

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE – FEBRUARY 19, 2024

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SURVEY: ISRAEL, ZIONISM, POLITICS, AND THE IMPACT OF ISRAEL'S WAR WITH HAMAS
(Available at <http://bit.ly/israel-zionism>)

**U.S. ORTHODOX JEWS FEEL STRONG EMOTIONAL CONNECTIONS TO ISRAEL
MODERN ORTHODOX ARE STRONGLY PRO-ZIONISTIC ... HAREDI MUCH LESS SO
HAREDI VOTE HAS SHIFTED EVEN MORE REPUBLICAN SINCE WAR STARTED**

A new survey explores emotional connections to Israel, pro- or anti-Zionistic views, and political views of both U.S. and Israeli Modern Orthodox and Haredi Jews. The survey was conducted by Nishma Research in January 2024, and is based on responses from 1,307 Orthodox Jews. This survey is a collaborative effort of Prof. David N. Myers, Chair in Jewish History, UCLA, and Mark Trencher, founder of Nishma Research.

Among the key findings:

- **Emotional Connections to Israel and Zionist Views** – Very strong majorities of U.S. Modern Orthodox (87%) and Haredim (83%) feel strongly connected to Israel. However, while three-fourths of Modern Orthodox (76%) feel strongly pro-Zionistic, far fewer Haredim (28%) share those views. In fact, the most anti-Zionistic group (Satmar Chasidim) on balance has become more anti-Zionistic during the war (30% say they have become more anti-Zionistic, and 6% say they have become more pro-Zionistic). However, anti-Zionistic views often coexist with positive emotional connections and support of Israel.
- **Performance of the Israeli Government and Attitudes Toward Israel's War-Related Practices and Goals** – U.S. Haredim are pleased with the performance of Prime Minister Netanyahu and his government (49% pleased, 20% displeased), while Modern Orthodox are displeased (61% displeased, 25% pleased). Two-thirds of the Haredim (68%) believe Israel is handling the war well, while Modern Orthodox are evenly split (48% agree). There is strong agreement that Israel should continue the war in order to eliminate Hamas, but opinions vary on whether Israel should take over and remain in Gaza after the war, with 57% of Haredim supporting this, compared to 32% of Modern Orthodox. Not surprisingly, views on Haredi men serving in the IDF are polarized: about half (48%) of Modern Orthodox say Haredi service should be required, compared to few (8%) of Haredim. Still, 40% of the Haredim feel that Haredi IDF service should not be required but should be strongly promoted.
- **2024 Presidential Voting Intention Shifting Toward Republican** – The Modern Orthodox sector continues to lean Democratic, presumptively Biden (60%), although this reflects a 5% Republican shift since 2020. In sharp contrast, Haredim very strongly lean Republican, presumptively Trump (92%), and this reflects a 3% Republican shift since 2020, and a 2% shift during the war. Combining Modern Orthodox and Haredi responses, the Republican presidential vote has risen from 72.2% in September, to 74.4% – a 2.2% increase. While this is less than the 3.4% change needed to reach the 95% statistical significance threshold, it may suggest a shift.

- **Israeli Politics** – Haredim in Israel lean toward supporting Netanyahu as prime minister (23% strongly support, and another 23% somewhat support), while Modern Orthodox are strongly against Netanyahu (50% strongly opposed). If an election were held today, a plurality of Modern Orthodox (42%) prefer National Unity (Ganz), while a majority of Haredim (65%) prefer United Torah Judaism (Gafni).
- **Differences by Gender and Age** – While both Modern Orthodox and Haredi feel strong emotional connections to Israel, these connections are weaker among the younger, and weaker for men than women. Modern Orthodox are strongly pro-Zionist, while far fewer Haredi are strongly pro-Zionist; but among both sectors, younger respondents are far less Zionist. Politically, the Haredi skew 92% Republican, with little variation by age or gender. The Modern Orthodox overall skew 60% Democrat, with women leaning more Democrat, and with the Republican vote increasing sharply with age.

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