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Antisemitism and the 'alternative media'

Daniel Allington with Tanvi Joshi

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Authorship statement

Daniel Allington is the author of this report.

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Executive summary

- Three of the four 'alternative media' platforms analysed were found to promote a negative view of Jews

- The fourth was found to promote a negative view of Muslims, but not of Jews (although it sometimes made use of arguments and images that are in other contexts used to stigmatise Jews)

- A significant relationship was found between holding antisemitic views and having a positive opinion of each of the three platforms that were found to promote a negative view of Jews

- A significant relationship was also found between holding antisemitic views and having a positive opinion of the Russian state-owned propaganda broadcaster, RT (formerly Russia Today)

- By contrast, there was no relationship, or a substantially weaker and more conflicted relationship, between antisemitism and evaluation of named 'mainstream media' sources

- Moreover, drawing on the 'mainstream media' in general for political information was associated with lower levels of antisemitism

- In the interests of reducing prejudice, it would appear desirable to encourage use of high quality, reputable sources of information at the expense of low quality fringe sources

- Partial solutions to the problem could include:

  - Demonetisation of problematic websites (for example, through withdrawal of advertising)

  - De-prioritisation of content from such websites in social media news feeds and search algorithms

  - Guidelines for members or employees of organisations such as political parties, voluntary sector organisations, trade unions, and media companies, both against sharing content or repeating claims from such websites and against providing them with content in the form of interviews, quotations, or stories

  - In extreme cases, legal or regulatory sanctions against the owners of the websites themselves

- However, it is at least as important for government, individual consumers, and other stakeholders (including social media companies) to play their part in ensuring that reputable media-producing organisations are able to remain viable as businesses that can both invest in and promote high-quality content within a democratic regulatory framework

The magic of words has transmuted a pernicious medieval superstition into an even more debasing and corrosive modern superstition.

— Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*

Contents

Figures

Tables

1. Introduction: antisemitism and the 'alternative media'

1.1 What is antisemitism?

According to the IHRA Definition, antisemitism is 'a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews' (IHRA, 2016, p. 1). As the Definition makes clear, antisemitism is different from other forms of bigotry in that it 'frequently charges Jews with conspiring to harm humanity, and … is often used to blame Jews for "why things go wrong"' (IHRA, 2016, p. 1). Moreover, it can be expressed not only in relation to individual Jews but to Jewish community and religious institutions, as well as in relation to 'the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity' (IHRA, 2016, p. 1). As Harrison and Klaff (2021 [forthcoming]) argue, this is important because it recognises that antisemitism is not merely emotional in character: it is in fact a worldview which 'offers an "explanation" of certain disturbing features of modern life … in terms of the putative centrality to these … of "the Jew,"' where the latter may be 'represented … by the state of Israel'.

Although it would be tempting to assume that more emotional or visceral expressions of antisemitism must be more dangerous, the cognitive aspects of antisemitism arguably represent more of a threat, both to Jews themselves and to wider society. Indeed, Herf argues that it was conspiracy fantasies 'that were most important in fostering [the] radical, genocidal implications' of 20th century antisemitism (2008 [2006], p. 10).[1]

Harrison and Klaff elucidate the fundamentals of antisemitic belief as follows:

> PA1. The Jewish community is organised to pursue goals of its own at whatever cost to the lives and interests of non-Jewish groups. In consequence, it is directly and solely responsible for human suffering on a scale far exceeding anything that can be alleged against any other human group.
>
> PA2. The Jewish community is conspiratorially organised in the pursuit of its self-seeking and heinous goals to an extent that endows it with demonic powers not to be suspected from the weak and harmless appearance of its individual members.
>
> PA3. Through the efficacy of its conspiratorial organization, and through its quasi-miraculous ability to acquire and manage money, the Jewish community has been able to acquire secret control over most of the main social, commercial, political and governmental institutions of non-Jewish society.
>
> PA4. Given the secret control exercised by the World Jewry over (only apparently) non-Jewish institutions, and given the obsessive concern of the Jewish community with its own interests to the exclusion of those of non-Jews, it is simply not feasible to remedy the evils occasioned by the presence of the Jews in non-Jewish society by any means short of the total elimination of the Jews.
>
> PA5. Since the evils that the Jews do in the world owe their existence solely to Jewish wickedness, the elimination of the Jews will cause those evils to cease, without the need for any further action on the
>
> part of non-Jews, whose world will, in the nature of things, return forthwith to the perfect state of order natural to it, from which it would never have lapsed had it not been for the mischievous interventions of the Jews.
>
> (2021 [forthcoming])

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[1] The term 'conspiracy fantasy' is here preferred to the more common 'conspiracy theory' (see Allington, Buarque, & Flores, 2021 [in press]; Allington & Joshi, 2020).

The above provides a useful guide to antisemitic beliefs today, although it is necessary to explain the word 'elimination'. Although that word might potentially be misunderstood as referring exclusively to genocide, Kallis (2009) shows that genocide was only the most extreme manifestation of a widespread early twentieth century drive to eliminate Jewish minorities from participation in the nation states where they lived through a range of means including expulsion or persecution. It was the product of a longstanding European tradition of 'see[ing] Jews as *the* problem and demand[ing] a solution to this problem' (Fine & Spencer, 2017, p. 123; emphasis in original). As Fine and Spencer write,

> Among the harms Jews have been supposed to inflict are economic harms like usury and financial manipulation; political harms like betrayal and conspiracy; social harms like exclusivity and indifference toward others; moral harms like greed and cunning; and cultural harms like abstract intellectualism and contempt for nature. … Among the 'solutions to the Jewish question' that have been proffered, we find seemingly benevolent solutions such as improving the social and political conditions in which Jews live, improving the 'defective' moral character of the Jews themselves, and combating the mindset of antisemites, as well as manifestly malign solutions like rolling back the rights of Jews, expelling Jews from their host countries to some foreign territory, and eradicating the Jews from the face of the earth.

(2017, pp. 2-3)

All of these 'manifestly malign' solutions can be correctly seen as eliminationist, since their aim is a society purged of Jewishness. However, since 1948, there has emerged a further form of eliminationism, which consists in calling for 'the exclusion of the Jewish nation from world society' (Fine & Spencer, 2017, p. 123) or even for 'the *de facto* elimination or "euthanasia" of the Jewish state' (Rensmann, 2020, p. 94). This new form of eliminationism 'subjects the Jewish state, its institutions, citizens, and any Jew viewed, portrayed or labelled as a "Zionist", or any supporter of Israel (that is, the vast majority of Jews), to double standards, boycotts, defamations as "racist settler-colonialists", and physical exclusions [including] celebrati[on of] terror against Israeli citizens as "armed resistance"' (Rensmann, 2020, p. 93). Thus, while it is by no means difficult to find calls for the murder of Jews online, what Harrison and Klaff call 'the elimination of the Jews' more typically involves purges of Jewish influence, for example, through the exclusion from political life of people associated with Jewish institutions or the Jewish national home, or through measures against the latter ranging from exclusion from the global community of nations to literal destruction or dismantling.

1.2 What are the 'alternative media'?

Alternative media have been defined as 'media forms that are on a smaller scale, more accessible and participatory, and less constrained by bureaucracy or commercial interests than the mainstream media and often in some way in explicit opposition to them' (Coyer, Dowmunt, & Fountain, 2007, p. 1). This means defining them relationally, by placing them in opposition to the more established media forms that are implicitly positioned as 'mainstream'. According to some scholars, alternative media tend to be 'small-scale and oriented towards specific communities', 'independent of state and market', 'horizontally (or non-hierarchically) structured', and/or focussed on carrying 'non-dominant (possibly counter-hegemonic) discourses and representations' (Gueddes Bailey, Cammaerts, & Carpentier, 2007, p. 18). Other scholars have treated the latter of these characteristics as the defining one, arguing that the 'alternative' media label is properly applicable only to publications that are 'critical' in the sense of being at least allied to radical politics (Fuchs,

2010; Harcup, 2003; Sandoval & Fuchs, 2010). The same appears to apply to the terms 'independent media' and 'indymedia' (Hyde, 2002). Related but rather less positive terms include 'ideologically slanted online news', 'partisan news media', and 'politically slanted [news] outlets' (Garrett, Weeks, & Neo, 2016, pp. 332, 335), as well as 'partisan and alternative websites' (Fletcher, Newman, & Schulz, 2020, p. 8).

For the purposes of this report, 'alternative media' are defined as independently-owned media that aim to provide a different political perspective on the news from that which is provided by major legacy media platforms such as national television broadcasters and daily national newspapers. This definition maintains the relational nature of the first definition presented above while also emphasising the idea that alternative media are critical, both of the political positions that the so-called 'mainstream' media are taken to espouse, and also (by extension) of the 'mainstream' media themselves: it is not that the alternative media *happen* to adopt a political perspective different from those perspectives that *happen* to be adopted by the legacy media, but that they *aim* to be different, as their primary point of distinction.

The 2020 Reuters Digital News Report found Breitbart, the Canary, and Another Angry Voice – all of which would fall into this category – as well as the Russian state-owned propaganda site, RT (formerly known as Russia Today), to be used weekly by about 1% of the UK population, as compared to 10%, 15%, 18%, and 45% for Sky News, MailOnline, the Guardian, and the BBC respectively (Newman, Fletcher, Schulz, Simge, & Nielsen, 2020, p. 62). Fletcher, Newman, and Schulz used both passive digital tracking and questionnaires to study the reach of 20 'specialist, alternative, or partisan' news websites during the 2019 UK general election campaign (2020, p. 34). The top two of these transpired to be RT and the Canary (2020, p. 8), but their reach was dwarfed by that of the leading legacy media platforms:

> [O]nline news during the campaign was a winner-takes-most market, with just two providers, the BBC News and the MailOnline, accounting for nearly half (48%) the time spent with news, and the top five (including the Guardian, the Sun, and the Mirror) accounting for two-thirds (66%) of the time spent.
>
> …
>
> Alternative brands such as the Canary [and] Novara Media on the left and Breitbart on the right – along with foreign sites like Russia Today and Sputnik – played a relatively small part with just 1% share of the time spent with news, about 0.02% of the time people spent online during the election.

<div align="right">(Fletcher et al., 2020, pp. 1-2)</div>

On the other hand, such sites did collectively reach as many of 6% of UK internet users who participated in the study (Fletcher et al., 2020, p. 8). Moreover, they may be able to exert an influence that belies these small figures. It has been argued, for example, that RT achieves impact on public discourse primarily through secondary circulation (Richter, 2017, p. 36), and the same may be true of the other sites mentioned. One does not have to visit a website to see (and potentially be influenced by) a claim disseminated by that website if friends or opinion leaders are repeating that claim on social media or elsewhere. Current and former employees of RT told Elswah and Howard that working for the channel meant 'writing and broadcasting to audiences with pre-existing anti-Western and anti-establishment beliefs' and providing those audiences with 'a voice, news to amplify, and a

source that reinforces their beliefs and political agendas' (2020, p. 642). This implies that the content which that particular organisation produces may have a direct influence on members of its intended audience by providing them with information designed to confirm their existing opinions, and also have an indirect influence on those whom members of the intended audience come into contact with when the latter recirculate the ideas it expresses. Thus, the fact that 'alternative' sources account for such a small proportion of the UK media diet does not imply that they are inconsequential. On the basis of survey data collected during the 2012 US presidential election campaign, Garrett, Weeks, and Neo argue as follows:

> [U]se of politically-slanted news sites shapes individuals' perceptions of reality, by (sometimes) altering their understanding of experts' conclusions, and, more importantly, by shaping their beliefs above and beyond what known evidence indicates that they should believe. In other words, citizens' beliefs can deviate from what they know about the evidence as reported in the media, and this deviation appears to be significantly impacted by their use of ideological websites.
>
> … Partisan media's apparent ability to promote misperceptions in spite of exposure to more accurate information may help to explain how these misperceptions continue to flourish despite the diversity that characterises most Americans' online news diet.

> (2016, p. 343)

The overarching question asked in this report is of whether the 'misperceptions' associated with use of such platforms might plausibly include the 'certain perception of Jews' which the IHRA Definition recognises as antisemitism.

1.3 The structure of this report

The remainder of this report comprises three empirical chapters and a short conclusion. The three empirical chapters are largely independent of one another.

Chapter 2, the first of the empirical chapters, presents an in-depth analysis of texts published on the four 'alternative media' websites focused on in the following two chapters. This includes substantial chunks of quotation from specific articles on the websites, and sometimes from reader comments and from transcribed audio. The purpose of that chapter is to give meaning to the numbers in the chapters that follow, explaining each site's ideology, distinctive character, and attitude to Jews in some detail. It is the longest of the three chapters because of the nature of the evidence presented, which is quoted extensively in order to provide an accurate impression of the content of each site.

Chapter 3, the second of the empirical chapters, presents a quantitative content analysis of recent articles mentioning the keywords 'Jew' or 'Zionist' across the four websites. Altogether, 130 individual articles were analysed by both researchers, with occurrences of six key themes being totalled. This makes it possible to compare the four websites at a broad level, making informed judgements as to the overall impression of Jews that they provide.

Chapter 4, the final empirical chapter, presents the findings of a major survey, carried out in partnership with YouGov. Altogether, 2123 individuals were surveyed, including a nationally-representative sample of 1718 British residents and additional samples of 203 and 202 British residents who identified as 'very right-wing' or 'very left-wing' (respectively). Respondents were asked a range of questions, some designed to measure attitudes to Jews

and Israel and some designed to measure attitudes to the media. Among these questions were ten that concerned specific news media platforms, including the four websites discussed in chapters 2 and 3. This makes it possible to ask whether particular forms of media use – including use of those four 'alternative media' platforms – might be associated with antisemitism.

Chapter 5, the conclusion, summarises the findings of the preceding three chapters and engages in a brief discussion of policy implications.

To aid readability, all tables have been placed in the appendices of this document. A final appendix provides technical information on software used in the analysis of data.

2. Radio Albion, TR News, Skwawkbox, and the Canary: an in-depth analysis

2.1 The right wing sites

In order to understand the two far right sites, it is necessary to understand the far right itself. In general usage, the label 'right wing' can refer to a range of potentially conflicting ideologies such as social conservatism and free market capitalism, each of which may attract greater or lesser levels of adherence from any given individual or group to which the label is applied. However, the term 'far right' is specifically associated with belief in the idea that the national community (whether defined in terms of 'race', ethnicity, ancestry, culture, religion, or any other supposedly unifying factor) is threatened by outsiders from which it requires protection. Mudde, for example, identifies the 'core ideology' of the European far right as consisting of *nationalism*, i.e. the 'aspir[ation] for the congruence of state (the political unit) and nation (the cultural unit)', and *xenophobia* with respect both to 'internal' and to 'external' enemies, which in turn jointly support a belief that 'the state should ensure that employment and welfare policies work to the (exclusive) benefit of [the national community]' and a belief that the state should rigorously enforce a strict legal system in order to defend the national community against its supposed enemies (2000, p. 177).

While far right ideological positions were historically associated with antisemitism, anti-Black racism, and social conservatism, contemporary far right groups 'can decry anti-Afro Caribbean racism, and develop pro-Israeli and/or Jewish stances, and even embrace same-sex marriage' while 'systematically exclud[ing] the Muslim "other"' (Jackson, 2011, p. 10). Many studies of the far right view this abandonment of antisemitic and socially conservative positions as no more than a superficial rebrand (Berntzen, 2020, p. 2), as in the assertion that the far right's 'new wave of Philosemitism is not a genuine and sincere positioning, but a strategic tool used by the far-right in order to present itself as liberal and mainstream' (Rose, 2020, p. i). However, such claims have been criticised for reliance on theoretical arguments and examples drawn from the conduct of groups with 'a clear fascist legacy' (Berntzen, 2020, p. 3). Assertions of the form that, e.g. '[g]iven that the far-right's understanding of Jewishness is not genuine, it must follow that the far-right's support for Jews cannot be either' (Rose, 2020, p. 13; there may be some slippage in the sense of 'genuine') do not remove the need for empirical work studying *actually expressed* attitudes to Jews and other minorities across the far right, which is far from monolithic. It is undeniably true that certain far right groups have long engaged in a process of 'superficial de-nazification' through 'partial concealment of [their] ideology' in public (Billig, 1978, pp. 136, 124), but this does not entail that all far right groups making public statements of solidarity with homosexuals, Jews, or Black British people are doing so insincerely.

Staetsky's analysis of recent survey data shows that the British far right contains 'non-antisemitic elements' as well as 'elements that are xenophobic and violent, and [that] … also have heightened antisemitic attitudes' (2020, p. 282). This may perhaps be explained in terms of the widely accepted distinction between a *radical right* which rejects certain aspects of liberal democracy, and an *extreme right* which rejects democracy itself (Mudde 2019, p. 7). The *radical* right is anti-Islamic, but condemns Islam in part for its alleged homophobia, antisemitism, and misogyny, which are contrasted with 'western' values such as LGBT rights, feminism, and respect for the Jewish minority (Berntzen, 2020, p. 12). While

the *cultural nationalism* of such a viewpoint may be bigoted, it is implicitly at odds with fascism, and, in the absence of other indications, there is no reason to assume that those who subscribe to it must also subscribe to aspects of fascist ideology which they explicitly disavow, such as the genocidal antisemitism of the Nazis. By contrast, the *extreme* right was formerly dominated by *white supremacist* ideas, but appears now to have largely switched to an 'ethno-pluralist' form of nationalism in which 'the cultures of different ethnicities or races are not formally placed in a hierarchical order, but are nonetheless seen as distinct entities requiring their own states in order to survive' (Berntzen, 2020, p. 34).[2] Although this ideology, commonly known as *white nationalism*, might superficially appear more egalitarian than white supremacism, it acts to justify many of the same positions, e.g. strictly prescribed gender roles, prohibitions against 'race mixing', expulsion of people regarded as non-white (including Jews) from historically 'white' nations, etc. It is intrinsically antisemitic because it is founded on the 'Great Replacement' or 'White Genocide' conspiracy fantasy, which blames Jews for allegedly weakening all other ethnic groups through promotion of immigration and of mixed-ethnicity relationships, and which has inspired lethal violence against Jews as supposed conspirators, as well as against Muslims living in the west, who are imagined to have been introduced into 'white' nations as part of the plan (see Allington & Joshi, 2020, pp. 37-38).

This analysis might help to explain Staetsky's findings if the part of the far right which holds highly antisemitic views and also sees political violence as acceptable is identified with the extreme right, while the part of the far right which neither holds such views nor sees political violence as acceptable is identified with the radical right (defined as above). Although this was not the reason why they were chosen (they were recommended by an independent expert as websites influential on the far right), the two right-wing platforms focused on in this report arguably represent both halves of the radical-extremist dichotomy, and thus provide a useful opportunity for investigating it.

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[2] The Home Office currently categorises ideas potentially motivating right wing extremist violence according to a three-part taxonomy, classifying them either as 'cultural nationalist', as 'white nationalist', or as 'white supremacist' (for the only public documentation of this schema, see Baldét, 2020). This taxonomy appears to be a direct although publicly unacknowledged adaptation of *part of* Bjørgo and Aasland Ravndal's more complicated taxonomy (2019, fig. 1), which was built on top of a more elegant analysis produced by Berntzen (2018, fig. 2.1; 2020, fig. 2.1). Unfortunately, the widely accepted distinction between the radical right and the extreme right, on which Berntzen's typology was founded, appears to have been lost in the process of adaptation. According to Berntzen, cultural nationalism is the dominant ideology of the radical right, while ethno-pluralism (which corresponds to white nationalism) and fascism (which corresponds to white supremacism) are *both* ideologies of the extreme right, with fascism having been more dominant previously and ethno-pluralism being more dominant now. The danger of Bjørgo and Aasland Ravndal's schema is that it could be taken to suggest that white nationalism or ethno-pluralism is less extreme than white supremacism or fascism; the Home Office version appears to compound this problem by losing the crucial distinction between the radical and the extreme right.

2.1.1 Radio Albion

Radio Albion – formerly known as Radio Aryan – is a right-wing extremist website featuring an international range of contributors. The founder of the site is a secretive individual who uses the pseudonym 'Sven Longshanks', but other contributors include higher-profile figures such as Jeremy Bedford-Turner, who was convicted of inciting racial hatred with a public speech calling for his supporters – or 'soldiers', as he called them – to 'free England from Jewish control' (Dearden, 2018, n.p.).

Radio Albion explicitly adopts the theology of Christian Identity (see Barkun, 1997 for a historical account). Adherents of Christian Identity hold (a) that Jesus's message was addressed exclusively to the Israelites and their pure-blooded descendants, (b) that white people of European origin (and not Jews) are the pure-blooded descendants of the biblical Israelites, and (c) that Jesus's message was explicitly racialist, but has been misunderstood by the majority of Christians. The site promotes this theology as part of an ideology that includes explicitly environmentalist, anti-capitalist, and anti-globalist elements. While some might assume such ideological components to be inherently 'left-wing', they have been observed to constitute a prominent theme in recent far-right terrorist manifestos (Ehsan & Stott, 2020, Ch. 2 & Ch. 4). Indeed, 'eco-fascism' is now a recognised phenomenon (Forchtner, 2019), and opposition to the free market has long been recognised to have an extensive heritage on the extreme right (Hayek, 2001 [1944], ch. 12). These are not therefore peripheral sentiments expressed in order to increase the palatability of the website's ideal political system, which it refers to as National Socialism (a direct translation of the German word 'Nationalsozialismus', i.e. Nazism). Rather, they are key to that political system, and to the entire ideology:

> Capitalism is neither efficient nor rational. I'm not talking about the market now, that's only an abstraction at the local level. The specific definition of these terms don't matter: they fail on all counts. The gains of capitalism go to the unproductive: bankers and middlemen, not producers, inventors, or entrepreneurs. Capital mobility means that a firm can hold an entire community hostage. It can demand low wages and regulations, or they'll walk, destroying an entire area and showing the moral compass of its managers. They demand tax breaks and subsidies in the so-called 'market system', or they'll go elsewhere. They invest in slave labour regions, then sell the product back to their 'home' countries at prices just below that of domestic producers, thus pocketing an immense, wasteful and irrational profit.

> This is the truth of capitalism. This is the truth of the American model. This is the truth of American liberal democracy, which is tightly connected with capitalism. The literature that state-run enterprises, or enterprises with great state control, in Russia, China, Iran, Britain, outperformed their private sector counterparts the world over, especially in the US, is growing. …

> There is no reason to believe that a state-run media is any worse than [an] oligarchy-run media. These are the facts. When we go through the Iranian statistics, as I have elsewhere gone through the Chinese, gone through the Russian, gone through the Belorussian, it proves this over and over again. …

> And so Republicanism, so-called democracy, capitalism – it's all one and the same imperialist juggernaut. And countries like Russia and Iran have shown what the truth of the matter is. That National Socialist states outperform capitalist ones any day of the week.

> (Johnson, 2018, 00:59:03-01:01:56)

Essentially a podcast site, Radio Albion's pages almost always feature audio content, but this is usually accompanied by an extensive written summary (much of the speech transcribed in the above, for example, is reproduced verbatim on the corresponding web page). Readers can write comments on the pages, but – perhaps because the site also features a chatroom – they do not do so often. One serial commenter appears to contribute only doggerel verse, but readers more typically chip in with isolated observations that generate few if any replies, e.g. 'Political Zionism was handed over to Theodore He'ev Herzl by Moses Hess' (reader comment on Longshanks & Wise, 2020). The site has considerable intellectual pretensions, with many podcasts devoted to conspiracist pseudohistory, to racialist readings of the Bible, to classic antisemitic texts, and to exposition of the writings of Aleksandr Dugin.

Although there are many people who speak on Radio Albion, they are remarkably consistent in the positions that they take. Capitalist western democracies are seen as corrupted and controlled by Jews, while highly repressive, authoritarian states such as contemporary Syria, Russia, Belarus, China, and Iran – along with Nazi-era Germany – are regarded as offering a better way to organise human affairs. A good example of their political ideology is provided in the following sermon by a regular US contributor who uses the pseudonym of 'Grandpa Lampshade' (a moniker readable as a reference to the allegation that lampshades were made of human skin during the Holocaust). Note that George Soros and Sheldon Adelson are both Jewish, and that 'echoing' is a dogwhistle for Jewishness among members of the extreme right; moreover, that the use of the Yiddish word 'kvetch' may be intended to imply that the western mainstream media represent a Jewish point of view:

> The notion that the democracy and the voting is designed so that the people have power – well, *certain* people – the very rich, the corporations, the big banks, the usual names, the Soroses the Adelsons – [*laughs*] there's a lot of echoing going on here! – and and these people have this power – it's designed for the people to have power over the politicians, it's true, just not *you*. You have the power of your one measly little vote, they have the power of their one measly little vote plus – I dunno – a billion dollars, so guess who has more power, the system, it's all a charade. It's all a joke. And and and it's it's working according to plan. I mean, this is the system we got, we work within the system, we do what we can, but let's not have any unrealistic illusions …
>
> It's what we got. We do what we can within the system we have right now, is we await the uh vibrant societal collapse, [*laughs*] but uh let's not again, let's not have any illusions that the democracy and voting are somehow magically going to save us, in the end, because that that's not how this play out, we're just going to continue clown-worlding down until the society collapse and then we'll figure out something new, and it has to happen in that order. …
>
> Back to the Putin thing. Now, this is a demonstration of the the design feature of instability that this voting thing and democracy thing is. So the western media's kvetching about Putin's latest evil act of evil, which is, basically, staying in power. Now in Russia, regardless of what you think of Putin – I don't worship any man, y'know I get these people, 'You just worship Hitler!', no, I don't worship any man, I'm a Christian believer, I don't worship any man, y'know I don't have this rose-coloured pie-in-the-sky view of Putin or anybody else – but there's no – it's just a fact that Putin has done more for Russia than than anybody else in recent history, it's a fact …
>
> And yet what? We're supposed to be concerned and kvetch and moan because the guy who's been doing a great job isn't being booted out of power and replaced by some rando?
>
> (Grandpa Lampshade, 2020, 00:17:49-00:21:55)

While the radical right merely opposes the so-called 'liberal elites' that it understands to be in charge of most western nations, the above typifies the fully anti-democratic character of

the extreme right. Moreover, while the radical right sees the west as culturally or civilisationally *superior* to other parts of the world, the above typifies the tendency of the extreme right to see the west as having *fallen behind*, thanks to democracy, capitalism, and the Jews, and as needing to be destroyed and rebuilt in the absence of such supposedly baneful influences. Russia in particular appears to be regarded as the best currently-existing model for a rebuilt west: it is, for example, argued that Russia is the leader of world resistance against imperialism and the so-called 'New World Order' (Johnson & Heimbach, 2016), that Donald Trump should emulate Vladimir Putin (Longshanks & Johnson, 2016), and that, if a war were to break out between Russia and the US, it is the US that would lose (Heimbach, 2016; Heimbach & Johnson, 2016).

Conspiracy fantasies, whether focused on diaspora Jews or on Israel, are an explicit component of the ideology promoted by Radio Albion. In the following conversation between 'Sven Longshanks' and US white nationalist leader Matthew Heimbach, a regular Radio Albion presenter (see SPLC, n.d. for profile), we clearly see both the centrality of antisemitism to the Radio Albion worldview and the dehumanising manner in which it is characteristically expressed:

> MH: The tumour is the Jews. They are the poisonous tumour. They are the cancer that is poisoning our people. I mean we can see that England, for instance, when they removed the Jews, the English Empire [sic], y'know, the sun never set on the English Empire, after the people were freed. National Socialist Germany uh was able to go from the country that was most hard-hit by the recession in 1929, to after just a few years of National Socialist leadership, of removing the Jewish influence, they were out of the recession and they were building a great nation with new infrastructure, higher wages, better living standards, new homes for the families that German civilians were having. It was a true renaissance of the German nation, the same thing happened to England, the same thing happens to any nation that removes the cancerous tumour within it. […]
>
> It's basically a brain tumour, y'know, it's controlling the government, the economy, the media, the churches, things like that. If we can remove that tumour, everything is going to go back to its natural order. […]
>
> SL: Well yeah and you talked there about when we removed the Jews from England and the people all got together and they all donated a penny each to buy the king a gift for doing so, they were so pleased at what he had done, removing the the Jew's boot from around their neck basically, they were that pleased, and it wasn't until I think the 16th century that they came back, and once they came back they they were involved in all these intrigues, they were funding Cromwell's revolution, and when they came back after that, they put their own king on the throne who gave them the charter to the Bank of England, which which set up the Crown, which set up the, which i- which is basically the City of London, which is the whole banking system which we're suffering under now. Uh e- e- the prototype for that was uh in Venice, it was the Venusian [sic] bankers, the merchant bankers there, so wherever they go, they they've caused these problems, and whenever they're removed, the people are overjoyed and they're able to get back to their normal living, eh and you're likening it there to a tumour, but it's also like a parasite, there there's a particular parasite that infects types of crab and i- what it actually does, it it turns the crab from a male into pretending to be a female, uh and it actually changes the the activities of of this crab so that it behaves like a female and uh i- rather than having uhm female eggs, it's full of these parasite eggs, and you've got other ones that uh that in snails that manage to get their way right to the top of the head and then they start steering the snail around, exactly the way that we have Jews steering our governments around, and and and making them out t- how our governments are behaving and how they how they deal with issues, and there's an excellent book, I think it's called The uh Biological Jew, by Eustace Mullins, which talks about the social parasitical elements that there are to to Jewry, so i- it it's like a parasite as well as uhm as well as cancer, of course cancer, or a tumour causes a body to grow in ways that it it wasn't intended to grow and having the Jew within the nation, that's getting

the nation to to behave in ways that uh it was never intended to. This is why our nations have become suicidal, this is this is why we see men dressing up as women, why our women no longer wish to produce children any more, why our women wish to sleep with uh these other races and produce these abominations instead of producing children that look like their ancestors.

(Heimbach & Longshanks, 2016, 00:20:35-00:25:51)

The above exemplifies the ideology which Berntzen (2020; see above) associates with the extreme (as opposed to merely radical) right: the social conservatism of that ideology is manifest in its homophobia or transphobia ('men dressing up as women') and in its misogynist view of women as producers of children, while its ethno-pluralist or white nationalist (as opposed to white supremacist) form of racism is apparent in the application of the dehumanising term 'abominations' not to *non-white people* but to people of *mixed race*. But it is quoted here above all because of the closeness with which it expresses all the fundamental antisemitic beliefs laid out by Harrison and Klaff (2021 [forthcoming]; see above). The Jewish community is presented as the direct cause of all the misfortunes of the non-Jewish nations in which Jews reside; it is presented as almost unimaginably powerful thanks to its finances and to its conspiratorial organisation; it is presented as secretly in control of all significant non-Jewish institutions; its mere presence within non-Jewish nations is argued to be inherently fatal (an implication emphasised through analogy with tumours and parasites); and it is stated that its removal will, in and of itself, lead to virtually immediate positive effects as the nation from which all Jews have been removed heals from the damage done and comes to undergo a 'renaissance'.

To speak of any minority ethnic group as a 'tumour' that needs to be 'removed' comes close to incitement. However, no case was found where a contributor to the site calls for the elimination of Jews through murder rather than for the elimination of Jewish influence through expulsion, and every page on the site features a lengthy disclaimer, declaring (amongst other things) that '[a]cts of violence are entirely counter-productive to our cause, and we strongly condemn any that are associated with Nationalism.' That said, graphics on the site not uncommonly depict Jews and other non-white people being murdered, whether through crude physical violence (e.g. illustration to Longshanks & Musson, 2018) or in gas chambers (e.g. illustration to Longshanks & Turner, 2016). One podcast (Heimbach & Johnson, 2016) is illustrated with an image of rats wearing yellow *Judenstern* badges emerging from a sewer and fleeing in terror beneath Nazi banners; the foremost rat additionally wears a white armband emblazoned with a blue Star of David like that on the Israeli flag.

When Radio Albion (or Radio Aryan as it was then known) caught the attention of the media last year, journalists observed that it seemed to argue for sympathy for the perpetrators of racist violence, and to amplify arguments used in justification of such violence, even while refusing to endorse violence directly:

The station described a hate-filled manifesto written by Brenton Tarrant, who murdered 50 Muslim worshippers in New Zealand, as raising 'genuine fears that all white people have' about 'the invasion of our lands'. It also claimed the massacre was 'the price of diversity'.

Radio Aryan has previously broadcast readings of Hitler's Mein Kampf and its website urges listeners to write in solidarity to jailed neo-Nazis, including Jack Renshaw, who plotted to assassinate the Labour MP Rosie Cooper.

(Gadher, 2019, p. 12)

It is easy to find further examples of cases where Radio Albion presents racist murderers as having been motivated by legitimate grievances. For instance, 'Sven Longshanks' responded to the mass shooting at the El Paso mall, in which 23 people were killed, simply by arguing that 'if [Trump] had been allowed to build his wall[,] it would probably have prevented [the shooting], since it would have stopped the immigration that the killer was concerned about' (Longshanks, 2019, n.p.). The implication is that if right-wing extremists are committing atrocities, the solution is for governments to give them what they want.

2.1.2 TR News

TR News is the official website of Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, popularly known as 'Tommy Robinson'. The ideology promoted by the site exemplifies what Berntzen (2020; see above) calls the radical (as opposed to the extreme) right. As noted above, this ideology is more socially liberal than that of extreme right, and the superiority which it argues for is cultural rather than racial. However, it is highly intolerant of Muslims who do not ignore Islamic texts and teachings, viewing Islam as monolithic and as essentially incompatible with western civilisation. Although violence is not advocated on the site, this view can only be seen as threatening to religious Muslims living in the west.

Hate is therefore still in evidence on TR News. As a particularly clear example, we might take the article 'Muslims living in Germany feel unsafe – why?' (TR News, 2019d). It is illustrated with two images. The first is a photomontage depicting the Eye of Sauron from the *Lord of the Rings* film trilogy looking out not from the spire of Barad-Dûr but from the silhouetted minarets of a mosque. It is clearly intended to associate Islam – and not just Islamist extremism – with forces of evil. The second is a photograph of protestors holding up a sign bearing the slogan 'Rapefugees not welcome' and featuring a graphic depicting a group of knife-wielding men – one whom has a long beard and appears to be wearing a kaftan – pursuing a woman in western attire. This clearly stigmatises male refugees from Muslim countries as violent sex criminals. Moreover, the article answers its own question by blaming Muslims for hate crimes against themselves, stating that the authors 'are sick to the back teeth hearing about "Islamophobic attacks" when the causation [sic] of these attacks are [sic] mostly down to the behaviours, attitudes, and priorities of Muslims themselves' (TR News, 2019d, n.p.). This is not in itself an incitement to violence, but it can be read as a justification of violence that might be directly compared to Radio Albion's presentation of right-wing extremist violence as motivated by legitimate grievances that ought to be addressed. The implication is that, if Muslims are attacked, then something has to be done about Muslims – and not about the people who attack them.

The site's attitude to Muslims is spelled out clearly in the following manifesto-like post. Violent Islamist extremists are not identified as such but as 'Muslims who follow the Islamic faith', implying that groups such as Islamic State and Boko Haram are the rule and not the exception. The text also suggests that anything that can be found in Islamic religious texts provides a direct guide to the behaviour of Muslims, and classic racist concerns about non-white groups having more children are applied to the religious category of Muslims (which thus comes to seem a proxy for a racial category):

> If truth be told, Tommy has not attacked all Muslims, he has attacked certain types of Muslims, and he has well-founded criticisms of the Islamic faith, like any ideology it should be scrutinised.
>
> …

So why do Muslims and Islam seem to be singled out for more criticism than perhaps any other group or faith?

Well for a start, global terrorism is monopolised by Islamic groups, the data and the numbers speak for themselves, that's not hateful, its [sic] the truth. According to the Global Terrorism Index 2018, compiled by the Institute for Economics & Peace (IEP) just four organisations were responsible for 10,632 deaths in 2017. Those groups were Islamic State, the Taliban, Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram.

Guess what they have in common?

They are Muslims who follow the Islamic faith.

…

There are other reasons for criticising certain types of Muslim and the Islamic faith, especially when Western nations have imported a massive influx of Muslims from troubled Islamic states. Muslims (not all of course) bring with them their culture and their ideological perspectives as well, not all are exactly 'compatible' with Western laws and culture.

…

There will be many cultural clashes between the West and Islamic countries; for example, a majority of Muslims believe that Western music, movies and TV hurt 'morality', which is a little hard to take in given the fact that sharia is advocated by most Muslims worldwide.

We suppose its [sic] 'how' your morality is defined, for example, it's immoral to watch scantily clad women on TV but it is fine to marry and molest a child according to the sharia? Remember, sharia is a system based on Islamic morality and law as defined by the accepted deeds and sayings of Muhammad and more importantly, Quranic text. Children taken as 'brides' is a huge problem, its [sic] 'not hateful or unreasonable to state this fact, why else would there be at least 16 different charities who are fighting against this disgusting religious/cultural practice?

To be clear, we are not saying that all [M]uslims think marrying a child is an acceptable thing to do, we are saying that Islamic texts do! If Muhammad is the perfect example for all of mankind (as per the Quran) then its [sic] perfectly ok to marry and molest a child. That to us Westerners is abhorrent, its [sic] certainly not a culture we want or need in our society, nor do we need or appreciate apologists defending such practices.

Tommy has always[,] always drawn attention to the issues that lie within the Islamic faith[;] he has also drawn attention to the Muslim birth rate[:] if we think we have issues now, those issues will become harder to deal with as the Muslim population grows faster than any other demographic. It is reasonable to believe that radical thought and beliefs will increse [sic] with the growth of the [M]uslim population.

(TR News, 2019e, n.p.)

Despite the denials in the above, it would be hard to argue that TR News is not hateful towards Muslims. But it would be still harder to argue that it intentionally promotes hatred of Jews. Indeed, the TR News ideology is explicitly accepting of both secular and religious Jews. As explained above, its nationalism is cultural rather than racial: the underlying principle appears to be that anyone can belong in the West provided that he or she does not attempt to maintain a culture separate from and incompatible with that of the majority. While the authors of articles published on the site appear to regard this as possible only for irreligious Muslims, there is nothing to indicate that they do not regard Jews as fully at home in the West, nor that they regard the culture of the West as anything other than a *shared* Christian and Jewish heritage. Indeed, in a clear example of the common radical right framing of Israel as the 'last European frontier' (Rose, 2020, p. 8) and of Judaism as an

intrinsic component of 'Western Judeo-Christian culture' (Rose, 2020, p. 10), Israel is presented as a Western nation like any other – albeit closer to the frontline in the supposed war with Islam (TR News, 2020b; Yemini, 2019b) – and Jews are presented as being fundamentally at one with the other Western nations in which they reside. Moreover, the principal 'face' of the website, after 'Tommy Robinson' himself, is Jewish, and the site ridicules and attacks right-wing antisemites (TR News, 2020b), even where they have expressed support for 'Tommy Robinson' (TR News, 2019c).

Having said the above, it is important to note that TR News appears to regard the German nationalist party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) as an ally (see e.g. TR News, 2019a; Yemini, 2019a), when the latter has been argued to use 'pro-Israeli and antisemitism-critical statements … as a kind of counterweight to its antisemitic statements' (Grimm, 2019, n.p.), and therefore to engage in a fairly transparent sort of bad-faith whitewashing of antisemitism. It is therefore worth examining the site closely to discover whether it employs the kinds of antisemitic tropes and iconography that have been observed in the social media activity of some AfD politicians (see Huebscher, 2020), rather than taking at face value its self-presentation as anti-Islam but not anti-Jewish.

It is also reasonable to ask whether the rhetoric employed by TR News might incite antisemitism even when it does not appear to target Jews (or at least, to target Jews *as* Jews). For example, TR News has promoted the 'Great Replacement' conspiracy fantasy as fact (see TR News, 2019b). While proponents of that fantasy do not always hold Jews responsible for Muslim and non-white immigration, and while Jews are not held responsible in the version expressed on the TR News website, it is (as explained above) a core component of white nationalist ideology which has motivated lethal violence against both Muslims and Jews. To take another example, a TR News story about authoritarian behaviour on the German political left was illustrated with a screenshot of a tweet alleging a conspiracy by George Soros and the 'Deep State' as well as with a montage of Soros and a masked man holding a flaming Molotov cocktail, which was captioned 'George Soros – A Financier of Antifa' (TR News, 2020a, n.p.). These sorts of allegations and images are common on the extreme right, where they are used to cast Soros in the role of a Jewish master manipulator conspiring to destroy the West.

Moreover, some on the extreme right maintain the hope that 'Tommy Robinson' might be *unintentionally* radicalising his followers against Jews. 'Sven Longshanks,' for example, writes as follows (note that 'Alt-Lite' corresponds to the *radical* right and 'Civic Nationalism' to its ideology, while 'Ethno-Nationalism' refers to the *extreme* right ideology promoted by Radio Albion):

> We know the members of the Civic Nationalist parties are far more radical than their leaders, Tommy Robinson left the EDL because of this. This is because the Civic Nationalist parties serve a purpose as a stepping stone to Ethno-Nationalism. The Antifa know this, the State knows this, so why do we still have a problem with understanding that?
>
> When looking at figures in the Alt-Lite, their achievements have to be weighed in the balance against their limited versions of the truth. Tommy Robinson may be a Zionist, but he has recruited a movement of around a million people who are now all aware of Islamic crimes against White people, the censorship and jailing of dissident voices and the harmful effects of immigration. This far outweighs the fact that most of them are not Jew-wise, they will soon become Jew-wise when

they do some research for themselves, especially if the Jew-wise sites are not attacking their heroes and trying to make enemies of them.

<div align="right">(Longshanks, 2018, n.p.)</div>

It should also be observed that extremely antisemitic comments sometimes do appear on TR News articles – albeit that these are more likely to take the form of criticisms of and attacks on 'Tommy Robinson' than if expressions of support. The following examples are taken from two separate comments left by the same individual on a single TR News article:

> While the people on the left deride the people on the right as their enemies due to their disagreements on how many genders there are, or whether Palestinian Arabs or Palestinian Jews should genocide the other, their real enemies, the insatiable and parasitic banksters that own all the media corporations, and for whom Tommy Robinson fronts, impose house arrest on the entire world through their captive governments.

> Zionist Israel is a leading mechanism in the institutional clockwork that is imposing both the City of London and ISIS on the free people of the world, and the scourge of a people divided against themselves is presently playing their tune. And Tommy Robinson is it's [sic] spokesperson in London.

> ---

> The depredations of Zionists will not survive the end of mandatory indoctrinations currently dependent on massive censorship, which is driving people to autodidactism [sic].

> Slave revolts are violent affairs, and generally result in extreme prejudice against such cultural predators that seek to profit from abusing victim populations. Consider the Haitian Revolution as a model for the future of Zionist oppression.

> The day comes when your laughter will choke you, and perhaps you will wish it could choke you to death, to save you from your victims' wrath.

<div align="right">(Reader comments on McMahon, 2020)</div>

2.2 The left-wing sites

Just as a discussion of right-wing alternative media must begin with a discussion of the far right, a discussion of left-wing alternative media must begin with a discussion of the other end of the political spectrum. While the space to the left of the Labour Party was formerly occupied by the Communist Party of Great Britain and – to its left – the various Trotskyist, Maoist, and Anarchist groups that were sometimes pejoratively referred to as the 'ultra-left', the situation has become more confused since the fall of the Berlin Wall. In this, Britain closely resembles much of the rest of western Europe, across which, March and Mudde (2005) identify a 21st century 'radical left' consisting of old Marxist-Leninist parties and their offshoots, established Green parties, recently-formed 'social-populist' parties, and a fringe of single-issue campaign groups organised around such causes as environmentalism, animal rights, sexual minority rights, anti-fascism, and anti-globalism. Among these single issue groups can be counted such organisations as the Cuba Solidarity Campaign, the Venezuela Solidarity Campaign, the Stop the War Coalition, and the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, some of which have close links both to Marxist-Leninist parties and to individuals on the left wing of the UK Labour Party. Bolton and Pitts explain the 'anti-imperialist' ideology of such organisations as follows:

> [T]he world is [seen as] severed into two halves or 'camps', one irrefutably 'good' and the other irredeemably 'bad.' In this Manichean world, 'my enemy's enemy is my friend.' The 'West' – primarily the 'imperialists' of the USA, Israel, the UK, the EU – falls squarely in the enemy camp. Whoever styles themselves as the opponents of the 'West' are in turn considered 'friends,' comrades in the anti-imperialist struggle, regardless of the content of their wider political programme. For two-campists, the West is taken to be the sole origin of all that is bad in the world. Where the West alone acts, the rest can only respond. Agency exists only on the side of the evil-doers, not those who reflexively react; a perspective that implies the paternalistic, colonialist and culturally racist assumption that the capacity to act upon the course of history is denied all those outside the 'West'. Indeed, the fact that an 'anti-imperialist' state might have its own objectives which are not directly related to 'the West' falls out of view altogether, even if – as in the case of Iranian interference in both Syria and Iraq – those objectives are themselves manifestly imperialist.

(2018, pp. 79-80)

These distinctions are important for a consideration of antisemitism because – just as on the far right – there is a diversity of attitudes towards the Jewish people on the contemporary far left, some of which may be explicable by reference to other political divisions. Staetsky, for example, argues that UK survey data reveals the existence both of 'a clear anti-antisemitic segment' which 'is present [among] … people self-describing as fairly left-wing and, to a lesser extent, among the very left wing as well' and of 'an anti-Israel/antisemitic segment' which 'is present among the fairly left-wing and, especially, the very left-wing' (2020, p. 277). Hirsh (2017) and Rich (2018a) both provide extensive evidence that the 'two-campist' anti-imperialism described above may have led some groups into an antisemitic position, while Bolton and Pitts (2018, ch. 6) argue that a similar effect is produced by a form of economic populism, endemic within some segments of the contemporary left and right, 'which regards the existence of economic crises, poverty, unemployment and inequality as the direct responsibility of identifiable people or institutions' (p. 214). It seems plausible that adherence to or rejection of such ideas – which are by no means universally accepted on the left – might go some way to explaining the patterns which Staetsky observes in attitudes to Jews and Israel among the self-described 'very' and 'fairly' left-wing.

While right-wing alternative media appear more popular in some other countries, it is on the left that the alternative media appear to have had most success in the UK (Waterson, 2017, n.p.). The two left-wing platforms focused on here have been said to be highly influential among Labour Party activists (Waterson, 2017, n.p.), although some have argued that their reach is now diminishing (McDowell-Naylor, 2020, n.p.). The Labour Party recently identified them as having been among several 'Jeremy Corbyn-supporting blogs and websites' to which 'defamatory and false allegations' were sent ahead of a Panorama broadcast critical of the Labour leadership (O'Carroll & Elgot, 2020, n.p.).

Ideologically, the two websites represent the viewpoint of that part of the British left which is characterised by populist anti-capitalism (in March and Mudde's terms, 'social-populism') and the aforementioned form of anti-imperialism. In practice if not in theory, this anti-imperialism somewhat resembles the anti-imperialism promoted by Radio Aryan's contributors (who are also anti-capitalist, as noted above). It is not that the contributors to the three sites agree on ideological questions, but that they understand the world in ways that reliably lead them to take similar positions on international political questions. All three, for example, have published articles arguing that the UK government was wrong to blame the Salisbury Novichok poisonings on Russia (Johnson & Longshanks, 2018; Skwawkbox, 2018a; Wright, 2018). Moreover, all three have published pieces supporting

the Maduro regime in Venezuela by denouncing what they present as dangerous US-backed coup attempts against it (S. Longshanks & M. Johnson, 2019; McEvoy, 2019; Skwawkbox, 2017b). And all three have published pieces which strongly suggest that war crimes generally attributed to the Syrian regime were hoaxes perpetrated by the west in order to justify military action (Skwawkbox, 2018e; Wise, Longshanks, & Messerschmitt, 2016; Wright, 2019). Radio Albion and the Canary have also published articles which take a very similar line on the democracy movement in Hong Kong (e.g. S. Longshanks & M. R. Johnson, 2019; Sykes, 2019) – in marked contrast to TR News, which supports the protestors (e.g. Yemini, 2020).

It is in this context that many of the statements about Jews to be found on the two left-wing sites discussed here must be understood, because the discussion of Jewish issues on those sites is so frequently also a discussion of Israel, Zionism, and Palestine, and of UK and US support for Israel and Zionism.

2.2.1 Skwawkbox

Skwawkbox is arguably the least ideological of the four sites discussed in this report. Rather than promoting a particular ideology, it primarily acts to promote a particular faction within the UK Labour Party, whose ideology enters its discourse almost by proxy. With some exceptions, Skwawkbox's references to Jews tend to be made within the context of reporting and opinion on factional Labour Party issues, and so it seems possible that it would barely have mentioned Jews at all, had it not been for a perceived need to defend members of its preferred faction against allegations of antisemitism. However, this does not mean that the texts published on the site do not imply a particular ideological view of Jews. For example, making throwaway references to 'a former Chief Rabbi with a history of supporting racism' (Skwawkbox, 2018d, n.p.) could contribute to the creation of an impression of Jewishness as inherently suspect.

A good example of Skwawkbox's treatment of Jewish issues is provided by the following list of bullet points, which were published on the site as part of an article entitled 'Israel admits infiltration. Where are apologies/resignations for #antisemitism smears?'. The 'undercover recording' referred to is from the Al Jazeera documentary, *The Lobby* (Al Jazeera Investigations, 2017), in which an Israeli diplomat was filmed raising the possibility of founding a hypothetical 'Young Friends of Israel' organisation that, he suggested, could potentially be linked to Labour Friends of Israel:

- the group 'Labour Friends of Israel' (LFI), specifically mentioned in the undercover recordings, supported antisemitism smears against the Labour party. Many smears specifically blamed Jeremy Corbyn for the supposed increase in antisemitism

- LFI and other Jewish groups shamefully attacked Shami Chakrabarti after her investigation did not support the smears

- the Jewish Labour MP who 'fled in tears' from the Chakrabarti report press conference did so over comments that were not antisemitic or aimed at Jewish people

- the same Labour MP has been funded by LFI and used to work for a pro-Israel campaign group, BICOM (and was also considered a 'strictly protected' source by US Intelligence)

- many of the most vehemently anti-Corbyn faction are closely associated with LFI. Michael Dugher, who writes for right-wing rags against Corbyn, Gloria de Piero, who infamously

appealed to Sun readers to join the party to defeat Corbyn (both pictured below with Ruth Smeeth and Tom Watson on an LFI junket), are listed on the LFI website as officers.

- Gloominaries such as Ian Austin, Jess Phillips, Chris Leslie, Chuka Umunna, Conor McGinn, Wes Streeting, Margaret Hodge, John Spellar, John Woodcock and others are 'supporters'

- Deputy leader Tom Watson is not only a supporter but keynote speaker at LFI's 2016 'annual lunch' and praised LFI for being 'fearless in its support for the state of Israel'

- LFI supporter Tom Watson appointed LFI supporter and former vice-Chair Michael Dugher to head a 'fake news inquiry' that is plainly an attack on pro-Corbyn independent media

- At least one of the two Labour MPs on the Commons Home Affairs Committee (CHAC) – Umunna – is an LFI supporter, while the other is Jewish but not listed as a supporter. David Burrowes on the CHAC is an officer of Conservative Friends of Israel, a group to which at least 80% of Tory MPs below, so it's highly likely that all of the other 5 Tories on the CHAC are supporters

- The CHAC issued statements smearing Labour as having an antisemitism problem on the basis of a CHAC report, even though the end of their own report unequivocally concludes that it does not

(Skwawkbox, 2017a, n.p.)

The above points have much in common with the forms of antisemitic ideation detailed by Harrison and Klaff (2021 [forthcoming]; quoted above): the figure of the Jew, here represented (as Harrison and Klaff emphasise is now often the case) by the state of Israel and its supporters, is depicted as having corrupted British political institutions through its powers of conspiratorial organisation and its use of financial power (note the phrases 'funded by LFI' and 'on an LFI junket'). It may also be noted that, while the focus is primarily on the organisations, Labour Friends of Israel and Conservative Friends of Israel, there may be an implication that Jewish MPs can be assumed to be in on the conspiracy even if they are not publicly associated with either organisation: 'one of the two Labour MPs … is an LFI supporter, while the other is Jewish but not listed as a supporter'.

In the diatribes of Radio Albion, the argument is that Jews are a corrupting influence and must be expelled from 'white' nations such as Britain. In Skwawkbox articles such as the above, the argument is that the world's only Jewish state is a corrupting influence, and those who have been tainted by it must be excluded from British political institutions. The same article continues as follows:

- Labour Friends of Israel should be disbanded/proscribed immediately

- Tom Watson and Michael Dugher at the very least should be immediately suspended pending investigation

- any MPs found to have colluded with/worked for the Israelis to discredit the Labour party or its leadership should be required to resign not just the whip but their seats immediately.

(Skwawkbox, 2017a, n.p.)

Reader comments on Skwawkbox articles take this further, seeking to eliminate not only the influence of the Jewish state, but also the presence of Jewish communal organisations. The following comments, left on three separate Skwawkbox articles, concern one of the Labour Party's oldest affiliate organisations: the Jewish Labour Movement or JLM (formerly, Poale

Zion). When reading them, one must bear in mind that the Jewish Labour Movement is the sole Jewish communal organisation for Labour Party members and supporters. That is, these comments amount in practice to arguments for the exclusion of the Jewish community from the Labour Party.[3] Allegations of treachery, conspiratorial control, and parasitism, along with calls for disaffiliation and expulsion, closely parallel the language used on Radio Albion:

> This appalling organisation is an utter disgrace. What is even more disgraceful is that they are officially affiliated to the Labour Party and are bringing it into disrepute by association. … I would urge your readers to sign and share as widely as possible my petition to get the JLM dis-affiliated from the Labour Party.
>
> ---
>
> Zionism is incompatible with Socialism therefore why is the Zionist and antisemitic JLM allowed a place in the Labour Party

(reader comments on Skwawkbox, 2018b)

> 'Affiliated' doesn't even begin to describe the influence the JLM have over the Labour Party. Make no mistake, the JLM have massive control and should be banned from membership.
>
> ---
>
> the JLM has no place in the Party, since it is in reality affiliated to the Tories, and supports principles antagonistic to the anti-racism of the Party.
>
> ---
>
> No socialist leader can survive the PLP and the parasite affiliated groups of the Zionist and right-wing collaborators.
>
> ---
>
> any member of the PLP or staff who supported the suspension of Chris Williamson, a model Socialist, should be looked upon as candidates for the clear out. This includes ALL of the JLM.

(reader comments on Skwawkbox, 2019a)

> We know for a fact that one the groups driving the smears and the destruction of Labour's electoral chances under Corbyn was the JLM, they should therefore be disaffiliated from the Party.
>
> ---
>
> Its all rather disgusting. JLM have more say in the Labour Party. Than Labour members do.
>
> ---
>
> they are not really dealing with the issue as that would mean really drastic and far reaching action. Having to tie [sic] links to JLM, [s]ack and expel people like Hodges, Blair, Wa[t]son and others

(reader comments on Skwawkbox, 2020a)

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[3] By contrast, there was much support for the tiny and very recently-founded Jewish Voice for Labour (JVL): as its name suggests, an organisation whose purpose was to provide a credibly Jewish voice *in support of* the Labour Party (or rather, in support of the faction which was at that time dominant within the Labour Party).

A further characteristic of Skwawkbox's coverage of Jewish issues is an apparent strategy of attempting to remove the sting from antisemitism accusations against its preferred faction by making counter-accusations of antisemitism against those who raise the issue of antisemitism. Highly positive coverage was given, for instance, to the allegation that, in accusing a specific Jewish man of being homophobic, an openly gay Labour MP from a faction opposed to that supported by Skwawkbox had been 'attack[ing him] … for being Jewish' and indulging in 'original antisemitism via inciting hate against religious Jews' (Skwawkbox, 2019b, n.p.). The idea that this could constitute antisemitism is nonsensical, but the factional purpose was clear.

Accusing those who raise the issue of antisemitism of being antisemitic serves to neutralise that issue. We have already seen an example of this in the reader comment above which referred to the Jewish Labour Movement as 'antisemitic'. But perhaps the best example of this tendency is provided by Skwawkbox's coverage of responses to Jeremy Corbyn's (later retracted) defence of a now-removed mural created by street artist Kalen Ockerman, professionally known as 'Mear One' (Stewart, 2018). The mural depicted bankers, some of them antisemitic caricatures, playing Monopoly on the backs of figures representing the oppressed people of the world (Rich, 2018b). It was so clearly antisemitic that it was used as an illustration for a Radio Albion podcast in which 'Sven Longshanks' and Dennis Wise praise Hitler for, amongst other things, 'sort[ing] the banks out' ('the rest of the world did it but the money was still going to the Jews, Adolf Hitler did it and the money was going to Germany'; Longshanks & Wise, 2018, 00:09:20-00:10:54). Jeremy Corbyn himself admitted that the mural 'used antisemitic imagery,' and issued a public statement containing the statement: 'I sincerely regret that I did not look more closely at the image I was commenting on' (quoted in Stewart & Rawlinson, 2018, n.p.). And indeed, his more thoughtful supporters were very willing to admit that the mural should not have been defended. For example, journalist Michael Segalov argued that, in defending the mural, Corbyn had 'displayed a lack of judgment and awareness that he – and, it appears, some members – need to address', concluding:

> If you're left in any doubt, just read the words of Mear One, the street artist who painted the mural: 'Some of the older white Jewish folk in the local community had an issue with me portraying their beloved #Rothschild or #Warburg etc as the demons they are,' he has written.

> (2018, n.p.)

However, Skwawkbox's reponse was to argue that the BBC was antisemitic for pointing out the artist's use of antisemitic caricatures – and to back this up by contacting and citing the artist himself as an authority on the interpretation of his own work:

> On today's Daily Politics programme, the BBC's Jo Coburn interviewed Jewish Voice for Labour's co-chair Jenny Mason about the 'Mear One' mural and Corbyn's Facebook comment about defaced art

> The interjection by the host was problematic:

>> If you look at that picture even for a split-second it is a picture of six men with hook-noses, stereotypical Jewish men playing a board of bankers' monopoly on the broken backs … of workers. Which bit of that is not antisemitic?

> The US artist who painted the mural, Kalen Ockerman, has identified the men it depicts as, from left to right, 'Rothschild, Rockefeller, Morgan, Aleister Crowley, Carnegie & Warburg'.

> Of the six men, only the first and last in the list were Jewish. One, Aleister Crowley, was noted for his antisemitic views.
>
> But the programme assumed the six men were Jewish – because it said they have 'hook-noses' and were bankers – and seemingly did not bother to check.
>
> The idea that Jewish people look alike and that therefore you can identify a Jewish person by his or her appearance is a well-known antisemitic trope – as is the stereotype of 'Jewish financiers'.
>
> …
>
> Ms Coburn told Jenny Mason that a 'split second' would be enough to identify the themes and problems of the mural.
>
> But the BBC made a lazy, casually antisemitic and fundamentally incorrect assumption about the content of the mural – after having days to examine it.
>
> <div align="right">(Skwawkbox, 2018c, n.p.)</div>

Recognising that there is an antisemitic *stereotype* of the Jewish banker, and that Jews are *stereotypically* identified *in antisemitic imagery* by a certain set of physical characteristics, is not at all the same thing as assuming 'that you can identify a Jewish person by his or her appearance', nor as endorsing 'the stereotype of "Jewish financiers"'. But if the intention was simply to muddy the waters by confusing the blog's readers as to what constitutes antisemitism, and to create an illusory equivalence between those expressing antisemitic ideas and those recognising them to have done so, then it seems possible that it may have succeeded.

More in the same vein is provided by the accusation of antisemitism against Jeremy Corbyn's successor as Labour leader:

> As a Labour Party member I have lodged a formal complaint of antisemitism with the Labour Party against its leader Keir Starmer, in the wake of events yesterday around the dismissal of Rebecca Long-Bailey as Shadow Education Secretary.
>
> …
>
> … Starmer appeared on camera to tell the media that Long-Bailey had been sacked for sharing an article by actor Maxine Peake that Starmer said contained an 'antisemitic conspiracy theory'. The wording of the article, later deleted by the Independent, mentioned US police receiving training from Israeli state organisations.
>
> The final example of antisemitism in the IHRA working definition of antisemitism is:
>
> > Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.
>
> By equating a comment about the Israeli state training US police – such training is a matter of public record, in spite of Peake's subsequent withdrawal – with antisemitism, I believe that Starmer himself has conflated the state of Israel with Jewish people collectively, in clear breach of this example in the IHRA working definition.
>
> <div align="right">(Skwawkbox, 2020b, n.p.)</div>

Recognising a statement about Israel as antisemitic in no way involves 'conflat[ing] the [S]tate of Israel with Jewish people collectively', and 'conflat[ing] the [S]tate of Israel with Jewish people collectively' is not the same thing as '[h]olding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the [S]tate of Israel'. But, again, the effect (and perhaps also the intention)

may simply have been to create confusion – or even equivalence – between those who recognise antisemitism and those who give endorsement to antisemitic ideas.

2.2.2 The Canary

The Canary is a far more explicitly ideological outlet than Skwawkbox. Moreover, while Skwawkbox is devoted to factional politics within an electoral political party, the editor of the Canary has recently suggested that electoral democracy has ceased to be a viable arena for progressive politics, with violent revolution having become a necessary precursor of positive social change:

> As we are witnessing in the United States, the tipping point, when it comes, will be sudden, violent and chaotic. We missed the chance for a peaceful transition of power with the destruction of Jeremy Corbyn in the UK, and Bernie Sanders in the US. In both nations, 'liberal' centrists chose to enable fascism, rather than socialism. And we are now paying the price for that betrayal – one repeated throughout history. Change will now have to come from the bottom, and it will not be a pretty process.
>
> People are going to be forced awake by what will in all probability be a truly devastating wave of death.
>
> Wales, Scotland, and the north of Ireland have all severed ties with England's collective cliff jump. The devolved nations are going their own way. In all likelihood, a precursor for the dissolution of the United Kingdom.
>
> And then England will be left alone, to reckon with itself.
>
> It's time to put away childish things. England needs to be wrestled back from the grip of the zealots willing to burn it to the ground in pursuit of the last quid they can extract from it. And for that to happen, the sleeping need to wake, and the children need to grow up fast. Because it's happening whether they feel like it or not.

(K.-A. Mendoza, 2020, n.p.)

There is a close parallel between the above and the picture of necessary 'societal collapse' before rebuilding in the 'Grandpa Lampshade' sermon quoted from above (section 2.1.1). Yet despite this apparent endorsement of revolutionary politics, the Canary appears to be the most commercially successful of the four sites focussed on here, operating on a business model which 'pays [writers] according to traffic, with more viral pieces earning the author more money' (Waterson, 2017, n.p.). Its income streams appear to have been compromised by a campaign to persuade advertisers to withdraw from the site, which the Canary blamed on 'political Zionists' (JC Reporter, 2019), but it still displays adverts from a range of sources and therefore does not have to rely entirely on donations.

The site has been accused of misrepresenting stories in pursuit of social media reach and wider influence (Waterson, 2017, n.p.), and some of the articles it has published have become news stories in their own right. For example, after being named in a baseless conspiracy fantasy that was originally published by the Canary (Topple, 2016) and afterwards repeated on national television by Len McCluskey, a worker at the Portland Communications PR firm received a hand-delivered death threat (Press Association, 2016). Allegations against political journalist Laura Kuenssberg – a hate figure on left-wing social media – in an article by the same Canary journalist (Topple, 2017) led to a judgement that the website had breached the Impress code by 'misrepresenting facts' and 'failing to take all reasonable steps to ensure accuracy prior to publication' (BBC, 2017, n.p.).

Accusations of antisemitism have circulated around the Canary for some time. The Canary journalist responsible for both of the stories mentioned in the previous paragraph at one time apologised for comments which had apparently included suggestions that 'Jews should be held responsible for the "growing Zionist cancer"' and that the managing director of the IMF is a '"puppet" of … her Jewish predecessor, and the Rothschild family' (Weich, 2018, n.p.). The Canary defended him for the 'Zionist cancer' remark (N. W. Mendoza, 2016), although it involves essentially the same metaphor that was elaborated at such length by Matthew Heimbach and 'Sven Longshanks' on Radio Albion (see quotation above).

The following text, by one of the Canary's co-founders, attempts to rebut such allegations by characterising Israel as a European settler state and suggesting that practically every aspect of Israel is racist:

> The row over antisemitism in the Labour Party is actually fuelling antisemitism, whilst simultaneously weakening the term as it's applied to genuine antisemitism. And it seems it was never really meant to be of service to Jewish people, anyway, so nobody gives a damn what impact it has on us. That is a very frightening development, for me.
>
> …
>
> The fact is that Israel has become an apartheid state and the divisions are on ethnic, not religious, lines. And Zionism is a colonial project that began at the end of the 19th century, long before Hitler came to power in Germany, and before so many Jewish people were killed in the Holocaust. Zionist settlements have been popping up in Israel for nearly 150 years. Zionism didn't suddenly appear in 1945, but some people would have us believe that.
>
> …
>
> At The Canary, we've had the nerve to point at Gaza, for example, and say: look, there are 1.8 million people living in an open prison, their only crime being that they are brown. We've written about the racial apartheid and fascist practices that had Ethiopian Jewish women put on birth control without their consent or knowledge; and we question the imbalance of power between Israeli settlers and Palestinian people, and the control, in Israel, of land ownership, employment, education, and more, by mainly white North American and European Jews.
>
> …
>
> If you can prove your Jewish heritage, it's pretty easy to become an Israeli citizen, wherever you were born.
>
> But in the same breath as creating Israel as a haven for Jewish people who have been oppressed throughout the world, an estimated 750,000 Palestinian people were made refugees between 1947 and 1949 and lost everything. Their homes were bulldozed to make way for the settlers. And now those Palestinian people have no right to return or to self-determination. Those who remain in the area now live in a vast, walled, open-air prison. Their rights to move around, to work, to own property, even to have access to enough food, are controlled by a government intent on making Israel white.
>
> (N. W. Mendoza, 2019)

This is an extremely selective history. The notion that Gaza is fenced off both from Israel and from Egypt solely because its inhabitants 'are brown' cannot be taken seriously. And there is no mention of the estimated 820,000 Jews who were made refugees by other states in the Middle East and North Africa from 1948 onwards, the majority of whom relocated to Israel. One could continue to pick holes: the idea that Israel is an 'apartheid state' is trope rather

than a 'fact', while the idea that Zionism 'suddenly appear[ed] in 1945' is a strawman position that in reality no-one 'would have us believe'. But really this misses the point, which is that the article is written with the authority of one who can refer to Jews as 'us', and that it is constructed in order to suggest that one *should say* the kinds of things that are given as examples of antisemitism in the IHRA Definition, such as '[d]enying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour' (IHRA, 2016, p. 2). At times, the Canary makes this suggestion more forcefully. For example, the Definition also gives '[d]rawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis' as an example (IHRA, 2016, p. 2), and, accordingly, the editor of the Canary declares outright that it is 'wholly legitimate, and indeed urgent' to make comparisons between Israel and Nazi Germany, also providing a model for such comparisons in her own statement that 'Gaza is a modern day version of the Warsaw Ghetto' (K.-A. Mendoza, 2016, n.p.).

Such encouragement appears effective. For their part, readers respond to Canary articles on Labour Party issues by equating Zionism with racial supremacism, by complaining that the Labour Party is under 'Zionist control' or that its policies are dictated by the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and by alleging that Zionists create antisemitism where it does not exist and that they make allegations of antisemitism in bad faith. We see all of this in the following selection of quotations from comments on two separate Canary articles:

> How has it worked out for [Rebecca Long-Bailey] with this Zionist controlled Labour party, just asking as a non party member who resigned when they all signed up for the Board of Deputies dictat.
>
> ---
>
> I also can't rule out that some of the swastikas painted on Jewish Gravestones were done by Zionists. Zionism needs antisemitism, so they will create it where it does not exist.
>
> ---
>
> Zionism, however you look at it, is a messianic creed of entitlement through superiority. … Zionism as we know it is racist and Starmer supports it without question. The Labour Party has a racist leader.
>
> (Reader comments on Egret, 2020)

> The [Al Jazeera] documentary [The Lobby] exposed the 'sham' of antisemitism complaints levied [sic] against Labour party MP's [sic] and its [sic] members, and also exposes infiltration of groups such as 'Young Labour Friends of Israel' while highlighting former MP's [sic] like Joan Ryan, shamefully casting patently false antisemitism complaints against Labour members. So you get a real picture of the way the 'Labour right' and 'Friends of Israel' operate within the party and where they get their funding from.
>
> ---
>
> Along with the continued influence of minority Jewish groups and media allies (BOD's – Jewish Chronicle) who now dictate Labour party policy and the use of anti-semitism accusations as their default action to smear anyone wanting an open discussion on Israel's treatment of Palestinians.
>
> ---

2.3 Summary

What is the overall pattern of similarity and difference that emerges when the four 'alternative media' platforms are considered together? TR News is undeniably 'far right', and just as undeniably pro-Jewish – even though it promotes substantial components of what elsewhere functions as antisemitic propaganda. Radio Albion is 'further to the right' than TR News (in that it belongs to the extreme rather than the radical right), yet its editorial line is in many respects closer to that of Skwawkbox and the Canary: despite the huge differences in the beliefs that are most foundational to their ideologies, articles published on all three sites share an opposition to capitalism, globalisation, and liberalism, adopt similar positions on many questions of foreign policy, and fulminate against a supposed adversary whose Jewishness is extensively highlighted (even if in different ways).

How do Skwawkbox, Radio Albion, and the Canary understand this Jewish adversary? For Radio Albion, life is a struggle between ethnic groups, and white people of purely European descent – ahistorically identified with the biblical Israelites – are locked in conflict with a racially-defined Jewish enemy that must be driven out of Britain (and every other 'white' nation). For Skwawkbox and the Canary, life is a struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed, which leaves an in-group of 'socialists' – i.e. those who understand themselves to side with the oppressed – at constant risk of attack from a politically-defined Zionist enemy that must be driven out of the Labour Party. But much of the framing is similar: in articles published on all three platforms, the enemy is a wealthy, conspiratorial, corrupting, and unambiguously Jewish force with which no compromise can be made.

Does this mean that the left-wing sites imagine their Jewish enemy in the same way that Radio Albion does? It does not. Like the right-wing populists of TR News, the left-wing populists of Skwawkbox and the Canary reject the ethnic nationalist, right-wing extremist understanding of humanity as divided into races that must remain forever separate. This means that the enemy they imagine is in certain respects more similar to the Muslim enemy implied by articles published on TR News than to the Jewish enemy implied by articles published on Radio Albion. That is, while Radio Albion's figure of the Jew is the *eternal* nemesis of the white 'race', articles published by TR News, Skwawkbox, and the Canary all imagine an enemy who could become an ally: just as individual Muslims can potentially become part of the west as defined by the radical right (TR News is keen to reiterate that 'Tommy Robinson' does not reject *all* Muslims), the Jewish Labour Movement could cease to complain about antisemitism, the Board of Deputies could cease to support Israel, Zionists could cease in their Zionism, and Israel itself could cease to be the national home of the Jewish people and instead become a Palestine that extends uninterruptedly – as the slogan goes – 'from the river to the sea'. Moreover, for Skwawkbox and the Canary, there are good Jewish people in existence, i.e. those Jews who (whether for religious or for ideological reasons) stand against all major Jewish communal institutions. As a representation, these 'anti-Zionist', 'non-Zionist', 'socialist', or 'left-wing' Jews can be compared to the exceptional Muslims whom TR News claims to accept.

3. Content analysis of Jewish-related articles on four 'alternative' sites

3.1 Research questions

The first quantitative part of this research project was a content analysis of articles on Radio Albion, TR News, Skwawkbox, and the Canary with the intention of answering the following research questions:

RQ1.   What are the main themes present in articles about Jews?
RQ2.   How does the frequency of those themes vary between the four sites?

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Sample

Rather than take a random sample, which would likely have included a range of articles dating back for years, the researchers selected the 20 most recent articles on each site that featured the words 'Jew' or 'Zionist'. Where there were fewer than 20 articles on a site that satisfied one or other of these search terms, all available articles were selected. Each site featured at least 20 articles featuring the word 'Jew', but there were only five articles featuring the word 'Zionist' on the TR News website and only 18 featuring the same word on the Skwawkbox website. In addition, only 19 unique articles featuring the word 'Jew' were collected from the Skwawkbox website, as it turned out that one article had been published twice. Thus, 79 articles were selected using the search term 'Jew', and 63 were selected using the search term 'Zionist'. Because some articles appeared in both sets of search results, a total of 130 unique articles were collected. Embedded audio and video were not coded, as the sheer volume of material from Radio Albion would have been overwhelming, requiring weeks to listen through.

3.2.2 Code development and inter-rater reliability

The researchers began with a close reading of a small number of articles and with a general impression of the sample and of the site as a whole. On the basis of this, a longlist of 15 themes was developed, and trialled on a subsample of ten articles for each of the four sites, with both researchers coding all articles. Themes that turned out to be infrequently used or difficult to agree upon were merged or dropped, resulting in a simpler coding scheme with only six themes. Both coders then reapplied this scheme to the same 40 articles. At this point, a minor change was made to the guidance attached to one of the six codes, to reflect a coding decision that both coders had made. The final coding scheme was then used unaltered for all remaining articles, in three further batches.

Full details of the coding scheme are presented in Appendix I. The six themes were:

- Antisemitic iconography (AS icon.)
- Claims that accusations of antisemitism are made falsely or with an ulterior motive (AS: bad faith)
- Allegations of wrongdoing by Jews identified as Jews (Wrongdoing: Jews)
- Allegations of wrongdoing by major US or UK Jewish organisations (Wrongdoing: maj. Jew. org.)
- Allegations of wrongdoing by Israelis, Zionists, or supporters of Israel (Wrongdoing: Isr. / Zion.)

- Righteous Jews vs powerful Jews

The first of these was used only to code illustrations, and was a way of indicating the presence of stereotypical antisemitic imagery such as the 'Happy Merchant' meme. The next could refer to what Hirsh (2017, pp. 20-23) calls the 'Livingstone formulation', i.e. the accusation that the issue of antisemitism is only raised in order to silence the expression of legitimate opinions; however, it was not required for this implication to be spelled out in full: references to antisemitism allegations as 'smears', for example, were enough. The following three are self-explanatory, but the final one requires elucidation. It was used for articles which presented *some* Jews in a positive light, but identified them as relatively powerless, and placed them in opposition to much more powerful Jews who were presented rather less positively. The precise groups of Jews to be presented in this way varied, but (as we shall see in the Findings section below) the trope occurred again and again.

It was realised early on that the complexity of the coding task made consistent coding very difficult: there were a certain number of cases in each batch where one or other of the coders missed a small detail in an article or an illustration, and therefore did not apply a code where it should have been applied, or (conversely) applied a code in error. After each batch had been completed by both coders, all discrepancies were identified and discussed in depth. In some cases, it was decided that the question of whether to apply a particular code was impossible to resolve due to a genuine ambiguity in an article. But in all other cases, coding was amended to reflect the outcome of discussion.

Inter-rater reliability was assessed in terms of percentage agreement and Cohen's kappa. Table 1 (Appendix II) presents measures of inter-rater reliability both before and after these discussions took place. Initial percentage agreement on the six themes ranged from 78-96%, with a mean of 87%. Kappa for the initial coding ranged between 0.48 and 0.76, with a mean of 0.60. After discussion, percentage agreement ranged from 90-99%, with a mean of 94%, and kappa ranged from 0.78 to 0.95, with a mean of 0.84. Lombard et al. regard a coefficient of 0.80 as acceptable on most measures of inter-rater reliability, but argue that 'more liberal criteria' should be employed with regard to kappa, as it is 'known to be conservative' (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Campanella Bracken, 2002, p. 593).

3.2.3 Analytic methodology

In order to acknowledge the ambiguities and complexities of the texts that were coded, a theme was treated as present in a text only if it had been applied to that text by *both* coders. Although this conservative approach resulted in lower counts, it was considered preferable to restrict the count to unambiguous positive cases. The unit of analysis was the website, and percentages were calculated first for each search term and then for both combined. Inferential statistics were considered inappropriate, as the sample was purposive: these percentages are not statistical estimates of percentages in a wider population of texts, but actual percentages for the most recent texts on each website.
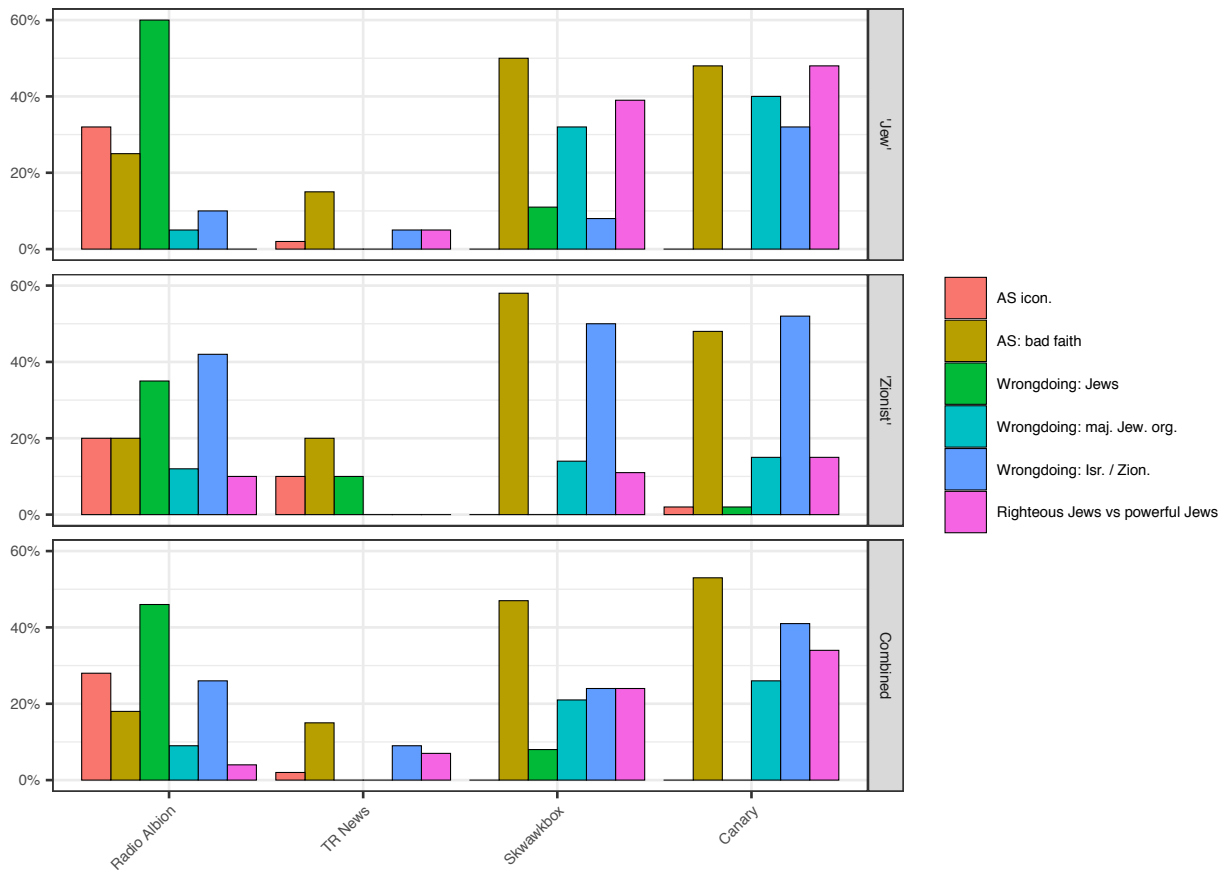
Figure 1: Themes in recent Radio Albion, TR News, Skwawkbox, and Canary articles featuring the words 'Jew' and 'Zionist'

3.3 Findings

Findings are presented in Table 2 (Appendix III) and visualised in Figure 1. It is apparent that the two left-wing sites were much more similar to each other than the two right-wing sites. In many ways, TR News was the odd one out, because most of the themes were absent, or virtually so. But there were also very notable differences between Radio Albion and the two left-wing sites: it was the only site to feature traditional antisemitic iconography, and the only one to make substantial numbers of allegations of wrongdoing by people identified as Jews. Accusations of wrongdoing by Israelis, Israel-supporters, or Zionists, by contrast, were most common on the Canary, and about equally common on Skwawkbox and Radio Albion. In terms of content, however, these accusations were essentially similar across all three sites, revolving around allegations of unjust influence on western powers and unjust treatment of the Palestinians. (The one case of an accusation codable in this way on TR News was an anomaly: a left-wing Israeli newspaper was accused of unfairness towards the son of a right-wing Israeli political figure.)

Perhaps the greatest unifier among the themes was the allegation that accusations of antisemitism are made falsely. This occurred in multiple articles on all four sites, with each arguing that people it identified with politically had been unfairly accused of antisemitism. But it was most common among the two left wing sites, being identified in around half the complete corpus of articles for each. Accusations of wrongdoing against major US or UK Jewish organisations were most frequent on Skwawkbox and the Canary, but only a little

less frequent on Radio Albion. Such allegations were completely absent from TR News: Jewish communal organisations were criticised for being unrepresentative and for rejecting radical right-wing politics, but not accused of actual wrongdoing.

The theme of an opposition between righteous Jews and powerful Jews occurred on every site, although it was least common on Radio Albion. In articles published by Skwawkbox and the Canary, the Jews presented as powerful but unrighteous were either Israeli or associated with Jewish communal organisations such as the Board of Deputies of British Jews. These Jews were attacked for racism or Zionism, for being 'right wing', or for 'smearing' people on the left, such as Jeremy Corbyn. Against them, the Canary typically pitted 'left wing' or 'non-Zionist' Jews, while in Skwawkbox articles, this role was also played by ultra-Orthodox or Charedi Jews, who were stated or implied to support Jeremy Corbyn. TR News also painted a picture of righteous Orthodox Jews pitted against an unrighteous Board of Deputies, but this time with the claim that the former were supporters of 'Tommy Robinson'. While otherwise presenting Jews in a uniformly negative light, one Radio Albion post suggested that a Jewish community dominated by 'religious', non-Zionist Jews might have been possible to live with, and lamented that Zionist Jews had gained the upper hand. But that argument runs counter to the site's usual demand for ethnically homogeneous nation states. The image of righteous Jews pitted against powerful Jews was evidently more of a 'left-wing' than a 'right-wing' theme, occurring in half the Canary articles and nearly four in ten of the Skwawkbox articles identified using the search term 'Jew'.

The differences between the sub-corpora of texts collected through the search term 'Jew' and texts collected through the search term 'Zionist' are worth discussing. As we would expect, references to the wrongdoing of Israelis, Zionists, or supporters of Israel were more common in the 'Zionist' sub-corpus with regard to Radio Albion, Skwawkbox, and the Canary, while references to the wrongdoing of Jews or of major Jewish organisations (the former preferred by Radio Albion, the latter by Skwawkbox and the Canary) were more common in the 'Jew' corpus. References to an opposition between righteous and powerful Jews were also more common in the 'Jew' corpus, but only with regard to Skwawkbox and the Canary. It is interesting that references to false accusations of antisemitism were about equally common in both subcorpora for Skwawkbox and the Canary.

3.4 Summary

What sort of an impression of Jews would an uncritical reader garner from these sites? From TR News, he or she would gain the impression that Jews are Westerners essentially like other Westerners – with all that this implies, given that website's anti-Muslim understanding of 'the West'. From Radio Albion, the impression would be of people who relentlessly do wrong, whether in Israel, in Europe, or in the US. From Skwawkbox and the Canary, the picture is different, but only slightly less negative: Israel, its supporters, and, along with them, all major Jewish communal institutions are presented as serially iniquitous in their behaviour. *Some* Jews, the articles on these platforms emphasise, are thoroughly good. But those Jews are presented as perpetually embattled, locked in a struggle with the wickedness supposedly dominant in their own communities.

And what sort of an impression of antisemitism would such a reader garner? All four sites – but especially the two left-wing sites – give the impression that unfounded accusations of antisemitism are often made for political reasons. Although it should be noted that TR

News, Skwawkbox, and the Canary all regard *some* allegations of antisemitism as valid (i.e. those allegations which are made against their political opponents), the overall message appears to be that discussion of antisemitism elsewhere than on the sites themselves can generally be taken with a pinch of salt.

4. Survey of media use and antisemitic attitudes in the British population

4.1 Research questions

The second quantitative part of this research project was a representative survey of the British adult population, supplemented with smaller samples of British-resident adults who identified as 'very right-wing' or 'very left-wing'. The aim was to answer the following research questions:

RQ1.   In what ways are British adults typically critical of existing news media?
RQ2.   Are antisemitic attitudes associated (whether positively or negatively) with any of those typical critiques of existing news media?
RQ3.   To what extent do British adults rely for political knowledge on the mainstream media, the alternative media, social media, and friends and family?
RQ4.   Are antisemitic attitudes associated (whether positively or negatively) with reliance for political knowledge on the mainstream media, the alternative media, social media, and friends and family?
RQ5.   How do British adults evaluate specific mainstream and alternative media platforms?
RQ6.   Are antisemitic attitudes associated (whether positively or negatively) with particular evaluations of specific mainstream and alternative media platforms?

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 Questionnaire

The questionnaire was administered online, and included 27 items that are analysed in this report. These were broken into five groups and are reproduced in full in Appendix III. Other information, e.g demographic variables and self-declared political position on the left-right axis, were collected by YouGov using standard questions.

The first group consisted of the open question, 'In your opinion, what is the BIGGEST PROBLEM with the news media in Britain today?', while the second group asked the question, 'How good or bad do you think the following news sources are, or don't you know enough to say?' about ten media platforms in a random order. These included the four alternative media platforms discussed in the previous two chapters, i.e. Radio Albion, TR News, Skwawkbox, and the Canary, as well as BBC News, Sky News, Guardian, and the Daily Mail, these being the platforms identified by Newman et al. as most dominant in online news consumption (2020; quoted ch. 1 above), and the Russian state-owned propaganda site, RT (this having been identified as the most dominant non-mainstream news platform by Newman et al., , although it arguably falls outside this report's definition of 'alternative media').

The third group asked the question 'Please tell us how much of what you know about POLITICAL ISSUES comes from …' about 'the mainstream media', 'the alternative media', 'social media', and 'family and friends', in that order. Definitions were provided for the terms 'mainstream media', 'alternative media', and 'social media'.

The fourth group asked the question 'To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?' about six statements adapted from the inventory of seven

developed by Campaign Against Antisemitism for its annual Antisemitism Barometer survey (CAA, 2015, 2017, 2019). The statements were presented in a random order and are referred to as the Judeophobic Antisemitism or JpAs scale (see Allington, 2019).

The fifth group asked the same question about the six statements in the Antizionist Antisemitism or AzAs scale. These statements were developed in order to supplement existing measures of antisemitism with measures of forms of antisemitic ideation that, being made in reference not to Jews *qua* Jews but to the national home of the Jews, were not widely recognized as such until the adoption of the IHRA Definition (see chapter 1, above). Introduced and discussed fully by Allington and Hirsh (2019), they were used for the first time in the 2019 Antisemitism Barometer survey (CAA, 2019), a companion report on which established them to have good psychometric properties and to correlate well with the JpAs scale (Allington, 2019). These statements were presented in a random order.

The versions of the Judeophobic Antisemitism and Antizionist Antisemitism scales used here are slightly different from those which were subsequently used in the 2020 Antisemitism Barometer survey (CAA, 2021; see Allington, 2020a for discussion). The latter, collectively referred to as the Generalised Antisemitism scale, are considered to be the final versions.

4.2.2 Sample

A stratified random sample of 1718 members of a recruited panel representing adults in Great Britain was collected as part of YouGov's daily Political Omnibus poll, with additional random samples of 203 adults who had identified themselves as 'very right-wing' and 202 adults who had identified themselves as 'very left-wing'. Fieldwork was conducted from 18-19 May. Demographic weights were provided by YouGov for the main sample only; the additional samples were unweighted.

The samples of the 'very right-wing' and 'very left-wing' were collected because of concerns over statistical power, if the main sample transpired to contain few individuals familiar with the alternative media sites in question. Despite the small size of these extra samples was small, it was hoped that it would contain a larger proportion of individuals with an opinion on the relevant media platforms. Although this turned out to be the case, proportions were lower than anticipated, with the result that absolute numbers of individuals with an opinion on each platform were substantially higher in the main sample than in either of the additional samples. This meant that the additional samples were of little use in answering RQ6, although they could still be used in answering the other research questions, and findings from those samples are tabulated and discussed for the sake of transparency.

It must be emphasised that people who describe themselves as 'very right-wing' and 'very left-wing' should not be assumed to belong to the far right or the far left, respectively. In many cases, individuals may be describing themselves as 'very right-wing' or 'very left-wing' only in order to express particularly strong commitment to common centre-right or centre-left values, such as patriotism and market freedom or female emancipation and universal healthcare. However, it is assumed that those who subscribe to radical or extremist programmes of the right or left will also describe themselves as 'very right-wing' or 'very left-wing' (respectively), and thus potentially appear as minorities within samples of adults identifying in those ways.

4.2.3 Code development for the open question

One researcher read through a random sample of 200 answers to the open question, taken from across the three samples, summarising each answer in as few words as possible. The same researcher then read through the summaries, in search of frequently-occurring categories. The five most frequently-occurring categories were as follows:

- Bias
- Falsehood
- Sensationalism and scaremongering
- Negativity
- Ownership, funding, and control

A codebook was created to assist in applying these categories (see Appendix IV). Both researchers then independently coded a second random sample of 200 answers taken from across the three samples. Inter-rater reliability was then assessed (see below). A single researcher then coded the remaining answers.

4.2.4 Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics for the three samples are presented in Table 3. (Please note that all tables for this chapter are in Appendix V of this report.) The main sample and the 'very right-wing' sample are closely comparable in terms of education and ethnicity, although members of the 'very right-wing' sample were older and much more likely to have voted Leave; moreover, two thirds of them were male. The main sample and the 'very left-wing' sample are closely comparable in terms of age, gender balance, and ethnicity, although members of the 'very left-wing' sample were much more likely to be educated to degree level and to have voted Remain.

4.2.5 Contextualisation of the 'very right-wing' and 'very left-wing' samples

To help contextualise the 'very right-wing' and 'very left-wing' samples, Table 4 and Figure 2 provide weighted percentages, with confidence intervals, for the proportions of members of the main sample identifying with each available position on the left-right axis. Larger numbers declined to answer the question than answered it by associating themselves with any particular position on the scale. Based on these figures, it is possible to estimate that around half of the population thinks of itself as being either 'right wing' or 'left wing', with the remainder either identifying with the centre or with no position at all. The self-consciously 'very right-wing' and 'very left-wing' would appear to represent very small proportions of the population: something in the region of 1% and 3% respectively.

4.2.6 Inter-rater reliability for coding of the open question

1804 respondents out of 2123 completed the open question. It was possible to apply one or more of the five categories to 1353 of their answers, or 75% of the total. Measures of inter-rater reliability are provided in Table 5. As it shows, agreement ranged from 91-98%, with a mean of 96%. Cohen's kappa ranged from 0.80-0.88, with a mean of 0.85.
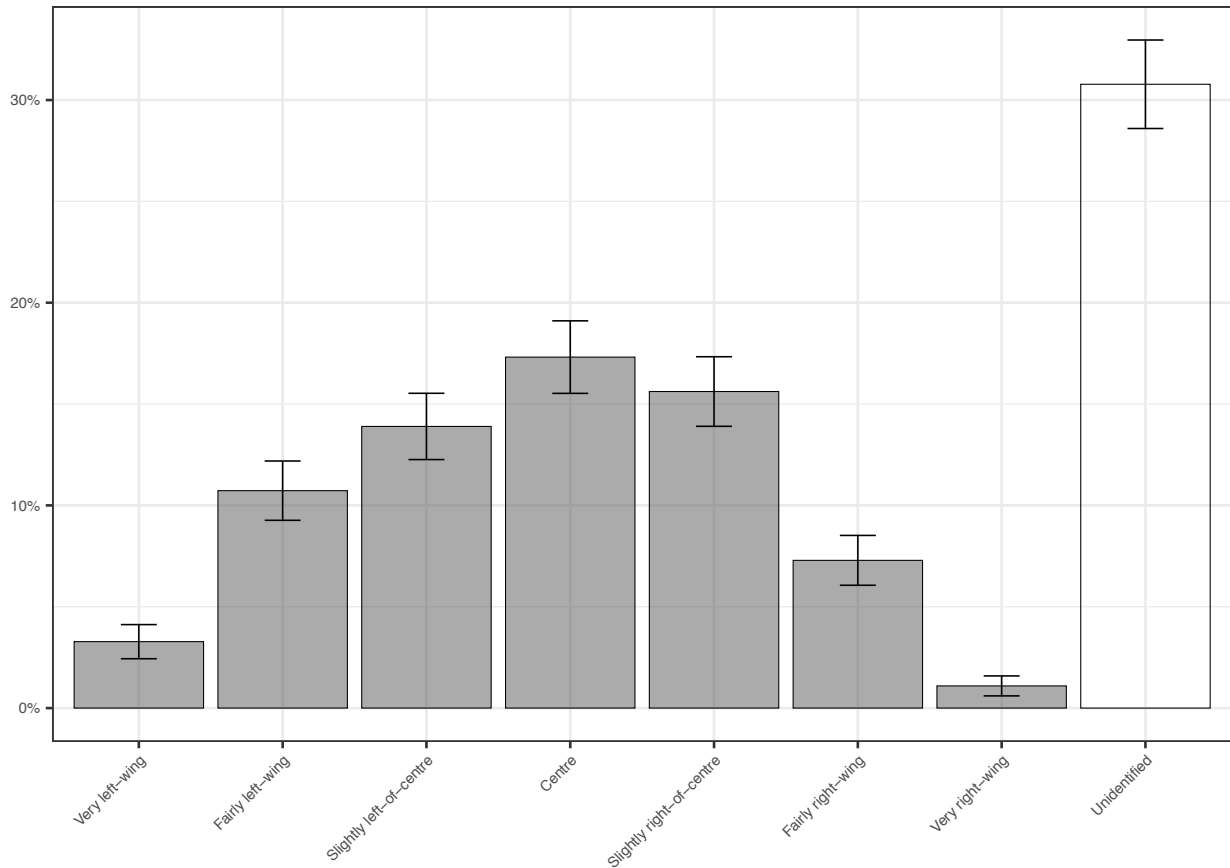
Figure 2: Percentages identifying with each position on the left-right axis (main sample; error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals)

4.2.7 Instruments for the measurement of antisemitism

The six items of the Judeophobic Antisemitism scale and the six items of the Antizionist Antisemitism scale were both combined together into a single measure referred to as the Generalised Antisemitism, or Generalised Antisemitism scale. This was conceived as a single scale with two subscales. Scale items were combined by taking the mean (as in Allington & Hirsh, 2019), rather than by totalling numbers of potentially antisemitic answers (as in Allington, 2019; CAA, 2019). The Judeophobic Antisemitism and Antizionist Antisemitism scales were also scored separately, in order to study whether relationships with the Generalised Antisemitism scale involved both subscales jointly or only a single subscale.

Guttman's lambda 6 is presented for all three scales in Table 6: internal reliability is very good for both Judeophobic Antisemitism and Antizionist Antisemitism (0.88 for both), and slightly better for Generalised Antisemitism (0.91). Product-moment (i.e. 'Pearson') correlations between the Judeophobic Antisemitism and Antizionist Antisemitism scales for each sample are presented in Table 7. These are similar for the main sample and the 'very left-wing' sample, but stronger for the 'very right-wing' sample, indicating that attitudes to Jews and to Israel are closely related – and especially closely related among those who consider themselves to stand at the rightmost extreme of the political axis. Correlations between self-declared left-right position and Generalised Antisemitism, Judeophobic Antisemitism, and Antizionist Antisemitism in the main sample are presented in Table 8. These indicate that Judeophobic Antisemitism rises from left to right about as consistently

as Antizionist Antisemitism rises from right to left, while Generalised Antisemitism remains essentially flat.

In order to facilitate comparison with earlier studies, Table 9 presents mean numbers of potentially antisemitic views (i.e. agreements with positively keyed items or disagreements with negatively keyed items in the Generalised Antisemitism scale). As in earlier research (Allington, 2019; CAA, 2019), mean numbers of such views were highest in the 'very left-wing' sample. Mean numbers of such views were intermediate in the 'very right-wing' sample and lowest in the main sample, with no overlap between the 95% confidence intervals. This point is without importance for the current study, except insofar as it demonstrates consistency with studies using an earlier version of the same scale.

4.2.8 Analytic methodology

Welch's unequal variance t-test was used in order to compare Generalised Antisemitism, Judeophobic Antisemitism, and Antizionist Antisemitism scores for those whose answers to the open question were and were not categorised in each particular way. The rank-order coefficient of correlation (commonly known as 'Spearman's rho') was used in order to study the relationship between declared left-right position and both (a) sources of political knowledge and (b) evaluations of particular news media platforms. The relationship between Generalised Antisemitism, Judeophobic Antisemitism, and Antizionist Antisemitism scores and both sources of political knowledge and evaluations of particular news media platforms was also studied using the rank-order coefficient of correlation, both in calculating bivariate correlations and in calculating partial correlations, controlling for correlation with self-declared left-right position. It was only possible to control for left-right position in the main sample, as members of the other samples were of uniform position from the point of view of that particular left-right scale. Thus, partial correlations were not calculated for the 'very right-wing' and 'very left-wing' samples.

Demographic weighting was used for all calculations of percentages, but not for correlations or *t*-tests. 95% confidence intervals are provided for all calculations, and *p*-values are provided for Welch tests and correlations.

4.3 Findings

4.3.1 Perceptions of the 'biggest problem'

Figure 3 and Table 10 show perceptions of the 'biggest problem' with Britain's news media. In the main sample, bias and falsehood were the most frequently cited problems, closely followed by sensationalism and scaremongering, with each being cited by about one in four respondents. Negativity was cited by about one in five, while ownership, funding, and control were referred to only by a small minority.

In the 'very right-wing' sample, the pattern was very similar, except that bias was cited by more than one in three, while sensationalism and scaremongering were substantially less frequently cited. Bias was even more frequently cited by the 'very left-wing' sample, where the second most frequently cited problem was the least frequently cited in both of the other samples, i.e. ownership, funding, and control. While this was cited by around one in twenty in the other samples, it was cited by three in ten of the 'very left-wing'. Meanwhile, negativity was cited by only one in fifty of the 'very left-wing'.
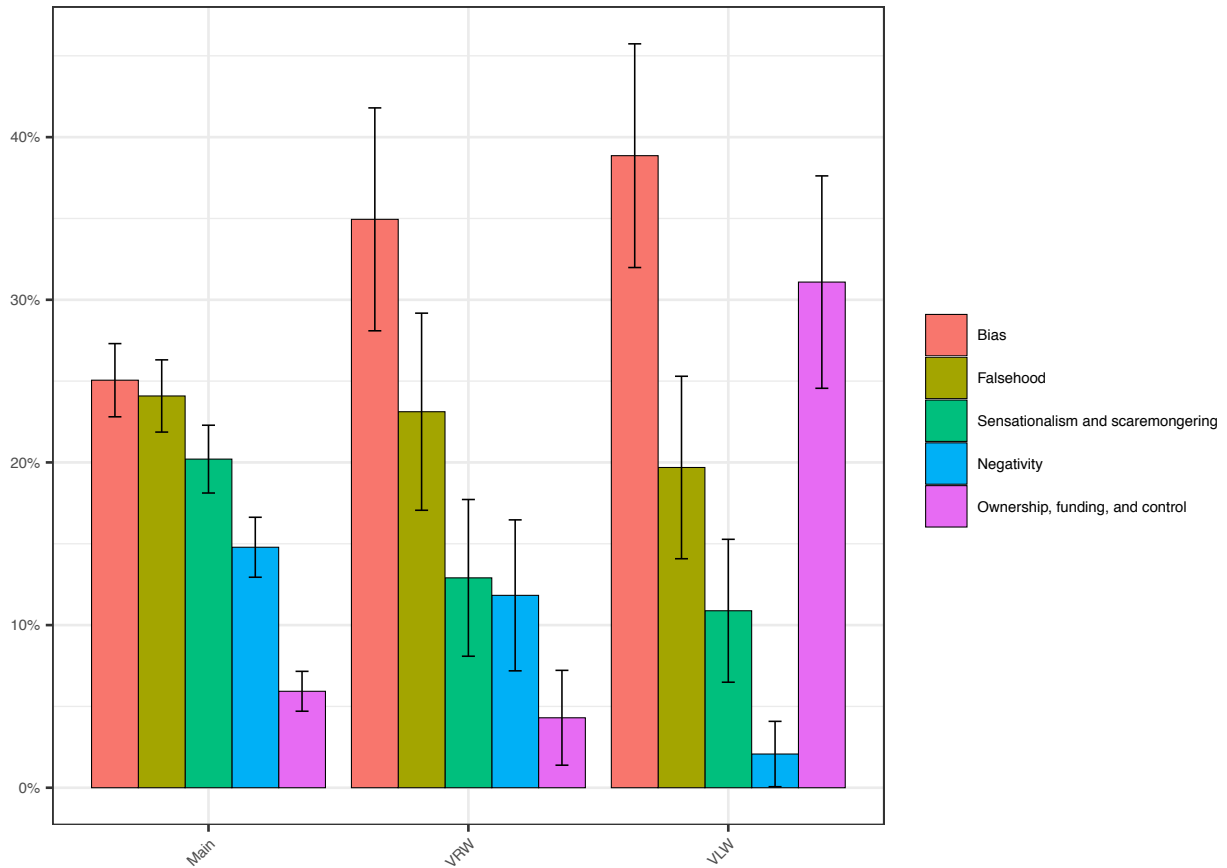
Figure 3: 'Biggest problem' in UK news media, percentages across samples (open question; error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals)

It is not surprising that people who consider themselves to be 'very right-wing' or 'very left-wing' should be more concerned about media bias than the British population as a whole: they have acknowledged their own views to be outside the mainstream by placing themselves at one or other end of the scale, so it is to be expected that they will more often find themselves to be in disagreement with the viewpoint of media that target the general population. The finding that the 'very left-wing' were uniquely concerned with ownership, funding, and control of the media is more interesting. It may reflect a general left-wing preference for public ownership of key industries. On the other hand, it may be related to a conspiracist understanding of media content: Bolton and Pitts argue that many on the British left have responded to successive electoral failures by 'convinc[ing] themselves that political reporting [is] systematically manipulated by journalists, editors and proprietors in order to prevent the general public from questioning the decisions of the "establishment"' (2018, p. 236).

The finding that people who consider themselves 'very left-wing' were so much less likely to complain about negativity is also of interest. It may indicate that the 'very left-wing' perceive the world in more negative terms than other groups, and thus regard what others consider 'bad news' simply to be realistic.

4.3.2 Relationships between antisemitism and perceptions of the 'biggest problem'
In the main sample, there was a very highly statistically significant positive relationship between Antizionist Antisemitism and the perception of ownership, funding, and control as

the biggest problem with the news media, and a smaller but still very highly statistically significant positive relationship between Antizionist Antisemitism and the perception of negativity as the biggest problem. The first of these findings may reflect the influence of conspiracist thinking. Other effects were smaller, and of lesser statistical significance (see Table 11).

In the 'very right-wing' sample, there was a statistically significant negative relationship between Generalised Antisemitism and the perception of bias as the biggest problem. This was mostly explained by lower Antizionist Antisemitism among those who complained of bias (see Table 12).

In the 'very left-wing' sample, there were no statistically significant relationships between measures of antisemitism and perceptions of the 'biggest problem' (see Table 13).

4.3.3 Sources of political knowledge
In all three samples, the 'mainstream media' were the major source of information about politics, with 74-78% of respondents stating that 'a great deal' or 'a fair amount' of their knowledge about the topic derived from that source (Table 14, Figure 4). In both the main sample and the 'very right-wing' sample, the 'mainstream media' were followed by family and friends, social media, and 'alternative media' – in that order. However, 'alternative media' were said to be the source of 'a great deal' or 'a fair amount' of more respondents' knowledge in the 'very right-wing' sample (35%) than in the main sample (26%), and this difference was outside the margin of error.

The 'very left-wing' were again anomalous in that family and friends, social media, and alternative media were very nearly tied for second place, with more than half the members of the sample stating that each of the three was the source of 'a great deal' or 'a fair amount' of their political knowledge, and with the small differences between those sources being well within the margin of error. This would appear to indicate a substantially different news diet from the population as a whole, as well as from the 'very right-wing'.

Correlations between left-right position and amount of knowledge derived from each source in the main sample would appear to back up this observation: there is no correlation between left-right position and amount of knowledge derived from the mainstream media, but there is a very weak yet very highly statistically significant correlation between left-right position and amount of knowledge derived from family and friends, and a stronger correlation between the same thing and amount of knowledge derived from social media and 'alternative media' (Table 15).

4.3.4 Relationships between antisemitism and sources of political knowledge
In the main sample, there were weak but very highly statistically significant negative correlations between sourcing political knowledge from the 'mainstream media' and both Generalised Antisemitism and Judeophobic Antisemitism, both before and after controlling for left-right position. There was also a very weak negative correlation between sourcing political knowledge from the 'mainstream media' and Antizionist Antisemitism, although this only became significant after the same control (Table 16). In other words, the more political knowledge people draw from 'mainstream' sources, the less antisemitism they tend to exhibit as compared to other people with similar political views to themselves.
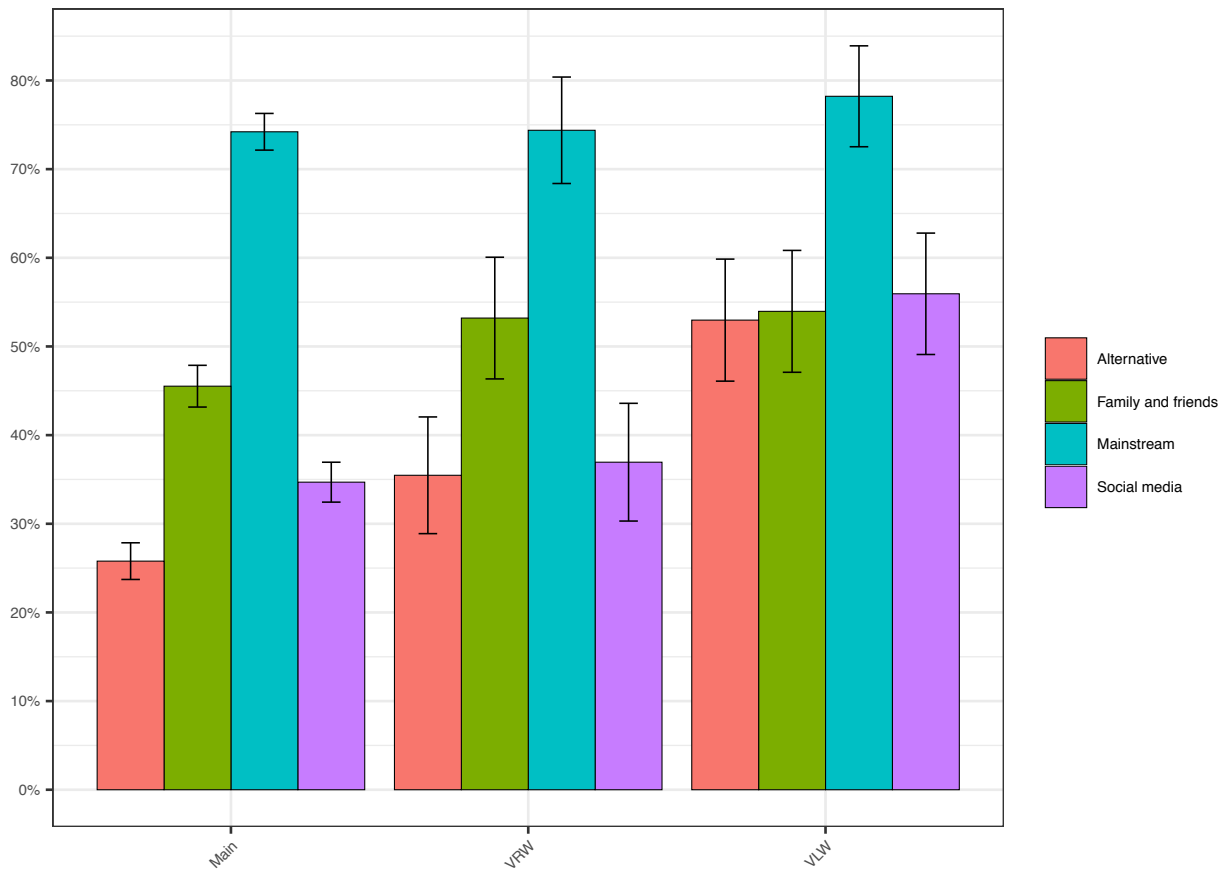
Figure 4: Percentages deriving 'a fair amount' or 'a great deal' of their knowledge about politics from each source, across samples (error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals)

In the 'very right-wing' sample, there was a significant positive correlation between Generalised Antisemitism and sourcing political knowledge from family and friends, which is mostly accounted for by the correlation between Antizionist Antisemitism and the same (Table 17). This may provide a suggestion for the vector through which antisemitic views are transmitted within that group.

In the 'very left-wing' sample, there was a significant negative correlation between Antizionist Antisemitism and sourcing political knowledge from the 'mainstream'. Correlations between sourcing political knowledge from the 'mainstream media' and both Judeophobic Antisemitism and Generalised Antisemitism were negative but statistically insignificant (Table 18).

Taking the three samples together (and remembering that statistical power is lower for smaller samples, making statistical significance harder to achieve), these findings would support the view that there is a negative relationship between antisemitism and use of the 'mainstream media' as a source of political knowledge. However, they do not support the view that there is a relationship between antisemitism and use of the 'alternative media' as a source of political knowledge – provided that 'alternative media' are considered only in the abstract.

The possibility of relationships for *specific* 'alternative' (and 'mainstream') platforms is explored below.
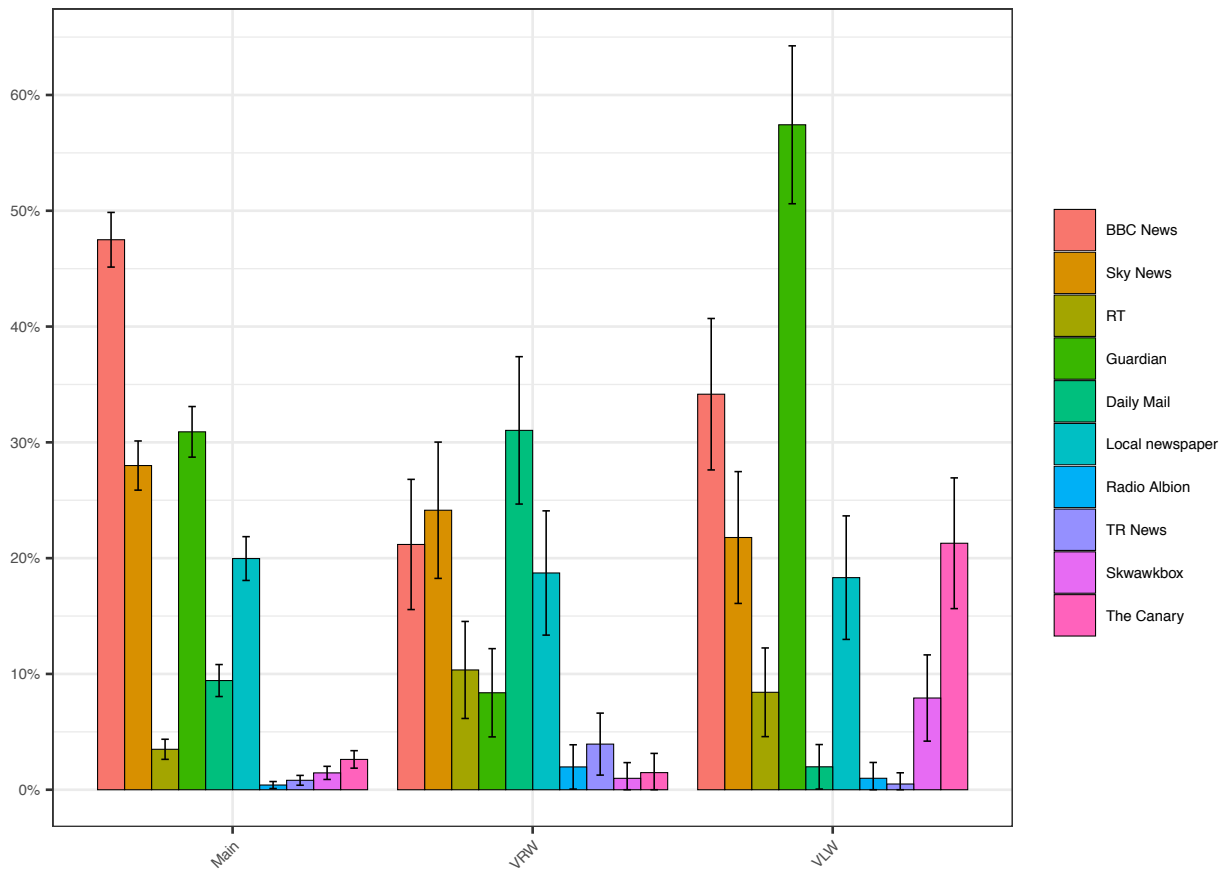
Figure 5: Percentages regarding each media platform as a 'quite good' or 'very good' source of news and information, across samples (error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals)

4.3.5 Evaluations of specific media platforms

Awareness of the 'alternative media' platforms was not high. While just 1-5% of the members of each sample stated that they did not know enough to have an opinion about the BBC, the majority of members of each sample said the same about Radio Albion, TR News, Skwawkbox, and the Canary. Even among the 'very left-wing', only 20% had an opinion on Skwawkbox and only 42% had an opinion on the Canary, while even among the 'very right-wing', only 9% had an opinion on Radio Albion and only 11% had an opinion on TR News. In the main sample, awareness of each platform ranged from 5% for Radio Albion to 11% for the Canary (Table 19; this seems surprisingly high for Radio Albion, and it may be that some respondents were simply making a guess).

Where respondents knew enough to have an opinion about these platforms, that opinion was typically negative or neutral (Table 20, Figure 5). Even if we take the upper end of the 95% confidence interval as our estimate in each case (which is to say, even if we make the most generous estimates that can credibly be considered compatible with the collected data), no more than 3% of the general population has a positive opinion of the Canary, dropping to 2% for Skwawkbox, and 1% each for TR News and Radio Albion. But a realistic estimate would be lower than this, especially for the right-wing sites.

Interestingly, the right-wing sites were less popular than the left-wing sites, not only among the general population, but also within the samples that were specifically collected in order to collect data from their presumed target audiences. 21% of the 'very left-wing' sample

45

regarded the Canary as a 'quite good' or 'very good' source of news and information, and 8% said the same of Skwawkbox, as compared to 4% and 2% respectively for TR News and Radio Albion among members of the 'very right-wing' sample. When we bear in mind the fact that it is so much less common for British adults to describe themselves as 'very right-wing' than as 'very left-wing' (see section 4.2.5, above), this probably says something about the relative popularity of far right and far left ideas in Britain today. But even 21% and 8% are quite low figures. The 'very right-wing' are much more likely to value the Daily Mail (31%), while the 'very left-wing' are much more likely to value the Guardian (57%). This emphasises the point made above, that only a minority of those who describe themselves as 'very right-wing' will belong to the far right, properly understood, while only a minority of those who describe themselves as 'very left-wing' will belong to the far left.

When we look at television stations, the BBC was less popular both among the 'very right-wing' and the 'very left-wing', being regarded as a 'quite good' or 'very good' source of information by 21% of the former and 34% of the latter, as opposed to 47% of the main sample. Sky News was regarded in this way by 22-28% of each sample, the differences being within the margin of error. RT was more popular among the 'very right-wing' and the 'very left-wing', being regarded as a 'quite good' or 'very good' source of information by 10% of the former and 8% of the latter, as opposed to 3% of the main sample (table 20). This pattern in the popularity of RT is perhaps unsurprising, given its intended audience (see section 1.2).

In the main sample, positive evaluation of the Guardian was quite strongly associated with orientation towards the left (very highly statistically significant), while positive evaluation of the Daily Mail was about equally strongly associated with orientation towards the right (very highly statistically significant). Positive evaluation of BBC News was weakly associated with orientation towards the left (very highly statistically significant), while positive evaluation of RT was even more weakly associated with orientation towards the right (marginal significance), and evaluation of Sky News was uncorrelated with left-right identification.

Evaluation of TR News was correlated with orientation towards the right (highly statistically significant), while evaluation of Skwawkbox and the Canary was correlated with orientation towards the left (highly statistically significant in the former case, very highly so in the latter case). Evaluation of Radio Albion was correlated with orientation towards the right, but quite weakly, and this was not statistically significant (Table 21). A possible interpretation of the latter finding is that those who were aware of Radio Albion were more likely to be on the right, but very few of those who were aware of it had a positive opinion of it.

4.3.6 Relationships between antisemitism and evaluations of specific media platforms in the main sample

Table 22 shows rank-order coefficients of correlation between evaluation of each platform and each measure of antisemitism in the main sample, as well as partial correlations controlling for self-declared left-right position. Partial correlations are also visualised in Figures 6-8. As we see from Figure 6, the strongest positive correlations between Generalised Antisemitism and platform evaluation are for Skwawkbox, the Canary, and Radio Albion. Figure 7 and Figure 8 show why this is: the strongest positive correlations with Judeophobic Antisemitism are for Skwawkbox and Radio Albion, followed by the Canary, while the strongest positive correlations with Antizionist Antisemitism are for Skwawkbox
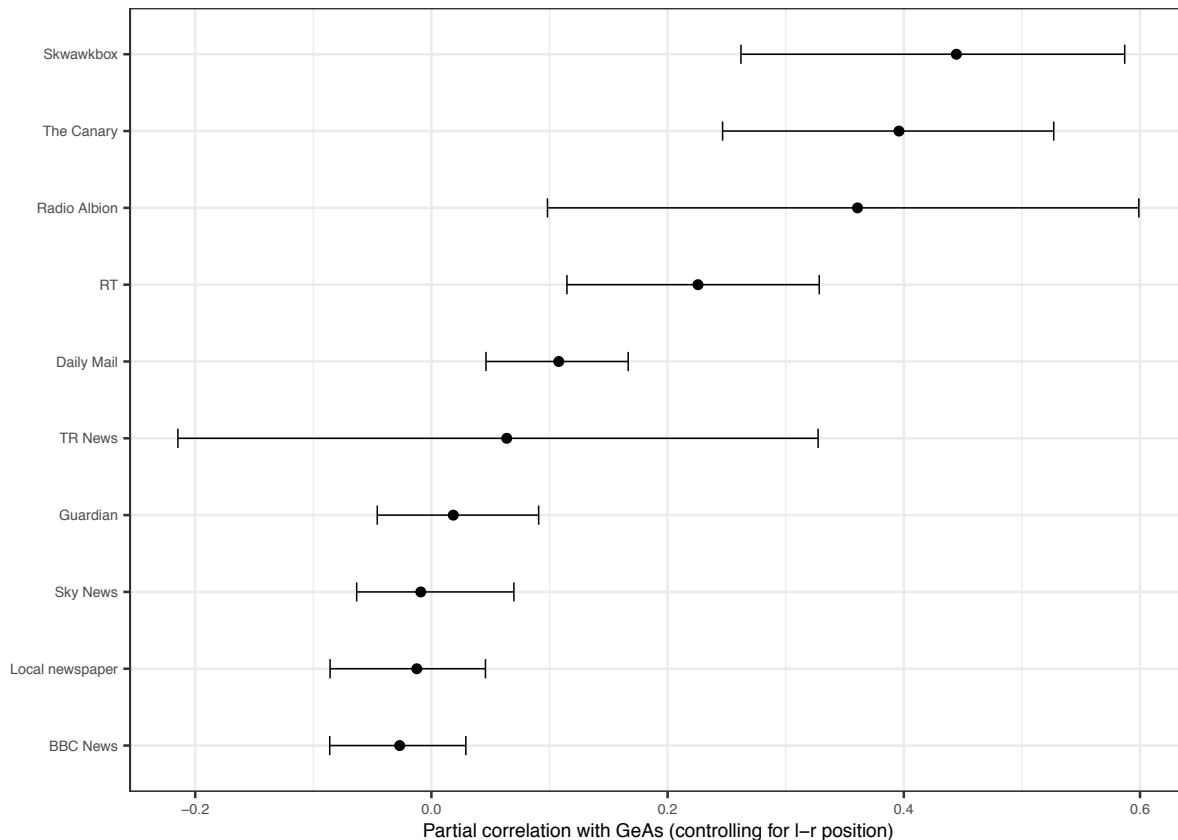
Figure 6: Partial rank-order correlation between evaluation of each media platform and Generalised Antisemitism, controlling for self-identified position on the left-right axis (main sample; error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals)

and the Canary, followed by Radio Albion. RT follows close behind in all three cases. While the Daily Mail comes in fifth place for Judeophobic Antisemitism, evaluation of it is negatively correlated with Antizionist Antisemitism, and while the Guardian comes in fifth place for Antizionist Antisemitism, evaluation of it is negatively correlated with Judeophobic Antisemitism, resulting in weak or absent correlations with Generalised Antisemitism.

In other words, regarding either the Daily Mail or the Guardian as a good source of information was positively correlated with one subscale of the Generalised Antisemitism scale, but negatively correlated with the other, so that the effects tended to cancel out somewhat. But regarding Skwawkbox, the Canary, or Radio Albion as a good source of information was positively correlated with both subscales, resulting in a strong correlation overall.

Plotting partial correlations with Judeophobic Antisemitism against partial correlations with Antizionist Antisemitism for each platform helps to clarify the distinctiveness of the platforms most closely associated with antisemitism (Figure 9). No mainstream platform is positively correlated with both Judeophobic Antisemitism and Antizionist Antisemitism, and therefore only 'alternative' platforms – and RT – are to be seen in the top right of the chart. TR News appears in the bottom left, with the most mainstream platforms. This could be attributed to the platform's association with the anti-Islamic radical right rather than the anti-Jewish extreme right (see Chapter 2 of this report). But it must be observed that the

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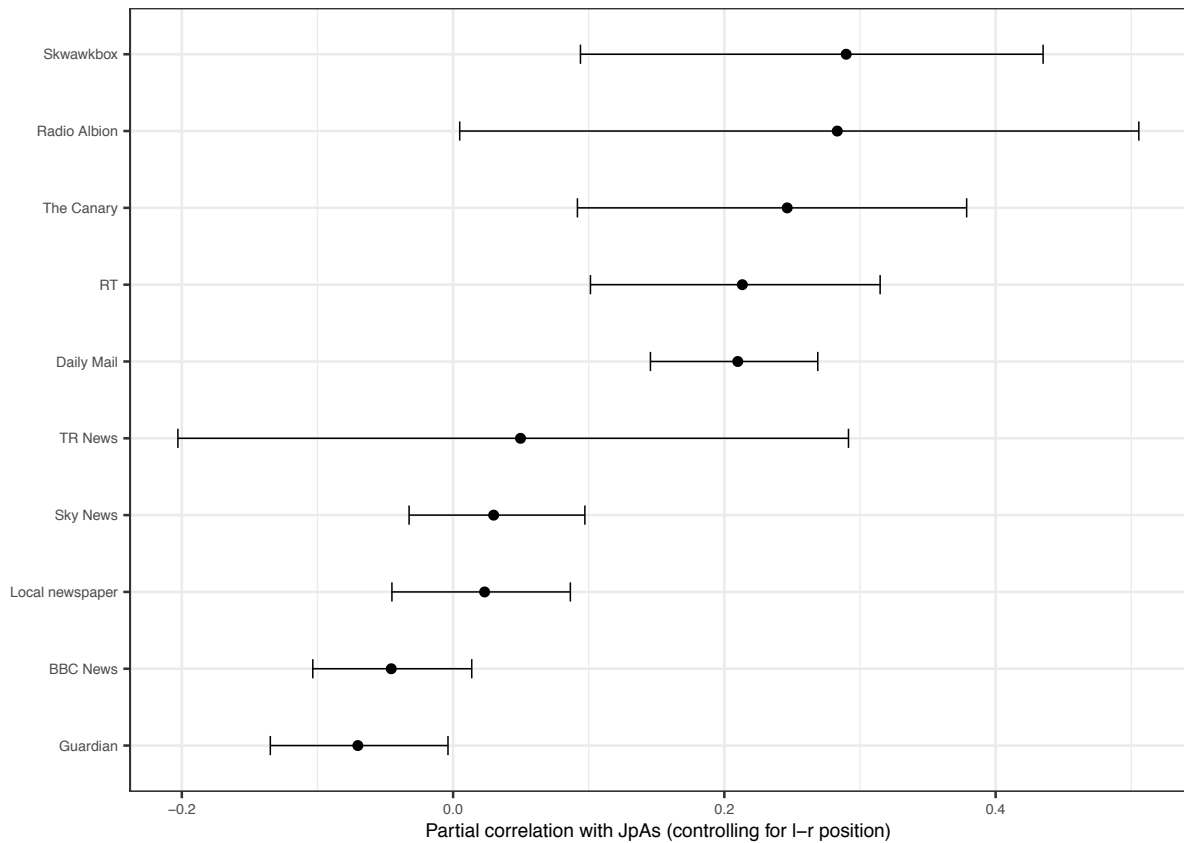
Figure 7: Partial rank-order correlation between evaluation of each media platform and Judeophobic Antisemitism, controlling for self-identified position on the left-right axis (main sample; error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals)

confidence intervals for TR News are extremely wide (see figures 6-8), which means that we have relatively little information about the true correlation between evaluation of this platform and antisemitism in the British population as a whole. Based on the data collected, it could easily be a positive correlation as high as that for RT, or a negative correlation lower than that for the BBC. But even if it is positive, we can be relatively confident in assuming that it is lower than that for Radio Albion, Skwawkbox, or the Canary.

4.3.7 Relationships between antisemitism and evaluations of specific media platforms in the 'very right-wing' and 'very left-wing' samples

Correlations in the 'very right-wing' and 'very left-wing' samples are presented in Table 23 and Table 24. These provide a useful comparison for the findings for the main sample, even if statistical significance remains elusive because of the lower number of observations. Evaluation of Skwawkbox and the Canary is positively correlated with all measures of antisemitism in the 'very left-wing' sample, although statistical significance is only achieved for the Canary. Evaluation of RT is positively correlated with all measures of antisemitism in both samples, although statistical significance is achieved only in the 'very right-wing' sample. Evaluation of Radio Albion is positively correlated with Judeophobic Antisemitism in the 'very right-wing' sample, although (unsurprisingly, given the very small number of observations) the correlation is not statistically significant.
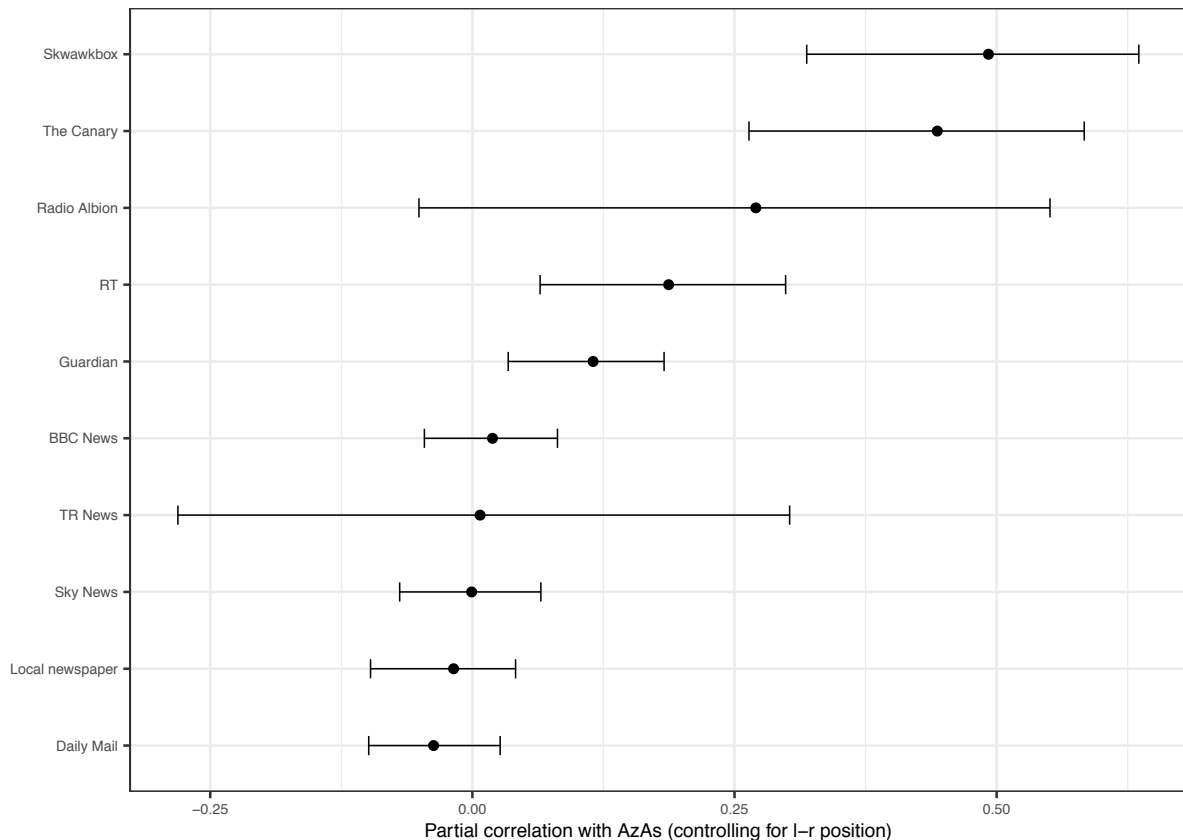
Figure 8: Partial rank-order correlation between evaluation of each media platform and Antizionist Antisemitism, controlling for self-identified position on the left-right axis (main sample; error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals)

4.4 Summary

This chapter finds that people who consider themselves to be 'very right-wing' or 'very left-wing' are more likely than members of the general population to regard bias as the major problem with the news media. It also finds that the 'very left-wing' are uniquely likely to see funding, ownership, or control as the major problem – and that while members of all groups are most likely to derive their knowledge of politics from the 'mainstream media', the 'very left-wing' are unusual in that they are about equally likely to derive such knowledge from social media and 'alternative media' as they are from family and friends – both for the 'very right-wing' and for the general population, a decidedly more popular choice.

The specific 'alternative media' sites focused on in this study were found to be little known and little liked. However, the left-wing sites appear less unpopular than the right-wing sites – and not only among the general population, but also among members of their presumed target audiences (i.e. the 'very right-wing' or the 'very left-wing', as appropriate).

Generalised Antisemitism was found to have a stronger positive correlation with evaluation of three of the four 'alternative media' sites, and also with the Russian state-owned propaganda site, RT, than with any of the 'mainstream' media sites asked about. This was found to be because of a positive correlation between evaluation of these sites and *both* of the two subscales within the Generalised Antisemitism scale, i.e. Judeophobic Antisemitism and Antizionist Antisemitism. This finding should be interpreted in the light of the views of
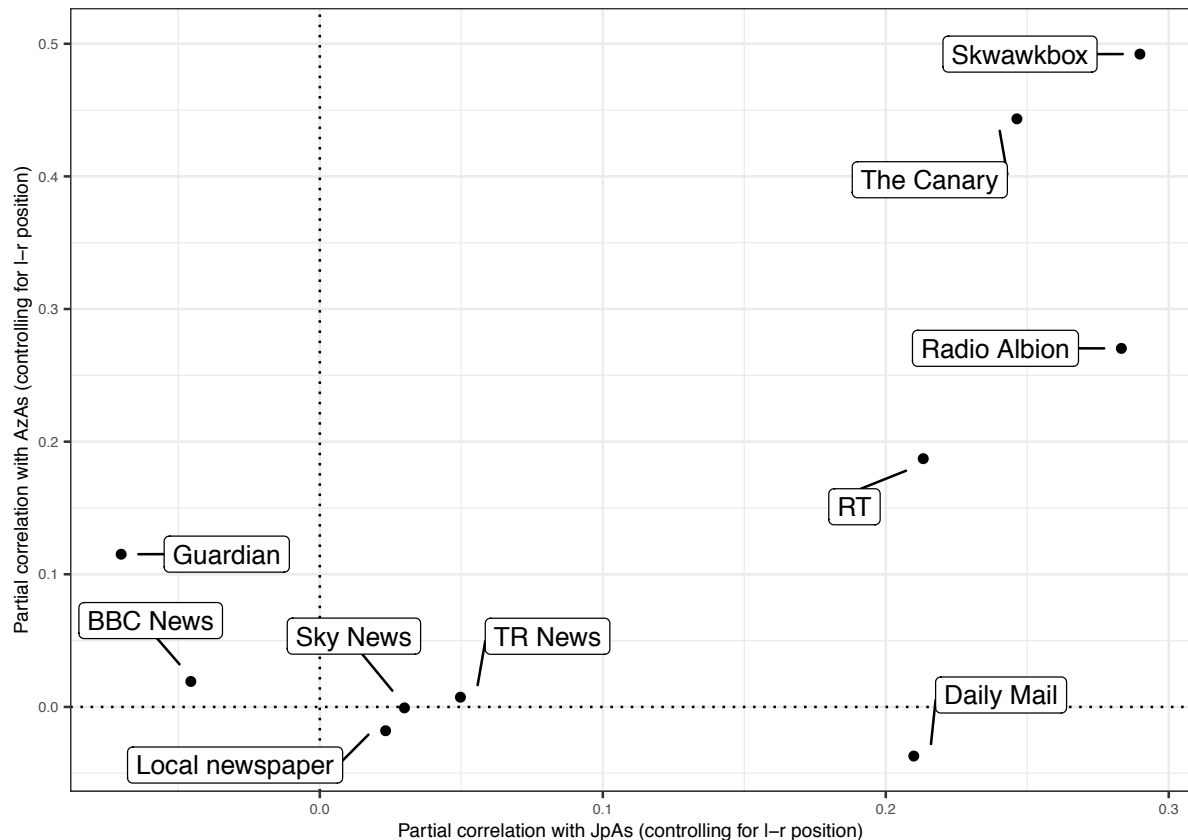
Figure 9: Partial rank-order correlation between evaluation of each media platform and both Judeophobic and Antizionist Antisemitism, controlling for self-identified position on the left-right axis (main sample)

Jews that this report has found those three sites to promote (see chapters 2-3, above). No analysis of RT content has been carried out, but the platform has elsewhere been argued to adopt an editorial line centred around conspiracy fantasies and anti-westernism (Richter, 2017, pp. 10-22; see also Scherr, 2010): an argument confirmed by interviews with current and former RT employees (Elswah & Howard, 2020). Such an editorial line would often tend to place RT's reporting and commentary in alignment with that seen on Radio Albion, Skwawkbox, and the Canary (see chapter 2, above); moreover, RT appears willing to promote 'experts' with a history of promoting antisemitic ideas (Holland, 2014).

Correlation, as the cliché goes, does not imply causation. We cannot know whether readers regard certain media platforms positively because those platforms take an editorial line close to their pre-existing views about Jews and Israel, or whether they came to hold those views through exposure to the content featured on the platforms. But if our views are at all shaped by the content we encounter as a result of the choices that we make in our media diets, then a correlation between positively evaluating a platform and holding negative views of a group that the platform consistently presents in a negative light is precisely what one would expect to find. While the research presented in this chapter has not found a relationship between antisemitism and reliance on 'alternative media' *in general* as a source of political knowledge, it has found a negative relationship between antisemitism and general reliance on the 'mainstream media', as well as a positive relationship between antisemitism and evaluation of three *specific* 'alternative media' platforms (as well as RT).

50

5. Conclusion

This report has analysed four 'alternative media' sites and their audiences to an unprecedented depth. It has provided an in-depth analysis of texts they have published, outlining the ideological similarities and differences between them and explaining the part that the Jews play in the world as they imagine it. It has also provided a systematic content analysis of their treatment of Jewish themes, allowing direct comparisons between them. And it has presented analysis of a major survey of attitudes not only to these sites but also to the media more generally, relating such attitudes to attitudes towards Jews.

This report has argued that while one of the four sites is hateful towards Muslims, it is not hateful towards Jews. That argument is consistent with the findings of the content analysis, as well as with the finding of no relationship between antisemitism and evaluation of the site. It is also consistent with the argument that the site in question represents a cultural nationalist position, and would thus be associated with the radical right rather than the extreme right. By contrast, the other three 'alternative media' sites focused on here have been found both to feature heavily negative coverage of Jewish issues, and also to be associated with antisemitism among the members of their audiences: that is, where survey respondents were aware of the sites, they tended to evaluate them more positively to the extent that they held antisemitic views, and to evaluate them more negatively to the extent that they rejected such views. A very similar relationship was found with evaluation of the Russian state-owned propaganda broadcaster, RT, whose editorial line is, as noted above, in many respects congruent with that taken by the 'alternative media' platforms focused on here. Measurement of attitudes towards other minority groups was outside the scope of this project, but – given the content that was observed on the right-wing sites – it seems plausible that a relationship would be found between evaluation of these platforms and attitudes towards Muslims in the case of one, and multiple religious and ethnic minority groups in the case of the other. None of the four sites was popular, with all appearing to suffer from low brand awareness, and with only a minority of those members of the population who were found to be aware of them evaluating them positively. However, like RT, all four may achieve an influence that belies their small reach through secondary circulation.

What can be done? It would be perverse to argue that Radio Albion's content does not constitute hate speech, and if there is no regulatory mechanism available through which to sanction it, then that is certainly anomalous: Ofcom's inability to regulate websites such as Radio Albion has been noted in the press (e.g. Taher, 2019), but the possibility of prosecution or other legal measures does not appear to have been assessed. TR News and Radio Albion do not appear to be subject to regulation by any body, while Skwawkbox and the Canary are subject to voluntary regulation by Impress, which evidently has not been sufficient to solve the problems investigated here. The possibility of bringing websites such as these under more effective regulatory oversight should be seriously considered. However, it is unlikely that regulation will be able to provide a full solution to the kinds of problems discussed here.

Demonetisation through withdrawal of advertising revenue would seem a proportionate response where platforms are found to have distributed harmful content that falls short of illegality. It also has the advantage of respecting the principle of free speech: if publishers

are free to publish as they see fit, then advertisers are likewise free to refrain from doing business with them if they publish materials likely to bring them into disrepute (Allington, 2020b, p. 9). However, it is important to acknowledge that other income streams are available which may soften the impact of demonetisation campaigns. All four of the sites studied here actively solicit donations from readers, for example. However, the three that appear to rely entirely on donations for their income, i.e. Radio Albion, TR News, and Skwawkbox, were found to have considerably lower brand awareness, even among the samples designed to capture their target market, than the one that also carries advertising, i.e. the Canary. This may be because exclusive reliance on donations results in lower overall levels of income, leading to diminished capacity to engage in outreach and advertising of one's own, and therefore to lower numbers of 'clicks'.

As noted above (section 2.2.2), the Canary was targeted by a successful demonetisation campaign from Stop Funding Fake News, which led brands such as Macmillan Cancer Care, Ted Baker, the World Wildlife Fund, and Moonpig to cease advertising with the site, apparently forcing it to 'downsize' its operations (JC Reporter, 2019). Looking further afield, other instances can be found of successful campaigns directed at reducing harmful content through pressure on or via advertisers. For example, the Urban Dictionary website removed a number of antisemitic entries after Campaign Against Antisemitism alerted advertisers Canterbury Christ Church University and the People's Postcode Lottery to the offensive nature of the site, leading them to pull their adverts (CAA, 2020a, 2020b, 2020c). However, it is evident that pressure of this kind must be consistently maintained in order to effect long-term change: at the time when this report was being revised following peer review, a single Canary article simultaneously featured advertisements for the leading charity, Save the Children, the ethical investment cooperative, Shared Interest, the multinational software company, Adobe, and – somewhat ironically – the Israeli financial services company, eToro.

Further measures could also be taken by social media companies, which may not wish to be associated with the sort of content that such sites promote, and could (for that reason even if no other) quite reasonably choose to deprioritise links to their content in users' news feeds. Moreover, organisations such as political parties, voluntary sector organisations, trade unions, and media companies could issue guidelines against sharing content or repeating claims from platforms of this nature on the part of their members or employees – and especially against providing them with interviews, quotes, or stories. Skwawkbox was at one time 'regularly granted exclusive interviews' with front-bench Labour Party MPs (M. Bolton & Pitts, 2018, p. 242), and – to take an example from the other side of the political spectrum – two Brexit Party MEPs and one Brexit Party MEP candidate gave multiple interviews to a David Icke-linked online radio show that has repeatedly provided a platform for purveyors of antisemitic conspiracy fantasies (HOPE not hate, 2019). Exclusives and in-person appearances from high profile individuals such as these lend credibility to otherwise marginal media platforms, as well as providing them with compelling 'clickbait' that will inevitably serve to drive up their viewing figures. Values-driven organisations, and indeed all organisations which care about their public reputations, should at the least consider advising their representatives to think carefully before dealing with little-known media platforms whose reputations are in doubt: when the interviewee has greater public recognition than the website or podcast on which he or she chooses to make an appearance, he or she may be helping to disseminate other items of content – including

possibly objectionable content – to a wider audience than it could otherwise reach, and so a little due diligence might be in order.

The above are purely negative measures. In addition to the finding that positive evaluation of certain 'alternative' media sources was associated with holding antisemitic views, this study has also found that sourcing political information from 'mainstream' media sources in general was associated with rejecting such views. Certain *specific* 'mainstream' platforms were associated with holding one or other of the two major forms of antisemitic views, but not both – and positive evaluation of the most 'mainstream' platforms of all, i.e. Sky News and BBC News, was uncorrelated with any form of antisemitism. One does not therefore have to think solely in terms of banning, discouraging, or (in the case of social media companies) ceasing to encourage consumption of low quality and prejudiced sources of information, when it is at least as important to promote engagement with higher-quality sources of information.

The evidence presented here would suggest that preferential engagement with such sources would be socially beneficial. Both the government and the citizenry have a role to play in ensuring that reputable news media organisations continue to remain financially viable and able to invest both in content production and in marketing activities that ensure that the content they produce will reach the widest possible market. And, for their part, social media companies can choose to partner with reputable content producers in order to ensure that the latter can out-compete less reputable content producers for audience attention, thus fulfilling a useful social function as well as increasing the value of the time that their users spend online by directing them towards the best that the Internet has to offer.

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Appendix I: Codebook for articles

Code	Meaning	Explanation
AS iconography	Images featuring traditional antisemitic iconography	An image which features caricaturing of physical characteristics stereotypically attributed to Jews (as in Happy Merchant memes), or which depict Jews or Zionists as octopuses, spiders, reptiles, puppet-masters, blood-drinkers, child-killers, misers (carrying bag of money), etc. Only use this code for posted images. Do not use this code for metaphors, allusions, or descriptions in article or comment text.
AS: bad faith	Accusation that allegations of antisemitism are being made in bad faith	Article claims or clearly implies that people who make allegations of antisemitism have an ulterior motive for doing so (for example, to 'smear' those whom the allegations are made against, or to stop people from criticising Jews or the government of Israel). Use this code where it is claimed that allegations of antisemitism are false, or that they are made inconsistently (for example, against members of one group but not against equally guilty members of another group), or where ulterior motives are explicitly ascribed to the accusers.
Wrongdoing: Jews	Jews accused of wrongdoing	Article makes accusation of wrongdoing where those alleged to be doing wrong are clearly identified as Jews. Besides 'Jew', 'Jews', and 'Jewish', words that clearly identify people as Jews include: 'kosher', 'Ashkenazi', 'synagogue', etc, as well as offensive slurs (including 'Zio', but not 'Zionist'). Do not include accusations of wrongdoing against Israelis (who are covered by the code 'Wrongdoing: Isr. / Zion.') unless they are specifically identified as Jews (in which case, use both this code and 'Wrongdoing: Isr. / Zion.'). Do not include accusations of wrongdoing against organisations (which are covered by 'Wrongdoing: maj. Jew. org' and 'Wrongdoing: Isr. / Zion.')
Wrongdoing: maj. Jew. org.	Major UK/US Jewish organisation accused of wrongdoing	Article makes accusation of wrongdoing where those alleged to be doing wrong are not individuals but a major UK or US institution that is clearly identified with Jews. Examples of such institutions include: the Board of Deputies of British Jews (BoD), the Jewish Leadership Council (JLC), and (in the US) the American Jewish Congress (AJC); Jewish community newspapers such as the Jewish Chronicle, the Jewish News, the Jewish Telegraph, and (in the US) the Algemeiner; and campaigning, political, and/or charitable organisations such as the Community Security Trust (CST), Campaign Against Antisemitism (CAA), the Jewish Labour Movement (JLM), and (in the US) B'Nai B'Rith or the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). Do not include organisations identified by support for Israel, such as LFI, CFI, or AIPAC. The Jewish National Fund UK should be coded here, however.
Wrongdoing: Isr. / Zion.	Israel or Zionists accused of wrongdoing	Article makes accusation of wrongdoing where those alleged to be doing wrong are agencies of the Israeli state (such as Mossad, Shin Bet, or the Israel Defence Force or IDF), or are Israeli politicians (such as Benjamin Netanyahu), or are explicitly identified as Zionists or as supporters of Israel. This includes people identified as non-Jewish supporters of Israel, such as Christian Zionists, as well as organisations identified by support for Israel such as Labour Friends of Israel (LFI), Conservative Friends of Israel (CFI), and (in the US) the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). Do not include 'Zio' (nor compounds such as 'Zio-Nazi'), as this is simply an offensive term for a Jew (see above). Allegations against the Jewish National Fund UK (JNF UK) should be coded under 'Wrongdoing: maj. Jew. org.', because of its name.
Righteous Jews vs powerful Jews	Opposition between Jews who are presented as powerful and Jews who are presented as righteous	Article presents individual Jews, small Jewish organisations, or minority Jewish groups (whether political, e.g. 'non-Zionist Jews', or religious, e.g. Haredi Jews) as righteously opposing individual Jews, groups of Jews, or Jewish organisations that are presented as being much more powerful (for example, the organisations given as examples for the codes 'Wrongdoing; maj. Jew. org.' and 'Wrongdoing: Isr. / Zion.'). This code can be used in cases where a Jewish writer presents him- or herself as opposing or as opposed by such organisations.

Note to coders: Where an article quotes or reports on statements made by a third party, code them as if they had been made in the article itself unless the article is critiquing or attacking those statements or the people who made them. Remember that not every example of antisemitism will be captured by this coding scheme, and there is no suggestion that every article tagged with one of the codes is antisemitic. We are simply trying to capture patterns in the way that Jewish themes are represented on the websites we are looking at.

Appendix II: Tables for Chapter 3

Table 1: Inter-rater reliability for content analysis of articles

		Initial		Final	
Theme	N	%	κ	%	κ
AS icon.	130	96	0.76	99	0.95
AS: bad faith	130	85	0.69	90	0.79
Wrongdoing: Jews	130	91	0.66	97	0.89
Wrongdoing: maj. Jew. org.	130	88	0.51	95	0.84
Wrongdoing: Isr. / Zion.	130	78	0.48	91	0.78
Righteous Jews vs powerful Jews	130	85	0.50	93	0.79
Mean	130	87	0.60	94	0.84

Table 2: Themes in recent Radio Albion, TR News, Skwawkbox, and Canary articles featuring the words 'Jew' and 'Zionist'

Search term	Source	N	AS icon.	AS: bad faith	Wrongdoing: Jews	Wrongdoing: maj. Jew. org.	Wrongdoing: Isr. / Zion.	Righteous Jews vs powerful Jews
'Jew'	Radio Albion	20	35	25	60	5	10	0
	TR News	20	0	15	0	0	5	5
	Skwawkbox	19	0	47	11	32	5	37
	Canary	20	0	50	0	40	35	50
'Zionist'	Radio Albion	20	25	10	40	10	40	5
	TR News	5	0	20	0	0	0	0
	Skwawkbox	18	0	50	0	11	44	11
	Canary	20	0	65	0	20	60	20
Combined	Radio Albion	37	30	16	49	8	24	3
	TR News	23	0	13	0	0	4	4
	Skwawkbox	36	0	47	6	22	22	22
	Canary	34	0	56	0	26	47	38

Note that at the time of data collection, there were 18 Skwawkbox articles and five TR News articles featuring the word 'Zionist'. One Skwawkbox articles featuring the word 'Jew' turned out to have been posted twice. Because some articles featured both words, the combined total is not the sum of the subtotals for each of the two searches.

Percentages rounded to the nearest whole number.

Appendix III: Questionnaire

1. In your opinion, what is the BIGGEST PROBLEM with the news media in Britain today?

2. How good or bad do you think the following news sources are, or don't you know enough to say?
   - BBC News
   - The Guardian
   - Sky News
   - RT
   - Daily Mail
   - Your local newspaper
   - Skwawkbox
   - The Canary
   - Radio Albion
   - TR News

3. The questions on this page are about political news and discussion in the mainstream media, the alternative media, and social media. By 'mainstream media', we mean newspapers, TV channels, magazines, radio stations, websites, etc that an AVERAGE PERSON would be likely to read, watch, or listen to. By 'alternative media', we mean websites, podcasts, YouTube channels, etc that aim to provide a DIFFERENT POINT OF VIEW from the mainstream media. By 'social media', we mean apps or websites that enable you to CONNECT WITH OTHER PEOPLE - for example, Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, and Instagram.
   Please tell us how much of what you know about POLITICAL ISSUES comes from …
   - The mainstream media?
   - The alternative media?
   - Social media?
   - Family and friends?

4. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
   - Israel and its supporters are a bad influence on our democracy
   - Israel can get away with anything because its supporters control the media
   - Israel treats the Palestinians like the Nazis treated the Jews
   - I am comfortable spending time with people who openly support Israel *
   - Israel makes a positive contribution to the world *
   - Israel is right to defend itself against those who want to destroy it *

5. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
   - Compared to other groups, Jewish people have too much power in the media
   - Jewish people talk about the Holocaust just to further their political agenda
   - Jewish people can be trusted just as much as other British people in business *
   - Jewish people chase money more than other people do
   - Jewish people are just as loyal to Britain as other British people *
   - I am just as open to having Jewish friends as I am to having friends from other sections of British society *

* Reverse-coded

Appendix IV: Codebook for open question answers

Code	Meaning	Examples	Notes
Bias	News media are said to be biased in some specified or unspecified direction.	Biased / unfair / propaganda / ideological / one-sided / partial / partisan / polarised / right-wing / left-wing / politically correct	Use this code for statements that the media are pro- or anti- a specific party (e.g. the Conservative Party) or group (e.g. Muslims, working class people) or politician (e.g. Boris Johnson or Jeremy Corbyn) or policy (e.g. Brexit or Remain) or ideology (e.g. socialism or capitalism) or the government. Complaints of failure to challenge a particular group or to hold it to account, or of being too close to it (e.g. relying on briefings from that group) or - conversely – of excessive hostility, aggression, or skepticism towards a particular group are also to be coded as bias. Complaint that the media are too critical or condemnatory towards unspecified politicians, or politicians in general, rather than any particular 'side', is to be coded as negativity, not bias. Complaining that media are divisive or that they fuel or push people to extremes is not in itself an allegation of bias. Ignore allegations of regional bias (e.g. London- or England-centrism).
Falsehood	News media are said not to reliably report the truth, or even to actively report false or misleading stories ('fake news').	Fake / misleading / false / lies / untrue / rumours / conjecture / misinformation / untrustworthy / non-factual / not fact-checking / not telling the truth / subjective / speculative / not objective	References to difficulty of knowing what is true or false in the news and complaints of being unable to trust or rely on the news are to be coded as falsehood. However, just complaining about 'opinion' or 'editorialising' is not enough - leave that uncoded unless the media are said to put opinion before fact (or similar).
Sensationalism and scaremongering	News media are said to exaggerate their reporting, for example to make it more dramatic, to produce an emotional response, or simply to gain attention or 'clicks'.	Sensationalism / exaggeration / hype / headline-orientation / clickbait / blown up / attention-grabbing / scare-mongering / fear-mongering / scare-tactics / causing panic	This code does not refer to the amount of coverage, but to the tone of coverage. Complaint about excessive coverage of COVID-19 is not enough: implication has to be that it is covered in order to scare people. (If the implication is that it's covered because COVID-19 is bad news, code 'Negativity'.)
Negativity	The news media are said to be characterised by general negativity (as opposed to negativity towards something specific).	Negative / bad news / pessimistic / miserable / only reporting problems or conflict / too critical	The complaint has to be that news reporting or selection is excessively miserable or depressing. Do not use this code where the complaint is of negativity or excessive criticism or condemnation towards the government, a specific political party, a specific politician, a specific group, etc. That is to be coded as bias, not as negativity. Complaints that news is deliberately frightening (not just negative) go under 'Sensationalism and scaremongering', not here.
Ownership, funding, and control	The owners, ownership models, business models, funders, or controllers of news media platforms are themselves presented as a problem; or the news is said to be 'influenced' or 'controlled' by specified or unspecified individuals, groups, or organisations (whether through legal ownership or through threats or corruption).	Owners, (Rupert) Murdoch, News International, owned by billionaires, government control, influence, advertisers, bribery, corruption	It is likely that the implicit complaint will usually be that news reporting is dictated or unduly influenced by the individuals or organisations which own, directly control, or fund media platforms (e.g. through advertising), but this doesn't have to be stated outright: complaint about ownership, funding, control, or business model is by itself enough, even if the supposed consequences of this for reporting are not made explicit. However, complaints about the news being controlled, influenced, dictated, or 'bought' should always be given this code.

Appendix V: Tables for Chapter 4

Table 3: Descriptive statistics, all three samples

	Main sample	'Very right-wing'	'Very left-wing'
N	1718	203	202
Age (M)	47.92	61.42	47.73
Age (SD)	17.37	14.94	16.10
Gender: female	51	33	51
Gender: male	49	67	49
Ethnicity: white	91	96	92
Ethnicity: other	9	4	8
Degree	29	24	62
Voted Leave	40	82	12
Voted Remain	37	15	82

Other than count and age, all variables expressed as percentages

Table 4: Percentages identifying with each position on the left-right axis (main sample)

Political position	N	Est.	Low	High
Very left-wing	70	3	2	4
Fairly left-wing	223	11	9	12
Slightly left-of-centre	272	14	12	16
Centre	295	17	16	19
Slightly right-of-centre	282	16	14	17
Fairly right-wing	130	7	6	9
Very right-wing	23	1	1	2
Unidentified	423	31	29	33

Table 5: Inter-rater reliability for categorisation of answers to open question

Variable	N	%	κ
Bias	200	91	0.81
Falsehood	200	95	0.87
Sensationalism and scaremongering	200	97	0.88
Negativity	200	98	0.88
Ownership, funding, and control	200	97	0.80
Mean	200	96	0.85

95% confidence intervals. Percentages rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 6: Internal reliability of measures of antisemitism (all samples combined)

Measure	λ6
GeAs	0.91
JpAs	0.88
AzAs	0.88

Table 7: Product-moment correlation between JpAs and AzAs, across samples

Sample	DF	Est.	Low	High	p
Main	1358	0.35	0.30	0.40	< 0.001
'Very right-wing'	189	0.56	0.45	0.65	< 0.001
'Very left-wing'	180	0.32	0.18	0.45	< 0.001

Table 8: Rank-order correlation between antisemitism and left-right position, main sample

Measure	DF	Est.	Low	High	p
GeAs	1646	0.02	-0.02	0.07	0.185
JpAs	1638	0.33	0.28	0.37	< 0.001
AzAs	1483	-0.33	-0.38	-0.28	< 0.001

Table 9: Mean numbers of potentially antisemitic views expressed (GeAs scale), across samples

Sample	N	Est.	Low	High
Main	1718	1.25	1.16	1.35
'Very right-wing'	203	1.90	1.53	2.26
'Very left-wing'	202	2.75	2.42	3.08

Table 10: Perceived 'biggest problem' in UK news media (open question), count and percentage frequencies across samples

Theme	Main sample				'Very right-wing'				'Very left-wing'			
	N	Est.	Low	High	N	Est.	Low	High	N	Est.	Low	High
Bias	363	25	23	27	65	35	28	42	75	39	32	46
Falsehood	341	24	22	26	43	23	17	29	38	20	14	25
Sensationalism and scaremongering	292	20	18	22	24	13	8	18	21	11	6	15
Negativity	210	15	13	17	22	12	7	16	4	2	0	4
Ownership, funding, and control	97	6	5	7	8	4	1	7	60	31	25	38

95% confidence intervals. Percentages rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 11: Welch t-tests of association between perceived 'biggest problem' in UK news media (open question), and measures of antisemitism (main sample)

Measure	Theme	DF	Est.	Low	High	t	p
GeAs	Bias	614.11	-0.05	-0.13	0.04	-1.03	0.304
GeAs	Falsehood	527.55	0.04	-0.05	0.13	0.80	0.423
GeAs	Sensationalism and scaremongering	430.84	-0.10	-0.20	-0.01	-2.18	0.030
GeAs	Negativity	276.43	-0.08	-0.18	0.03	-1.45	0.148
GeAs	Ownership, funding, and control	114.60	0.12	-0.01	0.26	1.79	0.076
JpAs	Bias	645.67	-0.10	-0.19	-0.01	-2.29	0.022
JpAs	Falsehood	522.94	0.06	-0.04	0.16	1.17	0.243
JpAs	Sensationalism and scaremongering	454.49	-0.13	-0.23	-0.04	-2.76	0.006
JpAs	Negativity	285.99	0.01	-0.09	0.12	0.23	0.816
JpAs	Ownership, funding, and control	109.99	-0.19	-0.35	-0.02	-2.26	0.026
AzAs	Bias	513.42	0.00	-0.11	0.11	-0.02	0.981
AzAs	Falsehood	462.54	0.08	-0.03	0.20	1.49	0.136
AzAs	Sensationalism and scaremongering	366.23	0.02	-0.10	0.14	0.34	0.736
AzAs	Negativity	244.56	-0.24	-0.36	-0.11	-3.60	< 0.001
AzAs	Ownership, funding, and control	106.89	0.34	0.16	0.52	3.80	< 0.001

Table 12: Welch t-tests of association between perceived 'biggest problem' in UK news media (open question), and measures of antisemitism ('very right-wing' sample)

Measure	Theme	DF	Est.	Low	High	t	p
GeAs	Bias	125.68	-0.30	-0.56	-0.03	-2.22	0.028
GeAs	Falsehood	62.50	-0.02	-0.35	0.30	-0.15	0.883
GeAs	Sensationalism and scaremongering	30.41	0.16	-0.23	0.54	0.83	0.413
GeAs	Negativity	37.13	-0.18	-0.46	0.10	-1.28	0.208
GeAs	Ownership, funding, and control	7.39	0.41	-0.51	1.34	1.06	0.325
JpAs	Bias	122.66	-0.21	-0.50	0.07	-1.52	0.132
JpAs	Falsehood	65.93	-0.01	-0.34	0.32	-0.06	0.950
JpAs	Sensationalism and scaremongering	28.56	0.04	-0.40	0.49	0.19	0.850
JpAs	Negativity	36.98	-0.17	-0.47	0.12	-1.20	0.238
JpAs	Ownership, funding, and control	7.35	0.21	-0.79	1.22	0.49	0.635
AzAs	Bias	134.24	-0.39	-0.71	-0.08	-2.49	0.014
AzAs	Falsehood	60.75	-0.05	-0.44	0.35	-0.24	0.813
AzAs	Sensationalism and scaremongering	30.41	0.26	-0.19	0.70	1.19	0.243
AzAs	Negativity	29.57	-0.15	-0.54	0.24	-0.77	0.447
AzAs	Ownership, funding, and control	7.47	0.53	-0.51	1.56	1.18	0.273

95% confidence intervals. Percentages rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 13: Welch t-tests of association between perceived 'biggest problem' in UK news media (open question), and measures of antisemitism ('very left-wing' sample)

Measure	Theme	DF	Est.	Low	High	t	p
GeAs	Bias	140.75	-0.03	-0.25	0.19	-0.28	0.777
GeAs	Falsehood	61.45	-0.07	-0.32	0.18	-0.60	0.553
GeAs	Sensationalism and scaremongering	24.97	-0.09	-0.44	0.27	-0.51	0.611
GeAs	Negativity	3.56	-0.04	-0.59	0.51	-0.23	0.830
GeAs	Ownership, funding, and control	119.73	0.10	-0.12	0.32	0.90	0.368
JpAs	Bias	136.24	0.04	-0.17	0.24	0.36	0.717
JpAs	Falsehood	60.77	0.07	-0.17	0.30	0.58	0.562
JpAs	Sensationalism and scaremongering	24.32	0.10	-0.25	0.45	0.59	0.563
JpAs	Negativity	3.56	-0.35	-0.86	0.15	-2.03	0.121
JpAs	Ownership, funding, and control	117.33	-0.01	-0.21	0.20	-0.06	0.953
AzAs	Bias	136.21	-0.13	-0.42	0.15	-0.94	0.346
AzAs	Falsehood	46.37	-0.04	-0.41	0.32	-0.24	0.809
AzAs	Sensationalism and scaremongering	21.59	-0.07	-0.52	0.38	-0.33	0.748
AzAs	Negativity	3.19	0.12	-1.12	1.36	0.30	0.786
AzAs	Ownership, funding, and control	113.01	0.03	-0.26	0.32	0.23	0.820

Table 14: Percentages deriving 'a great deal' or 'a fair amount' of their knowledge about politics from each source, across samples

Source	Main sample				'Very right-wing'				'Very left-wing'			
	N	Est.	Low	High	N	Est.	Low	High	N	Est.	Low	High
Family and friends	782	46	43	48	108	53	46	60	109	54	47	61
Social media	596	35	32	37	75	37	30	44	113	56	49	63
Mainstream	1275	74	72	76	151	74	68	80	158	78	73	84
Alternative	443	26	24	28	72	35	29	42	107	53	46	60

Table 15: Rank-order correlations between left-right position and source of political knowledge (main sample)

Variable	DF	Est.	Low	High	p
Family and friends	1239	-0.09	-0.15	-0.03	< 0.001
Social media	1234	-0.21	-0.26	-0.16	< 0.001
Mainstream	1240	0.00	-0.06	0.05	0.483
Alternative	1174	-0.17	-0.22	-0.11	< 0.001

Table 16: Rank-order correlations between source of political knowledge and measures of antisemitism (main sample, with and without control for political position)

			Correlation					Partial correlation (with control)			
Measure	Source	DF	Est.	Low	High	p	DF	Est.	Low	High	p
GeAs	Family and friends	1522	-0.02	-0.07	0.03	0.429	1210	0.00	-0.06	0.05	0.891
GeAs	Social media	1505	-0.02	-0.07	0.03	0.563	1205	-0.01	-0.06	0.05	0.685
GeAs	Mainstream	1512	-0.12	-0.17	-0.07	< 0.001	1211	-0.11	-0.16	-0.05	< 0.001
GeAs	Alternative	1427	0.00	-0.05	0.05	0.758	1150	0.02	-0.04	0.08	0.545
JpAs	Family and friends	1509	-0.02	-0.07	0.03	0.476	1203	0.02	-0.04	0.07	0.645
JpAs	Social media	1492	-0.05	-0.10	0.00	0.095	1198	0.01	-0.05	0.07	0.783
JpAs	Mainstream	1499	-0.16	-0.21	-0.11	< 0.001	1204	-0.14	-0.20	-0.09	< 0.001
JpAs	Alternative	1415	-0.04	-0.10	0.01	0.372	1144	0.02	-0.04	0.08	0.591
AzAs	Family and friends	1310	0.05	-0.01	0.10	0.141	1075	0.01	-0.06	0.07	0.934
AzAs	Social media	1295	0.07	0.02	0.13	0.012	1069	0.02	-0.04	0.08	0.601
AzAs	Mainstream	1302	-0.04	-0.09	0.02	0.241	1076	-0.07	-0.12	0.00	0.025
AzAs	Alternative	1237	0.06	0.00	0.11	0.120	1027	0.01	-0.05	0.08	0.790

Table 17: Rank-order correlations between source of political knowledge and measures of antisemitism ('very right-wing' sample)

Measure	Source	DF	Est.	Low	High	p
GeAs	Family and friends	194	0.17	0.03	0.30	0.042
GeAs	Social media	183	0.11	-0.03	0.25	0.189
GeAs	Mainstream	189	0.00	-0.14	0.14	0.844
GeAs	Alternative	175	0.03	-0.12	0.18	0.779
JpAs	Family and friends	194	0.08	-0.06	0.22	0.403
JpAs	Social media	183	0.02	-0.13	0.16	0.679
JpAs	Mainstream	189	0.03	-0.12	0.17	0.653
JpAs	Alternative	175	-0.02	-0.17	0.12	0.852
AzAs	Family and friends	186	0.20	0.06	0.33	0.017
AzAs	Social media	175	0.13	-0.02	0.27	0.116
AzAs	Mainstream	181	0.04	-0.11	0.18	0.642
AzAs	Alternative	167	0.02	-0.13	0.17	0.922

95% confidence intervals. Percentages rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 18: Rank-order correlations between sources of political knowledge and measures of antisemitism ('very left-wing' sample)

Measure	Source	DF	Est.	Low	High	p
GeAs	Family and friends	193	-0.11	-0.24	0.03	0.238
GeAs	Social media	190	0.05	-0.09	0.19	0.527
GeAs	Mainstream	193	-0.13	-0.26	0.01	0.113
GeAs	Alternative	185	0.08	-0.06	0.22	0.304
JpAs	Family and friends	193	-0.14	-0.27	0.01	0.629
JpAs	Social media	190	-0.07	-0.21	0.07	0.671
JpAs	Mainstream	193	-0.04	-0.18	0.11	0.679
JpAs	Alternative	185	-0.07	-0.21	0.08	0.385
AzAs	Family and friends	179	-0.02	-0.17	0.12	0.597
AzAs	Social media	176	0.08	-0.06	0.23	0.211
AzAs	Mainstream	179	-0.20	-0.33	-0.05	0.037
AzAs	Alternative	174	0.10	-0.05	0.24	0.279

Table 19: Percentages with an opinion on each media platform, across samples

	Main sample				'Very right-wing'				'Very left-wing'			
Platform	N	Est.	Low	High	N	Est.	Low	High	N	Est.	Low	High
BBC News	1626	95	94	96	200	99	97	100	198	98	96	100
Sky News	1251	73	71	75	170	84	79	89	168	83	78	88
RT	358	21	19	23	72	35	29	42	81	40	33	47
Guardian	1151	67	65	69	159	78	73	84	183	91	87	95
Daily Mail	1369	80	78	82	173	85	80	90	193	96	93	98
Local newspaper	1111	65	62	67	137	67	61	74	146	72	66	78
Radio Albion	82	5	4	6	19	9	5	13	6	3	1	5
TR News	101	6	5	7	23	11	7	16	10	5	2	8
Skwawkbox	128	7	6	9	15	7	4	11	40	20	14	25
The Canary	193	11	10	13	24	12	7	16	84	42	35	48

Table 20: Percentages regarding each media platform as a 'quite good' or 'very good' source of news and information, across samples

	Main sample				'Very right-wing'				'Very left-wing'			
Platform	N	Est.	Low	High	N	Est.	Low	High	N	Est.	Low	High
BBC News	816	47	45	50	43	21	16	27	69	34	28	41
Sky News	481	28	26	30	49	24	18	30	44	22	16	27
RT	60	3	3	4	21	10	6	15	17	8	5	12
Guardian	531	31	29	33	17	8	5	12	116	57	51	64
Daily Mail	162	9	8	11	63	31	25	37	4	2	0	4
Local newspaper	343	20	18	22	38	19	13	24	37	18	13	24
Radio Albion	7	0	0	1	4	2	0	4	2	1	0	2
TR News	14	1	0	1	8	4	1	7	1	0	0	1
Skwawkbox	25	1	1	2	2	1	0	2	16	8	4	12
The Canary	45	3	2	3	3	1	0	3	43	21	16	27

95% confidence intervals. Percentages rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 21: Rank-order correlations between left-right position and opinion of each platform (main sample)

Platform	DF	Est.	Low	High	p
BBC News	1259	-0.12	-0.18	-0.07	< 0.001
Sky News	990	0.02	-0.04	0.09	0.533
RT	305	0.09	-0.02	0.20	0.081
Guardian	967	-0.44	-0.49	-0.39	< 0.001
Daily Mail	1103	0.42	0.38	0.47	< 0.001
Local newspaper	876	0.07	0.01	0.14	0.037
Radio Albion	58	0.10	-0.16	0.35	0.521
TR News	73	0.37	0.15	0.55	0.001
Skwawkbox	104	-0.26	-0.43	-0.07	0.009
The Canary	161	-0.29	-0.42	-0.14	< 0.001

95% confidence intervals. Percentages rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 22: Rank-order correlations between evaluation of each platform and measures of antisemitism (main sample, with and without control for left-right position)

Measure	Source	Correlation					Partial correlation (with control)				
		DF	Est.	Low	High	p	DF	Est.	Low	High	p
GeAs	BBC News	1556	-0.05	-0.10	0.00	0.021	1228	-0.03	-0.09	0.03	0.304
GeAs	Sky News	1199	0.00	-0.05	0.06	0.807	966	-0.01	-0.06	0.07	0.707
GeAs	RT	348	0.19	0.09	0.29	< 0.001	300	0.23	0.11	0.33	< 0.001
GeAs	Guardian	1119	-0.01	-0.07	0.05	0.741	952	0.02	-0.05	0.09	0.634
GeAs	Daily Mail	1321	0.14	0.09	0.19	< 0.001	1081	0.11	0.05	0.17	< 0.001
GeAs	Local newspaper	1068	0.00	-0.06	0.06	0.615	855	-0.01	-0.09	0.05	0.642
GeAs	Radio Albion	73	0.36	0.14	0.54	0.006	53	0.36	0.10	0.60	0.015
GeAs	TR News	93	0.15	-0.05	0.35	0.437	69	0.06	-0.21	0.33	0.845
GeAs	Skwawkbox	119	0.43	0.28	0.57	< 0.001	99	0.44	0.26	0.59	< 0.001
GeAs	The Canary	183	0.39	0.26	0.51	< 0.001	156	0.40	0.25	0.53	< 0.001
JpAs	BBC News	1542	-0.06	-0.11	-0.01	0.003	1222	-0.05	-0.10	0.01	0.092
JpAs	Sky News	1186	0.05	-0.01	0.11	0.337	960	0.03	-0.03	0.10	0.405
JpAs	RT	344	0.20	0.10	0.30	< 0.001	298	0.21	0.10	0.31	< 0.001
JpAs	Guardian	1110	-0.17	-0.23	-0.11	< 0.001	947	-0.07	-0.13	0.00	0.023
JpAs	Daily Mail	1309	0.30	0.25	0.35	< 0.001	1076	0.21	0.15	0.27	< 0.001
JpAs	Local newspaper	1056	0.04	-0.02	0.10	0.156	850	0.02	-0.05	0.09	0.564
JpAs	Radio Albion	70	0.20	-0.04	0.41	0.075	52	0.28	0.00	0.51	0.077
JpAs	TR News	90	0.10	-0.11	0.30	0.569	68	0.05	-0.20	0.29	0.945
JpAs	Skwawkbox	116	0.23	0.05	0.39	0.061	98	0.29	0.09	0.43	0.007
JpAs	The Canary	179	0.18	0.03	0.32	0.045	154	0.25	0.09	0.38	0.004
AzAs	BBC News	1333	0.04	-0.01	0.09	0.072	1089	0.02	-0.05	0.08	0.586
AzAs	Sky News	1040	-0.02	-0.08	0.04	0.942	860	0.00	-0.07	0.07	0.902
AzAs	RT	334	0.14	0.04	0.25	0.005	287	0.19	0.06	0.30	0.002
AzAs	Guardian	987	0.21	0.15	0.27	< 0.001	853	0.12	0.03	0.18	0.001
AzAs	Daily Mail	1146	-0.12	-0.17	-0.06	< 0.001	955	-0.04	-0.10	0.03	0.213
AzAs	Local newspaper	929	-0.03	-0.09	0.04	0.932	767	-0.02	-0.10	0.04	0.544
AzAs	Radio Albion	68	0.25	0.01	0.46	0.012	48	0.27	-0.05	0.55	0.115
AzAs	TR News	86	0.06	-0.15	0.27	0.860	63	0.01	-0.28	0.30	1.000
AzAs	Skwawkbox	115	0.52	0.37	0.64	< 0.001	95	0.49	0.32	0.64	< 0.001
AzAs	The Canary	172	0.50	0.38	0.60	< 0.001	146	0.44	0.26	0.58	< 0.001

95% confidence intervals. Percentages rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 23: Rank-order correlations between evaluation of each platform and measures of antisemitism ('very right-wing' sample)

Measure	Source	DF	Est.	Low	High	p
GeAs	BBC News	194	0.11	-0.03	0.24	0.270
GeAs	Sky News	166	0.08	-0.07	0.23	0.612
GeAs	RT	69	0.34	0.12	0.53	0.003
GeAs	Guardian	155	0.28	0.13	0.42	0.002
GeAs	Daily Mail	169	-0.09	-0.23	0.07	0.252
GeAs	Local newspaper	133	-0.05	-0.22	0.12	0.467
GeAs	Radio Albion	16	0.03	-0.45	0.49	0.572
GeAs	TR News	20	-0.06	-0.47	0.37	0.793
GeAs	Skwawkbox	12	0.15	-0.42	0.63	0.464
GeAs	The Canary	21	0.22	-0.21	0.58	0.176
JpAs	BBC News	194	0.08	-0.06	0.22	0.563
JpAs	Sky News	166	0.06	-0.09	0.21	0.958
JpAs	RT	69	0.27	0.04	0.47	0.016
JpAs	Guardian	155	0.16	0.01	0.31	0.097
JpAs	Daily Mail	169	-0.04	-0.19	0.11	0.457
JpAs	Local newspaper	133	-0.08	-0.25	0.09	0.273
JpAs	Radio Albion	16	0.25	-0.24	0.64	0.273
JpAs	TR News	20	-0.06	-0.47	0.37	0.848
JpAs	Skwawkbox	12	0.25	-0.33	0.69	0.287
JpAs	The Canary	21	0.19	-0.24	0.56	0.168
AzAs	BBC News	186	0.17	0.03	0.31	0.062
AzAs	Sky News	160	0.09	-0.06	0.24	0.424
AzAs	RT	69	0.34	0.12	0.53	0.003
AzAs	Guardian	149	0.37	0.22	0.50	< 0.001
AzAs	Daily Mail	163	-0.06	-0.21	0.10	0.385
AzAs	Local newspaper	127	0.03	-0.14	0.20	0.900
AzAs	Radio Albion	16	-0.04	-0.50	0.44	0.887
AzAs	TR News	20	-0.11	-0.51	0.33	0.624
AzAs	Skwawkbox	12	0.27	-0.30	0.70	0.538
AzAs	The Canary	21	0.27	-0.16	0.61	0.185

95% confidence intervals. Percentages rounded to the nearest whole number.

75

Table 24: Rank-order correlations between evaluation of each platform and measures of antisemitism ('very left-wing' sample)

Measure	Source	DF	Est.	Low	High	p
GeAs	BBC News	192	-0.20	-0.34	-0.06	0.004
GeAs	Sky News	164	-0.19	-0.33	-0.04	0.039
GeAs	RT	77	0.17	-0.05	0.38	0.128
GeAs	Guardian	177	-0.07	-0.21	0.08	0.457
GeAs	Daily Mail	187	-0.07	-0.21	0.07	0.795
GeAs	Local newspaper	141	-0.13	-0.29	0.03	0.031
GeAs	Radio Albion	4	-0.65	-0.96	0.35	0.198
GeAs	TR News	8	-0.33	-0.80	0.38	0.316
GeAs	Skwawkbox	38	0.11	-0.21	0.41	0.513
GeAs	The Canary	81	0.23	0.01	0.42	0.015
JpAs	BBC News	192	-0.02	-0.16	0.12	0.412
JpAs	Sky News	164	-0.10	-0.25	0.05	0.432
JpAs	RT	77	0.22	0.00	0.42	0.091
JpAs	Guardian	177	0.00	-0.14	0.15	0.561
JpAs	Daily Mail	187	0.15	0.01	0.29	0.009
JpAs	Local newspaper	141	-0.07	-0.23	0.09	0.110
JpAs	Radio Albion	4	-0.40	-0.91	0.61	0.694
JpAs	TR News	8	-0.15	-0.71	0.53	1.000
JpAs	Skwawkbox	38	0.12	-0.20	0.42	0.443
JpAs	The Canary	81	0.22	0.01	0.42	0.026
AzAs	BBC News	178	-0.20	-0.34	-0.06	0.005
AzAs	Sky News	153	-0.14	-0.29	0.02	0.079
AzAs	RT	76	0.13	-0.09	0.35	0.487
AzAs	Guardian	166	-0.05	-0.20	0.10	0.586
AzAs	Daily Mail	174	-0.10	-0.24	0.05	0.251
AzAs	Local newspaper	132	-0.07	-0.24	0.10	0.410
AzAs	Radio Albion	4	-0.72	-0.97	0.22	0.143
AzAs	TR News	8	-0.46	-0.84	0.24	0.164
AzAs	Skwawkbox	37	0.21	-0.12	0.49	0.312
AzAs	The Canary	80	0.25	0.04	0.45	0.028

95% confidence intervals. Percentages rounded to the nearest whole number.

Appendix VI: Technical information

Analysis was carried out using `R` v. 3.6.1 (R Core Team, 2019), with `irr` v. 0.84.1 (Gamer, Lemon, Fellows, & Singh, 2019) for calculation of inter-rater reliability, `psych` v. 1.8.12 (Revelle, 2018) for calculation of internal reliability of scales, `DescTools` (Signorell et al., 2020) for calculation of confidence intervals on rank-order correlations, and `RVAideMemoire` v. 0.9-74 (Hervé, 2020) for calculation of partial correlations. Visualisations were created using `ggplot2` v. 3.2.1 (see Wickham, 2016), in conjunction with `ggrepel` v. 0.8.1 (Slowikowski, 2019) for fig. 9 only.