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How Americans View the Israel-Hamas Conflict 2 Years Into the War

About six-in-ten now have an unfavorable view of the Israeli government, with a rising share saying Israel is ‘going too far’

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How we did this

Pew Research Center conducted this study to better understand Americans' views of the current conflict between Israel and Hamas. For this analysis, we surveyed 3,445 adults from Sept. 22 to 28, 2025. Everyone who took part in this survey is a member of the Center's American Trends Panel (ATP), a group of people recruited through national, random sampling of residential addresses who have agreed to take surveys regularly. This kind of recruitment gives nearly all U.S. adults a chance of selection.

Interviews were conducted either online or by telephone with a live interviewer. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation, education, presidential vote (among voters) and other factors. [Read more about the ATP's methodology.](#)

Here are the [questions](#) used for this report, the [topline](#) and the [survey methodology](#).

How Americans View the Israel-Hamas Conflict 2 Years Into the War

About six-in-ten now have an unfavorable view of the Israeli government, with a rising share saying Israel is ‘going too far’

Nearly two years into Israel’s military operation against Hamas in the Gaza Strip following Hamas’ Oct. 7, 2023, attack on Israel, Americans’ skepticism of Israel’s operation and its government is higher than at earlier points in the conflict:

- **39% now say Israel is going too far** in its military operation against Hamas. This is up from 31% a year ago and 27% in late 2023.
- **59% now hold an unfavorable opinion of the Israeli government**, up from 51% in early 2024.

Today, 16% say Israel is taking about the right approach to the conflict, and 10% say it isn’t going far enough. A third of adults say they aren’t sure.

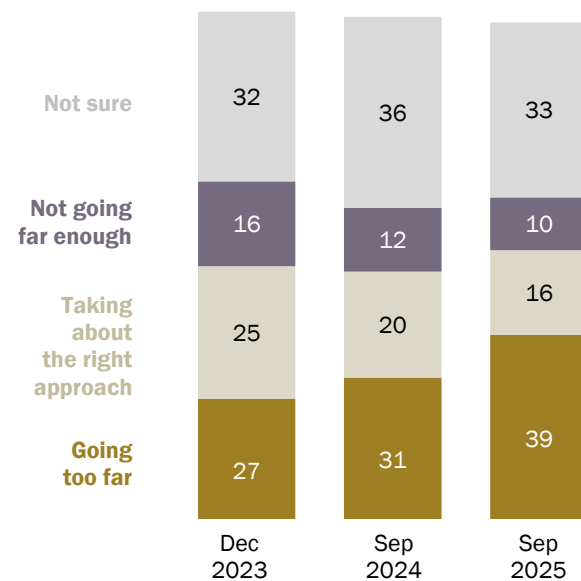
Large shares of Americans continue to express uncertainty across several questions about the ongoing war in the Middle East and the U.S. government’s response.

A new national survey from Pew Research Center, conducted Sept. 22-28 among 3,445

adults, finds that 42% of U.S. adults disapprove of the Trump administration’s response to the conflict between Israel and Hamas, while 30% approve. Roughly a quarter (27%) say they are not sure.

2 years into its military operation against Hamas, a growing share of Americans say Israel is ‘going too far’

% who say Israel’s current military operation against Hamas is ...



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

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(The survey was conducted before Trump and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu announced earlier this week that Israel had agreed to a U.S.-led peace plan, which Hamas says it's considering.)

The share of Americans who say President Donald Trump is favoring the Israelis too much has increased 5 percentage points since March (from 31% to 36%). The share saying Trump is striking the right balance has declined 6 points (from 29% to 23%). Very few (2%) say Trump is favoring the Palestinians too much, while nearly four-in-ten (38%) aren't sure.

Republicans are far more likely than Democrats to approve of Trump's handling of the conflict and to say he is striking the right balance between the Israelis and the Palestinians. But the shares saying Trump is favoring the Israelis too much have risen in both partisan coalitions.

U.S. military assistance to Israel

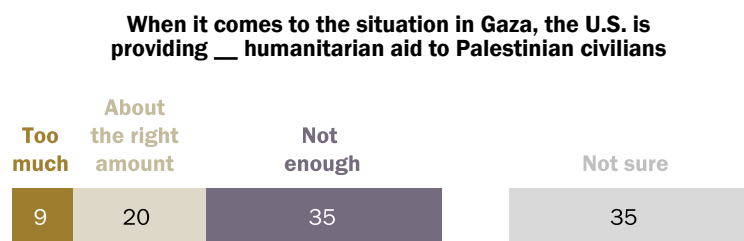
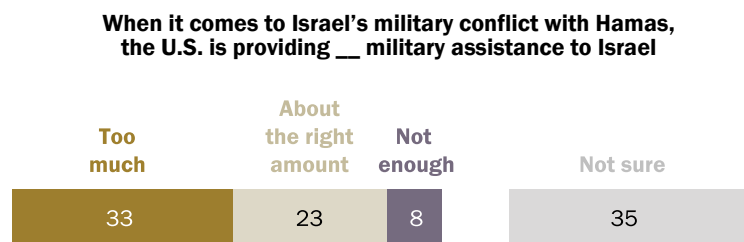
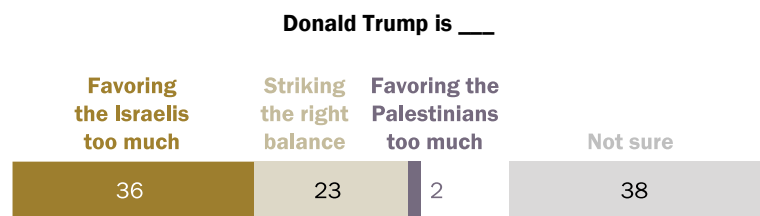
A third of adults (33%) say the United States is providing too much military assistance to Israel. Far fewer (8%) say the U.S. is not providing Israel enough military assistance. About a quarter (23%) say it is providing about the right amount, and 35% aren't sure.

U.S. humanitarian aid to Palestinian citizens

By comparison, 35% say the U.S. is not providing enough humanitarian aid to Palestinian citizens in Gaza, while 9% say it is providing too much humanitarian aid. Two-in-ten say the U.S. is providing about the right amount, and 35% aren't sure.

A third of Americans say the U.S. gives too much military assistance to Israel; a similar share say it gives too little humanitarian aid to Gazans

% who say that ...



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

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For more about Americans' views of the U.S. response to the conflict – including among age and partisan groups – read [Chapter 1](#).

Concerns about the conflict

Eight-in-ten Americans say they are at least somewhat concerned about starvation among Palestinians in Gaza, Israeli military strikes killing Palestinian civilians and the remaining Israeli hostages not being returned to Israel.

At least half of Americans say they are *extremely or very concerned* about these things.

Clear majorities of Americans also express at least some concern about Hamas attacking Israel in the future (74%) and the Israeli military forcing Palestinians to leave Gaza (69%). About four-in-ten say they are extremely or very concerned about these possibilities.

Many Americans have concerns about starvation in Gaza, military strikes' impact on Palestinian citizens and the return of Israeli hostages

% who say they are ___ concerned about each of the following in the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza

	Extremely/ Very	Somewhat	Not too/ Not at all
Starvation among Palestinians in Gaza	55	25	16
Israeli military strikes killing Palestinian civilians	53	26	16
Remaining Israeli hostages not being returned to Israel	51	28	16
Hamas attacking Israel in the future	44	29	22
The Israeli military forcing Palestinians to leave Gaza	40	29	27

Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

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These concerns are widespread among both Republicans and Democrats. However, there are partisan differences in the *level* of some concerns:

- Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say they are extremely or very concerned about Israeli military strikes in Gaza killing Palestinian civilians, starvation in Gaza, and the possibility of Palestinians being forced to leave Gaza.
- Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say they are extremely or very concerned about the possibility of Hamas attacking Israel in the future.
- There is no partisan gap in concerns about the remaining hostages not being returned to Israel.

Details on these questions can be found in [Chapter 3](#).

Views of the Israelis, Palestinians and their leadership

Americans continue to hold much more positive views of the Israeli and Palestinian peoples than of their political leadership.

Today, 56% have a favorable view of the Israeli people, while 52% view the Palestinian people favorably. By contrast, 59% view the Israeli government *unfavorably*, while 68% say the same about the Palestinian Authority. Americans overwhelmingly view Hamas unfavorably (84%).

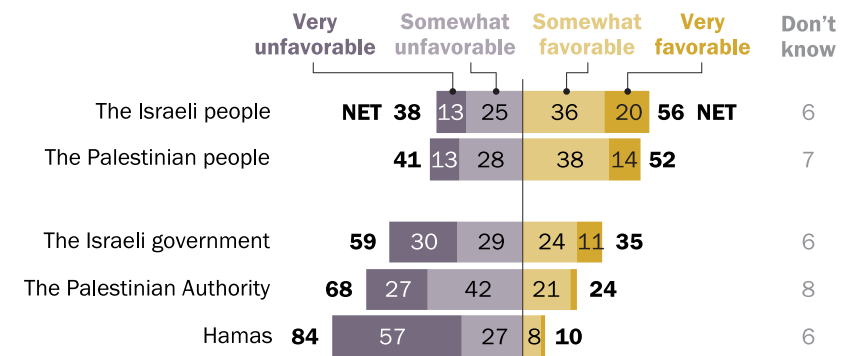
But Americans' opinions of both the Israeli government and the Israeli people are less positive than they were in February 2024.

Today, 35% have a favorable view of the Israeli government, down from 41% in 2024.

And while 56% now view the Israeli people positively, that is down from 64% a year and a half ago.

Americans view the Israeli people and Palestinian people more favorably than the Israeli government, Palestinian Authority or Hamas

% who say they have a ___ opinion of ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

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Views of the Palestinian people, the Palestinian Authority and Hamas have not changed over the past year and a half.

There continue to be wide partisan gaps in some of these views:

- 70% of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents view the Palestinian people favorably, compared with 37% of Republicans and GOP leaners.
- 55% of Republicans view the Israeli government positively, compared with just 18% of Democrats.
- Democrats are equally likely to have a favorable as unfavorable view of the Israeli people (48% each). By comparison, 67% of Republicans have a favorable view.
- 82% of Republicans and 56% of Democrats view the Palestinian Authority unfavorably.
- At least eight-in-ten in both parties view Hamas unfavorably.

Read [Chapter 2](#) for more detail on Americans' views of Israelis, Palestinian and their leadership, including views among Democrats and Republicans and by age groups.

1. Views of the Trump administration's response to the Israel-Hamas conflict

More Americans disapprove (42%) than approve (30%) of the Trump administration's response to the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza. About a quarter (27%) say they are unsure.

And 36% of Americans say President Donald Trump is favoring Israel too much in the conflict (up from 31% in March), while 23% say he is striking the right balance. Few (2%) say he is favoring the Palestinians too much. More than a third – 38% – say they are not sure.

- Americans are also more likely to say the United States is giving too much military assistance to Israel than to say it is providing the right amount or giving too little.
- Conversely, more Americans say the U.S. is not giving enough humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians in Gaza than say it is giving too much or about the right amount.
- Sizable shares of Americans say they are unsure about both of these questions.

The remainder of this chapter explores these views in more detail, including substantial age and partisan differences.

For more on Americans' views of the Israeli and Palestinian people, as well as the Israeli government, the Palestinian Authority and Hamas, visit [Chapter 2](#).

For more on concerns about the conflict, visit [Chapter 3](#).

The Trump administration's response to the conflict

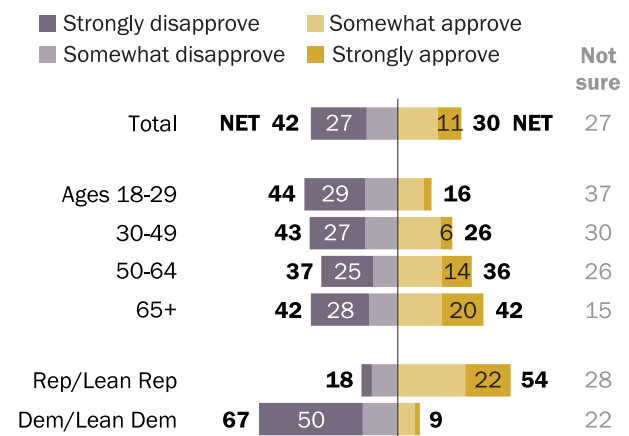
Younger Americans are generally less likely than older Americans to approve of the Trump administration's response to the conflict in Gaza, but they are also far more likely to not express an opinion.

- While adults ages 18 to 29 are more than twice as likely to disapprove (44%) than approve (16%) of the Trump administration's response, 37% do not express an opinion.
- By comparison, those 50 and older are split in their views (39% approve, 39% disapprove), with 21% being unsure.

Republicans and Democrats are deeply divided over the Trump administration's response. While Republicans and GOP-leaning independents are three times as likely to approve (54%) as disapprove (18%), Democrats and Democratic leaners disapprove by an even wider margin (67% disapprove, 9% approve).

Approval of Trump administration's response to Israel-Hamas conflict is higher among older than younger adults

% who ___ of the Trump administration's response to the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

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Do Americans think Trump is favoring one side in the conflict?

Americans are far more likely to say Trump is favoring the Israelis too much (36%) than to say he is favoring the Palestinians too much (2%). About a quarter (23%) say Trump is striking the right balance, while a sizable share (38%) say they are unsure.

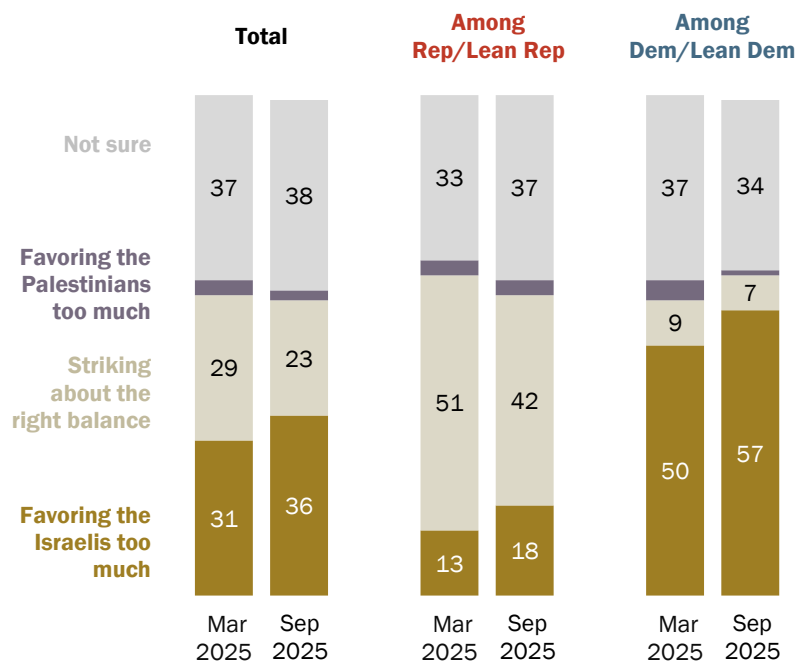
Republicans continue to be substantially more likely than Democrats to view Trump as striking the right balance (42% vs. 7%).

But in both parties the shares saying Trump is favoring the Israelis too much have ticked up since March:

- 57% of Democrats say this today, up from 50%.
- 18% of Republicans say this today, up from 13%.

Since March, a rise in the share of Americans in both parties saying Trump is favoring the Israelis too much in Israel-Hamas conflict

% who say Donald Trump is ...



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

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U.S. military aid to Israel and humanitarian aid to Palestinians

Americans' views about military assistance to Israel and humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians largely are the reverse of each other.

- A third of Americans say the U.S. is providing *too much* military assistance to Israel, with 8% saying it is not providing enough.
- Nearly the opposite is true for humanitarian assistance to Palestinian civilians: 35% say the U.S. is not providing enough, with 9% saying it is providing too much.

On both measures, large shares express uncertainty (35% respond to each question that they are unsure), while roughly two-in-ten say the assistance is about right.

Views by age

The view that the U.S. is providing the right amount of each type of assistance increases substantially with age.

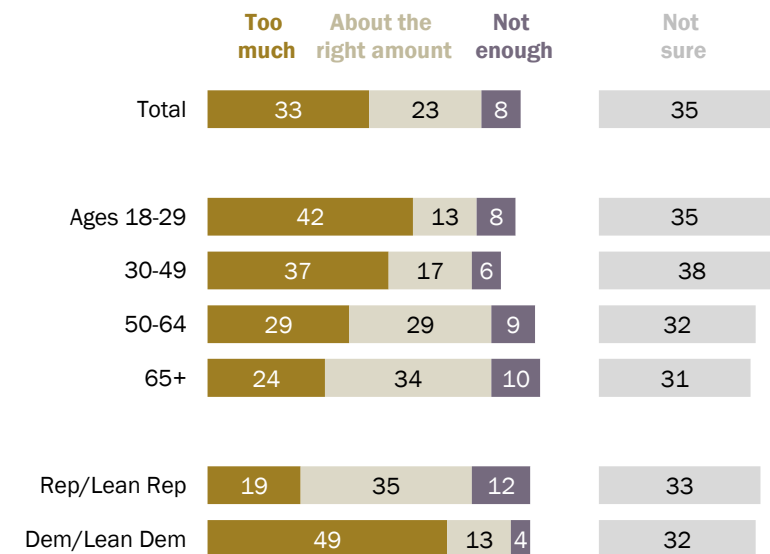
Military aid to Israel

While 42% of adults 18 to 29 say the U.S. is providing too much military aid to Israel, this share drops to 24% among those 65 and older.

By comparison, those 65 and older are more than twice as likely as adults under 30 to say the U.S. is providing about the right amount of aid to Israel (34% vs. 13%).

Younger Americans are particularly likely to say the U.S. is providing too much military assistance to Israel

% who say that when it comes to Israel's military conflict with Hamas, the U.S. is providing ___ military assistance to Israel



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

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Humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians

Adults 65 and older are closely split on whether the U.S. is providing not enough (34%) or the right amount (31%) of humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians (5% say it is providing too much).

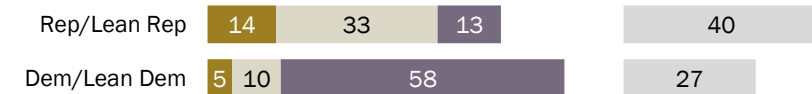
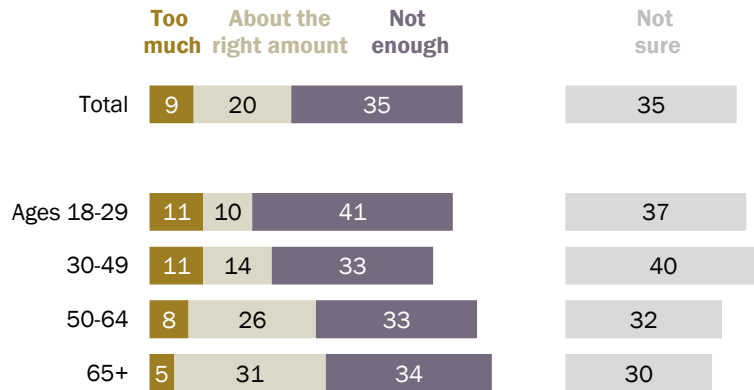
By comparison, 41% of those 18 to 29 say the U.S. is not providing enough, with smaller shares saying the U.S. is providing about the right amount (10%) or too much aid (11%).

Views by party

About half of Democrats say the U.S. is providing too much military support to Israel (49%), while an even larger share (58%) say the U.S. is not giving enough support to Palestinian civilians.

Across age groups, a third or more say the U.S. is providing too little humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians

% who say that when it comes to the situation in Gaza, the U.S. is providing ___ humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

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Among Republicans who hold an opinion, more say that the U.S. is providing about the right amount when it comes to each form of aid than too much or too little.

2. Americans' views of Israelis, Palestinians and their political leadership

Americans express more favorable than unfavorable views of both the Israeli people and the Palestinian people.

But views of political leadership in the region – the Israeli government, the Palestinian Authority and Hamas – are more negative than positive.

Nearly six-in-ten Americans (59%) now have an unfavorable view of the Israeli government, while 68% view the Palestinian Authority negatively and 84% have an unfavorable view of Hamas.

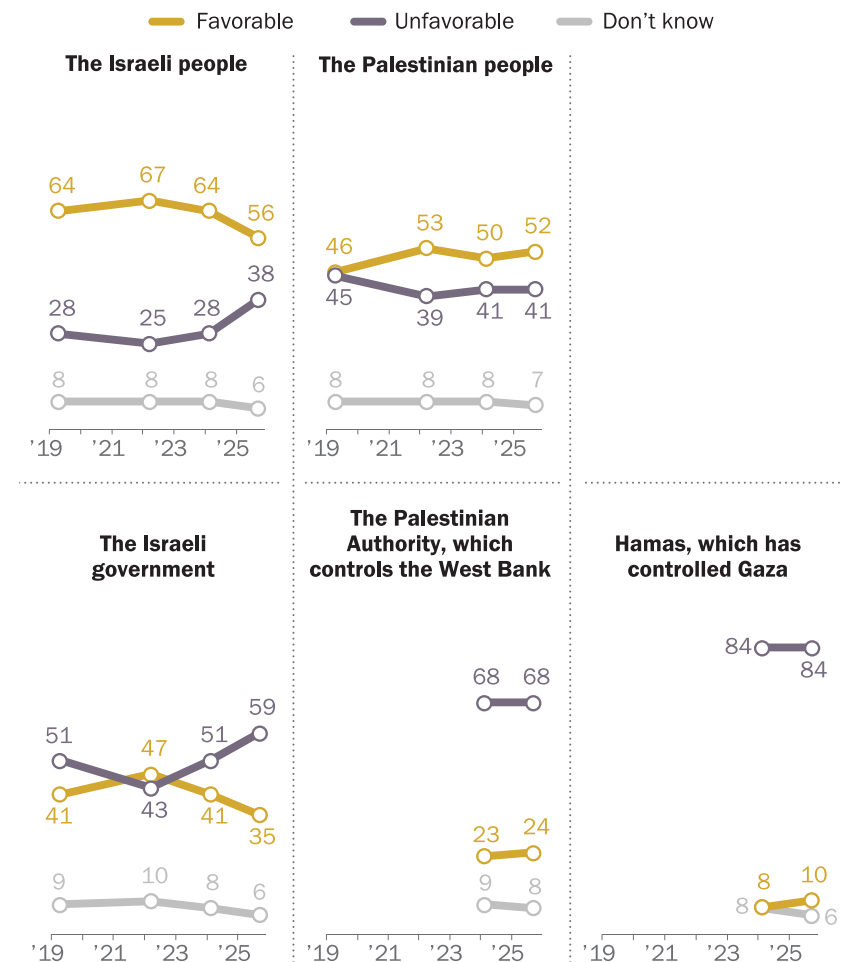
Views of the Israeli people and the Israeli government are more negative than in previous years, while views of the Palestinian people have remained relatively stable.

The Israeli people

- 56% of U.S. adults say they have a favorable view of the Israeli people.
- This is down 8 percentage points since 2024 and 11 points since 2022.

Americans' views of Israel's people remain far more positive than its government, though both have grown more negative

% who say they have a(n) ___ opinion of ...



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

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The Israeli government

- 59% of Americans have an unfavorable view of the Israeli government, while 35% have a favorable view.
- These views are more negative than in 2024, when 51% said they had an unfavorable opinion and 41% said they had a favorable opinion.
- In 2022, views were more mixed (47% favorable, 43% unfavorable)

The Palestinian people

Views of the Palestinian people have been relatively stable in the United States since 2022. Today, 52% have a favorable opinion of the Palestinian people, compared with 50% in 2024 and 53% in 2022.

Views of the Palestinian Authority and Hamas have also remained relatively stable – and largely negative – in the past year:

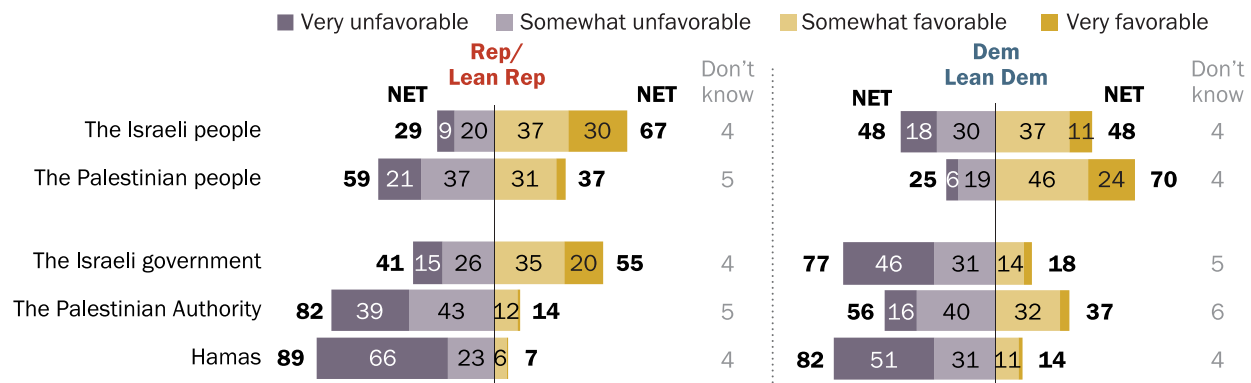
- 68% have an unfavorable view of the Palestinian Authority (which controls the West Bank), the same share as in 2024.
- An even larger share (84%) has an unfavorable view of Hamas (which has controlled Gaza), also unchanged from 2024.

Partisan differences

There are wide partisan gaps in Americans' views of most of these groups (the exception is Hamas – which is viewed negatively by wide majorities of both Republicans and Democrats).

Wide partisan gaps in views of Israeli and Palestinian people, Israeli government

% who say they have a ___ opinion of ...



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

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Views of the Israeli people

- Two-thirds of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents have a favorable view of the Israeli people.
- Democrats and Democratic leaners are split, with as many saying they have a favorable opinion of the Israeli people as an unfavorable view (48% each).
- In both parties, views of the Israeli people are less positive than they were in early 2024.

Views of the Israeli government

- A narrow majority of Republicans (55%) say they have a favorable view of the Israeli government, with 41% saying they have an unfavorable opinion.
- Just 18% of Democrats say they have a favorable opinion of the Israeli government, while 77% have an unfavorable view (almost half – 46% – say they have a very unfavorable view).
- Views of the Israeli government have grown more negative in both parties since 2024.

Views of the Palestinian people

- 70% of Democrats say they have a favorable opinion of the Palestinian people, while a quarter have an unfavorable opinion.
- A far smaller share of Republicans (37%) view the Palestinian people positively, while 59% say they have an unfavorable view.

Views of the Palestinian Authority

- An overwhelming majority of Republicans (82%) say they have an unfavorable view of the Palestinian Authority.
- A smaller majority of Democrats (56%) say they have an unfavorable view of the Palestinian Authority, while 37% say they have a favorable opinion.

Views of Hamas

- Overwhelming majorities in both parties say they have an unfavorable view of Hamas (89% of Republicans and 82% of Democrats).
- Two-thirds of Republicans (66%) and about half of Democrats (51%) say they have a very unfavorable opinion of Hamas.

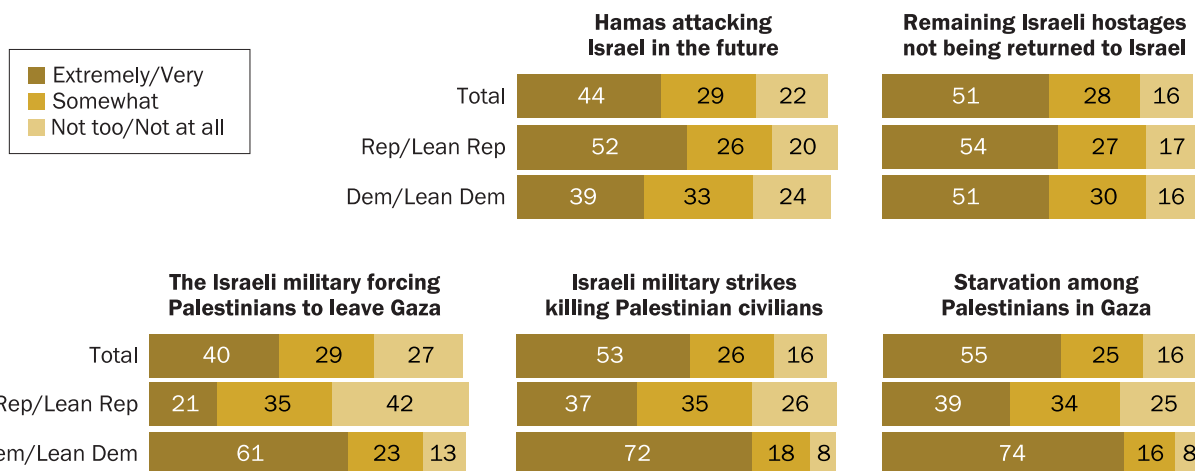
3. Concerns about the conflict between Israel and Hamas

At least half of Americans express a high level of concern about several aspects of the Israel-Hamas war in Gaza – including starvation among Palestinians living there (55% say they are extremely or very concerned), Israeli military strikes killing Palestinian civilians (53%) and the remaining Israeli hostages not being returned to Israel (51%).

However, Republicans and Democrats hold differing levels of concern about some aspects of the conflict.

Widespread concerns about Israeli hostages not being returned, starvation among Palestinians in Gaza, military strikes killing Palestinian civilians

% who say they are ___ concerned about each of the following in the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept 22-28, 2025.

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Concerns about starvation and civilian deaths among Palestinians living in Gaza

At least seven-in-ten Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents say they are extremely or very concerned about starvation among Palestinians living in Gaza (74%) and Israeli military strikes killing Palestinian civilians (72%).

By comparison, about four-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners express a high level of concern about starvation among Palestinians living in Gaza (39%) or Israeli military strikes killing

Palestinian civilians (37%). Roughly a third of Republicans say they are somewhat concerned about each of these.

Concerns about the Israeli military forcing Palestinians to leave Gaza

About six-in-ten Democrats (61%) say they are extremely or very concerned about the Israeli military forcing Palestinians to leave Gaza, while 23% say they are somewhat concerned and 13% say they are not too or not at all concerned.

Republicans are substantially less likely to express a high level of concern about this prospect: 21% say they are extremely or very concerned, 35% say they are somewhat concerned and 42% say they are not too or not at all concerned.

Concerns about Hamas attacking Israel in the future

Conversely, Republicans express a higher level of concern than Democrats about the prospect of Hamas attacking Israel in the future: About half of Republicans (52%) say they are extremely or very concerned about this, with an additional 26% saying they are somewhat concerned. Roughly four-in-ten Democrats (39%) say they are extremely or very concerned about this, while a third say they are somewhat concerned.

Concerns about the remaining Israeli hostages not being returned to Israel

Republicans and Democrats express nearly identical levels of concern about the remaining Israeli hostages not being returned to Israel.

About half or more Republicans (54%) and Democrats (51%) say they are extremely or very concerned about the remaining Israeli hostages not being returned to Israel. Similar shares across parties say they are somewhat concerned (27% of Republicans and 30% of Democrats) or not too or not at all concerned (17% and 16% respectively).

How Americans' views of Israel's approach to the war have changed

The shares of Americans saying Israel is going too far in its military operation have grown over the course of the conflict.

Today, about four-in-ten Americans (39%) say Israel's current military operation against Hamas is going too far, while 26% say either that Israel is taking about the right approach (16%) or that it is not going far enough (10%).

Higher shares of Democrats now say Israel's current military operation is 'going too far,' while Republicans are more divided

% who say Israel's current military operation against Hamas is ...

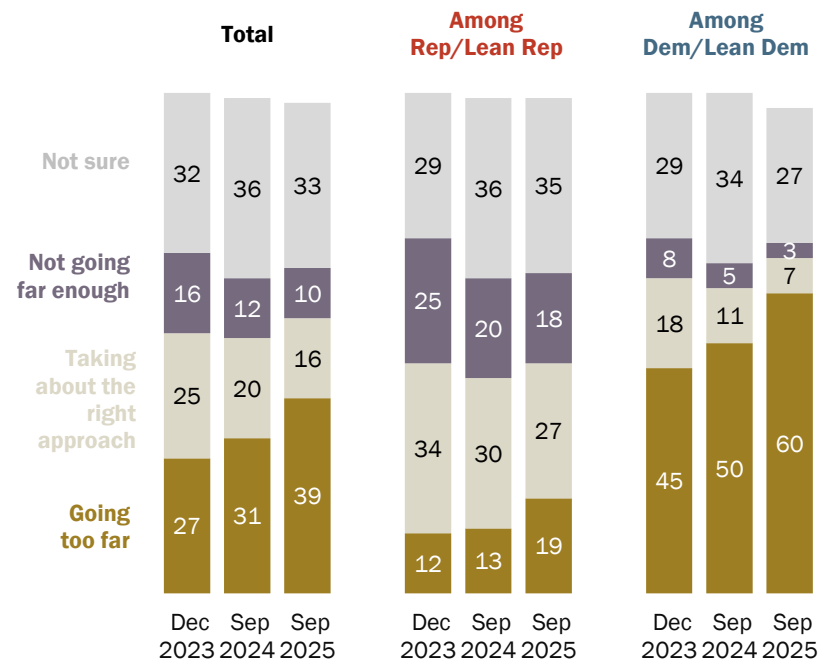
Two years ago – a few months after the Oct. 7, 2023, Hamas attacks – far fewer (27%) said Israel was going too far.

Throughout the conflict, about a third of Americans have said they are not sure about Israel's approach.

Views by party

Democrats continue to be much more likely than Republicans to say Israel is going too far in its approach to the war. Today, 60% of Democrats and 19% of Republicans say this. And

Republicans continue to be more likely than Democrats to say Israel is taking the right approach (27% vs. 7%) or that it is not going far enough (18% vs. 3%).



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

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However, Republicans are more likely than Democrats today to say they are unsure about Israel's handling of the conflict (35% vs. 27%). At previous points during the conflict, there were not partisan differences in uncertainty.

Still, in both parties, the shares saying Israel's current military operation is going too far are up from last year:

- 60% of Democrats now say Israel's approach to the war is going too far, up 10 percentage points from a year ago.
- While relatively few Republicans say Israel is going too far in its approach to the war, this is also up from last fall (19% today vs. 13% in September 2024).

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Methodology

The American Trends Panel survey methodology

Overview

Data in this report comes from Wave 180 of the American Trends Panel (ATP), Pew Research Center’s nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. The survey was conducted from Sept. 22 to Sept. 28, 2025. A total of 3,445 panelists responded out of 3,926 who were sampled, for a survey-level response rate of 88%.

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 3,445 respondents is plus or minus 1.9 percentage points.

The survey includes an [oversample](#) of Hispanic validated voters who voted for Donald Trump in the 2024 election and of non-Hispanic Asian adults 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.

SSRS conducted the survey for Pew Research Center via online (n=3,303) and live telephone (n=142) interviewing. Interviews were conducted in both English and Spanish.

To learn more about the ATP, read “[About the American Trends Panel](#).”

Panel recruitment

Since 2018, the ATP has used address-based sampling (ABS) for 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 Computerized Delivery Sequence File. This Postal Service file has been estimated to cover 90% to 98% of the population.¹ Within each sampled household, the adult with the next birthday is selected to participate. Other details of the ABS recruitment protocol have changed over time but are available upon request.² Prior to 2018, the ATP was recruited using landline and cellphone random-digit-dial surveys administered in English and Spanish.

¹ AAPOR Task Force on Address-based Sampling. 2016. “[AAPOR Report: Address-based Sampling](#).”

² Email pewsurveys@pewresearch.org.

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

Sample design

The overall target population for this survey was noninstitutionalized persons ages 18 and older living in the United States. It featured a stratified random sample from the ATP in which Hispanic validated voters who voted for Donald Trump in the 2024 election and non-Hispanic Asian adults 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 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 SSRS. The web program used for online respondents was rigorously tested on both PC and mobile devices by the SSRS project team and Pew Research Center researchers. The SSRS project 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 gift code to Amazon.com, Target.com or Walmart.com. Incentive amounts ranged from \$5 to \$20 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 Sept. 22 to Sept. 28, 2025. Surveys were conducted via self-administered web survey or by live telephone interviewing.

For panelists who take surveys online:³ Postcard notifications were mailed to a subset on Sept. 22.⁴ Survey 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 Sept. 22. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking sampled online panelists were included in the full launch and were sent an invitation on Sept. 23.

**Invitation and reminder dates for web respondents,
ATP Wave 180**

	Soft launch	Full launch
Initial invitation	Sept. 22, 2025	Sept. 23, 2025
First reminder	Sept. 25, 2025	Sept. 25, 2025
Final reminder	Sept. 27, 2025	Sept. 27, 2025

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Panelists participating online were sent an email invitation and up to two email reminders if they did not respond to the survey. ATP panelists who consented to SMS messages were sent an SMS invitation with a link to the survey and up to two SMS reminders.

For panelists who take surveys over the phone with a live interviewer: Prenotification postcards were mailed on Sept. 19. Soft launch took place on Sept. 22 and involved dialing until a total of four interviews had been completed. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking sampled phone panelists' numbers were dialed throughout the remaining field period. Panelists who take surveys via phone can receive up to six calls from trained SSRS interviewers.

Data quality checks

To ensure high-quality data, Center researchers performed data quality checks to identify any respondents showing 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, six ATP respondents were removed from the survey dataset prior to weighting and analysis.

³ The ATP does not use routers or chains in any part of its online data collection protocol, nor are they used to direct respondents to additional surveys.

⁴ Postcard notifications for web panelists are sent to 1) panelists who were recruited within the last two years and 2) panelists recruited prior to the last two years who opt to continue receiving postcard notifications.

Weighting

The ATP data is weighted in a process that accounts for multiple stages of sampling and nonresponse that occur at different points in the panel survey process. First, each panelist begins with a base weight that reflects their probability of recruitment into the panel. These weights are then 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.

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 2nd and 98th 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.

American Trends Panel weighting dimensions

Variable	Benchmark source
Age (detailed)	2023 American Community Survey (ACS)
Age x Gender	
Education x Gender	
Education x Age	
Race/Ethnicity x Education	
Race/Ethnicity x Gender	
Race/Ethnicity x Age	
Born inside vs. outside the U.S. among Hispanics and Asian Americans	
Years lived in the U.S.	
Census region x Metropolitan status	
Volunteerism	2023 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement
Frequency of internet use	2025 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS)
Religious affiliation	
Party affiliation x Race/Ethnicity	
Party affiliation x Age	
Validated 2024 presidential election turnout and vote choice	Candidate vote share is based on official results from the Federal Election Commission. Turnout is based on estimates from the Election Lab at the University of Florida. The size of the voting-eligible population is based on the 2023 ACS.

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on noninstitutionalized adults. For weighting to the 2024 presidential election results, panelists are considered validated voters if their self-report of having voted was confirmed after matching to a national voter registry.

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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.

Sample sizes and margins of error, ATP Wave 180

Group	Unweighted sample size	Weighted %	Plus or minus ...
Total sample	3,445		1.9 percentage points
Half form	At least 1,718		2.7 percentage points
Rep/Lean Rep	1,569	46%	2.8 percentage points
Half form	At least 776		4.0 percentage points
Dem/Lean Dem	1,682	46%	2.7 percentage points
Half form	At least 836		3.8 percentage points
Ages 18-29	542		
Half form	At least 261		6.7 percentage points
30-49	1,237		
Half form	At least 611		4.4 percentage points
50-64	910		
Half form	At least 442		5.2 percentage points
65+	753		
Half form	At least 370		5.6 percentage points

Note: This survey includes oversamples of Hispanic validated voters who voted for Donald Trump in the 2024 election and of non-Hispanic Asian adults. 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

Final dispositions, ATP Wave 180

	AAPOR code	Total
Completed interview	1.1	3,445
Logged in (web) / Contacted (CATI), but did not complete any items	2.11	84
Started survey; broke off before completion	2.12	52
Never logged on (web) / Never reached on phone (CATI)	2.20	339
Survey completed after close of the field period	2.27	0
Other non-interview	2.30	0
Completed interview but was removed for data quality	2.90	6
Total panelists sampled for the survey		3,926
Completed interviews	I	3,445
Partial interviews	P	0
Refusals	R	136
Non-contact	NC	339
Other	O	6
Unknown household	UH	0
Unknown other	UO	0
Not eligible	NE	0
Total		3,926
AAPOR RR1 = $I / (I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)$		88%

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Cumulative response rate, ATP Wave 180

	Total
Weighted response rate to recruitment surveys	12%
% of recruitment survey respondents who agreed to join the panel, among those invited	74%
% of those agreeing to join who were active panelists at start of Wave 180	40%
Response rate to Wave 180 survey	88%
Cumulative response rate	3%

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

**2025 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 180 POLITICS SURVEY SEPTEMBER 2025
FINAL TOPLINE
September 22-28, 2025
N=3,445**

Note: This survey was conducted primarily online, with some interviews conducted by live telephone. This topline shows the programming language for online administration. For details on how questions were slightly modified for phone administration, visit the questionnaire.

American Trends Panel surveys conducted between October 2016 and June 2024 were conducted fully online (with tablets and data plans provided to adults without home internet). American Trends Panel surveys conducted prior to October 2016 were conducted primarily online, with some respondents completing by mail. For additional details, visit the Methodology.

* "No answer" includes web respondents who do not answer the question as well as telephone respondents who refuse to answer or who say that they don't know how to answer. In cases where "not sure" was offered as an explicit option to web and telephone respondents, the "no answer" category includes only web skips and telephone refusals.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK ALL:

DTECON Since taking office, have Donald Trump's economic policies made economic conditions...

Sep 22-28 <u>2025</u>		Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>	July 22- Aug 4 <u>2019</u>
24	Better	44	40
53	Worse	29	33
22	Not had much of an effect	26	27
1	No answer*	1	1

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Since taking office, have Joe Biden's economic policies made economic conditions...

	Jun 27-Jul 4, <u>2022</u>	Sep 13-19, <u>2021</u>
Better	11	26
Worse	56	40
Not had much of an effect	32	33
No answer	1	1

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

ECON1

Thinking about the nation's economy...

How would you rate economic conditions in this country today?

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
Sep 22-28, 2025	2	23	40	34	*
Apr 7-13, 2025	2	20	42	34	*
Jan 27-Feb 2, 2025	2	22	45	31	*
Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	2	22	37	38	*
May 13-19, 2024	2	21	41	36	1
Jan 16-21, 2024	3	25	41	31	*
Mar 27-Apr 2, 2023	1	18	46	35	1
Jan 18-24, 2023	1	20	47	32	*
Oct 10-16, 2022	2	16	46	36	*
Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	1	12	38	49	*
Jan 10-17, 2022	2	25	47	24	1
Sep 13-19, 2021	2	24	50	24	*
Apr 20-29, 2021	2	35	49	14	*
Mar 1-7, 2021	2	21	53	24	*
Nov 12-17, 2020	5	31	44	20	*
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	4	29	42	25	*
Jun 16-22, 2020	4	22	44	30	1
Apr 7-12, 2020	4	19	38	38	1
Jan 6-19, 2020	16	42	33	9	*
Sep 16-29, 2019	10	46	35	8	*
Jul 22-Aug 4, 2019	14	43	32	11	*
Nov 7-16, 2018	13	46	31	9	1
Sep 24-Oct 7, 2018	12	45	32	11	*
Feb 28-Mar 12, 2017	2	37	43	17	0
Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	2	30	47	21	*
Apr 29-May 27, 2014	1	18	50	30	1

ASK ALL:

ECON1B

A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be...

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>About the same as now</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
Sep 22-28, 2025	29	46	24	*
Apr 7-13, 2025	36	45	19	1
Jan 27-Feb 2, 2025	40	37	23	*
Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	38	21	39	2
May 13-19, 2024	24	32	43	1
Jan 16-21, 2024	26	33	41	1
Mar 27-Apr 2, 2023	17	46	36	*
Jan 18-24, 2023	23	40	36	1
Oct 10-16, 2022	23	41	35	1
Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	22	47	30	1
Jan 10-17, 2022	27	35	37	1
Sep 13-19, 2021	29	37	34	1
Apr 20-29, 2021	45	28	27	1
Mar 1-7, 2021	44	31	24	*
Nov 12-17, 2020	42	32	24	2
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	52	17	30	1
Jun 16-22, 2020	50	22	27	1
Apr 7-12, 2020	55	22	22	1
Jan 6-19, 2020	29	26	45	1

ECON1B CONTINUED ...

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>About the same as now</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
Sep 16-29, 2019	20	32	48	*
Jul 22-Aug 4, 2019	28	28	44	*

ASK IF FORM 1 AND ANSWERED ECON1 (X_FORM=1 AND ECON1=1,2,3,4) [N=1,715]:

ECONOE In a few words, what are the main reasons why you think economic conditions in the country are **[IF ECON1=1: excellent; IF ECON1=2: good; IF ECON1=3: only fair; IF ECON1=4: poor]**?

BASED ON THOSE WHO SAID EXCELLENT OR GOOD (ECON1=1,2) [N=439]

Sep 22-28,

2025

22	General mentions of economic growth or improvement
9	Inflation is down
8	Positive mentions of the stock market
6	Positive mentions of Trump/Republican Policies
5	Low unemployment
5	Negative mentions of Trump/Republican Policies
3	Tariffs, negative
3	Negative mentions of Biden/Democratic Policies
3	High inflation
3	Mentions of wage growth
2	The U.S. is outperforming expectations / other countries
1	Blaming politicians
1	High cost of living
1	Wealth inequality
1	Lower gas prices
1	National debt / Government spending
1	People are lazy / Don't want to work
1	Illegal immigration
4	Other, mixed responses
3	Other, positive responses
1	Other, negative responses
34	No answer

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses

ECONOE CONTINUED ...**BASED ON THOSE WHO SAID ONLY FAIR OR POOR (ECON1=3,4) [N=1,276]**

Sep 22-28,

2025

17	High inflation
16	Negative mentions of Trump/Republican Policies
12	Negative mentions of Tariffs
9	High cost of living
8	Wealth inequality
6	High cost of food and groceries
6	Lack of good paying jobs
4	High cost of housing
3	High health care costs
3	High gas prices
2	General mentions of economic growth or improvement
2	Blaming politicians
2	Mentions of layoffs
1	High interest rates
1	U.S. is isolating itself
1	Corporations or corporate greed
1	Negative mentions of Biden/Democratic Policies
1	Low unemployment
1	High taxes
3	Other, mixed responses
2	Other, negative responses
29	No answer

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,727]:

ECONCONC How concerned, if at all, are you personally about each of the following economic issues in the country today? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

		<u>Very concerned</u>	<u>Somewhat concerned</u>	<u>Not too concerned</u>	<u>Not at all concerned</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
UNEM	People who want to work being unable to find jobs					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	42	33	19	6	*
	Apr 7-13, 2025	41	33	19	7	*
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	40	35	19	5	*
	Jan 16-21, 2024	31	35	25	8	*
	Mar 27-Apr 2, 2023	27	34	27	11	*
	Jan 18-24, 2023	30	34	26	10	*
	Oct 10-16, 2022	29	31	28	11	1
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	27	32	28	12	1
	Sep 13-19, 2021	29	32	23	15	*
PRICE	The price of food and consumer goods					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	65	27	7	2	*
	Apr 7-13, 2025	67	25	6	2	*
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	74	20	4	1	*
	Jan 16-21, 2024	72	21	5	1	*
	Mar 27-Apr 2, 2023	72	22	4	1	*
	Jan 18-24, 2023	75	20	4	1	*
	Oct 10-16, 2022	73	22	4	1	*
	TREND FOR COMPARISON: <i>Rising prices for food and consumer goods</i>					
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	75	21	3	1	*
	Sep 13-19, 2021	63	30	6	1	*
REAL	The cost of housing					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	61	27	9	2	*
	Apr 7-13, 2025	61	26	10	3	*
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	69	22	6	2	*
	Jan 16-21, 2024	64	25	9	1	1
	Mar 27-Apr 2, 2023	61	27	9	2	*
	Jan 18-24, 2023	60	27	10	2	*
	Oct 10-16, 2022	60	27	10	3	*
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	60	27	10	3	*
STCK	How the stock market is doing					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	19	35	32	13	1
	Apr 7-13, 2025	36	34	21	8	1
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	24	38	28	10	*
	Jan 16-21, 2024	18	38	32	11	1
	Mar 27-Apr 2, 2023	24	41	25	10	1
	Jan 18-24, 2023	26	38	26	9	1
	Oct 10-16, 2022	32	37	21	9	1
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	31	36	22	10	1

ECONCONC CONTINUED ...

		<u>Very concerned</u>	<u>Somewhat concerned</u>	<u>Not too concerned</u>	<u>Not at all concerned</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
ENG2	The price of gasoline and energy					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	45	37	15	3	*
	Apr 7-13, 2025	46	35	16	3	*
	Jan 16-21, 2024	51	34	13	2	*
	Jan 18-24, 2023	60	30	8	1	*
	Oct 10-16, 2022	69	24	6	1	*

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

*Rising prices for gasoline
and energy*

Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	75	19	4	2	*
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ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED****ASK ALL:**

ISGZ_FOL How closely have you been following news about the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza? **[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5 AND 5-1]**

	<u>Extremely closely</u>	<u>Very closely</u>	<u>Somewhat closely</u>	<u>Not too closely</u>	<u>Not at all closely</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
Sep 22-28, 2025	7	15	35	24	18	1
Jul 1-7, 2024 ⁵	9	15	35	22	20	1
Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023	9	17	37	21	15	*

ASK ALL:

ME_SPPRT Thinking about the situation with Israelis and Palestinians these days, do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF SCREEN 1 AND SCREEN 2; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A AND C ON SCREEN 1 ALWAYS HOLDING B IN MIDDLE; WHEN A IS FIRST ON SCREEN 1, D IS FIRST ON SCREEN 2 AND VICE VERSA IF SCREEN 2 APPEARS FIRST]**

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			No answer*
		<u>NET</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>NET</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	
[SCREEN 1]								
a.	The Israeli government							
	Sep 22-28, 2025	35	11	24	59	30	29	6
	Feb 13-25, 2024	41	13	28	51	21	30	8
	March 7-13, 2022 ⁶	47	11	36	43	12	31	10
	April 1-14, 2019	41	14	27	51	17	33	9

⁵ In surveys from December 2023 and July 2024, the question asked "How closely have you been following news about the Israel-Hamas war?"

⁶ The 2022 questions were previously reported on using the portion of respondents who received those questions first.

ME_SPPRT CONITNUED ...

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			No
		<u>NET</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>NET</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>answer*</u>
b.	The Palestinian Authority, which controls the West Bank							
	Sep 22-28, 2025	24	3	21	68	27	42	8
	Feb 13-25, 2024	23	3	20	68	25	43	9
c.	Hamas, which has controlled Gaza							
	Sep 22-28, 2025	10	2	8	84	57	27	6
	Feb 13-25, 2024	8	2	6	84	60	24	8
[SCREEN 2]								
d.	The Israeli people							
	Sep 22-28, 2025	56	20	36	38	13	25	6
	Feb 13-25, 2024	64	23	41	28	7	20	8
	March 7-13, 2022	67	20	47	25	5	20	8
	April 1-14, 2019	64	20	44	28	6	22	8
e.	The Palestinian people							
	Sep 22-28, 2025	52	14	38	41	13	28	7
	Feb 13-25, 2024	50	12	38	41	11	30	8
	March 7-13, 2022	53	10	43	39	8	31	8
	April 1-14, 2019	46	7	39	45	12	34	8

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,718]:

TRUMP_FAVORISRPAL Do you think Donald Trump is... **[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2 AND 2-1]**

Sep 22-28, <u>2025</u>		Mar 24-30, <u>2025</u>	Jul 1-7, <u>2024</u> ⁷
36	Favoring the Israelis too much	31	26
2	Favoring the Palestinians too much	3	3
23	Striking about the right balance	29	28
38	Not sure	37	42
1	No answer*	1	1

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Do you think Donald Trump is...

	Apr 1-14, <u>2019</u>
Favoring the Israelis too much	34
Favoring the Palestinians too much	6
Striking about the right balance	50
No answer	10

⁷ In the July 2024 survey, question asked 'If Donald Trump were to win the 2024 presidential election, do you think he would...?'

TRUMP_FAVORISRPAL CONTINUED ...**BIDEN TREND FOR COMPARISON:***Do you think Joe Biden is...*

	Jul 1-7 <u>2024</u>	Feb 13-25, <u>2024</u>	Nov 27-Dec 3 <u>2023</u>	Mar 21-27, <u>2022</u>
Favoring the Israelis too much	21	22	21	8
Favoring the Palestinians too much	20	16	16	13
Striking about the right balance	18	21	25	16
Not sure	40	40	38	62
No answer*	1	1	1	1

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,727]:

ISGZ_TRMP Do you approve or disapprove of the Trump administration's response to the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza? **[RANDOMIZE RESPONSES 1-4 AND 4-1 FOR RANDOM HALF OF RESPONDENTS WITH OPTION 5 ALWAYS LAST]**

	-----Approve-----			-----Disapprove-----			Not	No
	<u>NET</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>NET</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>sure</u>	<u>answer*</u>
Sep 22-28, 2025	30	11	19	42	27	15	27	1

TREND FOR COMPARISON:*Do you approve or disapprove of the Biden administration's response to the Israel-Hamas war?*

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

ASK ALL:

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]**

	Going <u>too far</u>	Not going <u>far enough</u>	Taking about <u>the right approach</u>	Not <u>sure</u>	No <u>answer*</u>
Sep 22-28, 2025	39	10	16	33	1
Sep 16-22, 2024	31	12	20	36	1
Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023	27	16	25	32	*

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF FUNDISRMOD AND AIDGZMOD. SHOW ON SEPARATE SCREENS]**ASK ALL:**

FUNDISRMOD When it comes to Israel's conflict with Hamas, do you think the U.S. is providing... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 IN SAME ORDER AS AIDGZMOD, HOLDING OPTIONS 3 AND 4 ALWAYS LAST]**

	<u>Too much military assistance to Israel</u>	<u>Not enough military assistance to Israel</u>	<u>About the right amount of military assistance to Israel</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
Sep 22-28, 2025	33	8	23	35	1

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Do you favor or oppose the U.S. providing military aid to Israel to help in its war against Hamas?

Feb 13-25,
2024

17	Strongly favor
19	Somewhat favor
14	Neither favor nor oppose
16	Somewhat oppose
19	Strongly oppose
15	Not sure
1	No answer

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF FUNDISRMOD AND AIDGZMOD. SHOW ON SEPARATE SCREENS]**ASK ALL:**

AIDGZMOD When it comes to the situation in Gaza, do you think the U.S. is providing... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 IN SAME ORDER AS FUNDISRMOD, HOLDING OPTIONS 3 AND 4 ALWAYS LAST]**

	<u>Too much humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians</u>	<u>Not enough humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians</u>	<u>About the right amount of humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
Sep 22-28, 2025	9	35	20	35	1

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Do you favor or oppose the U.S. providing humanitarian aid to help Palestinian civilians in Gaza?

Feb 13-25,
2024

28	Strongly favor
22	Somewhat favor
16	Neither favor nor oppose
10	Somewhat oppose
10	Strongly oppose
15	Not sure
1	No answer

ASK ALL:

ISGZ_CONC2

How concerned are you about each of the following in the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1 IN SAME ORDER AS ISGZ_FOL, HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST]**

		<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>
HSTG	Remaining Israeli hostages not being returned to Israel Sep 22-28, 2025	25	26	28	9	7	4
STRK	Israeli military strikes killing Palestinian civilians Sep 22-28, 2025	31	22	26	9	7	4
FTATK	Hamas attacking Israel in the future Sep 22-28, 2025	21	24	29	13	9	4
STRV	Starvation among Palestinians in Gaza Sep 22-28, 2025	33	22	25	8	8	4
LVGZ	The Israeli military forcing Palestinians to leave Gaza Sep 22-28, 2025	21	19	29	15	12	4

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

PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a...

ASK IF INDEP/SOMETHING ELSE (PARTY=3,4 OR REFUSED):PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to...⁸

<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Something else</u>	<u>No answer*</u>	<u>Lean Rep</u>	<u>Lean Dem</u>
28	28	28	14	2	18	18

⁸ PARTY and PARTYLN asked in a prior survey.