# G B A O

To: J Street

From: GBAO

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# 2024 Election Survey Findings National and Pennsylvania Surveys of Jewish Voters

Kamala Harris won the Jewish vote 71 to 26 percent in the 2024 election, reflecting the traditional levels of support that Jewish voters have given Democratic candidates for President and Congress over the past decade. Harris's dominant performance among Jewish voters is particularly notable in the context of the tens of millions of dollars that Republicans spent seeking to define Harris as weak on Israel and antisemitism, which clearly failed. While the past year has been very traumatic for American Jews, who have increased their attachment to Israel in the aftermath of October 7 and express heightened concerns over antisemitism, Jewish voters unmistakably expressed their support for Harris and their intense dislike for Donald Trump and the Republican Party.

The future of democracy (53 percent) and abortion (38 percent) were the top concerns for Jewish voters in this election, and their values align closely with Harris. Israel has also risen in importance (14 percent), and efforts to paint Harris as weak on the issue fell flat. Jewish voters continue to express their love of Israel, alongside their opposition to Benjamin Netanyahu and support for a diplomatic approach to resolve conflicts with Iran and the Palestinians. They want the next President to present a proposal for a regional security agreement that establishes a Palestinian state and opens diplomatic relations between Israel and the Arab states (72 percent), and they seek an increase in humanitarian aid to the Palestinians (71 percent).

In addition to Harris's margin in the national Jewish vote, she won among Jewish voters in Pennsylvania by a margin of 75 to 23 percent. Similar to the national results, Pennsylvania's Jewish voters cited the future of democracy (49 percent) and abortion (43 percent) as their top issues determining their vote.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> GBAO conducted a national survey of 800 Jews who voted in the 2024 election. The survey was conducted October 30 - November 5, 2024, and included voters who cast their vote on Election Day or before Election Day. GBAO also conducted a Pennsylvania statewide survey of 500 Jews who voted in the 2024 election. The Pennsylvania survey was conducted November 4-5, 2024, and included voters who cast their vote on Election Day or before Election Day. The methodology for these surveys is detailed at the end of this memo. The full results for both surveys can be accessed at www.jstreet.org.







## **Key Findings – Political Landscape**

Despite the perennial claims that "this is the year" that Jewish voters flee Democrats, Harris's 71 to 26 percent margin is remarkably consistent with previous Democratic performance. Jewish voters repeatedly demonstrate that they are a base Democratic constituency. Subtle movements in their vote reflect the nature of a particular election and whether it is a "Democratic" or "Republican" year. In an unusually Democratic year like 2018 or 2020, support reaches a ceiling in the mid-to-high 70s. In an unusually Republican year like 2010 or 2024, support hits a floor in the high 60s to low 70s.

o 2010 Congressional: 66 Democratic / 31 Republican

2012 Presidential: 70 Obama / 30 Romney

o 2014 Congressional: 69 Democratic / 28 Republican

2016 Presidential: 70 Clinton / 25 Trump

o 2018 Congressional: 76 Democratic / 19 Republican

o 2020 Presidential: 77 Biden / 21 Trump

o 2022 Congressional: 74 Democratic / 25 Republican

o 2024 Presidential: 71 Harris / 26 Trump

- The future of democracy and abortion dominate Jewish voters' concerns across the country and in Pennsylvania. When asked to cite the top two issues determining their vote, Jewish voters clearly demonstrate their deep concerns over democracy and abortion rights. These are the top issues nationally (53 percent democracy; 38 percent abortion) and in Pennsylvania (49 percent democracy; 43 percent abortion), and were central aspects of the Harris campaign. The next tier of issues among the national Jewish electorate includes inflation (22 percent), Israel (14 percent), climate change (12 percent), immigration (12 percent), antisemitism (11 percent), and national security (10 percent). The issue priorities in Pennsylvania are very similar to the national result.
- Jewish voters do not like Trump or the Republican Party. Trump's favorable rating (28 percent favorable / 71 percent unfavorable) and the Republican Party's rating (27 percent favorable / 71 percent unfavorable) underscore one of the fundamental obstacles for Republicans with Jewish voters. That is, it is nearly impossible for any Republican candidate to make inroads with American Jews when the Party and its leadership is viewed so poorly. Moreover, these ratings have persisted for over a decade and are not unique to Trump or the current moment, reflecting a core brand problem for the Republicans.
- Harris and Democrats are viewed very positively. Harris is the most popular figure tested in the survey (69 percent favorable / 30 percent unfavorable). The Democratic Party (62 percent favorable / 35 percent unfavorable) and Joe Biden (61 percent favorable / 36 percent unfavorable) also have very strong standing with Jewish voters.
- Jewish voters strongly disapprove of AIPAC's support for Members of Congress who support Israel, but voted against certifying the 2020 Presidential election.

  When asked about AIPAC's endorsement of these Members of Congress, 71 percent of Jewish voters disapprove (including 52 percent who *strongly* disapprove).

## **Key Findings – Israel**

- Jewish voters do not find it incompatible to be both pro-Israel and critical of Israeli government policy. Despite the trauma of October 7 and concerns over protests on college campuses, 90 percent of American Jews believe that someone can criticize Israeli government policies and still be pro-Israel. This view is firmly held and has been consistently expressed in our past four election surveys, including 89 percent in our survey one year before the Hamas attack (November 2022).
- Attitudes toward Prime Minister Netanyahu remain extraordinarily negative. Early in his tenure, Netanyahu enjoyed strong backing from American Jews (+31 favorable/unfavorable rating in August 2009). But his standing began to decline when he spoke to a Republican Congress in 2015 to oppose the Iran nuclear agreement that Obama reached with Iran and 5 other countries (+18 favorable/unfavorable rating in July 2015). Netanyahu's favorability then crashed when he embraced Trump during his first Presidential term (-29 favorable/unfavorable rating in November 2020), and he has not recovered with American Jews. He now has a -31 rating (32 favorable/63 unfavorable) as American Jews brace for a second Trump Administration.
- Large majorities of Jewish voters continue to support diplomatic agreements that include difficult concessions. We repeated a question asked in previous surveys that asks respondents whether they support a final status peace agreement that includes a demilitarized Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, borders along the 1967 lines, and allowing some refugees to return to Israel. Support for this agreement is virtually unchanged after October 7 (68 percent support, compared to 69 percent support in November 2022). We also asked about a different agreement that reframes the approach as a regional security agreement and includes diplomatic relations with Arab states led by Saudi Arabia, a demilitarized Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, and security arrangements coordinated jointly by Israel and other Arab countries. This multi-state approach receives slightly higher support (74 percent) than the bilateral approach that has been the centerpiece of negotiations since the 1993 Oslo Accords.
- When seeking to address U.S. and Israeli concerns over Iran's nuclear program, Jewish voters seek diplomacy and negotiation over military action. Nearly two-thirds (65 percent) think diplomacy is the most effective way to address American and Israeli concerns over Iran's nuclear program, compared to 35 percent who think military action is the most effective way. This finding is consistent with the large portion (64 percent) of Jews who think the U.S. should restart negotiations with Iran to reach an agreement that prevents Iran from developing nuclear weapons in exchange for lifting sanctions.
- There is strong support for a range of American policy initiatives in Israel and Gaza that Jewish voters want to see the next President pursue. The top initiatives are a major speech detailing an American proposal that establishes a Palestinian state and opens diplomatic relations between Israel and all Arab states (72 percent), increasing humanitarian aid to the Palestinians (71 percent), and placing sanctions on Israeli government ministers Ben Gvir and Smotrich for aiding Jewish settlers who commit violent attacks against Palestinians (66 percent).

#### **Key Findings – Antisemitism**

- Praising the October 7 attack and opposing Israel's right to exist are seen as antisemitic by nearly all Jews, but a large majority do not think it is antisemitic to criticize how Israel is conducting the war in Gaza. Given a list of several actions or statements, Jewish voters expressed clear distinctions on whether or not they felt something was antisemitic. The most obvious antisemitic action was praising the October 7 Hamas attack (94 percent think it is antisemitic), followed by opposing Israel's right to exist (87 percent), the protests on college campuses last spring (78 percent), and Donald Trump's statements about Jews hating their religion if they vote for Democrats (65 percent). These actions and statements are considerably more concerning for Jews than saying Israel is committing war crimes (41 percent) and criticizing how Israel is conducting the war in Gaza (29 percent).
- Assessments of whether something is antisemitic vary by generation, and younger Jews are much less inclined to consider something antisemitic than older Jews. Across numerous statements, Jewish voters under 35 years old are 10-25 points less likely to believe something is antisemitic. Most notably, 62 percent of Jews under 35 think the college protests were antisemitic, compared to 82 percent of Jews 35 to 64 years old and 87 percent of Jews over 64.

#### **Concluding Note**

As Trump returns to the Presidency, the United States is bitterly divided into two distinct political camps. American Jews overwhelmingly align with the Democratic camp that opposes Trump, and Jews' consistency is remarkable. Jewish voting behavior does not appear to shift, regardless of wars or major political events. The financial investment to influence Jews to move their political support to Republicans was unprecedented in the 2024 election as Trump's allies saw an opportunity to play off Jewish concerns over antisemitism and the October 7 attack. But this investment and effort – alongside the never-ending media speculation over the Jewish vote – failed to impact Jewish voters. The Republican effort failed because Jews identify strongly with the Democratic Party and its values, they seek diplomatic solutions to the challenges facing Israel, and they intensely oppose Trump and Republicans on personal and policy levels. They even find Trump's own statements to be antisemitic.

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J Street's surveys of Jews who voted in the 2024 election provide a comprehensive look with large samples 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 samples were drawn from a national and a Pennsylvania voter file, consisting of all registered voters in the United States and Pennsylvania. 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 2020 Pew Research Center's study, "Jewish Americans in 2020."

GBAO designed the questionnaires for the national and Pennsylvania surveys of American Jews who voted in the 2024 general election. The national survey was conducted October 30 - November 5, 2024, and included interviews with 800 self-identified Jewish voters who cast their ballots on Election Day or prior to Election Day. The national survey is subject to a margin of error of +/- 3.5 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level. The Pennsylvania survey was conducted November 4-5, 2024, and included interviews with 500 self-identified Jewish voters who cast their ballots on Election Day or prior to Election Day. The Pennsylvania survey is subject to a margin of error of +/- 4.4 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level.

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