

Voice of the Jewish People

American Jews on the presidential race, support for Israel, and the fighting in the north and south

» Main Findings

- A rise in the percentage of liberal and centrist Jews who see Kamala Harris as pro-Israel
- A large majority of liberals support the two-state solution; an overwhelming majority of conservatives and centrists oppose it
- Jewish Trump voters believe that had he been president, there wouldn't have been a war in Israel
- A trend among liberals – erosion of the sense of closeness to Israel since the start of the war
- Four in five US Jews say the war in Israel has harmed their sense of security
- A significant decline compared to the start of the war in the proportion who say Israel's hasbara (public messaging) performance is good
- Conservative (politically and religiously) respondents express higher levels of optimism regarding Israel's future


A general note about the survey period: Data was gathered between September 16 and 20, amid a week in which Israel’s security forces racked up a number of successes on the Lebanese front, including striking Hezbollah’s senior echelon: first the pager and walkie-talkie operations (attributed to Israel) and, two days later, the assassination of Ibrahim Aqil, commander of Hezbollah’s elite Redwan Force, during a meeting in a Beirut building. At the same time, the fighting in Gaza continued, and no progress was reported in the hostage release talks. In the US, the survey was conducted after the Harris-Trump presidential debate, and amid a strengthening of the Democratic Party’s nominee’s, Kamala Harris, showing in the polls.

The US Presidential Race

In the past month the US presidential race entered its home stretch: the Democratic Party held its national convention where Vice President Kamala Harris cinched the party’s nomination, and her choice of Governor Tim Walz of Minnesota as her running mate was approved. After the convention, a first televised debate between Harris and the Republican candidate, Donald Trump, was broadcast to an audience of over 67 million viewers. Also with the potential to impact the election: a second attempt on Donald Trump’s life, and New York Judge Juan Merchan’s decision to postpone sentencing in Trump’s “hush money” case until after the elections.

Survey data shows a slow but continuous upward trend in recent months in the share of self-identified liberal and centrist respondents who say they will definitely vote for Harris. There is similar but less striking trend among conservative-leaning respondents with regard to Trump.

In the November presidential election, who do you intend to vote for?



	Definitely vote Biden May %	Definitely vote Biden June %	Definitely vote Biden July %	Definitely vote Harris August %	Definitely vote Harris September %	Likely to vote Biden May %	Likely to vote Biden June %	Likely to vote Biden July %	Likely to vote Harris August %	Likely to vote Harris September %
Strong liberal	82	87	86	92	92	7	4	7	4	4
Leaning liberal	67	72	69	73	80	14	12	12	12	7
Centrist	23	30	35	35	32	23	13	18	19	18
Leaning conservative	3	2	2	1	2	4	5	1	1	5
Strong conservative	0	0	4	0	3	0	3	3	0	1

In the November presidential election, who do you intend to vote for?



	Definitely vote Trump June %	Definitely vote Trump July %	Definitely vote Trump August %	Definitely vote Trump September %	Likely to vote Trump June %	Likely to vote Trump July %	Likely to vote Trump August %	Likely to vote Trump September %
Strong liberal	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
Leaning liberal	0	2	1	3	2	3	3	1
Centrist	13	12	11	13	11	12	11	13
Leaning conservative	38	43	45	46	28	29	33	27
Strong conservative	75	71	79	76	11	10	10	10

The Candidates and Israel

In the September 10 presidential debate between Kamala Harris (D) and Donald Trump (R), a number of statements about Israel were made by the candidates. JPPI’s Voice of the Jewish People panel respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with some of them.

“What we know is that this war must end. It must end immediately”



	Completely agree %	Somewhat agree %	Somewhat disagree %	Completely disagree %	Don't know %
Strong liberal	41	32	18	7	2
Leaning liberal	15	43	27	13	3
Centrist	11	18	22	44	5
Leaning conservative	8	18	22	42	10
Strong conservative	10	10	9	69	1
Reform	25	31	19	22	3
Conservative	18	29	21	29	4
Modern Orthodox	10	19	21	46	4
Ultra-Orthodox	11	6	22	50	11
Other	28	27	12	26	6
No stream	21	22	25	29	2

The vast majority of respondents who self-identify as “strong liberal,” and a majority of those who self-identify as “leaning liberal” agreed (completely or somewhat) with the statement (by Kamala Harris, although the statement was presented without attribution) that the war must “end immediately.”

“We must chart a course for a two-state solution, and in that solution, there must be security for the Israeli people and Israel and an equal measure for the Palestinians”



	Completely agree %	Somewhat agree %	Somewhat disagree %	Completely disagree %	Don't know %
Strong liberal	58	27	6	6	2
Leaning liberal	29	40	18	13	1
Centrist	10	22	24	45	0
Leaning conservative	4	16	22	55	4
Strong conservative	1	4	10	84	0
Reform	41	25	13	18	2
Conservative	23	31	18	29	0
Modern Orthodox	6	16	21	57	0
Ultra-Orthodox	0	0	11	83	6
Other	30	22	12	31	5
No stream	28	21	12	39	0

Most respondents who self-identify as centrist, along with those in the conservative subgroups, completely or somewhat disagreed with the assertion. An overwhelming majority of liberal respondents support (completely or somewhat) a path toward a “two states for two peoples” solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. By contrast, the vast majority of centrists

and conservatives oppose the idea. A similar breakdown can be found on the religiosity scale, from Reform toward the more conservative streams.

Half of the panel respondents who said that they would definitely be voting for Kamala Harris completely agreed with the candidate’s implicit criticism of how Israel defends itself. Most liberals concurred with the criticism (completely or somewhat), while most conservatives and centrists rejected it.

“Israel has a right to defend itself. We would. How it does so matters, because it is also true, far too many innocent Palestinians have been killed”



	Completely agree %	Somewhat agree %	Somewhat disagree %	Completely disagree %	Don't know %
Weighted Results	20	31	29	18	1
Unweighted Results	25	25	29	20	1
Strong liberal	57	27	13	2	1
Leaning liberal	30	43	18	10	0
Centrist	7	27	37	27	3
Leaning conservative	1	14	52	31	1
Strong conservative	1	7	40	51	0
I'll definitely vote for Kamala Harris	47	35	13	4	1
I'll definitely vote for Donald Trump	1	5	43	50	1
I'll likely vote for Kamala Harris	2	42	48	8	0
I'll likely vote for Donald Trump	2	13	53	31	0
I'll likely vote for another candidate	0	21	29	50	0
I don't intend to vote	5	26	47	21	0
Don't know	0	12	45	36	6

“She [Harris] hates Israel”



	Completely agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Completely disagree	Don't know
	%	%	%	%	%
Weighted Results	9	10	19	58	4
Unweighted Results	12	12	16	56	4
Strong liberal	0	2	3	93	2
Leaning liberal	1	2	18	75	4
Centrist	14	13	21	46	6
Leaning conservative	17	31	31	12	8
Strong conservative	46	29	15	7	3
Reform	6	7	13	73	2
Conservative	9	7	20	59	5
Modern Orthodox	22	22	19	31	6
Ultra-Orthodox	22	56	6	11	6
Other	11	12	10	59	7
No stream	16	14	16	51	2

During the debate, Trump said that Harris “hates Israel.” The overwhelming majority of liberal respondents, and most centrist participants, disagreed with that statement. However, half of the leaning conservative, and most of the strong conservative subgroup, agreed (completely or somewhat), with the statement.

“Look at what’s going on in the Middle East. [Had I – Trump – been president] this would have never happened”



	Completely agree %	Somewhat agree %	Somewhat disagree %	Completely disagree %	Don't know %
Strong liberal	1	1	2	93	2
Leaning liberal	0	6	12	77	5
Centrist	11	21	12	50	6
Leaning conservative	23	52	8	13	4
Strong conservative	46	26	15	7	6
I'll definitely vote for Kamala Harris	0	1	3	92	3
I'll definitely vote for Donald Trump	50	36	9	1	4
I'll likely vote for Kamala Harris	0	2	20	75	2
I'll likely vote for Donald Trump	18	60	9	7	7
I'll likely vote for another candidate	0	21	29	50	0
I don't intend to vote	0	16	32	37	16
Don't know	3	48	21	15	12

Most conservative respondents agreed (completely or somewhat) that had Trump been president, the situation in the Middle East would not have deteriorated into war. Unsurprisingly, the vast majority of liberal respondents, and most centrists, did not agree with this statement. By contrast, 80% of those who said they would definitely or likely vote for Trump somewhat or completely agreed with this statement.

“If she’s [Harris is] president, I believe that Israel will not exist within two years from now”



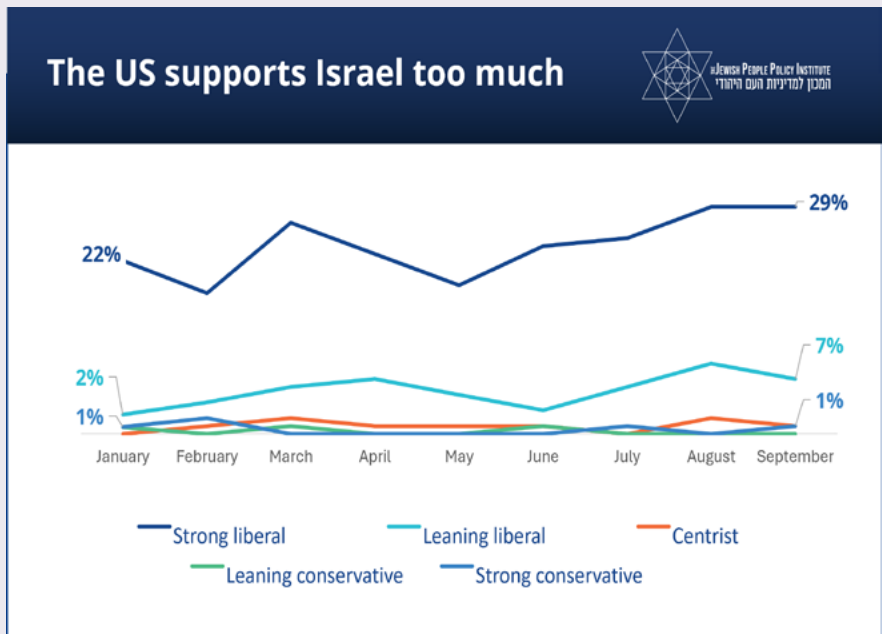
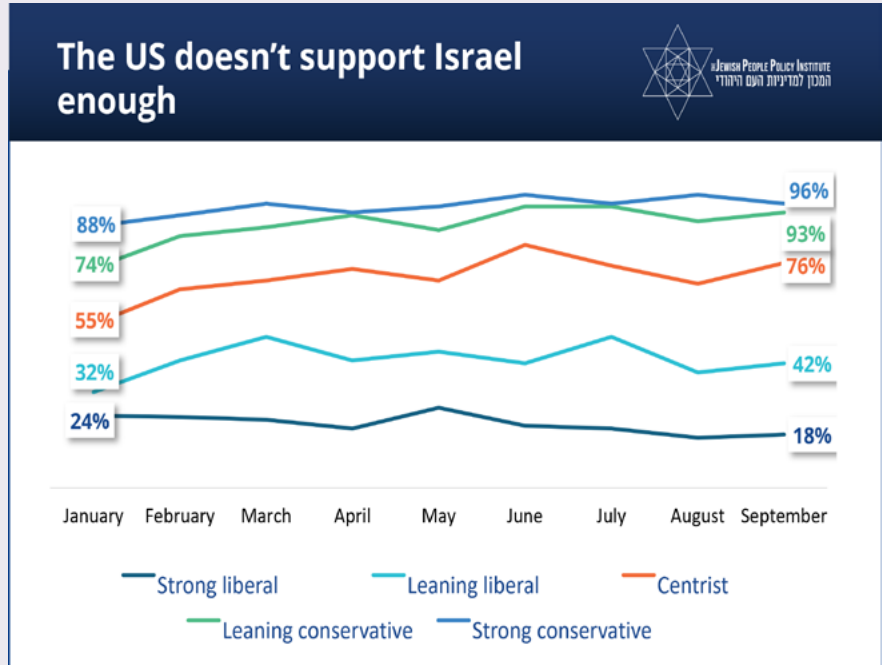
	Completely agree %	Somewhat agree %	Somewhat disagree %	Completely disagree %	Don't know %
Strong liberal	0	1	3	95	1
Leaning liberal	1	0	4	92	3
Centrist	3	9	15	71	3
Leaning conservative	5	18	22	49	6
Strong conservative	10	38	7	34	10
I'll definitely vote for Kamala Harris	0	0	2	96	2
I'll definitely vote for Donald Trump	13	34	21	25	7
I'll likely vote for Kamala Harris	0	2	8	88	2
I'll likely vote for Donald Trump	2	13	22	53	9
I'll likely vote for another candidate	0	14	7	79	0
I don't intend to vote	0	21	16	58	5
Don't know	0	9	15	73	3

The vast majority of all panel respondents disagreed with Trump’s statement that if Harris becomes president “Israel will not exist two years from now.” However, among respondents definitely intending to vote for Trump, the share of those agreeing with this statement (somewhat or completely) is greater than the share disagreeing with it. As expected, the vast majority of liberals and centrists disagreed with the statement. Further, the vast majority of Harris voters completely disagreed with the statement.

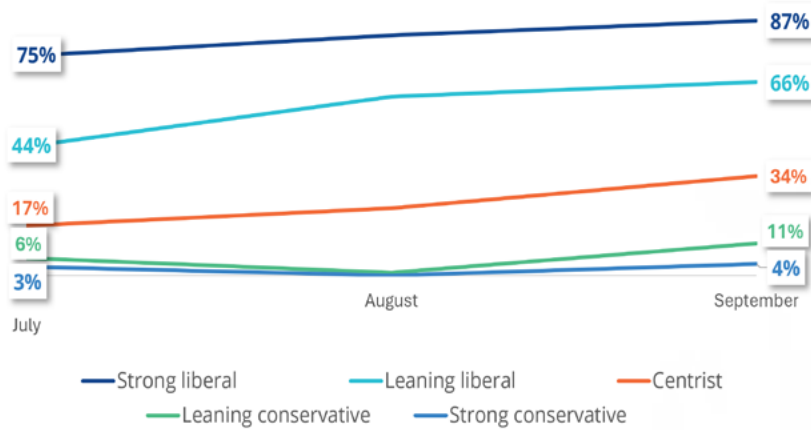
Support for Israel

Alongside America’s wartime aid to Israel in the military, diplomatic, and economic spheres, the Biden administration expressed criticism this month of Israel’s conduct in Judea and Samaria (the West Bank) in general, and particularly in the wake of an American citizen’s death in Jenin from IDF gunfire. Attitudes toward Israel and the way growing antisemitism is being handled in the United States were topics at the Democratic National Convention and in the Harris-Trump debate, and continue to engage both candidates and their campaign staffs.

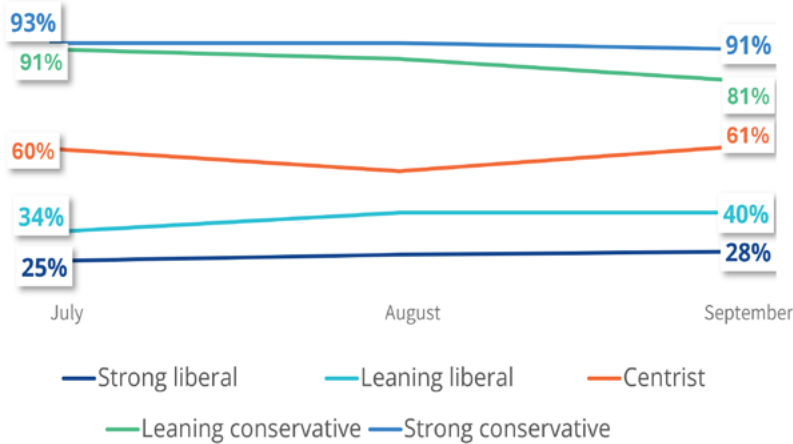
As was the case in our Voice of the Jewish People surveys of recent months in which we looked at how the respondent panel rates American support for Israel, this month, too, we see a disparity between strong-liberal respondents and the rest of the respondent groups. In most of the groups (including nearly half of those leaning liberal) the dominant response is that the US doesn’t support Israel enough.



I would define Kamala Harris as pro-Israel



Would you or wouldn't you define Donald Trump as pro-Israel?



As part of a series of questions on the upcoming US presidential election, we looked at respondents' attitudes regarding the candidates' views on Israel. As in earlier months, we asked whether the presidential candidates are pro-Israel or not. Among liberal voters, a clear majority of respondents view Harris as pro-Israel. However, an upturn in the assessment of Harris as pro-Israel is evident across all respondent groups, not just among liberals. No change was found among panel respondents in the percentage of those who believe that Trump is pro-Israel. The share of respondents who believe he is pro-Israel has remained higher than the share who say this of Harris.

The American Political Parties and Antisemitism

Which of the US presidential candidates would perform better in the fight against antisemitism? This question, posed in previous months, was included in this month’s survey as well. Among left-leaning respondents there has been a slow but steady downward trend in the share of those who believe Trump would do better than Harris in combating antisemitism. In terms of religious-stream affiliation, this month showed an additional rise among Reform Jews who think Harris would be better at fighting antisemitism, and a drop in the percentage of those who think Trump would be better. The Orthodox exhibit an opposite trend – the percentage of those who think Harris would be better at fighting antisemitism declined while the share of those who think Trump would be better rose.

Thinking about antisemitism in the US, which of the two presidential candidates would be better at battling against it?



	Kamala Harris July	Kamala Harris August	Kamala Harris September	Donald Trump July	Donald Trump August	Donald Trump September
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strong liberal	83	92	91	3	1	1
Leaning liberal	53	65	69	12	5	5
Centrist	30	26	32	37	25	33
Leaning conservative	5	1	4	83	75	67
Strong conservative	1	0	3	89	97	84
Reform	30	26	32	37	25	33
Conservative	5	1	4	83	75	67
Modern Orthodox	1	0	3	89	97	84
Ultra-Orthodox	83	92	91	3	1	1
Other	53	65	69	12	5	5
No stream	83	92	91	3	1	1

Expanding on the question of which candidate would be better at fighting antisemitism, this month we also asked which of the two major US political parties would perform better in this arena. Most of the conservative and half of the centrist respondents feel that the Republican Party would fare better in the struggle against antisemitism.

At the opposite end, in the liberal camp, the responses are not entirely uniform. Most of the strong liberals believe that the Democratic Party would better fight antisemitism, but less than half of liberal-leaning respondents and only a tenth of centrists believe so. When the responses are broken down by religiosity level, members of most subgroups, aside from Reform, think the Republican Party would outdo

the Democratic Party in fighting antisemitism. A fifth of respondents across all streams believe that both parties would be equally bad at addressing this challenge.

Thinking about antisemitic sentiments in the US, which of the two main parties would be better in battling against it...



	The Democratic Party %	The Republican Party %	Both equally good %	Both equally bad %	Don't know %
Strong liberal	76	3	4	15	3
Leaning liberal	31	13	8	36	13
Centrist	10	50	3	32	6
Leaning conservative	2	72	1	19	5
Strong conservative	0	88	3	9	0
Reform	49	18	4	21	8
Conservative	27	37	4	25	6
Modern Orthodox	9	65	3	18	6
Ultra-Orthodox	0	78	0	22	0
Other	40	33	2	21	4
No stream	31	39	5	24	1

Sense of Security

Since October 7, antisemitism has proliferated around the world, with voices calling for a boycott of Israel gaining momentum. This phenomenon affects the sense of security of Jews living in the Diaspora. This month, we looked at how secure panel participants feel in their places of residence. We can see that the war in Israel has affected their sense of personal security. Among panel respondents, four in five feel that their personal security has been compromised to some degree.

Does the war in Israel impact your sense of security as a Jew in your own location / community?




	Yes - I feel less secure because of the war in Israel %	Somewhat - I am more concerned about security because of the war in Israel %	No - the war in Israel doesn't impact my sense of security %
Strong liberal	35	47	18
Leaning liberal	35	44	22
Centrist	43	45	12
Leaning conservative	42	42	16
Strong conservative	50	35	15

Compared with a similar question posed two months ago, only slight changes can be detected. Overall, the past few months show some fluctuation in American Jews' sense of security, but relative to the early days of the war (November 2023) there are no major differences in their sense of security.

Twice since October 7 we have assessed Jews' sense of connection to Israel via the Voice of the Jewish People respondent panel. Compared with other surveys from the past year, we see that, relative to the start of the war, Jews belonging to the conservative and centrist subgroups currently have a sense of closeness to Israel

I feel less secure because of the war in Israel



	November '23 %	January %	May %	June %	July %	September %
No stream	44	33	37	42	45	40
Reform	45	38	45	42	41	37
Conservative	46	41	46	45	41	40
Modern Orthodox	40	42	53	51	41	50
Ultra-Orthodox	39	27	33	50	40	33

that is nearly identical to what they felt at the beginning of the war; among the liberal subgroups the sense of closeness to Israel has eroded since the start of the war. In this month's survey, 38% of respondents in the strong-liberal cohort said that the war was distancing them from Israel (compared to 29% in July).

What is currently happening in Israel is likely to make me closer to Israel



	October '23	November '23	December '23	January '24	April '24	May '24	June '24	July '24	September '24
Strong liberal	60	46	48	41	41	43	40	39	40
Leaning liberal	65	58	54	47	53	44	48	48	51
Centrist	71	74	72	63	74	68	75	71	76
Leaning conservative	83	82	66	63	87	72	75	83	81
Strong conservative	82	77	70	66	88	75	84	80	85

Israeli Hasbara (Public Messaging)

Do you feel that the State of Israel does or does not do a good job communicating its side of the story of the war?



	It does a very good job %	It does a somewhat good job %	It does a somewhat bad job %	It does a bad job %	I don't follow the news enough to answer %
Strong liberal	5	19	30	45	1
Leaning liberal	4	25	38	34	0
Centrist	5	28	29	37	1
Leaning conservative	6	37	36	18	2
Strong conservative	12	54	16	18	0
Reform	7	24	33	37	0
Conservative	3	29	34	33	1
Modern Orthodox	3	32	38	26	0
Ultra-Orthodox	0	50	17	22	11
Other	11	26	21	41	1
No stream	9	36	25	30	0

More than half of the panel participants, from all groups except the strong conservative cohort, feel that Israel's performance in conveying its side of the story in the war is "very poor" or "somewhat poor." A similar assessment can also be seen in a breakdown by religious stream. In all streams except the ultra-Orthodox, the prevailing view is that Israel does a "poor" or a "somewhat poor" job in communicating its side of the story.

We have looked at the public messaging issue several times since October

7. A comparison between several months in the past year shows that, relative to the start of the war, there has been a major decline in the share of respondents who think Israel is doing a good job in conveying its side of

the story in the war. Since May, responses from all groups have remained virtually unchanged. However, there has been a rise in the percentage of strong conservatives who believe Israel's public messaging performance is good.

The State of Israel does a good job communicating its side of the story of the war



	October '23 %	November '23 %	December '23 %	January '24 %	May '24 %	September '24 %
Strong liberal	71	51	41	37	20	24
Leaning liberal	68	55	51	46	27	29
Centrist	77	72	60	52	32	33
Leaning conservative	73	78	64	67	48	43
Strong conservative	89	80	79	75	53	66

The Future of Israel and the Jews

JPPI's Israeli Society Index, almost on a monthly basis, examines how confident Israelis (Jews and non-Jews) are that Israel will win the war. A comparison between the findings from the Israeli Society Index and the Voice of the Jewish People survey reveals that a sizeable share of American Jewish respondents exhibit greater confidence in Israel's ability to win than do Israelis themselves. This is also the case when the only-Jews Israeli sample is compared with the American Jewish respondent sample. However, this finding must be qualified: even after the data on American Jews is weighted by self-identification, the JPPI panel consists of Jews who are relatively "connected" to Israel and the Jewish community, and are therefore not representative of the entire US Jewish population. When we look at the data for the Americans by political orientation, we find that most conservatives and centrists are convinced that Israel will win the war (5 on a scale of 1 to 5), while less than half of liberal respondents are similarly convinced.

Please rate from 1 to 5 (where 1 is “not at all certain” and 5 is “completely certain”) How certain are you that Israel will win the war?



	1 Not at all certain %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 Completely certain %
Israel Overall	22	14	21	19	25
Israeli Jews	17	14	20	21	28
Israeli Arabs	40	15	26	7	0
US Sample Weighted	8	5	25	30	23

* JPPI Israel Society Index, September '24

Please rate from 1 to 5 (where 1 is “not at all certain” and 5 is “completely certain”) How certain are you that Israel will win the war?



	1 Not at all certain %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 – Completely certain %	Don't know %
Strong liberal	18	9	18	22	18	15
Leaning liberal	9	7	38	21	17	9
Centrist	5	3	17	39	28	8
Leaning conservative	5	4	24	31	30	6
Strong conservative	3	1	13	28	51	3

When we compare Voice of the Jewish People panel respondents' degree of optimism about the future of the American Jewish community last July with our September data, we find a certain rise in optimism at both ends of the ideological scale – the strong-liberals and the strong-conservatives.

From 1 [not at all optimistic] to 5 [very optimistic] how would you rank your level of optimism concerning the future of the American Jewish community?



	1 Not at all optimistic %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 Very optimistic %
Strong liberal	8	8	46	32	5
Leaning liberal	5	22	38	23	13
Centrist	11	18	40	21	9
Leaning conservative	5	25	40	22	8
Strong conservative	9	22	44	16	9

The further one moves from liberal to conservative on the ideological spectrum, the greater the optimism about Israel's future. A similar trend can also be seen with regard to religious streams – the further one goes from liberal to conservative, the greater the optimism about Israel.

From 1 [not at all optimistic] to 5 [very optimistic] how would you rank your level of optimism concerning the future of Israel?



	1 Not at all optimistic %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 Very optimistic %
Strong liberal	16	18	27	27	10
Leaning liberal	4	9	39	36	13
Centrist	3	7	24	42	24
Leaning conservative	1	2	19	47	29
Strong conservative	0	6	13	22	59
Reform	8	15	34	29	15
Conservative	2	8	27	41	20
Modern Orthodox	1	7	12	43	37
Ultra-Orthodox	6	0	0	39	56
Other	12	15	25	20	27
No stream	12	6	26	36	19


Survey Data and its Implications

This report is an analysis of a survey administered to 535 American Jews registered for JPPI's Voice of the Jewish People panel. The report does not provide a weighted value representative of American Jewry as a whole, but the number of panel respondents who self-identify as belonging to various groups enables us to identify trends, views, and differences between Jews based on religious affiliation, emotional attachment to Israel, political orientation, attachment to Judaism, and more.

Generally speaking, this survey tends to reflect the attitudes of US Jews with some connection to the Jewish community, as indicated by a specific question in this regard (which includes data for anyone who stated a connection to some Jewish institution, such as a synagogue, community center, Jewish organization, etc.), as well as Jews with an attachment of some kind to Israel, as reflected in the data on visits to Israel, which are significantly more numerous than the average for all US Jews.

Survey participant data (see table below): About half self-identify as liberal; the percentage of intermarried respondents is significantly lower than the average for US Jews generally; the share of those affiliated with the Conservative religious stream is higher than their share in the American Jewish population as a whole. The percentage of respondents unaffiliated with any religious stream is lower than the average for American Jews.

September 2024 Survey Participant Data:



JEWISH PEOPLE POLICY INSTITUTE
המכון למדיניות העם היהודי

	percent	#
Reform	24%	131
Conservative	29%	157
Modern Orthodox	13%	68
Ultra-Orthodox	3%	18
Other	15%	81
No stream	15%	80
Strong liberal	31%	164
Leaning liberal	19%	101
Centrist	22%	119
Leaning conservative	16%	83
Strong conservative	13%	68
Jewish by religion	96%	516
Jew by no religion (JBNR)	2%	9
Partially Jewish	1%	6
No religion	1%	4
Both parents are Jewish	85%	453
Jewish mother	4%	23
Jewish father	4%	24
No Jewish parent	5%	29
Other	1%	6
Single / divorced / widower	29%	155
Married/in long-term relationship with a Jewish spouse	57%	303
Married/in long-term relationship with a non-Jewish spouse	14%	77
Affiliated	84%	447
Non-affiliated	16%	88
Never visited Israel	22%	120
Visited Israel once	15%	79
Visited Israel more than once	45%	239
Lived in Israel	18%	97