The 2018 Jewish Vote
National Post-Election Survey

November 2018
• National survey conducted November 6, 2018
  – 1,139 Jewish Voters
    • 903 Base Sample
      – Online survey administered by email invitation to web-based panel of 14 million Americans; respondents self-identify as Jewish at beginning of survey in order to be eligible for the study
    • 236 Oversample of voters aged 18-34 (130 online, 106 phone) for a total of 436 Millennial interviews
      – Phone survey administered on landlines and cellphones
      – Random selection of people under 35 from national voter file who have distinctive Jewish names and self-identify as Jewish at beginning of survey
  – Full sample weighted to be representative by age
  – All results show 903 weighted interviews
  – For the base sample, margin of error is +/-3.3 percentage points at the 95% confidence interval
American Jews voted for Democrats by a 76 to 19 percent margin, significantly increasing their Democratic support from 2016. This change is driven by opposition to Trump, and growing identification with a Democratic Party that shares their values as the country becomes more polarized along cultural and political lines.

There are major concerns about rising anti-Semitism and right-wing extremism during the Trump Presidency, and a shocking 72 percent believe that Trump's comments and policies are "very or somewhat" responsible for the shooting at Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh.

Jewish voters remain emotionally attached to Israel, but also express concerns with Israeli government policies toward the Palestinians. Netanyahu's favorability has dropped to a 9-year low (35 percent favorable/32 percent unfavorable), and American Jews say that Israeli policy toward the Palestinians makes them feel more negative toward Israel.
There is no ambiguity over whether it is acceptable to be critical of Israeli government policy: 84 percent think someone can be "pro-Israel" even if they criticize the government's policies. This is consistent with our long-standing finding that Jewish voters want the U.S. to play an active role in helping resolve the conflict, even if it means public disagreements with Israelis and Arabs (64 percent) or exerting pressure on both parties (60 percent).

There is a broad consensus (78 percent support) for a detailed comprehensive peace agreement that includes a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, a return to the 1967 borders with land swaps, Jewish neighborhoods and the Western Wall in Jerusalem remaining under Israeli control while Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem become part of the new Palestinian state, financial compensation for Palestinian refugees, and some return of refugees to Israel.

Support for the Iran agreement is very strong (71 percent support) and Jewish voters do not like Trump's decision to withdraw from it (33 percent support/67 percent oppose). Advertising against Congressional candidates who supported the Iran agreement backfired against Republicans, and people who saw the ads said this made them more likely to vote for the Democrat than the Republican (49 percent more likely to support the Democrat; 29 percent more likely to support the Republican).
U.S. Jews Trend More Democratic Than The General Population

Party ID

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jewish Voters</th>
<th>U.S. Population*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>27</td>
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</table>

Ideology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jewish Voters</th>
<th>U.S. Population*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Progressive/ Liberal</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Nov. 2018 CNN exit poll
Even though it is a long way off, do you plan to vote in the Democratic or Republican primary for President in 2020, or do you not plan to vote in either Presidential primary?

- Democratic primary
- Republican primary
- Will not vote in either
- Not sure/haven't decided

Have you made a financial contribution to a political campaign or volunteered with a political campaign?

- Yes, financial contribution
- Yes, volunteered with a campaign
- Yes, BOTH financial contribution & volunteered
- No, neither

- 62% Yes, financial contribution
- 16% Yes, volunteered with a campaign
- 7% Yes, BOTH financial contribution & volunteered
- 14% No, neither

- 30% Yes

 Majority Plan To Vote In 2020 Primaries
Attitudes Toward U.S. Politics
Dramatic Break In Outlook After 2016 Election

Country Direction

- **Right direction**
- **Wrong track**

![Graph showing the change in country direction from 2008 to 2018.](image-url)
Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jewish Voters</th>
<th>U.S. Population*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly approve</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly/somewhat approve</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disapprove</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly/somewhat disapprove</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Nov. 2018 CNN exit poll
And what about Congress - do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

- Strongly approve: 5
- Strongly/somewhat approve: 21
- Strongly disapprove: 50
- Strongly/somewhat disapprove: 79

Congress Similarly Unpopular Among Jewish Voters
Democratic Figures Much Stronger Than Republican

**Figure 12**

**Favorability**

Barack Obama: 65 Favorable, 25 Unfavorable
Democratic Party: 51 Favorable, 30 Unfavorable
Benjamin Netanyahu: 35 Favorable, 32 Unfavorable
Donald Trump: 18 Favorable, 74 Unfavorable
Republican Party: 16 Favorable, 73 Unfavorable
Jared Kushner: 12 Favorable, 67 Unfavorable
Mitch McConnell: 9 Favorable, 66 Unfavorable

Legend:
- Green: Favorable
- Yellow: Unfavorable
Below is a list of issues facing our country today. Please mark which TWO of these issues were the most important for you in deciding your vote for Congress today.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Total Jewish Voters</th>
<th>Reform</th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Orthodox</th>
<th>Just Jewish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun violence</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Security and Medicare</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>The economy</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The environment</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Taxes</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>The deficit and government spending</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Supreme Court</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISIS and terrorism</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Below are some issues that have been in the news since Donald Trump has become President. For each one, please indicate whether you are more concerned or less concerned about this issue since Donald Trump has been President, or if you feel no different.

- Anti-Semitism
- Anti-immigrant sentiment
- Racism
- Right-wing extremism

- Much more concerned
- Much/somewhat more concerned
- Much less concerned
- Much/somewhat less concerned
Thinking about the past few years, do you think anti-Semitism in the United States is increasing, decreasing, or about the same?

- Increasing: 78
- Decreasing: 6
- About the same: 17

Nearly 4 In 5 See Anti-Semitism Increasing
Anti-Semitism in the U.S.

Attitudes On Anti-Semitism By Age And Denomination

- **Increasing**
- **Decreasing**
- **About the same**

**Age**
- 18 to 34 years old: 66, 14, 20
- 35 to 64 years old: 75, 5, 20
- 65+ years old: 91, 1, 8

**Denomination**
- Reform: 83, 5, 12
- Conservative: 84, 5, 12
- Orthodox: 73, 9, 17
- Just Jewish: 71, 5, 25

Figure 16
How much do you think Donald Trump’s comments and policies are responsible for the recent shooting that took place at the synagogue in Pittsburgh?

- Very responsible: 72
- Very/somewhat responsible: 39
- Not at all/not really responsible: 28
- Not at all responsible: 16
Trump Responsibility By Denomination

Trump’s Responsibility

- Very responsible
- Not at all responsible
- Very/somewhat responsible
- Not at all/not really responsible

Denomination

- Reform: 73 Very responsible, 35 Very/somewhat responsible, 15 Not at all/not really responsible
- Conservative: 74 Very responsible, 44 Very/somewhat responsible, 27 Not at all/not really responsible
- Orthodox: 66 Very responsible, 34 Very/somewhat responsible, 26 Not at all/not really responsible
- Just Jewish: 72 Very responsible, 42 Very/somewhat responsible, 18 Not at all/not really responsible

Party ID

- Democrat: 86 Very responsible, 49 Very/somewhat responsible, 14 Not at all/not really responsible
- Republican: 69 Very responsible, 52 Very/somewhat responsible, 18 Not at all/not really responsible
- Independent: 67 Very responsible, 31 Very/somewhat responsible, 33 Not at all/not really responsible
2018 Jewish Vote
Thinking about today’s election for the United States Congress, did you vote for the Democratic or Republican candidate for Congress in your district?

Jewish Voters Loyal To Democrats
Jewish Vote By Denomination

Congressional Vote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just Jewish</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 21
Gap In Congressional Vote Has Widened Since 2014 Midterm Vote

Congressional Vote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 2010</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 2012</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 2014</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 2016</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 2018</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With A Shift Away From Republicans Since Pittsburgh Shooting

**Congressional Vote**

- **October 16, 2018:**
  - Democrat: 74
  - Republican: 26
  - Change: +48

- **November 6, 2018:**
  - Democrat: 76
  - Republican: 19
  - Change: +57

Institutes:
- Jewish Electorate Institute
- The Mellman Group, Inc
- J Street
- GBA Strategies
Few Voters Considered Crossing Party Lines

(DID NOT VOTE DEMOCRAT) Think back in time for a minute. Did you, at any point in this campaign consider voting for the Democratic candidate for Congress in your district?

Dem voters: 76

(DID NOT VOTE REPUBLICAN) Think back in time for a minute. Did you, at any point in this campaign consider voting for the Republican candidate for Congress in your district?

Rep voters: 19
The Iran Agreement
Do you support or oppose the agreement that the United States and other countries made during the Obama Administration to lift economic sanctions against Iran in exchange for Iran dismantling its nuclear weapons program and allowing international inspectors to monitor Iran’s facilities?

Support For Iran Agreement Remains Strong

- Support: 0, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100
- Oppose: 63, 71, 37, 28

November 2016: 63 support, 37 oppose
November 2018: 71 support, 28 oppose
As you may know, President Trump withdrew the United States from the nuclear agreement that the United States made with Iran and five other countries. Do you support or oppose Trump’s withdrawal from the agreement?

![Bar chart showing support and opposition to Trump's withdrawal from the nuclear agreement with Iran.]

- Strongly support: 17
- Strongly oppose: 41
- Strongly/somewhat support: 33
- Strongly/somewhat oppose: 67
Iran Deal Withdrawal By Age And Denomination

**Iran Deal Withdrawal**

- Strongly support
- Strongly/somewhat support
- Strongly oppose
- Strongly/somewhat oppose

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Strongly support</th>
<th>Strongly/somewhat support</th>
<th>Strongly oppose</th>
<th>Strongly/somewhat oppose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 to 34 years old</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 to 64 years old</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+ years old</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53</td>
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<td>Reform</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just Jewish</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During this past Congressional election, did you see any television advertisements or mail pieces criticizing Congressional candidates for supporting the Iran nuclear deal?

(IF YES) Did these television advertisements or mail pieces make you more likely to support the Democratic candidate, more likely to support the Republican candidate, or make no difference?
Attitudes Toward U.S. Role in Resolving the Conflict
Do you support or oppose the United States playing an active role in helping the parties to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict?

- Strongly support: 75
- Strongly/somewhat support: 25
- Strongly oppose: 25
- Strongly/somewhat oppose: 7
(IF SUPPORT U.S. ROLE) Would you support or oppose the United States playing an active role in helping the parties resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict if it meant the United States exerting pressure on both the Israelis and the Arabs to make the compromises necessary to achieve peace?

U.S. Role: Exerting Pressure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly support</th>
<th>Strongly/somewhat support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(If support U.S. role) Would you support or oppose the United States playing an active role in helping the parties resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict if it meant the United States exerting pressure on Israel in order to make the compromises necessary to achieve peace?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly support</th>
<th>Strongly/somewhat support</th>
<th>Strongly oppose</th>
<th>Strongly/somewhat oppose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 32
(IF SUPPORT U.S. ROLE) Would you support or oppose the United States playing an active role in helping the parties resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict if it meant the United States publicly stating its disagreements with both the Israelis and the Arabs?

U.S. Role: Publicly Stating Disagreements

(Figure 33) Strongly support: 64, Strongly/somewhat support: 36, Strongly oppose: 20, Strongly/somewhat oppose: 9

(IF SUPPORT U.S. ROLE) Would you support or oppose the United States playing an active role in helping the parties resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict if it meant the United States publicly stating its disagreements with Israel?

(Figure 33) Strongly support: 51, Strongly/somewhat support: 49, Strongly oppose: 17, Strongly/somewhat oppose: 13
As you may know, on a few occasions during the past 13 years, Israeli, Palestinian, and American negotiators came close to reaching a final status peace agreement but ultimately fell short.

The details of that agreement include:

- a demilitarized Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza
- internationally recognized borders based on the lines that existed in 1967, with mutually agreed land swaps that allow for most Jewish settlers in the West Bank to be inside Israel while the Palestinians get comparable land areas in return
- Palestinian neighborhoods in Jerusalem become part of the new Palestinian state while Israel retains control of Jewish neighborhoods and the Western Wall in Jerusalem
- international forces to monitor the new Palestinian state and border crossings
- financial compensation for Palestinian refugees while allowing a limited number of refugees to return to Israel if they meet specific family reunification criteria and the Israeli government approves
- financial Palestinians recognize Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people, and Israel recognizes the Palestinian state as the nation-state of the Palestinian people

Overall, do you support or oppose such an agreement?
Overall, do you support or oppose such an agreement?

- **Support**: Over the last 6 years, support has remained fairly steady, with a slight decline from 76% in March 2009 to 78% in November 2018.
- **Oppose**: Support has varied, with a peak of 43% in July 2011 and a low of 22% in November 2018.
As you may know, people often refer to a “two-state solution” when discussing the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. A two-state solution means a peace agreement that establishes a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza alongside the State of Israel. Below are some statements about a two-state solution. For each statement, please mark whether you agree or disagree with that statement.

**TWO-STATE:** I support a two-state solution that declares an end to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, resulting in all Arab countries establishing full diplomatic ties with Israel and creating an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

**TWO-STATE/EAST JERUSALEM:** I support a two-state solution that declares an end to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, resulting in all Arab countries establishing full diplomatic ties with Israel and creating an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, with its capital in East Jerusalem.
TWO-STATE: I support a two-state solution that declares an end to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, resulting in all Arab countries establishing full diplomatic ties with Israel and creating an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.
**TWO-STATE/EAST JERUSALEM:** I support a two-state solution that declares an end to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, resulting in all Arab countries establishing full diplomatic ties with Israel and creating an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, **with its capital in East Jerusalem.**
As you may know, people often refer to a “two-state solution” when discussing the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. A two-state solution means a peace agreement that establishes a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza alongside the State of Israel. Below are some statements about a two-state solution. For each statement, please mark whether you agree or disagree with that statement.

**IMPORTANT FOR ISRAEL:** A two-state solution is necessary to strengthen Israeli security and ensure Israel’s Jewish democratic character.

**IMPORTANT FOR U.S.:** A two-state solution is an important national security interest for the United States.
American Jews Show Strong Emotional Attachment To Israel

How emotionally attached are you to Israel?

- Very attached: 65
- Very/somewhat attached: 32
- Not at all/not very attached: 12

Compared to 5-10 years ago, do you feel more positive, more negative, or about the same toward Israel?

- More positive: 26
- More negative: 19
- About the same: 55
Criticism Of Israeli Policy And Being Pro-Israel By Age

People often talk about being “pro-Israel.” Do you think someone can be critical of Israeli government policies and still be “pro-Israel?”

Q: People often talk about being “pro-Israel.” Do you think someone can be critical of Israeli government policies and still be “pro-Israel?”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Voters</td>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 to 34 years old</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 to 64 years old</td>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+ years old</td>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
<td>8</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Figure 42
Criticism Of Israeli Policy And Being Pro-Israel By Denomination

Possible to be Critical and Pro-Israel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just Jewish</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Attitudes Toward Israeli Policies
Effect Of Israeli Policy And Settlements On Opinion Of Israel

Q: Has Israeli government policy toward the Palestinians made you feel more positive or more negative about Israel, or has it made no difference on how you feel about Israel?

Q: Does the expansion of Israeli settlements in the West Bank make you feel positive about Israel, negative about Israel, or have no impact on how you feel about Israel?
American Jews Oppose Settlement Construction

Based on what you know about Israeli settlements in the West Bank, which of the following statements comes closest to your own point of view?

- Israel should suspend all construction of Israeli settlements in the West Bank
- Israel should suspend construction of Israeli settlements that are outside the core settlement blocs, but continue construction in areas that are already developed
- Israel should build Israeli settlements in any area of the West Bank that it wants

76% of respondents total support suspending construction.

- 27% support suspending all construction
- 49% support suspending construction of settlements outside core areas
- 23% support building settlements anywhere it wants
How much have you heard about Israeli policy towards the non-Orthodox population, such as who can pray at the Western Wall, who can perform marriage ceremonies, who can grant divorces, and who can convert to Judaism?

(If great deal/good amount) Has Israeli policy towards the non-Orthodox population made you feel more positive or more negative about Israel, or has it made no difference in how you feel about Israel?
Do you think Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s policies have helped Israel’s relations with the United States, hurt Israel’s relations with the United States, or had no impact on Israel’s relations with the United States?

Netanyahu’s Effect On U.S.-Israel Relations

- Helped: 32
- Hurt: 31
- No impact: 35