

Table of Contents

- Methodology
- 2. Top Findings
- 3. Perceptions on the Israel-Hamas War
- 4. Messaging:
 - Why the War is Ongoing
 - The Hostages in Gaza
 - Accusations of Genocide
 - Trustworthiness of the Gaza Ministry of Health
 - Humanitarian Crisis in Gaza
- 5. Media Consumption
- Appendix

Methodology

BSG conducted a 20-min survey May 30th- June 5th, 2025 among: N = 794 General Population (MoE +/- 3.48%), along with:

Segment	% of US Population	Base Size	Margin of Error	
White 18-34	19%	1135	2.91%	
Black 18-34	4%	499	4.39%	
Hispanic 18-34	7%	412	4.83%	
Asian 18-34	1%	534	4.24%	
Evangelical/Fundamentalist 18-34	12%	995	3.11%	
Liberals 18-34	9%	722	3.65%	

We have been conducting polling and message testing since October 2023:

Wave 1 Poll: Oct 23-25, 2023 Wave 2 Poll: Nov 2-7, 2023 Wave 3 Poll: Nov 17-20, 2023 Wave 4 Poll: Dec 6-11, 2023 Wave 5 Poll: Jan 2-5, 2024 Wave 6 Poll: Mar 1-4, 2024 Wave 7 Poll: June 27-July 1, 2024 Wave 8 Poll: May 30-June 5, 2025

Key Findings

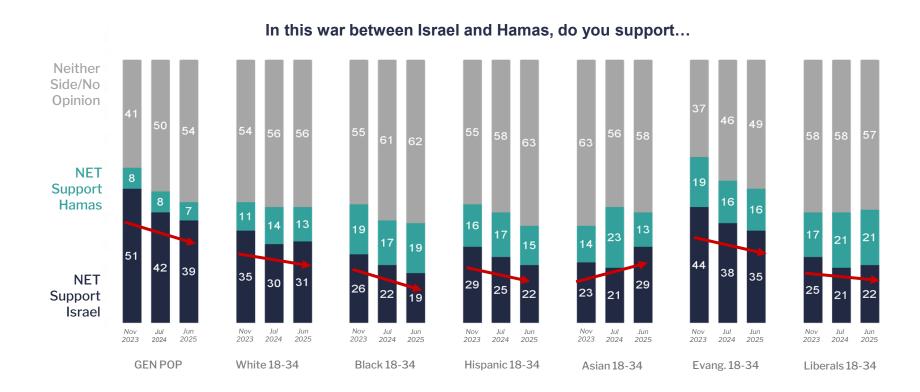
- As the war enters its 20th month, support for Israel continues to **decline**.
- Increasingly people say they support **neither side** or have **no opinion**.
- **One in four** Americans say the war is **unjustified** with even higher numbers among key cohorts.
- A majority of our cohorts **don't believe** Hamas is a terrorist organization.
- Roughly **half** of our cohorts are **unaware** that hostages remain in Gaza.
- Most people support allowing Palestinians to leave Gaza.
- Prevailing narratives including claims that **Israel is responsible** for the war's continuation and committing war crimes — have taken hold among key audiences.
- Messaging is effective in **countering** these narratives.

Overall Top Messages

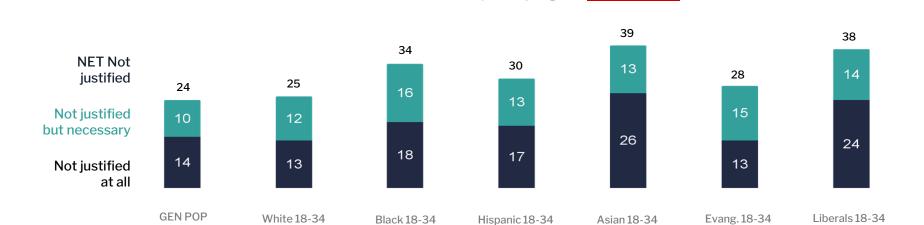
The top **five most impactful messages** (based on statistical analysis) to support Israel and its war against Hamas:

- Israel's primary military objective is to secure the return of the hostages still held by Hamas in Gaza
- On October 7th, Israel was brutally attacked—innocent civilians were murdered and taken hostage. Israel is now **fighting the terrorists responsible** to ensure such an atrocity like this can never happen again.
- Repeatedly, Hamas has rejected ceasefire proposals or attached extreme demands that sabotage diplomatic solutions. Its **refusal to release hostages or demilitarize Gaza** prolongs the conflict and blocks opportunities to alleviate suffering
- Despite Israeli warnings of forthcoming attacks and the opening of humanitarian corridors, Hamas has repeatedly **prevented civilians from evacuating combat zones**—sometimes physically barring them or using roadblocks—in doing so, Hamas bears entire responsibility for any deaths
- Instead of investing in healthcare, infrastructure, or education, Hamas has funneled billions of dollars in aid over the years **into building terror tunnels, rockets, and military compounds**. The humanitarian crisis stems from these deliberate choices to prioritize violence over the basic needs of its people

Support for Israel is largely in decline and apathy is growing

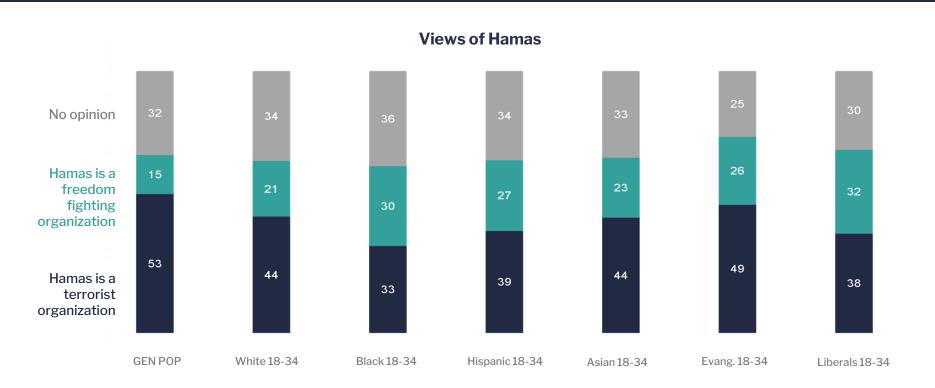


A sizeable portion of the population does not believe the war against Hamas is justified



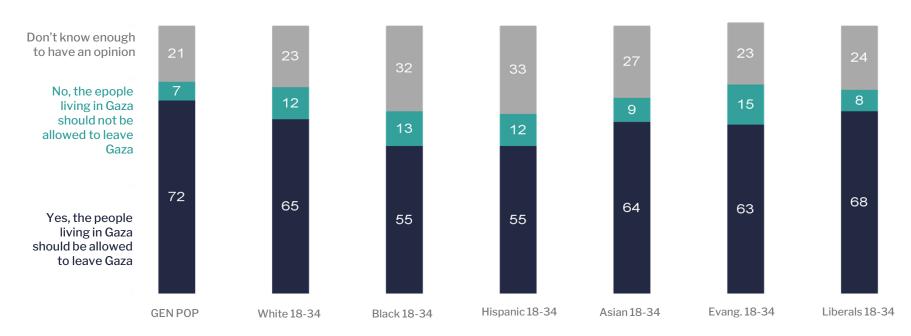
% who believe Israel's military campaign is not justified

Only half of the general population - and fewer than half of the key cohorts - believe Hamas is a terrorist organization



Most people believe Palestinians should be allowed to leave Gaza

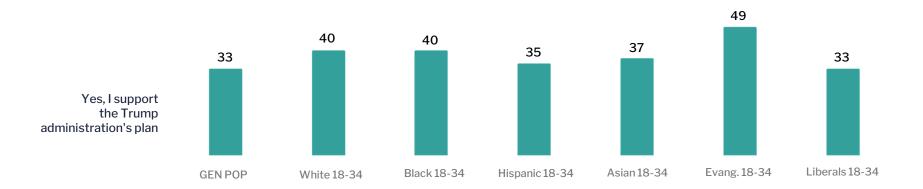
Do you believe the people living in Gaza should be allowed to leave if they want to?



Across cohorts, there is some support for the Trump administration's plan to relocate Palestinians from Gaza

100

% who support the Trump administration's plan to relocate Palestinians from Gaza





Why the War is Ongoing

We Tested 7 Messages: Why the War is Ongoing

Prevent Future Attacks	On October 7th, Israel was brutally attacked—innocent civilians were murdered and taken hostage. Israel is now fighting the terrorists responsible to ensure such an atrocity like this can never happen again
Primary Objective: Dismantle Hamas (Tested among one-third of respondents)	Israel's primary military objective is to dismantle Hamas to ensure they can never carry out another massacre like October 7th
Primary Objective: Bring Hostages Home (Tested among one-third of respondents)	Israel's primary military objective is to secure the return of the hostages still held by Hamas in Gaza
Primary Objectives: Bringing Hostages Home and Dismantle Hamas (Tested among one-third of respondents)	Israel's objectives are to bring home the hostages still held by Hamas in Gaza and to dismantle Hamas's capabilities so they can never carry out another massacre like October 7th
Hamas Threatens Israel's Existence	Hamas's stated mission is to destroy Israel, along with its 10 million citizens. If Israel doesn't respond to Hamas's terrorist attacks of Oct 7, its very existence is threatened
The West vs. Iran	This war is ultimately a clash between Western democracies and a network of rouge terror organizations backed by Iran
Hamas Refuses to Surrender the Hostages	The war between Israel and Hamas would end tomorrow, but Hamas refuses to release the remaining hostages being held in Gaza

The most resonant message is emphasizes that Israel is fighting to prevent another October 7 like attack in the future

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements...

NET Agree with this statement	GEN POP	White 18-34	Black 18-34	Hispanic 18-34	Asian 18-34	Evang. 18-34	Liberals 18-34
Prevent Future Attacks	62%	56%	46%	45%	48%	59%	44%
Primary Objective: Dismantle Hamas	61%	53%	41%	53%*	47%	60%	49%
Primary Objective: Bring Hostages Home	57%	51%	53%	44%*	39%	59%	43%
Primary Objectives: Bringing Hostages Home and Dismantle Hamas	50%	47%	41%	40%	36%	52%	39%
Hamas Threatens Israel's Existence	52%	46%	42%	44%	40%	54%	38%
The West vs. Iran	44%	43%	46%	43%	39%	51%	43%
Hamas Refuses to Surrender the Hostages	44%	43%	36%	32%	36%	48%	34%

Support for Israel's war against Hamas increases after messaging

% that support Israel's position to continue fighting against Hamas in Gaza

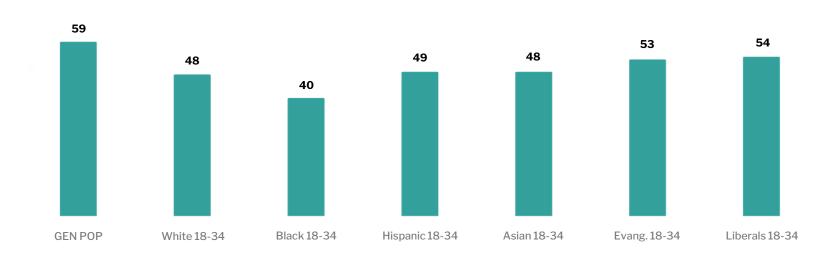




The Hostages in Gaza

Only around half of our audiences are aware there are still hostages in Gaza

% aware that there are still dozens of Israeli hostages being held by Hamas in Gaza Showing "Yes, I was aware of this"



We Tested 6 Messages: The Hostages in Gaza

Silence Normalizes Hostage-Taking	There is no justification for abducting civilians – including children and grandparents and holding them hostage. If we stay silent, we normalize the unimaginable.
Israel Fights for Hostages (Tested Among Half of Respondents)	Dozens of civilians are still being held hostage in Gaza and denied access to the Red Cross. This is a clear violation of international law. Israel must demand their immediate and unconditional release.
U.S. Must Secure Hostage Release	Americans were taken hostage on October 7. The U.S. has a responsibility to protect its citizens. We cannot allow American lives to be treated as bargaining chips.
The World Fights for Hostages (Tested Among Half of Respondents)	Dozens of civilians are still being held hostage in Gaza and denied access to the Red Cross. This is a clear violation of international law. The world must continue to fight for their immediate and unconditional release.
Hostages are Being Tortured. There is a Moral Imperative to Bring Them Home	Testimony from released hostages make it clear that the hostages still held in Gaza are being tortured, starved, and denied medical care. It is a moral imperative to bring them home.
Global Precedent for Hostage-Taking	If the world accepts hostage-taking as a tool of war, no one is safe. What happens in Gaza today sets a precedent for tomorrow. The international community must act—not only for the hostages, but to stop this barbaric tactic from becoming normalized globally.

The most resonant message emphasizes the moral imperative of fighting for the hostages and the implications of not doing so

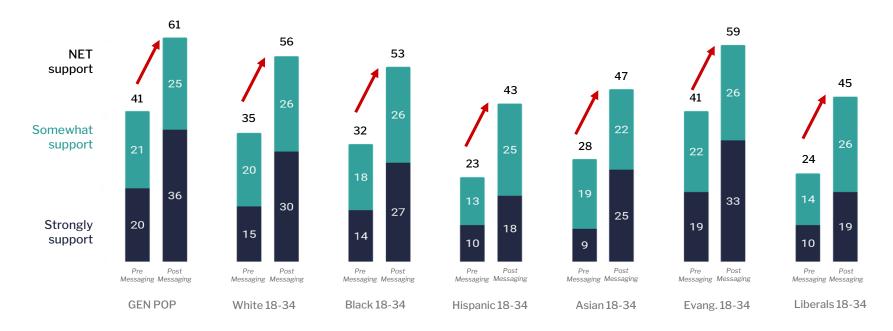
Impact of messages on supporting Israel's efforts to free the hostages

Impact of messages on supporting Israel's efforts to free the hostages	GEN POP	White 18-34	Black 18-34	Hispanic 18-34	Asian 18-34	Evang. 18-34	Liberals 18-34
Silence Normalizes Hostage-Taking	241	219	188	185	198	214	193
Israel Fights for Hostages	241	207	193	172	185	206	176
U.S. Must Secure Hostage Release	238	217	188	185	202	226	196
The World Fights for Hostages	237	207	173	161	181	213	181
Hostages are Being Tortured. There is a Moral Imperative to Bring Them Home	233	210	186	197	183	219	198
The Global Precedent for Hostage-Taking	232	206	182	170	180	214	189

SCORE: (2 X Completely Agree) + Somewhat Agree + (2 X Extremely compelling reason to support Israel's efforts to free the hostages) + Somewhat compelling reason to support Israel's efforts to free the hostages

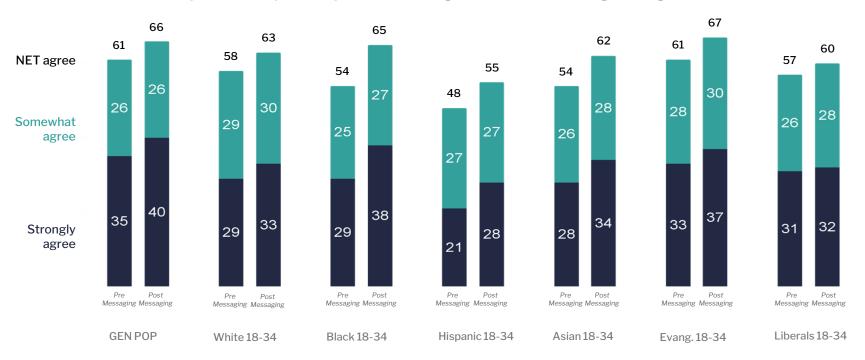
Messaging on hostages has a significant impact on support for Israel to continue fighting Hamas

% who support Israel's position to continue fighting against Hamas



Messaging also increases the belief that the U.S. should intervene to free the hostages

% who believe the U.S. government should do whatever it can do, diplomatically, to help free and bring home the remaining hostages





Accusations of Genocide

We Tested 6 Messages: Accusations of Genocide

Israel's Aid to Gaza Contradicts Genocide Claims	Israel has coordinated the entry of tens of thousands of aid trucks carrying food, water, fuel, and medicine into Gaza—even while under attack. A country committing genocide does not provide life-saving resources to the population it allegedly seeks to destroy.
Israel's Actions to Protect Palestinian Lives	Israel has taken numerous steps to protect Palestinian civilian lives. Israel issues evacuation warnings, uses precision strikes, and pauses operations to allow humanitarian aid—all actions inconsistent with genocidal intent. No country seeking genocide warns civilians to flee before attacking. These efforts reflect an attempt to protect civilian lives, not eliminate them.
Hamas's Tactics Drive Civilian Deaths	The high number of civilian casualties in Gaza is tragic—but it's largely the result of Hamas's deliberate tactic of embedding itself in schools, hospitals, mosques, and residential areas. These war crimes complicate military operations and increase civilian risk, which Hamas uses for propaganda purposes.
Israeli Arabs Enjoy Full Civil Rights	Inside Israel, 21% of the population is Arab. They enjoy full civil rights, vote in elections, and serve in the judiciary, the Knesset, and the military. A genocidal state does not integrate the very people it is accused of targeting.
Growth of Palestinian Population in Gaza	The Palestinian population in Gaza and the West Bank has steadily increased over the decades. Genocide, by definition, results in a reduction or eradication of a population.
Legal Definition of Genocide	Under international law, genocide requires a clear intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group as such. Israel's stated objective is to eliminate Hamas's military capabilities—not to harm Palestinians as a people. The war is against a terrorist organization that carried out the October 7 massacre, not against civilians.

The most resonant message emphasizes Israel's actions to protect civilians and deliver humanitarian aid

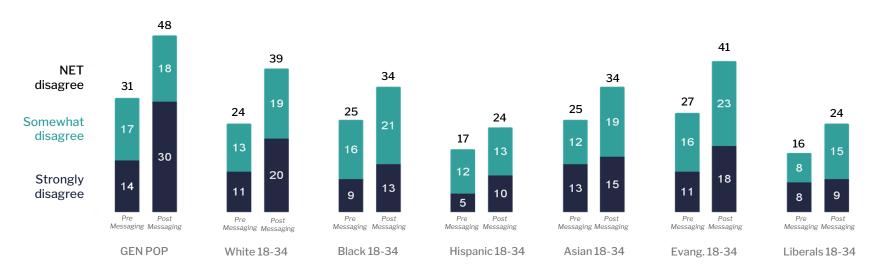
Impact of messages on belief that Israel is **not** committing a genocide

	GEN POP	White 18-34	Black 18-34	Hispanic 18-34	Asian 18-34	Evang. 18-34	Liberals 18-34
Israel's Aid to Gaza Contradicts Genocide Claims	178	165	160	133	138	167	131
Israel's Actions to protect Palestinian Lives	174	164	148	145	142	171	131
Hamas's Tactics Drive Civilian Deaths	171	160	145	139	138	170	134
Israeli Arabs Enjoy Full Civil Rights	169	158	148	130	136	164	132
Growth of Palestinian Population in Gaza	167	152	147	140	129	168	139
Legal Definition of Genocide	164	159	144	139	140	162	123

SCORE: (2 X Completely Agree) + Somewhat Agree + (2 X Much Less Likely to Believe Israel is Committing Genocide + Somewhat Less Likely to Believe Israel is Committing Genocide

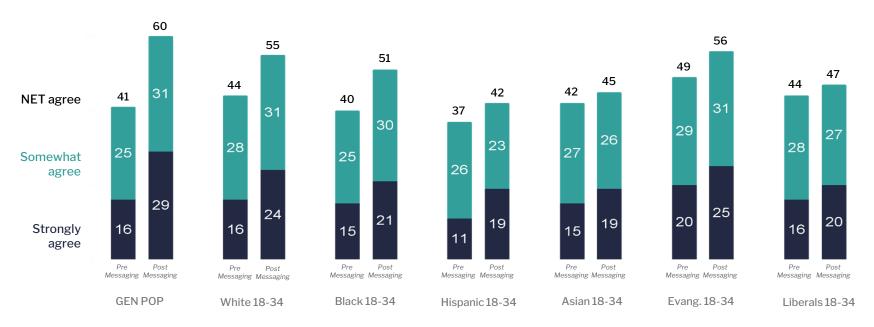
Messaging significantly decreases the belief that Israel is committing genocide

% that disagree Israel is committing genocide on the Palestinian people



Messaging also helps people recognize that the genocide accusation has been weaponized to villify Israel

% agree that claims of genocide have been weaponized or politicized to demonize the Israel?





Trustworthiness of the Gaza Ministry of Health

We Tested 4 Messages: Trustworthiness of the Gaza Ministry of Health

Hamas Manipulates Casualty Figures for Propaganda	Hamas manipulates casualty figures for propaganda—inflating and selectively reporting deaths to rally internal support and portray itself simultaneously as both powerful and victimized.
No Independent Body Verifying Figures	There is no independent, neutral body consistently verifying casualty figures in Gaza. The data comes almost exclusively from a health ministry controlled by Hamas—a U.S. and EU-designated terrorist organization—with a vested interest in portraying Israel as the aggressor and maximizing international outrage.
Hamas uses Gazans as Human Shields	Hamas embeds its military infrastructure within civilian areas, making it difficult to distinguish between combatants and non-combatants. The Gaza Ministry of Health does not distinguish between combatants and civilians in its reports.
Historical Pattern of Unreliable Gaza Casualty Figures	Past conflicts have shown that Hamas and other Gaza-based authorities have issued inflated or inaccurate figures. For example, during the 2014 conflict, independent reviews later found discrepancies between initial Gaza Ministry of Health reports and verified UN and Israeli intelligence assessments, which revealed a higher percentage of militant deaths than first claimed.

The most resonant message emphasizes the unreliability of casualty figures and Hamas's incentive to inflate numbers

Impact of messages on believability of reports coming from the Gaza Ministry of Health.

	GEN POP	White 18-34	Black 18-34	Hispanic 18-34	Asian 18-34	Evang. 18-34	Liberals 18-34
Hamas Manipulates Casualty Figures for Propaganda	190	168	153	150	151	172	157
No Independent Body Verifying Figures	190	160	150	148	159	165	155
Hamas uses Gazans as Human Shields	187	168	160	164	157	176	162
Historical Pattern of Unreliable Gaza Casualty Figures	184	167	162	163	150	168	167

SCORE: (2 X Completely Agree) + Somewhat Agree + (2 X Much Less Likely to Believe Casualty Reports from the Gaza Ministry of Health + Somewhat Less Likely to Believe Casualty

Messaging increases distrust and skepticism of the casualty reports from the Gaza Ministry of Health

% who distrust the Gaza Ministry of Health as a reliable source of information





Humanitarian Crisis in Gaza

We Tested 5 Messages: Humanitarian Crisis in Gaza

Hamas Intentionally Endangers Civilians	Hamas intentionally places military assets in densely populated areas—using hospitals, schools, mosques, and residential buildings as shields. This not only endangers civilians but also ensures that any military response generates humanitarian consequences they can exploit for global sympathy.
Hamas Prevents Civilians from Leaving Combat Zones	Despite Israeli warnings of forthcoming attacks and the opening of humanitarian corridors, Hamas has repeatedly prevented civilians from evacuating combat zones—sometimes physically barring them or using roadblocks—in doing so, Hamas bears entire responsibility for any deaths.
Hamas Rejects Ceasefire Agreements	Repeatedly, Hamas has rejected ceasefire proposals or attached extreme demands that sabotage diplomatic solutions. Its refusal to release hostages or demilitarize Gaza prolongs the conflict and blocks opportunities to alleviate suffering.
Hamas has Invested in Terror Infrastructure	Instead of investing in healthcare, infrastructure, or education, Hamas has funneled billions of dollars in aid over the years into building terror tunnels, rockets, and military compounds. The humanitarian crisis stems from these deliberate choices to prioritize violence over the basic needs of its people.
Hamas Steals Aid	Israel is facilitating the transfer of aid into Gaza, but the core issue isn't the amount—it's Hamas's interference. Hamas has a documented history of seizing aid—including food, medicine, fuel, and other essentials—meant for civilians. This stolen aid is used to supply its fighters or sold on the black market to raise funds for its operations, further deepening civilian suffering.

The most resonant messages emphasize how Hamas endangers Palestinians

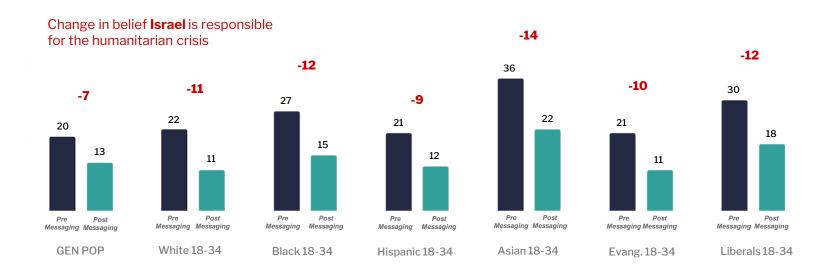
Impact of messages on blaming Hamas for the humanitarian crisis in Gaza.

	GEN POP	White 18-34	Black 18-34	Hispanic 18-34	Asian 18-34	Evang. 18-34	Liberals 18-34
Hamas Intentionally Endangers Civilians	208	182	162	169	162	182	159
Hamas Prevents Civilians from Leaving Combat Zones	203	178	173	171	156	171	166
Hamas Rejects Ceasefire Agreements	201	182	164	178	150	180	166
Hamas has Invested in Terror Infrastructure	201	181	161	161	154	175	163
Hamas Steals Aid	201	180	172	171	150	178	169

SCORE: (2 X Completely Agree) + Somewhat Agree + (2 X Much More Likely to Believe Hamas is Responsible for the Humanitarian Crisis) + Somewhat More Likely to Believe Hamas is Responsible for the Humanitarian Crisis

Messaging reduces the perception that Israel is responsible for the humanitarian crisis

% who believe Israel is responsible for the humanitarian crisis in Gaza?

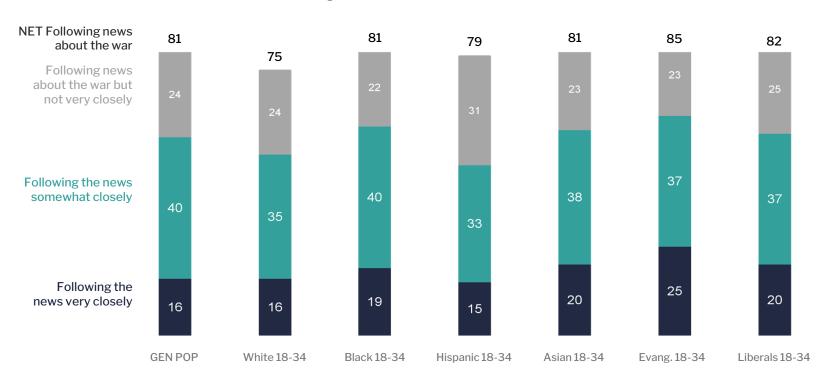




Media Consumption

Most Americans are following the news about the war in Gaza

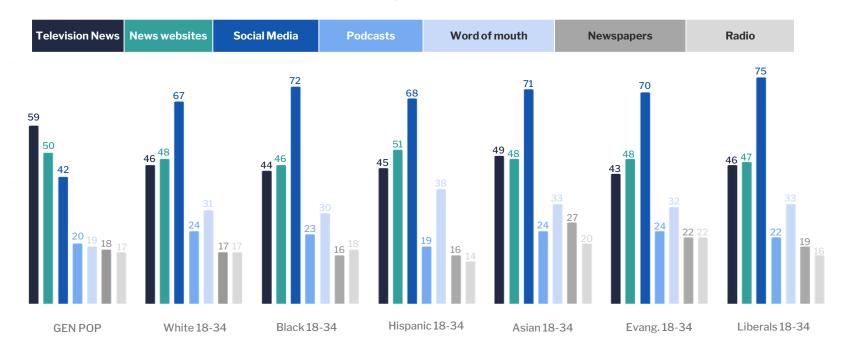
% who are following news about the war between Israel and Hamas



While the general population primarily gets its news from TV and news websites, key cohorts turn to social media

Where people receive their news about the war between Israel and Hamas

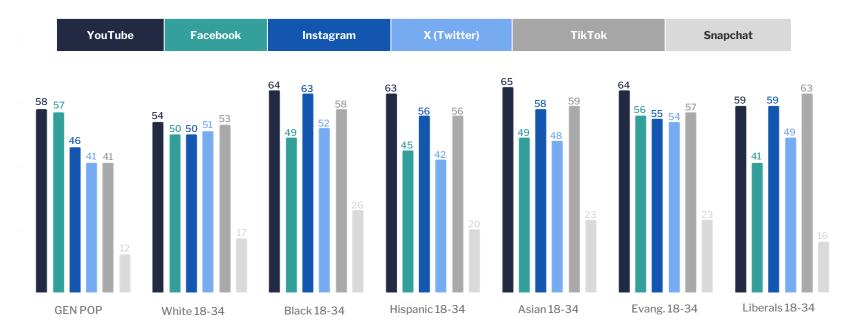
Asked of those who are following news about the war between Israel and Hamas



YouTube, Facebook, and Instagram are the top social platforms for news about the Israel-Hamas war

What social media sites people use for news about the war between Israel and Hamas

Asked of those who receive news about the war between Israel and Hamas via social media

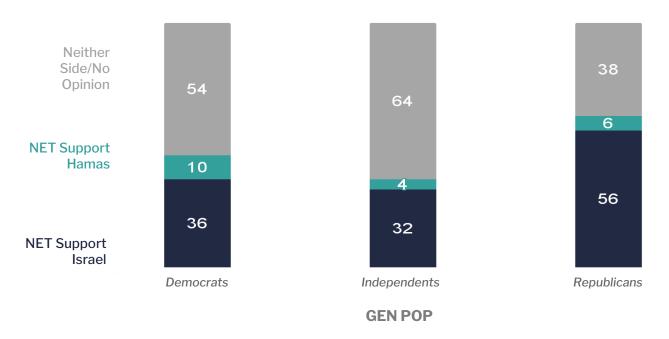




Appendix

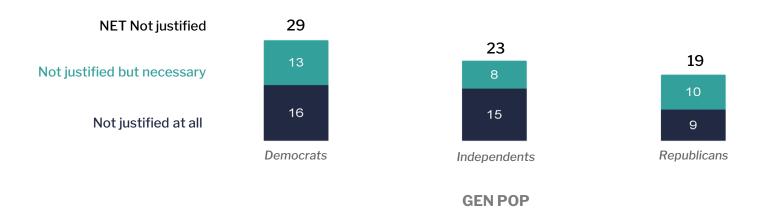
There is more support for Israel among Republicans

In this war between Israel and Hamas, do you support...

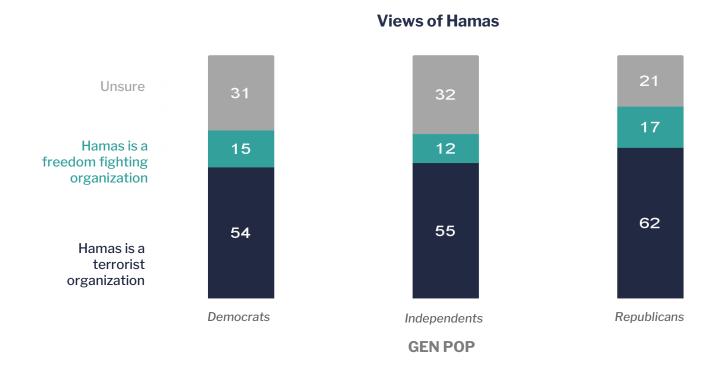


Democrats are more likely to believe Israel's military campaign is not justified

% who believe Israel's military campaign is not justified

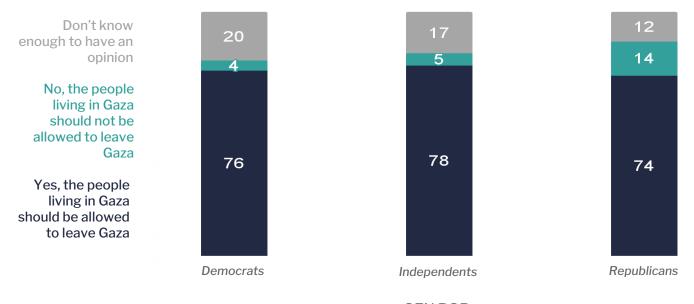


Republicans are more likely to view Hamas as a terrorist organization, but also more likely to view Hamas as freedom fighters



Across all three political affiliations, around three quarters believe the people living in Gaza should be allowed to leave, with slightly more Republicans believing they shouldn't be allowed to leave

Do you believe the people living in Gaza should be allowed to leave if they want to?



GEN POP

Support for the Trump administration's plan is highly politicized with double the support among Republicans compared to Democrats and Independents

% who support the Trump administration plan to relocate Palestinians from Gaza?

