

# Support for Israel in a Changing America

Owen Alterman and Cameron S. Brown

For Israel and its supporters, the shouts from the floor of the September 2012 Democratic Party convention should raise eyebrows. The party's first draft platform omitted the traditional declaration that Jerusalem "is and will remain the capital of Israel." That change sparked criticism from pro-Israel activists, and the Democratic leadership scrambled to amend the platform via voice vote. Yet to the visible surprise of the session's chairman, Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa, three times the "nay" votes were loud enough to call into question whether he had the two-thirds majority necessary to amend the platform.<sup>1</sup>

In the much larger picture of the November election, an incumbent president was reelected despite mediocre approval ratings, a sluggish economy, and opposition to his flagship legislation on health care.<sup>2</sup>

These two observations are associated with several substantial social and demographic changes that are transforming America. When Bill Clinton was elected in 1992, only 4.3 million Latinos went to the polls. By 2000, when George W. Bush won the presidency, just under six million Latinos voted. In 2012, an estimated 12.5 million Latinos cast ballots – nearly triple the number from two decades ago.<sup>3</sup> Changes in religious affiliation, or more precisely, the growing lack of any affiliation, have been even more dramatic. In 1972, 7 percent of Americans said they had no religious affiliation. That figure grew to 15 percent by 2007, and today stands at nearly 20 percent.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the generation gap in voting is wider now than in the past several decades, with younger voters solidly supporting Democrats and older Americans voting Republican.<sup>5</sup>

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The 2012 elections demonstrated the power of these trends and how they have become decisive factors in determining US election results. And Americans are starting to notice. In the aftermath of the elections, Washington's public intellectuals, both Democratic and Republican, have pointed to shifting demographics as critical to the future of partisan politics. By the same token, America's social and demographic trends, which are likely to continue, seem set to undermine the longstanding, solid, bipartisan support for Israel in US public opinion – a critical pillar of the US-Israel relationship.

This article examines how social and demographic trends are likely to affect US public support for Israel. We identify several such trends – the partisan and generational gaps in support for Israel, the decline in religiosity, the rise of Latinos, and American Jewry's changing face – and assess how each is affecting US public opinion toward Israel. We find that the first three trends (partisan and generational gaps and declining religiosity) look set to chip away at support for Israel in the years to come, while the growth in numbers of Latinos could work to strengthen support. Finally, the changing nature of American Jewry will pose a further challenge that Israel and the Israel advocacy camp will have to manage. The article concludes by making recommendations as to how Israel and its supporters can stay ahead of these curves and maintain Israel's strong public standing in the decades to come.

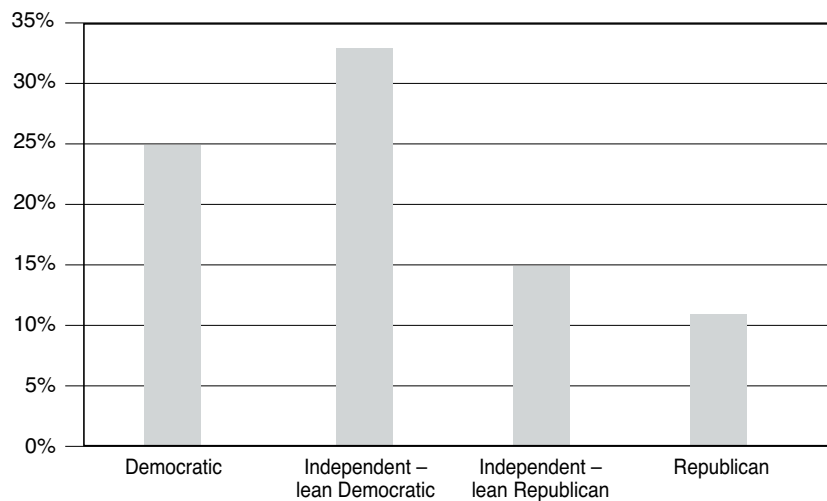
### **The Partisan Gap in Support for Israel**

While once an American's party affiliation said little about his attitude toward Israel,<sup>6</sup> times have changed. In a poll conducted during Israel's November 2012 Operation Pillar of Defense, 80 percent of Republicans voiced support for Israel, as opposed to only 51 percent of Democrats. When the sample is divided into conservatives and liberals, the difference is even sharper. Some 77 percent of conservatives supported Israel, with only 6 percent opposed. By contrast, for self-identified liberals, the numbers were 37 percent in support and 27 percent opposed.<sup>7</sup>

In our analysis of Pew survey data,<sup>8</sup> we found that those who identify with the Democratic Party were 13.8 percent less likely to approve of current levels of US support for Israel than Republicans, and 12.3 percent more likely to say the US supports Israel "too much."<sup>9</sup> When we controlled for respondent age, income, education, race, religion, and attendance at religious services (independently or concomitantly), this partisan gap

remained unchanged.<sup>10</sup> Young Democrats are less supportive than young Republicans, for example, and Democrats with no religious affiliation are less supportive than their Republican counterparts.<sup>11</sup> In other words, that disputed vote at the Democratic convention, whatever its proximate cause, gave voice to a sentiment among a segment of party loyalists.

Particularly fascinating, self-identified “independents” who lean (and thus usually vote) Democratic are less supportive of Israel than are self-identified Democrats. Democratic-leaning independents were almost 23 percent less likely to support Israel than Republicans (and 15 percent less than the average American).<sup>12</sup> As above, even when respondent age, income, education, race, and religion were taken into account, these Democratic-leaning independents were still 20 percent less likely to support Israel than Republicans (and 11.5 percent less than the average American). Nearly identical results emerged from an analysis of those who thought the US supported Israel “too much”<sup>13</sup> (figure 1).

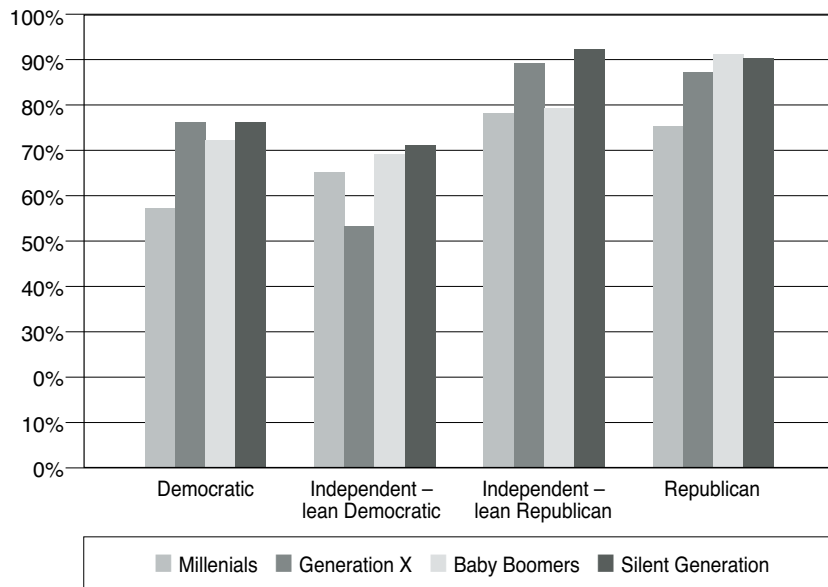


**Figure 1.** Agree US supports Israel “too much”

This partisan gap in support for Israel has not escaped attention. Observers have credited a variety of theories, from growing liberal wariness toward the use of force (and connecting that to Israeli use of force)<sup>14</sup> to the more fundamental trend of widening polarization in US politics.<sup>15</sup> Whatever the underlying cause, the basic result is clear: the partisan gap is real, and it has grown.

### The Generational Gap

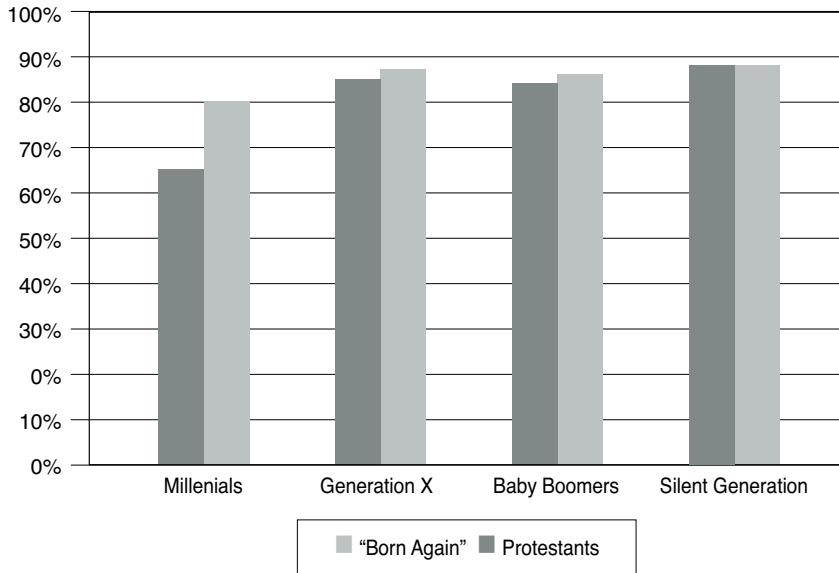
A second, highly pronounced trend is the generational gap: so-called “millennials” (18-30 year-olds) are substantially more likely to be critical of Israel than older generations, particularly “baby boomers” (born 1946-1964) and the “Silent Generation” (born 1925-1945), though largely the case for the Generation X (between the baby boomers and the millennials) as well. As shown in Figure 2, this gap largely holds across political affiliation. As in the analysis of the partisanship above, controlling for a host of other factors did not change this gap at all. Democratic millennials, for example, are less supportive of Israel than Democratic baby boomers.



**Figure 2. Party Affiliation: Agree with US support of Israel or think not supportive enough**

When examining religious affiliation, we found this generational shift to be particularly strong among self-identified Protestants. This said, support among self-identified “born again” Christians has been less affected (figure 3).

Two alternate explanations could account for the data: either a shift in public opinion is actually taking place, or perhaps younger generations are usually less supportive of Israel and become more supportive as they grow older. To address this question, we compared our findings to



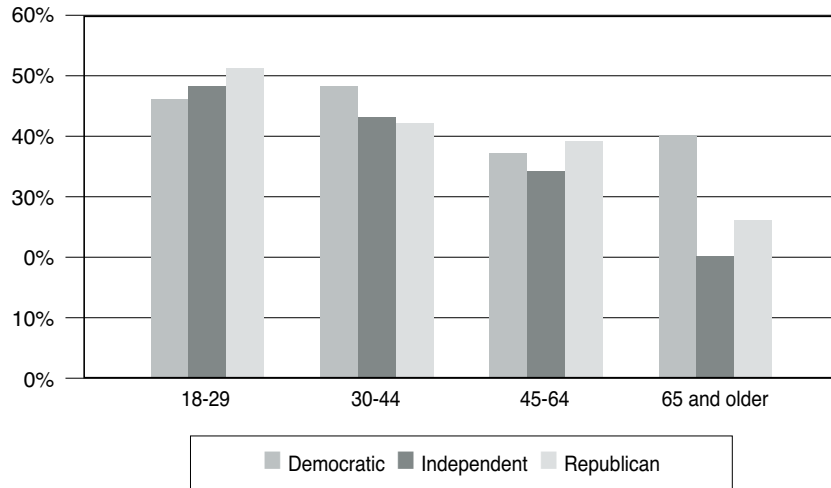
**Figure 3: Religious Affiliation: Protestants and “born again” Christians who agree with US support of Israel or think not supportive enough**

two joint nationwide CBS/*New York Times* polls from October 1977 and April 1978 (figure 4).<sup>16</sup> Interestingly, the generational gap then was the opposite of the generational gap today: retirees (65 and older) were least supportive of Israel, with 18-29 year-olds the most supportive. Again, this pattern was substantial and statistically significant regardless of other factors (i.e., race, religion, party affiliation, ideology, and education).<sup>17</sup>

This suggests that the first explanation is correct: generations seem to develop views toward Israel that guide their opinions throughout their lifetimes. If so, the relatively less pro-Israel positions held by today’s millennials are unlikely to fade over time, just as their elders have maintained robust support for Israel over the past 35 years.

**The Decline in Religiosity**

America is often thought of as a religious country, at least in comparison to a supposedly “godless” Europe. The American reality, though, is more complex. Religiosity in America is declining at a substantial rate, impacting on US support for Israel.



**Figure 4. Party Affiliation: Agree with support for Israel (April 1978)<sup>18</sup>**

White Protestants, for centuries the social and demographic backbone of America, have declined from 39 percent of the US population in 2007 to 34 percent in 2012. During the same period, the percentage of so-called “nones” – those who have no religious affiliation – rose sharply, from 15.3 percent to 19.6 percent.<sup>19</sup> (This category of “nones” includes atheists and agnostics, though most are those who simply respond that they have no religious affiliation.) Largely, the trend is not one of individual Americans abandoning religion; rather, generational evolution is responsible for the change, with older, more religious Americans being replaced with younger, less affiliated individuals. Indeed, looking at data from polling respondents, “nones” are by far the youngest of all religious groups; consequently, this trend may well accelerate in the generation to come (figure 5).<sup>20</sup>

This stark demographic shift is a cause for concern for Israel, or at least a potential cause for change in an Israeli outreach strategy that has prioritized evangelicals in recent decades. American Protestants are more likely to be pro-Israel than the average American, with “born again” Christians particularly supportive.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, in statistical analysis of the polling data and as charted in figure 6, compared to Protestants, “nones” are 23 percent less likely to support Israel and 19.5

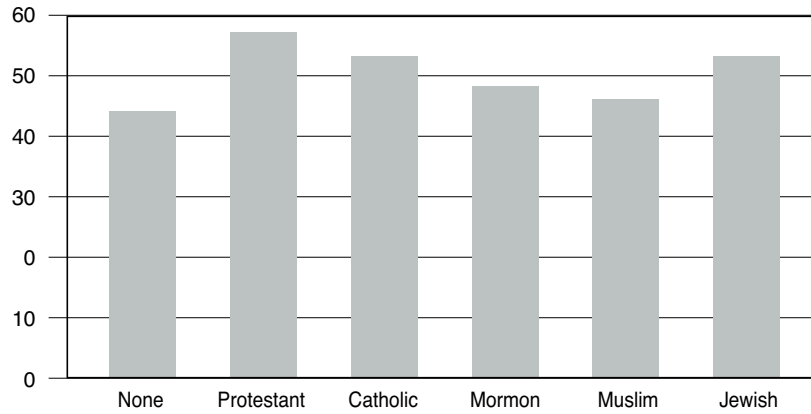


Figure 5. Average respondent age, by religion

percent more likely to say the US is “too supportive” of Israel.<sup>22</sup> Among this group, atheists show particularly weak support (42 percent more likely respond “too supportive”), followed by agnostics (25 percent more likely), and those who identify as “nothing” (15 percent more likely).<sup>23</sup>

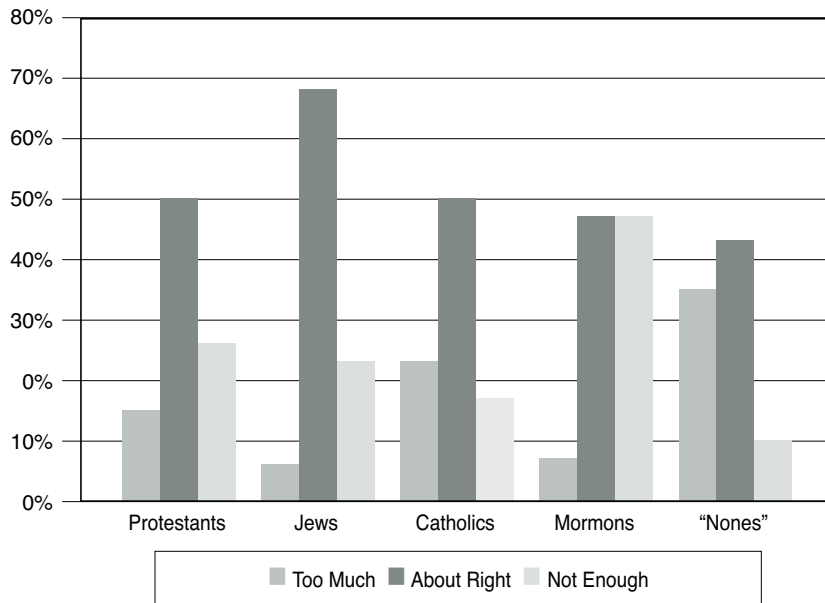


Figure 6. US toward Israel: Too supportive, not supportive enough, or about right?

Demographic movement away from Protestantism and toward those with no religious affiliation could lead to a weakening of support for Israel over time. Given that “nones” are the fastest-growing religious cohort in America, and that they account for more than a quarter of Democrats (27 percent), Israel and its supporters must learn how to engage them.

### The Rise of Latinos

Of the emerging demographic trends in the United States, none has received more attention than the rise of Latinos. An estimated 52 million Latinos live in the United States (just under 17 percent of the total population); of these, 51 percent were born outside the United States. Most of this group is composed of Mexicans who immigrated (often illegally) to the United States in recent decades.<sup>24</sup>

Unlike many other countries, the United States grants automatic citizenship to “all persons born or naturalized in the United States,”<sup>25</sup> even if the person’s parents arrived illegally. These Latino children, themselves US citizens, are reaching voting age in ever-rising numbers. With an estimated 800,000 Latinos now turning 18 every year, this sector is expected to account for 40 percent of the growth in the number of eligible voters in 17 years.<sup>26</sup> While rates of participation for Latinos remain significantly lower than those for whites or blacks (50 percent versus 66 percent and 65 percent, respectively), the sheer overall numbers of Latinos are making an ever more substantial impact on US elections.<sup>27</sup>

The growth in numbers (and consequently, power) of Latinos has not escaped an American Jewish establishment always wary of trends that could change attitudes toward Jews and Israel.<sup>28</sup> National organizations such as the American Jewish Committee (via Instituto Latino y Latinoamericano del AJC, Project Interchange, and others), Anti-Defamation League (through Hispanic/Latino and Latin American Affairs initiatives), and Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (via Latin-Jewish Alliance Program) have responded with active initiatives. At a local level, communities in Los Angeles, San Diego, Texas, and South Florida have also engaged in Latino outreach.<sup>29</sup> Interest in these initiatives will likely grow in parallel with Latinos’ growing clout.

At first blush, US Latinos appear almost identical to the average American in their support of Israel. Yet Latinos are on average younger and more Democratic-leaning than the average American. In other words, given Latinos’ other demographic characteristics, we would expect them



to be less supportive of Israel than average. However, when taking into account the three factors discussed previously, Latinos are actually 7.4 percent more likely to support Israel than the average American,<sup>30</sup> and the figure rises to nearly 9 percent when adding controls for income, education, and church attendance.<sup>31</sup>

The growing presence and electoral power of Latinos, then, is likely a positive trend for Israel, especially as they are now identifying or leaning Democratic by large margins.<sup>32</sup> Consequently, this group could become a new component of the future pro-Israel coalition among the Democratic base. Nevertheless, Israel and its supporters will need to act to solidify support as this community gets its footing and begins to take a greater interest in foreign affairs.

### **American Jewry's Changing Face**

The stereotypical American Jew has generally been an upper-middle class Ashkenazi suburbanite who sends his or her kids to Hebrew school at the local Reform or Conservative synagogue and who loyally sends support (and a check) for the latest "emergency campaign" for Israel. These are the Jews who fill the hall when members of the Israeli elite come to speak and whose kids are often the subject of Israeli satire.<sup>33</sup>

These American Jews still exist, but their numbers are in deep decline. The most recent – and thorough – proof came with the landmark June 2012 report by demographer Steven M. Cohen and others on New York's Jews.<sup>34</sup> Although nationwide figures presumably differ from the New York numbers, previous studies suggest the broad trends are likely similar.<sup>35</sup> On the one hand, assimilation and low birthrates among the non-Orthodox have continued apace (possibly consistent with the overall decline in American religiosity). Meanwhile, high birthrates among Orthodox Jews (particularly the ultra-Orthodox or "haredim") have begun to have a demographic impact. Taken together, these trends have hollowed out what was long the core of American Jewry: affiliated, non-Orthodox suburbanites. In the New York area, the percentage of Jewish households affiliated with the Reform and Conservative movements fell from 70 percent in 1991 to 42 percent in 2011. Meanwhile, Orthodox affiliation rose from 13 percent to 20 percent, and "other" (corresponding in part to the "nones" in studies of American religion) rose from 15 percent to 37 percent.<sup>36</sup>

American Jewry's changing face is critical for the broader US-Israel relationship because it is precisely these disappearing American Jews who spearheaded the effort to generate support for Israel among the public and its political representatives. For example, while the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) has done much to diversify the pro-Israel camp ethnically and religiously, nearly all of AIPAC's board of directors, staff, and major donors remain Jewish. This should not be seen as a failure; on the contrary, Israel and the Zionist movement have long cultivated a special bond with the Diaspora. It seems natural and appropriate that Jews lead pro-Israel political efforts, even if others join them.

At the same time, demographic changes within American Jewry will have an impact on pro-Israel organizations, and in turn, on the very foundations of support for Israel in American public opinion. For example, Orthodox Jews, many of whom express strong attachment to Israel, will likely take on more leadership roles, a process that has already begun among the modern Orthodox.<sup>37</sup> Lithuanian (i.e., non-Hasidic) haredim are another potential reservoir of leaders, especially given their high levels of attachment to Israel, high birthrates, and reasonably high levels of income and education.<sup>38</sup>

While stepped-up Orthodox involvement will be essential for maintaining Israel's public opinion standing over the long term, it still raises several key questions. First and most critically, how will pro-Israel forces address this growing disparity between its core leadership (which will be more religiously observant) and a less religiously affiliated America? Likewise, Orthodox Jews voted overwhelmingly in 2012 for Mitt Romney,<sup>39</sup> contributing to the boosted Republican share of the overall US Jewish presidential vote in 2012 from 22 percent to 30 percent.<sup>40</sup> Yet if the challenge will be to maintain support for Israel among Democrats, how will a Republican-leaning leadership reach out?

Over the long term, the decline in the number of affiliated, non-Orthodox Jews can also be expected to stunt the demographic force of traditional American Jewish liberalism (and limit the prospects for groups such as the left wing Israel-oriented J Street). One could imagine American Jewish liberals serving as Israel's bridge to the rising demographic groups of a changing America, but that bridge stands to become ever more rickety.

## Conclusions and Recommendations

Overall polling numbers on US pro-Israel sentiment – with their near-record high of 63 percent support – could induce a false sense of security in Israel.<sup>41</sup> Looking behind the numbers, the composite of the social and demographic trends paints a starker picture: an increasingly non-religious America, whose youngest generation of voters is significantly less supportive of Israel than its oldest, and whose Jewish community looks set to become more religiously inclined even as the general American population seems headed in the opposite direction.

It is important to note that the three main trends working against Israel (partisan, generational, and religious) are not simply describing the same cohort. Each factor has an impact (of roughly 13-17 percentage points) almost entirely independent of the others, meaning their impact on Israel's public standing is compounded. So, for example, an older (Silent Generation), white, Protestant Republican would most likely (79 percent) say he or she supports the US stance on Israel. However, a white, millennial, Democratic "none" would be unlikely (33 percent) to support the US stance on Israel.

Israel and its supporters cannot return a young generation to the Protestant pews, cannot dictate to non-Orthodox American Jews to have more children, and more broadly, cannot magically restore the America of the 1990s. Israel must take US demographics as it finds them. How, then, can the challenge posed by this demographic change be met?

In particular, Israel and its supporters will need to maintain grassroots support among Democrats. Shifts in public opinion among the Democratic base have yet to translate into declining support on Capitol Hill, which remains as strong as ever. The question, then – one of the signal unanswered questions of the US-Israel relationship – is when, and to what extent, declining support for Israel among Democratic voters will affect the voting and rhetoric of Democratic legislators. The answer to this question will be determined in no small part by how successful Israel and its supporters are in reconstructing and energizing a pro-Israel coalition within the Democratic base.

Part of this effort will of course mean stepping up engagement with segments of the population that are on the rise. Continued focus on university campuses seems justified as a key tool for closing the generation gap. With Latinos, engagement efforts are well underway, especially by American Jewish organizations. The Israeli government

must build on these efforts and take full part in the outreach, not only through diplomats posted in the United States but through politicians and policymakers based here in Israel. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs seems aware of the needs and is already stepping up its efforts dramatically, including through thirteen Spanish-speaking local elements tasked with building connections between Israel and Latino communities.<sup>42</sup> On a recent visit to South Florida, Deputy Foreign Minister Danny Ayalon – himself a Spanish speaker – met with Latino community leaders and gave an interview to US Spanish-language media.<sup>43</sup>

Far more challenging will be the engagement of “nones.” The rising disaffiliation from religion may be part of a growing disaffiliation from social institutions writ large, a trend made famous by scholar Robert Putnam’s *Bowling Alone*. “Nones,” therefore, might not only be unreachable through churches; they might be less affiliated with all manner of community groups as well.

If so, pro-Israel forces must allocate more resources toward improving their understanding regarding where this cohort gets its information and, most importantly, from whom it takes its political cues.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps, for instance, this sector might best be engaged by shifting part of pro-Israel groups’ efforts from mass media to niche media, reaching a smaller target audience but with more precision and effect. If true, then instead of encouraging leading Israel advocates to publish opinion pieces in leading national newspapers, these advocates should be encouraged to write and appear more in media, whether social media, other internet media, or niche television broadcasts, that reach these “nones” on a more targeted basis. Again, this strategy’s first step must be internalizing research on where this diffuse demographic gets its information and how it forms opinions. While outreach efforts toward Latinos seem better developed, strategies for reaching “nones” are perhaps even more important – and more challenging.

Finally, pro-Israel forces must come to terms with changing American Jewish demographics. The shrinking core of affiliated, non-Orthodox Jews threatens to chip away at the backbone of the pro-Israel community. How to supplement this leadership group, whether with the increasing numbers of America’s modern Orthodox and Lithuanian haredim, passionate non-Jewish Americans, or greater involvement of secular Israelis (wherever they live), will be a central question of the coming decades. In this regard, the Israeli government should try to include more

Lithuanian haredi and Hasidic representatives in its many forums and meetings between Israeli and American Jewish leaders.

Meanwhile, because liberals and “nones” are unlikely to be very receptive to these groups, winning their support will require working with and through left-leaning organizations. For the American pro-Israel establishment, which has prized solidarity, this presents a challenge. AIPAC, as an illustrative case, came of age in the 1950s, a time of centralization in American society and politics, whether in its three television networks, three auto companies, three strong and distinct Jewish denominations, two distinct racial groups, or two strong political parties that worked collaboratively together in Washington. Today’s America is far more fragmented, both cause and effect of some of the trends described in this article.

How, then, can the industrial age organization of the pro-Israel advocacy apparatus meet the challenges of a post-industrial America? Many American Jews have long argued that a single organization can no longer speak for all supporters of Israel. Our point is different: in an era of increased polarization and social fragmentation, we doubt any single organization can effectively influence opinion in all segments of the American public. Indeed, on the ground, the past decade has seen a proliferation of pro-Israel groups, whether the left wing J Street, the right wing Emergency Committee for Israel, or the one-man operations of donors and activists like Sheldon Adelson. Our point is that this may be a blessing.

Of course, centralization enables pro-Israel forces to take advantage of economies of scale and exert strength in numbers. One solution to these opposing pressures is to distinguish between a Washington-oriented lobby such as AIPAC, for which the cost-benefit analysis may favor centralization, and grassroots-oriented advocacy groups, for which targeting and nimbleness could prove especially helpful. For these advocacy groups, one possibility is to move more toward a coalition model, where different bodies speak for different segments of pro-Israel activism and speak to different audiences in the US public. One type of coalition model has already emerged at the campus level through the Israel on Campus Coalition. On a larger scale, a central body would have coordination authority and some control over funding to the constituent groups. Of these groups, one could bring together pro-Israel liberals interested less in the self-expression offered by J Street’s grassroots

arms (to voice dissent on some Israeli policies) and interested more in the challenge of building positive feelings toward Israel among fellow US liberals. The coordinating body could retain prestige and clout even as devolution of authority to formalized constituent groups would enable more effective targeting in messaging. Regardless of organizational structure, the battle for the Democratic Party's future support for Israel will have to be fought and won by supporters from within the party's own ranks.<sup>45</sup>

Finally, if over the course of the next several decades American public opinion regarding Israel will likely become more divided, Israel's policymakers should consider the strategic implications. Much can be done to maximize support for Israel among Americans, which could include changes in Israel's policy toward its neighbors. Beyond that, Israeli leaders must consider what else the country can do, independently of gaining US public support to the fullest, to buttress the US-Israel relationship and/or to maintain Israel's wider geopolitical standing. The challenge is to maximize US public support, where much can be done, and then to identify other political and geopolitical strategies to compensate for any incremental decline in public support.

## Notes

The authors thank Rachel Beerman and Tamar Levkovich for their determined research assistance, and Daniel Maliniak, Justin Levitt, and the *Strategic Assessment* editorial board for their comments.

- 1 Scott Wilson, "Democrats Restore to Party Platform Language on Jerusalem," *Washington Post*, September 6, 2012.
- 2 Rasmussen Reports polled on this question weekly, and support for repeal consistently beat opposition to repeal by 10-20 percentage points. See [http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public\\_content/politics/current\\_events/healthcare/health\\_care\\_law](http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/politics/current_events/healthcare/health_care_law).
- 3 Pew Hispanic Center, "An Awakened Giant: The Hispanic Electorate Is Likely to Double by 2030," November 14, 2012, [http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/11/hispanic\\_vote\\_likely\\_to\\_double\\_by\\_2030\\_11-14-12.pdf](http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/11/hispanic_vote_likely_to_double_by_2030_11-14-12.pdf).
- 4 Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, "'Nones' on the Rise: One-in-Five Adults Have No Religious Affiliation," October 9, 2012, [http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/Topics/Religious\\_Affiliation/Unaffiliated/NonesOnTheRise-full.pdf](http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/Topics/Religious_Affiliation/Unaffiliated/NonesOnTheRise-full.pdf), pp. 9, 14.
- 5 Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "The Generation Gap and the 2012 Election," November 3, 2011, <http://www.people-press.org/2011/11/03/the-generation-gap-and-the-2012-election-3/>.

- 6 Amnon Cavari, "Religious Beliefs, Elite Polarization, and Public Opinion on Foreign Policy: The Partisan Gap in American Public Opinion toward Israel," *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, published online January 27, 2012, p. 3.
- 7 CNN/ORC International poll, November 19, 2012 (conducted November 16-18, 2012), <http://i2.cdn.turner.com/cnn/2012/images/11/19/rel17a.pdf>.
- 8 Our analysis is based on data from a Pew Research Center political survey released in March 2012, which dealt with a number of foreign policy issues. The randomly selected nation-wide sample of 1503 includes use of cell phones and landlines. Margin of error is +/-2.2 percent. For more, see Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "March 2012 Political Survey," March 3, 2012, <http://www.people-press.org/2012/03/03/march-2012-political-survey>. While the data is a bit dated, it is the most recent of its kind that is publicly available. Moreover, although the campaign itself may have shifted opinions over the course of its final months, based on historical survey data, we believe the campaign itself is unlikely to have caused a major shift, as opinions on these matters tend to change little over time. A methodological note: all results regarding support for Israel were derived using probit regression (the dependent variables being dichotomous) and we report marginal effects. "Support Israel" includes those who agree with present levels of US support or believe the US does not support Israel enough. "Don't know" and those who think the US supports Israel "too much" are coded as zero. For our analysis of "too much," all other answers (including "don't know") were coded as zero. In this respect, our "support" variable does include an assumption that current American support is perceived as being pro-Israel. Given that the "too much" and "support" findings mirrored each other throughout, we believe this is justifiable.
- 9 This is significant at the  $p < 0.001$  level.
- 10 The numbers rose to 14.7 and 13.9 percent, respectively. This is significant at the  $p < 0.001$  level. We ran regressions with factors added independently and jointly, and the change on the substantial effect was minimal while statistical significance remained exceedingly high. Even controlling for ideology had minimal effect.
- 11 Regression tables for all trends discussed in this article are available from the authors upon request.
- 12 This is significant at the  $p < 0.001$  level and is robust to age, income, and education. Frequency of church attendance reduces the finding by 2 percent, but remains statistically significant.
- 13 This might seem obvious, but often differences can occur based on the number of "don't know" respondents.
- 14 Jonathan Rynhold, Presentation, "Democrats, Liberals and the American Attitude to Israel and the Middle East," June 18, 2012, available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JW9for7rZ8I>. Our own analysis of polling data also supports this theory.

- 15 Cavari, pp. 5-8.
- 16 Raw data is available at CBS News/New York Times Polls, 1977-1978 (ICPSR 7818), <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/studies/7818>.
- 17 The results from the two surveys were nearly identical on the issues discussed here, and in general, differences were mild.
- 18 The question actually read: "Some people think the United States should pay more attention to the demands of the Arabs, even if it means antagonizing Israel, while other people think the United States should give its strongest support to Israel, even if it means risking an Arab oil boycott. If these were the only two choices, which should the U.S. do? Pay more attention to the demands of the Arabs, or give our strongest support to Israel?"
- 19 Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, "'Nones' on the Rise: One-in-Five Adults Have No Religious Affiliation," p. 13.
- 20 Based on our analysis of Pew data. Note: The overall average age of Americans is lower, in large part because it includes those under 18 years of age, a group not included in the surveys.
- 21 We found Protestants were 11 percent more likely to be supportive of Israel than the average American, though when controlling for party affiliation, age, education, and income the number dropped to 6 percent. Self-described "born again" Christians were 13 and 9 percent more likely to be supportive than the average American. When we controlled for how frequently one attends church, the numbers dropped by 1-2 percent, but remained statistically significant.
- 22 This is highly significant ( $p < 0.000$ ). When we controlled for how regularly one attended his/her place of worship, the finding remained highly significant, although the number dropped to just under 17 percent.
- 23 Statistically speaking, these results are robust to controls on party affiliation, age, education, and income. That said, the percentages are several points lower when these factors are included.
- 24 According to the US Census Bureau, 54 percent of the foreign-born Latinos surveyed hailed originally from Mexico. "Pew Hispanic Vote to Double," Appendix B.
- 25 U.S. Constitution, Amendment XIV, Section 1.
- 26 Pew Hispanic Center, "An Awakened Giant: The Hispanic Electorate Is Likely to Double by 2030," p. 6.
- 27 Data for 2011 is based on US Census Bureau estimates at <http://www.census.gov/popest/data/national/asrh/2011/tables/NC-EST2011-03.xls>. Data for 1992 and 2000 is based on US Census Bureau estimates at <http://www.census.gov/popest/data/national/totals/1990s/tables/nat-srh.txt> (released January 2, 2001).
- 28 The most comprehensive study to date on the subject is Matt A. Barreto and Gary M. Segura, "Familiarity, Commonality, Attitudes and Perceptions of Latinos toward US Jews and Issues of Concern to the Jewish Community in Five US Cities: A Project of the AJC – Findings and Analysis," American



Jewish Committee/Latino Decisions, April 11, 2012; [http://faculty.washington.edu/mbarreto/ld/ajc\\_final.html](http://faculty.washington.edu/mbarreto/ld/ajc_final.html). The study found that many Latinos answer “don’t know” when asked whether US support for Israel is too high, appropriate, or too low. Among Latinos, those with higher incomes, more education, and those who were third-generation Americans were most likely to be supportive of Israel. The survey, however, raises methodological concerns. Framing effects may be at work, as the “don’t know” responses were far higher (52 percent) than those of Hispanics in the Pew survey (16.6 percent) for the same question. First asking numerous questions about Jews and anti-Semitism may have made respondents more wary than usual in answering questions about Israel. Additionally, looking at Latinos in five cities, four of which have sizable Jewish populations, cannot be considered a representative sample of Latinos in the United States as a whole. Due to these concerns, we have not used this data in our analysis here.

- 29 Examples include the Anti-Defamation League’s “Celebrate! Program, and the American Jewish Committee’s “Grupo de Trabajo de Líderes Judíos Latinoamericanos.”
- 30 This is significant at the  $p < 0.05$  level. When these same factors are taken into account, African-Americans and Asian-Americans are not statistically different from whites.
- 31 Significant at the  $p < 0.05$  level. Including self-reported ideology has no impact on the results.
- 32 This is highly significant ( $p < 0.001$ ), even when controlling for other demographic factors.
- 33 For an example with English-language subtitles, see the clip from the television series *Eretz Nehedert* (“A Wonderful Country”), <http://vimeo.com/35660324> (aired January 23, 2012).
- 34 Steven M. Cohen, Ron Miller, and Jacob B. Ukeles, *Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011 - Comprehensive Report* (New York: UJA-Federation of New York, June 2012), p. 19, <http://www.ujafedny.org/jewish-community-study-of-new-york-2011/>. In addition to the five boroughs, the report surveyed the Jewish population in Long Island and in Westchester County. The survey did not include Jews in New York’s Rockland County or in New Jersey or Connecticut.
- 35 Recent thorough data on the nationwide American Jewish population is not available. Due to criticism of the 2000-2001 National Jewish Population Survey, the Jewish Federations of North America decided not to conduct its usual decennial study in 2011. That decision has since been reversed, with the federation system receiving a \$1 million challenge grant to conduct another study. If the campaign succeeds in raising another \$1 million by September 2013, then the study will go ahead. Either way, the final results of the new study will not be available for several years. For more information, see Helen Chernikoff, “New National Jewish Population Survey in the Works,” *Jewish Week*, November 13, 2012, <http://www.thejewishweek.com>.

- com/news/breaking-news/new-national-jewish-population-survey-works; Gary Rosenblatt, "How Many U.S. Jews, And Who Cares?" *Jewish Week*, October 25, 2011, [http://www.thejewishweek.com/editorial\\_opinion/gary\\_rosenblatt/how\\_many\\_us\\_jews\\_and\\_who\\_cares](http://www.thejewishweek.com/editorial_opinion/gary_rosenblatt/how_many_us_jews_and_who_cares)
- 36 Cohen et al., p. 121.
- 37 Some have called for an even greater role for the modern Orthodox. See Gary Rosenblatt, "A Community Pulling Apart?" *Jewish Week*, June 12, 2012, <http://www.thejewishweek.com/editorial-opinion/gary-rosenblatt/community-pulling-apart>.
- 38 Cohen et al., pp. 214-16, 218-20, 224. As detailed in the study, New York's Lithuanian haredim and Hasidim have very different demographic profiles. The Lithuanians (called "yeshivish" in the study) have similar birthrates to Hasidim but significantly higher levels of income and education. Lithuanians' levels of attachment to Israel are also higher than those of Hasidim, though attachment levels of Hasidim, with the exception of anti-Zionist sects such as Satmar, are also reasonably high. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
- 39 "The City Vote, Precinct by Precinct," *New York Times*, November 23, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2012/11/24/nyregion/the-city-vote-precinct-by-precinct.html>.
- 40 Ron Kampeas, "Fighting over Every Percentage Point: Arguing about the Jewish Vote and Exit Polls," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, November 7, 2012, <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2012/11/07/3111381/fighting-over-every-percentile-arguing-about-the-jewish-vote-and-exit-polls>.
- 41 Perhaps the best source for tracking these trends over time is at Gallup. See Elizabeth Mendes, "Americans Continue to Tilt Pro-Israel," *Gallup* website, March 2, 2012, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/153092/Americans-Continue-Tilt-Pro-Israel.aspx>.
- 42 Itamar Eichner, "Ayalon Returns from US Trip and will Meet with the Minister who Ousted him," *Yediot Ahronot*, December 11, 2012, <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4318514,00.html>.
- 43 *Ibid.* Ayalon's language skills are listed on his Knesset website.
- 44 For the leading study of how uninformed citizens form political opinions and make political decisions, see Samuel L. Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991 and 1994).
- 45 Even a leading voice on the right (the executive director of Christians United for Israel) has argued that pro-Israel outreach to liberals is best done by liberals. See David Brog, "The Failure of the American Jewish Left," *Middle East Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (2013), <http://www.meforum.org/3358/american-jewish-left>.