

Florida's Jewish Community Could Make the Difference in the 2020 Election

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UNIVERSITY
OF MIAMI



Florida Society of Geographers
2020 Gainesville Meeting

Data Sources

- * **Probability Samples**

- * **Pew**: 2013 Pew Survey of Jewish Americans

- * **NJPS**: 2000-2001 National Jewish Population Survey

- * **Local Jewish Community Studies**: 45 local Jewish community studies

- * **Non-Probability Samples**

- * **Workmen's Circle**: 2012 American Jews Political Values Survey (not random, although weighted to reflect NJPS 2000-01) (N = 1,000 via Internet, volunteers)

- * **AJC**: American Jewish Committee Panel Surveys

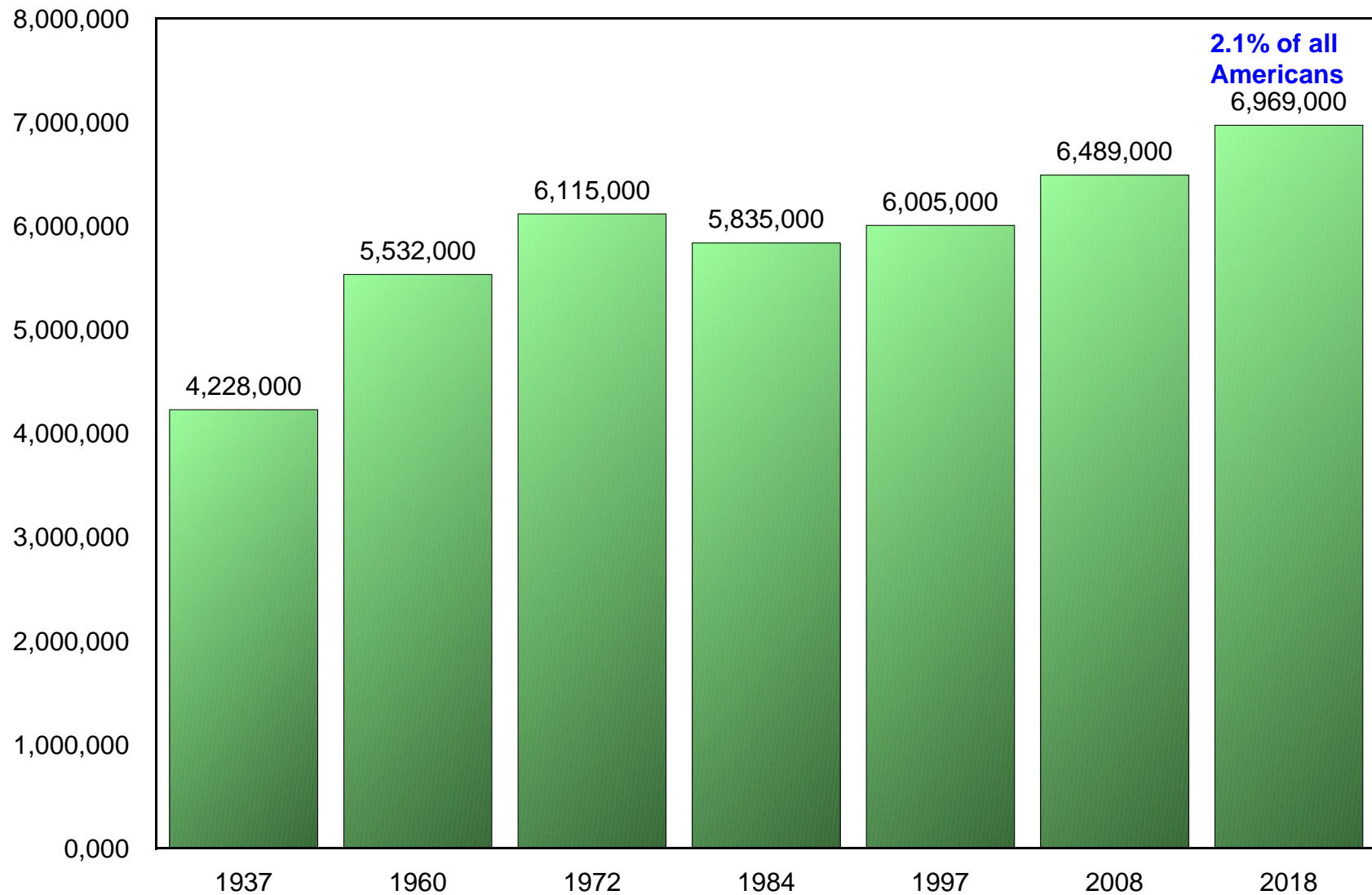
- * **ACS**: The American Community Survey

Outline of Presentation

1. Size and Geographic Distribution of the US Jewish Population
2. The Electoral College
3. Jews in Congress
4. Key Demographic Indicators
5. Political Party
6. Political Views
7. Reasons for Jewish Impact on the Election
8. Jewish Voting in the Presidential Election

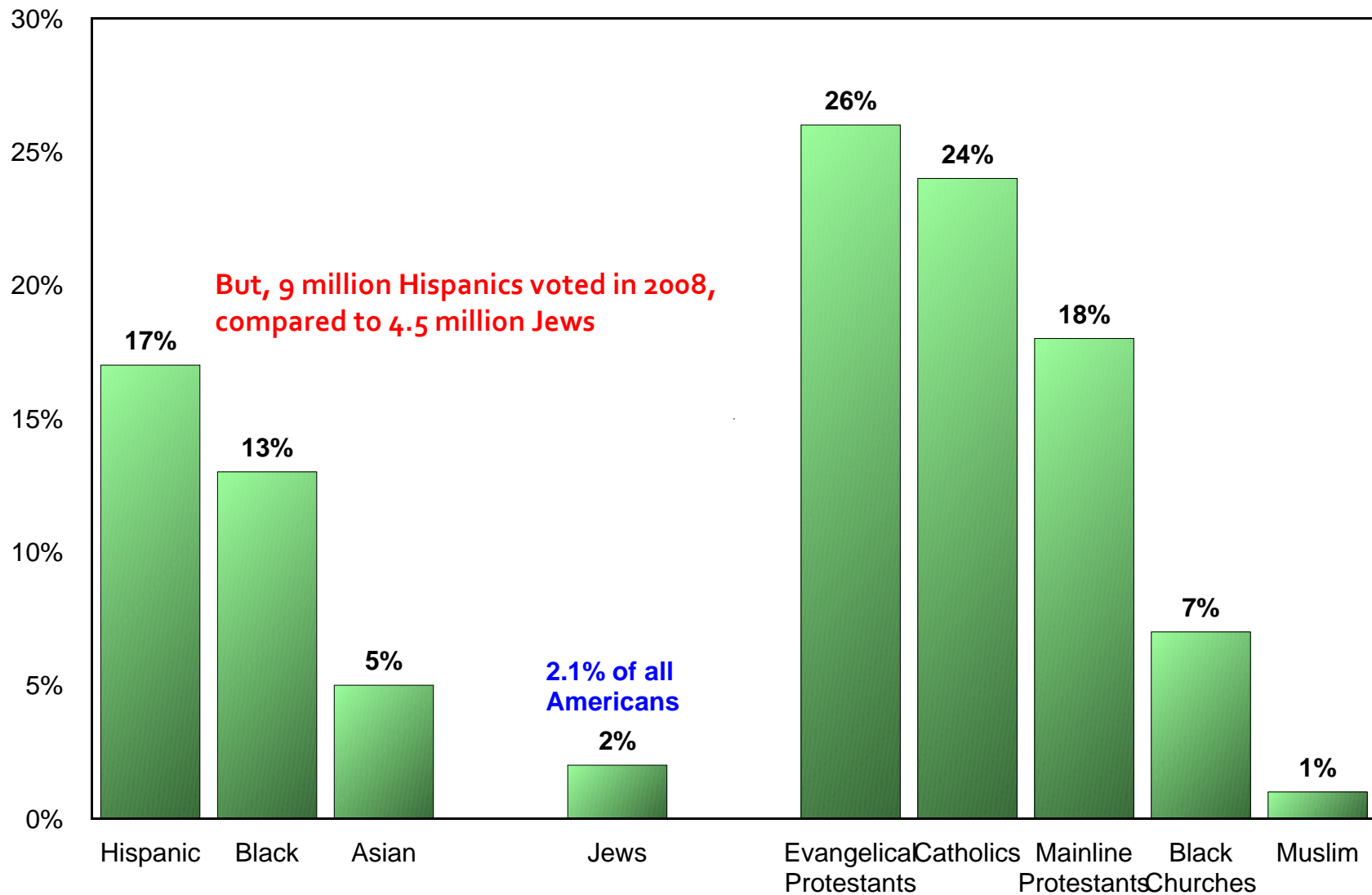
Size and Geographic Distribution of the US Jewish Population

Jewish Population of the United States



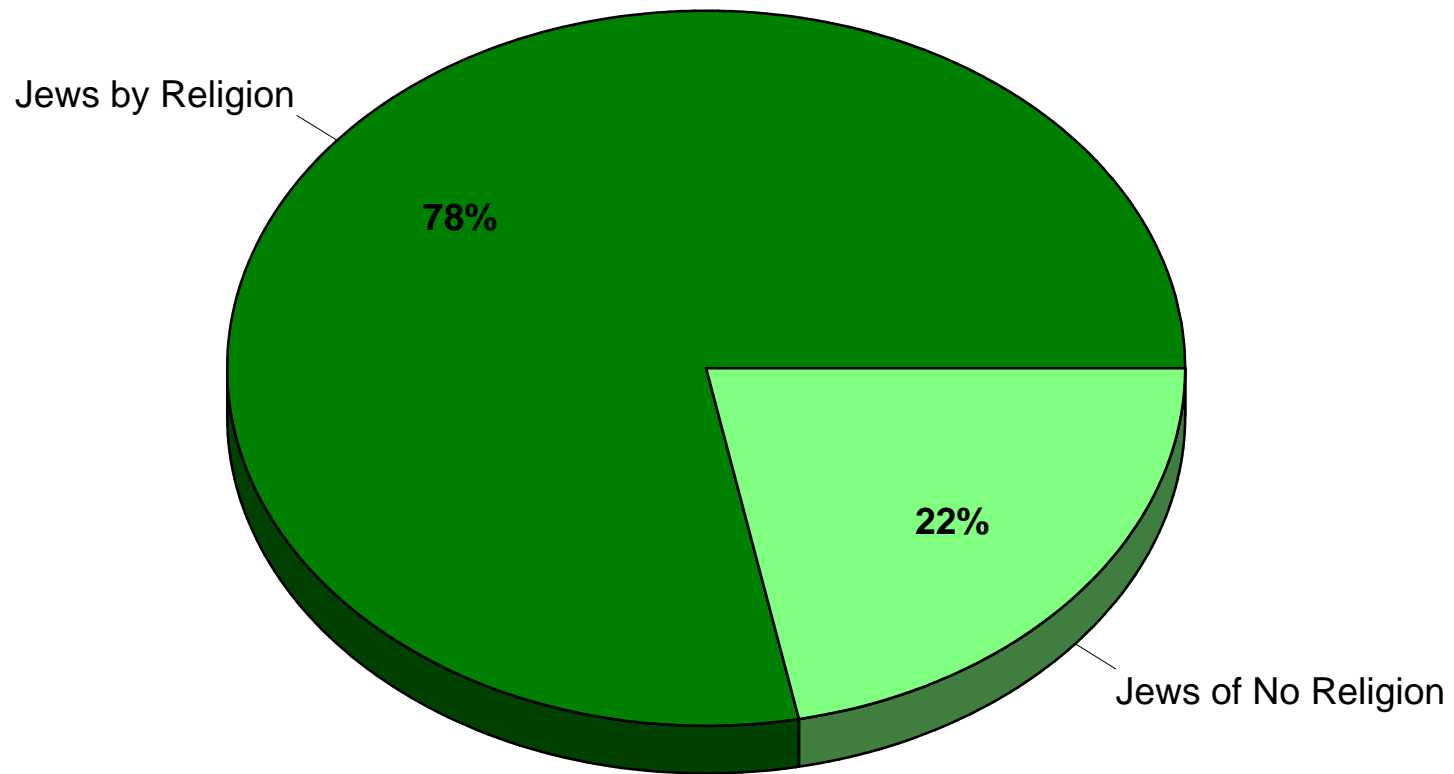
Source: American Jewish Year Book, various years

Various Ethnic/Religious Groups in the United States



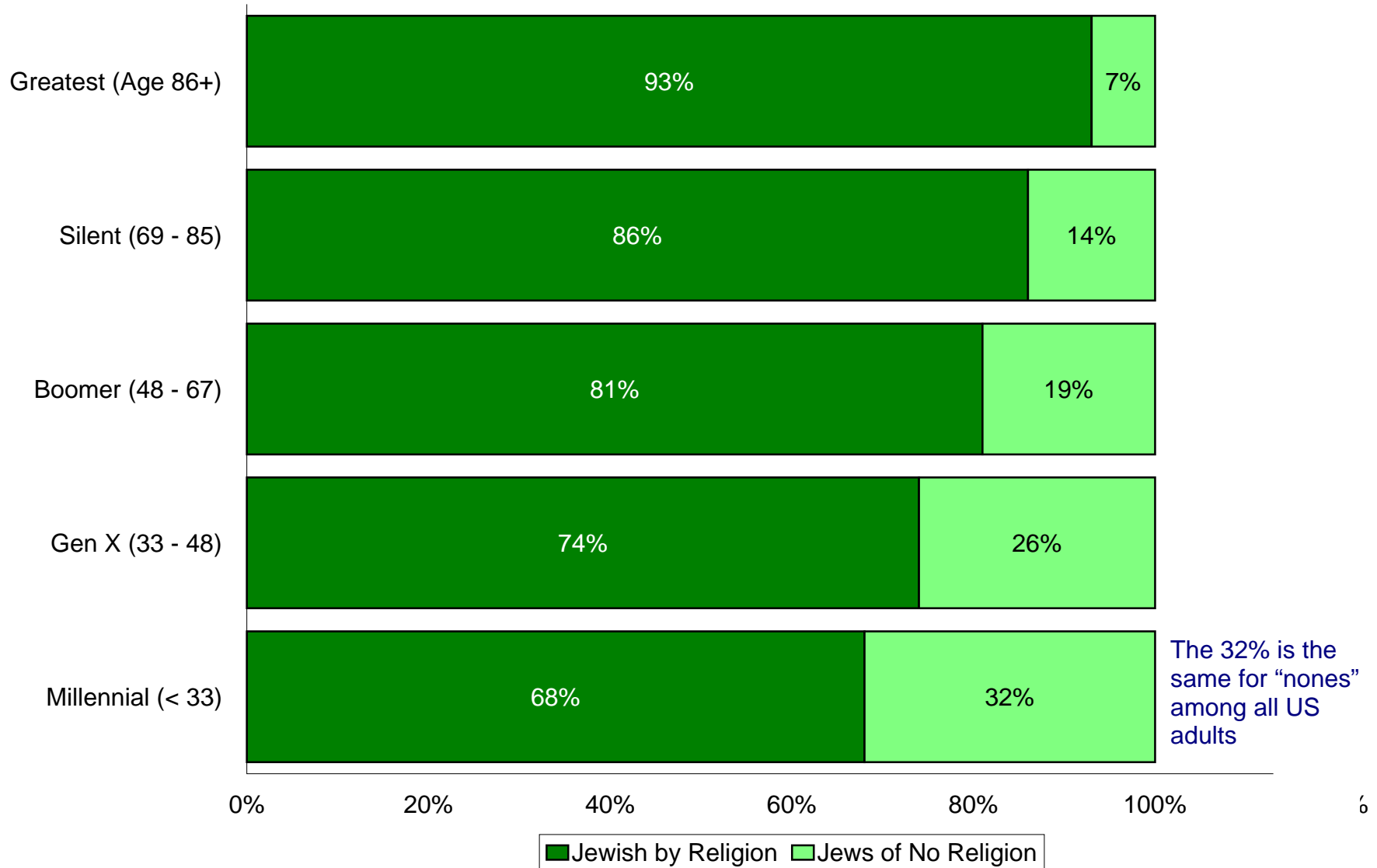
Source: US Census and www.pewresearch.org

US Adult Jewish Population



98% of Jews were either raised Jewish or had at least one Jewish parent; 2% converted

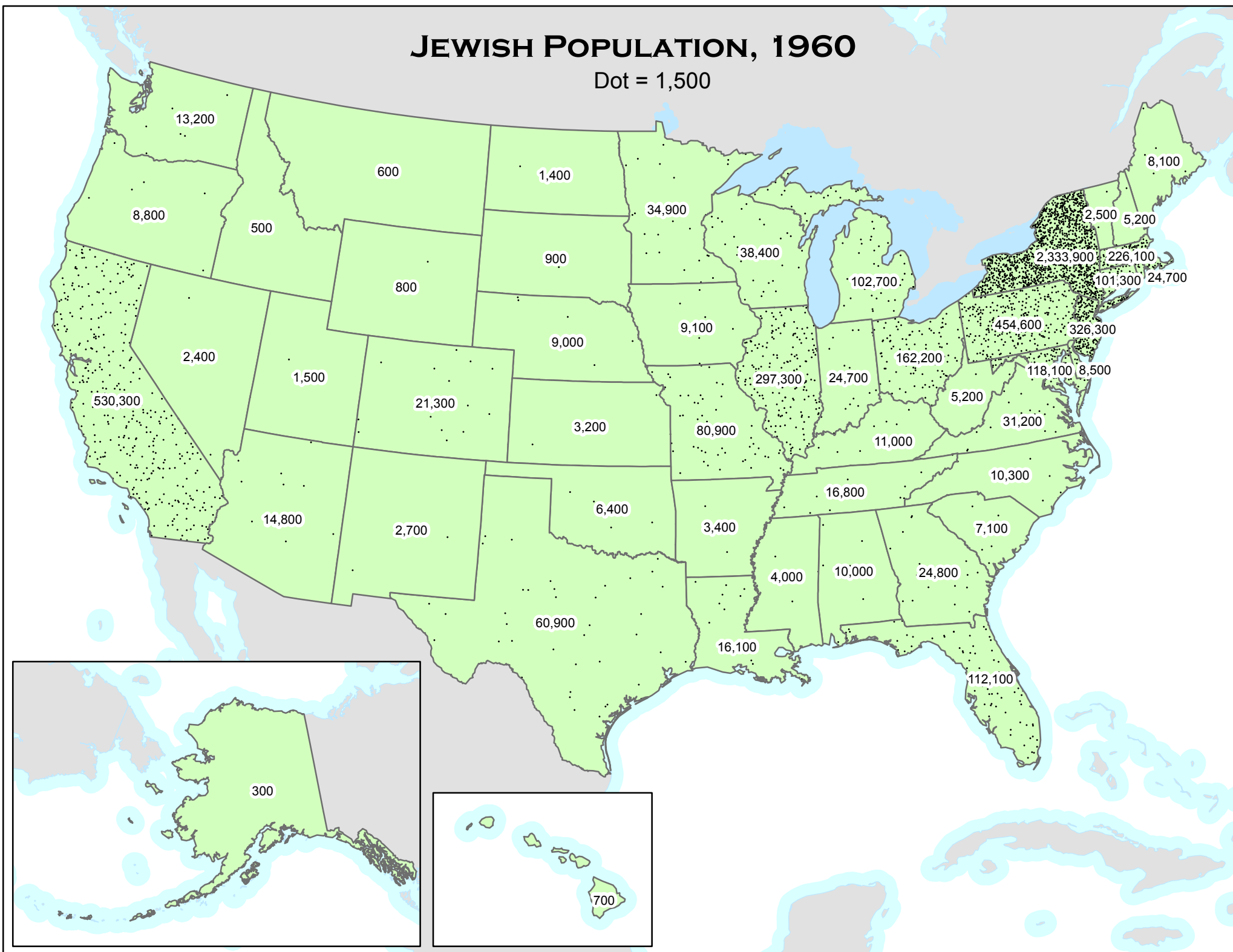
Jewish Identity, by Generation



Source: Pew 2013

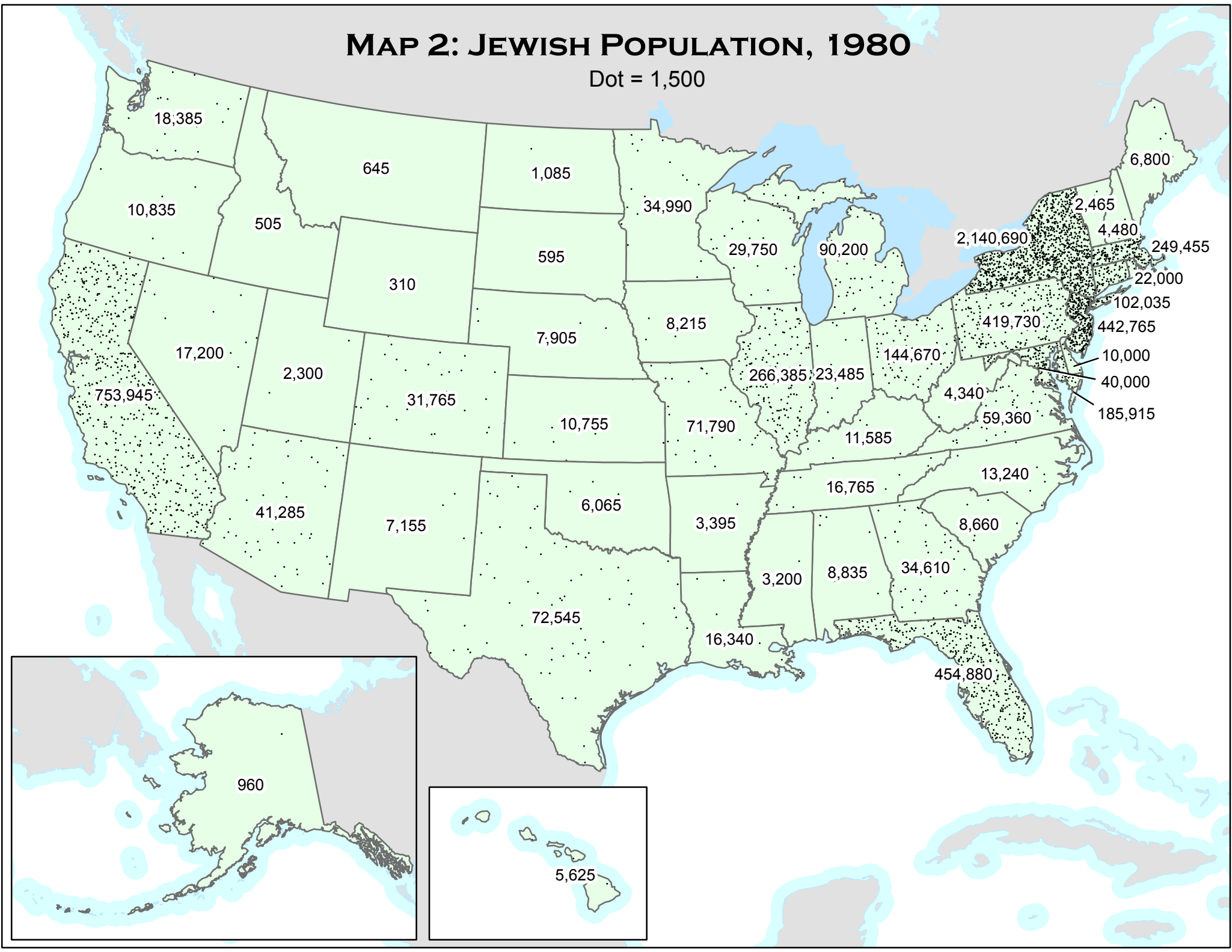
JEWISH POPULATION, 1960

Dot = 1,500



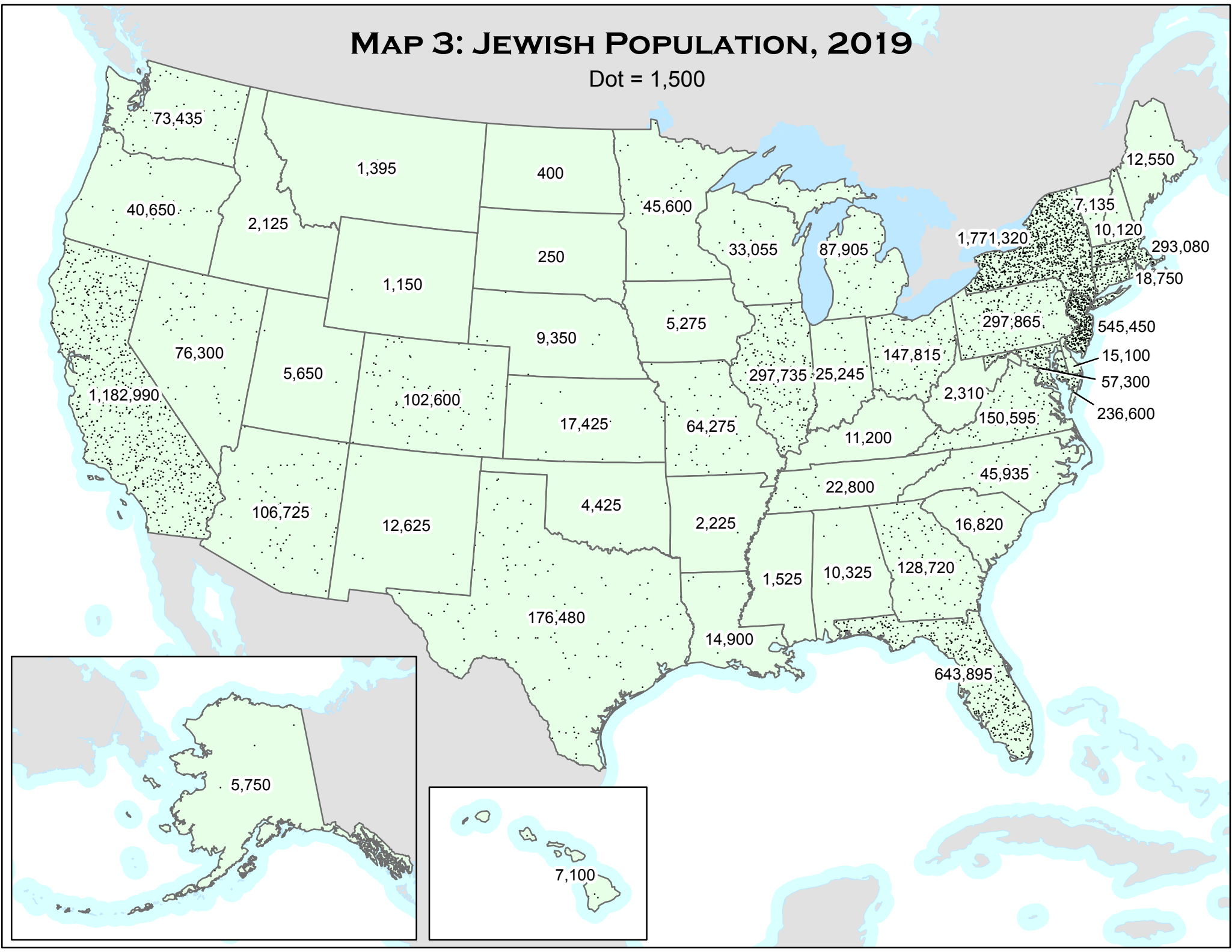
MAP 2: JEWISH POPULATION, 1980

Dot = 1,500



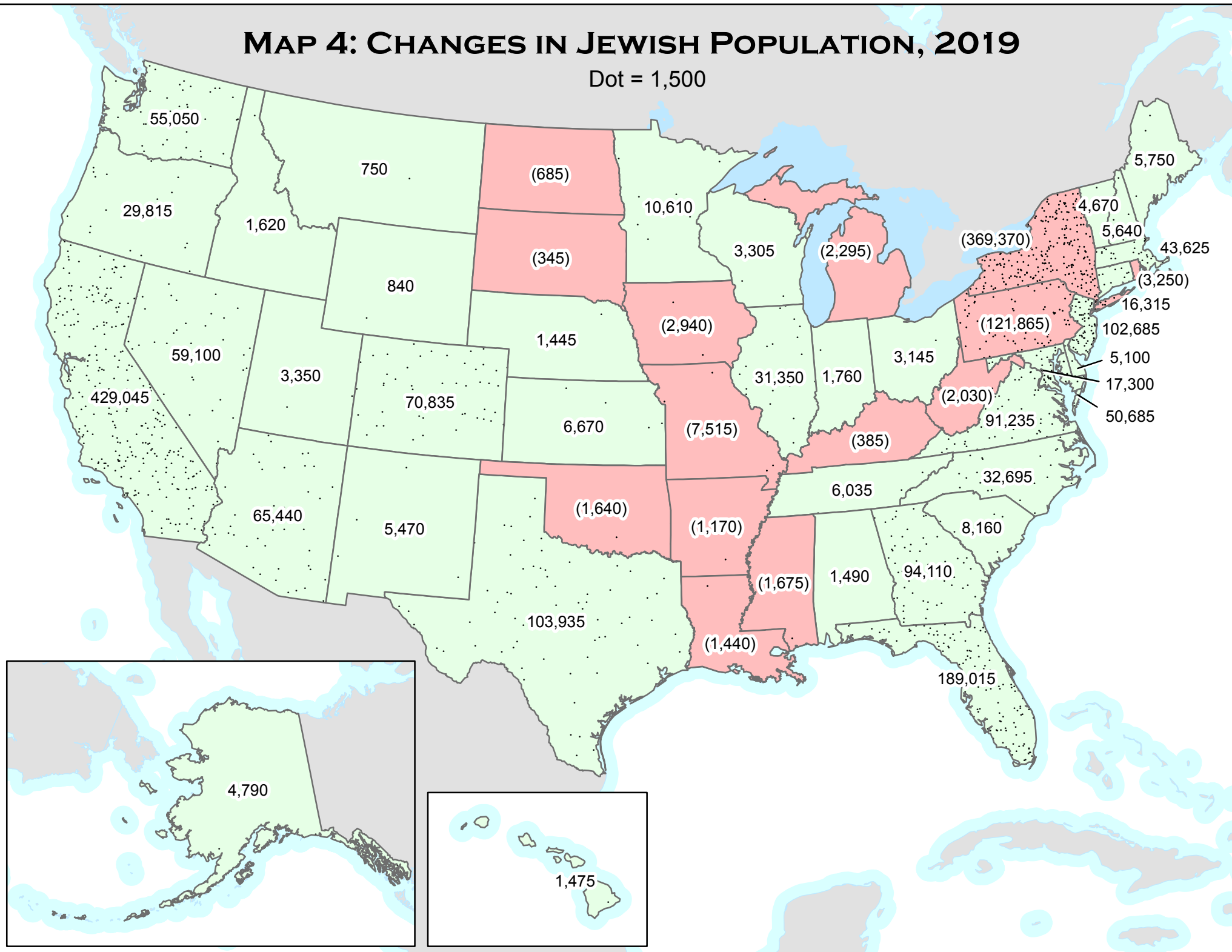
MAP 3: JEWISH POPULATION, 2019

Dot = 1,500

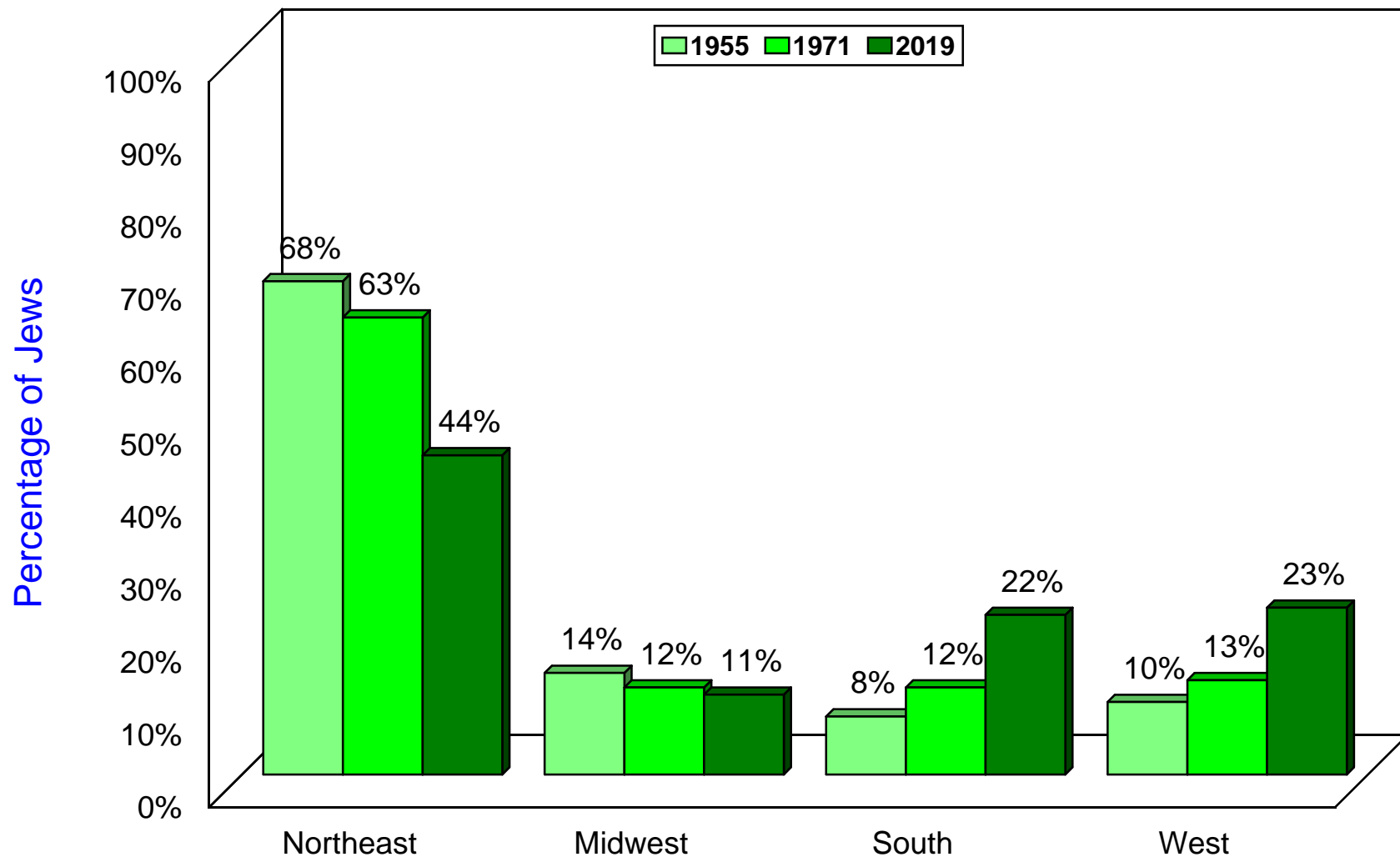


MAP 4: CHANGES IN JEWISH POPULATION, 2019

Dot = 1,500



Geographic Shift in Jewish Population by Census Region



Source: *American Jewish Year Book* 1955, 1971, 2019

Jews Move to States with More Electoral Votes

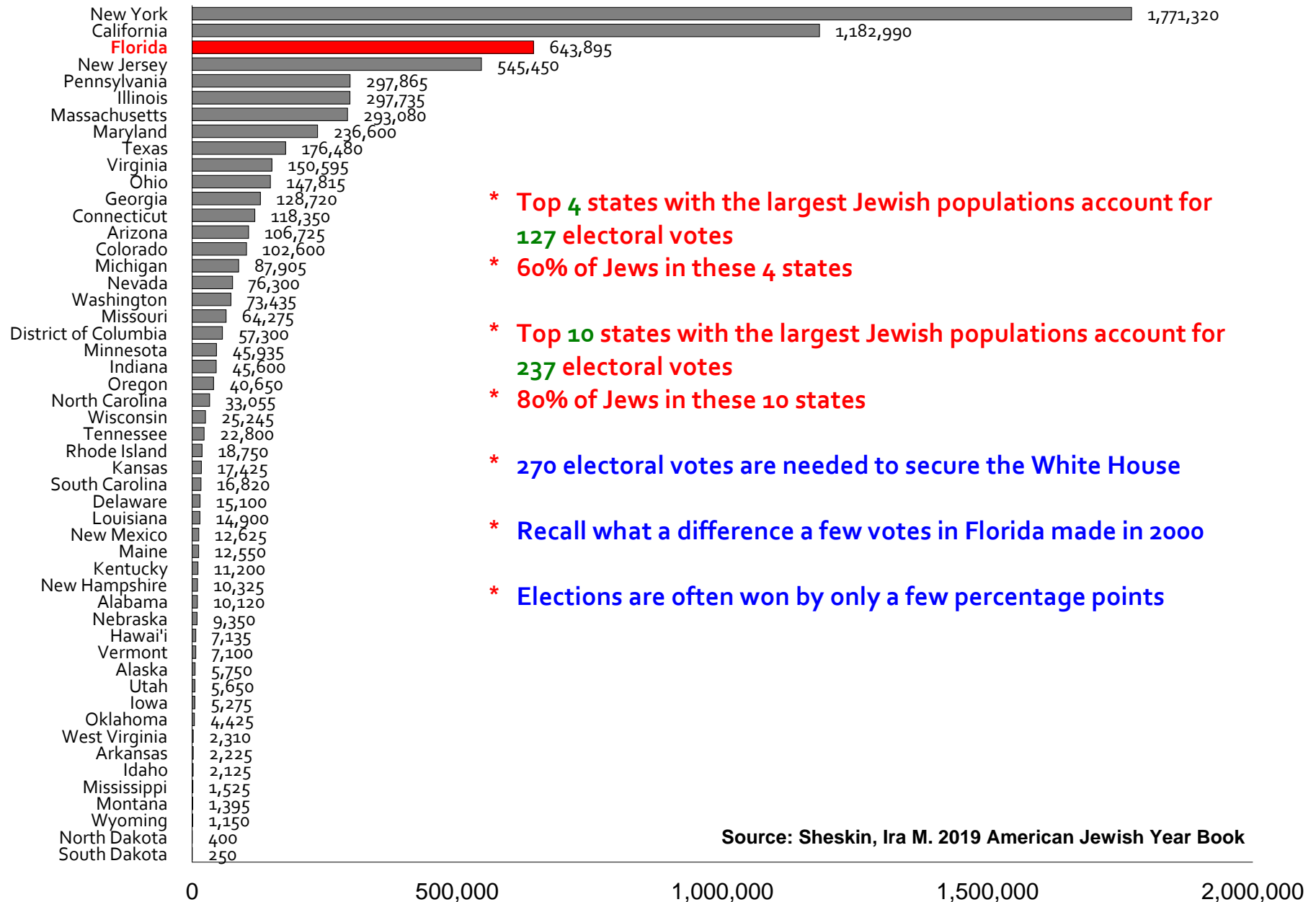
1980

**The top five states for Jewish population (NY, CA, FL, NJ, PA)
contained 71% of Jews
and had 147 electoral votes (27% of 538)**

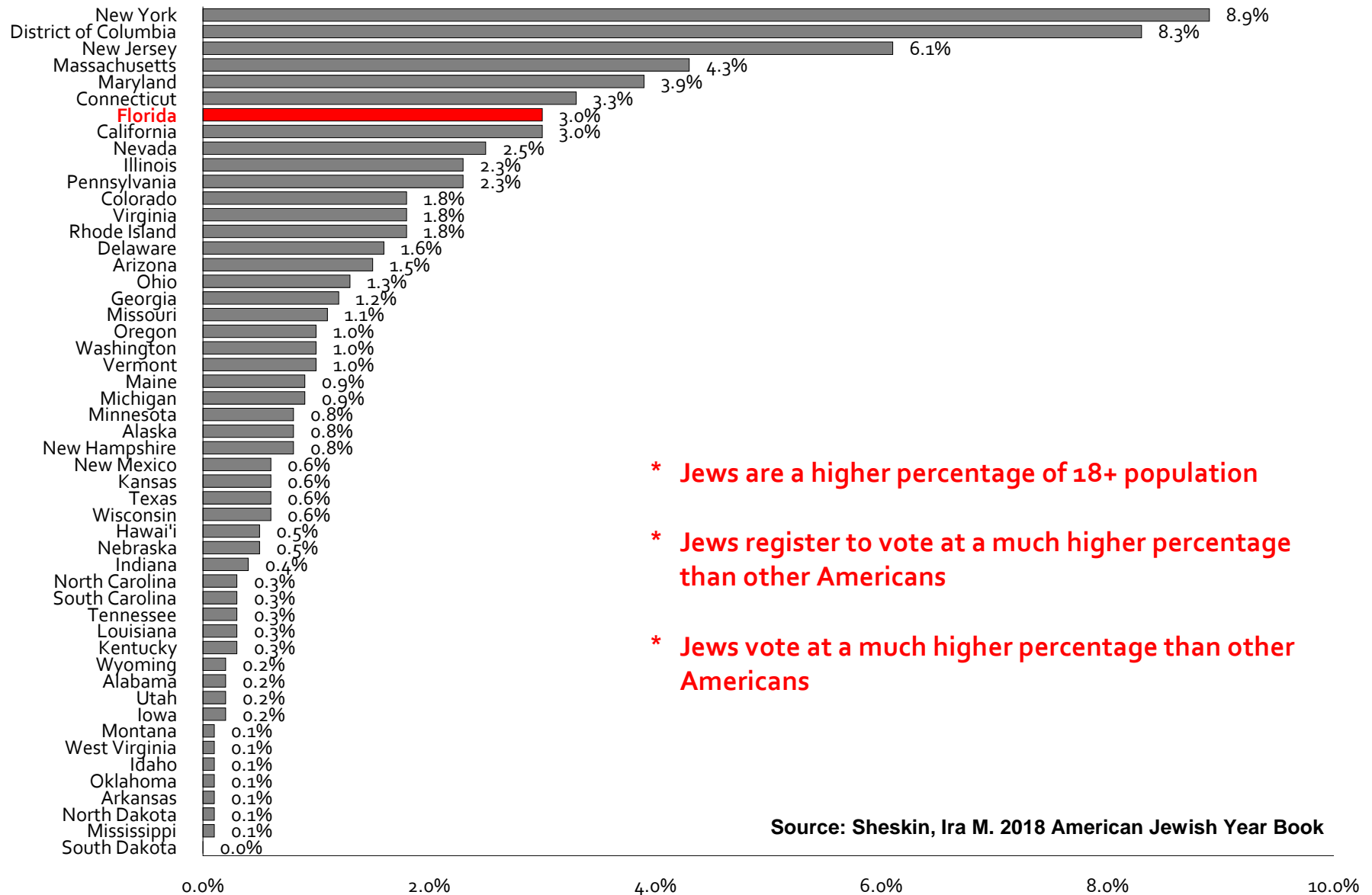
2019

**The top five states for Jewish population (NY, CA, FL, NJ, PA)
contained 64% of Jews
and had 147 electoral votes (27% of 538)**

States with the Largest Jewish Population 2019

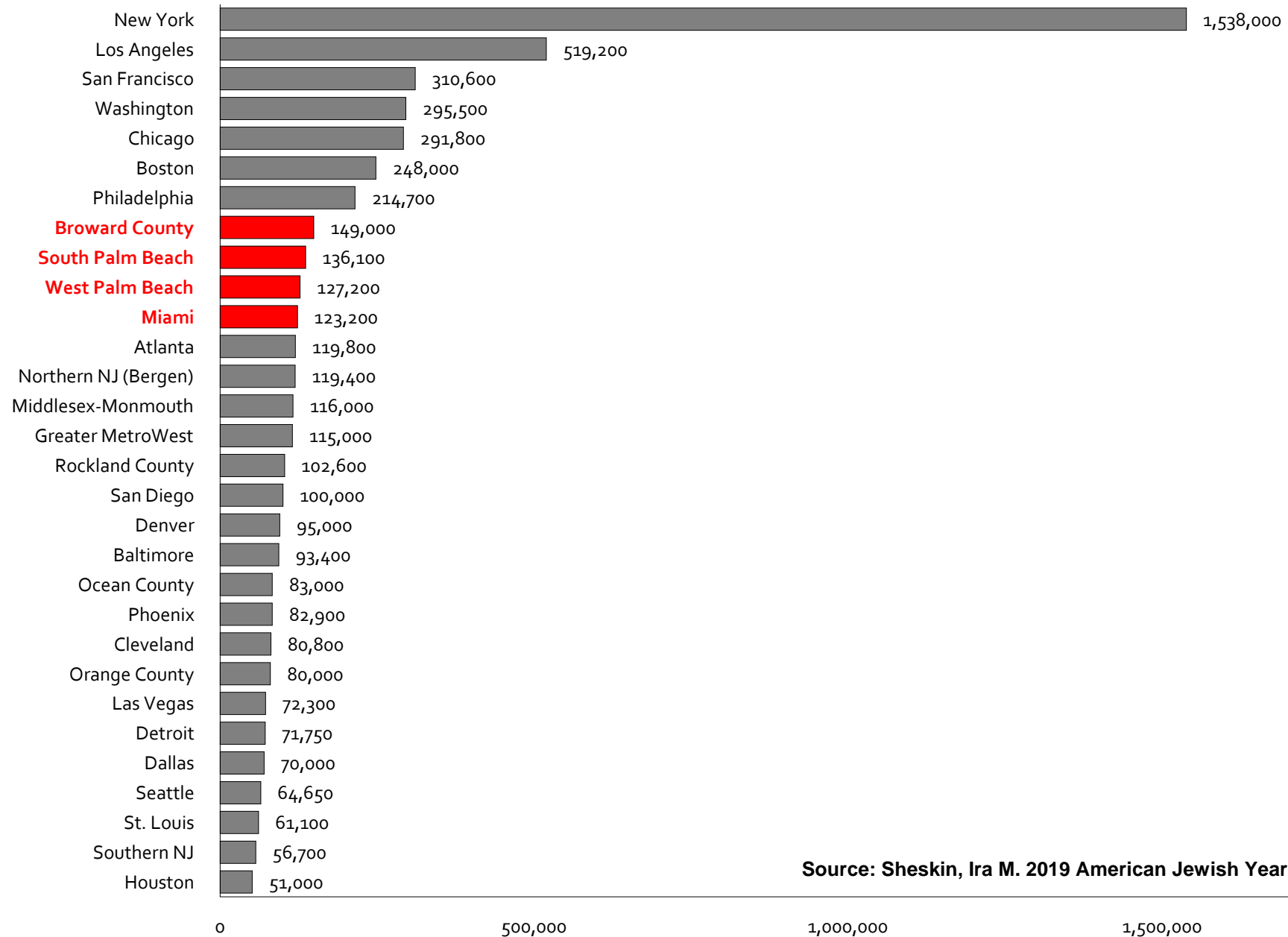


Percentage of Residents Who Are Jewish 2018



American Jewish Communities of 50,000+: 2019

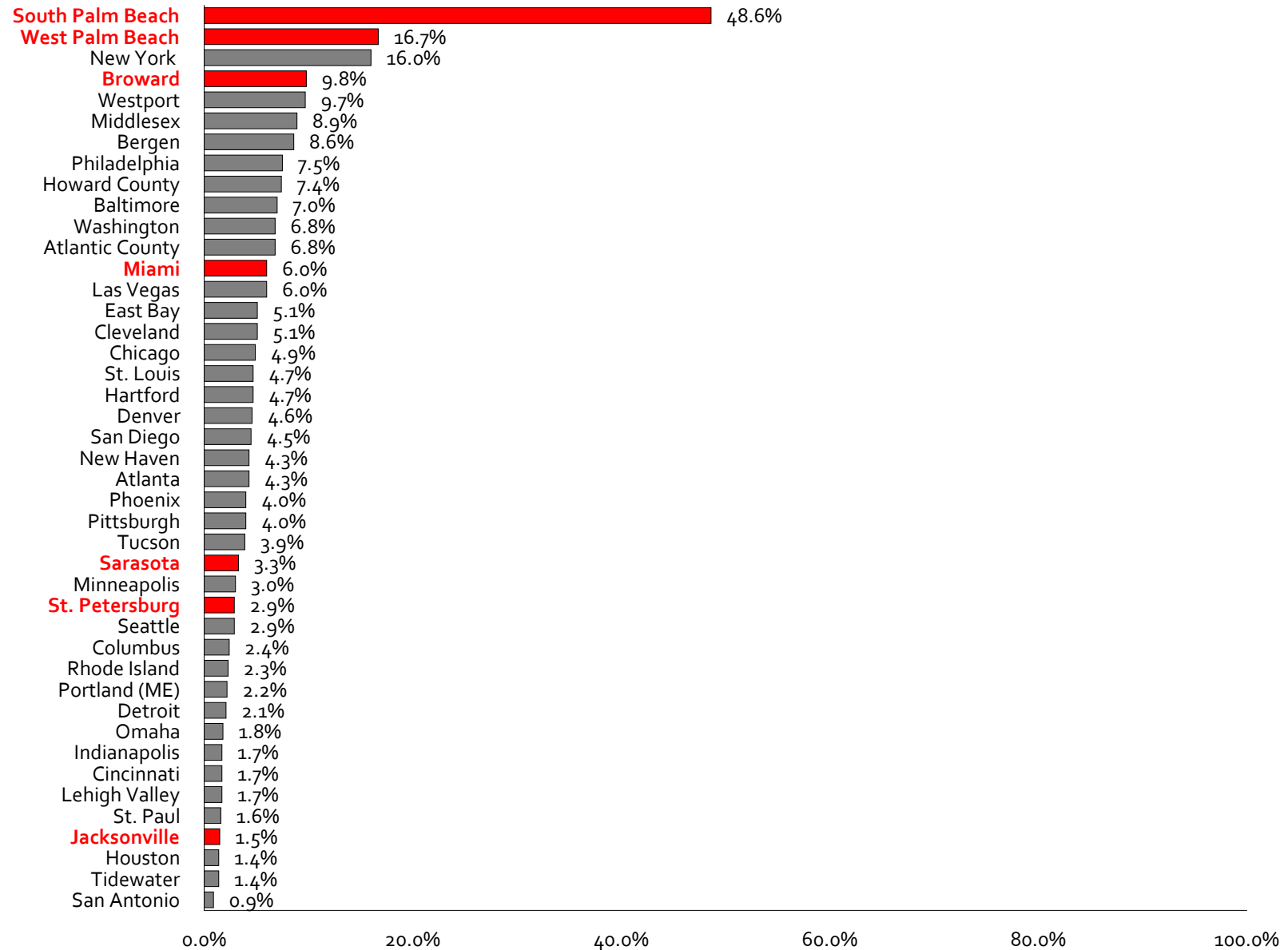
(Number of Jews in Jewish Federation Service Areas)



Source: Sheskin, Ira M. 2019 American Jewish Year Book

Percentage of Households in the Community Who Are Jewish Households

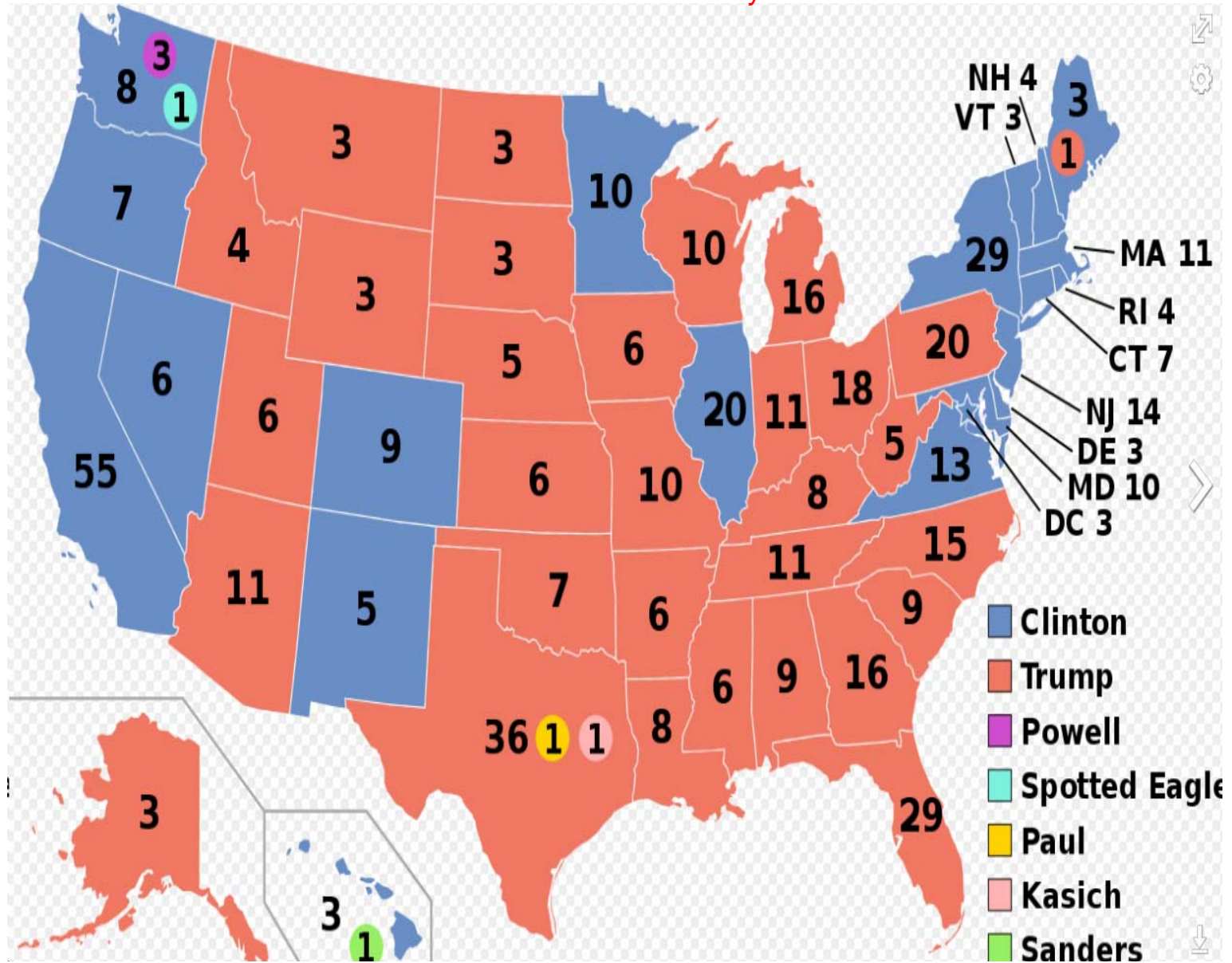
(Jewish Households)



The Electoral College

Electoral Votes by State - 2016 Election

Jews have moved to states with many electoral votes



States that Were Won by Small Margins of Victory 2016 Where the Jewish Vote Can Easily Tip the Election

| State | Margin of Victory | Electoral Votes | Winner |
|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------|
| Michigan | 0.23% | 16 | Trump |
| New Hampshire | 0.37% | 4 | Clinton |
| Pennsylvania | 0.72% | 20 | Trump |
| Wisconsin | 0.77% | 10 | Trump |
| Florida | 1.20% | 29 | Trump |
| Minnesota | 1.52% | 10 | Clinton |
| Nebraska 2 | 2.24% | 1 | Trump |
| Nevada | 2.42% | 6 | Clinton |
| Maine | 2.96% | 2 | Clinton |
| Arizona | 3.55% | 11 | Trump |
| North Carolina | 3.66% | 15 | Trump |
| Colorado | 4.91% | 9 | Clinton |
| Trump Total | | 102 | |
| Clinton Total | | 31 | |

Jews in Congress

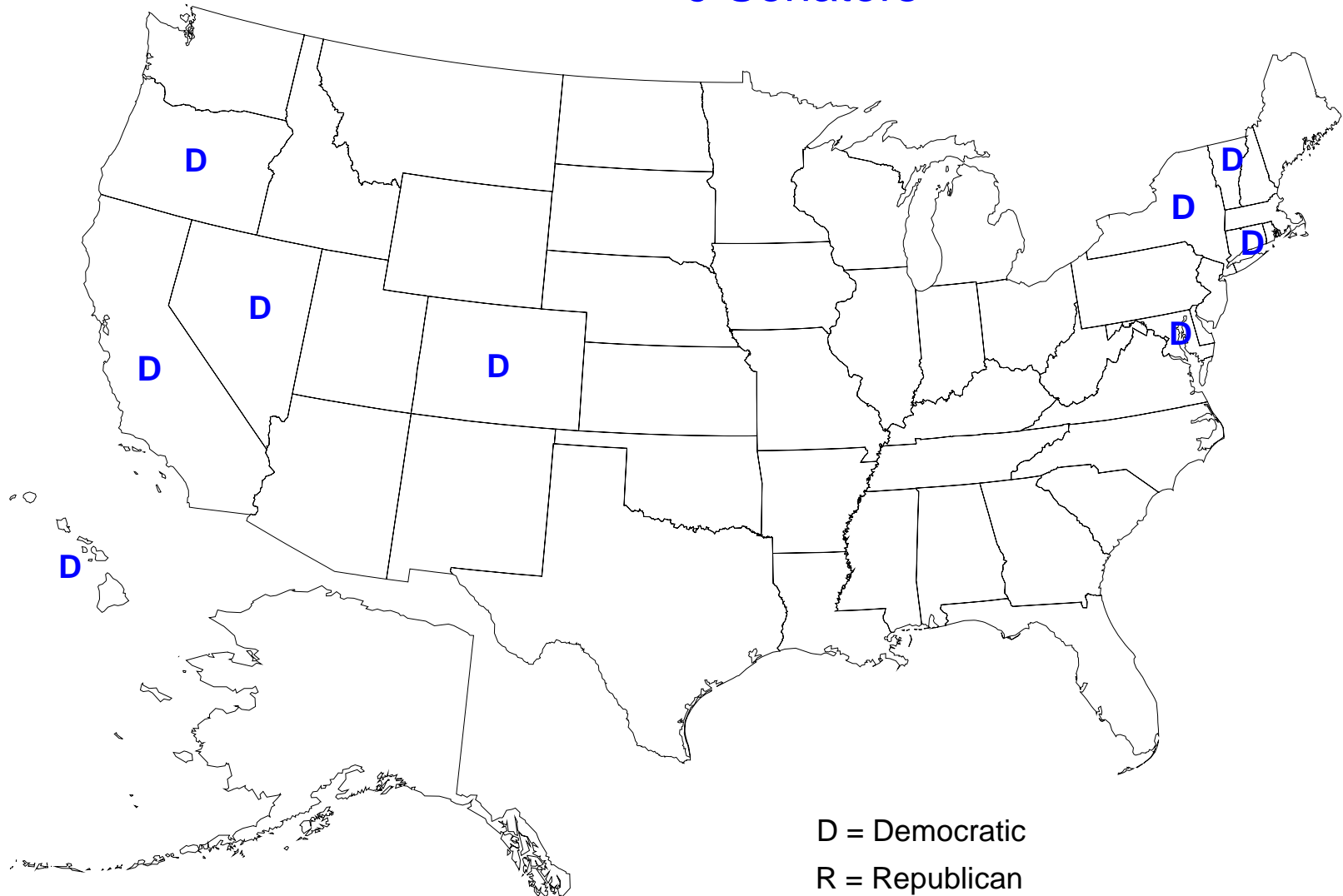
Jewish Senators
116th Congress (2018 Election)
9 senators from 9 states

| Name | Party | State |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Michael Bennet * | Dem | Colorado |
| Richard Blumenthal | Dem | Connecticut |
| Ben Cardin | Dem | Maryland |
| Dianne Feinstein | Dem | California |
| Jacky Rosen | Dem | Nevada |
| Bernie Sanders | Dem | Vermont |
| Brian Schatz | Dem | Hawaii |
| Charles Schumer | Dem | New York |
| Ron Wyden | Dem | Oregon |

* Jewish heritage

Jews in the Senate 2018 (116th Congress)

9 Senators



Jews get elected from states in which Jews are a tiny percentage of the population

Jewish Representatives

116th Congress (2018 Election)

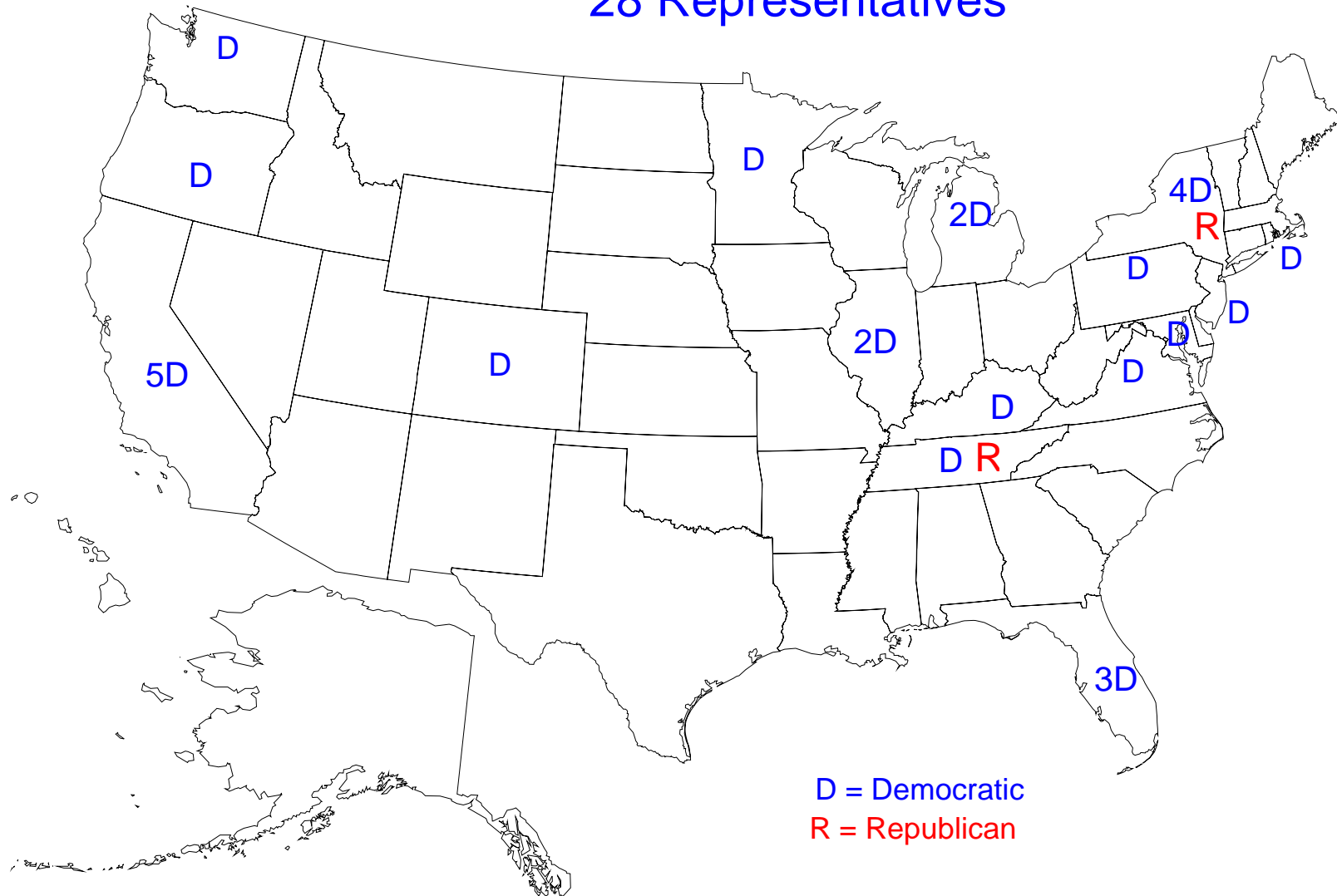
28 Representatives from 14 states
(6.4% of the total of 435 representatives in the House)

* Newly Elected

| Name | State | Name | State |
|------------------|--------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| Suzanne Bonamici | Oregon | Dean Phillips * | Minnesota |
| David Cicilline | Rhode Island | Jamie Raskin | Maryland |
| Steve Cohen | Tennessee | Max Rose * | New York |
| Susan Davis | California | Jan Schakowsky | Illinois |
| Ted Deutsch | Florida | Adam Schiff | California |
| Eliot Engel | New York | Brad Schneider | Illinois |
| Lois Frankel | Florida | Kim Schrier * | Washington |
| Josh Gottheimer | New Jersey | Brad Sherman | California |
| David Kustoff | Tennessee | Elissa Slotkin * | Michigan |
| Andy Levin * | Michigan | Debbie Wasserman-Schultz | Florida |
| Mike Levin * | California | Susan Wild | Pennsylvania |
| Alan Lowenthal | California | John Yarmuth | Kentucky |
| Nita Lowey | New York | Lee Zeldin | New York |
| Elaine Luria * | Virginia | | |
| Jerry Nadler | New York | | |

Republican

Jews in Congress 2018 (116th Congress) 28 Representatives



Jews get elected from states in which Jews are a tiny percentage of the population

Jews Get Elected to the House in Part Because of the Geographic Concentration of Jews at the Local Level

While 47% of Americans live in the top 21 CSAs,
85% of Jews Do (2018)

70% of American Jews live in just 7 CSAs:

New York

Los Angeles

Miami

San Francisco

Chicago

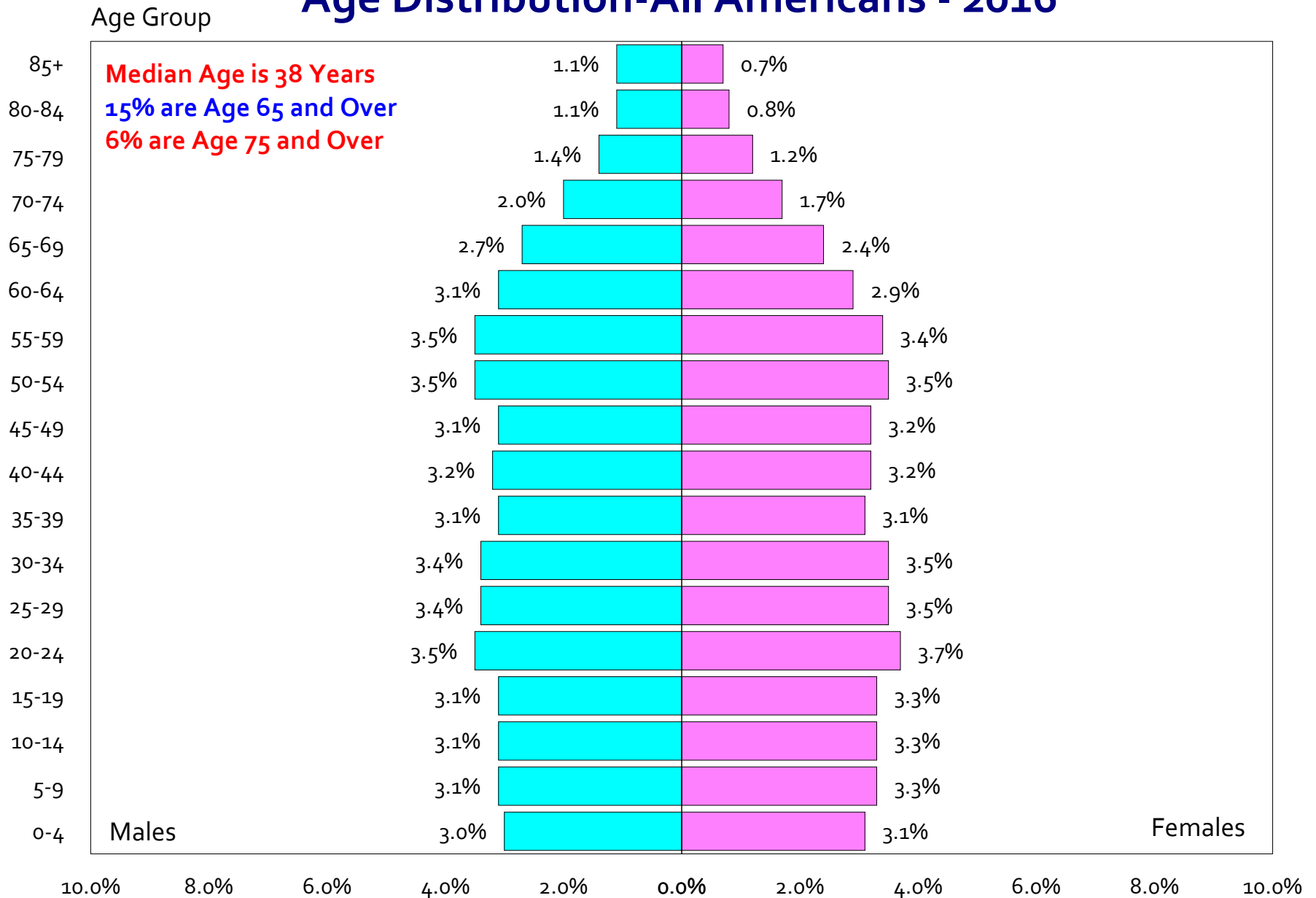
Boston

Washington DC

But Jews have been elected even from states
with very few Jews

Key Demographic Indicators

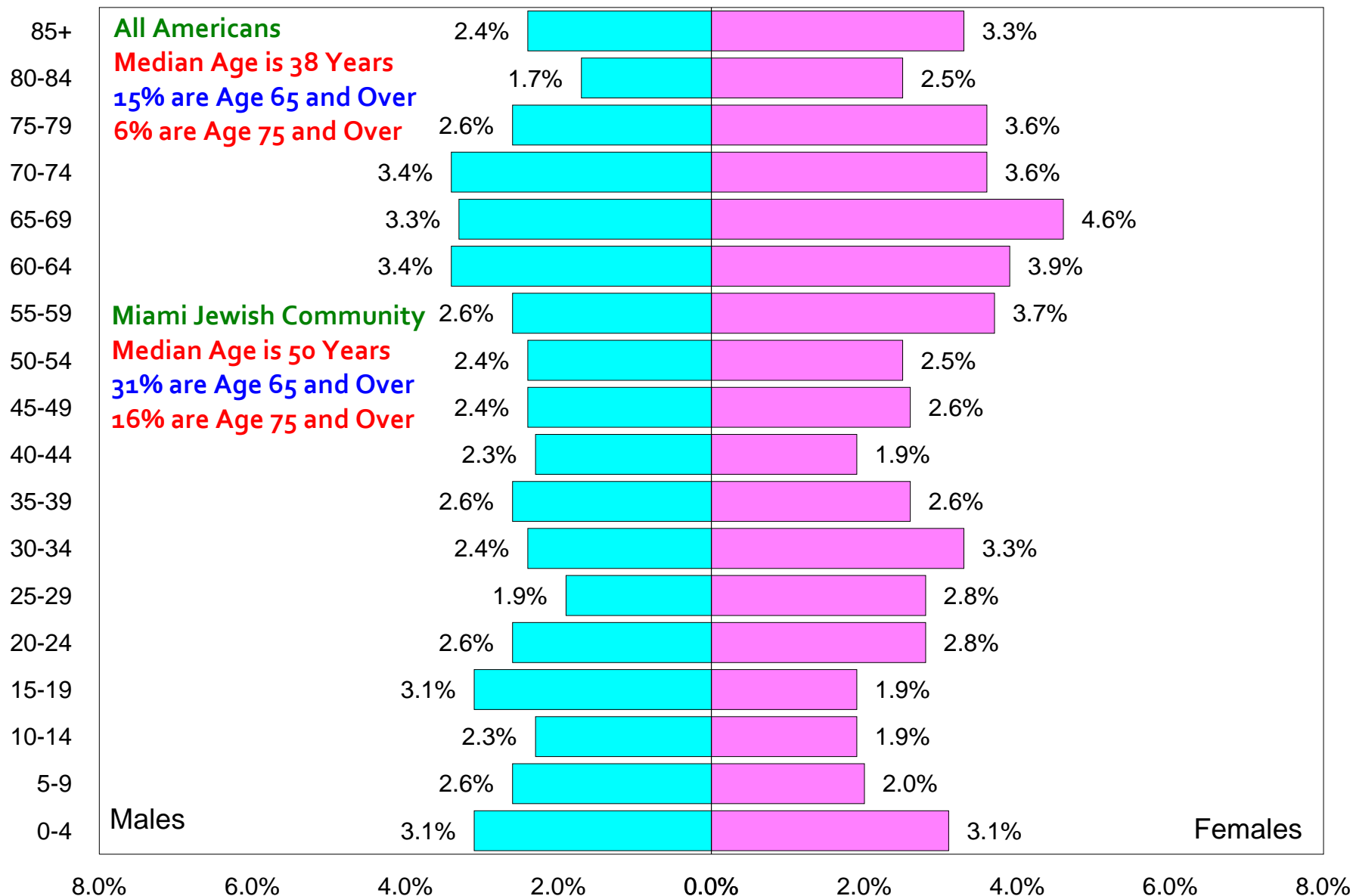
Age Distribution-All Americans - 2016



Age Distribution-Miami - 2014

Age Group

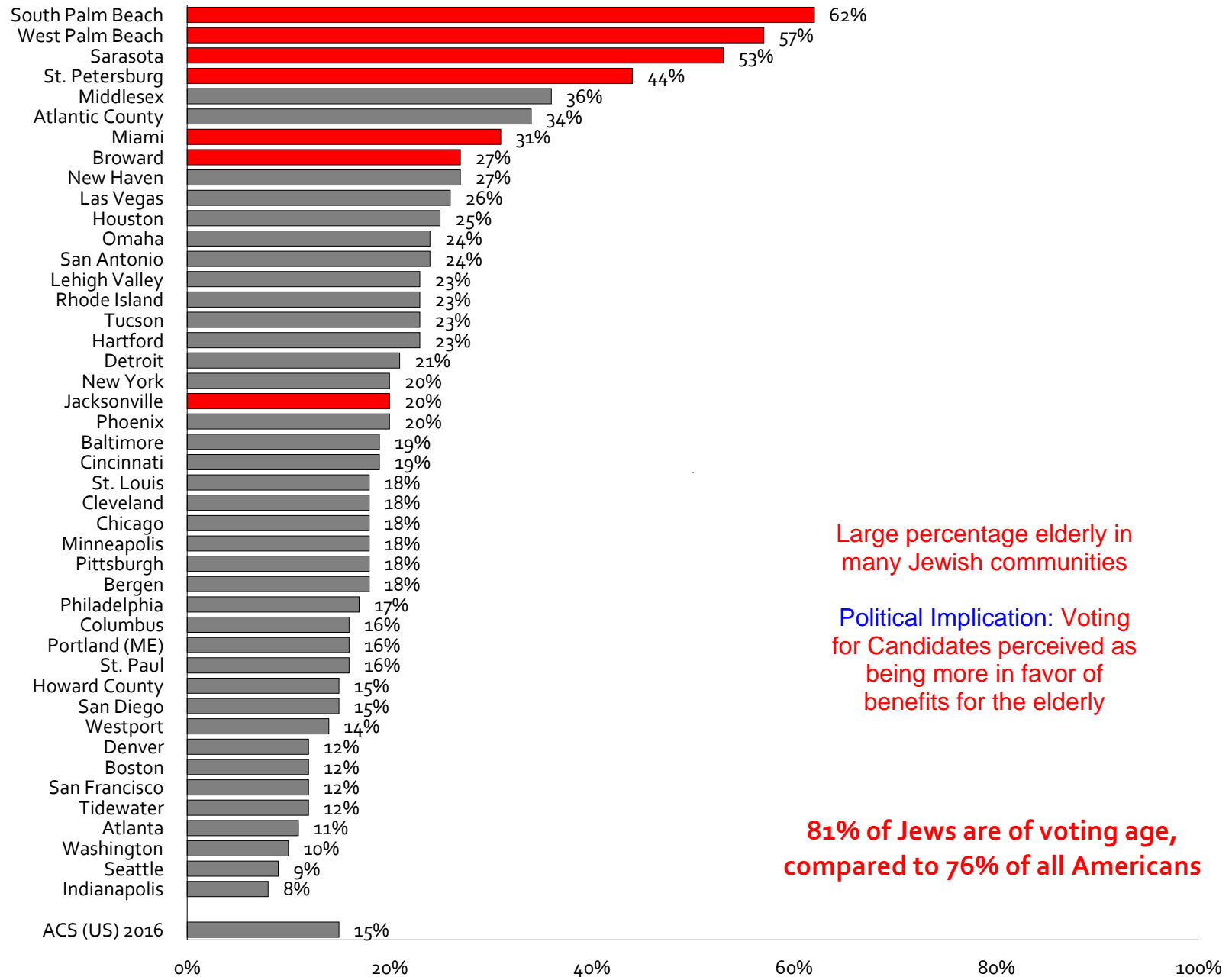
(Persons in Jewish Households)



Median Age is 50 Years 31% are Age 65 and Over 16% are Age 75 and Over

Age 65 and Over

(Persons in Jewish Households)



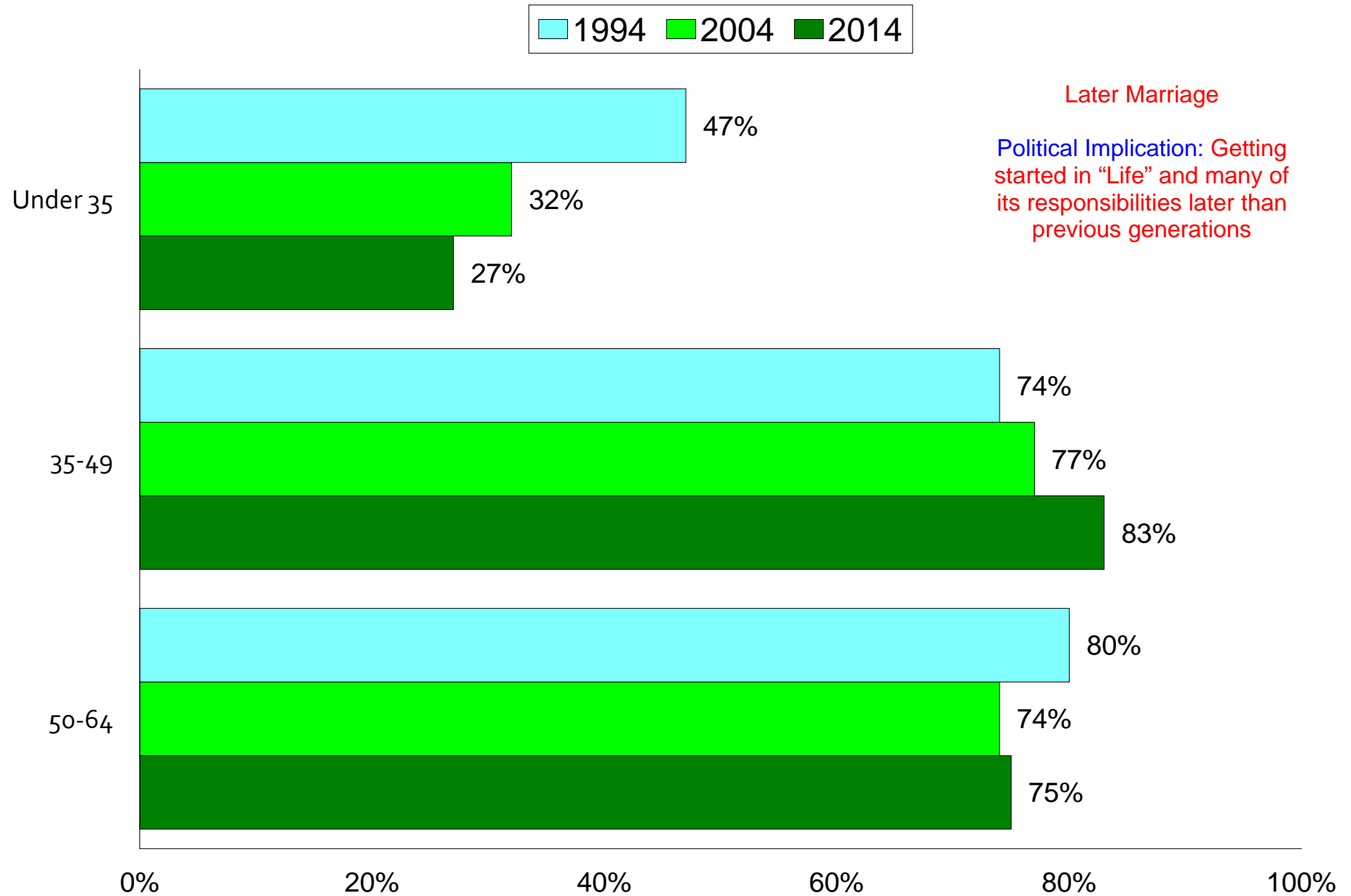
Large percentage elderly in many Jewish communities

Political Implication: Voting for Candidates perceived as being more in favor of benefits for the elderly

81% of Jews are of voting age, compared to 76% of all Americans

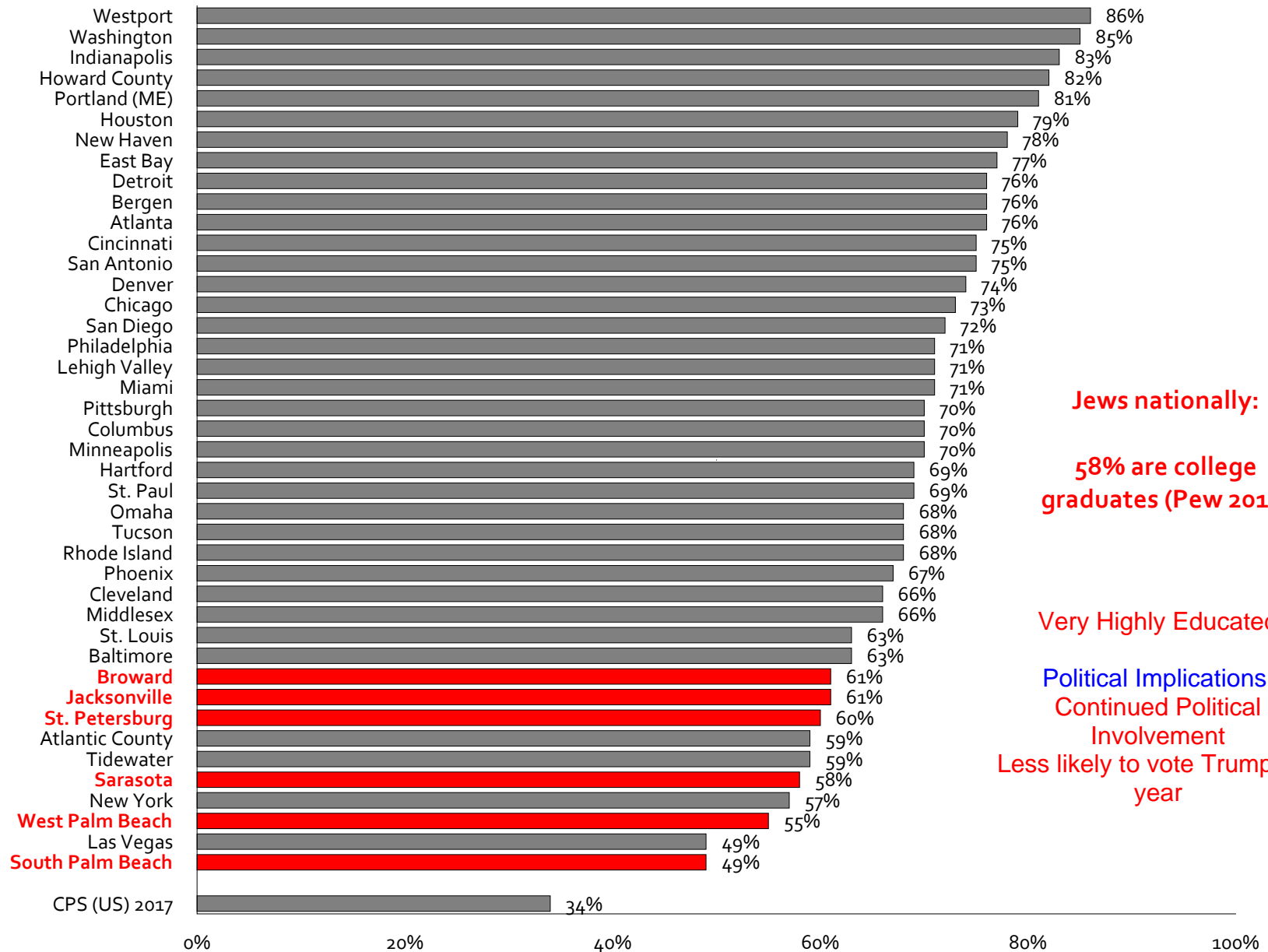
Currently Married, 1994-2014

(Adults in Jewish Households)



4-Year College Degree or Higher

(Adults Age 25 and Over in Jewish Households)



Jews nationally:

58% are college graduates (Pew 2013)

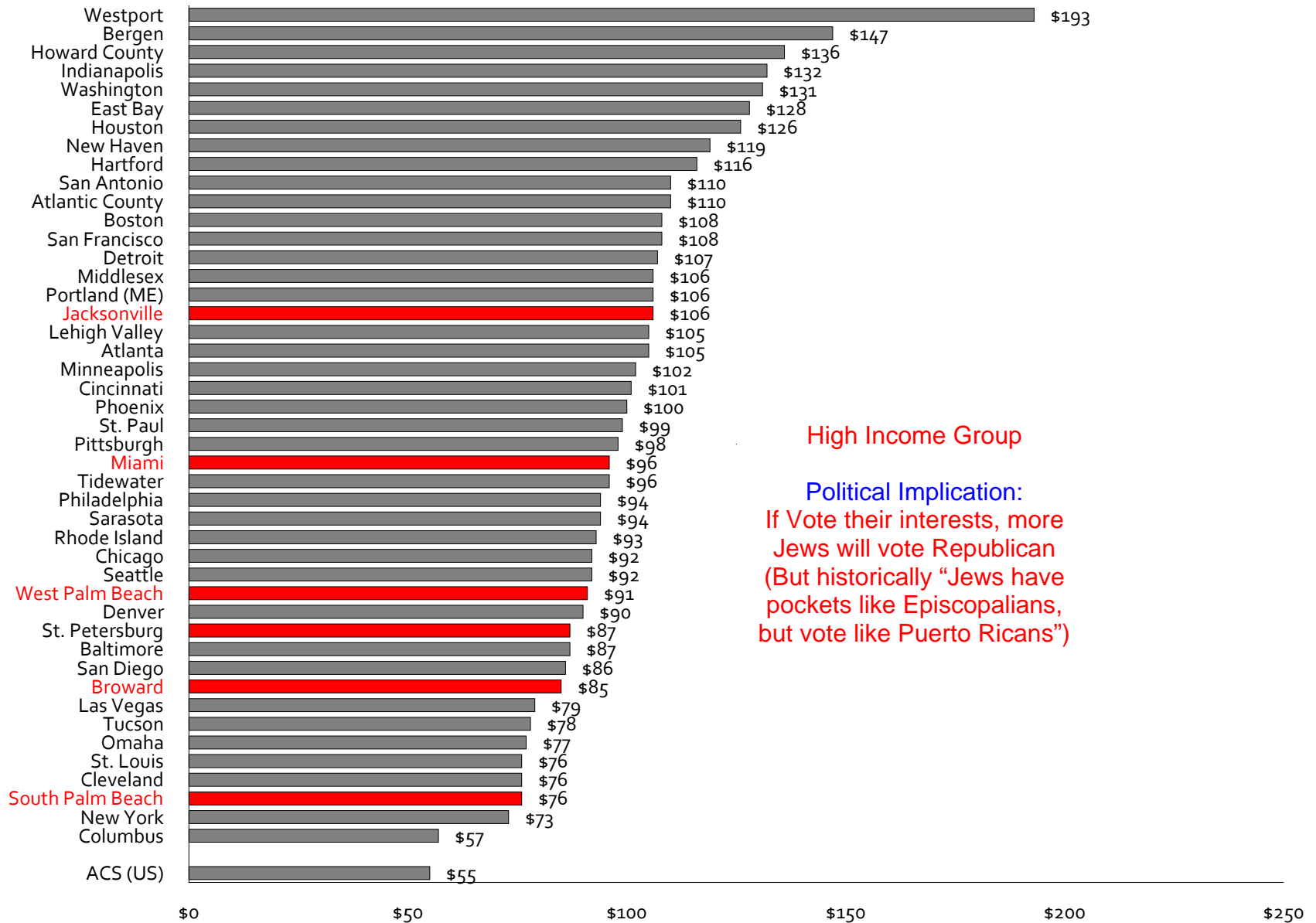
Very Highly Educated

Political Implications:
Continued Political
Involvement
Less likely to vote Trump this
year

Median Household Income

(Adjusted for inflation to 2017 dollars)

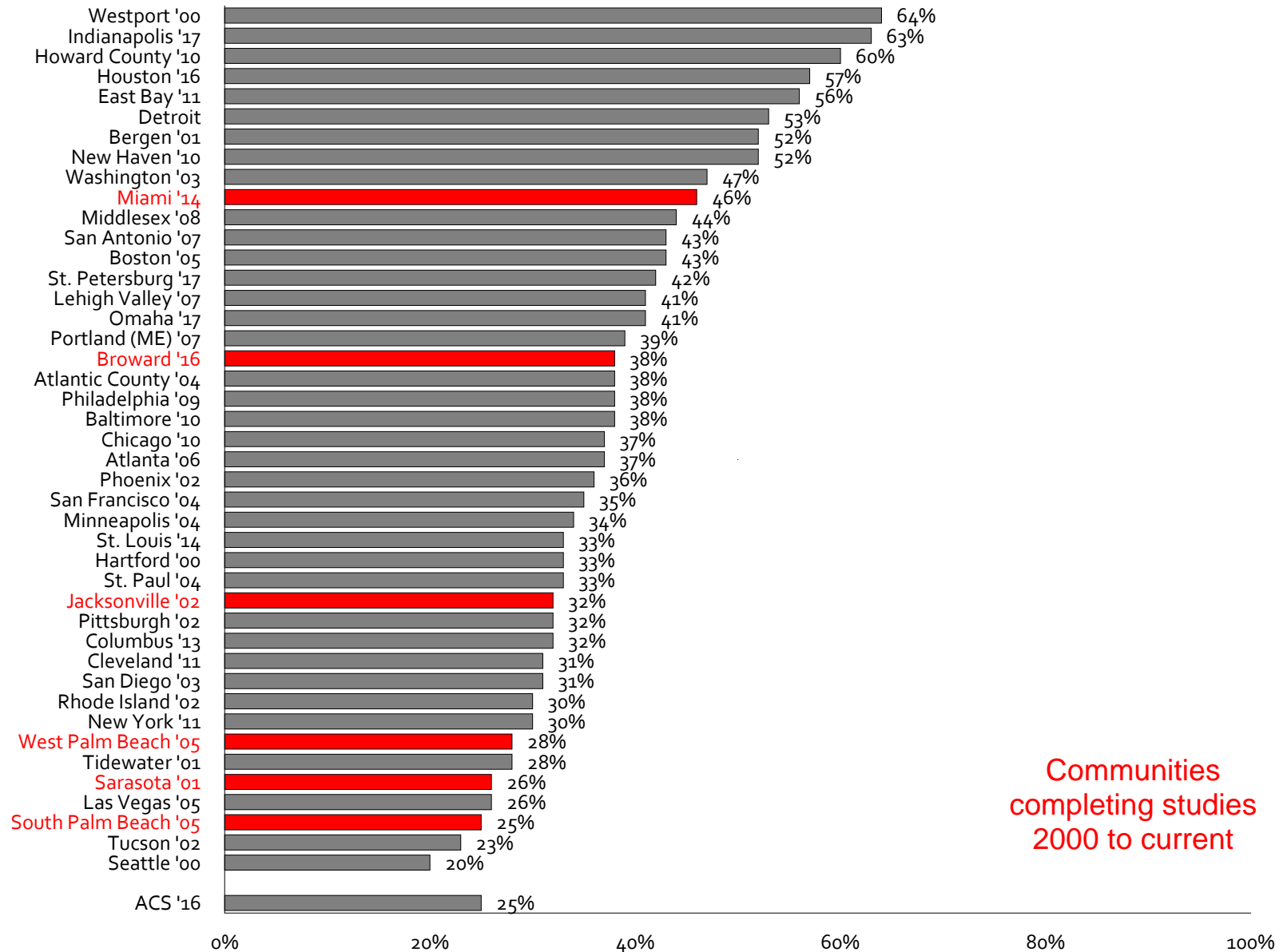
(Jewish Households)



Earn \$100,000 and Over

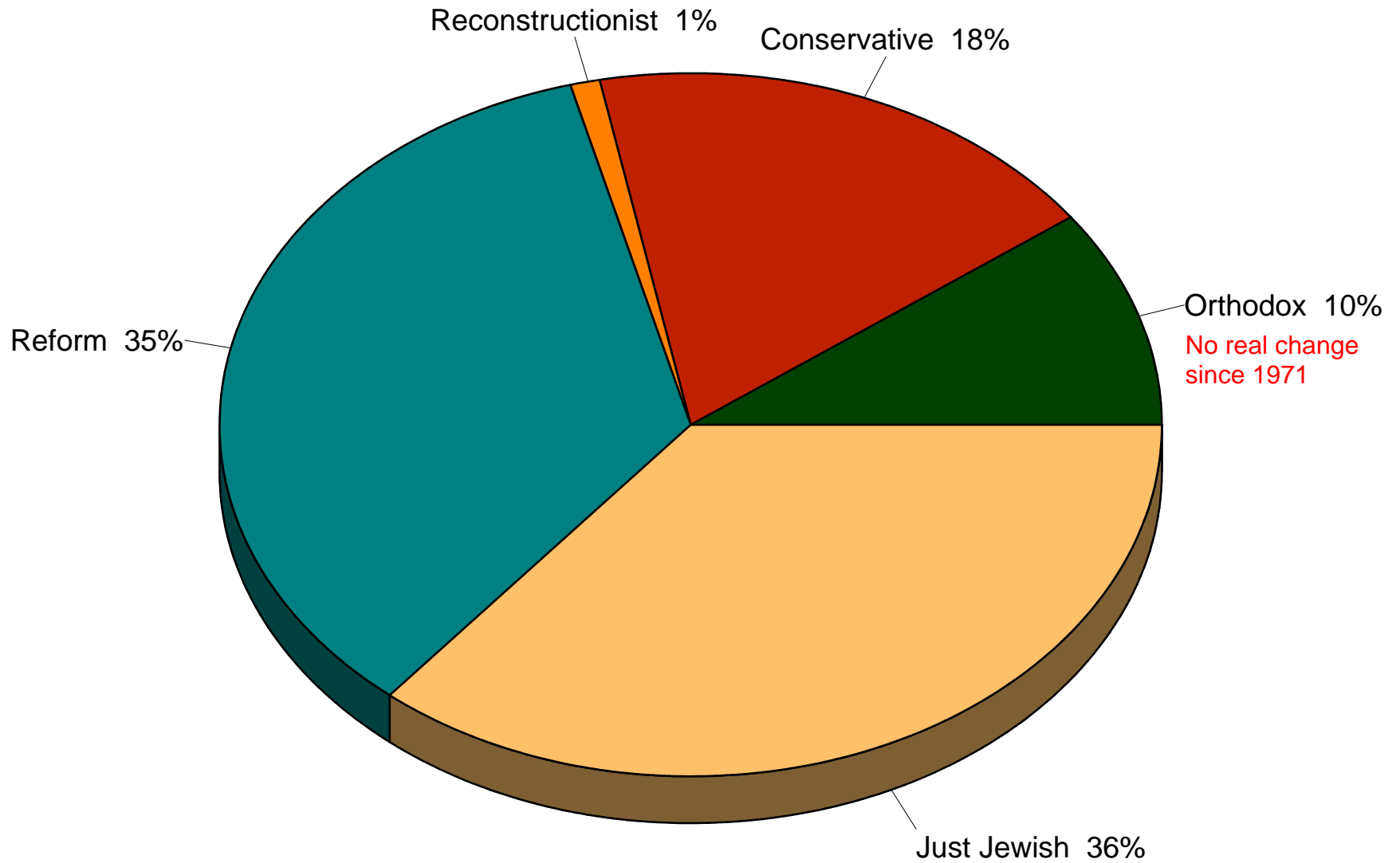
(NOT adjusted for inflation)

(Jewish Households)



Jewish Identification

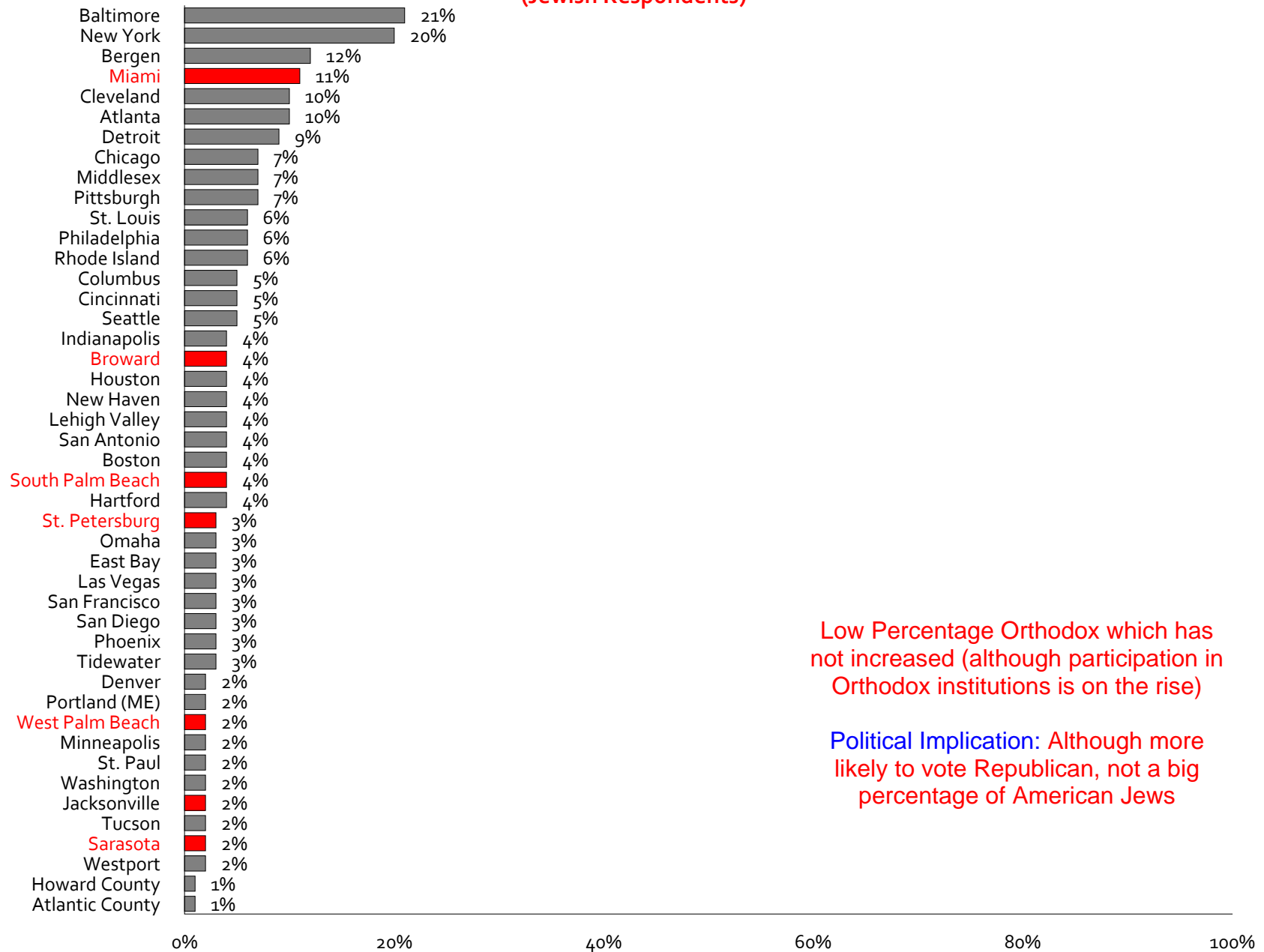
(Jewish Respondents)



Source: Pew Research Center 2013

Orthodox Identification

(Jewish Respondents)

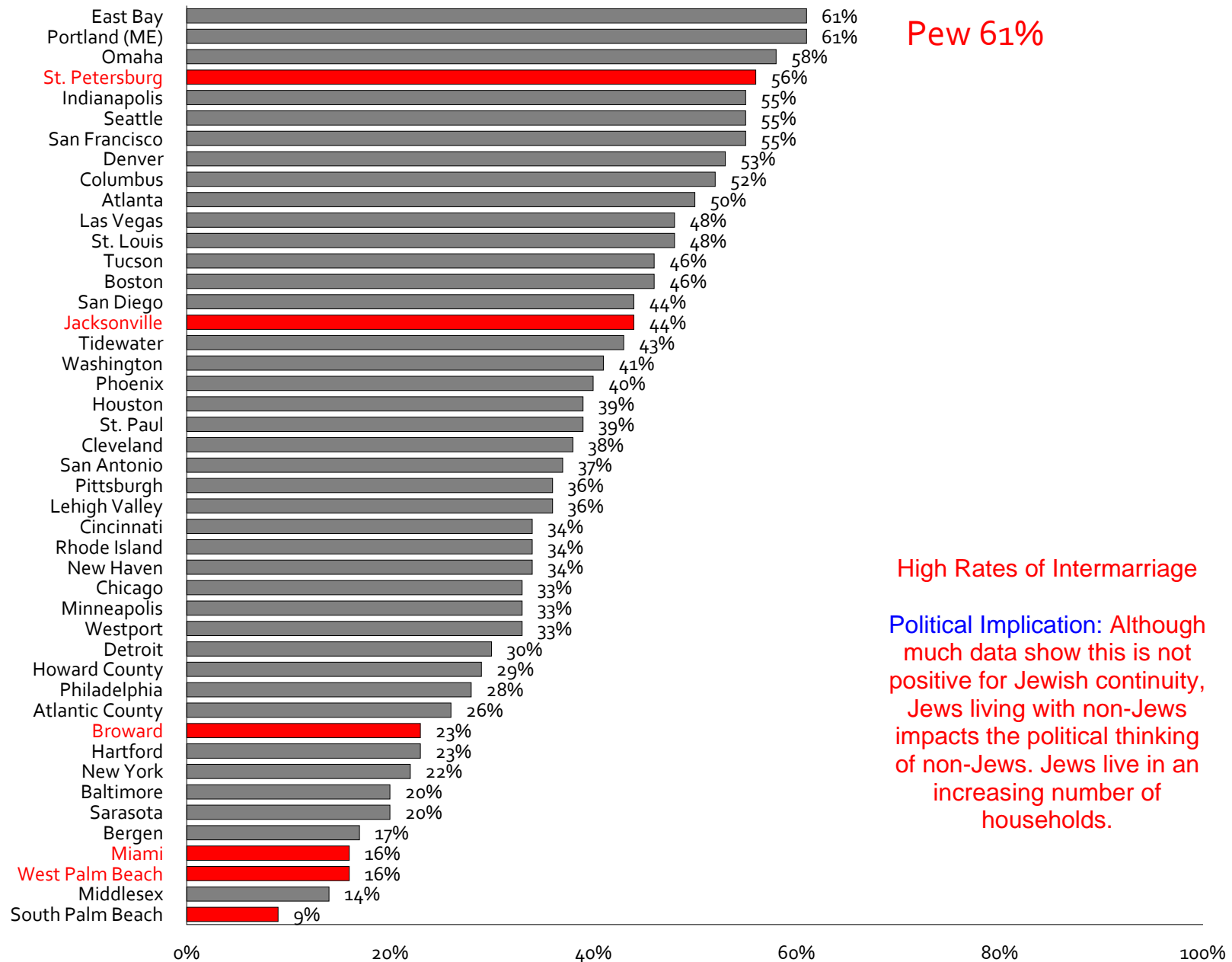


Low Percentage Orthodox which has not increased (although participation in Orthodox institutions is on the rise)

Political Implication: Although more likely to vote Republican, not a big percentage of American Jews

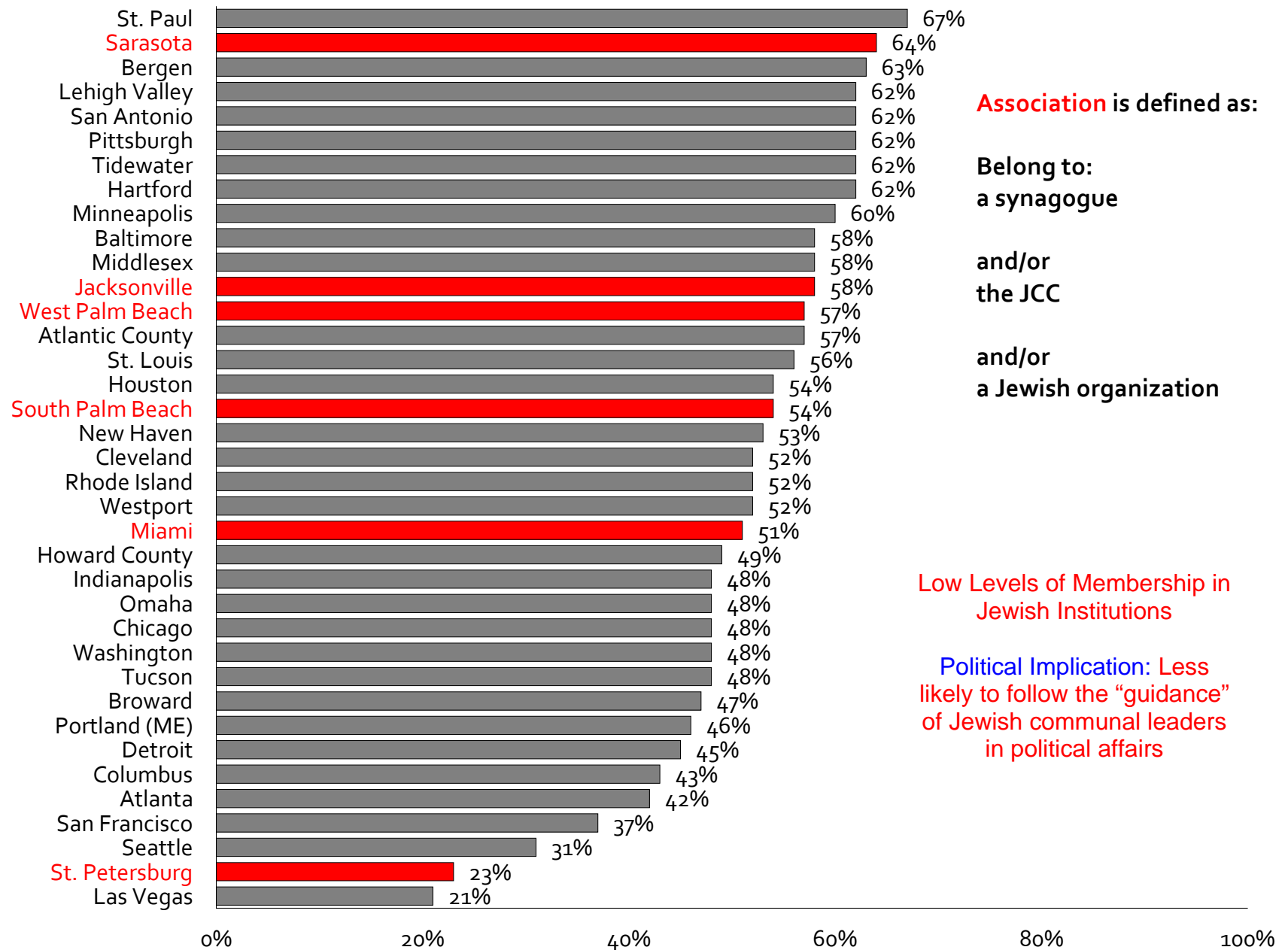
Intermarriage

(Couples Intermarriage Rate)



Association with the Jewish Community

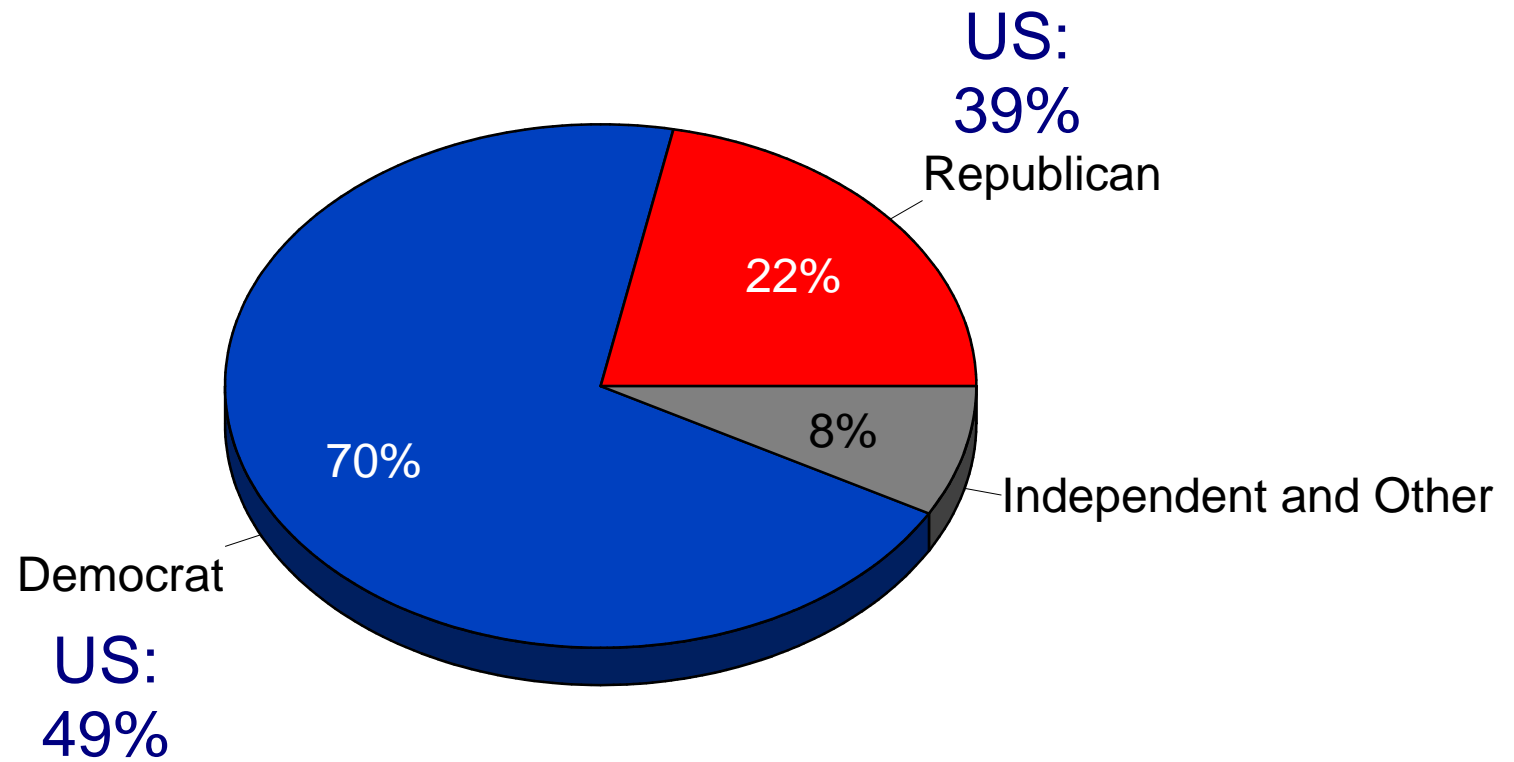
(Jewish Households)



Political Party

Political Party of Jews

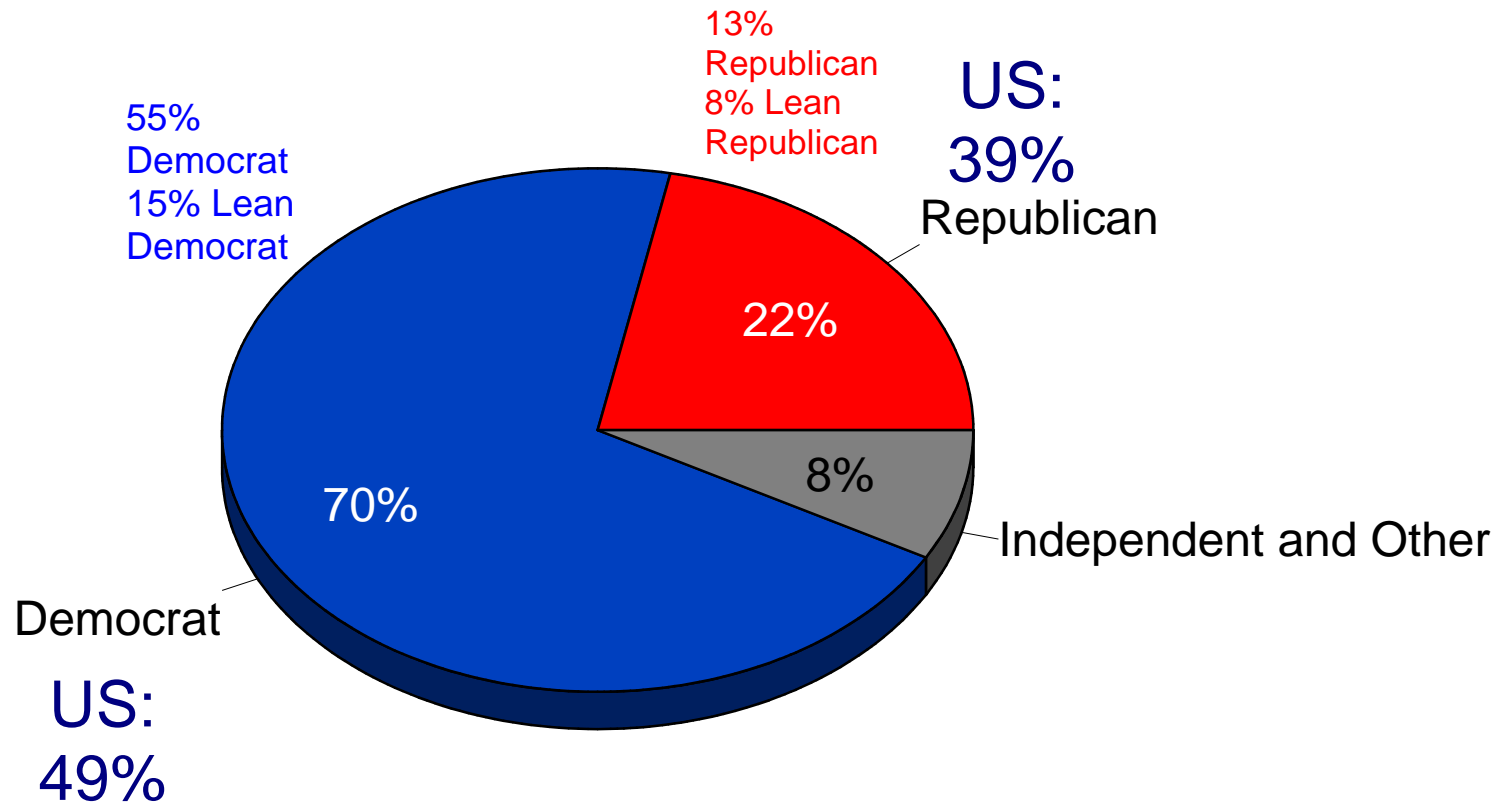
Pew 2013



Pew Question Distinguishes:
Democrat or Lean Democrat
Republican or Lean Republican

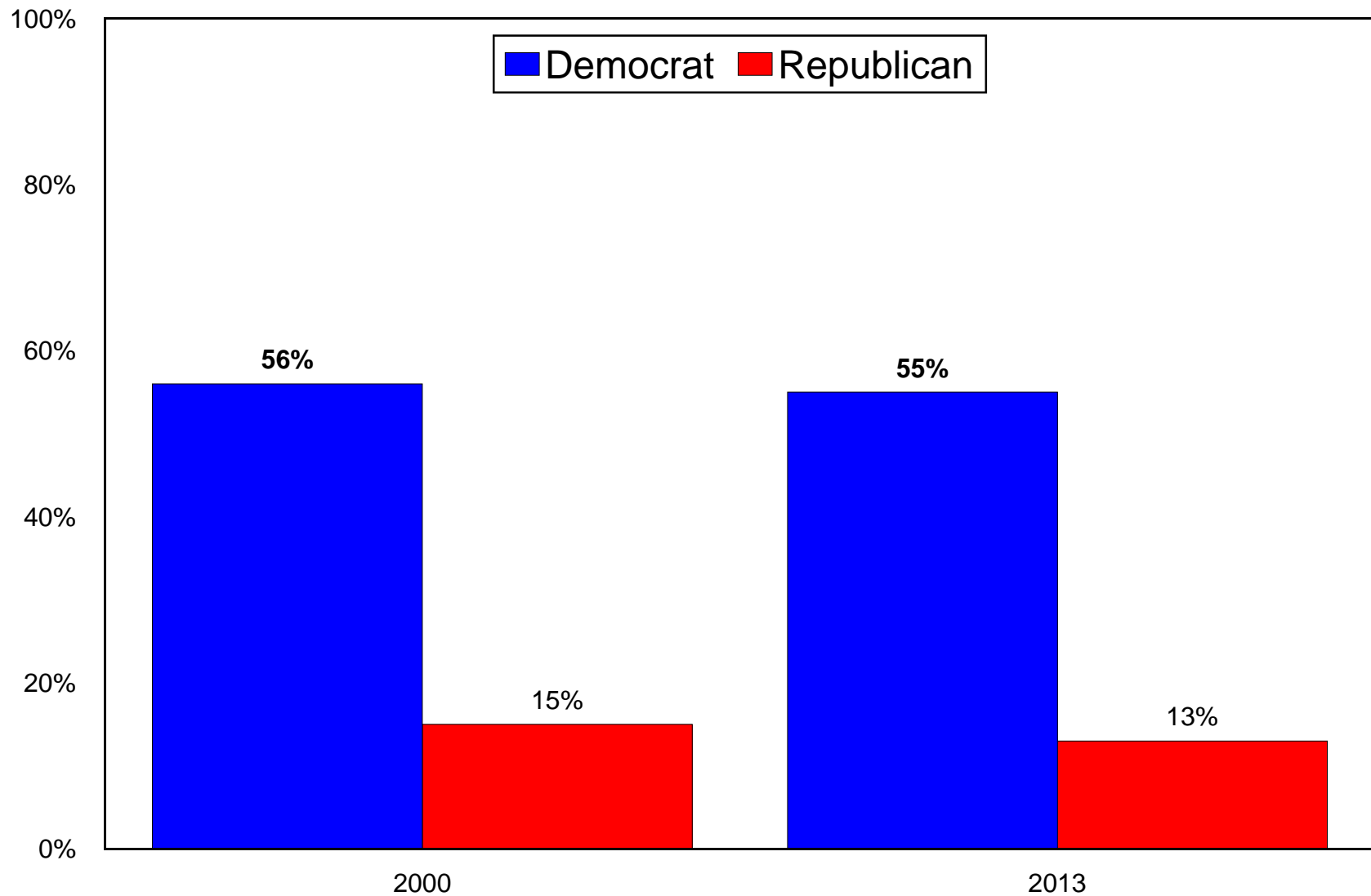
Political Party of Jews

Pew 2013



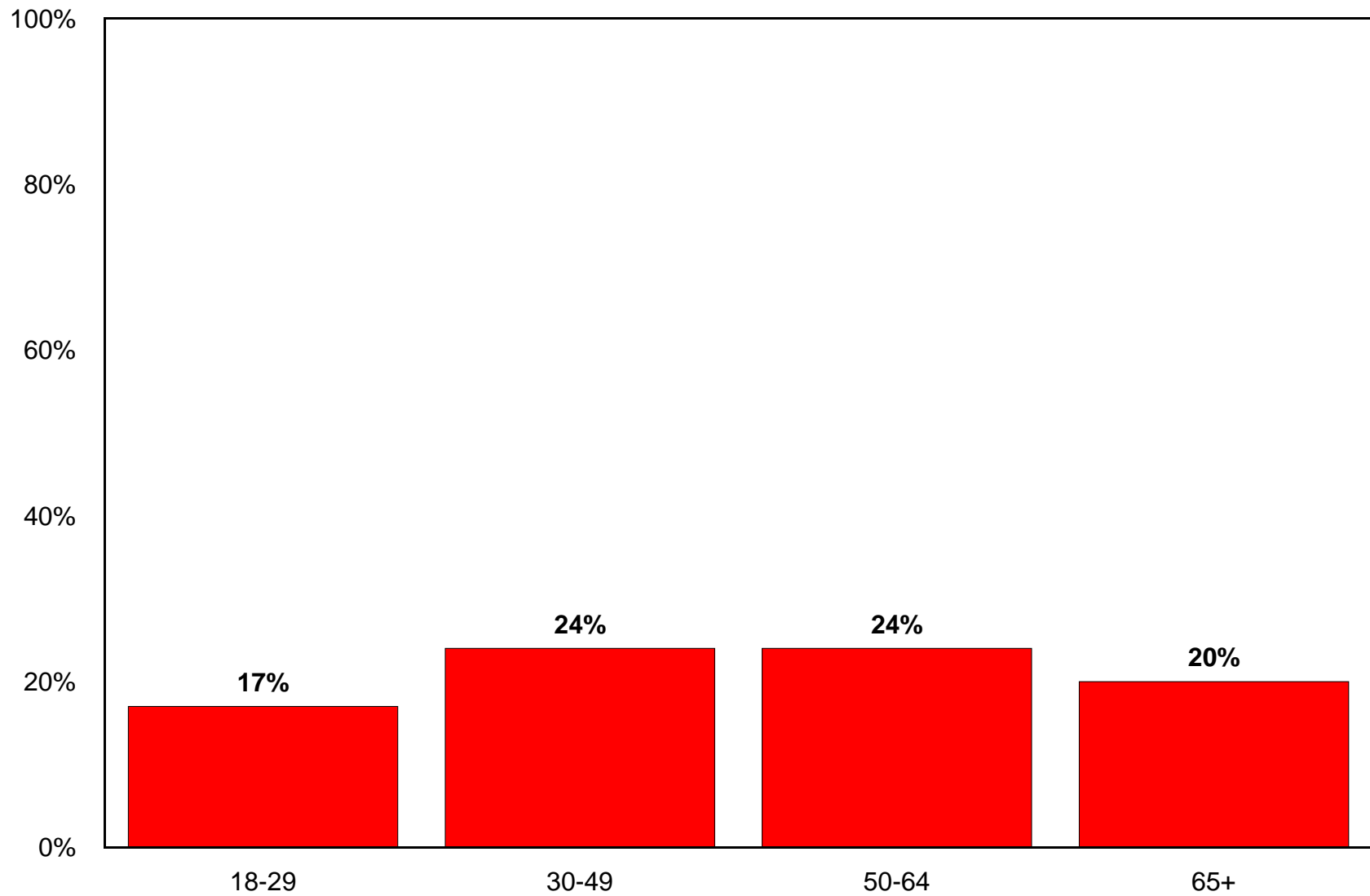
Pew Question Distinguishes:
Democrat or Lean Democrat
Republican or Lean Republican

Changes in Party, 2000-2013



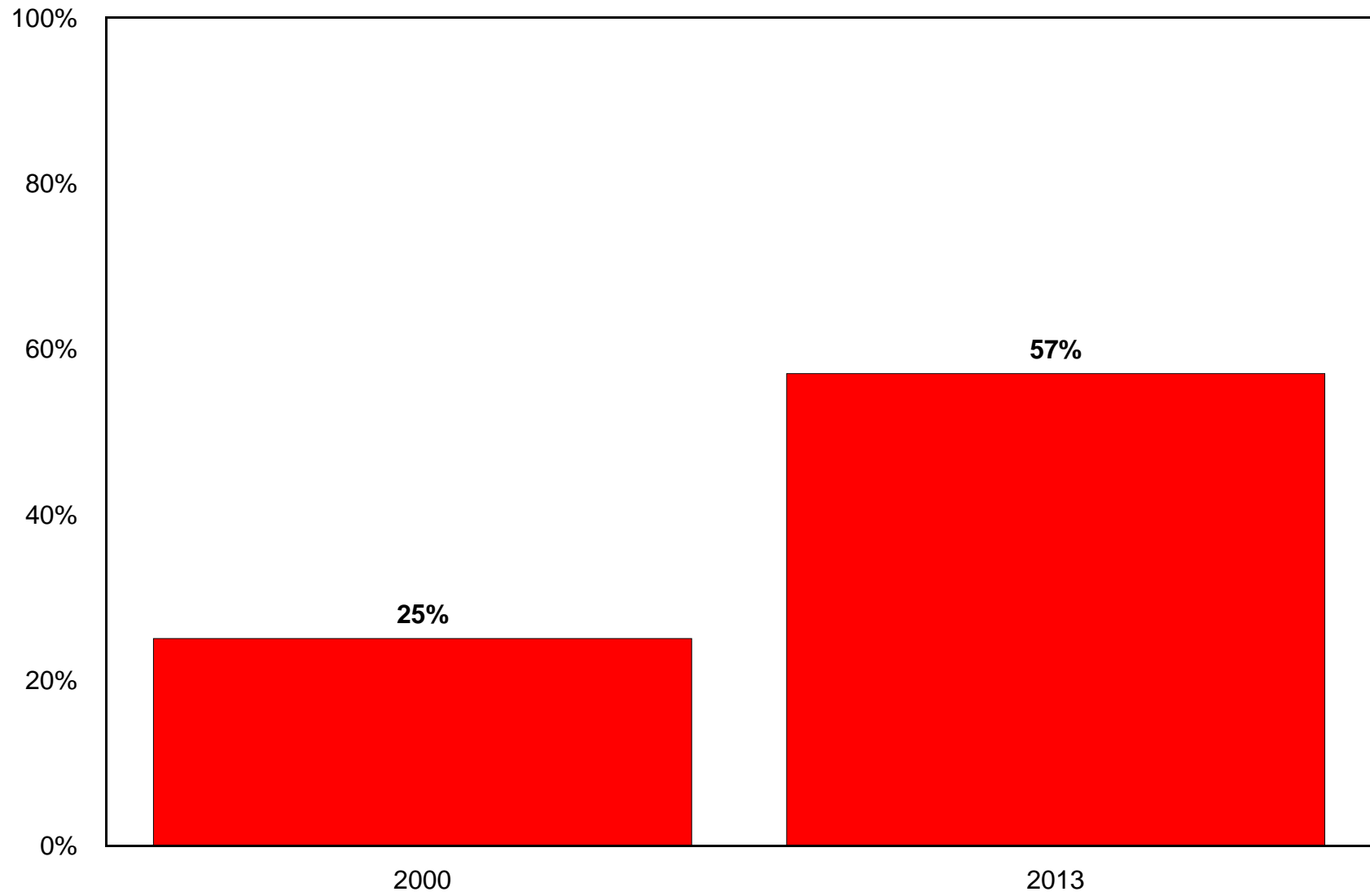
Source: 2000 data from National Jewish Population Survey;
2013 data from Pew Research Center

Republican by Age, 2013



Source: Pew Research Center

%of Orthodox Jews Who Are Republican, 2000-2013



Source: 2000 data from National Jewish Population Survey;
2013 data from Pew Research Center

Why Are Orthodox Jews More Likely to Be Republican?

Social Issues:

82% of all Jews say homosexuality should be accepted by society vs. 32% of the Orthodox

Economic Issues:

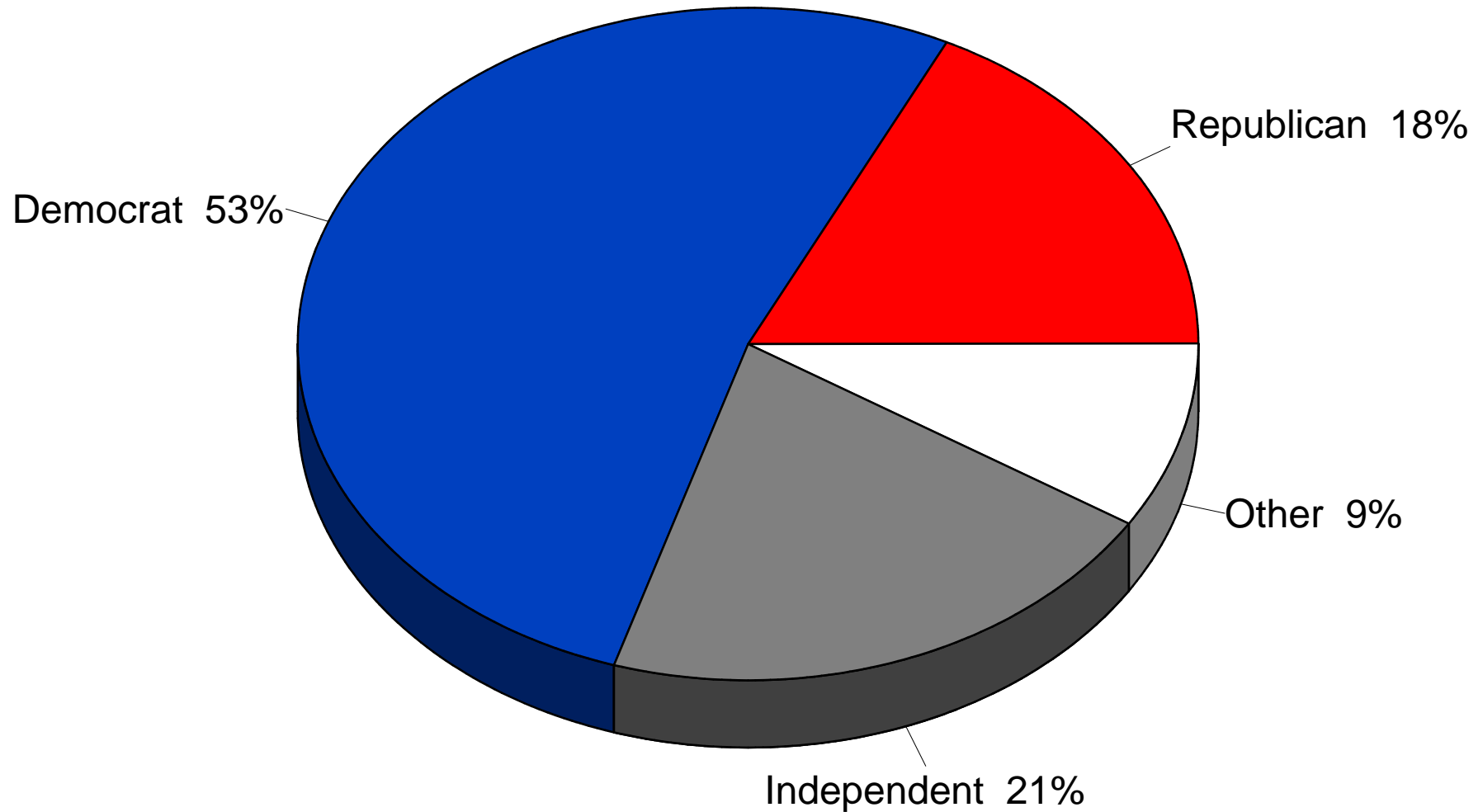
54% of all Jews prefer bigger government vs. 34% of the Orthodox

Obama's stance on Israel and Iran

60% of all Jews supported Obama on Iran
(sample size of Orthodox is too small, but no doubt support was less by the Orthodox)

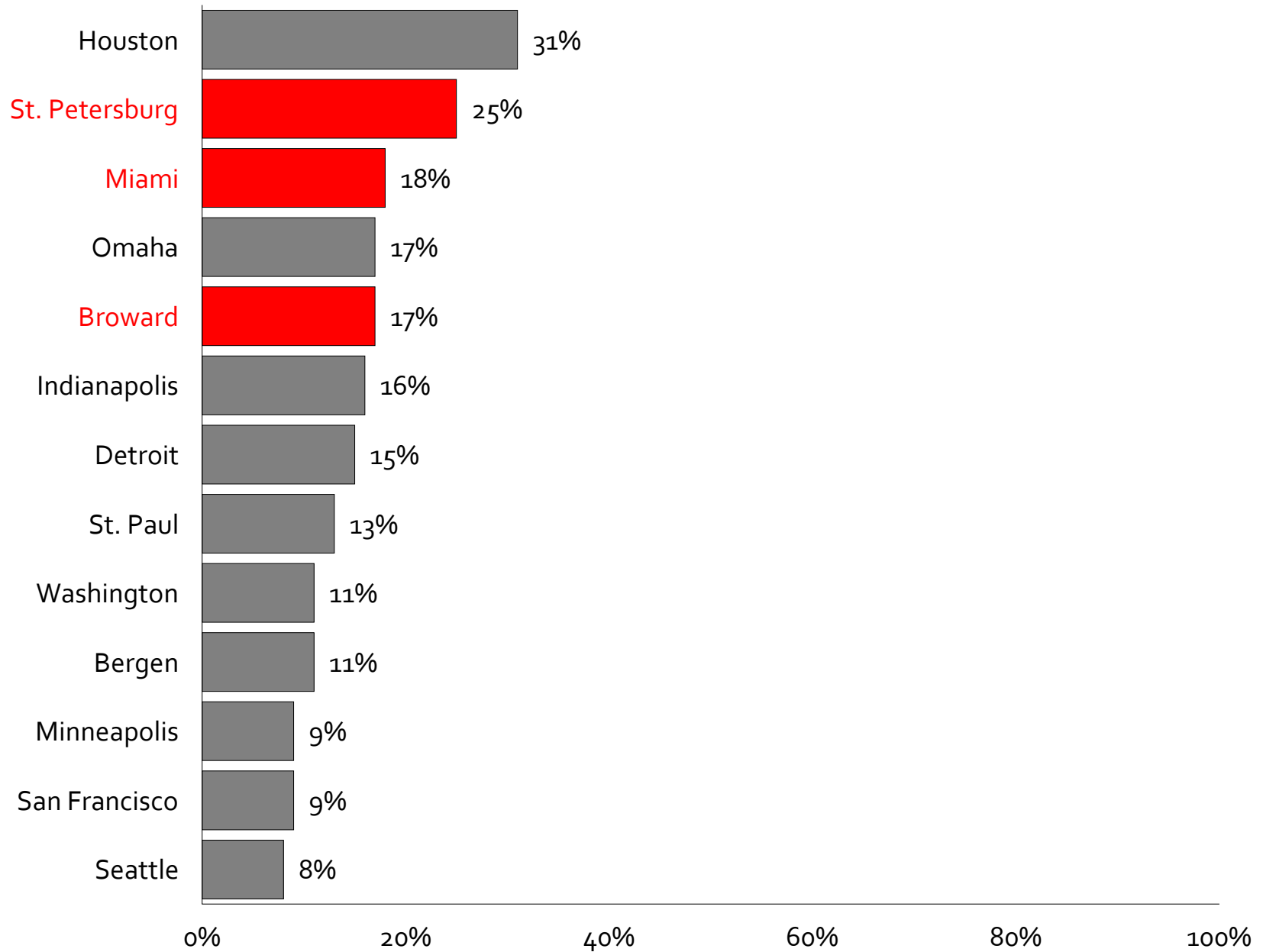
Political Party- Miami Jews

(Jewish Respondents)



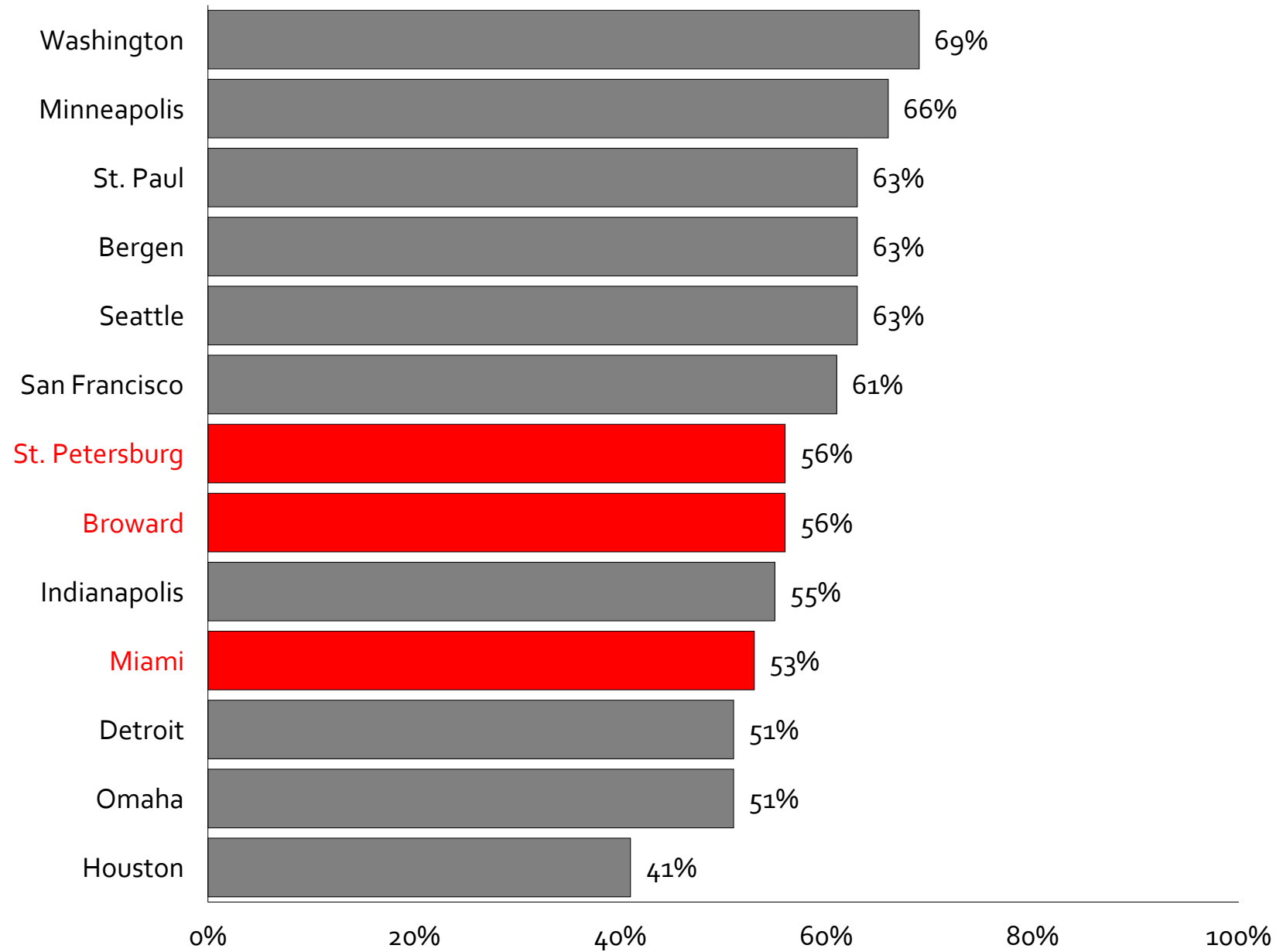
Percentage Republican

(Jewish Respondents)



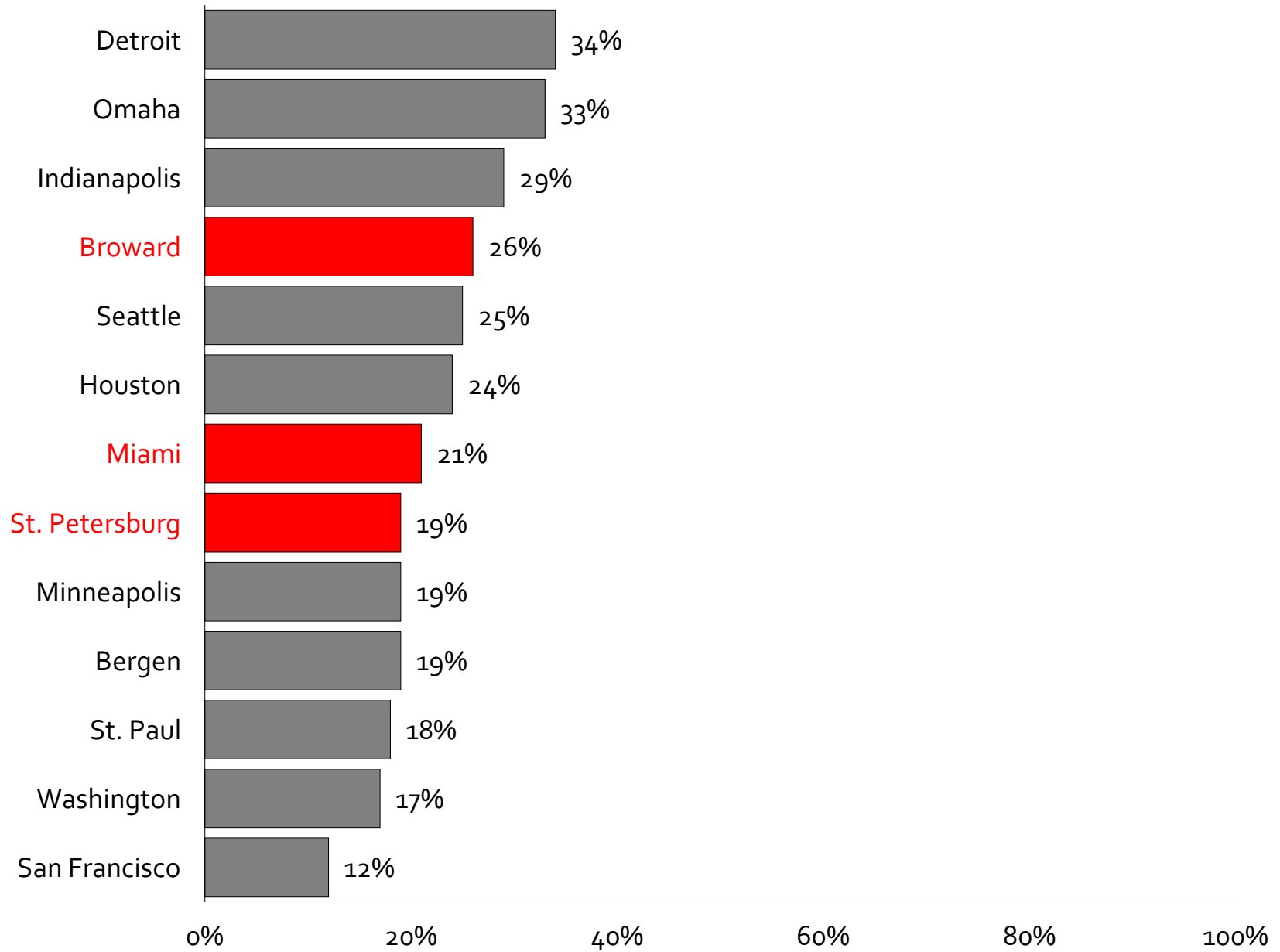
Percentage Democrat

(Jewish Respondents)



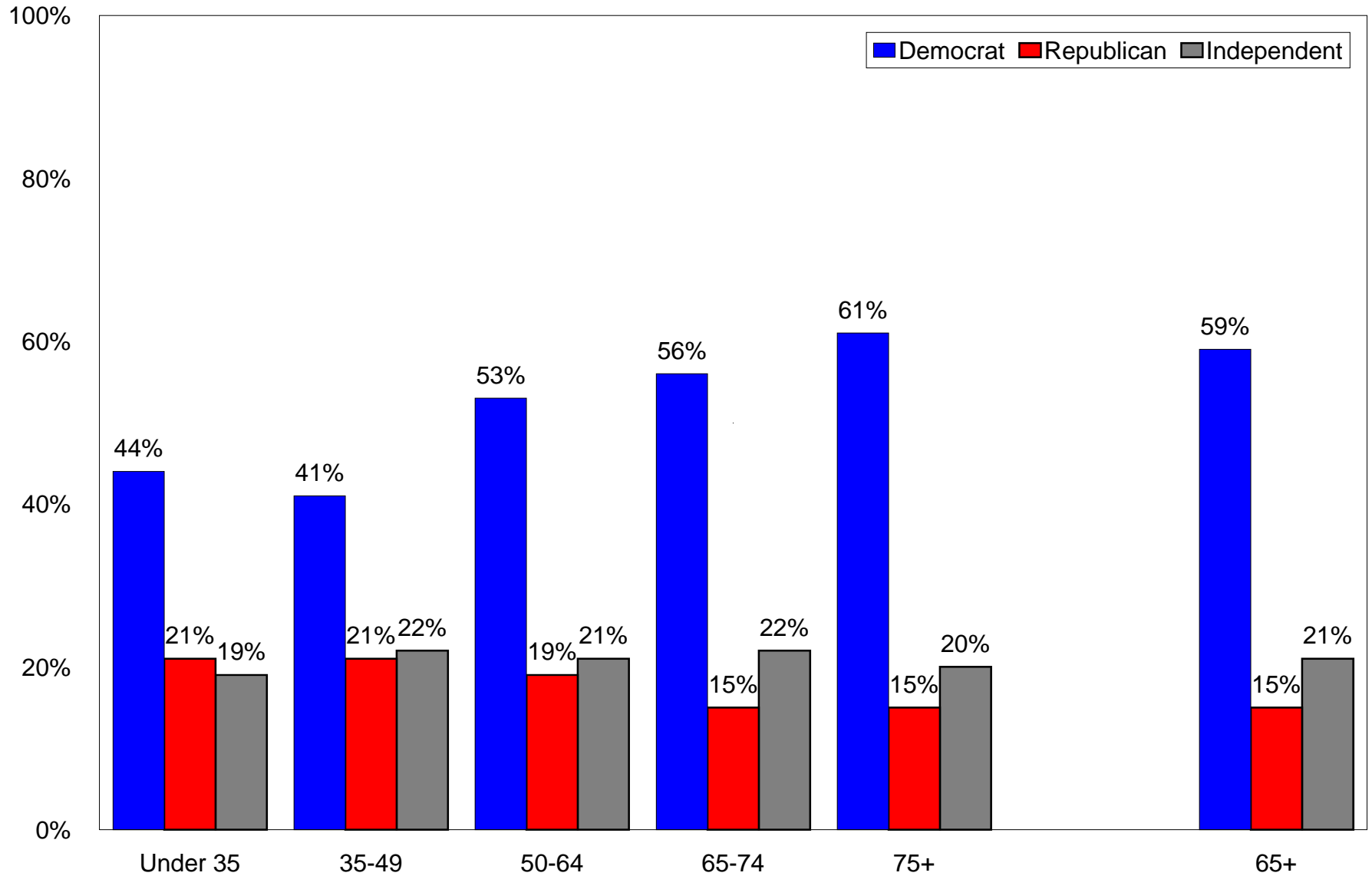
Percentage Independent

(Jewish Respondents)



Political Party by Age- Miami

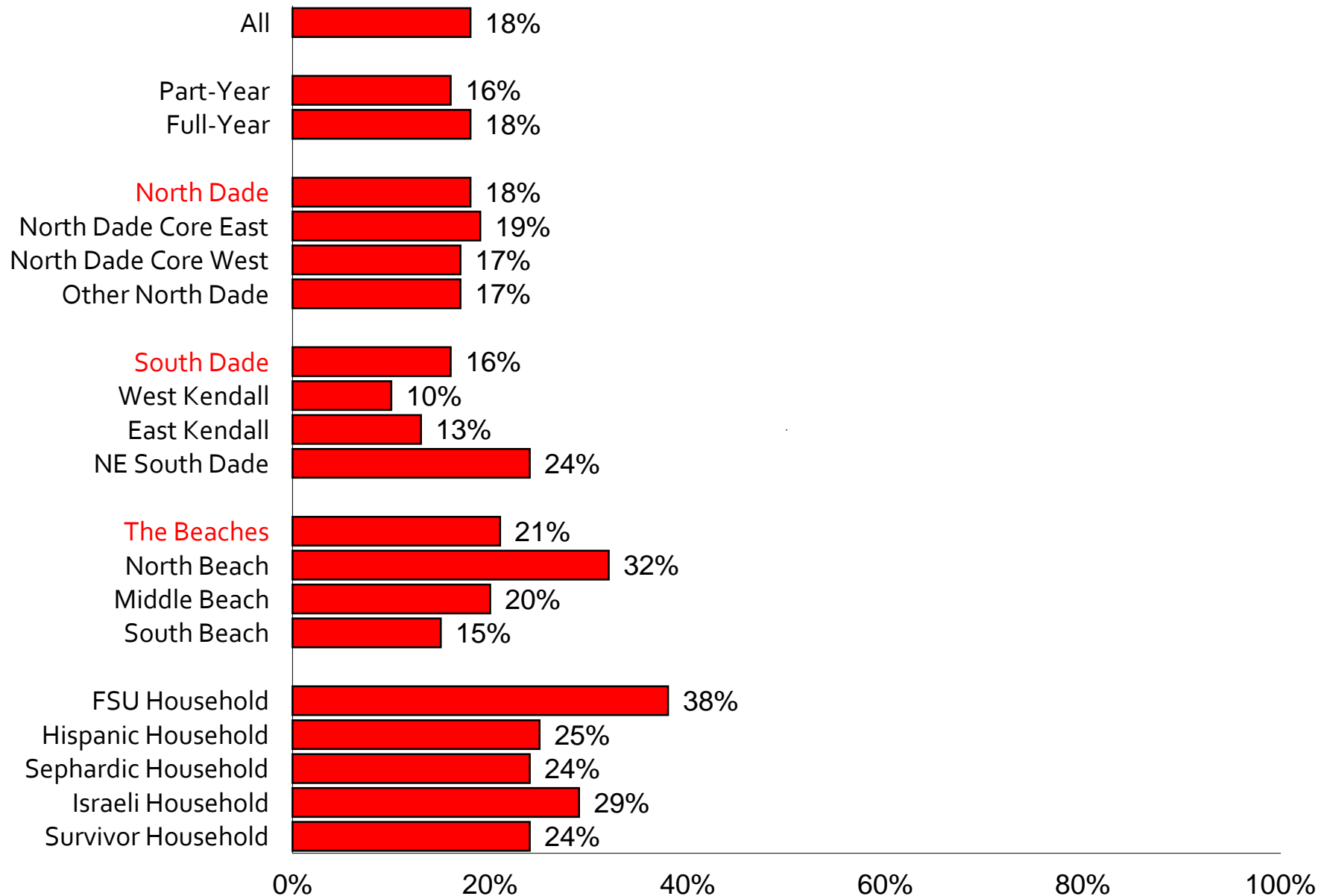
(Jewish Respondents)



"Other" not shown

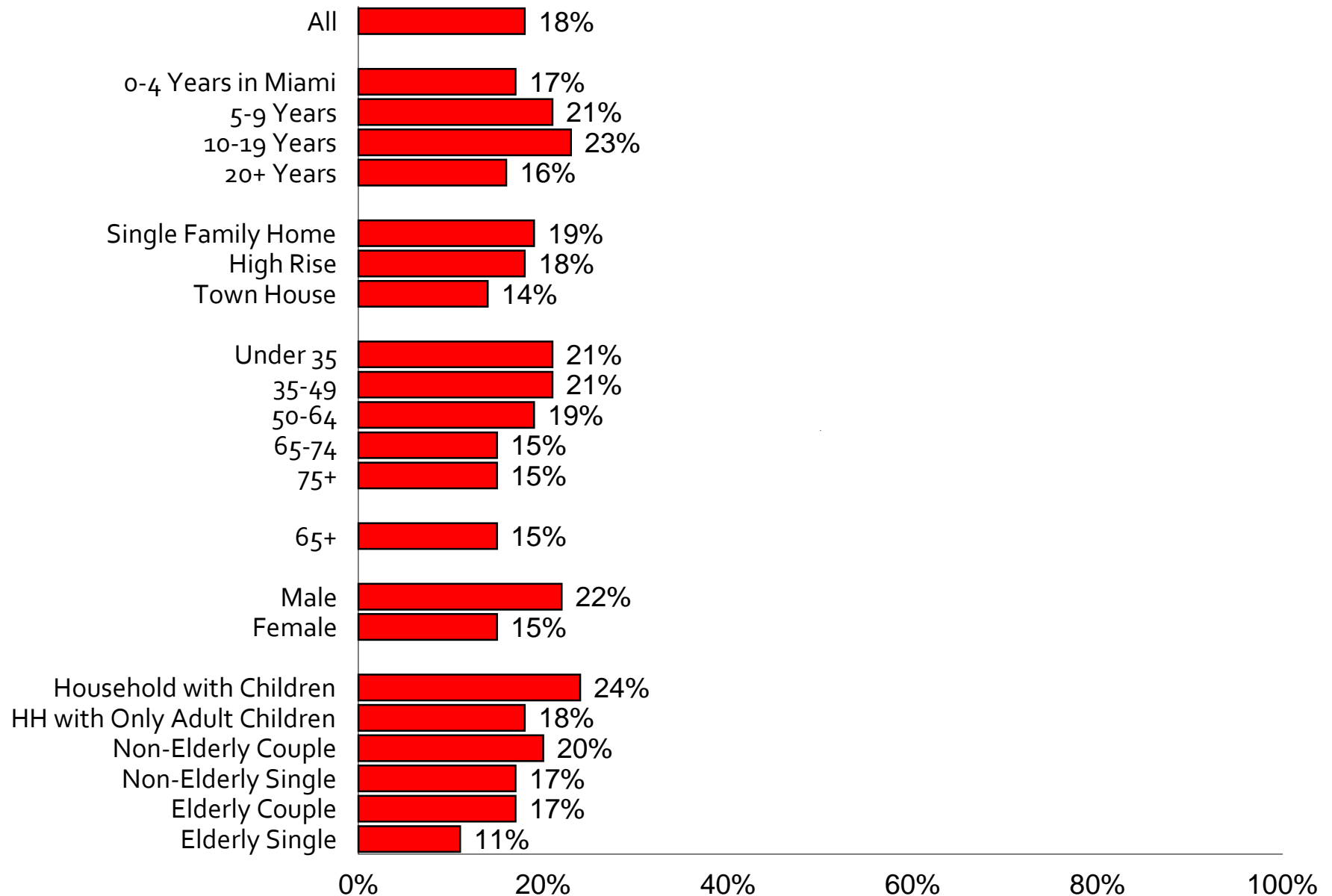
Republican- Miami

(Jewish Respondents)



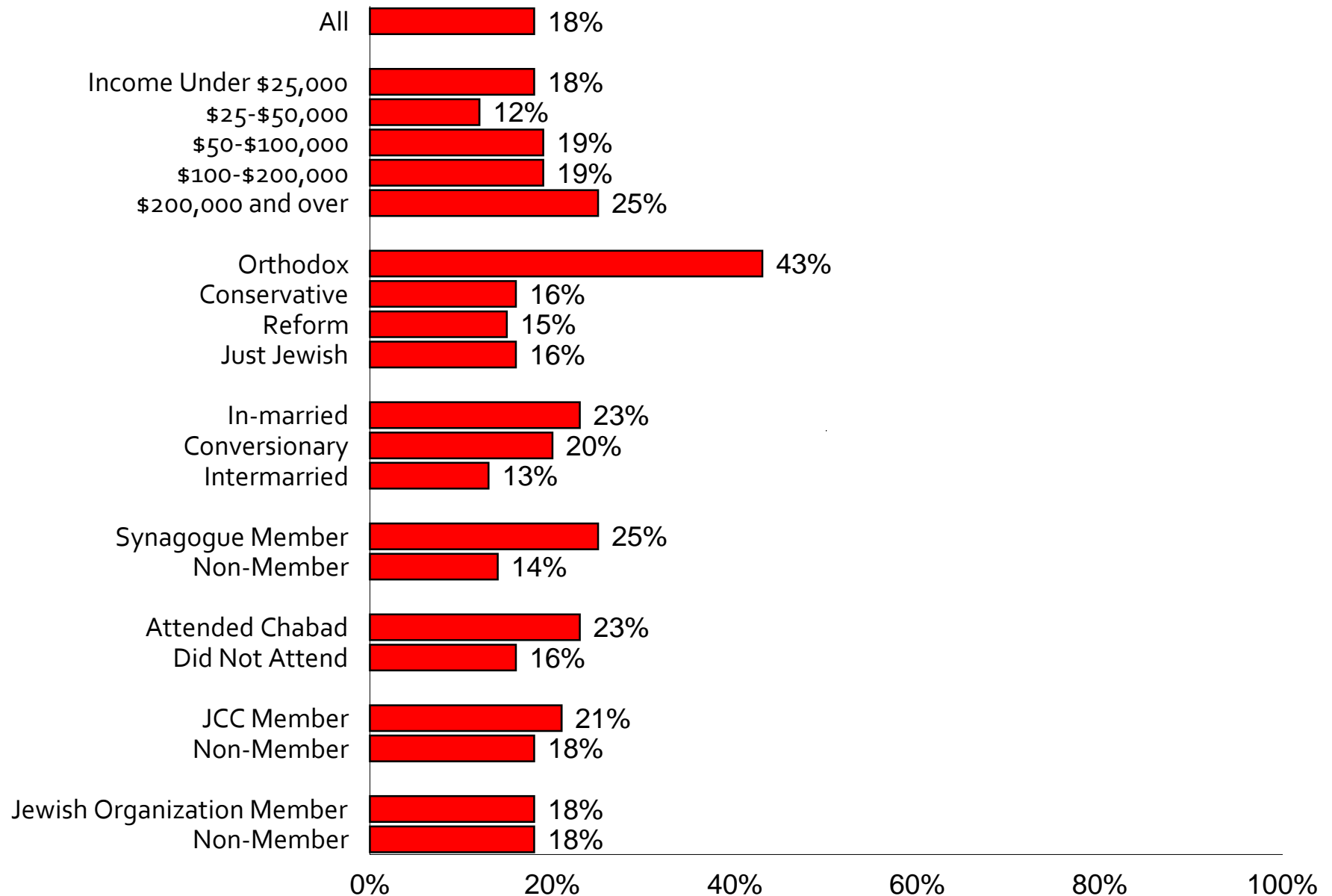
Republican- Miami

(Jewish Respondents)



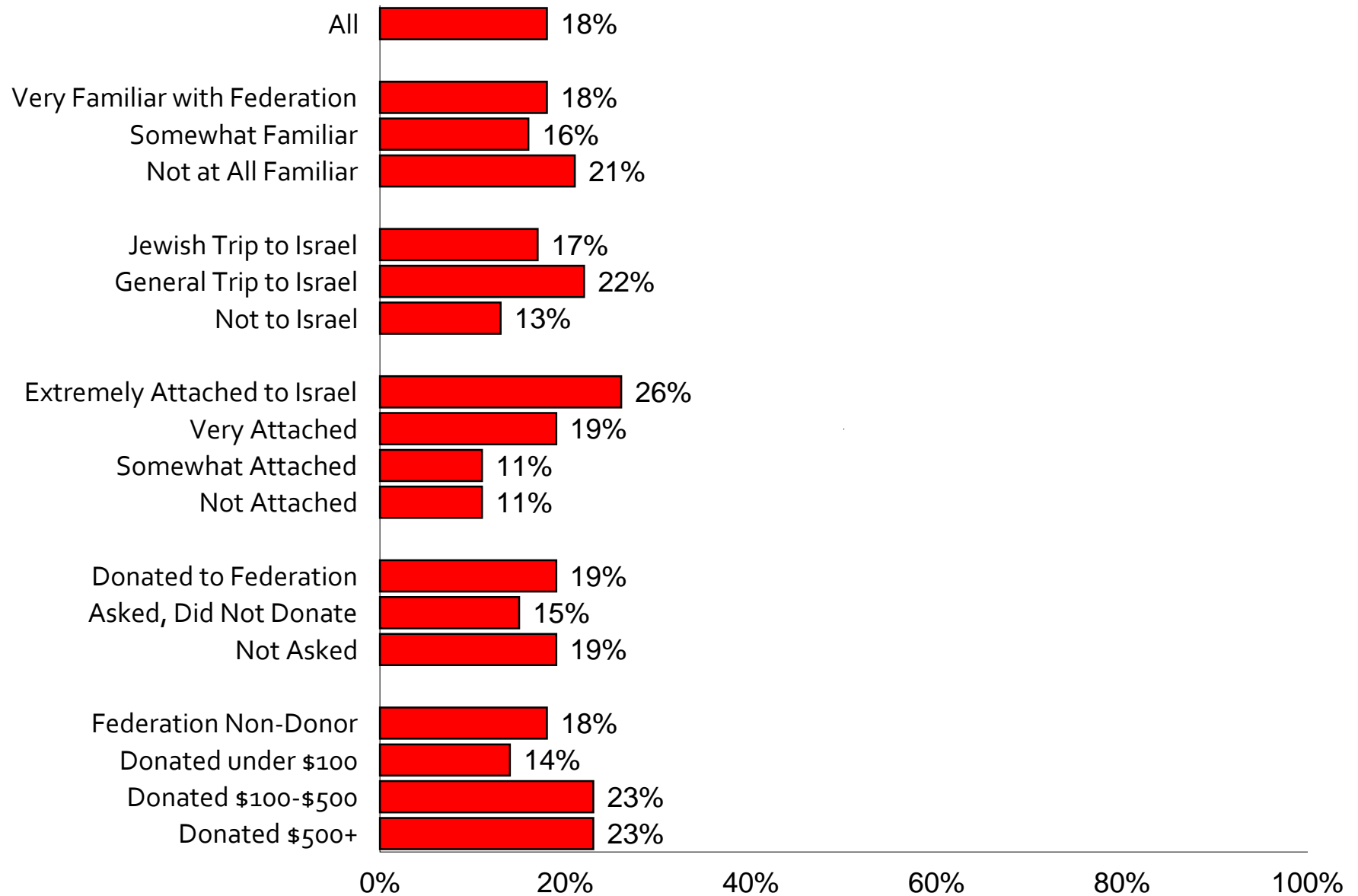
Republican- Miami

(Jewish Respondents)



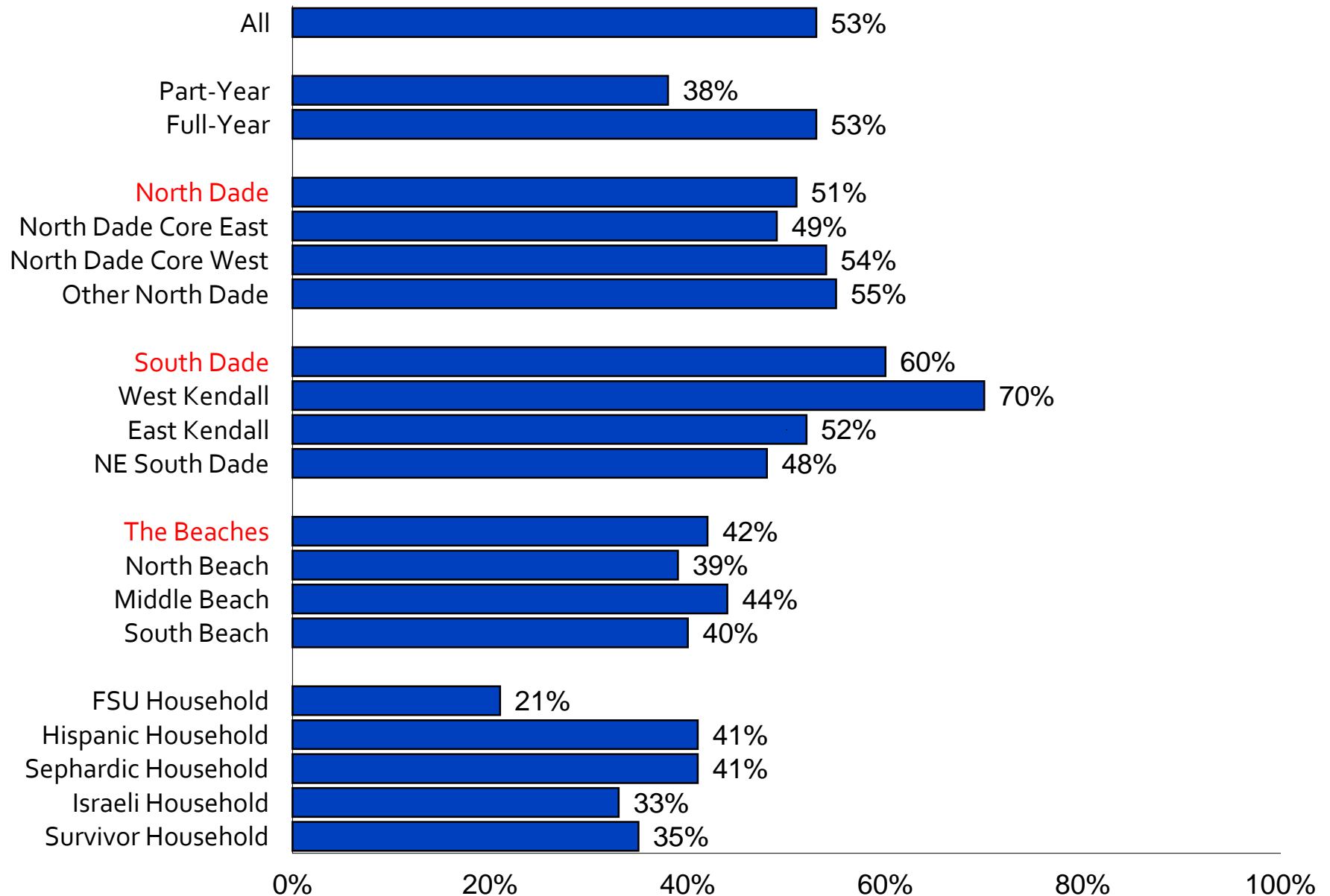
Republican- Miami

(Jewish Respondents)



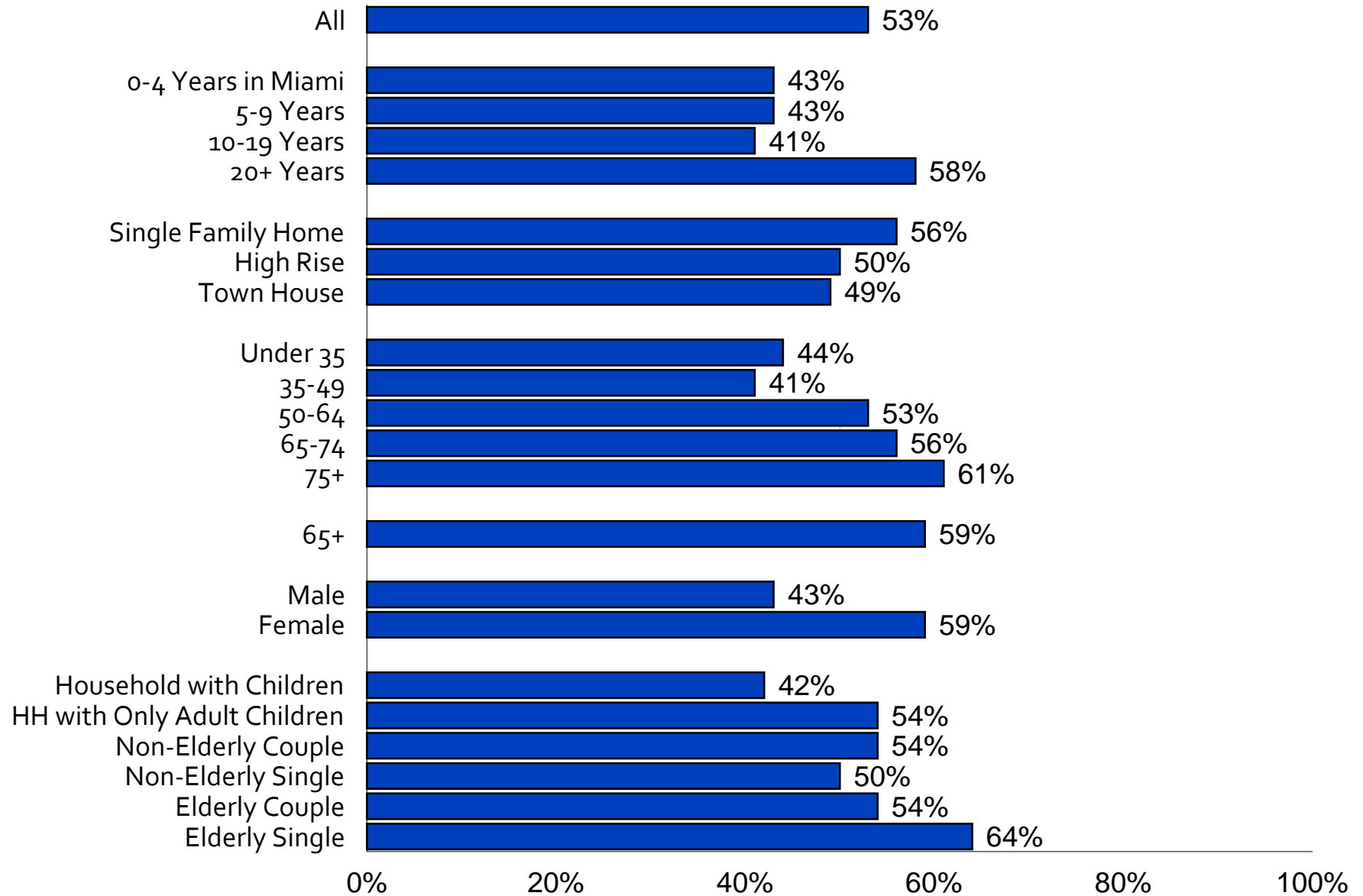
Democrat-Miami

(Jewish Respondents)



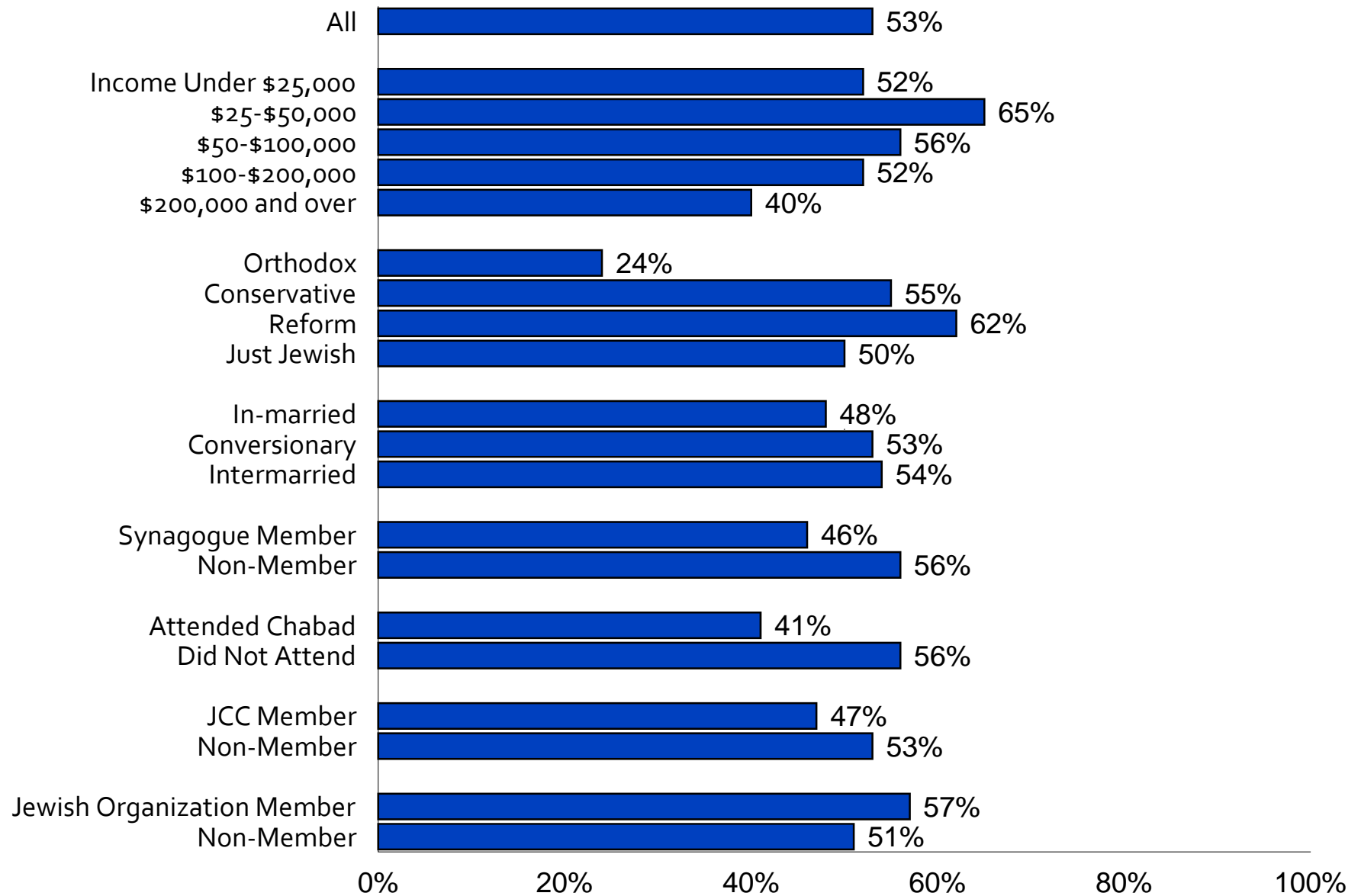
Democrat - Miami

(Jewish Respondents)



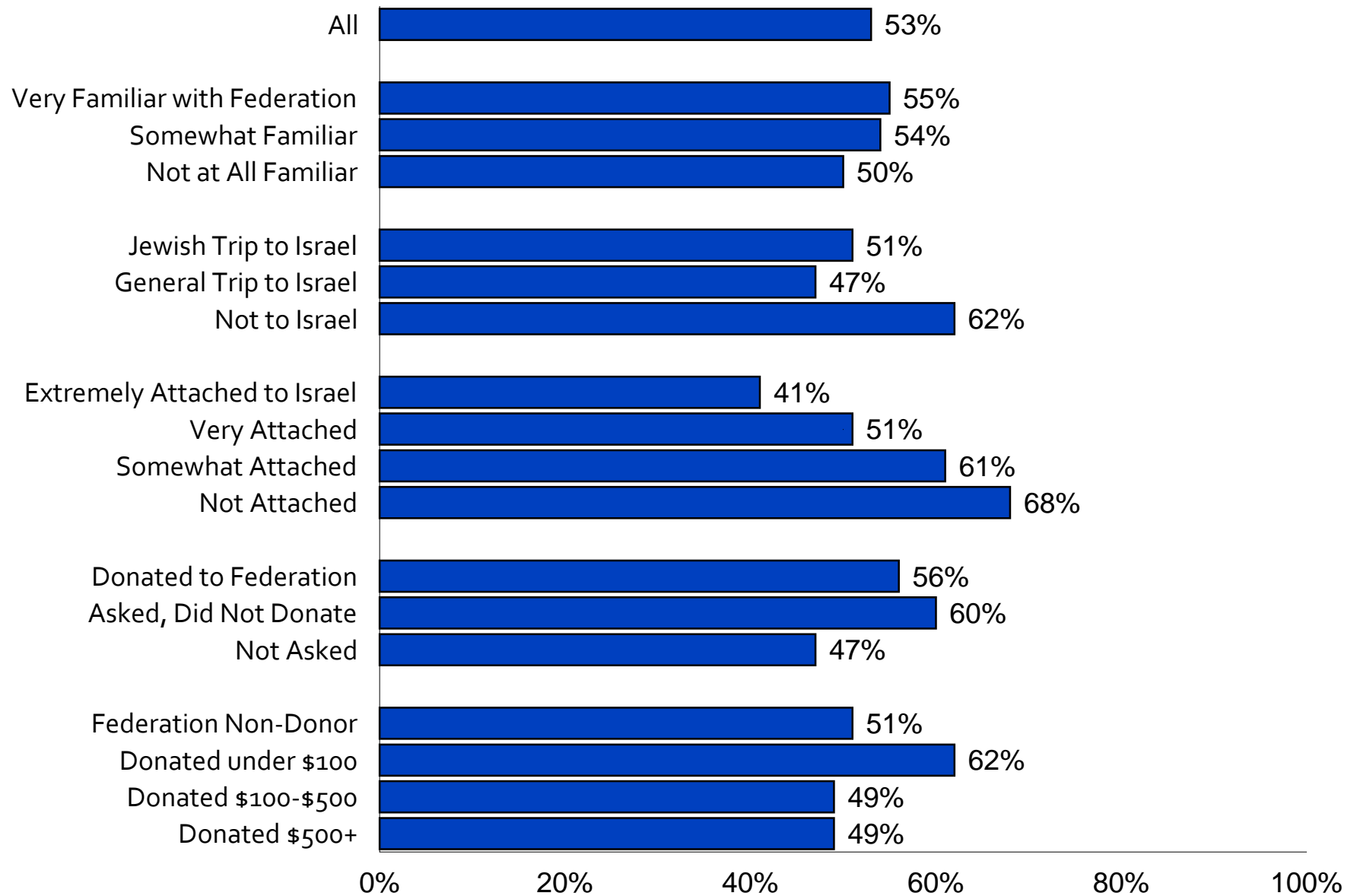
Democrat - Miami

(Jewish Respondents)



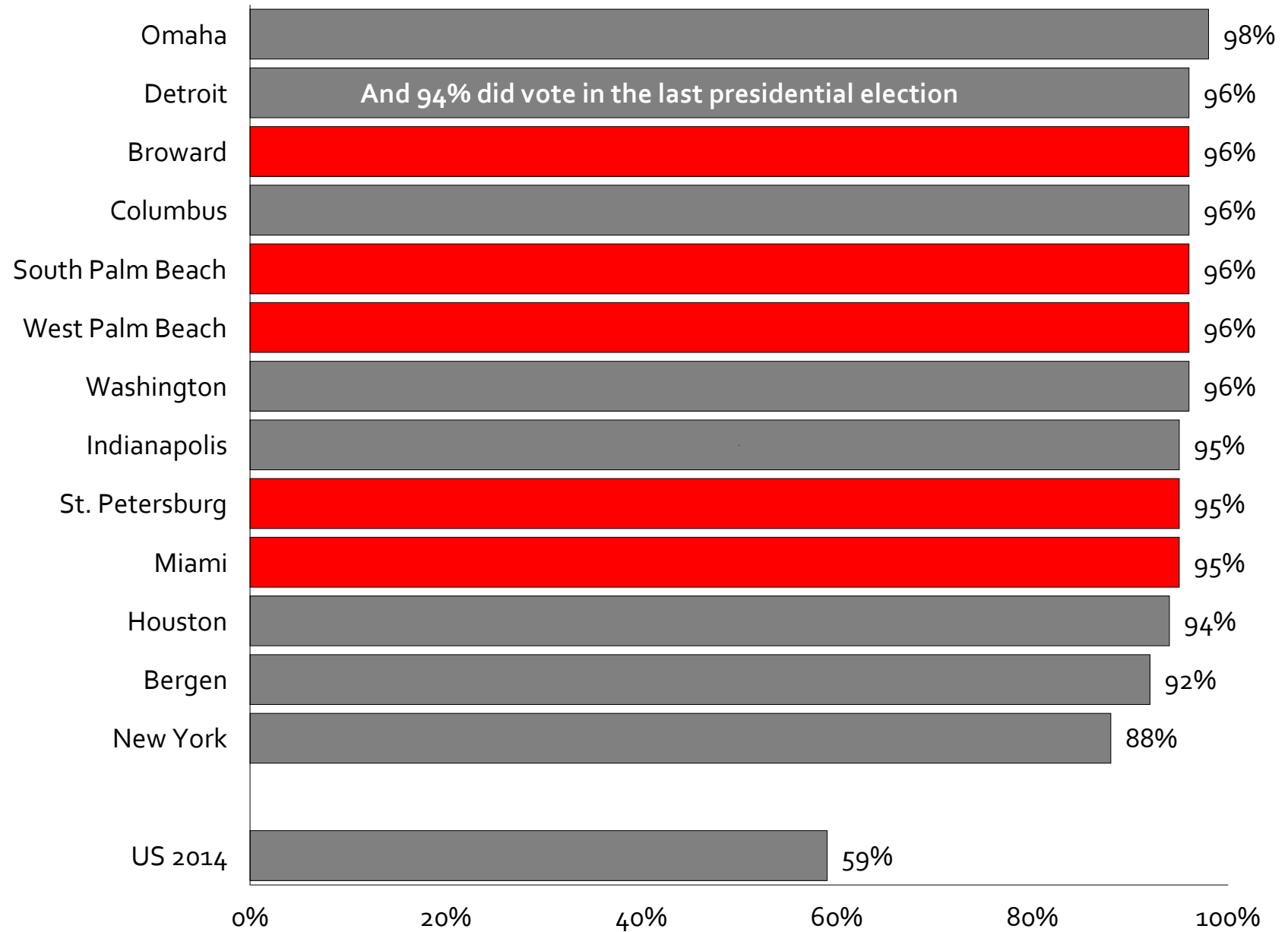
Democrat- Miami

(Jewish Respondents)



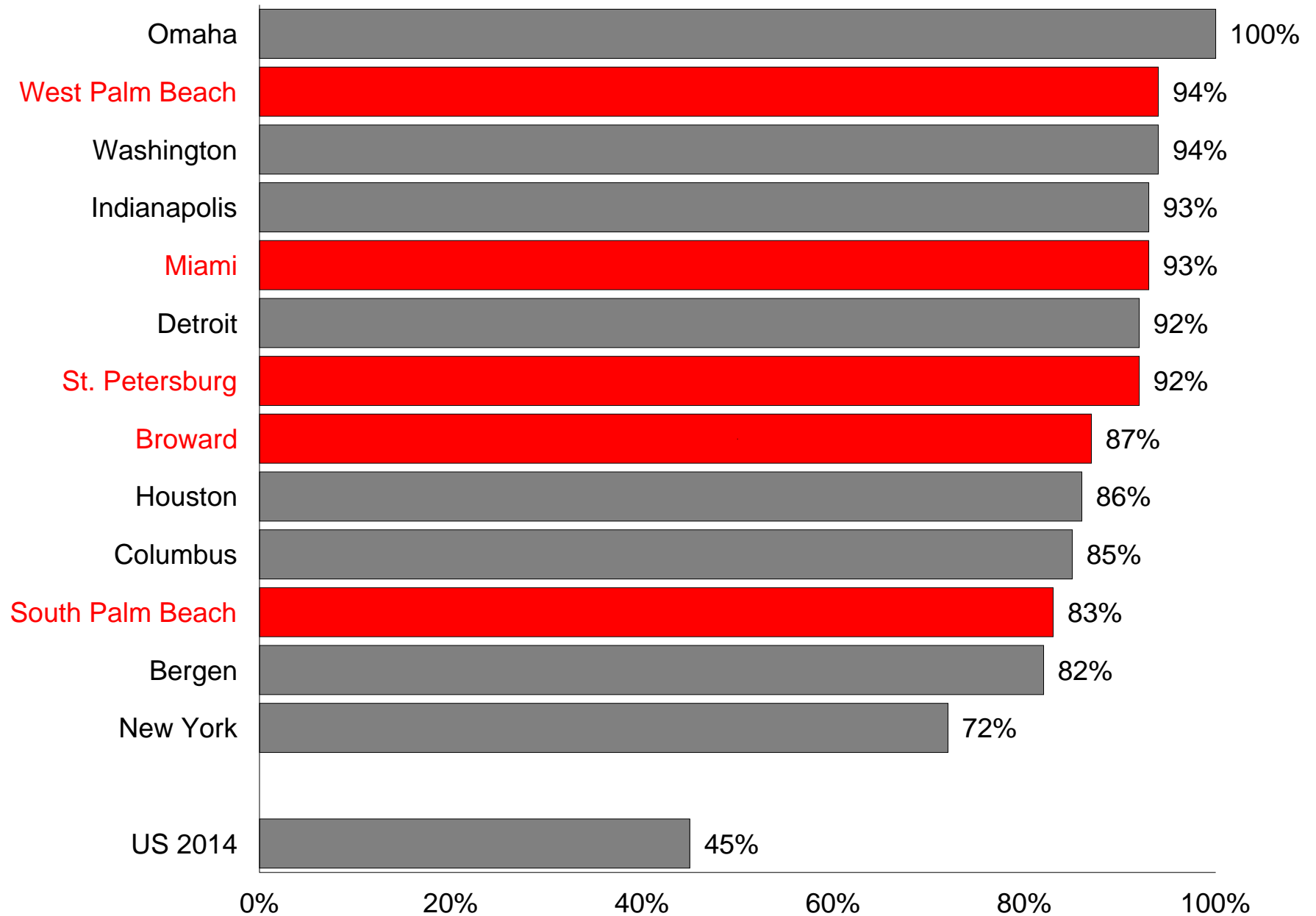
Registered to Vote

(Respondents)



Registered to Vote

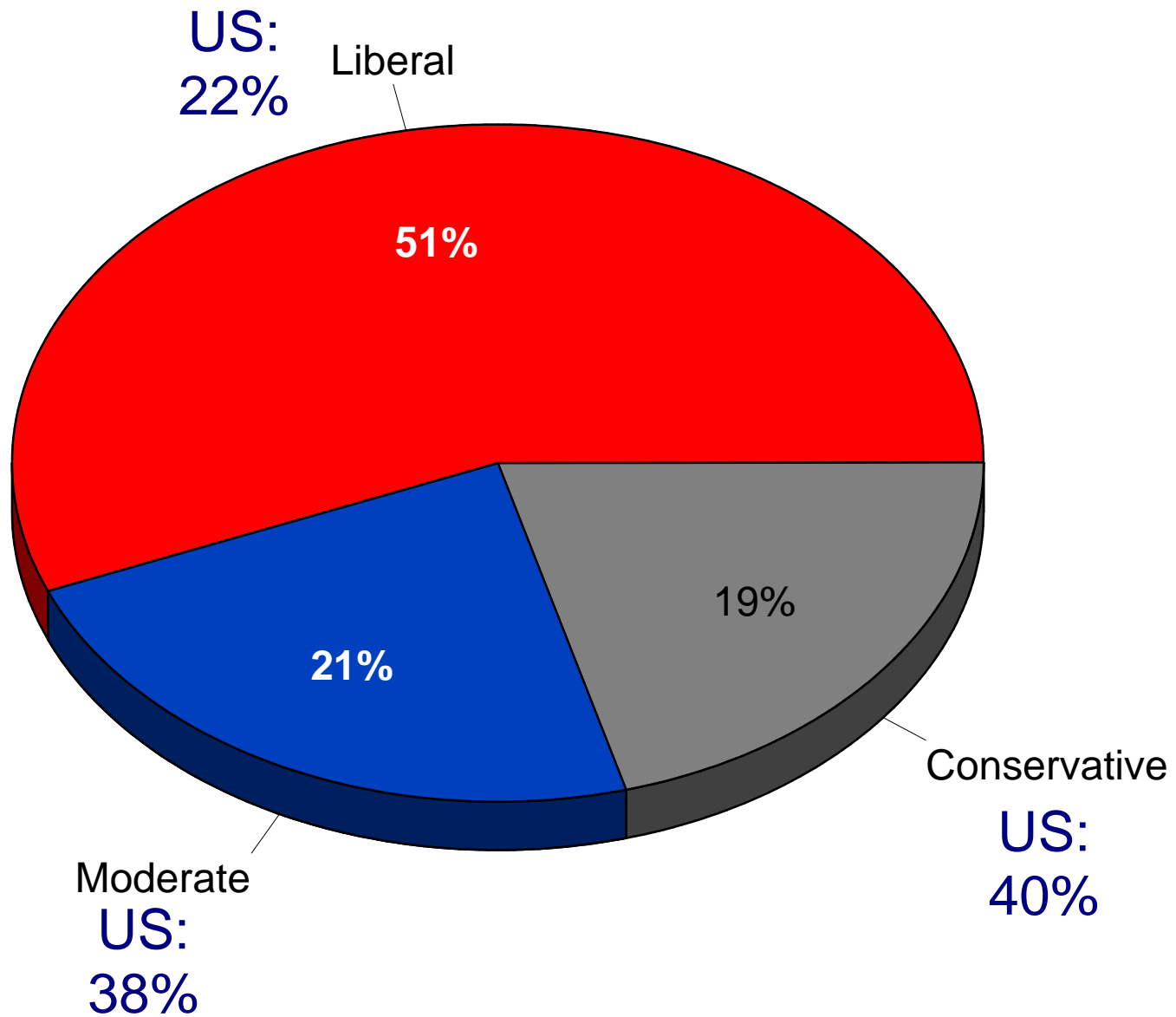
(Respondents Under Age 35)



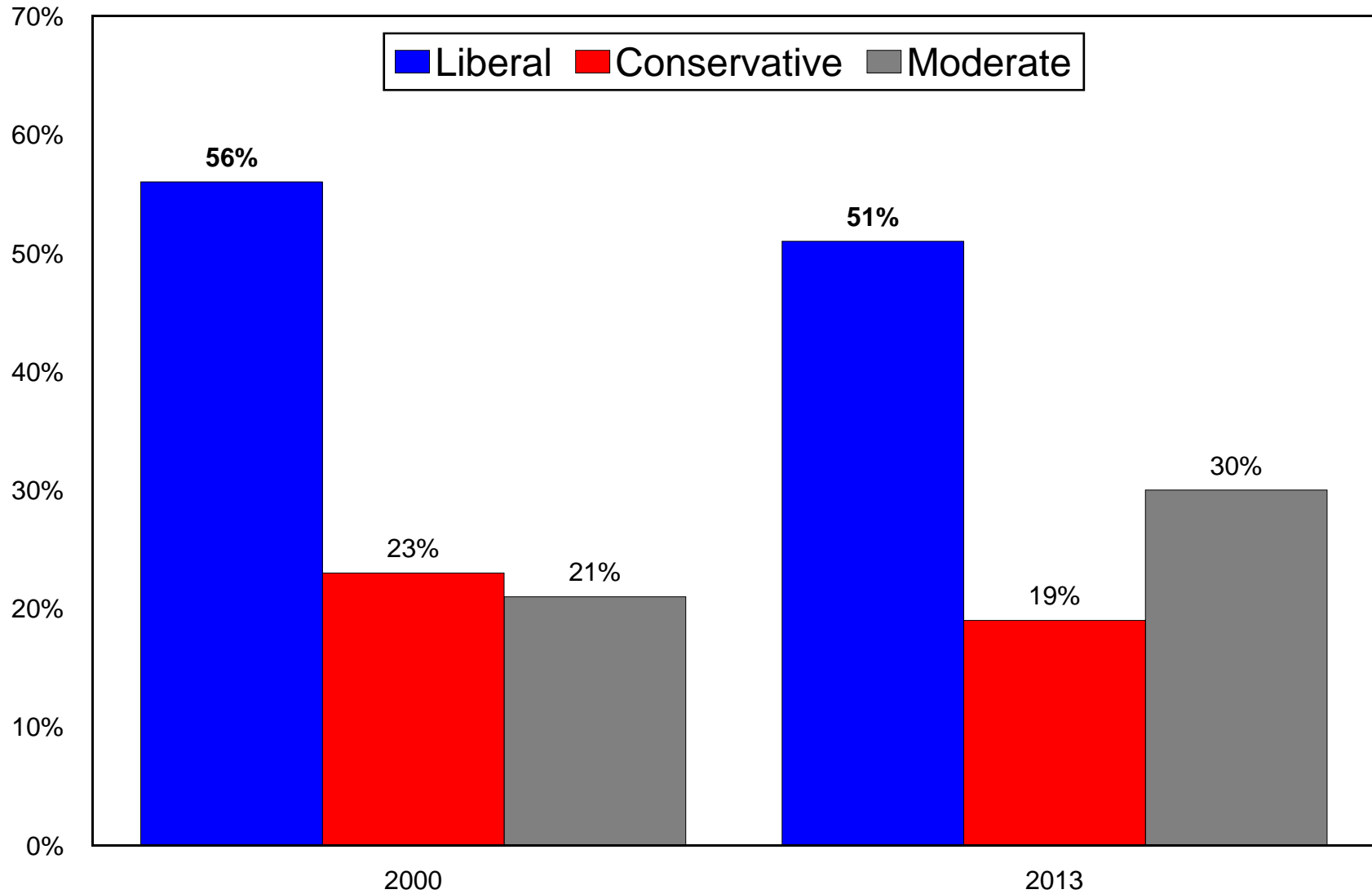
Political Views

Political View

(Jewish Respondents)



Changes in Political View 2000-2013



Source: 2000 data from National Jewish Population Survey;
2013 data from Pew Research Center

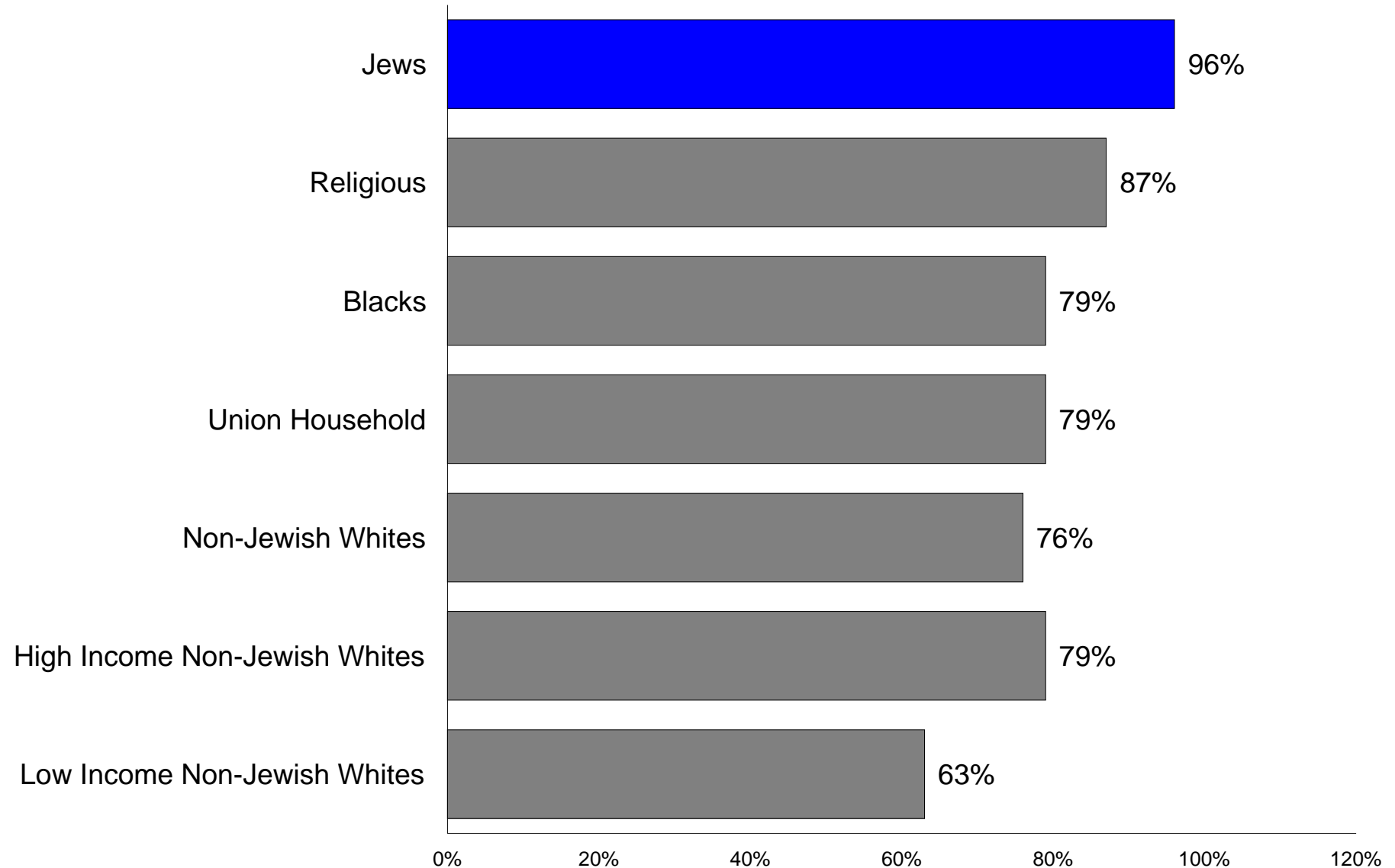
Reasons for Jewish Impact on the Elections

- * Electoral College
- * Voter Registration
- * Voter Turnout
- * Political Activity
- * Donations to Candidates
- * Innumeracy

Jews Turnout to Vote at a High Rate

Estimated Turnout in 2008

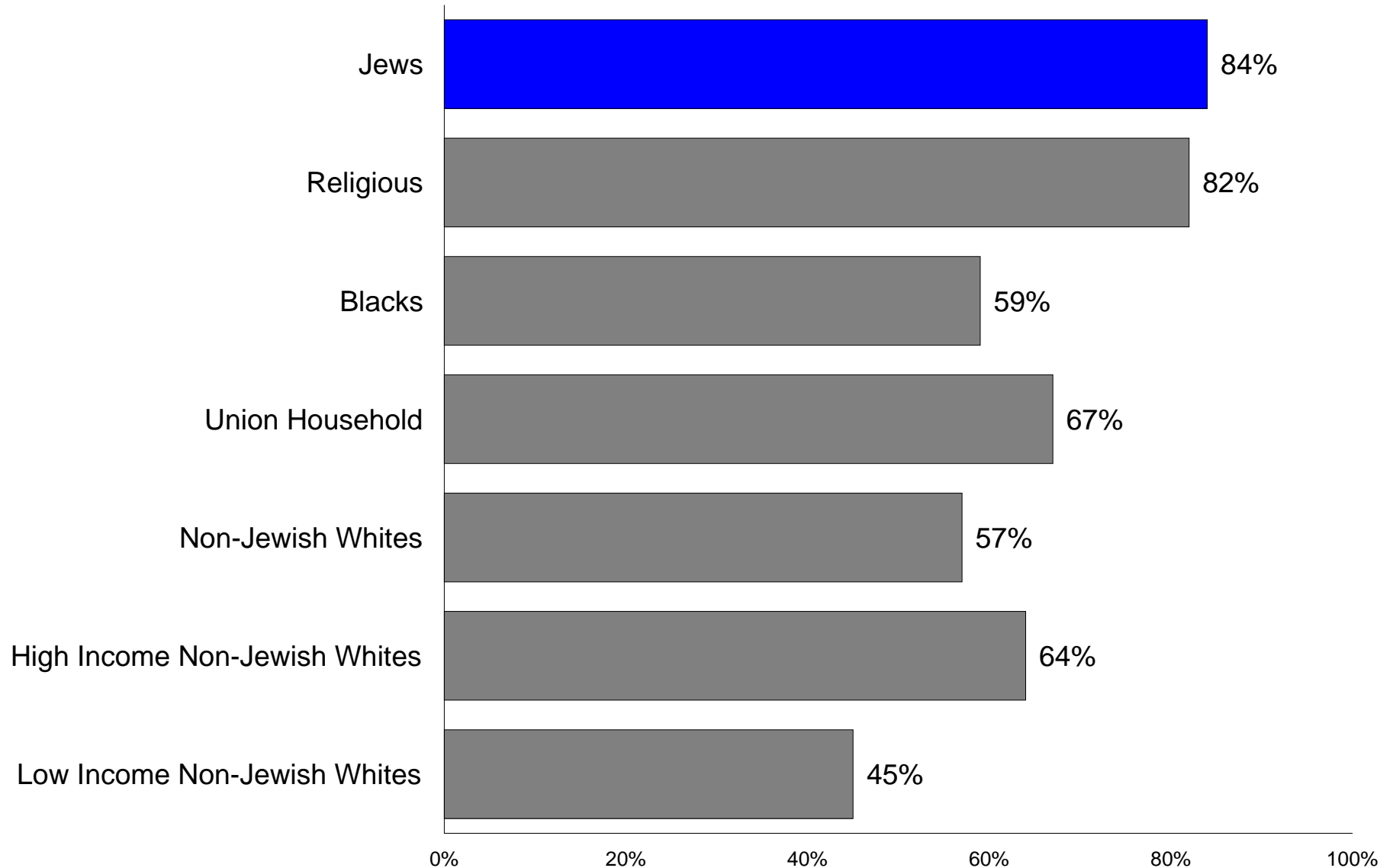
American National Election Study



Jews Turnout to Vote at a High Rate

Voting Frequency (Always + Nearly Always)

American National Election Study



An Additional Reason for Jewish Impact on the Elections

Estimates are that between

"as much or more than about one third" (Jonathan Tobin)

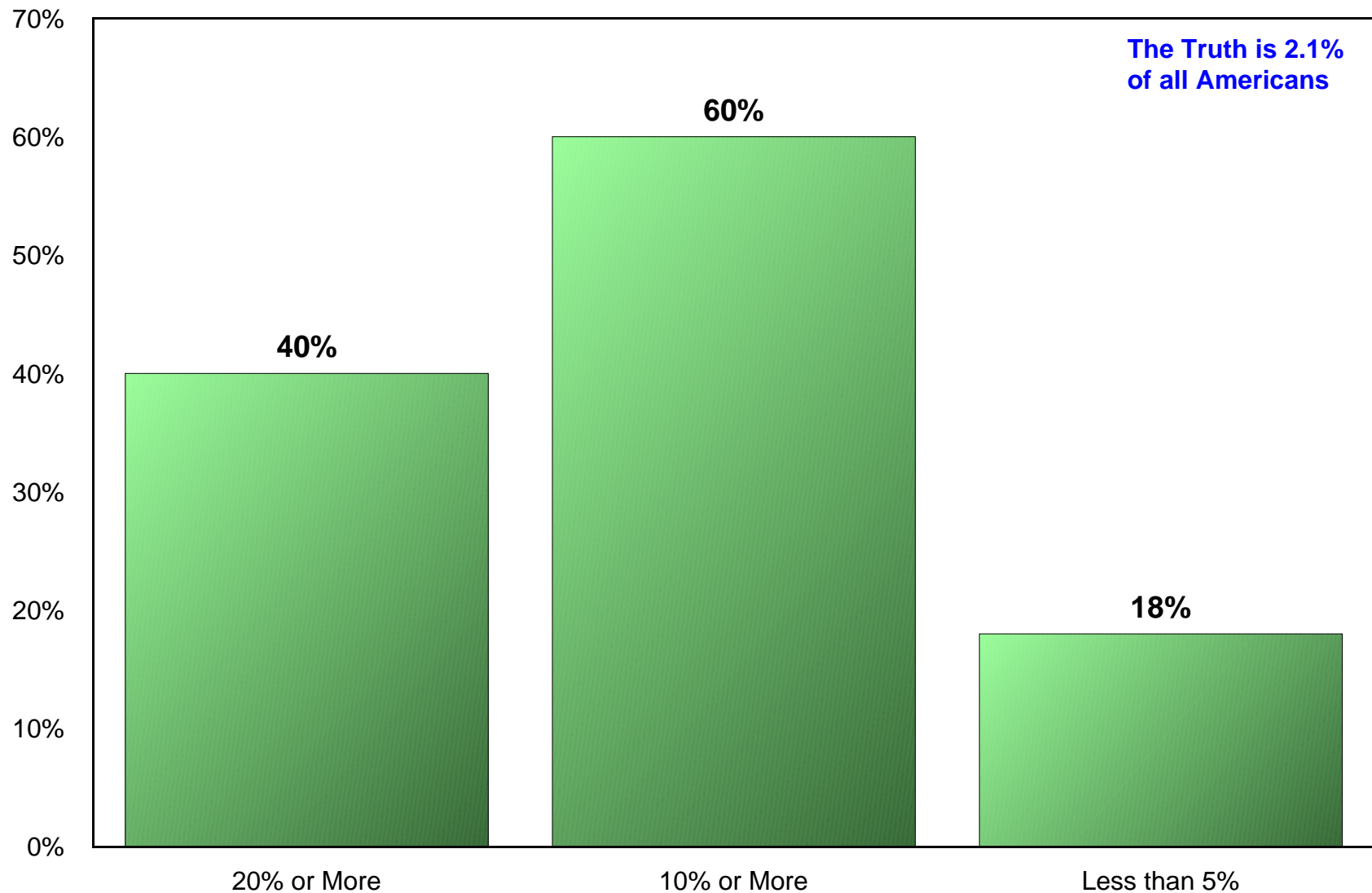
to

**60% (Thomas Edsall and Alan Cooperman)
of donations to the Democratic Party come from Jews
NJDC (National Jewish Democratic Council)**

**Large donations also go to the Republican Party
RJC (Republican Jewish Coalition - Adelson)**

Another Reason for Jewish Impact

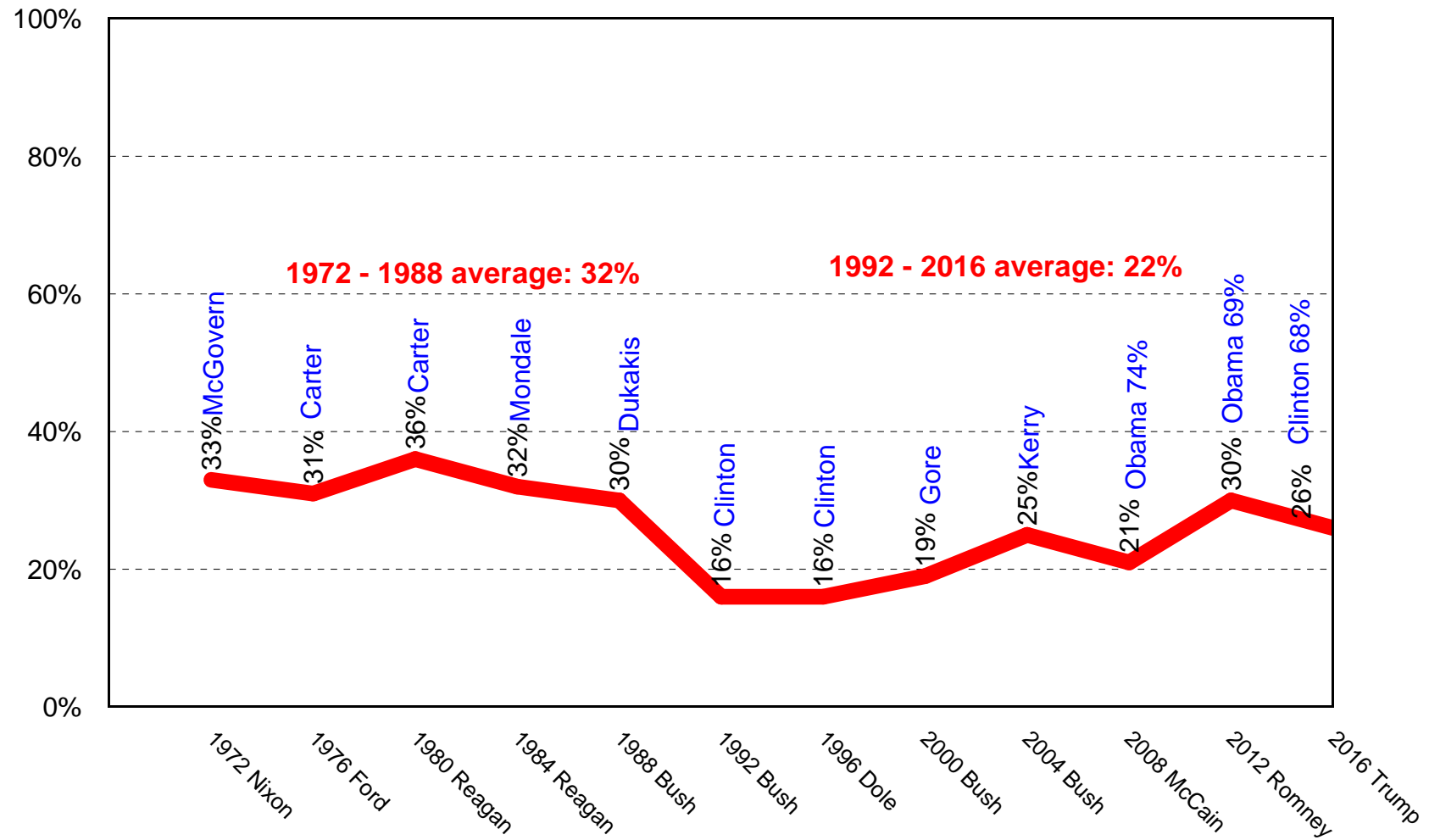
What Percentage of Americans Are Jewish?



Source: Nedeau, Niemi and Levine (1993) "Innumeracy About Minority Populations" Public Opinion Quarterly

Jewish Voting in the Presidential Elections

Jewish Vote for the Republican Candidate in Presidential Elections 1972-2016



Source: Weisberg 1972 through 2000, Pew Research Center 2000-2016

Why Do Jews Remain Democrats in Such Overwhelming Numbers?

1. From Jewish culture:
 1. *Tikkun Olam* (2012 Jewish Values Survey--72% of Jews see this as an important value)
 2. *Tzedakah* (80% as important)
 3. Jews generally view the Democratic Party as closer to these ideals
2. Because they are Jews and are reluctant to change philosophy
3. Historically, more anti-Semitism occurred from the right than the left
4. Jews live in cities which are Democratic areas
5. The Republican Party has moved significantly to the right given the base of evangelical Christians
6. The perceived anti-science, anti-intellectualism of the base of the Republican party (evolution)
7. Social Issues (abortion, gay marriage, immigration, Medicare, Social Security)
8. Neo-isolationism of the Tea Party
9. Jews have not yet seen a presidential candidate on the Democratic side who is viewed as sufficiently negative on Israel
 1. 50% of Republican Jews are very attached to Israel, versus 25% of Democratic Jews (Pew 2013)

What Role Does Israel Play in The Jewish Vote?

1. Israel in 2008 was 8th out of 15 issues in terms of importance as an issue in candidate choice
2. Above Israel: health care, gas prices, energy, taxes, education
3. Below Israel: appointments to Supreme Court and the Environment
4. When asked to name the top three issues, 15% chose Israel among the top three (mostly Orthodox Jews)
5. The more one cared about Israel, the more likely one was to vote for McCain
6. At every level of concern for Israel, Jews' intention to vote for Obama exceeded those of comparable non-Jews
7. Source: AJC Survey 2008

Factors Influencing Voting Workmen's Circle Survey, April 2012

1. **Social Justice Commitment** (abortion, environment, same-sex marriage, and health insurance)
2. **Economic Justice Commitment** (views on taxes being unfair, raising taxes on the affluent, threat of banks, siding with labor unions, and the need for government to help the poor)
3. **Economic Conservatism** (concern for high taxes, business climate, and jobs)
4. 1 and 2 vote for Obama, 3 for Romney
5. Notice that Israel is not on this list
6. Standardized regression coefficients predicting vote
 1. Party ID (.38)
 2. Social Issues (.27)
 3. Economic Justice (.21)
 4. Economic issues (jobs, taxes, etc.) (.12)
 5. Israel attachment (.07)

Florida's Jewish Community Could Make the Difference in the 2020 Election

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Political Party

