**Press Release**

**January 2025 Israeli Voice Index**

**A Large Majority of Israelis Support Proceeding to the Second Stage of the Ceasefire Agreement**

*If the first stage is completed as agreed, 70% of the total sample—66% of Jewish Israelis, and 92% of Arab Israelis*—think Israel should proceed to the second stage.

In the January 2025 Israeli Voice Index, conducted by the Viterbi Center for Public Opinion and Policy Research, we asked: “In your opinion, if the first stage of the agreement between Israel and Hamas is carried out as agreed, should Israel proceed to the second stage, which includes a complete end to fighting, withdrawal from Gaza, and the release of Palestinian prisoners in exchange for the release of all the hostages?” Across all political orientations, most support proceeding to the second stage: Left – 96%, Center – 83%, Right – 51%.

Regarding the first stage of the agreement, we also asked whose interests were better served as a result of the deal – Israel or Hamas. Among Jewish Israelis, 47.5% think Hamas' interests were better served, compared to 21% who thought Israeli's interests were better served. Among Arab Israelis, the largest share (52%) said both sides were served equally.

**Survey Highlights:**

**Less than a third of Israelis support the Levin-Saar proposed changes to the Judicial Selection Committee**

Presented with two options regarding the Levin-Saar plan, 42% of Jewish and Arab Israelis say they support keeping the current structure of the Judicial Selection Committee, while 29.5% support changing the structure of the Committee in line with the Levin-Sa’ar proposal (Jews, 32%; Arabs, 18.5%). 18.5% say they have no preference (Jews, 16%; Arabs, 32%). Looking at political orientation (Jews) reveals that a large majority of those on the Left (75%) and in the Center (66.5%) support keeping the current structure of the Committee, while the largest share of those on the Right (though not a majority), support changing the Committee’s structure (45%).

**Plurality of Israelis want Minister Levin to slow down on legislation in order to reach broad agreements**

We asked our respondents whether Justice Minister Levin should slow down the legislation in order to try to reach broad agreements between the coalition and the opposition. In the total sample, 43% agree that efforts should be made to reach broad agreements, even at the cost of delaying the legislation; 22.5% think that there is no point in trying to reach agreements, because they do not believe in the integrity of the negotiators; and 18% oppose slowing down the legislation (16.5% say they don’t know).

**Overwhelming majority of Israelis think President Trump secured ceasefire deal; think Trump will pressure Netanyahu to achieve his Middle East agenda**

We asked: “In your opinion, was US President Trump right or not right when he said that the ceasefire agreement and the release of the hostages were achieved thanks to his intervention?” A large majority of the total sample (72.5%), and of the Jewish and Arab samples separately (74% and 64%, respectively) responded in the affirmative. The same is true among Jews across the political Left (83%), Center (79%) and Right (74%).

We also asked: “In your opinion, what is the likelihood that President Trump will put serious pressure on Israel, or even impose sanctions, if the Netanyahu government does not fall in line with processes he initiates in the Middle East, such as a normalization agreement with Saudi Arabia?” There was consensus among both Jewish and Arab Israelis that there is a very high or fairly high likelihood of this happening (total sample, 72.5%; Jews, 73.5%; Arabs, 67.5%).

**Majority of Israelis think the heads of the Shin Bet; Mossad should resign due to responsibility for October 7**

Following the recent resignation announcement by IDF Chief of Staff Herzi Halevi, we asked whether the heads of the security agencies (the Mossad and the Shin Bet) should follow suit and resign from their positions due to their responsibility for the events of October 7, or should only do so after the heads of the country’s political leadership have taken responsibility and resigned. A majority of Jewish respondents—and thus also of the total sample—say that heads of the security agencies should resign, regardless of whether the heads of the political leadership resign or not. About one quarter think that they should resign only after the heads of the political leadership take responsibility and resign, while an even smaller minority say that they should not resign.

**Should the heads of the security agencies (the Mossad and the Shin Bet) resign from their positions due to their responsibility for the events of October 7, and if so, when? (total sample; %)**

**Across all political orientations, Israelis support a State Commission of Inquiry to investigate the events of October 7**

As with the previous time we asked this question, a majority of Israelis (65%) said the most appropriate method to investigate the events of October 7 is a State Commission of Inquiry. Only a minority supported the other options presented, such as a government-appointed commission of inquiry (17%). Across political orientations (Jews), 90% on the Left, 88% in the Center, and 57% on the Right say a State Commission of Inquiry is the appropriate way to investigate.

**Israelis divided as to whether the ceasefire with Lebanon allows Northern residents to return home safely**

In light of the ceasefire in the north we asked: “Does the security situation following the ceasefire between Israel and Lebanon allow or not allow the return of residents to their homes in the north of the country?” A large majority of Arab Israelis (69.5%) think that the situation does indeed allow the return of residents, while Jewish respondents are divided on this issue (47.5% think it does / 46% think it does not).

**Plurality of Jewish Israelis support multi-national force to rule Gaza after the war; plurality of Arabs – a weakened Hamas**

We repeated a question we asked in September 2024: “In your opinion, who should control the Gaza Strip after the end of the war?” Among Jewish Israelis, 46% support a multinational force, up from 40% in September. Among Arab Israelis, there was a sizable increase in the share who support a weakened Hamas – 29%, up from 8% in September. This increase in support mainly came from younger age groups of Arab Israelis (18-34), while older age groups tend to prefer the Palestinian Authority at higher rates.

**Drop in optimism about the future of national security**

In the total sample, the share of optimists regarding the future of national security in Israel (41%) is 10 percentage points lower than in December 2024 (when it stood at 51%, the highest it has been for the last two years). In effect, the January 2025 finding represents a return to the level of optimism found in November 2024, though it still remains higher than the level of optimism about the future of democratic rule in Israel, which also declined slightly this month (to 35%, from 37% in December).

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*The January 2025 Israeli Voice Index was prepared by the Viterbi Family Center for Public Opinion and Policy Research at the Israel Democracy Institute. The survey was conducted via the internet and by telephone (to include groups that are under-represented on the internet) between January 28 and February 2, 2025, with 604 men and women interviewed in Hebrew and 151 in Arabic, constituting a nationally representative sample of the adult population in Israel aged 18 and over. The maximum sampling error was ±3.57% at a confidence level of 95%. Field work was carried out by Shiluv I2R. The full data file can be found at:* [*https://dataisrael.idi.org.il*](https://dataisrael.idi.org.il)*.*