

A Survey of Orthodox Jewish Political Views: Haredi and Modern Orthodox Sectors

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Mark Trencher, President, Nishma Research, West Hartford, Connecticut
Prof. David N. Myers, Sady and Ludwig Kahn Chair in Jewish History, UCLA

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Introduction and Methodology

Objectives

The objective of this study is to explore political views, as well as views relating to Israel, among the two main sectors of American Orthodox Jewry: (1) Modern Orthodox (sometimes referred to as Centrist Orthodox); and (2) Haredi (sometimes referred to as Ultra-Orthodox).

The Modern Orthodox (MO) sector comprises about one-third of the Orthodox population, and it melds observance of Jewish law (*halacha*) and practices with acceptance of and interaction with secular society and culture. The Haredi sector (its individual members are referred to as “Haredim”) comprises about two-thirds of Orthodoxy, and it is more stringent in observance of *halacha* and resistant to interactions with secular society.

Methodology and Survey Responses

This online survey was conducted August 28 to September 18, 2024. Respondents were Orthodox Jews, age 18 or older, who reside in the USA or can vote in US elections. The survey was anonymous and confidential; the research instrument (questionnaire) is shown in Appendix III.

We reached the community through a combination of email blasts comprised mainly of Haredim (Jewish Charedi Network, Vosizneias, Rockland County List), and through an Opt-In list of past Nishma Research survey respondents, comprised of both Modern Orthodox and Haredim. The number of responses is shown in the table to the right.

Sample Representativeness

In light of the fact that almost all survey research has moved from phone surveys to online surveys, much has been written about the challenges and limitations of this approach, particularly in terms of obtaining a sample that is representative of the population. See Appendix II (page 27) for a discussion of our approach.

Verbatim Responses

We view responses to open-ended questions as a valuable “qualitative addendum” of sorts to the quantitative findings. We encourage our audience to read the verbatim comments, which are presented unedited. This report

includes random samples of the responses and summaries thereof. All of the verbatim comments (and all Nishma Research reports) are available at <http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>.

Which of these best describes how you identify Jewishly?	
Chasidish (Including Chabad)	323
Yeshivish / Agudah / Litvish	245
Other, but leaning more toward Charedi (Chasidish or Yeshivish), Heimish, etc.	110
Total Haredi Sector	678
Modern or Centrist Orthodox	534
Other, but leaning more toward modern	61
Total Modern Orthodox Sector	595
None of the above (excluded from the analysis)	23
Total Responses	1,296

Past Surveys

This is the third in a series of studies of the Orthodox community that surveys its members’ political views.

A September 2023 survey explored trends in Orthodox Jewish political attitudes and Behaviors over the past 40+ years; and a February 2024 survey (i.e., during the Gaza War) explored changes in political views, as well as views relating to Israel and Zionism.

In this report, there are some comparisons to results from the prior surveys, as appropriate.

Note: Some Ashkenazic spelling is used in the questionnaire, e.g., Chasidish instead of Hasidic, as more recognizable to respondents.

Views on Israel and Zionism

Emotional Connection to Israel – Strong majorities of both Modern Orthodox (85%) and Haredi (72%) continue to say they feel a very strong emotional connection to Israel.

How emotionally connected to Israel do you feel at this time?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
Very strong connection	85%	72%
Somewhat connected	13%	16%
Total connected	98%	88%
A little bit	1%	5%
Not at all	1%	7%
% Very strong connection		
– February survey	87%	83%
– Change	-5%	-11%
Number of responses	592	663

Has your overall feeling of connection to Israel changed in recent months?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
My feeling of connection to Israel has become stronger	60%	50%
No change	35%	45%
My feeling of connection to Israel has become weaker	5%	5%
Number of responses	592	662

Attitudes Toward Zionism – Modern Orthodox are strongly pro-Zionistic, whereas Haredim are a bit more pro-Zionistic than anti-Zionistic (with no significant changes since the February survey).

How would you describe your Zionist views at this time?		
	M.O.	Haredi
Strongly Pro-Zionistic	77%	24%
Somewhat Pro-Zionistic	17%	22%
Total Zionistic	94%	47%
No Zionist feelings either way	3%	22%
Somewhat Anti-Zionistic	2%	14%
Strongly Anti-Zionist	1%	17%
Number of responses	585	651

Has your approach to Zionism changed in recent months?		
	M.O.	Haredi
Zionist feelings are stronger	48%	24%
No change	45%	68%
Zionist feelings are weaker	7%	8%
Number of responses	585	646

Approval of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu – 40% of Modern Orthodox approve of Prime Minister Netanyahu’s job performance, up notably from a 25% approval rate in February. 63% of Haredim approve, also up from 49% in February.

Approval of Prime Minister Netanyahu’s Job Performance		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
Strongly approve	15%	29%
Somewhat approve	25%	34%
Total approval	40%	63%
Somewhat disapprove	19%	9%
Strongly disapprove	36%	10%
Total disapproval	55%	19%
Don’t have a view	5%	18%
Number of responses	588	654

Perceptions of the National Political Candidates

Views of Donald Trump – While strong majorities of Haredim approved of Trump’s job performance and policies relating to Israel, the Modern Orthodox views were more split: 60% disapproved of his job performance, but 66% approved of his policies relating to Israel. Trump’s commutations and pardons of some Orthodox Jews were very important to Haredim, but only minimally important to the Modern Orthodox.

Did you approve or disapprove of how Donald Trump handled his job as President from 2016-2020?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
Approved a great deal	19%	50%
Approved a moderate amount	18%	35%
Total approved	37%	85%
Disapprove a moderate amount	14%	4%
Disapproved a great deal	46%	8%
Total disapproved	60%	12%
Unsure	3%	3%
Number of responses	556	610

What are your views on Trump’s policies relating to Israel?		
	M.O.	Haredi
Totally supported	34%	61%
Somewhat supported	32%	25%
Total supported	66%	86%
Somewhat disapproved	12%	3%
Strongly disapproved	15%	2%
Total disapproved	27%	5%
Unsure	7%	9%
Number of responses	556	610

Donald Trump as president commuted the jail sentences of some religious Jews and issued pardons to some as well. How important were these actions in affecting how you viewed his presidency?		
	M.O.	Haredi
Extremely important	5%	36%
Somewhat important	13%	34%
Total important	18%	70%
Actions were negative / harmful	23%	2%
No impact, unsure	59%	28%
Number of responses	556	610

Views of Joe Biden – While half of Modern Orthodox approve of Biden’s job performance and policies relating to Israel, Haredim overwhelmingly disapprove of Biden.

Did you approve or disapprove of how Joe Biden has handled his job as President?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
Approve a great deal	20%	4%
Approve a moderate amount	29%	9%
Total approve	49%	13%
Disapprove a moderate amount	15%	19%
Disapprove a great deal	29%	60%
Total disapprove	44%	79%
Unsure	7%	8%
Number of responses	557	615

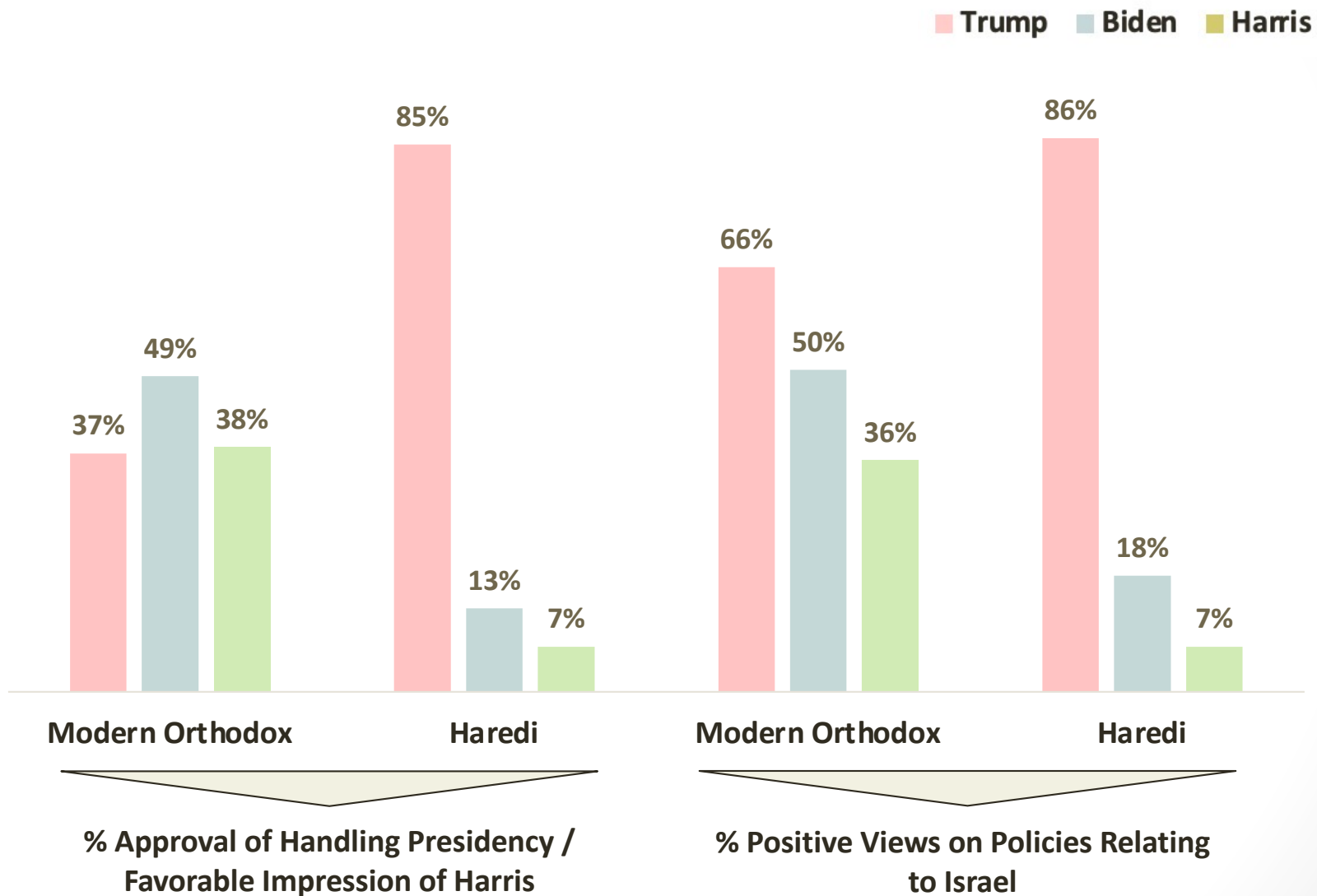
What are your views on Biden’s policies relating to Israel?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
Totally supported	17%	4%
Somewhat supported	33%	14%
Total approve	50%	18%
Somewhat disapproved	23%	24%
Strongly disapproved	24%	47%
Total disapprove	47%	71%
Unsure	3%	11%
Number of responses	557	615

Views of Kamala Harris – Haredim have overwhelmingly negative views of Harris, while Modern Orthodox view her somewhat unfavorably both in terms of their overall impression and with respect to her policies relating to Israel.

What is your overall impression of Kamala Harris?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
Very favorable	17%	3%
Moderately favorable	21%	4%
Total favorable	38%	7%
Moderately unfavorable	15%	12%
Very unfavorable	35%	73%
Total unfavorable	50%	85%
Unsure	12%	8%
Number of responses	556	609

What are your views on Harris’s policies relating to Israel?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
Totally support	9%	1%
Somewhat support	27%	6%
Support	36%	7%
Do not support	8%	8%
Her policies can be harmful	43%	66%
Opposed	51%	74%
Don’t know her policies	13%	19%
Number of responses	557	615

Comparing Views on Trump, Biden & Harris – Haredim overwhelmingly prefer Trump. Modern Orthodox are split on Biden but lean toward more negative views of Harris. Across all of Orthodoxy (Modern Orthodox and Haredi combined), 79% have a positive view of Trump’s policies relating to Israel, 29% have a positive view of Biden’s Israel policies, and 17% have a positive view of Harris’s Israel policies.



Most Admired U.S. Politicians – The following are the responses to the open-ended question “What U.S. politician – national or local – do you admire most?” Combining Modern Orthodox and Haredi responses in proportion to their representation in the Orthodox community, the most admired politicians are Nikki Haley (11%), Donald Trump (10%), Ron DeSantis (7%), Richie Torres (6%), and John Fetterman (5%) ... with 12% saying “no one.”

Modern Orthodox

	Number	Percent
Nikki Haley	64	13%
Richie Torres	49	10%
<i>No One</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>8%</i>
John Fetterman	22	4%
Josh Shapiro	21	4%
Ron DeSantis	17	3%
Donald Trump	17	3%
Barack Obama	16	3%
Liz Cheney	13	3%
<i>Percentages are based on 496 responses</i>		

Haredi

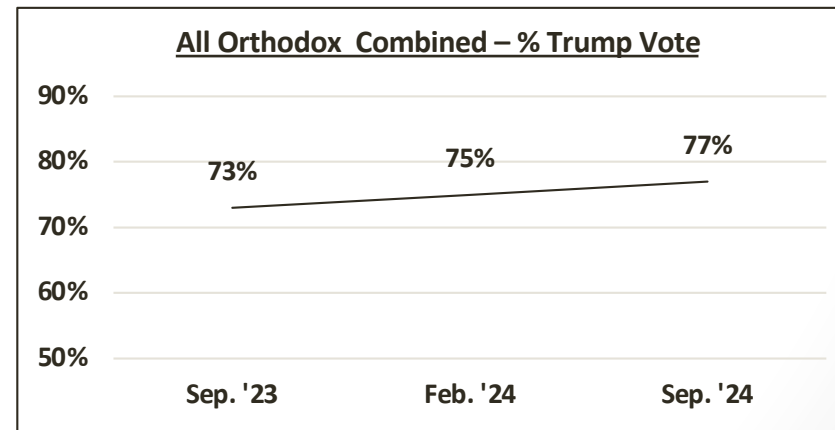
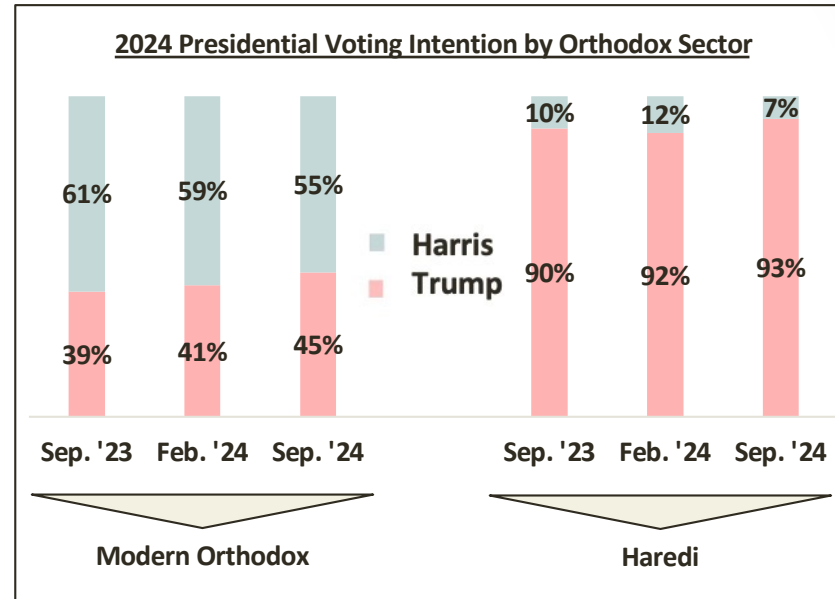
	Number	Percent
<i>No One</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>14%</i>
Donald Trump	71	13%
Nikki Haley	54	10%
Ron DeSantis	44	8%
Ted Cruz	29	6%
John Fetterman	26	5%
Richie Torres	25	5%
Mike Lawler	19	4%
Mike Pence	17	3%
<i>Percentages are based on 527 responses</i>		

2024 Presidential Voting Intention

2024 Presidential Voting Intention – Both the Modern Orthodox and the Haredi sectors have leaned more strongly over the past year toward the Republican Party ... MO from 39% to 45%, Haredi from 90% to 93%. Interestingly, the vote was virtually identical to what it would have been in a Trump-Biden election.

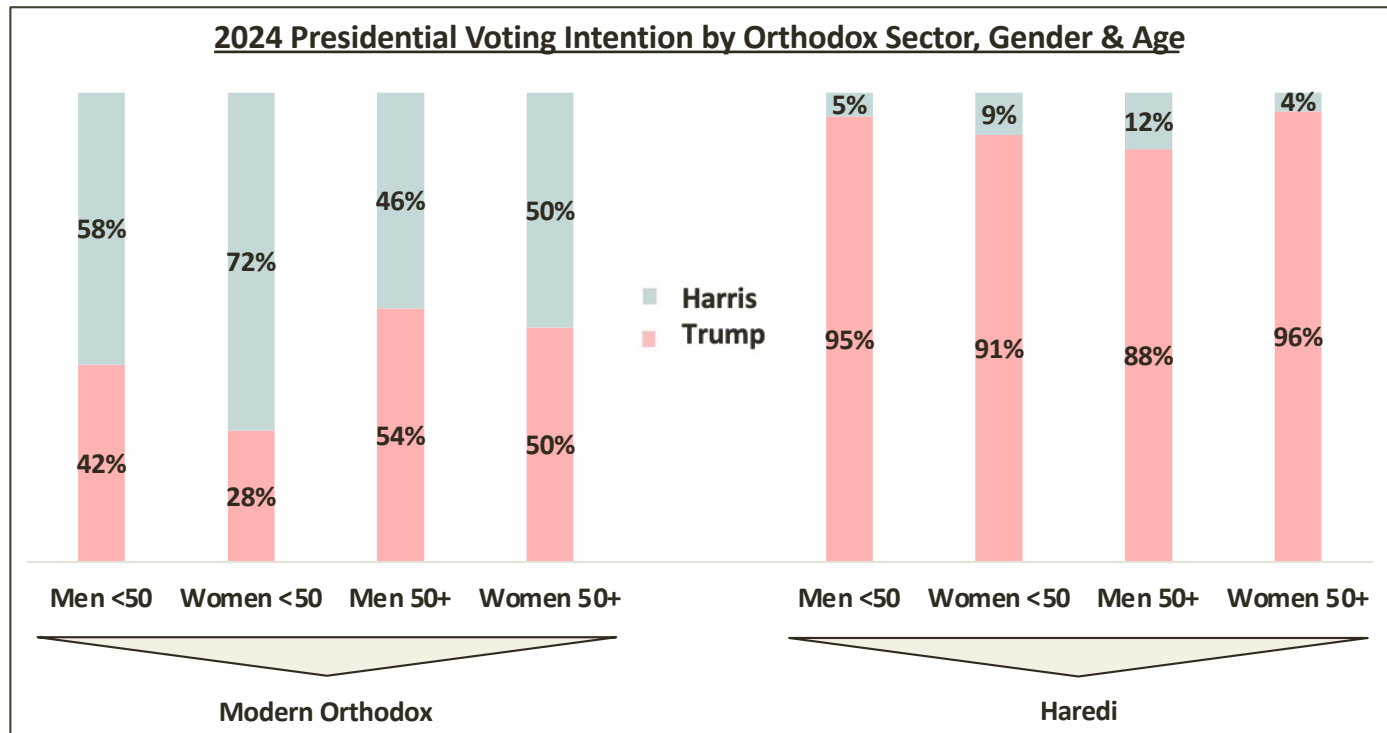
Whom do you think you will vote for in the upcoming Presidential election?		
	M.O.	Haredi
Definitely Trump	27%	68%
Probably Trump	11%	15%
Total Trump	38%	83%
Definitely Harris	37%	5%
Probably Harris	9%	2%
Total Harris	46%	7%
Other (independent)	3%	2%
Undecided	7%	4%
Probably will not vote	6%	4%
TOTAL TRUMP / HARRIS SPLIT*	45% / 55%	93% / 7%
<i>Number of responses</i>	547	606

Preference Had It Been Trump vs. Biden		
	M.O.	Haredi
TOTAL TRUMP / BIDEN SPLIT*	44% / 56%	92% / 8%



*Weights of 1.0 are applied to “definite” intentions and 0.8 to “probable” intentions. These data exclude those who indicate a third-party preference, the undecideds, and those who do not plan to vote.

2024 Presidential Voting Intention by Gender and Age, and by Education – Among the Modern Orthodox, younger women (under 50) show dramatically stronger support of Harris (72%), while older men (50+) are the strongest pro-Trump group (54%). Among both segments support for Trump is higher among those with less secular education, and higher for Harris among those with post-BA education.



Voting Preference by Level of Secular Education

Modern Orthodox – With post-BA education, Harris 56%; with BA or less, Harris 52%.

Haredi – With post-BA education, Trump 88%; with BA or less, Trump 96%.

All Orthodox Combined – Those with post-BA education lean about 6% more to Harris.

Issues That Are Most Important to the Voters – Israel, antisemitism, and the economy top issues driving both Modern Orthodox and Haredi voters. After that, there are notable differences in the priorities. The arrows (↑) denote the sector of Orthodoxy that sees an issue as notably more influential with respect to the vote.

Modern Orthodox	%
1. Israel, the Middle East (Iran, etc.)	75%
2. Antisemitism	63%
3. The state of American democracy	48% ↑
4. Inflation, the economy, jobs	45%
5. Foreign affairs (Ukraine/Russia, China, etc.)	34% ↑
6. Health care	34% ↑
7. Crime	23%
8. Immigration	21%
9. Education/schools, government dealing with Jewish schools, availability of subsidies	16%
10. Religious freedom	14%
11. Availability of welfare programs	8%
<i>Respondents could check up to 4 issues (multiple responses). Percentages are based on 545 responses.</i>	

Haredi	%
1. Israel, the Middle East (Iran, etc.)	68%
2. Antisemitism	67%
3. Inflation, the economy, jobs	50%
4. Crime	45% ↑
5. Education/schools, government dealing with Jewish schools, availability of subsidies	41% ↑
6. Religious freedom	35% ↑
7. Immigration	29% ↑
8. The state of American democracy	19%
9. Foreign affairs (Ukraine/Russia, China, etc.)	16%
10. Health care	13%
11. Availability of welfare programs	5%
<i>Respondents could check up to 4 issues (multiple responses). Percentages are based on 598 responses.</i>	

Among those who checked “Israel” as one of their four most important issues, 47% of Modern Orthodox and 46% of Haredi say it is “the single most important issue in their decision on whom to vote for.”

A follow-up open-ended question asked them why they view Israel that way. See sample verbatim responses on the next page.

The Importance of Israel in Influencing the Vote: Sample of Verbatim Responses –

The reasons most often given are existential security (the safety of Jews worldwide, including antisemitism); personal connection (live or have family there); essential for Jewish identity, religious beliefs, and the future of the Jewish people.

Modern Orthodox (Random Sample of the 168 verbatim responses)

- *One's israel views/policies are a bellweather for overall ideology*
- *Because without having Israel as a back up, where are the Jews going to go!*
- *Israel is the only Jewish state whose existence is now being threatened.*
- *When Israel is safe then American Jews are safe.*
- *because i lived there for 17 years and my love for Israel know no bounds*
- *Because I am a committed Jew and a Zionist.*
- *If we don't care about Israel who will*
- *Israel is central to my identity as a Jew. Critical that U.S. continue to support Israel, especially at a time of existential danger.*
- *Our people are at great risk in Israel and in the US. It is a single issue.*
- *I am a staunch Zionist Visit twice a year*
- *The others I can deal with. Harm to the Jewish state, no.*
- *Because I am a resident of Israel!*
- *We must have a democratic Israel.*
- *Because the next 5-10 years are existential for israel*
- *Israel is fighting for survival*
- *Israel (and Jews) is being threatened and it appears as though the pressure on israel will only increase. USA is the only country in the world with will and power to stem this, and is not taking a stand.*
- *I could not vote for a candidate that would put millions of Jewish lives at risk*
- *Because Israel is in an existential fight and needs American support.*
- *I live here; it is the future of the Jewish people; American support is critical*
- *This is an existential moment in history for Israel. Its entire future is at stake*
- *I could never abandon my people. Despite my views mostly aligning with Harris, I've seen enough to know she would throw my people and my homeland under the bus in a heartbeat if she needed to*

Haredi (Random Sample of the 162 verbatim responses)

- *US government's policies can make a life and death difference to Jews living in Israel- such as encouraging or discouraging Hamas.*
- *Israel is our country*
- *as jews, we need israel to exist*
- *I believe what happens to and with Israel is pivotal for the West. "As goes Israel, so goes the world"*
- *Because if they are against Israel, they are against democracy.*
- *Im jewish!*
- *we dont want a world war 3*
- *Because an orthodox Jew have no connection to any other place in the world! Only Israel!*
- *My strong identity. Antisemitism is very real. Dangerously real*
- *It's everything our future as a Jewish people*
- *This is a barometer of other issues as well. And Israel is central in my psyche. I am also a dual citizen.*
- *If Israel is blessed, America will be blessed.*
- *It shows what is their opinion on yidden in general*
- *As we see, support of Israel affects Israel's security, plus the expression of antisemitism worldwide, and is representative of the support of moral values without which the world will degenerate as it is doing.*
- *it ultimately affects every Jew,. whether in Israel or around the world. The USA policies make an impression and reverberate globally*
- *We wantitto be good*
- *bad US policy can put fellow Jews in mortal danger*
- *because if the US does not back Israel it will foster more anti semitism*
- *For Israel's survival*
- *its our homeland and i have kids living there*
- *because trump will help them more*
- *It's been that way since I first voted at 18. Now I am 70.*
- *The relationship is important to Israel*

Major Issues Facing the Jewish Community: Sample of Verbatim Responses –

Going beyond factors affecting the vote, we asked: “What do you think is the major issue facing your Jewish community these days?” Responses were far-ranging, but to summarize: The top concern among both MO and Haredi is antisemitism, followed among MO by assimilation and Jewish identity, affordability, disunity, leadership and education; and among Haredi by affordability, disunity, materialism and superficiality, the shidduch crisis, and religious leadership.

Modern Orthodox (Random Sample of the 556 verbatim responses)

- Antisemitism
- 1. Cost to live as a religious Jew (non-political) 2. meaningful anti-semitism in both political parties (political)
- Divides about certain people looking down at others bc they think they're doing the wrong thing halachically
- High housing prices Anti semitism Disconnect to real world
- Poverty
- Tuition prices
- Survival
- The rise of the NY Muslim community in NY and their increasing empowerment and anti-Jewish behavior.
- It is dying of suicide, and it may not even know it.
- Unity Continuity Hostages vs. defeating Hamas Trump (are we for him or against him)
- lack of unity
- Affordability
- Unity on defending Israel's existence and purpose and on fighting antisemitism wherever it appears.
- Safety, antisemitic protests n feelings, discord
- The major issue is the anti semitism of the right and the left which will impact the future.
- the breakdown of American justice system resulting in social disorder
- Hard to say.. on the surface the war has united factions, but will the unity last.
- Israel
- 1 issue voters, Trump supporters, deniers of all Biden has done for Israel this past year.
- United States continued support for Israel and other allies, moral clarity vs. political expediency
- A shift in their self perception as it pertains to their Jewish identity

Haredi (Random Sample of the 622 verbatim responses)

- The rise in antisemitism is concerning, although it has not affected my community yet, I worry that it will eventually.
- To protect independent education and for it to be financially viable to dedicate extensive time to Torah study.
- keeping up with growth
- The rise in anti semitism here in America
- Anti Semitic and obviously money
- Global anti-semitism including the Gaza war
- Children not able to get into Jewish schools and Off the derech teens are both a big problem
- Safety of Jews. Financially, there is no way we can continue like this with all the frumflation going on.
- Raising the next generation - issues with "at-risk" children and coping with social media/intrusion of outside values culture.
- Protests in Israel
- Understanding that the next US elections will determine whether or not there will be a holocaust in the United States.
- antisemitism in america
- cost of living cost of Kosher Food
- American values seeping in
- Putting Hashem as the focus of their lives
- Antisemitism
- The blatant anti Semitism and the lack luster response from officials in power
- Its not enough clear for all the world that the heimishe jews are standing against Israel !!!!!!!!!!!!!!!
- The lack of unity, and public display.
- Safety and secuity of our community, and individuals working and walking in other neighborhoods,
- the Israeli Government make all the problems for the Jews world wide since its was established

Why Orthodox Jews Plan to Vote for Trump: Sample of Verbatim Responses – Reasons given by Modern Orthodox and Haredim are similar, and most often focus on support of Israel, the economy, immigration, perceptions of strength, and a dislike of Harris, the Democratic Party and its liberal ideals. (Based on 136 Modern Orthodox responses and 635 Haredi responses)

- *He's not Kamala Economy Immigration Crime*
- *1. Conservative policies 2. Stance on Israel*
- *Israel, economy, border, gun rights, abortion rules, violence, media honesty, Afghanistan,*
- *A.His support, albeit with some problems B.he will close Southern border C.economic policy D.police will be supported*
- *I like his policies. I just wish he would clean his mouth up, and stop attacking people(verbally)*
- *Getting Hamas-supporters off the streets. Deporting visa-holders who express support for terrorism. Hopefully allowing the DOJ and relevant depts to strip colleges of funding who don't uphold the civil rights of Jewish students.*
- *Israel. That's it. Otherwise, his narcissism, views on women, and petty vengeance I find objectionable. But I'm not having him to dinner. I also still consider myself an environmentalist and strong supporter of reproductive rights. But these aren't existential issues for me in the next 4 years.*
- *שמרן במעמד המשפחה שומר על ישראל מהאויבים*
- *he's not Kamala! She seems to be too anti my values*
- *Democrats are anti religion and bad for safety*
- *foreign policy*
- *the choice is always between bad and worse, Harris is worse*
- *Powerful and strong*
- *I am not a fan of Trump as a person, but his record during his presidency speaks for itself - no new foreign wars, better economy, stronger US respect, et al.*
- *International relations, economics and fiscal policy, and the border*
- *We need a Republican in the whitehouse*
- *Israel. Common sense regarding all gender laws*
- *No nonsense Is a strong presence Will command fear and or respect*
- *He supports Israel in their fight against Hamas*
- *Anti immigration, improve economy, support Israel,*
- *Because I feel he is the only one who can turn this country around*
- *economy, border security, god and decency.*
- *Israel, economy, migrants Too many to mention but those are the the top ones.*
- *Antisemitism President Trump issued an Executive Order on Combatting Antisemitism that directed the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) to apply Title VI of the Civil Rights act (1964) to complaints of discrimination against Jews and base them on the international Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism. The Biden/Harris administration has continued to delay implementation of those protections. This is extremely troubling given the pogroms that have been taking place on college campuses this past year that leave Jewish students vulnerable to harassment as this antisemitism festers. Moreover, the Biden/Harris equivocates on Jew hatred by bundling it with Islamophobia whenever the topic comes up. As if Jewish mobs were roaming the streets of predominantly Muslim neighborhoods, shouting slurs and defacing Mosques. The Biden/Harris administration (and—indeed—the entire Democratic Party) has a huge antisemitism problem.*
- *He is a Zionist*
- *Economy, immigration and crime as well as policies relating to Israel.*
- *everything*
- *Border, Israel, haeth, and safety*
- *Israel, the economy, the border*
- *No alternative*
- *do not like Harris*
- *economy & Israel also the democrat party is corrupt*
- *He's immoral and probably guilty of what they accuse him of. The Democrats however see progress as a linear line. Nothing is inviolable and everything will eventually be transgressable. We may be diverse and in some ways that's a good thing. But democrats seem hell bent on collapsing the social systems which allow Americans to exist as a unified people beyond simply the ideas in America's founding documents.*

Why Orthodox Jews Plan to Vote for Harris: Sample of Verbatim Responses – Reasons given by Modern Orthodox and Haredim are similar, and most often focus on very strong dislike of Trump as a person and danger to democracy, and Harris’s views, knowledge and demeanor. (Based on 187 Modern Orthodox responses and 27 Haredi responses)

- *Her policy on Israel is favorable and most reasonable for a foreign ally. She wants peace but also is unyielding in her support.*
- *Even if I didn't like her—which I do—Trump is such a threat to the country and to Jews that I would have to vote against him. But I agree with almost all of Harris' positions.*
- *Trump is crazy.*
- *Her views on domestic politics are more in line with my own, I think trumps sort of populism is dangerous*
- *To defeat Trump*
- *Although I do not agree with everything she stands for, a vote for Trump is a vote for stripping Jewish people of their rights as Americans to practice their religion as they see fit. It's also a vote to continue to roll back protections for women and LGBT individuals.*
- *Overall my values align with hers.*
- *Democracy, and her policies align with my beliefs.*
- *She isn't trump, she is intelligent, and she seems able to do the job well. And while I may not know details of many policies, I feel she aligns with many of my views*
- *I oppose Trump.*
- *Donald trump's policies and affinity groups are making America a less safe place for Jews and other minorities*
- *Donald Trump is a profound danger to this country, the world and democracy in general and he is totally unfit to be President of the US*
- *1. Not Trump 2. I support her policies 3. I think she's competent 4. Glad she's under 77*
- *Hate Trump.*
- *She is the only choice considering that her opponent is unstable, a friend to the extreme right antisemites, and a criminal guilty of treason among many other crimes.*
- *-Intelligent - Will support women's reproductive rights, environmental/ climate protection, - will support defending Israel -will support tax hikes for wealthy - will surround herself with knowledgeable advisors*
- *Because: it will help stop Republicans push for project 2025, and she will most likely pass more policies which will help working people.*
- *She's not a crazy lunatic who only cares about herself and fashions herself a dictator. She genuinely cares about the American people and wants to make their lives better.*
- *Trump will run this country into the ground and never leave until he dies, or his dementia gets so bad he doesn't what's going on.*
- *I see Trump as a fascist, narcissist, crook. adulterer, racist and rapist. I wish the Republican party had a different candidate.*
- *Trump would be another disaster and we don't need that again.*
- *The other candidate is a convicted felon, a sexual predator, and desires to be dictator of America. He will take America back into the dark ages.*
- *Trump, aside from being a personally filthy character (including extreme narcissism and possible sociopathy), would institute authoritarian government in this country.*
- *Harris believes in democracy and American ideals. Her opponent could not be more different in that regard.*
- *Trump is not trustworthy is lazy and ignorant and there is no alternative.*
- *I won't vote for a fascist even if I were not a democrat who believes in democracy and justice for all*
- *Republicans in this country are off the rails insane these days and I value my bodily autonomy as a human woman*
- *Trump is a danger to democracy*
- *I truly disrespect Trump and everything he stands for, except for his support of Israel. I wish that could make up for the intolerance I have for Trump, but I believe he is a despicable human being who should not represent the usa.*
- *She is smart, a clear thinker, loyal to this country's ideals and Constitution and honest. She understands what "for the people" means.*
- *She will support Ukraine and oppose Putin, and more generally support democracies over dictatorships in foreign policy. She will not try to undermine US democracy. She will maintain foreign aid that will save countless lives abroad. She will not hurt US healthcare. She can be trusted in the case of an emergency.*

Other Potential Vote Influencers: The Presidential Debate the the Vice-Presidential Candidates

- **Impact of the Presidential Debate**
 - **Among respondents who responded to the survey after the 9/10/24 debate, 65% of MO and 57% of Haredi respondents watched all or some of the debate. Among them, 19% of MO and 7% of Haredi said the debate had an affect on their opinion of voting preference, almost always in favor of Harris.**
- **Impact of the Vice-Presidential Candidates**
 - **62% say the VP candidates do not affect their voting decision, while 9% say it has a significant impact and 29% say it has a slight impact. While no one mentioned the VP as a factor in their voting decision, 15% of MO and 5% of Haredi Trump voters indicated that Josh Shapiro as Harris's running mate might have influenced their vote.**

State and Local Elections

State and Local Election Voting Habits – 61% of MO and 73% of Haredim see local elections as at least as important as the presidential election. A majority split their local election vote, with the result that both Orthodox sectors lean more toward Democratic candidates in local elections than they do in the Presidential election.

Are local (state, city, borough, etc.) elections at this time more important to you than the presidential election?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
More important	13%	23%
Less important	39%	27%
Equally important	48%	50%
Number of responses	540	591

Do you tend to vote for the same party in local elections that you vote for in presidential elections?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
Always	24%	10%
Mostly	46%	45%
Not really	30%	45%
Number of responses	539	587

Which party do you tend to vote for in local elections?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
Always Republican	9%	13%
Mostly Republican	18%	43%
Always Democratic	19%	2%
Mostly Democratic	32%	12%
A pretty even mix of Republicans and Democrats	22%	30%
TOTAL REPUBLICAN / DEMOCRATIC SPLIT*	34% / 66%	62% / 38%
Number of responses	533	583

*Weights of 1.0 are applied to “always” intentions, 0.8 to “mostly” intentions, and 0.5 to “pretty even mix.”

Issues Driving the State and Local Election Vote – Haredim seem to be more “tuned in” to local election issues than the Modern Orthodox, at least based on the number of factors they see as very important and the fact that political party is less important to them locally. Every factor is seen as more important by Haredim, notable positions on schools’ substantial equivalency requirements and instructions from Jewish community leaders.

How important are these factors in your voting choices at the local level?	
Modern Orthodox	%
1. Specific issues affecting the Jewish community	76%
2. Broad issues in the community	73%
3. The candidates’ ability to provide for the Jewish community	41%
4. Political party	31%
5. News that I get from the Jewish community and news media	23%
6. Positions on Substantial Equivalency Requirements (pushing yeshivas to teach more secular subjects) *	22%
7. The candidates’ personality	20%
8. Instructions that I get from Jewish community leaders	11%
<i>Percentages are those who checked “Very Important.” Based on 534 responses.</i>	

How important are these factors in your voting choices at the local level?	
Haredi	%
1. Specific issues affecting the Jewish community	89%
2. Broad issues in the community	76%
3. The candidates’ ability to provide for the Jewish community	69%
4. Positions on Substantial Equivalency Requirements (pushing yeshivas to teach more secular subjects) *	56%
5. Instructions that I get from Jewish community leaders	39%
6. News that I get from the Jewish community and news media	31%
7. The candidates’ personality	31%
8. Political party	24%
<i>Percentages are those who checked “Very Important.” Based on 576 responses.</i>	

* Those who cited Substantial Equivalency Requirements as very important were asked “Is the state’s insistence on more secular studies in yeshivas the most important issue in your decision on whom to vote for at the local and state level?” Combining those who responded “absolutely” with 50% of those who responded “probably,” we find that 6% of Modern Orthodox see this as the most important issue, and 34% of Haredim see this as the most important issue. We did not probe the specific concerns, and it may be likely that many of the MO support Substantial Equivalency Requirements and that perhaps most of the Haredim oppose it.

Appendix I – Demographic Summary

What is your gender?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
Male	55%	66%
Female	44%	33%
Would rather not say	1%	1%

What is your age?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
18-29	10%	22%
30-39	17%	24%
40-49	15%	17%
50-59	17%	12%
60-69	17%	12%
70 or older	24%	13%
Median Age	54	42

Where do you live?		
	Modern Orthodox	Haredi
New York State	31% (Queens 12%, Manhattan 9%)	58% (Brooklyn 37%, Rockland 12%, Queens 8%)
New Jersey	18%	14%
Other USA	44% (MD/DC 9%, FL 7%, CA 5%, CT 5%, PA 4%)	19% (MD 4%, FL 3%, IL 3%)
Outside USA	7% (Israel 6%, Other 1%)	9% (Israel 7%, Other 2%)

What is the highest level of secular education you have completed?		
	M.O.	Haredi
Less than high school	<0.5%	5%
High school graduate	1%	17%
Some college, no degree	5%	17%
Two-year associate degree	1%	5%
Four-year bachelor's degree	21%	18%
Some postgraduate, no degree	7%	8%
Postgraduate or professional degree (may include non-college licensing, certifications, etc.)	65%	30%

Appendix II – The Challenges of Sampling the Orthodox Community

In light of the fact that almost all survey research done in the U.S. has moved from phone to online, much has been written about the resulting challenges and limitations, particularly in terms of obtaining a sample that is representative of the population.

The Unique Sampling Challenges

Surveying the Orthodox community in the United States poses particular challenges for at least three reasons. One is size and dispersion; the community comprises about 0.3% of the U.S. population, and the Modern Orthodox comprise about 0.1%, and much of the community – outside of a few large cities – is logistically hard to find and reach via a survey. Second is its diversity. Haredim (ultra-Orthodox) are quite different from Modern Orthodox, and there is very considerable diversity within each of the two groups. And third, there is no universally recognized, objective source of community census data, so determinations of sample representativeness are necessarily subjective.

Accordingly, it is difficult to arrive at a truly representative sample given the size and somewhat limited access to the community, especially the Haredim. And it is challenging to account for selection bias in so far as those inclined to respond to an online poll represent a sub-set of the larger community. Given the uncertainties around sample representativeness, we do not specify sample errors, which is the widely accepted practice; specific point data should be viewed as estimates.

The Four Sources We Use to Obtain Our Samples

- **Rabbinic Organizations:** Synagogue membership is extremely widespread (near universal) in the Orthodox community. Nishma Research has distributed a number of broad community wide surveys through rabbinic members of the RCA, the major body of nearly 1,000 Orthodox rabbis and many member synagogues, the National Council of Young Israel (a group of about 100 Modern Orthodox synagogues), and the International Rabbinic Fellowship (a group of about 60 rabbis). Nishma has worked through congregational rabbis to distribute surveys to their members, and that has been very successful in generating responses.
- **Individual Synagogues:** We have invited individual synagogue rabbis and presidents to participate in surveys, and we have selected a geographically-diverse, size-diverse, and ideologically-diverse mix of synagogues.
- **Our Opt-In Panel:** Given that Nishma has conducted 17 broad community surveys, our total number of respondents within the Orthodox community who have opted to participate has grown to over 6,000. These respondents cover wide – and, we believe, reasonably representative – distributions in terms of their gender, age, marital status, education and income. About half live in the greater New York area (New York City, New Jersey, Westchester/Rockland, and Connecticut), and half live in other parts of

the country. We ask respondents where they position themselves religiously within Modern Orthodoxy; a plurality say they are centrist.

- **Email Blast Lists:** There are some excellent marketing services that generate email blast lists, and we use many of them. For example, we have used lists such as Jewish Link, a very large, tri-state area publication; Talkline, the email list of the largest online orthodox radio program in the U.S.; and others in the Modern Orthodox community. We have also effectively used lists in the Haredi community; for example, Nishma did a survey for Hatzalah, the emergency medical service, using Haredi community email blast lists, and this generated over 3,000 responses.

Assessing Our Findings

We're not aware of any other surveys that have published findings for the Orthodox community on this topic, but a bit of "reverse engineering" can at least tell us whether our findings are in the ballpark.

The Pew Research Center found Orthodoxy as a whole to lean 75% Republican, 20% Democrat, and 5% Other/none. (<https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2021/05/11/u-s-jews-political-views/>)

If we combine our Haredi 93% for Trump with our Modern Orthodox 45% for Trump, and we do so in proportion to the two sectors' representation in the Orthodox community (approximately 66%/34%), we come up with a figure of 77% for Trump among all Orthodox, which hews closely to the Pew figure on party affiliation (which correlates strongly with voter intention.)

Admittedly, the 45% rate for Trump among the Modern Orthodox might be low if, as one political observer opined, Trump supporters are less likely to respond to surveys. But the same problem does not seem to exist in the Haredi world, and the combined numbers, we surmise, appear plausible.

Future Options to Understand the Community

More survey research could be of value. Beyond surveying, we have in the past explored use of voting precinct data. While useful data are available for a very small number of Haredi communities (where they comprise a significant proportion of all voters), but there are not concentrated Modern Orthodox communities where such data are of notable value, as the Modern Orthodox comprise a very small minority of their precincts' total voting population.

We offer the results of this survey as one benchmark that indicates overwhelming Haredi support for Trump and a much more mixed outcome among Modern Orthodox. And, of course, this survey research lets us explore additional politically related views among Orthodox Jews.

Appendix III – Survey Questionnaire (Page 1 of 4)

U.S. Orthodox Jewish Political Views
Nishma Research – September 8, 2024

INTRODUCTION

This survey explores political views across the broad Orthodox Jewish community. The survey is anonymous and confidential, and is being done by Jewish researchers, including members of the Orthodox community.

This survey takes about 8 minutes. **Questions that require a response are indicated by ***.

In appreciation, we will award five \$50 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.

[Action: reCAPTCHA]: Please confirm that you are an Orthodox Jew, age 18+, live in the USA or can vote in US elections, and wish to take this survey. Otherwise, just close this browser tab or window to exit the survey.

***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 Orthodox
- None of the above

***Q2. What is your gender?**

- Male
- Female
- Would rather not say

***Q3. What is your age?**

- 18-29
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-59
- 60-69
- 70 or older

***Q4. How emotionally connected to Israel do you feel at this time?**

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

***Q5. Has your overall feeling of connection to Israel changed in recent months?**

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

Q6. Do you approve of the job performance of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu?

- I strongly approve
- I somewhat approve
- I somewhat disapprove
- I strongly disapprove
- I don't have a view

Q7. How would you describe your Zionist views at this time?

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

Q8. Has your attitude toward Zionism changed in recent months?

- My feeling of Zionism have become stronger
- No change
- My feelings of Zionism have become weaker

***Q9. Much of the rest of this survey deals with U.S. political views. Before we get into that, we just want to ask one broad question. In 20 words or less, what do you think is the major issue facing your Jewish community these days (it could be anything ... not only political.) [Open-Ended]**

Survey Questionnaire (Page 2 of 4)

***Q10. Do you approve or disapprove of how Joe Biden handled his job as President?**

- Approve a great deal
- Approve a moderate amount
- Unsure
- Disapprove a moderate amount
- Disapprove a great deal

***Q11. What are your views on Biden's policies relating to Israel?**

- I totally support his policies
- I somewhat support his policies
- I somewhat disapprove of his policies
- I strongly disapprove of his policies
- Unsure

***Q12. Did you approve or disapprove of how Donald Trump handled his job as President from 2016-2020?**

- Approve a great deal
- Approve a moderate amount
- Unsure
- Disapprove a moderate amount
- Disapprove a great deal

***Q13. What were your views on Trump's policies relating to Israel?**

- I totally supported his policies
- I somewhat supported his policies
- I somewhat disapproved of his policies
- I strongly disapproved of his policies.

***Q14. Donald Trump as president commuted the jail sentences of some religious Jews and issued pardons to some as well. How important were these actions in affecting how you viewed his presidency?**

- They were extremely important to how I viewed him
- They were somewhat important to how I viewed him
- They had no impact on how I viewed him
- I viewed these actions as negative and harmful
- Unsure

***Q15. What is your overall impression of Kamala Harris?**

- Very favorable
- Moderately favorable
- Unsure
- Moderately unfavorable
- Very unfavorable

***Q16. What are your views on Harris's policies relating to Israel?**

- I totally support her policies
- I somewhat support her policies
- I do not support her policies
- I think her policies can be harmful to Israel
- I don't know what her policies are

Q17. What U.S. politician – national or local – do you admire most? [Open-Ended]

***Q18. Whom do you think you will vote for in the upcoming Presidential election?**

- Definitely Trump
- Probably Trump
- Definitely Harris
- Probably Harris
- Another (independent) candidate
- Undecided
- Probably will not vote

[Ask if Q18 = Definitely Trump]

Q19a. What are the main reasons why you plan to vote for Trump? [Open-Ended]

[Ask if Q18 = Definitely Biden]

Q19b. What are the main reasons why you plan to vote for Harris? [Open-Ended]

[Ask if Q18 = Definitely Trump, Probably Trump, Another (independent), Undecided, or Probably will not vote]

Q20. Would your voting intention be different if Harris had selected Pennsylvania Governor Josh Shapiro as her VP?

- It would not affect my vote at all
- It might get me to vote for Harris
- It would definitely get me to vote for Harris
- Don't know

Survey Questionnaire (Page 3 of 4)

[Question was activated upon conclusion of 9/10/24 debate]

Q21. Did you watch the September 10th Trump-Harris debate?

- Yes, all or most of it
- Yes, some of it
- No

[Ask if Yes, all, most or some]

Q22. Did the debate change your opinion or voting preference in any way?

- Yes – Can you please explain briefly? [Open-Ended]
- No

Q23. What if the election had been between Biden and Trump? Whom do you think you would have voted for?

- Definitely Trump
- Probably Trump
- Definitely Biden
- Probably Biden
- Another (independent) candidate
- Undecided
- Probably would not have voted

Q24. Do the Vice President candidates (Vance and Walz) affect your voting decision?

- Yes, significantly
- Yes, slightly
- No

***Q25. What issues are most important to you as a voter? Please check up to your top 4 issues.**

- Antisemitism
- Availability of welfare programs
- Crime

(continued)

***Q25. (continued)**

- Education/schools, government dealing with Jewish schools, availability of subsidies
- Foreign affairs (Ukraine/Russia, China, etc.)
- Health care
- Immigration
- Inflation, the economy, jobs
- Israel, the Middle East (Iran, etc.)
- Religious freedom
- The state of American democracy
- Other - Please describe

[Ask if Israel is checked]

***Q26. Is Israel the single most important issue in your decision on whom to vote for?**

- Yes
- No

[Ask if Yes]

Q27. If yes, why? [Open-Ended]

Q28. Turning to local (state, city, borough, etc.) elections, would you say that local elections at this time are more important to you than the presidential election?

- Local elections are more important
- Local elections are less important
- They are equally important

Q29. Do you tend to vote for the same party in local elections that you vote for in presidential elections?

- Always
- Mostly
- Not really

Survey Questionnaire (Page 4 of 4)

Q30. Which party do you tend to vote for in local elections?

- Always Republican
- Mostly Republican
- Always Democratic
- Mostly Democratic
- A pretty even mix of Republican and Democratic candidates

Q31. How important are these factors in your voting choices at the local level?

- Political party
- The candidates' personality
- Broad issues in the community
- Specific issues affecting the Jewish community
- Positions on Substantial Equivalency Requirements (pushing yeshivas to teach more secular subjects)
- The candidates' ability to provide for the Jewish community
- News that I get from the Jewish community and news media.
- Instructions that I get from Jewish community leaders

Response Options:

- Very Important
- Somewhat Important
- Not Important

[Ask if Substantial Equivalency is very important]

Q32. Is the state's insistence on more secular studies in yeshivas the most important issue in your decision on whom to vote for at the local and state level?

- Absolutely
- Probably
- No

*Q33. Where do you live?

- New York State
- New Jersey
- Other USA
- Outside USA – Please enter [Text entry]

[Ask if in USA]

*Q34. Please enter your 5-digit zip code. [Numeric entry]

Q35. What is the highest level of secular education you have completed?

- Less than high school graduate
- High school graduate
- Some college, no degree
- Two-year associate degree
- Four-year Bachelor's degree
- Some postgraduate or professional schooling, no postgraduate degree
- Postgraduate or professional degree, including master's, doctorate, medical or law degree

Thank you very much for sharing your thoughts.

[] Please check here if you would like to have a chance to win one of the five \$50 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.

[Show if either or both "Please check ..." are 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. [Email entry]