Hamas War"

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against Hamas. Still, majorities of Israeli adults are worried about aspects of the ongoing war:

- 61% say they are extremely or very concerned about the war expanding into other countries in the region.
- 68% say they are extremely or very concerned about the war going on for a long time.

When it comes to what should happen after the war, there is less consensus. **A 40% plurality of Israelis think Israel should govern the Gaza Strip.** Smaller shares think Gazans should decide who governs (14%) or would like to see a Palestinian Authority national unity government either with (6%) or without (12%) <u>President Mahmoud Abbas</u> (also known as Abu Mazen) in leadership.

Separately, 26% of Israelis think a way can be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully with each other – down from <u>35% who said the same last year</u>, prior to the war, and about half as many as took that position when the question was first asked in 2013.

These are among the key findings of a new survey of 1,001 Israelis, conducted via face-to-face interviews from March 3 to April 4, 2024.

The survey also asked Israelis about the U.S. role in the conflict. (It was conducted before <u>U.S. President Joe Biden took a tougher stance</u> <u>toward Israel</u> in the wake of an Israeli airstrike that killed seven World Central Kitchen aid workers. And it predates Biden's declaration that the U.S. would not provide <u>offensive</u>

### **Research in the West Bank and Gaza**

Pew Research Center has polled the Palestinian territories in previous years, but we were unable to conduct fieldwork in Gaza or the West Bank for our March/April 2024 survey due to security concerns. We are actively investigating possibilities for both qualitative and quantitative research on public opinion in the region and hope to be able to provide more data in the coming months.

<u>weapons to Israel in the event of a Rafah invasion</u> as well as the <u>subsequent Israeli strikes in</u> <u>Rafah.</u>)

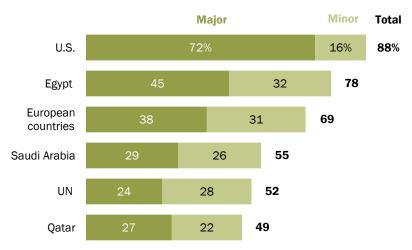
#### The survey shows:

- 60% of Israelis disapprove of the way Biden is handling the Israel-Hamas war.
- 41% think Biden is striking the right balance between Israelis and Palestinians. Still, 27% of Israelis say he is favoring Israelis too much, while roughly the same share (25%) say he favors Palestinians too much.
- Most Israelis express confidence in Biden to handle world affairs and have a favorable view of the U.S. But ratings of both Biden and the U.S. have fallen at least 10 percentage points since last year. (For more on this, read <u>"How Israelis and Americans view one another and the U.S.</u> role in the Israel-Hamas war.")

Nonetheless, a large majority (72%) still want the U.S. to play a major role in diplomatically resolving the war – more than say the same about any of the other countries or organizations asked about, including Egypt (45%), Saudi Arabia (29%), Qatar (27%) and the United Nations (24%).

# Majority of Israelis want the U.S. to play a major role in diplomatically ending the war

% who say each of the following should play a \_\_\_ role in diplomatically resolving the Israel-Hamas war



Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted March 3-April 4, 2024. Q82a-f. "Israeli Views of the Israel-Hamas War"

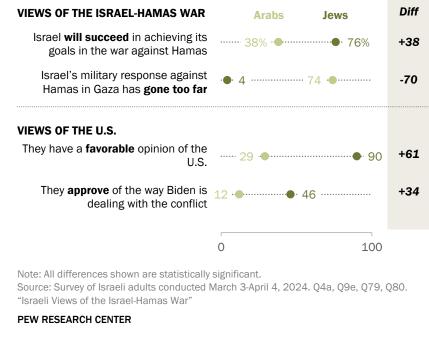
#### Arab and Jewish Israelis

People across Israeli society perceive the war in vastly different ways, depending on their views of the current leadership, how they identify ideologically, their religious backgrounds and other factors. One of the starkest divides is between Arab and Jewish Israelis:

 Arab Israelis are less likely than Jewish Israelis to think Israel will succeed in achieving its war aims (38% vs. 76%) and less optimistic when thinking about the future of the country's national security (21% vs. 63%).

# Israeli Arabs and Jews diverge sharply over views of the U.S., Israel-Hamas war and Biden's handling of it

% who say the following, by ethnicity



- Israeli Arabs are much more likely than Jews to say the country's military response has gone too far (74% vs. 4%).
- Almost no Israeli Arabs (3%) want Israel to govern the Gaza Strip after the war, while half of Israeli Jews think it should do so. A plurality of Arabs would like the people who live in Gaza to decide who governs (37%), while only 8% of Jews prefer this outcome.
- Arab Israelis have much less favorable views of the U.S. than Jewish Israelis do (29% vs. 90%), as well as less confidence in Biden (21% vs. 66%). They are also much more likely to disapprove of Biden's handling of the war (86% vs. 53%) and to think he favors Israelis too much (86% vs. 11%).
- Although a majority of Arabs (63%) want the U.S. to play a major role in diplomatically resolving the war between Israel and Hamas, an even greater share of Jewish Israelis (74%)

want this. And roughly two-thirds of Arabs are open to Qatar and Egypt playing a major role, while only about four-in-ten Jews or fewer say the same.

 Roughly nine-in-ten Arabs (92%) have a negative view of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, compared with around half of Jews (48%). Views of the two other <u>war cabinet</u> <u>members</u>, Benny Gantz and Yoav Gallant, are also divided along ethnic lines. (The survey was conducted before <u>Gantz threatened to leave the war cabinet</u>.)

In many cases, there are also large ideological differences, with Israelis who describe themselves as being on the left generally more critical of Israel's war response, less optimistic about its success and more critical of the U.S. than those on the right. There also tend to be differences among Israeli Jews based on how religiously observant they are. For more on how we looked at these differences, refer to the box below.

#### Jewish religious groups in Israel: Haredim, Datiim, Masortim and Hilonim

Nearly all Israeli Jews identify as either Haredi (commonly translated as "ultra-Orthodox"), Dati ("religious"), Masorti ("traditional") or Hiloni ("secular"). The spectrum of religious observance in Israel – on which Haredim are generally the most religious and Hilonim the least – does not always line up perfectly with Israel's political spectrum. On some issues, including those pertaining to religion in public life, there is a clear overlap: Haredim are furthest to the right, and Hilonim are furthest to the left, with Datiim and Masortim in between. But on other political issues, including those related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and views of the United States, differences between religious groups do not always mirror those between people at different points on the ideological spectrum. Because of sample size considerations, we combine Haredim and Datiim for analysis in this report.

For more information on the different views of these religious groups, read the Center's 2016 deep dive on the topic, <u>"Israel's Religiously Divided Society."</u>

# **1**. Views of the Israel-Hamas war

At the time of the survey in March and early April, Israelis voiced differing views of the war. Reactions to the military response against Hamas were generally mixed, as were attitudes toward the principal decision-makers – the three members of <u>Israel's war cabinet</u>. However, most Israelis shared concerns that the war could expand across the region and last a long time.

# Views of the Israeli military response against Hamas

When asked to assess their country's military response against Hamas in Gaza, about four-inten Israelis say it has been about right. Another 34% say it has not gone far enough, while 19% say it has gone too far.

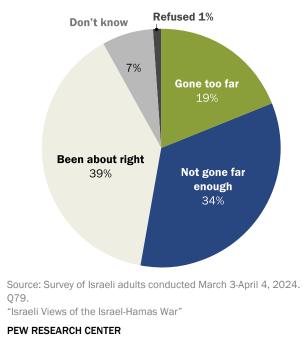
Israeli Arabs are much more critical of the military response, with 74% saying it has gone too far. Only 4% of Israeli Jews agree.

Views of the military response are divided along ideological lines. Roughly half of those who place themselves on the right (52%) say the military response has been insufficient. About a quarter of those in the center (24%) agree and only 9% of Israelis on the left say the same.

On the other hand, a majority of Israelis on the ideological left (55%) say the military response to Hamas has gone too far. Only 15% of those in the center and 5% of those on the right share this view.

# Israelis are split in their views of the military response to Hamas in Gaza

% who say the military response against Hamas in Gaza has ...



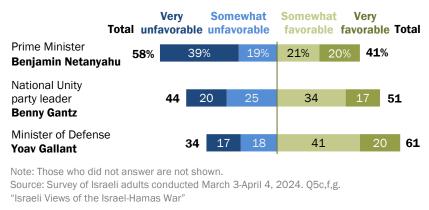
Among Israelis who have a favorable view of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, roughly half (49%) say the response to Hamas has been about right, but another 45% say it has not gone far enough. Only 1% of those who favor Netanyahu think the military response has gone too far.

### Attitudes toward Israel's war cabinet

In the days following the Oct. 7 attack on Israel, the country's then-governing coalition struck a deal with National Unity, an opposition party, to join an emergency government. The leader of the party, Benny Gantz, together with Netanyahu and Minister of Defense Yoav Gallant, formed the core of the new war cabinet, which was tasked with navigating the course of the conflict. (The survey was conducted before Gantz threatened to leave the war cabinet.)

# Israelis have the least positive views of Netanyahu compared with the other war cabinet members

% who say they have a \_\_\_\_ opinion of the following political figures



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Of the cabinet's three voting members, Gallant enjoys the most public support in our survey: 61% of Israelis say they have a very or somewhat favorable view of him. Around half say the same about Gantz. As for Netanyahu, approximately four-in-ten Israelis have a positive view of the prime minister.

For more on views of Palestinian leaders, refer to Chapter 3.

The majority of Israelis (58%) see their prime minister in a negative light. **The share of Israelis who have a somewhat or very** *unfavorable* view of Netanyahu is the **largest it has been since the Center first started asking the question in 2013**, up 6 percentage points from last year.

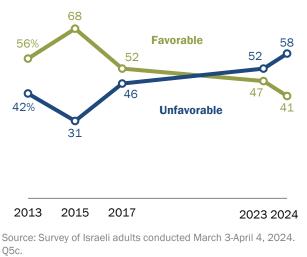
### **Related:** <u>A growing share of Americans have</u> <u>little or no confidence in Netanyahu</u>

Netanyahu's favorability ratings have fallen among Jews and Arabs alike. However, roughly half of Israeli Jews still see him positively, compared with only 7% of Israeli Arabs.

Favorability among right-leaning Israelis – the mainstay of Netanyahu's political coalition – has also declined. In this group, 69% have a favorable view of Netanyahu, compared with 85% last year.

# Netanyahu's favorability among Israelis is at its lowest level in Center polling

% who say they have a **very/somewhat** \_\_\_\_ opinion of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu



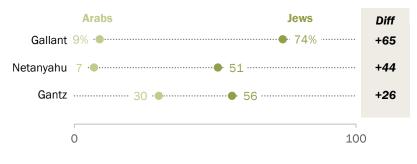
"Israeli Views of the Israel-Hamas War"

Views of the three members of Israel's war cabinet vary by ethnicity, ideology and levels of religious observance.

- About three-quarters of Israeli Jews have a favorable view of Gallant, but only 9% of Israeli Arabs agree. Of the three war cabinet members, Gantz has the highest share of support among Israeli Arabs (30%).
- Among those on the ideological right, about two-thirds have a favorable view of the prime minister. Only 18% of centrists and 8% of those on the left share this view. Gantz, a centrist party leader, is favored by 71% of Israelis in the center and a smaller majority (56%) of those on the left.
- Most Hiloni ("secular") Jews in Israel (76%) say they have a favorable view of Gantz – more than double the share of

### Israeli Jews mostly favor war cabinet members, Israeli Arabs are much more skeptical

% who say they have a **very/somewhat favorable** opinion of the following political figures, by ethnicity

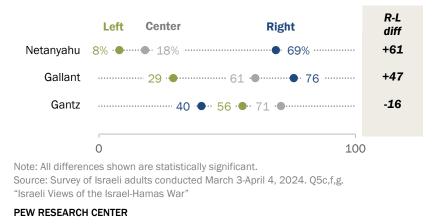


Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted March 3-April 4, 2024. Q5c,f,g. "Israeli Views of the Israel-Hamas War"

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# Israelis across the ideological spectrum have differing views about members of the country's war cabinet

% who say they have a **very/somewhat favorable** opinion of the following political figures, by ideology



Haredim ("ultra-Orthodox") and Datiim ("religious") who say the same (32%). Netanyahu, who relied on religious parties and their voters to build his governing coalition, is seen favorably by 88% of Haredi and Dati Jews, but by only 21% of the Hiloni public.

Most who have a favorable view of the prime minister feel similarly about Gallant, his minister of defense and fellow Likud member (84% have a favorable view of him). Gantz has less appeal among those who express a favorable view of Netanyahu – only about a third in this group also hold a favorable view of his political rival.

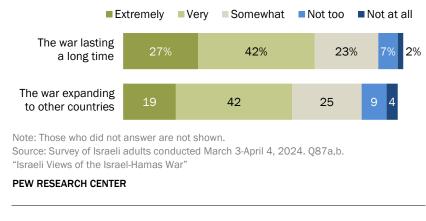
### Current concerns about the war

Thinking about the course of the war, most Israelis express a great deal of concern about its scope and duration.

Around six-in-ten are extremely or very concerned about the war expanding to other countries in the region, and about seven-in-ten are seriously worried about the war lasting a long time. (The survey was fielded amid escalating conflict along Israel's border with Lebanon but prior to Iran's missile attack on Israel in v

# Israelis are highly concerned about the spread and duration of the Israel-Hamas war

% who say they are \_\_\_\_ concerned about ...



Iran's missile attack on Israel in mid-April.)

# Jewish and Arab Israelis are equally concerned that the war might expand to other countries (61% in each group voice this concern), though Arabs are slightly more likely than Jews to say they worry about a long war (77% vs. 66%).

Approximately a quarter of Israelis on the ideological left and in the center are *extremely* concerned about the war expanding across the region – roughly double the share of right-leaning Israelis who express the same level of alarm.

# **2.** Israeli views of Biden, the U.S. and diplomacy in resolving the conflict

In our survey fielded from March 3 to April 4, 2024 – prior to the Biden administration's statement about <u>halting the shipment of some arms to Israel</u> – Israelis offer somewhat mixed reviews of President Joe Biden and his actions during the conflict.

For example, while 57% of Israelis express confidence in U.S. President Joe Biden to do the right thing regarding world affairs, a similar share (60%) disapprove of his handling of the ongoing war. Still, roughly seven-in-ten Israelis want the U.S. to play a major role in diplomatically resolving the conflict, more than say this about the United Nations or any other country we asked about.

### **Confidence in Biden**

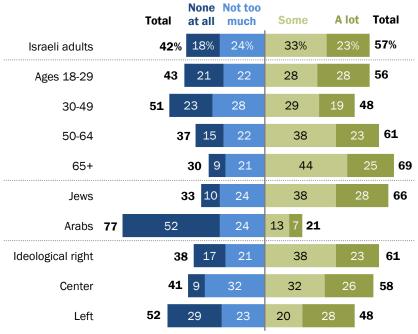
A slim majority of Israelis (57%) have confidence in Biden to do the right thing regarding world affairs.

Overall, older Israelis are more confident in Biden than younger Israelis. For example, among Israelis ages 65 or older, 69% express at least some confidence in Biden, compared with 56% of those ages 18 to 29.

Israelis on the ideological right or center are more confident in Biden than those on the left. About six-in-ten on the right or in the center express confidence in Biden, compared with roughly half of Israelis who place themselves on the left.

### A narrow majority of Israelis have confidence in Biden to do the right thing regarding world affairs

% who have \_\_\_ (of) confidence in U.S. President Joe Biden to do the right thing regarding world affairs



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted March 3-April 4, 2024. Q8a. "Israeli Views of the Israel-Hamas War"

Jewish Israelis also have more confidence in Biden than Arab Israelis do (66% vs. 21%). About half of Arabs say they have *no* confidence at all in Biden to do the right thing on the world stage.

Confidence in Biden is tied to people's approval of his handling of the Israel-Hamas war. Israelis who approve of his handling of the war are much more confident in him than those who disapprove (92% vs. 33%). Additionally, Israelis who think Biden is striking the right balance between support for Israelis and Palestinians are much more confident in him to do the right thing regarding world affairs (84% confident) than those who say he is favoring Israel too much (36%) or the Palestinians too much (39%).

#### How views of Biden have changed over time

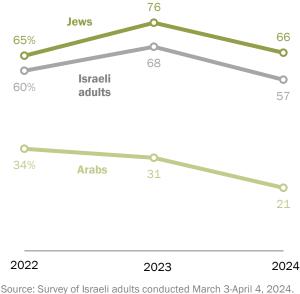
Confidence in Biden among Israelis is down from 68% last year and closer to the share who had confidence in him in 2022 (60%). Israeli Jews' views follow the same pattern.

In contrast, among Israeli Arabs, views of Biden have declined significantly since 2022. (We were unable to survey in Israel during the first year of Biden's presidency <u>because of the</u> <u>COVID-19 pandemic</u>.)

While support declined since last year among all ideological groups, the greatest decreases have come among those in the center (down 20 percentage points) and on the left (down 21 points). Meanwhile, confidence among those on the right has fallen much less (down 7 points).

# Israeli confidence in Biden has fallen since last year

% who say they have **a lot/some confidence** in U.S. President Joe Biden to do the right thing regarding world affairs, by ethnicity



Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted March 3-April 4, 2024. Q8a.

"Israeli Views of the Israel-Hamas War"

### Views of how Biden is handling the Israel-Hamas war

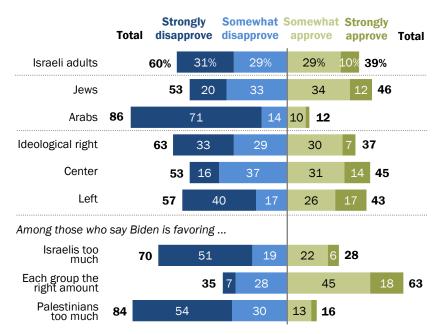
More Israelis disapprove than approve of how Biden is dealing with the conflict between Israel and Hamas (60% vs. 39%).

Arabs in Israel are more critical of Biden's handling of the war than Jews (86% vs. 53%). Indeed, 71% of Arabs say they *strongly* disapprove of his approach to the conflict. Views among Jewish Israelis are more mixed.

As with overall confidence in Biden, opinions about which side he favors in the conflict are related to evaluations of how he has handled the war. Those who say Biden is striking the right balance are more likely to approve of his handling of the conflict (63%) than those who say he is either favoring the

# Majority of Israelis disapprove of how Biden is handling the Israel-Hamas war

% who \_\_\_\_ of how U.S. President Joe Biden is dealing with the conflict between Israel and Hamas



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted March 3-April 4, 2024. Q9e. "Israeli Views of the Israel-Hamas War"

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Israelis (28%) or the Palestinians (16%) too much.

### Who is Biden favoring in the conflict, or is he striking the right balance?

Roughly four-in-ten Israelis say Biden is favoring each group the right amount while roughly a quarter each think he is either favoring the Israelis (27%) or the Palestinians (25%) too much.

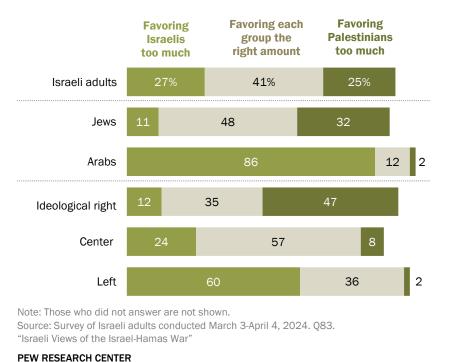
### Arab Israelis (86%) overwhelmingly say Biden is favoring the Israelis too

**much.** Only 11% of Jewish Israelis share this view. Instead, about half of Jews (48%) say he's striking the right balance, and an additional 32% say he is favoring the Palestinians too much.

Those on the left are most likely to say Biden favors the Israelis too much, while those

# About 4 in 10 Israelis say Biden is striking the right balance between Israelis and Palestinians





in the center are most likely to say he is favoring each group the right amount. Those on the right are most likely to say he is favoring the Palestinians too much.

The largest share of Israelis across age groups say Biden is striking the right balance. However, those ages 50 and older are more likely to say this than those ages 18 to 49 (46% vs. 38%). Younger Israelis are instead more likely than older Israelis to say that Biden is favoring the Israelis too much (30% vs. 22%).

### Views of the U.S.

Israelis broadly view the U.S. in a positive light: 77% have a favorable view of the country, including 43% who say they have a *very* favorable opinion. While the U.S. is still largely popular, the share of Israelis who have a favorable view of it fell 10 points since last year, when 87% held this view.

Demographic patterns in views of the U.S. are similar to confidence in Biden:

- Jewish Israelis are much more likely than Arab Israelis to have a favorable view of the U.S. (90% vs. 29%). Among Arabs, favorability ratings of the U.S. are at an all-time low, having dropped 15 points since 2023.
- Views of the U.S. are generally more positive among Israelis on the ideological right (85%) and center (84%) than on the left (55%). While favorable views are down from last year among those across the ideological spectrum, the decrease is three times larger among those on the left (down 22 points) than those in the center or on the right (both down 7 points).
- Israelis ages 50 and older are more likely than their younger counterparts to have a favorable view of the U.S. (85% vs. 72%).

Additionally, Israelis who have confidence in Biden are more likely to have favorable views of the U.S. than those who have less confidence (97% vs. 51%). Similarly, those who approve of his handling of the Israel-Hamas war have more favorable views of the U.S. than those who disapprove (97% vs. 64%).

### Who Israelis want to play a role in diplomatically resolving the war

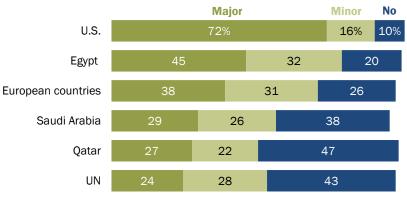
In the survey conducted March 3 to April 4, 2024 – amid offagain, on-again <u>ceasefire</u> <u>negotiations mediated by Egypt</u> <u>and Qatar</u> with involvement by senior U.S. officials – a large majority of Israelis (72%) said the U.S. should play a *major* role in diplomatically resolving the war between Israel and Hamas.

Egypt received the next largest share of support for diplomatic involvement, with 45% of Israelis saying it should play a major role.

On the other end of the

# Majority of Israelis want the U.S. to play a major diplomatic role in ending the war

% who say each of the following should play (a) \_\_\_\_ role in diplomatically resolving the Israel-Hamas war



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted March 3-April 4, 2024. Q82a-f. "Israeli Views of the Israel-Hamas War"

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spectrum, just 27% of Israelis support Qatar playing a major role; similar shares say this about Saudi Arabia (29%) and the United Nations (24%).

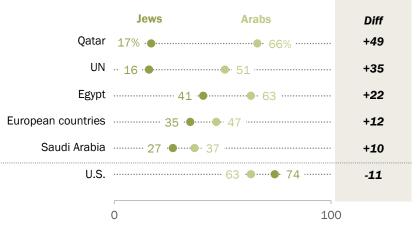
Support for a major U.S. role is broadly popular across the Israeli ideological spectrum. However, those on the left are more open than those on the right to involvement by other diplomatic actors.

Both Jews (74%) and Arabs (63%) in Israel favor the U.S. playing a major part in resolving the Israel-Hamas war.

However, Arabs are more likely than Jews to support each of the other diplomatic actors asked about playing a major role. In fact, **about as many Arab Israelis support Qatar (66%) and Egypt** (63%) taking on major roles as support the U.S. doing so (63%).

# Large divides among Jewish, Arab Israelis about which parties should mediate an end to Israel-Hamas war

% who say \_\_\_\_ should play a **major role** in diplomatically resolving the war between Israel-Hamas war, by ethnicity



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted March 3-April 4, 2024. Q82a-f. "Israeli Views of the Israel-Hamas War"

# 3. Assessing the future in light of the war

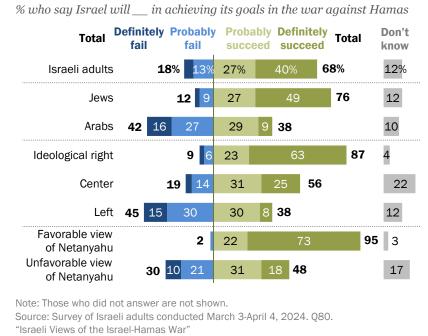
Despite their mixed opinions about the military response to Hamas and concerns about the war expanding and going on a long time, most Israelis were confident in our recent survey (conducted in March and early April) that their country will achieve its war aims. By roughly two to one, more feel optimistic than pessimistic about the future of Israel's national security.

However, this optimism does not extend to the prospect of peaceful coexistence alongside a Palestinian state, which Israelis now see as less likely than they did in recent years. A plurality of Israelis also think that Israel should govern the Gaza Strip after the war.

### Success against Hamas

About two-thirds of the Israeli public believes Israel will achieve its goals in the war against Hamas. The largest share says that Israel will *definitely* succeed (40%) while 27% says Israel will *probably* succeed. Another 18% think Israel will probably or definitely fail.

About three-quarters of Israeli Jews believe the country will achieve its goals in the war, while Israeli Arabs are far less certain. More than a third of Israeli Arabs believe the country will be successful, but 42% believe it will fail and 19% are not sure.



Many Israelis feel confident about the outcome of war

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**Optimism about Israel's prospects in the war is widespread among right-leaning Israelis – and particularly among people who have a favorable view of Netanyahu.** Fully 95% of Netanyahu supporters express confidence in the eventual success of their country's military campaign against Hamas. More than half of centrist Israelis are similarly optimistic, but another quarter of them are not sure. Left-leaning Israelis have a different outlook: The largest share (45%) say Israel will definitely or probably fail.

Israelis who believe that the military response to Hamas has been about right are more likely to say Israel will succeed (86%) than those who think it has not gone far enough (76%) and those who think it has gone too far (25%). Indeed, among those who think Israel has gone too far, more think the country will *fail* in its war against Hamas than *succeed* (55% vs. 25%).

# Israel's future national security

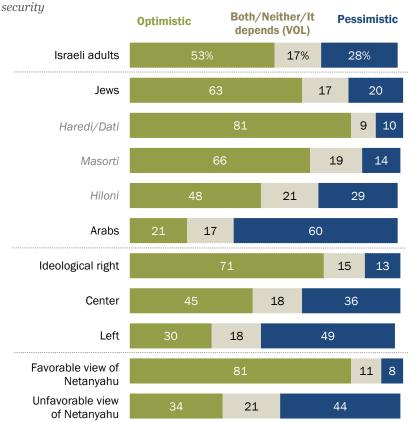
Thinking about the future, 53% of Israelis say they feel generally optimistic about their country's national security. This is almost double the share of Israelis who say they feel pessimistic (28%). Another 17% are not sure.

Jewish Israelis are three times as likely as Arab Israelis to have a positive outlook on the future of national security: 63% of Jews say they are optimistic, while only 21% of Arabs agree.

Among Israeli Jews, those who are more religiously observant express a greater degree of optimism for the future of Israel's security. About eight-in-ten Haredi ("ultra-Orthodox") and Dati ("religious") Jews say they are optimistic, compared to about half of Hiloni ("secular")

# Jews, right-leaning Israelis more optimistic about the future of Israel's national security

% who say they feel generally \_\_\_\_ about the future of Israel's national  $\cdot$ 



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. Because of small sample sizes, we combined Haredi and Dati respondents in this analysis.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted March 3-April 4, 2024. Q76c. "Israeli Views of the Israel-Hamas War"

Jews. Among Hiloni Jews, another 29% say they are pessimistic and 21% volunteer another answer.

Those on the ideological right are much more likely to feel positively about the future of national security than those on the left or in the center. About seven-in-ten right-leaning Israelis are optimistic, while less than half of those in the center and less than a third of those on the left feel the same.

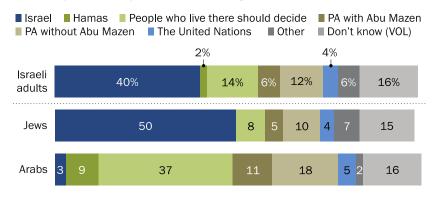
Israeli adults who have a favorable view of Netanyahu are significantly more optimistic about the future of the country's security than are those who view him unfavorably (81% vs. 34%). More broadly, supporters of the <u>emergency unity government</u> (which includes the original coalition as well as former opposition party National Unity, led by war cabinet member Benny Gantz) are also more optimistic than those who do not support the unity government (75% vs. 27%).

### The future of Gaza

Four-in-ten Israelis believe Israel should govern the Gaza Strip after the war ends. Others believe Gaza should be under control of the Palestinian Authority, whether with Mahmoud Abbas (also known as Abu Mazen) in leadership (6%) or without him (12%). An additional 14% say the people who live in Gaza should decide who governs them, while smaller shares mention the United Nations (4%) or Hamas (2%), and 16% say they do not know.

# No clear consensus among Israelis about the future of governance in Gaza

% who say \_\_\_\_\_ should govern the Gaza Strip after the war ends



Note: "PA" stands for Palestinian Authority. Abu Mazen is another name for Mahmoud Abbas, the president of the Palestinian Authority. The "Other" option read "or some other group or person" and respondents were subsequently asked to specify. Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted March 3-April 4, 2024. Q81. "Israeli Views of the Israel-Hamas War"

#### Governance by Israel

- Israeli Jews are much more likely than Israeli Arabs to say that Israel should control Gaza (50% vs. 3%).
- A large majority (77%) of Haredi and Dati Jews would prefer that Gaza be under Israeli control, while only 28% of Hiloni Jews agree.
- Among right-leaning Israelis, approximately seven-in-ten believe Israel should govern Gaza. Only 16% of those in the center and 6% on the left agree.

#### **Self-determination**

- Over a third of Israeli Arabs say that the question of governance should be decided by the people who live in Gaza. Only 8% of Israeli Jews agree.
- Three-in-ten Israelis on the ideological left say Gazans should decide who governs them. Among center-leaning Israelis, 17% feel the same. Just 4% of those who position themselves on the ideological right support self-determination for Gazans.

#### Governance by the Palestinian Authority, Hamas or third parties

- Israeli Arabs are more likely than Jews to support a Palestinian Authority national unity government, either *with* Abbas' leadership (11% vs. 5%) or *without* Abbas (18% vs. 10%). They are also more supportive than Israeli Jews of Hamas regaining control over the Gaza strip (9% vs. 0%).
- Older Arabs in Israel (ages 50 and older) are more supportive of Hamas' leadership in Gaza than are those ages 18 to 49 (15% vs. 6%).

### **Views of Palestinian leaders**

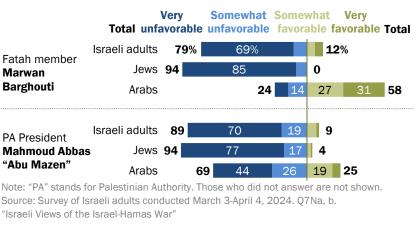
On the whole, few Israelis have favorable views of the two Palestinian leaders we asked about.

### Israeli Jews and Arabs diverge in their views of **Palestinian leaders**

% who say they have a \_\_\_\_ opinion of the following political figures

In the case of Mahmoud Abbas (also known as Abu Mazen). president of the Palestinian Authority, only 9% of Israelis say they see him in a positive light. This is largely unchanged since Pew Research Center last asked about him in 2015.

Similarly, only 12% of Israelis have favorable views of Abbas' fellow Fatah member, Marwan



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Barghouti, who has been detained by Israel since 2002.

While Abbas is more popular among Arab Israelis (25%) than Jewish Israelis (4%), he is still seen more unfavorably than not among Arabs. In the case of Barghouti, however, he is broadly popular with Arab Israelis (58%), while fewer than 1% of Jewish Israelis see him in a positive light.

### Palestinian statehood and coexistence

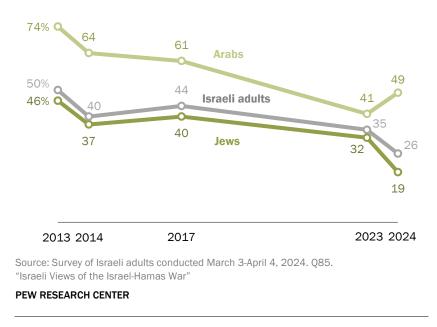
Around a quarter of Israelis (26%) think a way can be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully with each other. Half think this is not possible, while another 20% say it depends.

The feeling that peaceful coexistence is possible has decreased 9 percentage points since last year and 24 points since we began asking the question in 2013.

Notably, nearly all of the decline since last year is due to Jewish Israelis shifting their opinions: Today, 19% of Jews think peaceful coexistence is possible, down from 32% <u>who</u>

### Israeli Jews less likely to see peaceful coexistence with an independent Palestinian state as possible

% who say a way **can** be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully with each other



said the same in 2023. In contrast, **Arab Israelis have grown slightly** *more* **optimistic about peaceful coexistence**, with 49% saying it's possible, up from 41% last year.

Opinion about peaceful coexistence also differs across the ideological spectrum: 60% of those who place themselves on the left think it's possible, compared with 33% of those in the center and 8% of those on the right. The <u>shift from last year</u> has been particularly sharp among Israelis in the ideological center, falling 20 points, compared with a drop of 13 points on the left and 6 points on the right.

Hiloni Jews are split on the question of peaceful coexistence. About a third (34%) think it is possible – much higher than the share of Haredim and Datiim who agree (3% each). Roughly a third of Hilonim say coexistence is not possible.

#### Where would the Palestinian state be?

Because the Israel-Hamas war is still ongoing and the meaning of "an independent Palestinian state" may have changed for respondents, we also asked a new follow-up question. Those who said peaceful coexistence was possible or who volunteered "it depends," were asked: "Would you expect the independent Palestinian state to be in the West Bank, in Gaza or both?"

A majority of those who think a Palestinian state may be possible believe that it will be in *both* the West Bank and Gaza, while smaller (and similar) shares expect it to be only in Gaza or only in the West Bank. The remainder either do not know or think peaceful coexistence between an independent Palestinian state and Israel is unlikely.

Arab Israelis are more likely than Jewish Israelis to think a Palestinian state will be in both places. Jews are more likely than Arabs to say it would be only in Gaza or that they are unsure.

Israelis on the left are much more likely to anticipate an independent Palestinian state in both the West Bank and Gaza than are those in the center or on the right. Those on the right are more likely to foresee an independent Palestinian state in Gaza only.

# Among Israelis who think peaceful coexistence with an independent Palestinian state is possible, most believe it will be in both Gaza and the West Bank

	Can	It depends (VOL)		Car	inot	Don't know (VOL)		
	26%	20%	5(	4%				
and		lent Palestinian state to l and the West Bank	be	Only in Gaza	Only in the West Bank	Don't know (VOL)		
		56	15	14	15			

% who say a way \_\_\_ be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully with each other

Note: Only people who said an independent Palestinian state "Can" coexist peacefully with Israel or "It depends" were asked the second question. The percentages in the bottom of the chart are based on the 46% who were asked the question, not based on all Israeli adults. Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted March 3-April 4, 2024. Q85, Q86. "Israeli Views of the Israel-Hamas War"

## **Acknowledgments**

This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals.

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# Methodology

The data is from a survey of 1,001 Israeli adults conducted face-to-face from March 3 to April 4, 2024. Interviews were conducted in Hebrew and Arabic, and the survey is representative of the adult population ages 18 and older, excluding those in East Jerusalem and non-sanctioned outposts. (The survey also did not cover the West Bank or Gaza.) The survey included an oversample of Arabs in Israel. It was subsequently weighted to be representative of the Israeli adult population with the following variables: gender by ethnicity, age by ethnicity, education, region, urbanicity and probability of selection of respondent.

Here is general information on our international survey research.

isidel sulvey life	stilouology
Year	2024
Survey	Global Attitudes Survey
Sample design:	Multi-stage, area probability design. Primary sampling units (PSUs) are statistical areas stratified by ethnicity, district, urbanicity and socioeconomic status. Two PSUs are selected with certainty based on population size. The number of PSUs is 200. Up to three contact attempts are made to complete the interview. Individuals within households are selected using computer randomization based on all people ages 18 and older living in the household.
Mode:	Face-to-face
Languages:	Arabic, Hebrew
Fieldwork dates:	March 3-April 4, 2024
Sample size:	1,001
Margin of error:	4.0 percentage points
Representative:	Adult population ages 18 and older (excluding East Jerusalem, non-sanctioned outposts and areas with low population sizes)
Primary vendor	Gallup
Weighting variables:	Gender by ethnicity, age by ethnicity, education, region, urbanicity and probability of selection of respondent
Design effects:	1.67
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#### Israel survey methodology

# Topline

### Pew Research Center Spring 2024 Global Attitudes Survey May 30, 2024 release

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline "total" columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Prior to 2024, combined totals were based on rounded topline figures. Going forward, totals will be based on unrounded topline figures, so combined totals might be different than in previous years.
- Since 2007, Pew Research Center has used an automated process to generate toplines for its Global Attitudes Surveys. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from those published prior to 2007.
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2024 Global Attitudes Survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

		Q4a. Please tell	me if you have a	a very favorable, s		able, somewhat u ed States	infavorable, or v	ery unfavorable o	opinion of? a.
		TOTAL Favorable	TOTAL Unfavorable	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2024	77	22	43	34	12	10	1	100
	Spring, 2023	87	12	51	36	7	5	1	100
	Spring, 2022	83	16	31	52	11	5	1	100
	Spring, 2019	84	14	40	43	9	5	2	100
	Spring, 2018	83	17	41	42	11	6	1	100
	Spring, 2017	81	18	31	50	14	4	1	100
	Spring, 2015	81	18	31	50	15	3	1	100
	Spring, 2014	84	16	26	58	13	3	0	100
	Spring, 2013	83	16	31	52	12	4	1	100
	Spring, 2011	72	27	14	58	23	5	1	100
	Spring, 2009	72	26	26	45	19	7	2	100
	Spring, 2007	78	20	29	49	15	5	1	100
	May, 2003	78	20	32	46	12	8	1	100

		Q5c. Please tell	. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? c. Benjamin Netanyahu											
						Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total						
Israel	Spring, 2024	41	58	20	21	19	39	1	100					
	Spring, 2023	47	52	29	18	16	36	1	100					
	Spring, 2017	52	46	18	34	30	16	2	100					
	Spring, 2015	68	31	26	42	24	6	2	100					
	Spring, 2013	56	42	14	42	31	11	2	100					

	Q5f. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of Benny Gantz									
		TOTAL Favorable	TOTAL Unfavorable	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
Israel	Spring, 2024	51	44	17	34	25	20	4	100	

		Q5g. Please tell	Q5g. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? g. Yoav Gallant									
		TOTAL Favorable	TOTAL Unfavorable	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total			
Israel	Spring, 2024	61	34	20	41	18	17	5	100			

		Q7Na. Please t	ell me if you have	e a very favorable		orable, somewha Mazen	t unfavorable or	very unfavorable	opinion of?
		TOTAL Favorable	TOTAL Unfavorable	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2024	9	89	2	7	19	70	2	100
	Spring, 2015	8	90	1	7	29	61	1	100
	Spring, 2013	14	84	1	12	39	45	2	100

Q7Nb. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable o b. Marwan Barghouti									e opinion of?
		TOTAL Favorable	TOTAL Unfavorable	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2024	12	79	6	6	10	69	9	100

			Q8a. (SHORTENED). Tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all. a. U.S. President Joe Biden									
		TOTAL Confidence	TOTAL No confidence	A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total			
Israel	Spring, 2024	57	42	23	33	24	18	1	100			
	Spring, 2023	68	31	29	39	22	9	1	100			
	Spring, 2022	60	39	16	44	29	10	2	100			

		Q9e. Thinking			do you strongly a is? e. Dealing v				e or strongly
		TOTAL Approve	TOTAL Disapprove	Strongly approve	Somewhat approve	Somewhat disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2024	39	60	10	29	29	31	1	100

			276c. Thinking about the future of (survey country), please tell me whether you eel generally optimistic or generally pessimistic about the following areas. How about? c. Our country's national security					
Both/Neither/ It depends (DO NOT						Total		
Israel	Spring, 2024	53	28	17	1	100		

			Q79. Has Israel's military response against Hamas in Gaza							
		Gone too far	Not gone far enough	Been about right	Or do you not know	Refused (DO NOT READ)	Total			
Israel	Spring, 2024	19	19 34 39 7 2 100							

Q80. Overall, do you think Israel will definitely succeed, probably succeed, probably fail or definitely fail in achieving its goals in the war Hamas, or do you not know?									e war against	
		TOTAL Succeed	TOTAL Fail	Definitely succeed	Probably succeed	Probably fail	Definitely fail	Or do you not know	Refused (DO NOT READ)	Total
Israel	Spring, 2024	68	18	40	27	13	6	12	2	100

			Q81. Aft	er the war ends,	which of the foll	owing groups do	you think should	govern the Gaza	Strip?	
		Israel	Hamas	The United Nations	PA national unity government with Abu Mazens leadership	PA national unity government without Abu Mazen	The people who live there should decide who governs	Or some other group or person	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2024	40	2	4	6	12	14	6	16	100

	Q82a. Thinking about each of the following, should they play a major role, a minor role or no role at all in diplomatically resolving the war between Israel and Hamas? a. The United States							
		A major role	A minor role	No role	DK/Refused	Total		
Israel	Spring, 2024	72	16	10	3	100		

		Q82b. Thinking about each of the following, should they play a major role, a minor role or no role at all in diplomatically resolving the war between Israel and Hamas? b. Qatar							
		Major role	Minor role	No role	DK/Refused	Total			
Israel	Spring, 2024	27	22	47	4	100			

		Q82c. Thinking about each of the following, should they play a major role, a minor role or no role at all in diplomatically resolving the war between Israel and Hamas? c. European countries							
		Major role	Minor role	No role	DK/Refused	Total			
Israel	Spring, 2024	38	31	26	5	100			

Q82d. Thinking about each of the following, should they play a major role, a minor role or no role at all in diplomatically resolving the war between Israel and Hamas? d. The United Nations							
		Major role	Minor role	No role	DK/Refused	Total	
Israel	Spring, 2024	24	28	43	5	100	

	Q82e. Thinking about each of the following, should they play a major role, a minor role or no role at all in diplomatically resolving the war between Israel and Hamas? e. Saudi Arabia								
		Major role	Minor role	No role	DK/Refused	Total			
Israel	Spring, 2024	29	26	38	7	100			

			role at all in dip		ould they play a ving the war bet	
		Major role	Minor role	No role	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2024	45	32	20	2	100

		Q83	. Do you think U.	S. President Joe	Biden is?	
		Favoring Israelis too much	Favoring Palestinians too much	Favoring each group the right amount	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2024	27	25	41	7	100
	Spring, 2022	31	26	34	9	100

		Q85. Do you think a way can be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully with each other, or not?							
		Yes	No	It depends (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total			
Israel	Spring, 2024	26	50	20	4	100			
	Spring, 2023	35	46	15	4	100			
	Spring, 2017	44	37	16	3	100			
	Spring, 2014	40	45	12	3	100			
	Spring, 2013	50	38	9	2	100			

		ASK IF 'YES' OR 'IT DEPENDS' IN Q85: Q86. And would you expect the independent Palestinian state to be in the West Bank, in Gaza or both?								
		West Bank	Gaza	Both	DK/Refused	Total	N=			
Israel	Spring, 2024	14	15	56	15	100	513			

		Q87a. Thinking about the war between Israel and Hamas, how concerned are you about the possibility of each of the following? (SHORTENED) a. The war expanding into other countries in the region									
		TOTAL Concerned	TOTAL Not concerned	Extremely concerned	Very concerned	Somewhat concerned	Not too concerned	Not at all concerned	DK/Refused	Total	
Israel	Spring, 2024	61	13	19	42	25	9	4	0	100	

		Q87b. Thinking about the war between Israel and Hamas, how concerned are you about the possibility of each of the following? (SHORTENED) b. The war going on for a very long time								
		TOTAL Concerned	TOTAL Not concerned	Extremely concerned	Very concerned	Somewhat concerned	Not too concerned	Not at all concerned	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2024	68	9	27	42	23	7	2	0	100