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Israeli Public Is Increasingly Skeptical About Lasting Peace

Most see lack of trust between Israelis and Palestinians, along with the status of Jerusalem, as major obstacles

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How we did this

This Pew Research Center analysis explores Israeli attitudes on lasting peace with Palestinians, different parties' commitment to peace, obstacles in the process, and the influence of international actors. It also covers their views of Israeli leaders, Palestinian leaders and the prospect of an independent Palestinian state – the likelihood of international recognition in the near future and whether Israel can coexist peacefully alongside it.

The data is from a survey of 998 Israeli adults conducted face-to-face from Feb. 5 to March 11, 2025. 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 in outposts that are not sanctioned by the Israeli government. (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.

Throughout the report, we analyze respondents' attitudes based on where they place themselves on an ideological scale. In Israel, we asked people to place themselves on a scale ranging from "Extreme left" to "Extreme right" and categorized them as being on the ideological left, center or right.

Prior to 2024, combined totals were based on rounded topline figures. For all reports beginning in 2024, totals are based on unrounded topline figures, so combined totals might be different than in previous years. Refer to this year's topline to see our new rounding procedures applied to past years' data.

Here are the [questions used for the report](#), along with responses, and the [survey methodology](#).

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Israeli Public Is Increasingly Skeptical About Lasting Peace

Most see lack of trust between Israelis and Palestinians, along with the status of Jerusalem, as major obstacles

More than a year into the Israel-Hamas war, Israelis express growing doubts about peace with Palestinians, according to a Pew Research Center survey.

The survey was conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025, among a nationally representative sample of 998 Israeli adults. It is the Center's second annual survey in Israel since the start of the war on Oct. 7, 2023. The field period coincided with [the most recent ceasefire](#) between Israel and Hamas, and the survey was completed before [hostilities resumed on March 18](#).

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 February-March 2025 survey due to security concerns. We are actively investigating possibilities for both qualitative and quantitative research on public opinion in the region.

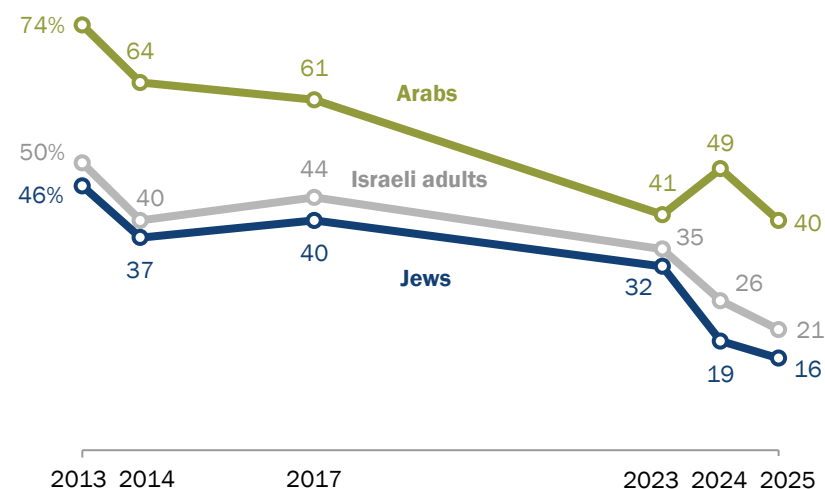
Likelihood of peace

We find that 21% of Israeli adults think Israel and a Palestinian state can coexist peacefully – **the lowest percentage since we began asking this question in 2013**. This share is down 14 percentage points since spring 2023, several months before the Israel-Hamas war started.

The share of Jewish Israelis who think peaceful coexistence is possible is also low (16%). Arab Israelis are more optimistic (40%) about the possibility of an independent

Share of Israelis who say peaceful coexistence with a Palestinian state is possible continues to shrink

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



Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.
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Palestinian state coexisting with Israel, a prospect often called a “two-state solution.”

Commitment to peace

A slim majority of adults in Israel (56%) say the Israeli people are committed to working toward lasting peace. But fewer think this is true of the Palestinian people (41%) or of the leadership on either side.

About half of Israelis (47%) say their own government is very or somewhat committed to working toward lasting peace. A similar share (45%) say the Palestinian Authority is at least somewhat committed to seeking peace. Just 20% of Israelis say this about Hamas, the main organization at war with Israel in the Gaza Strip.

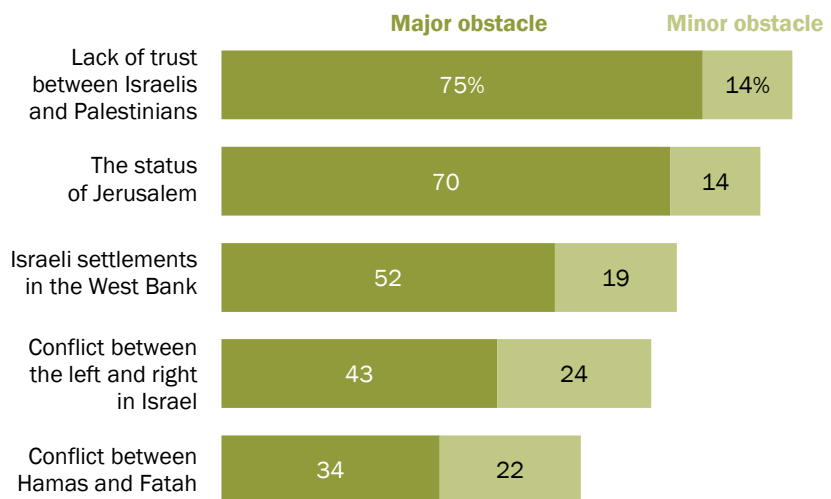
Obstacles to peace

Israelis see several things as at least minor obstacles to peace: the status of Jerusalem, Israeli settlements in the West Bank, conflict between the left and right in Israeli politics, and conflict between Hamas and Fatah on the Palestinian side.

But the most frequently cited obstacle is a lack of trust between Israelis and Palestinians. Three-quarters of Israelis call this a *major* obstacle to lasting peace.

Majorities of Israelis see several issues as obstacles to lasting peace with Palestinians

% of Israeli adults who say each of the following is a ___ to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians



Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5–March 11, 2025.
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International actors

Israelis are skeptical about foreign involvement in efforts to facilitate lasting peace. They see the influence of several countries – as well as the United Nations – as harmful rather than helpful.

The United States is an exception: **81% of Israelis say the U.S. is helpful in the work toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians.**

Still, half of Israelis say U.S. President Donald Trump is favoring Israelis too much in his foreign relations, while 2% say he favors Palestinians too much and 42% say he favors each group the right amount.

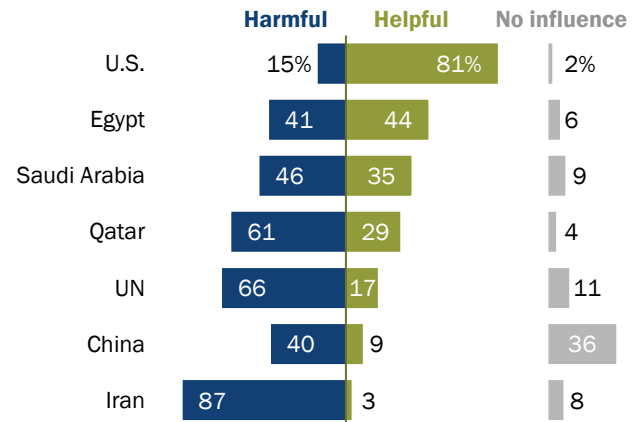
In the following report, we look more closely at how Israelis view:

- [Likelihood of peace and each side's commitment to it](#)
- [Obstacles to peace](#)
- [International actors and their contributions to peace](#)
- [Israeli and Palestinian leaders](#)

Related: [How Americans view Israel and the Israel-Hamas war at the start of Trump's second term](#)

Israelis see U.S. as helpful, Iran as harmful to peace efforts

% of Israeli adults who say each of the following is ___ in working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025. "Israeli Public Is Increasingly Skeptical About Lasting Peace"

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Views of contested territories

Israelis identify several contested territories as obstacles on the path to peace with the Palestinians.

Seven-in-ten (70%) say the status of Jerusalem, a city that both Israelis and Palestinians claim as their capital, is a major obstacle. Roughly half (52%) say the same of surrounding Israeli settlements in the West Bank. The settlements are [considered illegal under international law](#), though Israel disputes this claim – and among the Israeli public, more say the continued building of West Bank settlements helps the security of their country (44%) rather than hurts it (35%).

As for Gaza, a third of Israelis believe Israel should govern the territory after the war, down from 40% in spring 2024. In particular, Israeli Jews and Israelis on the ideological right are less likely to say Israel should govern Gaza compared with last year.

A smaller share of the Israeli public would rather let the people who live in Gaza decide who governs them (16%). And relatively few prefer a unity government led by the Palestinian Authority – either with (6%) or without (10%) the leadership of President Mahmoud Abbas, also known as Abu Mazen – or control by the United Nations (2%). Just 1% of Israelis say Hamas should govern Gaza after the war ends. A combined 11% say they would like to see some other person or group in charge.

As to whether the international community will recognize an independent Palestinian state in the next five years, more Israelis say this is unlikely (51%) than say it is likely (40%).

Related: [Fewer Israelis support Israel taking over Gaza now than in 2024](#)

Read more about Israeli views of obstacles to peace with Palestinians in [Chapter 2](#).

Views of Israeli and Palestinian politics

Israelis generally voice unfavorable views of their own political leaders, both those in power and in the opposition.

Support for Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was at a low ebb [in the Center's 2024 survey](#) (58% unfavorable vs. 41% favorable). Today, a similar share of Israeli adults see the leader of their country in a negative light (53% unfavorable vs. 45% favorable). The two opposition party leaders we asked about – Benny Gantz and Yair Lapid – receive poor marks, too, with unfavorable views of Gantz up 10 points since 2024 (from 44% to 54% unfavorable).

Israelis are even more critical of Palestinian leaders. Abbas and Marwan Barghouti, the latter a prominent Fatah member [detained by Israel since 2002](#), are viewed unfavorably by 85% and 80% of the Israeli public, respectively.

As the war continues, **Israelis are divided about their own leaders' level of commitment to working toward lasting peace with Palestinians:** 47% say the Israeli government is very or somewhat committed to peace, while 49% say it is not too or not at all committed.

A similar share of Israelis (45%) see at least some commitment to peace in the Fatah-controlled Palestinian Authority, which governs parts of the West Bank.

One-in-five Israelis say Hamas is at least somewhat committed to lasting peace, while 72% disagree. This includes a 67% majority who say Hamas is not committed to peace *at all*.

Read more about Israeli views of Israeli and Palestinian leaders in [Chapter 4](#), and about commitment to peace in [Chapter 1](#).

Related: [Most people across 24 surveyed countries have negative views of Israel and Netanyahu](#)

How Israelis differ from one another

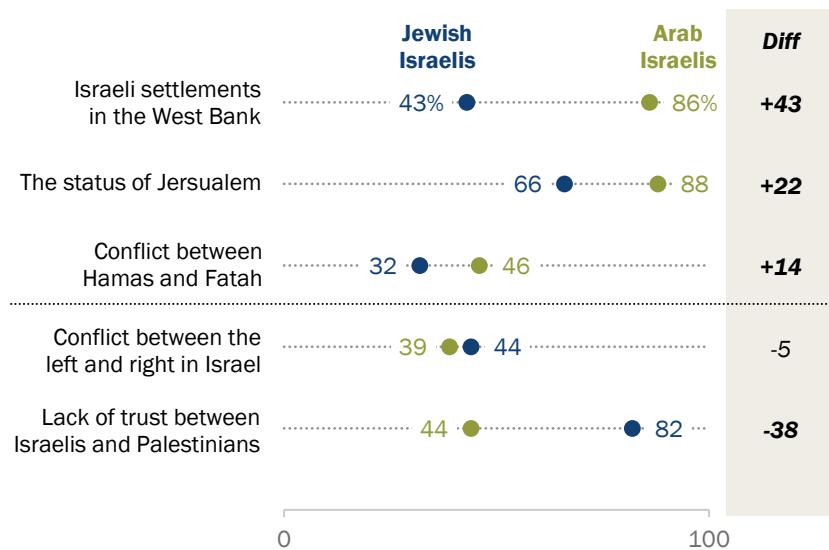
On many of these questions, we find large gaps between demographic groups in Israeli society – particularly between Israeli Jews and Arabs, but also between Israelis with different ideological leanings.

Views by ethnicity

- Israeli Arabs are more optimistic about peace than Israeli Jews are, with larger shares saying that coexistence with a Palestinian state is possible (40% vs. 16%) and that international recognition of a Palestinian state is likely in the next five years (62% vs. 34%).
- Israeli Arabs are more likely than Israeli Jews to say West Bank settlements, the status of Jerusalem, and conflict between Hamas and Fatah are major obstacles to peace. Jews are more likely than Arabs to see distrust between Israelis and Palestinians as a major obstacle.
- 42% of Israeli Jews think Israel should control the Gaza Strip after the war ends, the most common answer within this group. Among Arabs, the largest share (45%) say the people who live in Gaza should decide who governs them.

Jewish and Arab Israelis differ on what they consider major obstacles to lasting peace

% who say ___ is a **major obstacle** to working toward a lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, by ethnicity



Note: Statistically significant differences are in **bold**.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.

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Views by ideology

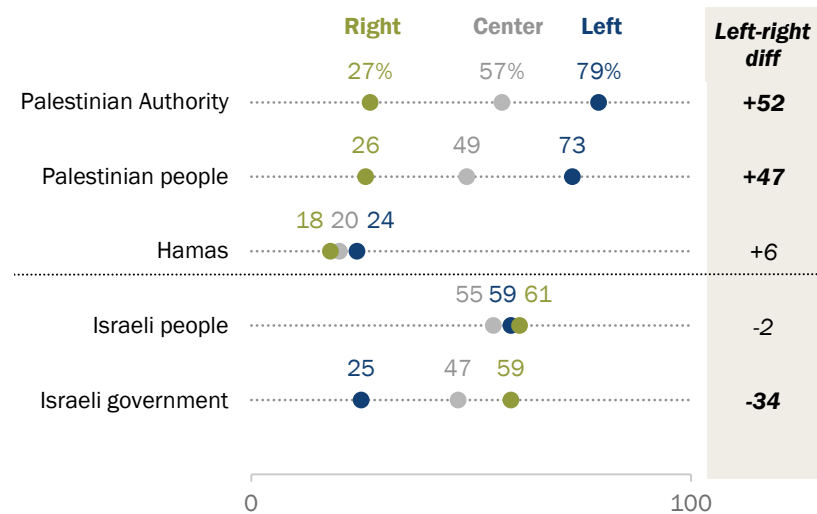
- Majorities of Israelis who place themselves on the ideological right, in the center and on the left say that the Israeli people are committed to peace – and that Hamas is not.

- Israelis on the right are more likely than other ideological groups to say the Israeli government is committed to peace, while left-leaning Israelis are more likely than others to say this of the Palestinian people and Palestinian Authority.

- While left-leaning Israelis are more likely than those on the right to predict international recognition for a Palestinian state and to think coexistence is possible, they are *also* more likely to see several issues as major obstacles to peace.
- Left-leaning Israelis are more likely than those on the right to say international actors other than the U.S. are helpful to long-term peace efforts.

Israelis on the ideological right and left disagree on some parties' commitment to lasting peace

% who say each of the following is **very/somewhat committed** to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, by ideology



Note: Statistically significant differences are in **bold**.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.

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Views by Jewish religiousness

We also find differences between Jewish religious groups. Hilonim ("secular") and Masortim ("traditional") are more likely than Haredim and Datiim ("ultra-Orthodox" and "religious") to say the Palestinian people and Palestinian Authority are committed to peace, and also more likely to see various international actors as helpful to peace efforts. Haredim and Datiim are more likely than Hilonim and Masortim to call for Israel to govern Gaza after the war.

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

Nearly all Israeli Jews identify as 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, [“Israel’s Religiously Divided Society.”](#)

1. Views of the potential for lasting peace

About a fifth of Israelis (21%) say a way can be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully, down from 26% last year. The share who take this stance has declined steadily over the past decade: 50% said peaceful coexistence was possible in 2013.

Despite this pessimism about a “two-state solution,” 56% of Israelis surveyed say the Israeli people are very or somewhat committed to working toward lasting peace. Fewer (41%) say this about the Palestinian people. (Because the questions about commitment to peace were asked for the first time in the 2025 survey, we do not know how these opinions may have changed over time.)

When it comes to leadership structures, 47% say the Israeli government is very or somewhat committed to lasting peace, and 45% feel the same about the Palestinian Authority. Far fewer Israelis (20%) see Hamas as committed to peace. In fact, a two-thirds majority say Hamas is not committed to peace at all.

Can Israel and an independent Palestinian state coexist?

Around one-in-five Israeli adults (21%) think a way can be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully. Half think this is not possible, and another 19% volunteer that “it depends.”

The share who think a two-state solution is possible has dropped 29 points since we first asked this question in 2013. In the shorter term, it’s fallen 14 points since spring 2023 (before the start of the Israel-Hamas war) and 5 points since spring 2024.

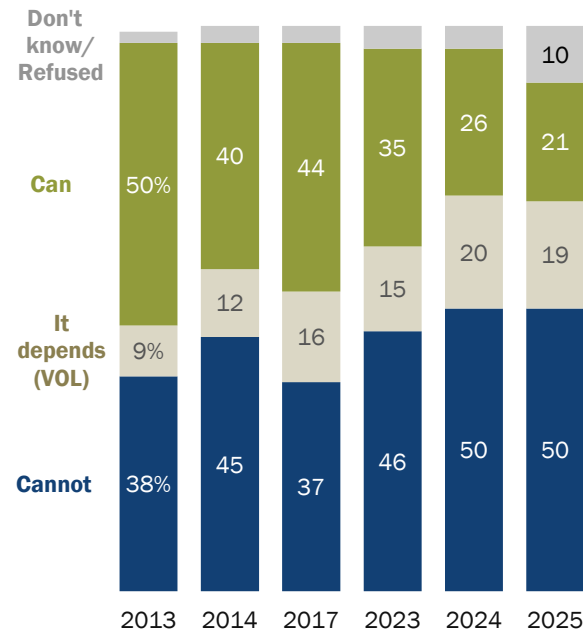
Four-in-ten Israeli Arabs think peaceful coexistence is possible – more than double the 16% of Israeli Jews who say the same. The share of Arabs who believe coexistence can happen is down 9 points since 2024, bringing their level of confidence in a two-state solution closer to what it was in 2023. The share of Jews who believe coexistence is possible has not changed significantly since 2024.

Around half of Israelis who place themselves on the ideological left (54%) say a way can be found for Israel and a Palestinian state to coexist, compared with 29% of Israelis in the center and 7% of those on the right.

Among Jewish Israelis, a quarter of Hilonim say peaceful coexistence is possible – more than twice the share of Haredim and Datiim (9%) or Masortim (11%) who say this.

Half of Israelis say a two-state solution is not possible

% of Israeli adults who think a way ___ be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully with each other



Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.
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Where would the independent Palestinian state be located?

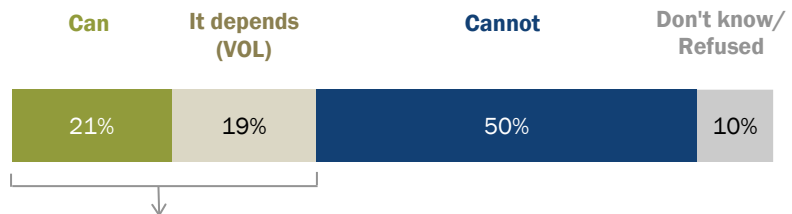
Israelis who said Israel and an independent Palestinian state *can* coexist or who volunteered “it depends” were asked a follow-up question: Would they expect the independent Palestinian state to be in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip or both?

A sizable share of these respondents believe that the new Palestinian state would be in *both* the West Bank and Gaza. Fewer believe it would be only in Gaza or only in the West Bank. Still, only about a third of all Israeli adults overall gave a response to this question.

Arab Israelis are more likely than Jewish Israelis to expect the Palestinian state to be in both Gaza and the West Bank. And Israelis on the left are more likely than those in the center or on the right to say the Palestinian state would be in both places.

Among Israelis who say coexistence with a Palestinian state is possible or that ‘it depends,’ many expect the state would be in both Gaza and the West Bank

% of Israeli adults who think a way ___ be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully



Among Israeli adults who said “can” or “it depends,” % who expect the independent Palestinian state to be ...



Note: Only the 40% of respondents who said Israel and an independent Palestinian state can coexist or volunteered “it depends” were asked the second question.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.

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Who is committed to peace?

More Israelis say the Israeli people are committed to working toward a lasting peace with the Palestinians than say they are not committed (56% vs. 39%). But opinions are reversed when it comes to the Palestinian people (41% committed vs. 54% not committed), including 40% who describe the Palestinian people as not committed to peace *at all*.

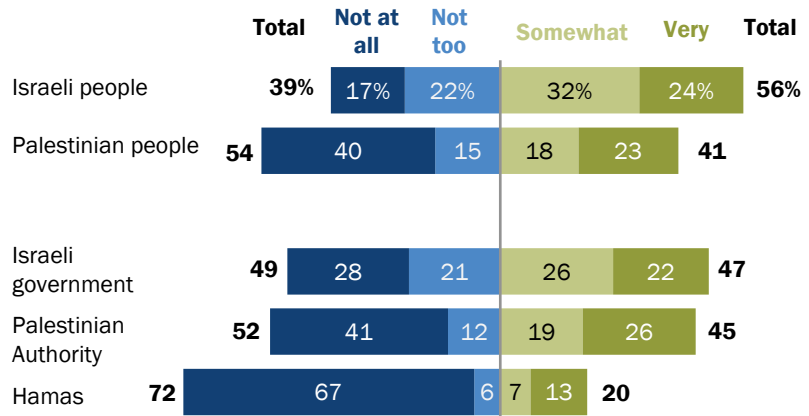
Israelis are about evenly split on whether their government is committed to peace. About half (47%) say the Israeli government is very or somewhat committed, while a similar share (49%) say it's not too or not at all committed.

As for the Palestinian Authority, 45% of the Israeli public sees it as committed to peace, and about half says it is not (52%). A sizable share of Israelis (41%) say the Palestinian Authority is not committed to peace *at all*.

One-in-five Israelis say Hamas is committed to lasting peace between the two groups. About three-quarters (72%) say Hamas is not committed to peace – including 67% who say the organization is not *at all* committed.

Israelis say their own people are committed to peace, other parties to the conflict are less so

% of Israeli adults who say the following are ___ committed to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.

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Views by ethnicity

A majority of Jewish Israelis (61%) say the Israeli people are committed to lasting peace, while 34% say the same of the Palestinian people.

The opposite is true among Arab Israelis: 68% say Palestinians are committed to peace, while 35% say this about Israelis.

When asked about leadership structures on each side, nearly three-quarters of Israeli Arabs believe the Palestinian Authority is committed to peace (73%), compared with 38% of Israeli Jews who hold this view. Inversely, Jews are much more likely than Arabs to say the Israeli government is committed to lasting peace (56% vs. 12%).

Among *both* Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs, about a quarter or fewer say Hamas is committed to lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians.

Views by ideology

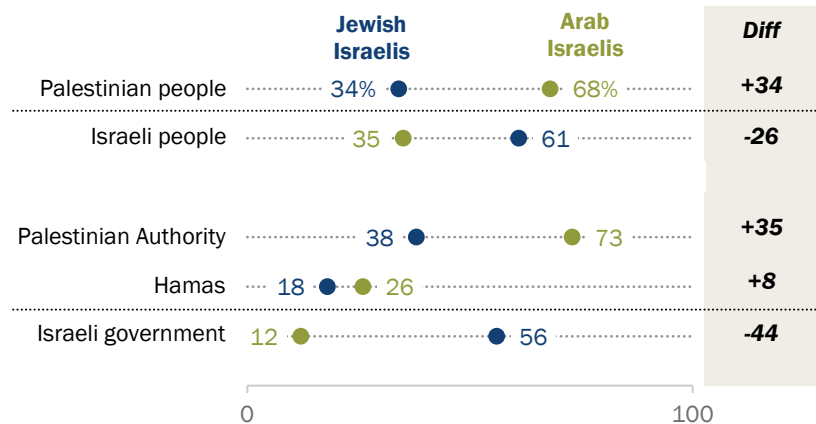
Israelis across the ideological spectrum are about equally likely to describe the Israeli people as committed to lasting peace. However, Israelis on the left (73%) are much more likely than those in the center (49%) or on the right (26%) to say the Palestinian people are committed to peace.

In addition, Israelis on the left are more skeptical of their own government: A quarter say the Israeli government is committed to peace, compared with 47% of those in the center and 59% of those on the right.

And left-leaning Israelis are much more likely to see the Palestinian Authority as committed to peace (79%) when compared with those in the center (57%) or on the right (27%).

Few Israelis say Hamas is committed to peace

% who say the following are *very/somewhat committed* to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, by ethnicity



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.

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Regardless of their ideological leanings, Israelis generally agree that Hamas is *not* committed to peace between Israelis and Palestinians. A quarter or fewer in each group say this is the case.

Views by Jewish religiousness

Half or more Israeli Jews in each religious group say the Israeli people and government are at least somewhat committed to lasting peace.

But Haredim and Datiim (16%) are less likely than Masortim (40%) and Hilonim (45%) to say the Palestinian people are committed to peace. Haredim and Datiim are also less likely to see the Palestinian Authority as committed to peace.

2. Views of obstacles to peace

Israelis perceive several obstacles to lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians.

Seven-in-ten or more say lack of trust between Israelis and Palestinians and the status of Jerusalem are *major* obstacles to peace. Smaller shares say the same about Israeli settlements in the West Bank (52%), conflict between the Israeli left and right (43%), and conflict between Hamas and Fatah (34%).

Jews and Arabs in Israel differ in what they consider major obstacles. For example, 82% of Jews say lack of trust between Israelis and Palestinians is a major obstacle, compared with 44% of Arabs.

And there is no consensus among the Israeli public as to whether Jewish settlements in the West Bank help (44%) or hurt (35%) security in Israel. Roughly half of Jewish Israelis (53%) say the settlements help the security of their country, compared with 9% of Arab Israelis. The share of the Israeli public – and Israeli Jews in particular – saying settlements help Israel’s security has grown since we first asked the question in 2013.

What are the obstacles to peace?

Most Israelis see lack of trust between Israelis and Palestinians as an obstacle to peace between the two groups, with three-quarters describing it as a *major* obstacle.

Seven-in-ten Israelis say the status of Jerusalem – a city that both Israelis and Palestinians claim as their capital – is a major obstacle.

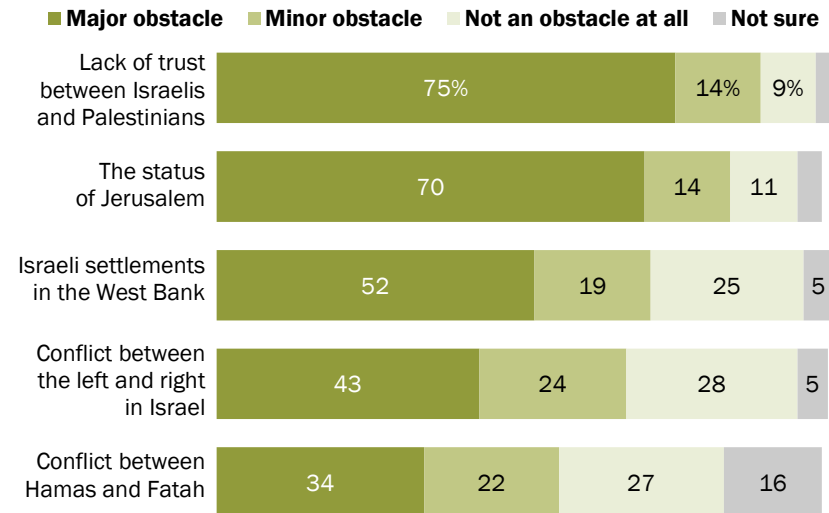
About half of Israelis say the settlements in the West Bank are a major obstacle to peace (52%), while a quarter say they are not an obstacle at all.

Fewer see conflict between the left and right in Israel as a major obstacle to peace: 43% describe it as such, with another 24% describing it as a minor obstacle and 28% saying it is not an obstacle.

Around a third of Israelis (34%) say conflict between Hamas and Fatah is a major obstacle to peace.

Most Israelis see lack of trust, status of Jerusalem as major obstacles to lasting peace with Palestinians

% of Israeli adults who say each of the following is a ___ to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.

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Views by ethnicity

Most Israeli Arabs (86%) say Israeli settlements in the West Bank are a major obstacle to lasting peace, while 43% of Israeli Jews say the same.

Views are nearly reversed when it comes to lack of trust between Israelis and Palestinians. Most Israeli Jews (82%) say this is a major obstacle, compared with 44% of Israeli Arabs.

Majorities in both ethnic groups see the status of Jerusalem as a major obstacle to peace, though Israeli Arabs are more likely to say this than Israeli Jews (88% vs. 66%). Arabs are also more likely than Jews to call conflict between Hamas and Fatah a major obstacle (46% vs. 32%). Notably, 18% of Jews say they are not sure about the conflict between Hamas and Fatah.

Similar shares of Israeli Jews (44%) and Israeli Arabs (39%) say conflict between the political left and right in Israel is a major obstacle to lasting peace.

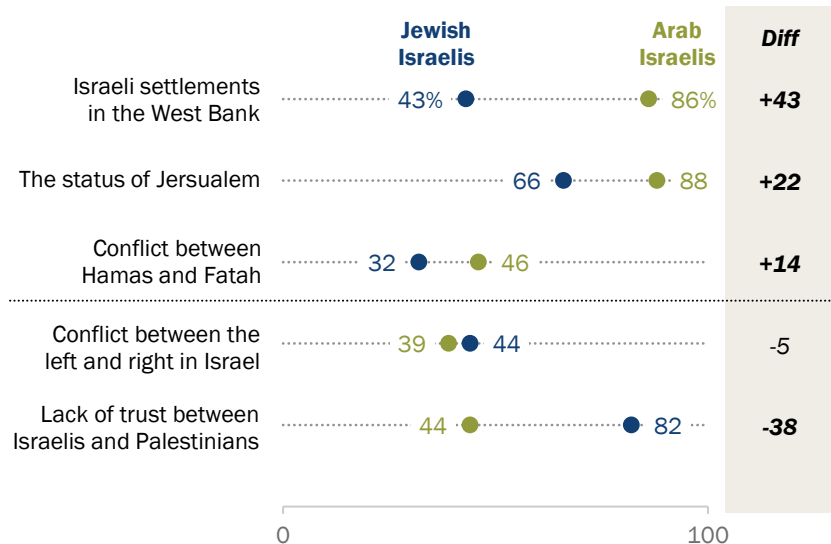
Views by Jewish religiousness

Among Jewish religious groups, roughly equal shares say political conflict on both the Israeli and Palestinian sides are major obstacles to peace.

But there is less agreement on West Bank settlements and the status of Jerusalem. Around half of Hilonim (56%) say Israeli settlements are a major obstacle to peace, compared with 35% of Masortim and 35% of Haredim and Datiim.

Jewish and Arab Israelis differ on what they consider major obstacles to lasting peace

% who say ___ is a **major obstacle** to working toward a lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, by ethnicity



Note: Statistically significant differences are in bold.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.

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And on the question of Jerusalem, at least seven-in-ten Hilonim (72%) and Haredim and Datiim (70%) say the city's status is a major obstacle to peace. Masortim are less likely to express this view (52%).

Large majorities across these Jewish religious groups say lack of trust between Israelis and Palestinians is a major obstacle to peace, but Haredim and Datiim (76%) are slightly less likely to think so than Masortim (88%) or Hilonim (84%).

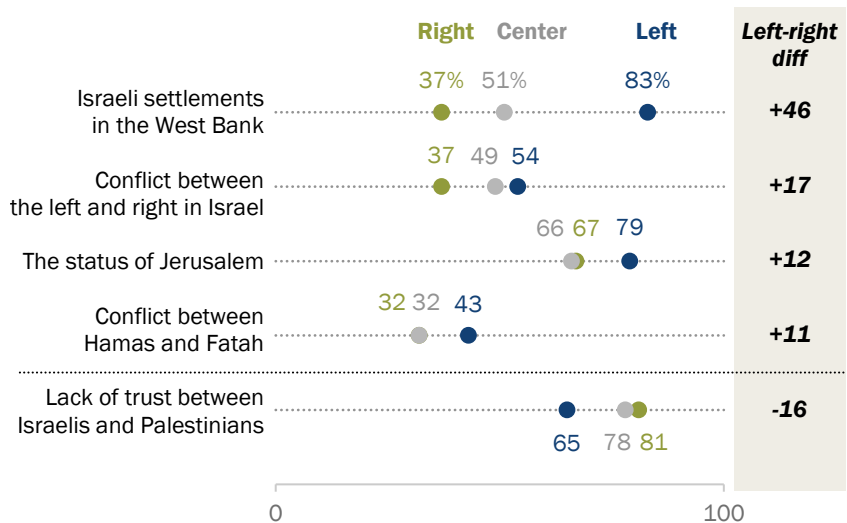
Views by ideology

Israelis on the ideological left are more likely than those on the right to see several issues as major obstacles to lasting peace, including settlements, the status of Jerusalem, and conflicts in Israeli and Palestinian politics.

The only exception is lack of trust between Israelis and Palestinians – 65% of Israelis on the left say this is a major obstacle, compared with 78% of those in the center and 81% of those on the right.

Israelis on the left are especially likely to see several issues as major obstacles to peace

% who say ___ is a **major obstacle** to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, by ideology



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.

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Do settlements in the West Bank help or hurt Israel's security?

Many in Israel see West Bank settlements as an obstacle to peace, but the public is more divided on their role in national security: 44% say the continued building of settlements in the West Bank helps Israel's security, 35% say it hurts security, and 16% say it does not make a difference.

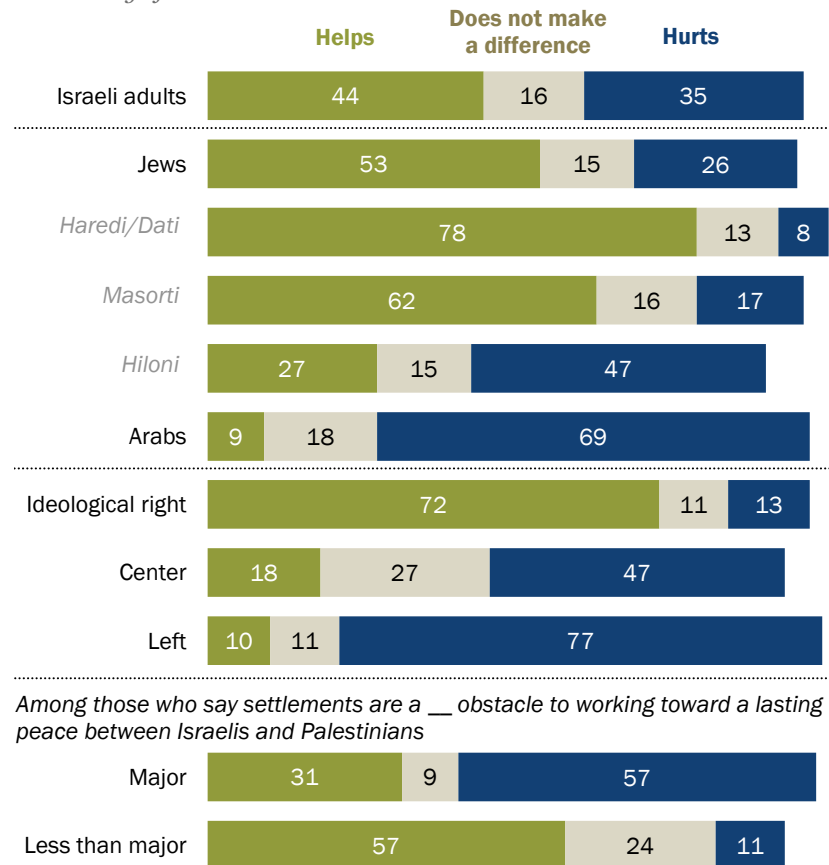
The share of Israelis who say settlements help Israel's security is not significantly different from what it was last year. But it has grown considerably from 27% in 2013, when the question was first asked. This shift is mostly led by Israeli Jews. About half of Jews (53%) say settlements help Israel's security, up 22 points from 31% in 2013. The share of Israeli Arabs who agree has remained under 10% over this period.

Views by ethnicity

Jewish Israelis are much more likely than Arab Israelis to view settlements as helpful to their country's security (53% vs. 9%). Nearly seven-in-ten Israeli Arabs say the settlements *hurt* Israel's security – a position also taken by 26% of Israeli Jews.

Jewish and Arab Israelis differ in their views of the security impact of West Bank settlements

% who say the continued building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank ____ the security of Israel



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.

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Views by Jewish religiousness

Hilonim are much less likely than members of other Jewish groups to say the continued building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank helps Israel's security. While 78% of Haredim and Datiim and 62% of Masortim say settlements help security, far fewer Hilonim (27%) take this position.

Views by ideology and perceptions of obstacles to peace

Israelis on the ideological right are particularly likely to say West Bank settlements help security (72%). Around one-in-five of those in the center (18%) and 10% of those on the left share this viewpoint. Among those on the left, around three-quarters (77%) say settlements *hurt* the security of Israel.

Israelis who say West Bank settlements are a major obstacle to peace are much more likely than Israelis who believe otherwise to say the settlements hurt Israel's security.

3. The role of the international community

Since the start of the Israel-Hamas war, several international actors have been [working to broker peace](#), including Egypt, Qatar and the United States. Meanwhile, the war has [paused normalization efforts with Saudi Arabia](#) and [increased military tensions with Iran](#).

Israelis broadly agree that the U.S. is helpful in working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians (81%) and that Iran is harmful (87%). Opinions on Egypt are split. Other international influences we asked about – including the United Nations – are seen as more harmful to peace efforts than helpful.

Though most see the U.S. as helpful, 50% of Israelis also say President Donald Trump favors the Israeli side too much in his foreign relations. Only 2% say he favors the Palestinian side too much, while 42% say he favors each side the right amount.

Looking to the future, four-in-ten Israelis think it is likely that the international community will recognize an independent Palestinian state in the next five years. About half (51%) think this is unlikely.

Views of international influences

About eight-in-ten Israelis say the U.S. is helpful (81%) in the work toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, including 51% who say it is *very* helpful. Another 15% say the U.S. is somewhat or very harmful to peace efforts.

There is also broad consensus on Iran's influence: 87% of Israelis say Iran is harmful in the work toward lasting peace. This includes 80% who say it is *very* harmful. (Since the start of the war, Iran has launched [two major missile attacks on Israel](#) in April and October 2024.)

The Israeli public is split on whether Egypt is helpful (44%) or harmful (41%). But twice as many say Egypt is *very* harmful as say it is *very* helpful (24% vs. 12%).

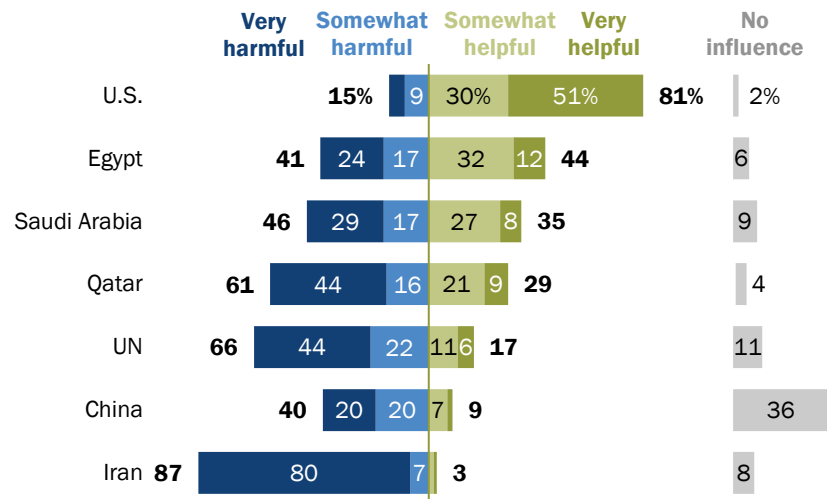
Roughly a third of Israelis (35%) say Saudi Arabia is helpful in working toward lasting peace (35%), while 29% say the same about Qatar. More believe these countries are harmful (46% and 61%, respectively), including 44% who say Qatar's influence is *very* harmful.

About a fifth of Israelis say the United Nations is helpful to peace efforts, while 66% say it is harmful. Earlier in 2025, the Israeli government [moved to ban UNRWA](#), the main UN aid agency in Gaza and the West Bank, arguing that employees of the organization have [links to Hamas](#).

Around one-in-ten Israelis surveyed say China is helpful (9%) in working toward peace between Israelis and Palestinians. Israelis are about as likely to say China is harmful (40%) as they are to say it has no influence (36%).

Most Israelis say the U.S. is helpful in working toward peace, while Iran is widely seen as harmful

% of Israeli adults who say each of the following is ___ in working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.

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Views by ethnicity

Large shares of Jewish and Arab Israelis agree the U.S. is helpful to peace efforts, though Jews are more likely to say this than Arabs (88% vs. 55%).

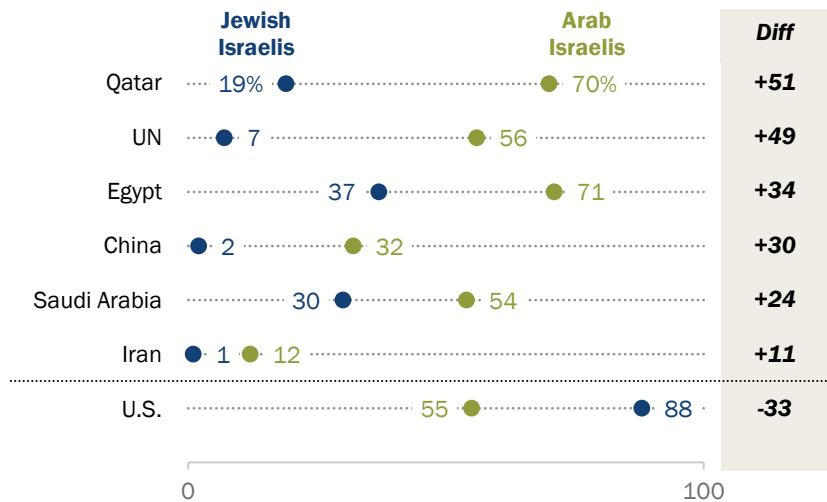
Israeli Arabs are more likely than Israeli Jews to see every other international actor we asked about as helpful, by a significant margin.

For example, seven-in-ten Arab Israelis see Qatar as helpful, compared with 19% Jewish Israelis – a difference of 51 points. Arabs are also far more likely than Jews to perceive a helpful influence from the United Nations (+49), Egypt (+34), China (+30) and Saudi Arabia (+24).

Small shares of Arab and Jewish Israelis see Iran as helpful, though Arabs are again more likely to say this than Jews (12% vs. 1%).

Israeli Arabs more likely than Israeli Jews to see international actors as helpful, except the U.S.

% who say each of the following is *very/somewhat helpful* in working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, by ethnicity



Note: All differences are statistically significant.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.

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Views by ideology

Israelis on the left are more likely than those on the right to see various international actors as helpful in the work toward lasting peace.

The only exception is the U.S., which 67% of Israelis on the left see as very or somewhat helpful, compared with 85% of those in the center and 86% of those on the right.

Amid [allegations of financial connections](#) between aides close to Netanyahu and the Qatari government, just 11% of Israelis on the right – Netanyahu’s political base – see Qatar as helpful to peace efforts. Larger shares of those on the left (64%) and in the center (36%) say this.

Around half or more on the left and in the center see Egypt and Saudi Arabia as helpful in working toward peace between Israelis and Palestinians.

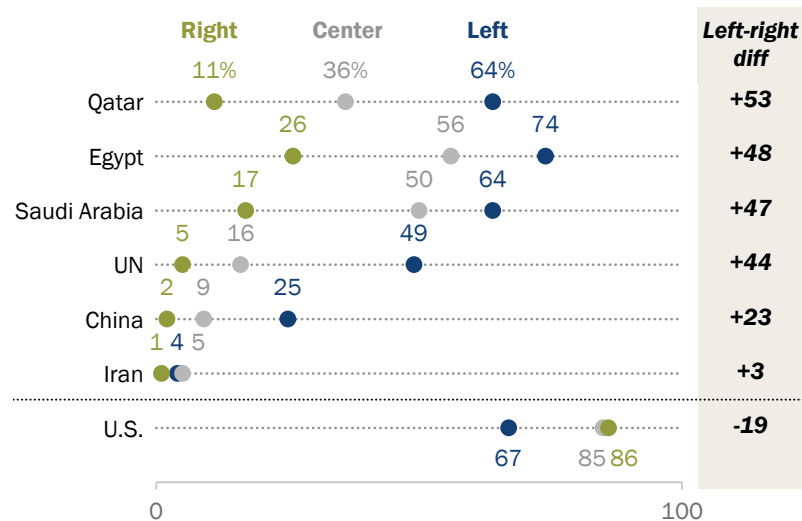
Roughly a quarter or fewer of right-leaning Israelis agree.

About half of left-leaning Israelis (49%) see the UN as helpful, while much smaller shares of Israelis in the center (9%) and on the right (2%) feel this way.

Israelis on the left are also more likely to say China is helpful (25%) than those in the center (9%) or on the right (4%). There is more agreement on Iran: 5% or fewer across the ideological spectrum say it is helpful in facilitating long-term peace, with right-leaning Israelis the least likely to say this.

Israelis on the left more likely than those on the right to see most international actors as helpful to peace

% who say each of the following is *very/somewhat helpful* in working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, by ideology



Note: All differences are statistically significant.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.

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Views of Trump's approach to the conflict

Half of the Israeli public say U.S. President Donald Trump favors the Israelis too much in his foreign relations, while only 2% feel he favors Palestinians too much. Around four-in-ten (42%) say he favors each group the right amount.

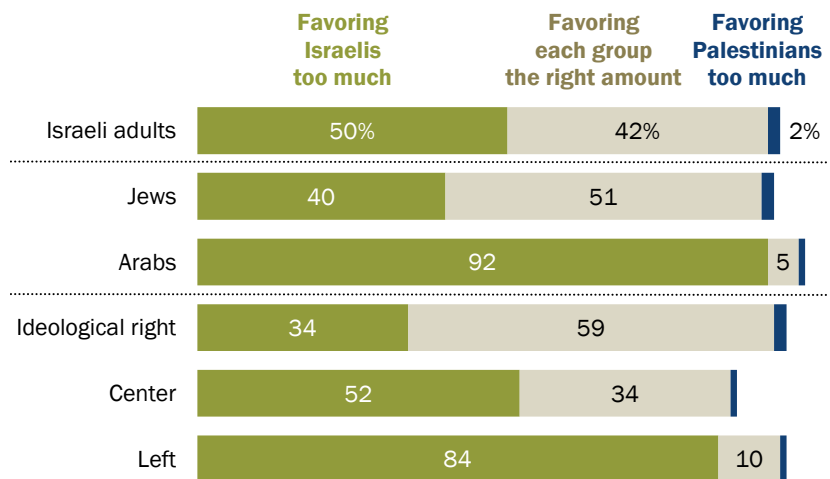
A year ago, 27% of Israelis said then-President Joe Biden was favoring Israelis too much, 25% said he favored Palestinians too much and 41% said he favored each group the right amount.

Related: [*How Americans view Israel and the Israel-Hamas war at the start of Trump's second term*](#)

Roughly nine-in-ten Arab Israelis (92%) say Trump is favoring Israelis too much, while 40% of Jewish Israelis feel the same. Among Jewish Israelis, more say he's favoring each group the right amount (51%) than favoring Israelis too much (40%).

Israelis are split on whether Trump is favoring them too much in the conflict or striking the right balance

% who say U.S. President Donald Trump is ...



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.

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Israelis on the ideological left are much more likely than those in the center or on the right to say Trump favors Israelis too much. About eight-in-ten left-leaning Israelis say this (84%), while 52% of those in the center and 34% of those on the right agree.

Likelihood of an internationally recognized Palestinian state

Around half of Israelis (51%) say it is somewhat or very unlikely that the international community will recognize an independent Palestinian state within the next five years, while 40% say this is likely.

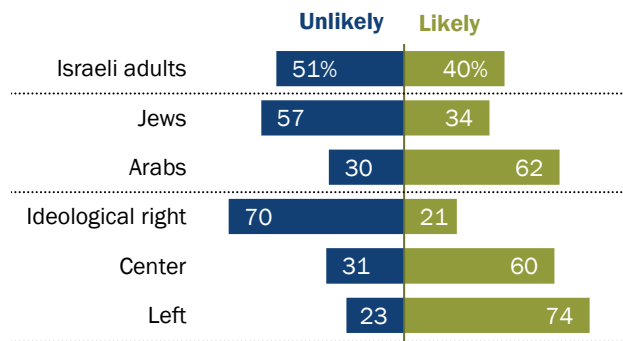
Arab Israelis are almost twice as likely as Jewish Israelis (62% vs. 34%) to think the international community will recognize an independent Palestinian state in the near future.

More Israelis on the left (74%) than in the center (60%) or on the right (21%) expect the international community to recognize a Palestinian state.

And Israelis who say a way *can* be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully are more likely to predict a state will be recognized in the next five years. About eight-in-ten Israelis who believe peaceful coexistence is possible say this (82%), compared with 19% of those who do not believe coexistence is possible.

Israeli Arabs and people on the left are most optimistic about prospects of a Palestinian state in the near future

% who say it is ___ that the international community will recognize an independent Palestinian state within the next five years



Among those who think a way ___ be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025. "Israeli Public Is Increasingly Skeptical About Lasting Peace"

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4. Views of Israeli and Palestinian political leaders

Over a year into the war with Hamas, Israelis express more negative than positive views of key political leaders in both Israel's governing coalition and its political opposition. They are even more critical of Palestinian leaders.

Israeli leaders

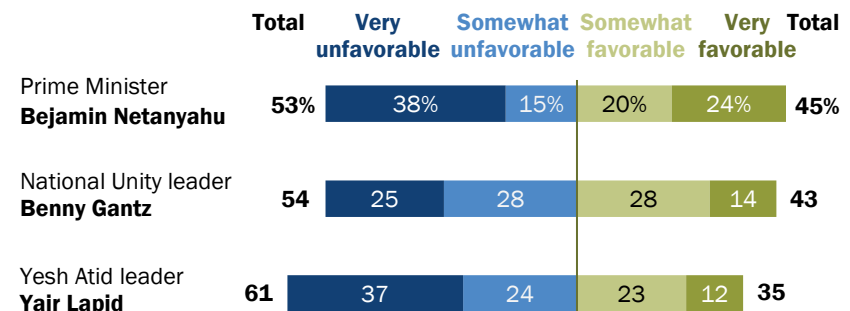
Israelis express more negative than positive views of their country's political leaders.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is viewed very or somewhat favorably by 45% of Israelis. Around half (53%) see him unfavorably, including 38% who say their opinion is *very* unfavorable. These assessments are largely unchanged from last year, which [marked a high point in unfavorable views of Netanyahu](#) since we first started asking the question in 2013.

Benny Gantz – the leader of the National Unity opposition party who [joined Netanyahu's government](#) at the start of the Israel-Hamas war, then [resigned in June 2024](#) – is seen favorably by 43% of Israelis. Around half (54%) have an unfavorable view of him. Negative views of Gantz are up 10 points since last year. (The 2024 survey was fielded when Gantz was still part of the emergency government and a member of Israel's war cabinet.)

Israelis' views of their political leaders lean negative

% of Israeli adults who have a ___ opinion of ...



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.

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Yair Lapid, leader of the opposition in the Israeli Knesset and head of the centrist party Yesh Atid, is the least popular of the three leaders we asked about: 35% of Israelis have a favorable view of him and 61% have an unfavorable view, including 37% whose opinion is *very* unfavorable. Lapid performed similarly with the Israeli public in our 2024 survey.

Related: *Most people across 24 surveyed countries have negative views of Israel and Netanyahu*

Views by ethnicity

Favorable views of Netanyahu are more common among Jewish Israelis than Arab Israelis by a large margin (55% vs. 8%).

Israeli Jews are also more favorable than Israeli Arabs toward Gantz (44% vs. 35%), but the opposite is true for Lapid (31% vs. 49%).

Views by Jewish religiousness

Netanyahu is far more popular with Haredi and Dati Jews than with Masorti or Hiloni Jews. The share of Haredim and Datiim who favor him is more than triple the share of Hilonim who feel the same (86% vs. 23%). A smaller majority of Masortim have favorable views of Netanyahu (67%).

Seven-in-ten Hilonim have a favorable view of Gantz, compared with 36% of Masortim and 17% of Haredim and Datiim. Lapid is even less popular with the most religiously observant Jews – only 6% of Haredi and Dati Jews feel positively toward him. Roughly a quarter of Masortim (24%) have a favorable view of the Knesset opposition leader, as do 54% of Hilonim.

Views by ideology

Netanyahu remains popular with his political base, favored by a 73% majority of those on the ideological right. This compares with 21% of those in the center and just 5% of Israelis on the left.

Centrist politician Gantz is significantly less popular with the Israeli right (34%) than he is with the center (60%) or the left (52%). Lapid, also a centrist, is favored by 56% of those in the center and 66% of those on the left. A much smaller share of Israelis on the right (15%) see him in a positive light.

Palestinian leaders

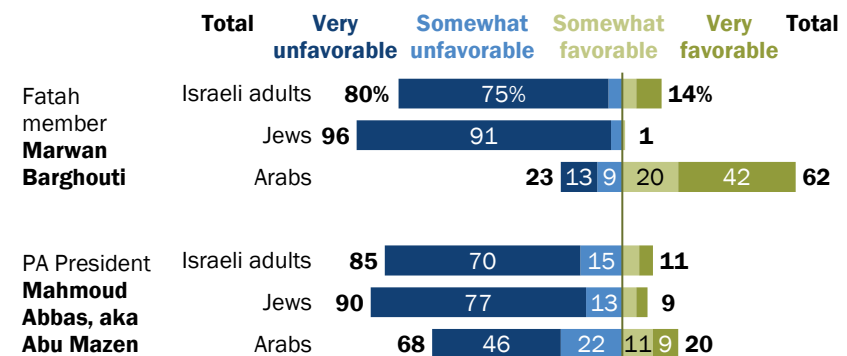
Israelis tend to be more negative than positive in their assessments of Palestinian political leaders, too, but by wider margins.

Large majorities of Israelis have unfavorable views of Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas, also known as Abu Mazen (85%), and of his fellow Fatah member Marwan Barghouti (80%), who has been [imprisoned in Israel since 2002](#). The share who view Abbas negatively is down 4 points since 2024, while views of Barghouti have not changed significantly in that time.

At least nine-in-ten Israeli Jews have unfavorable views of both men, and nearly seven-in-ten Israeli Arabs say this about Abbas. But only about a quarter of Israeli Arabs express an unfavorable opinion of Barghouti (23%), while 62% see him in a favorable light.

Jewish and Arab Israelis disagree on the favorability of Palestinian leaders

% who have a ___ opinion of ...



Note: "PA" stands for Palestinian Authority. Those who did not answer are not shown.
Source: Survey of Israeli adults conducted Feb. 5-March 11, 2025.
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Methodology

The data is from a survey of 998 Israeli adults conducted face to face from February 5 to March 11, 2025. 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 in outposts that are not sanctioned by the Israeli government. (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.

[General information on international survey research](#)

Israel survey methodology

Year:	2025
Survey:	Global Attitudes Survey
Sample design:	Multi-stage, area probability design. Primary sampling units (PSUs) are statistical areas stratified by ethnicity, district and urbanicity. 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:	February 5 – March 11, 2025
Sample size:	998
Margin of error:	4.01 percentage points
Representative:	Adult population ages 18 and older (excluding East Jerusalem and non-sanctioned outposts)
Primary vendor	Gallup
Weighting variables:	Gender by ethnicity, age by ethnicity, education, region, urbanicity and probability of selection of respondent
Design effects:	1.68

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Topline questionnaire

Pew Research Center
Spring 2025 Global Attitudes Survey
June 3, 2025 Release

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, refer to the [Methodology](#) section.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline “total” columns show 100% because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Combined totals are based on unrounded topline figures. Prior to 2024, combined totals were based on rounded topline figures, so these figures might be different than in previous years.
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2025 Global Attitudes Survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

		Q4c. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ...? c. Benjamin Netanyahu							
		TOTAL Favorable	TOTAL Unfavorable	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	45	53	24	20	15	38	2	100
	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

		Q4d. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ...? d. Yair Lapid							
		TOTAL Favorable	TOTAL Unfavorable	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	35	61	12	23	24	37	4	100
	Spring, 2024	38	57	9	29	25	32	5	100
	Spring, 2023	36	62	16	20	27	34	3	100

		Q4e. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ...? e. Benny Gantz							
		TOTAL Favorable	TOTAL Unfavorable	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	43	54	14	28	28	25	4	100
	Spring, 2024	51	44	17	34	25	20	4	100

		Q6a. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ...? a. Mahmoud Abbas 'Abu Mazen'							
		TOTAL Favorable	TOTAL Unfavorable	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	11	85	5	6	15	70	4	100
	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

		Q6b. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ...? b. Marwan Barghouti							
		TOTAL Favorable	TOTAL Unfavorable	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	14	80	9	5	5	75	6	100
	Spring, 2024	12	79	6	6	10	69	9	100

		Q77. In your opinion, does the continued building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank help the security of Israel, hurt the security of Israel, or does it not make a difference?				
		Helps the security of Israel	Hurts the security of Israel	Does not make a difference	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	44	35	16	6	100
	Spring, 2024	40	35	21	4	100
	Spring, 2017	35	40	21	3	100
	Spring, 2013	27	42	23	8	100

		Q78. How likely do you think it is that the international community will recognize an independent Palestinian state in the next five years – very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely?						
		TOTAL Likely	TOTAL Unlikely	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Somewhat unlikely	Very unlikely	DK/Refused
Israel	Spring, 2025	40	51	15	25	26	25	9

		Q79. 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, 2025	21	50	19	10	100
	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

		Q80. ASK IF 'YES' OR 'IT DEPENDS' ON Q79. 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, 2025	18	8	51	24	100	474
	Spring, 2024	14	15	56	15	100	513

		Q81a. Do you think each of the following groups are very committed, somewhat committed, not too committed or not at all committed to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians? a. The Israeli people							
		TOTAL Committed	TOTAL Not committed	Very committed	Somewhat committed	Not too committed	Not at all committed	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	56	39	24	32	22	17	5	100

		Q81b. Do you think each of the following groups are very committed, somewhat committed, not too committed or not at all committed to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians? b. The Palestinian people							
		TOTAL Committed	TOTAL Not committed	Very committed	Somewhat committed	Not too committed	Not at all committed	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	41	54	23	18	15	40	4	100

		Q81c. Do you think each of the following groups are very committed, somewhat committed, not too committed or not at all committed to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians? c. The Israeli government							
		TOTAL Committed	TOTAL Not committed	Very committed	Somewhat committed	Not too committed	Not at all committed	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	47	49	22	26	21	28	4	100

		Q81d. Do you think each of the following groups are very committed, somewhat committed, not too committed or not at all committed to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians? d. Hamas							
		TOTAL Committed	TOTAL Not committed	Very committed	Somewhat committed	Not too committed	Not at all committed	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	20	72	13	7	6	67	8	100

		Q81e. Do you think each of the following groups are very committed, somewhat committed, not too committed or not at all committed to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians? e. The Palestinian Authority							
		TOTAL Committed	TOTAL Not committed	Very committed	Somewhat committed	Not too committed	Not at all committed	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	45	52	26	19	12	41	3	100

		Q82a. Do you think each of the following is a major obstacle, minor obstacle or not an obstacle at all to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians? a. Israeli settlements in the West Bank					
		Major obstacle	Minor obstacle	Not an obstacle at all	Not sure	Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	52	19	25	5	0	100

		Q82b. Do you think each of the following is a major obstacle, minor obstacle or not an obstacle at all to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians? b. The status of Jerusalem					
		Major obstacle	Minor obstacle	Not an obstacle at all	Not sure	Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	70	14	11	4	0	100

		Q82c. Do you think each of the following is a major obstacle, minor obstacle or not an obstacle at all to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians? c. Conflict between the left and right in Israel					
		Major obstacle	Minor obstacle	Not an obstacle at all	Not sure	Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	43	24	28	5	0	100

		Q82d. Do you think each of the following is a major obstacle, minor obstacle or not an obstacle at all to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians? d. Conflict between Hamas and Fatah					
		Major obstacle	Minor obstacle	Not an obstacle at all	Not sure	Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	34	22	27	16	1	100

		Q82e. Do you think each of the following is a major obstacle, minor obstacle or not an obstacle at all to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians? e. Lack of trust between Israelis and Palestinians					
		Major obstacle	Minor obstacle	Not an obstacle at all	Not sure	Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	75	14	9	3	0	100

		Q83a. Thinking about each of the following, are they very helpful, somewhat helpful, somewhat harmful or very harmful when it comes to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, or do they have no influence? a. The United States								
		TOTAL Helpful	TOTAL Harmful	Very helpful	Somewhat helpful	Somewhat harmful	Very harmful	No influence	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	81	15	51	30	9	6	2	2	100

		Q83b. Thinking about each of the following, are they very helpful, somewhat helpful, somewhat harmful or very harmful when it comes to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, or do they have no influence? b. Qatar								
		TOTAL Helpful	TOTAL Harmful	Very helpful	Somewhat helpful	Somewhat harmful	Very harmful	No influence	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	29	61	9	21	16	44	4	6	100

		Q83c. Thinking about each of the following, are they very helpful, somewhat helpful, somewhat harmful or very harmful when it comes to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, or do they have no influence? c. The United Nations								
		TOTAL Helpful	TOTAL Harmful	Very helpful	Somewhat helpful	Somewhat harmful	Very harmful	No influence	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	17	66	6	11	22	44	11	6	100

		Q83d. Thinking about each of the following, are they very helpful, somewhat helpful, somewhat harmful or very harmful when it comes to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, or do they have no influence? d. Saudi Arabia								
		TOTAL Helpful	TOTAL Harmful	Very helpful	Somewhat helpful	Somewhat harmful	Very harmful	No influence	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	35	46	8	27	17	29	9	10	100

		Q83e. Thinking about each of the following, are they very helpful, somewhat helpful, somewhat harmful or very harmful when it comes to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, or do they have no influence? e. Egypt								
		TOTAL Helpful	TOTAL Harmful	Very helpful	Somewhat helpful	Somewhat harmful	Very harmful	No influence	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	44	41	12	32	17	24	6	9	100

		Q83f. Thinking about each of the following, are they very helpful, somewhat helpful, somewhat harmful or very harmful when it comes to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, or do they have no influence? f. China								
		TOTAL Helpful	TOTAL Harmful	Very helpful	Somewhat helpful	Somewhat harmful	Very harmful	No influence	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	9	40	2	7	20	20	36	16	100

		Q83g. Thinking about each of the following, are they very helpful, somewhat helpful, somewhat harmful or very harmful when it comes to working toward lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, or do they have no influence? g. Iran								
		TOTAL Helpful	TOTAL Harmful	Very helpful	Somewhat helpful	Somewhat harmful	Very harmful	No influence	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	3	87	1	2	7	80	8	2	100

		Q84. Do you think U.S. President Donald Trump is ...?				
		Favoring Israelis too much	Favoring Palestinians too much	Favoring each group the right amount	DK/Refused	Total
Israel	Spring, 2025	50	2	42	7	100

		Q85. After the war ends, which of the following 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, 2025	33	1	2	6	10	16	11	21	100
	Spring, 2024	40	2	4	6	12	14	6	16	100