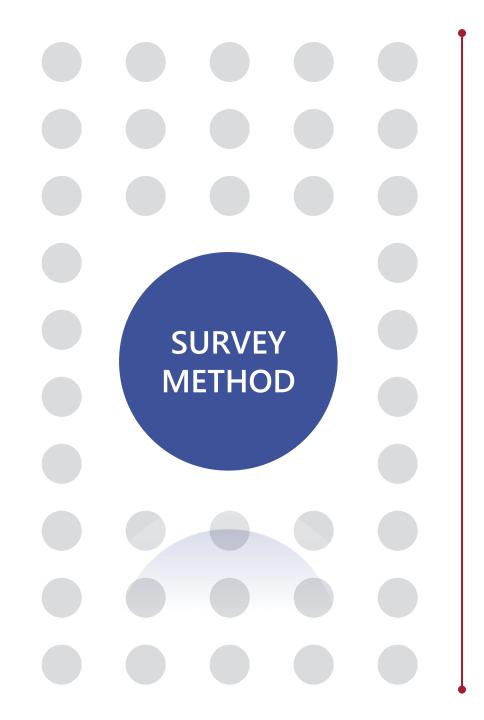
HARVARD CAPS HARRIS







Field Dates: December 13-14, 2023



This survey was conducted online within the United States from December 13-14 among **2,034 registered voters** by The Harris Poll and HarrisX.

Results were weighted for age within gender, region, race/ethnicity, marital status, household size, income, employment, education, political party, and political ideology where necessary to align them with their actual proportions in the population. Propensity score weighting was also used to adjust for respondents' propensity to be online.

The poll was supervised by pollsters:

Mark Penn (Chairman, The Harris Poll)

Dritan Nesho (CEO, HarrisX)

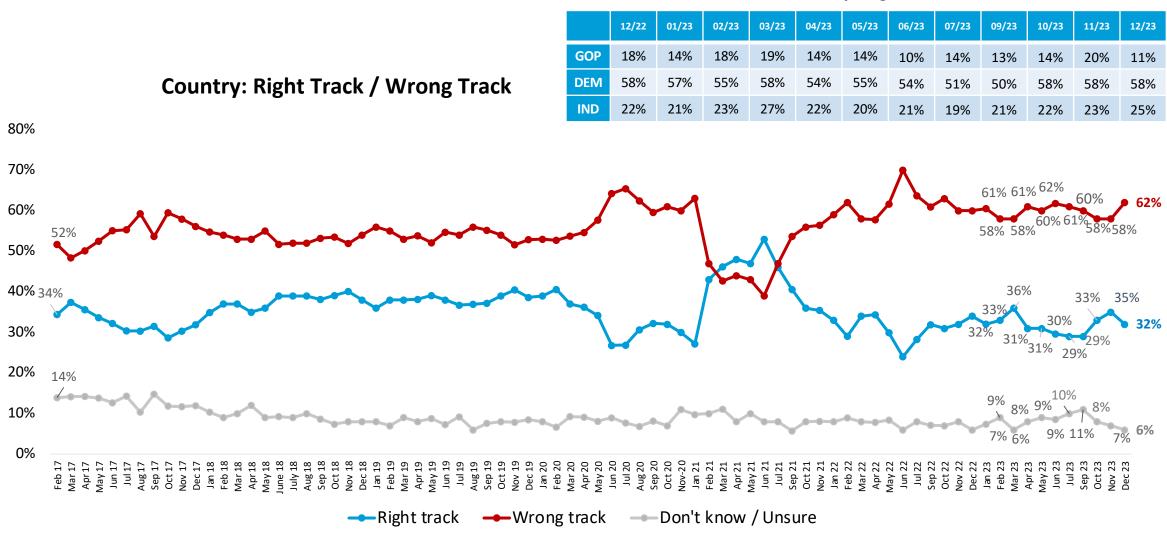
Stephen Ansolabehere (Professor and CAPS Director Emeritus, Harvard University)

APPROVAL AND MOOD OF COUNTRY

JUST UNDER A THIRD OF VOTERS SAY THE COUNTRY IS ON THE 'RIGHT TRACK', DOWN FROM LAST MONTH



% Who Say "Right Track"



ONLY ONE IN THREE SAY ECONOMY IS ON THE RIGHT TRACK



% Who Say "Right Track"

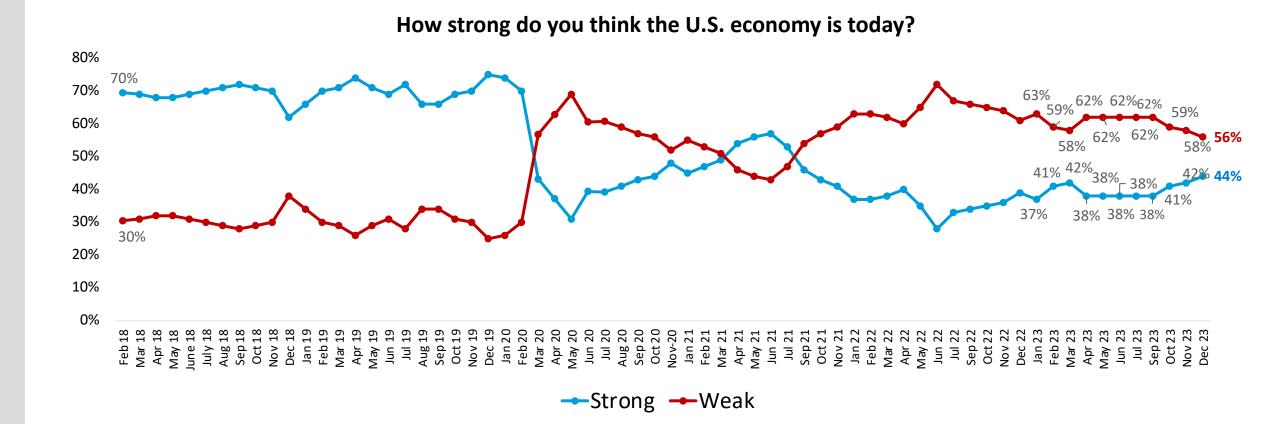
	12/22	01/23	02/23	03/23	04/23	05/23	06/23	07/23	09/23	10/23	11/23	12/23
GOP	17%	12%	16%	19%	12%	14%	11%	13%	14%	13%	22%	14%
DEM	52%	50%	53%	58%	54%	55%	51%	51%	50%	58%	55%	55%
IND	21%	19%	23%	27%	20%	20%	22%	18%	23%	25%	25%	29%

80% 70% 66% 63% 63% 60% 61% 61% 62% 62% 59% 60% 58% 50% 40% 33% 31% 38% 29% 30% 30% 30% 28% 29% 20% 16% 10% 7% 0% 18Aug 19 Sep 19 Oct 19 Nov 19 Jan 20 Feb 20 Mar 20 Jun 20 Jun 20 Jun 21 Jun 22 Sep 21 Oct 22 May 21 Jun 22 Sep 21 Jun 22 May 22 Jun 22 Ju Aug 18 Nov 18 Dec 18 Jan 19 Sep 22 Oct 22 Nov 22 Dec 22 Jan 23 Mar 23 Mar 23 Jun 23 Jun 23 Jun 23 Sep 23 Sep 23 Oct 23 Oct 23 July 18 Sep18 Oct 18 Feb 19 Mar 19 Arp 19 Mar Apr May June May lul Iul ---Don't know / Unsure Right track

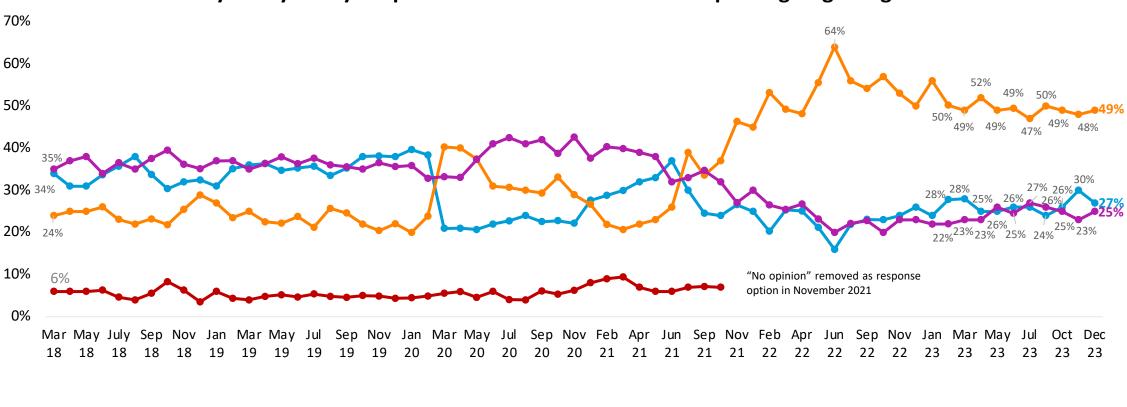
U.S. Economy: Right Track / Wrong Track

M2. In general, do you think the American economy is on the right track or is it off on the wrong track?

PERCEPTIONS OF THE STRENGTH OF ECONOMY REMAIN LOW, WITH HARVARD CAPS P 44% SAYING IT IS STRONG TODAY



AROUND HALF OF VOTERS SAY THEIR PERSONAL FINANCIAL SITUATION IS WORSENING



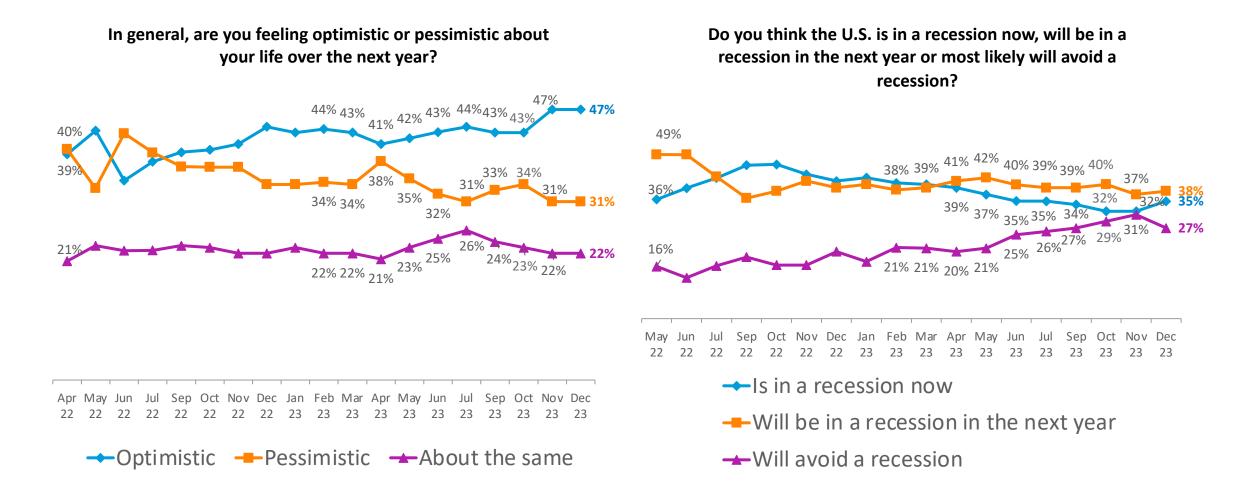
Would you say that your personal financial situation is improving or getting worse?

---Improving ---Getting worse ---Just as well off ---No opinion

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS

MORE AMERICANS ARE OPTIMISTIC RATHER THAN PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THEIR LIFE OVER THE NEXT YEAR, CONSISTENT FROM LAST MONTH

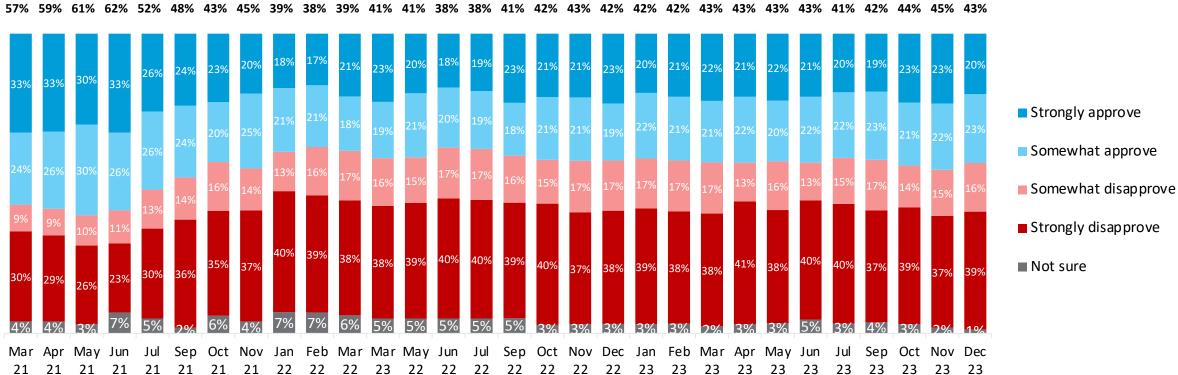




OUT1: In general, are you feeling optimistic or pessimistic about your life over the next year? **REC:** Do you think the U.S. is in a recession now, will be in a recession in the next year or most likely will avoid a recession?

BIDEN APPROVAL TICKED DOWN TO 43% THIS MONTH





HARVARD CAPS HARRIS

BIDEN'S APPROVAL ON MANAGEMENT OF ISSUES TRENDED DOWN ACROSS THE BOARD, ESPECIALLY ON IMMIGRATION



Approve Biden on...

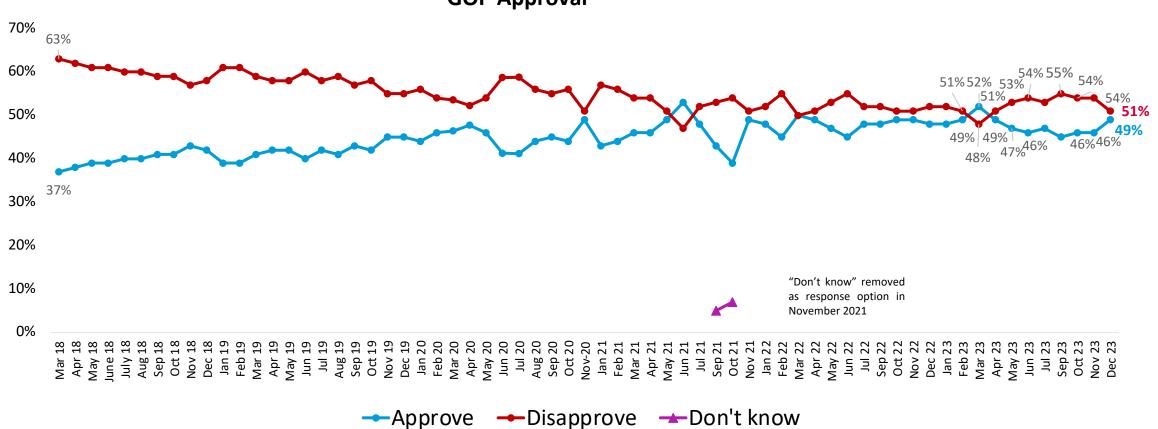
(Strongly or Somewhat Approve)

	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	Dec 23
The Economy	35%	33%	35%	38%	36%	32%	36%	37%	39%	39%	39%	38%	39%	40%	39%	39%	39%	38%	39%	41%	44%	42%
Stimulating Jobs	41%	38%	39%	46%	45%	43%	41%	44%	46%	46%	47%	46%	48%	48%	47%	48%	44%	46%	46%	49%	50%	47%
Fighting Terrorism	38%	34%	36%	43%	42%	40%	41%	42%	44%	45%	45%	43%	44%	46%	46%	46%	43%	43%	41%	46%	46%	45%
Immigration	34%	32%	34%	38%	38%	37%	39%	37%	38%	40%	40%	37%	38%	41%	40%	38%	35%	37%	36%	39%	46%	38%
Foreign Affairs	35%	33%	38%	41%	41%	39%	39%	40%	41%	44%	42%	42%	43%	45%	42%	43%	40%	42%	40%	43%	44%	41%
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%	44%
Reacting to coronavirus	44%	44%	42%	52%	53%	50%	48%	49%	51%	54%	52%	52%	50%	52%	51%	52%	49%	50%	48%	53%	54%	53%
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%	42%
Handling inflation	31%	28%	33%	35%	34%	28%	33%	36%	35%	38%	38%	36%	38%	38%	37%	37%	36%	34%	35%	40%	40%	39%
Israeli-Hamas Conflict																				44%	45%	42%

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

VOTERS ARE SPLIT ON THEIR APPROVAL OF THE GOP, A SLIGHT IMPROVEMENT FROM NOVEMBER

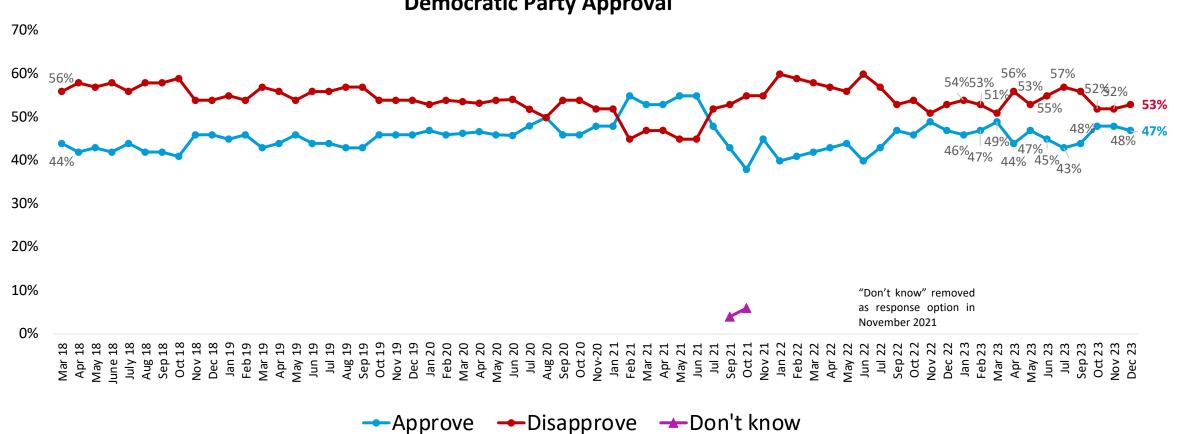




GOP Approval

DEMOCRATIC PARTY APPROVAL REMAINS UNDERWATER AT 47%



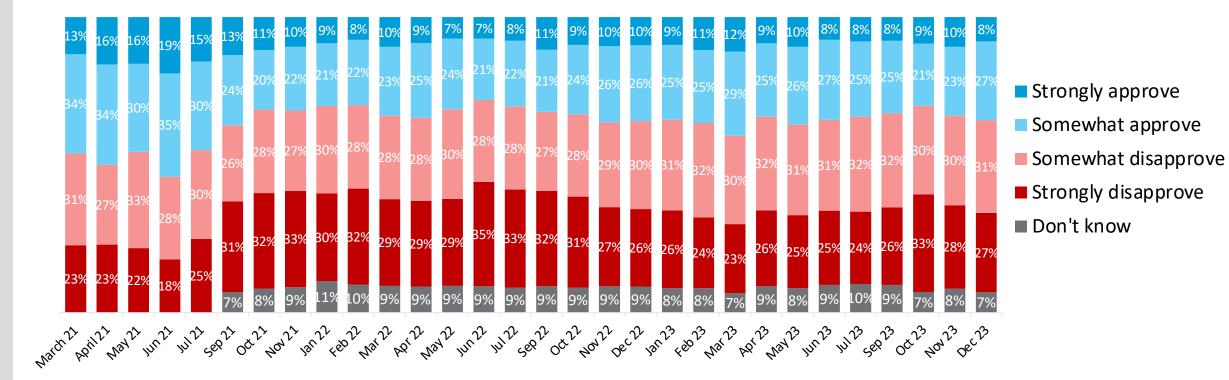


Democratic Party Approval

CON1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is doing its job?

CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL REMAINS AT JUST ABOVE ONE-THIRD

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is doing its job?



39% 49% 46% 54% 45% 36% 31% 32% 30% 30% 34% 34% 31% 28% 30% 32% 33% 36% 35% 35% 36% 40% 33% 36% 35% 34% 32% 30% 34% 35%



Favorability of Political Figures

- Very favorable
- Favorable
- Never heard of them
- No opinion
- Unfavorable
- Very unfavorable

	Donald Trump	28%	21%	11%	37%	
	Robert F. Kennedy Jr.	16%	33%		15% 15%	Robe
	Elon Musk	19%	30%		17% 20%	KODe
	Joe Biden	20%	23%	15%	37%	
_	Hillary Clinton	18%	25%	15%	34%	-
ľ	Kamala Harris	18%	24%	14%	36%	
S	Ron DeSantis	15%	26%	17	% 26%	
	Nikki Haley	15%	25%		16% 15%	
	Benjamin Netanyahu	13% 23	3%		14% 12%	Benj
	Chuck Schumer	11% 239	%	1	.4% 24%	C
	Vivek Ramaswamy	13% 21	%		15% 18%	Viv
Alex	xandria Ocasio-Cortez	12% 20%	,	119	6 29%	Alexar
	Gavin Newsom	12% 17%			13% 22%	G
iem	Antony Blinken	9% 19%			11% 15%	A
	Mike Johnson	10% 17%			13% 13%	1
	Joe Manchin	7% 19%			18% 13%	
	Cornel West	8% 13%			9% 119	6
	Hunter Biden	8% 13%	2	20%	41%	
	Ilhan Omar	6% 12%			11% 24%	
	Rashida Tlaib	7% 11%			9% 23%	
	Jill Stein	6% 11%			14% 109	6
	Mahmoud Abbas	6% 6%			11% 16%	M

	Favorable (NET)	Unfavorable (NET)	GAP		
Donald Trump	49%	48%	1%		
Robert F. Kennedy Jr.	49%	31%	18%		
Elon Musk	49%	37%	12%		
Joe Biden	43%	53%	-10%		
Hillary Clinton	43%	50%	-7%		
Kamala Harris	42%	50%	-8%		
Ron DeSantis	41%	42%	-1%		
Nikki Haley	41%	31%	9%		
Benjamin Netanyahu	36%	26%	10%		
Chuck Schumer	34%	39%	-4%		
Vivek Ramaswamy	34%	33%	1%		
Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez	32%	40%	-9%		
Gavin Newsom	28%	35%	-7%		
Antony Blinken	28%	26%	2%		
Mike Johnson	27%	26%	1%		
Joe Manchin	26%	32%	-6%		
Cornel West	21%	21%	0%		
Hunter Biden	21%	61%	-41%		
Ilhan Omar	19%	35%	-16%		
Rashida Tlaib	18%	32%	-13%		
Jill Stein	17%	24%	-7%		
Mahmoud Abbas	12%	27%	-14%		

RFK JR, MUSK, NETANYAHU AND HALEY ENJOY THE HIGHEST NET **FAVORABILITY**



U.S. MILITARY, POLICE, AND FACEBOOK ARE MOST **FAVORABLE INSTITUTIONS**



Favorability of Institutions

- Very favorable
- **Favorable**
- Never heard of them
- No opinion
- Unfavorable
- Very unfavorable

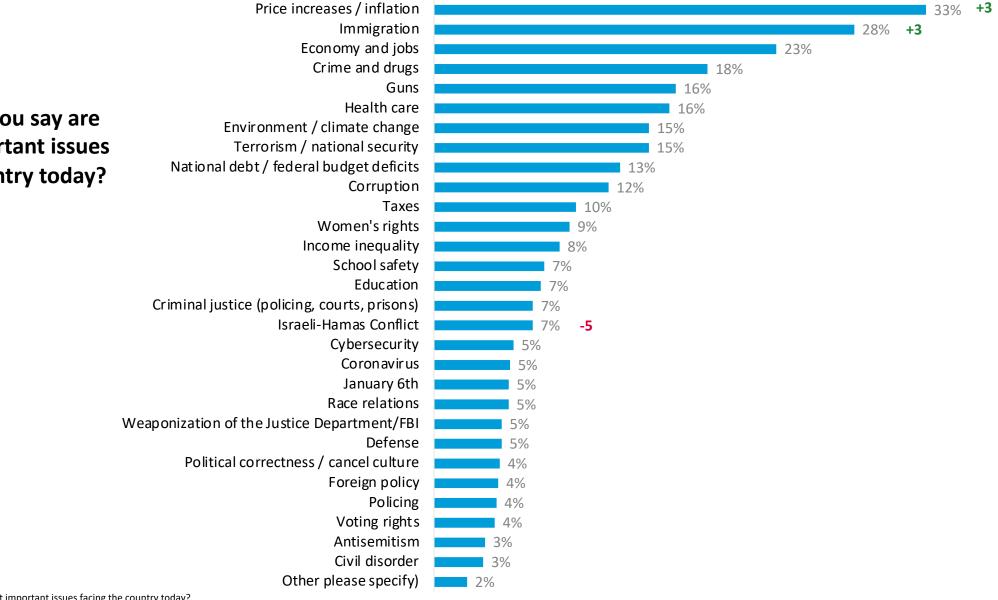
U.S. Military		44%		37%	7% <mark>3%</mark>
Police	30%		40%		15% 7%
Facebook	21%	35%		1	9% 15%
TS FBI	19%	36%			19% 13%
Ukraine	19%	36%			14% 12%
Israel	24%	31%			15% 11%
ΝΑΤΟ	18%	36%			13% 10%
U.S. Supreme Court	19%	32%		222	% 16%
Department of Justice	16%	34%		21	% 15%
Fox News	21%	28%		15%	24%
CNN	15%	31%		16%	24%
Black Lives Matter	19%	24%		13%	30%
MSNBC	16%	26%		16%	20%
X (formerly known as Twitter)	16%	25%		18%	20%
Palestinian Authority	7% 12%		2	20%	28%
China	<mark>5%</mark> 12%	27	7%		42%
Antifa	7% 10%		13%		37%
Hamas	7% 7%	9%		56%)

Row %	Favorable (NET)	Unfavorable (NET)	GAP
U.S. Military	82%	10%	72%
Police	70%	23%	47%
Facebook	56%	34%	23%
FBI	55%	32%	23%
Ukraine	55%	25%	30%
Israel	54%	26%	29%
NATO	54%	23%	31%
U.S. Supreme Court	51%	37%	14%
Department of Justice	50%	36%	13%
Fox News	49%	40%	9%
CNN	46%	39%	7%
Black Lives Matter	43%	44%	-1%
MSNBC	41%	36%	5%
X (formerly known as Twitter)	40%	38%	2%
Palestinian Authority	19%	48%	-30%
China	17%	69%	-51%
Antifa	17%	49%	-32%
Hamas	14%	65%	-51%

INFLATION AND IMMIGRATION ARE CONSIDERED THE TOP ISSUE FACING THE COUNTRY



What would you say are the most important issues facing the country today?



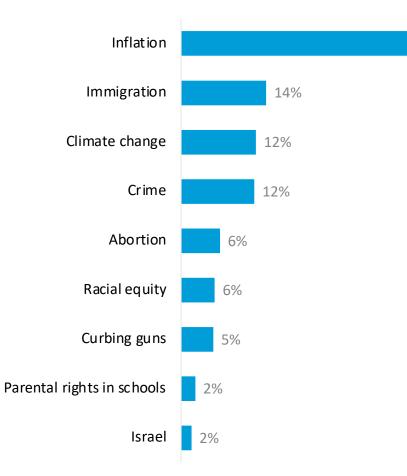
I1. What would you say are the most important issues facing the country today?

ACROSS ALL PARTY LINES, INFLATION IS THE BIGGEST ISSUE TO VOTERS PERSONALLY

40%

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS POLL

Which of these issues is most important to you personally?

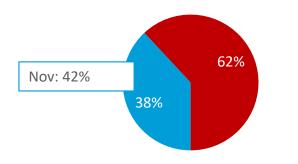


Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Inflation	31%	47%	42%
Immigration	6%	25%	11%
Climate change	20%	4%	14%
Crime	15%	10%	11%
Abortion	9%	4%	5%
Racial equity	7%	4%	5%
Curbing guns	8%	2%	6%
Parental rights in schools	2%	2%	3%
Israel	1%	1%	3%

MIDTERMS & HORSERACE

VOTERS CONTINUE TO SAY THEY HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT BIDEN'S MENTAL FITNESS FOR OFFICE

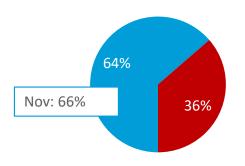
Is Joe Biden mentally fit to serve as President of the United States or do you have doubts about his fitness for office? (Split sample)



- He is mentally fit
- I have doubts about his fitness

Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
He is mentally fit	66%	10%	37%
I have doubts about his fitness	34%	90%	63%

Do you think Joe Biden is showing he is too old to be President or do you think he is showing he is fit to be president? (Split sample)



- Showing he is too old
- Showing he is fit to be president

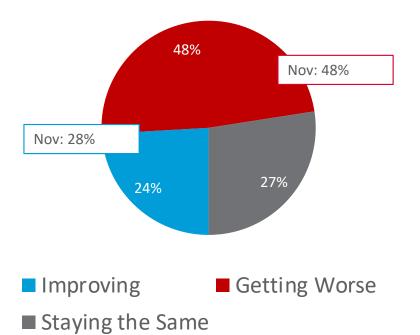
Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Showing he is too old	33%	89%	71%
Showing he is fit to be president	67%	11%	29%

HARRIS POLL

MORE VOTERS CLAIM BIDEN IS WORSENING AS PRESIDENT THAN IMPROVING, INCLUDING HALF OF INDEPENDENTS

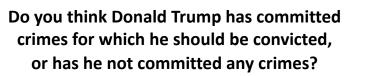


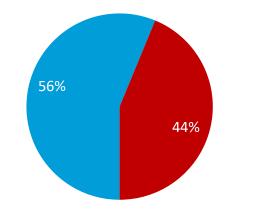
Do you think Joe Biden is improving as a president, getting worse or staying the same?



Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Improving	45%	7%	18%
Getting Worse	17%	79%	51%
Staying the Same	38%	14%	31%

VOTERS ARE SPLIT ON PARTY LINES WHETHER TRUMP WILL BE CONVICTED AND WHETHER HE IS A THREAT TO DEMOCRACY



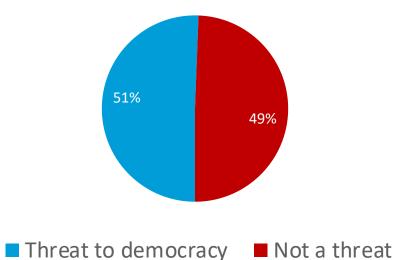


Committed crimes	Not committed
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Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Committed crimes	82%	27%	59%
Not committed	18%	73%	41%

Do you think Donald Trump is a threat to democracy if he is elected president or is he not a threat to democracy if elected?

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Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Threat to democracy	82%	19%	50%
Not a threat	18%	81%	50%

TMP3. Do you think Donald Trump has committed crimes for which he should be convicted, or has he not committed any crimes? TMP4. Do you think Donald Trump is a threat to democracy if he is elected president or is he not a threat to democracy if elected?

TRUMP REMAINS CLEAR FAVORITE IN A GOP PRIMARY; DESANTIS AND HARVARD CAPS POLL HALEY TRAILING WHILE RAMASWAMY AND CHRISTIE LOSE STEAM

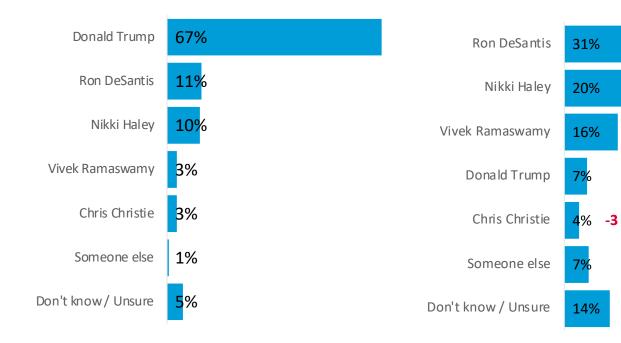
If the Republican presidential primary for the 2024 election was held today, who would you vote for? *Among GOP Voters*

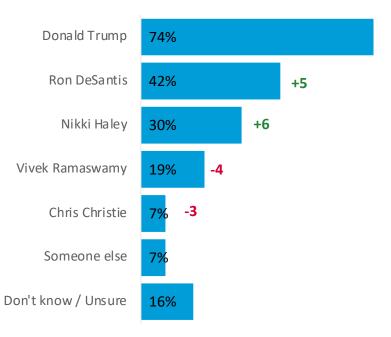
Who would be your second choice for the Republican nomination for president? Among GOP Voters

+3

+4

GOP Primary first or second choice Among GOP Voters



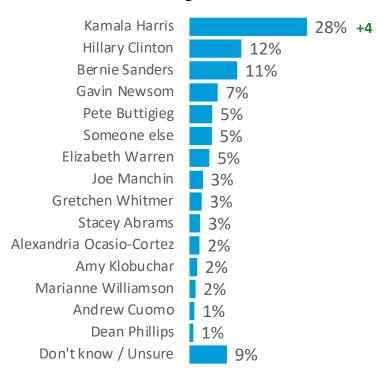


GOPPRIM1: If the Republican presidential primary for the 2024 election was held today, who would you vote for? GOPPRIM2: Who would be your second choice for the Republican nomination for president?

HARRIS REMAINS THE TOP PROSPECTIVE NOMINEE FOR THE DEMOCRATS IF BIDEN DOES NOT RUN

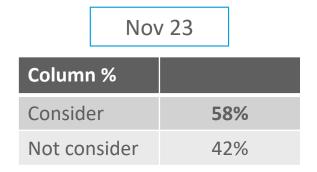


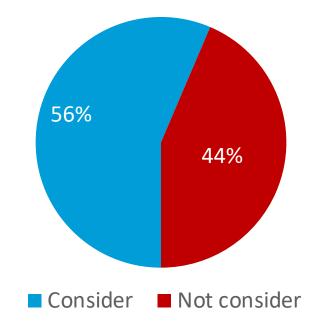
If President Biden decides not to run again in 2024, who would you prefer to be the Democratic candidate? Among Dem Voters



A MAJORITY OF VOTERS ARE OPEN TO AN INDEPENDENT MODERATE HARVARD CAPS CANDIDATE IN THE EVENT OF A TRUMP-BIDEN REMATCH IN 2024

If Donald Trump was the Republican nominee and Joe Biden the Democratic nominee, would you consider an independent moderate candidate running for the presidency in 2024 or not?



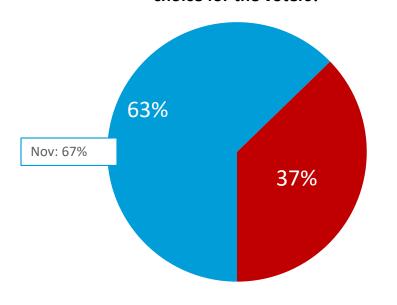


Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Consider	58%	48%	65%
Not consider	42%	52%	35%

ALMOST TWO-THIRDS OF VOTERS AGREE THE COUNTRY NEEDS "ANOTHER CHOICE" OTHER THAN BIDEN AND TRUMP



Do you think if Joe Biden and Donald Trump are the nominees of their parties that the country needs another alternative or that this is a good choice for the voters?



Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Country needs another choice	67%	52%	72%
Biden and Trump are good enough choices	33%	48%	28%

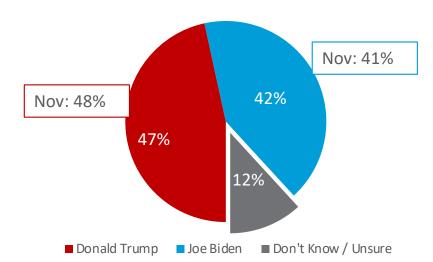
Country needs another choice

Biden and Trump are good enough choices

TRUMP REMAINS AHEAD OF BIDEN IN THE HEAD-TO-HEAD MATCHUP

Biden vs GOP Nominees Horserace:

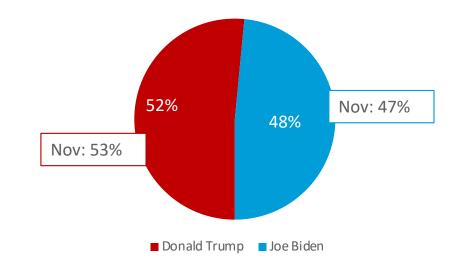
If the 2024 election for President were held today and it was between <u>Donald</u> <u>Trump</u>, the Republican and <u>Joe Biden</u>, the Democrat, who would you vote for?



Trump + 5

Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Donald Trump	9%	87%	45%
Joe Biden	78%	7%	38%
Don't Know / Unsure	14%	6%	18%

If you had to choose, would you vote for Donald Trump or Joe Biden? *First Choice + Leaners*.



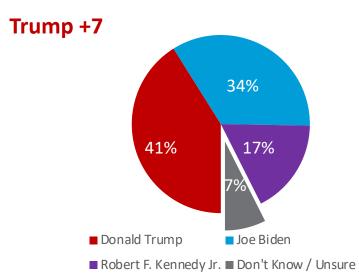
Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Donald Trump	11%	91%	53%
Joe Biden	89%	9%	47%

H1: If the 2024 election for President were held today and it was between Donald Trump, the Republican and Joe Biden, the Democrat, who would you vote for? H1LEAN: And if you had to choose, would you vote for Donald Trump or Joe Biden?



TRUMP IS ALSO AHEAD IN A THREE-WAY RACE WITH RFK JR.

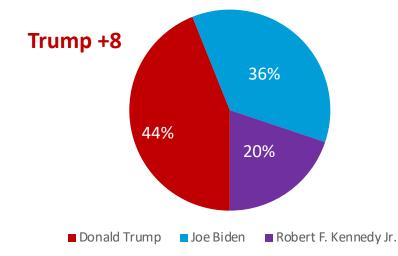
Biden vs GOP Nominees Horserace: If the 2024 election for President were held today and it was between <u>Donald</u> <u>Trump</u>, the Republican, <u>Joe Biden</u>, the Democrat, and <u>Robert F. Kennedy Jr</u>., the Independent, who would you vote for?



Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Donald Trump	7%	79%	37%
Joe Biden	65%	6%	29%
Robert F. Kennedy Jr.	22%	10%	20%
Don't Know / Unsure	5%	5%	13%

If you had to choose, would you vote for Donald Trump, Joe Biden, or Robert F. Kennedy Jr.? *First Choice + Leaners.*

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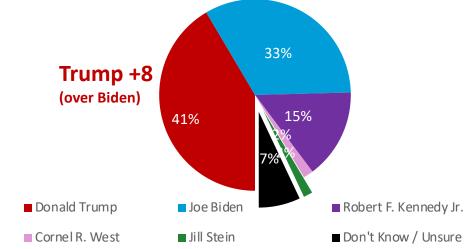


Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Donald Trump	8%	82%	43%
Joe Biden	68%	6%	33%
Robert F. Kennedy Jr.	25%	11%	25%

H6: If the 2024 election for President were held today and it was between Donald Trump, the Republican, Joe Biden, the Democrat, and Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the Independent, who would you vote for? H6LEAN: And if you had to choose, would you vote for Donald Trump, Joe Biden, or Robert F. Kennedy Jr.?

TRUMP MAINTAINS LEAD IN RACE AMONG BIDEN, RFK JR., JILL STEIN AND CORNEL WEST

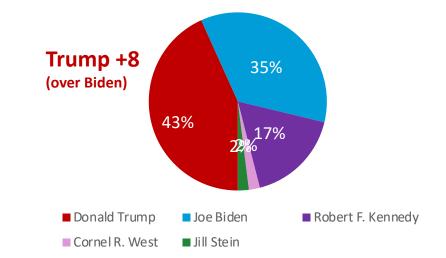
If the 2024 election for President were held today and it was between <u>Donald</u> <u>Trump</u>, the Republican, <u>Joe Biden</u>, the Democrat, <u>Robert F. Kennedy Jr</u>., the Independent, <u>Cornel R. West</u>, the Independent, and <u>Jill Stein</u>, the Green Party candidate who would vote for?



Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Donald Trump	7%	80%	37%
Joe Biden	65%	6%	26%
Robert F. Kennedy Jr.	20%	8%	19%
Cornel R. West	2%	1%	2%
Jill Stein	2%	0%	3%
Don't Know / Unsure	5%	4%	13%

And if you had to choose, would you vote for Donald Trump, Joe Biden, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Cornel West, or Jill Stein? *First Choice + Leaners*.

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS



Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Donald Trump	7%	82%	40%
Joe Biden	67%	7%	30%
Robert F. Kennedy	21%	9%	23%
Cornel R. West	2%	2%	3%
Jill Stein	2%	0%	4%

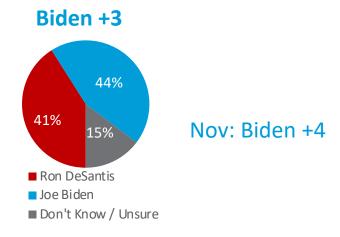
H9: If the 2024 election for President were held today and it was between Donald Trump, the Republican, Joe Biden, the Democrat, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the Independent, Cornel R. West, the Independent, and Jill Stein, the Green Party candidate who would vote for?

H9LEAN: And if you had to choose, would you vote for Donald Trump, Joe Biden, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Cornel West, or Jill Stein?

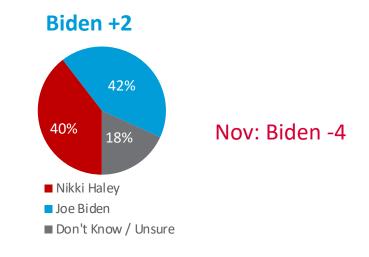
BIDEN HAS A SLIGHT EDGE OVER DESANTIS AND IS TIED WITH HALEY IN HEAD-TO-HEAD RACES



Biden vs GOP Nominees Horserace: If the 2024 election for President were held today and it was between [GOP], the Republican and Joe Biden, the Democrat, who would you vote for?



Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Ron DeSantis	9%	76%	39%
Joe Biden	82%	8%	41%
Don't Know / Unsure	9%	17%	20%

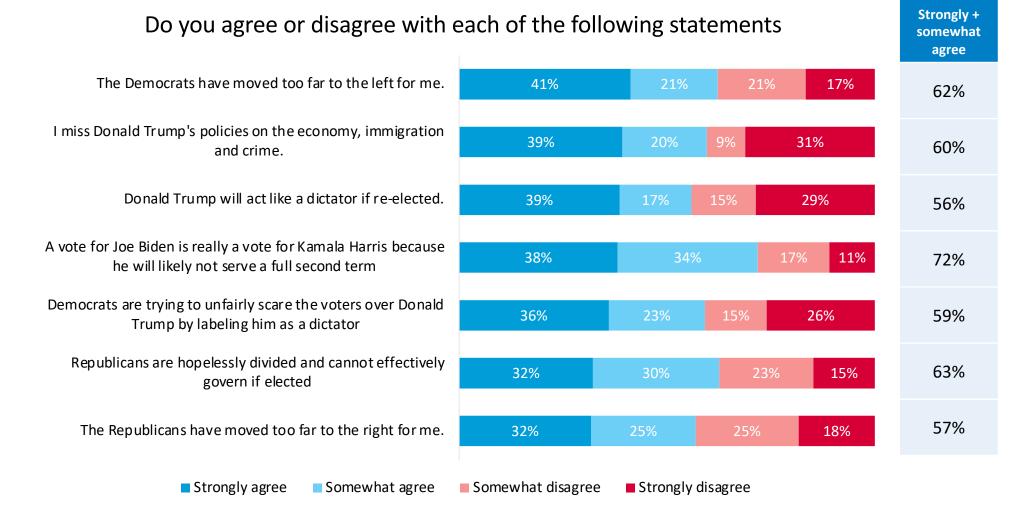


Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Nikki Haley	12%	68%	39%
Joe Biden	80%	9%	35%
Don't Know / Unsure	8%	23%	26%

H2A: (Split sample) If the 2024 election for President were held today and it was between Ron DeSantis, the Republican and Joe Biden, the Democrat, who would you vote for? H2C: (Split sample) If the 2024 election for President were held today and it was between Nikki Haley, the Republican and Joe Biden, the Democrat, who would you vote for?

EXPECTATIONS

ALMOST 3 IN 4 VOTERS THINK BIDEN IS UNLIKELY TO FULFILL A SECOND TERM, AND ALMOST 2 IN 3 THINK REPUBLICANS ARE HOPELESSLY DIVIDED



EX1r: X- Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements

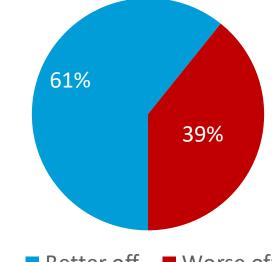
HARVARD CAPS HARRIS

JUST OVER HALF OF VOTERS SAY THEY ARE WORSE OFF DURING BIDEN'S PRESIDENCY, WHILE 3 IN 5 SAY THEY WERE BETTER OFF UNDER TRUMP

Are you better or worse off personally during the presidency of Joe Biden?

Were you better or worse off personally under the presidency of Donald Trump?

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS



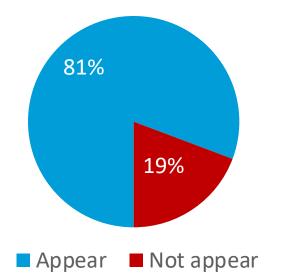
Better off Worse off

Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH	Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Better off	79%	15%	38%	Better off	33%	90%	59%
Worse off	21%	85%	62%	Worse off	67%	10%	41%

EX2: Are you better or worse off personally during the presidency of Joe Biden? EX3: Were you better or worse off personally under the presidency of Donald Trump?

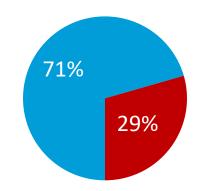
THERE IS STRONG CONSENSUS THAT HUNTER BIDEN SHOULD APPEAR FOR A DEPOSITION BY CONGRESS IF CALLED UPON

Should Hunter Biden appear or not appear for a deposition by Congress if called upon to explain his business dealings before the body?



Hunter Biden says he will appear only publicly for questions. The Republicans say transcribed depositions come first followed by public testimony. Given this should Hunter Biden submit to a deposition first or only appear publicly?

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS



Submit to deposition first Only appear publicly

Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH	Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Appear	72%	88%	82%	Submit to deposition first	60%	81%	72%
Not appear	28%	12%	18%	Only appear publicly	40%	19%	28%

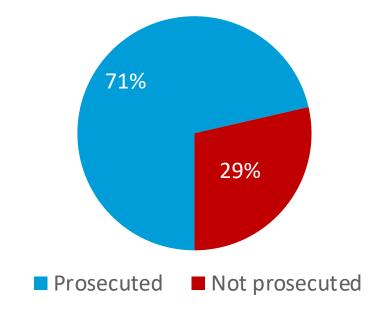
EX4: Should Hunter Biden appear or not appear for a deposition by Congress if called upon to explain his business dealings before the body?

EX5: Hunter Biden says he will appear only publicly for questions. The Republicans say transcribed depositions come first followed by public testimony. Given this should Hunter Biden submit to a deposition first or only appear publicly?

7 IN 10 VOTERS THINK HUNTER BIDEN SHOULD BE PROSECUTED IF HE REFUSES TO APPEAR FOR A DEPOSITION



If Hunter Biden refuses to appear for a deposition should he be prosecuted by the Justice Department or not?

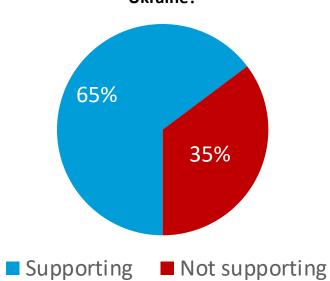


Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH	
Prosecuted	54%	89%	72%	
Not prosecuted	46%	11%	28%	

FOREIGN AID

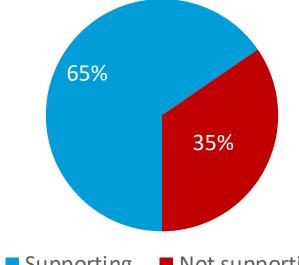
TWO-THIRDS OF VOTERS AGREE THE US SHOULD BE SUPPORTING UKRAINE AND ISRAEL IN THEIR CONFLICTS

Do you believe that the US should be supporting the Ukraine in its war against Russia or not supporting the Ukraine?



Do you believe that the US should be supporting Israel in its war against Hamas or not supporting Israel?

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS



Supporting Not supporting

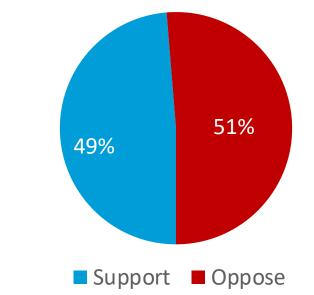
Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH	Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Supporting	77%	56%	60%	Supporting	63%	71%	61%
Not supporting	23%	44%	40%	Not supporting	37%	29%	39%

FA1: Do you believe that the US should be supporting the Ukraine in its war against Russia or not supporting the Ukraine? FA2: Do you believe that the US should be supporting Israel in its war against Hamas or not supporting Israel?

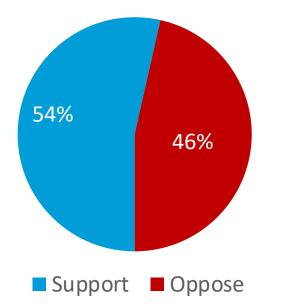
JUST OVER HALF OF VOTERS SUPPORT THE AID PACKAGE TO ISRAEL, BUT ARE SPLIT ON THE LARGER PACKAGE TO UKRAINE

Do you support or oppose \$50 billion in additional aid to the Ukraine to help it in its war with Russia?

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS



Do you support or oppose \$14 billion in aid to Israel to help it in its war with Hamas?

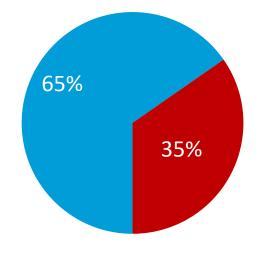


Column % Column % IND/OTH **IND/OTH** DEM GOP DEM GOP Support 53% 59% 47% Support 63% 36% 47% 47% 53% 37% 41% Oppose 64% 53% Oppose

FA3: Do you support or oppose \$14 billion in aid to Israel to help it in its war with Hamas? FA4: Do you support or oppose \$50 billion in additional aid to the Ukraine to help it in its war with Russia?

TWO-THIRDS OF VOTERS THINK THE REPUBLICANS SHOULD HOLD UP HARVARD CAPS POLL AID TO UKRAINE AND ISRAEL UNTIL THEY GET ADDITIONAL BORDER FUNDING

Republicans are holding up aid to both countries because they want additional measures for U.S. border security included in the bill. Do you think that the Republicans should hold up the aid until they get added border security funding or pass the aid without border funding?



Hold up the aid until they get added border security funding

Pass the aid without border funding

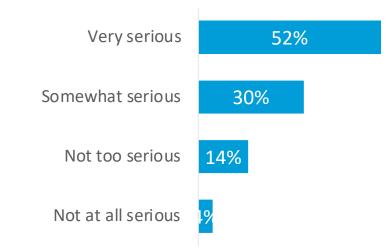
Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Hold up the aid until they get added border security funding	51%	83%	61%
Pass the aid without border funding	49%	17%	39%

FA5: Republicans are holding up aid to both countries and because they want additional measures for U.S. border security included in the bill. Do you think that the Republicans should hold up the aid until they get added border security funding or pass the aid without border funding?

IMMIGRATION

OVER 1 IN 2 VOTERS SAY ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS A VERY SERIOUS ISSUE; MOST SAY IT HAS INCREASED OVER BIDEN'S TERM

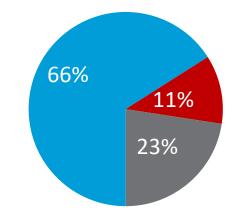
How serious of an issue do you think illegal immigration is for the country right now?



Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Very serious	34%	73%	48%
Somewhat serious	40%	17%	33%
Not too serious	20%	7%	15%
Not at all serious	5%	3%	4%

Do you think the number of monthly border crossings by illegal immigrants has increased, decreased, or stayed the same since President Biden took office?

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS



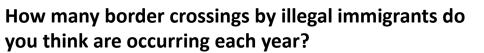
■ Increased ■ Decreased ■ Stayed the same

Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH	
Increased	51%	82%	65%	
Decreased	15%	9%	11%	
Stayed the same	34%	9%	24%	

IMM1_APR: How serious of an issue do you think illegal immigration is for the country right now?

IMM2_APR: Do you think the number of monthly border crossings by illegal immigrants has increased, decreased, or stayed the same since President Biden took office?

MOST VOTERS UNDERESTIMATE THE AMOUNT OF ILLEGAL BORDER CROSSING, BUT MAJORITY AGREE THERE SHOULD BE STRICTER POLICIES AROUND CROSSING

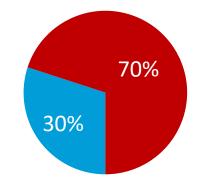


Less than 100,000	14%
Between 100,000 and 250,000	24%
Between 250,000 and 500,000	19%
Between 500,000 and 1 million	18%
Between 1-2 million	11%
Between 2-3 million	<mark>6%</mark>
Over 3 million	8%

Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Less than 100,000	21%	7%	13%
Between 100,000 and 250,000	27%	21%	26%
Between 250,000 and 500,000	19%	19%	18%
Between 500,000 and 1 million	17%	19%	19%
Between 1-2 million	9%	14%	10%
Between 2-3 million	3%	8%	6%
Over 3 million	4%	11%	8%

Over 3.2 million came into the United States illegally over a twelve-month period ending September 2023, and more than 400,000 have crossed since then. Given these numbers, should the administration continue its current policies or issue new, stricter policies to reduce the flow of people coming across the border?

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Continue current policies

■ Issue new, stricter policies to reduce the flow of people across the border

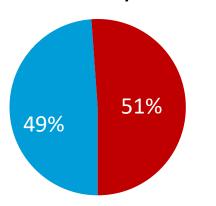
Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OT H
Continue current policies	45%	15%	29%
Issue new, stricter policies to reduce the flow of people across the border	55%	85%	71%

IMM3_DEC: How many border crossing by illegal immigrants do you think are occurring each year?

IMM3_APR: Over 3.2 million came into the United States illegally over a twelve-month period ending September 2023, and more than 400,000 have crossed since then. Given these numbers, should the administration continue its current policies or issue new, stricter policies to reduce the flow of people coming across the border?

VOTERS ARE SPLIT ON BIDEN'S INTENTION OVER IMMIGRATION POLICIES, BUT MOST SAY THE RESULT IS INCREASING THE FLOW OF DRUGS AND CRIME INTO THE US

Is the Biden administration creating an open border or is it just trying to enforce immigration laws more humanely?

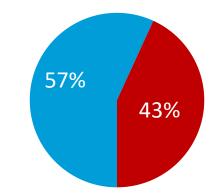


Creating an open border

Enforcing immigration laws more humanely

Do you think the Biden border policies are increasing the flow or drugs and crime to the United States or are those policies simply treating people more humanely?

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Increasing the flow of drugs

Simply treating people more humanely

Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH	Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Creating an open border	32%	64%	52%	Increasing the flow of drugs	33%	82%	56%
Enforcing immigration laws more humanely	68%	36%	48%	Simply treating people more humanely	67%	18%	44%

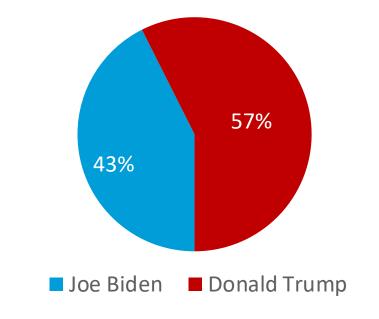
IMM5_APR: Is the Biden administration creating an open border or is it just trying to enforce immigration laws more humanely?

IMM6_APR: Do you think the Biden border policies are increasing the flow or drugs and crime to the United States or are those policies simply treating people more humanely?

MORE VOTERS PERCEIVE DONALD TRUMP AS HAVING BETTER POLICIES ON IMMIGRATION THAN BIDEN



Overall, would you say that Donald Trump or Joe Biden have better policies on immigration?

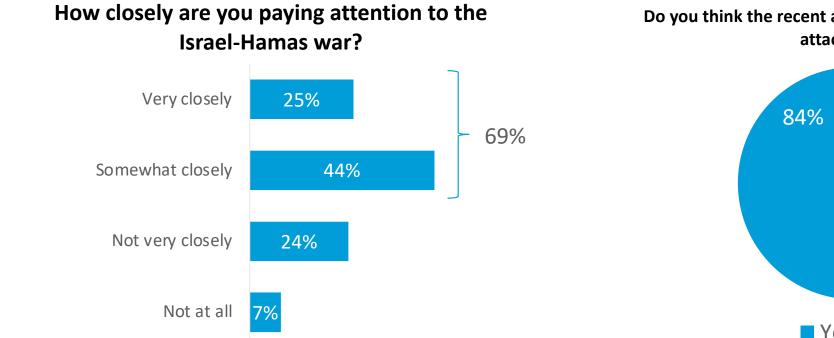


Column %	DEM	GOP	IND/OTH
Joe Biden	80%	7%	40%
Donald Trump	20%	93%	60%

ISRAEL-HAMAS WAR

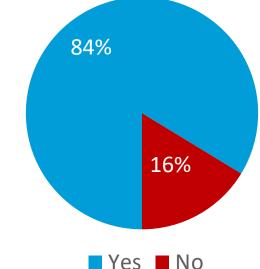
A STRONG MAJORITY OF VOTERS SAY THE RECENT ATTACK ON ISRAEL WAS A TERRORIST ACT





Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Very closely	27%	23%	33%	21%	20%	26%
Somewhat closely	54%	45%	42%	37%	42%	50%
Not very closely	14%	23%	19%	34%	27%	21%
Not at all	6%	9%	6%	8%	11%	3%

Do you think the recent attack on Israel was a terrorist attack or not?



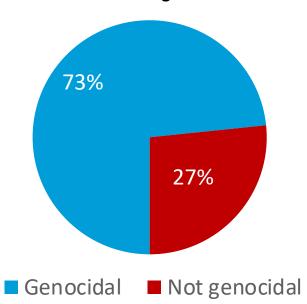
Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Yes	73%	71%	74%	87%	92%	96%
No	27%	29%	26%	13%	8%	4%

IBA1: How closely are you paying attention to the Israel-Hamas war?

IBA2: Do you think the recent attack on Israel was a terrorist attack or not?

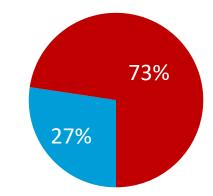
AROUND 3 IN 4 VOTERS THINK THE ATTACK WAS GENOCIDAL IN NATURE, AND THAT HAMAS HARMING CIVILIANS IS NOT JUSTIFIED

Do you think that the attacks on Jews were genocidal in nature or not genocidal?



Do you think the Hamas killing of 1200 Israeli civilians and the kidnapping of another 250 civilians can be justified by the grievances of Palestinians or is it not justified

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Can be justified by the grievance of Palestinians

Not justified

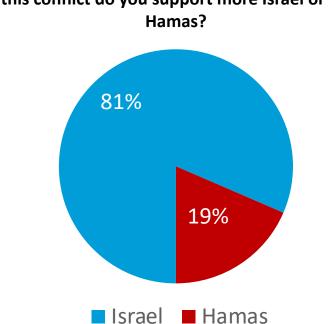
Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Genocidal	66%	66%	70%	65%	79%	85%	Can be justified by the	60%	44%	40%	26%	12%	9%
Not	/	<i>(</i>			- · · · /	/	grievance of Palestinians		1170	1070	20/0	12/0	370
genocidal	34%	34%	30%	35%	21%	15%	Not justified	40%	56%	60%	74%	88%	91%

IBA3: Do you think that the attacks on Jews were genocidal in nature or not genocidal?

IBA4: Do you think the Hamas killing of 1200 Israeli civilians and the kidnapping of another 250 civilians can be justified by the grievances of Palestinians or is it not justified

VOTERS CONTINUE TO STAND WITH ISRAEL, ALTHOUGH YOUNG VOTERS ARE SPLIT



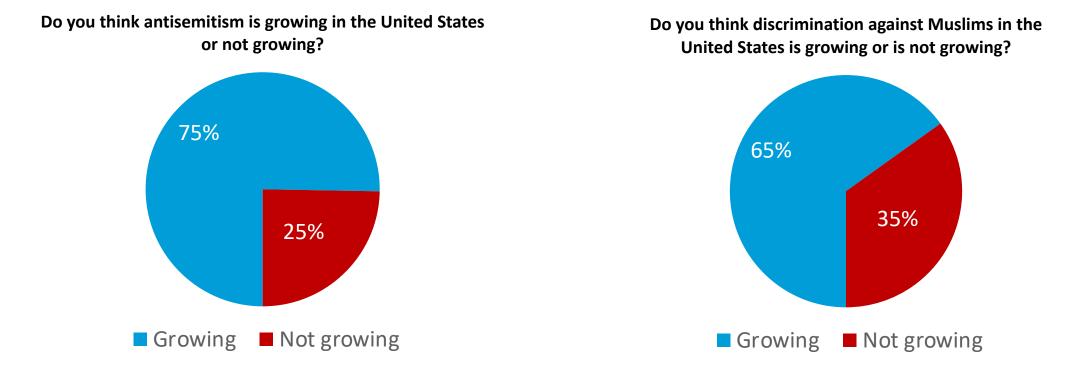


Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Israel	50%	69%	76%	85%	90%	96%
Hamas	50%	31%	24%	15%	10%	4%

In this conflict do you support more Israel or more

ANTISEMITISM

THREE-QUARTERS SAY ANTISEMITISM IS GROWING IN THE U.S. AND TWO-THIRDS SAY DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MUSLIMS IS GROWING

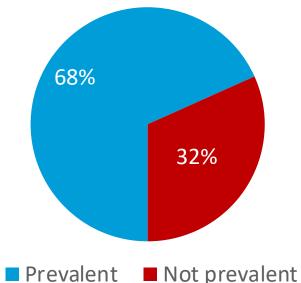


Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Growing	66%	64%	69%	77%	79%	88%	Growing	69%	62%	65%	64%	64%	69%
Not growing	34%	36%	31%	23%	21%	12%	Not growing	31%	38%	35%	36%	36%	31%

ISR_DEC11: Do you think antisemitism is growing in the United States or not growing? ISR_DEC12: Do you think discrimination against Muslims in the United States is growing or is not growing? HARVARD CAPS HARRIS

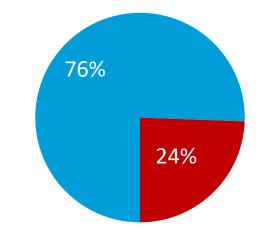
A MAJORITY OF VOTERS THINK ANTISEMITISM IS PREVALENT ON UNIVERSITIES CAMPUSES TODAY AND THAT JEWISH STUDENTS FACE HARASSMENT

Do you think antisemitism is prevalent in university campuses today or not?



Do you think that Jewish students on campuses today are facing harassment today or not facing harassment over being Jewish?

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS



Facing harassment Not facing harassment

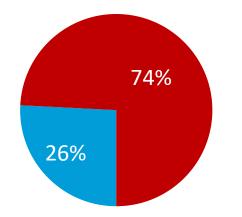
Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Prevalent	63%	61%	67%	59%	71%	81%	Facing	68%	59%	71%	71%	85%	90%
Not prevalent	37%	39%	33%	41%	29%	19%	harassment	00/0	0070	, 1,0	7 1 / 0	00/0	30/0
							Not facing harassment	32%	41%	29%	29%	15%	10%

ISR_DEC13: Do you think antisemitism is prevalent in university campuses today or not?

ISR_DEC14: Do you think that Jewish students on campuses today are facing harassment today or not facing harassment over being Jewish?

VOTERS AGREE THAT CALLING FOR THE GENOCIDE OF JEWS ON CAMPUS COUNTS AS HATE SPEECH AND THAT STUDENTS WHO DO SO SHOULD FACE CONSEQUENCES

If a student calls for the genocide of Jews should that student be told that they are free to call for genocide or should such students face actions for violating university rules?

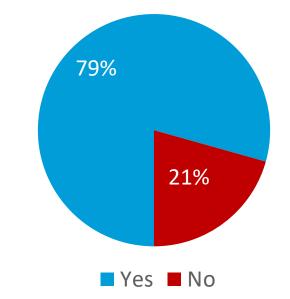


- Told they are free to call for genocide
- Face actions for violating university rules

Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Told they are free to call for genocide	53%	37%	37%	23%	18%	8%
Face actions for violating university rules	47%	63%	63%	77%	82%	92%

Does protesters on university campuses calling for the genocide of Jews constitute hate speech or not?

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS

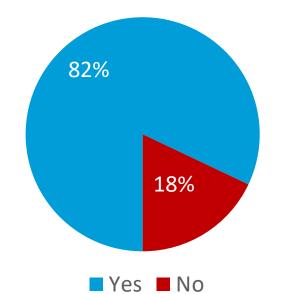


Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Yes	70%	72%	74%	77%	82%	92%
Νο	30%	28%	26%	23%	18%	8%

ISR_DEC15: If a student calls for the genocide of Jews should that student be told that they are free to call for genocide or should such students face actions for violating university rules? ISR_DEC16: Does protesters on university campuses calling for the genocide of Jews constitute hate speech or not?

OVER 4 IN 5 THINK CALLING FOR THE GENOCIDE OF JEWS ON CAMPUS IS HARASSMENT; 1 IN 4 THINK ANTISEMITISM HAS ALWAYS BEEN PRESENT ON CAMPUSES

Do protesters on university campuses calling for the genocide of Jews constitute harassment of Jews or not?

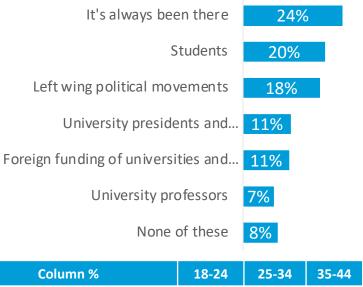


Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Yes	71%	74%	81%	77%	87%	92%
No	29%	26%	19%	23%	13%	8%

ISR_DEC17: Do protesters on university campuses calling for the genocide of Jews constitute harassment of Jews or not? ISR_DEC18: Who do you think is responsible for the antisemitism on campuses, if any?

Who do you think is responsible for the antisemitism on campuses, if any?

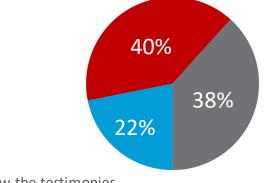
HARVARD CAPS HARRIS



Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
It's always been there	8%	23%	17%	31%	30%	23%
Students	28%	18%	17%	23%	18%	20%
Left wing political movements	16%	19%	15%	14%	21%	22%
University presidents and administrators	12%	10%	17%	7%	9%	13%
Foreign funding of universities and student groups	17%	16%	15%	3%	9%	9%
University professors	13%	6%	7%	10%	4%	9%
None of these	6%	8%	11%	13%	8%	4%

MOST VOTERS AT LEAST HEARD ABOUT THE RECENT TESTIMONIES IN HARVARD CAPS CONGRESS, AND MOST SAY THE UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS DID NOT GO FAR ENOUGH TO CONDEMN ANTISEMITISM

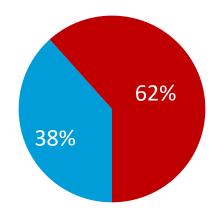
Have you heard or not heard anything about the testimonies of the presidents of the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard and MIT before Congress on the issue of antisemitism?



- Saw the testimonies
- Heard or read about the testimonies, but did not see them
- Did not see or hear about the testimonies

Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Saw the testimonies	30%	17%	27%	17%	20%	25%
Heard or read about the testimonies, but did not see them	45%	41%	42%	34%	37%	43%
Did not see or hear about the testimonies	25%	42%	31%	49%	43%	33%

Do you feel that these university presidents went far enough or did not go far enough to condemn antisemitism in their campuses during their congressional testimony?



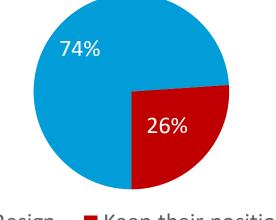
Went far enough
Did not go far enough

Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Went far enough	67%	53%	50%	38%	27%	19%
Did not go far enough	33%	47%	50%	62%	73%	81%

ISR_DEC19: Have you heard or not heard anything about the testimonies of the presidents of the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard and MIT before Congress on the issue of antisemitism? ISR_DEC20: Do you feel that these university presidents went far enough or did not go far enough to condemn antisemitism in their campuses during their congressional testimony?

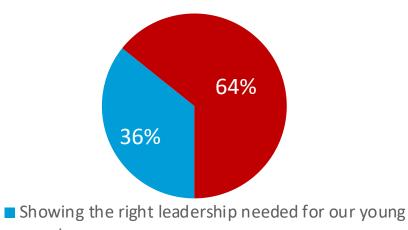
A STRONG MAJORITY OF VOTERS THINK UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS WHO DO HARVARD CAPS POLL NOT THINK CALLING FOR THE GENOCIDE OF JEWS VIOLATES THEIR SCHOOL'S HARASSMENT POLICIES SHOULD RESIGN

Should university presidents who said that calls for the genocide of Jews on their campuses are not necessarily a violation of their school's code of conduct and harassment policies because it "depends on the context" or "whether speech turns into conduct" resign or keep their positions?



Resign Keep their positions

Do you think that university presidents today in general are showing the right leadership needed for our young people or are they failing to lead our next generation?



people

Failing to lead our next generation

Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Resign	73%	74%	72%	73%	71%	79%	Showing the right leadership needed for our young people	51%	44%	51%	37%	26%	20%
Keep their positions	27%	26%	28%	27%	29%	21%	Failing to lead our next generation	49%	56%	49%	63%	74%	80%

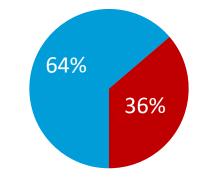
ISR_DEC21: Should university presidents who said that calls for the genocide of Jews on their campuses are not necessarily a violation of their school's code of conduct and harassment policies because it "depends on the context" or "whether speech turns into conduct" resign or keep their positions?

ISR_DEC22: Do you think that university presidents today in general are showing the right leadership needed for our young people or are they failing to lead our next generation?

TWO THIRD OF VOTERS BELIEVE THAT IDENTITY POLITICS BASED ON RACE HAS COME TO DOMINATE U.S. UNIVERSITIES



Do you think that identity politics based on race has come to dominate at our elite universities, or do they operate primarily on the basis of merit and accomplishments without regard to race?

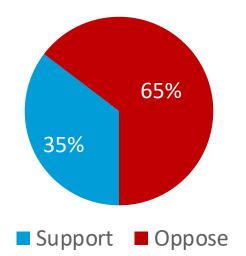


- Identity politics based on race has come to dominate at our
 - elite universities
- They operate primarily on the basis of merit and accomplishments without regard to race

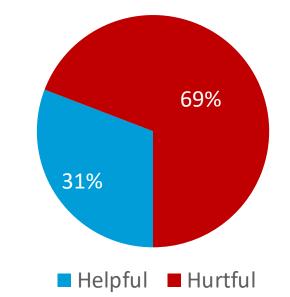
Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Identity politics based on race has come to dominate at our elite universities	69%	60%	64%	57%	64%	69%
They operate primarily on the basis of merit and accomplishments without regard to race	31%	40%	36%	43%	36%	31%

TWO-THIRDS OF VOTERS OPPOSE AN IDEOLOGY THAT WHITE PEOPLE HARVARD CAPS POL ARE OPPRESSORS AND ALMOST 7 IN 10 FIND THIS IDEOLOGY HURTFUL TO SOCIETY

There is an ideology that white people are oppressors and nonwhite people and people of certain groups have been oppressed and as a result should be favored today at universities and for employment. Do you support or oppose this ideology?



Do you think this ideology is helpful or hurtful to our society?



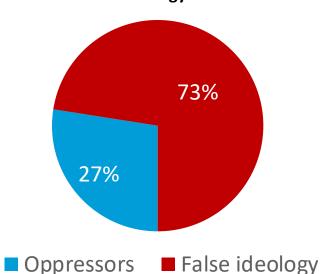
Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Support	79%	49%	39%	33%	26%	19%	Helpful	51%	43%	46%	30%	16%	17%
Oppose	21%	51%	61%	67%	74%	81%	Hurtful	49%	57%	54%	70%	84%	83%

ISR_DEC25: There is an ideology that white people are oppressors and nonwhite people and people of certain groups have been oppressed and as a result should be favored today at universities and for employment. Do you support or oppose this ideology? ISR_DEC26: Do you think this ideology is helpful or hurtful to our society?

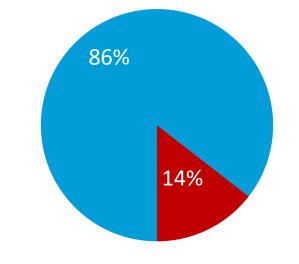
A STRONG MAJORITY THINK IT IS A FALSE IDEOLOGY THAT JEWS AS A CLASS ARE OPPRESSORS



Do you think that Jews as a class are oppressors and should be treated as oppressors or is that a false ideology?



Do you think Israel has a right to exist as the homeland of the Jewish people or that Israel has no right to exist?



Right to exist
No right to exist

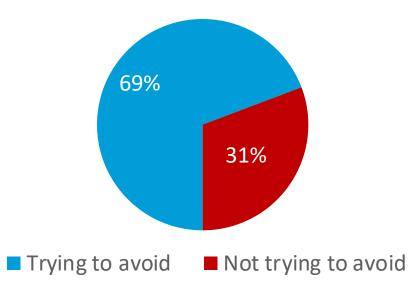
Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Oppressors	67%	44%	36%	24%	15%	9%	Right to exist	69%	78%	85%	85%	87%	96%
False ideology	33%	56%	64%	76%	85%	91%	No right to exist	31%	22%	15%	15%	13%	4%

ISR_DEC27: Do you think that Jews as a class are oppressors and should be treated as oppressors or is that a false ideology? ISR_DEC28: Do you think Israel has a right to exist as the homeland of the Jewish people or that Israel has no right to exist?

LATEST EVENTS

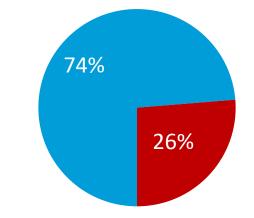
MOST THINK ISRAEL IS TRYING TO AVOID CIVILIAN CASUALTIES IN THE WAR AGAINST HAMAS; 3 IN 4 VOTERS SAY HAMAS HAS A GOAL TO COMMIT GENOCIDE

Do you think Israel is trying to avoid civilian casualties in fighting its war against Hamas or not trying to avoid such casualties?



Do you think that Hamas would like to commit genocide against the Jews in Israel or is that not a goal of Hamas?

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS



Would like to commit genocide

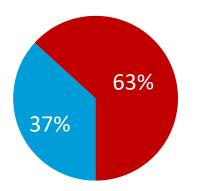
That is not the goal of Hamas

Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Trying to avoid	70%	65%	71%	59%	71%	77%	Would like to commit	58%	63%	68%	72%	80%	88%
Not trying to	0.00/	0 = 0 (000/		2001	224	genocide	00/0	00/0	00/0	/ = / 0	00/0	00/0
avoid	30%	35%	29%	41%	29%	23%	That is not the goal	42%	37%	32%	28%	20%	12%
							of Hamas	12/0	3770	3270	20/0	2070	12/0

LE1: Do you think Israel is trying to avoid civilian casualties in fighting its war against Hamas or not trying to avoid such casualties? LE2: Do you think that Hamas would like to commit genocide against the Jews in Israel or is that not a goal of Hamas?

OVER 3 IN 5 VOTERS SAY ISRAEL IS JUST TRYING TO DEFEND ITSELF, AND THE SAME PROPORTION THINK HAMAS IS DEDICATED ONLY TO THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL

Do you think that Israel is committing genocide against those in Gaza or is it just trying to defend itself and eliminate Hamas?

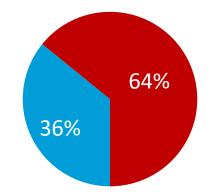


- Committing genocide against those in Gaza
- Just trying to defend itself and eliminate Hamas

Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Committing genocide against those in Gaza	60%	56%	45%	38%	25%	17%
Just trying to defend itself and eliminate Hamas	40%	44%	55%	62%	75%	83%

Do you think Hamas is an organization that can be negotiated with to create peace or is Hamas dedicated only to the destruction of Israel?

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS



Can be negotiated with to create peace

Dedicated only to the destruction of Israel

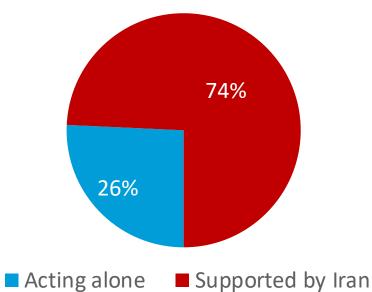
Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Can be negotiated with to create peace	76%	52%	52%	37%	19%	13%
Dedicated only to the destruction of Israel	24%	48%	48%	63%	81%	87%

LE3: Do you think that Israel is committing genocide against those in Gaza or is it just trying to defend itself and eliminate Hamas? LE4: Do you think Hamas is an organization that can be negotiated with to create peace or is Hamas dedicated only to the destruction of Israel?

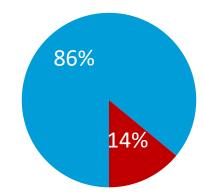
MOST VOTERS THINK HAMAS HAS THE SUPPORT OF IRAN AND MOST SAY U.S. CITIZENS ARE STILL BEING HELD HOSTAGE BY HAMAS



Do you think Hamas is acting alone or with the support of Iran?



Do you think there are remaining US Citizens who are being held hostage by Hamas or do you think all US citizens have been released?



U.S. citizens are still being held hostage by Hamas

All U.S. citizens have been released

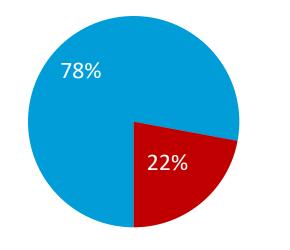
Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Acting alone	49%	41%	37%	25%	12%	9%	U.S. citizens are still being held hostage by Hamas	89%	77%	77%	87%	90%	96%
Supported by Iran	51%	59%	63%	75%	88%	91%	All U.S. citizens have been released	11%	23%	23%	13%	10%	4%

LE5: Do you think Hamas is acting alone or with the support of Iran?

LE6: Do you think there are remaining US Citizens who are being held hostage by Hamas or do you think all US citizens have been released?

A STRONG MAJORITY OF VOTERS THINK U.S. FORCES IN THE REGION ARE COMING UNDER ATTACK BY TERRORIST GROUPS

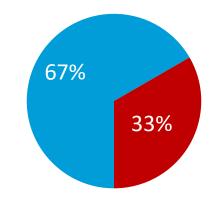
Do you think that US forces in the region are coming under attack by terrorist groups or are US forces not coming under attack?



Coming under attack Not coming under attack

Should the US respond to any such attacks with strikes against terrorist groups or should it just defend itself against such attacks?

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS



Respond with strikes against terrorist groups

Just defend itself but not strike back

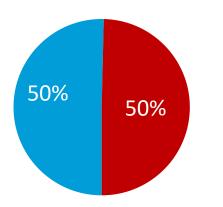
Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Coming under attack	63%	72%	70%	77%	83%	89%	Respond with strikes against terrorist groups	58%	61%	70%	57%	72%	73%
Not coming under attack	37%	28%	30%	23%	17%	11%	Just defend itself but not strike back	42%	39%	30%	43%	28%	27%

LE7: Do you think that US forces in the region are coming under attack by terrorist groups or are US forces not coming under attack? LE8: Should the US respond to any such attacks with strikes against terrorist groups or should it just defend itself against such attacks?

VOTERS ARE SPLIT ON WHETHER BIDEN HAS ACTED FORCEFULLY ENOUGH OR HAS BEEN TOO WEAK

HARVARD CAPS POLL

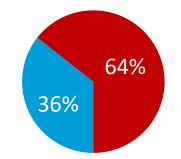
Is President Biden acting forcefully and appropriately enough against such attacks or has his response been too weak?



Acting forcefully enough

Response has been too weak

Do you favor an unconditional ceasefire in the Israel-Hamas war that would leave everyone in place, or do you think any ceasefire should happen only after the release of all hostages and Hamas removed from power?



- Favor unconditional ceasefire that would leave everyone in place
- Ceasefire should happen only after the release of all hostages and Hamas being removed from power

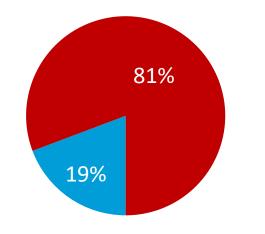
Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Acting forcefully enough	62%	55%	59%	56%	43%	40%	Favor unconditional ceasefire that would leave everyone in place	67%	49%	47%	34%	26%	16%
Response has been too weak	38%	45%	41%	44%	57%	60%	Ceasefire should happen only after the release of all hostages and Hamas being removed from power	33%	51%	53%	66%	74%	84%

LE9: Is President Biden acting forcefully and appropriately enough against such attacks or has his response been too weak?

LE10: Do you favor an unconditional ceasefire in the Israel-Hamas war that would leave everyone in place, or do you think any ceasefire should happen only after the release of all hostages and Hamas removed from power?

4 IN 5 VOTERS SAY HAMAS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE RUNNING GAZA; A PLURALITY THINK A NEW AUTHORITY SHOULD BE SET UP INSTEAD

Should Hamas be allowed to continue to run Gaza or does Hamas need to be removed from running Gaza?



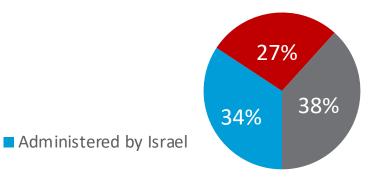
Allowed to continue to run Gaza

Removed from running Gaza

Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Allowed to continue to run Gaza	42%	28%	34%	19%	7%	5%
Removed from running Gaza	58%	72%	66%	81%	93%	95%

If Hamas is removed, should Gaza be administered by Israel, by the Palestinian Authority or by some new authority set up through negotiations with Arab nations?

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS



Administered by the Palestinian Authority

Administered by some new authority set up with Arab nations

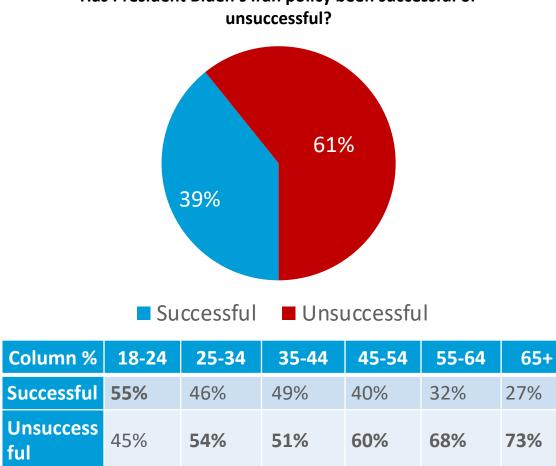
Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Administered by Israel	45%	36%	38%	32%	33%	30%
Administered by the Palestinian Authority	41%	33%	31%	29%	21%	21%
Administered by some new authority set up with Arab nations	14%	32%	31%	39%	46%	49%

LE11: Should Hamas be allowed to continue to run Gaza or does Hamas need to be removed from running Gaza?

LE12: If Hamas is removed, should Gaza be administered by Israel, by the Palestinian Authority or by some new authority set up through negotiations with Arab nations?

MOST VOTERS THINK BIDEN'S IRAN POLICY HAS BEEN **UNSUCCESSFUL**

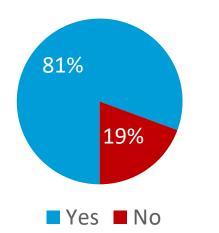




Has President Biden's Iran policy been successful or

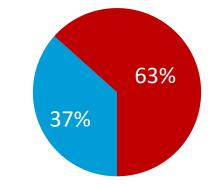
VOTERS AGREE ISRAEL HAS A RIGHT TO DEFEND ITSELF WITH AIR STRIKES, AND SHOULD KEEP TRYING TO DEFEAT HAMAS

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



Should Israel cease all hostilities now or keep going until Hamas is defeated and the hostages released?

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS



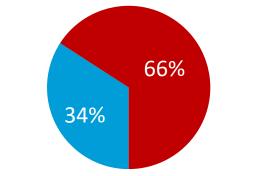
- Cease all hostilities now
- Keep going until Hamas is defeated and the hostages are released

Column	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
%							Cease all hostilities now	57%	49%	50%	37%	24%	21%
Yes	80%	72%	76%	80%	85%	89%	Keep going until Hamas is defeated	43%	51%	50%	63%	76%	79%
No	20%	28%	24%	20%	15%	11%	and the hostages are released	4370	21/0	50%	03/0	10/0	19/0

ISR_DEC1: Does Israel have a right to defend itself against terror attacks by launching air strikes on targets in heavily populated Palestinian areas with warnings to those citizens or does it not have the right to launch such attacks? ISR_DEC2: Should Israel cease all hostilities now or keep going until Hamas is defeated and the hostages released?

MOST VOTERS THINK HAMAS IS A TERRORIST GROUP NOT SUPPORTED BY THE PEOPLE OF GAZA AND A MAJORITY SAY THEY USE CIVILIANS AS HUMAN SHIELDS

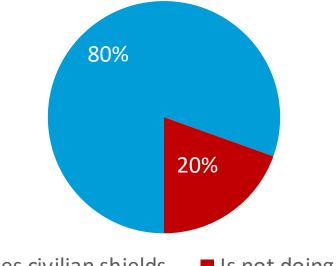
Do you think Hamas is supported by the majority of Palestinians in Gaza or is Hamas a terror group that rules the people of Gaza with force and fear and is not supported by them?



Hamas is supported by the majority of Palestinians in Gaza

Hamas is a terror group that rules the people of Gaza with fear and is not supported by them Do you think Hamas uses civilians in Gaza as human shields to hide from justice or is it not doing that?

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS

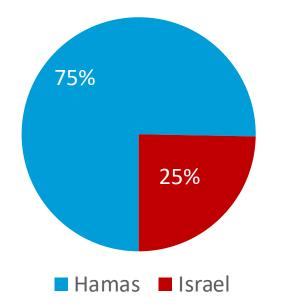


Uses civilian shields
Is not doing that

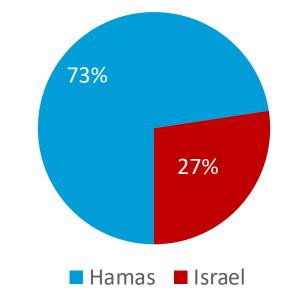
Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Hamas is supported by the majority of Palestinians in Gaza	64%	48%	44%	31%	23%	18%	Uses civilian shields	62%	72%	74%	77%	85%	96%
Hamas is a terror group that rules the people of Gaza with fear and is not supported by them	36%	52%	56%	69%	77%	82%	Is not doing that	38%	28%	26%	23%	15%	4%

ISR_DEC3: Do you think Hamas is supported by the majority of Palestinians in Gaza or is Hamas a terror group that rules the people of Gaza with force and fear and is not supported by them? ISR_DEC4: Do you think Hamas uses civilians in Gaza as human shields to hide from justice or is not doing that? THREE-QUARTERS OF VOTERS SAY HAMAS IS PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE HARVARD CAPS FOR PUTTING CIVILIANS IN HARM'S WAY AND FOR STARTING THE CRISIS

Who is primarily responsible for putting civilians in Gaza in harm's way - Hamas or Israel?



Who is primarily responsible for triggering the humanitarian crisis in Gaza - Hamas or Israel?



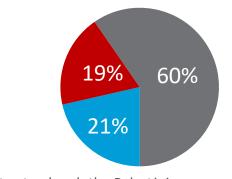
Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Hamas	54%	59%	67%	78%	84%	92%	Hamas	49%	63%	66%	72%	77%	89%
Israel	46%	41%	33%	22%	16%	8%	Israel	51%	37%	34%	28%	23%	11%

ISR_DEC5: Who is primarily responsible for putting civilians in Gaza in harm's way - Hamas or Israel? ISR_DEC6: Who is primarily responsible for triggering the humanitarian crisis in Gaza - Hamas or Israel?

MOST VOTERS PREFER A TWO-STATE SOLUTION TO THE ISRAEL-PALESTINE DISPUTE



Do you think that the long-term answer to the Israel-Palestinian dispute is for Arab states to absorb the Palestinians, for there to be two states, Israel and Palestine, or for Israel to be ended and given to Hamas and the Palestinians?

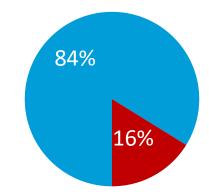


- Arab states to absorb the Palestinians
- For Israel to be ended and given to Hamas and the Palestinians

For there to be two states, Israel and Palestine

Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Arab states to absorb the Palestinians	17%	20%	19%	24%	20%	25%
For Israel to be ended and given to Hamas and the Palestinians	51%	31%	24%	15%	13%	4%
For there to be two states, Israel and Palestine	32%	49%	58%	60%	67%	71%

Do you believe that Hamas attackers on October 7th committed rapes and other crimes against women or is that not the case?



Committed rapes and crimes against women

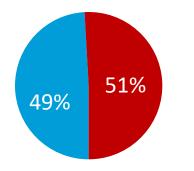
Not the case

Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Committed rapes and crimes against women	76%	82%	77%	78%	85%	95%
Not the case	24%	18%	23%	22%	15%	5%

ISR_DEC7: Do you think that the long-term answer to the Israel-Palestinian dispute is for Arab states to absorb the Palestinians, for there to be two states, Israel and Palestine, or for Israel to be ended and given to Hamas and the Palestinians? ISR_DEC8: Do you believe that Hamas attackers on October 7th committed rapes and other crimes against women or is that not the case?

HALF THINK WOMEN'S GROUPS HAVE ADEQUATELY CONDEMNED CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN COMMITTED BY HAMAS

Do you think women's groups have adequately condemned crimes against women committed by Hamas or not adequately condemned such crimes?

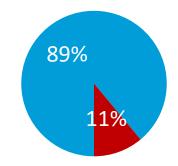


- Adequately condemned crimes against women committed by Hamas
- Not adequately condemned such crimes

Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Adequately condemned crimes against women committed by Hamas	80%	62%	55%	52%	37%	34%
Not adequately condemned such crimes	20%	38%	45%	48%	63%	66%

Should women's groups explicitly condemn Hamas for committing rapes and other crimes against women or should such groups not take a stand on the issue?

HARVARD CAPS HARRIS



- Should explicitly condemn Hamas for committing rapes and other crimes against women
- Should not take a stand on the issue

	Column %	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
	Should explicitly condemn Hamas for committing rapes and other crimes against women	81%	87%	82%	86%	94%	96%
	Should not take a stand on the issue	19%	13%	18%	14%	6%	4%

ISR_DEC9: Do you think women's groups have adequately condemned crimes against women committed by Hamas or not adequately condemned such crimes? ISR_DEC10: Should women's groups explicitly condemn Hamas for committing rapes and other crimes against women or should such groups not take a stand on the issue?