

Survey on the Second Anniversary of the War (Israeli Voice Index – September 2025)



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1. How do you feel about Israel's situation in the following areas in the foreseeable future? Democratic rule

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
Very optimistic	13.0	5.0	11.7
Quite optimistic	29.6	29.6	29.6
Quite pessimistic	30.2	24.4	29.2
Very pessimistic	22.9	38.9	25.7
Don't know	4.3	2.1	3.8
Total	100	100	100

2. How do you feel about Israel's situation in the following areas in the foreseeable future? The security situation

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
Very optimistic	10.1	2.5	8.8
Quite optimistic	32.4	7.0	28.1
Quite pessimistic	35.0	40.0	35.9
Very pessimistic	20.6	48.0	25.3
Don't know	1.9	2.5	1.9
Total	100	100	100

3. How do you feel about Israel's situation in the following areas in the foreseeable future? The economic situation

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
Very optimistic	7.9	0.5	6.6
Quite optimistic	22.8	10.6	20.8
Quite pessimistic	35.1	31.7	34.5
Very pessimistic	32.6	54.7	36.4
Don't know	1.6	2.5	1.7
Total	100	100	100

4. How do you feel about Israel's situation in the following areas in the foreseeable future? Social cohesion

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
Very optimistic	3.4	2.5	3.2
Quite optimistic	18.3	9.9	16.9
Quite pessimistic	33.9	27.9	32.9
Very pessimistic	40.6	52.5	42.7



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Don't know	3.8	7.2	4.3
Total	100	100	100

5. How would you describe the security situation of the State of Israel today compared to before the events of October 7?

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
No change	7.3	6.2	7.1
Much better	21.1	9.1	19.1
Slightly better	26.8	12.2	24.3
Slightly worse	16.9	21.3	17.7
Much worse	22.9	44.3	26.5
Don't know	5.0	6.9	5.3
Total	100	100	100

6. And how would you describe Israel's international standing today compared to before the events of October 7?

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
No change	5.1	8.6	5.6
Much better	8.0	9.0	8.2
Slightly better	8.3	13.1	9.1
Slightly worse	20.0	20.4	20.1
Much worse	56.0	39.9	53.3
Don't know	2.6	9.0	3.7
Total	100	100	100

7. Recently, it has been argued that there is a contradiction between Israel's two war goals – toppling Hamas and bringing the hostages home. In your opinion, which of the two should be Israel's main goal today?

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
Toppling Hamas	29.1	8.0	25.5
Bringing the hostages home	61.3	82.5	64.9
Don't know	9.6	9.5	9.6
Total	100	100	100

8. In your opinion, has the time come to end the war in Gaza?

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
Certain it has	36.8	64.8	41.6
Think it has	23.6	28.2	24.4
Think it has not	12.6	2.5	10.9

Certain it has not	19.1	0.0	15.8
Don't know	7.9	4.5	7.3
Total	100	100	100

9a. [For those who selected responses 1 or 2 to question 8] **In your opinion, what is the main reason why the war in Gaza should be ended?** [Responses 1–5 presented in a random order]

% of the respondents who selected responses 1 or 2 to question 8	Jews (60.4%)	Arabs (93.0%)	General Public (66.0%)
Because the war has already accomplished the majority of what is possible	15.8	6.1	13.5
Because continuing the fighting endangers the hostages	50.4	34.5	46.6
Because the economic and social damage is too great	14.5	28.5	17.8
Because it would halt the deterioration of Israel's international standing	6.4	10.2	7.3
In order to cease harming the residents of Gaza and begin reconstruction of the Strip	2.3	17.5	5.9
Other	8.9	0.5	7
Don't know	1.7	2.7	1.9
Total	100	100	100

9b. [For those who selected responses 3 or 4 to question 8] **In your opinion, what is the main reason why the war in Gaza should not be ended?**
[Responses 1–5 presented in a random order]

% of the respondents who selected responses 3 or 4 to question 8	Jews (31.7%)	Arabs (2.5%)	General Public (26.7%)
In order to topple and remove Hamas	56.8	*	56.2
Because continuing the fighting is essential for bringing the hostages home	27.8	*	27.6
To ensure Jewish settlement in the Gaza Strip	5.9	*	6.5
To keep the coalition together and ensure the continued rule of a right-wing government	1.9	*	1.9
Revenge for the casualties of October 7 and the war	4.1	*	4.0
Other	2.3	*	2.3
Don't know	1.2	*	1.5
Total	100	100	100

*Small sample size.

On a scale from 1=very poor to 5=excellent, what grade would you give to each of the following individuals for their performance in conducting the war? [Individuals presented in a random order]

10. Prime Minister Netanyahu

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
1-very poor	34.8	61.0	39.3
2	11.0	22.0	12.8
3	15.4	6.9	13.9
4	16.6	2.5	14.2
5- excellent	21.0	0.5	17.5
Don't know	1.2	7.1	2.3
Total	100	100	100

11. Defense Minister Israel Katz

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
1-very poor	32.2	58.0	36.6
2	15.1	17.7	15.5
3	19.2	9.0	17.5
4	16.0	4.5	14.1
5- excellent	12.6	0.5	10.5
Don't know	4.9	10.3	5.8
Total	100	100	100

12. IDF Chief of Staff Eyal Zamir

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
1-very poor	4.9	52.2	13.0
2	7.3	13.4	8.3
3	27.8	15.9	25.8
4	33.1	5.4	28.4
5- excellent	16.9	5.1	14.9
Don't know	10.0	8.0	9.6
Total	100	100	100

13. Head of the Opposition Yair Lapid

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
1-very poor	48.8	35.8	46.6
2	20.9	8.5	18.8
3	17.3	27.4	19.0

4	6.4	20.3	8.7
5- excellent	1.1	4.0	1.6
Don't know	5.5	4.0	5.3
Total	100	100	100

14. Minister of National Security Itamar Ben-Gvir

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
1-very poor	47.2	82.7	53.2
2	9.4	9.4	9.4
3	14.1	2.4	12.1
4	13.5	1.5	11.5
5- excellent	13.1	0.0	10.9
Don't know	2.7	4.0	2.9
Total	100	100	100

15. Minister of Finance Bezalel Smotrich

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
1-very poor	49.1	76.4	53.7
2	13.9	11.5	13.5
3	14.3	7.5	13.1
4	11.0	0.5	9.2
5- excellent	7.7	0.0	6.4
Don't know	4.0	4.1	4.1
Total	100	100	100

16. In your opinion, do the Palestinian people have or not have the right to their own state?

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
Certain they do	3.7	31.0	8.3
Think they do	14.8	26.8	16.8
Think they do not	17.9	8.1	16.2
Certain they do not	54.3	4.6	45.8
Don't know	9.3	29.5	12.9
Total	100	100	100

17. From the standpoint of Israel's national interest, is it desirable or undesirable for an independent Palestinian state to be established at the present time?

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
Very desirable	3.2	21.7	6.4
Moderately desirable	9.9	15.4	10.9
Moderately undesirable	15.3	13.9	15.1
Very undesirable	62.7	17.8	55.1
Don't know	8.9	31.2	12.5
Total	100	100	100

18. In your opinion, what is the greatest external existential threat facing Israel?

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
The Iranian nuclear threat	18.6	7.4	16.7
International isolation and boycotts	21.8	19.4	21.4
The Israeli-Palestinian conflict	8.7	9.6	8.9
A full-scale multi-front war	22.0	28.8	23.1
Loss of American support for Israel	18.6	30.3	20.6
Other	5.8	0.5	4.9
Don't know	4.5	4.0	4.4
Total	100	100	100

19. Until now, Prime Minister Netanyahu has not accepted any responsibility for the events of October 7, and has not resigned. What do you think the prime minister should do?

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
Accept responsibility and resign immediately	40.6	67.1	45.1
Accept responsibility, but resign only after the end of the war	21.1	9.4	19.1
Accept responsibility, but not resign	19.8	7.5	17.7
Not accept responsibility and not resign	14.8	2.5	12.7
Don't know	3.7	13.5	5.4
Total	100	100	100

20. Do you support or oppose establishing a state commission of enquiry to investigate the events of October 7?

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
Strongly support	58.1	43.6	55.6
Somewhat support	17.4	24.5	18.6
Somewhat oppose	7.1	11.0	7.8
Strongly oppose	9.9	8.0	9.6
Don't know	7.5	12.9	8.4
Total	100	100	100

21. Given the fact that, due to the war, the IDF is in need of a very large number of soldiers, what is the correct solution regarding the conscription of Haredim?

	Jews	Arabs	General Public
Draft all young Haredi men, with the exception of a small number of outstanding yeshiva students	49.1	36.7	47.0
Draft those young Haredi men who are not engaged in Torah study and are enrolled at "dropout yeshivot"	33.6	15.5	30.5
Leave things as they are (a minority of Haredi men voluntarily enlist)	14.9	26.9	16.9
Don't know	2.4	20.9	5.6
Total	100	100	100

Survey on the Second Anniversary of the War (The Israeli Voice Index for September 2025) was prepared by the Viterbi Center for Public Opinion and Policy Research of the Israel Democracy Institute. In the survey, which was conducted on the internet and by telephone (supplements of groups that are not sufficiently represented on the network) between 14-18 September, 2025, 800 men and women were interviewed in Hebrew and 200 in Arabic, constituting a representative national sample of the entire adult population of Israel aged 18 and older. The maximum sampling error for the entire sample was $\pm 3.10\%$ at a confidence level of 95%. The fieldwork was done by the Shiluv-i2r Research and Polling Institute. For the full data file see: <https://dataisrael.idi.org.il>