To: J Street

From: **GBAO**

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2022 Election Survey Findings National Survey of Jewish Voters

American Jews voted for the Democrat running in their district by a 74 to 25 percent margin in the 2022 midterm election, reflecting the increased Jewish support for Democrats that has taken place since Donald Trump emerged as the leader of the Republican Party in 2016.1 The Jewish vote was heavily driven by concerns over the state of our democracy and the Supreme Court overturning *Roe v Wade*. But another factor – intense concerns over antisemitism – has also emerged and put Jewish concerns over the attacks on democratic institutions in a different light.

Nearly all Jewish voters say they are very concerned (85 percent) or somewhat concerned (12 percent) about antisemitism in the U.S., and an overwhelming majority (76 percent) believe Donald Trump and his allies in the Republican Party are responsible for a rise in antisemitism. A stunning number of Jews (74 percent) think that Trump and the MAGA movement are a "threat to Jews in America," and other research conducted in September for the Jewish Electorate Institute shows that Jews are far more concerned about antisemitism that they consider to originate from the right than from the left. ² Jewish voters reject efforts by Republicans to excuse antisemitic sentiments and try overturning the 2020 election results by stating they love Israel, and these attempts fail to divert fears that Jews have about the antisemitism running rampant in the right wing.

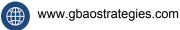
Concerns over threats to American democracy spill over to attitudes about how Jewish organizations express support for Israel and the battles these organizations choose to fight. When asked how they feel about AIPAC, a pro-Israel organization, endorsing Members of Congress who support Israel but voted against certifying the 2020 Presidential election on January 6, 2021, 72 percent of Jewish voters said they disapprove.

Jewish voters feel emotionally attached to Israel, but 89 percent believe someone can be both "pro-Israel" and critical of Israeli government policy. American Jews hold positions that are strongly at odds with the incoming Israeli government, and they are very negative toward

² The Jewish Electorate Institute September 2022 survey of Jewish registered voters shows that 61 percent of Jews are more concerned about antisemitism originating from right-wing groups and individuals, compared to 24 percent who are more concerned about antisemitism originating from leftwing groups and individuals.







GBAO conducted a national survey of 800 American Jews who voted in the 2022 election. The survey was conducted November 1-8, 2022, and included voters who cast their vote on Election Day or before Election Day. The methodology for this survey is detailed and the end of this memo. The full survey results can be accessed at www.jstreet.org.

Benjamin Netanyahu (33 percent favorable/59 percent unfavorable). Unlike Netanyahu, President Biden is viewed very positively (67 percent favorable/29 percent unfavorable) and he has strong backing for the U.S. to reenter the Iran nuclear agreement (71 percent support) and play an active role in helping Israelis and Palestinians make the compromises necessary to achieve peace.

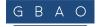
The 2022 midterm election broke significantly from historical precedent for an incumbent President's Party in the first term, and Jewish voters are part of the energized Democratic coalition that led to this unusual outcome. American Jews remain firmly entrenched in the Democratic camp, and the dynamics are shifting in ways that have implications for how Jewish organizations navigate cultural, foreign policy, and partisan issues if they want to give voice to the concerns of an American Jewish community that feels threatened by antisemitic forces that closely align with prominent Republican Party figures.

Key Findings – Political Landscape

- Jewish voters continue to vote overwhelmingly Democratic, back Joe Biden, and support the Democratic Party amid the national polarization dividing the country. Biden has a 70 percent job approval rating among Jewish voters, far exceeding his 42 percent approval among the general population (Real Clear Politics average). Jews also have positive views of the Democratic Party (66 percent favorable/32 percent unfavorable) and voted for Democrats by a 74 to 25 percent margin.
- The state of democracy and abortion dominate the issue environment, underscoring Jewish priorities amid America's cultural battles. More than half of Jewish voters (55 percent) cite the state of democracy as one of the two most important issues impacting their vote, followed by abortion (40 percent). There is a large drop-off to the next tier of issues, including inflation and the economy (27 percent), climate change (19 percent), and crime (16 percent). Israel is in the bottom tier of issue priorities, and only 4 percent cite it as one of their top two issues.
- Attitudes toward the Republican Party and its leaders are extraordinarily negative. The most unpopular Republican figure is Mitch McConnell (11 percent favorable/85 percent unfavorable), approaching nearly unanimous opposition from Jewish voters. Trump also fares very poorly (20 percent favorable/79 percent unfavorable) and is seen slightly worse than the Republican Party (22 percent favorable/76 percent unfavorable).

Key Findings – Antisemitism

- Antisemitism weighs heavily on the minds of American Jews and they hold Trump and his Republican allies responsible. An astonishing 97 percent of Jews say they are concerned about antisemitism in the United States, including 85 percent stating they are very concerned.
 - When asked how responsible Trump and his allies in the Republican Party are for a rise in antisemitism, 76 percent say they are responsible (including 67 percent very responsible). This is most pronounced among older Jews (79 percent among voters 50 years and older).
 - Similarly, 76 percent say Trump and his allies in the Republican Party are responsible for a rise in white supremacy.³



• The past 6 years have led Jewish voters to conclude that Trump is a threat to them as Jewish people. Perhaps the most damning indictment of Trump's coddling of the far-right in American politics is the belief among 74 percent of American Jews that "Trump and the MAGA movement are a threat to Jews in America." Not surprisingly, Jewish Democrats are the most concerned (96 percent), but the concern carries over to Jewish Independents (61 percent) and extends far beyond partisan identity.

Key Findings – Israel and the Middle East

- Jewish voters support the United States playing an active role in helping Israelis and Palestinians resolve the conflict. A large majority want the U.S. to play an active role in helping the two sides resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, even if it means exerting pressure on both sides to make compromises to achieve peace (73 percent). Support drops to 58 percent when the U.S. role is framed as exerting pressure on Israel, instead of both Israelis and Palestinians.
- Jews across the political and demographic spectrum believe it is completely compatible to be "pro-Israel" and critical of Israeli government policy. Regardless of age, gender, denomination, partisanship, or ideology, most Jewish voters (89 percent) say someone can be critical of Israeli policy and still be "pro-Israel."

Among Reform: 91 percent
 Among Conservative: 84 percent
 Among Orthodox: 75 percent
 Among Unaffiliated: 91 percent

- Netanyahu is well-known and very unpopular among American Jews. The incoming Prime Minister has a -26 net favorability rating (33 percent favorable/59 percent unfavorable), which is stunning for a Prime Minister of the Jewish State of Israel and reflects a major reversal in views toward Netanyahu over the past 6 years. Prior to his speech attacking the Iran nuclear agreement on the Republican-controlled House floor in 2015, Netanyahu's favorability was +30 in J Street's 2014 election night poll. This shifted to +12 in 2016, and then fell further in 2018 (+3) and crashed in 2020 (-29) as Netanyahu embraced Trump.
- There is strong support for a comprehensive peace agreement, based on the
 parameters discussed when negotiations last took place. A majority of 69 percent
 support a peace agreement that includes a demilitarized Palestinian state based on the
 1967 borders, Palestinian neighborhoods in Jerusalem becoming part of the Palestinian
 state while Israel retains control of Jerusalem's Jewish neighborhoods and the Western
 Wall, and allowing some Palestinian refugees to return to Israel.
- 2 separate states is much more preferred over a 1-state solution or annexation. Jewish voters view 2 states a Jewish State of Israel alongside an Arab State of Palestine as the best resolution to the conflict (61 percent), compared to much less support for annexation of the West Bank (24 percent) or a 1-state solution that places

³ Half the sample was asked about white supremacy and half the sample was asked about antisemitism.



Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank under a single government elected by Israelis and Palestinians (15 percent).

- There is very strong opposition to construction of Israeli settlements in the West Bank, and a large majority think Israel should partially or fully suspend construction, while a small minority support unrestricted settlement construction. Only 24 percent believe Israel should build settlements anywhere it wants in the West Bank, compared to 39 percent who think construction should be confined to areas that are already developed and 37 percent who think Israel should suspend all construction of Israeli settlements in the West Bank.
- Jewish voters strongly support Israel and want to continue U.S. security aid, but their resistance to settlements leads them to support restricting aid. When asked whether the U.S. should continue its \$3.8 billion security assistance to Israel at the same level, but restrict it so no U.S. aid or military equipment can be used to expand the West Bank occupation, 68 percent of Jewish voters support restricting the aid.
- Support for Israel does not provide cover for Members of Congress who deny Biden's election. With deep concerns over threats to American democracy, Jewish voters have no tolerance for election deniers who voted against certifying the 2020 Presidential election, and 72 percent disapprove of AIPAC endorsing these Members of Congress even if they support Israel.
- Jewish voters backed the original Iran nuclear agreement in 2015, and they support re-entering it. Surveys in 2015 showed strong Jewish support when President Obama reached the agreement with Iran and 5 other countries, and 71 percent of Jewish voters support the U.S. re-entering the agreement. When asked whether they believe Trump or the Iranian regime is more responsible for the U.S. withdrawing from the agreement, the response is shocking 83 percent think Trump is more responsible, compared to 17 percent who think the Iranians are responsible.

This survey of Jews who voted in the 2022 election provides a comprehensive look with a large sample to assess the political beliefs and values of Jewish voters. Unlike exit polls that do not ask the range of critical Jewish demographic questions, such as denomination and synagogue membership, that are necessary to ensure a representative sample, this survey is a detailed and thorough assessment that reflects the demographic composition of the Jewish population as extensively examined by the Pew Research Center.

The survey sample was drawn from a national voter file, consisting of all registered voters in the United States. Respondents with a likelihood of being Jewish based on their name or geography were contacted by text, and then took the survey on their phone or computer. At the beginning of the survey, respondents were asked whether they consider themselves Jewish, using the same question wording as the 2013 Pew Research Center's study, "A Portrait of Jewish Americans."



GBAO designed the questionnaire for this national survey of American Jews who voted in the 2022 general election. The survey was conducted November 1-8, 2022 and included interviews with 800 self-identified Jewish voters who cast their ballots on Election Day or prior to Election Day. The survey is subject to a margin of error of +/- 3.5 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level.

The survey results, including question wording and crosstabs are available at www.jstreet.org.

