



Public Wise

**The War in Gaza and Voter Dynamics:
Insights for 2024**



Agenda

1. Research Objectives
2. Summary of Findings and Recommendations
3. Methods, Surveys, and Sampling
4. Single Issue Voting Analysis
5. 2020 Biden Voters Analysis
6. Youth Vote Analysis
7. Strategies to Persuade Voters
8. Final Takeaways and Recommendations



Research Objectives

1

To assess voting intentions among key members of the electorate

2

To analyze voters' views on the War in Gaza and Biden's handling of the war to understand what role that issue may play in the outcome of the November 2024 election

3

To explore strategies that might persuade potential “protest nonvoters” or “single-issue voters” to remain in the electorate



Key Findings

1

Nationally, 11% of 2020 Biden voters are not committed to Biden for the 2024 election, but have persuadable vote intentions. Another 9% of 2020 Biden voters are not committed to Biden and are less persuadable.

2

Approval of Biden's handling of the War in Gaza is lower among Biden 2020 voters who are not committed to vote for him. Among 2020 Biden voters, disapproval of Biden's handling was largely due to wanting the US to stay out of the conflict or perceptions of him favoring the Israelis too much.

3

The War in Gaza is unlikely to be the centrally defining issue driving overall lack of commitment to Biden in November – still, it is one important issue among a bundle that are shaping voters' November 2024 intentions and for certain voters may constitute a tipping point issue.

4

Younger voters are more likely than older voters to cast their vote solely based on the War in Gaza. Among 2020 Biden voters, young voters have the lowest level of support for Biden going into 2024 compared to other age brackets. Among young 2020 Biden voters, cost of living/inflation is the issue that a plurality says could influence their vote.



Recommendations for Organizers

1

Craft messages for voters that use personal appeals that illustrate how election results can change their lives. Remind voters that they need to choose what is best overall for them and their family's future.

2

Do not be afraid to integrate multiple issues when crafting a message, as most voters approach elections holistically and see themselves as weighing many issues when voting.

3

Do not disparage or degrade single-issue voters or voting (even when talking to non-single issue voters). Among non-single issue voters, we found high levels of empathy for people who may be single issue voters.



Methods, Surveys, and Sampling

Two Research Pillars

National Survey

- Nationally-representative survey of registered voters; from there we isolate out who says they will likely vote in 2024.
- Oversamples in three key swing states

Swing States Online Bulletin Board

- 3-day online bulletin board of registered voters
- Focus on strategic demographic subgroups in 6 key swing states
- Message testing component
- Qualitative data allows us to better understand the context and “why” behind our quantitative survey results



National Survey

Online survey of registered voters with targeted recruitment in three strategic states

METHODOLOGY

Online survey conducted with YouGov

n = 5,125 registered voters (1.4% Margin of Error)

ADDITIONAL RECRUITMENT EFFORTS IN

Michigan (n = 520)

Pennsylvania (n = 519)

Wisconsin (n = 501)

RECRUITMENT CRITERIA

All participants are registered voters

Quotas and weights were implemented to be representative of the national registered voter population on the following characteristics:

- Age
- Gender
- Race/Ethnicity
- 2020 Presidential vote
- Party identification
- Voter turnout
- Region



Swing State Online Bulletin Board

Three-day online bulletin board with registered voters in swing states

METHODOLOGY

3-Day Online Bulletin Board with PSB insights

Recruited 75 participants, 69 completed the board

Each day had 30-45 minutes worth of activities

SUB-AUDIENCES

Non-Jewish/Non-Muslim Arab Americans (n = 13)

Jewish Americans (n = 14)

Muslim Americans (n = 13)

Black Progressives in the South (n = 14)

18+ Gen Z Americans (n = 15)

RECRUITMENT CRITERIA

All participants are registered to vote in the U.S.

Participants came from the following **swing states: AZ, FL, GA, MI, NC, NV, PA, & WI**

Participants are from a mix of the following demographics:

- Age
- Gender
- Income
- Education
- State (within swing state definition)



Some Unique Strengths of Our Approach

1. We offered more diversity of possible responses than other public polls in our questions about views on the War in Gaza to better capture the nuances of public opinion on this issue among likely voters.
2. We ask specifically about single issue voting, rather than just what issues matter to voters. This offers voters an opportunity to acknowledge that many issues may matter to them, but also specify if there is one single issue that could affect their vote.
3. We paired our quantitative research with qualitative research and message testing to provide further context, nuance, and deeper understanding.



Key Terms

- **Gaza priority voters** - Survey respondents who selected “the War in Gaza” as a single issue that could determine their vote.
- **Likely voters** - Survey respondents who reported that they would *definitely* or *probably* vote in 2024.
- **High risk constituency** - purposefully selected populations for our qualitative study who are suspected to have strong feelings about the War in Gaza.

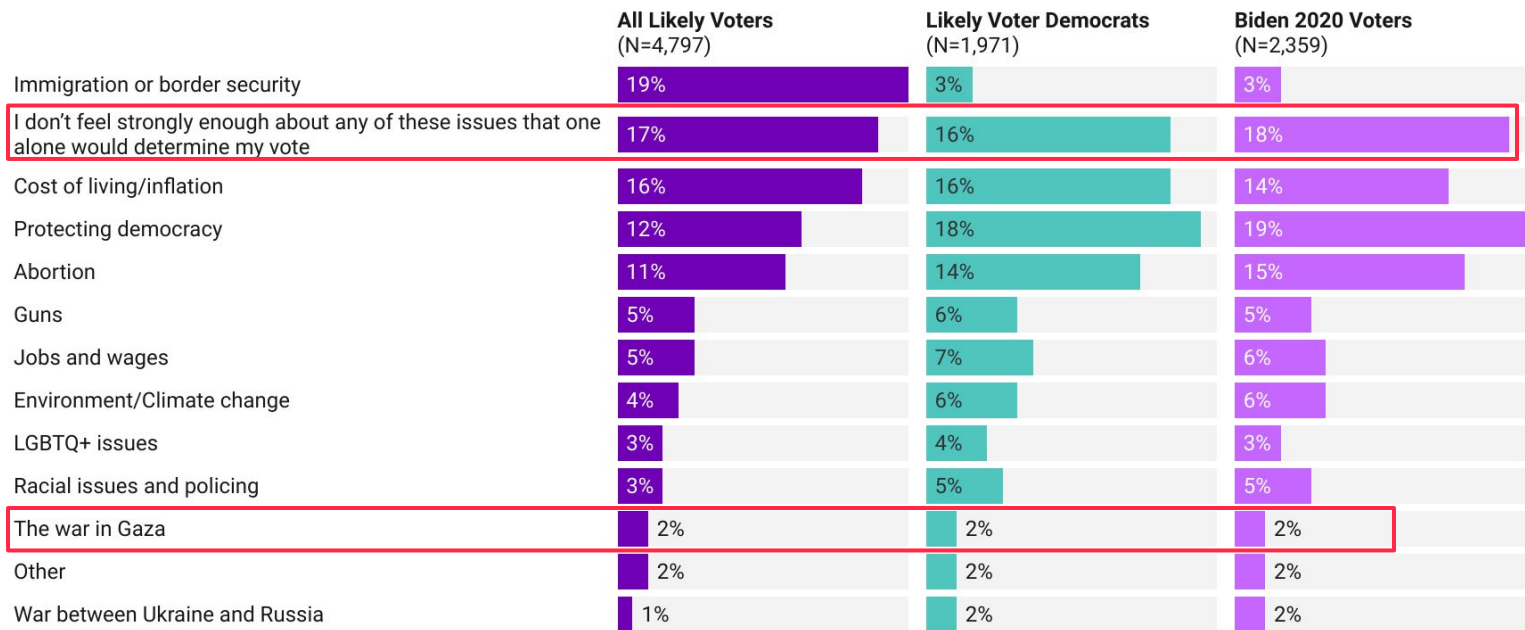


Single Issue Voting



Likely Voters: Single Issue Priorities

Please indicate if there is any one issue on this list that is so important to you that would vote for or against a candidate based only on their position on that issue:





Single Issue Priorities

Louise, Gen Z Democrat from Michigan:

“I have not considered voting based on only one issue because I try to look at all issues that are important to me and see what the candidates say about each one. I would maybe consider this [voting based on a single issue] if both candidates are similar yet disagree on one or two issues. This could be any issue but I would especially look at ones most important to me like gun control and reproductive rights.”



Likely Voters: Single Issue Priorities

2% (N=90) of likely voters indicated that Gaza is a singular priority that could sway their vote

- 69% (N=62) of these Gaza-priority voters **disapprove** of Biden's handling of Gaza
 - **52%(42-62%*) of Gaza priority voters disapprove of Biden's handling because they think he favors Israelis too much**
 - 7%(2-13%*) disapprove because they want the US out of the conflict;
 - 10%(4-16%*) disapprove because he favors Palestinians too much
 - 4% don't know or are not sure

*95% Confidence Interval



Single Issue Priorities: What voters told us

- 2% of **likely** voters indicated Gaza is a singular priority that could sway their vote

Mohamed - Muslim American Gen X, Michigan Democrat, Says Biden favors Israel too much:

*“Normally I think [single issue voting] is irresponsible. I understand that there’s usually 2-3 issues that sway people... A union person that votes for a candidate who [disagrees] with his/her right to collectively bargain, but will vote for them because that candidate is pro gun or pro life is not right. But I find myself doing that. **I don’t think I could support Trump or a Republican running for senate. But I could vote for a 3rd party candidate or leave it uncommitted and vote for other candidates in local offices.**”*

Hindy, Gen X, White Jewish Woman from Georgia. Independent, leans Republican.

[In response to the question: Have you ever considered voting due to one issue?]

“YES - Abortion, pro choice and pro Israel support”



Biden 2020 Voters: the War in Gaza and Voting Intentions



Key Terms

- **Former Biden Voters** - Survey respondents who said they voted for Biden in 2020 (N = 2495). We specifically focused on two groups of former Biden voters:
 - 1. Committed Biden voters** - Respondents who voted for Biden in 2020 and are committed to voting for him again in 2024. This group makes up 80% of 2020 Biden voters.
 - 2. Biden defectors** - All respondents who previously voted for Biden but haven't committed to voting for him again in 2024. This group makes up 20% of 2020 Biden voters.



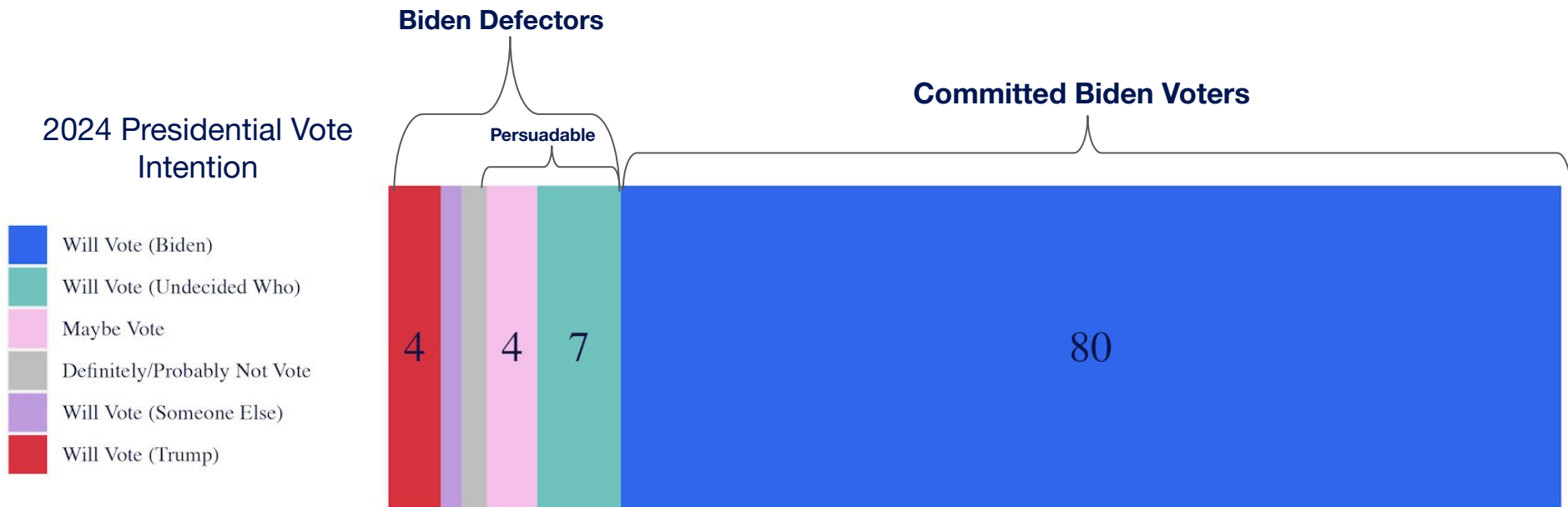
Key Terms

Of **Biden defectors**, we identify voters who are more persuadable or less persuadable.

- **Persuadable** Biden defectors - a group of “Biden defectors” who might vote or will vote, but are undecided who they will vote for in 2024. This group is 11% of all 2020 Biden voters.
- **Less Persuadable** Biden defectors - a group of “Biden defectors” who have committed to voting for Trump, to a third party candidate, or to not voting at all in the 2024 election. This group is 9% of all 2020 Biden voters.



Biden 2020 Voters: 2024 Vote Intentions



- 80% say they will ***definitely*** or ***probably*** vote in 2024 and it will be for Biden
- 9% of 2020 Biden voters say they will not vote for Biden again in 2024.
- **11% of 2020 Biden voters are persuadable defectors**



Who Are the Biden Persuadables?

- **They are younger:** More than half are under 45
- **They are more low-income:** A quarter have family income under \$30K; another quarter \$30K-\$60K
- **They are more Latino:** 15% are Latino (roughly 2x the Latino percentage in committed bucket)
- **They are disproportionately MENA* American:** But MENA Americans still make up a small proportion overall (*Middle East and North African)
- **They are disproportionately Muslim:** But Muslim Americans still make up a small proportion overall
- **They are much less likely to have voted in the 2022 midterm elections**



Swing State Samples: 2024 Vote Intentions

From 2020 Biden Voters in Each State



Wisconsin: 81% committed
6% Unpersuadable defector
13% Persuadable defector



Pennsylvania: 80% committed
6% Unpersuadable defector
14% Persuadable defector



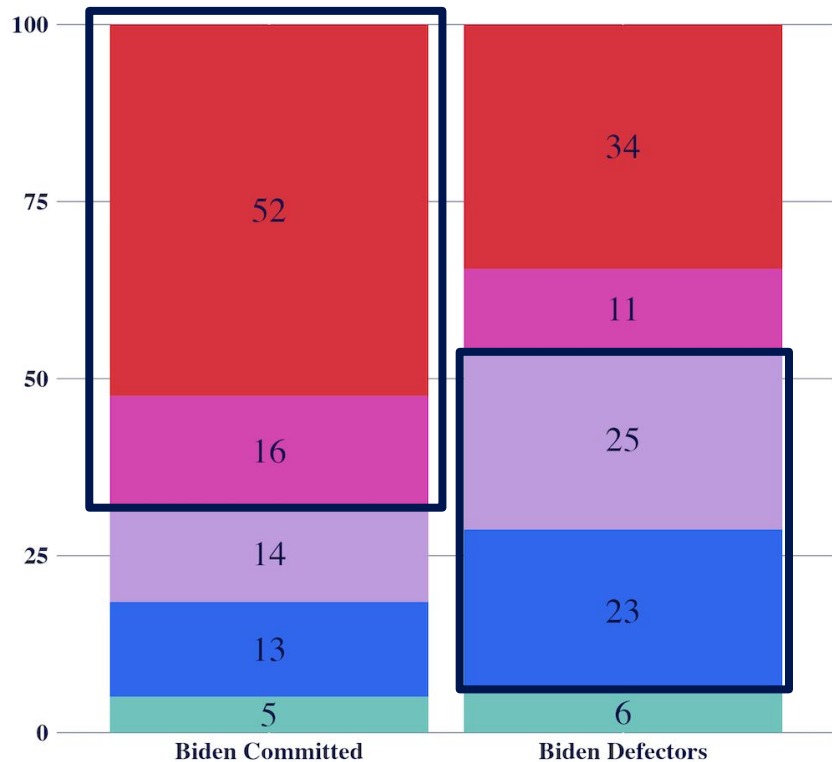
Michigan: 76% committed
10% Unpersuadable defector
14% Persuadable defector

Source: Public Wise/YouGov
Survey of Registered Voters;

- 501 in Wisconsin, 246 Former Biden Voters;
- 519 in Pennsylvania, 235 Former Biden voters;
- 520 in Michigan, 248 Former Biden Voters



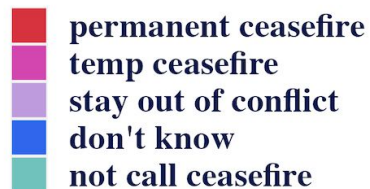
Biden 2020 Voters: US Role in Gaza



Source: Public Wise/YouGov Survey of 5125 Registered Voters in the United States, 2495 Former Biden Voters

“Which one of the following positions do you think the U.S. government should take with regards to the war in Gaza?”

- Voters committed to Biden in 2024 are **more supportive of a ceasefire solution.**
- While 45% of Biden defectors support a ceasefire solution, nearly half **are unsure or would prefer to stay out.**
 - 23% Biden defectors are *unsure* about what to do in the conflict
 - 25% would prefer to *stay out of it.*





Swing State Samples: US Role in Gaza

2024 Committed in Each State:

Wisconsin **67%**(62-72%*) **ceasefire**
21%(17-25%*) don't know
9%(6-12%*) stay out
3% not call ceasefire

Pennsylvania **68%**(64-73%*) **ceasefire**
15%(12-19%*) don't know
14%(11-17%*) stay out
3% not call ceasefire

Michigan **71%**(66-76%*) **ceasefire**
16%(12-20%*) don't know
10%(7-13%*) **stay out**
3% not call ceasefire

2024 Defectors in Each State:

47%(34-60%*) **ceasefire**
33%(20-45%*) don't know
17%(7-27%*) stay out
3% not call ceasefire

55%(38-72%*) **ceasefire**
24%(12-36%*) don't know
18%(7-29%*) stay out
2% not call ceasefire

40%(26-53%*) **ceasefire**
27%(15-40%*) don't know
27%(15-39%*) **stay out**
3% not call ceasefire

Commit n = 244
Defect n = 39

Commit n = 280
Defect n = 35

Commit n = 242
Defect n = 36

Source: Public Wise/YouGov
Survey of Registered Voters;
501 in Wisconsin; 519 in
Pennsylvania; 520 in Michigan



High Risk Constituencies: What Voters Told Us

Rahim, a Middle Age, Asian, Muslim man from rural Georgia; Independent voter who leans Democrat; voted *against* Trump in last two elections

“Firstly, with the state of the economy and with the aid we already give to other countries, we need to spend that money at home. We've already given Ukraine millions of dollars and now we've given more to the effort in Gaza. We have to stop policing the world and take care of our citizens especially our veterans. In addition, we have aging infrastructure that needs attention.”

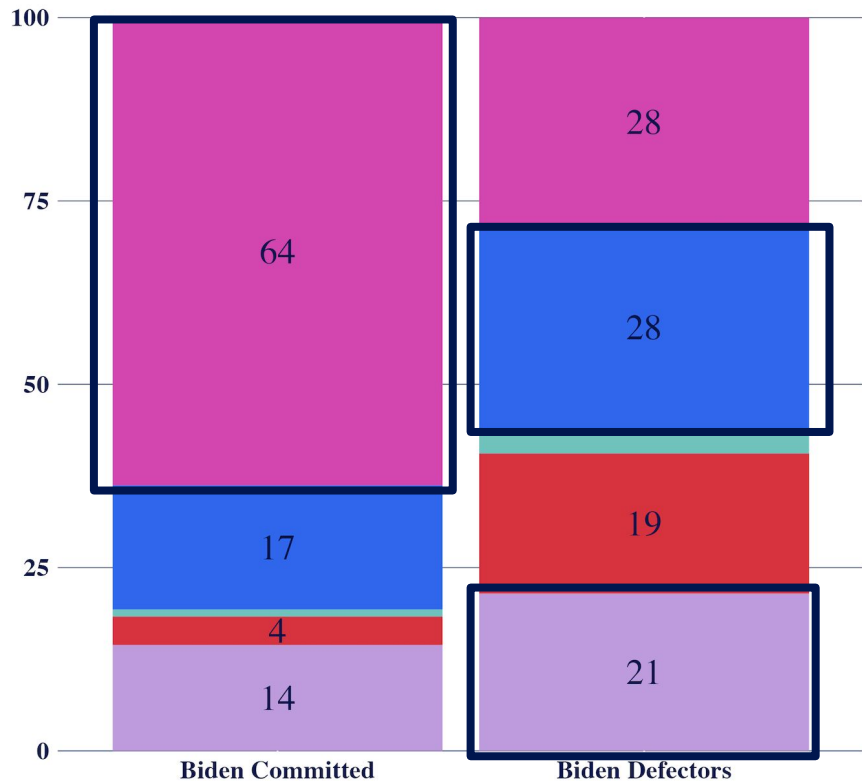
Aaliyah, Black, Gen Z Woman in Georgia, Democrat, Voted for Biden in 2020

“Like now, I'm voting for Biden in the next election over Trump but I don't like that he's not helping Palestine. It's hard to vote for someone who isn't doing enough to help others in their time of need. Let's be honest, Trump wouldn't help either and he would even trash them while in power. So, you don't have any options for people to root for.”



Biden 2020 Voters: Biden's Gaza Handling

Approval of Biden's Handling of Gaza War



- Most committed Biden voters **approve of his handling** of the War in Gaza.
- Alternatively, nearly a third of Biden defectors **don't know how Biden is handling the conflict**, and a fifth **disapprove because he is favoring Israelis too much**.

- Approve of handling
- not sure/don't know
- (Disapprove) Favors Pales. too much
- (Disapprove) US should keep out
- (Disapprove) Favors Israelis too much

Source: Public Wise/YouGov Survey of 5125 Registered Voters in the United States, 2495 Former Biden Voters



Swing State Samples: Biden's Gaza Handling

2024 Committed in Each State:		2024 Defectors in Each State:		
Wisconsin	52%(47-57%*) approve 22%(17-27%*) favors Isr too much 0% favors Pal too much 1% US stay out 25%(20-30%*) don't know		18%(8-28%*) approve 28%(16-40%*) favors Isr too much 3% favors Pal too much 17% US stay out 34%(19-49%*) don't know	Commit n = 244 Defect n = 39
Pennsylvania	58%(53-63%*) approve 15%(12-19%*) favors Isr too much 1% favors Pal too much 3% US stay out 22%(18-26%*) don't know		15%(5-25%*) approve 19%(8-31%*) favors Isr too much 11% favors Pal too much 21% US stay out 34%(20-47%*) don't know	Commit n = 280 Defect n = 35
Michigan:	55%(50-61%*) approve 19%(15-23%*) favors Isr too much 0% favors Pal too much 5% US stay out 20%(16-25%*) don't know		7%(0-15%*) approve 30%(18-43%*) favors Isr too much 6% favors Pal too much 22% US stay out 35%(21-47%*) don't know	Commit n = 242 Defect n = 36 Source: Public Wise/YouGov Survey of Registered Voters; 501 in Wisconsin; 519 in Pennsylvania; 520 in Michigan

*90% confidence interval



High Risk Constituencies: Gaza War as Electoral Risk Factor

Mohammed K., a middle age Muslim Democrat in Michigan

*“I voted in 2016 for Hillary Clinton because I felt Trump was unqualified/unfit to be president. In 2020 I voted for Biden since Trump completely botched the pandemic and did not navigate the country well when we needed competence the most. **In 2024, I do not know who I will vote for as of yet, however, the situation in the Middle East will be a factor in who I choose.** I have voted in every election in I [sic] was able to in [sic] 1996. I will say that abstaining in 2024 has crossed my mind.”*

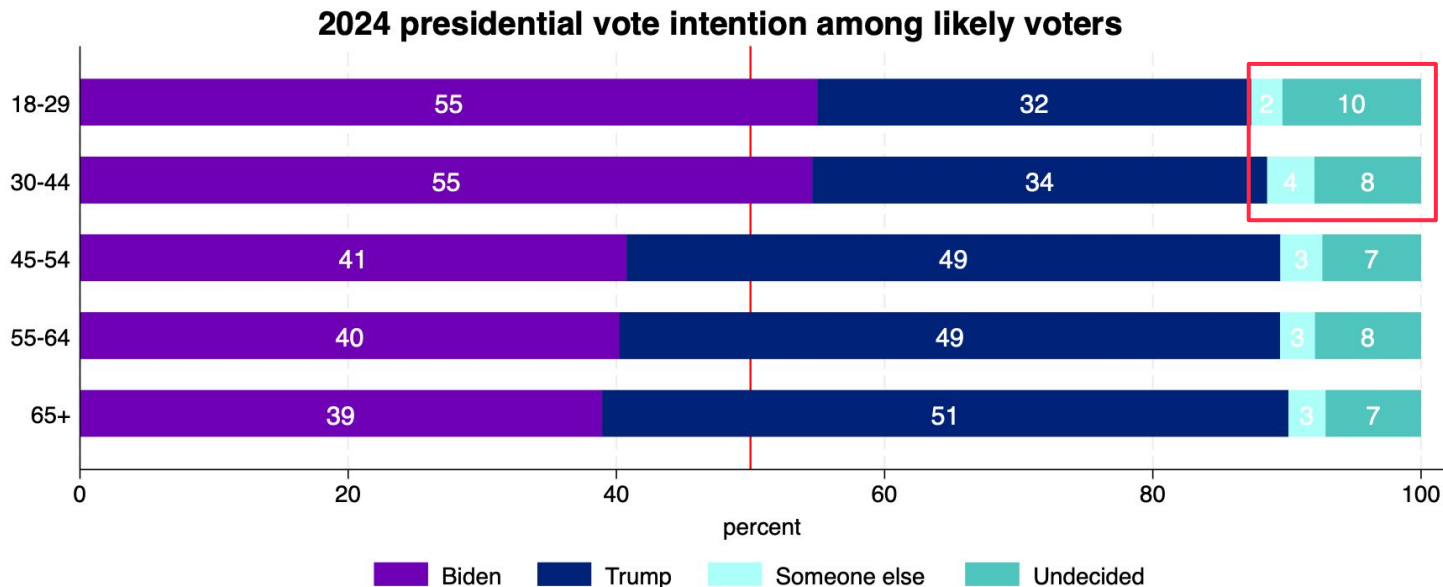
Jenean, Gen X Democrat, Jewish Woman from Florida

*“I will most certainly vote regardless, but **my decision will be swayed to the leader that has a hand in ending the war.** Whatever candidate wants to either have a hand in ending the War or will send more humanitarian aid to those that need it.”*





Young Voters: Vote Intent



SOURCE: Public Wise/YouGov Poll of Registered Voters (N=5,125). 2024 vote intention asked only of likely voters (N=4,797)

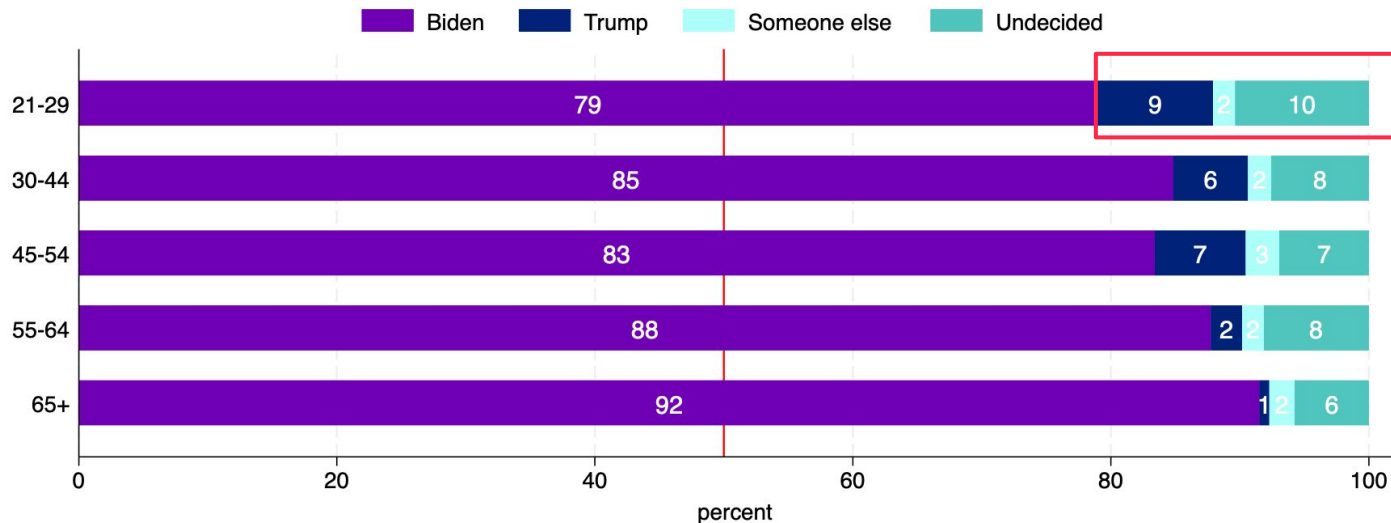
Compared to other age groups, **younger likely voters are more likely than not to say they will vote for Biden in 2024**

10% of young likely voters are **undecided** who they will vote for in 2024, compared to 7% of the oldest voters.



Young Voters: Vote Intent

2024 presidential vote intention among 2020 Biden voters

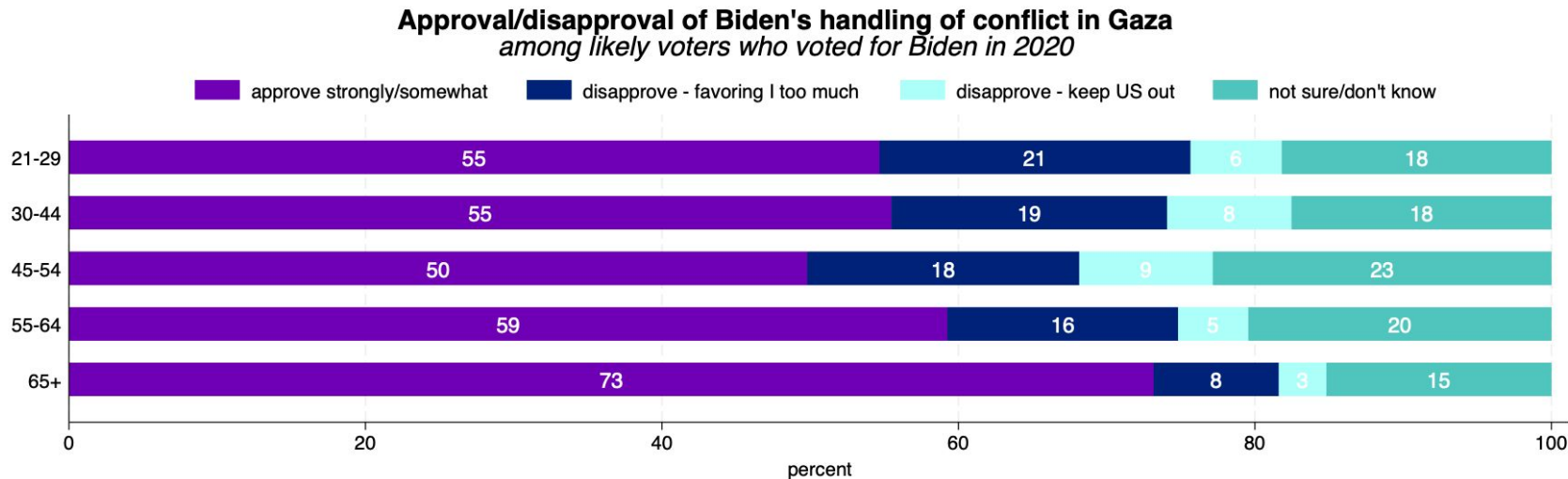


SOURCE: Public Wise/YouGov Poll of Registered Voters. 2020 Biden voters N=2,357

But compared to other age groups, **young voters have a larger share of Biden defectors – at 21%.**

9% of 18-29 year olds who voted for Biden in 2020 say they intend to vote for Trump.

Young Voters: Biden's Handling of Gaza



SOURCE: Public Wise/YouGov Poll of Registered Voters. Likely voters who voted for Biden in 2020 = 2,357.

NOTE: Number of respondents who disapprove because Biden is favoring Palestine too much removed due to exceedingly small numbers

- **Older (65+) Biden 2020 voters have the highest levels of approval for Biden's handling of the Gaza conflict.**
- **The most common reason for disapproval among all age groups of former 2020 Biden voters is that he is favoring Israel too much.**



Voices of Young Voters

Sophia, Gen Z Democrat, Black & Arab American Woman from Michigan

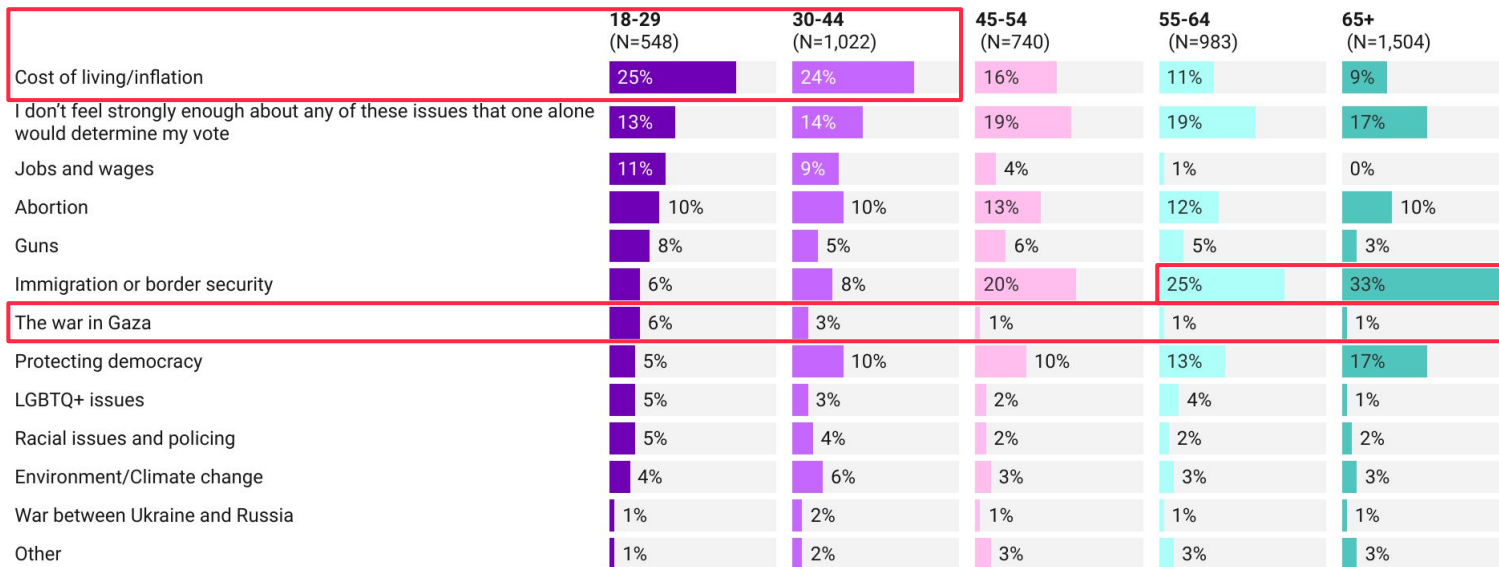
*“As I mentioned earlier, Joe Biden's (and the larger American government's) active participation in the genocide of Palestinians has eliminated themselves from the possibility of receiving my vote (Donald Trump was never going to get mine in the first place). **When I choose who I will vote for, that candidate must be a loud activist against the crimes against humanity that are being done in Gaza, as well as against the Western governments and puppets that are making it happen!**”*

Myles, Gen Z Democrat, White Jewish Man from Pennsylvania

*“I am Jewish and **I have experienced immense antisemitism from left groups at college.** It is insane that this hatred is being deemed normal. I also have family in israel and it's very important to me that they're safe. **Whoever supports israel the most, but also ensures we don't get directly involved [will impact who gets my vote].**”*

Young Voters: Single Issue Priorities

Please indicate if there is any one issue on this list that is so important to you that you would vote for or against a candidate based only on their position on that issue:



Source: Public Wise/YouGov Poll of Michigan Registered Voters. Percentages displayed here are of likely voters. • Created with Datawrapper

For national **voters under 45**, a **quarter** say they will base their vote on a candidate's position on **cost of living/inflation**.

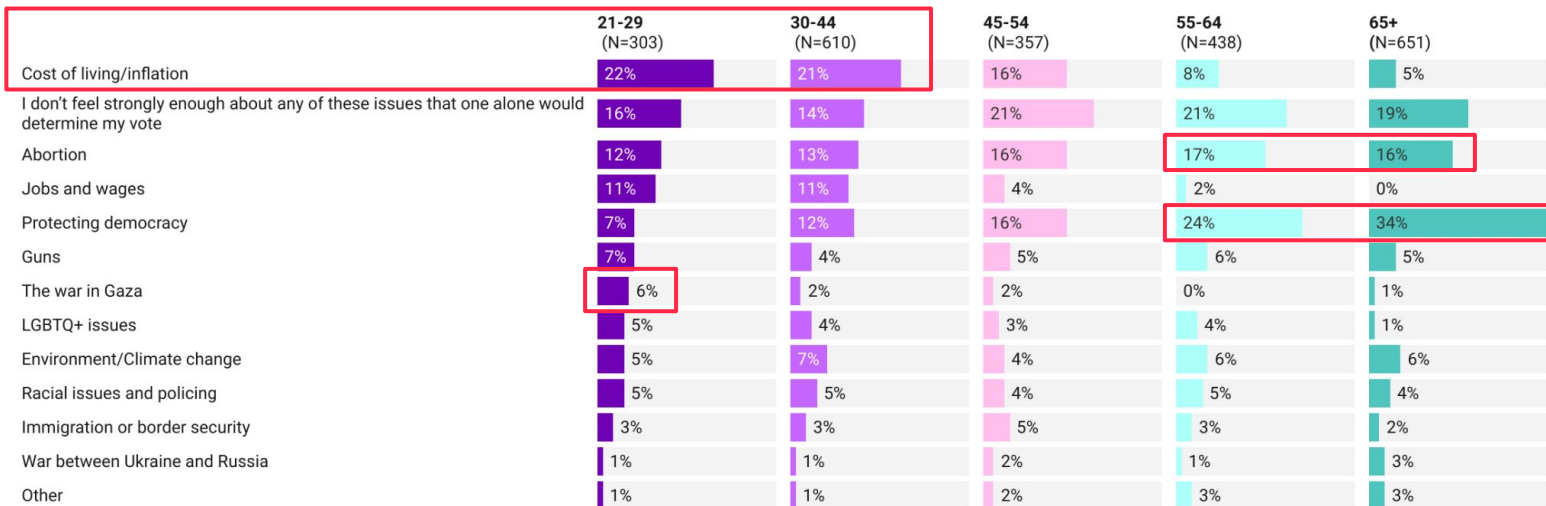
For **older voters** (over 55), the most important single issue is **Immigration/border security**.

Young voters are more willing than other age groups to vote exclusively based on the war in Gaza.

Young Voters: Single Issue Priorities

Please indicate if there is any one issue on this list that is so important to you that would vote for or against a candidate based only on their position on that issue:

Of likely voters who voted for Biden in 2020



Source: Public Wise/YouGov Poll of Registered Voters. Percentages are of likely voters who voted for Biden in 2020 (N=2,357) • Created with Datawrapper

COL/Inflation and abortion are the top single issues that **young voters** who previously voted for Biden say could influence their vote.

6% of young voters 21-29 name Gaza as the single issue that could influence their vote.

Older voters who voted for Biden in 2020 **prioritize protecting democracy and abortion** as single issues determining their vote.



Voices of Young Voters

Anna C, Gen Z Hispanic Woman from Rural Georgia; Independent but leans Democrat

*“The cost of anything now has gone up and it’s scary to think that in the future we won’t be able to afford anything. **For future generations, there won’t be an option to buy a house or car just because it’s very expensive.** I feel like it’s hard to get a decent paying job or even a job in general. Other [sic] have to work two jobs or more just to make ends meet . I feel like inflation was caused because of the war that has been going on . The resources that we depend on are becoming more scarce. **Our economy is getting worse with all the things that have been happening.**”*

Nakia, a Gen Z, Black Christian Democrat Woman in North Carolina

*“I think the main ones I would say would and **could potentially sway my decision to vote or abstain from voting would be the issues surrounding the economy as well as the issue with reproductive rights, but I definitely think the War in Gaza would be a close third.** I feel like all three of those decisions and issues really need to be dealt with now at this moment, and if there was a political figure that mention otherwise, then I would immediately change my decision on who to vote for.”*



Strategies To Persuade Voters



Strategies to Persuade Voters

Online Bulletin Boards of Strategic Groups in Swing States

We tested two-main messages that might persuade potential “protest nonvoters” or “single-issue voters” to remain in the electorate. After sharing the messages, we asked respondents what they liked about these messages and what they didn’t.

1. **“Me and My Family, Not a Single Issue”**
2. **“Pick the Lesser of Two Evils, Regardless of your Gaza Stance”**



Strategies to Persuade Voters

Online Bulletin Boards of Strategic Groups in Swing States

Most Persuasive Message: “Me and My Family, Not a Single Issue”

*“There are a lot of issues that affect Americans - climate change, the economy, democracy, reproductive rights, and many issues in between - and when we go to the ballot box, **no single issue is so much more important that it outweighs the rest.** When I go to cast my vote in November, **I will weigh the candidates’ track records and cast my vote for the person that reflects what is best for me and my family** - not just on any single issue, but all of them.”*



Strategies to Persuade Voters

Online Bulletin Boards of Strategic Groups in Swing States

- What people **liked** about the **““Me and My Family, Not a Single Issue”** message:
 - That voters should weigh many issues, not just one
 - Personal appeal to them and family

Stephen, Arab American, Independent Millennial Man from Michigan

“I think this is a well-rounded and rational message. It makes me think of the whole picture instead of focusing on sensationalistic ‘gotcha’ points.”

Rahim, Muslim American, Gen X Liberal Independent from Georgia

“I think it personalizes the reason to vote. When one goes to vote, you have to think about the benefits to yourself and loved ones.”



Strategies to Persuade Voters

Online Bulletin Boards of Strategic Groups in Swing States

- What people **disliked** about the “**Me and My Family, Not a Single Issue**” message:
 - The part about not voting based on a single issue - respondents were sympathetic to the idea that *some people* might vote based on one important issue.
 - That the message "lacks a clear call to action"

Kathleen, Gen Z, Liberal Asian-American Woman from Michigan

“I think it can be seen as a bit like telling people what to do, even though in my opinion it is true. There might be some who disagree and are very narrowly focused on one issue.”

Tafarrah, Black Progressive Millennial Woman from N. Carolina

“I think that that could be looked at as coming off as a little offensive because there are people who believe that one single issue is important and enough to vote for that one single issue so I think that that’s not persuasive that’s kind of condescending.”



Strategies to Persuade Voters

Online Bulletin Boards of Strategic Groups in Swing States

Less Persuasive: “Pick the Lesser of Two Evils, Regardless of your Gaza Stance”

“Recently an elected official said that even if you don’t agree with President Biden on his response to the war in Gaza, you should still vote for him because a vote for someone else or sitting out the election in protest actually benefits former President Trump in November. Regardless of where you stand on the war in Gaza or your political affiliation, what do you think about a get out the vote message that tells you to vote for someone you disagree with on an issue because the other candidate will be worse?”



Recap of Key Findings

1

11% of 2020 Biden voters are not committed to Biden for the 2024 election, but have persuadable vote intentions. Another 9% of 2020 Biden voters are not committed to Biden and are less persuadable.

2

Approval of Biden's handling of the War in Gaza is lower among Biden 2020 voters who are not committed to vote for him. Among 2020 Biden voters, disapproval of Biden's handling was largely due to wanting the US to stay out of the conflict or perceptions of him favoring the Israelis too much.

3

The War in Gaza is unlikely to be the centrally defining issue driving overall lack of commitment to Biden in November – still, it is one important issue among a bundle that are shaping voters' November 2024 intentions and for certain voters may constitute a tipping point issue.

4

Younger voters are more likely than older voters to cast their vote solely based on the War in Gaza. Among 2020 Biden voters, young voters have the lowest level of support for Biden going into 2024 compared to other age brackets. Among young 2020 Biden voters, cost of living/inflation is the issue that a plurality says could influence their vote.



Strategies to Persuade Voters

Online Bulletin Boards of Strategic Groups in Swing States

What to Keep in Mind for Crafting Messages to Voters

- Voters are more compelled by messages which focus on a **comprehensive approach to issues** and the **inclusion of personalistic appeals**
- **Voters tend to see themselves as weighing many issues** when voting and evaluating candidates holistically, so emphasizing the breadth of issues at stake can be effective....
- BUT, even these same ‘holistic’ voters are **empathetic towards single-issue voters**, and tend to find **messages which explicitly degrade the concept of voting on one issue to be condescending** and offensive. This was especially true for emotionally heightened and potentially personally affecting issues like the War in Gaza.