

American Attitudes: Shifting Realities After the Unfolding Genocide in Gaza

September 5, 2024

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Executive Summary

The War in Gaza Is Important

New Nationwide Poll by the Arab American Institute

In the period between the Republican and Democratic conventions, the Arab American Institute consulted with pollster John Zogby to conduct a poll of U.S. voter attitudes toward the 2024 election with an emphasis on how the war in Gaza, and U.S. policy toward the conduct of the war would impact their votes in November. We surveyed 2,505 voters from July 31 to August 1. The margin-of-sampling error for overall results is +/-2.0 percentage points. Error margins are higher for subgroups.

In this poll, Vice President Kamala Harris held a 4-point lead over former President Donald Trump, 48%-44%, with 8% undecided.

With respect to Israel's war in Gaza, the results revealed several key findings:

I. Importance of Gaza in 2024

When voters were asked to choose among 11 issues which are the most important issues in this election, only 7% say the crisis in Gaza.

But when specifically asked how important Gaza is in determining their vote, **15% say this issue is very important**, with another 33% saying it is somewhat important - for an overall 48% saying the war was at least somewhat important to their vote).

II. Sympathies of Older vs. Younger Voters and White vs. non-White Voters

While more voters say their sympathies lie with Israel over the Palestinians - especially true for Republicans, Independents, older and born-again voters - **Democrats, younger, and non-white voters lean toward Palestinians - a plurality of voters in these groups saying they sympathize with both.**

Looking closer, overall sympathy remains with Israel in the current war, 30% to 13%, with 29% saying both and 14% neither. But while GOP voters (49% Israel/5% Palestinian) and independents (25%/14%) are solidly with Israel, **the youngest voters flip the equation with 27% sympathizing more with the Palestinians, 13% with Israel, and 29% saying both. Support for Palestinians is also greater than support for Israel among Blacks and Hispanics.** Young and non-White voters were essential to achieving the Obama (2008 and 2012) and Biden (2020) winning coalitions.

III. Israel and Its War

But the numbers for Israel go upside-down from there. **Most voters in all groups, except Republicans and born-again voters, disapprove of the way Israel is conducting the war, feel Israel has used too much force in Gaza, want an immediate ceasefire, and oppose unrestricted financial and military support for Israel if it continues to operate in a manner that puts civilian lives at risk.**

A plurality (43%-33%) disapprove of how Israel is conducting the war, which includes majorities of Democrats (54%-21%) and 18-34-year-olds (52%-26%). Hispanics disapprove 48%-30%, Blacks 41%-27%, those with college degrees 46%-35% and without college degrees 42%-32%. Significantly, 48% of independents disapprove while only 29% approve.

In addition, 36% of all likely voters feel that Israel has used too much force versus only 12% who say not enough and 25% just right. This sentiment is shared by 39% of independents (9% not enough and 25% just right), and 46% of 18-34-year-olds (10% not enough and 19% just right).

Executive Summary

IV. Immediate Ceasefire

About half (49%) tell us that an immediate ceasefire is “very important” to them. Another 26% say it is “somewhat important” and only 11% say it is “not important”. This includes 52% of the youngest group of voters who say it’s “very important” and 26% saying “somewhat important”, 43% and 23% of households with veterans, 48% and 27% of those with a college degree, and 50% and 25% of those without college degrees. It also includes 37% and 27% of Republicans and 48% and 27% of independents. In every case, only very small percentages say an immediate ceasefire is not important.

The Biden Administration receives low marks for its response –31% positive and 50% negative.

V. Impact of Presidential Actions on Ceasefire or Suspension of Arms Shipments to Israel on Voters

If Vice-President Harris were to demand an immediate ceasefire that would allow unimpeded aid into Gaza, such a move would be strongly supported by her voters while being opposed by only a scant number. A detailed view of the cross-tabulations shows significant gain and very little risk for Harris by taking this stand - including very positive outcomes and few negatives among most key groups, including a plurality of Jewish voters. It would also win her the support of a plurality of those voters who are currently supporting third party candidates or who remain undecided.

Overall, if Harris were to take this stand, her vote tally would increase from 44% to 50%.

The same results hold true if Harris were to suspend arms shipments and withhold diplomatic support for Israel until there was a ceasefire and withdrawal of forces from Gaza. Such a stand would also increase her support from 44% to 49%.

If former President Trump, similarly, were to call for an immediate ceasefire that would allow unimpeded humanitarian aid into Gaza or a suspension of arms shipments and diplomatic support until a ceasefire and withdrawal from Gaza, it would only slightly increase his support, without a significant decline among his core voters. If Trump were to demand a ceasefire his support would go from 40% to 44% but if he were to demand a halt in arms shipments it would only go from 40% to 41%.

Only 28% feel Israel should always receive unrestricted aid while 51% say there should be no unrestricted aid if it means danger to civilians. GOP voters are evenly split at 40%, while by 59% to 20% Democrats and 56% to 22% independents opposed unrestricted aid.

VI. Where the Election Stood Between the Two Conventions:

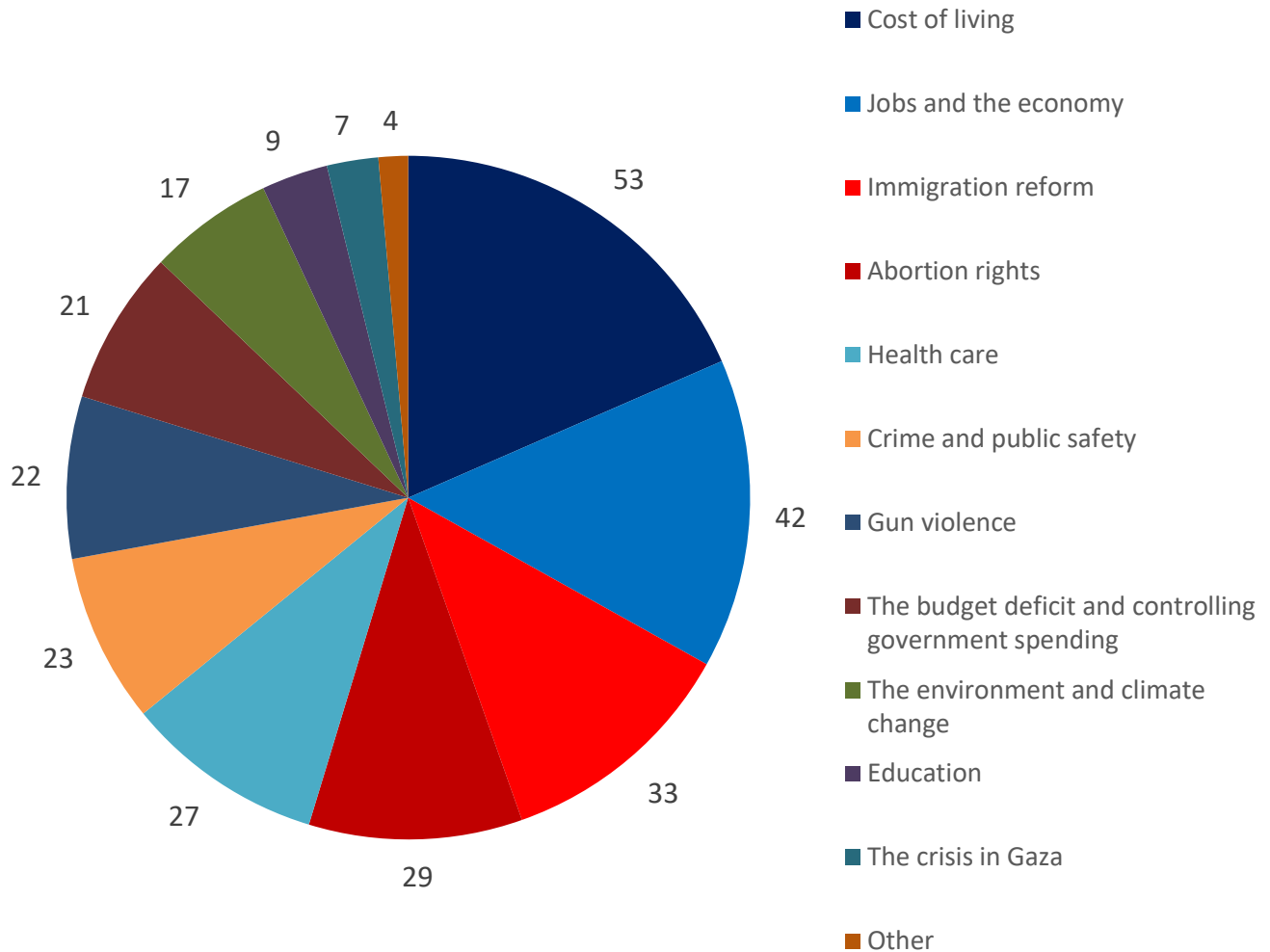
Concerned with President Biden’s age and capacity, voters were overwhelmingly supportive of his decision to step down as a candidate. This was especially true among Democratic voters. The President’s policy toward Gaza was also a factor, especially among young and non-White voters.

At the start of August, VP Harris held a slim lead against former President Trump in both a head-to-head and multi-candidate contest.

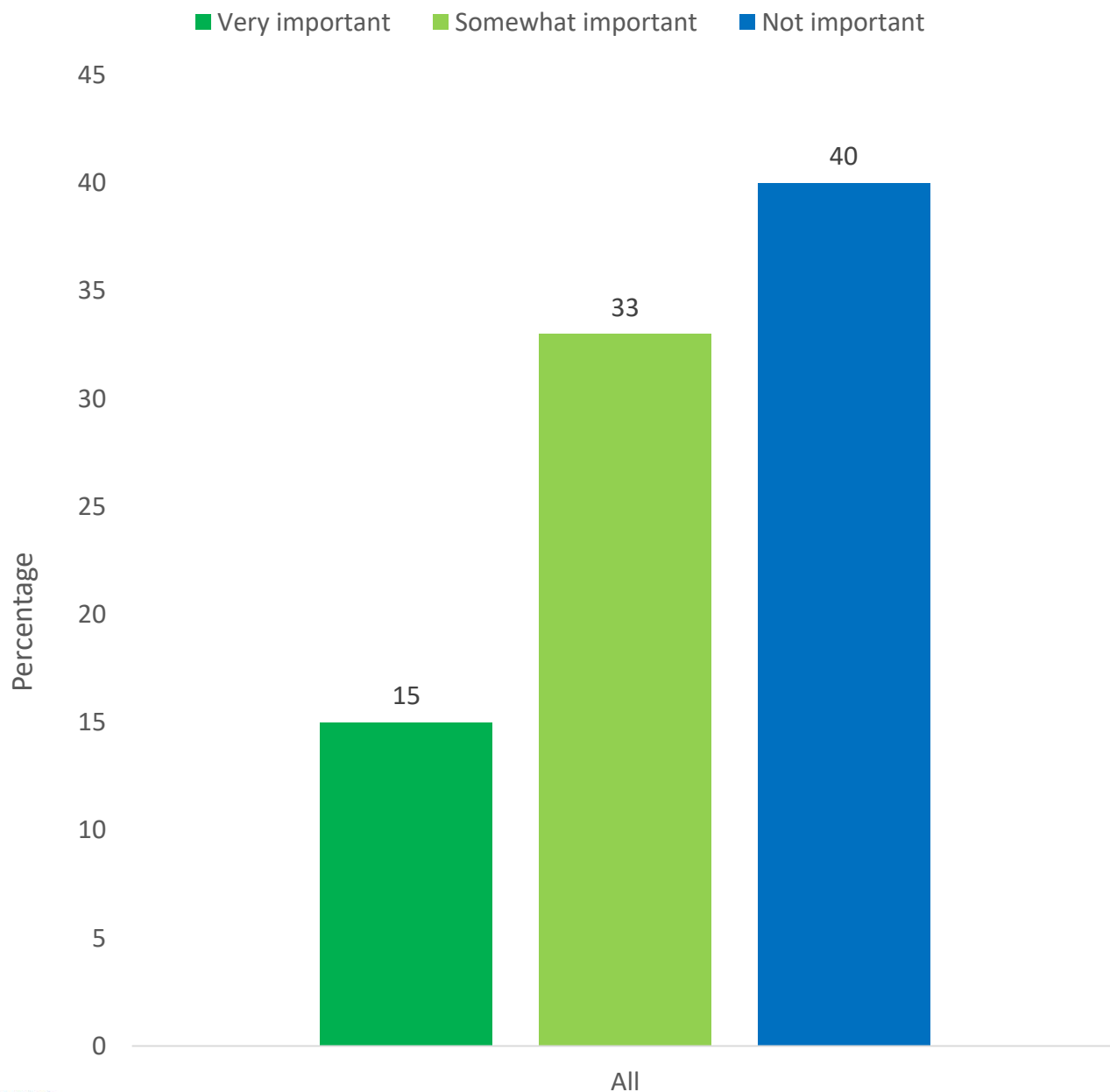
Both Harris and Trump have consolidated support among voters from their respective parties. Harris’ favorable/unfavorable ratings are better than Trump’s, with her strongest support coming from young and non-White voters. Trump’s support is strongest among White and born-again voters.

I. Importance of Gaza in 2024

1. Of the following issues, in your opinion, which are the three most important in determining your vote in the 2024 presidential election?

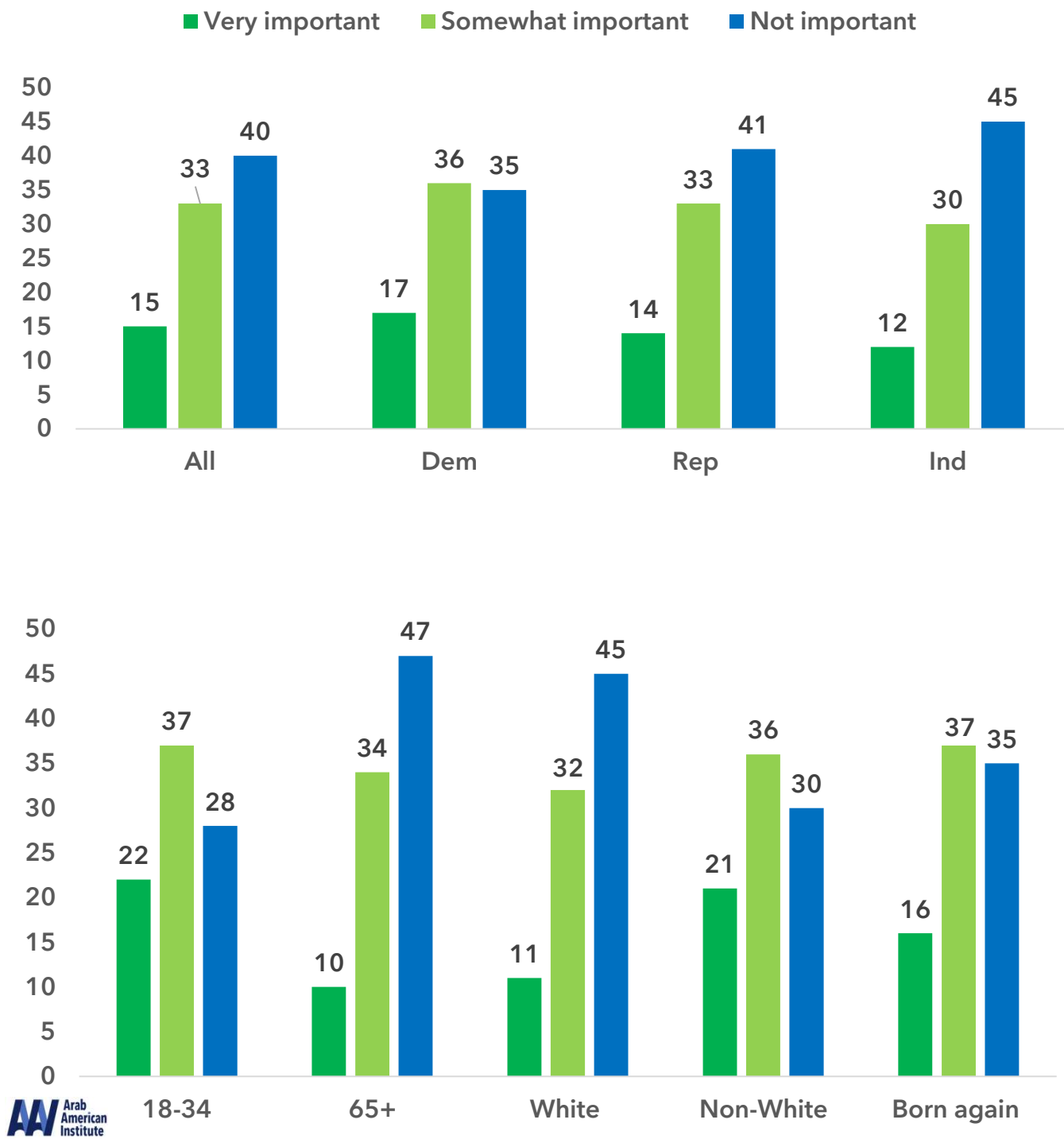


2. How important is the crisis in Gaza in determining your vote in November?



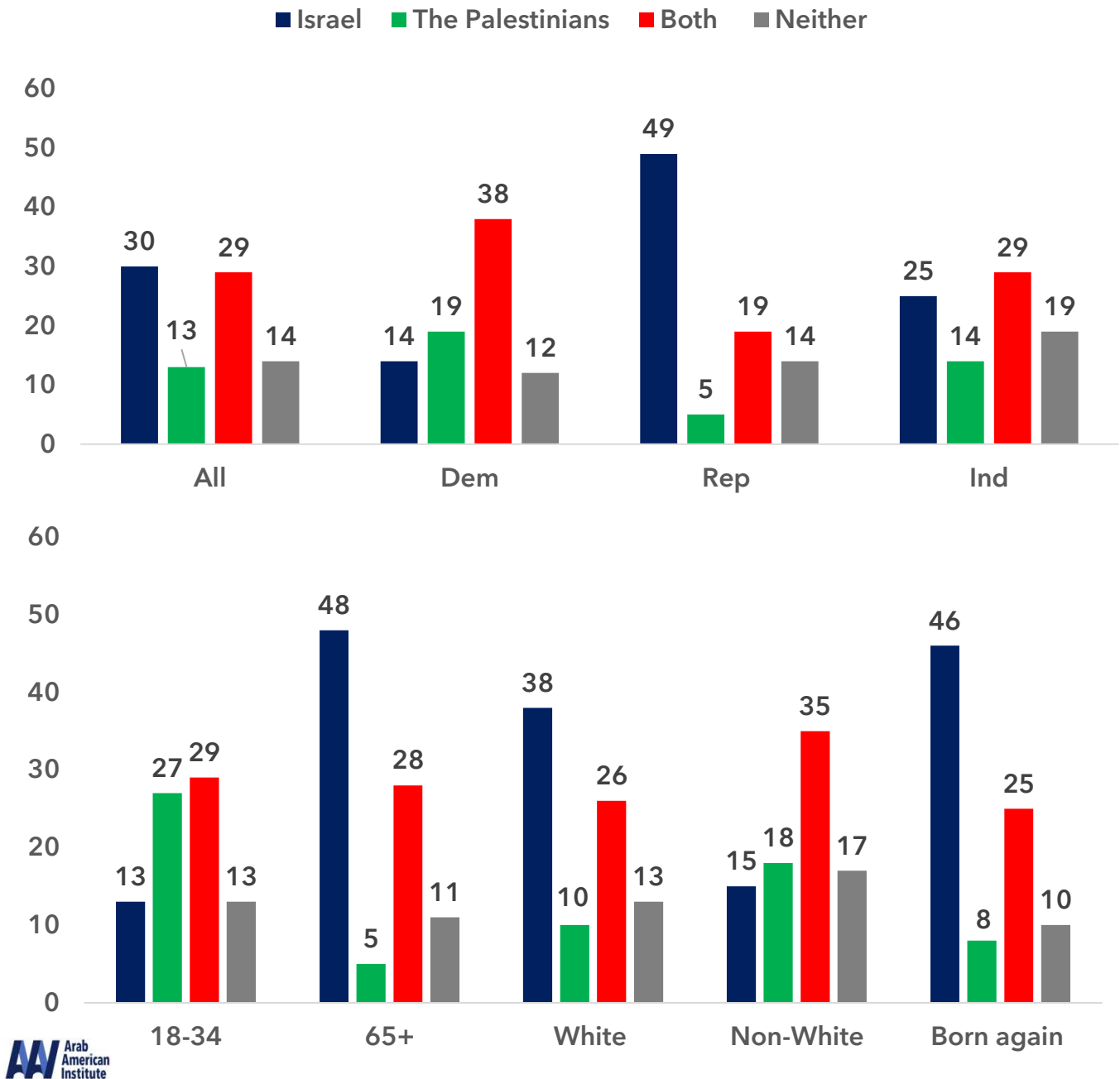
- While only 7% say Gaza is one of their top issues in determining their vote, 15% say it is very important in determining their vote.

2. How important is the crisis in Gaza in determining your vote in November?



II. Sympathies of Older vs. Younger Voters and White vs. non-White Voters

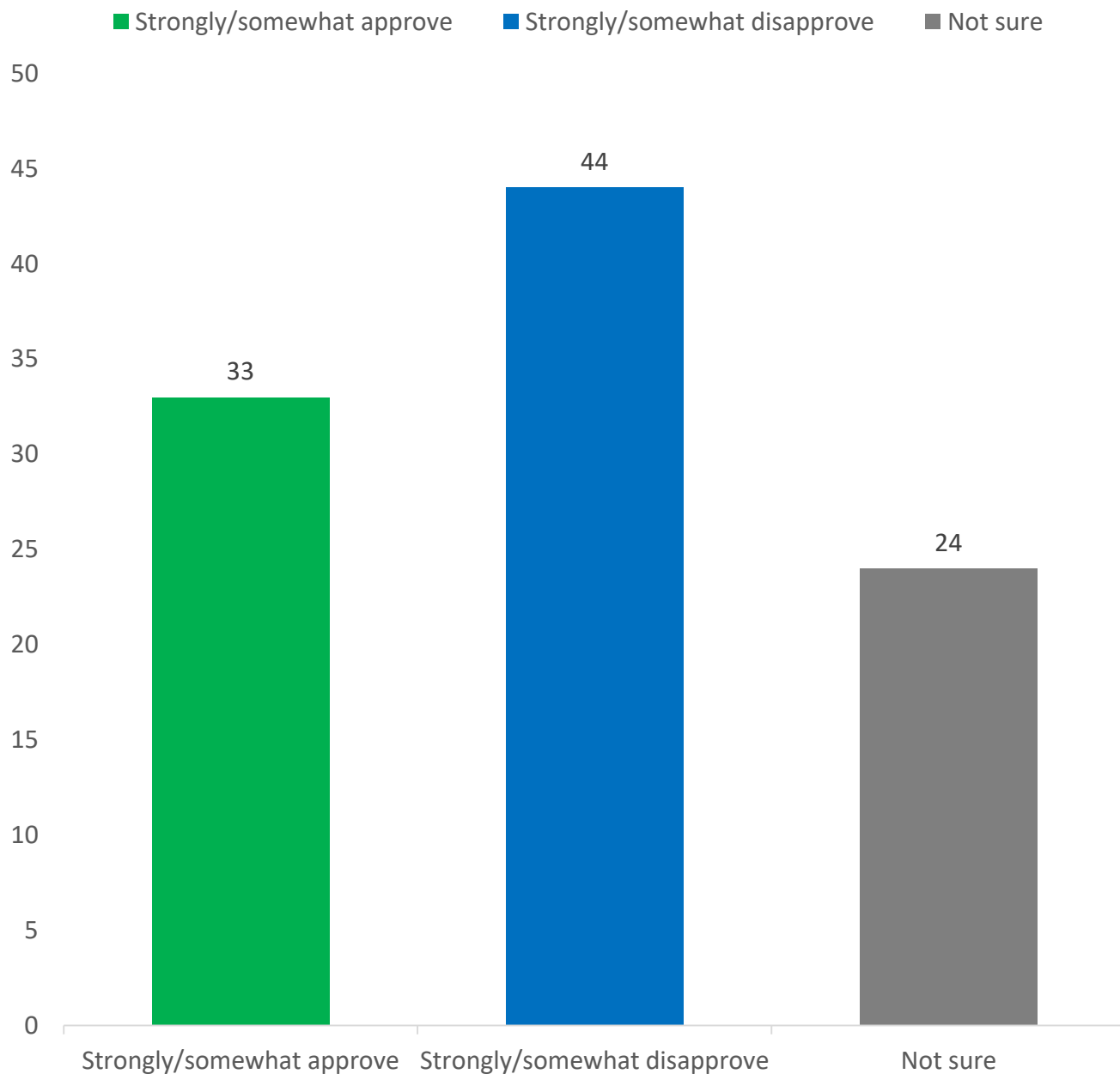
3. With regard to the war in Gaza, are your sympathies more with Israel, the Palestinians, both or neither?



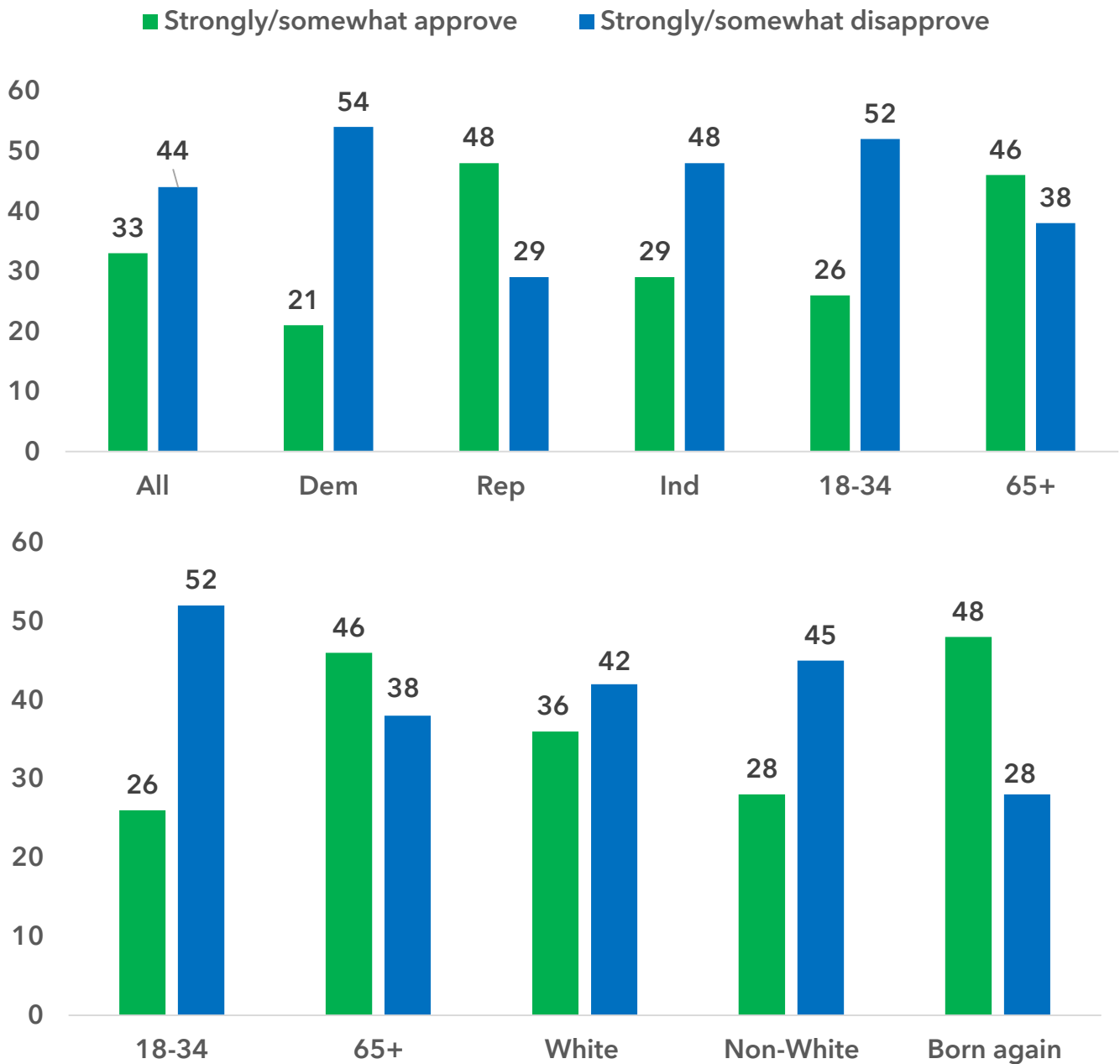
- Overall, there is more sympathy for Israel especially among Republicans, older voters, and born again voters. There is slightly more sympathy for Palestinians among Democrats, younger voters, and non-white voters.

III. Israel and Its War

4. Do you approve of the way Israel is conducting the war in Gaza?

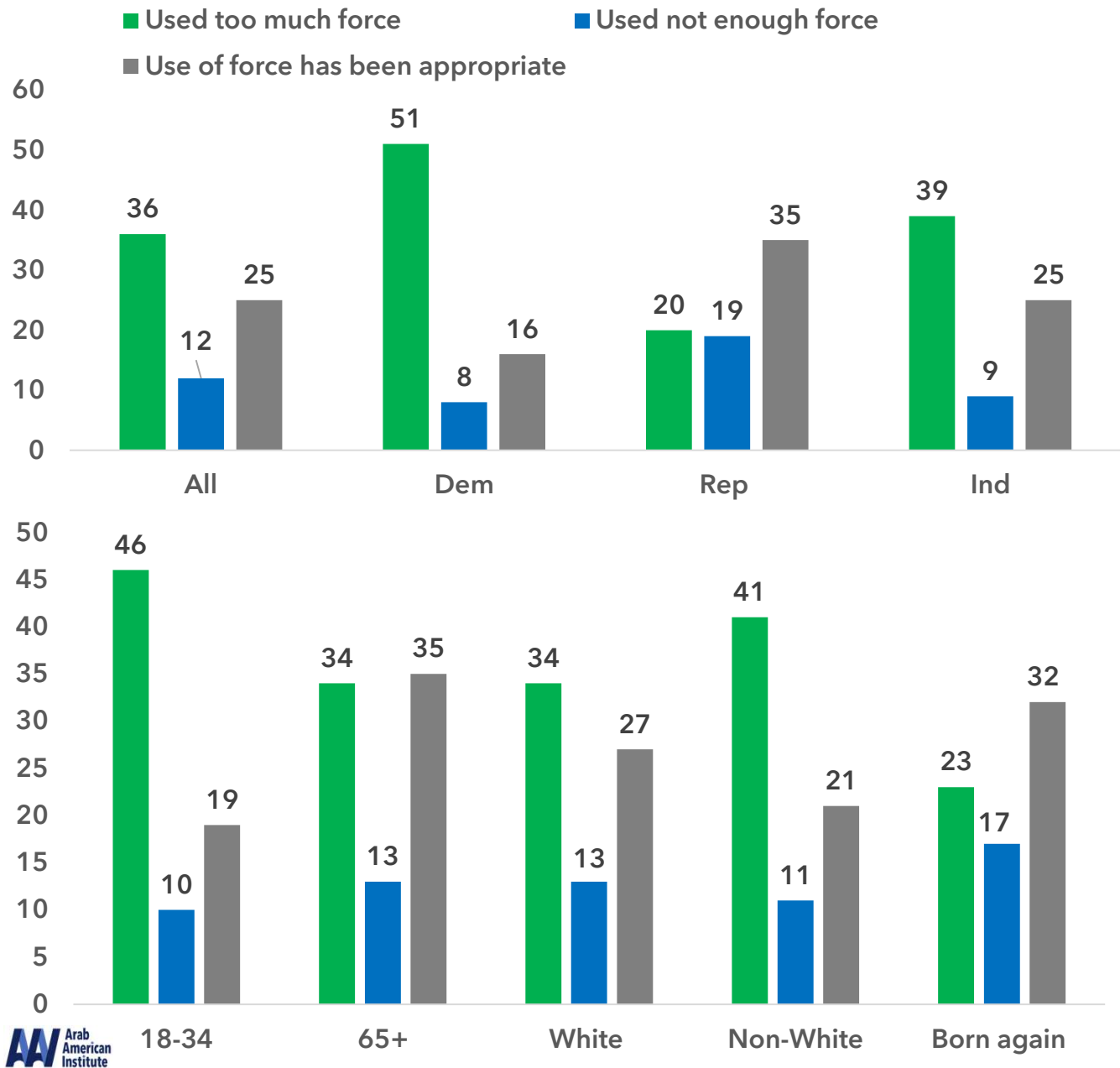


4. Do you approve of the way Israel is conducting the war in Gaza?



- Overall, voters disapprove with the only groups approving of Israel's conduct being Republicans, older voters, and born again voters.

5. In your personal view, with regard to the war in Gaza, has Israel used too much force, not enough force, or has their use of force been appropriate?

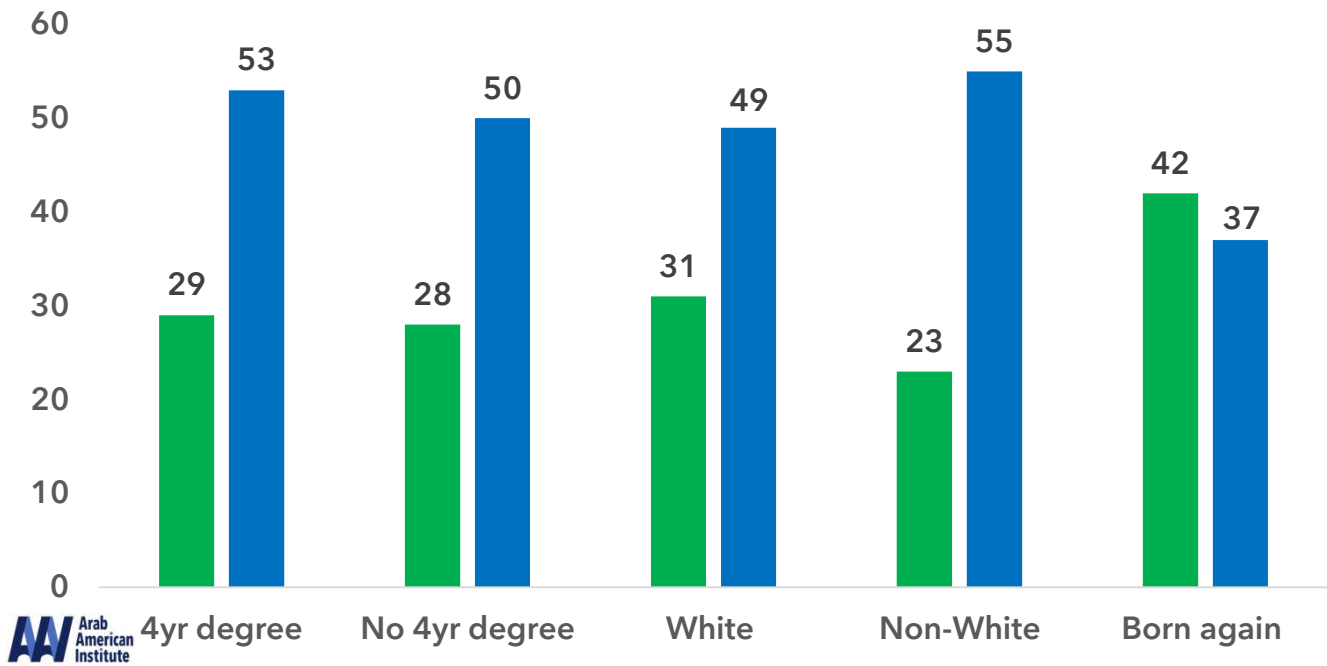
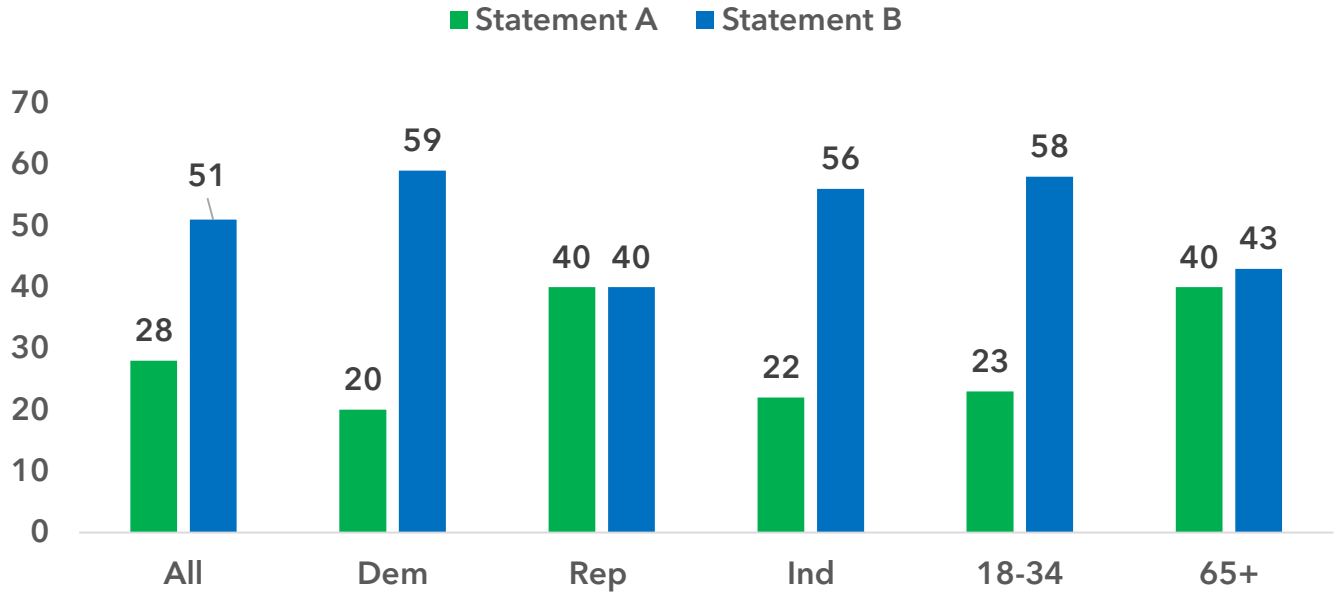


- Democrats, younger voters, independents, and non-white voters feel Israel has used too much force.

6. Which statement comes closer to your own view:

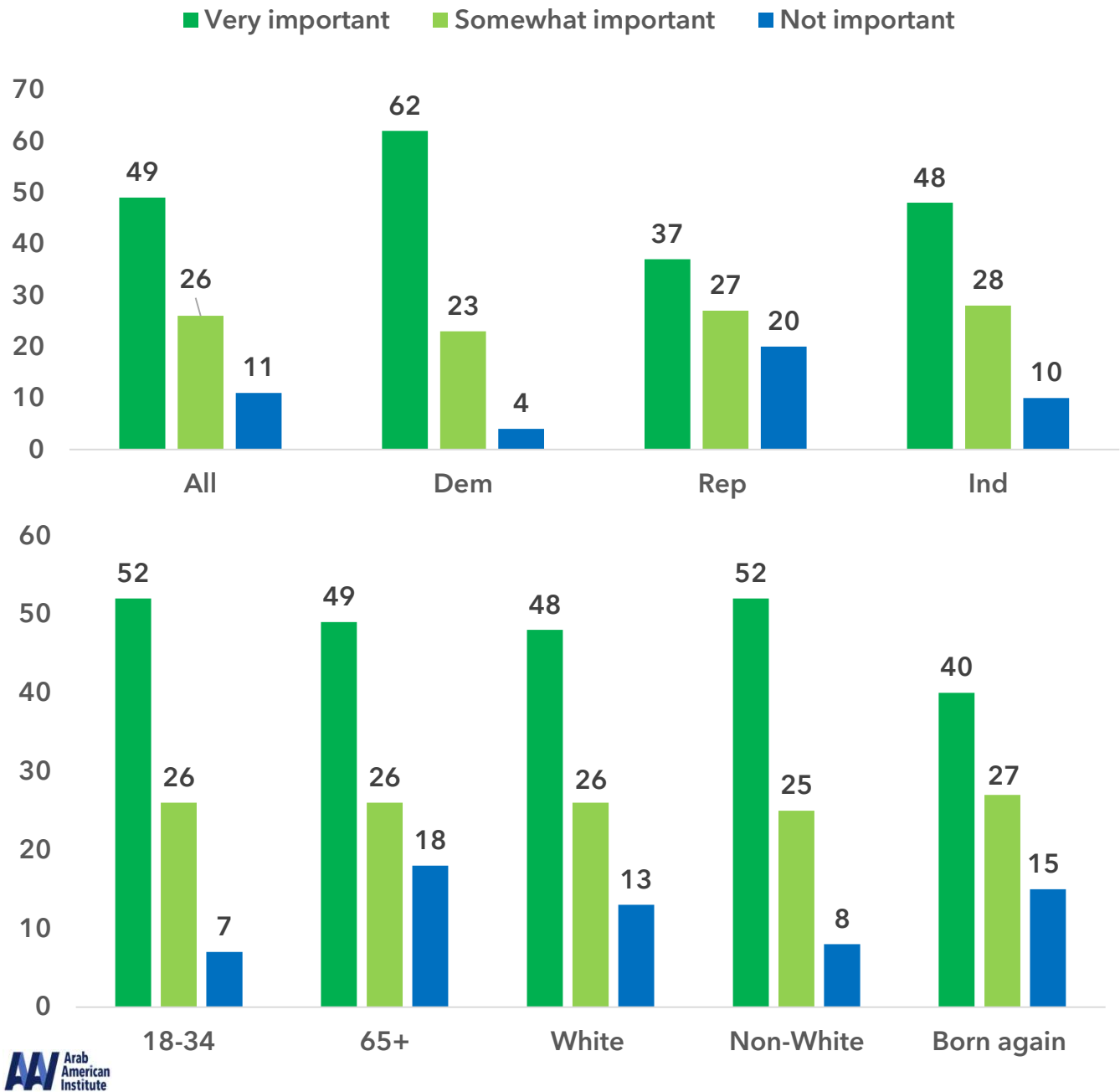
Statement A: The United States should always provide unrestricted financial and military assistance to the Israeli government.

Statement B: The United States should not provide unrestricted financial and military assistance to the Israeli government if it continues to operate in a way which puts civilian lives at risk in Gaza.



IV. Immediate Ceasefire

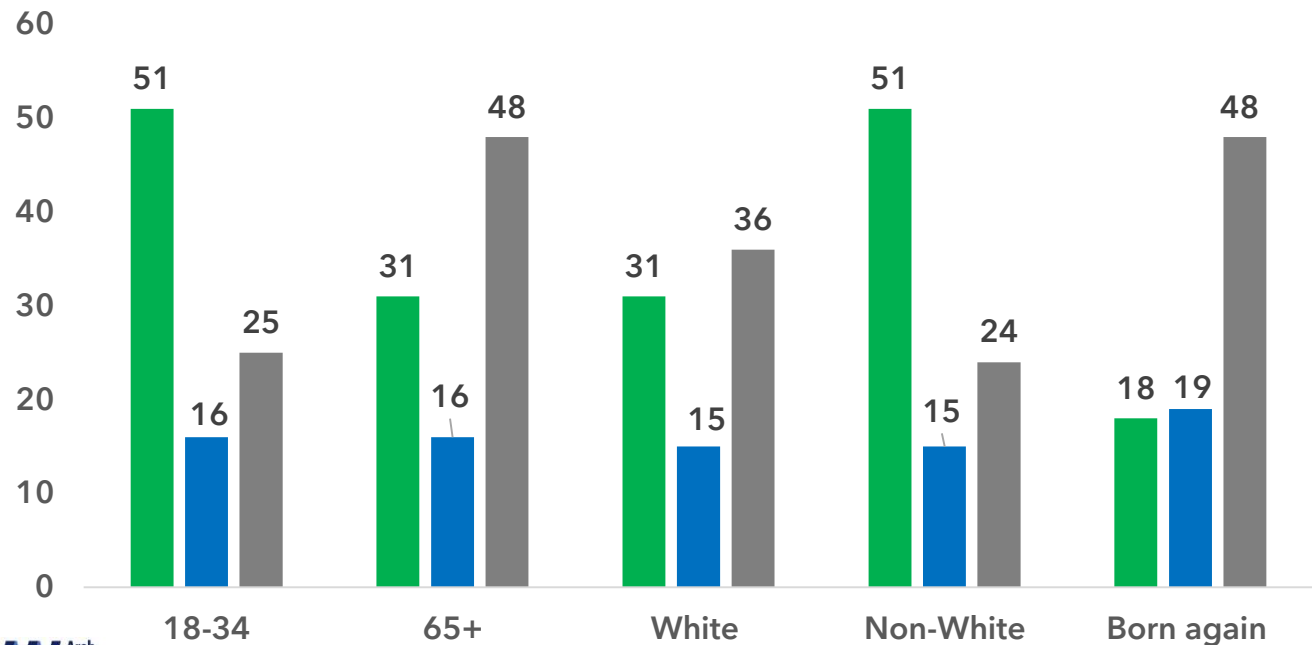
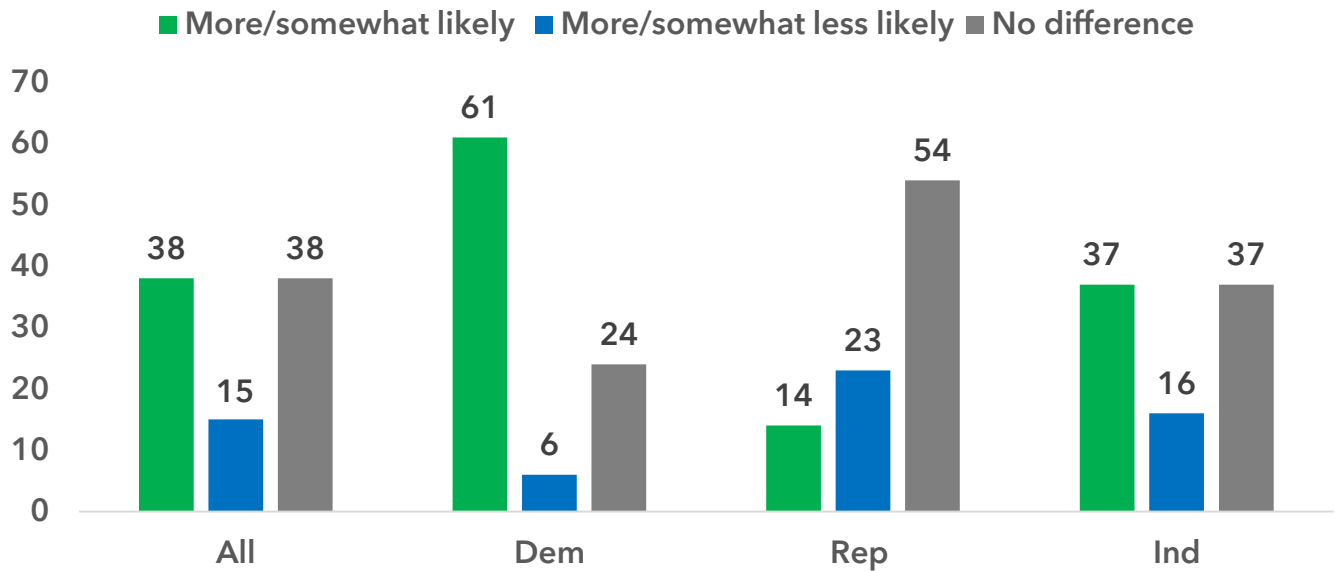
7. In your opinion, how important is it that there be an immediate ceasefire?



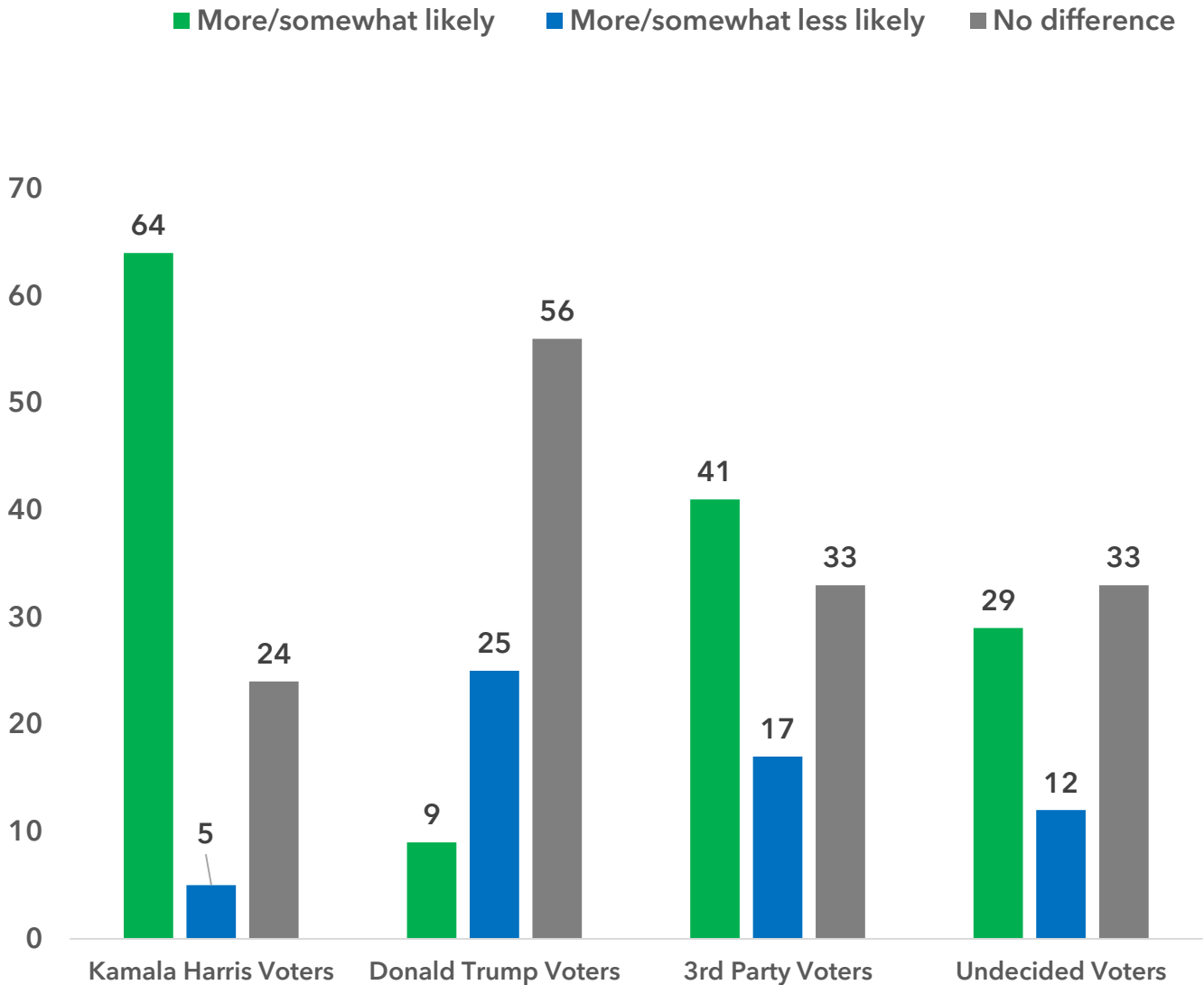
- All subgroups of voters agree an immediate ceasefire is important.

V. Impact of Presidential Actions on Ceasefire or Suspension of Arms Shipments to Israel on Voters

8. If Vice-President Harris were to demand an immediate ceasefire and allow unimpeded humanitarian aid into Gaza would it make you more or less likely to vote for her?

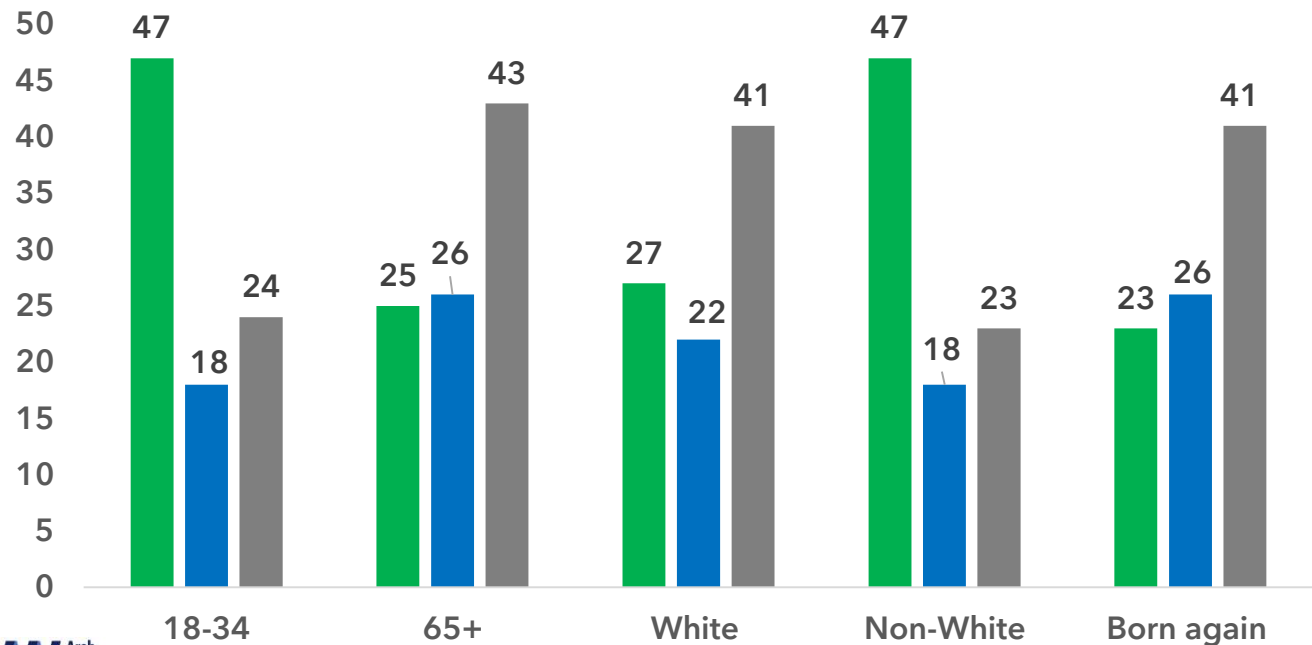
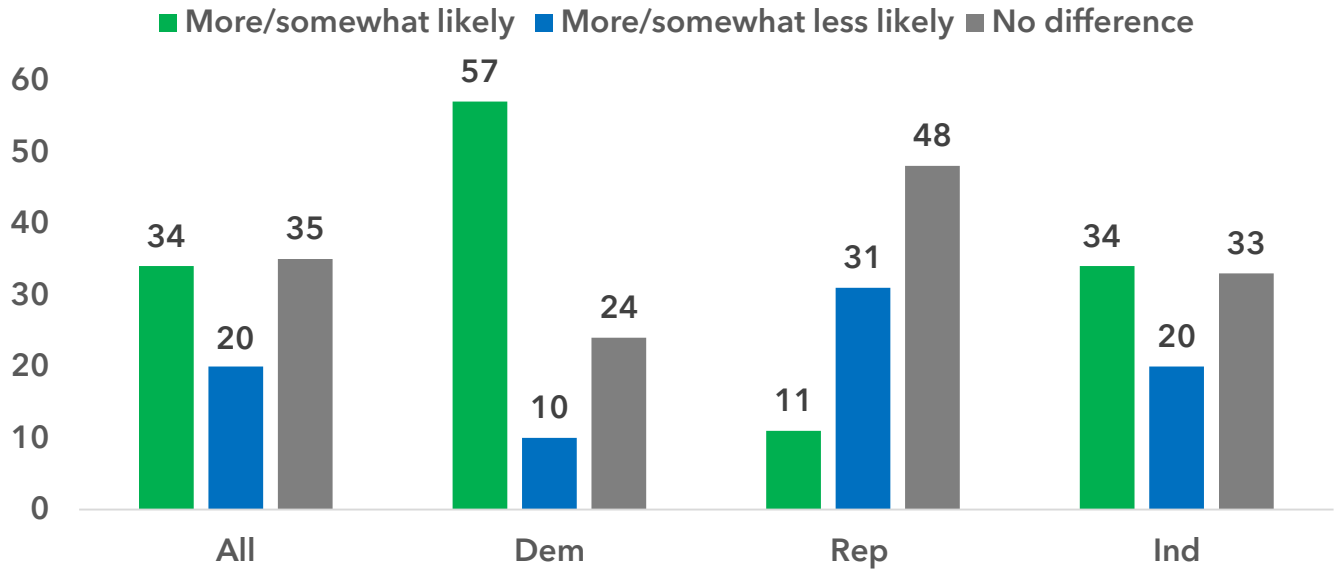


8. If Vice-President Harris were to demand an immediate ceasefire and allow unimpeded humanitarian aid into Gaza would it make you more or less likely to vote for her?

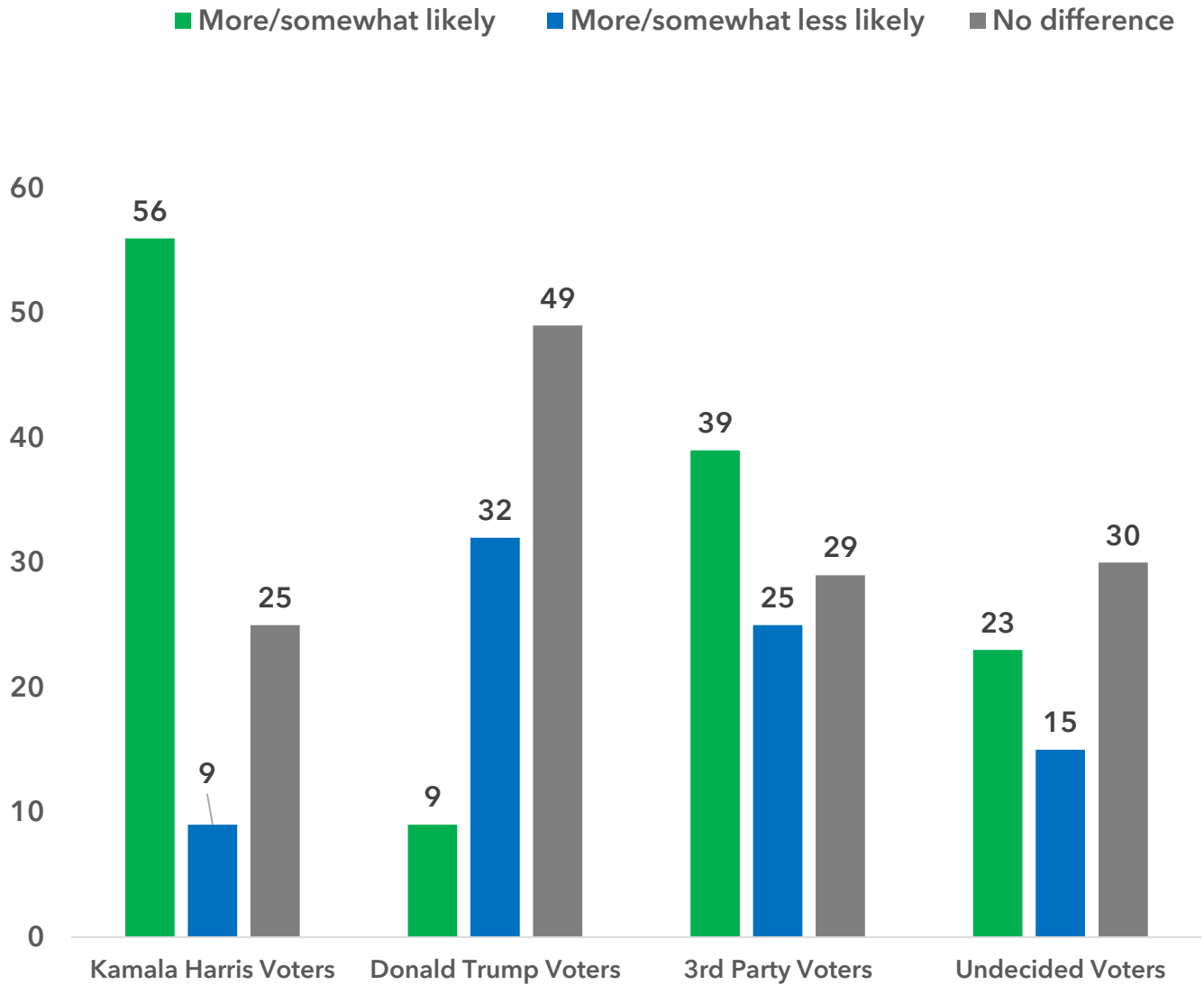


- If Vice President Harris were to take this stance, her support could increase from 44% to 50%.

9. If Vice President Harris were to suspend any US diplomatic support for or arms shipments to Israel until they implement a ceasefire and withdraw their forces from Gaza would it make to you more or less likely to vote for her?

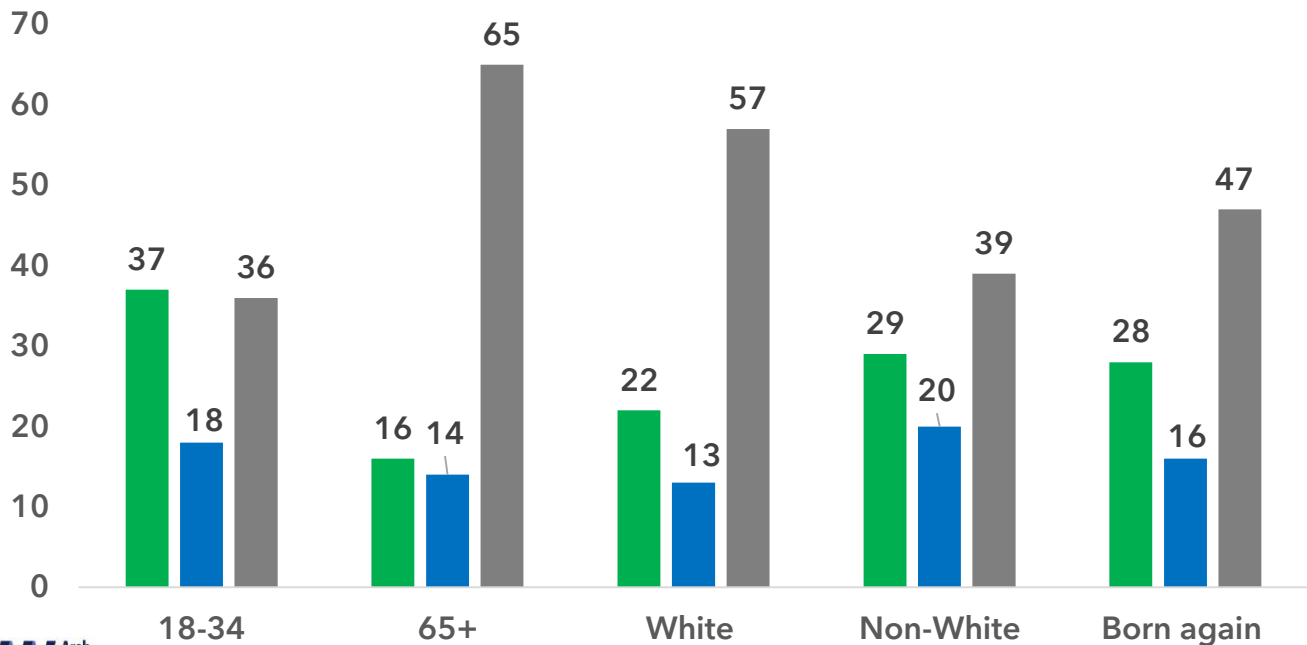
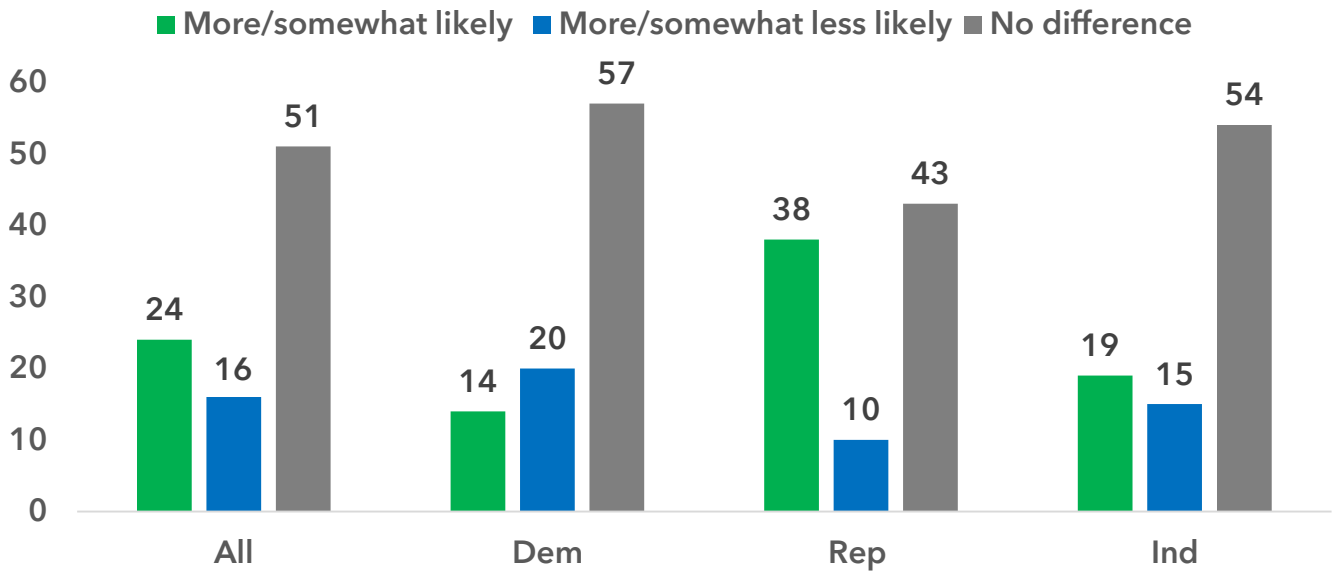


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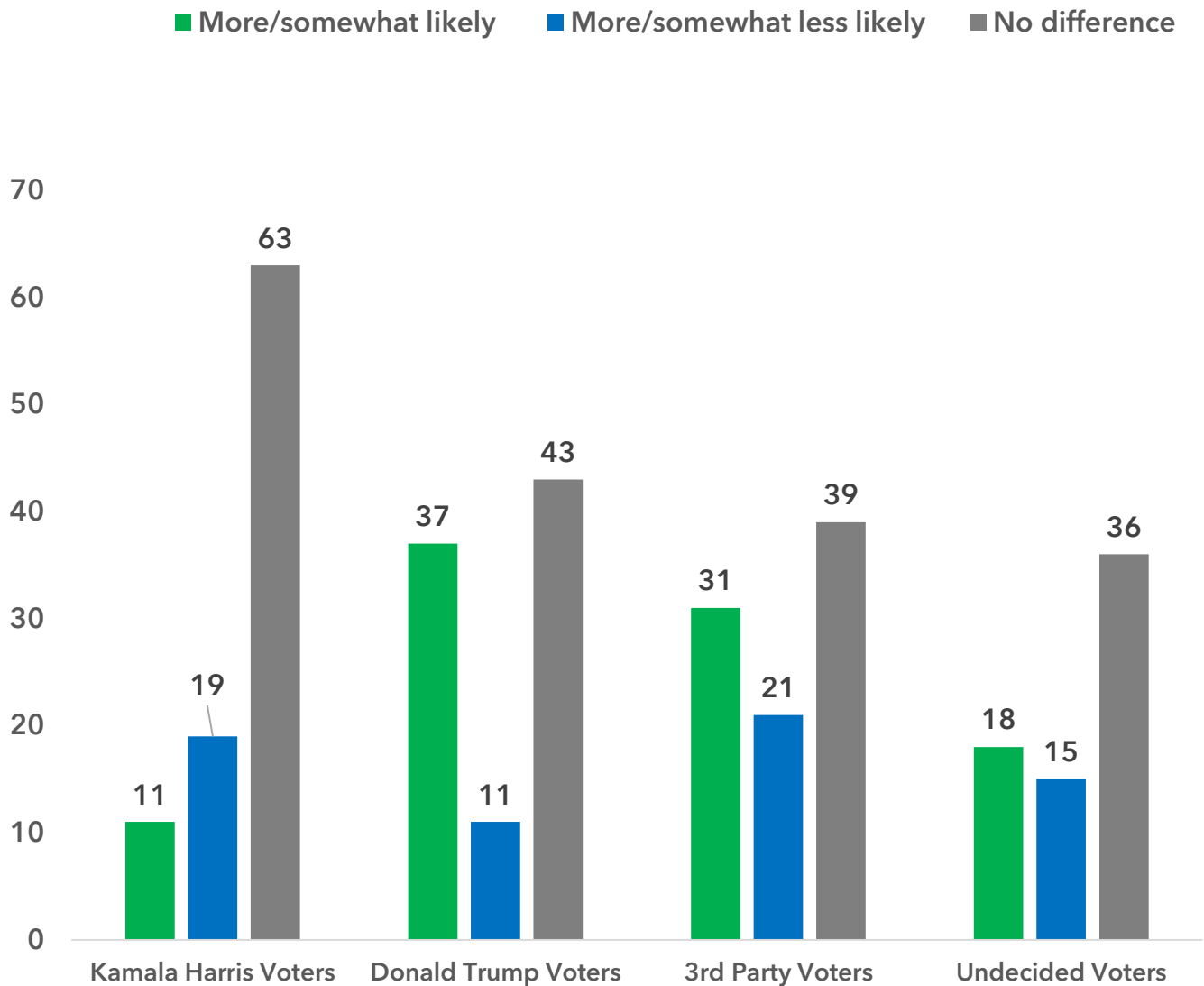


- If Vice President Harris were to take this stance, her support could increase from 44% to 49%.

10. If former President Trump were to demand an immediate Israeli ceasefire and allow unimpeded humanitarian aid into Gaza would it make to you more or less likely to vote for him?

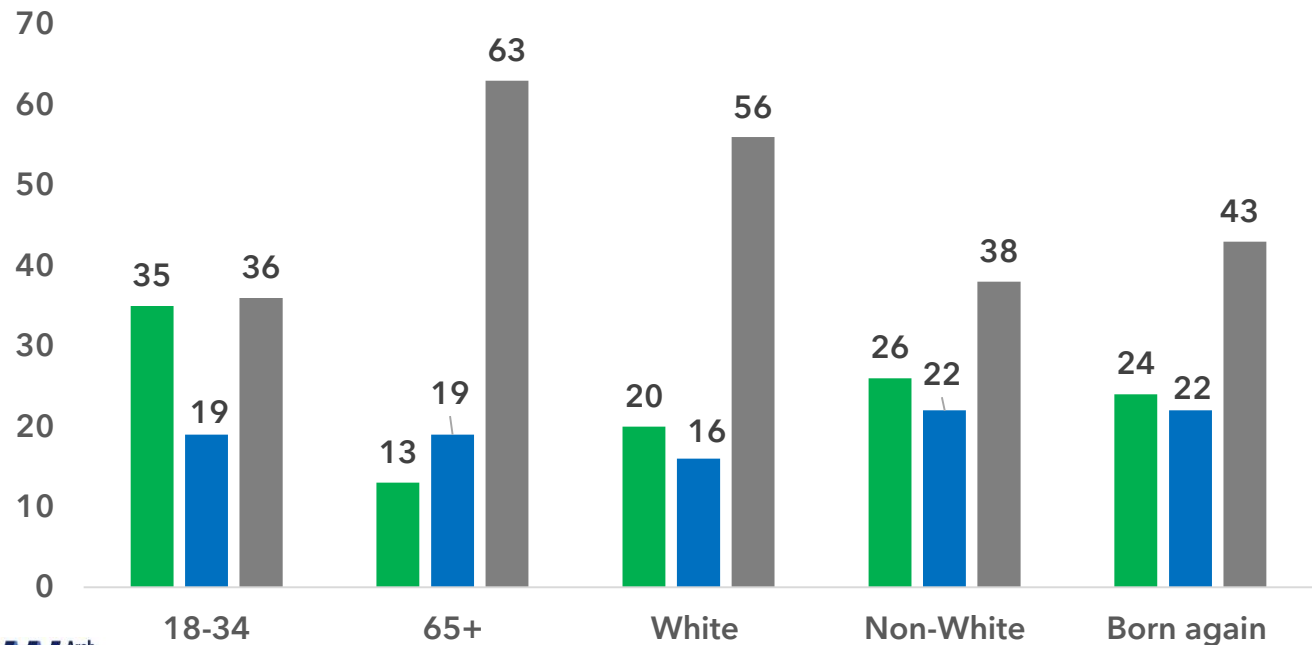
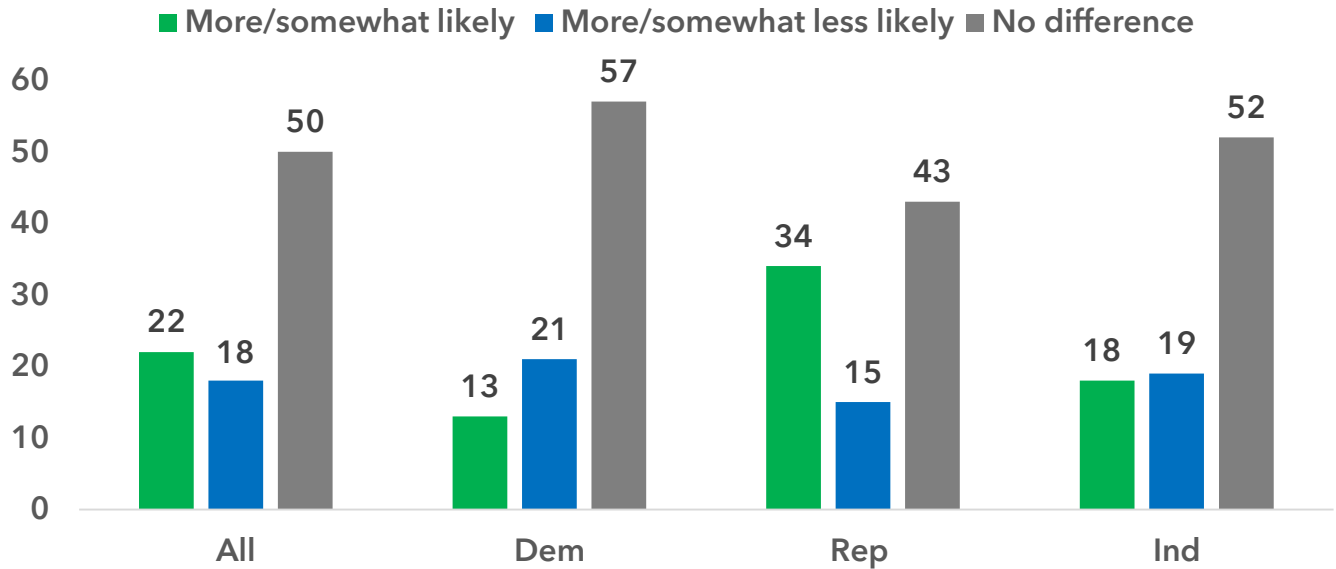


10. If former President Trump were to demand an immediate Israeli ceasefire and allow unimpeded humanitarian aid into Gaza would it make to you more or less likely to vote for him?

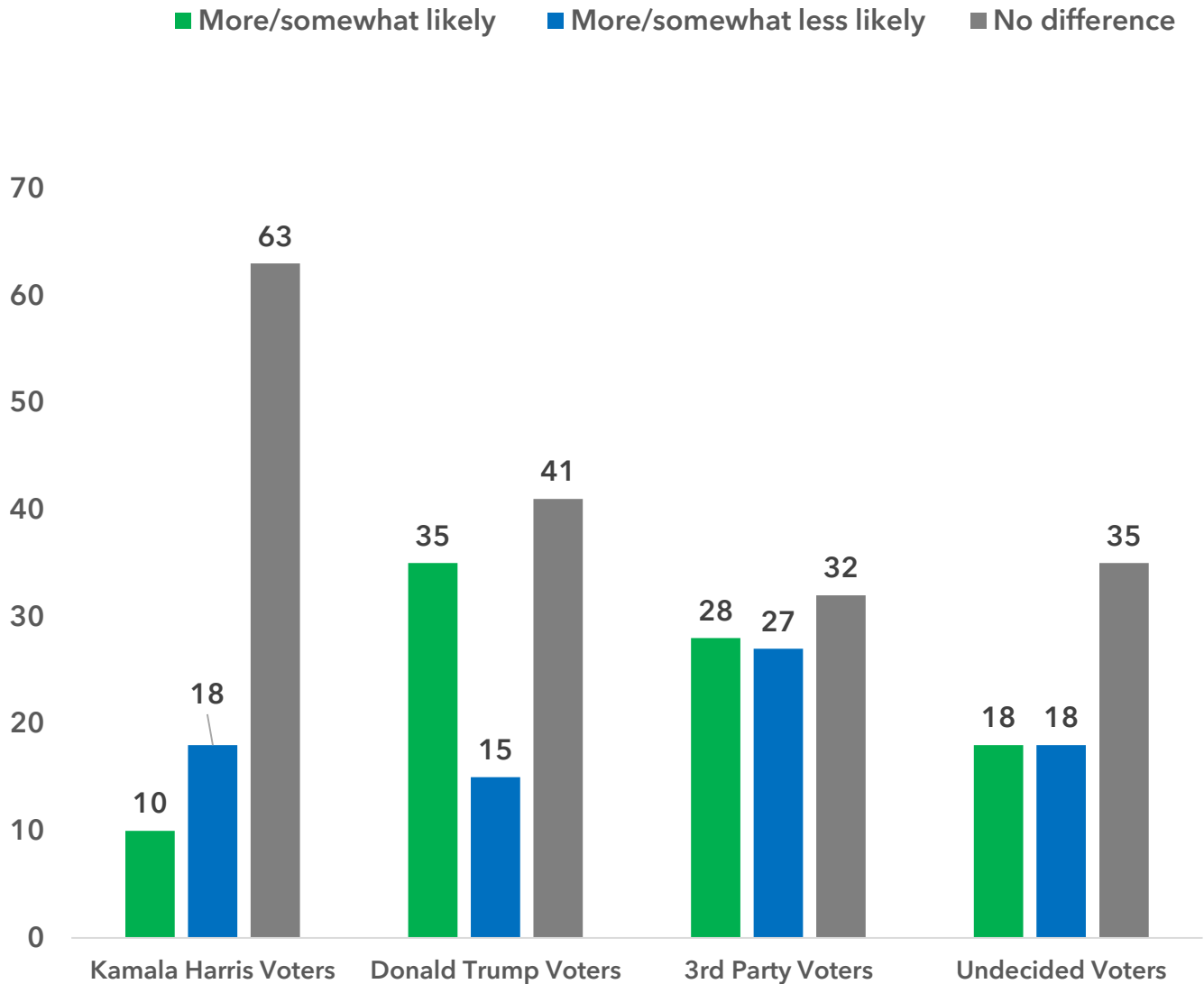


- If former President Trump were to take this stance, his support could increase from 40% to 44%.

11. If former President Trump were to suspend any US diplomatic support for or arms shipments to Israel until they implement a ceasefire and withdraw their forces from Gaza would it make to you more or less likely to vote for him?



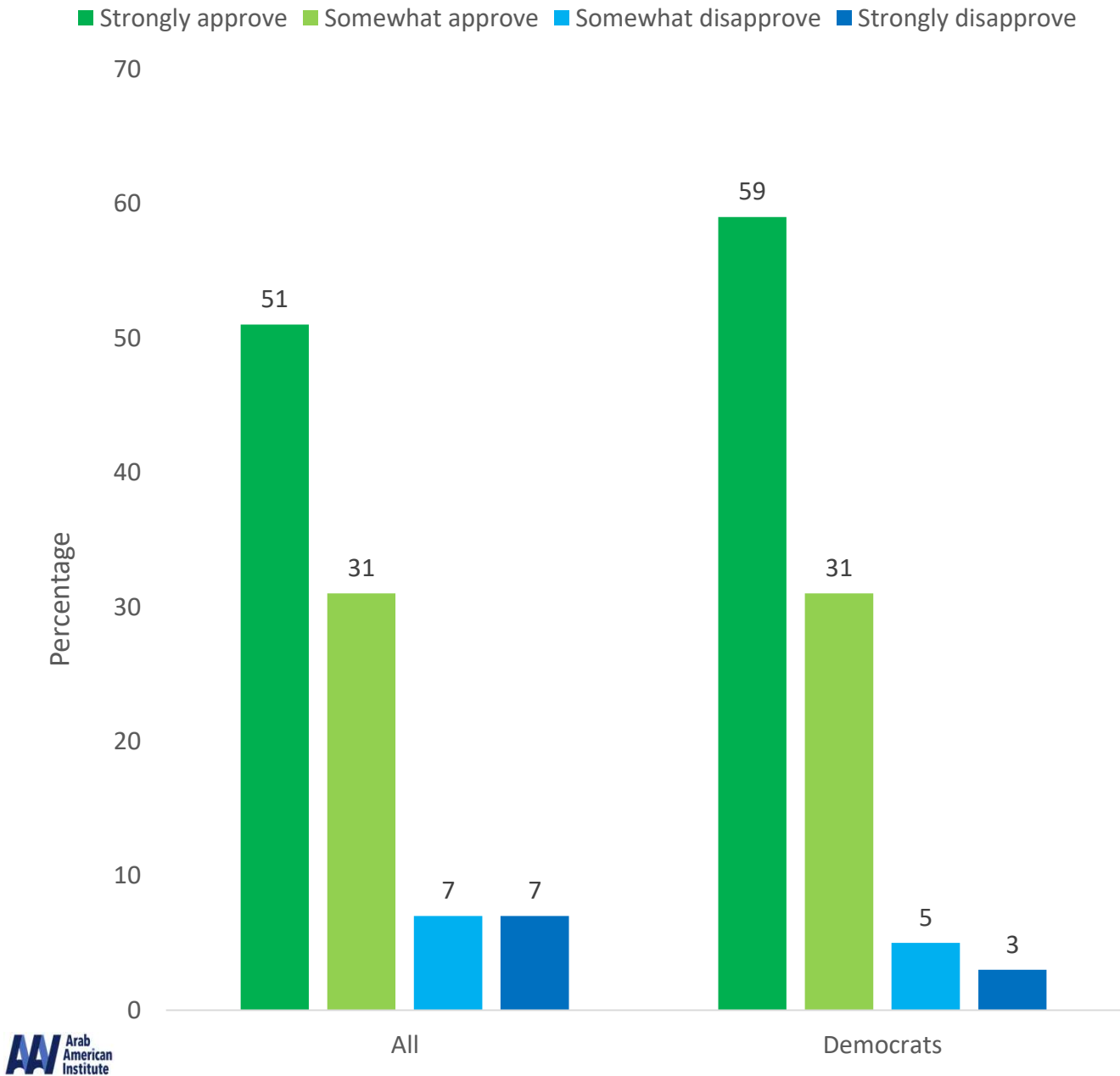
11. If former President Trump were to suspend any US diplomatic support for or arms shipments to Israel until they implement a ceasefire and withdraw their forces from Gaza would it make to you more or less likely to vote for him?



- If former President Trump were to take this stance, his support could increase from 40% to 41%.

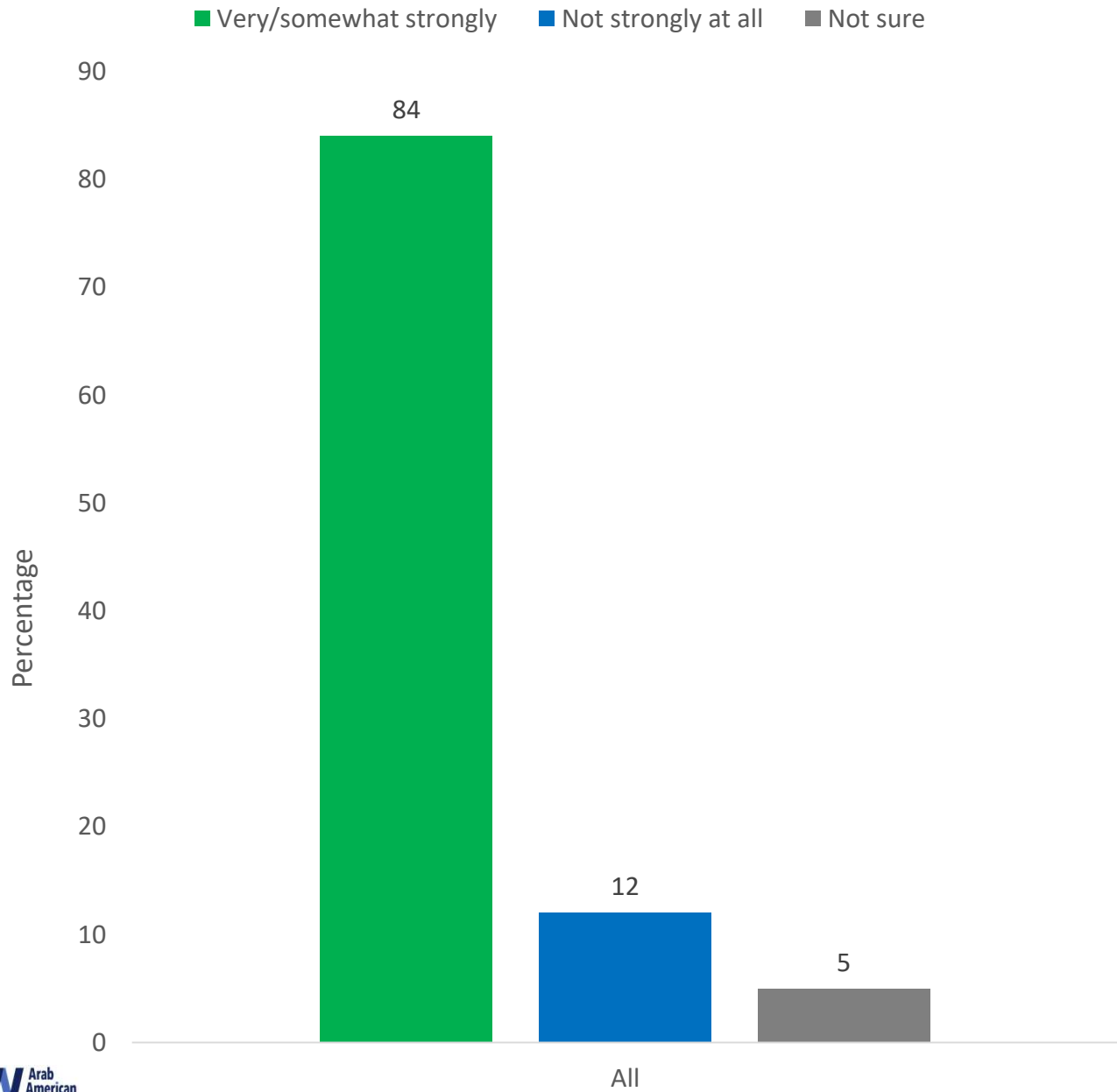
V. Where the Election Stood Between the Two Conventions

12. In general, did you approve or disapprove of President Biden's decision to withdraw from the 2024 election paving the way for Vice President Kamala Harris to become the Democratic Party's nominee?

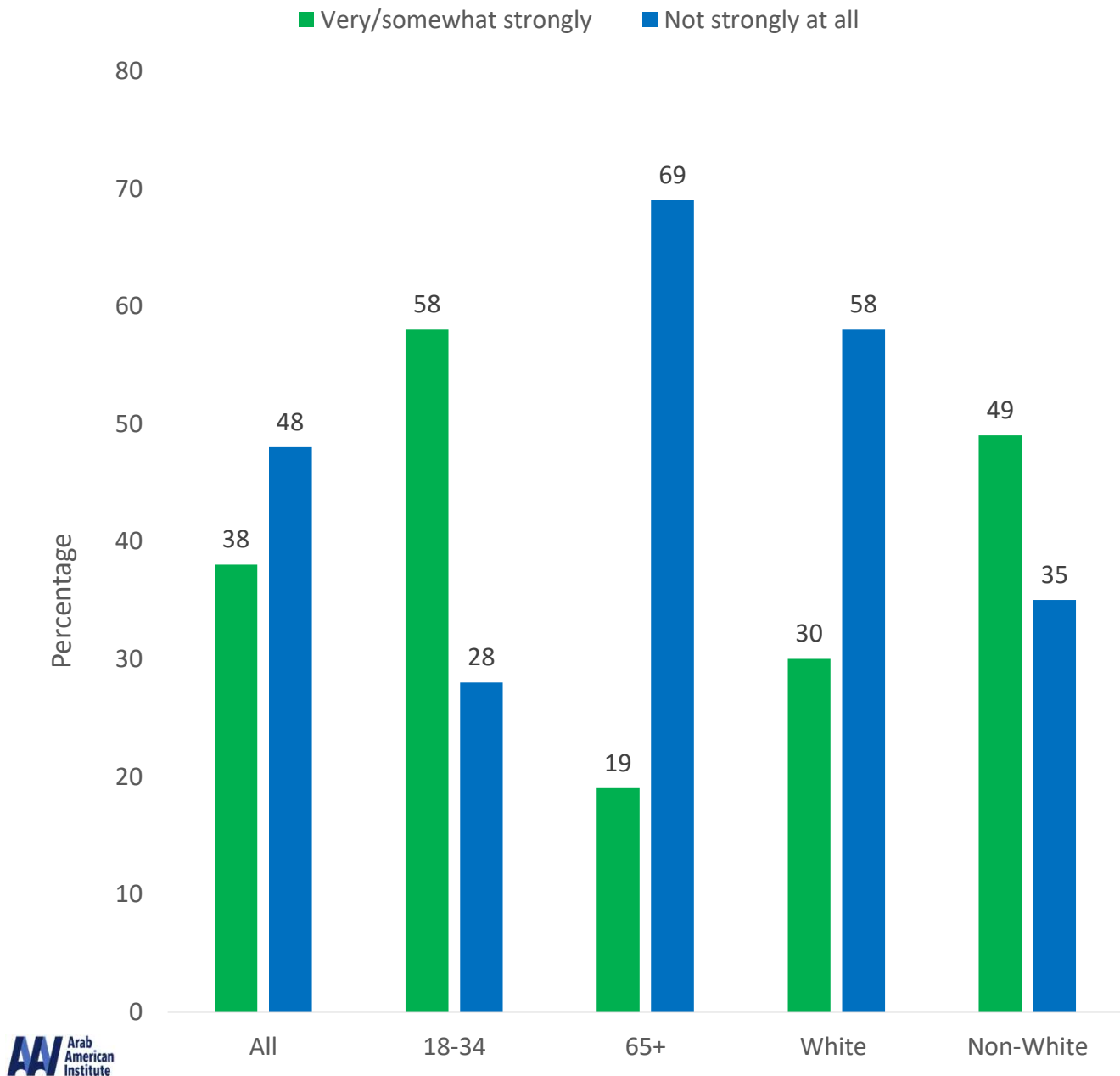


- **82% of voters approve of Biden's withdrawal from the election, including 90% of Democrats.**

13. How strongly did President Biden's age and his capacity factor into your decision to approve of his decision to step aside and not seek to run in November?

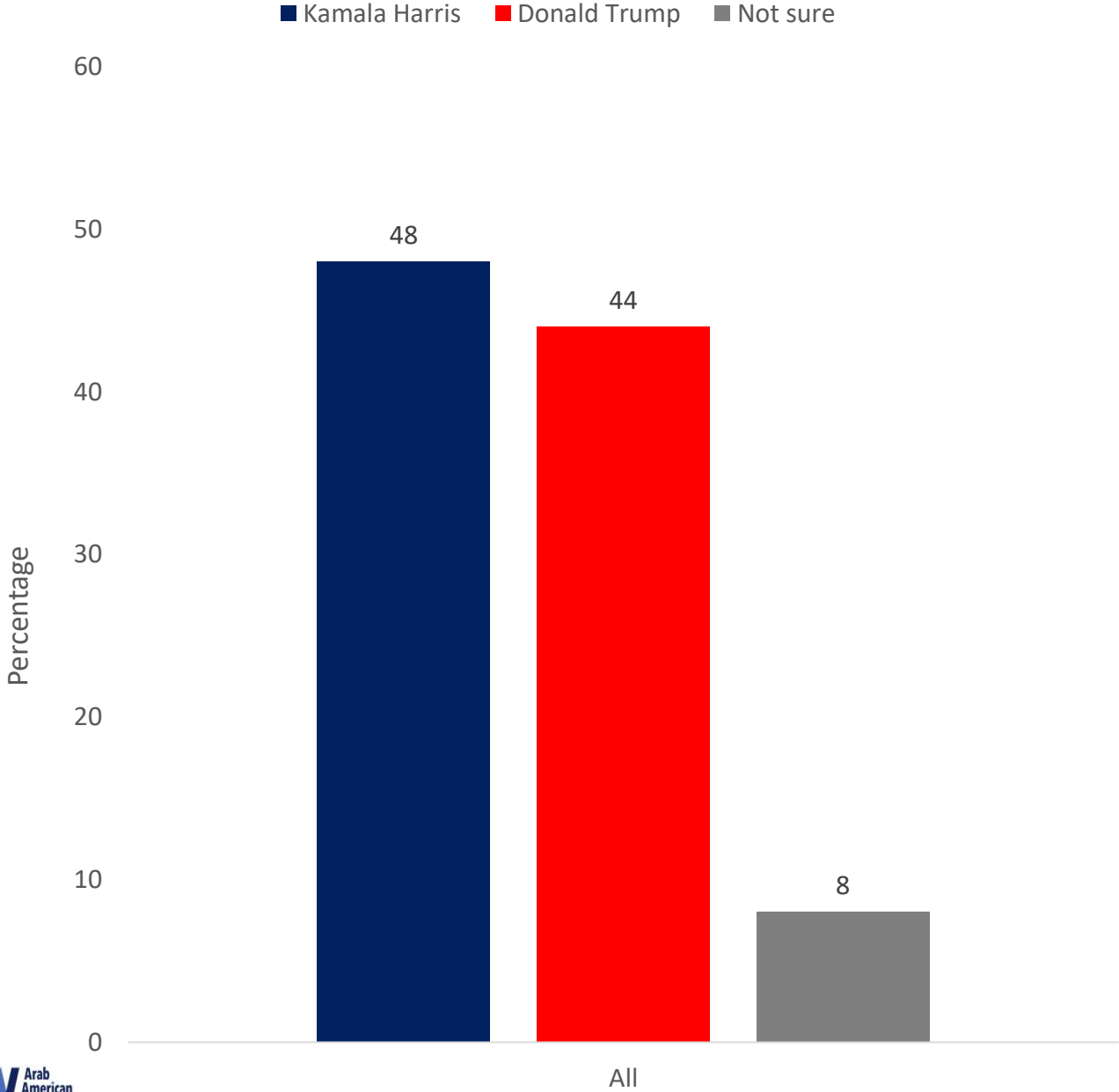


13. How strongly did President Biden's age and his capacity factor into your decision to approve of his decision to step aside and not seek to run in November?

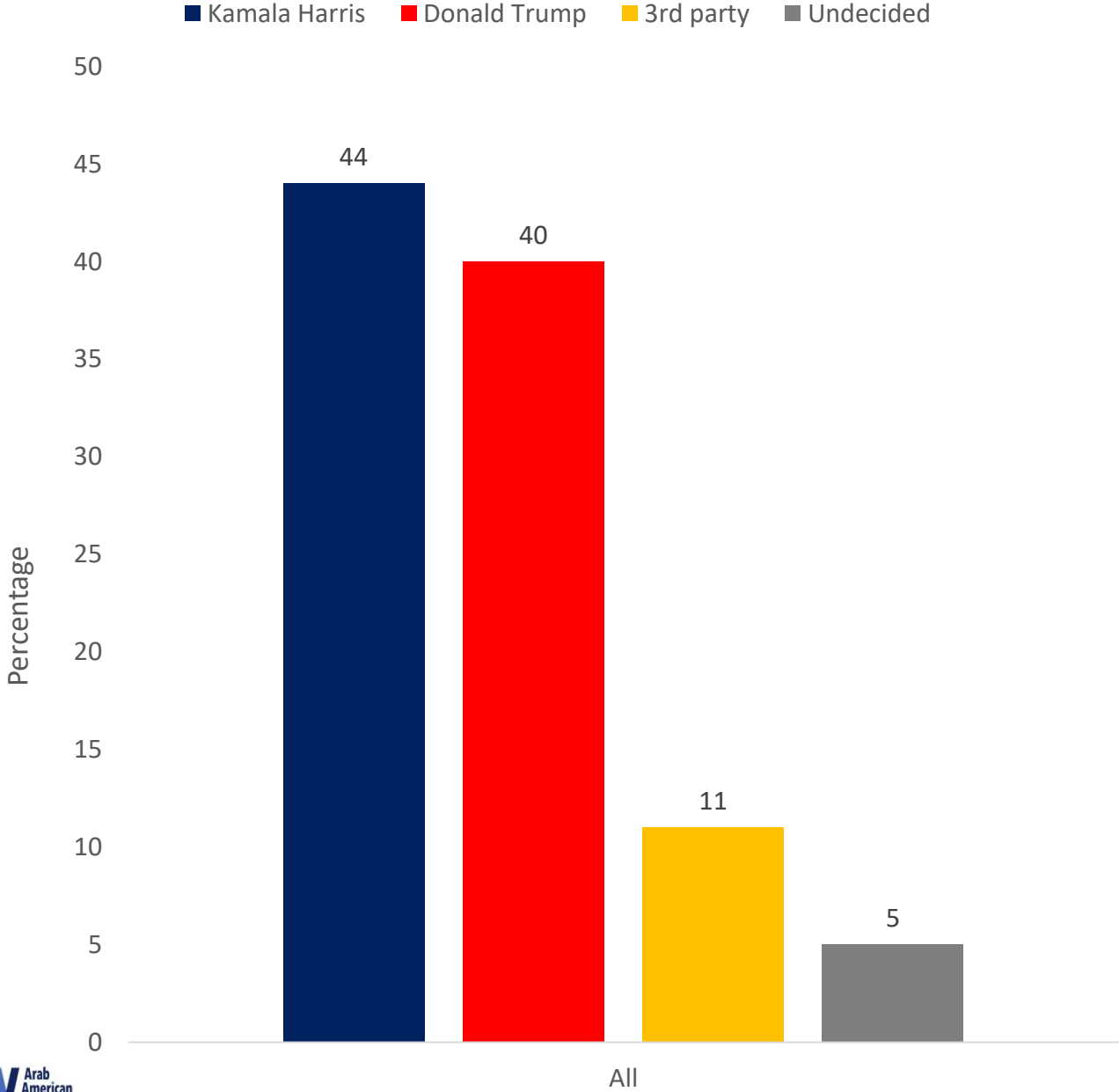


- **Bidens policy towards Gaza was a factor for 58% of young voters and 49% of non-white voters.**

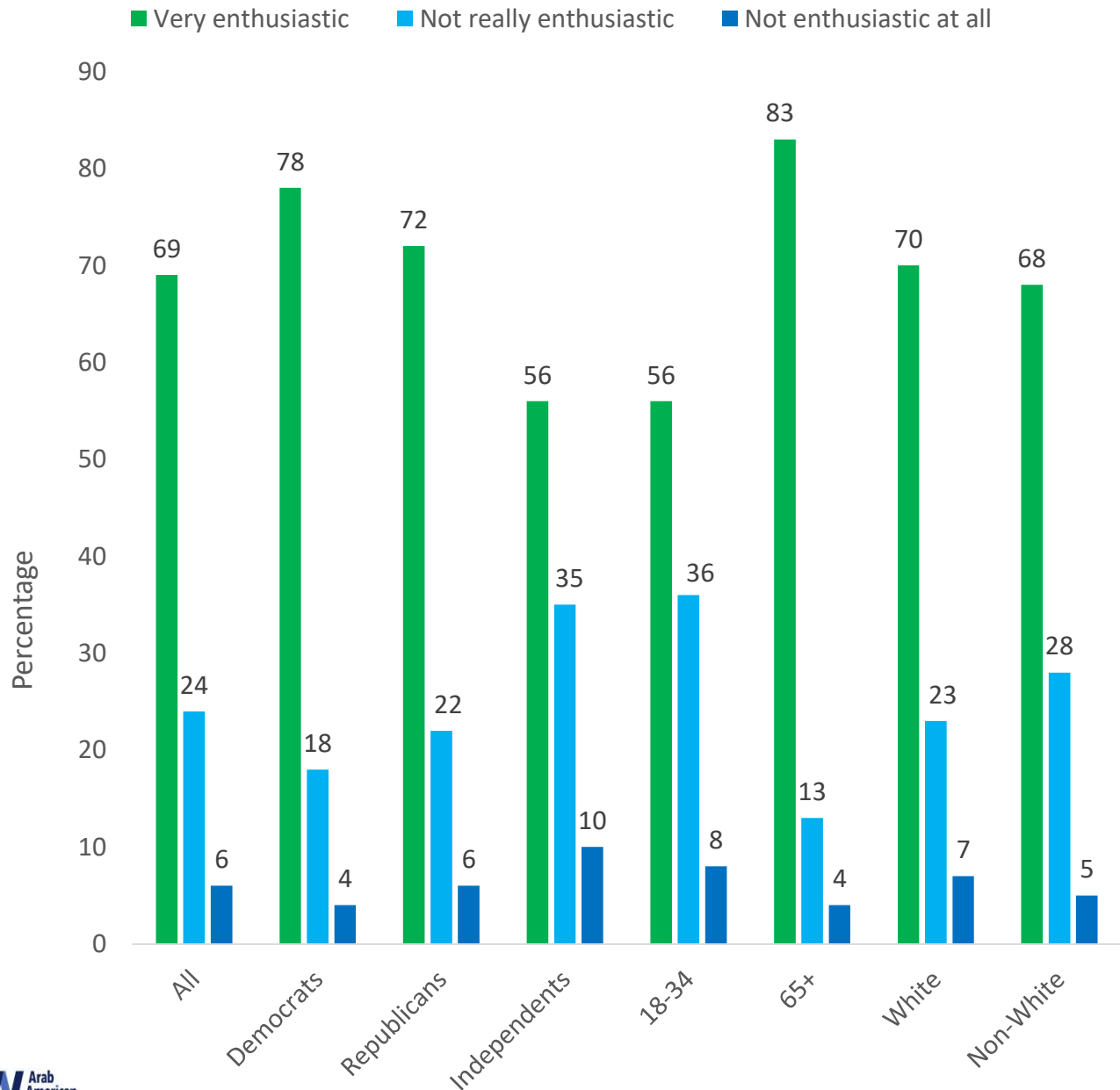
14. If the election for president of the United States were held today, for whom would you vote?



15. If the election for president of the United States were held today, for whom would you vote?

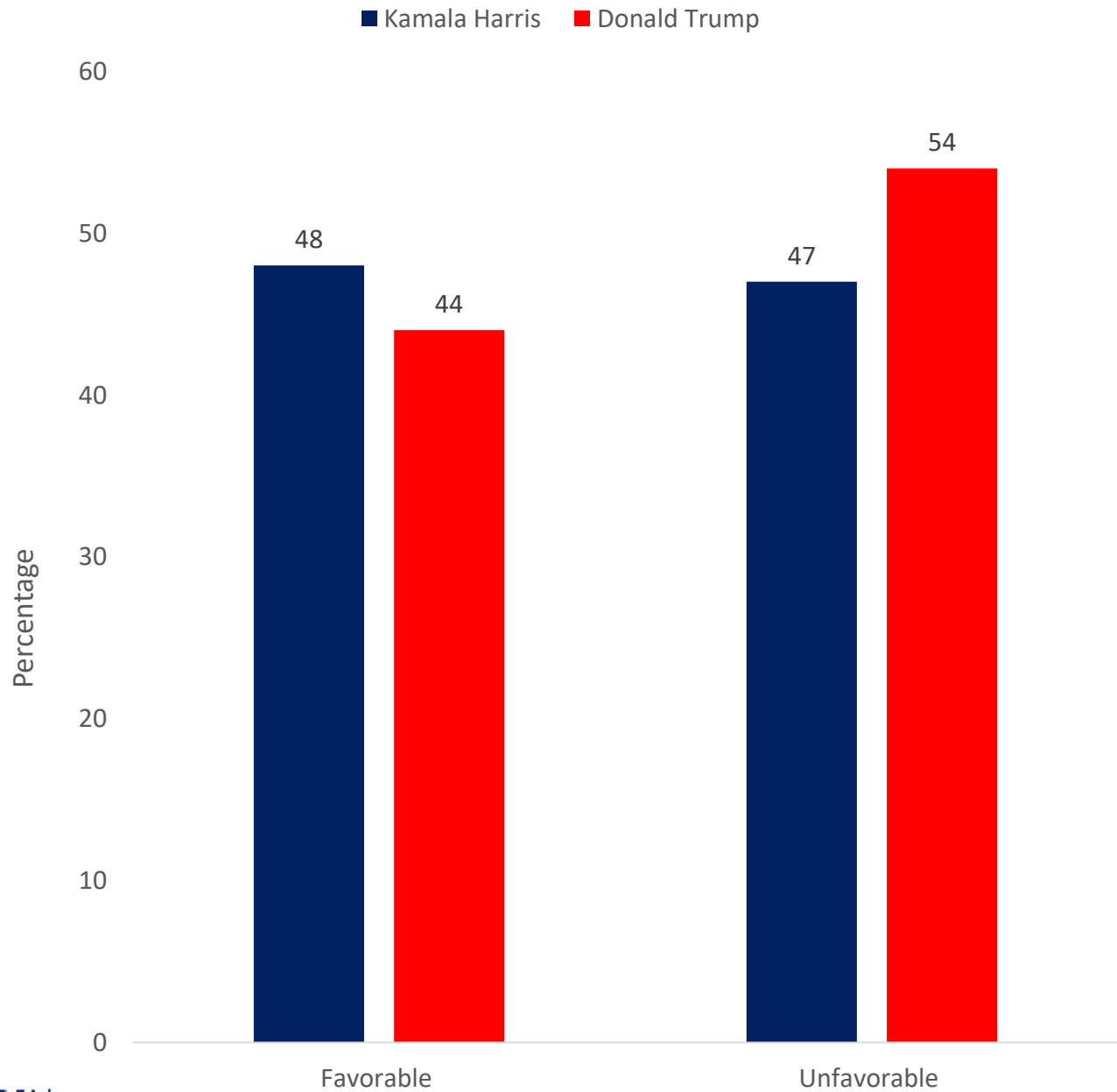


16. How enthusiastic are you about casting a vote for president in November 2024?

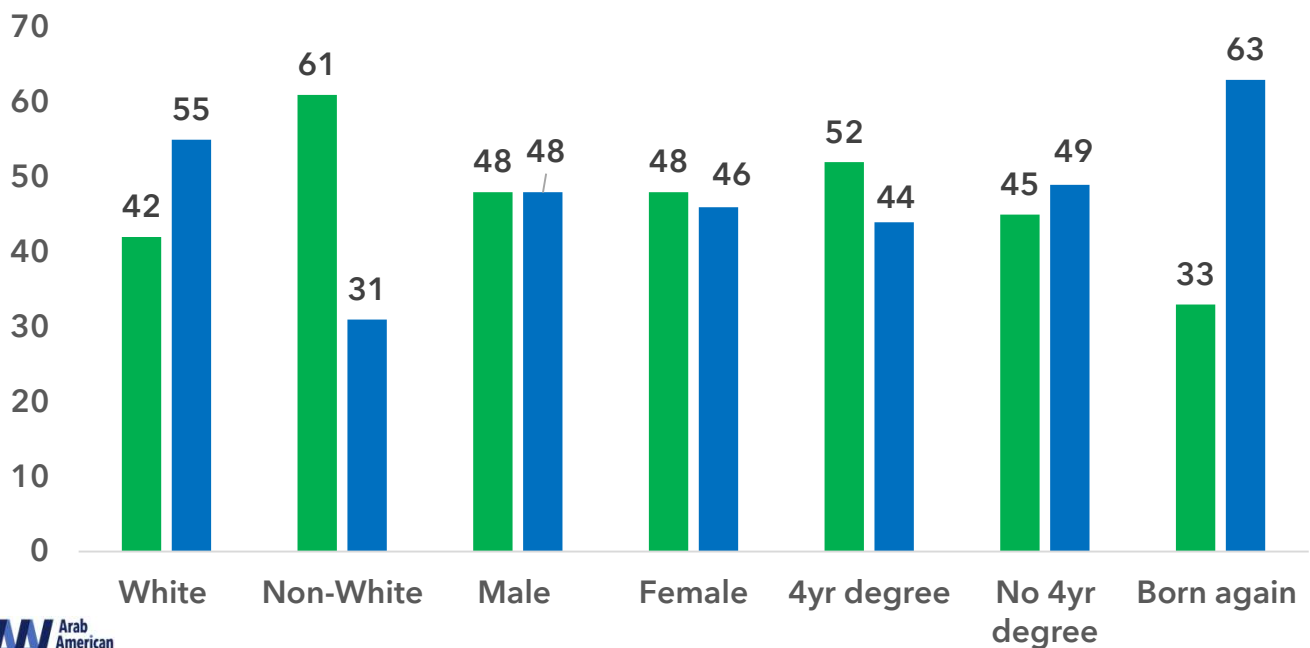
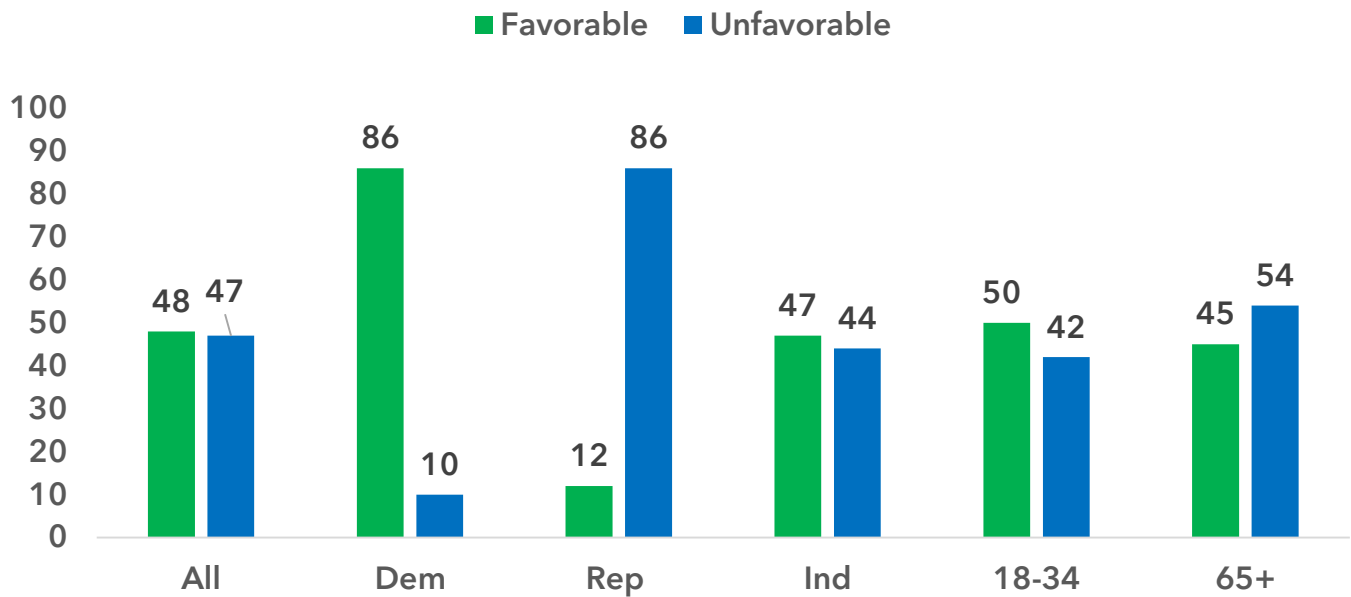


- The highest level of enthusiasm is among older voters while the lowest level is among younger voters.

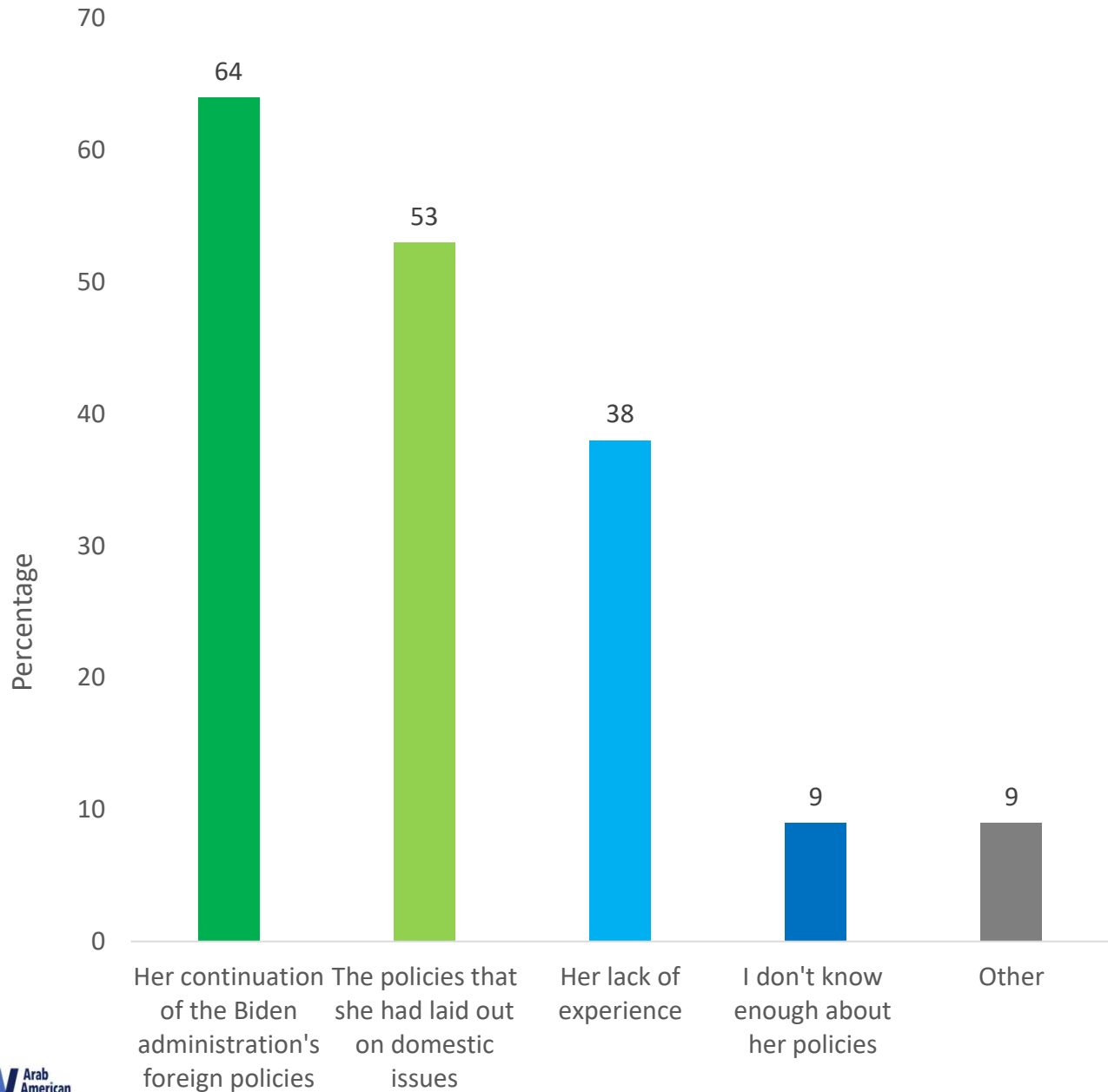
Vice President Harris Vs. Former President Trump Favorability



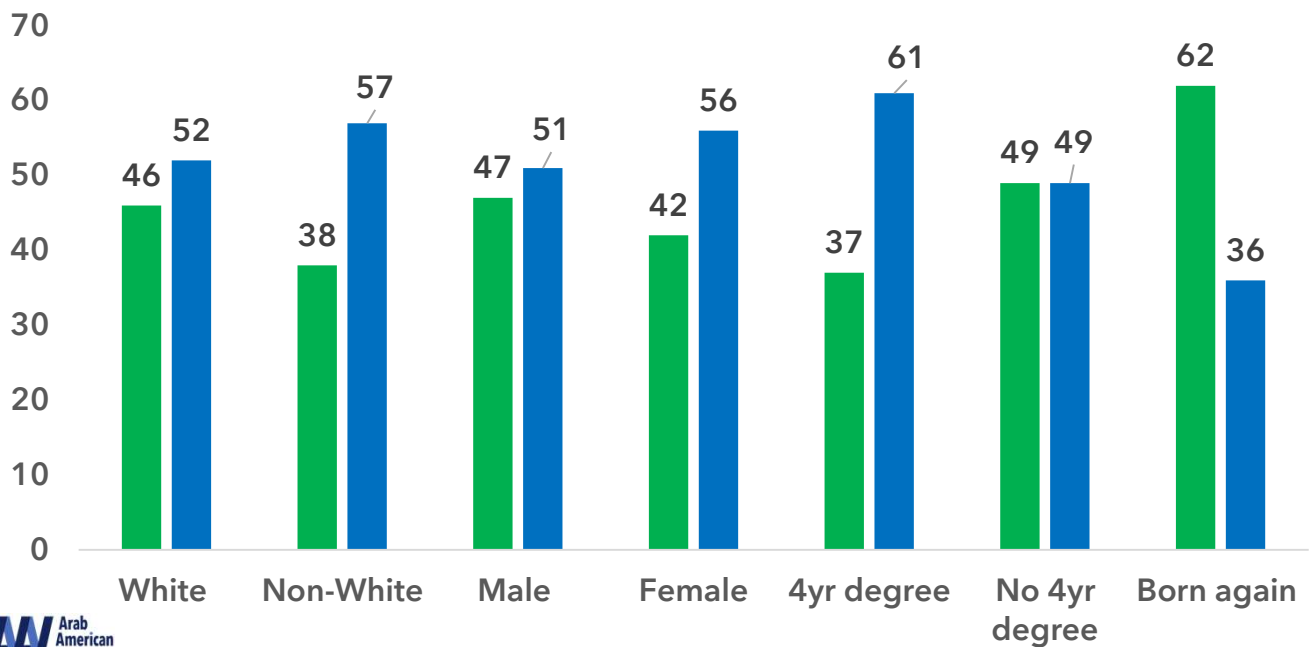
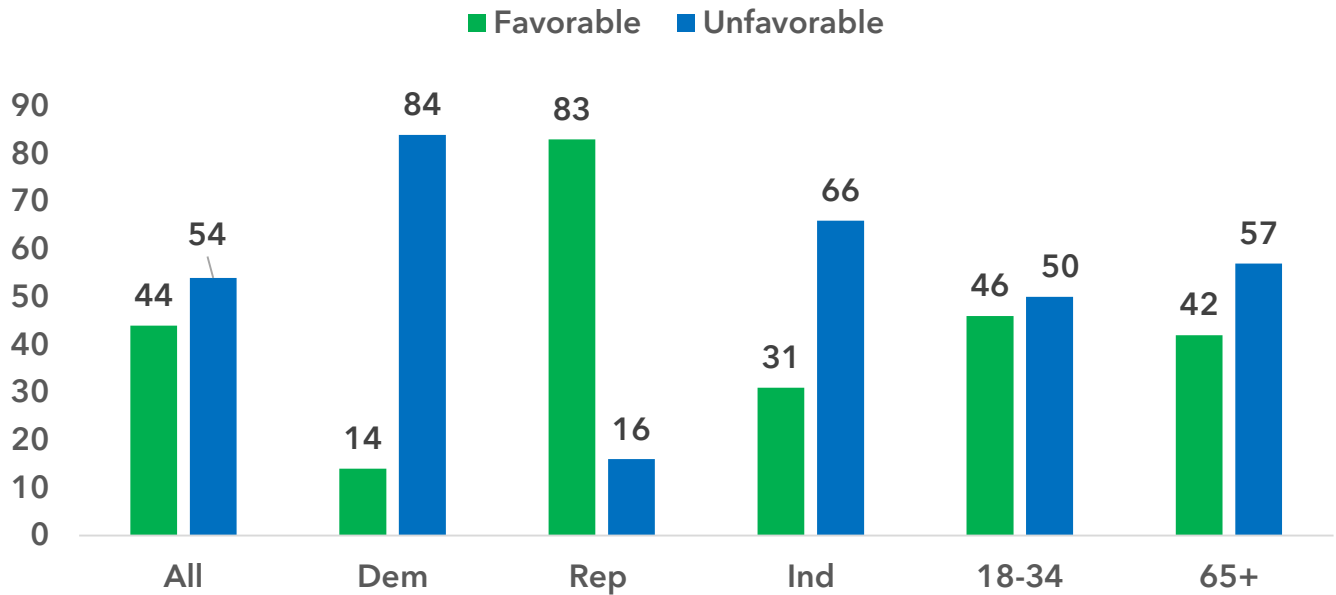
17. Overall, how would you rate your personal feelings towards Vice President Kamala Harris?



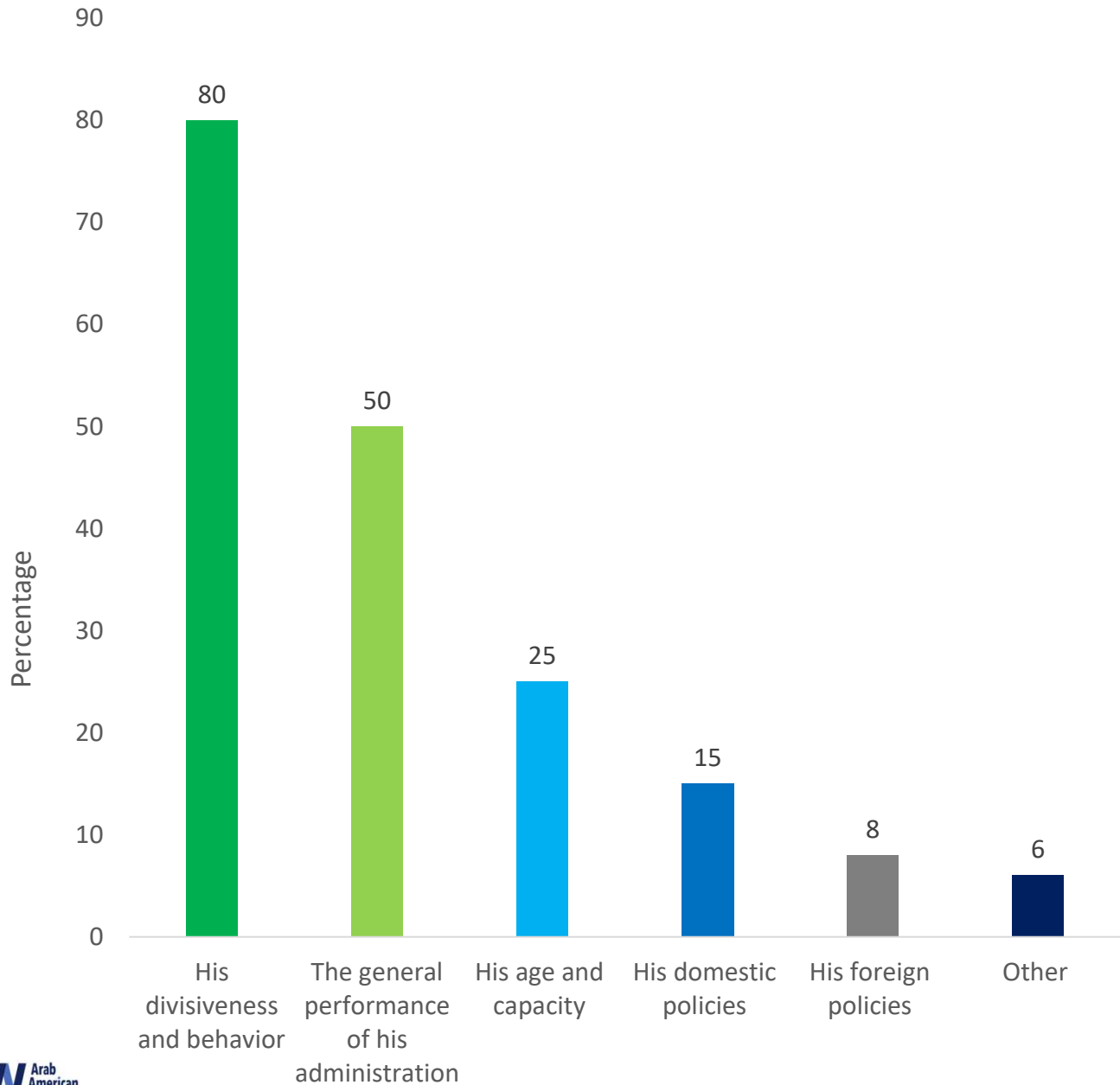
18. Of those who have an unfavorable attitude towards Vice President Harris, which of the following best describes your concerns with Vice President Harris' candidacy?



19. Overall, how would you rate your personal feelings towards former President Donald Trump?



20. Of those who have an unfavorable attitude towards former President Trump, which of the following best describes your concerns with former President Donald Trump's candidacy?



Demographics and Methodology

Demographics and Methodology

John Zogby Strategies was commissioned by AAI to conduct an online poll of 2,505 Americans. The poll was conducted July 31 to August 1, 2024. The margin of error is +/- 2.0 percentage points.

Gender	Percent
Male	47%
Female	52%
Other	1%
Race	Percent
White	66%
Hispanic	13%
Black	13%
Asian	4%
Other	4%
Education	Percent
College	41%
No College	59%
Party	Percent
Democrat	36%
Republican	36%
Independent	27%
Minor	1%
Age	Percent
18-34	25%
35-64	53%
65+	22%