

FOR RELEASE December 7, 2023

# Americans' Views of the Israel-Hamas War

*Bipartisan concern about violence against Jews in U.S.; wide partisan gap in concerns over violence against U.S. Muslims*

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**RECOMMENDED CITATION**

Pew Research Center, December, 2023,  
"Americans' Views of the Israel-Hamas War"

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## How we did this

Pew Research Center conducted this study to better understand Americans' views of the current war between Israel and Hamas. For this analysis, we surveyed 5,203 adults from Nov. 27 to Dec. 3, 2023. Everyone who took part in this survey is a member of the Center's American Trends Panel (ATP), an online survey panel that is recruited through national, random sampling of residential addresses. This way nearly all U.S. adults have a chance of selection. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation, education and other categories. [Read more about the ATP's methodology.](#)

Here are the [questions used for the report](#) and its [methodology](#).

# Americans' Views of the Israel-Hamas War

*Bipartisan concern about violence against Jews in U.S.; wide partisan gap in concerns over violence against U.S. Muslims*

As the war between Hamas and Israel continues with no end in sight, far more Americans (65%) say Hamas bears a lot of responsibility for the current conflict than say that about the Israeli government (35%).

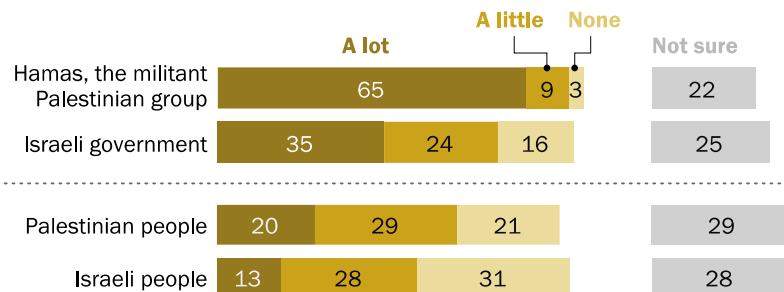
Much smaller shares of Americans say the Palestinian people (20%) and the Israeli people (13%) have a lot of responsibility for the war.

A new Pew Research Center survey, conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3 among 5,203 adults, finds sizable partisan and age differences on these questions, as well as about many other aspects of the two-month-old war:

- Majorities of both Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (73%) and Democrats and Democratic leaners (62%) say Hamas has a lot of responsibility for the conflict. But Democrats (50%) are more than twice as likely as Republicans (21%) to say the Israeli government bears a lot of responsibility.
- About half of adults ages 18 to 29 (46%) say Hamas has a lot of responsibility for the war. That compares with majorities of 60% or more among older age groups. ([Explore this further in section 1.](#))

## Nearly two-thirds of Americans say Hamas has 'a lot' of responsibility for war; 35% say the same of Israeli govt.

*How much responsibility do each of the following have for Israel and Hamas currently being at war? (%)*



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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The war between Israel and Hamas has spurred a number of concerns among Americans, including the possibility of a wider regional conflict and terror attacks in this country:

### Bipartisan concern over violence against Jews in the U.S.

Nearly half of Americans (48%) say that when thinking about the war, they are extremely or very concerned about the possibility of increasing violence against Jewish people in the United States.

Another 31% say they are somewhat concerned about this; just 19% have little or no concern about increasing violence against American Jews.

Nearly identical shares of Democrats (49%) and Republicans (48%) say they are extremely or very concerned about the possibility of increasing violence against Jews in this country.

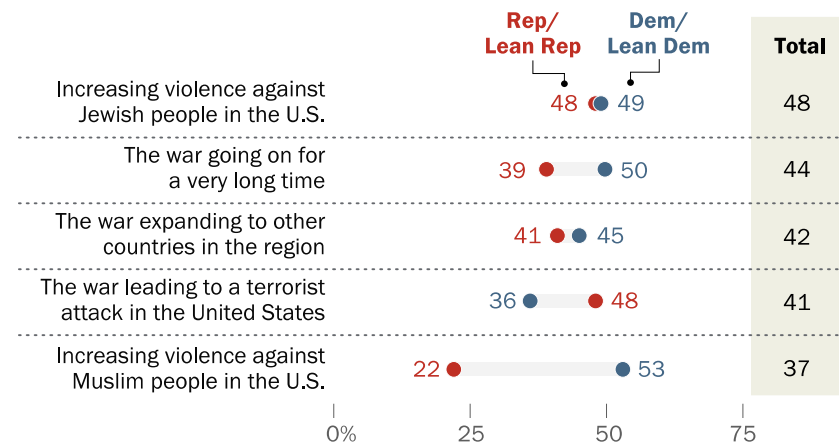
### Democrats more likely than Republicans to express concern about increased violence against U.S. Muslims

About half of Democrats (53%) say they are extremely or very concerned about the possibility that violence against Muslims in the U.S. will increase, compared with 22% of Republicans.

While about half of Republicans (53%) say they are at least *somewhat* concerned about the prospect of rising violence against Muslims in the U.S., 46% say they are not too concerned or not at all concerned about this. That compares with 15% of Democrats. ([Explore this further in section 2.](#))

### Bipartisan concern about increasing violence against U.S. Jews; wider partisan gap in concerns over increasing violence against U.S. Muslims

% who say they are *extremely/very concerned* about the possibility of each when thinking about the war between Israel and Hamas



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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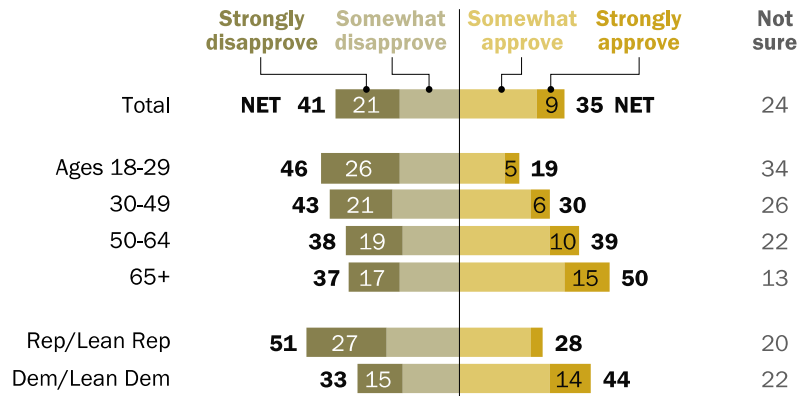
## Biden administration's response to Israel-Hamas war viewed more negatively than positively

Roughly a third of adults (35%) approve of the Biden administration's response to the Israel-Hamas war, while 41% disapprove and 24% are not sure.

- Republicans disapprove of the administration's response by about two-to-one (51% disapprove, 28% approve). Democrats are more divided: 44% approve of the administration's response, 33% disapprove and 22% are not sure.

## By a modest margin, more disapprove than approve of Biden administration's response to Israel-Hamas war

% who \_\_\_ of the Biden administration's response to the Israel-Hamas war



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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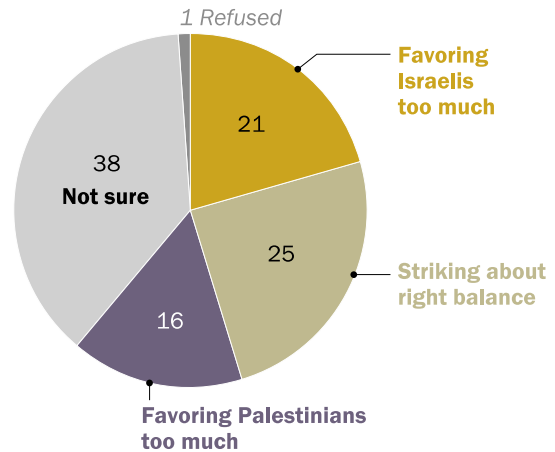
- Adults under age 30 are particularly disapproving of the administration's response to the conflict. Just 19% approve, while 46% disapprove. The administration's response is viewed less negatively among older age groups.

Americans generally differ over whether President Joe Biden is striking the right balance in dealing with the Israelis and Palestinians (25%), favoring the Israelis too much (21%), or favoring the Palestinians too much (16%). Nearly four-in-ten adults say they are not sure how Biden is handling this. ([Explore this further in section 3.](#))

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### Americans are divided over how Biden is dealing with Israelis and Palestinians

*% who say Joe Biden is ...*



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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## Public is divided in views of Israel's military operation against Hamas

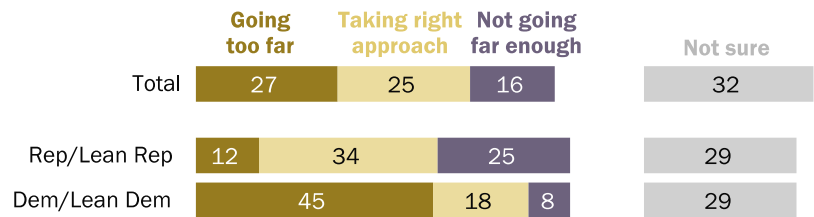
Americans also differ over Israel's ongoing military operation against Hamas, with nearly a third (32%) not sure.

About a quarter (27%) say Israel is going too far in its current military operation, while about as many (25%) say it is taking the right approach; 16% of Americans say Israel is not going far enough militarily.

More than four-in-ten Democrats (45%) say Israel is going too far in its military operation against Hamas, compared with 12% of Republicans.

### Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say Israel is going too far in its Hamas military operation

*% who say that when thinking about Israel's current military operation against Hamas, Israel is ...*



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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There also are age differences in these opinions, with younger Americans more likely than older age groups to say Israel is going too far.



## Other important findings

### About half of Americans say a two-state solution is still possible in the future.

Currently, 52% say that, in the future, a way can be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully; 45% say this is not possible. Democrats (62%) are more likely than Republicans (43%) to say that a peaceful, two-state arrangement is possible.

**About a quarter of Americans (26%) are following the Israel-Hamas war extremely or very closely.** Another 37% say they are following news about the war somewhat closely, while 36% are following not too or not at all closely.

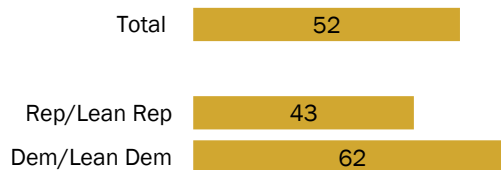
As with most international news events, younger adults are following developments in the conflict less closely than are older people. About a third of adults ages 50 and older (35%) say they are following the war extremely or very closely, roughly double the share of those under 50 (18%).

**Americans who have been paying greater attention to news about the war are more likely than others to have an opinion about the administration's response and to approve of it.** Both Democrats and Republicans who have been following the war extremely or very closely give the administration much higher ratings than do those who have been following the conflict less closely.

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### Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say a peaceful two-state solution is possible in the future

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



Note: See topline for full question wording.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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# 1. Views of the Israel-Hamas war

A sizable majority of Americans say that Hamas has “a lot” of responsibility for the current war (65%). Far smaller shares say the Israeli government (35%) – or the Palestinian people (20%) or Israeli people (13%) – have a lot of responsibility.

Large majorities of both Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (73%) and Democrats and Democratic leaners (62%) say that Hamas has a lot of responsibility for the conflict.

Only very small shares in either partisan coalition say Hamas has *no* responsibility for the conflict.

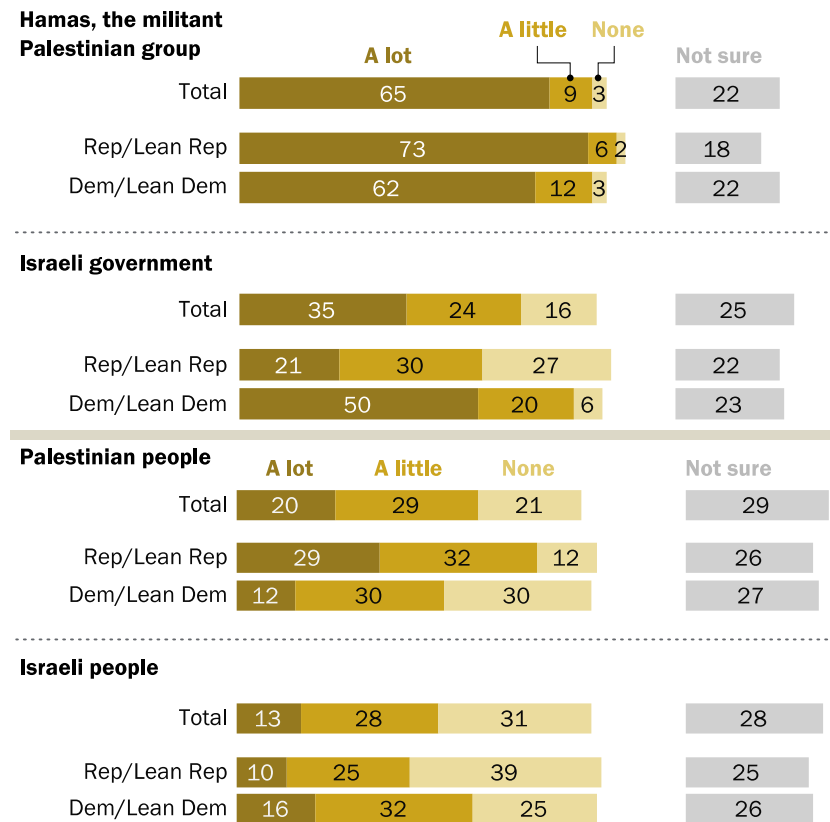
Democrats are much more likely than Republicans to say the Israeli government has a lot of responsibility: 50% vs. 21%, respectively. And while 27% of Republicans say the Israeli government has no responsibility, just 6% of Democrats say this.

There are also wide partisan differences when it comes to Palestinian people.

Roughly three-in-ten Republicans say that Palestinian people have a lot of responsibility for the current war, while just 12% of Democrats say the same. Relatively small shares of Republicans and Democrats say Israeli people have a lot of

## Majorities of Republicans and Democrats say Hamas has ‘a lot’ of responsibility for current war with Israel; greater divisions over Israeli government’s role

*How much responsibility do each of the following have for Israel and Hamas currently being at war? (%)*



Note: No answer responses are not shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

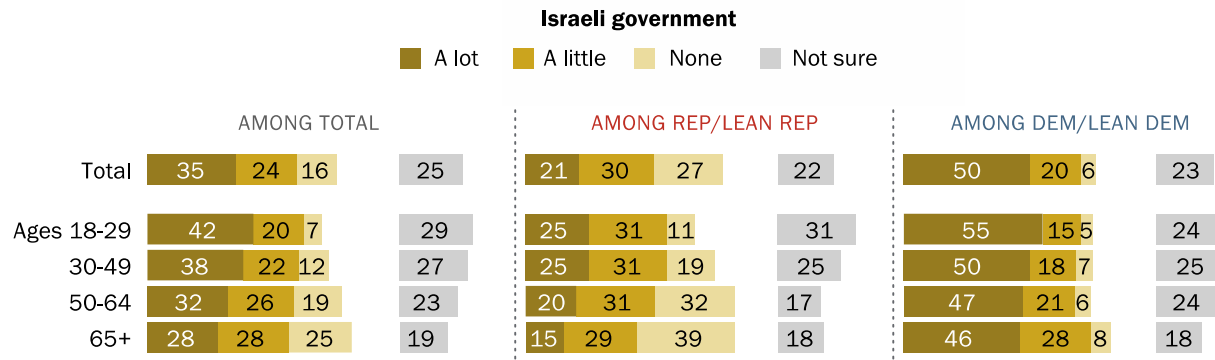
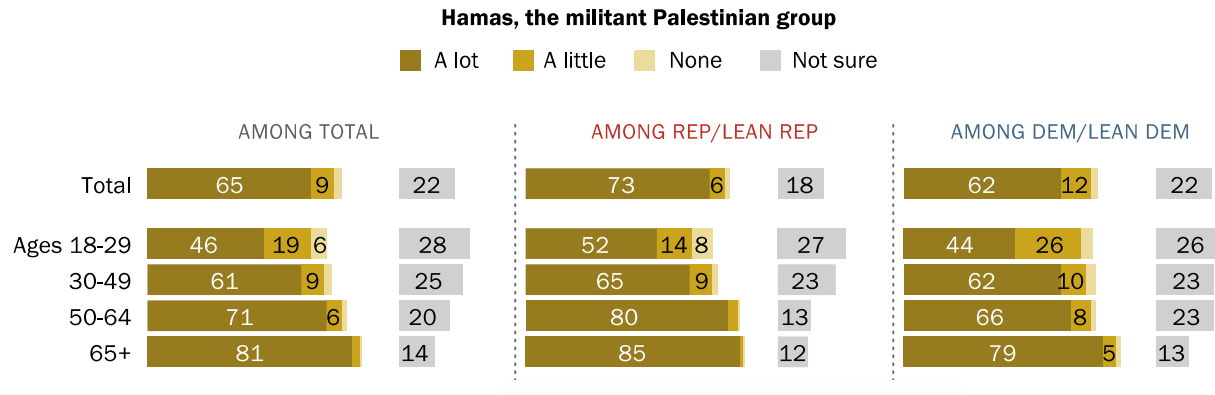
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responsibility for the current conflict. But Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say Israeli people have no responsibility: 39% vs. 25%, respectively.

## Age divides in views of Israel-Hamas War

### Young adults in both partisan coalitions are less likely than older people to say Hamas has ‘a lot’ of responsibility for the current war

How much responsibility do each of the following have for Israel and Hamas currently being at war? (%)



Note: No answer responses are not shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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- Overall, younger Americans are less likely than older Americans to say Hamas has “a lot” of responsibility for the conflict. While nearly half of those under 30 say this (46%), about eight-in-ten of those 65 and older place a lot of blame on Hamas. Still, only very small shares of Americans – across all age groups – say Hamas has *no* responsibility for the war.
- In both parties, young adults are less likely than older people to place a lot of responsibility on Hamas for the current conflict. Roughly four-in-ten Democrats ages 18 to 29 (44%) – and about half of Republicans under 30 (52%) – say Hamas has a lot of responsibility. That compares with sizable majorities of older Democrats and Republicans.
- There are smaller age differences in opinions about the Israeli government: About four-in-ten of those under 30 (42%) say the Israeli government has a lot of responsibility, while 28% of those 65 and older say the same.

## Views of Israel’s approach to the war by party, ideology

Americans are divided on Israel’s approach to the conflict.

While 27% say Israel is “going too far” in its current military operation against Hamas, a similar share say they are taking the right approach. A smaller share (16%) say Israel is “not going far enough”; nearly a third say they aren’t sure about Israel’s approach.

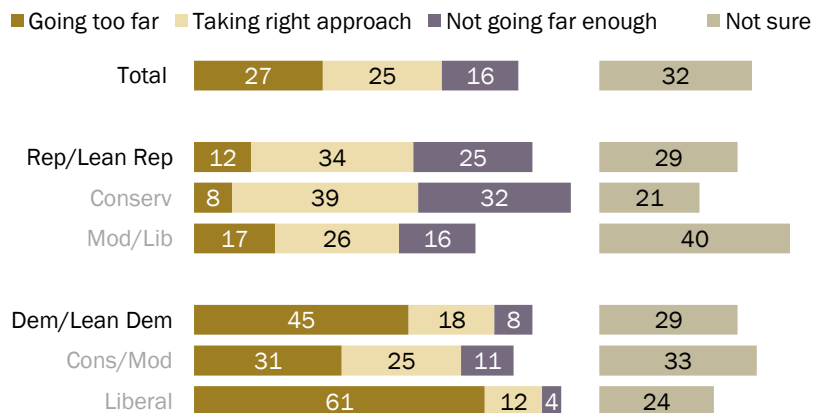
There are sizable differences between – and among – partisans on this issue.

Overall, Democrats are far more likely than Republicans to say that Israel is going too far (45% vs. 12%, respectively). Liberal Democrats, in particular, view Israel’s response as excessive: 61% say Israel is going too far, compared with 31% of conservative and moderate Democrats.

Most Republicans say either that Israel is taking the right approach (34%) or that it is not going far enough (25%); just 12% say it is going too far. About a third of conservative Republicans say Israel it not going far enough – twice the share of moderate and liberal Republicans (16%).

### Democrats far more likely than Republicans to say Israel is ‘going too far’ in current military operation

% who say that when thinking about Israel’s current military operation against Hamas, Israel is ...



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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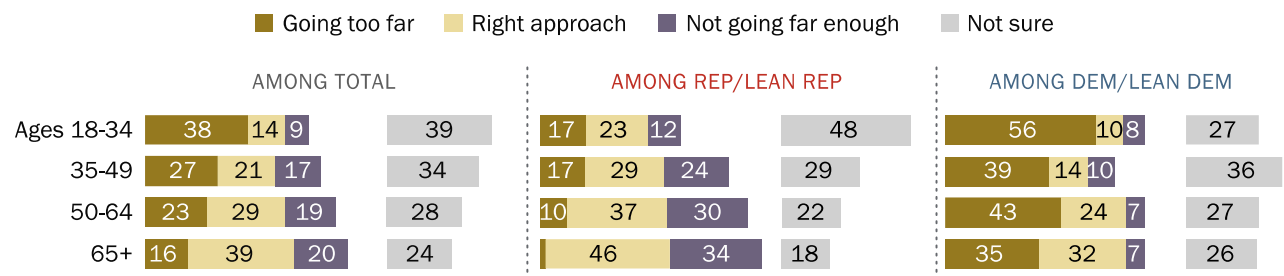
## How younger and older Americans view Israel’s military operation against Hamas

Younger Americans are more likely than older adults to say that Israel’s current military operation against Hamas is going too far: 38% of adults under 35 say this, compared with smaller shares of those 35 to 49 (27%), 50 to 64 (23%) and 65 and older (16%).

This dynamic is particularly pronounced among Democrats. About half of Democrats under 35 say Israel is going too far in its current military operation against Hamas (56%). This compares with smaller shares of Democrats ages 35 and older.

### Younger adults – particularly young Democrats – are most likely to say Israel is going too far in their military operation against Hamas

% who say that when thinking about Israel’s current military operation against Hamas, Israel is...



Note: No answer responses are not shown. Age breaks shown here differ slightly from other sections of report to account for smaller sample sizes among younger Republicans on a split form question.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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While just 17% of Republicans under 35 say Israel is going too far, this is a substantially higher share than among older Republicans (only 2% of those 65 and older say this). Nearly half of younger Republicans (48%) say they are not sure about Israel’s approach to the current conflict.

## Older adults more likely to say they are closely following news about the war

About a quarter of Americans say they have been following news about the Israel-Hamas war extremely or very closely (26%). Nearly four-in-ten have been following news somewhat closely (37%), and 36% say they have followed not too or not at all closely.

Roughly one-in-five adults ages 18 to 29 (17%) report following news about the war extremely or very closely; a similar share of those 30 to 49 (19%) say the same.

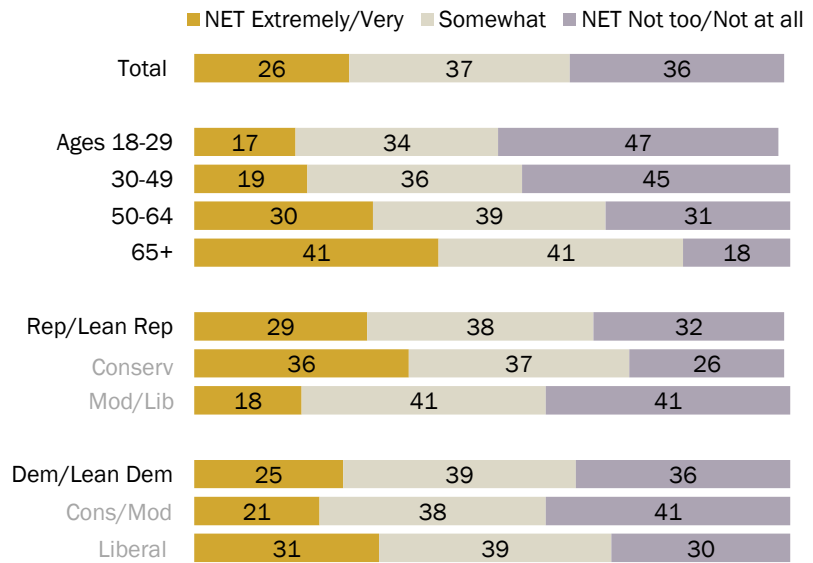
This compares with 30% of those 50 to 64 and 41% of those 65 or older.

Republicans and Democrats report similar levels of

attention to news about the war: 29% of Republicans say they are following extremely or very closely, compared with 25% of Democrats. In both parties, larger shares of older people than younger adults say they are following news about the Israel-Hamas war extremely or very closely.

### Older U.S. adults more likely to say they have been following news about the Israel-Hamas war closely

*% who say they have been following news about the Israel-Hamas war \_\_\_ closely*



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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## 2. Concerns about the war between Israel and Hamas

As the war between Israel and Hamas enters its third month, many Americans are at least somewhat concerned about several aspects of the war – including the possibility of increased violence against Jewish people in the United States or the war going on for a very long time.

About half of Americans (48%) are extremely or very concerned about the possibility of increasing violence against Jewish people in the U.S., while a smaller share (37%) say this about the possibility of violence against Muslims in the U.S. About three-in-ten (31% each) say they are somewhat concerned about the possibility of violence against each of these groups.

And four-in-ten or more are extremely or very concerned that the war may go on for a very long time (44%), expand to other countries in the Middle East (42%) or lead to a terrorist attack in the U.S. (41%).

### Americans express concerns about possible effects of Israel-Hamas war at home

*% who say they are \_\_\_ concerned about the possibility of each of the following when thinking about the war between Israel and Hamas*

|  | Extremely/<br>Very | Somewhat | Not too/<br>Not at all |
|--|--------------------|----------|------------------------|
| Increasing violence against Jewish people in the U.S.      | 48                 | 31       | 19                     |
| The war going on for a very long time                      | 44                 | 35       | 19                     |
| The war expanding to other countries in the region         | 42                 | 37       | 20                     |
| The war leading to a terrorist attack in the United States | 41                 | 33       | 25                     |
| Increasing violence against Muslim people in the U.S.      | 37                 | 31       | 30                     |

Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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## Concerns by party and ideology

Several of these concerns cut across the ideological spectrum, while there are wider ideological divides for others.

### Concerns about increasing violence against Jewish people in the U.S.

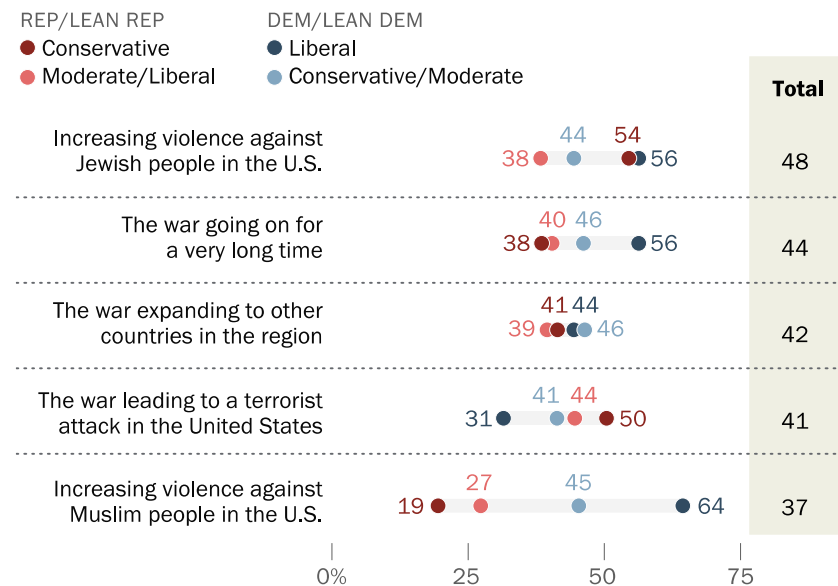
For instance, 54% of conservative Republicans and a similar share of liberal Democrats (56%) say they are extremely or very concerned about the possibility of increased violence against Jewish people in the U.S. Smaller shares of moderate and conservative Democrats (44%) and of moderate and liberal Republicans (38%) express this concern. (These groups include independents and others who *lean* to each party.)

### Concerns about increasing violence against Muslim people in the U.S.

A 64% majority of liberal Democrats express a high level of concern about increasing violence against Muslims in the U.S., a view shared by 46% of conservative and moderate Democrats. Republicans are substantially less likely to hold this concern: 19% of conservative Republicans and 27% of moderate Republicans say they are at least very concerned about this possibility.

### Conservative Republicans, liberal Democrats about equally concerned about possible violence against Jewish people in U.S., Israel and Hamas war expanding

*% who say they are extremely or very concerned about the possibility of each of the following when thinking about the war between Israel and Hamas*



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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### Concerns about the potential for terrorism in the U.S.

Conversely, Republicans are more concerned than Democrats that the Israel-Hamas war may lead to terrorism in the U.S. Half of conservative Republicans and 44% of moderate and liberal Republicans are extremely or very concerned that the war may lead to a terrorist attack in the U.S.

By comparison, 41% of conservative and moderate Democrats and 31% of liberal Democrats say this.

### **Concerns about the duration of the war and the conflict expanding in the region**

There are only modest ideological differences in concerns about the possibility that the war between Israel and Hamas will expand to other countries in the region, with roughly four-in-ten in all groups saying they are extremely or very concerned about this.

Democrats – especially liberal Democrats – are more likely than Republicans to say they are at least very concerned that the war could continue on for a long time. A 56% majority of liberal Democrats, along with 46% of conservative and moderate Democrats, say this. About four-in-ten Republicans (41% of conservative Republicans, 38% of moderate and liberal Republicans) express the same level of concern about this.

## Concerns by age

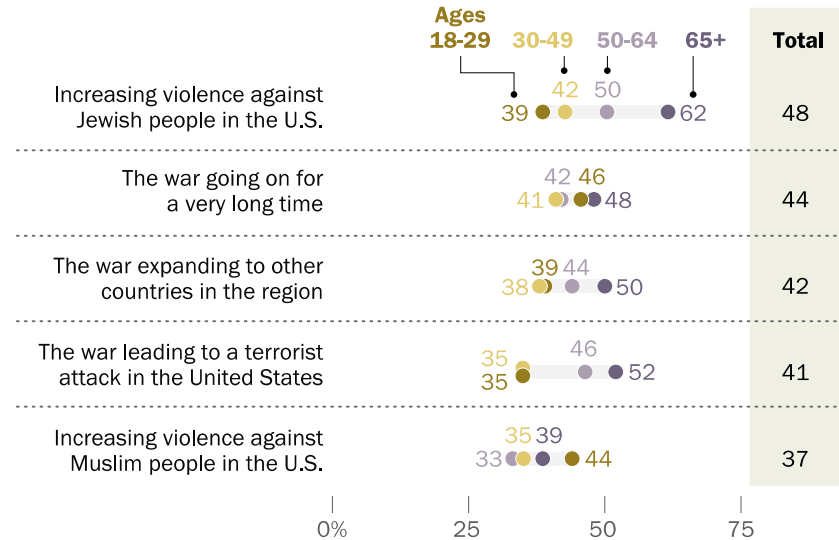
There are relatively modest age differences in concerns about how prolonged the war will be, while older Americans are more likely than younger Americans to express concern about the war expanding into a regional conflict or leading to a terrorist attack in the U.S.

The age gap is particularly wide over concern about the possibility of increasing violence against Jewish Americans: 62% of those 65 and older and 50% of those 50 to 64 say they are extremely or very concerned about this, while 39% of adults under 30 (and a similar share – 42% – of those 30 to 49) say this.

About four-in-ten (39%) of those 65 and older say they are extremely or very concerned about the possibility of violence against Muslim people in the U.S., with 44% of those under 30 saying this. Both younger and older adults are modestly more likely to hold this concern than those ages 30 to 64.

### Wide age gap in concern over increased violence against Jewish people, smaller gap in concern over Israel-Hamas war going on for a long time

% who say they are extremely or very concerned about the possibility of each of the following when thinking about the war between Israel and Hamas



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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### 3. The Biden administration’s response to the war between Israel and Hamas

Americans are somewhat more likely to disapprove than approve of the Biden administration’s response to the Israel-Hamas war: 41% of U.S. adults disapprove, 35% approve and about a quarter (24%) say they are not sure.

However, these views vary substantially by age, partisanship and the degree to which people are following news about the war.

#### Age

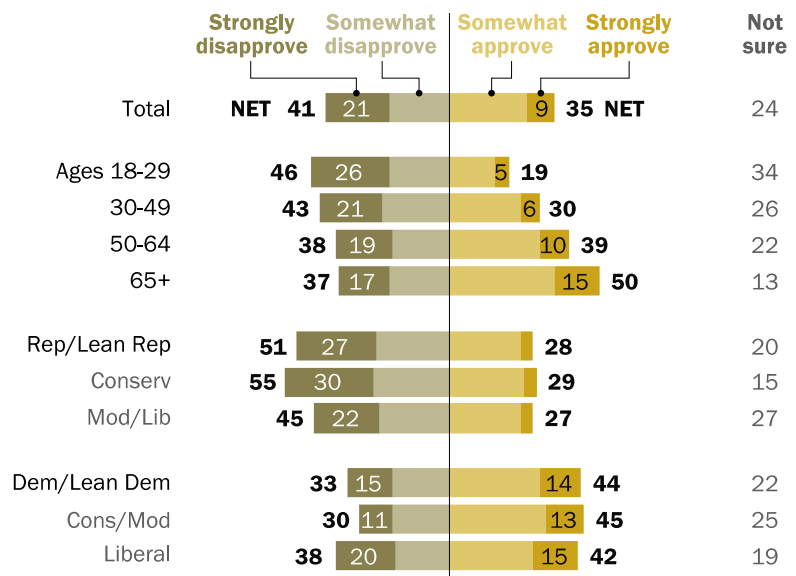
Older Americans are both more likely to have an opinion about and to approve of the Biden administration’s response to the war than younger Americans.

Half of those 65 and older approve of the administration’s response, while 37% disapprove and just 13% say they are unsure. By comparison, evaluations are more evenly split among those ages 50 to 64 (39% approve, 38% disapprove).

There is more disapproval than approval of the administration’s response among adults under 50, and particularly those under 30. By more than two-to-one, adults under 30 disapprove (46%) rather than approve (19%) of the administration’s response, with about a third (34%) saying they are not sure.

#### Wide age and partisan divides in evaluations of the Biden administration’s response to Israel-Hamas war

% who \_\_\_ of the Biden administration’s response to the Israel-Hamas war



Note: No answer responses are not shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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**Partisanship**

On balance, Democrats and those who lean to the Democratic Party are more likely to approve than disapprove of the administration’s response (44% approve, 33% disapprove), while the reverse is true among Republicans and GOP leaners (28% approve, 51% disapprove).

Still, views of the Biden administration’s response are not strictly partisan: A third of Democrats *disapprove* of the administration’s response, while about three-in-ten Republicans *approve* of it (28%).

**Age among Democrats**

While younger Democrats are more likely than older Democrats to be unsure in their views of the Biden administration’s response, half of those ages 18 to 29 disapprove. About two-in-ten (21%) approve, and roughly three-in-ten (28%) aren’t sure.

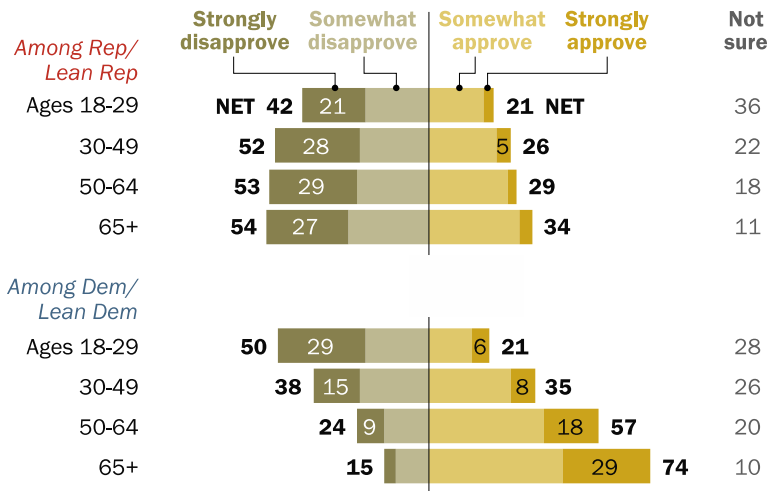
By comparison, those ages 30 to 49 are about evenly divided in their views (35% approve, 38% disapprove). Democrats 50 to 64 are more likely to approve than disapprove (57% vs. 24%), and those 65 and older are most likely to approve of the administration’s response in comparison (74% approve, just 15% disapprove).

**Age among Republicans**

Among Republicans of all age groups, there is more disapproval than approval of the Biden administration’s response to the war. However, older Republicans are much more likely than younger Republicans to offer an opinion about this.

**Age gap in views of Biden’s response to Israel-Hamas war is particularly pronounced among Democrats**

% who \_\_\_ of the Biden administration’s response to the Israel-Hamas war



Note: No answer responses are not shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

**Attention to the war**

Views about the administration’s response to the Israel-Hamas war vary by how closely people have been following news about the war, with close followers being both more likely than others to have an opinion and to approve of the administration’s response.

While Republicans are more likely to disapprove than approve of the Biden administration’s response regardless of their level of attention to the conflict, evaluations of the response are more positive among those who are paying closer attention. About four-in-ten (43%) of those who follow news about the war extremely or very closely approve of the response, while 53% disapprove.

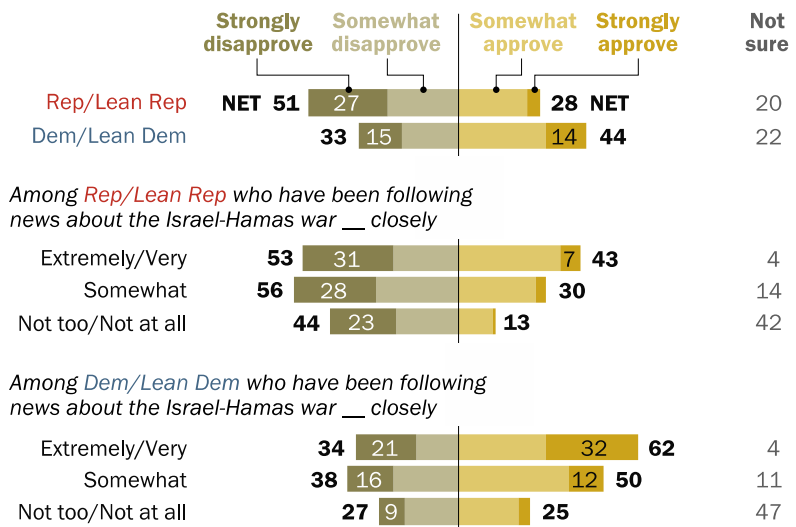
By comparison, among Republicans who say they are following news about the war *somewhat* closely, the balance of opinion is more negative. They are about equally likely as close followers to disapprove of the administration’s response (56% say this), while a smaller share (30%) approve of the administration’s response. (Those paying less attention are less likely to offer an opinion of the administration’s response.)

And while 42% of Republicans who are not following news about the conflict do not offer an opinion, those who do disapprove of the Biden administration’s response by at least three-to-one (44% disapprove, 13% approve).

The pattern is similar among Democrats. Democrats who follow news about the war extremely or very closely are 28 percentage points more likely to approve than disapprove of the administration’s response (62% vs. 34%), while those who only somewhat follow the news approve

**Those paying more attention to the conflict are more approving of Biden’s response to Israel-Hamas war**

% who \_\_\_ of the Biden administration’s response to the Israel-Hamas war



Note: No answer responses are not shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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by a narrower margin (50% vs. 38%). Those who do not follow the news closely are about evenly divided in their approval, although nearly half (47%) are not sure.

### Is Biden favoring Israelis, Palestinians or striking the right balance?

While about four-in-ten Americans (38%) are unsure about whether they think Joe Biden is favoring one side, they are slightly more likely to say Biden is favoring Israelis too much (21%) than to say this about Palestinians (16%). A quarter say Biden is striking the right balance.

#### Age

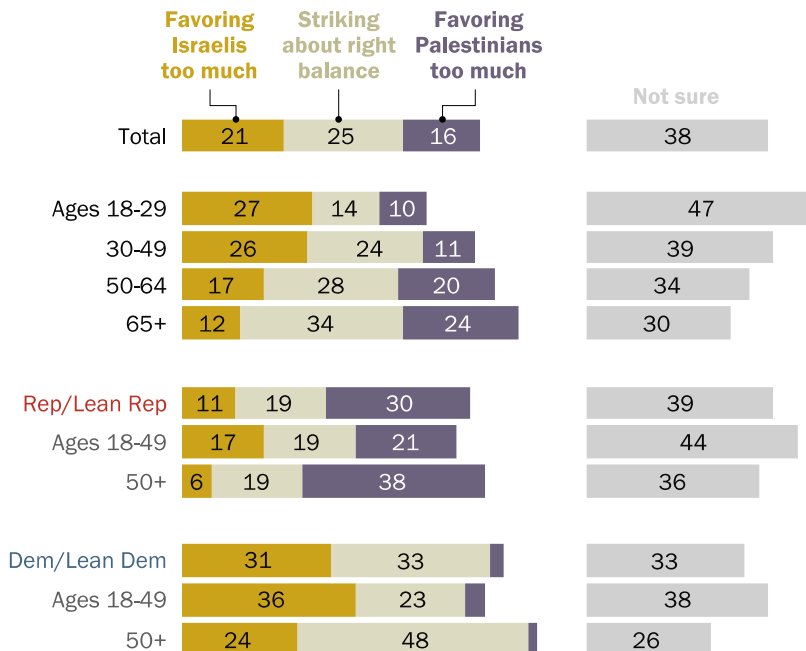
About a quarter of Americans under 50 (27%) say Biden is favoring Israelis too much. Older Americans are less likely to say this (17% among those ages 50 to 64 and just 12% among those 65 and older).

In contrast, older Americans are more likely than younger Americans to say Biden is favoring Palestinians too much: 24% of those 65 and older say this, as do 20% of those 50 to 64. This falls to just 10% among adults under 50.

Older Americans are also more likely than younger Americans to say Biden is striking the right balance, while younger Americans are less likely to offer an opinion.

### Americans slightly more likely to say Biden is favoring the Israelis than Palestinians, but many are not sure

% who think Joe Biden is ...



Note: No answer responses are not shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.

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**Party**

Republicans (30%) are far more likely than Democrats (3%) to say Biden is favoring Palestinians too much, while Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say Biden is favoring Israelis too much (31% vs. 11%). In both parties, younger adults are more likely than older adults to say Biden is favoring Israelis too much.



## Acknowledgments

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

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## Methodology

### The American Trends Panel survey methodology

#### Overview

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. Panelists participate via self-administered web surveys. Panelists who do not have internet access at home are provided with a tablet and wireless internet connection. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish. The panel is being managed by Ipsos.

Data in this report is drawn from ATP Wave 139, conducted from Nov. 27 to Dec. 3, 2023, and includes an [oversample](#) of non-Hispanic Asian adults, non-Hispanic Black men, Hispanic men, Republican or Republican leaning Hispanic adults who are registered to vote, and Republican or Republican leaning 18- to- 29-year-olds in order to provide more precise estimates of the opinions and experiences of these smaller demographic subgroups. These oversampled groups are weighted back to reflect their correct proportions in the population. A total of 5,203 panelists responded out of 5,655 who were sampled, for a response rate of 92%. The cumulative response rate accounting for nonresponse to the recruitment surveys and attrition is 3%. The break-off rate among panelists who logged on to the survey and completed at least one item is 1%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 5,203 respondents is plus or minus 1.8 percentage points.

#### Panel recruitment

The ATP was created in 2014, with the first cohort of panelists invited to join the panel at the end of a large, national, landline and cellphone random-digit-dial survey that was conducted in both English and Spanish. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2015 and 2017, respectively. Across these three surveys, a total of 19,718 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 9,942 (50%) agreed to participate.

In August 2018, the ATP switched from telephone to address-based sampling (ABS) recruitment. A study cover letter and a pre-incentive are mailed to a stratified, random sample of households selected from the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. This Postal Service file has been estimated to cover as much as 98% of the population, although some studies suggest that the coverage could be in the low 90% range.<sup>1</sup> Within each sampled household, the adult with the next

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<sup>1</sup> AAPOR Task Force on Address-based Sampling. 2016. "[AAPOR Report: Address-based Sampling.](#)"

birthday is asked to participate. Other details of the ABS recruitment protocol have changed over time but are available upon request.<sup>2</sup>

We have recruited a national sample of U.S. adults to the ATP approximately once per year since 2014. In some years, the recruitment has included additional efforts (known as an “oversample”) to boost sample size with underrepresented groups. For example, Hispanic adults, Black adults and Asian adults were oversampled in 2019, 2022 and 2023, respectively.

### American Trends Panel recruitment surveys

| Recruitment dates                                     | Mode                  | Invited       | Joined        | Active panelists remaining |
|---|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| Jan. 23 to March 16, 2014                             | Landline/<br>cell RDD | 9,809         | 5,338         | 1,393                      |
| Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015                               | Landline/<br>cell RDD | 6,004         | 2,976         | 831                        |
| April 25 to June 4, 2017                              | Landline/<br>cell RDD | 3,905         | 1,628         | 405                        |
| Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018                               | ABS                   | 9,396         | 8,778         | 3,851                      |
| Aug. 19 to Nov. 30, 2019                              | ABS                   | 5,900         | 4,720         | 1,388                      |
| June 1 to July 19, 2020;<br>Feb. 10 to March 31, 2021 | ABS                   | 3,197         | 2,812         | 1,441                      |
| May 29 to July 7, 2021;<br>Sept. 16 to Nov. 1, 2021   | ABS                   | 1,329         | 1,162         | 731                        |
| May 24 to Sept. 29, 2022                              | ABS                   | 3,354         | 2,869         | 1,459                      |
| April 17 to May 30, 2023                              | ABS                   | 686           | 576           | 435                        |
|   | <b>Total</b>          | <b>43,580</b> | <b>30,859</b> | <b>11,934</b>              |

Note: RDD is random-digit dial; ABS is address-based sampling. Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves or who did not complete an annual profiling survey are removed from the panel. Panelists also become inactive if they ask to be removed from the panel.

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Across the six address-based recruitments, a total of 23,862 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 20,917 agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. Of the 30,859 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 11,934 remained active panelists and continued to receive survey invitations at the time this survey was conducted.

The American Trends Panel never uses breakout routers or chains that direct respondents to additional surveys.

### Sample design

The overall target population for this survey was noninstitutionalized persons ages 18 and older living in the U.S., including Alaska and Hawaii. It featured a stratified random sample from the ATP in which non-Hispanic Asian adults, non-Hispanic Black men, Hispanic men, Republican or Republican leaning Hispanic adults who are registered to vote, and Republican or Republican leaning 18- to- 29-year-olds were selected with certainty. The remaining panelists were sampled at rates designed to ensure that the share of respondents in each stratum is proportional to its share

<sup>2</sup> Email [pewsurveys@pewresearch.org](mailto:pewsurveys@pewresearch.org).

of the U.S. adult population to the greatest extent possible. Respondent weights are adjusted to account for differential probabilities of selection as described in the Weighting section below.

### **Questionnaire development and testing**

The questionnaire was developed by Pew Research Center in consultation with Ipsos. The web program was rigorously tested on both PC and mobile devices by the Ipsos project management team and Pew Research Center researchers. The Ipsos project management team also populated test data that was analyzed in SPSS to ensure the logic and randomizations were working as intended before launching the survey.

### **Incentives**

All respondents were offered a post-paid incentive for their participation. Respondents could choose to receive the post-paid incentive in the form of a check or a gift code to Amazon.com or could choose to decline the incentive. Incentive amounts ranged from \$5 to \$15 depending on whether the respondent belongs to a part of the population that is harder or easier to reach. Differential incentive amounts were designed to increase panel survey participation among groups that traditionally have low survey response propensities.

### **Data collection protocol**

The data collection field period for this survey was Nov. 27 to Dec. 3, 2023. Postcard notifications were mailed to all ATP panelists with a known residential address on Nov. 27.

Invitations were sent out in two separate launches: soft launch and full launch. Sixty panelists were included in the soft launch, which began with an initial invitation sent on Nov. 27. The ATP panelists chosen for the initial soft launch were known responders who had completed previous ATP surveys within one day of receiving their invitation. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking sampled panelists were included in the full launch and were sent an invitation on Nov. 28.

All panelists with an email address received an email invitation and up to two email reminders if they did not respond to the survey. All ATP panelists who consented to SMS messages received an SMS invitation and up to two SMS reminders.

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## Invitation and reminder dates, ATP Wave 139

|                    | <b>Soft launch</b> | <b>Full launch</b> |
|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Initial invitation | November 27, 2023  | November 28, 2023  |
| First reminder     | November 30, 2023  | November 30, 2023  |
| Final reminder     | December 2, 2023   | December 2, 2023   |

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## Data quality checks

To ensure high-quality data, the Center’s researchers performed data quality checks to identify any respondents showing clear patterns of satisficing. This includes checking for whether respondents left questions blank at very high rates or always selected the first or last answer presented. As a result of this checking, four ATP respondents were removed from the survey dataset prior to weighting and analysis.

## Weighting

The ATP data is weighted in a multistep process that accounts for multiple stages of sampling and nonresponse that occur at different points in the survey process. First, each panelist begins with a base weight that reflects their probability of selection for their initial recruitment survey. These weights are then rescaled and adjusted to account for changes in the design of ATP recruitment surveys from year to year. Finally, the weights are calibrated to align with the population benchmarks in the accompanying table to correct for nonresponse to recruitment surveys and panel attrition. If only a subsample of panelists was invited to participate in the wave, this weight is adjusted to account for any differential probabilities of selection.

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## American Trends Panel weighting dimensions

| <b>Variable</b>  | <b>Benchmark source</b>                               |
|--|---|
| Age (detailed)   | 2022 American Community Survey (ACS)                  |
| Age x Gender   |   |
| Education x Gender   |   |
| Education x Age  |   |
| Race/Ethnicity x Education   |   |
| Black (alone or in combination) x Hispanic                           |   |
| Born inside vs. outside the U.S. among Hispanics and Asian Americans |   |
| Years lived in the U.S.  |   |
| Census region x Metropolitan status                                  |   |
| Volunteerism   |   |
| Voter registration   | 2022 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement           |
| Party affiliation x Race/Ethnicity                                   | 2023 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS) |
| Frequency of internet use  |   |
| Religious affiliation  |   |

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on noninstitutionalized adults. Voter registration is calculated using procedures from Hur, Achen (2013) and rescaled to include the total U.S. adult population.

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Among the panelists who completed the survey, this weight is then calibrated again to align with the population benchmarks identified in the accompanying table and trimmed at the 1st and 99th percentiles to reduce the loss in precision stemming from variance in the weights. Sampling errors and tests of statistical significance take into account the effect of weighting.

The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey.

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### Sample sizes and margins of error, ATP Wave 139

| Group        | Unweighted sample size | Weighted % | Plus or minus ...     |
|--------------|------------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| Total sample | 5,203                  |            | 1.8 percentage points |
| Half form    | At least 2,599         |            | 2.5 percentage points |
| Rep/Lean Rep | 2,334                  | 45         | 2.5 percentage points |
| Half form    | At least 1,135         |            | 3.7 percentage points |
| Dem/Lean Dem | 2,657                  | 47         | 2.5 percentage points |
| Half form    | At least 1,295         |            | 3.6 percentage points |
| Ages 18-29   | 641                    |            | 5.0 percentage points |
| Half form    | At least 312           |            | 7.1 percentage points |
| Ages 30-49   | 1,786                  |            | 3.0 percentage points |
| Half form    | At least 892           |            | 4.3 percentage points |
| Ages 50-64   | 1,481                  |            | 3.1 percentage points |
| Half form    | At least 729           |            | 4.5 percentage points |
| Ages 65+     | 1,286                  |            | 3.2 percentage points |
| Half form    | At least 626           |            | 4.6 percentage points |

Note: This survey includes oversamples of non-Hispanic Asian adults, non-Hispanic Black men, Hispanic men, Republican or Republican leaning Hispanic adults who are registered to vote, and Republican or Republican leaning 18- to- 29-year-old respondents. Unweighted sample sizes do not account for the sample design or weighting and do not describe a group's contribution to weighted estimates. See the Sample design and Weighting sections above for details.

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Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

### Dispositions and response rates

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#### Final dispositions, ATP Wave 139

|  | AAPOR code | Total        |
|--|------------|--------------|
| Completed interview                                  | 1.1        | 5,203        |
| Logged on to survey; broke off                       | 2.12       | 45           |
| Logged on to survey; did not complete any items      | 2.1121     | 18           |
| Never logged on (implicit refusal)                   | 2.11       | 385          |
| Survey completed after close of the field period     | 2.27       | 0            |
| Completed interview but was removed for data quality |            | 4            |
| Screened out   |            | 0            |
| <b>Total panelists sampled for the survey</b>        |            | <b>5,655</b> |
| Completed interviews                                 | I          | 5,203        |
| Partial interviews                                   | P          | 0            |
| Refusals   | R          | 448          |
| Non-contact  | NC         | 0            |
| Other  | O          | 4            |
| Unknown household                                    | UH         | 0            |
| Unknown other  | UO         | 0            |
| Not eligible   | NE         | 0            |
| <b>Total</b>   |            | <b>5,655</b> |
| AAPOR RR1 = $I / (I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)$                 |            | 92%          |

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**Cumulative response rate as of ATP Wave 139**

|   | <b>Total</b> |
|---|--------------|
| Weighted response rate to recruitment surveys   | 11%          |
| % of recruitment survey respondents who agreed to join the panel, among those invited | 71%          |
| % of those agreeing to join who were active panelists at start of Wave 139            | 46%          |
| Response rate to Wave 139 survey  | 92%          |
| <b>Cumulative response rate</b>   | <b>3%</b>    |

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**2023 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL  
WAVE 139 DECEMBER 2023  
FINAL TOPLINE  
NOVEMBER 27 – DECEMBER 3, 2023  
N=5,203**

**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE****ASK ALL:**

ISGZ\_BDN Do you approve or disapprove of the Biden administration's response to the Israel-Hamas war? **[RANDOMIZE RESPONSES 1-4 AND 4-1 FOR RANDOM HALF OF RESPONDENTS WITH OPTION 5 ALWAYS LAST]**

|                    | -----Approve----- |                 |                 | -----Disapprove----- |                 |                 | Not<br>sure | No<br>answer |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|
|                    | <b>NET</b>        | <i>Strongly</i> | <i>Somewhat</i> | <b>NET</b>           | <i>Strongly</i> | <i>Somewhat</i> |             |              |
| Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023 | <b>35</b>         | 9               | 26              | <b>41</b>            | 21              | 20              | 24          | 1            |

**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE****ASK ALL:**

UKRFOL How closely have you been following news about Russia's invasion of Ukraine?

|                    | Extremely<br><u>closely</u> | Very<br><u>closely</u> | Somewhat<br><u>closely</u> | Not too<br><u>closely</u> | Not at all<br><u>closely</u> | No<br><u>answer</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023 | 6                           | 14                     | 40                         | 27                        | 13                           | *                   |
| Jun 5-11, 2023     | 9                           | 15                     | 35                         | 24                        | 17                           | 1                   |
| Jan 18-24, 2023    | 9                           | 18                     | 38                         | 23                        | 12                           | *                   |
| Sep 12-18, 2022    | 9                           | 16                     | 37                         | 23                        | 14                           | *                   |
| Apr 25-May 1, 2022 | 15                          | 21                     | 38                         | 19                        | 7                            | *                   |

**ASK ALL:**

JB\_RUSUKR\_APP Do you approve or disapprove of the Biden administration's response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine?

|                    | Strongly<br><u>approve</u> | Somewhat<br><u>approve</u> | Somewhat<br><u>disapprove</u> | Strongly<br><u>disapprove</u> | Not<br><u>sure</u> | No<br><u>answer</u> |
|--------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023 | 13                         | 25                         | 21                            | 20                            | 20                 | 1                   |
| Jun 5-11, 2023     | 13                         | 26                         | 18                            | 17                            | 25                 | 1                   |
| Jan 18-24, 2023    | 14                         | 29                         | 19                            | 14                            | 22                 | 1                   |
| Apr 25-May 1, 2022 | 13                         | 32                         | 19                            | 15                            | 20                 | 1                   |
| Mar 7-13, 2022     | 18                         | 29                         | 18                            | 21                            | 13                 | 1                   |

**ASK ALL:**

UKR\_SPRT When it comes to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, do you think the U.S. is providing ... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2; ALWAYS ASK OPTIONS 3 AND 4 LAST]**

|                    | Too much<br>support to<br><u>Ukraine</u> | Not enough<br>support to<br><u>Ukraine</u> | About the right<br>amount of support<br><u>to Ukraine</u> | Not<br><u>sure</u> | No<br><u>answer</u> |
|--------------------|--|--|---|--------------------|---------------------|
| Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023 | 31                                       | 18   | 29  | 22                 | 1                   |
| Jun 5-11, 2023     | 28                                       | 16   | 31  | 24                 | 1                   |
| Jan 18-24, 2023    | 26                                       | 20   | 31  | 22                 | 1                   |
| Sep 12-18, 2022    | 20                                       | 18   | 37  | 24                 | 1                   |
| Apr 25-May 1, 2022 | 12                                       | 31   | 35  | 22                 | 1                   |

| <b>UKR_SPRT<br/>CONTINUED...</b> | Too much<br>support to<br><u>Ukraine</u> | Not enough<br>support to<br><u>Ukraine</u> | About the right<br>amount of support<br><u>to Ukraine</u> | Not<br><u>sure</u> | No<br><u>answer</u> |
|----------------------------------|--|--|---|--------------------|---------------------|
| Mar 7-13, 2022                   | 7  | 42   | 32  | 19                 | 1                   |

**ASK ALL:**

RU\_UKN\_THRT2 How much of a threat to U.S. interests is Russia's invasion of Ukraine?

|                    | A major<br><u>threat</u> | A minor<br><u>threat</u> | Not a<br><u>threat</u> | Not<br><u>sure</u> | No<br><u>answer</u> |
|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023 | 33                       | 34                       | 10                     | 22                 | 1                   |
| Jun 5-11, 2023     | 32                       | 32                       | 11                     | 24                 | 1                   |
| Jan 18-24, 2023    | 35                       | 33                       | 9                      | 21                 | 1                   |
| Mar 7-13, 2022     | 50                       | 28                       | 6                      | 16                 | 1                   |

**TREND FOR COMPARISON:***How much of a threat to U.S. interests is Russia's military buildup near its border with Ukraine?*

|                | Jan 10-17,<br><u>2022</u> |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| A major threat | 26                        |
| A minor threat | 33                        |
| Not a threat   | 7                         |
| Not sure       | 33                        |
| No answer      | 1                         |

**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE****ASK ALL:**ISGZ\_FOL How closely have you been following news about the Israel-Hamas war? [**RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5 AND 5-1**]

|                    | Extremely<br><u>closely</u> | Very<br><u>closely</u> | Somewhat<br><u>closely</u> | Not<br><u>too closely</u> | Not at<br><u>all closely</u> | No<br><u>answer</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023 | 9                           | 17                     | 37                         | 21                        | 15                           | *                   |

**ASK ALL:**ISGZ\_RESPNSBL How much responsibility do each of the following have for Israel and Hamas currently being at war? [**SHOW ALL ITEMS ON SAME SCREEN; RANDOMIZE ITEMS, GROUPING ISRGOV AND HMS ITEMS TOGETHER (SEEN ONE AFTER ANOTHER) AND ISRPPL, PLS ITEMS TOGETHER**]

|        |  | <u>A lot</u> | <u>A little</u> | <u>None</u> | <u>Not sure</u> | No<br><u>answer</u> |
|--------|--|--------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| ISRGOV | Israeli government<br>Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023                       | 35           | 24              | 16          | 25              | 1                   |
| HMS    | Hamas, the militant<br>Palestinian group<br>Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023 | 65           | 9               | 3           | 22              | 1                   |

**ISGZ\_RESPNSBL CONTINUED...**

|         |  | <u>A lot</u> | <u>A little</u> | <u>None</u> | <u>Not sure</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|---------|--|--------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|------------------|
| ISRPPPL | Israeli people<br>Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023     | 13           | 28              | 31          | 28              | 1                |
| PLS     | Palestinian people<br>Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023 | 20           | 29              | 21          | 29              | 1                |

**ASK FORM 2 [N=2,599]:**

ISGZ\_RESPNS Thinking about Israel's current military operation against Hamas, is Israel... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 WITH OPTIONS 3 AND 4 ALWAYS LAST]**

|                    | <u>Going too far</u> | <u>Not going far enough</u> | <u>Taking about the right approach</u> | <u>Not sure</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|--|-----------------|------------------|
| Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023 | 27                   | 16                          | 25                                     | 32              | *                |

**ASK FORM 1 [N=2,604]:**

BIDEN\_FAVORISRPAL Do you think Joe Biden is... **[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2, OPTIONS 3 AND 4 ALWAYS LAST]**

| Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023 |                                    | Mar 21-27, 2022 |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 21                 | Favoring the Israelis too much     | 8               |
| 16                 | Favoring the Palestinians too much | 13              |
| 25                 | Striking about the right balance   | 16              |
| 38                 | Not sure                           | 62              |
| 1                  | No answer                          | 1               |

**TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

*Do you think Donald Trump is...*

|                                    | Apr 1-14, 2019 |
|------------------------------------|----------------|
| Favoring the Israelis too much     | 34             |
| Favoring the Palestinians too much | 6              |
| Striking about the right balances  | 50             |
| No answer                          | 10             |

**ASK ALL:**

ISGZ\_CONC Thinking about the war between Israel and Hamas, how concerned are you about the possibility of each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5 AND 5-1 IN SAME ORDER AS ISGZ\_FOL]**

|     |  | <u>Extremely concerned</u> | <u>Very concerned</u> | <u>Somewhat concerned</u> | <u>Not too concerned</u> | <u>Not at all concerned</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-----|--|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| BIG | The war expanding to other countries in the region<br>Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023 | 16                         | 26                    | 37                        | 14                       | 6                           | 1                |

| <b>ISGZ_CONC CONTINUED...</b> |  | <u>Extremely concerned</u> | <u>Very concerned</u> | <u>Somewhat concerned</u> | <u>Not too concerned</u> | <u>Not at all concerned</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-------------------------------|--|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| TERR                          | The war leading to a terrorist attack in the United States<br>Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023 | 19                         | 23                    | 33                        | 18                       | 7                           | 1                |
| RSLV                          | The war going on for a very long time<br>Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023                      | 17                         | 27                    | 35                        | 14                       | 5                           | 1                |
| VLC_JW                        | Increasing violence against Jewish people in the U.S.<br>Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023      | 21                         | 27                    | 31                        | 13                       | 6                           | 2                |
| VLC_MSLM                      | Increasing violence against Muslim people in the U.S.<br>Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023      | 14                         | 23                    | 31                        | 18                       | 12                          | 2                |

**ASK ALL:**

COEX Now, thinking about the future, and not just the current conflict...

Do you think a way can be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully with each other?

| Nov 27-Dec 3<br><u>2023</u> |                               | Feb 4-15<br><u>2020</u> <sup>3</sup> |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 52                          | Yes, can coexist peacefully   | 55                                   |
| 45                          | No, cannot coexist peacefully | 41                                   |
| 3                           | No answer                     | 4                                    |

**ASK ALL:**

PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a:

**ASK IF INDEP/SOMETHING ELSE (PARTY=3 or 4) OR MISSING:**

| PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to... <sup>4</sup> |                 | Something else     | No answer | <i>Lean Rep</i> | <i>Lean Dem</i> |
|---|-----------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <u>Republican</u>                                       | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Independent</u> |           |                 |                 |
| 28  | 29              | 27                 | 13        | 3               | 17              |
|   |                 |                    |           |                 | 18              |

<sup>3</sup> New context added for W139. W61 asked: "Do you think a way can be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully with each other?"

<sup>4</sup> PARTY and PARTYLN asked in a prior survey.