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ANTISEMITISM BAROMETER 2019

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FOREWORD

Britain stands at a crossroads.

This tolerant nation which has long been among the best places in the world in which to live as a Jew is being poisoned by antisemitism, and British Jews are considering leaving the country on a scale unprecedented since mediaeval times.

Incitement against Jews is proliferating, antisemitic crime is going unpunished, and in our politics Jew-hatred is becoming commonplace. This study has measured the results: a population in which antisemitic views have currency, and a Jewish community that has lost faith in the criminal justice system and politicians to protect it from racists, and now fears for its very future in our country.

This comprehensive study, designed and analysed by one of the foremost academics in his field, reveals shocking truths about our country.

Antisemitism on the far-left now exceeds antisemitism on the far-right. The leader of the once fiercely anti-racist Labour Party is now the candidate of choice for anti-Jewish racists, and 84% of British Jews feel that he is a threat specifically to Jews. Two in five British Jews have considered leaving the UK over antisemitism in the past two years alone, 85% of them because of antisemitism in politics, with two thirds expressly mentioning the Labour Party or its leader as their reason.

And it is not merely a political crisis. Jews are fearful of antisemitic crime, with not even one in five saying that the authorities do enough. Years of failure to prosecute

hate crime against Jews have demolished confidence in the criminal justice system. Just over a third of Jews have any confidence that the authorities would prosecute the perpetrator of a hate crime against them, even if there was sufficient evidence to do so.

The Crown Prosecution Service has lost the faith of two thirds of Jews, and almost half of British Jews who would normally wear outward signs of their Judaism now try not to show that they are Jewish in public.

The solutions are simple. We have been making the same recommendations for years and they are included in this report. The question is whether our political parties will act on them. But we cannot wait any longer. Our study finds that the majority in this country are decent people who reject antisemitism. We need ordinary people, regardless of politics, race or religion, to tell the Jewish community that we all stand together against antisemitism, and to tell their politicians that they will not stand by as Britain's Jews become fearful and increasingly contemplate emigration. We have set up TogetherAgainstAntisemitism.com so that people can easily show their support.

It is up to all of us to ensure that Britain stands on the right side of history. We must demand action from our politicians, and we must ensure that Britain's Jews are not abandoned to the forces of hatred.

It is not only Britain that stands at a crossroads. Now that you have read this, you do too.

Gideon Falter
CHIEF EXECUTIVE

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Campaign Against Antisemitism (CAA) commissioned YouGov to survey the British population's attitudes towards Jews in 2018 and 2019. The YouGov survey was designed and analysed by Dr Daniel Allington of King's College London. The polling was conducted prior to a General Election being called.
- The data reveal that antisemitic views in Britain are more widespread than previously realised.
- **This is the first survey to show that antisemitic views are most widespread on the far-left. Among the very left-wing, 42% believe that Israel's supporters are damaging British democracy, and 60% believe that Israel treats the Palestinians like the Nazis treated the Jews, which directly evokes one of the examples of antisemitism in the International Definition of Antisemitism adopted by the British Government.**
- With regard to specific political leaders, the leader of the Labour Party, **Jeremy Corbyn, was particularly popular among people with antisemitic views. 67% of British adults who strongly like Mr Corbyn hold at least one antisemitic view and 33% hold four or more antisemitic views.** This surpasses the figures for any other party leader.
- Antisemitic views were particularly popular among British adults who see social media as a better source of information than major newspapers and television channels, especially on the far-left.
- CAA also separately worked with partners to survey British Jews' responses to antisemitism in 2018 and 2019. Along with Laurence Janta-Lipinski of Politech, Dr Allington also acted as a consultant for the survey of the Jewish community, which was also conducted prior to a General Election being called.
- **42% of British Jews have considered leaving the UK, which is a record high figure for our polling, almost a quarter of whom have made concrete plans to move. Of those who said that they were considering leaving the UK, 85% cited antisemitism in politics and almost two thirds expressly mentioned the Labour Party or its leader, Mr Corbyn.**
- Jews who considered leaving the UK are most likely to be aged between 25 and 64, although respondents aged 18 to 24 were not far behind. There was no notable difference between levels of religious observance or affiliation, suggesting that Jews of all denominations have thought about leaving.
- **Four in five British Jews consider that political developments have increased hostility towards Jews, and more than four in five British Jews consider the Labour Party to be harbouring antisemites in its ranks, which eclipses the figures for all other political parties. A striking 84% of British Jews regard Jeremy Corbyn specifically as a threat to them.**

- It is understandable that an overwhelming majority of British Jews sees Mr Corbyn as a threat and that almost half of the Jewish community is considering leaving the UK, given the prevalence of antisemitism on the far left of British politics, the perception that the Labour Party harbours antisemites, and the extent to which the Labour leader is supported by antisemites.
- When asked about antisemitism in discourse about Israel, almost four in five British Jews said that they had witnessed antisemitism disguised as a political comment about Israel or Zionism, and similar numbers said that media bias against Israel was fuelling persecution of Jews in Britain and felt intimidated by tactics used to boycott Israel.
- **British Jews delivered a damning verdict on law enforcement in Britain. Close to two thirds of British Jews believe that the authorities, in general, are not doing enough to address and punish antisemitism, and a mere 35% of British Jews felt confident that antisemitic hate crimes against them would be prosecuted, a record low. Almost half of British Jews believe that the Crown Prosecution Service is doing too little to fight antisemitism.**
- Fear of antisemitism in politics – particularly in the Labour Party – accompanied by a failure of the authorities to act and be seen to act against antisemitic crime, is having a severely detrimental effect on British Jews' sense of security and their vision of their future in our country.

PREJUDICE AGAINST JEWS IN BRITAIN

ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS IN BRITAIN

YouGov Plc has been commissioned by Campaign Against Antisemitism every year since 2015 to measure the extent of antisemitic prejudice in Britain. This year, we funded a much larger study, which was carried out by YouGov but designed and analysed by Dr Daniel Allington of King's College London. We last released our findings in 2017, so this report is the first time that our findings from 2018 and 2019 have been made public, and comparisons can be drawn to the results in 2015, 2016 and 2017.

Each year, YouGov showed a representative sample of British adults seven statements about Jews and asked respondents to state whether they agreed or disagreed with them.

However, this year, **for the first time we asked about antisemitism across the range of examples incorporated in the International Definition of Antisemitism** (also known as the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition of Antisemitism). Thus, we included not only stereotypes regarding Jewish influence, money, loyalty, trustworthiness and power, but also ideas regarding the supposedly outsized and malign influence of Israel — the Jewish state — and its supporters, and drawing comparisons of Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.

Whereas our findings in previous years showed that older, more politically conservative respondents and those who voted Leave in the EU Referendum were more likely to hold antisemitic views, once the full range of manifestations of antisemitism under the International Definition are included, it emerges that younger, more liberal respondents and Remain voters are similarly likely to hold antisemitic views.

Antisemitic views are therefore more prevalent across British society than previously realised, albeit that traditional antisemitic stereotypes about Jews and antisemitic beliefs about the Jewish state are more common among different groups of people.

The results show that while most of British society shuns antisemitism, it remains a widespread problem and is particularly intense on the far-left.

Our analysis of the data provides a valuable resource to Campaign Against Antisemitism and other organisations combatting antisemitism which wish to target their outreach work effectively.

TWO FORMS OF ANTISEMITISM

Antisemitic prejudice has a long history and is often referred to as “the oldest hatred”. As attitudes within society have changed, antisemitism has evolved to survive. The roots of antisemitism lie in hatred of the Jewish religion, which morphed into hatred of the Jewish ethnicity following the Enlightenment, and then into hatred of Jews through demonisation of the Jewish state following the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel.

Due to the relatively recent nature of the adaptation of antisemitism into hatred disguised as political discourse about Israel, it is not uncommon to hear religious and racial antisemitism, and the associated historic tropes, referred to as ‘classical antisemitism’, whilst hatred relating to the Jewish state is commonly referred to as ‘modern antisemitism’ or ‘the new antisemitism’. We consider these labels to be misnomers because they tend to give the impression that so-called ‘classical antisemitism’ is not contemporary.

Instead, for the purposes of this research, we have adopted the terms ‘Judeophobic antisemitism’ to refer to antisemitism rooted in hatred of Jews expressed in relation to the Jewish religion or ethnicity, and ‘anti-Zionist antisemitism’ to refer to hatred of Jews expressed in relation to the Jewish state. These terminological distinctions are derived from the work of Dr Daniel Allington and Dr David Hirsh and are adopted for convenience, as both forms of antisemitism may be very similar in practice.

In order to measure Judeophobic antisemitism and anti-Zionist antisemitism, YouGov asked the same representative sample of British adults seven questions about Jews and six questions about the Jewish state. YouGov also presented these questions to two ‘boost’ samples, one of people describing themselves as ‘very right-wing’ and one of people describing themselves as ‘very left-wing’.

JUDEOPHOBIC ANTISEMITISM IN BRITAIN

Each year since 2015, we have commissioned YouGov to show a representative sample of British adults seven statements about Jews and ask respondents to state whether they agreed or disagreed with them. Both negative and positive items were included in the list of seven, which were designed to identify which stereotypes and prejudices about British Jews were most prevalent amongst British adults.

We changed the wording of the seven statements after 2015, and have kept them the same ever since.

The statements shown to respondents were:

1. “British Jewish people chase money more than other British people.”

(2015 wording: “Jews chase money more than other British people.”)

2. “Having a connection to Israel makes Jewish people less loyal to Britain than other British people.” (2015 wording: “Jews’ loyalty to Israel makes them less loyal to Britain than other British people.”)

3. “Jewish people consider themselves to be better than other British people.” (2015 wording: “Jews think they are better than other people.”)

4. “Compared to other groups, Jewish people have too much power in the media.” (2015 wording: “Jews have too much power in the media.”)

5. “Jewish people talk about the Holocaust just to further their political agenda.” (2015 wording: “Jews talk about the Holocaust too much in order to get sympathy.”)

6. “Jewish people can be trusted just as much as other British people in business.” (2015 wording: “In business, Jews are not as honest as most people.”)

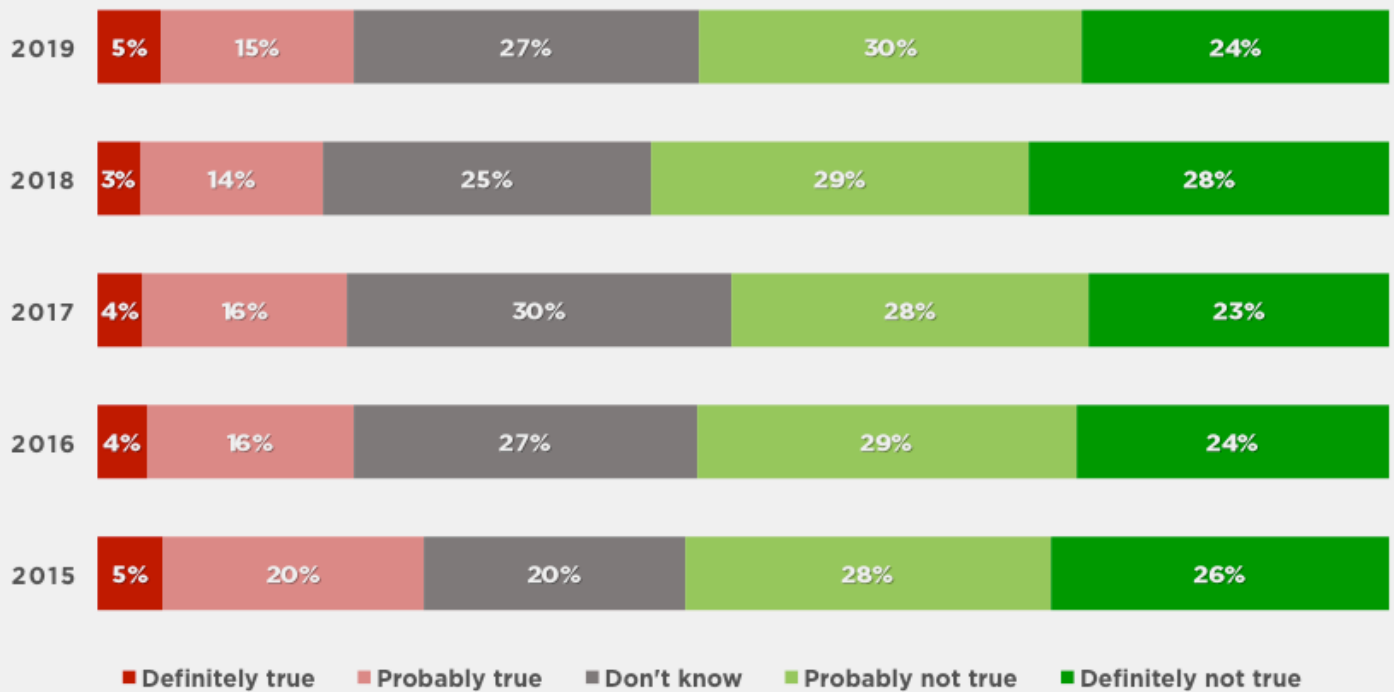
7. “I am just as open to having Jewish friends as I am to having friends from other sections of British society.” (2015 wording: “I would be unhappy if a family member married a Jew.”)

Whilst it was not possible to assess every common stereotype, prejudice and conspiracy myth about Jews, these seven statements reflect ideas that people who have a problem with Jews have historically expressed (or their opposites in the case of statements 6 and 7).

We found that an individual’s response to any one of the seven statements tends to predict their response to all of the others.

JEW'S AND MONEY

“British Jewish people chase money more than other British people.”



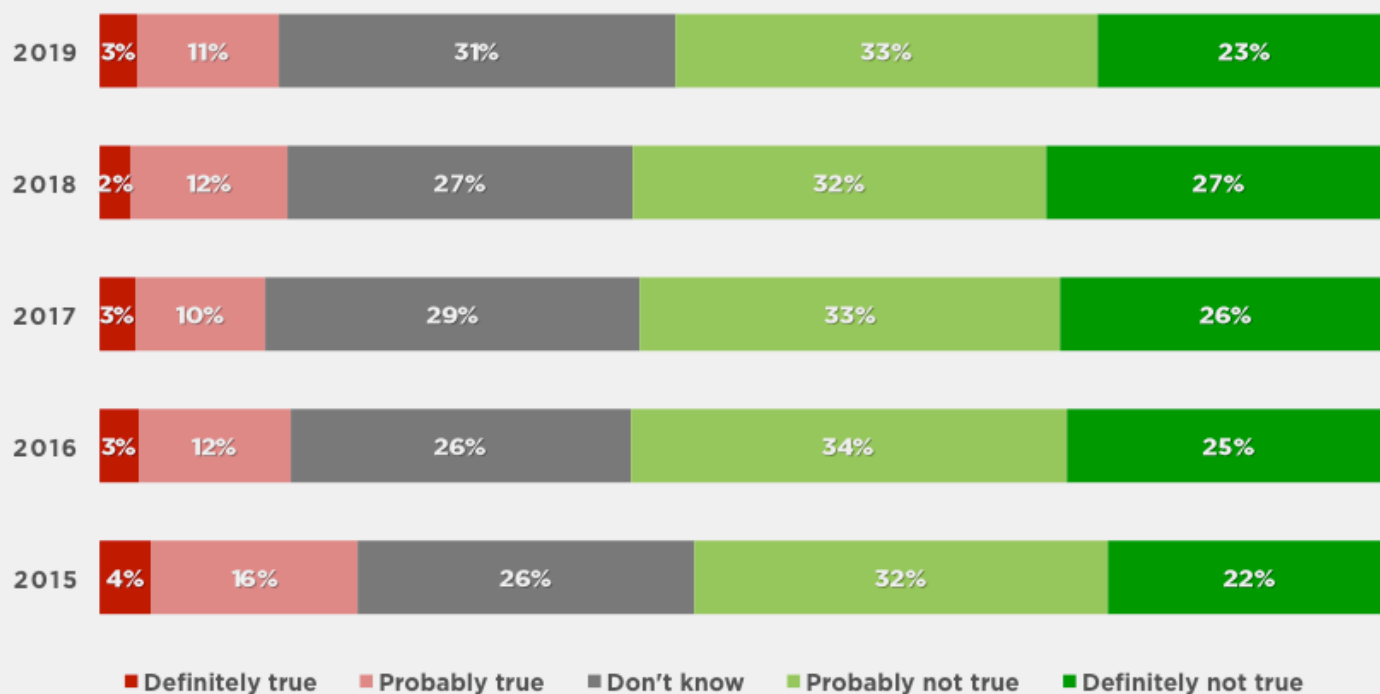
The stereotype of a greedy and miserly Jew originated centuries ago in the story of the betrayal of Jesus. Though Jesus and his disciples were Jewish, Judas, the disciple who supposedly betrayed Jesus for a bribe, was singled out by the early Church as the epitome of what was described as the Jewish ‘trait’ of avarice.

In reality, poverty is a major problem for many British Jews, while data also suggests that British Jews are disproportionately philanthropic. However, our polling shows that 20% of British people consider that Jews chase after money. Among members of the ‘very right-wing’ boost sample, this rose to 29%.

Throughout this report, percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number and as a result may not total to 100

JEWS AND LOYALTY

“Having a connection to Israel makes Jewish people less loyal to Britain than other British people.”

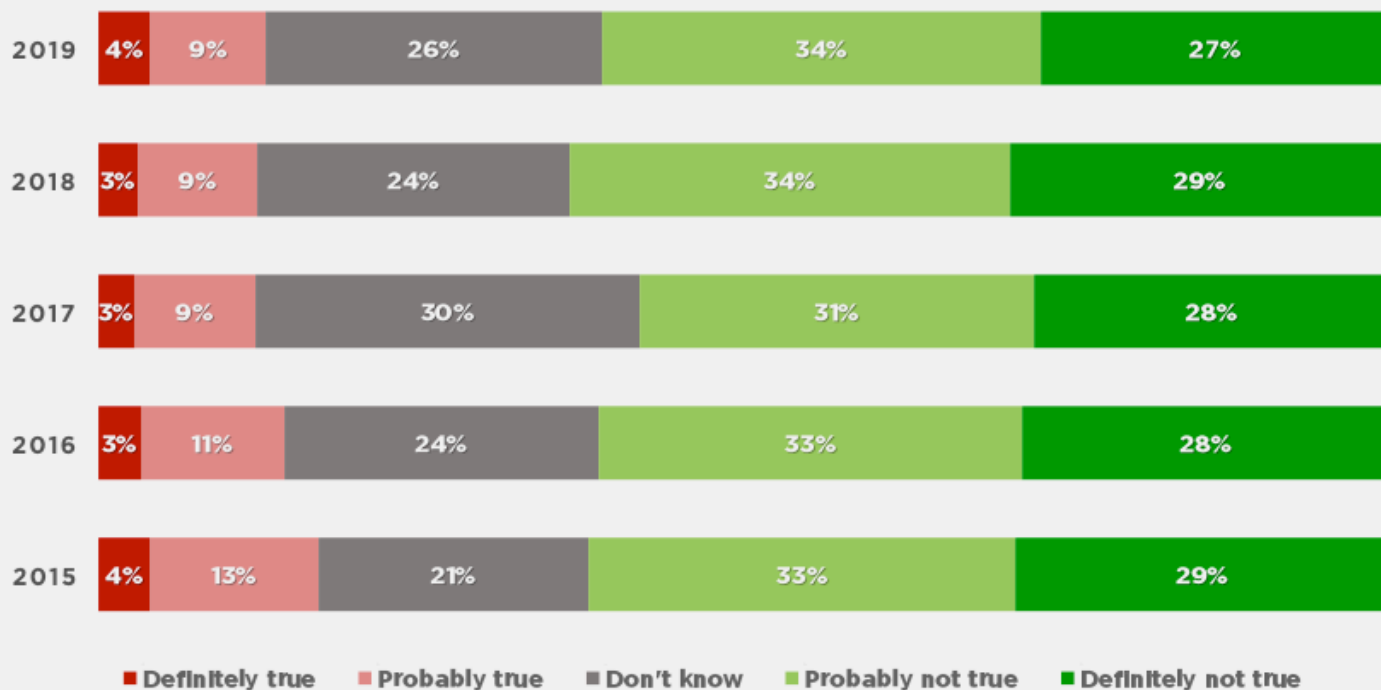


One of the best-known antisemitic conspiracy myths is contained in the antisemitic forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which was used to incite violent pogroms against Jews in Tsarist Russia and to dispossess them. Following the establishment of the modern State of Israel, Jewish conspiracy myths often accuse “Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the

interests of their own nations” in the words of the International Definition of Antisemitism. The theme of Jewish treachery is commonly found in British far-left and far-right claims that British Jews serve ‘Zionist’ masters, for example when a former aide to Jeremy Corbyn claimed that they overheard the Labour leader and other members of his staff describe Jewish MP Dame Louise Ellman as “the Honourable Member for Tel Aviv.”

JEWES AND INTEGRATION

“Jewish people consider themselves to be better than other British people.”

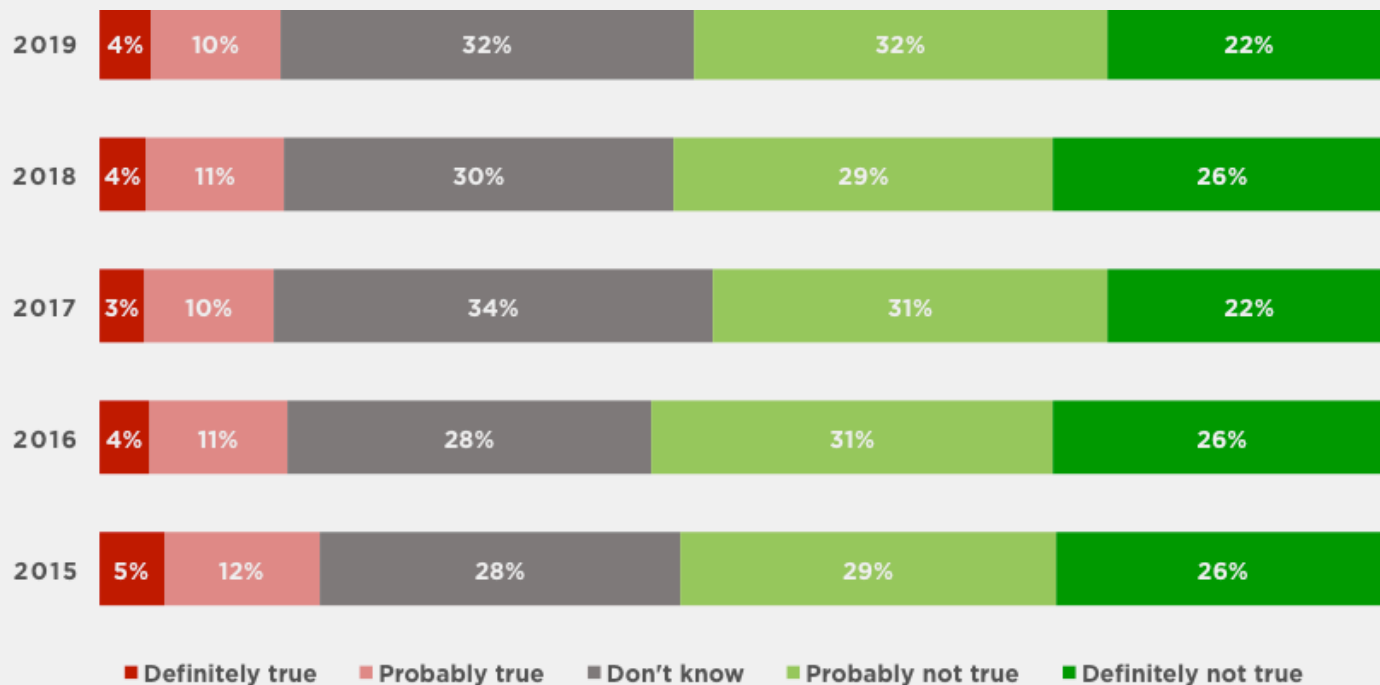


At various points throughout history, Jews have been cast out of mainstream society and forced to live in ghettos or made to practice only certain professions. This imposed segregation was then used against Jews by their persecutors, who were able to use the separation of Jews from mainstream society as a way of casting them as aloof or arrogant.

For example, phrases such as “North London elite” are sometimes used as indirect references to Jews and Jewish superiority, as there is a large Jewish population in the area. While it is disturbing enough that 13% of members of the main sample consider it true that British Jews consider themselves to be better than other British people, this rises to 20% in the boost sample of the ‘very right-wing’.

JEWES AND THE MEDIA

“Compared to other groups, Jewish people have too much power in the media.”

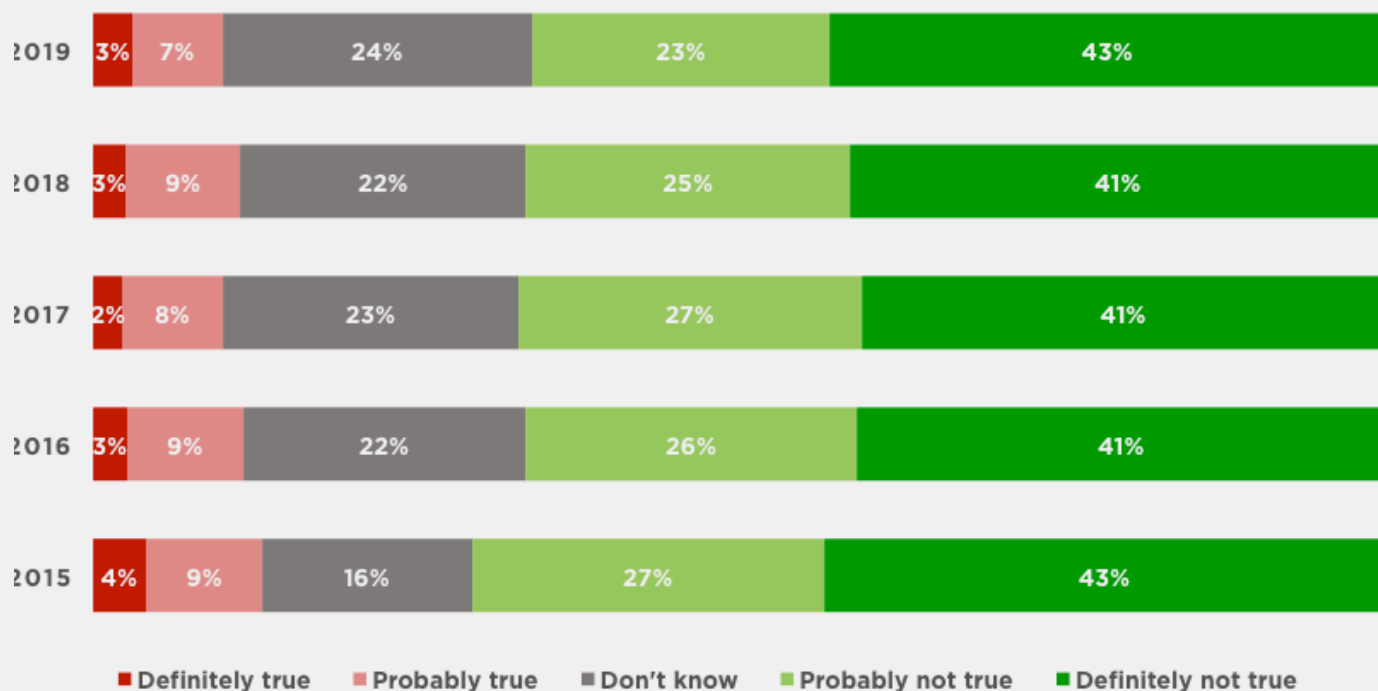


Since the emergence of mass media, antisemites have sought to portray Jewish involvement in its growth as the result of a conspiracy through which Jews may collectively control public discourse and nefariously influence society according to a common agenda. This antisemitic notion retains currency and is frequently heard.

For example, Malia Bouattia, former President of the National Union of Students was widely criticised for her remarks about what she described as the “Zionist-led media”. The idea that Jews have too much power in the media was regarded as true by 14% of the main sample, 18% of the ‘very left-wing’ boost sample, and 23% of the ‘very right-wing’ boost sample.

HOLOCAUST GUILT

“Jewish people talk about the Holocaust just to further their political agenda.”

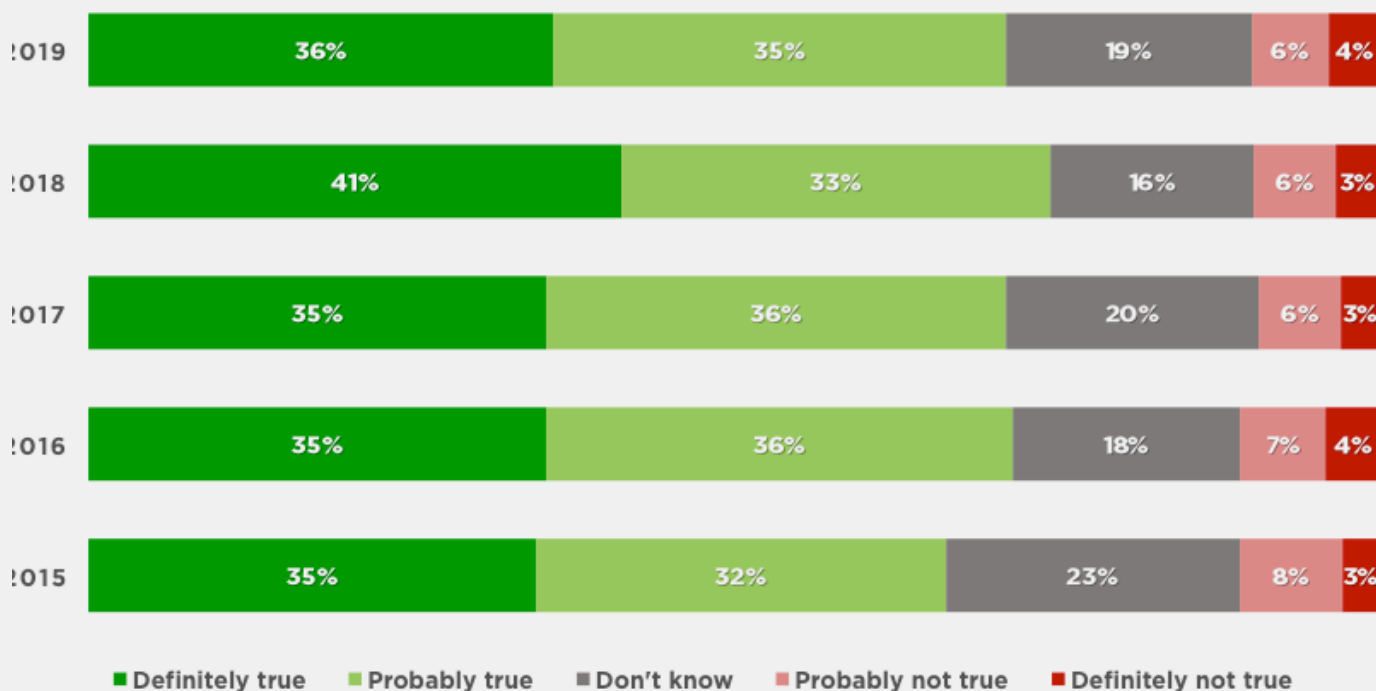


In the aftermath of the Holocaust, antisemites have claimed that Jews have used sympathy following the genocide in order to gain advantage for themselves. The antisemitic myth presupposes that Jews act in a concerted manner in order to progress a commonly-held objective. As well as being a common feature of antisemitic conspiracy myths, the theme plays a major part in Holocaust denial by providing a supposed motive for Jews to fabricate the Holocaust.

This is sometimes referred to as ‘playing the Holocaust card’, a phrase used even by the BBC’s Middle East Editor, Jeremy Bowen. The idea that Jews talk about the Holocaust only in order to further their political agenda was regarded as true by one in ten members of the main sample, and one in five members of the ‘very right-wing’ boost sample.

JEWES IN BUSINESS

“Jewish people can be trusted just as much as other British people in business.”



Due to the reverse wording of the question in 2015, the colours in the chart have been reversed for ease of comparison

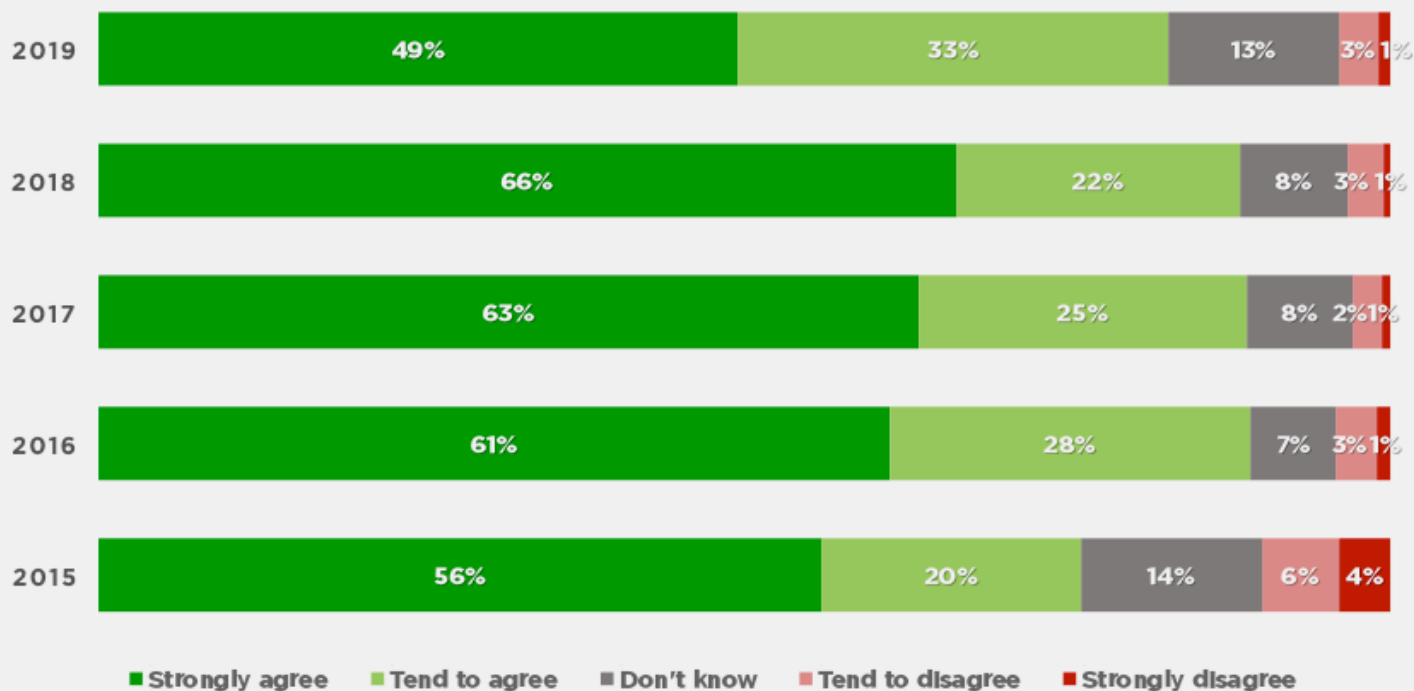
Due to the reverse wording of the question in 2015, the colours in the chart have been reversed for ease of comparison. The stereotype of a thieving, duplicitous Jew is linked to the portrayal by the early Church of Judas as the epitome of Jewishness. In British literature from *The Merchant of Venice* to *Oliver Twist*, Jews have been portrayed as dishonest in business and inherently untrustworthy.

In modern Britain there remains a perception amongst some that Jews are crooked.

This sometimes surfaces in discourse about Jews who are at the centre of business controversies, such as Robert Maxwell, the ‘Guinness Four’ and Sir Philip Green.

EXCLUSION OF JEWS

“I am just as open to having Jewish friends as I am to having friends from other sections of British society.”

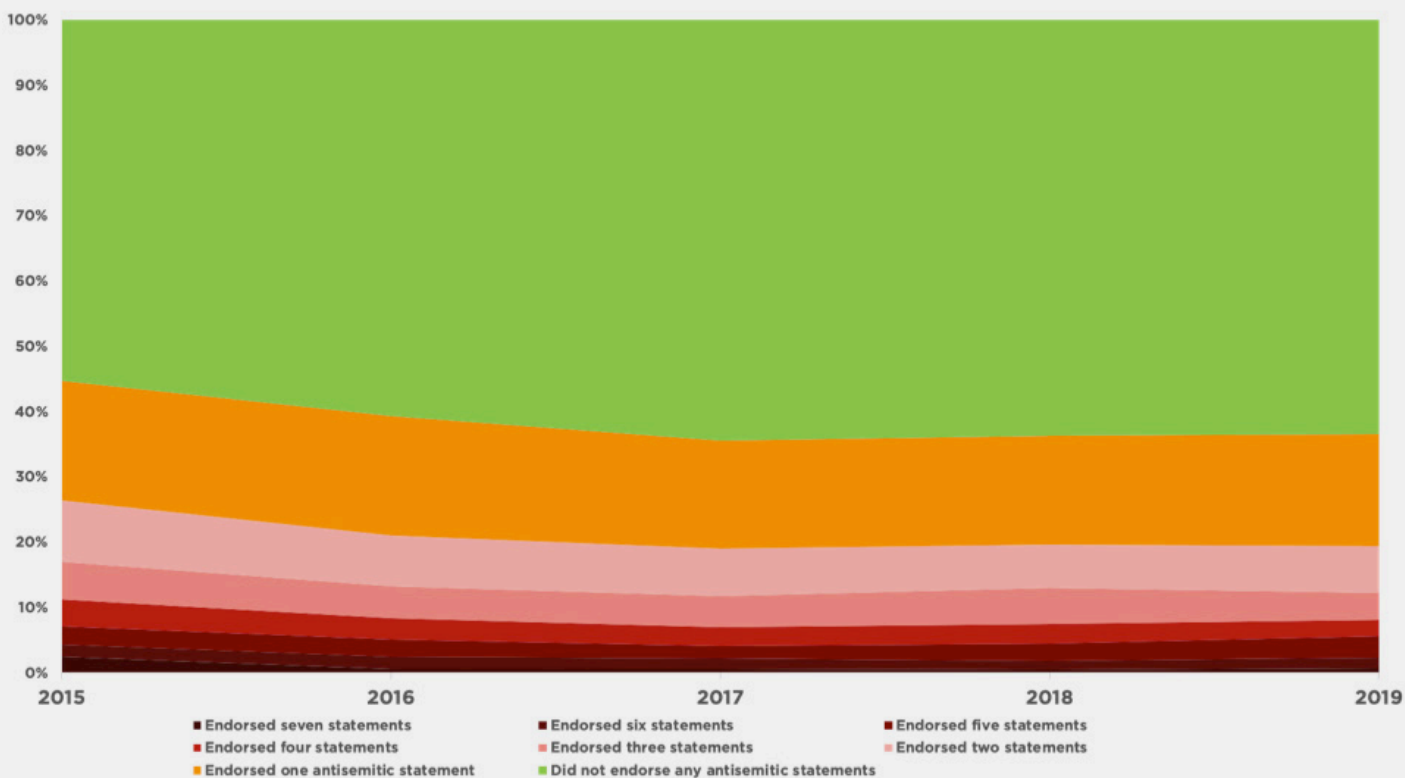


Due to the reverse wording of the question in 2015, the colours in the chart have been reversed for ease of comparison

4% of respondents dissented from the claim that they are just as open to having Jewish friends, which is consistent with the result in 2018 and the two years prior. However, 13% said they did not know, which is a larger proportion compared with previous years.

Our research also suggested that many people may not be as open to friendship with Jewish people as they like to think, as revealed by the responses to questions about anti-Zionist antisemitism.

TRENDS



ANTISEMITIC STATEMENTS ENDORSED	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
None	55%	61%	64%	64%	63%
At least 1	45%	39%	36%	36%	37%
At least 2	26%	21%	19%	20%	19%
At least 3	17%	13%	12%	13%	12%
At least 4	11%	8%	7%	8%	8%
At least 5	7%	5%	4%	4%	6%
At least 6	4%	2%	2%	2%	2%
All 7	3%	1%	1%	0%	1%

Judeophobic antisemitism expressed in the form of stereotypes and prejudice about British Jews has remained fairly consistent over the past five years that this survey has been undertaken.

Events over the past five years, such as the Brexit referendum, do not appear to have

impacted the popularity of such Judeophobic antisemitic stereotypes and prejudices.

As noted above, the only substantial change in responses to statements came between 2015 and 2016.

ANTI-ZIONIST ANTISEMITISM IN BRITAIN

For the first time, this study presented respondents with statements reflecting the new ways in which antisemitism has come to be expressed in recent decades (as acknowledged in the range of examples incorporated in the International Definition of Antisemitism). As noted above, those antisemitic tropes that concern the supposed outsized and malign influence of the Jewish state and its supporters, as well as drawing comparisons of Israeli policy to that of the Nazis, are termed ‘anti-Zionist antisemitism’ for the purposes of this study.

In order to poll anti-Zionist antisemitism, YouGov asked the same representative sample of British adults six statements about the Jewish State and asked respondents to state whether they agreed or disagreed with them. The questions were phrased negatively and positively, and were designed to identify which types of anti-Zionist antisemitism were most prevalent amongst British adults. Not every statement polled was expressly antisemitic in isolation.

The six statements were first designed and pilot-tested in a peer-reviewed academic article by Dr Daniel Allington and Dr David Hirsh, and, like the statements we used to measure Judeophobic antisemitism, were found to achieve a high level of internal reliability (see Dr Allington’s analysis, available from Campaign Against Antisemitism).

As this is the first year in which these statements have been polled, there is no comparative data.

The statements shown to respondents were:

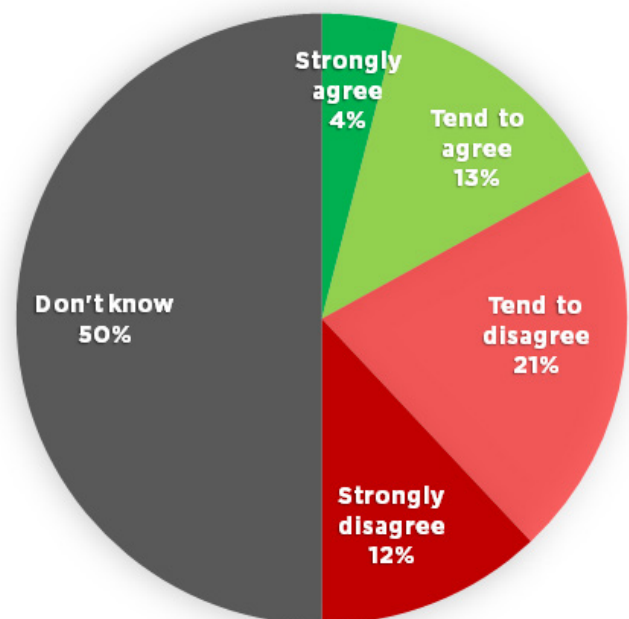
1. **“Israel and its supporters are a bad influence on our democracy.”**
2. **“Israel can get away with anything because its supporters control the media.”**
3. **“Israel treats the Palestinians like the Nazis treated the Jews.”**

4. **“I am comfortable spending time with people who openly support Israel.”**
5. **“Israel makes a positive contribution to the world.”**
6. **“Israel is right to defend itself against those who want to destroy it.”**

ISRAEL AND BRITISH POLITICS

“Israel and its supporters are a bad influence on our democracy.”

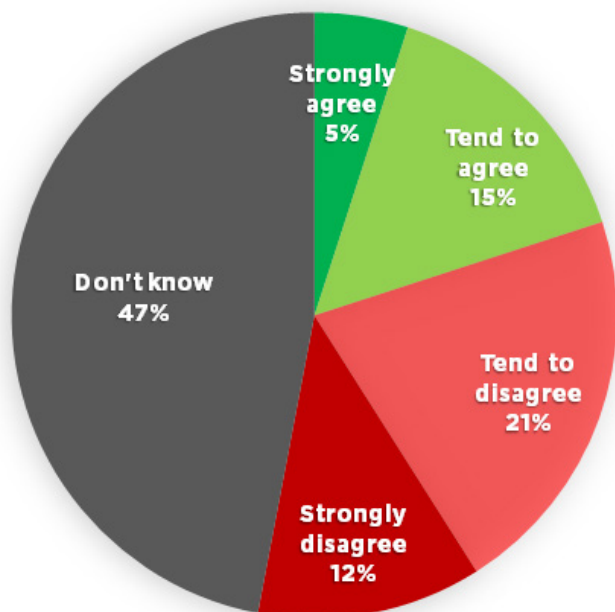
The idea that Jews maintain an excessive



influence in society was popularised by *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Most people would probably recognise the idea that Jews are a bad influence on Britain’s democracy as racist - but if we replace the word “Jews” with a reference to the Jewish state and its supporters, we find that this pernicious notion remains popular, albeit hidden. Fully 17% of respondents believe that the Jewish state and those who support it do damage to British democracy, and alarmingly only 33% state that it is not true, with half of respondents saying they do not know. Among members of the ‘very left-wing’ boost sample, 42% said that it is true.

ISRAEL AND THE MEDIA

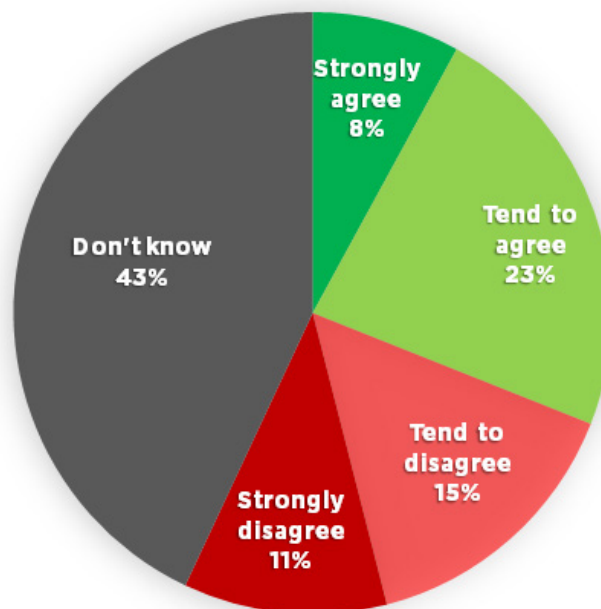
“Israel can get away with anything because its supporters control the media.”



Whereas 14% of respondents believe that Jews have too much power in the media, 20% believe that supporters of the Jewish state not only influence the media but in fact control it, and that Israel can act with impunity as a result. Chillingly, only 33% disagree with the statement. Again, this is a clear example of how old-fashioned prejudices about Jews appear to become more palatable if they are rephrased to implicate the Jewish state.

ISRAEL AND THE NAZIS

“Israel treats the Palestinians like the Nazis treated the Jews.”



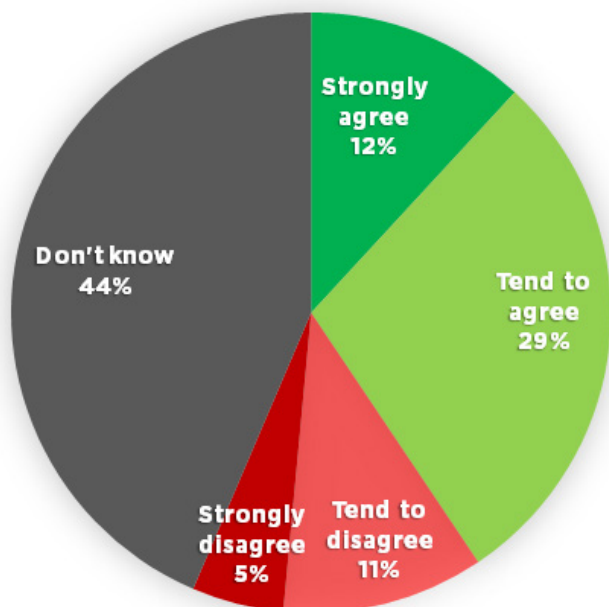
Almost one third of Britons believe that Israel treats the Palestinians like the Nazis treated the Jews, which is an explicit example of antisemitism according to the International Definition.

The comparison invokes a double standard, as there is no objective justification for the claim and other states are rarely characterised in this manner. Moreover, it associates the Jewish state with what many consider to be the most evil regime in history and, above all, the comparison draws a parallel between the state that murdered half the Jews in Europe and the state to which the survivors and other persecuted Jews fled.

This antisemitic belief has not been captured in previous surveys, yet it is held by 31% of the British population. Merely 26% of respondents rejected the antisemitic proposition. Still more worryingly, this statement was believed to be true by a staggering 60% of members of the ‘very left-wing’ boost sample.

SOCIALISING WITH SUPPORTERS OF ISRAEL

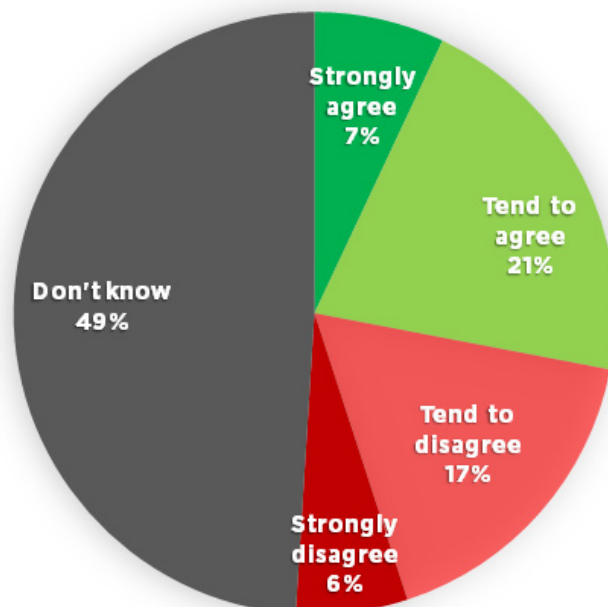
“I am comfortable spending time with people who openly support Israel.”



It is noteworthy that while just 4% of respondents said that they were not open to having Jewish friends, 16% of respondents said that they were not comfortable spending time with people who openly support Israel, and fewer than half (41%) said the opposite. Other studies have noted that the overwhelming majority of British Jews support Israel. This suggests that many British people are not as comfortable with Jews as they like to think, or perhaps that they are willing to tolerate Jews only as long as they keep their opinions quiet.

ISRAEL'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD

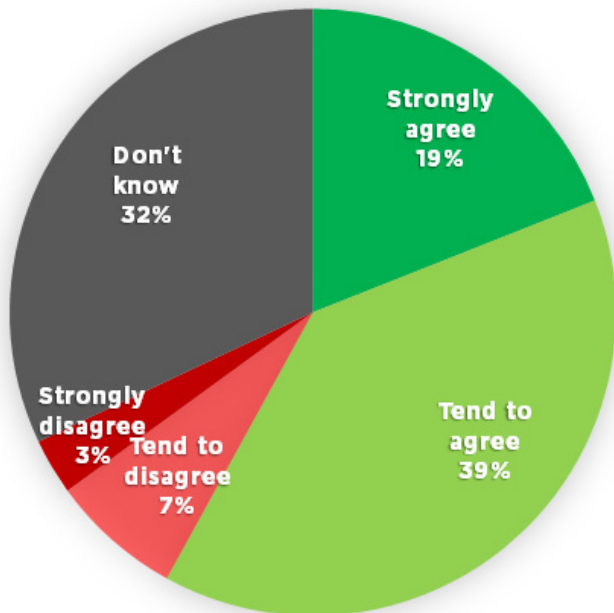
“Israel makes a positive contribution to the world.”



Over one in five respondents disagreed with the claim that Israel makes a positive contribution to the world. Although this statement is not antisemitic in itself, analysis showed that it was in fact a very good predictor of a respondent's responses to other statements and therefore a good indicator of anti-Zionist antisemitic attitudes in general. 28% of people agreed that Israel makes a positive contribution to the world.

ISRAEL DEFENDING ITSELF

“Israel is right to defend itself against those who want to destroy it.”



One in ten respondents did not believe that Israel is right to defend itself against those who want to destroy it, the implication being that they are indifferent to or are supportive of the destruction of the state that is home to almost half of the world's Jews. Among members of the 'very left-wing' boost sample, this rose to three in ten.

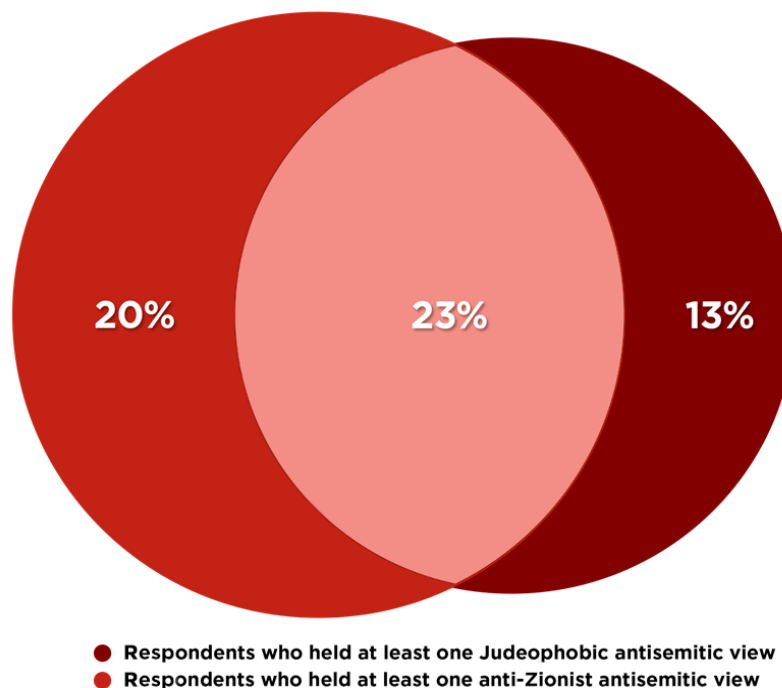
ANTISEMITISM IN BRITAIN TODAY

The previous sections considered the prevalence of Judeophobic antisemitism and, for the first time, anti-Zionist antisemitism, in isolation. The relationship between these forms of antisemitism was explored in a separate analysis carried out for Campaign Against Antisemitism by Dr Daniel Allington of King's College London. Dr Allington considered the extent to which

those who held Judeophobic antisemitic views also held anti-Zionist antisemitic views, the relationship between the espousal of antisemitic opinions and political worldviews and support for particular political leaders, and the relationship between antisemitism and attitudes to the media. Dr Allington's full analysis is available from Campaign Against Antisemitism.

His main findings are summarised below.

THE INTERSECTION BETWEEN JUDEOPHOBIC ANTISEMITISM AND ANTI-ZIONIST ANTISEMITISM



This Venn diagram shows the percentage of members of the nationally-representative sample who held either one or more of five anti-Zionist antisemitic attitudes (we excluded responses to “Israel makes a positive contribution to the world” because negative responses do not necessarily denote antisemitism) or one or more of the seven Judeophobic antisemitic attitudes, as well as the overlap between these two groups of people. It reveals three important findings.

First, just 44% of respondents did not hold a Judeophobic antisemitic opinion or an anti-Zionist antisemitic opinion.¹ In other words, those who do not subscribe to any antisemitic views would appear to be in a minority in Britain today.

This suggests that antisemitic views may be much more widespread in Britain than previously realised.

1. This falls to 42% if we include disagreement with the statement “Israel makes a positive contribution to the world”.

Second, 54% of those respondents who held one or more anti-Zionist antisemitic views also held one or more Judeophobic antisemitic views, and 63% of those respondents who held one or more Judeophobic antisemitic views also held one or more anti-Zionist antisemitic views. Some overlap was to be expected, given the findings of earlier studies such as the 2017 Jewish Policy Research survey of attitudes to Jews and Israel, but this level of overlap was even more dramatic than we expected.

Although some people insist that attitudes toward the Jewish state have no connection to attitudes to Jews, our survey results suggest that **if an individual holds at least one anti-Zionist antisemitic view, it is more likely than not that he or she will hold at least one Judeophobic antisemitic view as well.**

Third, 33% of respondents held at least one antisemitic view in only one of the two categories, suggesting that, notwithstanding the significant overlap, there are some British adults who are attracted to one type of antisemitism but not the other.

Dr Allington found that anti-Zionist antisemitic views are more popular on the political Left than on the Right. Moreover, some people may erroneously associate antisemitism with Judeophobic antisemitism only.

It seems likely that some of those who hold anti-Zionist antisemitic views may not realise that those views are antisemitic.

ANTISEMITISM FROM RIGHT TO LEFT

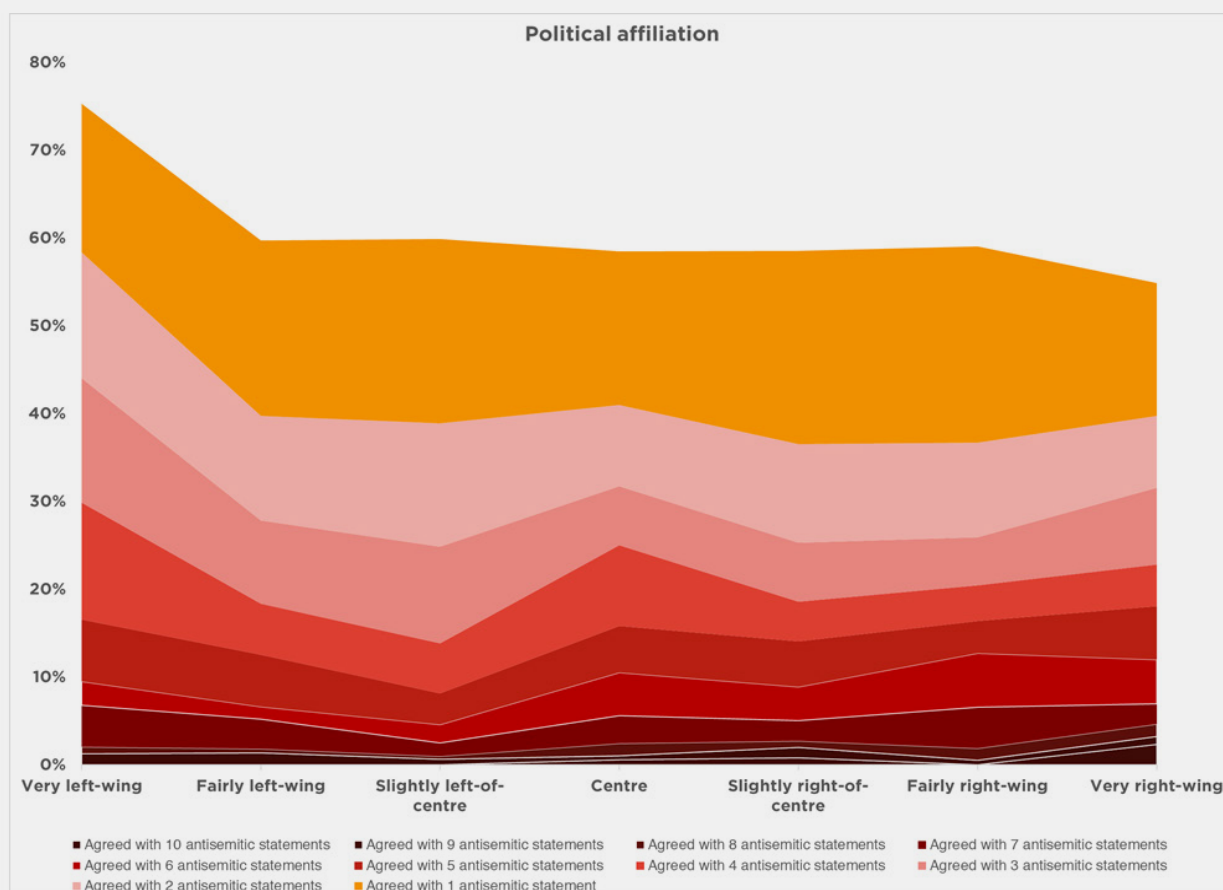
Dr Allington examined the relationship between antisemitic attitudes and self-declared position on the left-right axis. Unlike previous studies, which have tended to rely on respondents' subjective opinion of their political view, our survey also asked respondents about their support for the leaders of the four main political parties (as determined by their share of the national vote in the 2019 European Parliament elections). For greater accuracy, the nationally-representative sample was combined with the boost samples of 'very right-wing' and 'very left-wing' respondents.

This polling is the first to show that while antisemitism endures on the British political Right, it has been overtaken by antisemitism on the Left.

In this chart and throughout the rest of the report, a balanced scale of five Judeophobic and five anti-Zionist antisemitic items was used, so the maximum number of antisemitic attitudes is ten.

This chart shows the relationship between antisemitism and political worldviews. The chart progresses from very left-wing through the political centre to very right-wing, tracking the extent to which those associated with those political viewpoints hold one or more antisemitic opinions.

Even leaving aside the 'very left-wing', where levels were higher, **55% to 60% of British adults in each group expressed at least one antisemitic attitude. These are alarming findings, because they show the prevalence of antisemitism across the political spectrum.**



Looking at the specific political worldviews, **respondents identified as ‘very left-wing’ exhibited by far the most agreement with antisemitic statements, with 75% of respondents espousing at least one antisemitic view.**

When one looks at those who held two or more antisemitic views, from the ‘fairly left-wing’ to the ‘very right-wing’, there was little variation, with 37% to 41% of British adults in each group holding two or more antisemitic views. **But among the ‘very left-wing’, 58% held two or more antisemitic views.**

Antisemitic views are therefore more prevalent on the far-left of British politics than anywhere else on the political spectrum.

It is important to recognise that this finding applied specifically to the ‘very left-wing’ and *not* to the left as a whole. Respondents who identified themselves as ‘slightly left-of-centre’, or even as ‘fairly left-wing’, typically held substantially

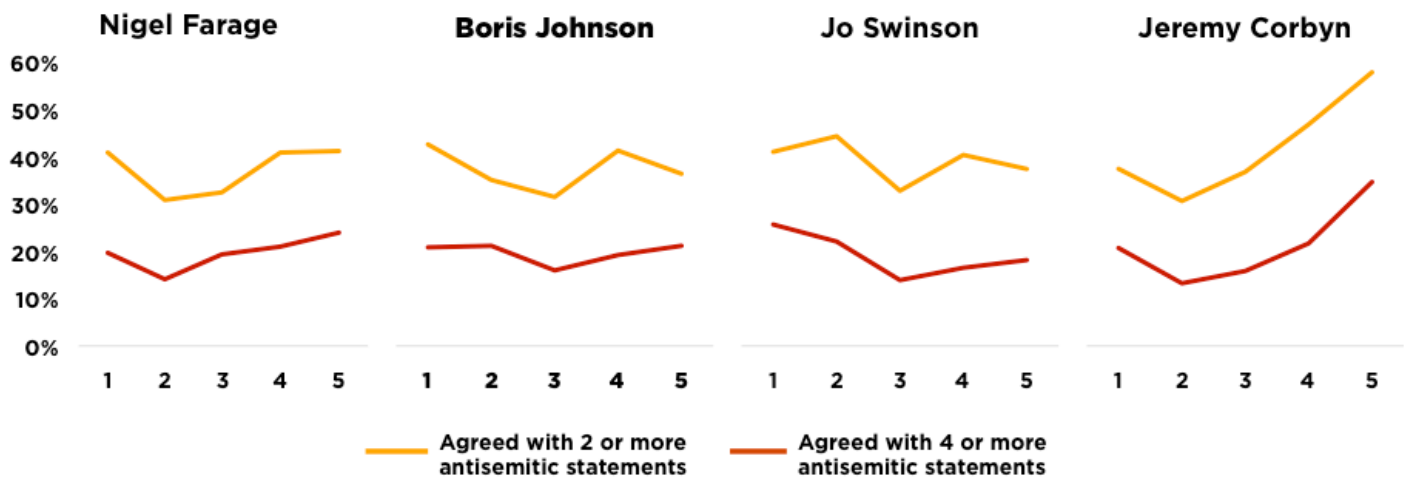
fewer antisemitic attitudes than those who identified themselves as ‘very left-wing’.

This is the first study to reveal that antisemitic attitudes are most prevalent on the far-left of British politics.

This finding is mostly accounted for by the proportion of ‘very left-wing’ respondents holding one, two, or three antisemitic views. When we look at the percentage of respondents holding four or more antisemitic views, there is no clear relationship with one’s position on the political spectrum.

Dr Allington found a more pronounced difference when looking not at abstract political positions but at attitudes toward specific political leaders.

ANTISEMITISM AND POLITICAL LEADERS



This chart divides respondents by their support for one of four political party leaders, and the degree of that support. The four party leaders are Labour's Jeremy Corbyn, the Liberal Democrats' Jo Swinson, the Conservatives' Boris Johnson, and the Brexit Party's Nigel Farage. The survey did not poll support for other political party leaders.

As we move across each chart from left to right, we move from respondents who strongly dislike the leader in question to respondents who strongly like him or her. The higher the orange line climbs, the higher the percentage of people who hold at least two antisemitic views, and the higher the red line climbs, the higher the percentage of people who hold at least four.

The most noticeable trend is that the more intensely respondents supported the leader of the Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn, the more likely they were to hold multiple antisemitic views. Dr Allington found that 58% of those who strongly liked Jeremy Corbyn held two or more antisemitic views, and 35% held four or more such views, compared to around 40% and 20% respectively among those who strongly liked each of the other three party leaders.

These are remarkably large differences, and appear to reflect a statistically significant pattern.

While the relationship between holding antisemitic views and supporting any of the latter three party leaders appears weak, there seems to be a much stronger relationship between holding antisemitic opinions and supporting Jeremy Corbyn.

The leader of the Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn, appears to be the candidate of choice for many antisemites.

This is certainly not to suggest that everyone who likes or supports Jeremy Corbyn is an antisemite, but we find it deeply concerning that those who like him the most seem so much more likely than other people to hold multiple antisemitic views.

THE MEANING OF ZIONISM

The word “Zionism” historically refers to the political movement to establish the modern State of Israel, alongside other national movements of self-determination in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

However, the term has also become a pejorative synonym for “Jews” in some circles. For example, in 2017, Nazim Ali, a pharmacist who led the annual “Al Quds Day” march through London, blamed the Grenfell Tower tragedy on “Zionists”. An abbreviated form – “Zio” – which is only used in a derogatory sense, has migrated from far-right websites to far-left discourse. For example, the co-chair of the Oxford University Labour Club resigned in 2016 in protest at the use of the term “Zio”, observing that a large proportion of the Club and the student Left in Oxford more generally “have some kind of problem with Jews”.

We asked respondents the following question, to which they could provide free text answers: **“What, if anything, does the word ‘Zionism’ mean to you?”**

While many respondents opted for “Don’t know”, the remainder of the answers were mixed. Some gave relatively accurate answers, for example describing Zionism simply as the “belief in a Jewish state” or “Jewish nationhood”, or words to that effect, for example, “Support for the establishment

and maintenance of a Jewish state in the Holy Land”, “A belief that the Jews have a homeland to which they should be allowed to return”, or “the movement around the establishment and continuation of Israel as a Jewish state”. Others gave less well-informed answers, such as “extreme Judaism” or “militant Judaism”.

There were also many answers that seemed to be informed by anti-Zionist antisemitic discourse on Israel, for example “racism”, “Apartheid state”, “Jewish fascists”, “Radical and unpleasant warmongers” or “Jewish nationalist cause of which all criticism is banned”. Some appeared to interpret the word “Zionism” in a fashion that illustrated the intersection between anti-Zionist antisemitic and Judeophobic antisemitic tropes, for example the respondent who wrote that Zionism is “The promotion of extreme capitalist conspiracies to extract wealth from the many to the few whilst hiding behind Jewish culture and supporting the terrorist state in Israel”.

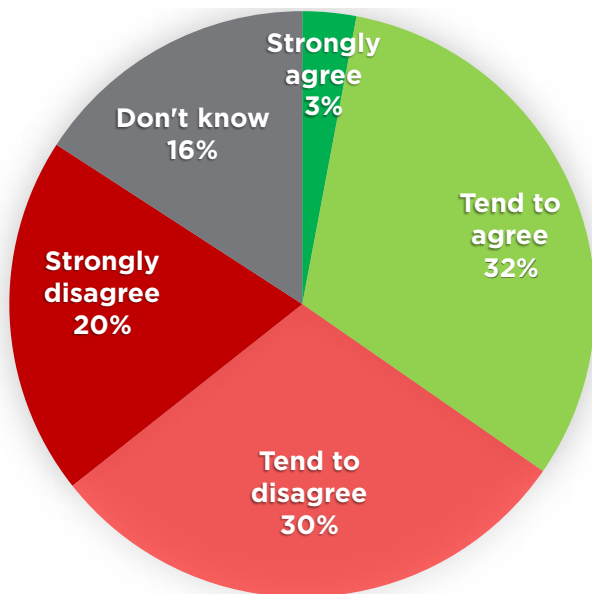
This provides further evidence of how antisemites seek to appropriate the words “Zionist” and “Zionism” and use them to express the same hateful ideas that have been used to oppress Jewish people since the 19th Century.

Perhaps in light of the growing derogatory use of the term, one respondent suggested that “It is a word against Jews, a hate word” while another said: “a word used by antisemites”.

ANTISEMITISM AND THE MEDIA

Due to concerns that antisemitic views are being promoted via social media, we asked two questions about attitudes to the media.

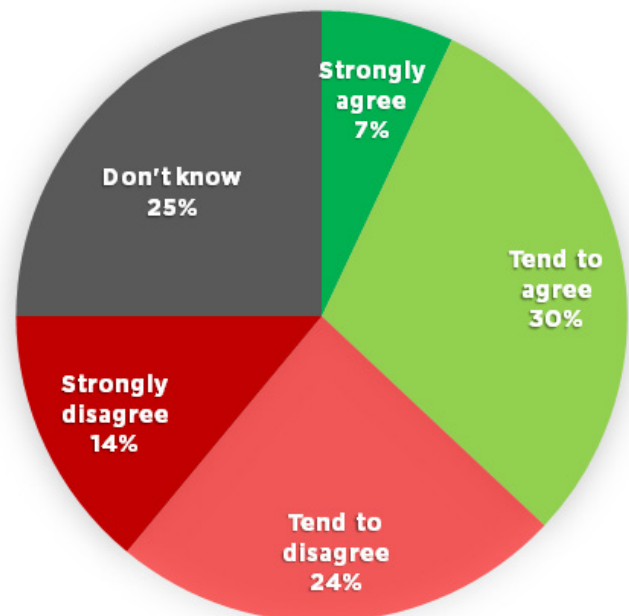
“As long as you stick to major newspapers and TV channels, you can trust most news most of the time.”



In his analysis of the results (available from Campaign Against Antisemitism), Dr Allington found that respondents who expressed trust in “major newspapers and TV channels” expressed antisemitic attitudes slightly less frequently than those who did not. However, those who regarded social media as a means to learn about “the news that major newspapers and TV channels want to keep secret” were significantly more likely to express antisemitic attitudes than those who did not. Moreover, both of these relationships were strongest among those who considered themselves to be ‘very left-wing’.

Among the general population and in the sample of “very right-wing” respondents, between 16 and 17% of those who disagreed with the second statement, but 27% of those who agreed with it, held four or more

“By using social media (Facebook, YouTube, etc), we can get the news that major newspapers and TV channels want to keep secret.”



antisemitic views. In the sample of “very left-wing” respondents, these figures were 20% and 39%. This is strong evidence for the influence of digital media platforms in spreading false beliefs about Jews - especially in certain political communities.

Although further analysis and investigation is required, this finding suggests that some online-only sources of information, (possibly including so-called ‘fake news’ sites), may indeed be responsible for disseminating antisemitic beliefs throughout the British population. This highlights the importance of effective and consistent regulation of hate speech on new media.

EFFECT OF HATRED ON BRITISH JEWS

SENSE OF SECURITY

Every year since 2015, Campaign Against Antisemitism has worked with partners in the Jewish community to poll a nationally-representative sample of British Jews. The results of our polling in 2019 and 2018 are published in this report for the first time. The polling was conducted prior to the calling of a General Election and the dissolution of Parliament.

Our methodology has been modelled on the methodology of the National Jewish Community Survey conducted by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research since 2016. This means that the results from our polling in 2015 cannot be compared to the results of our polling since.

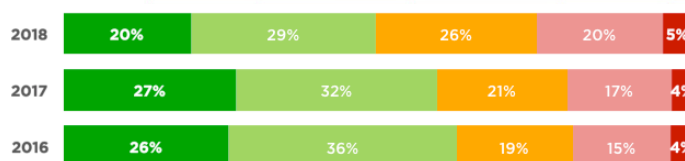
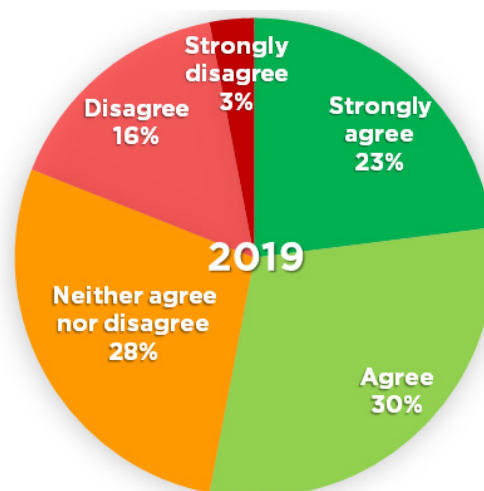
Overall, antisemitism in politics, combined with rising antisemitic crime and the failure of the authorities to take firm action against antisemites, have had a severely detrimental effect on British Jews’ sense of security. More than two in five British Jews have considered leaving the country, 80% consider that political developments have increased hostility towards Jews, and around half think that the Crown Prosecution Service is doing too little.

This polling maps British Jews’ sense of security, the threats that concern them most, and their perception of the response of political parties, the criminal justice system, the Government, and wider society. Not every question asked in 2019 was asked in 2018, therefore comparisons are not available for every question.

In order to assess British Jews’ sense of security in context, we asked whether they consider that Jews have a long-term future in the UK, and also in Europe outside the UK. We also asked whether they had considered leaving the UK due to antisemitism in the past two years (to avoid capturing transient reactions in response to any particular recent events), how welcome they feel in the UK, and how comfortable they feel showing that they are Jewish in public.

FUTURE IN THE UK

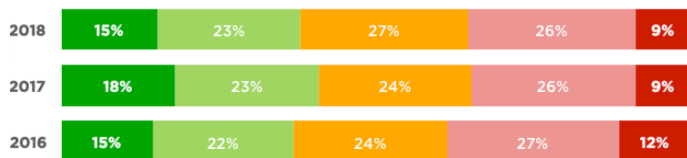
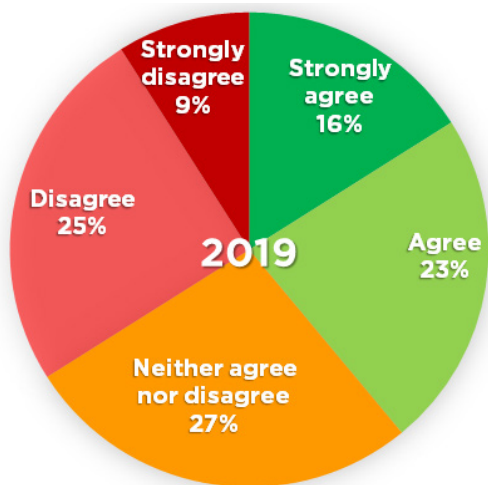
“Jews have a long-term future in the UK.”



In 2019, one in five British Jews felt that Jews did not have a long-term future in the UK. 53% felt that Jews do have a long-term future in the UK, down from 59% in 2017 and 62% the year before, but up slightly from 2018.

FUTURE IN THE REST OF EUROPE

“Jews have a long-term future in Europe, outside of the UK.”

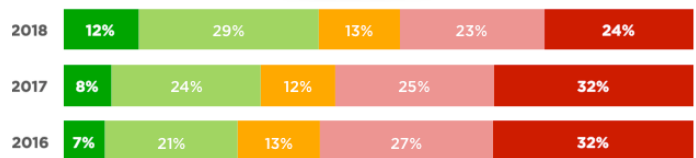
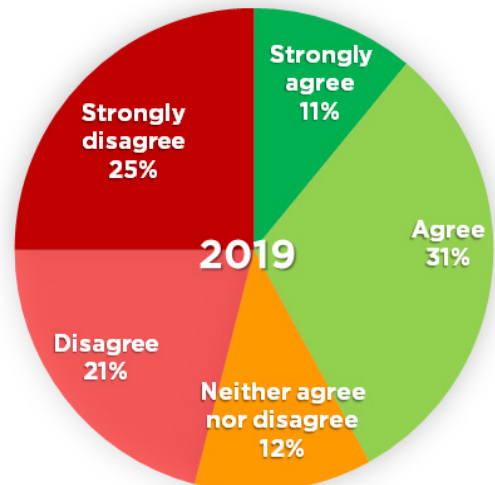


British Jews feel less optimistic about the future of Jews in the rest of Europe, outside of the UK, than they do about the future of Jews in the UK. In 2019, 34% of British Jews felt that Jews do not have a long-term future in Europe outside of the UK, which is similar to the results in 2018 and 2017, when 35% of British Jews held that view, and in 2016, when 39% did so.

It is notable that in 2019 **only 39% of British Jews feel that Jews have a long-term future in Europe outside of the UK.** This is probably due to rising antisemitism across the continent, and the failure to disrupt terrorist attacks targeting Jews, which together make Jews feel unsafe, a key driver of emigration.² This figure is similar to the 38% recorded in 2018.

LEAVING THE UK

“In the past two years I have considered leaving Britain due to antisemitism.”



42% of British Jews have considered leaving the UK in the past two years due to antisemitism.

This represents a record figure in our polling, which has risen every year, from 2016 when 28% agreed, to 31% in 2017 and 41% in 2018.

Jews who had considered leaving the UK were most likely to be aged between 25 and 64, although respondents aged 18 to 24 were not far behind. There was no significant difference between levels of religious observance or affiliation, suggesting that relocation is being considered by Jews of all denominations.

2. See “Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism/Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU”, EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, December 2018.

Since 2014, each year has seen record-breaking levels of antisemitic hate crime. This past year alone there have been an average of over three hate crimes directed at Jews every single day in England and Wales, according to the most recent Home Office figures, and per capita, Jews are almost four times as likely to be targeted by hate crime than any other religious group,³ however enforcement has remained lacklustre.

In our poll, we asked in an open-text question whether there is one factor that has strongly influenced the respondent's answer, and if so what it is. **Of those respondents who said that they were considering leaving the UK, almost two thirds expressly mentioned the Labour Party or its leader, Jeremy Corbyn,** which is indicative of the intensity of feeling and is further supported by the results detailed below. One respondent declared that "Labour has disenfranchised me", while others complained of a "lack of moral leadership".

Concerns about antisemitism more generally were also evident, with one respondent observing "unprecedented antisemitism" and another the "normalisation of antisemitism". One simply wrote: "spat at on the street."

Some respondents also expressed worries about the next generation, with one mentioning "my son's safety" and another lamenting "no safe spaces for my kids". These comments illustrate that the consistently rising levels of antisemitism are viewed by some British Jews as a long-term challenge, and support the findings that the Jews most likely to have considered leaving the UK are middle aged or younger.

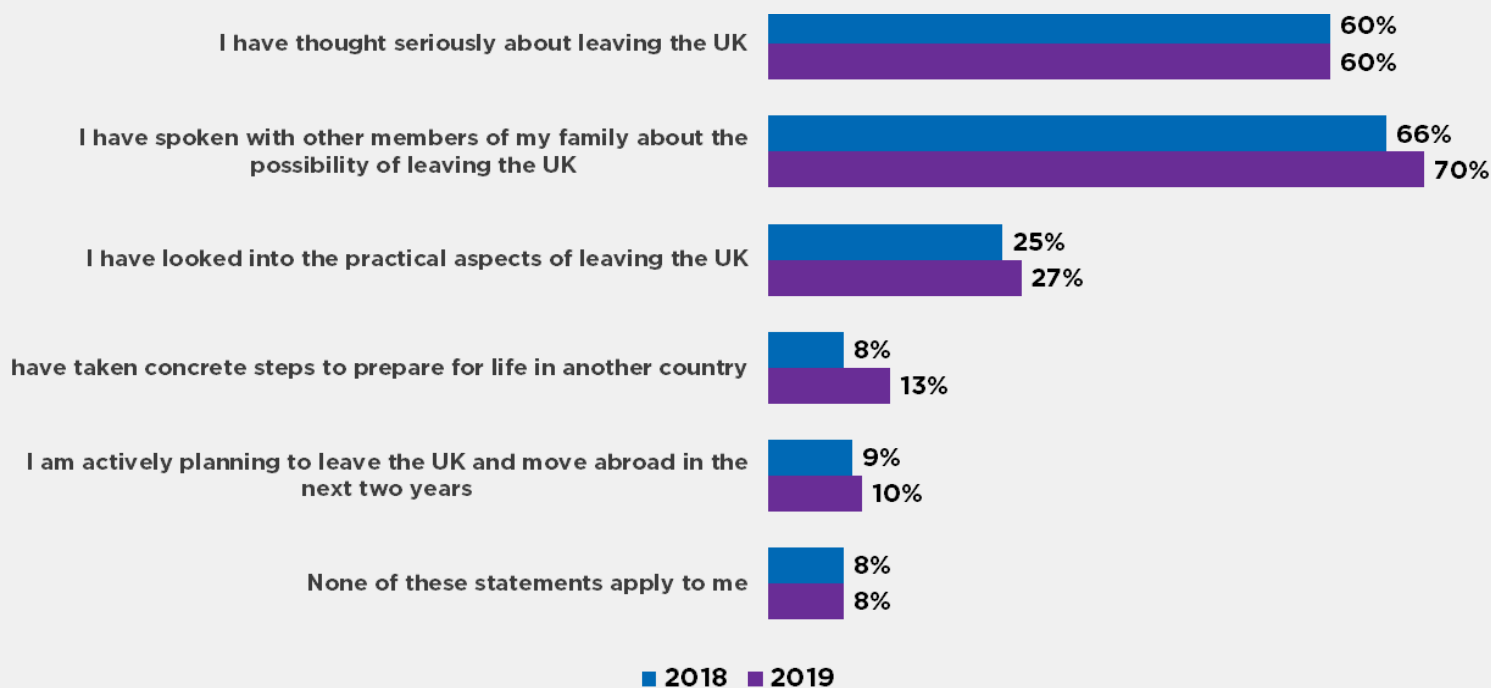
3. See "Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2018/19", Home Office, 15 October 2019.

PLANS TO LEAVE

We asked those who answered that they had considered leaving the UK in the past two

years due to antisemitism, how far long along their plans are.

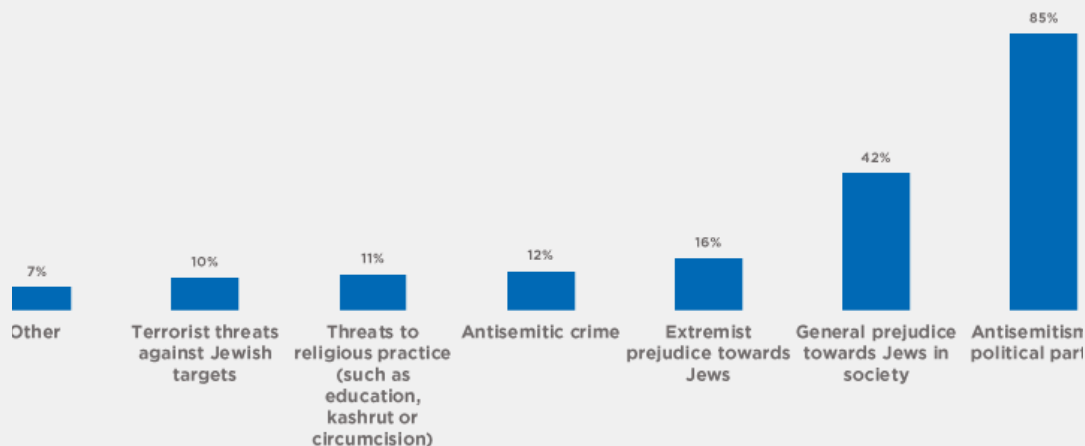
“You have told us that you have considered leaving the UK in the past two years because of antisemitism. Please tick all of the following statements that apply to you.”



Of those British Jews who have considered leaving the UK in the past two years, almost one quarter are actively planning to leave the UK or have taken concrete steps to prepare for life abroad. The results of this question are broadly the same as in 2018,

with the exception of those who have taken concrete steps to prepare for life in another country, which rose from 8% to 13%. This suggests that more of those Jews who have considered leaving the UK due to antisemitism are beginning to act on their fears.

“What are your main reasons for considering leaving the UK?”



Antisemitism in political parties has been a factor for 85% of British Jews who have considered leaving the UK in the past two years.

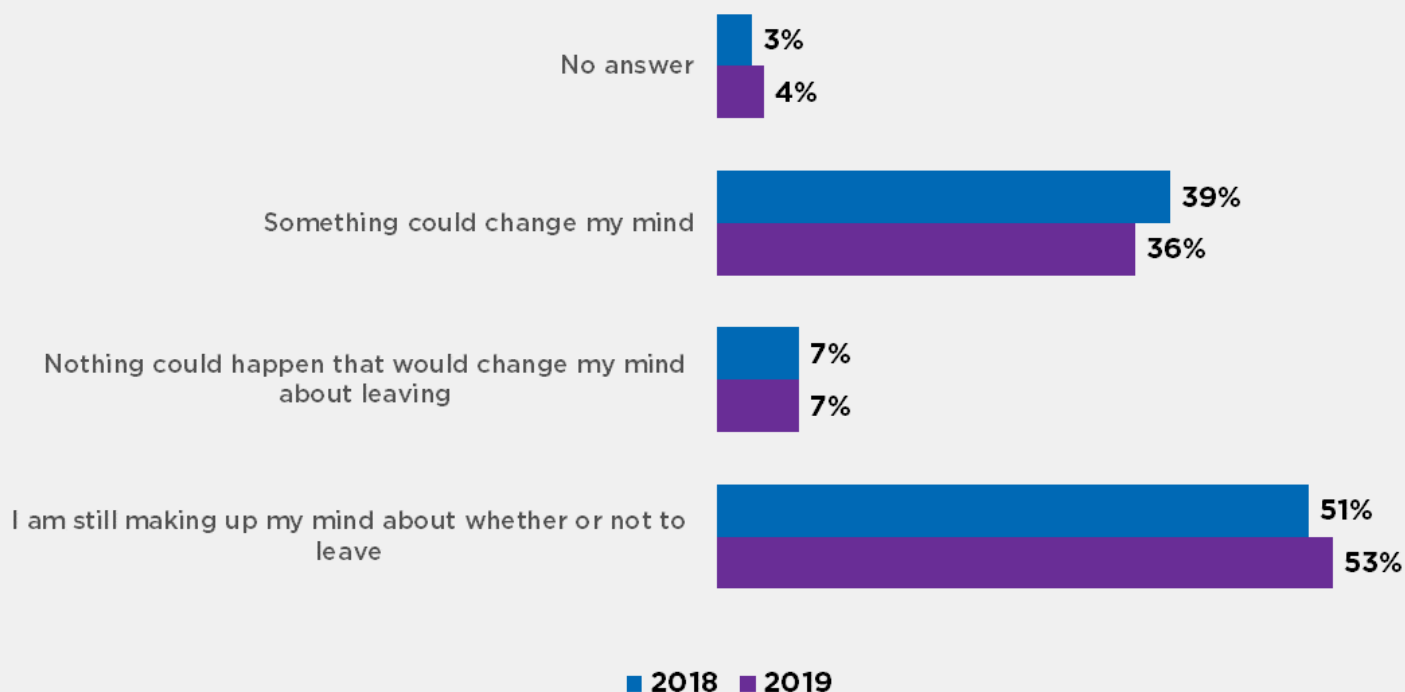
General prejudice towards Jews was also cited by 42% of respondents who have considered leaving the UK, with around one tenth worried about antisemitic crime, terrorist threats against Jewish targets and threats to religious practice.

For those who mentioned “other” factors, in the free text answer, respondents again commonly cited the Labour Party and its leader, Jeremy Corbyn, in substantial numbers, which suggests that the percentage citing antisemitism in political parties as a reason may be under-stated.

Other responses were also noteworthy, such as a “failure of [the] ‘powers that be’ to take antisemitism seriously,” an allusion to concerns over enforcement, which was also highlighted in responses to other questions detailed below. Other respondents mentioned “unpleasant comments made at work” and “being scared to tell people I’m Jewish”, as well as “public indifference to antisemitism”, “antisemitism being normalised in universities and schools” and feeling “sick of Holocaust denial”.

Finally, we asked those respondents who have considered leaving the UK in the past two years whether anything would have to happen to change their mind about leaving.

“Is there anything that would have to happen to change your mind about leaving?
If so, what would have to happen?”

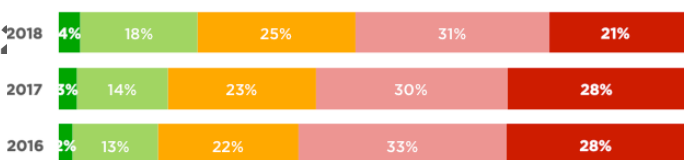
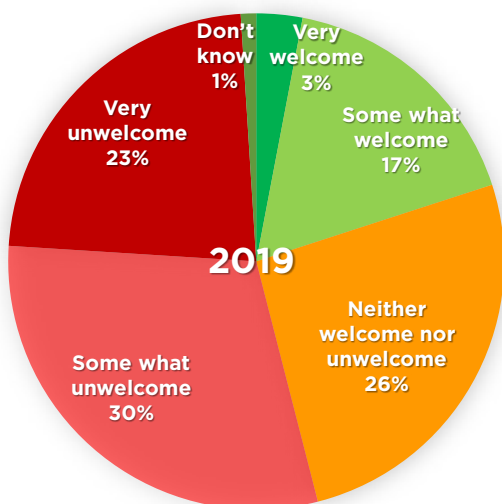


Of those British Jews who have considered leaving the UK in the past two years, 7% say nothing could happen that would change their minds about leaving.

Among the 39% of respondents who stated that there was something that would change their mind, almost everyone mentioned the Labour Party, for example stating that the Party or its leadership would have to change, that it would have to lose the coming general election, or that a new political party would have to take its place before they would reconsider their intention to leave. As one respondent said of what would have to happen: “Corbyn resigns along with the other left-wing extremists”.

FEELING WELCOME IN THE UK

“As a Jew, how welcome do you feel in the United Kingdom in general?”



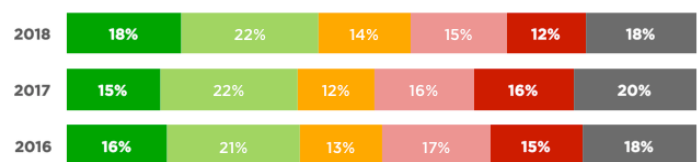
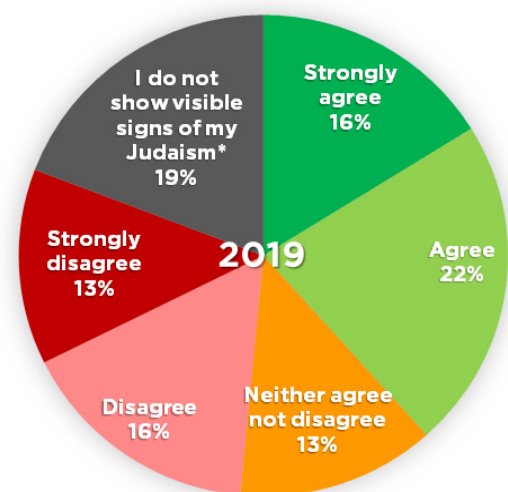
in the UK, up from 52% in 2018 but down from 59% in 2017 and 61% in 2016, **whilst 18% feel unwelcome**. This is an important measure of how comfortable British Jews feel within British society.

It is noteworthy that the number of British Jews who feel unwelcome is lower than the number who have considered leaving

the UK, or who do not believe that Jews have a long-term future in Britain. This appears to indicate that British Jews who are considering leaving are not doing so because they feel that British people in general are antisemitic. This emphasises the urgency of dealing with antisemitic crime, which appears to be a significant factor in reducing British Jews’ sense of security, and in robustly tackling antisemitism in politics.

PUBLIC DISPLAYS OF JUDAISM

“Due to antisemitism, I try not to show visible signs of my Judaism when I go out, like a Star of David or a Jewish skullcap (kippah).”



* I do not show visible signs of my Judaism, but that has nothing to do with antisemitism.

38% of British Jews avoid displaying outward signs of their Judaism in public.

This figure represents a rise from 37% in 2016 and 2017 and a fall from 40% in 2018. These figures are a strong sign that British Jews expect to be discriminated against, or even harassed or abused, if people know that they are Jewish, and instead opt to blend in due to fears of antisemitism.

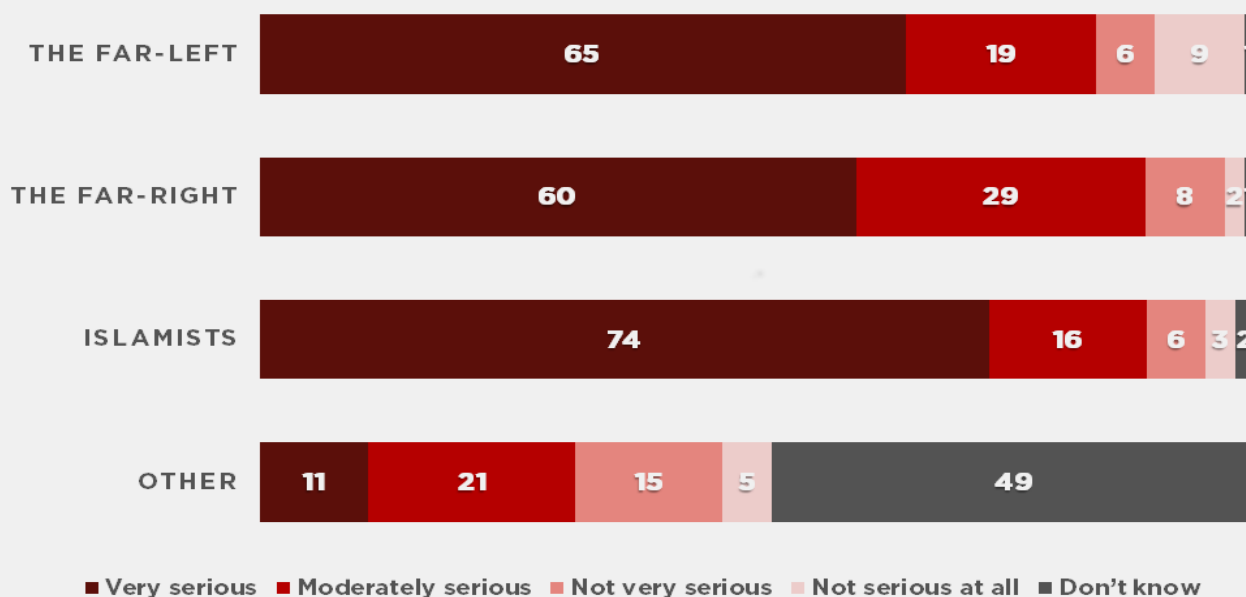
PERCEIVED THREATS

We asked British Jews how serious they perceive the threat emanating from the far-left, far-right and Islamism, respectively, to be.

We also asked about developments in British politics, and antisemitism within political discourse about Israel.

SOURCES OF ANTISEMITISM

“Many people believe that some of the following groups are a threat to British Jews. We would like to know how serious you think that threat is.”

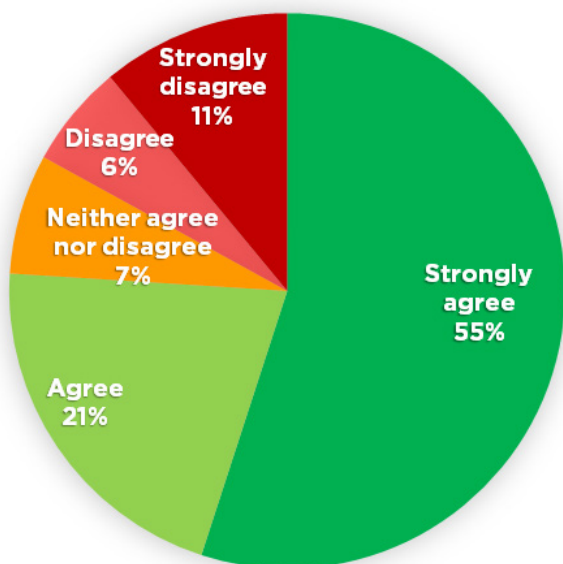


Close to nine in ten British Jews consider threats from the far-right, the far-left and Islamists to be very serious or moderately serious. More British Jews considered the threat from Islamists to be very serious, followed by the far-left and finally the far-right, however overall, taking the “very serious” and “moderately serious” responses together, more considered the threat from Islamists to be serious, followed by the far-right and then the far-left. In all cases, overwhelming majorities recognised threats from these extremes.

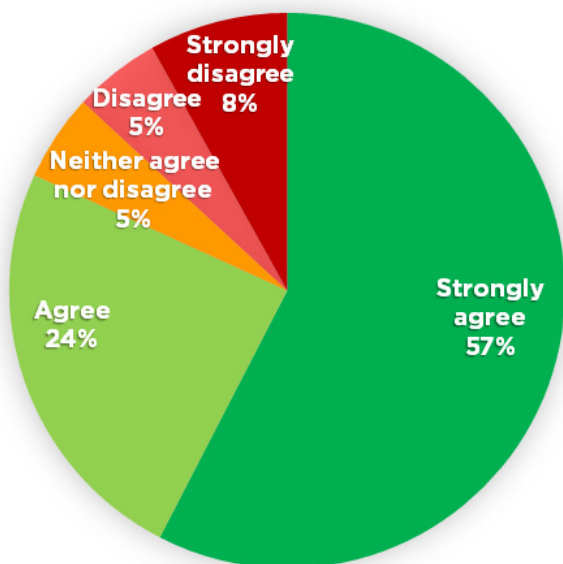
ANTISEMITISM IN POLITICS

DISCOURSE ABOUT ISRAEL

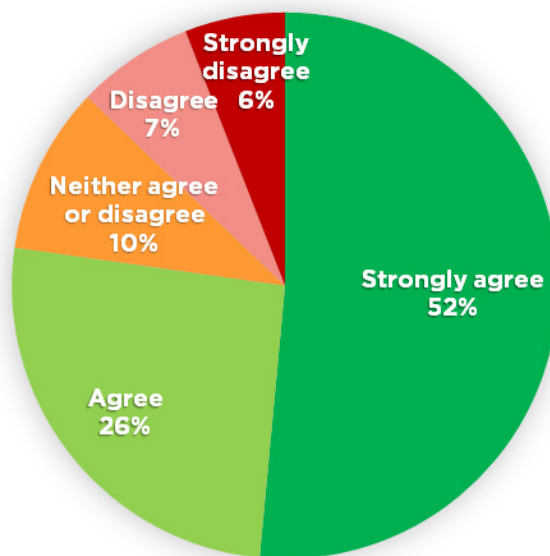
“Boycotts of businesses selling Israeli products constitute intimidation.”



“Media bias against Israel fuels persecution of Jews in Britain.”



“I have witnessed antisemitism that was disguised as a political comment about Israel or Zionism.”



When asked about antisemitism in discourse about Israel, British Jews responded emphatically: 78% had witnessed antisemitism disguised as a political comment about Israel or Zionism, 80% said that media bias against Israel was fuelling persecution of Jews in Britain, and 76% felt intimidated by tactics used to boycott Israel. In all cases, at least half of British Jews did not simply agree, they stated that they strongly agreed.

We have observed discourse about Israel being used as a disguised vector for antisemitism by Islamists, the far-left and the far-right, and it is extremely clear from these responses that British Jews feel targeted by those who cross from mere criticism of Israel into antisemitism.

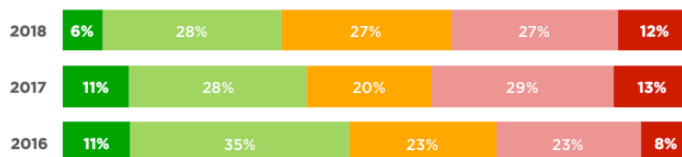
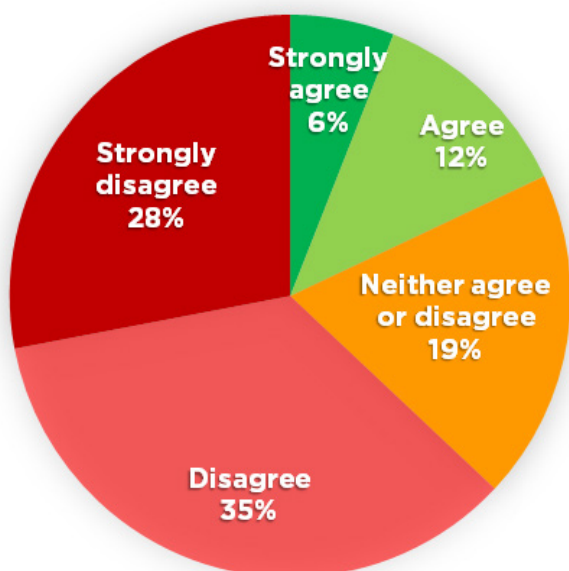
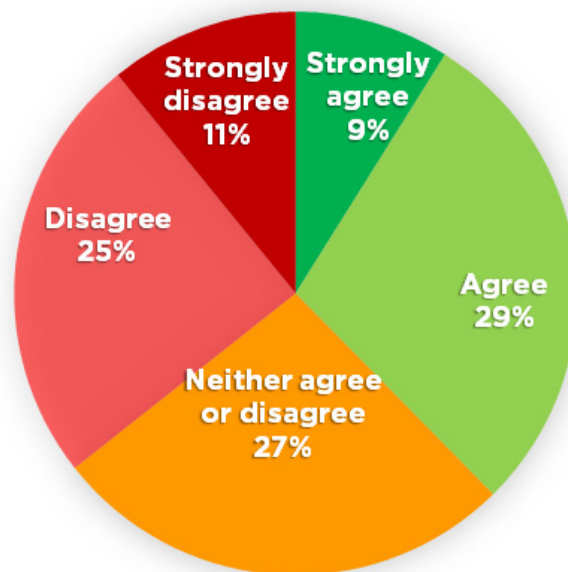
CONFIDENCE IN ENFORCEMENT

As well as asking British Jews about their sense of security and perception of threats, we asked about their confidence in the state, law enforcement and politicians to take action against antisemitism. We included detailed questions about the role of each part of the criminal justice system in order to assess where British Jews perceive there to be weaknesses.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

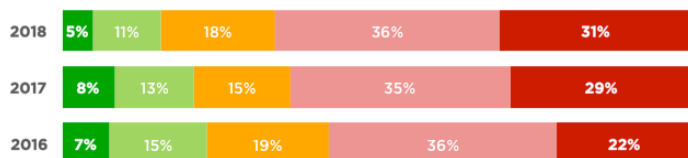
“The authorities are doing enough to address and punish antisemitism.”

“If I reported an antisemitic hate crime, I am confident that it would be prosecuted if there was enough evidence.”



Close to two thirds of British Jews believe that the authorities, in general, are not doing enough to address and punish antisemitism. Barely one in five British Jews believe the authorities are doing enough. These figures are fairly consistent with the 2016 (58%) and 2017 (64%) results.

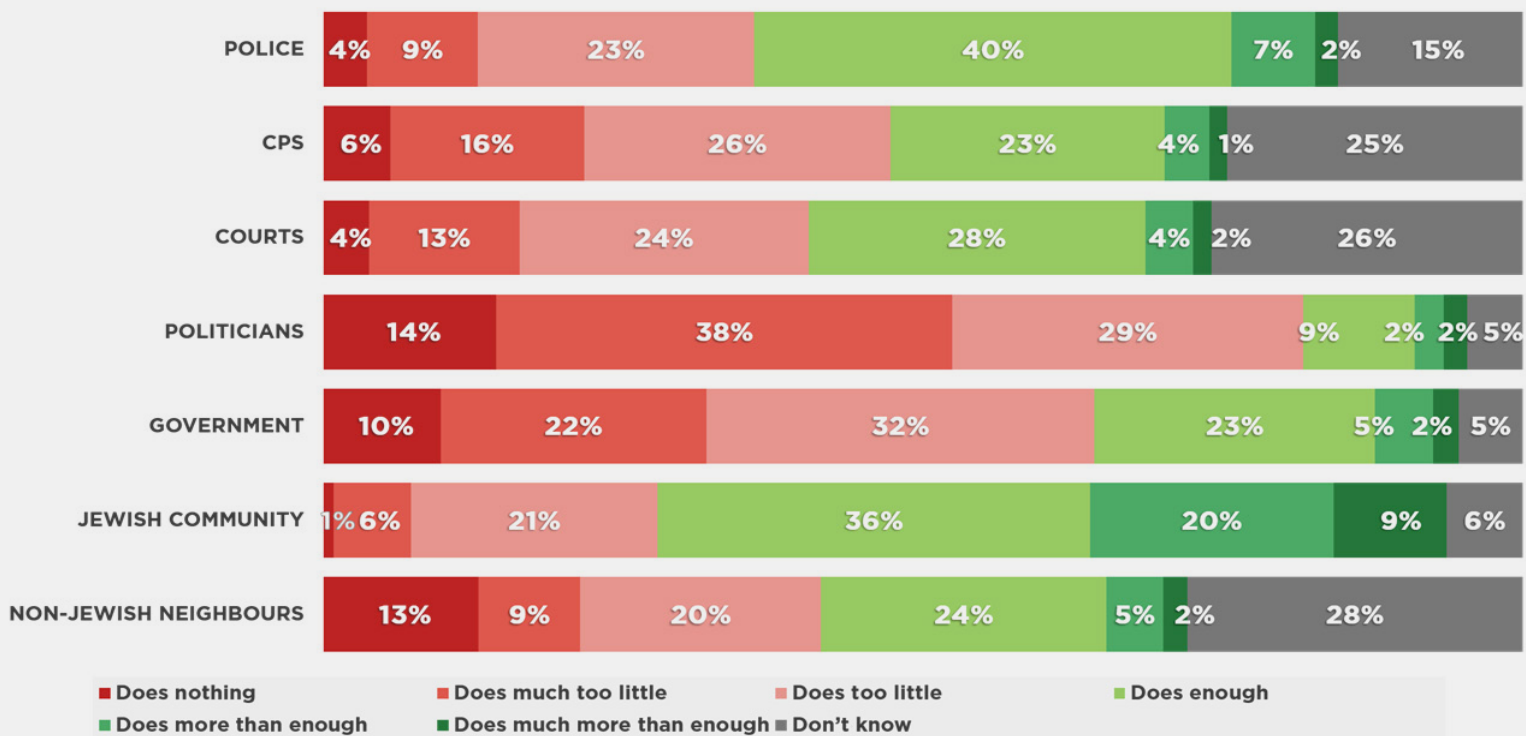
Whereas in 2016 merely 46% of British Jews felt confident that antisemitic hate crimes against them would be prosecuted, by 2017 that number had shrunk further to only 39%, and now in 2019 it has fallen to a record low of 35%.



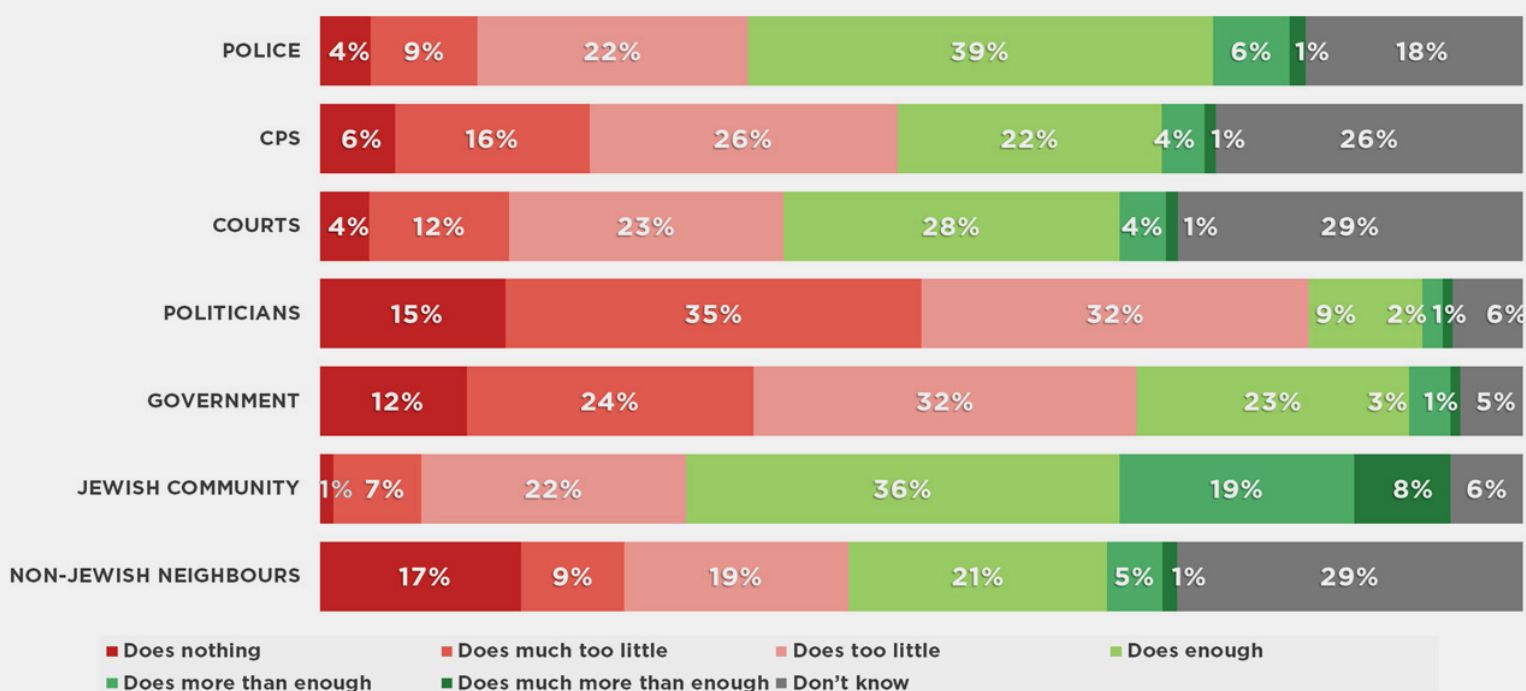
THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM, POLITICIANS AND SOCIETY

“We’d now like you to think about several British institutions and broad groups of people.
Do they do enough to protect British Jews?”

2019



2018



When asked about the roles played by the criminal justice system, politicians and society in protecting British Jews, respondents made clear their growing dissatisfaction.

The only element of the criminal justice system which more Jews praised than criticised was the work of police forces around the country: 36% said that police forces do too little and only 49% said that they do enough, which represent a slightly more positive opinion than in 2018, perhaps as a result of police forces making statements that they intend to take hate crime increasingly seriously.

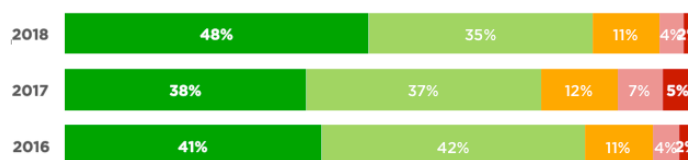
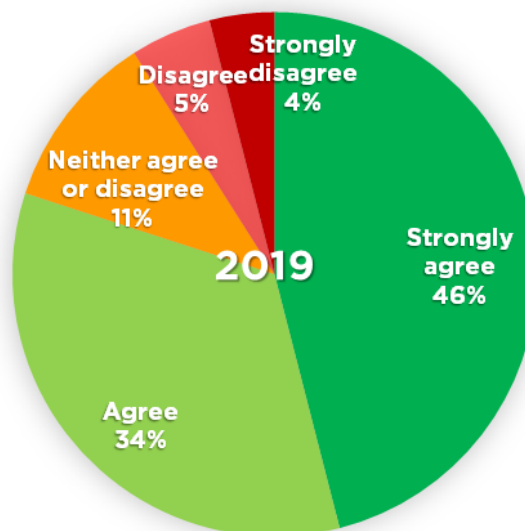
The courts and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) attracted the heaviest criticism of the law enforcement bodies. **Almost half of British Jews believe that the CPS is doing too little to fight antisemitism, and two in five criticised the courts themselves.**

The confidence of British Jews in the Government’s action on antisemitism has remained stable since 2017.

British Jews reserved their strongest criticism by far for politicians, who in 2019 were found wanting by 82% of British Jews, a rise from 76% in 2017. Read in the context of other answers, this is likely to be due to the ongoing antisemitism crisis in the Labour Party. The only group that the majority of British Jews did perceive to be doing enough, other than the police, was the Jewish community itself.

POLITICAL EVENTS

“Recent political events have resulted in increased hostility towards Jews.”

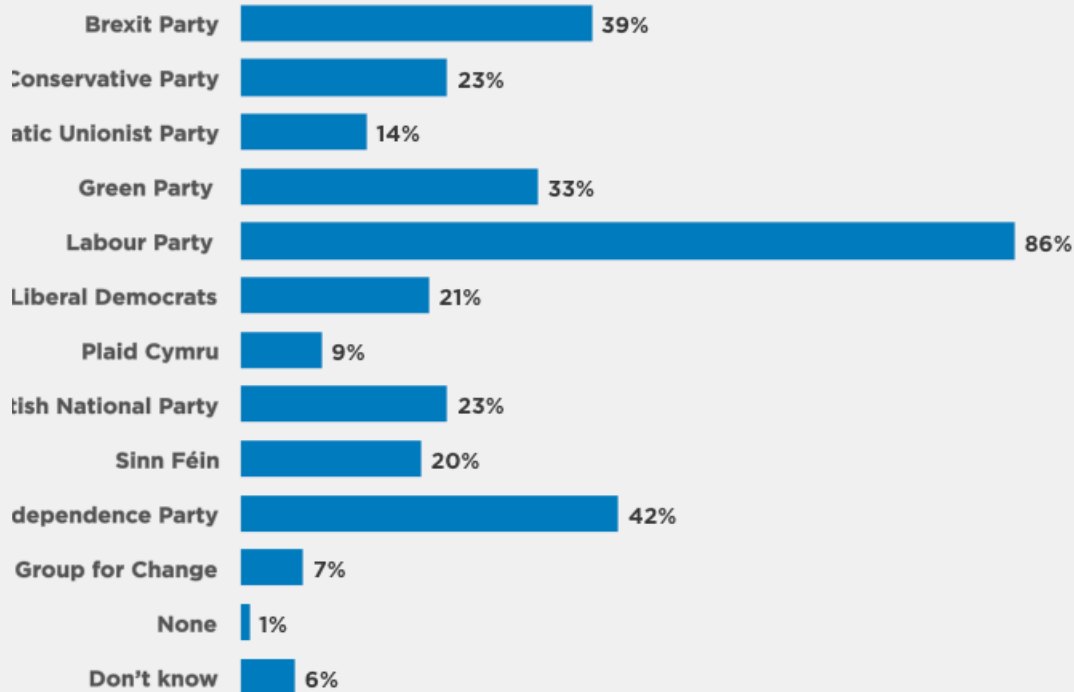


Over the past four years, the overwhelming majority of British Jews have felt that political events had caused antisemitism to rise. The perception of increased hostility toward Jews is therefore not remotely confined to criminal or terrorist threats, but is firmly attached to British politics as well. Read in the context of other answers, this is very likely to be linked to perceived tolerance of antisemitism in the Labour Party.

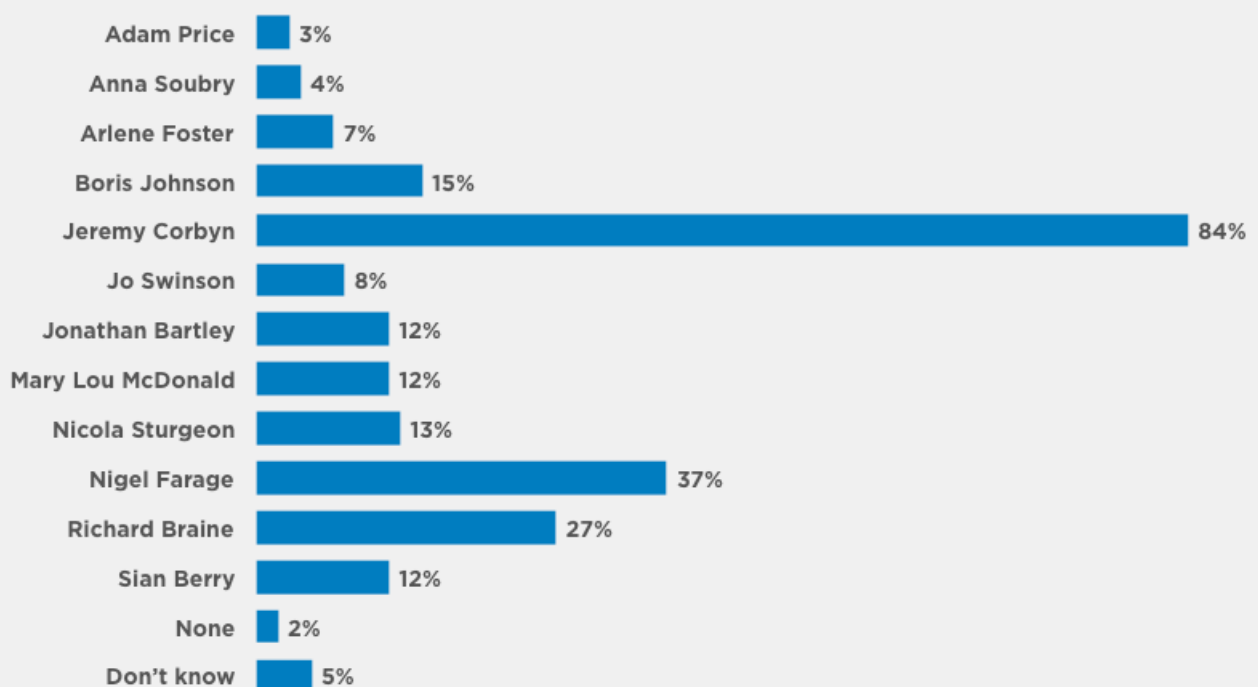
80% of British Jews believe that recent political events in the UK have resulted in increased hostility towards Jews. Doubtless the antisemitism crisis in the Labour Party is on the minds of many British Jews, as the free-text answers to other questions showed.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND LEADERS

“Do you feel that any political parties are too tolerant of antisemitism among their MPs, MEPs, councillors, members and supporters?”



“Do any of the following political leaders pose a threat specifically to British Jews?”



More than four in five British Jews consider the Labour Party to be harbouring antisemites in its ranks, which corresponds with previous results in 2016 and 2017.

The level of criticism of the Labour Party stood out starkly against that levelled at other parties, with only the UK Independence Party, Brexit Party and Green Party coming in for criticism by at least one third of British Jews. Under one quarter believed that the Conservative Party, Scottish National Party and Liberal Democrats were deficient in tackling antisemitism in their ranks.

Only 1% of British Jews feel that no UK political parties tolerate antisemitism.

Respondents were also shown a list of the leaders of all the main political parties in the UK, along with their parties, and asked whether any of the leaders posed a threat specifically to British Jews. The list included all of the parties which have representation in the outgoing House of Commons and in the European Parliament, plus UKIP.

84% of British Jews consider Jeremy Corbyn, the leader of the Labour Party, to pose a threat specifically to British Jews.

No other political leader came close to matching that degree of concern. Only Nigel Farage of the Brexit Party and Richard Braine, the then leader of UKIP, elicited concern from more than a quarter of British Jews; all other party leaders, including Boris Johnson and Jo Swinson, were regarded as a threat by less than a fifth of British Jews.

By comparing these responses with the data from the poll of the British population that we commissioned YouGov to undertake, we can pinpoint the problem. As our analysis of that data shows, people with strongly positive feelings towards Jeremy Corbyn are much more likely than average to hold antisemitic views. This suggests that **Jews and Jew-haters alike are united in seeing Mr Corbyn as an anti-Jewish leader.**



RECOMMENDATIONS

CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Several of the following recommendations were first raised in our meeting with the then Home Secretary, Theresa May, the Director of Public Prosecutions, and the Chief Executive of the College of Policing in 2015. They have since been published in our National Antisemitic Crime Audit in 2017, and have been discussed in further meetings with Government officials and public bodies, including subsequent Home Secretaries. Despite some of these measures being included in the Government's Hate Crime Action Plan at our urging, they have yet to be implemented.

CROWN PROSECUTION SERVICE (CPS)

Antisemitic crime is breaking new records every year but the CPS is emboldening antisemites because prosecutions are extremely rare. Campaign Against Antisemitism has been forced to litigate against the CPS and take on private prosecutions because the CPS has failed to prosecute, or even blocked the private prosecution of antisemites. The cases in question are not borderline and relate to brazen neo-Nazis and Islamists. Two successive Directors of Public Prosecutions have refused to recognise the problem.

We recommend that the CPS should be required to break down its hate crime prosecution figures into the same strands that police forces do (antisemitism, homophobia, etc.) within three months. This has been promised by the CPS for over two years now but has not materialised.

Junior prosecutors are disposing of antisemitism cases. To improve prosecution rates, **we recommend** that the CPS should be asked to treat antisemitic hate crime prosecutions as Special Crime, submitting junior prosecutors' decisions to the scrutiny of more senior colleagues.

We recommend that the CPS appoints

an antisemitic hate crime lead who oversees the prosecution of all antisemitic hate crime nationally.

It is not always obvious to those without an understanding of the history of antisemitism when an antisemitic act has occurred. In our experience, junior prosecutors rarely have experience of antisemitism, and might not recognise certain types of antisemitic behaviour or acts, for example following a Jewish person and imitating the sound of escaping gas, alleging the malevolent power of 'the Rothschilds' or calling a Jewish person a 'baby killer'. This is understandable: the Jewish population is small and many prosecutors will rarely deal with Jewish people or antisemitism. They need to receive training, and when confronted with antisemitism, they need an authoritative and accessible source of guidance. Additionally, they need to be equipped with an understanding of the way that antisemitic conspiracy myths are now strongly associated with violent extremism.

We recommend that senior prosecutors at each CPS office should receive training from Campaign Against Antisemitism in recognising antisemitism and understanding the relevant offences.

We recommend that the CPS should work with us to draft clear guidelines for prosecutors which links antisemitic acts to the corresponding offences, with worked examples for different kinds of antisemitic acts and evidential requirements.

POLICE FORCES

Law enforcement against antisemitic hate crime must be consistent and firm. In our experience, procedures and oversight within police forces fail to ensure that each and every response to antisemitism is as firm as the law permits. Learning from police forces which have established good practice in this area, we believe that the establishment of clear procedures and the

nomination of a senior officer to oversee them is the most crucial element in developing deterrence against antisemitic hate crime through a consistently firm response.

We recommend that a senior officer in each police force should be appointed as Single Point of Contact (SPoC) for antisemitism or hate crime so that external organisations like ours can approach them to alert them to mishandled cases and help them to address specific training or process gaps.

We recommend that the College of Policing and the CPS should be required to work with Campaign Against Antisemitism to develop simple, specific guidance for police officers and prosecutors linking common antisemitic acts to the corresponding offences.

We recommend that police forces should implement a positive arrest strategy so that decisions not to take further action in hate crime cases are reviewed by senior officers under the ultimate supervision of the relevant SPoC.

The National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) has numerous National Information Sharing Agreements with charities but has not established a procedure or criteria for entering into such agreements, frustrating collaboration between national hate crime charities and police forces.

We recommend that the NPCC should establish a clear process for entering into National Information Sharing Agreements and should follow that process to enter into such an agreement with Campaign Against Antisemitism on the same standard terms as it has entered into such agreements with other charities.

LEGISLATION

DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

Antisemitism cannot be identified, understood and combatted unless it is defined.

In 2016, the British Government became the first in the world to adopt the International Definition of Antisemitism, often called the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition.

We recommend that legislation should be enacted to add the International Definition of Antisemitism to the Equality Act 2010.

SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS

Social media is the primary vector for antisemitic incitement in the UK. Social media platforms have failed to take sufficient action and the UK is now significantly out of step with other European countries' work to regulate this sector.

Criminal offences on social media are frequently not prosecuted because the perpetrator cannot be identified or evidence is deleted.

We recommend that new legislation should be enacted to force cooperation with requests from police forces to provide information on the identities of users under investigation; to require the preservation of deleted content for one year in order to ensure that evidence remains available to the police; and to compel swift action to remove grossly offensive content, under the supervision of a new regulator.

FULL PROSCRIPTION OF HAMAS

In 2001, the UK proscribed Hamas' military wing, the Izz Ad-Din Al-Qassam Brigades, as a terrorist organisation. However, it has not proscribed its political wing. Hamas is a genocidal antisemitic terrorist

organisation which seeks the murder of all Jews worldwide. Article 7 of the Hamas Covenant issued in 1988, which remains Hamas' governing document states that: "The Day of Judgment will not come about until Muslims fight Jews and kill them. Then, the Jews will hide behind rocks and trees, and the rocks and trees will cry out: 'O Muslim, there is a Jew hiding behind me, come and kill him.'"

British allies, including the United States, designate the entirety of Hamas as a terrorist organisation.

A precedent was set in February this year when, at the request of Campaign Against Antisemitism and others in the Jewish community, the then Home Secretary, acting with the then Foreign Secretary, completely proscribed Hizballah, another genocidal antisemitic terrorist organisation.

We recommend that the entirety of Hamas should be proscribed under the Terrorism Act 2000.

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

Campaign Against Antisemitism has a strong working relationship with successive Home Secretaries and other ministers and officials and we have raised the following concerns in previous meetings.

DENIAL OF ENTRY FOR ANTISEMITIC ACTIVISTS

The Home Office has occasionally denied entry to the UK to antisemitic speakers and activists. Campaign Against Antisemitism has previously provided research and background to the Home Office on such individuals and their travel plans. Denying entry is much simpler and cheaper than monitoring and seeking to take action against such individuals once they are already in the UK.

Timeframes for denying entry are typically short.

We recommend that a process should be set out by which charities which track the activity of extremists can notify the Home Office of the impending entry into the UK of an extremist. The process should make clear the information required and to whom it should be sent.

PREVENT TRAINING

Professionals responsible for counter-extremism efforts under Prevent are rarely trained to recognise antisemitism and its links to extremism. This has been particularly problematic at universities and schools, where antisemitic extremists have been permitted to speak.

We recommend that training by Campaign Against Antisemitism should be offered to all Prevent coordinators currently known to the Home Office.

CROSS GOVERNMENT WORKING GROUP ON ANTISEMITISM

The Cross Government Working Group on Antisemitism is convened by the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government to coordinate the response to antisemitism across the Government. Its membership includes certain Jewish community charities, but its composition has not changed for over five years. Campaign Against Antisemitism should be invited to join the Cross Government Working Group on Antisemitism.

POLITICAL PARTIES

In September 2016, Campaign Against Antisemitism launched its manifesto for fighting antisemitism in political parties, which is a blueprint for ensuring that antisemitism is dealt with fairly, robustly and transparently. On 28th May 2019, the Equality and Human

Rights Commission (EHRC) launched a full statutory investigation into antisemitism in the Labour Party following a formal referral and detailed legal representations from Campaign Against Antisemitism, which is the complainant.

We recommend that the manifesto should be adopted by all political parties without further delay. The manifesto states:

1. Antisemitism is a form of racism. It is a key component of extremist ideology espoused by Islamists, the far-right and the far-left alike. Antisemites and their supporters have no place in any political party.
2. Antisemitism will be construed in accordance with the International Definition of Antisemitism, as adopted by the British government. The Definition is published on the website of Campaign Against Antisemitism at antisemitism.uk/definition.
3. All disciplinary processes must be fair, transparent and efficient.
4. All allegations will be investigated as soon as possible, and in all events within a period of four weeks. Investigations will be carried out by an impartial, independent investigator.
5. In the case of corroborated, substantial allegations, the member will be suspended from the party pending the outcome of the investigation.
6. There is a presumption in favour of suspension for antisemitic speech or action by party members.
7. Where a suspension is imposed following a finding of antisemitic conduct, that suspension should only be lifted when an independent investigator is satisfied that the person suspended has demonstrated insight into their behaviour, and is committed both to not reoffending and to actively fighting antisemitism. If such insight and commitment cannot be demonstrated then the individual should be expelled from the party.
8. Where a finding of antisemitic speech or conduct has been upheld against a senior party member (which for this purpose includes any party member holding public office) there should be a strong presumption in favour of expulsion.
9. Education is not to be considered a disciplinary measure. It is a general preventative measure. In a disciplinary context, it may, at most, form part of a rehabilitation package for members returning from suspension or readmitted following expulsion.
10. An apology is not to be considered a substitute for a disciplinary investigation.
11. Independent investigators should be assisted by published disciplinary guidelines including a tariff for specific types of offence to ensure consistency, for example Holocaust denial is highly likely to lead to expulsion.
12. Where a disciplinary investigation leads to a sanction, this fact should be published on the party's website along with a short summary of the case, including how the disciplinary tariff was applied. The name of the member who has been sanctioned should be published unless there is a good reason not to, for example there is a mental health aspect, supported by medical evidence. The need to protect a person from public embarrassment would not be a good reason for these purposes.

DATA COLLECTION METHODOLOGY

SURVEYS OF BRITISH ADULTS

SAMPLING

Our surveys of British adults were conducted by YouGov Plc. The surveys were administered online to members of YouGov's panel of over 1,000,000 British adults who have agreed to take part in surveys. E-mails were sent to adult panellists who fulfilled the requirements of the sample, inviting them to take part in the surveys, and providing a link to the survey. YouGov normally achieves a response rate of between 35% and 50% to surveys however this does vary depending on the subject matter, complexity and length of the questionnaire. In 2019, we additionally commissioned 'boost' samples of respondents who identified themselves as 'very right-wing' or 'very left-wing'. Each respondent's place on the political left-right political spectrum was assessed based on their responses to five additional questions and statements:

- "When people from other countries come to live in this country, do they make this country a worse or a better place to live?"
- "Private enterprise is the best way to solve Britain's economic problems."
- "Major public services and industries ought to be in state ownership."
- "People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences."
- "People in Britain should be more tolerant of those who lead unconventional lives."

FIELDWORK

In 2015, fieldwork was conducted between 21st December 2014 and 6th January 2015 in two separate rounds of fieldwork, the results of which were compared and merged. In total, 3,411 responses were obtained.

In 2016, fieldwork was conducted between 18th and 19th August. In total, 1,660 responses were obtained. The average length of time spent completing YouGov's full survey was 14 minutes and 45 seconds.

In 2017, fieldwork was conducted between 2nd and 3rd August. In total, 1,614 responses were obtained. The average length of time spent completing YouGov's full survey was 8 minutes and 44 seconds.

In 2018, fieldwork was conducted between 6th and 7th September. In total, 1,606 responses were obtained. The average length of time spent completing the survey was 1 minutes and 35 seconds.

In 2019, fieldwork was conducted between 24th and 25th September. In total, 2,040 responses were obtained: 1,639 as part of the nationally-representative main sample, 197 as part of the 'very right-wing' boost sample, and 204 as part of the 'very left-wing' boost sample. The questionnaire was considerably longer than in previous years. The average length of time spent completing YouGov's full survey was 16 minutes and 56 seconds.

QUALITY CONTROL

YouGov ensured that there were no duplicate responses and that all respondents were adults living in Great Britain.

REPRESENTATIVENESS

The main sample was weighted according to age and gender, social grade, political attention level, region, and past voting behaviour, to provide a representative reporting sample. Weights were calculated by YouGov. The two boost samples were weighted according to gender only. Weights were calculated by Daniel Allington. In both cases, weighting was done by reference to population estimates based on large surveys carried out by YouGov at the time of the last general election. Except where otherwise stated, the samples were kept separate for analytic purposes.

SURVEY OF BRITISH JEWS

SAMPLING

Our surveys of British Jews were modelled on the National Jewish Community Survey (NJCS) conducted by the Institute for Jewish Policy research. In common with the NJCS, the samples were self-selecting, and respondents were required to self-identify as Jewish and confirm that they lived in the United Kingdom. Like the NJCS, they were contacted primarily through 'seed' organisations, including religious bodies, Jewish online networks (including targeted advertising on social networks), and community welfare organisations, among others. In common with the NJCS, the seed organisations were used to initiate a 'snowballing' process which, in effect, created a non-probability convenience sample. It was not possible to use a random probability sampling approach for this study because a suitable sampling frame for the Jewish population is not available in the UK.

FIELDWORK

In 2016, fieldwork was conducted over the course of a month between 17th August and 18th September. In total, 1,910 responses were obtained. The average length of time spent completing the survey was 5 minutes and 52 seconds.

In 2017, fieldwork was conducted over the course of three weeks between 19th July and 8th August. In total, 2,058 responses were obtained. The average length of time spent completing the survey was 8 minutes and 57 seconds.

In 2018, fieldwork was conducted over the course of a month between 16th August and 17th September. In total, 2,240 responses were obtained. The average length of time spent completing the survey was 16 minutes and 2 seconds.

In 2019, fieldwork was conducted over the course of four weeks between 3rd and 30th October. In total, 3,547 responses were obtained. The average length of time spent completing the survey was 13 minutes and 57 seconds.

As is the case with the NJCS, the number of unique respondents contacted cannot be determined due to the likely overlap between different 'seed' organisations' supporter bases, thus we cannot estimate the survey response rate.

QUALITY CONTROL

A key issue with an online survey is to ensure that respondents are not counted twice. To avoid this and other abuses that might affect the survey's integrity, several measures were implemented. These included: carefully monitoring responses for unusual trends

during the fieldwork phase, and assessing the completed dataset for the presence of extreme or unrealistic values (i.e. outlier diagnostics) and for the presence of unlikely combinations of values across variables (i.e. logical checks). Additionally, cookies were used to avoid respondents completing the survey more than once. Finally, respondents' IP addresses and device types were logged so that if a respondent deleted their cookies, their device could still be identified using their IP address and device type.

As a result, duplicate responses were kept to a minimum and ultimately, removed from the sample.

In 2016, of the original 1,910 completed responses, 26 duplicate responses were removed, 2 responses were removed due to extreme or unrealistic values, 18 responses from people younger than 18 were removed, and 10 responses from respondents who completed the survey in less than 1 minute and 45 seconds were removed (though 2 of those were also removed because they were duplicate responses). The final dataset therefore contained 1,857 unique responses.

In 2017, of the original 2,058 completed responses, 9 duplicate responses were removed, 1 response was removed due to extreme or unrealistic values, 17 responses from people younger than 18 were removed, and 9 responses from respondents who completed the survey in less than 1 minute and 45 seconds were removed (though 1 of those was also removed because it was a duplicate response). The final dataset therefore contained 2,025 unique responses.

In 2018, of the original 2,163 completed responses, 18 duplicate responses were removed, 15 responses were removed due to extreme or unrealistic values, 22 responses from people younger than 18 were removed, and 5 responses from

respondents who completed the survey in less than 1 minute and 45 seconds were removed. Some responses were removed for more than one reason. The final dataset therefore contained 2,103 unique responses.

In 2019, of the original 3,031 completed responses, 6 duplicate responses were removed, no responses were removed due to extreme or unrealistic values, 28 responses from people younger than 18 were removed, and 311 responses from respondents who completed the survey in less than 3 minutes and 40 seconds were removed (the minimum cutoff time was increased from previous years due to the increased survey length). The final dataset therefore contained 2,695 unique responses.

REPRESENTATIVENESS

Our survey is modelled on best practice established by NJCS. All surveys have their shortcomings, and ours shares the shortcomings of NJCS. Even surveys that are based on probability sampling are typically affected by high levels of non-response. Surveys of populations lacking sampling frames, such as this one, are particularly challenging, as is establishing their representativeness. Nevertheless, because we have extremely high-quality baseline statistics available in the UK, it is possible to both accurately weight the data and make reasonable assumptions about where they may depart from the 'true' picture.

In general, the survey samples reflect the diverse character of Jewish respondents in the UK across geographical, demographic and religious variables. Where the sample does depart from baseline characteristics, responses were weighted for location, gender, age and religious affiliation.

Population estimates were based on responses to the 2011 Census, and size estimates with regard to religious denominations were based on the NCJS 2013. The weights were calculated using random iterative method weighting by an external consultant, Laurence Janta-Lipinski, formerly Associate Director, Political and Social Research at YouGov, who also checked the data tables produced.

It should be noted that, with samples of 1,857, 2,025, 2,103 and 2,695 carefully-targeted, weighted, individual responses, these are large samples. It is certainly sufficiently large for us to be confident that the percentages obtained through our polling are representative of the Jewish population. However, in common with the NJCS, due to the nature of the sampling process, it is not possible to conduct a comprehensive test of representativeness. Given that the surveys initially utilised seed lists partly held by Jewish community organisations for snowballing, it is reasonable to assume that British Jews who are not involved in the Jewish community might be under-represented, though the survey does include significant numbers of such respondents.

However, representativeness can also be assessed by comparing the distributions of selected socio-demographic variables in this sample with 2011 Census data and statistics from the NJCS. These sources were used for calibrating the sample.

Geographically, the surveys match the 2011 Census data well. In our 2016 survey, 76.1% of the respondents lived in Greater London or the East and South East of England, compared to 74.6% in the 2011 Census. In our 2017 survey, 74.2% of the respondents lived in those regions, in 2018 the figure was 72.7% and in 2019 it was 70.5%.

Our surveys have generally under-represented females: according to the 2011 Census, the expected proportion of females at ages 18 and over is 51.3%, but females constituted 44.3% of our 2016 survey sample, 47% in 2017, 45.8% in 2018 and 45.0% in 2019. In terms of age, using the 2011 Census we found that our 2016 survey accurately represented adults aged 18-24 and over 65, slightly under-represented adults aged 25-49, and slightly over-represented adults aged 50-64.

Our 2017 survey accurately represented adults aged 25-49, slightly under-represented adults aged 18-24 and over 65, and slightly over-represented adults aged 50-64. Our 2018 survey accurately represented adults aged over 65, slightly under-represented adults aged 18-24 and 25-49, and slightly over-represented adults aged 50-64.

Our 2019 slightly under-represented adults aged 18-24 and 25-49, and slightly over-represented adults aged 50-64 and over 65.

In terms of religious affiliation, all four surveys generally represented charedi, orthodox, traditional, reform, liberal, progressive, secular, cultural and “just Jewish” Jews accurately. These metrics allowed us to weight the dataset to ensure it more closely resembled the British Jewish population.



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