

# Israel, Zionism, Politics, and the Impact of Israel's War With Hamas

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# Introduction & Methodology

## Objectives and Definitions

The objective of this study is to explore Orthodox Jews' connections to Israel and views relating to Zionism. Additionally, we explore political preferences in the current mid-war environment.

This survey covers the range of Orthodox Jewry, which is comprised of: (1) Modern Orthodox (sometimes referred to as Centrist Orthodox); and (2) Haredi (sometimes labeled as Ultra-Orthodox), comprised of Chasidic (this survey used the term "Chasidish," which is more common among its members) and Yeshivish (Agudah, Litvish).

As this survey is being conducted during the war between Israel and Hamas, and a survey that touched on some of these issues was conducted just a few weeks before the war, the data provide insights into the impact of the war on certain views. We note possible attitudinal changes since the earlier 9/23 Survey (available at <http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>).

## Methodology and Survey Responses

This online survey was conducted January 11-28, 2024. Respondents were Orthodox Jews, age 18 or older. The survey is anonymous and confidential; the research instrument (questionnaire) is shown in Appendix IV (pages 25-27).

We reached the community through a combination of email blasts (emails were sent through Vosizneias, Matzav, Queens Jewish Link, and Jewish Charedi Network, four lists that skew toward the Haredi community), and to the Nishma Research Survey Panel (about 5,000 past participants who have opted to participate, and who skew more toward Modern / Centrist Orthodox).

The survey generated 1,307 responses outside of Israel (95% of whom reside in the U.S.), and the bulk of the report covers the responses outside of Israel. See page 23 for selected findings among Israeli respondents and see page 24 for data on the number of respondents.

An objective of this study is to explore Zionist views and how they might have changed. Among the many sub-groups surveyed, the members of the Satmar Chasidic group have historically been most often raised with anti-Zionistic views, in contradistinction to the other Haredi groups. Some of the exploration of Zionist views examines this sub-group.

We stipulate that lack of a community census makes sample representativeness not fully knowable. Additionally – and particularly for Haredi surveys – there is a segment of the community that is more "off the grid" in terms of language, technology and secular interests, and thus is under-represented in surveys.

## Verbatim Responses

We include many open-ended questions in our surveys and present responses unedited for grammar, spelling, etc. We recommend that readers review the verbatim responses, as they provide valuable "qualitative" insights in addition to those provided by the quantitative data. The responses shown in this report are randomly selected samples that are representative of overall themes. All verbatim responses are available at <http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>.

## Summary of Key Findings

- **Feelings of Emotional Connections to Israel** – Very strong majorities of U.S. Modern Orthodox (87%) and Haredim (83%) feel strongly connected to Israel, with nearly two-thirds saying that their feelings of connection have become stronger during the war. (Pages 6-7)
- **Changes in Zionist Views** – Three-fourths of U.S. Modern Orthodox (76%), but only about one in four Haredim (28%) feel strongly pro-Zionistic. The Satmar Chasidic group has historically and for theological reasons been far more anti-Zionistic than any other group surveyed; they remain strongly anti-Zionistic, with 30% saying they have become more anti-Zionistic since the war, compared to 6% who say they have become more pro-Zionistic. (Pages 8-10)
- **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. (Pages 11-14)
- **2024 Presidential Voting Intention (U.S. Residents)** – 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 reflect a 3% Republican shift since 2020, and a 2% shift during the war. (Page 17)
- **Has the War Affected the U.S. Political Vote?** – 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. (Pages 15-17)
- **2024 Presidential Voting Intention (Israeli Residents Eligible to Vote)** – Both Modern Orthodox and Haredi lean significantly more strongly Republican than do voters in the U.S.: Modern Orthodox – Republican 58%, Democrat 42%; Haredi – Republican 96%, Democrat 4%. (Page 23)
- **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). (Page 23)
- **Some Key Differences by Gender and Age** – Both Modern Orthodox and Haredi feel strong emotional connections to Israel, although 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; for both groups, 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 Republican vote increases sharply with age. (Page 22)

## Connection to Israel and Zionist Views

**Feelings of Emotional Connections to Israel – Very strong majorities of U.S. Modern Orthodox (87%) and Haredim (83%) feel strongly connected to Israel, with nearly two-thirds of both groups saying that their feelings of connection have become stronger during the war.**

How emotionally connected to Israel do you feel at this time?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
Very strong connection	87%	83%
Somewhat connected	10	11
<b>Total connected</b>	<b>97%</b>	<b>94%</b>
A little bit	1	3
Not at all	1	34
<b>% Very strong connection</b> – 9/23 survey – Change since 9/23	<b>82%</b> <b>+5%</b>	<b>72%</b> <b>+11%</b>
Number of responses	701	570

Has your overall feeling of connection to Israel changed since October 7 (when the war started)?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
My feeling of connection to Israel has become stronger	65%	64%
No change	30	35
My feeling of connection to Israel has become weaker	5	1
Number of responses	702	568

## How Feelings of Connection to Israel Have Changed *(Sample of Verbatim Responses)*

### How has your connection become stronger?

- *I think about Israel every day and am constantly concerned about its well being. I feel now more than ever that Israel is our homeland and must be protected by any means necessary.*
- *Israel is embattled and threatened on all sides by forces that want the country erased. How can one NOT become more strongly connected - emotionally - to Israel? In many respects, this feels like the end of days.*
- *I am more worried about my family and all Jews living in Israel.*
- *Davening for our soldiers and safety for all of klal Yisrael*
- *I think about the situation there constantly. Try & do what I can from a distance. Also just spent 2 weeks there. And have my family who live there-close and a lot of them- on my mind and pray for Israel's safety*
- *I have a Grandson in the Army and Grandchildren and Greatgrandchildren that live in Israel*
- *concern and prayer for the hostages and chayaolim to return home*
- *More concern for the state. More of a need to know what's going on in the war and around the state. Checking in on friends and teachers*
- *I feel more connected to the Tzahal and the non-religious population*
- *I feel the pogrom was a terrible crime and I want political change in Israel to get rid of the criminal Netanyahu government.*
- *I have a granddaughter serving in the IDF and she is a lone soldier*
- *I understand why people want to join IDF and fight for Israel*
- *I've realized the importance of having this country. I've also realized how evil people can really be. Hamas aren't just motivated by wanting land.*
- *I feel the GALUT more strongly*
- *More involved thinking about the possibility of living there*
- *Have children in Israel. Have always had very strong feelings and belief that we Jews should live there.*
- *I'm a dual US/Israeli citizen and I served in the idf, though I've spent most of my life in the US. While I've felt alienated by the rightward shift in Israeli politics in the last decade or so, the Oct 7th attack has reconnected us with the Israeli left as we've felt alienated by the American Left, and made us redouble our commitment to retiring in Israel.*
- *Empathy toward Israelis who were attacked, raped, killed, and kidnapped, along with their families.*
- *I have a greater sense of solidarity with Israelis, I'm more comfortable thinking about myself as a Zionist*
- *I think about Israel much more often & say Tehillim.*
- *with all the antisemitism and pro palstenian protest. I feel like our place in america is coming to an end*

### How has your connection become weaker?

- *I feel even more of a disconnect between my values and the State's*
- *I am horrified by the way Israel is conducting its military action in Gaza*
- *While my feeling became stronger towards the my brothers living in erez yisrael. I feel a sort of anger towards the head of state who have distorted jewish religion and has pulled my brothers to war thinking that they are serving G-D*
- *Seeing how intense Zionism has caused such a deep lack of empathy and often even sympathy towards Palestinian civilians among the Jewish community has only deepened my dislike for the ideology, let alone the state I feel alienated by the decisions of the government and army. I find the continuation of the war and the treatment of palestinian civilians immoral. The glorification of violence pushes me away. How are we a light to the nations this way?*
- *I love Israel as a place where a Jewish cultural connection lies, but I've become more and more disillusioned by how quickly blind zionist nationalism turns into genocidal rhetoric and spreads throughout jewish communities without anyone batting an eye and its deeply disturbing how many people don't care about palestinian lives at all and will bend over backwards to justify their murder.*
- *I'm shocked and horrified at the war crimes being committed by Israel. It seems to clear to me that the grief and pain over what Hamas did have led Israel's leadership to lash out in an extreme and disproportionate way.*
- *I love Israel so much, and I am very angry at the government and how they have failed the people. This war has made me feel like I do not share values with most Israelis.*

All verbatim responses available at:  
<http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>

**Changes in Zionist Views – Three-fourths of U.S. Modern Orthodox (76%) and about one in four Haredim (28%) currently feel strongly pro-Zionistic. The Satmar Chasidic group has historically and for theological reasons been far more anti-Zionistic than any other group surveyed; they remain strongly anti-Zionistic, with 30% saying they have become more anti-Zionistic since the war, while 6% say they have become more pro-Zionistic.**

How would you describe your upbringing in terms of Zionist views?			
	M.O.	Haredi	Satmar
Strongly Pro-Zionistic	61%	21%	3%
Somewhat Pro-Zionistic	25	24	0
<b>Total Zionist</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>3%</b>
Neither Pro- nor Anti-Zionist	13	36	12
Somewhat Anti-Zionistic	2	10	21
Strongly Anti-Zionist	0	9	64
Number of responses	694	555	33

How would you describe your Zionist views at this time?			
	M.O.	Haredi	Satmar
Strongly Pro-Zionistic	76%	28%	0%
Somewhat Pro-Zionistic	18	23	0
<b>Total Zionist</b>	<b>94%</b>	<b>51%</b>	<b>0%</b>
No Zionist feelings either way	1	30	27
Somewhat Anti-Zionistic	3	10	18
Strongly Anti-Zionist	2	9	55
Number of responses	692	554	33

Has your approach to Zionism changed since October 7?			
	M.O.	Haredi	Satmar
Became more Pro-Zionistic	40%	24%	6%
No Change	55	70	64
Became more Anti-Zionistic	5	6	30
Number of responses	694	553	33



## How and Why People Have Become More Pro-Zionist (Sample of Verbatim Responses)

### Modern Orthodox:

- *supporting with charity*
- *I support Israel's actions and defend them against others who don't.*
- *Hard to get more pro-Zionist than I already was but it reminded me that I have to be even more dedicated in my activities in support of Israel*
- *October 7th solidified my belief that there is no other place for the Jewish People.*
- *I want to purchase a property in Israel so my grandchildren can escape America when Jews can no longer live here.*
- *I am more vocal in my feelings*
- *Rise of antisemitism*
- *No one should question who Jewish people are, our land belongs to us. We should protect ourselves and Israel from all evil*
- *Israel is the Jewish homeland. If the rest of the world can't accept that fact we need to prove it to them*
- *The anti Zionism in my community of Teaneck is purely anti semitism and the blending of the two has strengthened my pro Zionist feelings*
- *We decided to make Aaliyah.*
- *Public pronouncements. Helping our children plan for a non American future*
- *I am fighting with Arabs with words on social media to prove why the State of Israel belongs to the Jewish people and will always belong to the Jewish people.*
- *Because the country is threatened and I see based on worldwide antisemitism that we need to support our homeland.*
- *I've understood the hatred people have for Israel and the lengths they will go to and it is indefensible. I must therefore support the Jewish state.*
- *I have always been pro-Zionist. My father lived in Israel in the late 1930's and again during 1948. I have visited and supported Israel but now I am so outraged after 10/7 that I find myself constantly thinking of what more I can do to help Israel survive and prosper*
- *As a Jew we need to feel connected to what is going on in Israel*
- *Cannot tolerate the lies and misinformation disseminated by so-call "enlightened" (ignorant) crowd.*
- *Because evil exists and Oct 7 proved that beyond any doubt.*
- *Israel is the only place where my family can feel safe.*
- *By reading more articles in the media.*
- *Already stated ; due to the increased hatred of Jews world wide.*

### Haredi:

- *Israel has the right to exist and defend itself. I used to sympathize more with the Palestinian cause, but what I've been seeing recently has decreased that feeling.*
- *I feel that the weakening of Israel will be very bad for all of diaspora Jewry, notwithstanding the movements anti religious policies*
- *We have our land to defend us and this is a reality*
- *We now see that lemaaseh even secular Israelis are connected to the eibishter unlike the secular Jews in America and Europe*
- *Survival of the Jewish people . Israel is our homeland.*
- *Hearing the discourse these days makes me realize that Zionism has changed its meaning. Were I alive in the 50's I wouldn't be pro-Zionist, but we are not fighting the same battles.*
- *Because it's where we all belong, if we're Jewish*
- *Tbh I'm not sure that's the right word. But I do feel that we should all start thinking about moving back home*
- *I show more support for Israelis.*
- *Seeing the evil of the anti Israel camp. Any sane person can not comprehend the hate emanating from the swollen masses.*
- *The rising antisemitism, especially where I live, has made me more appreciative of Israel and its role in Jewish survival*
- *Experiences*
- *I have 3 nephews in the IDF*
- *Israel has a right to be here.*
- *feelings for my brothers and sisters living in Israel*
- *Am Yisroel Chai! We must have the homeland.*
- *I consider myself a proud Jew & a proud Zionist.*
- *Because Israel is the only safe place for Jews in the world*
- *Israel has the right to defend itself and we must get rid of the reshaim*
- *The connection between the land of Israel and the Jewish people feels more important*
- *I realize how the Jewish people are very closely tied to Israel*
- *I know of people killed on 10/7*
- *we have only one country as a haven and it is Israel.*
- *Realized how much Israel's strength matters vis a vis anti semitism*
- *Because they are here to help us and trying to save our country with hashems help*

All verbatim responses available at:

<http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>

## How and Why People Have Become More Anti-Zionist (Sample of Verbatim Responses)

### Modern Orthodox:

- *I feel Zionism is ignoring the things Israel is doing wrong which is not the correct thing to do. Also saying "Israel = Jew" is nothing more than a way to get people to hate jews.*
- *Following the attacks, I was ready to fly to Israel and volunteer. I believe in a Jewish homeland that is secure. However, the racism of government officials, expansionist ideology of many Israelis, and the unacceptable civilian casualties in Gaza, make me doubt whether Israel is a peaceful country and a "orr la'goyim". I makes me wonder whether Zionism is functionally means to justify unethical practices.*
- *I don't think Israel is conducting itself in a moral fashion anymore and needs reform. It leads me to identify more as Israeli rather than Zionist.*
- *I feel enormous love for Israelis and worry that Zionism was a mistake in some ways.*
- *Death count in Gaza and right wing rhetoric*
- *I can't stomach the crimes being done in the name of Zionism, and it bothers me to see the Jewish community all around me, proud Zionists, caring so little for the human lives being slaughtered in Gaza. It's hard to look people in the eye knowing that they don't really care about thousands of innocent children being killed in the bombings, not to mention homes, entire cities, being bombed to complete destruction.*
- *I am strongly opposed to the idea of political Zionism, i.e. the negation of Exile. Our rabbinic tradition of diasporic communities that live in synthesis with the outside world is a better recipe for the Jewish future and for our Jewish values.*

### Haredi:

- *Everything that happened was because of the Zionist choices.*
- *The attack on the savages in Gaza has accomplished very little in the terms of safety and security of the Jewish people. Hamas has not been destroyed. And even if it were, they have created a new generation of potential terrorists. The world at large has only so much sympathy for Israel, and they have carelessly wasted that sympathetic capital on vengeance and grandstanding. What a shame.*
- *Because I see how their behavior brings un-stabilization and problems.*
- *Continued failure/refusal on the part of the Zionist government to properly defend the Jewish people.*
- *I've been questioning more the possibility of having a country that can handle all the diversity in religious views and feel less aligned with Zionist culture than I used to.*
- *We need a Jewish land not dirtied by leftists*
- *Ben Gvir's provocations were not done in order to protect Jews. his provocations were done only to further the Zionist movement. Although I recognize that Ben Gvir isn't really at fault for the October 7 attacks, and that the fault lies entirely with Hamas, I don't think his provocations helped matters. If his provocations would have at least been done in the name of security, I would have kept quiet. However his provocations have not enhanced security, they only enflamed the Muslims.*
- *Zionism enrages the nations of the world which is wrong of Torah Jews in galus*
- *I see how people put the army, its power and weakness before G-d and believe in that first.*

### You say you feel a very strong emotional connection to Israel but are not Zionist. Can you explain?

- *I guess I am connected to ERETZ Yisroel - not the Zionist government.*
- *Zionist in connection to the people and Land of Israel, but anti the ideology and anti- religious views of the governing and opposing parties*
- *I guess I'm a product of my upbringing and my experiences. It would be more accurate to say that I feel a strong connection to Eretz Yisrael and the Jews who live there, and less so to the government and its policies*
- *I was born in Israel and it is my home, but I do not connect to political Zionism at this time due to the right wing nature of what it has become. I hope to again call myself a Zionist in the future once the racism and war mongering is removed from the ideology*
- *I feel a very strong connection to Israel because my family there is Israeli and I want them to be safe, but I see Zionism as a political project that is mostly about Jewish sovereignty over Eretz Yisroel and all its inhabitants regardless of religion, not safety for my family and their neighbors*
- *Ideologically I am not a Zionist. However I am very concerned about the safety and security of the people living in Israel*
- *I have a strong connection to the Jewish people in Israel not to the government*
- *Israel belongs to the Jews. Regardless of Zionism*

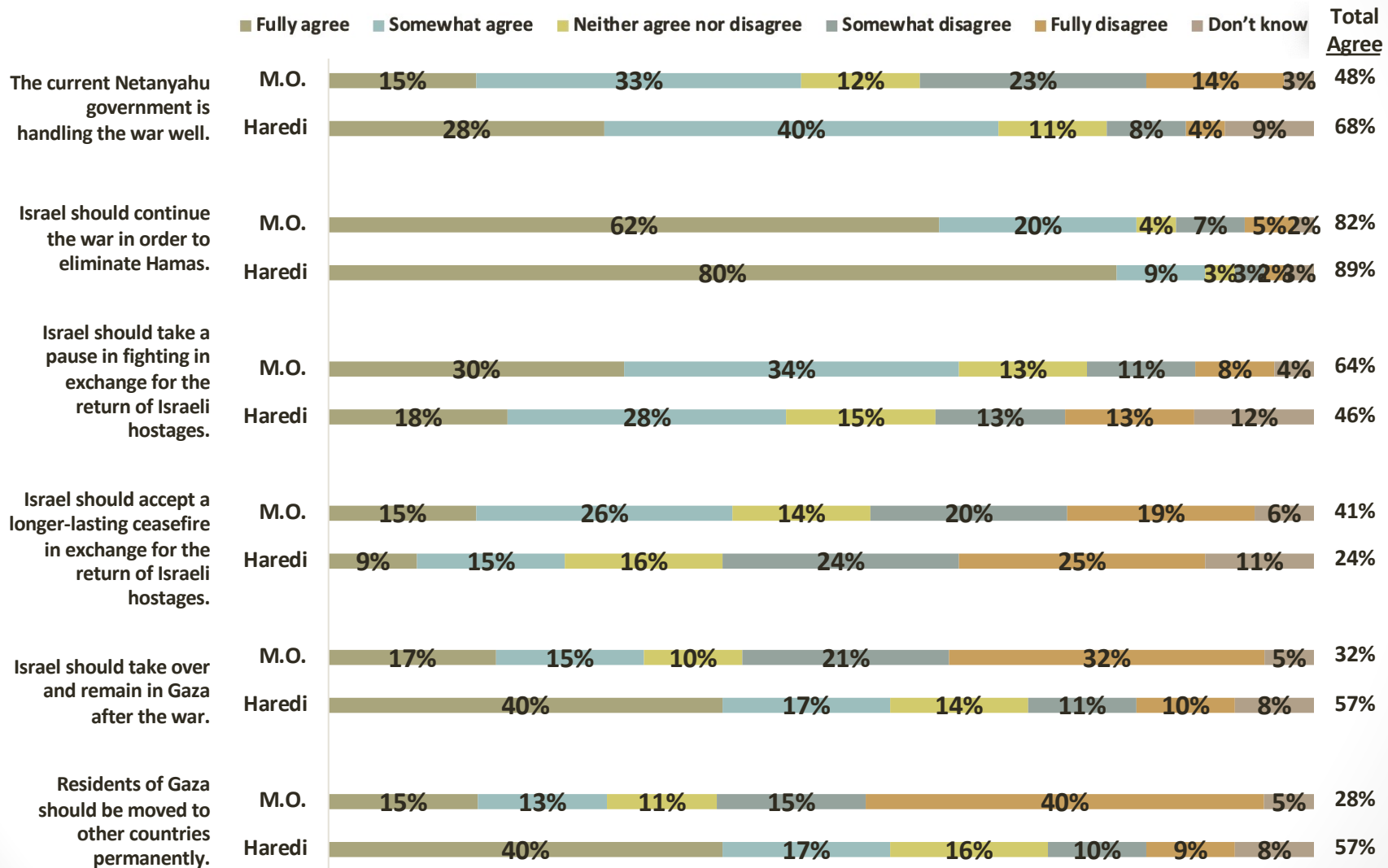
All verbatim responses available at:  
<http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>

## Israeli Government and Conduct of the War

**Performance of the Israeli Government – U.S. Haredim are much more positive on the performance of Prime Minister Netanyahu and his government (49% pleased, 20% displeased), while Modern Orthodox are more negative (61% displeased, 25% pleased).**

How do you feel about the performance of Prime Minister Netanyahu and his government?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
Very pleased	7%	19%
Somewhat pleased	18	30
<b>Total pleased</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>49%</b>
Neutral	14	31
Somewhat displeased	23	12
Very displeased	38	8
<b>Total displeased</b>	<b>61%</b>	<b>20%</b>
Number of responses	690	542

**Attitudes Toward Israel's War-Related Practices and Goals – Two-thirds of U.S. Haredim (68%) believe Israel is handling the war well, while Modern Orthodox are evenly split (48%). 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.**



Number of respondents: Modern Orthodox 682, Haredi 529.

**Views on Haredi Men Serving in the IDF – Not surprisingly, views are polarized: about half (48%) of U.S. 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.**

What are your feelings on Haredi men enlisting and serving in the Israel Defense Forces?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
It should be required	48%	8%
It should not be required, but should be strongly promoted	43	40
There should be no change in the current status	3	43
Don't know	6	98
Number of responses	690	542

## U.S. Political Identification and Voting Intentions

**Political Identification** – The U.S. Haredi sector leans strongly Republican (currently 88%, up from 85% before the war); while the Modern Orthodox segment is more evenly (currently 59% Democrat, down from 61% before the war).

How Do You Identify Politically?		
	M.O.	Haredi
Liberal, Progressive or Left-Leaning Democrat	16%	3%
Moderate Democrat	32	6
<b>Subtotal – Democrat, Liberal</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>9%</b>
Moderate Republican	17	24
Conservative or Right-Leaning Republican	15	42
Libertarian	2	3
<b>Subtotal – Republican, Conservative, Libertarian</b>	<b>34%</b>	<b>69%</b>
Independent	13	8
None of the above, Not sure	5	13
<b>Republican/Democratic split (excluding others)</b>	<b>41%/59%</b>	<b>88%/12%</b>
<b>September 2023 Survey</b>	<b>39%/61%</b>	<b>85%/15%</b>
Number of responses	699	556



**2024 Presidential Voting Intention – Modern Orthodox continue to lean Democratic, presumptively Biden (60%), while Haredim very strongly lean Republican, presumptively Trump (92%). \***

**Has the war affected the vote? – Combining the 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 that would be needed to reach the 95% statistical significance threshold, it may suggest a shift.\*\***

**Israeli Views – Among Israelis eligible to vote in the U.S. presidential election, both Modern Orthodox and Haredi lean significantly more strongly Republican than do voters in the U.S.: Modern Orthodox – Republican 58%, Democrat 42%; Haredi – Republican 96%, Democrat 4% (page 23).**

Whom did you vote for in the 2020 U.S. presidential election?				
	Modern Orthodox		Haredi	
	Biden	Trump	Biden	Trump
Sep. 2023 Survey Response	65%	35%	12%	88%
Current Survey	65%	35%	11%	89%
Although the 2024 U.S. presidential candidates have not yet been nominated, whom do you think you will vote for?				
Sep. 2023 Survey Response	61%	39%	10%	90%
Current Survey	60%	40%	8%	92%
Number of Responses	621		458	

2024 Presidential Vote Intention, Total Orthodox	Sep. 2023	Jan. 2024
Republican	72.2%	74.4%
Democratic	27.8%	25.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

\* The Republican vs. Democratic preferences are derived as follows: Republican preference = number saying they will definitely vote for the Republican candidate plus 0.8 times the number saying they will probably vote that way; with the same method applied to the Democratic candidate. Other responses (other, don't know, etc.) are excluded. Hence, the data reflect purely the Republican/Democratic split.

\*\* Modern Orthodox and Haredi votes are combined by applying weights of 35% and 65%, respectively, reflecting the two sectors' estimated shares of the Orthodox population.

## Concluding Thoughts and Suggestions

## Is there anything you would like to add relating to your views – or views in your community – relating to Israel, Zionism, etc.? – Modern Orthodox Responses *(Sample of Verbatim Responses)*

- *We need a more effective way to disseminate the REAL facts on the ground. Every time that is done, Israel comes out on top. The crowd "bleeding" for the Palestinians is living in another exoplanet.*
- *(1) Am Yisroel Chai. An international day of prayer for the speedy return of hostages and peace in Israel should be held. (2) Biden and the Democrats must be defeated in the upcoming elections. (3) The UN and the International Court of Justice should go to hell*
- *I'm modern orthodox woman who became religious in College. i work full time and Zionist my whole life. There can be no backing down from Israel: Terrorists must be eliminated or Oct. 7th will happen again. The soldiers/gov't must do whatever they need to find the hostages and secure Israel. The world will hate us no matter what we do - might as well be safe.*
- *Wish we could finish them off and be able to have an upper hand in negotiating. We were weak and we still look weak in the world. We need to build our strength again to make sure we don't get attacked.*
- *I just want to add that I do not want to vote for Donald Trump (even though I voted for him in 2020. I did not vote for him in 2016 because I do not like him. He handled himself okay in the presidency and was good for Israel so I voted for him in 2020. After his behavior at the end I am reluctant to vote for him again. Even though I think he would take a strong stand against Russia and against Hamas.) I would vote for Haley or another Republican candidate. I am unsure about what should be done in Israel but I hope for a decisive victory and security and peace. I prefer that our soldiers not take risks with their lives to save civilians of a culture that attacked us so brutally. My heart goes out to any truly innocent people who are caught in the violence.*
- *Polarization is a bigger threat than Hamas, et al.*
- *It is extremely frustrating that at a time of war Israel is still embroiled in partisan politics. At the same time it is essential that in the United States the politicians must show strong, unwavering support for Israel.*
- *Hard to be an outsider and have a valid opinion. Very easy to KNOW what's right when you're not in it*
- *We pray throughout the day for the hostages and IDF. We wish the Israel gov't did not entertain the current U.S. Abomination administration, just do what you need to do to win. We wish IDF did not have to give "gaza" so much "aide" and yet no hostages are released! May HaShem intervene and give Israel and the Jewish community victory and peace*
- *My synagogue, liberal Modern Orthodox, has the full gamut of opinions from JVP-style antizionism to people who are near Kahanist - and everything in between. Also - I am a convert to Judaism (Orthodox conversion) - my father was a Southern Baptist minister who was very strongly Christian Zionist*
- *You should've asked a question whether Prime Minister Netanyahu should remain after the war*
- *I am so concerned over what is happening and hope that the leaders can negotiate the return of the hostages.*
- *Chayalim, hostages must be rescued and given all the love and support to be whole and healthy in body, minds and souls and Israel should be safe and Hashem should keep Eretz Yisroel united with Ahavat Yisroel. Am Yisroel Chai!*
- *I have not been and am still not a die hard, patriotic Zionist. I believe in the principles of Zionism but have conflicted feelings over the correct balance of democracy and Orthodoxy in the fabric of the State. In general, I lend support and love to Israel but stay out of the specific political discourse since I feel I don't have a full, accurate picture of the realities there as I live in the diaspora. I see the negative impact of secular political interests but also see the corruption and tension in the Charedi community.*
- *Am Yisrael Chai עם ישראל חי 😊*
- *Israel has the right to exist, to be a free country, to live in peace, to continue as God's Chosen people and to thrive and receive His Blessings.*
- *Israel should not only eliminate Hamas, but also Hizbollah and Islamic Jihad and should annex Judea, Samaria and Gaza.*
- *The current conflict will hopefully awaken American Jews to their Jewish identity, and give them the strength to fight against falsehood and evil. Am Yisrael chai!*
- *We need to also work on the lies that Social Media are spewing out*
- *Israel should stop being blamed for everything and people should acknowledge that hamas started this war. And there needs to be more done by the Red Cross to rescue the hostages.*
- *I truthfully believed right after 10/7 the world and my community will recognize that Israel was right and they are fighting evil. The Orwellian world we live in is frightening in the belief that Israel is wrong and Hamas is justified has shocked me to the core. I said in the Hagaddah בכל דור עומדים עלינו בכך דור עומדים עלינו with the belief that it reflected on past generations but not mine - now I see the wisdom of our Rabbis. In addition in my community to see people rallying by foot and cars calling for the destruction of the Jewish people has also shaken me and is unbelievable.*

All verbatim responses available at:  
<http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>

## Is there anything you would like to add relating to your views – or views in your community – relating to Israel, Zionism, etc.? – Haredi Responses *(Sample of Verbatim Responses)*

- *I am just a Jew who believes that Israel is a Jewish land that Hashem gave us . I'm not sure if you call that Zionism, it's just Judaism .*
- *Israel military should create special divisions for charedi men., where truly can train in trade and business and study Throw the Arabs out of Israel. Arabic should not be a language on signs, etc. Arabs should be relocated from the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Jews must control the Temple grounds and all historically Jewish sites No privileged to Christian and Moslems - they aren't friends if the Jewish people or Israel .*
- *Am Yisrael chai*
- *Many of us love Israel in the religious sense, not politically*
- *since my opponency to Zionism and the state of Israel is based on the torah and not on fillings, therefore there is no change from before oct 7 to after, it's the same forbidden.*
- *Strong support for Israel is not synonymous with secular Zionism. So that question may be a little misleading*
- *Our community prays for the release of our brothers and sisters being held in Gaza and the safe return of all the IDF soldiers.*
- *Zionism isn't judaism. War when defensive is judaism. The idf does not have a culture that is appropriate for haredi jews. a framework for a Jewish war outside the idf is not practical.*
- *we need to continue doing good!*
- *I find it shocking People will question their leaders the rabbi's and their community policies, As a matter of course. But whatever Israel does is Correct, Prescient, And prudent. I would expect from intelligent people to be a bit more Critical in general of whatever policies or positions Israel Promotes, Regardless what your position is on Zionism in general.*
- *Israel needs to put safety and security of all lives, including Palestinian, over PR. Crush Hamas and save lives. Fail to do so, or make decisions based on international pressure, and lives are lost unnecessarily. Charedi men should be allowed to study as that too saves lives through a spiritual battle against the evil. However, anyone merely using that as an excuse should be compelled to serve.*
- *Why is there no 'it should not be required' option on haredi men enlisting? Without all the extra words. No modern country has a draft, and neither should Israel.*
- *Before Oct 7, never realized the level of antisemitism so high.*
- *Israeli culture should understand that Israel as a Jewish state can never forget the Jew part of it. Judaism isnt geographical, its religious. It is beyond comprehension how there can be people in Israel who are pro israel and anti torah. The entire concept of Israel is from the Torah. So support torah learning, treat them as our national royalty, and watch the bracha come down. At the same time, the frum should continue to contribute to the secular national country they live in by doing all the chesed they can. it should not be a contradiction but each side using their best to complement each other. but the non-religious needs to undersatnd that the entire basis of existence is the religion, based on torah, otherwise its not a jewish state but a group of people living there geographically for no reason other than they happen to be there.*
- *According to my views, based on comments from other people, the education system in America failed. The Israeli generation today and next generation of Israelis should be educated more in Torah thoughts so as not to be influenced by the way most young Americans think. As long as young Americans cannot think for themselves, America may be weakened. This cannot happen in Israel. Young Israelis need to be more Torah educated.*
- *The survey questions are way too generalized, there is a lot more nuance in these situations that isn't covered by an of the answers*
- *I do not think diaspora Jews should be pushing Israel or its government on anything. Only the Israeli citizenry has the right to say how their government should run, and who should run their government.*
- *hazlacha*
- *Israel should be strong and eliminate their enemies from being a threat according to Shluchan Oruch*
- *Why is there no 'it should not be required' option on haredi men enlisting? Without all the extra words. No modern country has a draft, and neither should Israel.*
- *Before Oct 7, never realized the level of antisemitism so high.*
- *I think if the IDF would do more to make the army more accommodating to chareidi men, they would be much more likely to enlist. This would need to include top standards of kashrut, completely separate sleeping facilities for men and women, 3 minyanim a day etc.*
- *Israel should not be pressured by American government or liberal views. It should do whatever is necessary and safest for its citizens*
- *We need to rely on our Father in Heaven*

All verbatim responses available at:  
<http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>

## Appendices

Appendix I – Analysis by Gender and Age

Appendix II – Selected Data for Israeli Responses

Appendix III – Demographic Summary

Appendix IV – Survey Questionnaire

**Appendix I – Some Key Differences by Gender and Age – Both Modern Orthodox and Haredi feel strong emotional connections to Israel, although 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; for both groups, 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 the Republican vote increasing sharply with age.**

U.S. Residents	Modern Orthodox		Haredi	
	By Age	By Gender	By Age	By Gender
% with very strong emotional connection to Israel	<u>All M.O. 87%</u> 18-29 – 66% 30-49 – 85% 50 or older – 92%	<u>All M.O. 87%</u> Women – 92% Men – 84%	<u>All Haredi 83%</u> 18-29 – 69% 30-49 – 79% 50 or older – 94%	<u>All Haredi 83%</u> Women – 88% Men – 79%
% strongly pro-Zionist / strongly anti-Zionist	<u>All M.O. – 76% / 2%</u> 18-29 – 44% / 10% 30-49 – 68% / 2% 50 or older – 87% / 1%	<u>All M.O. – 76% / 2%</u> Women – 36% / 2% Men – 23% / 14%	<u>All Haredi – 28% / 9%</u> 18-49 – 21% / 12% 50-69 – 31% / 8% 70 or older – 60% / 1%	<u>All Haredi – 28% / 9%</u> Women – 36% / 2% Men – 23% / 14%
% whose anti-Zionist views have grown since 10/7	<u>All M.O. – 5%</u> 18-29 – 20% 30-49 – 5% 50 or older – 2%	<u>All M.O. – 5%</u> Men – 5% Women – 4%	<u>All Haredi – 6%</u> 18-29 – 14% 30-49 – 5% 50 or older – 2%	<u>All Haredi – 6%</u> Men – 8% Women – 2%
2024 U.S. Presidential vote intention – % Republican / Democrat	<u>All M.O. – 40% / 60%</u> 18-29 – 17% / 83% 30-49 – 26% / 74% 50-69 – 48% / 52% 70 or older – 55% / 45%	<u>All M.O. – 40% / 60%</u> Men – 42% / 58% Women – 37% / 63%	<u>All Haredi – 92% / 8%</u> 18-49 – 90% / 10% 50 or older – 93% / 7%	<u>All Haredi – 92% / 8%</u> Men – 92% / 8% Women – 91% / 9%

## Appendix II – Selected Data for Israeli Respondents

- The following are data based on 141 Israeli respondents, including 66 who identify as Modern Orthodox and 68 who identify as Haredi.
- **U.S. Presidential Voting Intention (among 71 U.S. citizens) – Israelis, both M.O. and Haredi, lean significantly more strongly toward the 2024 Republican candidate than do those residing in the U.S. (page 17).**
  - Modern Orthodox in Israel – Republican 58%, Democrat 42% (vs. 60% Democrat among those in the U.S.)
  - Haredi in Israel – Republican 96%, Democrat 4% (vs. 92% Republican among those in the U.S.)
- **Benjamin Netanyahu's Future** – Haredi lean toward supporting Netanyahu as staying on as prime minister, while the Modern Orthodox are strongly against him.

How do you feel about Benjamin Netanyahu's future as Prime Minister		
	M.O.	Haredi
Strongly Support - We need him to stay on	4%	23%
Somewhat Support - I'm OK with his staying on	14	23
Neither support nor opposed; mixed feelings	11	21
Somewhat Opposed - I'd prefer he not stay on	18	12
Strongly Opposed - He needs to go	50	8
Don't know; no opinion	3	13
Number of responses	68	66

### If elections were currently held, respondents would vote as follows:

- **Modern Orthodox** – National Unity / Ganz 42%, Likud / Netanyahu 19%, Yesh Tikvah / Lapid 11%, Otsmah Yehudit / Ben-Gvir 11%, all others 17%.
- **Haredi** – United Torah Judaism / Gafni 65%, Religious Zionism / Smotrich 10%, Otsmah Yehudit / Ben-Gvir 10%, all others 15%.
- **Attitudes Toward War-Related Policies and Practices** – The views of those residing in Israel are not notably different from those of the U.S. respondents (page 13).

# Appendix III – Demographic Summary

Number of USA Survey Responses, by Source and Total			
Orthodox Secor	E-Mail Blasts	Nishma Panel	Total Responses
Modern or Centrist Orthodox	130	587	717
Chasidish (Including Chabad)	145	89	234
Yeshivish / Agudah / Litvish	121	137	258
– Total Identified as Haredi	310	280	590
All Respondents	440	867	1,307

The Modern or Centrist Orthodox include 110 respondents who identified as “Other, but leaning more toward modern or centrist Orthodox,” and the Total Haredi include 98 respondents who identified as “Other, but leaning more toward Charedi (Chasidish or Yeshivish), Heimish, etc.).

Chasidish Group	#
Chabad / Lubavitch	60
Satmar	35
Bobov	22
Sanz-Klausenberg	15
Ger	14
Vizhnitz	14
Skver	10
All Other	64

What is your gender?		
	M.O.	Haredi
Male	52%	55%
Female	47	44
Would rather not say	1	1

What is your age?		
	M.O.	Haredi
18-29	11%	18%
30-49	32	42
50-69	33	25
70 or older	23	13
Would rather not say	1	2
Median Age	54	45

Where do you live? (All Respondents)		
	M.O.	Haredi
N.Y. State	32%	49%
New Jersey	15	13
Other US	41	21
Outside US	12	17
– Israel	9	11
– Canada	3	3
– Other	<1	3

Where in New York State you live?		
	M.O.	Haredi
Brooklyn – Borough Park	3%	22%
Brooklyn – Williamsburg	<1	7
Brooklyn – Crown Heights	1	4
Brooklyn – Flatbush/Midwood	5	18
Brooklyn – Other	3	3
<b>Total Brooklyn</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>54%</b>
Queens, Long Island (Five Towns)	34	19
Manhattan	34	2
Bronx (Riverdale, Staten Island)	9	3
<b>Total New York City</b>	<b>90%</b>	<b>78%</b>
Upstate – Kiryas Joel, New Square, Monsey, Kaser, Rockland County, Catskills	3	19
Other New York State	7	3
<b>Total New York State</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>



## Appendix IV – Survey Questionnaire (Page 1 of 3)

### Orthodox Jewish Views on Israel & Zionism

Questionnaire finalized January 11, 2024.

Questions are asked of all respondents, except where otherwise noted.

Asterisk indicates a required response.

### INTRODUCTION

The survey is anonymous and confidential, and is being done by Jewish researchers, including members of the Orthodox community. The survey is open to all Orthodox/observant Jews, world-wide.

This survey takes about 8 minutes. Only a few early questions require a response (indicated by \*), but we hope you will respond as fully as possible.

In appreciation, we will award TEN \$25 Gift Cards, and you will be able to enter your email to be entered in the prize drawing (email info will not be attached to your responses). If you have any questions, please email [mark@nishmaresearch.com](mailto:mark@nishmaresearch.com).

### SELF-IDENTIFICATION

#### Q1. Which of these best describes how you identify Jewishly?\*

- Chasidish (Including Chabad)
- Yeshivish / Agudah / Litvish
- Modern or Centrist Orthodox
- Other, but leaning more toward Charedi (Chasidish or Yeshivish), Heimish, etc.
- Other, but leaning more toward modern
- None of the above

[Ask if Q1 = "Chasidish (Including Chabad)"]

#### Q2. To which Chasidish group do you belong?

- Belz
- Bobov
- Chabad / Lubavitch
- Ger
- Karlin-Stolin
- Sanz-Klausenberg
- Satmar
- Skver
- Vizhnitz
- Other Chasidish group

#### Q3. What is your gender?\*

- Male
- Female
- Would rather not say

#### Q4. What is your age?\*

- 18-29
- 30-49
- 50-69
- 70 or older
- Would rather not say

#### Q5. How do you identify politically?

- Liberal, Progressive or Left-Leaning Democrat
- Moderate Democrat
- Moderate Republican
- Conservative or Right-Leaning Republican
- Libertarian
- Independent
- None of the above
- Not sure
- Not relevant, don't live in the U.S., etc.

#### Q6. Whom did you vote for in the 2020 presidential election?

- Joe Biden
- Donald Trump
- Other, None, Don't Remember
- Not relevant, don't live in the U.S., etc.

#### Q7. Although the 2024 U.S. presidential candidates have not yet been nominated, whom do you think you will vote for?

- Definitely the Republican candidate
- Probably the Republican candidate
- Definitely the Democratic candidate
- Probably the Democratic candidate
- Another (independent) candidate
- Undecided
- Probably will not vote
- Not relevant, don't live in the U.S., etc.

## Appendix IV – Survey Questionnaire (Page 2 of 3)

### Q8. How emotionally connected to Israel do you feel at this time?

- Very strong connection
- Somewhat connected
- A little bit connected
- Not at all connected

### Q9. Has your overall feeling of connection to Israel changed since October 7 (when the war started)?

- My feeling of connection to Israel has become stronger
- No change
- My feeling of connection to Israel has become weaker

[Ask if connection = stronger]

### Q10a. How has your feeling of connection to Israel become stronger? [Open-Ended]

[Ask if connection = stronger]

### Q10b. How has your feeling of connection to Israel become weaker? [Open-Ended]

### Q11. How would you describe your upbringing in terms of Zionist views?

- My upbringing was strongly Pro-Zionist
- My upbringing was somewhat Pro-Zionist
- My upbringing was neither Pro-Zionist nor Anti-Zionist
- My upbringing was somewhat Anti-Zionist
- My upbringing was strongly Anti-Zionist

### Q12. How would you describe your Zionist views at this time?

- I am now strongly Pro-Zionist
- I am now somewhat Pro-Zionist
- I have no Zionist feelings either way
- I am now somewhat Anti-Zionist
- I am now strongly Anti-Zionist

[Ask if strong connection and not Zionist]

### Q13. You say you feel a very strong emotional connection to Israel, but are not Zionist. Some people think this might be contradictory. Can you explain? [Open-Ended]

[Ask if Q11-Q12 show views have become more Zionist]

### Q14. How and why have your views become more pro-Zionistic? [Open-Ended]

### Q15. Has your approach to Zionism changed since October 7?

- I have become more pro-Zionist
- No change
- I have become more anti-Zionist

[Ask if became more pro-Zionistic]

### Q16a. How and why have you become more pro-Zionist?

[Ask if became more anti-Zionistic]

### Q16b. How and why have you become more anti-Zionist?

### Q17. How do you feel about the performance of Prime Minister Netanyahu and his current government?

- Very pleased
- Somewhat pleased
- Neutral
- Somewhat displeased
- Very displeased

### Q18. How do you feel about Benjamin Netanyahu's future as Prime Minister?

- Strongly Support - We need him to stay on as Prime Minister
- Somewhat Support - I'm OK with his staying on
- Neither support nor opposed; mixed feelings
- Somewhat Opposed - I'd prefer he not stay on
- Strongly Opposed - He needs to go
- Don't know; no opinion

### Q19. Do you vote in Israeli elections?

- Yes
- No

[If vote in Israeli elections]

### Q20. If elections were currently held, for which party would you vote?

- Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)
- United Torah Judaism (Moshe Gafni)
- Religious Zionism (Bezalel Smotrich)
- Otzma Yehudit (Itamar Ben-Gvir)
- Shas (Aryeh Deri)
- National Unity (Benny Gantz)
- Yesh Tikvah (Yair Lapid)
- Yisrael Beitenu (Avigdor Lieberman)
- Labor (Meirav Michaeli)
- United Arab List (Mansour Abbas)
- Hadash (Ayman Oudeh)

## Appendix IV – Survey Questionnaire (Page 3 of 3)

### Q21. In terms of Israel's war in Gaza, do you agree with these statements?

- The current Netanyahu government is handling the war well.
- Israel should continue the war in order to eliminate Hamas.
- Israel should take a pause in fighting in exchange for the return of Israeli hostages.
- Israel should accept a longer-lasting ceasefire in exchange for the return of Israeli hostages.
- Israel should take over and remain in Gaza after the war.
- Residents of Gaza should be moved to other countries permanently.

#### Response Scale:

- Fully agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Fully disagree
- Don't know

### Q22. What are your feelings on Haredi men enlisting and serving in the Israel Defense Forces?

- It should be required
- It should not be required, but should be strongly promoted
- There should be no change in the current status
- Don't know

### Q23. Where do you live?

- New York State
- New Jersey
- Other USA
- Outside USA - Please enter: [Open-Ended]

[Ask if New York State]

#### Q24a. Where in New York State do you live?

- Brooklyn – Borough Park
- Brooklyn – Williamsburg
- Brooklyn – Crown Heights
- Brooklyn – Flatbush/Midwood
- Brooklyn – Other
- Queens
- Long Island (Five Towns, etc.)
- Manhattan
- Bronx (Riverdale) or Staten Island
- Upstate – Kiryas Joel, New Square, Monsey, Kaser, Rockland County, Catskills
- Other

[Ask if New Jersey]

#### Q24b. Where in New Jersey do you live?

- Lakewood or neighboring areas
- Passaic or neighboring area
- Teaneck, Engelwood, other Bergen County, northeast NJ areas
- Central/Southern New Jersey – Edison, Highland Park, West Orange, Livingston, Elizabeth, Cherry Hill, Jersey shore, etc.
- Other

[Ask if Other USA]

#### Q24c. Please enter the first three digits of your zip code. [Open-Ended]

### Q25. Finally, is there anything you would like to add relating to your views – or views in your community – relating to Israel, Zionism, etc.? [Open-Ended]

#### Thank you very much for sharing your thoughts.

- Please check here if you would like to have a chance to win one of the TEN \$25 Gift Cards that we will be awarding.
- Please check here if you are willing to receive email invitations to future occasional research in the Jewish community.

[Ask if either box checked]

**Please let us know your email address, so that we can contact you as appropriate. Your email will be totally confidential. It will not be used for any other purposes and will not be attached to your survey responses. (E-mail Input)**

**Thank You!**