

The November 2023 AP-NORC Center Poll

Conducted by The Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research
With funding from The Associated Press and NORC at the University of Chicago

Interviews: 11/2-6/2023

1,239 adults

*Margin of sampling error: +/- 3.9 percentage points at the 95% confidence level among all
adults*

NOTE: All results show percentages among all respondents, unless otherwise labeled.

CUR2. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president?

If don't know, skipped, or refused in CUR2:

CUR3. If you had to choose, do you lean more toward approving or disapproving of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president?

If approve in CUR2:

CUR3A. Would you say you approve of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president strongly or do you approve just somewhat?

If disapprove in CUR2:

CUR3B. Would you say you disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president strongly or do you disapprove just somewhat?

[HALF SAMPLE ASKED RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

AP-NORC	Approve NET	Strongly approve	Some- what approve	Lean toward approv- ing	Do not lean either way	Dis- approve NET	Lean toward disapp- roving	Some- what dis- approve	Strongly disapprove	DK	SKP/ REF
11/2- 6/2023 (N=1,239)	38	14	24	*	1	61	*	19	42	*	*
10/5- 9/2023 (N=1,163)	38	13	24	*	*	61	*	21	40	-	1
09/07- 11/2023 (N=1,146)	40	13	26	*	1	59	*	24	36	*	*
08/10- 14/2023 (N=1,165)	42	14	28	1	*	57	*	18	39	-	*
06/22- 26/2023 (N=1,220)	41	14	27	*	1	58	*	21	37	*	*
05/11- 15/2023 (N=1,680)	40	12	28	*	1	59	*	21	38	*	*
04/13- 17/2023 (N=1,230)	42	15	27	1	*	58	1	20	36	*	*
03/16- 20/2023 (N=1,081)	38	12	26	*	1	61	1	21	40	-	*

AP-NORC	Approve NET	Strongly approve	Some- what approve	Lean toward approv- ing	Do not lean either way	Dis- approve NET	Lean toward disapp- roving	Some- what dis- approve	Strongly disapprove	DK	SKP/ REF
02/16- 20/2023 (N=1,247)	45	16	28	*	1	54	*	19	35	*	1
01/26- 30/2023 (N=1,068)	41	14	27	*	1	58	*	20	37	*	*
12/1- 5/2022 (N=1,124)	43	15	28	*	1	55	1	20	34	-	1
10/06- 10/2022 (N=1,121)	43	15	26	1	1	56	*	20	36	*	*
09/09- 12/2022 (N=1,054)	45	16	30	*	1	53	*	20	33	*	*
07/14- 17/2022 (N=1,085)	36	8	27	*	1	62	*	18	44	*	1
06/23- 27/2022 (N=1,053)	39	12	27	*	1	60	*	19	41	-	*
05/12- 16/2022 (N=1,172)	39	12	26	1	*	60	1	21	39	*	*
4/14- 18/2022 (N=1,085)	45	15	30	*	*	54	*	18	36	*	*
3/17- 21/2022 (N=1,082)	43	16	27	*	*	56	*	19	37	*	*
2/18- 21/2022 (N=1,289)	44	15	29	*	1	55	1	19	35	*	*
1/13- 18/2022 (N=1,161)	43	13	30	*	1	56	1	19	36	-	1
12/2- 7/2021 (N=1,089)	48	18	30	*	1	51	*	20	30	-	*
10/21- 25/2021 (N=1,083)	48	17	31	*	1	51	*	17	34	*	*

AP-NORC	Approve NET	Strongly approve	Some- what approve	Lean toward approv- ing	Do not lean either way	Dis- approve NET	Lean toward disapp- roving	Some- what dis- approve	Strongly disapprove	DK	SKP/ REF
9/23- 27/2021 (N=1,099)	50	18	31	1	1	49	*	17	32	*	*
8/12- 16/2021 (N=1,729)	54	24	30	*	*	46	*	15	30	*	*
7/15- 19/2021 (N=1,308)	59	25	33	1	*	41	1	14	26	-	*
9/23- 27/2021 (N=1,099)	50	18	31	1	1	49	*	17	32	*	*
8/12- 16/2021 (N=1,729)	54	24	30	*	*	46	*	15	30	*	*
7/15- 19/2021 (N=1,308)	59	25	33	1	*	41	1	14	26	-	*
6/10- 14/2021 (N=1,125)	55	26	29	*	1	44	1	14	29	-	-
4/29- 5/3/2021 (N=1,842)	63	34	29	*	1	36	*	11	25	*	*
3/25- 29/2021 (N=1,166)	61	31	29	*	*	38	*	13	25	-	1
2/25- 3/1/2021 (N=1,434)	60	32	28	*	*	40	*	15	24	*	*
1/28- 2/1/2021 (N=1,055)	61	35	26	*	1	38	*	11	26	*	*

CURY2. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling...?

[GRID ITEMS RANDOMIZED, HALF SAMPLE ASKED RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

AP-NORC		Approve	Disapprove	DK	SKP/REF
The conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians	11/2-6/2023 (N=1,239)	34	63	1	2
	08/10-14/2023 (N=1,165)	35	61	1	3
	6/10-14/2021 (N=1,125)	40	56	1	4

FP2. How personally concerned are you that each of the following poses a direct threat to the United States?

[GRID ITEMS RANDOMIZED]

AP-NORC		Extremely /Very concern- ed NET	Extreme -ly concern -ed	Very concern- ed	Moderately concerned	Not very/ Not concerned at all NET	Not very concerned	Not concerned at all	DK	SKP/ REF
Extremist groups based outside the United States	11/2-6/2023 (N=1,239)	54	26	28	32	13	10	3	*	1
	2/18-21/2022 (N=1,289)	45	19	26	40	15	13	2	*	*
	8/12-16/2021 (N=1,729)	50	21	29	36	13	11	2	*	1
Extremist groups based inside the United States	11/2-6/2023 (N=1,239)	72	44	29	20	7	5	2	*	1
	2/18-21/2022 (N=1,289)	63	37	26	27	10	8	2	*	*
	8/12-16/2021 (N=1,729)	65	34	31	24	9	8	2	*	1

ISRAEL1. Generally speaking, which of the following descriptions do you feel best describes the U.S. relationship with Israel? Would you say that Israel is....

[HALF OF RESPONDENTS SHOWN RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

	AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023	AP-NORC 08/10-14/2023
An ally that shares U.S. interests and values	44	32
A partner that the U.S. should cooperate with, but doesn't share its interests and values	40	43
A rival that the U.S. should compete with, but that it's not in conflict with	8	12
An adversary that the U.S. is in conflict with	5	7
DON'T KNOW	1	2
SKIPPED/REFUSED	3	5
N=	1,239	1,165

MIDEAST1. Thinking about the conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians, do you think the United States is too supportive, not supportive enough, or about right in its support of each of the following?

[GRID ITEMS RANDOMIZED, HALF SAMPLE ASKED RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

AP-NORC		Too supportive	Not supportive enough	About right	DK	SKP/REF
The Israelis	11/2-6/2023 (N=1,239)	34	20	43	*	2
	08/10-14/2023 (N=1,165)	27	23	44	1	5
	6/10-14/2021 (N=1,125)	29	30	36	1	5
The Palestinians	11/2-6/2023 (N=1,239)	27	33	35	1	3
	08/10-08/14/2023 (N=1,165)	21	30	42	2	5
	6/10-14/2021 (N=1,125)	25	32	37	1	5

MIDEAST2. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the establishment of an independent Palestinian state that includes the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and east Jerusalem?

[HALF SAMPLE ASKED RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

	AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023	AP-NORC 08/10-14/2023
Strongly/ Somewhat favor NET	27	22
Strongly favor	13	8
Somewhat favor	14	14
Neither favor nor oppose	49	58
Strongly/ Somewhat oppose NET	20	15
Somewhat oppose	9	7
Strongly oppose	11	8
DK	1	2
SKP/REF	2	*
N=	1,239	1,165

HEARD. How much have you heard or read in the news about the latest war between Israel and Hamas?

	AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023
A lot/ Some NET	72
A lot	40
Some	32
Only a little / Nothing at all NET	28
Only a little	20
Nothing at all	8
DON'T KNOW	-
SKIPPED ON WEB/REFUSED	1
N=	1,239

WAR1. How much responsibility do you think each of the following has for the latest war between Israel and Hamas?

[GRID ITEMS RANDOMIZED, HALF SAMPLE ASKED RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023	A lot/ Some NET	A lot	Some	Not much/ None at all NET	Not much	None at all	DK	SKP/ REF
The Israeli government	71	35	37	26	16	10	1	2
The Palestinian group Hamas	85	66	20	12	7	5	1	2
The U.S. government	46	12	34	52	32	20	1	2
The Iranian government	74	33	42	22	15	7	1	2

N=1,239

ISRAEL2. Would you say the military response from Israel in the Gaza Strip has gone too far, been about right, or not gone far enough?

[HALF SAMPLE ASKED RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

	AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023
Gone too far	40
Been about right	38
Not gone far enough	18
DON'T KNOW	1
SKIPPED ON WEB/REFUSED	3

N=

1,239

FP3. Thinking about the foreign policy goals of the United States, please tell me how important it is for the United States to do each the following:

[GRID ITEMS RANDOMIZED, HALF SAMPLE ASKED RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023	Extremely/ Very important NET	Extremely important	Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important/Not important at all NET	Not too important	Not important at all	DK	SKP/ REF
Provide humanitarian relief to Palestinians in Gaza	46	20	26	34	18	9	9	*	2
Recover hostages being held in Gaza by Hamas	63	32	31	24	10	6	4	*	2
Provide aid to Israel's military to fight Hamas	36	15	21	35	27	14	12	*	2
Prevent harm to Palestinian civilians in Gaza	48	21	27	31	19	11	8	*	2

N=1,239

FP4. How concerned are you about the latest war between Israel and Hamas increasing prejudice against each of the following groups in the United States?

[GRID ITEMS RANDOMIZED, HALF SAMPLE ASKED RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023	Extremely/Very concerned NET	Extremely concerned	Very concerned	Somewhat concerned	Not very concerned/Not at all concerned NET	Not very concerned	Not at all concerned	DK	SKP/ REF
Jews	52	25	27	26	20	11	9	*	1
Muslims	43	19	23	30	26	13	13	*	2

N=1,239

SPEND2. Do you think the U.S. government is spending too much, too little, or the right amount on each of the following?

[GRID ITEMS RANDOMIZED, HALF SAMPLE ASKED RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

AP-NORC		Too much	Too little	About the right amount	DK	SKP/REF
Humanitarian relief to Palestinians in Gaza	11/2-6/2023 (N=1,239)	29	29	38	1	3
Aid to Israel in the war in Gaza	11/2-6/2023 (N=1,239)	43	15	38	1	3

PID1. Do you consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent or none of these?

If Democrat:

PIDA. Do you consider yourself a strong or not so strong Democrat?

If Republican:

PIDB. Do you consider yourself a strong or not so strong Republican?

If independent, none of these, don't know, skipped, or refused:

PIDI. Do you lean more toward the Democrats or the Republicans?

Combines PID1, PIDI, PIDA, and PIDB.

	AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023
Democrat NET	48
Strong Democrat	20
Not so strong Democrat	18
Lean Democrat	10
Independent/None – Don't lean	16
Republican NET	37
Lean Republican	12
Not so strong Republican	11
Strong Republican	15
N=	1,239

D3. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself to be a liberal, moderate, or conservative?

If liberal:

D4. Do you consider yourself very liberal or somewhat liberal?

If conservative:

IDEO. Do you consider yourself very conservative or somewhat conservative?

Combines D3, D4, D5:

	AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023
Liberal NET	26
Very liberal	13
Somewhat liberal	13
Moderate	44
Conservative NET	28
Somewhat conservative	16
Very conservative	12
DON'T KNOW	*
SKIPPED ON WEB/REFUSED	2

N=

1,239

DM5. How would you describe the community you live in now?

	AP NORC 11/2-6/2023
Urban area	25
Suburban area	50
Rural area	23
DON'T KNOW	*
SKIPPED ON WEB/REFUSED	1

N=

1,239

RELIG. What is your present religion, if any?

	AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023
Protestant	26
Roman Catholic	18
Mormon	1
Orthodox	1
Jewish	2
Muslim	1
Buddhist	2
Hindu	1
Atheist	6
Agnostic	6
Nothing in particular	18
Just Christian	16
Unitarian	1
Something else	2
DON'T KNOW	-
SKIPPED ON WEB/REFUSED	*

N=

1,239

If Religion is Protestant, Roman Catholic, Mormon, Orthodox, Christian, or something else:

BORN. Would you describe yourself as a 'born-again' or evangelical Christian, or not?

	AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023
Yes	41
No	59
DON'T KNOW	-
SKIPPED ON WEB/REFUSED	-

N=

814

AGE

	AP NORC 11/2-6/2023
18-29	20
30-44	27
45-59	22
60+	31

N=

1,239

GENDER

	AP NORC 11/2-6/2023
Male	49
Female	51
<i>N=</i>	<i>1,239</i>

RACE/ETHNICITY

	AP NORC 11/2-6/2023
White, non-Hispanic	62
Black or African American	12
Hispanic	17
Other	9
<i>N=</i>	<i>1,239</i>

MARITAL STATUS

	AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023
Married	50
Not married	50
<i>N=</i>	<i>1,239</i>

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023
Employed	61
Not employed	39
<i>N=</i>	<i>1,239</i>

EDUCATION

	AP-NORC 10/5-9/2023
Less than a high school diploma	9
High school graduate or equivalent	29
Some college	26
College graduate or above	21
Post grad study/professional degree	15
<i>N=</i>	<i>1,239</i>

CENSUS REGION

	AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023
Northeast NET	17
New England	5
Mid-Atlantic	13
Midwest NET	21
East North Central	14
West North Central	6
South NET	38
South Atlantic	20
East South Central	6
West South Central	12
West NET	24
Mountain	8
Pacific	16

N= 1,239

HOME OWNERSHIP

	AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023
Owned or being bought by you or someone in your household	69
Rented for cash	28
Occupied without payment of cash rent	3

N= 1,239

INCOME

	AP-NORC 11/2-6/2023
Under \$10,000	5
\$10,000 to under \$20,000	7
\$20,000 to under \$30,000	9
\$30,000 to under \$40,000	9
\$40,000 to under \$50,000	9
\$50,000 to under \$75,000	18
\$75,000 to under \$100,000	13
\$100,000 to under \$150,000	17
\$150,000 or more	12

N= 1,239

Study Methodology

This survey was conducted by The Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research and with funding from The Associated Press and NORC at the University of Chicago.

Data were collected using the AmeriSpeak Omnibus®, a monthly multi-client survey using NORC's probability-based panel designed to be representative of the U.S. household population. The survey was part of a larger study that included questions about other topics not included in this report. During the initial recruitment phase of the panel, randomly selected U.S. households were sampled with a known, non-zero probability of selection from the NORC National Sample Frame and then contacted by U.S. mail, email, telephone, and field interviewers (face-to-face). The panel provides sample coverage of approximately 97 percent of the U.S. household population. Those excluded from the sample include people with P.O. Box only addresses, some addresses not listed in the USPS Delivery Sequence File, and some newly constructed dwellings.

Interviews for this survey were conducted between November 2-6, 2023 with adults aged 18 and over representing the 50 states and the District of Columbia. Panel members were randomly drawn from AmeriSpeak, and 1,239 completed the survey—1,128 via the web and 111 by telephone. Panel members were invited by email or by phone from an NORC telephone interviewer. Interviews were conducted in both English and Spanish, depending on respondent preference. Respondents were offered a small monetary incentive for completing the survey. The final stage completion rate is 16.2 percent, the weighted household panel response rate is 21.5 percent, and the weighted household panel retention rate is 78.9 percent, for a cumulative response rate of 2.7 percent. The overall margin of sampling error is +/- 3.9 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level, including the design effect. The margin of sampling error may be higher for subgroups. For example, the margin of sampling error is +/- 5.7 percentage points for Democrats and +/- 6.3 percentage points for Republicans.

Sampling error is only one of many potential sources of error and there may be other unmeasured error in this or any other survey.

Quality assurance checks were conducted to ensure data quality. In total, 55 interviews were removed for nonresponse to at least 50% of the questions asked of them, for completing the survey in less than one-third the median interview time for the full sample, or for straight-lining all grid questions asked of them. These interviews were excluded from the data file prior to weighting.

Once the sample has been selected and fielded, and all the study data have been collected and made final, a poststratification process is used to adjust for any survey nonresponse as well as any noncoverage or under and oversampling resulting from the study specific sample design.

Poststratification variables included age, gender, census division, race/ethnicity, and education. Weighting variables were obtained from the 2023 Current Population Survey. The weighted data reflect the U.S. population of adults age 18 and over.

Complete questions and results are available at: apnorc.org.

Additional information on the AmeriSpeak Panel methodology is available at: <https://amerispeak.norc.org/about-amerispeak/Pages/Panel-Design.aspx>. For more information, email info@apnorc.org.

About the Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research

The AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research taps into the power of social science research and the highest-quality journalism to bring key information to people across the nation and throughout the world.

- The Associated Press (AP) is an independent global news organization dedicated to factual reporting. Founded in 1846, AP today remains the most trusted source of fast, accurate, unbiased news in all formats and the essential provider of the technology and services vital to the news business. More than half the world's population sees AP journalism every day. www.ap.org
- NORC at the University of Chicago is one of the oldest objective and nonpartisan research institutions in the world. www.norc.org

The two organizations have established The AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research to conduct, analyze, and distribute social science research in the public interest on newsworthy topics, and to use the power of journalism to tell the stories that research reveals. Learn more at www.apnorc.org.