An Analysis of the Jewish Electorate for the Jewish Electorate Institute by the American Jewish Population Project

At the request of the non-partisan Jewish Electorate Institute, researchers at the American Jewish Population Project at Brandeis University’s Steinhardt Social Research Institute conducted an analysis of hundreds of national surveys of US adults to describe the Jewish electorate in each of the 435 districts of the 116th US Congress and the District of Columbia. Surveys include the American National Election Studies, the General Social Survey, Pew Political and social surveys, the Gallup Daily Tracking poll, and the Gallup Poll Social Series. Data from over 1.4 million US adults were statistically combined to provide, for each district, estimates of the number of adults who self-identify as Jewish and a breakdown of those individuals by age, education, race/ethnicity, political party self-identification, and political ideology. The percentages of political identity are not sensitive to quick changes in attitudes that can result from current events and they are not necessarily indicative of voting behaviors. The following report presents a portrait of the Jewish electorate in Arizona and its nine congressional districts.¹
Arizona is home to ~115,000 Jewish adults, comprising 2.1% of the state's electorate.² Worth 11 electoral votes, the state was won by Donald Trump (+3.5%; 91,234 votes) in 2016 and by Joe Biden in 2020 (+0.3%; 10,457 votes). In addition to the latest House and presidential races, a special election was held in November 2020 to fill the late Senator John McCain’s seat. Democratic challenger Mark Kelly won (+2.3%; 78,806 votes) the competitive special election against Republican Martha McSally. Kelly joins his Democratic colleague, Kyrsten Sinema, in the Senate.

**OVERVIEW: THE ARIZONA JEWISH ELECTORATE**

The majority (~80%) of Jewish adults in Arizona resides in five congressional districts that include parts of Tucson, Phoenix, and other metropolitan areas within Maricopa County.

The majority (55%) of Arizona’s Jewish electorate identifies with or leans toward the Democratic Party compared with 65% of the Jewish electorate nationally.³

### JEWISH ADULTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Democrat &amp; Lean Democrat</th>
<th>Independent (4%)</th>
<th>Republican &amp; Lean Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55%</td>
<td></td>
<td>39%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Total does not sum to 100% due to omitted “Other” category.
STATE-LEVEL DEMOGRAPHICS

Adults with a College Degree

Just over half of Jewish adults in Arizona are college educated. Compared to the general adult population of the state, Arizona’s Jewish electorate is more likely to be college educated (55% vs. 26%), with educational attainment comparable to Jewish adults nationally (55% vs. 57%).

Age

The Arizona Jewish electorate is older compared to all adults in the state, with a greater proportion of adults ages 65+ (34% vs. 23%, respectively).
Jewish adults in Arizona are more likely to identify as Democrats (55%) than all adults in the state (44%). Of the 55% of Jewish adults who identify as Democrats in some way, 38% identified as Democrat when asked if they identify with a political party. An additional 16% identify as Independent who lean toward the Democratic Party. Among all Arizona adults, 27% identify as Democrats, and an additional 17% lean Democratic. Jewish adults are also less likely to identify as or lean Republican (39%) and as Independent (4%) than all Arizona adults (46% and 10%, respectively).

When asked about political ideology, Jewish adults in Arizona are far more likely to identify as liberal (36%) than all adults in the state (24%). Jewish adults are also far less likely to identify as conservative (26%) than all adults (38%). Both groups, Jewish adults and the general Arizona population, identify as moderate in approximately equal proportions (38% and 37%, respectively).

### Partisan Identification, Jewish Adults vs. AZ Adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jewish Adults</th>
<th>AZ Adults</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democrat / Lean Democrat</td>
<td>38% / 16%</td>
<td>27% / 17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent (No Lean)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican / Lean Republican</td>
<td>23% / 16%</td>
<td>29% / 17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Political Orientation, Jewish Adults vs. AZ Adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jewish Adults</th>
<th>AZ Adults</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Age of Independents

Within the Arizona Jewish electorate, those in younger age groups are more likely to identify as Independent compared with older adults. Jewish adults ages 18-24 are about 50% more likely to identify as Independent than Jewish adults ages 65 or older (47% vs. 31%, respectively).
Of Arizona’s nine congressional districts, the top five by Jewish population account for 81% (~93,000 adults) of the state’s Jewish electorate (~115,000 adults). Three of the top five districts are represented by Republicans and two by Democrats. AZ-2 spans the southeast corner of the state, while the other four districts encompass much of the Phoenix metropolitan area.

The top three districts by Jewish population—AZ-6, represented by David Schweikert (R), AZ-9, represented by Greg Stanton (D), and AZ-2, represented by Ann Kirkpatrick (D)—each have at least 15,000 Jewish adults, the majority of whom identify as or lean Democratic. Among the two districts represented by Democratic members of Congress, AZ-9 and AZ-2, a plurality of the Jewish electorate are politically liberal. While in the district with the largest Jewish adult population, AZ-6, a plurality of the Jewish electorate are politically moderate.
Competitive Districts

The majority of Arizona's congressional districts—seven out of nine—were considered safe for their incumbent representatives preceding the 2020 House elections. The remaining two districts—AZ-6, rated as a toss-up, and AZ-1, which leaned Democratic—were considered competitive. Four of Arizona's nine districts, AZ-1 and AZ-2, were also considered competitive for the presidential race. Of these, only AZ-2 has a significant Jewish population.

There were no major upsets in Arizona's 2020 congressional elections. The incumbent candidates for all nine of Arizona's districts were re-elected in 2020, including those running in competitive races.

Arizona Competitive House Races 2020

Two of Arizona's nine House races were considered competitive in 2020.

Three of Arizona's nine congressional districts were considered solidly Republican for the 2020 House races. Of these, AZ-8 and AZ-5 have significant Jewish populations. The former, represented by Debbie Lesko (R), is home to ~12,000 Jewish adults and the latter, represented by Andy Biggs (R), is home to ~10,000 Jewish adults. Together, these two districts account for one fifth of Arizona's Jewish electorate.

Four of Arizona's nine congressional districts were considered solidly Democratic leading up to the 2020 election. Of these, two have significant Jewish populations—AZ-9, represented by Greg Stanton (D) and AZ-2, represented by Ann Kirkpatrick (D).

Competitive district AZ-6, represented by David Schweikert (R), leaned Republican in 2020. It is home to more Jewish adults (~40,000) than any other district in Arizona, accounting for about one third (35%) of the state's Jewish electorate. Schweikert won re-election in 2020.

Competitive district AZ-1, represented by Tom O'Halleran (D), leaned Democratic in 2020. O'Halleran won his bid for re-election. The district does not have a significant Jewish population.
AZ-6 District Profile

AZ-6, represented by David Schweikert (R), has the largest Jewish adult population in the state. The district was considered competitive for the 2020 House race, leaning in favor of the incumbent. Schweikert won re-election with 52% of the vote. Trump's margin of victory in this district shrunk from 10 points in 2016 to 4 points in 2020.

Spanning portions of Maricopa County, AZ-6 is home to ~40,000 Jewish adults, accounting for 6.3% of the district's voting-age population. The majority (84%) of the Jewish electorate lives in 21 ZIP Codes, encompassing northeastern portions of the Phoenix metro area, including the Phoenix suburbs of Paradise Valley and Scottsdale. The majority of the AZ-6 Jewish electorate identifies with the Democratic Party (54%), and a plurality are politically moderate (41%).

6.3% of the voting-age population is Jewish

40,000 Jewish Adults

84% of the Jewish electorate lives in 21 ZIP Codes

Political Ideology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liberal</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>Conservative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>27%</td>
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Partisan Identification

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>42%</td>
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Election Results: AZ-6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2016 Presidential</th>
<th>2018 Congressional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 51.6% D 41.7%</td>
<td>R 55.2% D 44.8%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2020 Presidential</th>
<th>2020 Congressional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 51.4% D 47.3%</td>
<td>R 52.2% D 47.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ZIP Codes: 85028, 85250, 85251, 85253, 85254, 85256, 85260, 85050, 85064, 85085, 85255, 85256, 85259, 85262, 85263, 85264, 85266, 85268, 85331, 85377.
AZ-2 District Profile

AZ-2 has the third largest Jewish adult population in the state. The 2020 House race was considered competitive in the early summer. By August 2020, the race rating was changed to reliable for the incumbent, Ann Kirkpatrick (D), who won re-election (+10.2%). The district was also considered competitive for the 2020 presidential race, which went for Joe Biden by an 11-point margin.

Located in the southeastern corner of Arizona, AZ-2 is home to ~15,000 Jewish adults, accounting for 2.5% of the district's adults. A large majority (84%) of the AZ-2 Jewish electorate lives in 16 ZIP Codes,* encompassing the northwestern portions of the district. Jewish adults in AZ-2 are more likely to identify with the Democratic Party (57%) and as liberal (44%) than all adults in the district (46% and 29%, respectively).

*ZIP Codes: 85704, 85707, 85715, 85718, 85730, 85742, 85748, 85750, 85705, 85708, 85710, 85711, 85712, 85716, 85719, 85741.

2.5% of the voting-age population is Jewish

15,000 Jewish Adults

84% of the Jewish electorate lives in northwestern 16 ZIP Codes.

Political Ideology

- Liberal: 44%
- Moderate: 35%
- Conservative: 21%

Partisan Identification

- Democrat & Lean Democrat: 57%
- Republican & Lean Republican: 40%
- Independent/No lean: 2%

Age

- 18-34: 22%
- 35-64: 38%
- 65+: 39%

† Interpret data with caution. The coefficient of variation (CV) for the "lean" political estimates is greater than 30%.
NOTES

¹ Methodology: Individual-level data from all surveys were combined using Bayesian multilevel modeling with poststratification. Poststratification included geographic distributions of respondents by ZIP Codes within congressional districts, and demographic characteristics of age, educational attainment, race/ethnicity, population density, as well as interactions of age by educational attainment, population density by age, and population density by educational attainment. Modeling is based to Jewish adults who self-identify as Jewish when asked about their religion. Estimates of "Total Jewish Adults" are obtained by adding to the model-based estimate, independent estimates of the percentage of Jewish adults who do not identify religiously as Jewish. This percentage can range from a low of 10% to a high of 30% depending on the region.

² State-level Jewish adult totals are estimated from AJPP 2020 models and adjustments for Jewish adults who do not identify religiously as Jewish.

³ Partisan lean of Independents was estimated using a design-based pooled analysis method in which each survey’s original survey weights were adjusted for survey specific designs and sample sizes. This method is not as sensitive to estimation of rare populations as the Bayesian methods used for the main Jewish population estimates but provides an initial ballpark estimate of the groups of interest. Follow-up studies will compare these estimates to those derived from more fully developed Bayesian model-based estimates.

⁴ Congressional district competitive scores from Cook Political Report House Race Ratings (Nov 2, 2020) and FiveThirtyEight's Partisan Lean (Oct 19, 2020); data accessed January 2021.