



Combined Polls Review

Latest Update: December 4, 2023

Joanna Landau



Nov 3-6

More in Common



Published December 4

More in Common Research

In the aftermath of Hamas' terror attack on October 7th, More in Common has been investigating public perceptions of the conflict, emphasizing the importance of understanding how British society is interpreting the events. The report uses MIC's [British Seven segmentation](#) to categorize participants. This is a psychographic, values-based segmentation of the British public which, according to the research institute, in many cases is more predictive of beliefs on certain issues than other demographics.

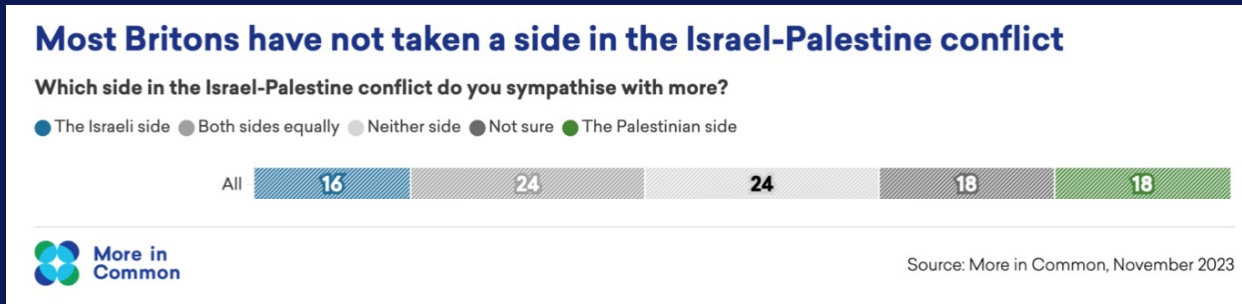
“The truth is that the portrayal of a country split into two warring camps - those who ‘side’ with Israel and those who ‘side’ with Palestine does not reflect where most Britons stand on or think about the conflict. Instead, most Britons have found themselves simultaneously angry about the actions of murderous terrorists, concerned for civilians in both Israel and Gaza, and profoundly worried about what the situation means for community relations here in the UK.”

The report, based on nationally representative polling (2,049 British adults – excluding Northern Ireland) and focus groups conducted throughout November, constitutes the most comprehensive exploration of British public opinion on the war since its inception.

In the UK, the vast majority doesn't take a side.

As we saw immediately following October 7, sympathy for Israel doubled to 20% and sympathy for Palestinians dropped to 16% (YouGov UK). A month later, sympathy for both sides were tied at around 19%.

MIC is showing a similar result, with slightly higher sympathy for the Palestinians and lower sympathy for the Israelis, but the majority either sympathizing with both sides or not taking a side.



Summarizing the numbers:

- 16% sympathize with the Israeli side
- 18% sympathize with the Palestinians side
- 24% sympathize with both sides equally
- 42% sympathize with neither side or are unsure

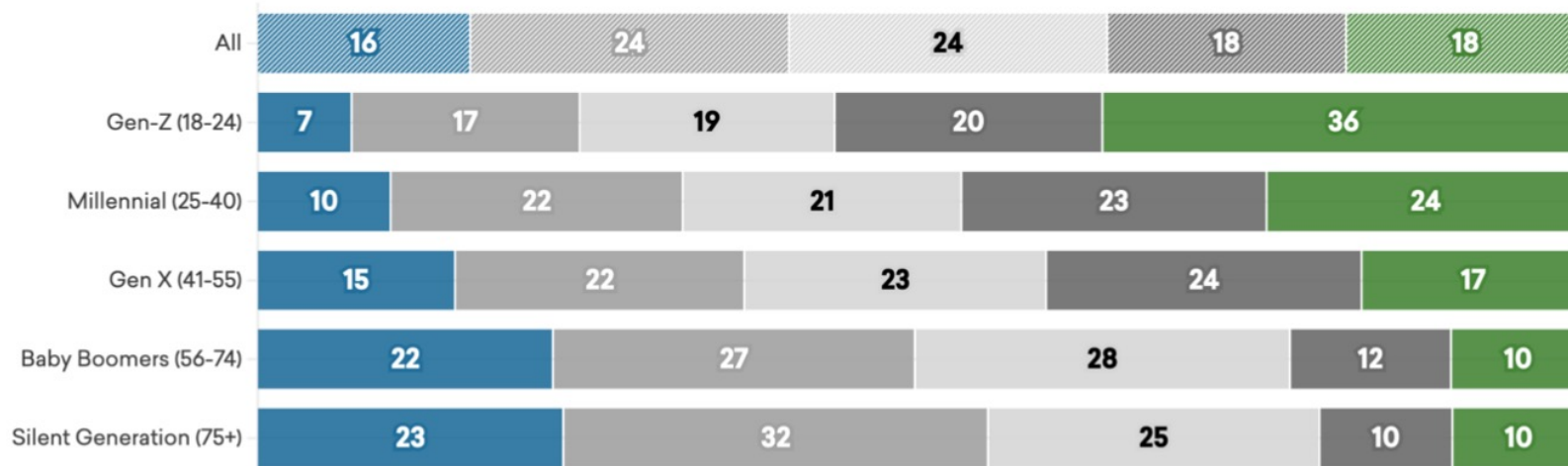
In other words, in the UK, the potential “market” to work with that isn’t completely against Israel is 82% (we group the “sympathize with neither” together with the “unsure” because both express a level of indifference indicates that they are not entirely unwilling to be engaged).

The generational divide is in the UK as well.

Younger people are much more sympathetic to the Palestinian side

Which side in the Israel-Palestine conflict do you sympathise with more?

● The Israeli side ● Both sides equally ● Neither side ● Not sure ● The Palestinian side



Source: More in Common, November 2023

Similarly to the U.S., younger people more strongly support the Palestinians.

Yet even amongst Gen Z'ers, over half either support both sides equally, support neither side or aren't sure who to support.

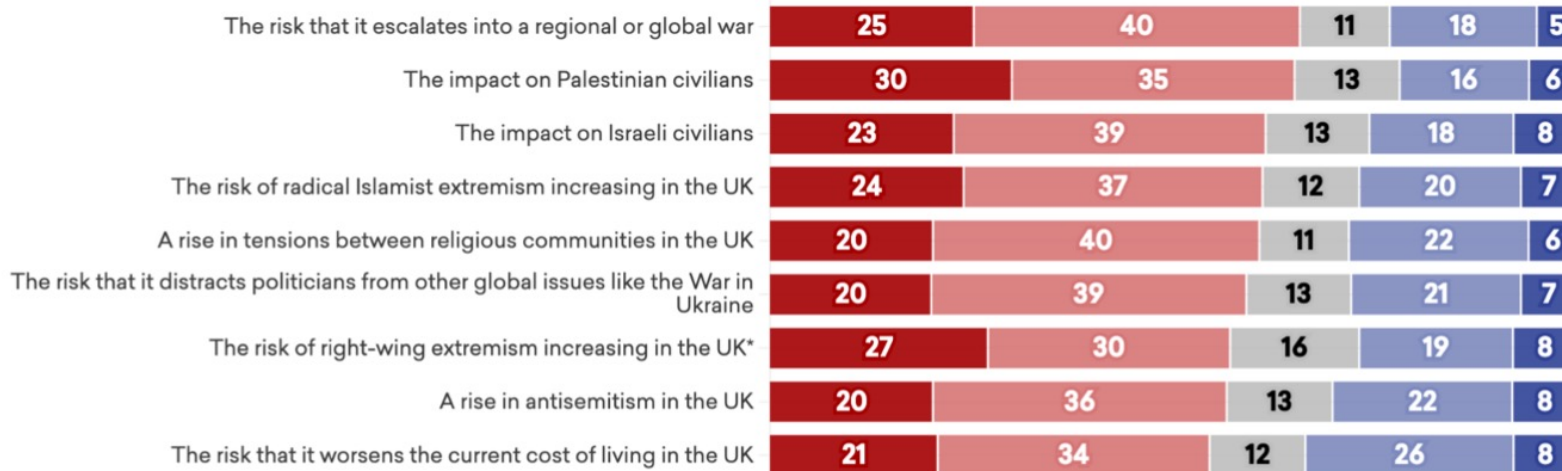
And over two thirds of each of the remaining four age groups feel the same way.

The Starting Point: Disgust at terrorism and a deep concern for civilians.

Britons are worried about the war's toll on civilians and risks of broader escalation

How much do you worry about the following impacts of the Israel-Palestine conflict?

● A great deal ● Quite a lot ● Don't know ● Not very much ● Not at all



Source: More in Common, November 2023 • *Asked separately

The top five concerns of Brits of the impact of the conflict are:

1. Escalation into regional or global war (65%).
2. Impact on Palestinian civilians (65%).
3. Impact on Israeli civilians (62%).
4. Risk of radical Islamist extremism increasing in the UK (61%).
5. Rise in tensions between religious communities in the UK (60%).

Messaging to tap into Britons' main concerns.

According to the focus group discussions, most Britons see the war as a humanitarian disaster and desperately want a peaceful resolution, but don't see the need to endorse one side or the other. These are their greatest concerns:

- Anger and despair at the loss of civilian life
- Disgust at Hamas' terrorism and belief in Israel's right to defend itself
- An expectation that Israel uses force proportionally, in line with international law
- A commitment to a pathway to Palestinian self-determination, and concern about the difficulties Palestinians face in their day-to-day lives

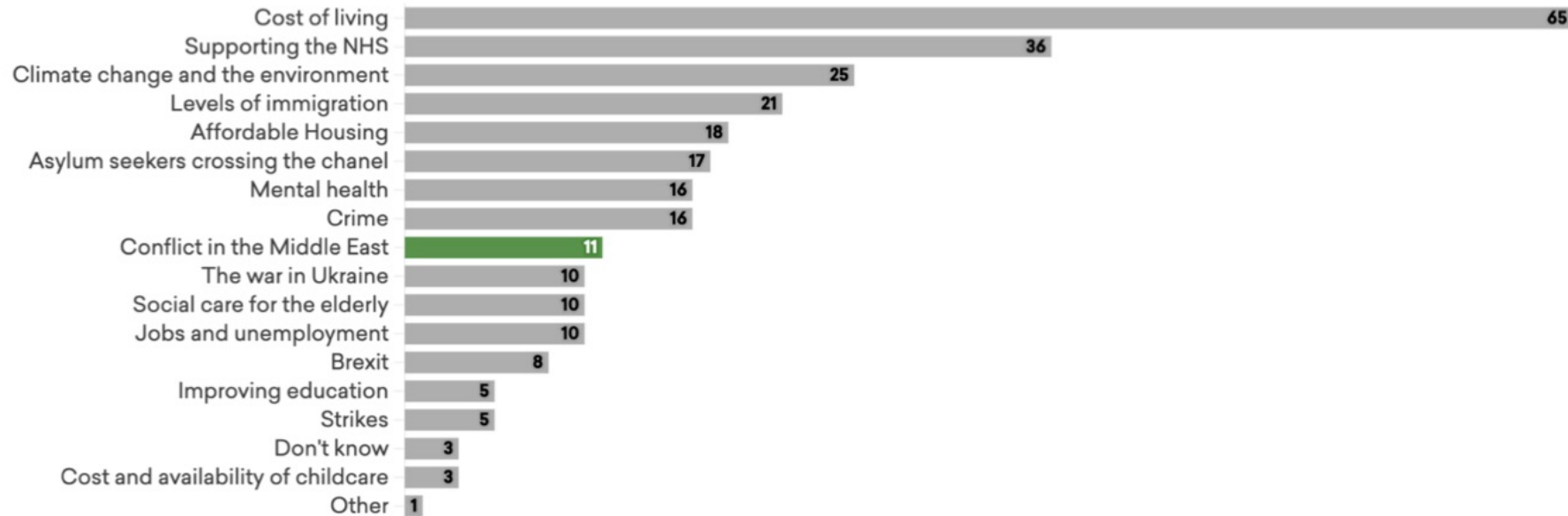
“These views are less likely to be represented on television debates about the conflict, or in the most viral social media posts, but they represent how the large majority of Britons think about and engage with the conflict.”

Translating this into effective pro-Israel messaging, with most Britons, we have to recognize the suffering of the other side, emphasize that Israel is acting in line with international law, and provide a vision for the day after.

The war in Israel and Gaza is not top-of-mind for most Britons.

As in the U.S., what's going on in this region doesn't concern Britons greatly, in comparison to other issues of interest. Out of 18 options, the conflict in the Middle East ranked 9th in order of importance.

In your opinion, which are the most IMPORTANT issues facing the country today? Please select up to three.



There are specific segments more sympathetic to the Palestinians, similarly to the U.S..

More in Common found the following are most sympathetic to Palestinians:

- At least 15% of almost all segments have sympathy for the Palestinians.
- The most sympathetic are the “Progressive Activists”*.
- A third of Gen Z (18-24) and a quarter of Millennials (25-34) are more sympathetic to them.
- Men and women sympathize equally with the Palestinians.
- Degree holders are twice as likely to sympathize more with Palestinians.
- Londoners, cities rather than towns, higher household incomes tend to sympathize more with the Palestinians.
- British Muslims are most sympathetic (71%) for obvious reasons.

For long-term target market purposes, Israel should focus on doing better with the next gen, academics and the higher socio-economic segments.

* For a description of this type of Brits, [go here](#).

Support for Israel in the U.K. does not extend well enough into all types of British segments.

More in Common found the following are most sympathetic to Palestinians:

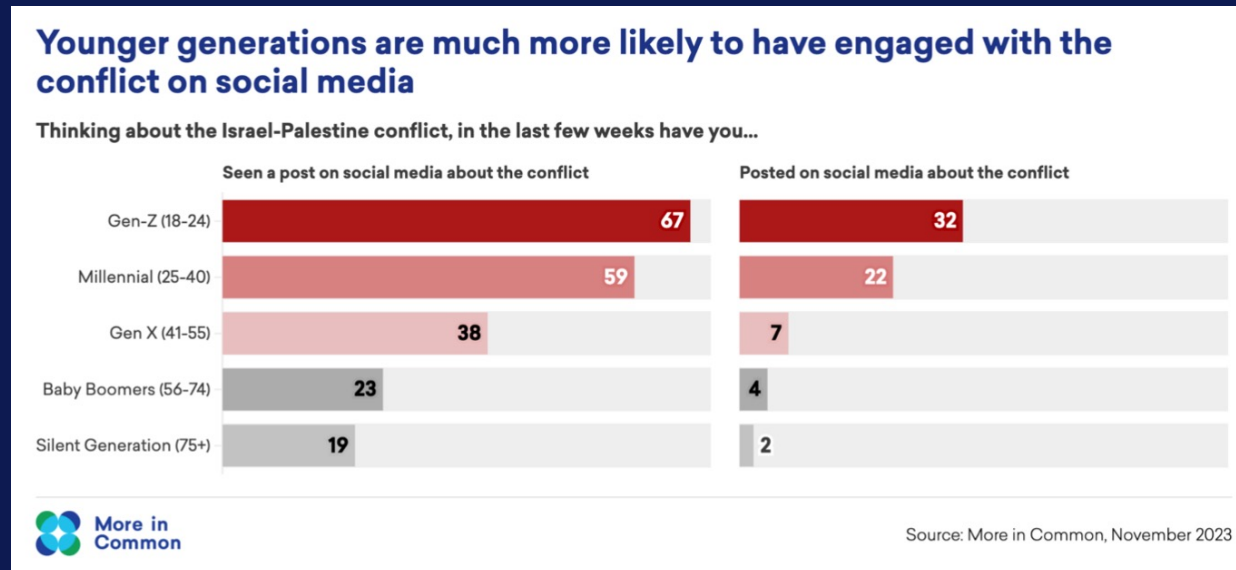
- Most sympathetic (1 in 5) are Progressive Backbone Conservatives*.
- 18 per cent of Loyal Nationals* and 17 percent of Disengaged Traditionalists* also say they sympathize more with the Israeli side.
- Older groups are more likely to sympathize with Israel than younger groups.
- Men (10%) are more likely to sympathize with Israel than women (this is not the same with the Palestinian side, where there's no real difference between men and women).

Objectively speaking, an improvement in Israel's positioning in the minds of other groups is an absolute imperative in the long term, since the groups that are our strongest supporters are either much older, or tend to be very right wing which is off-putting for most Britons and we don't want to be "bucketed" in that group.

* For descriptions of these types of Brits, [go here](#).

Talking about the war in the U.K.

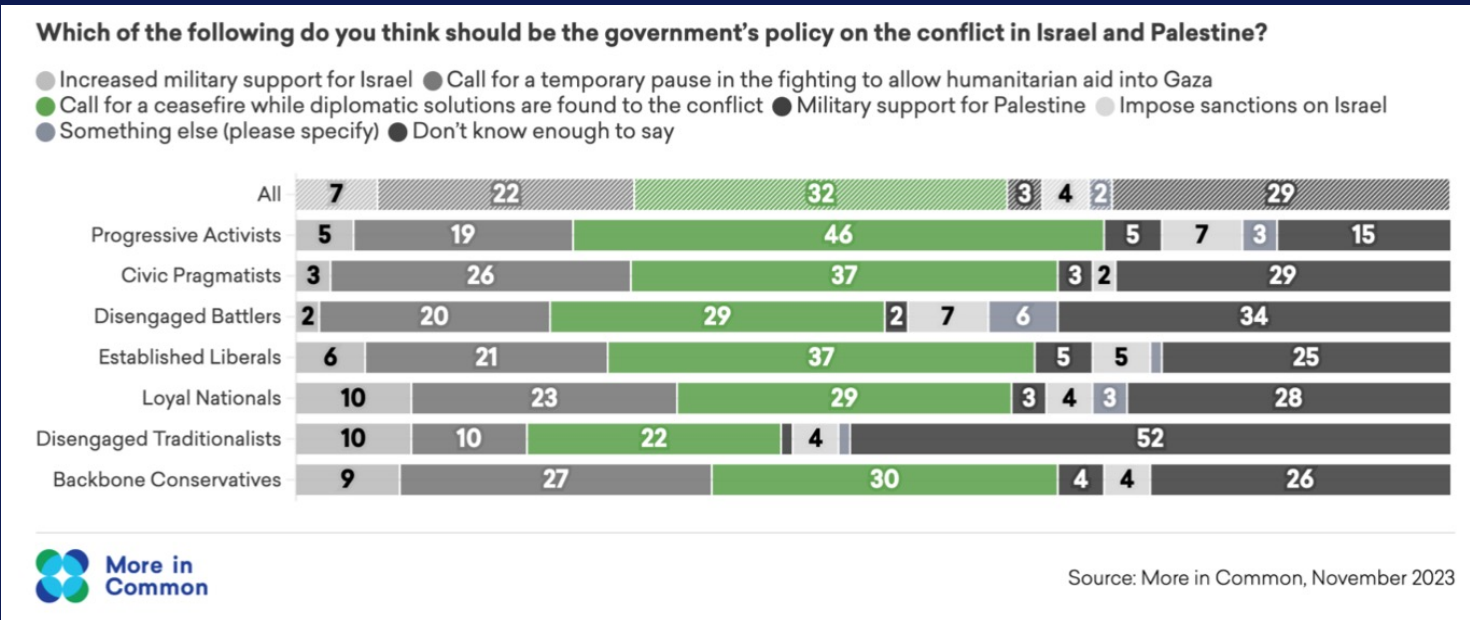
Britons are increasingly uncomfortable with the growing number of heated interpersonal arguments about the conflict. Britons who feel distressed by the situation for civilians in Israel and Palestine feel more pressured into taking sides, and that extreme voices are crowding out their more moderate views. This is particularly true on social media, the arena in which the public feel most uncomfortable talking about the conflict.



The research clearly indicates that demanding Britons to take a side is the wrong way to go, therefore in our messaging we should avoid hashtags such as #standwithisrael. They will backfire and turn Britons away.

Long-Term Solutions

A ceasefire is Britons' most popular solution to the conflict, but it does not command a majority.



Top 3 Priorities:

1. Call for temporary ceasefire while diplomatic solutions are found to the conflict (32%).
2. Call for a temporary pause in the fighting to allow humanitarian aid into Gaza (22%).
3. Increased military support for Israel (7%).

What the research is showing is that Britons aren't clear on what the correct vision for resolving the conflict is.

Other findings:

- **A sense that neither side is perfect:** Footage of violence against civilians in both Israel and Gaza has driven a sense among many people that (as compared perhaps to the Ukraine and Russia), there's isn't one side in the right and the other in the wrong.
- **A dislike of amplifying division:** Most Britons are reluctant to associate themselves with a cause that might be amplifying divisions in the UK. Therefore, asking them to pick a side is not as effective as asking them to care for both sides.
- **The most engaged aren't speaking up on social media:** Those who say they sympathize with both sides equally express the highest total levels of concern for Israeli and Palestinian civilians but feel least comfortable talking about the conflict on social media and elsewhere because they dislike how vitriolic the debate has become.
- **Support for either side is equal in size, but not intensity:** Sympathizers with the Palestinians feel more strongly about this issue than sympathizers with Israel. This asymmetry results in Palestinian supporters to be more vocal than those who support Israel, and manifests itself in action (e.g. participation in protests and online activity).
- **Brits are worried about antisemitism, but not to the extent that it plays a very significant motivator:** 29% say the UK is unsafe for Jews, 19% say they don't know, and 52% say it is safe. They feel Muslims are also affected, but to a slightly lesser degree. Half (!) of the respondents don't feel confident they know what the term actually means.

Conclusions

- **Differently to the U.S., Britons are less steadfast about their position in the conflict, and most prefer not to take a side on account of the other side.** Together with those who support Israel, we have a “market” of over 80% of Britons to engage.
- **The generational divide exists in the UK as well.** But over a half of Gen Z’ers and two thirds of all the other age groups are expressing a lack of clarity over what side they support, which bodes well for Israel’s ability to “win them over” if we work at it consistently and for a long time.
- **British people suffered from the Ukraine war, and they see the conflict in the Middle East having the same potential of affecting them personally.** This concern is greater than their concern for the rise in extreme Islam in the UK, and so while messaging about extremism taking over their lives does have some value, we should consider more universal messaging about the impact of war and the need to avoid it (by ridding the world of Hamas).
- **British people need to feel that Israel is abiding by international law in order to accept its military actions.** Therefore, we must make efforts to express this in very simple ways on social media and in sophisticated ways in the language used in media interviews so as not to appear to merely be paying lip service.
- **Differently to the U.S., highlighting antisemitism as a reason to not support Palestinians or express more support for Israel may not be as effective in the U.K.** since there’s less concern about the issue there.
- **Most Britons, especially the 34+ age group, avoid being vocal on social media on this matter.** Therefore, much more effort should be invested in reaching these target audiences through traditional media, events and protests.



Nov 30–Dec 4

AP/NORC



Published December 7

AP/NORC Poll

The Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs and Research conducted this poll amongst just over 1,074 adults in the U.S. (not all necessarily registered voters). We reviewed their earlier poll from November 2-6 as well, and will compare to it where data is comparable.

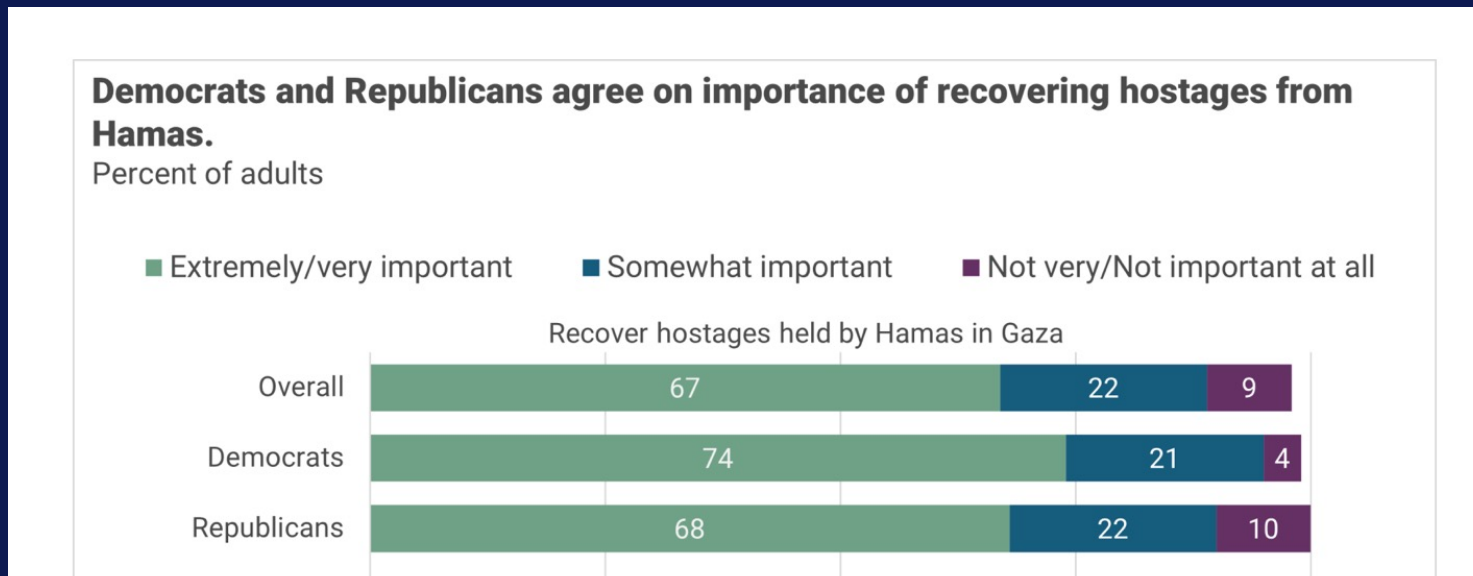
In terms of the Economy and Foreign Affairs, we a slight improvement in approval numbers for Biden. 1% up from last month on the Economy (34%), and 3% up from last month on the conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians (37%) - which bodes well for our purposes. This, as compared to slightly lower approval ratings when it comes to Health care and immigration issues.

Overall, Biden's approval ratings are very slightly up from last month, but they remain quite low in general.

We will focus here on the questions specifically related to the war in Gaza.

Hostage recovery tops the American public's priorities for the Israel– Hamas conflict.

As we have been recommending since the outset of the war, to win hearts and minds in America, the key message through which the entire conflict should be presented and framed to the world (especially to Americans) is the Hostage Crisis. This data confirms our recommendation, two months after the war broke out.



See the next slide for full results, but look at the following numbers for indication:

- 91% of Americans think recovering the hostages is important.
- 81% think providing humanitarian relief to the Palestinians in Gaza is important.
- 78% think negotiating a permanent ceasefire is important.
- 72% think providing aid to Israel's military to fight Hamas is important.

Hostage recovery tops the American public's priorities for the Israel– Hamas conflict.

It is interesting to note the breakdown amongst Democrats and Republicans, and this is important for Biden's re-election prospects. Here's how Democrats prioritize as extremely or very important in connection with the Israel-Hamas Conflict:

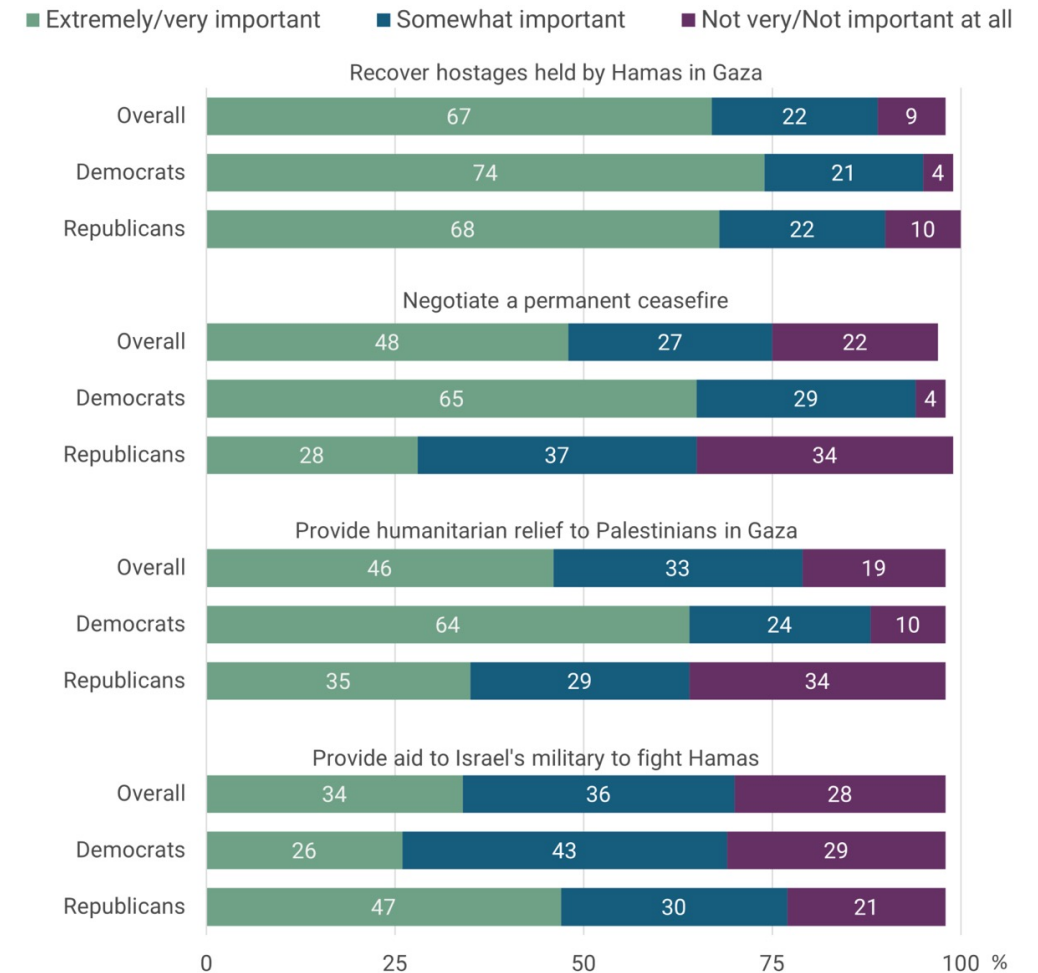
1. Recovering the hostages held by Hamas in Gaza (74%).
2. Negotiating a permanent ceasefire (65%).
3. Providing humanitarian relief to Palestinians in Gaza (64%).
4. Providing aid to Israel's military to fight Hamas (only 26%).

Here's how Republicans prioritize the same:

1. Recovering the hostages held by Hamas in Gaza (68%).
2. Providing aid to Israel's military to fight Hamas (only 47%).
3. Providing humanitarian relief to Palestinians in Gaza (35%).
4. Negotiating a permanent ceasefire (28%).

Democrats and Republicans agree on importance of recovering hostages from Hamas.

Percent of adults



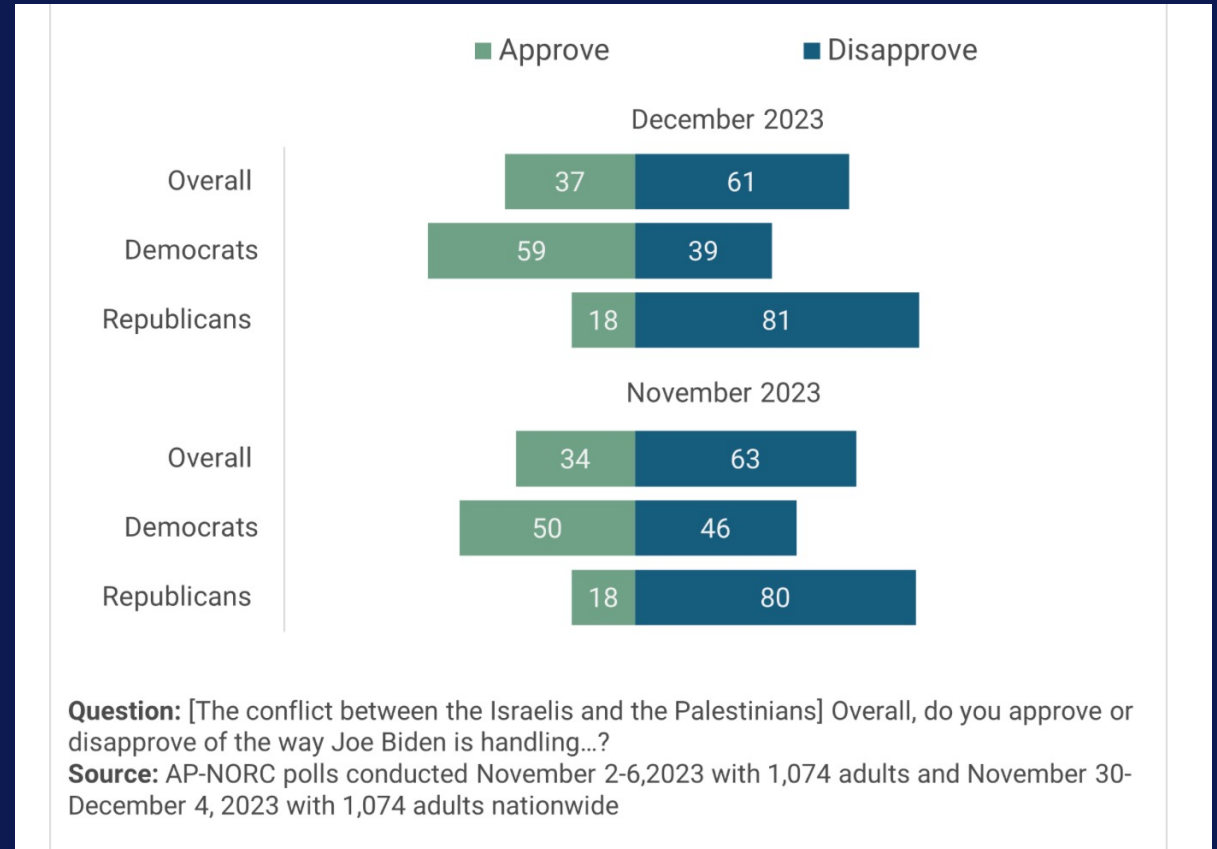
Question: Thinking about the foreign policy goals of the United States, please tell me how important it is for the United States to do each of the following?

Source: AP-NORC poll conducted November 30-December 4, 2023 with 1,074 adults nationwide.

Most Democrats approve of Bidens' handling of the Israel– Hamas conflict.

We see a marked increase (from 50% to 59% in the Democrats' approval of Biden in this respect as compared to last month.

Also, a slight increase in overall approval for Biden in this respect.



Other findings

- Respondents overall feel this month that the country is heading in the right direction slightly more than they felt that last month. 25% said the country is heading in the right direction, which is up from 18% from last month. Still, 3 in 4 Americans think the country is headed in the wrong direction - not a good result for Biden overall although no different than the results from the January poll.
- Biden's approval rating overall is slightly higher than the previous poll. 41% approve of how Biden is handling his job as president as compared to 38% in November.

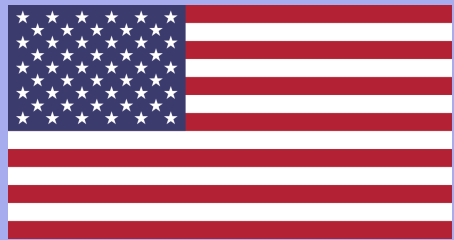
Conclusions

- **If it ain't broke, don't fix it: Don't change our key message.** This poll clearly confirms that Americans care most about bringing the hostages back, so our collective efforts (from social media activism, through missions of hostage families traveling to cities across America, to official and unofficial representatives of Israel highlighting the hostage crisis on traditional media, it's all working, so keep at it.
- **The increase in support for Biden amongst Democrats when it comes to the conflict may indicate that they are becoming aware of the danger of Hamas and their behavior and rhetoric on American soil.** This would require qualitative research (in-depth interviews and focus groups) to confirm. Regardless, the increase of almost 10% points in support by Democrats of Biden's handling of the conflict is a step in the right direction for Israel's strategic needs.



Nov 1–21

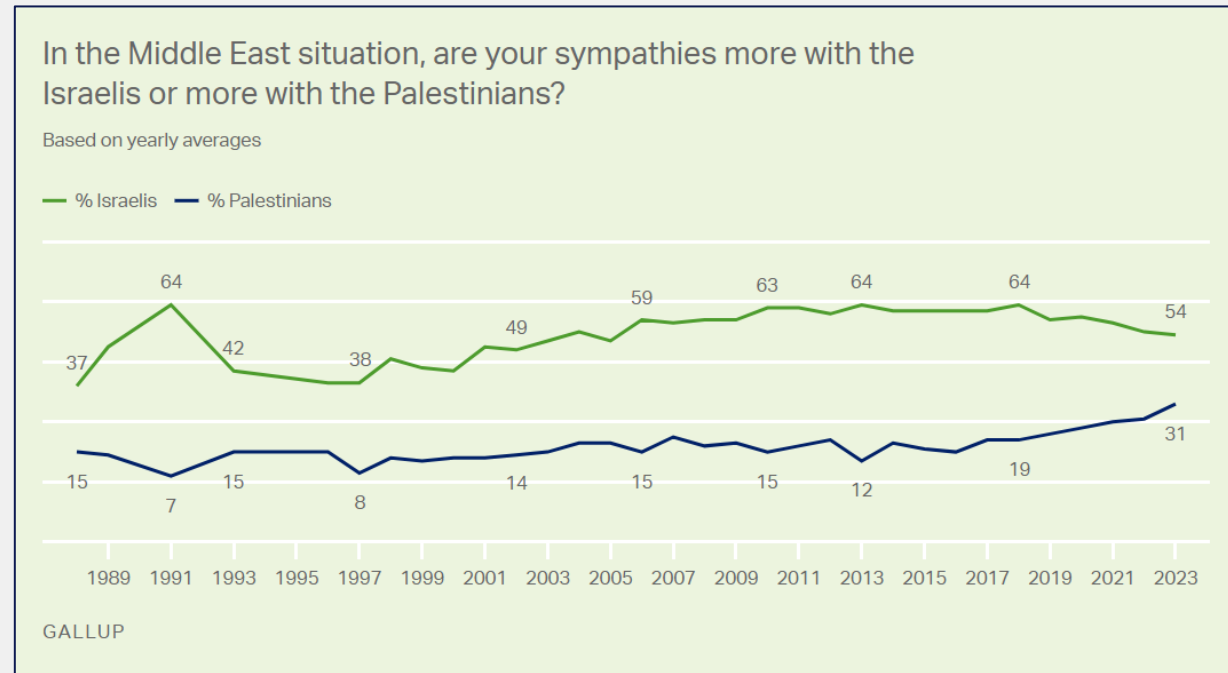
Gallup



Published November 30

Gallup Poll

Gallup has been conducting polls on sympathies amongst Americans towards Israel and the Palestinians since 1980. They include non-voters in their polls and this should be taken in mind, although the general trend is what we're looking at. Gallup polls too show that there is more support for Israel than for the Palestinians.

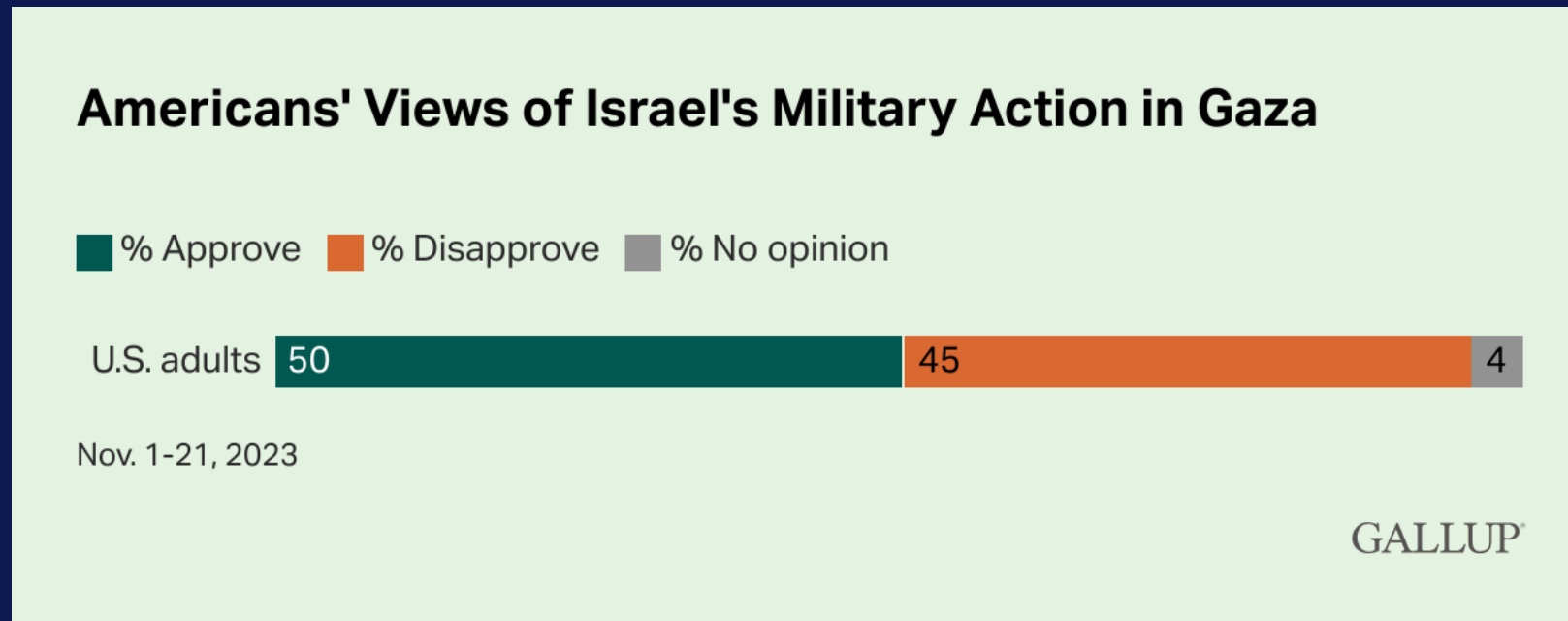


Note that the 2023 result is from February, months before Hamas attacked Israel

On November 1-21, 2023, Gallup reviewed the perceptions of just over 1,000 American adults towards the Israel-Hamas War, which we will review here.

Half of Americans approve of Israel's military action in the Hamas-led Gaza Strip, and 45% disapprove

This is an important question, and one that Biden pays close attention to and the results should raise a red flag for the pro-Israel community.



The generational divide in the U.S. is very clear in this poll, just like other polls.

Also, women tend to be slightly more critical of Israel's actions than men.

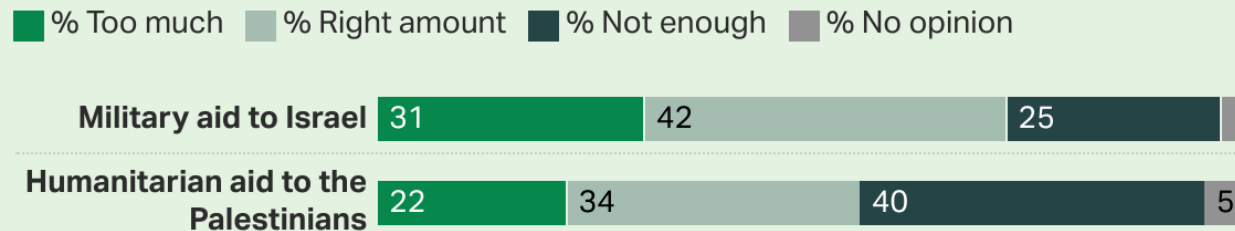


Most Americans Content With U.S. Aid Going to Both Sides

An important mitigation to the 45% disapproving of Israel's actions.

Americans' Perceptions About U.S. Aid to Middle East Players

Do you think the United States is doing too much, about the right amount or not enough to provide ... ?



Nov. 1-21, 2023

GALLUP

If more Americans were also displeased with American aid going towards Israel (which actually is going towards the very activities 45% said they disapprove of), then we would be more concerned.

Note also the difference between the objective of the aid: in Israel's case, it's for military aid; in the Palestinians' case, it's for humanitarian aid. The results, taken in that context, are not very surprising. The question isn't really comparing apples to apples...

A deeper dive shows a generational divide in this answer as well.

Other findings

- **Seven in 10 are following the situation closely.** The majority of various demographic groups are paying some level of attention to the situation, but college-educated individuals and older adults are more likely to follow it very closely, reflecting their overall higher interest in political news. Moreover, those who approve of Israel's military action in Gaza are more likely to follow the situation very closely compared to those who disapprove.
- **President Joe Biden's 32% approval rating for his handling of the Israel-Hamas situation is lower than his already-anemic 37% overall job approval rating in the new poll.** There is a notable approval gap among certain groups, particularly Democrats, people of color, women, and young adults, who strongly oppose Israel's military action in Gaza. These groups show significantly less approval for President Biden's handling of the Middle East situation compared to their overall approval of his job performance.

Conclusions

- **The latest Gallup poll continues to reflect what other polls are showing.** We see with the nonvoting public slightly less support for Israel as compared to polls that only include registered voters, but this should not concern us greatly considering the overall strategy of focusing on the voting public to whom Biden is paying attention to.
- **The generational divide continues to be a cause of concern.** As already mentioned, the disparity between the age groups requires a complete overhaul of the way Israel engages with young people. We can start now, but have to align our expectations to recognize that we will probably not see immediate results. This is a long-term effort which the community and the Israeli government must take very seriously.
- **It appears there is some confusion amongst Americans about whether they support Israel's right to defend itself militarily or not.** When asked whether they approve or not of Israel's military action in Gaza, 45% say no, and 55% say yes. But when asked whether America's military aid to Israel is enough, a full 67% say yes or not enough. In other words, objectively speaking, almost half of Americans don't support Israel's actions in Gaza. But when presented with the option of whether America should support those actions or not, a significantly higher percentage of Americans say they think America is doing the right thing (which necessarily includes some of those who said they do not support Israel's actions in the first place). This uncovers how complex this issue is for the average American.



Nov 15-16

Harvard CAPS Harris



Published November 20

The Harvard Caps Harris Poll

In late October, the first poll this company did uncovered the deep generational divide when it comes to Israel. It rightly caused a great deal of concern in the community that Gen Z'ers' perceptions of the situation are extremely skewed. Specifically, when asking whether they tend to side more with Israel or more with Hamas (not even with the Palestinians), almost HALF of the 18-24 year-olds said they sided with Hamas. Notwithstanding these worrying findings, overall the numbers for Israel looked good in mid-October, certainly better than the data we are familiar with from before October 7.

Here we delve deeper into the November update (published a month later) and offer some highlights and insights.

(Polls conducted on October 18-19 among 2,116 registered voters, and November 15-16 among 2,851 registered voters)

First, some general findings, unrelated to Israel but shed light on how Americans think.

Biden’s approval rates on foreign policy have improved slightly this month.

| Approve Biden on... (Strongly or Somewhat Approve) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| | Jan 22 | Feb 22 | Mar 22 | Apr 22 | May 22 | Jun 22 | Jul 22 | Sep 22 | Oct 22 | Nov 22 | Dec 22 | Jan 23 | Feb 23 | Mar 23 | Apr 23 | May 23 | Jun 23 | Jul 23 | Sep 23 | Oct 23 | Nov 23 |
| The Economy | 35% | 33% | 35% | 38% | 36% | 32% | 36% | 37% | 39% | 39% | 39% | 38% | 39% | 40% | 39% | 39% | 39% | 38% | 39% | 41% | 44% |
| Stimulating Jobs | 41% | 38% | 39% | 46% | 45% | 43% | 41% | 44% | 46% | 46% | 47% | 46% | 48% | 48% | 47% | 48% | 44% | 46% | 46% | 49% | 50% |
| Fighting Terrorism | 38% | 34% | 36% | 43% | 42% | 40% | 41% | 42% | 44% | 45% | 45% | 43% | 44% | 46% | 46% | 46% | 43% | 43% | 41% | 46% | 46% |
| Immigration | 34% | 32% | 34% | 38% | 38% | 37% | 39% | 37% | 38% | 40% | 40% | 37% | 38% | 41% | 40% | 38% | 35% | 37% | 36% | 39% | 39% |
| Foreign Affairs | 35% | 33% | 38% | 41% | 41% | 39% | 39% | 40% | 41% | 44% | 42% | 42% | 43% | 45% | 42% | 43% | 40% | 42% | 40% | 43% | 44% |
| Administering the Gov't | 40% | 38% | 35% | 44% | 42% | 38% | 41% | 41% | 44% | 44% | 43% | 42% | 42% | 46% | 44% | 44% | 42% | 41% | 42% | 45% | 46% |
| Reacting to coronavirus | 44% | 44% | 42% | 52% | 53% | 50% | 48% | 49% | 51% | 54% | 52% | 52% | 50% | 52% | 51% | 52% | 49% | 50% | 48% | 53% | 54% |
| Dealing with violence and crime in the country | 36% | 33% | 34% | 39% | 38% | 34% | 38% | 38% | 39% | 40% | 42% | 39% | 39% | 42% | 39% | 39% | 37% | 37% | 38% | 41% | 42% |
| Handling inflation | 31% | 28% | 33% | 35% | 34% | 28% | 33% | 36% | 35% | 38% | 38% | 36% | 38% | 38% | 37% | 37% | 36% | 34% | 35% | 40% | 40% |
| Israeli-Hamas Conflict | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 44% | 45% |

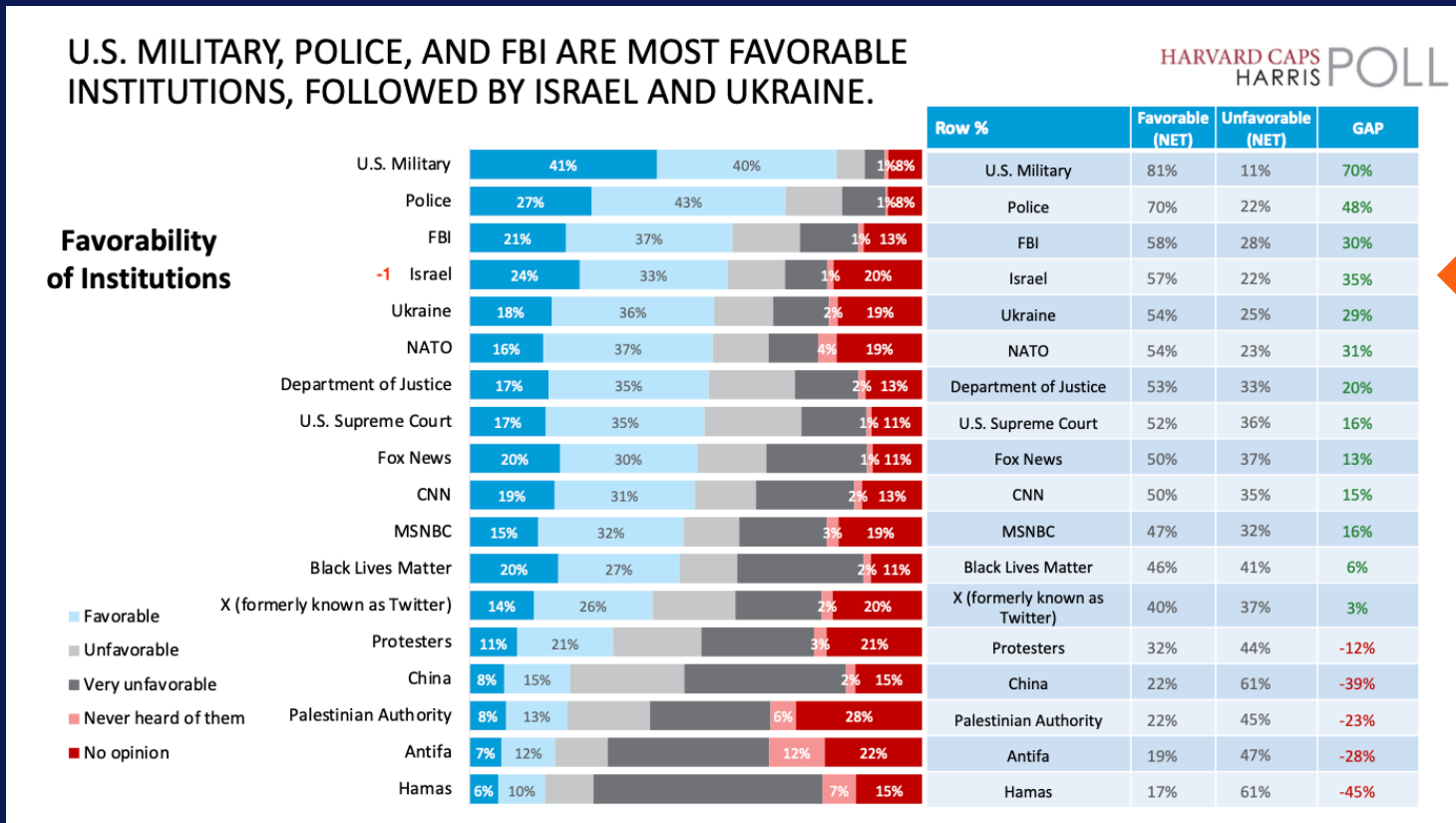
While Biden’s approval rates on handling of most issues is under 50%, there is a slight improvement in how Americans think he’s doing in terms of handling the economy and foreign affairs. The latter is an important indicator for Israel. We DO NOT want to see a drop in approval there.



M3A. Do you approve or disapprove of the job President Biden is doing on ...?

First, some general findings, unrelated to Israel but shed light on how Americans think.

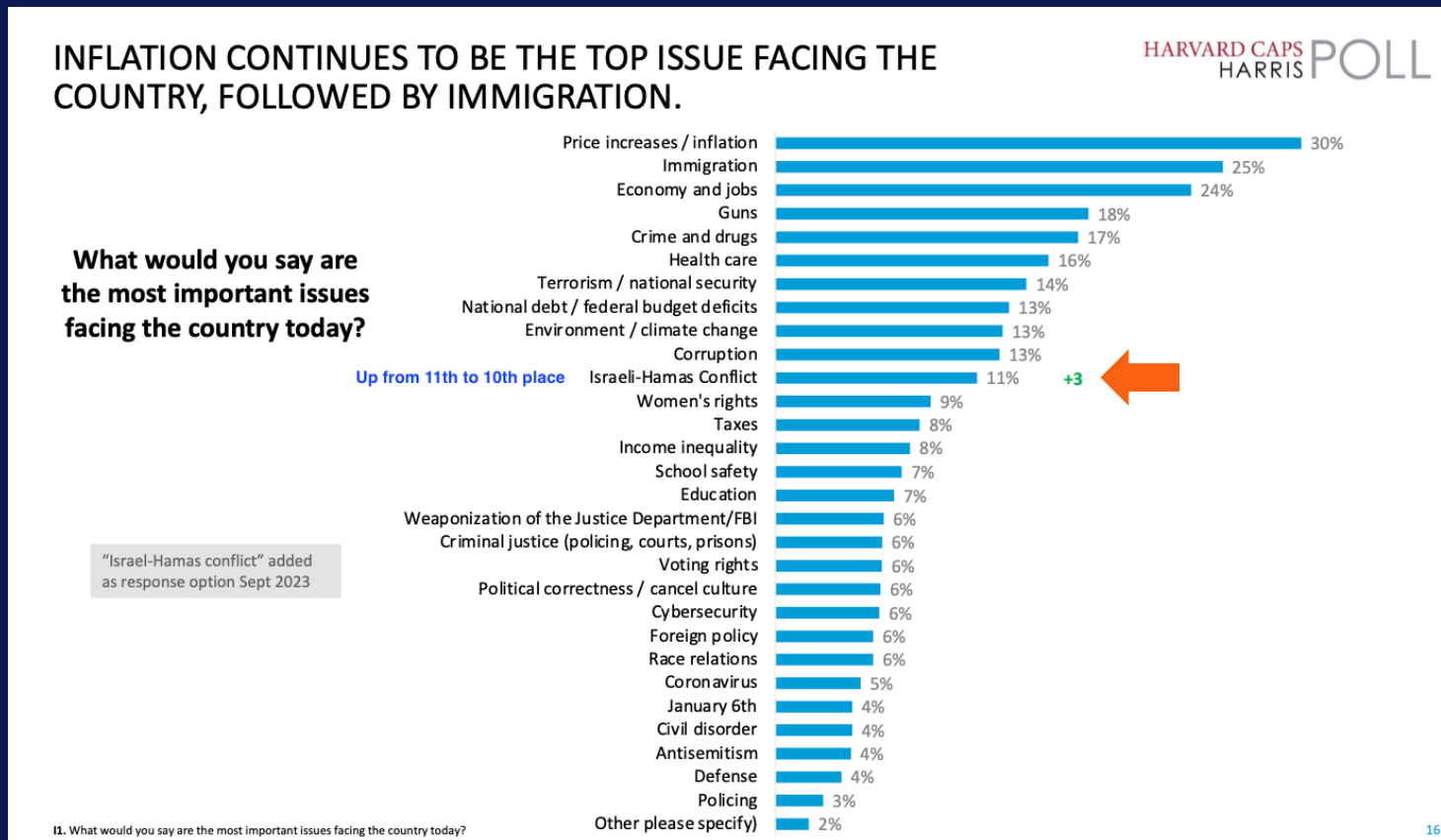
Israel remains one of top four most favorable “institutions” in the eyes of Americans.



In the last poll, Israel was ranked one point higher, and was also seen more favorably even than the Ukraine. This is a very important indicator that should provide us with some degree of relief (remember that this reflects the position of Americans almost 6 weeks after the ground incursion in Gaza that has taken the lives of over 10,000 Palestinians).

First, some general findings, unrelated to Israel but shed light on how Americans think.

Americans consider at least 9 other issues more important than the "Israel-Hamas Conflict".

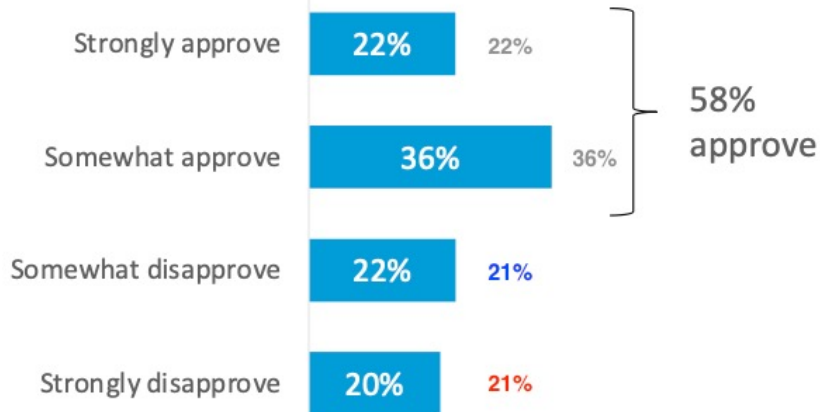


In terms of the most important issues Americans think about for their future, the conflict is in tenth place (up one point from last month). So while WE worry a great deal about what Americans think about our conflict, it is NOT the most important issue Americans care about. In other words, it's not a "top of mind" issue, which is a good thing for us.

MOST VOTERS APPROVE BIDEN’S ISRAEL POLICIES AND FAVOR SENDING A 14 BILLION AID PACKAGE TO HELP ISRAEL.

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS POLL

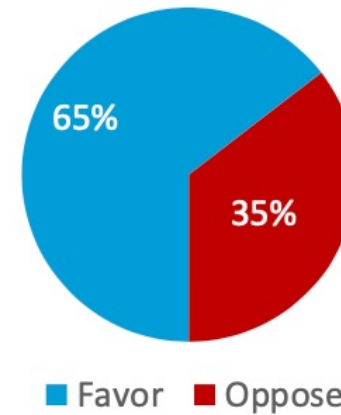
Do you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of Joe Biden's Israel policy?



No significant change across all ages

| Column % | 18-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65+ |
|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| Strongly approve | 23% | 27% | 25% | 23% | 15% | 21% |
| Somewhat approve | 30% | 35% | 37% | 34% | 38% | 39% |
| Somewhat disapprove | 26% | 19% | 20% | 20% | 27% | 22% |
| Strongly disapprove | 21% | 19% | 18% | 24% | 21% | 18% |

Do you favor or oppose the 14 billion aid package to help Israel defeat Hamas and defeat other terrorist movements in the area?

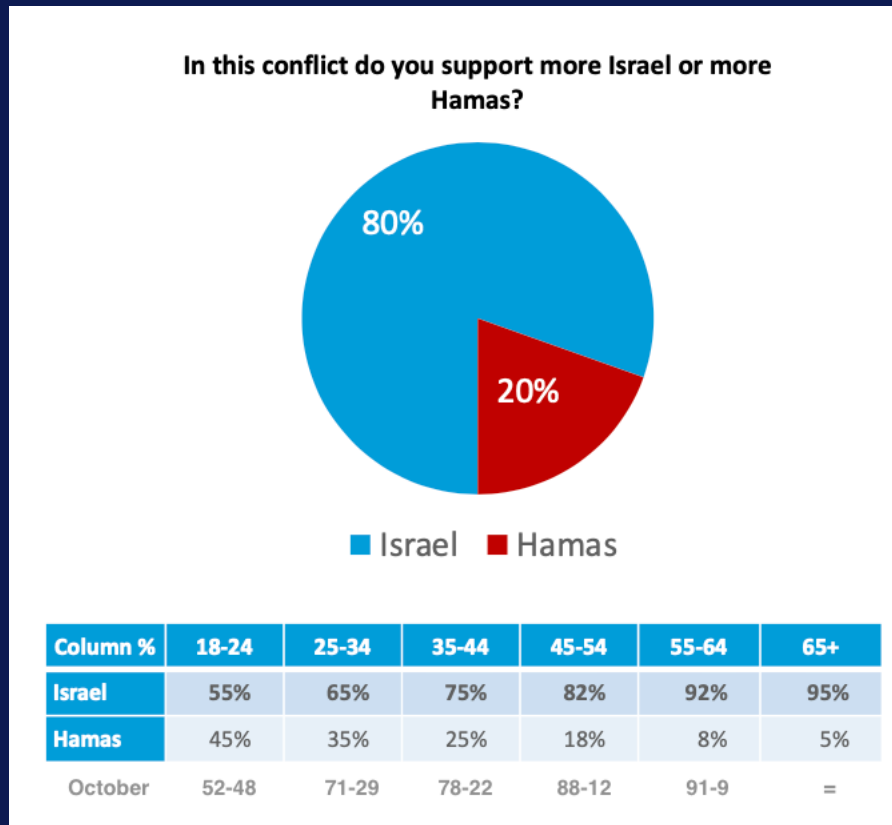


| Column % | 18-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65+ |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| Favor | 57% | 61% | 63% | 62% | 62% | 75% |
| Oppose | 43% | 39% | 37% | 38% | 38% | 25% |

Overall, we remain in a good place in terms of overall American perceptions of the war with Hamas.

58% approve of Biden’s Israel policy (no change from October), and 65% favor the aid package granted by the American administration to Israel.

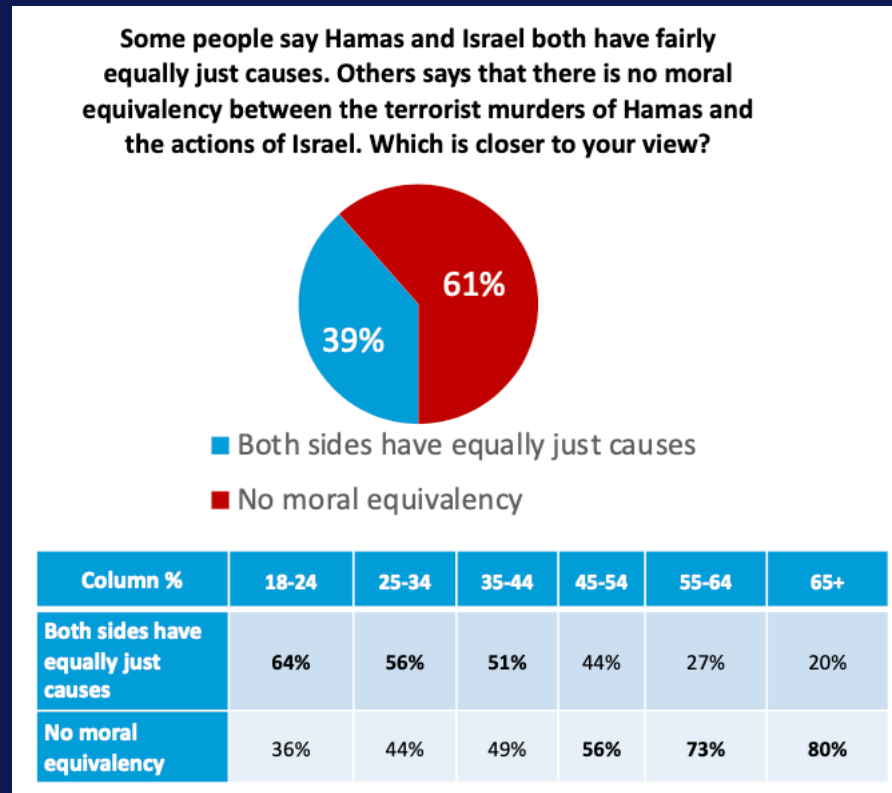
An overwhelming majority of Americans side with Israel over Hamas. However, the problem with the younger generations is extending upwards in age



- Overall, there is an increase of 5% in October to 80% in November supporting Israel and a decrease of 5% from last month supporting Hamas.
- There is even a slight improvement in support for Israel over Hamas amongst 18-24 year-olds (increase of 3%), but a noteworthy drop in support for Israel amongst the 25-44 year-olds (decrease of 3-6% in support for Israel) as well as amongst 45-54 year-olds (decrease of 6% in support for Israel). This is indicative of a trend worth following, but not a major change.
- Another question asking whether the attacks on Jews were genocidal in nature or not revealed little change in results from a month ago, with a vast majority – even amongst the younger generations – recognizing the attacks as genocidal.
- In answer to the question (not posed in the same way in October, so can't be compared): “Do you think Biden should support Israel in its war against Hamas or should he pull back his support for Israel?”, 66% said that he should support, and 34% said he should pull back. Broken down by age, we see approx. 40% of 18-24 year-olds saying support Israel, almost 60% of 25-34 year-olds saying that, and increasingly more support for Israel amongst older age groups.

It seems that the numbers bode well for Israel in the short-term, but the younger generations remain an alarming long-term cause for concern.

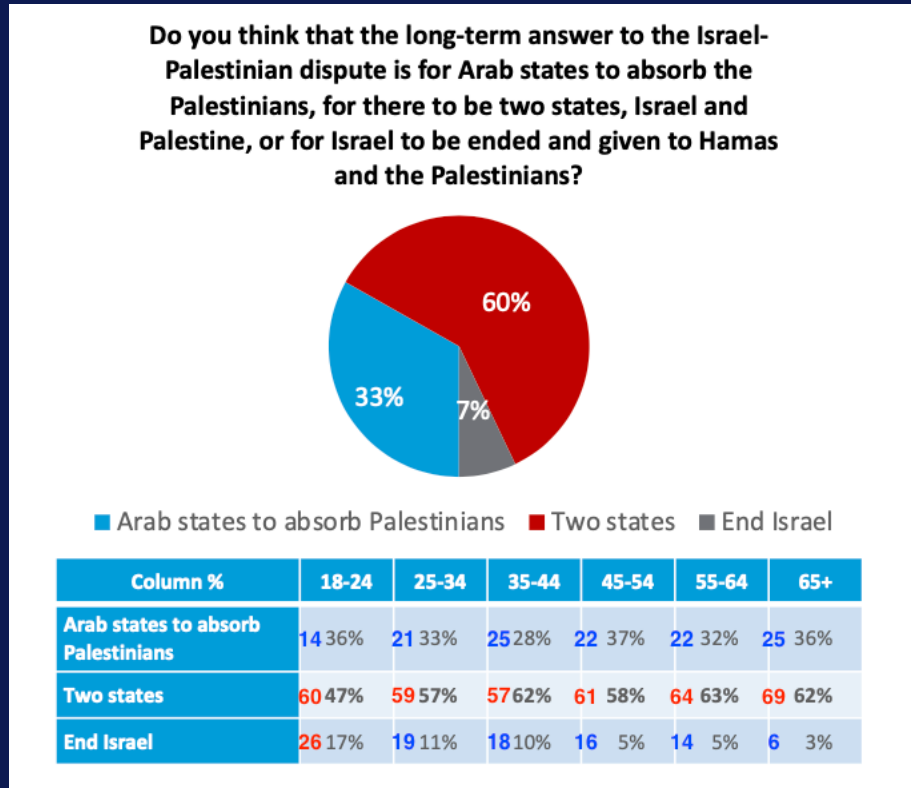
Most Americans say there is no moral equivalency between Hamas and Israel's Grievances, but...



- Two-thirds of voters say there is no moral equivalency between Israel and Hamas's actions.
- However, most (60%) 18-24 year-olds think there IS moral equivalence, and just over half of 25-44 year-olds agree. It is only from the age of 45 that there is a clear understanding that there is no moral equivalency between Hamas and Israel's causes.

Considering Hamas' actions on October 7 and that it has been designated a terrorist organization by the entire free world, it is quite shocking that the numbers here are not much higher in Israel's favor.

Most voters favor a two-state solution in the long-term, but responses amongst younger generations remain worrying

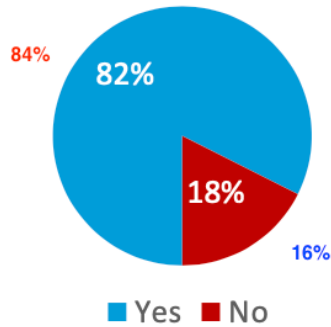


- In October, when asked the question about a long-term solution, THE MAJORITY in America saw two states as a solution, a third preferred the option of the Arab states absorbing the Palestinians, and less than 10% thought Israel should end. However, the generational divide was staggering: a full quarter of American youngsters thought “ending Israel” was an appropriate long-term solution. As did a fifth of millennials.
- A month later, the OVERALL numbers have not changed, and the younger groups have softened their stance on “ending Israel”. However these responses remain of deep concern: 17% of 18-24 year-olds see ending Israel as a long-term solution, just under half of this age cohort opt for the two states solution, and just over a third opt for Arab countries to absorb the Palestinians. 11% of 25-34 year-olds see ending Israel as a solution, a third think Palestinians should be absorbed by Arab states and 57% think the two state solution is the right way to go.

While the deeply worrying state of affairs amongst young Americans has improved slightly, Israel has a long way to go to ensure the next Gen views it positively.

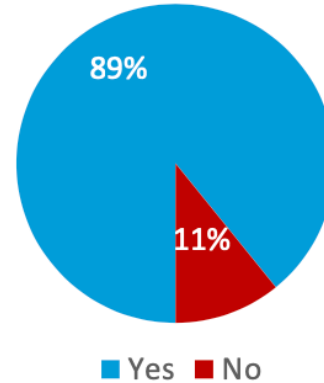
Intellectually, even younger generations understand that Israel has the right to defend itself and a responsibility to bring back hostages

Does Israel have a right to defend itself against rocket and terror attacks on its cities by launching air strikes on terrorist targets in heavily populated Palestinian areas with warnings to those citizens or does it not have the right?



| Column % | 18-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65+ |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| Yes | 70% | 75% | 75% | 86% | 89% | 91% |
| No | 30% | 25% | 25% | 14% | 11% | 9% |
| October | 62-38 | 75-25 | 78-22 | 85-15 | 90-10 | 93-7 |

Does Israel have a responsibility to bring back its abducted citizens - mostly innocent children, women and the elderly - home from Gaza or not?



| Column % | 18-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65+ |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| Yes | 65% | 83% | 86% | 91% | 94% | 99% |
| No | 35% | 17% | 14% | 9% | 6% | 1% |
| October | 61-39 | 81-19 | 84-16 | 88-12 | 97-3 | 99-1 |

What this poll shows very clearly in this question and others is the dissonance between the intellectual and basic moral understanding of the situation and the emotional inability of young people to see Israel, and not the Palestinians, as the underdog, or view Hamas in a less sympathetic way.

CONCLUSION: We can try to educate the general public – especially younger people – more, but even if they understood everything better in the rational sense, their rejection of Israel’s behavior clearly rests elsewhere, in a very emotional space that we have to tap into if we want to change it.

Conclusions

- **A full 6 weeks after the ground incursion, the overall perceptions of Americans with regard to the war are still looking very good for Israel.** This viewpoint is more important than the breakdown by ages that reveals a generation divide, because what Israel needs to worry about is whether registered voters support America's actions and view Israel positively, because that's what Biden worries about. And Israel needs the Biden Administration to feel comfortable to continue supporting Israel in its war against Hamas.
- **Nonetheless, the generational divide is truly worrying.** It is a long-term problem that has been exacerbated by the events of October 7 in ways no-one thought possible. After what the world saw Hamas is capable of, the expectation was that Hamas would be condemned by all. However, it appears that younger Americans have developed more sympathy for Hamas than expected, and a flag must be raised in this respect.
- **There is a need for a short-term and a long-term communications strategy.** In the short-term, Israel's strategy and implementation seems to be working in its favor. However, we must consider the long-term issue with the Next Gen as a major problem that cannot be resolved using the same methodologies used to date (education, advocacy). New, disruptive thinking is required to deal with this.



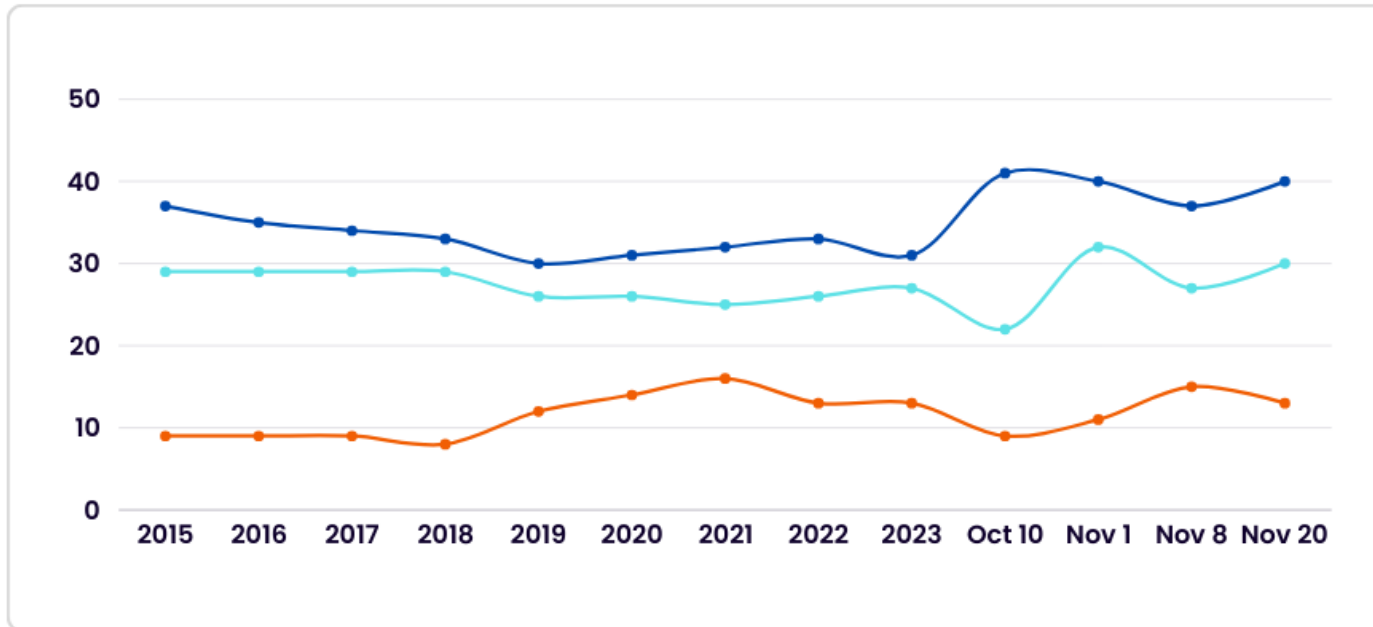
Nov 18
YouGov





YouGov USA Over Time

In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, are your sympathies more with..? (%)



■ Israelis ■ Palestinians ■ Both

As we can see, Americans still view Israelis A LOT more positively than the Palestinians.

- The latest poll (November 20) shows that:
- 40% are more sympathetic towards Israelis
 - 13% are more sympathetic towards the Palestinians
 - 30% are sympathetic to both sides
 - 17% answered “Neither” or “Don’t Know”

CONCLUSION: Continue with the strategy of focusing our efforts on the “Silent Majority” and supporters (together, in the latest poll, representing 87% of Americans), and the key message of the hostage crisis.



Nov 10-14

NBC



Survey by NBC claims: Biden's standing hits new lows amid Israel– Hamas war. And yet...

Israel still viewed much more positively by Americans, as compared to Palestine

| Q13 (cont'd) | Very Positive | Somewhat Positive | Neutral | Somewhat Negative | Very Negative | Don't Know Name/ Not Sure |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------------|---------|-------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| Israel | | | | | | |
| November 2023+ | 24 | 23 | 27 | 14 | 10 | 2 |
| February 2015+ | 25 | 22 | 29 | 12 | 5 | 7 |
| Palestine | | | | | | |
| November 2023+ | 7 | 13 | 37 | 20 | 18 | 5 |
| Hamas | | | | | | |
| November 2023+ | - | 1 | 11 | 9 | 72 | 7 |

As we can see from above the polls shows:

- 47% positive towards Israel, 29% neutral and don't know and 24% negative
- 20% positive towards Palestine, 42% neutral and 38% negative
- 1% positive towards Hamas, 18% neutral, 81% negative

CONCLUSION: While this poll is the worst yet for Biden in terms of his chances for re-election, and Trump surpasses him for the first time, the data still shows that there is more support amongst voters in America for Israel over Palestine.

Survey by NBC claims: Biden's standing hits new lows amid Israel-Hamas war. And yet...

Israel at the top of the list of approval ratings amongst Americans, on a variety of topics

| | TOTAL POSITIVE | TOTAL NEGATIVE | D/S |
|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----|
| Israel | 47 | 24 | 23 |
| Ukraine | 45 | 24 | 21 |
| Nikki Haley | 24 | 28 | -4 |
| Mike Johnson | 14 | 23 | -9 |
| Donald Trump | 36 | 52 | -16 |
| Joe Biden | 36 | 53 | -17 |
| Palestine | 20 | 38 | -18 |
| Ron DeSantis | 27 | 47 | -20 |
| Kamala Harris | 29 | 52 | -23 |
| Russia | 3 | 77 | -74 |
| Hamas | 1 | 81 | -80 |

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

Here we see a list of people/places/entities where respondents were asked if they feel positively or negatively about them. As you can see, of ALL the list, Israel is the highest approval of all, even more than the Ukraine!

CONCLUSION: The data still shows that there is more support for Israel in the US over Palestine.

Survey by NBC claims: Biden's standing hits new lows amid Israel-Hamas war. And yet...

The Israel-Hamas war is not not a priority for Americans

| | |
|--|----------|
| Protecting democracy or constitutional rights | 19 |
| Abortion | 18 |
| Immigration or border security | 14 |
| Guns | 9 |
| The war between Israel and Hamas in Gaza..... | 5 |
| LGBTQ issues | 4 |
| None of these | 21 |
| Other (VOL) (SPECIFY) | 6 |
| Not sure | 4 |

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Here the question is: "I'm going to read you a list of issues and ask whether you consider any one issue so important you would vote for or against a candidate solely on that basis."

Only 5% say they'll vote for or against a presidential candidate based on their handling of the war between Israel and Hamas in Gaza.

CONCLUSION: Biden is probably not going to give as much weight to potential loss of support for him due to his handling of the war. In other words, other issues are much more important, especially protecting democracy or constitutional rights, abortion and immigration or border security.

Survey by NBC claims: Biden's standing hits new lows amid Israel– Hamas war. And yet...

Most Americans disapprove of Biden's handling of the war, but the data is incomplete

Q26 Please tell me if you approve or disapprove of President Biden's handling of the war between Israel and Hamas in Gaza. +

| | |
|------------------------|----|
| Approve..... | 34 |
| Disapprove..... | 56 |
| No opinion (VOL) | 7 |
| Not sure | 3 |

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

CONCLUSION: This is a concern, but disapproving his handling of the war could indicate that, for example, some think he should be more supportive of Israel (which is a likely response for Republicans, who won't be voting for Biden any way). In other words, it's hard to understand from this response why there is disapproval.

Survey by NBC claims: Biden's standing hits new lows amid Israel-Hamas war. And yet...

Most Americans think Israel is defending its interests and is justified, or don't know

Q27 Thinking about the Israeli military action in Gaza, which statement best describes what you think... (ROTATE :1-2), or do you don't know enough about the situation to have an opinion? +

Statement A: Israel is defending its interests and their military actions are justified.

Statement B: Israel has gone too far and their military actions are NOT justified.

| | | |
|--|---------------|-------------|
| | <u>11/23+</u> | <u>8/14</u> |
| A: Israel defending interests and justified..... | 47 | 44 |
| B: Israel too far and not justified..... | 30 | 24 |
| Don't know enough to have an opinion | 21 | 32 |
| Not sure | 2 | - |

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

CONCLUSION: More Americans think Israel is defending its interests and is justified in its military action in Gaza than before. There are more people since the previous poll of people who think Israel has gone too far and is not justified, but that increase appears to have come from the people in the “don't know enough” category, some of whom shifted either to siding with Israel or answering “not sure”.



One Final Insight...

Only 20% of Americans use their TikTok once a day or more!

Q30 Now, for each of the following, please tell me whether that applies or does not apply to you personally. The (first/next) one is...(RANDOMIZE)

TABLE RANKED BY % WHO SAY ITEM APPLIES TO THEM

| | <u>Applies</u> | <u>Does Not Apply</u> | <u>Not Sure</u> |
|---|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| You or someone else in your household owns a gun of any kind | | | |
| November 2023+ | 52 | 43 | 5 |
| You describe yourself as an evangelical Christian | | | |
| November 2023+ | 31 | 67 | 2 |
| June 2023+ | 31 | 67 | 2 |
| You consider yourself to be a supporter of the MAGA Movement | | | |
| November 2023+ | 22 | 67 | 11 |
| September 2023+ | 21 | 70 | 9 |
| June 2023+ | 25 | 68 | 7 |
| April 2023..... | 24 | 66 | 10 |
| You are or someone else in your household is a current or retired labor union member | | | |
| November 2023+ | 22 | 77 | 1 |
| You use TikTok once a day or more often | | | |
| November 2023+ | 20 | 79 | 1 |

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

CONCLUSION: TikTok is not the most important media platform to invest in for this war.



Nov 8-9
YouGov





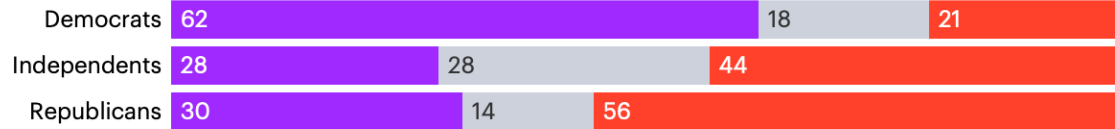
Approval of Biden's handling of the Israel-Hamas war

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling the Israel-Hamas war? (%)

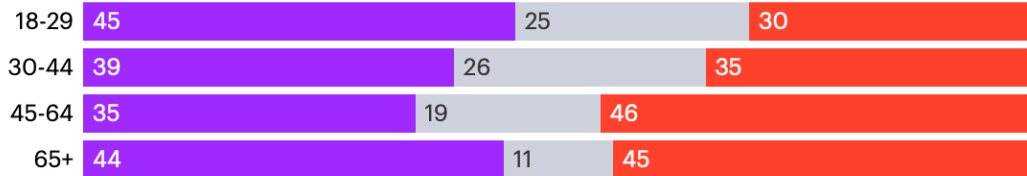
Strongly or somewhat approve Not sure Strongly or somewhat disapprove



Political identity



Age



Among people who say their sympathies in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are with...

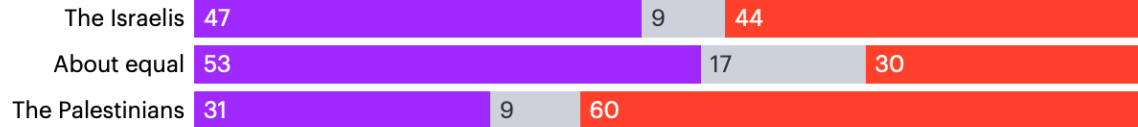
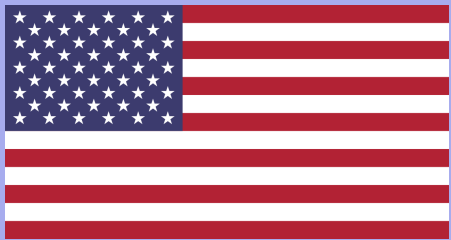


Chart: David H. Montgomery • November 8 - 9, 2023

The drop in overall approval for Biden’s handling of the Israel-Hamas war is of concern (for and against are almost equal), but we must remember Biden won’t start his election campaign until the Spring, which gives us a few more weeks of grace.

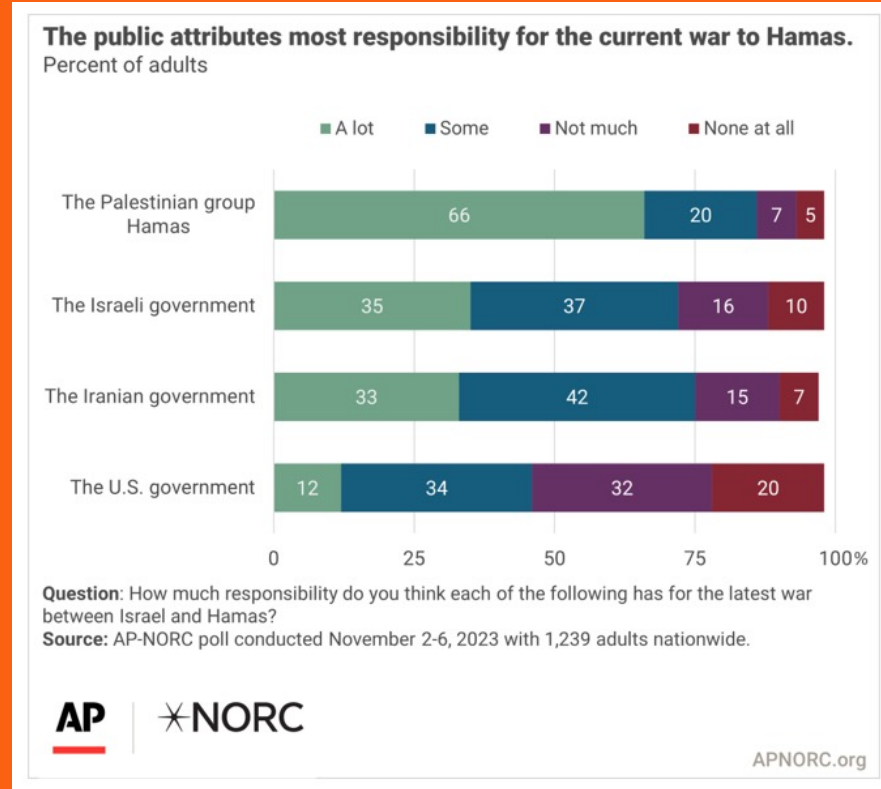
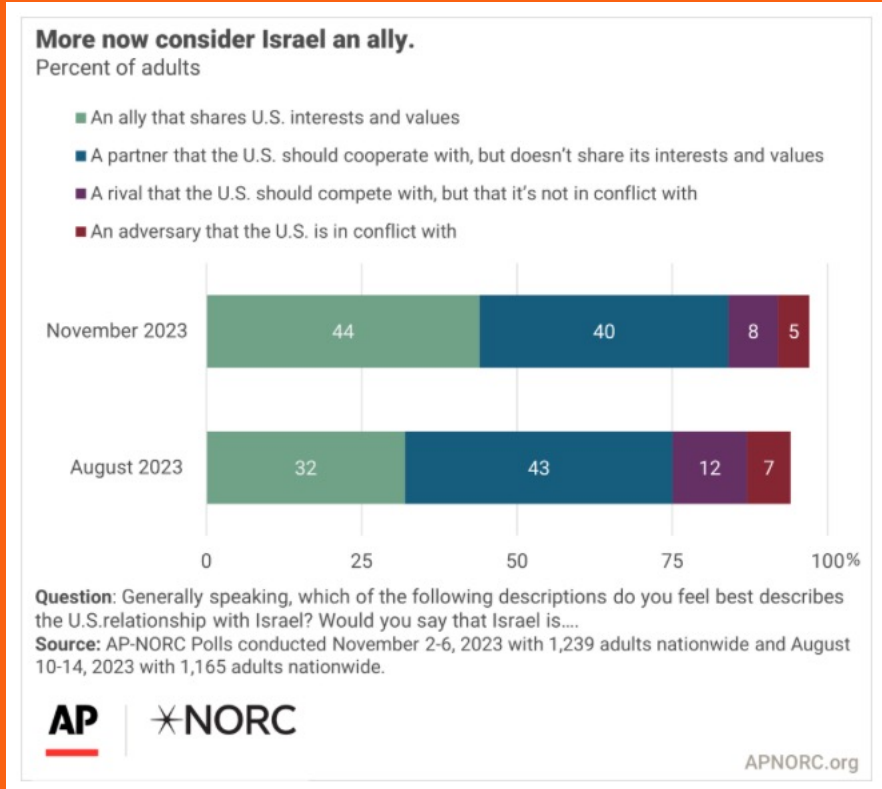


Nov 2-6
AP/NORC





University of Chicago, November 2-6, 2023



Has Israel's military response gone too far, is about right or not gone far enough?

40% Gone too far
38% Been about right
18% Not gone far enough

<https://apnorc.org/projects/as-the-israel-palestine-conflict-escalates-more-see-israel-as-an-ally/>

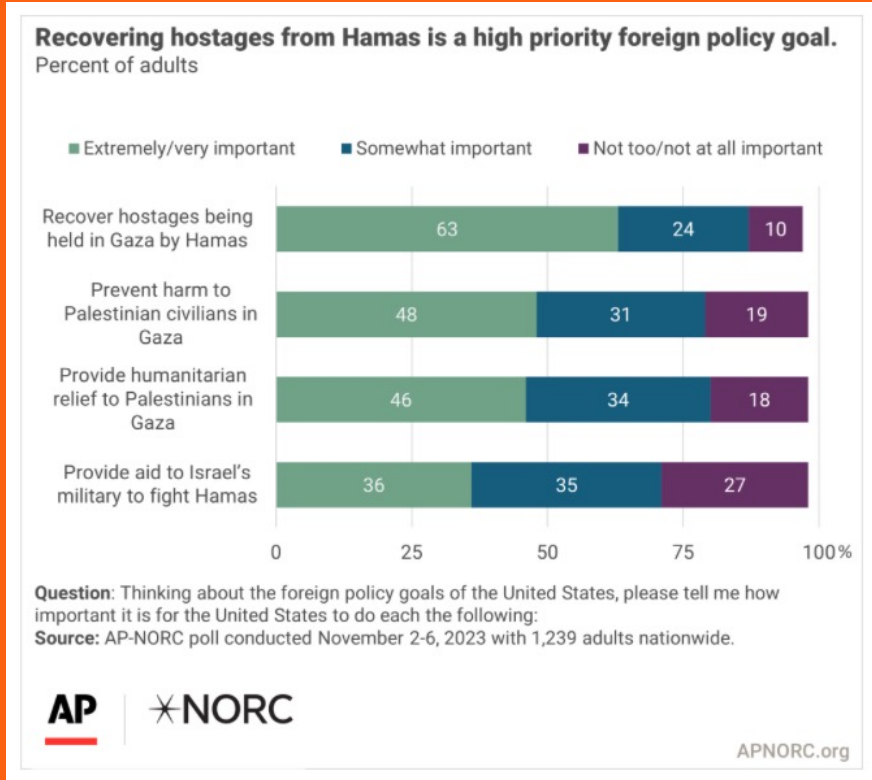


University of Chicago, November 2-6, 2023

Recovering hostages remains the most important foreign policy goal for Americans

More important than:

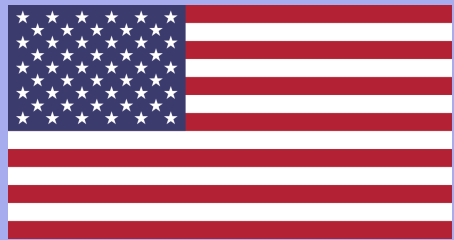
- Preventing harm to Palestinian civilians in Gaza
- Providing humanitarian relief to Palestinians in Gaza
- Providing aid to Israel's military to fight Hamas



<https://apnorc.org/projects/as-the-israel-palestine-conflict-escalates-more-see-israel-as-an-ally/>



Nov 3-5
IPSOS





November 3-5

IPSOS

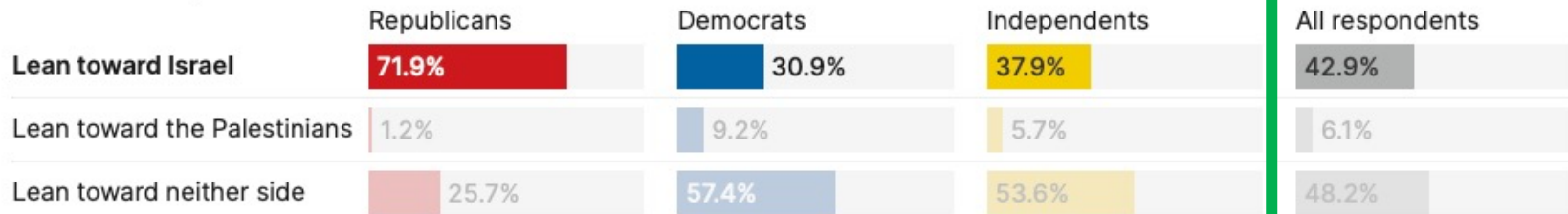


University of Maryland, with IPSOS, October 20-22 vs. November 3-5

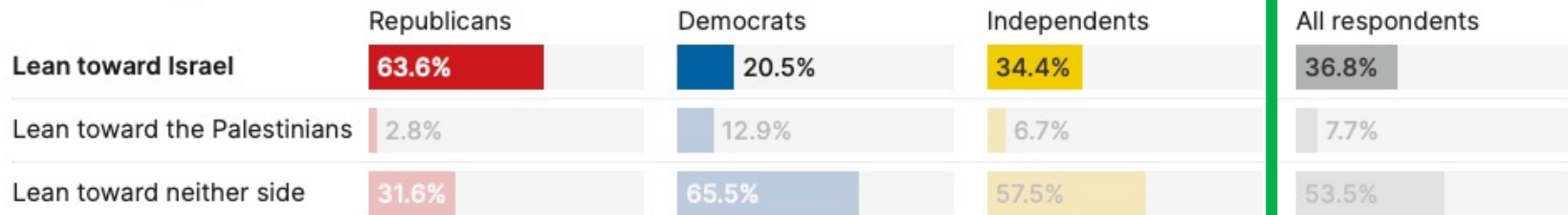
Across the partisan divide, the number of respondents wanting the U.S. to take Israel's side has dropped

Q. In general, what role do you want the United States to play in mediating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? Should the United States:

October 20-22, 2023



November 3-5, 2023



Source: University of Maryland Critical Issues Poll, October 20-22, 2023 and November 3-5, 2023

BROOKINGS

Support for Israel has dropped from 42.9% to 36.8% , BUT

Note that support for Palestinians has increased only from 6.1% to 7.7%, and support for neither side has increased from 48.2% to 53.5%.

So together with support for Israel, over 90% of Americans are either on our side or indifferent.



Nov 2-8
YouGov

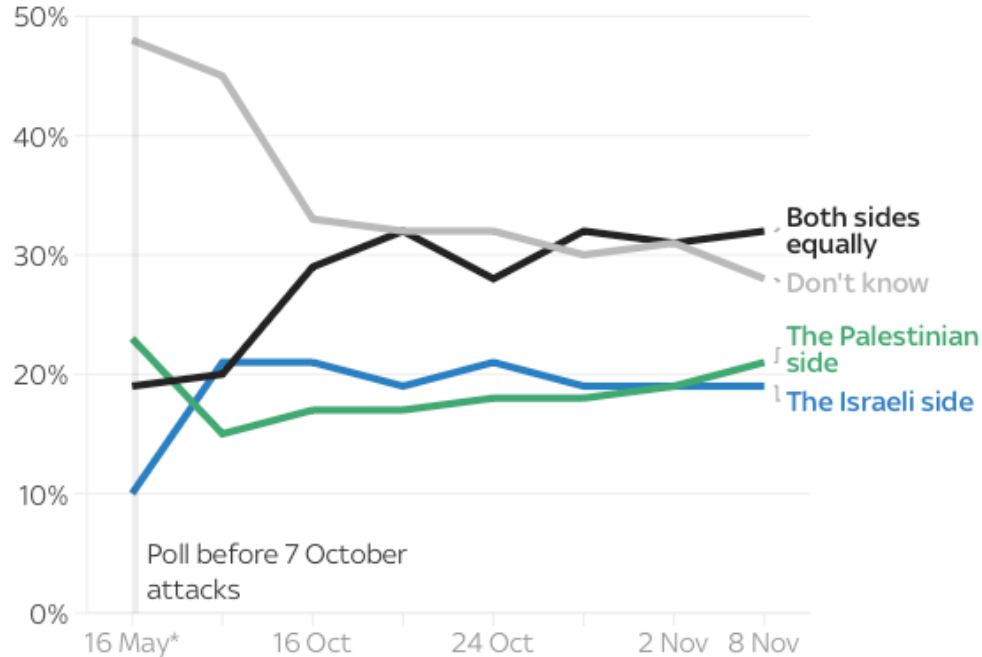




YouGov UK, November 2, 8

There are similar levels of sympathy for both Israelis and Palestinians, but more people have equal sympathy for both sides

Which side in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict do you sympathise with more?

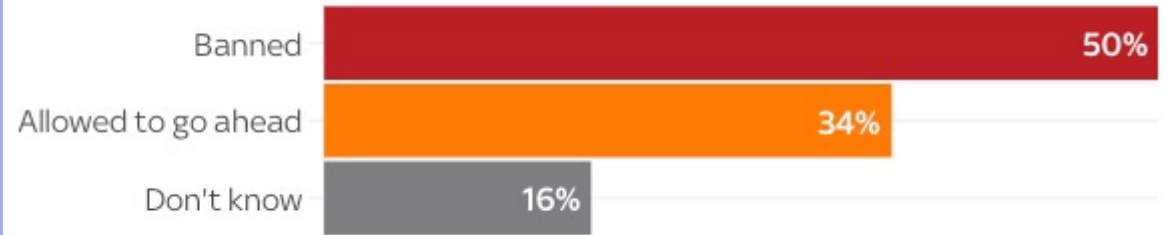


Source: YouGov. Space equal between each poll, not by days between polls

Half of Brits think pro-Palestine protests should be banned in London this weekend

Currently there are plans for demonstrations in support of Palestine to take place in London this Saturday, which is also Armistice Day. Do you think the protests should be allowed to go ahead, or should they be banned?

Percentage who think the protests should be...



Source: YouGov poll for Sky News. Sample size: 2,080 adults in GB. Fieldwork 7-8 November 2023

May – 10% support Israel, 24% support Palestinians, 19% support both sides and 48% don't know

Oct 24 – 21% support Israel, 19% support Palestinians, 28% support both and 32% don't know

Nov 2 – 19% support Israel, 19% support Palestinians, 31% support both and 31% don't know

Nov 8 – 19% support Israel, 21% support Palestinians, 32% support both and 28% don't know

Conclusions

1. While we are losing some ground but still holding strong enough in the U.S. and U.K. in terms of support for Israel.
2. Together with those who said they support both sides, neither or don't know, we're at over 90% support/indifference in the U.S. and 79% in the U.K.
3. The approval rating for Biden's handling of the war is trending against Israel, but at the same time, support from the USA administration remains unwavering, including backing Israel's claims that Hamas uses hospitals in a way that no longer affords them protection.
4. The U.K. is more at risk to the pro-Palestinian narrative, and more work needs to be done there on the "both", "neither" and "don't know" audiences.
5. There is concern for weakening support amongst Democrats for Biden, but this concern can be contained so long as the election cycle hasn't begun (Spring, 2024).



Thank you!

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