

# **A Survey of Orthodox Jewish Political Attitudes and Behaviors: Haredi and Modern Orthodox Sectors September 2023**

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## Table of Contents

Section	Pages
Introduction and Methodology; Number of Respondents	3-4
Key Takeaways and a Summary of Selected Key Findings	5-8
General Personal Attitudes; Perceptions, Beliefs & Feelings Relating to the United States	9-12
Political Engagement, Attitudes & Behaviors; Party Preferences; Sources of Voting Information & Guidance	13-16
Voting History & Trends, 1980-2020; Voting Intentions, 2024	17-19
Issues That Drive Political Views & Voting Behavior; Assessing Trump and Biden Presidencies; Legitimacy of the 2020 Election; Attitudes Due to COVID; Reasons for the Republican Shift	20-29
Israel; Connections & Approach to Zionism	30-31
Concluding Thoughts and Suggestions	32-33
Additional Factors that Affect 2024 Voting Preferences	34-36
Appendix I – Additional Verbatim Responses: Issues Driving 2024 Vote; Reasons for the Republican Shift; Concluding Thoughts and Suggestions	37-40
Appendix II – Demographic Summary	41-44
Appendix III – Survey Questionnaire	45-51
Press Release	52

# Introduction and Methodology

## Objectives and Definitions

The objective of this study is to explore the political views of American Orthodox Jewry, comprised of the Modern Orthodox and the less-explored Haredi sectors. We want to analyze attitudes that affect political leanings and test the conventional wisdom that the leanings have shifted toward the Republican Party in recent years.

This survey covered the range of U.S. Orthodox Jewry. The Orthodox are comprised of two main sectors: (1) Modern Orthodox (sometimes referred to as Centrist Orthodox); and (2) Haredi (sometimes referred to as the Ultra-Orthodox).

The Modern Orthodox (MO) comprise about one-third of the Orthodox population, and they meld observance with Jewish law (*halacha*) and practices with more acceptance of and interaction with secular society and culture. The Haredi sector comprises two-thirds of Orthodoxy, and they are more stringent in observance of *halacha* and resistant to interactions with secular society. Within the Haredi world, there are notable sub-groups: the Hasidic community is structured through connections with and guidance by Hasidic rabbis (Hasidic court leaders), while the Yeshivish community (also referred to as *Litvish*, *Misnagdic*, and *Agudah*) is structured through connections with and guidance by the *Roshei Yeshiva* (rabbinic deans) of yeshivas (schools of advanced Torah study).

(While we refer to the sector, as a group, as Haredi, we may refer to its members as “Haredim.”)

## Methodology and Survey Responses

An online survey was conducted August 20-29, 2023. 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, notifications to WhatsApp Groups and WhatsApp Status lists, and to an Opt-In list of past Nishma Research survey respondents.

The survey generated 2,551 responses, including 1,224 self-identified as Haredi and 1,257 self-identified as Modern/Centrist Orthodox. The survey response was unusually fast (compared to past Nishma Research surveys), enabling us to close the survey in only 10 days. The survey was brief (about 9 minutes) and had an extraordinarily low drop-out rate; a very high proportion of the respondents responded to almost all questions.

As is true of most surveys of Orthodox Jewry in the United States, the lack of community census data makes it challenging to assure sample representativeness—and thus offer overarching claims about the various sectors within the Orthodox world.

Interestingly, this online survey generated a good deal of response from the Haredi sector, though there is a segment of the Haredi community that is more “off the grid” in terms of language, technology and secular matters and thus is under-represented. However, the overall political findings for the Haredi sector are consistent and monochromatic, suggesting that the absence of this segment does not much alter the overall data.

A key aim of the survey was to gauge political attitudes over time. Thus, we asked voters about their presidential votes back as far as 1980. We recognize that this draws on long-term memories, which may be less reliable than more recent voting recollections and be influenced by current political convictions.

## 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 have been reviewed and selected for representativeness in terms of overall themes. All of the verbatim responses are available at <http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>.

## Number of Respondents

Which of these best describes how you identify Jewishly?	
Chasidish (Including Chabad)*	455
Yeshivish / Agudah / Litvish	531
Other, but leaning more toward Charedi (Chasidish or Yeshivish), Heimish, etc.	238
<b>Total Haredi Sector</b>	<b>1,224</b>
Modern or Centrist Orthodox	1,122
Other, but leaning more toward modern	135
<b>Total Modern Orthodox Sector</b>	<b>1,257</b>
None of the above	70
<b>Total Responses</b>	<b>2,551</b>
*To which Chasidish group do you belong? – Chabad / Lubavitch 122, Satmar 76, Bobov 44, Belz 31, Vizhnitz 23, Ger 22, Skver 11, Karlin-Stolin 9, Sanz-Klausenberg 7, Other Chasidish group 106.	

### Notes:

- As an abbreviation, the Modern/Centrist Orthodox sector may be denoted in this report as “MO.”
- The questionnaire adopted the spellings Charedi, Chasidish and Chabad, as these are more familiar to the respondents.
- The number of respondents in Hasidic groups was too small for meaningful statistical analysis.
- Hasidic responses tend to skew more toward males (see pages 35 and 42).

## Key Takeaways and a Summary of Selected Key Findings

## Key Takeaways

- Over the past forty years, Modern Orthodox Jews have tended to vote Democratic in national elections and Haredim have tended to vote overwhelmingly Republican.
- Orthodox Jews share a view that the United States has been hospitable to Jews but also that the country is currently headed in the wrong direction.
- Modern Orthodox and Haredi Jews differ sharply over the outcome of the 2020 election, the nature of the January 6, 2021 events at the U.S. Capitol, the Trump presidency, and how they plan to vote in 2024.
- Orthodox Jews give voice to the same kind of polarized political attitudes that are seen nationally between Democrats and Republicans.

## Summary of Selected Key Findings

### • Being an American and the Nation's Direction

(See pages 11-12)	Haredi	M.O.
Very much believe being an American is an important part of who they are	28%	57%
Agree that US is heading in the right direction overall	8%	16%

### • Political Interest

(See page 14)	Haredi	M.O.
Very interested in national politics	49%	67%
Always or almost always vote	59%	76%

### • Voting History

(See page 18)	Haredi	M.O.
Average, last 5 presidential votes: % Republican	87%	46%
% Democrat	13%	54%

### • 2024 Voting Intentions

(See page 19)	Haredi	M.O.
% Intending to vote Republican	90%	39%
% Intending to vote Democratic	10%	61%
Orthodox community as a whole: 74% Republican (2020 Pew found Orthodox 75% Republican)		

### • Issues that Drive Voting Behavior

(See page 21)	Haredi	M.O.
Issues important to both Haredi and M.O.	Economy, Israel, Antisemitism	
More important to Haredi:		
• Crime	56%	34%
• Schools	46%	19%
• Religious freedom	42%	18%
More important to M.O.:		
• State of democracy	24%	47%
• Health care	22%	40%
• Foreign, other than Israel	17%	38%
Orthodox community as a whole: 74% Republican (2020 Pew found Orthodox 75% Republican)		

Continued 

## Summary of Selected Key Findings

### • Issues that Drive Voting Behavior, by Party Preference

<i>Most Important Issues</i> (See pages 22-25)	
Plan to Vote Republican	Plan to Vote Democratic
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Crime</li> <li>• Economy</li> <li>• Israel</li> <li>• General ideological agreement*</li> <li>• Democratic liberal shift*</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Democracy</li> <li>• Health Care</li> <li>• Economy</li> <li>• Environment*</li> </ul>
* Based on verbatim responses	

### • Perceptions of the 2020 Election

(See page 27)	Haredi	M.O.
Trump won, or “unsure”	51%	16%
January 6 was “a grave threat to democracy”	22%	66%

### • COVID’s Impact on Trust

(See pages 28, 36)	Haredi	M.O.
Attitudes towards government changed due to COVID	60%	31%
Attitude changes are virtually all negative, expressing distrust and skepticism		
Haredi	Modern Orthodox	
Those whose attitude changed are more likely to vote Republican – 97%, compared to 80% among those whose attitudes did not change.	Those whose attitude changed are more likely to vote Republican – 63%, compared to 28% among those whose attitudes did not change.	

### • Demographic Voting Drivers

(See page 35)	Haredi	M.O.
Gender	Men and women have similar voting preferences	% Republican – Men 46%, women 29%
Age	Younger vote a bit more Republican	Older vote much more Republican.



## General Personal Attitudes and National Perceptions

**General Personal Attitudes** – Orthodox Jews describe themselves as happy with their life, but the Haredim (64% very happy) are significantly happier than the Modern Orthodox (47%), despite the fact that the latter are more comfortable financially. Haredim significantly more often think of themselves as "Galus (גלות) Jews"; 32% very much think of themselves this way vs. 19% of Modern Orthodox. Perhaps surprisingly, the MO and Haredim are somewhat similar in the extent to which they see themselves as being "in galus" at least to some extent (71% vs. 63%, respectively).

Overall, would you describe yourself as happy with your life?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Very happy	64%	47%
Somewhat happy	30	43
<b>Total Happy</b>	<b>94%</b>	<b>90%</b>
Neither happy nor unhappy	3	5
Somewhat unhappy	2	4
Very Unhappy	1	1

How would you describe your household financial situation?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Very comfortable	7%	17%
Comfortable	31	41
<b>Total Comfortable</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>58%</b>
Okay	41	30
Difficult	17	10
Very difficult	3	2

As a Jew living outside of Eretz Yisrael, do you think of yourself as a "Galus (גלות) Jew"?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
I very much think of myself this way	32%	19%
I somewhat think of myself this way	39	44
I don't think of myself this way	29	37

Q. Overall, would you describe yourself as happy with your life? – Very happy / Somewhat happy / Neither happy nor unhappy / Somewhat unhappy / Very unhappy. n (number of respondents) = Haredi 1,188; Modern Orthodox 1,224.

Q. How would you describe your household financial situation? – Very difficult / Difficult / Okay / Comfortable / Very comfortable. n = Haredi 1,186; Modern Orthodox 1,224.

Q. [Please answer this question if you live outside of Israel; otherwise just skip it.] As a Jew living outside of Eretz Yisrael, do you think of yourself as a "Galus (גלות) Jew"? – I very much think of myself this way / I somewhat think of myself this way / I don't think of myself this way. n = Haredi 1,146; Modern Orthodox 1,186.

**Perceptions of the United States** – Significantly more Haredim believe the United States is a מלכות של חסד – “a nation of kindness” (44% vs. 31% of Modern Orthodox). However, there is an overwhelming view across all of Orthodoxy that the U.S. is not heading in the right direction, with the negativity more pronounced among the Haredim (49% strongly disagree that the country is headed in the right direction vs. 30% of Modern Orthodox), perhaps because the executive branch is in Democratic hands, and their party preference is much more often Republican.

Do you believe the United States is a מלכות של חסד – “a nation of kindness”?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
I very much believe this	44%	31%
I somewhat believe this	47	53
I don't believe this	9	16

Do you believe the USA is heading in the right direction overall?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Strongly agree	1%	2%
Somewhat agree	7	14
<b>Total Agreement</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>16%</b>
Neither agree nor disagree	12	15
Somewhat disagree	31	39
Strongly disagree	49	30

Q. Do you believe the United States is a מלכות של חסד – “a nation of kindness”? – I very much believe this / I somewhat believe this / I don't believe this. n = Haredi 1,175; Modern Orthodox 1,205.

Q. Do you believe the USA is heading in the right direction overall? – Strongly agree / Somewhat agree / Neither agree nor disagree; or don't know / Somewhat disagree / Strongly disagree. n = Haredi 1,169; Modern Orthodox 1,199.

**Beliefs and Feelings Relating to the United States** – Haredim are less “connected” to their Americanism than are the Modern Orthodox, with only half as many Haredim very much believing that “being an American” is an important part of who they are (28% vs. 57%); although more of the Haredim “somewhat” believe this. One-third fewer Haredim are very proud to be American (30% vs. 44%); and fewer (albeit a strong majority) saying that “democracy” is very important to them (69% vs. 90%).

As a Jew living in the USA, do you believe that “being an American” is an important part of who you are?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
I very much believe this	28%	57%
I somewhat believe this	45	35
I don’t believe this	27	8

Are you proud to be an American?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Very proud	30%	44%
Somewhat proud	43	42
Not proud	10	7
I never really think about this	17	7

How important is “democracy” to you?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Very important	69%	90%
Somewhat important	19	8
<b>Total Important</b>	<b>88%</b>	<b>98%</b>
Slightly important	6	1
Not important	2	<0.5
I never really think about this	4	<0.5

Q. As a Jew living in the USA, do you believe that “being an American” is an important part of who you are? – I very much believe this / I somewhat believe this / I don’t believe this. n = Haredi 1,164; Modern Orthodox 1,195.

Q. Are you proud to be an American? – Very proud / Somewhat proud / Not proud / I never really think about this. n = Haredi 1,169; Modern Orthodox 1,206.

Q. How important is “democracy” to you? – Very important / Somewhat important / Slightly important / Not important / I never really think about this. n = Haredi 1,169; Modern Orthodox 1,196.

## Political Engagement, Attitudes and Behaviors

**Political Engagement and Party Preferences** – While Haredim are somewhat less generally interested in politics and fewer report that they vote always or almost always, they lean much more Republican (85%/15% in a two-party race) than do the Modern Orthodox (who lean Democratic by 61%/39%).

How Interested are you in politics?		
National Level	Haredi	M.O.
Very interested	49%	67%
Somewhat Interested	37	27
Not so interested	13	6
Local Level	Haredi	M.O.
Very interested	32%	41%
Somewhat Interested	48	45
Not so interested	20	14

What is your political party preference?		
	Haredi	M.O.
Republican	63%	29%
Democratic	11	45
Independent	12	19
Other	3	2
None	11	5
<b>Republican/Democratic split (excluding others)</b>	<b>85%/15%</b>	<b>39%/61%</b>

Q. How interested are you in politics? – At the national level (president, senator, congress, etc.) / At your local level (state, city, etc.). Response Scale (for each item): Very interested / Somewhat Interest / Not so interested. n = Haredi 1,149; Modern Orthodox 1,185.

Q. What is your political party preference? – Republican / Democratic / Independent / Other / None. n = Haredi 1,159; Modern Orthodox 1,191.

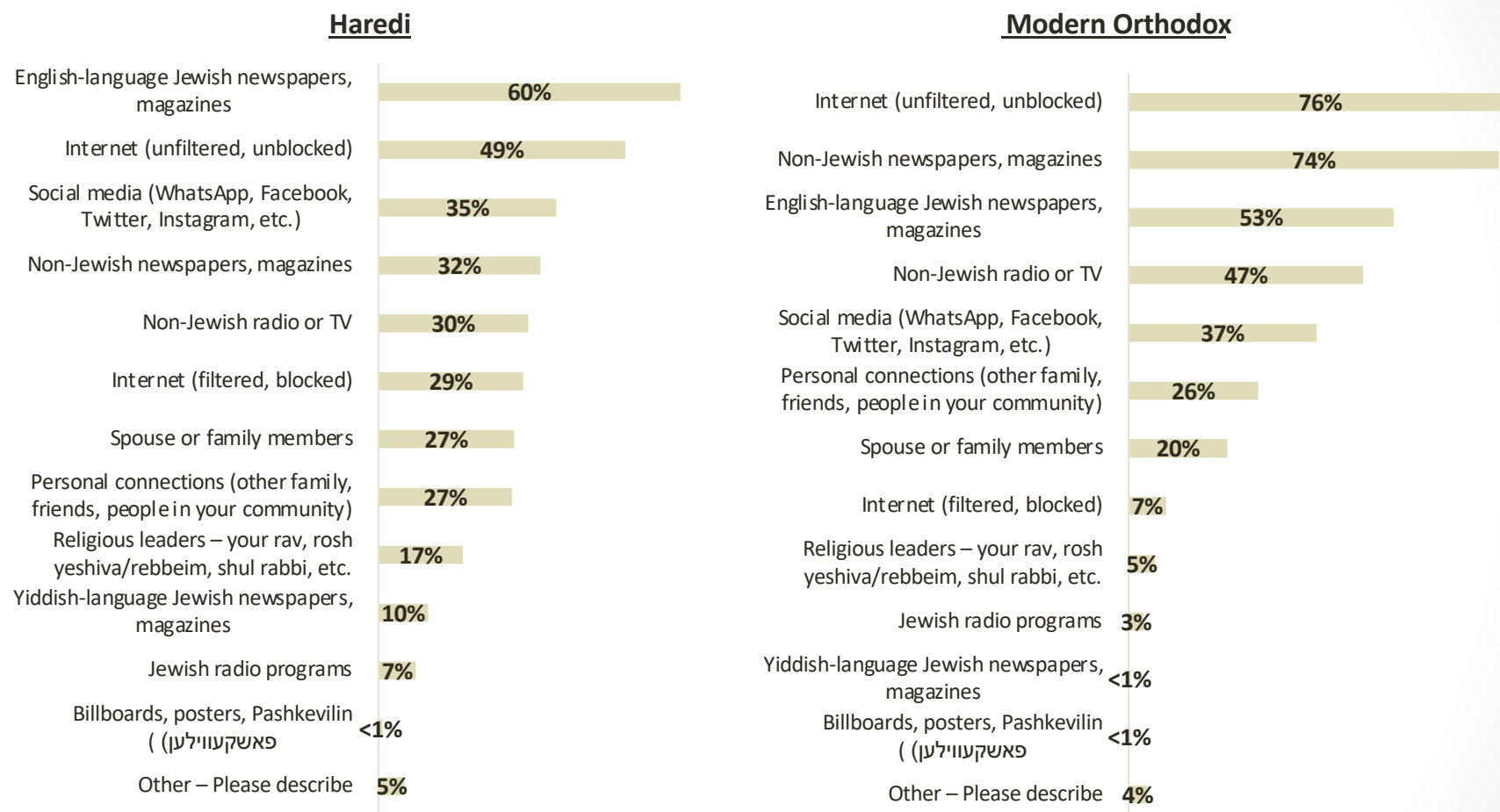
How often do you vote in elections?		
	Haredi	M.O.
Always, almost always	59%	76%
Most of the time	21	17
Sometimes	11	5
Seldom	4	1
Never	5	1

Among those who vote at least sometimes: Do you generally vote for candidates all from the same party, or do you vote for candidates from different parties?		
	Haredi	M.O.
Always same party	17%	19%
Mostly same party	46	53
Vote for different parties	37	28

Q. How often do you vote in elections? – Always or almost always / Most of the time / Sometimes / Seldom / Never. n = Haredi 1,163; Modern Orthodox 1,188.

Q. [Ask if prior response is Always or almost always, Most of the time, or Sometimes] When you vote, do you generally vote for candidates all from the same party, or do you vote for candidates from different parties? – I always vote for candidates from the same party / I mostly vote for candidates from the same party / I vote for candidates from different parties. n = Haredi 1,045; Modern Orthodox 1,164.

**Sources of Voting Information** – The sources relied upon vary between Haredim and Modern Orthodox, but similarities far outweigh the differences.\* Both sectors rely mainly on English language print media (Jewish and non-Jewish sources), the Internet, social media, and non-Jewish broadcast media.

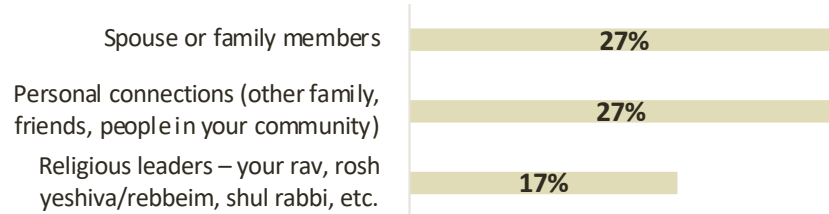


\* The correlation coefficient of Haredi vs. Modern Orthodox sources of voting information = +0.79. This is a strong positive correlation and is indicative of general similarity.

Q. Where do you get information about politics? Please check up to 4 sources that you rely on the most. – English-language Jewish newspapers, magazines / Yiddish-language Jewish newspapers, magazines / Jewish radio programs / Non-Jewish newspapers, magazines / Non-Jewish radio or TV / Internet (filtered, blocked) / Internet (unfiltered, unblocked) / Social media (WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.) / Billboards, posters, Pashkevilin (פאשקעווילען) / Spouse or family members / Personal connections (other family, friends, people in your community) / Religious leaders – your rav, rosh yeshiva/rebbeim, shul rabbi, etc. / Other – Please describe. n = Haredi 1,145; Modern Orthodox 1,173.

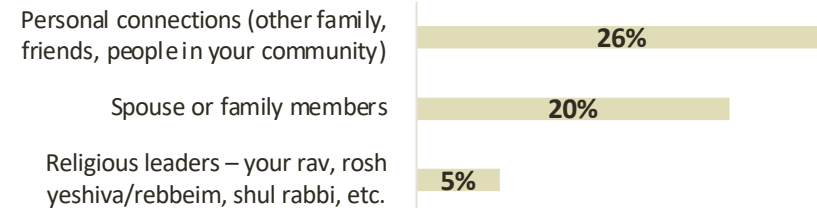
**Sources of Voting Guidance** – The preceding page showed the sources of political information, with one difference being that Haredim get more information from religious leaders (17%, compared to 5% among Modern Orthodox). In terms of sources of guidance, one in six (16%) of the Haredim say they often have people tell them whom to vote for, most often community leaders (67%) or rabbis (44%). Within this group, most vote as they are told.

### Haredi



When it comes to voting in an election, does anyone tell you whom to vote for?		
	Haredi	M.O.
Often	16%	5%
Sometimes	35	18
Seldom or never	49	77
If often told whom to vote for, by whom?		
Rabbis, rebbeim, etc.	44%	23%
Community leaders (askunim)	67	44
Family members	35	60
Other	10	21

### Modern Orthodox



Asked of those who say they are often told whom to vote for: Do people in your community vote the way they are told to?		
	Haredi	M.O.
Almost everyone votes as told (90%+)	35%	14%
Most vote as told (more than half)	55	56
Fewer than half vote as told	10	30

Q. When it comes to voting in an election, does anyone tell you whom to vote for? – Often / Sometimes / Seldom or never. n = Haredi 1,141; Modern Orthodox 1,176.

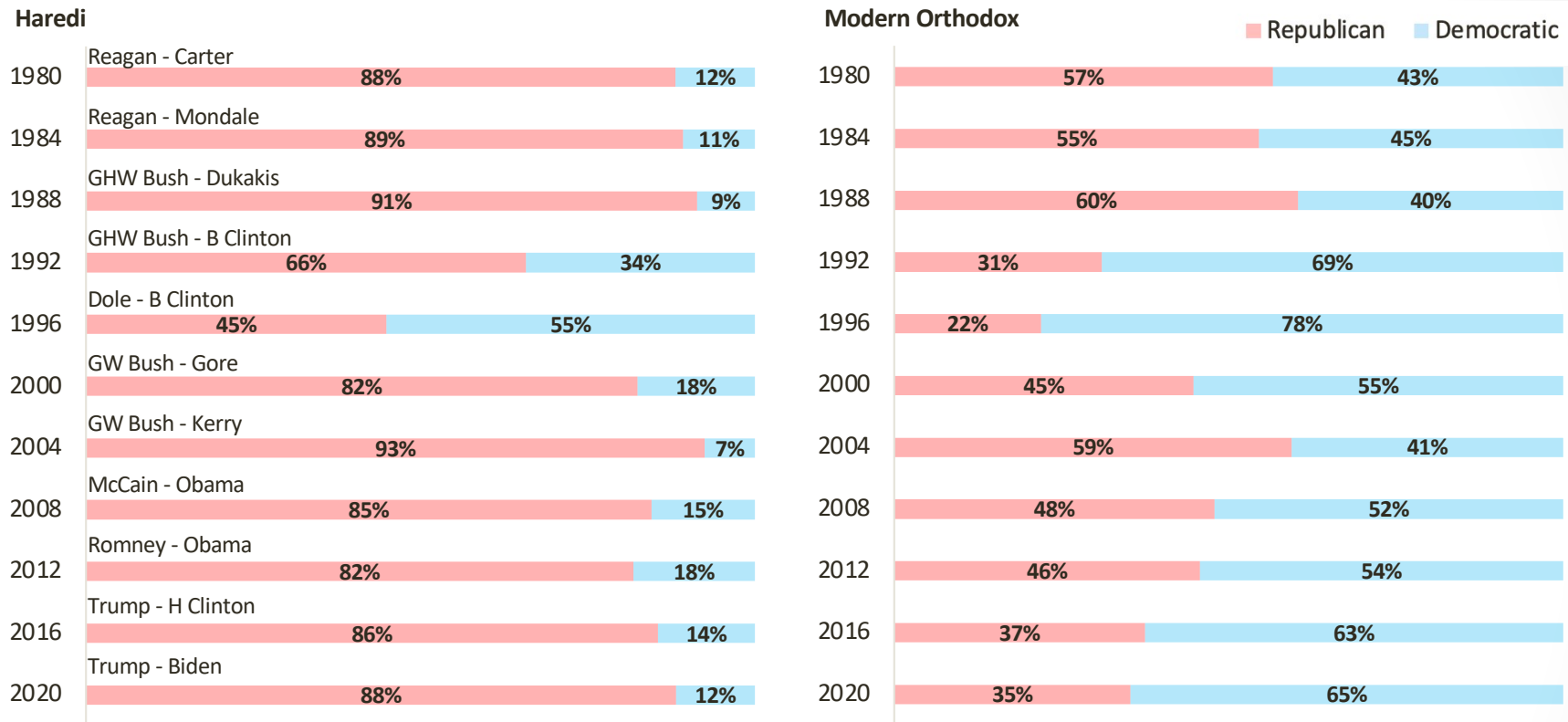
Q. [Asked if often told whom to vote for] Who in your community tells you whom to vote for? Please check all that apply. – Rabbis, rebbeim, etc. / Community leaders (askunim) / Family members / Other - Please describe. n = Haredi 178; Modern Orthodox 52.

Q. [Asked if often told whom to vote for] Do people in your community vote the way they are told to? – Almost everyone votes the way they are told to (90%+) / Most vote the way they are told to (more than half) / Fewer than half vote the way they are told to. n = Haredi 173; Modern Orthodox 50.



# Voting History, Trends, and Intentions

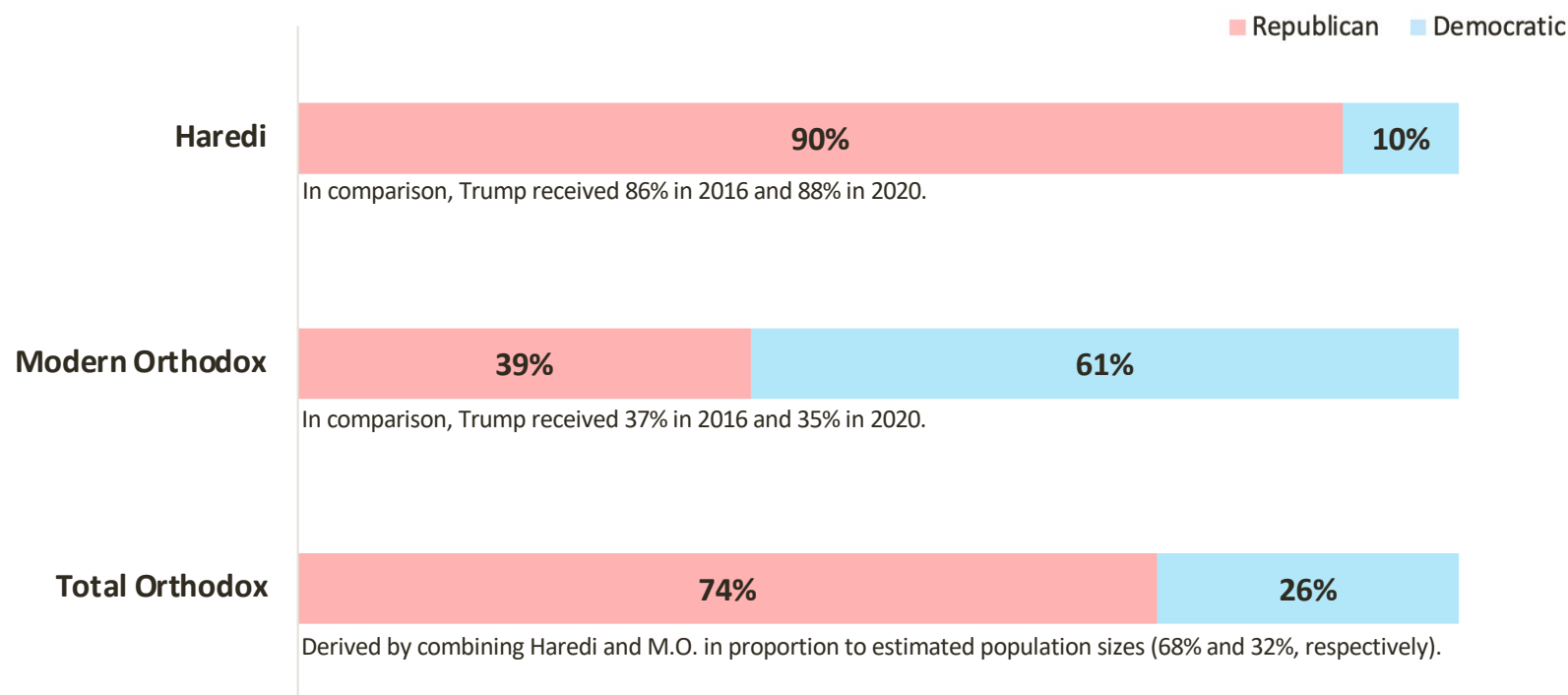
## Voting History and Trends, 1980-2020 – Excepting the 1992\* and 1996 elections, Haredim have strongly voted Republican, averaging 87% over the past five elections, while the Modern Orthodox have averaged 54% Democratic. Since 1980 Haredim have voted much more Republican, by an average difference of 36 percentage points.



\* The 1992 election came at a time when Pres. George H.W. Bush's relationship with the Jewish community was fraught. He linked U.S. loan guarantees to a cessation in construction of building units in settlements in the West Bank. Israel, for its part, desired the loan guarantees in order to absorb hundreds of thousands of Jews from the former Soviet Union. The resulting tensions led to recrimination between Bush and his advisors and supporters of Israel that served to boost the Clinton campaign.

- Q. [Asked of those ages 18+ in the year in question, based on response to Q4 age] Whom did you vote for in the 2020 presidential election? – Joe Biden / Donald Trump / Other, None, Don't Remember. (All elections listed the two major party candidates, winner first, with "Other, None, Don't Remember" offered as the third response. This third choice garnered 6% of the responses in 2020, and between 9% and 13% in all other years, with the exception of 1996 (15%, likely reflecting Ross Perot's third-party candidacy, which garnered 8% of the US popular vote), and is excluded from the percentages shown above (i.e., the data show the relative proportions of voters for the Republican and Democratic Party, and this is also reflected in the sample sizes shown; n = 925 / 1052 (Haredi / MO). 2016 – Donald Trump / Hillary Clinton; n = 794 / 926. 2012 – Barack Obama / Mitt Romney; n = 567 / 866. 2008 – Barack Obama / John McCain; n = 524 / 823. 2004 – George W. Bush / John Kerry; n = 510 / 715. 2000 – George W. Bush / Al Gore; n = 427 / 668. 1996 – Bill Clinton / Robert Dole; n = 278 / 552. 1992 – Bill Clinton / George H.W. Bush; n = 307 / 529. 1988 – George H.W. Bush / Michael Dukakis; n = 266 / 422. 1984 – Ronald Reagan / Walter Mondale; n = 252 / 407. 1980 – Ronald Reagan / Jimmy Carter; n = 203 / 318.

**2024 Voting Intentions** – The 2024 Republican preference is up slightly from the 2020 vote (up 2% among Haredim and up 4% among Modern Orthodox). Combining the Haredi and Modern Orthodox sectors, the total Orthodox community has a 74% Republican voting intention for 2024. This fits with the 2020 Pew\* finding (“Orthodox Jews ... stand out as a small subgroup whose political profile is virtually the reverse of Jews as a whole (71% Democratic) ... 75% identify as Republicans or lean toward the GOP.”) But clearly there is a huge gap between Haredim and Modern Orthodox.



See pages 38-39 for verbatim responses probing the reasons for respondents' preferences →

\* <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2021/05/11/u-s-jews-political-views/>

Q24. Although the 2024 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. Weights of 1.0 are applied to “definite” intentions and 0.8 to “probable” intentions. These data exclude the 1% who indicate a third-party preference, the 9% undecided, and the 2% who do not plan to vote. Thus, the included n = Haredi 849; Modern Orthodox 899.

# Issues That Drive Voting Behavior

**Issues Driving the Vote, by Orthodox Sector** – Looking at the issues of importance, there are notable differences between Haredim and Modern Orthodox. While across both groups, the economy, Israel, and antisemitism are key issues; Haredi much more often see crime, education (including government dealing with Jewish schools and availability of subsidies), and religious freedom as important; and Modern Orthodox much more often see the state of American democracy, health care, and foreign affairs (not relating to Israel) as important.

Importance of Issues as a Voter	Haredi		Modern Orthodox	
	Rank	%	Rank	%
Inflation, the economy, jobs	1	58%	2	55%
Crime	2	<b>56</b>	7	34
Israel, the Middle East (Iran, etc.)	3	52	1	59
Antisemitism	4	47	4	41
Education/schools, government dealing with Jewish schools, availability of subsidies	5	<b>46</b>	9	19
Religious freedom	6	<b>42</b>	10	18
The state of American democracy	7	24	3	<b>47</b>
Health care	8	22	5	<b>40</b>
Immigration	9	17	8	20
Foreign affairs (Ukraine/Russia, China, etc.)	10	17	6	<b>38</b>
Availability of welfare programs	11	6	11	11

Q. What issues are most important to you as a voter? Please check up to your top 4 issues. – Antisemitism / Availability of welfare programs / Crime / 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. n = Haredi 1,094; Modern Orthodox 1,148.

**Issues Driving the Vote, by 2024 Vote Intention** – While some issues are important to both democratic and Republican voters (the economy, Israel), there are also some striking differences. Among Republican voters, crime is #1, while ranking last among Democratic voters; and among Democratic voters, the state of American democracy is #1, while ranking closer to the bottom of the list among Republicans.

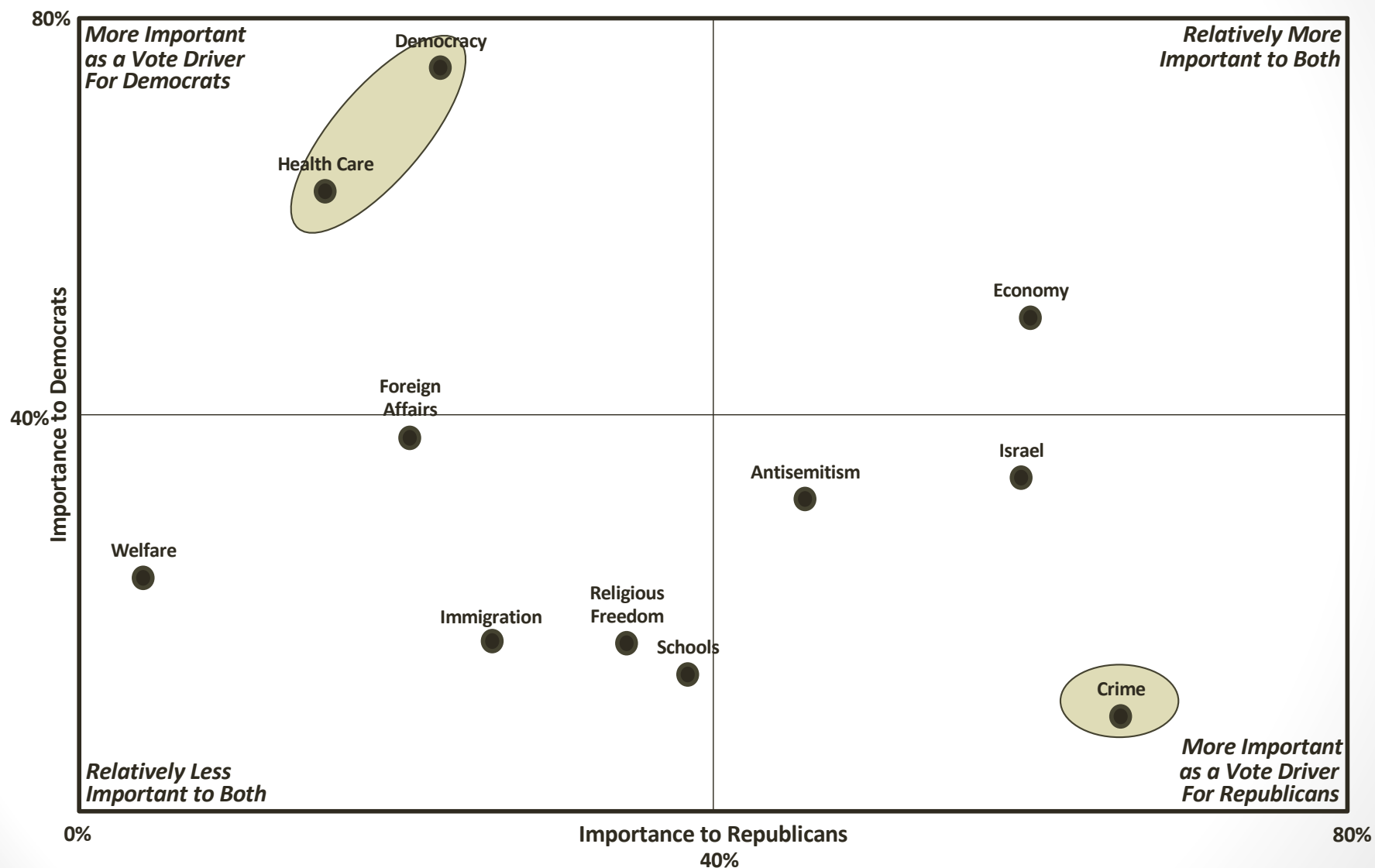
Importance of Issues to Republican Voters		Importance of Issues to Democratic Voters*	
1. Crime	66%	1. The state of American democracy	75%
2. Inflation, the economy, jobs	60	2. Health care	62
3. Israel, the Middle East (Iran, etc.)	59	3. Inflation, the economy, jobs	50
4. Antisemitism	46	4. Foreign affairs (Ukraine/Russia, China, etc.)	38
5. Education/schools, government dealing with Jewish schools, availability of subsidies	38	5. Israel, the Middle East (Iran, etc.)	34
6. Religious freedom	34	6. Antisemitism	32
7. Immigration	26	7. Availability of welfare programs	24
8. The state of American democracy	23	8. Immigration	18
9. Foreign affairs (Ukraine/Russia, China, etc.)	21	9. Religious freedom	17
10. Health care	15	10. Education/schools, government dealing with Jewish schools, availability of subsidies	14
11. Availability of welfare programs	3	11. Crime	10

See visual display on the next page →

\* 2% of Republican voters and 16% of Democratic voters entered an issue not on the provided list, as “other.” Among Democrats, the issue that widely predominated was climate change and the environment, an issue that, in retrospect, should have been included on the list.

n = Will definitely vote Republican 616 (Haredi 438; Modern Orthodox 178); Will definitely vote Democratic 366 (Haredi 44; Modern Orthodox 322).

**Issues Driving the Vote, by 2024 Vote Intention: A Visual Display** – The overall correlation coefficient for Republican vs. Democratic issues is mildly negative, at -0.26. The issues with the greatest differences (crime, democracy, health care) are highlighted.




## Issues Driving 2024 Voting Intentions: Those Planning to Vote Republican – Reasons

most often given for Republican voting intentions are agreement with the party's values – and, correspondingly, disagreement with progressive, “woke” values associated with the Democratic party ; these Republican values are the economy (and taxes, spending), and Israel. Haredim and Modern Orthodox give generally similar reasons for a Republican voting preference, although they make up an overwhelming majority of the former and a minority of the latter.\*

- *The democrats have unfortunately become completely anti Torah*
- *Tax considerations and support of israel*
- *They talk about things I think actually matter. Economy, the border, and putting America first in terms of general policy.*
- *Definitely President Trump (If you consider him a Republican) who has done a fantastic job in his first term in office and the only person who'd be good for ALL*
- *The Democratic Party are NOT for Israel. They will throw Israel down the river. Trump was good for the economy. Republicans are the choice for me Democrats are liberal and destroying the country.*
- *While I generally don't identify fully with a Democrat or a Republican, I think Republicans hold more of my values.*
- *The democrats are ruining the country. They are allowing crime with no consequences. They talk one way and do things the other way*
- *The Democrat party has become soft on crime and immigration and are largely becoming self serving hypocrites*
- *The Democratic Party is made up of both extreme left wing progressives and anti semites. Their interests are only for their own party power and not the mineBelieve the country is too left leaning woke democrat time for a change*
- *Joe Biden is senile, a failed president, the economy is terrible and the Ukraine is a scam. Him and his son are crooks.*
- *I feels/he will be more in line with Torah values*

Q. [Asked if response plans to vote for “Definitely the Republican candidate”] What are the main reasons why you plan to vote for the Republican candidate? [Open-Ended] n = Haredi 378; Modern Orthodox 167.


\* Additional verbatim responses are shown in  Appendix I, page 38



## Issues Driving 2024 Voting Intentions: Those Planning to Vote Democratic – Reasons

most often given for Democratic voting intentions are a strong aversion to Trump and the directions being taken by the Republican Party, and agreement with Democratic Party positions and goals. Haredim and Modern Orthodox who plan to vote Democratic give generally similar reasons, although they are relatively few among the Haredim.\*

- *The Republican party has become more radical and unhinged*
- *The Republican Party has gone to hell. I am not pleased to have to vote for a Biden-Harris ticket, but I see no alternative.*
- *The republicans are not motivated to help those in need they are obsessed with exclusion of minorities and will go to any means to achieve their goal.*
- *Trump is a shanda & disaster & is very damaging to our Jewish youth by promoting nekooma, lies, immorality & everything that we teach our youth to beware of.*
- *The Democratic Party stands for causes that are important to me*
- *Biden LOVES Jews and Israel. Leftist hate may interfere with our lives. rightist hate takes lives Jews have NEVER fared well in a rigorous Christian environment*
- *I find the Republican Party and policies loathsome*
- *The Democratic Party supports democracy. The GOP has devolved into fascism & it supports authoritarian Christian Nationalism. MAGA is 100% fascist.*
- *I believe in core democratic principles such as universal healthcare.*
- *equal rights for all races + sexual orientation. funding of education, social programs, health.jobs creation international aid. fairness in the judicial system*
- *The Republican party has moved very far away from its core founding principals and has become highly ideological without any common sense with cruel attitudes.*
- *Because I support equality for LGBTQ individuals, access to abortion (because restrictions on abortion actually limit Jewish practice), support for democracy.*

\* Additional verbatim responses are shown in   
Appendix I, page 38

Q. [Asked if response plans to vote for “Definitely the Democratic candidate”] What are the main reasons why you plan to vote for the Democratic candidate? [Open-Ended] n = Haredi 38; Modern Orthodox 299.

**Assessing the Trump and Biden Presidencies** – Haredim approve of Trump’s presidency (65% rating it as good), but not Biden’s presidency (7% rate it as good). Modern Orthodox are quite negative on the Trump presidency, but they are also a bit negative on the Biden presidency.

Assessment of their presidencies	Trump		Biden	
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Very good	42%	12%	2%	12%
Somewhat good	23	11	5	22
<b>Total good</b>	<b>65%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>34%</b>
Mixed – some good and some bad	25	23	16	28
Somewhat bad	3	10	23	14
Very bad	7	44	54	24
<b>Total bad</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>77%</b>	<b>38%</b>

Q. How would you describe the presidency of Donald Trump from 2016 to 2020? – Very good / Somewhat good / Mixed – some good and some bad / Somewhat bad / Very bad. Q. How would you describe the presidency of Joe Biden? – Very good / Somewhat good / Mixed – some good and some bad / Somewhat bad / Very bad. n for both = Haredi 1,097; Modern Orthodox 1,149.

**Views on the Legitimacy of the 2020 Election** – A majority of Haredim (53%) believe that either Trump won the 2020 election, or they are unsure, compared to 16% of Modern Orthodox. With respect to the events of January 6, 2021, 66% of Modern Orthodox see them as a “grave threat to democracy,” compared to 22% of Haredim.

What are your views relating to the 2020 presidential election?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Joe Biden won	47%	84%
Donald Trump won, and the election was stolen from him	23	7
Not sure	30	9

What did you think of the protests at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
They were a form of legitimate protest	14%	4%
They got a bit out of hand	64	30
They represented a grave threat to democracy	22	66

Q. What are your views relating to the 2020 presidential election? – Joe Biden won / Donald Trump won, and the election was stolen from him / Not sure. n = Haredi 1,094; Modern Orthodox 1,147.

Q. What did you think of the protests at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021? – They were a form of legitimate protest / They got a bit out of hand / They represented a grave threat to democracy. n = Haredi 1,097; Modern Orthodox 1,149.

**Attitudes Towards Government Due to COVID** – 60% of Haredim and 31% of Modern Orthodox, respectively, say their overall attitudes towards government changed due to COVID. In both sectors, the attitudes were virtually all negative, expressing distrust and skepticism. As will be seen (page 36), those whose attitude changed are much more likely to vote Republican. The following is a representative sample of the verbatim responses.\*

Did your overall attitudes towards the government change due to COVID?		
	Haredi	M.O.
Yes	60%	31%
No	40	69

If yes, how did your attitudes towards the government change due to COVID?

- *I believe they overstepped their bounds with the mandates. It scared me how the government just gave themselves so much unchecked power*
- *Completely lost trust in the democratic party.*
- *That they are filthy with lies and have personal agendas and just want to have control on the people.*
- *I trust the government even less than I did before, especially in regards to health (FDA, CDC, etc)*
- *If I distrusted the government before COVID, the lies and open disinformation made the government even less trustworthy during and after the pandemic.*
- *Not enough help for working people during Covid*
- *I am much less trusting of politicians, government officials, and opinion leaders.*

- *my neighborhood went against mask mandates and the majority were Trump supporters. It really alienated me from the community and it also made me more politically engaged.*
- *It made me trust some aspects of government more, and others less*
- *You started to see how they were really looking to manipulate and how they started targeting the yidden as a group*
- *The government clearly made it up as they went along. I don't think it was nefarious per se, but especially re: masks and spread vectors, the science wasn't really there yet and they actively hid that in favor of more social compliance.*
- *approach was inconsistent*
- *It became clearer that government in control on personal affairs is a dangerous trend.*
- *Less confidence in government, both fiscally and for general decision making*
- *I became aware they are more interested in controlling their "people" vs truly caring about individuals and their rights.*
- *I have become very skeptical since the behavior of Dr. Fauci and Dr. Collins was exposed.*
- *The government is incompetent and over-reaching. Both parties were off their minds. One party says you should live in a plastic bag and never go outside. The other says vaccines kill you and implant radio transmitters in your body.*
- *Won't knee jerk institutions and entrenched bureaucrats with no accountability*
- *Complete disappointment.*

\* All verbatim responses, divided by Haredi and Modern Orthodox, are available at <http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>

Q. Did your overall attitudes towards the government change due to COVID? – Yes/ No. n = Haredi 1,125; Modern Orthodox 1,165.

Q. [If "yes"] How did your attitudes towards the government change due to COVID? [Open-Ended . n = Haredi 556; Modern Orthodox 319.

## Reasons for the Republican Shift – Haredim and Modern Orthodox respondents' reasons are generally similar, and so we do not differentiate them in the following representative sample of the responses.\*

- *was always a republican...*
- *Depending on the candidate. Which seems a more honest and sincere person that will do what he feels right not because he's scared of the public*
- *The democrats promise and don't deliver , pander to our people and do the opposite I have watched them sway totally and morally against our religious beliefs*
- *I have become more conservative*
- *My political preferences have not really changed over time but I would love to see more help for the elderly who need home health aids but can not afford it.*
- *I've seen politics get weaponized and I don't like it. There is much less civility and much more personal animus.*
- *illegal immigration, crime & antiSemitism have destroyed big cities. I am turning more to the right, to views that reflect a concern for our society.*
- *Country under hands of the Democrats- we did not progress. We went backwards instead of forwards. We need to get the USA back on its track. Vote Republican.*
- *i cannot believe the country has gotten to where people are expected to believe there are more than two sexes, criminals are going free if they steal not much.*
- *Extremes have changed*
- *Maturity*
- *Overtime the Democratic Party has gotten too woke.*
- *I've become more fiscally conservative but socially moderate. I support same sex marriage but the LGBTQ agenda should not be taught in schools.*

\* All verbatim responses, divided by Haredi and Modern Orthodox, are available at <http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>

Q. [Ask if voted for Bill Clinton in 1996 and Donald Trump in 2020] How and why have your political preferences changed over time? [Open-Ended] n = Haredi 76; Modern Orthodox 70.

Israel

**Connections to Israel and Attitudes Toward Zionism** – Strong majorities of both Haredim and Modern Orthodox feel strongly connected to Israel, although the Modern Orthodox express much stronger Zionist feelings than do the Haredim (71% vs. 18% strongly Zionist).

Do you feel a connection to Israel?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Very strong connection	72%	82%
Somewhat connected	19	14
<b>Total connected</b>	<b>91%</b>	<b>96%</b>
A little bit	5	3
Not at all	4	1

How do you describe your approach to Zionism?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Strongly Zionist	18%	71%
Somewhat Zionist	33	23
<b>Total Zionist</b>	<b>51%</b>	<b>94%</b>
No feelings either way	29	4
Anti-Zionistic	21	2

Q. Do you feel a connection to Israel? – Very strong connection / Somewhat connected / A little bit / Not at all. n = Haredi 1,091; Modern Orthodox 1,143.

Q. How do you describe your approach to Zionism? – Strongly Zionist / Somewhat Zionist / No feelings either way / Anti-Zionistic. n = Haredi 1,085; Modern Orthodox 1,141.


# Concluding Thoughts and Suggestions



## Concluding Thoughts and Suggestions – Responses were very diverse. The following is a random sample of the verbatim responses.\*

- *You left out the environment on important political issues.*
- *Have taken the approach of not paying too much attention and trying to make Aliya. Feeling very disconnected from American as a country. Both sides of politics are just after power and money. Just really trying to connect to G-d and Israel as a country more and not so much America.*
- *Ultimately, ISrael is the future of the Jewish people. I believe the Torah to promote a center right political philosophy, with respect for tradition, compassionate conservatism , and labor protection*
- *There is something other than logic that is swaying the government policies all over the world. The world is on a trajectory toward madness and no one is stopping it so I feel that it's coming from Hashem*
- *The local "community leaders" are none of it: not leaders, not interested in the welfare of the community, and politically only concerned with ensuring donations continue to flow into their organizations.*
- *I tend to be a more of a liberal socialist Democrat but my leanings really depends on specific issues.*
- *Although the Trump presidency was successful policy wise, its crazy the adulation the frum world has for this very sick man. I would still vote for him again as the left as a movement is more dangerous to America than one very deeply flawed person*
- *We need a good balance of republican and democratic ideas to keep America great. No extremes from either side. Take the good parts from each side and fight the bad parts from each side.*
- *Disability rights and public health are extremely important to me on a personal level.*
- *I feel that while the Democratic party used to be more supportive to Israel, this has changed and now the Republicans are more supportive which is why I have been voting more Republican.*
- *As a divorcee, one of the most controversial issues I experience in dating are related to differences in politics. I'm often criticized for my political beliefs in the orthodox world.*
- *Propaganda is a powerful thing as we saw with WW2, i believe that the same is happening these days regarding every aspect of government*

Q. Finally, is there anything you would like to add relating to the topic of your political views? Feel free to respond in detail. [Open-Ended]  
n = Haredi 302; Modern Orthodox 408.

\* Additional verbatim responses are shown in  Appendix I, page 39

## **Additional Factors that Affect 2024 Voting Preferences**

**We previously explored the issues that drive voting preferences. In this section we explore demographic and other attitudinal factors that also drive voting preferences.**

## Additional Factors that Affect 2024 Voting Preferences: Demographics

Gender	
Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Haredi men and women have similar voting preferences.	46% of men plan to vote Republican, compared to 29% of women.

Age	
Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Younger Haredi skew a bit more Republican, while older Modern Orthodox skew significantly more Republican.	
93% of those age 18-32 plan to vote Republican, compared to 89% of those ages 33+.	The “age divide” is older, with 46% of those age 49+ planning to vote Republican, compared to 29% of those age 18-48.

Household Income	
Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Those with higher household incomes more often lean toward the Republican Party.	
95% of those age with household incomes of \$300K+ plan to vote Republican, compared to 88% of those with incomes under \$300K.	42% of those age with household incomes of \$300K+ plan to vote Republican, compared to 33% of those with incomes under \$300K.

Secular Education	
Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Those with less secular education more often lean toward the Republican Party.	
93% of those with less than a college degree plan to vote Republican, compared to 87% of those a college degree or higher level of education.	48% of those with less than a college degree plan to vote Republican, compared to 36% of those a college degree or higher level of education.

## Factors that Affect 2024 Voting Preferences: Other

Language Spoken at Home
Haredi
Those in homes that speak only or mostly Yiddish have similar voting preferences to the rest of the Haredi community.

Those Told Whom to Vote For
Haredi
Those who are often or sometimes told whom to vote for more often vote Republican – 95%, compared to 86% of those who are seldom or never told whom to vote for..

Attitude Towards Government Changed Due to OVID	
Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Those whose attitude changed (virtually all negatively) are more likely to vote Republican – 97%, compared to 80% among those whose attitudes did not change.	Those whose attitude changed (virtually all negatively) are more likely to vote Republican – 63%, compared to 28% among those whose attitudes did not change.

**Appendix I – Additional Verbatim Responses**

**Issues Driving 2024 Voting Intentions: Those Planning to Vote Republican** – The following is an additional (to what is shown on page 24) randomly selected sample of verbatim responses. Responses by Haredi and Modern Orthodox respondents were similar and are not differentiated here.\*

- *The Democrat party is led by corrupt politicians ideologically, fiscally and morally. Their positions are antithetical to Torah.*
- *Republicans are conservative people who are often religious and stand for the core values of life ..family and religion*
- *The country is falling apart with the democrats in charge*
- *As an American Jew, The Democratic party has failed me and does not represent me any longer, even though I worked for 30 years for Democratic elected officials.*
- *I believe the democrats are anti American and Jewish values*
- *The Democratic Party is a well-oiled unscrupulous machine, only interested in their own power grab, using the people as pawns. Reminiscent of pre-Nazi Germany.*
- *Republicans stick up for religious freedom. The democrats side with the most vocal of the party (lgbtq) and let criminals out of jail...*
- *Because I am not pleased with the way Biden and his crew are running our government The economy and foreign policy, did much better under trump*
- *Better than Joe*
- *The dnc is anti Israel pro ludicrous faux progressivism and dangerous*
- *Economy Israel Torah values: pro-life, not LBGTV*
- *Because the democrats are more against torah values than the republicans are*
- *I think everyone is deeply corrupt. The Democrats are more openly corrupt and are extremely anti religion. I feel like they want to have full control on rights.*
- *Economy, Israel, sanity.*
- *Democrats belong to a G-d less party*
- *More in line with their views.*
- *Closing the borders, reopening the oil and gas pipelines for energy independence, refunding the police, rebuilding the military (without the woke nonsense!) +!*
- *The Democratic Party has largely been captured by leftists who, in my opinion, represent a mortal danger to fundamental American principles.*
- *I do not like what is happening in us with inflation taxes high food prices etc.*
- *The democrats have hurled this country far in the wrong direction both morally and legally. They have weaponized agencies of the people against said people.*

\* All verbatim responses, divided by Haredi and Modern Orthodox, are available at <http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>

**Issues Driving 2024 Voting Intentions: Those Planning to Vote Democratic –** The following is an additional (to what is shown on page 24) randomly selected sample of verbatim responses. Responses by Haredi and Modern Orthodox respondents were similar and are not differentiated here.\*

- *Republicans have destroyed our democratic order. I would vote for any democrat just for the reason of strengthening our democratic institutions*
- *I believe the current mainstream Republican attitude is not democratic enough. I cannot support people who don't continue to condemn the January 6th riots.*
- *I believe that the party represents my values well and the Republican Party represents my opposite values.*
- *The current direction of the Republican Party is hopeless and dangerous.*
- *The Republican party is completely corrupt and antidemocratic.*
- *The Republican candidates are anti-democratic conspiracy theorists.*
- *Abortion access. Health insurance. LGBTQ+ rights. Concerns about climate change and global warming.*
- *I align with most of the values presented by democratic candidates*
- *I assume it will be Biden. I think his administration has accomplished a lot. But honestly I'd vote for anyone against trump. I care about democracy.*
- *Usually believe in science, climate change, advocacy for womens healthcare, equality among genders or LGBTQ*
- *I detest Trump and everything he stands for. Even if he is not the Republican nominee, it's hard to see the Republican party repudiating him.*
- *Overall agree with its policies but somewhat concerned about support for Israel*
- *Lots of reasons but especially because Republicans will make abortion illegal, beyond what the Halacha says. Halachically, I have needed an abortion. Far more of Anti Trump vote (and all he stands for and embodies) than any affinity for the democratic nominee.*
- *Joe Biden has done a good job and (with a few exceptions) the GOP is still enthralled by Trump*
- *I approve of the Democratic Party policies more than the non-Trump Republican Party policies. I am disgusted by Trump and his policies.*
- *I'm pretty happy with Biden's record (and mainstream democrats) - I think he balances most of my interests. The republican contenders are all pretty extreme*
- *Trump is a dangerous, racist lunatic whom every religious person should be offended by. Joe Biden is a decent man and is doing a good job.*
- *HAS BASIC DECENCY, RESPECTS CONSTITUTION*
- *The Democratic Party as currently constituted most aligns with my values.*
- *The entire GOP now is misguided to me in that it is entirely adversarial for its own sake and not interested in the issues.*
- *To save democracy and social programs. Protect immigrants, the poor and unhoused.*

\* All verbatim responses, divided by Haredi and Modern Orthodox, are available at <http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>

## Concluding Thoughts and Suggestions – Additional sample of verbatim comments.\*

- *I find the orthodox infatuation with Trump very alarming*
- *I find that my views are more pragmatic than philosophical. For example, Trump and Biden were both involved in infidelity. I wouldn't want either as a role model. I'll choose the one that works best to keep us safe and secure.*
- *Politically liberal but Modern Orthodox people do exist and that should be better recognized in the community.*
- *re the question of political issues of significance to me: Other: gun control.- the use of automatic weapons and assault rifles - "assault" weapons should not be in civilian hands- not what the founding fathers intended with right to bear arms.*
- *The embrace of some on the religious community toward open display of political rhetoric has pushed me away from the religion itself. I have avoided shuls where the Rabbis and other leading figures openly pushed for political candidates from their pulpit. I strongly believe that the separation of religion and politics strengthens our community rather than tears it apart.*
- *Concerned about democracy in Israel*
- *While I understand that historically Jews have needed to think of issues in terms of survival (and I still believe we still need to think like that), I think it's important to think about all people. It shows even in a previous question in this survey. The choices for issues I care about were mostly about how they impact us (be it religiously or in terms of Israel). I don't think it should be that foreign that someone could care about education that isn't directly related to the funding of Jewish private schools. I'm not at all blaming the survey, I'm more pointing out that the choices reflect the way people in our community tend to view issues. I just want to say that I'm deeply grateful for this survey and I think you're all doing wonderful work. Keep it up and I hope whoever is reading this is having a great day! {I was indeed; thanks! – MT}*
- *Regarding the Israel questions, I consider myself to be strongly connected to the midinah and am a strong Zionist, but the current government is horrible for the midinah and for yiddishkeit in general. Bibi is a crook and those who enable him only care about themselves. The Kahanists are committing so many Chilulli Hashem and C"VS making the Neturi Karta's point by perverting their yiddishkeit for secular power.*
- *I'm staunchly conservative in my political beliefs but it bothers me that in the frum community, most people seem to think that this means you have to LOVE Trump. He was and is a threat to our way of life and I don't understand why frum Jews can't see this instead of slavishly following him simply because he's good for Israel.*
- *The Democratic Party is destroying our once great country. We need leadership that takes pride in America and which focuses on strengthening the country's population's pride in America.*
- *I have always been a registered democrat and was strongly aligned with their views until recently. If Trump wins the candidacy I have no choice but to vote for him because there is too grave a risk to Israel if the progressive democrats are given more power. However, other than his views on Israel I do not agree with most of his or republican view points. I don't feel affiliated with any political party.*
- *I'm more anti-democrat than pro republican*
- *Politics and nuance are antonyms, and it's just tiring and tedious to try to do due diligence on politicians. It's unfortunate because there are some politicians that mean well.*

\* All verbatim responses, divided by Haredi and Modern Orthodox, are available at <http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>



# Appendix II – Demographic Summary

(Number of respondents by Orthodox sector are shown on page 4)

**Demographic Summary: Gender, Age & Language** – More men responded than women, notably in the Haredi sector (because men more often have Internet access, and it may be that the topic appealed more to them; Haredi respondents are younger (consistent with demographic data); and few speak only Yiddish at home. (Because male and female responses were generally similar, segment weighting by gender would have quite minimally affected the data and was therefore not needed).

What is your gender?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Male	59%	55%
Female	40	44
Would rather not say	1	1

What languages are spoken in your home?	
	Hasidic
Only English	18%
Mostly English, some Yiddish	32
Only Yiddish	8
Mostly Yiddish, some English	32
Both English and Yiddish ... About equally	29
Other – Please describe	3

What is your age?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
18-20	2%	1%
21-24	7	4
25-28	9	6
29-32	11	6
33-36	12	8
37-40	9	7
41-44	7	7
45-48	6	6
49-52	5	6
53-56	5	6
57-60	4	6
61 or older	23	38
<b>Median Age</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>52</b>

Q. What is your gender? – Male / Female / Would rather not say. n = Haredi 1,222; Modern Orthodox 1,253.

Q. What is your age? – 18-20 / 21-24 / 25-28 / 29-32 / 33-36 / 37-40 / 41-44 / 45-48 / 49-52 / 53-56 / 57-60 / 61 or older. n = Haredi 1,221; Modern Orthodox 1,253. [These non-traditional (for a survey) age categories were chosen because they identify which respondents were age-eligible to vote in which presidential elections.]

Q. [Asked of those who identify as Chasidish] What languages are spoken in your home? – Only English / Only Yiddish / Mostly English, some Yiddish / Mostly Yiddish, some English / Both English and Yiddish ... About equally / Other - Please describe. n = 454.

## Demographic Summary: Household Income & Secular Education – Incomes and secular education are higher among the Modern Orthodox, consistent with prior studies.

What is your total annual household income?		
	Haredi	M.O.
Under \$50,000	11%	6%
\$50,000 to \$79,999	16	10
\$80,000 to \$124,999	19	14
\$125,000 to \$199,999	19	18
\$200,000 to \$299,999	11	14
\$300,000 or more	8	20
Would rather not say	16	18
<b>Median Income</b>	<b>\$115K</b>	<b>\$165K</b>

What is the highest level of secular education you have completed?		
	Haredi	M.O.
Less than high school	7%	<1%
High school graduate	17	1
Some college – no degree	12	3
Two-year associate degree	3	<1
Four-year bachelor's degree	21	23
Some postgraduate, no degree	8	8
Postgraduate or professional degree (may include not-college licensing, certifications, etc.)	32	65

What is your total annual household income?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
<b>Husband contributes:</b>		
All or most income	59%	44%
Some income	26	34
A bit, or no income	6	3
None such in household	9	19
<b>Wife contributes:</b>		
All or most income	18%	17%
Some income	51	50
A bit, or no income	22	15
None such in household	9	18
<b>Child(ren) contribute:</b>		
All or most income	<1%	<1%
Some income	2	1
A bit, or no income	64	51
None such in household	33	48

Q. What is your total annual household income? – Under \$50,000 / \$50,000 to \$79,999 / \$80,000 to \$124,999 / \$125,000 to \$199,999 / \$200,000 to \$299,999 / \$300,000 or more / Would rather not say. n = Haredi 1,067; Modern Orthodox 1,126. (n = 899 and 934, respectively, excluding those responding “would rather not say”).

Q. Do the following members of your family contribute to your household income? – Husband / Wife / Children. Response Scale (for each item): Contributes all or most of our income / Some of our income / A little bit, or no income / No such people in household. n = Haredi 1,038; Modern Orthodox 1,109. Follow-up open-ended questions were asked: What kind of job(s) does the husband/wife in the household have? This report does not include any analysis of that data, but it is available at <http://nishmaresearch.com/social-research.html>.

Q40. 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. n = Haredi 1,065; Modern Orthodox 1,137.

## Demographic Summary – Geographic Locations

Where in New York State you live?		
	Haredi	M.O.
Brooklyn – Borough Park	13%	<1%
Brooklyn – Williamsburg	4	<1
Brooklyn – Crown Heights	2	<1
Brooklyn – Flatbush/Midwood	10	2
Brooklyn – Other	1	1
<b>Total Brooklyn</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>4%</b>
Queens, Long Island (Five Towns)	10	11
Manhattan	2	10
Bronx (Riverdale, Staten Island)	2	4
<b>Total New York City</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>29%</b>
Upstate – Kiryas Joel, New Square, Monsey, Kaser, Rockland County, Catskills	10	2
Other New York State	1	3
<b>Total New York State</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>34%</b>

ALL RESPONDENTS Where do you live?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
<b>New York State</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>New Jersey</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Other USA</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Outside USA</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>

Where in New Jersey do you live?		
	Haredi	Modern Orthodox
Lakewood area	9%	<1%
Passaic area	3	1
Teaneck, Engelwood, Bergen County	1	10
Central/Southern NJ	1	4
Other NJ	<1	<1

### Other USA

Not all respondents provided zip codes. Among those who did, the largest numbers of responses were from these areas:

- **Haredi** – So. California 24, Miami/Florida 18, Chicago 14, Baltimore 11, Other 54.
- **Modern Orthodox** – So. California 24, Silver Spring MD / DC 21, Miami/Florida 15; Chicago 9; Other 22.

### Outside USA

Not all respondents listed their country. Among those who did, the largest numbers were from:

- **Haredi** – Israel 34, UK 6, Canada 5, Other 12.
- **Modern Orthodox** – Israel 38, Canada 6, Australia 1.

Q. Where do you live?– New York State / New Jersey / Other USA / Outside USA - Please enter. N = Haredi 1,088; Modern Orthodox 1,144

Q. [Asked if in New York State] 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.

Q. [Ask if in New Jersey] 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.

Q. [Ask if Other USA] Please enter the first three digits of your zip code.

**Appendix III – Survey Questionnaire**

# Survey Questionnaire (Page 1 of 6)

## Orthodox Jewish Political Attitudes and Behaviors

Questionnaire Finalized August 20, 2023.

The online survey did not display the section headings.

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

Asterisk indicates a required response.

## INTRODUCTION

What issues should be the priorities of the Jewish community? We want to know what you think. 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 10 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 twenty \$50 Visa or Amazon Cards (winners' choice of which they want), 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).

[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.

## 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
- Demographics

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

- Male
- Female
- Would rather not say

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

- 18-20
- 21-24
- 25-28
- 29-32
- 33-36
- 37-40
- 41-44
- 45-48
- 49-52
- 53-56
- 57-60
- 61 or older

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

### Q5. What languages are spoken in your home?

- Only English
- Only Yiddish
- Mostly English, some Yiddish
- Mostly Yiddish, some English
- Both English and Yiddish ... About equally
- Other - Please describe:

# Survey Questionnaire (Page 2 of 6)

## GENERAL ATTITUDES AND SELF-PERCEPTIONS

**Q6. Overall, would you describe yourself as happy with your life?**

- Very happy
- Somewhat happy
- Neither happy nor unhappy
- Somewhat unhappy
- Very unhappy

**Q7. How would you describe your household financial situation?**

- Very difficult
- Difficult
- Okay
- Comfortable
- Very comfortable

**Q8. Please answer this question if you live outside of Israel; otherwise just skip it.**

- As a Jew living outside of Eretz Yisrael, do you think of yourself as a "Galus ( גלות ) Jew"?
- I very much think of myself this way
- I somewhat think of myself this way
- I don't think of myself this way

## PERCEPTIONS OF THE USA

**Q9. Do you believe the United States is a " – מלכות של חסד nation of kindness"?**

- I very much believe this
- I somewhat believe this
- I don't believe this

**Q10. As a Jew living in the USA, do you believe that "being an American" is an important part of who you are?**

- I very much believe this
- I somewhat believe this
- I don't believe this

**Q11. Are you proud to be an American?**

- Very proud
- Somewhat proud
- Not proud
- I never really think about this

**Q12. How important is "democracy" to you?**

- Very important
- Somewhat important
- Slightly important
- Not important
- I never really think about this

**Q13. Do you believe the USA is heading in the right direction overall?**

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree; or don't know
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

## POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT AND PREFERENCES

**Q14. How interested are you in politics?**

- At the national level (president, senator, congress, etc.)
- At your local level (state, city, etc.)

Response Scale (for each item): Very interested / Somewhat Interest / Not so interested

**Q15. What is your political party preference?**

- Republican
- Democratic
- Independent
- Other
- None

**Q15. How often do you vote in elections?**

- Always or almost always
- Most of the time
- Sometimes
- Seldom
- Never

[Ask if Q15 = "Always or almost always", "Most of the time", or "Sometimes"]

**Q16. When you vote, do you generally vote for candidates all from the same party, or do you vote for candidates from different parties?**

- I always vote for candidates from the same party
- I mostly vote for candidates from the same party
- I vote for candidates from different parties

# Survey Questionnaire (Page 3 of 6)

## SOURCES OF POLITICAL INFORMATION AND GUIDANCE

**Q17. Where do you get information about politics? Please check up to 4 sources that you rely on the most.**

- English-language Jewish newspapers, magazines
- Yiddish-language Jewish newspapers, magazines
- Jewish radio programs
- Non-Jewish newspapers, magazines
- Non-Jewish radio or TV
- Internet (filtered, blocked)
- Internet (unfiltered, unblocked)
- Social media (WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.)
- Billboards, posters, Pashkevlin (פאשקעווילען)
- Spouse or family members
- Personal connections (other family, friends, people in your community)
- Religious leaders – your rav, rosh yeshiva/rebbeim, shul rabbi, etc.
- Other – Please describe: \*

**Q18. When it comes to voting in an election, does anyone tell you whom to vote for?**

- Often
- Sometimes
- Seldom or never

[Ask if Q18 = "Often"]

**Q19. Who in your community tells you whom to vote for? Please check all that apply.**

- Rabbis, rebbeim, etc.
- Community leaders (askunim)
- Family members
- Other - Please describe: \*

[Ask if Q18 = "Often"]

**Q20. Do people in your community vote the way they are told to?**

- Almost everyone votes the way they are told to (90%+)
- Most vote the way they are told to (more than half)
- Fewer than half vote the way they are told to

## IMPACT OF COVID

**Q21. Did your overall attitudes towards the government change due to COVID?**

- Yes
- No

[Ask if Q21 = "Yes"]

**Q22. How did your attitudes towards the government change due to COVID?**  
[Open-Ended]

## VOTING HISTORY

[Q23a-k are asked of those ages 18+ in the year in question, based on response to Q4]

**Q23a. Whom did you vote for in the 2020 presidential election?**

- Joe Biden
- Donald Trump
- Other, None, Don't Remember

**Q23b. Whom did you vote for in the 2016 presidential election?**

- Donald Trump
- Hilary Clinton
- Other, None, Don't Remember

**Q23c. Whom did you vote for in the 2012 presidential election?**

- Barack Obama
- Mitt Romney
- Other, None, Don't Remember

**Q23d. Whom did you vote for in the 2008 presidential election?**

- Barack Obama
- John McCain
- Other, None, Don't Remember

**Q23e. Whom did you vote for in the 2004 presidential election?**

- George W. Bush
- John Kerry
- Other, None, Don't Remember



# Survey Questionnaire (Page 4 of 6)

## Q23f. Whom did you vote for in the 2000 presidential election?

- George W. Bush
- Al Gore
- Other, None, Don't Remember

## Q23g. Whom did you vote for in the 1996 presidential election?

- Bill Clinton
- Robert Dole
- Other, None, Don't Remember

## Q23h. Whom did you vote for in the 1992 presidential election?

- Bill Clinton
- George H. W. Bush
- Other, None, Don't Remember

## Q23i. Whom did you vote for in the 1988 presidential election?

- George H. W. Bush
- Michael Dukakis
- Other, None, Don't Remember

## Q23j. Whom did you vote for in the 1984 presidential election?

- Ronald Reagan
- Walter Mondale
- Other, None, Don't Remember

## Q23k. Whom did you vote for in the 1980 presidential election?

- Ronald Reagan
- Jimmy Carter
- Other, None, Don't Remember

## 2024 VOTING INTENTION

### Q24. Although the 2024 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

[Ask if Q24 = "Definitely the Republican candidate"]

### Q25a. What are the main reasons why you plan to vote for the Republican candidate? [Open-Ended]

[Ask if Q24 = "Definitely the Democratic candidate"]

### Q25b. What are the main reasons why you plan to vote for the Democratic candidate? [Open-Ended]

## POLITICAL VIEWS AND ISSUES

### Q26. How would you describe the presidency of Donald Trump from 2016 to 2020?

- Very good
- Somewhat good
- Mixed – some good and some bad
- Somewhat bad
- Very bad

### Q27. What are your views relating to the 2020 presidential election?

- Joe Biden won
- Donald Trump won, and the election was stolen from him
- Not sure

### Q28. What did you think of the protests at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021?

- They were a form of legitimate protest
- They got a bit out of hand
- They represented a grave threat to democracy

### Q29. How would you describe the presidency of Joe Biden?

- Very good
- Somewhat good
- Mixed – some good and some bad
- Somewhat bad
- Very bad

# Survey Questionnaire (Page 5 of 6)

**Q30. What issues are most important to you as a voter? Please check up to your top 4 issues.**

- Antisemitism
- Availability of welfare programs
- Crime
- 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 Q23g (1996 voted for) = Bill Clinton AND Q23a (2020 voted for) = Donald Trump]

**Q31. How and why have your political preferences changed over time?** [Open-Ended]

## ISRAEL

**Q32. Do you feel a connection to Israel?**

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

**Q33. How do you describe your approach to Zionism?**

- Strongly Zionist
- Somewhat Zionist
- No feelings either way
- Anti-Zionistic

## DEMOGRAPHICS

**Q34. Where do you live?**

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

[Ask if Q34 = "New York State"]

**Q35a. 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 Q34 = "New Jersey"]

**Q35b. 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 Q34 = "Other USA"]

**Q35c. Please enter the first three digits of your zip code.** [Open-Ended]

## Survey Questionnaire (Page 6 of 6)

### Q36. What is your total annual household income?

- Under \$50,000
- \$50,000 to \$79,999
- \$80,000 to \$124,999
- \$125,000 to \$199,999
- \$200,000 to \$299,999
- \$300,000 or more
- Would rather not say

### Q37. Do the following members of your family contribute to your household income?

- Husband
- Wife
- Children

Response Scale (for each item): Contributes all or most of our income / Some of our income / A little bit, or no income / No such people in household

[Ask if Q37 "Husband" = "Contributes all or most of our income"]

### Q38. What kind of job(s) does the husband in the household have? [Open-Ended]

[Ask if Q37 "Wife" = "Contributes all or most of our income"]

### Q39. What kind of job(s) does the wife in the household have? [Open-Ended]

### Q40. 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

## FINAL THOUGHTS

### Q41. Finally, is there anything you would like to add relating to the topic of your political views? Feel free to respond in detail. [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 \$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 "Please check ... for \$50 Gift Cards" is checked]

**If you win one of the prizes, please indicate your preference. Please note that the random prize drawing will be held, and winners notified, on September 20.**

- Amazon Gift Card
- Visa Debit Card

[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. [Open-Ended]**

Thank You!

## Press Release *(September 19, 2023)*

### MODERN ORTHODOX AND HAREDI JEWS DIFFER SHARPLY IN THEIR POLITICAL PREFERENCES, VIEWS, ISSUES OF CONCERN, AND HOW THEY PLAN TO VOTE IN 2024

A new survey explores the political views of American Orthodox Jewry, among both the Modern Orthodox and Haredi sectors. The survey of 1,224 Haredim and 1,257 Modern/Centrist Jews analyzes attitudes that affect political leanings and tests the conventional wisdom that the leanings have shifted toward the Republican Party in recent years. Among the key findings:

- Over the past forty years, Modern Orthodox Jews have tended to vote Democratic in national elections and Haredim have tended to vote overwhelmingly Republican.
- That trend is likely to continue in 2024, as 90% of Haredi Jews plan to vote for the Republican presidential candidate, while 61% of Modern Orthodox plan to vote for the Democratic presidential candidate.
- Combining the Modern Orthodox and the Haredi sectors, the survey finds that Orthodox Jews overall—in contrast to other Jews in the United States—lean heavily toward the Republican presidential candidate by a wide 74%-to-26% margin.
- At the same time, the disparity between the Modern Orthodox and the Haredi sectors shows that Orthodox Jews give voice to the same kind of polarized political attitudes that are seen nationally between Democrats and Republicans.
- Haredi and Modern Orthodox Jews agree that the economy, Israel, and antisemitism are key issues. But they diverge on other issues: Haredim see crime, schools (including the freedom of religious schools), and religious freedom as important; while Modern Orthodox see the state of American democracy, health care, and foreign affairs (other than those related to Israel) as important.
- While Orthodox Jews share a view that the United States has been hospitable to Jews, substantial majorities see the country as currently headed in the wrong direction.
- The COVID pandemic has had political ramifications. 60% of Haredi and 31% of Modern Orthodox say that COVID shifted their attitudes about government toward a more distrustful and skeptical stance. These views correspond to a substantial shift (in the range of 20%) in 2024 voting plans toward the Republican presidential candidate.

This survey was initiated and sponsored by Prod. David Myers, the Sady and Ludwig Chair of Jewish History at UCLA and co-founder of the Haredi Research Group (<https://www.harediresearchgroup.org/>), established in 2022 to advance the study of the Haredi Jewish community. Prof Myers notes: “This study offers us much-needed longitudinal data on Orthodox political attitudes and voting patterns. While noting the growing demographic import of Orthodox Jews, it challenges the idea of a single Orthodox voting bloc by showing that Modern Orthodox and Haredi Jews have quite different political attitudes, sources of political information, views on the 2020 election and the January 6 events at the Capitol, and plans for the 2024 election.”

Nishma Research collaborated on this effort, and Mark Trencher notes: “While there are substantial research challenges involved in surveying the Haredi community, its members are increasingly eager to make their voices heard, and we appreciate the strong response to this study. We plan to conduct future research in these communities.”