

G B A O

J Street
National and Pennsylvania Surveys
2024 Election

November 2024

- Kamala Harris won the Jewish vote 71 to 26 percent, reflecting the traditional levels of support that Jewish voters have given Democratic candidates for President and Congress over the past decade. ***American Jews repeatedly demonstrate that they are a base Democratic constituency.***
- While Jewish voters are concerned about Israel and antisemitism after a traumatic year following October 7, the future of democracy and abortion remain their top voting issues (at the same levels as the 2022 election).
- Jewish voters believe someone can be both pro-Israel and critical of Israeli government policy. They hold extraordinarily negative views of Netanyahu, seek negotiations over military action to address Iran's nuclear program, and overwhelmingly support diplomatic agreements that include a demilitarized Palestinian state.
- Unprecedented Republican spending to appeal to the Jewish vote failed because American Jews support Harris's policies, they like her personally and share her values, and they intensely oppose Trump on personal and policy grounds.



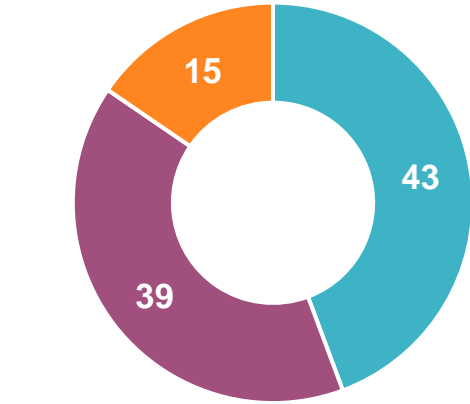
Political Landscape



Very Democratic & Liberal Constituency

Figure 4

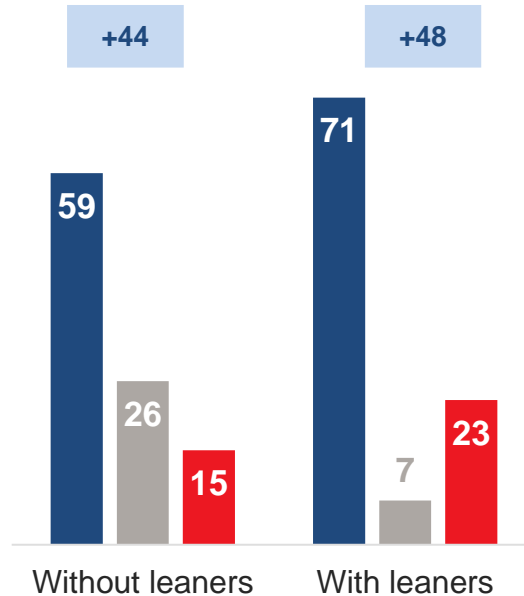
Ideology



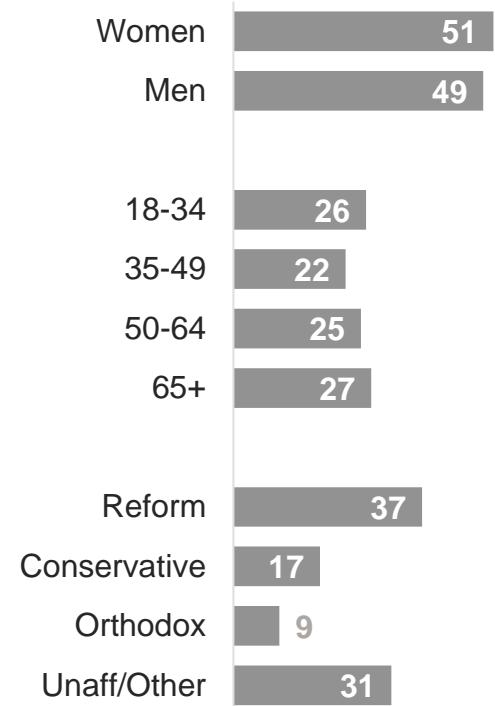
- Liberal
- Moderate
- Conservative

Party Identification

Dem Ind Rep



Demographics



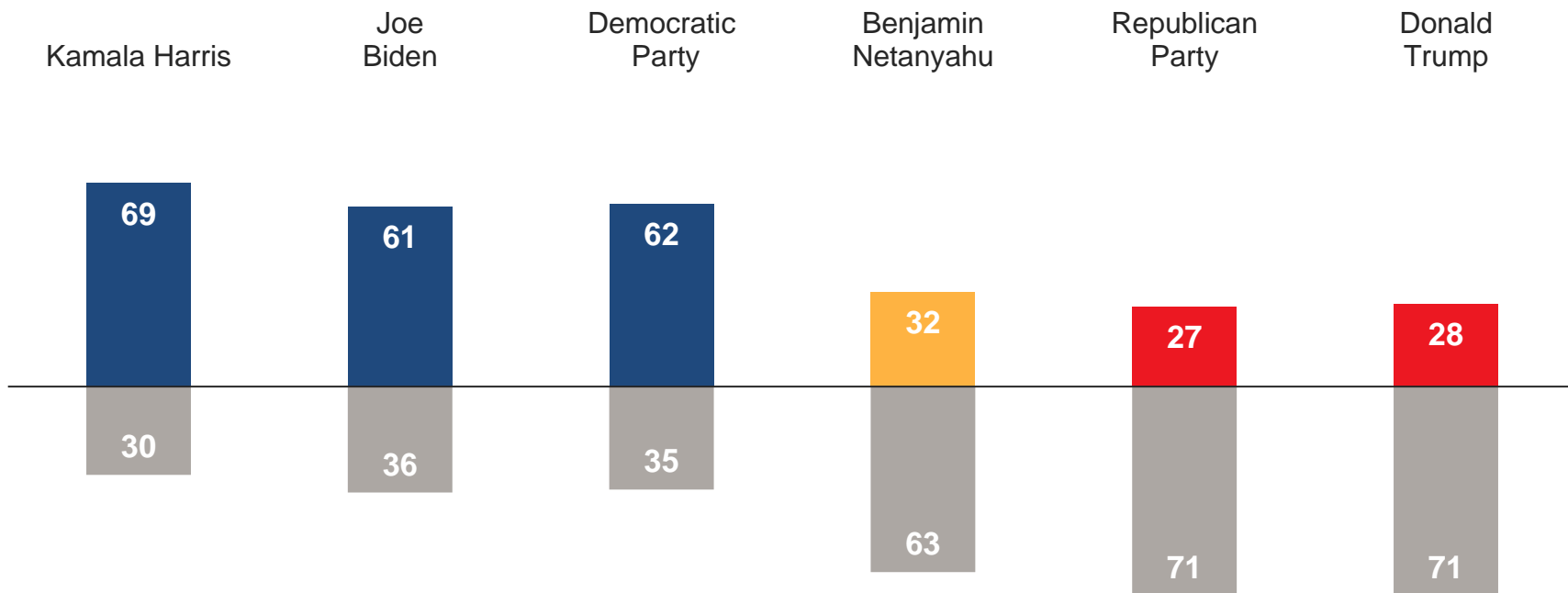
Harris Most Popular Political Figure; Trump, GOP, Netanyahu Are Viewed Very Negatively

Figure 5

Favorability

● Favorable ● Unfavorable

Asked on a 0-100 scale
0=very unfavorable, 100=very favorable



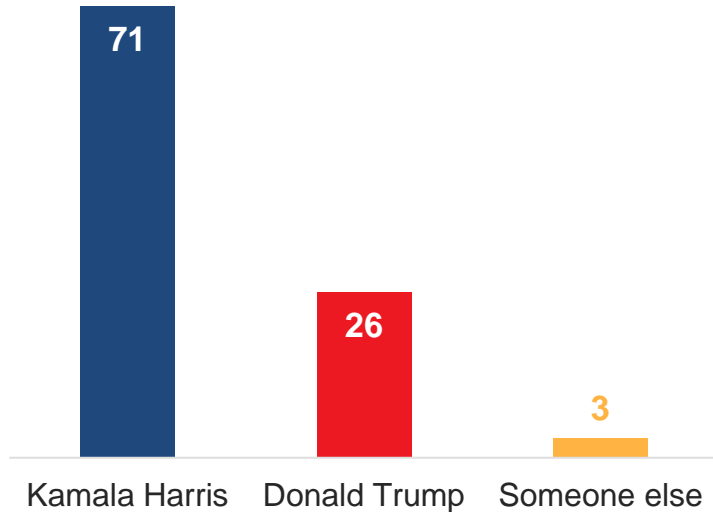


2024 Jewish Vote

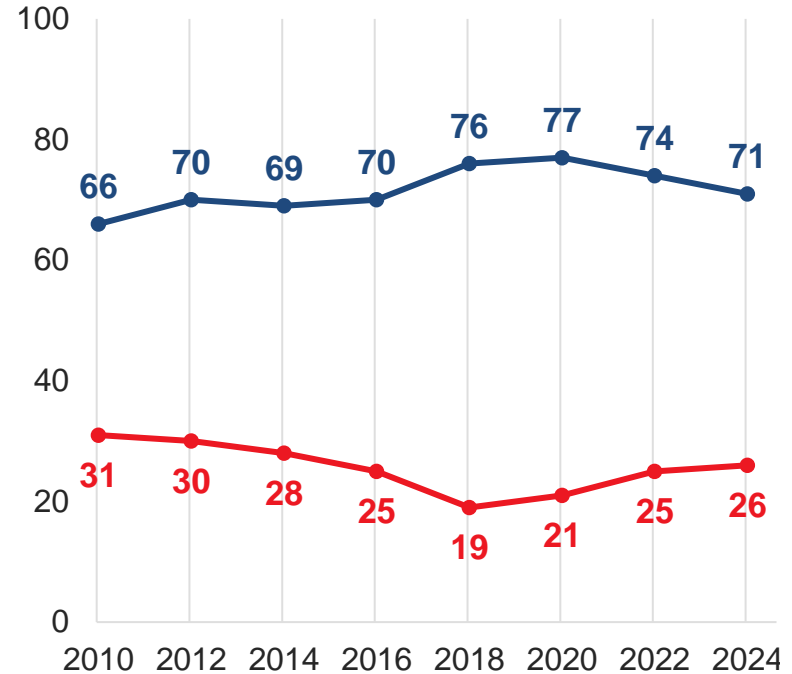
Massive Vote Margin For Harris, Consistent With Previous Democratic Support

Figure 7

The Jewish Vote



Midterm years reflect congressional vote
Presidential years reflect presidential vote

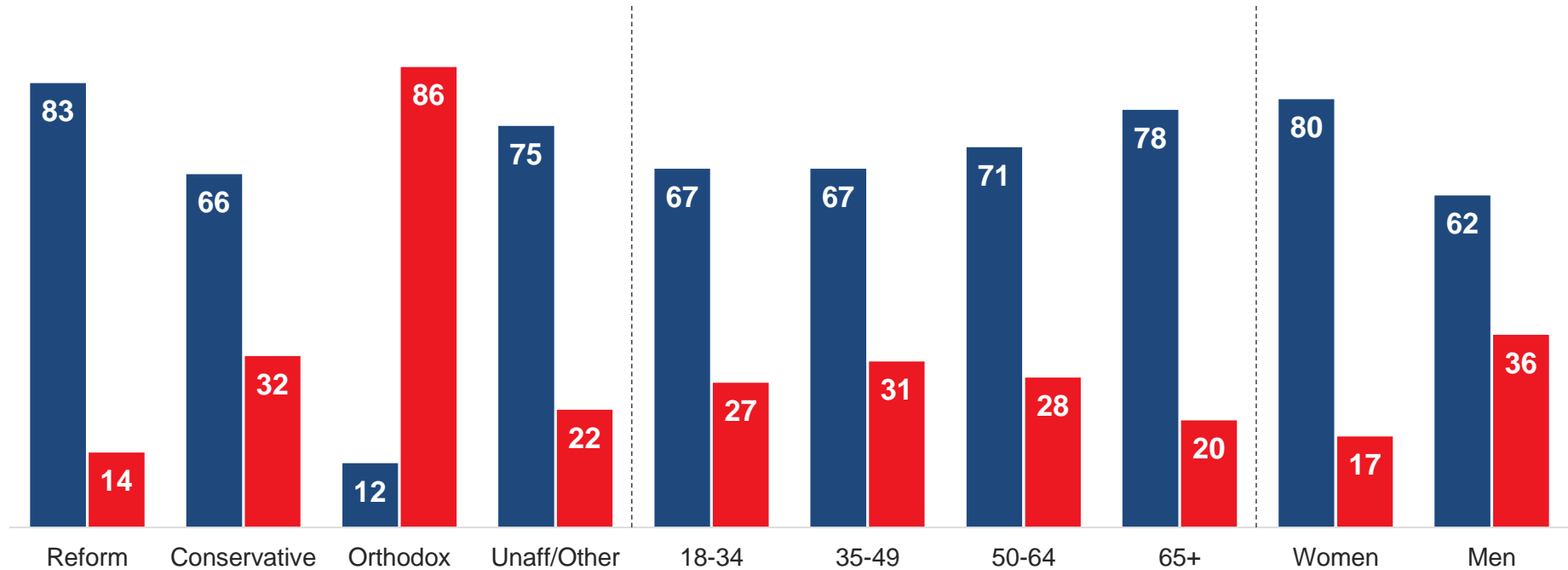


Harris Holds Overwhelming Leads With All Groups But Orthodox

Figure 8

Presidential Vote

● Kamala Harris ● Donald Trump

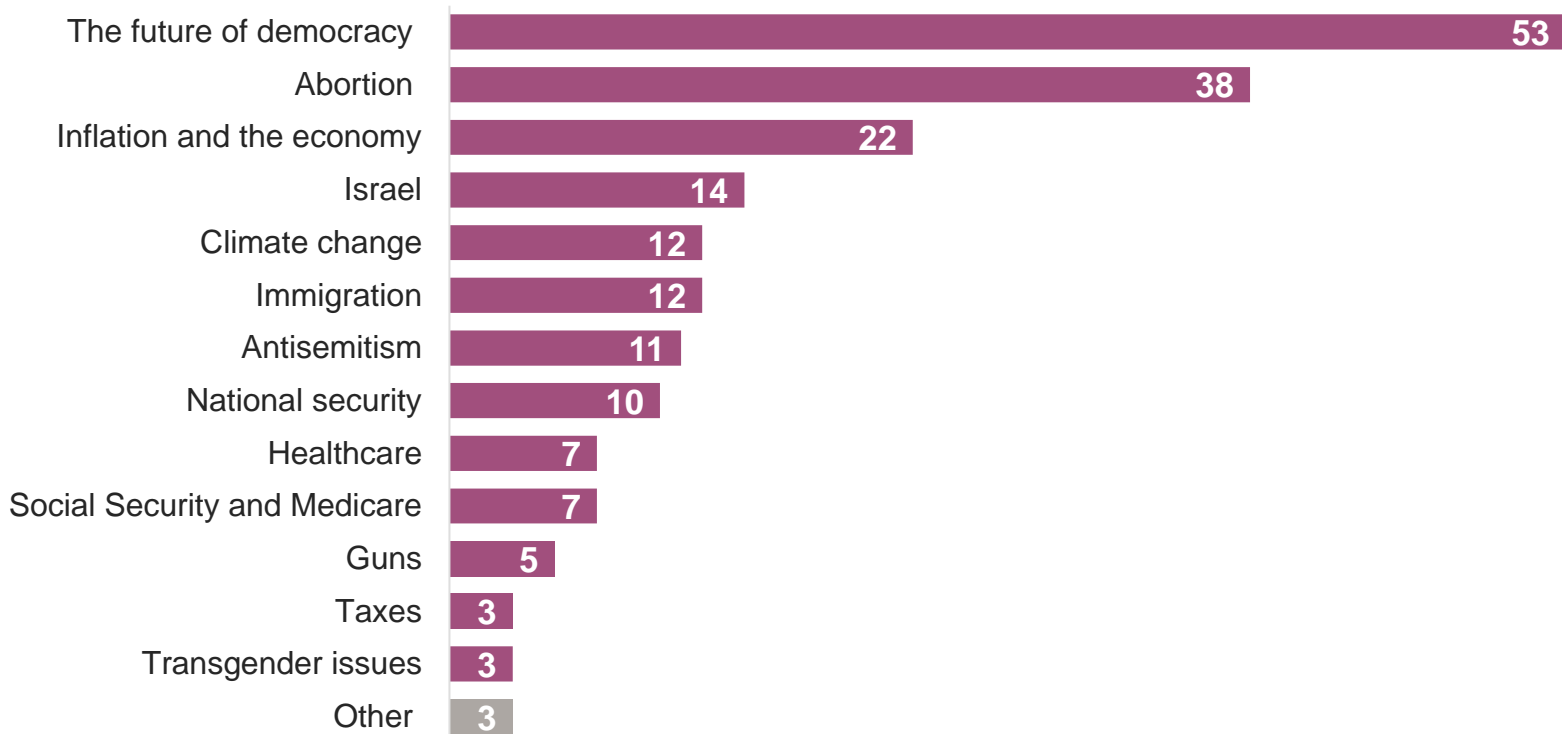


Democracy & Abortion Are Top Issues For 2024 Election

Figure 9

Issue Priorities

Please indicate which two of the following are the most important issues to you when deciding how you will vote in the November election.



Orthodox Have Very Different Issue Priorities

Figure 10

Issue Priorities

Please indicate which two of the following are the most important issues to you when deciding how you will vote in the November election.

	Reform	Conservative	Orthodox	Unaff/Other
The future of democracy	63	39	17	56
Abortion	43	35	6	39
Inflation and the economy	17	25	49	20
Israel	7	19	46	12
Climate change	14	8	1	15
Immigration	10	16	20	11
Antisemitism	8	18	32	7
National security	8	11	13	10
Healthcare	8	5	3	7
Social Security and Medicare	7	10	-	7
Guns	5	6	-	6
Taxes	3	4	5	4
Transgender issues	4	3	5	2
Other	4	-	2	4

Democracy & Abortion Are Top Issues Across Age And Gender

Figure 11

Issue Priorities

Please indicate which two of the following are the most important issues to you when deciding how you will vote in the November election.

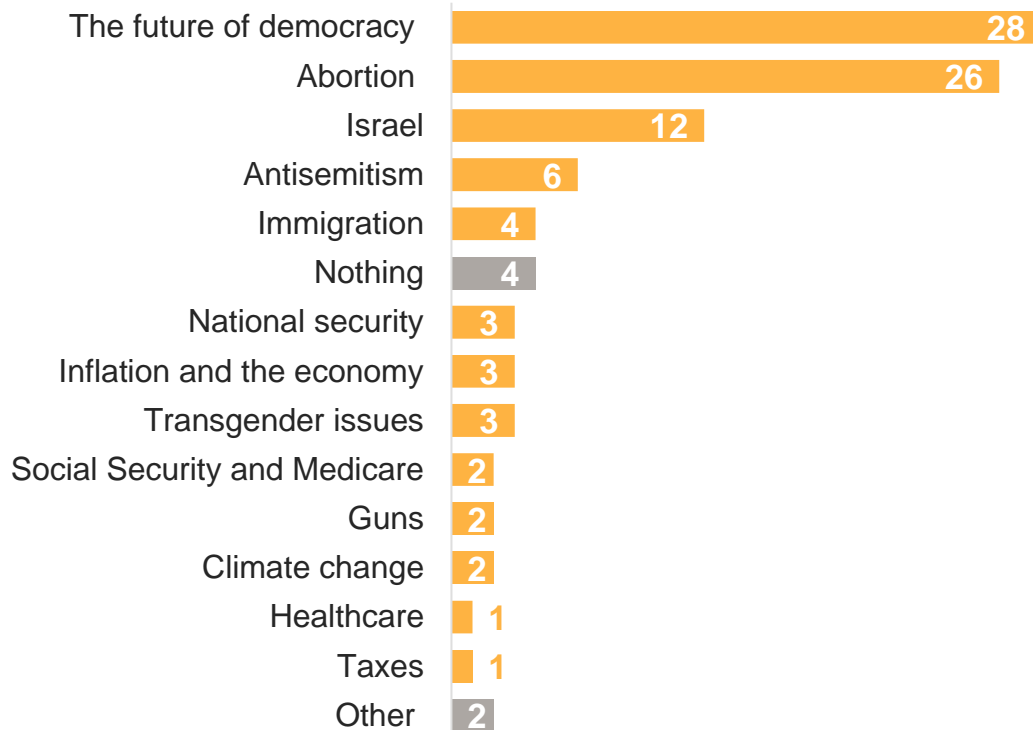
	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	Women	Men
The future of democracy	50	50	56	55	55	50
Abortion	36	42	36	38	53	22
Inflation and the economy	28	26	21	13	13	31
Israel	17	14	16	9	12	17
Climate change	17	10	8	13	11	13
Immigration	13	8	12	14	8	16
Antisemitism	8	15	11	12	10	12
National security	7	11	12	9	6	13
Healthcare	8	4	6	10	8	6
Social Security and Medicare	2	1	7	16	8	6
Guns	3	6	5	6	7	3
Taxes	4	4	2	3	2	5
Transgender issues	7	3	2	-	4	2
Other	1	5	3	3	3	3

Top Dealbreakers Are Democracy And Abortion

Figure 12

Dealbreaker

For you personally, what is the one issue you feel so strongly about that if a candidate disagreed with you on it, you would not be able to vote for them?



Israel As A Dealbreaker Issue Is Driven By Orthodox

Figure 13

Dealbreaker

For you personally, what is the one issue you feel so strongly about that if a candidate disagreed with you on it, you would not be able to vote for them?

	Reform	Conservative	Orthodox	Unaff/Other
The future of democracy	33	27	15	25
Abortion	31	19	3	30
Israel	8	15	48	6
Antisemitism	7	11	13	3
Immigration	5	5	5	4
Nothing	3	5	-	6
National security	2	3	1	6
Inflation and the economy	1	4	5	4
Transgender issues	1	4	10	2
Social Security and Medicare	3	2	-	3
Guns	3	1	-	3
Climate change	2	1	-	4
Healthcare	1	1	1	1
Taxes	-	1	-	1
Other	3	2	-	2

Abortion Is A Big Dealbreaker For Women

Figure 14

Dealbreaker

For you personally, what is the one issue you feel so strongly about that if a candidate disagreed with you on it, you would not be able to vote for them?

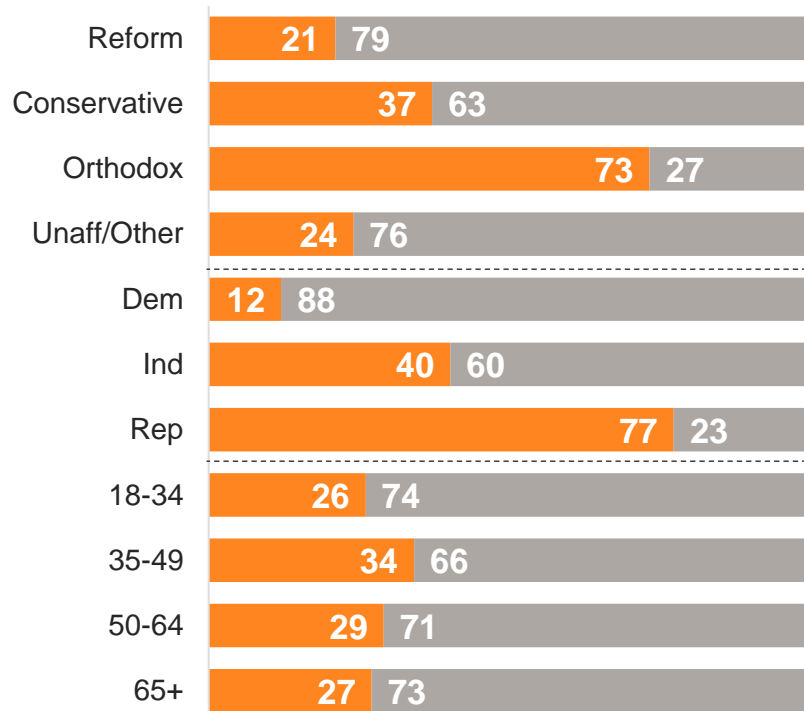
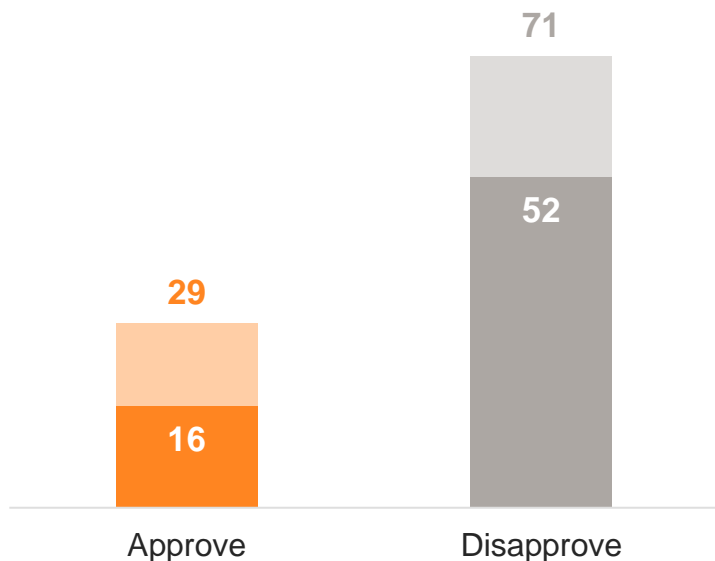
	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	Women	Men
The future of democracy	27	22	29	33	24	32
Abortion	30	27	24	24	40	12
Israel	13	14	13	7	11	13
Antisemitism	7	5	8	6	5	8
Immigration	4	3	5	5	3	6
Nothing	3	8	2	5	2	6
National security	2	5	3	3	2	5
Inflation and the economy	4	2	3	3	2	4
Transgender issues	5	3	2	1	3	2
Social Security and Medicare	-	-	4	5	3	2
Guns	1	4	3	2	2	3
Climate change	3	3	2	1	1	3
Healthcare	0	1	1	0	1	1
Taxes	0	1	-	1	0	1
Other	1	1	2	5	2	2

Jewish Voters Disapprove Of AIPAC Endorsing Pro-Israel Election Deniers

AIPAC Donations

Do you approve or disapprove of AIPAC endorsing and raising money for these Members of Congress who support Israel, but voted against certifying the 2020 Presidential election?

Darker shade = Stronger intensity

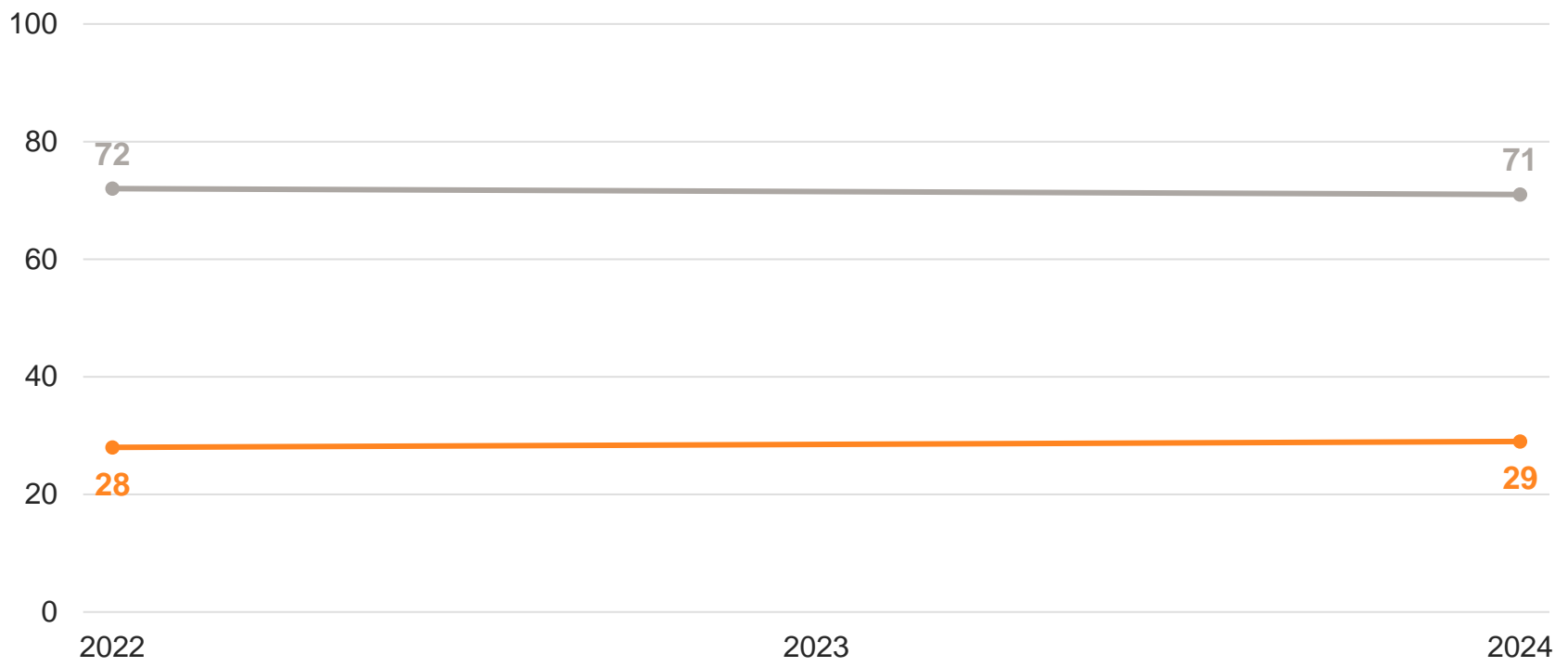


No Movement Since 2022 On AIPAC Donations

Figure 16

AIPAC Donations

● Approve ● Disapprove



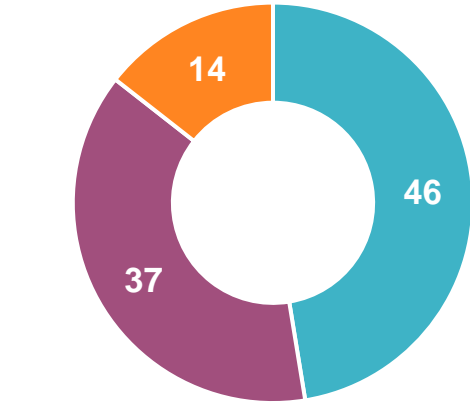


Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania Jews Are Very Democratic

Figure 18

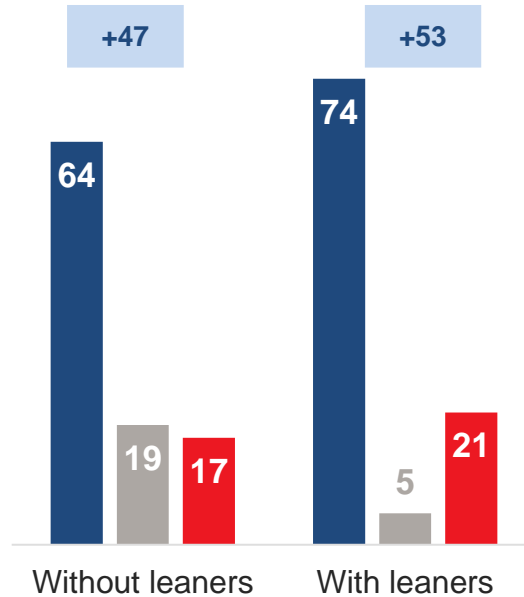
Ideology: PA



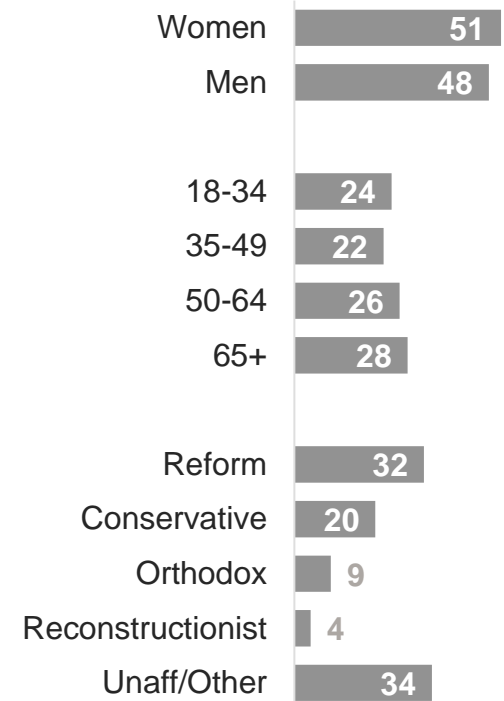
- Liberal
- Moderate
- Conservative

Party Identification: PA

● Dem ● Ind ● Rep



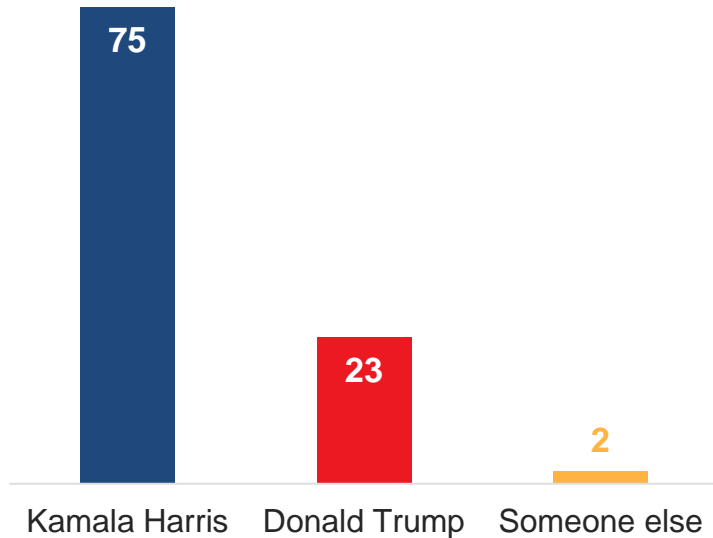
Demographics: PA



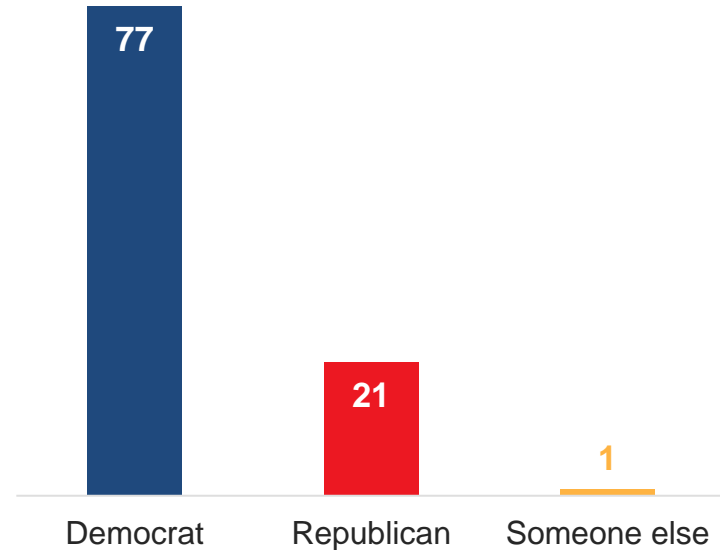
Harris & Congressional Democrats Won Big In Pennsylvania

Figure 19

Presidential Vote: PA



Congressional Vote: PA

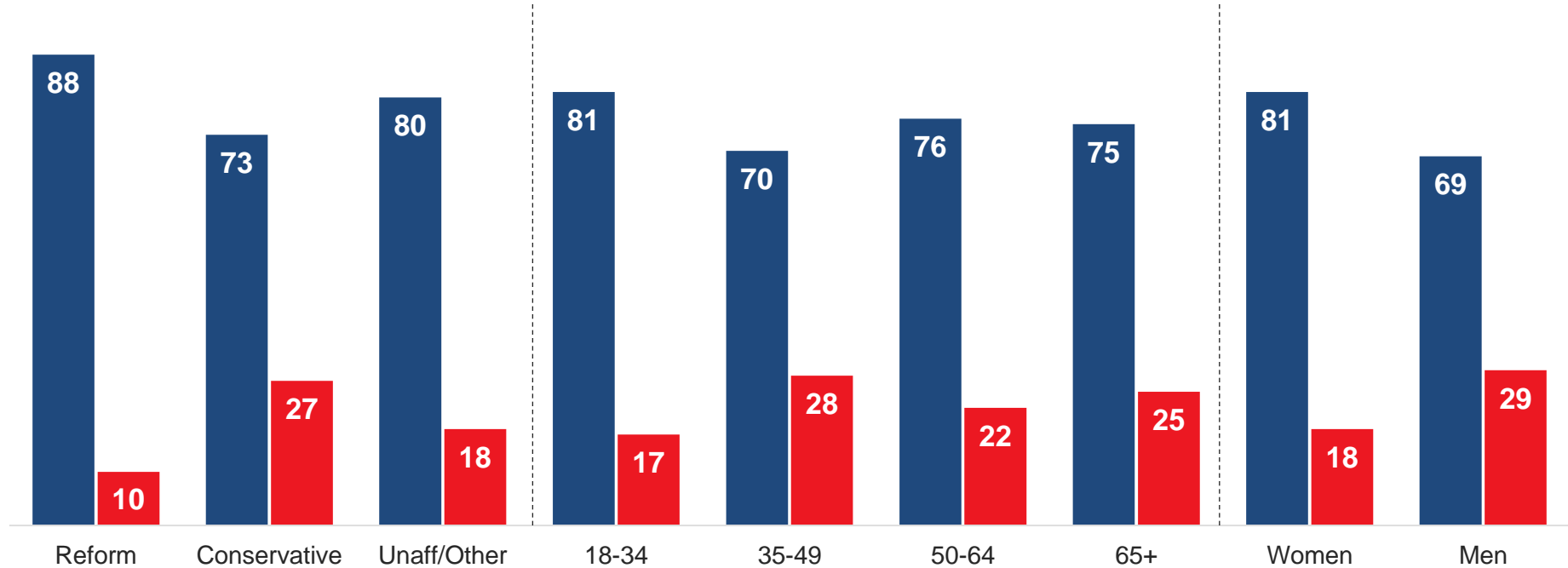


Harris Shows Strength Across Demographic Groups

Figure 20

Presidential Vote: PA

● Kamala Harris ● Donald Trump

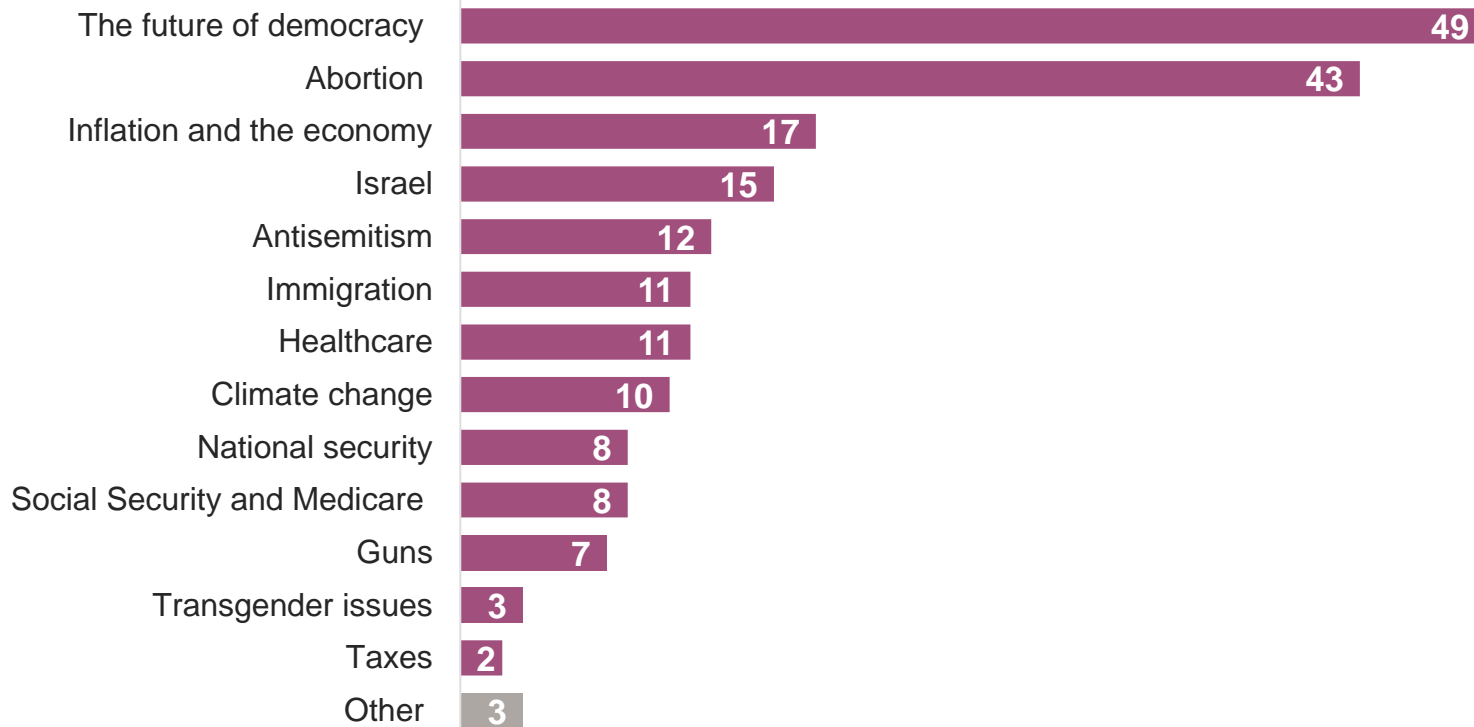


Democracy And Abortion By Far The Most Important Issues

Figure 21

Issue Priorities: PA

Please indicate which two of the following are the most important issues to you when deciding how you will vote in the November election.



Abortion Top Issue For Conservative Jews

Figure 22

Issue Priorities: PA

Please indicate which two of the following are the most important issues to you when deciding how you will vote in the November election.

	Reform	Conservative	No Denomination
The future of democracy	58	41	57
Abortion	52	47	40
Inflation and the economy	12	16	18
Israel	9	14	11
Antisemitism	12	15	9
Immigration	9	15	9
Healthcare	13	9	13
Climate change	9	6	14
National security	6	12	8
Social Security and Medicare	7	8	6
Guns	7	11	5
Transgender issues	3	1	4
Taxes	1	2	1
Other	2	2	4

Future of Democracy And Abortion Are Most Important Issues Across Demographics

Figure 23

Issue Priorities: PA

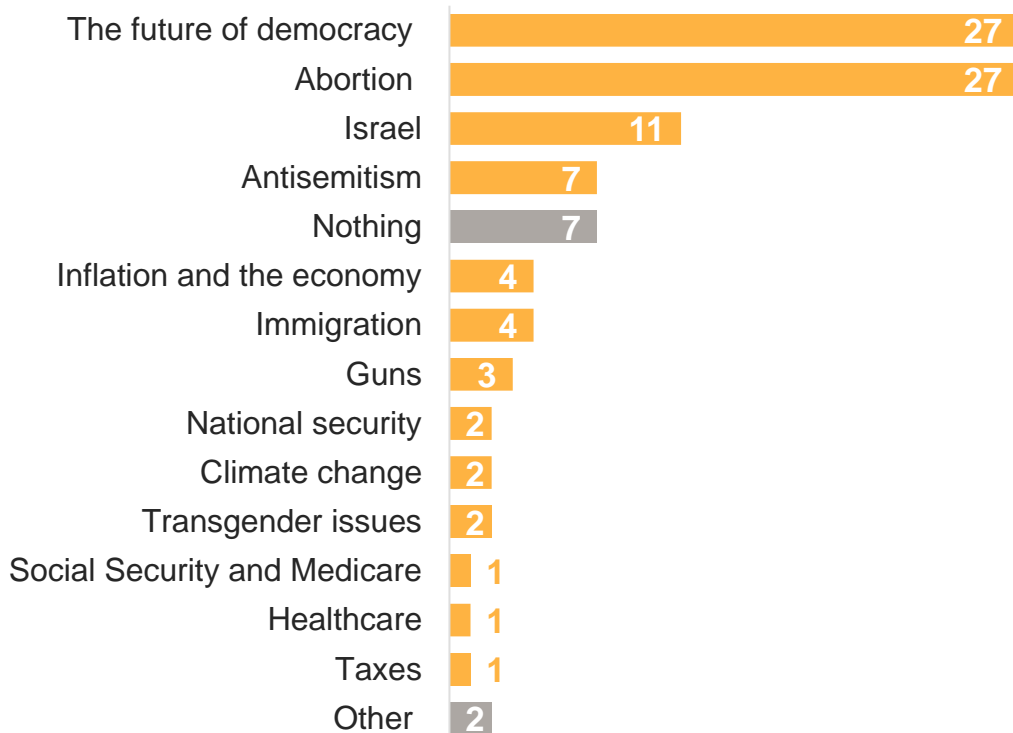
Please indicate which two of the following are the most important issues to you when deciding how you will vote in the November election.

	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	Women	Men
The future of democracy	49	42	54	51	51	47
Abortion	51	42	46	35	56	31
Inflation and the economy	16	22	22	8	13	21
Israel	21	12	11	16	10	21
Antisemitism	8	14	11	15	14	10
Immigration	4	15	14	13	10	13
Healthcare	12	15	11	6	9	13
Climate change	12	12	10	7	9	11
National security	5	7	4	15	8	9
Social Security and Medicare	2	1	8	18	4	12
Guns	7	5	5	10	11	3
Transgender issues	6	7	1	-	2	3
Taxes	3	2	2	2	2	3
Other	2	4	2	3	2	3

Democracy And Abortion Also Dealbreakers

Dealbreaker: PA

For you personally, what is the one issue you feel so strongly about that if a candidate disagreed with you on it, you would not be able to vote for them?



Abortion A Dealbreaker For Conservative Jews

Figure 25

Dealbreaker: PA

For you personally, what is the one issue you feel so strongly about that if a candidate disagreed with you on it, you would not be able to vote for them?

	Reform	Conservative	Unaff/Other
The future of democracy	35	21	31
Abortion	31	31	26
Israel	9	12	6
Antisemitism	6	7	7
Nothing	7	8	7
Inflation and the economy	2	2	4
Immigration	2	3	3
Guns	3	4	2
National security	-	1	3
Climate change	1	3	2
Transgender issues	1	1	2
Social Security and Medicare	1	3	1
Healthcare	0	-	3
Taxes	1	2	-
Other	2	3	3

Abortion Is Dealbreaker For Women; Democracy Is Dealbreaker For Men

Figure 26

Dealbreaker: PA

For you personally, what is the one issue you feel so strongly about that if a candidate disagreed with you on it, you would not be able to vote for them?

	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	Women	Men
The future of democracy	19	21	29	38	25	30
Abortion	31	27	28	22	38	16
Israel	14	12	11	7	8	13
Antisemitism	11	6	6	6	6	8
Nothing	7	7	7	6	5	9
Inflation and the economy	1	8	3	4	4	4
Immigration	2	5	3	4	2	6
Guns	2	4	4	1	4	2
National security	1	1	2	5	2	2
Climate change	2	4	2	-	1	3
Transgender issues	4	3	0	-	1	1
Social Security and Medicare	-	-	1	4	1	2
Healthcare	2	-	1	1	1	1
Taxes	1	1	-	1	-	2
Other	2	2	2	3	2	3



Iran

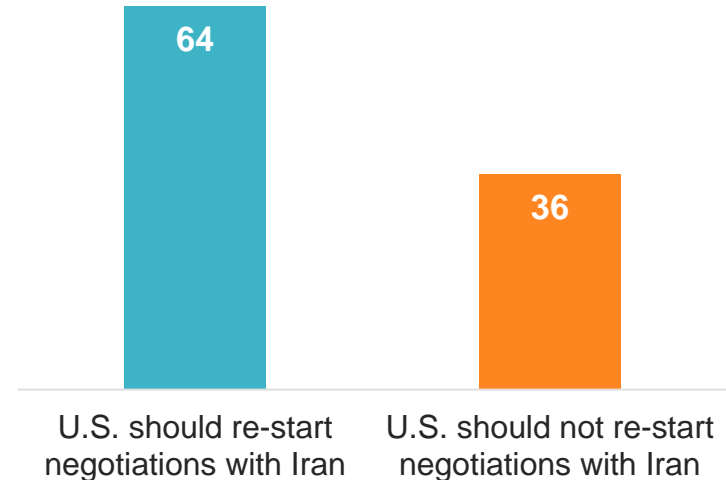
Two-Thirds Support Restarting Negotiations With Iran

Figure 28

Iran Negotiations

As you may know, when he was President, Barack Obama reached an agreement with Iran and five other countries that lifted economic sanctions against Iran in exchange for Iran dismantling its nuclear weapons program and allowing international inspectors to monitor Iran's facilities. Donald Trump withdrew the United States from this agreement when he was President, and negotiations to revive the agreement stalled during the Biden presidency.

Do you think the United States should or should not re-start negotiations with Iran to reach an agreement that prevents Iran from developing nuclear weapons in exchange for lifting sanctions against Iran?

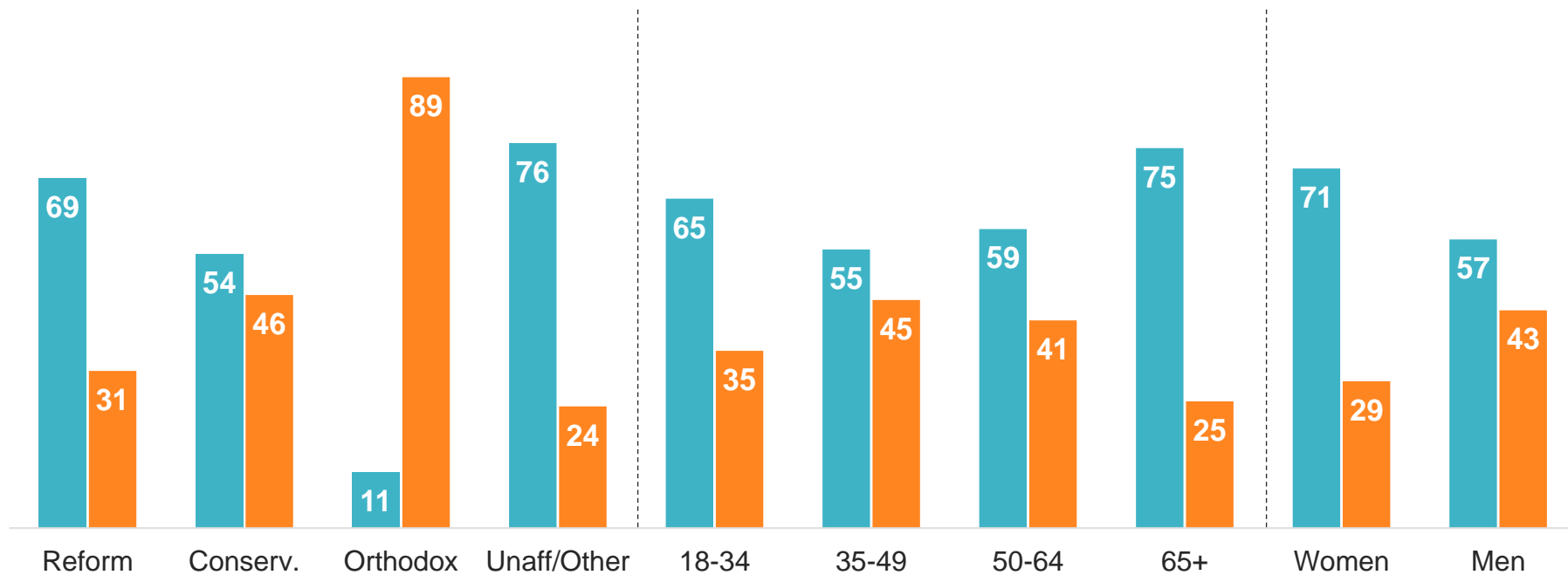


Support For Re-Starting Negotiations Spans Demographics

Figure 29

Iran Negotiations

● Re-start ● Not re-start

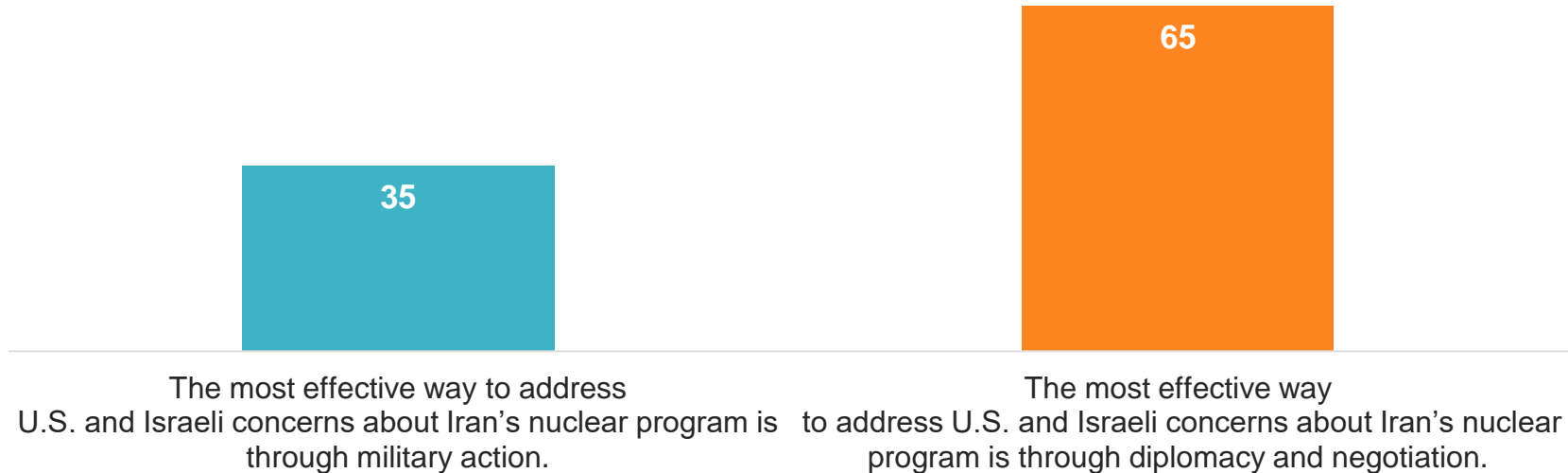


Majority Of Jews Prefer Diplomacy Over Military Action

Figure 30

Iran Nuclear Program

Thinking about the threats posed by Iran, which of the following statements comes closer to your own point of view?

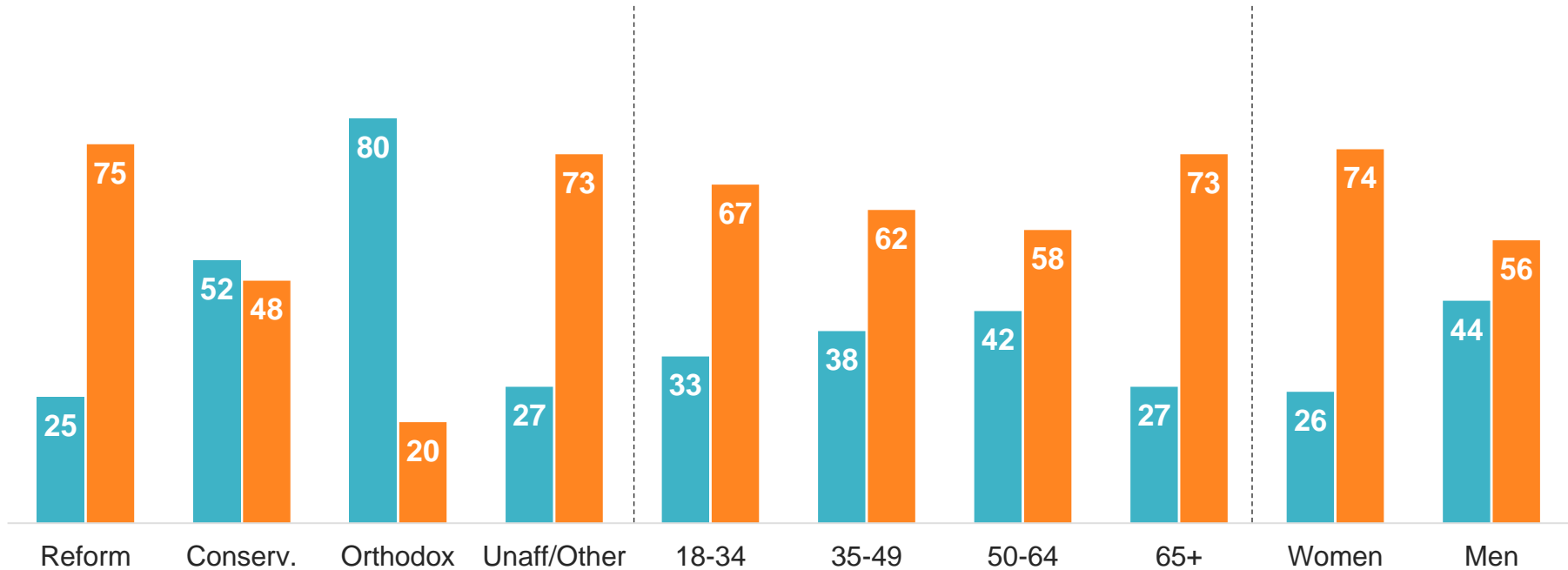


Men Are More Likely To Prefer Military Action

Figure 31

Iran Nuclear Program

● Military action ● Diplomacy





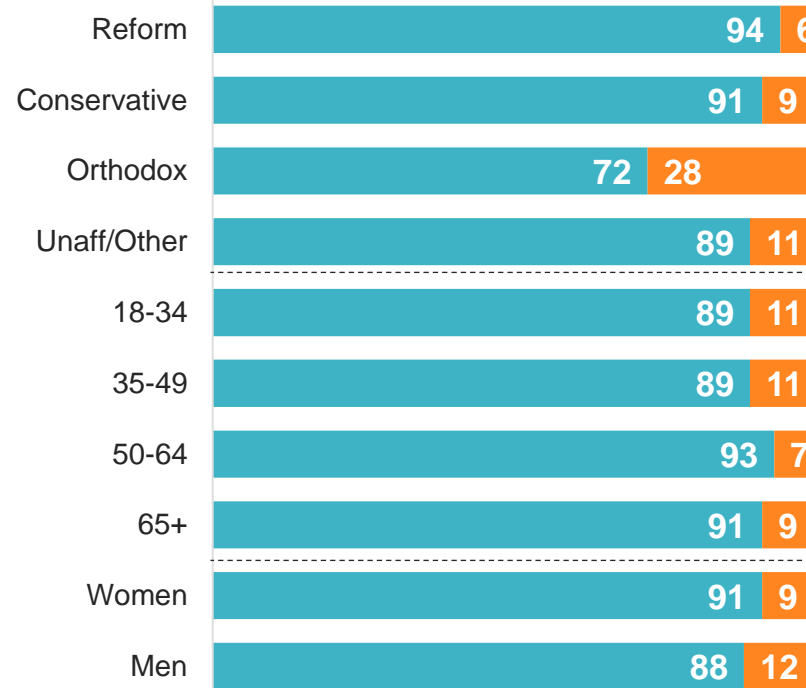
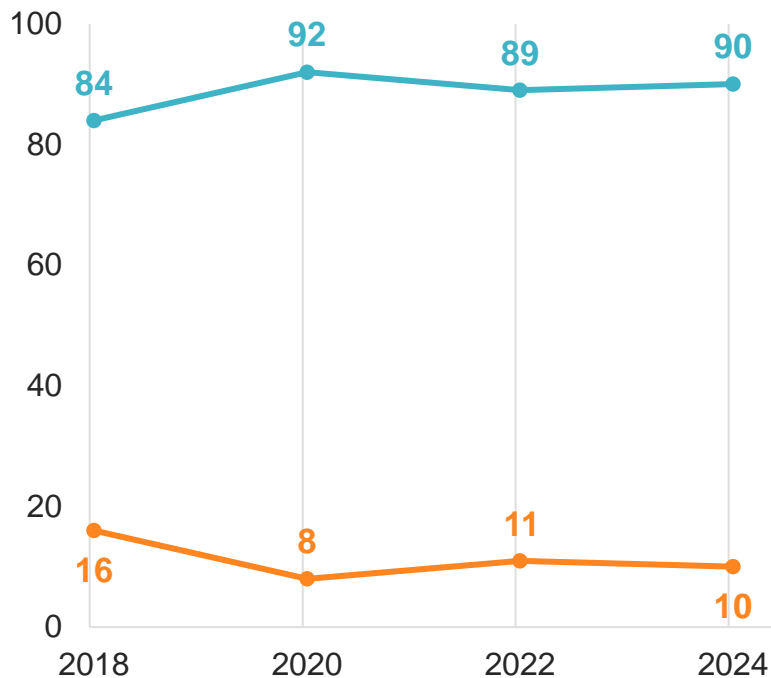
Israel

Near Universal Belief That People Can Be Pro-Israel And Critical Of Policies

Figure 33

Pro-Israel

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

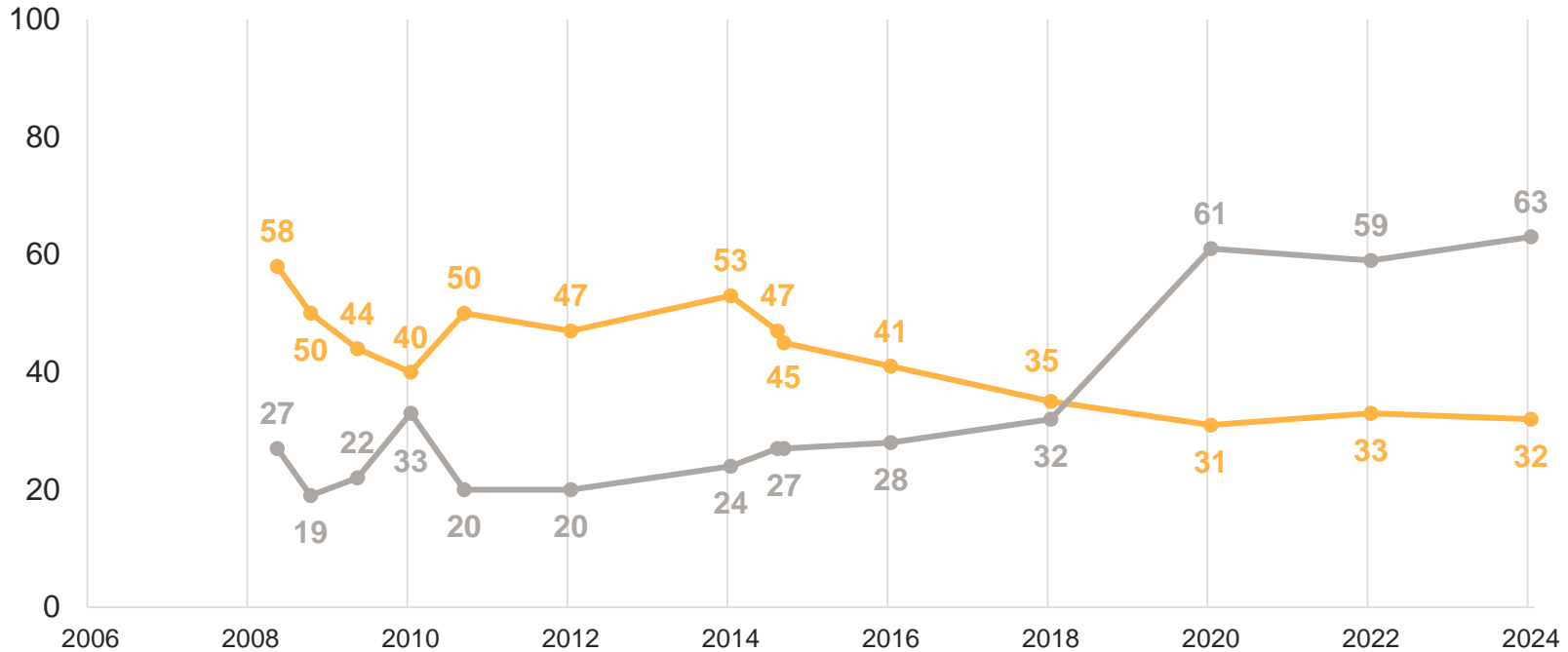


Netanyahu Has Very Poor Standing Among American Jews

Figure 34

Netanyahu Favorability

● Favorable ● Unfavorable



Significant Majority Supports Final Status Agreement

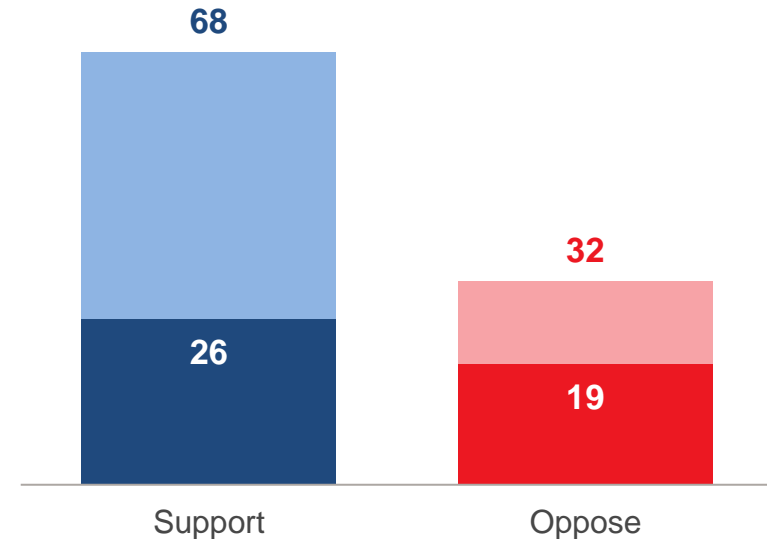
As you may know, on a few occasions during the past several years, Israeli, Palestinian, and American negotiators came close to reaching a final status peace agreement but ultimately fell short.

The details of that agreement include:

- A demilitarized Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza
- Internationally recognized borders based on the borders 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 some refugees to return to Israel if they meet specific family reunification criteria and the Israeli government approves

Overall, do you support or oppose such an agreement?

Darker shade = Stronger intensity

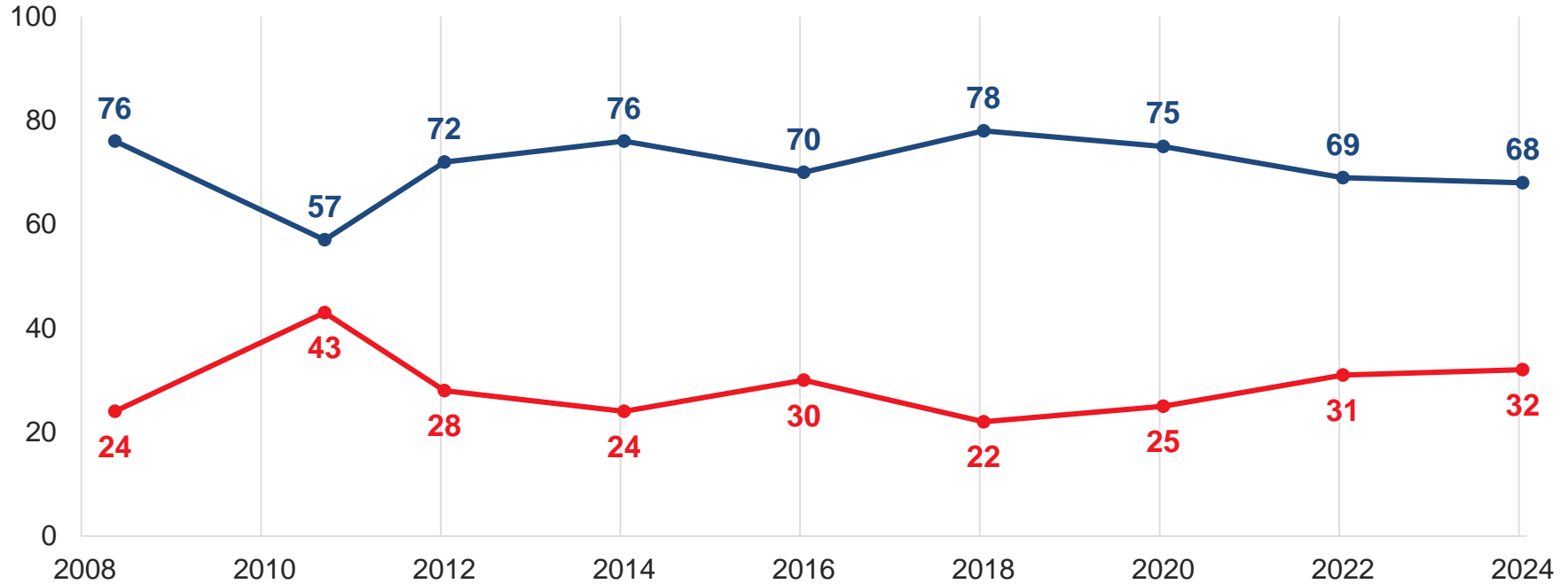


High Support Has Persisted Over The Last 2 Decades

Figure 36

Final Status Agreement

● Support ● Oppose



Three-Quarters Of Jews Support Regional Agreement

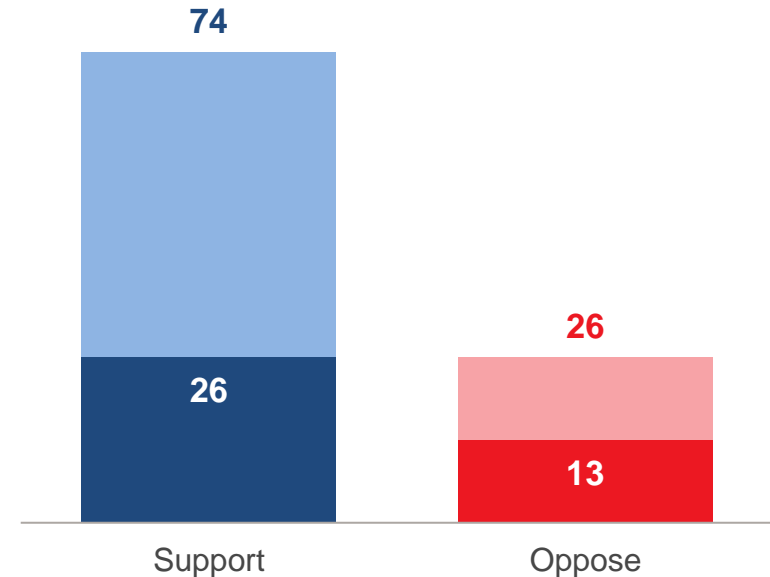
As you may know, Israeli, Arab, and American negotiators have been discussing a comprehensive regional security agreement for addressing the conflict between Israelis, Palestinians, and the Arab world.

The details of that agreement include:

- Arab States, led by Saudi Arabia, will establish full diplomatic and economic relations with Israel.
- A demilitarized Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.
- Internationally recognized borders for Israel based on the borders 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.
- Security in the West Bank and Gaza will be coordinated jointly by Israel and Arab countries like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Jordan.

Overall, do you support or oppose such an agreement?

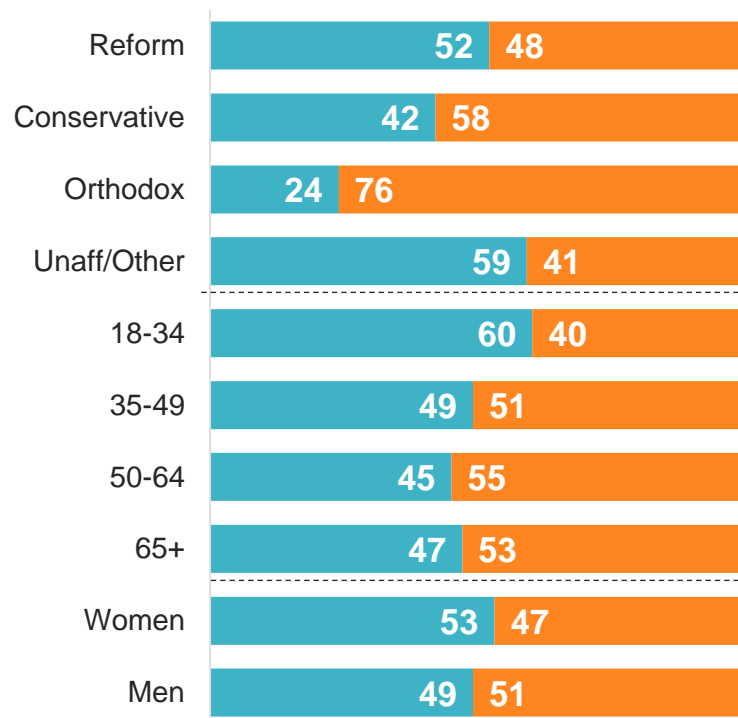
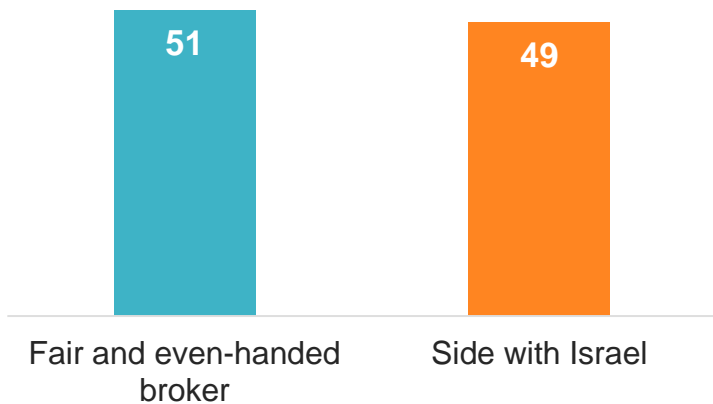
Darker shade = Stronger intensity



Divided Views On U.S. Negotiation Role

US Negotiation Role

Thinking about negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians to resolve their conflict, do you think the U.S. should act as a fair and even-handed broker between Israelis and Palestinians or do you think the U.S. should side with Israel?

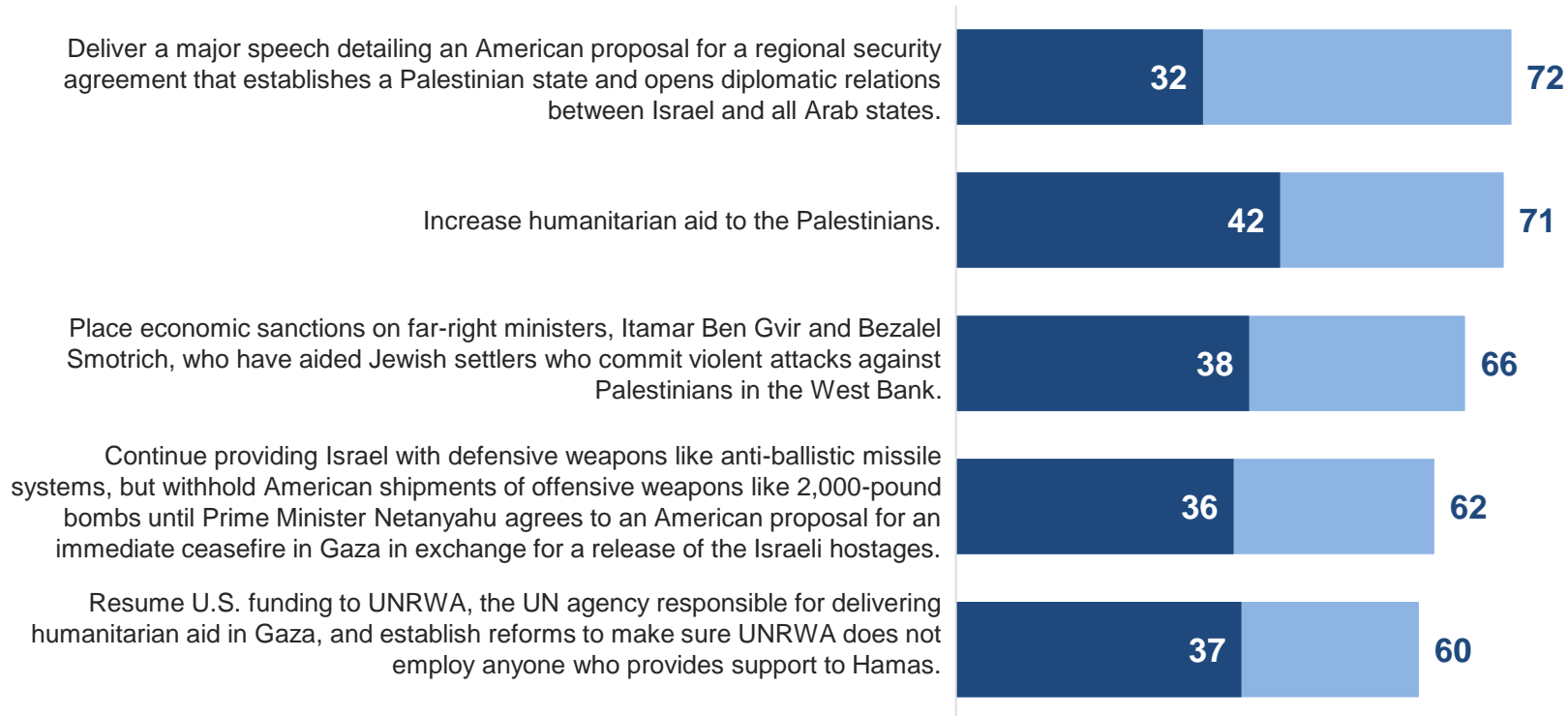


American Proposal, Aid, And Sanctions Are Top Initiatives

Figure 39

Policy Initiatives

● Strongly Favor ● Total Favor



Humanitarian Aid Is Top Initiative Among Younger Voters

Figure 40

Policy Initiatives

● Top Initiative ✓
 ● Next top initiatives
 % Total favor

	Reform	Cons	Orth	Unaff/ Other	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	Women	Men
Speech	79	62	32	78✓	74✓	68✓	65	80✓	77✓	67✓
Palestinian Aid	80✓	63✓	27	77	74✓	68✓	63	79	75	67✓
Sanctions	73	57	19	73	68	56	68✓	69	73	58
Defensive weapons	68	53	44✓	63	58	56	63	70	66	58
UNRWA	68	45	9	68	63	51	54	68	68	51

The image features a background of light brown, vertically-oriented wood grain. A dark blue horizontal banner with a diagonal cut on the right side is positioned across the middle. The word "Antisemitism" is written in white, bold, sans-serif font on the banner.

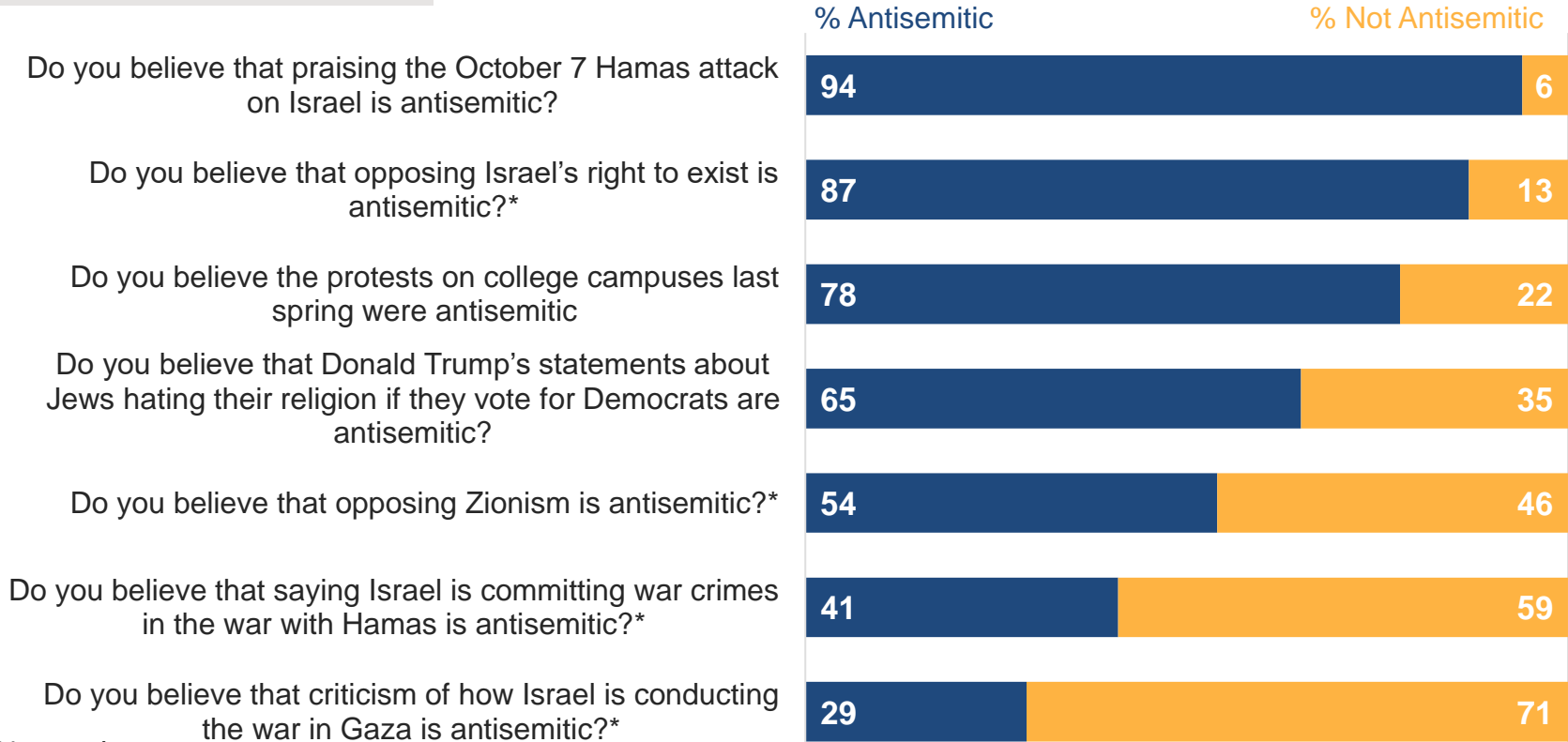
Antisemitism

Almost All Jews Think Praising October 7 Is Antisemitic, Few Think Criticism Of Israeli War Strategy Is Antisemitic

Figure 42

Antisemitism

Please indicate whether you believe the following are or are not antisemitic:



*Split 1/2 sample

Younger Voters Hold Different Views On What Constitutes Antisemitism

Figure 43

Antisemitism

Please indicate whether you believe the following are or are not antisemitic:

% Antisemitic	Reform	Cons	Orth	Unaff/ Other	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	Wom	Men
October 7 Praise	95	96	97	91	91	94	99	92	94	93
Israel's right to exist	87	89	97	83	75	89	96	88	87	87
Protests on college campuses	81	89	92	67	62	74	88	87	77	79
Trump statements	73	67	20	64	65	59	67	66	71	57
Zionism	56	71	74	40	48	58	60	50	51	57
War crimes	35	52	88	32	29	47	49	42	40	43
Criticism of war in Gaza	24	42	56	24	19	31	39	30	30	29

- 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 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 first or last name or their geography, were contacted by text, and then took the survey on a secure link on their phone or computer if they identified themselves as Jewish.
- All respondents were asked at the beginning of the survey whether they consider themselves Jewish, using the same question wording as the 2020 Pew Research Center study, “Jewish Americans in 2020.”
- The sample was weighted to Pew’s demographic results on key variables, such as gender, denomination, age, and synagogue membership.

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RESEARCH + STRATEGY