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ANTISEMITISM BAROMETER 2021

CAMPAIGN AGAINST ANTISEMITISM

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FOREWORD

The events of 2021 have left their mark on Britain's Jews.

For several weeks in May and June, during the conflict between Hamas and Israel thousands of miles away, antisemitism surged on British streets and campuses, online, in workplaces, schools and hospitals and in other institutions. Reported incidents broke records, with some making national headlines and prompting intervention by the Prime Minister.

Among the incidents were demonstrations that featured antisemitic speakers, chants and banners — some of which were endorsed, promoted and addressed by politicians, trade unionists and other luminaires — and convoys that saw allegations of the most despicable antisemitic incitement and violence in Jewish neighbourhoods.

These events weighed on British Jews, with almost eight in ten disclosing in our research that the various demonstrations, processions and convoys during the conflict caused them to feel intimidated as a Jew.

Consequently, there is a noticeable reversal this year in the optimism reflected in polling a year ago. Fewer British Jews believe that their community has a long-term future in the UK, and a record number — nearing half — have disclosed that they avoid displaying outward signs of their Judaism in public due to antisemitism.

Not only do perpetrators of antisemitism give the Jewish community reason for concern, but so does the criminal justice system. The Crown Prosecution Service has always performed poorly in our polling, but for the first time ever, a majority of British Jews do not believe that

the police or the courts do enough to protect them either.

Antisemitism this year has also affected how British Jews view wider society. For the first time ever, a majority do not believe that their non-Jewish neighbours do enough to protect them, with many respondents deeply concerned about apathy towards Jews amongst the British public.

As our polling of the British public shows, there is reason for discomfort: almost one quarter of British adults believe that “Israel treats the Palestinians like the Nazis treated the Jews,” which is antisemitic under the International Definition of Antisemitism, and more than one in ten Britons have entrenched antisemitic views

There are more specific incubators of antisemitism as well. Over eight in ten British Jews still feel that Labour is too tolerant of racism against Jews, belying Sir Keir Starmer's claim to have “shut the door” on antisemitism in his Party. Almost all British Jews also believe that antisemitism in British universities and on social media is a problem — the first time these issues have been polled — underlining the need for action.

Britain cannot be content when almost half of a long-established minority community avoids disclosing identifying signs in public, or when a broad majority considers one of the two major political parties to be too tolerant of racism. It is not too late to make the right changes in politics, at universities, online and to criminal justice, but the time for action is now.

Gideon Falter
CHIEF EXECUTIVE

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

SURVEY OF BRITISH ADULTS

- Campaign Against Antisemitism (CAA) commissioned King's College London to survey British adults' attitudes towards Jews in 2021 using YouGov. The YouGov survey was designed and analysed by Dr Daniel Allington of King's College London.
- This is the second survey to use the Generalised Antisemitism Scale, devised by Dr Allington, with Dr David Hirsh of Goldsmiths and Dr Louise Katz of the University of Derby.
- **Using the Generalised Antisemitism Scale, 57% of British adults do not harbour any antisemitic views, a slight improvement on last year's 55%. Conversely, however, 43% of British adults affirmed at least one antisemitic statement, which suggests a troubling normalisation of antisemitism.**
- Judeophobic antisemitic sentiment has remained stable or shown signs of slight improvement since last year, but the opposite is true of anti-Zionist antisemitism, which has remained stable or become slightly worse: All anti-Zionist antisemitic statements were affirmed by the same proportion of respondents or more, compared to last year, with one exception.
- **More than one in ten British adults have entrenched antisemitic views, affirming four or more antisemitic statements.**
- The most commonly-believed antisemitic statement was that "Israel treats the Palestinians like the Nazis treated the Jews", with which almost one quarter of British adults — 24% — agreed.

SURVEY OF BRITISH JEWS

- CAA worked with partners to survey British Jews' responses to antisemitism in 2021. This separate survey was designed and analysed in consultation with Dr Daniel Allington of King's College London.
- **The optimism of 2020 has been eclipsed by the events of 2021. In particular, the surge in antisemitism in Britain during the conflict between Hamas and Israel has left a mark on British Jews, with almost eight in ten saying that the various anti-Israel protests, processions and convoys during the conflict caused them "to feel intimidated as a Jew".**
- Fewer than six in ten British Jews believe that Jews have a long-term future in the UK, and 46% avoid displaying outward signs of their Judaism in public due to antisemitism, the highest figure we have ever recorded.
- **British Jews' confidence in the criminal justice system has hit a record low, with a majority believing that every branch of the system does not do enough to protect them. This includes not only the consistently poorly-performing Crown Prosecution Service but also, for the first time ever, the police and the courts.**
- Over eight in ten British Jews still feel that the Labour Party is too tolerant of antisemitism, and a majority now feel the same about the Green Party, the only party other than Labour to cross this threshold.
- **In the first ever polls on the subjects, we reveal that almost all British Jews believe that antisemitism in British universities and on social media is a problem.**

PREJUDICE AGAINST JEWS IN BRITAIN

ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS IN BRITAIN

YouGov Plc has been commissioned by Campaign Against Antisemitism every year since 2015 to measure the extent of antisemitic prejudice in Britain. This year, as last year, the study was carried out by YouGov and designed and analysed by Dr Daniel Allington of King's College London.

Our 2021 findings can be compared to our findings in 2020 (published in our Antisemitism Barometer 2020), our findings in 2019 and 2018 (both published in our Antisemitism Barometer 2019), our findings in 2017 and 2016 (both published in our Antisemitism Barometer 2017), and our findings in 2015 (published in our Antisemitism Barometer 2015), though our questions have changed.

This year, as last year, we asked respondents twelve questions, equally divided between two sub-scales: six questions covering Judeophobic antisemitism and six questions covering anti-Zionist antisemitism. The former sub-scale concerns stereotypes regarding Jewish influence, money, loyalty, trustworthiness and power, while the latter sub-scale incorporates tropes referring to the supposedly outsized and malign influence of Israel — the Jewish state — and its supporters, and drawing comparisons of Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.¹

Together, the twelve examples — the Generalised Antisemitism Scale — cover antisemitism across the range of examples

incorporated in the International Definition of Antisemitism (also known as the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition of Antisemitism).

The Generalised Antisemitism Scale was devised by Dr Daniel Allington of King's College London, Dr David Hirsh of Goldsmiths, and Dr Louise Katz of the University of Derby. Their explanation of why and how they developed it can be found in the Antisemitism Barometer 2020.²

In particular, in developing the Generalised Antisemitism Scale, they were guided by the International Definition of Antisemitism, which Campaign Against Antisemitism, together with other Jewish communal institutions from around the world, has long campaigned to be widely adopted.

JUDEOPHOBIC ANTISEMITISM

Below are the six questions in the Judeophobic antisemitism sub-scale that were asked this year. All were altered in 2016 after their first usage in 2015, and some were further altered in 2020, as specified below.

1. "Jewish people can be trusted just as much as other British people in business." (2015 wording: "In business, Jews are not as honest as most people.")
2. "Jewish people are just as loyal to Britain as other British people." (2016-19 wording: "Having a connection to Israel makes Jewish people less loyal to Britain than other British people."; 2015 wording: "Jews' loyalty to Israel

1. For more detailed explanation and analysis of these two sub-scales, please see the Antisemitism Barometer 2019 and its companion paper at <https://antisemitism.org/barometer/#2018-2019>.

2. See <https://antisemitism.org/barometer/#2020>.

makes them less loyal to Britain than other British people.”)

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

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

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

6. “Jewish people chase money more than other people do.” (2016-19 wording: “British Jewish people chase money more than other British people.”; 2015 wording: “Jews chase money more than other British people.”)

Whilst it was not possible to assess every common stereotype, prejudice and conspiracy myth about Jews, these six statements reflect ideas that people who have a problem with Jews have historically expressed.

ANTI-ZIONIST ANTISEMITISM

Below are the six questions in the anti-Zionist antisemitism sub-scale that were asked this year. These questions were asked for the first time in 2019, with the exception of the question “Israel has a right to exist as a homeland for the Jewish people”, which was first asked in 2020.

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

8. “Israel has a right to exist as a homeland for the Jewish people.”

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

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

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

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

For further information about the formulation of all of these questions, please refer to the companion paper accompanying the Antisemitism Barometer 2020.

FINDINGS

BRITISH SOCIETY ON ANTISEMITISM

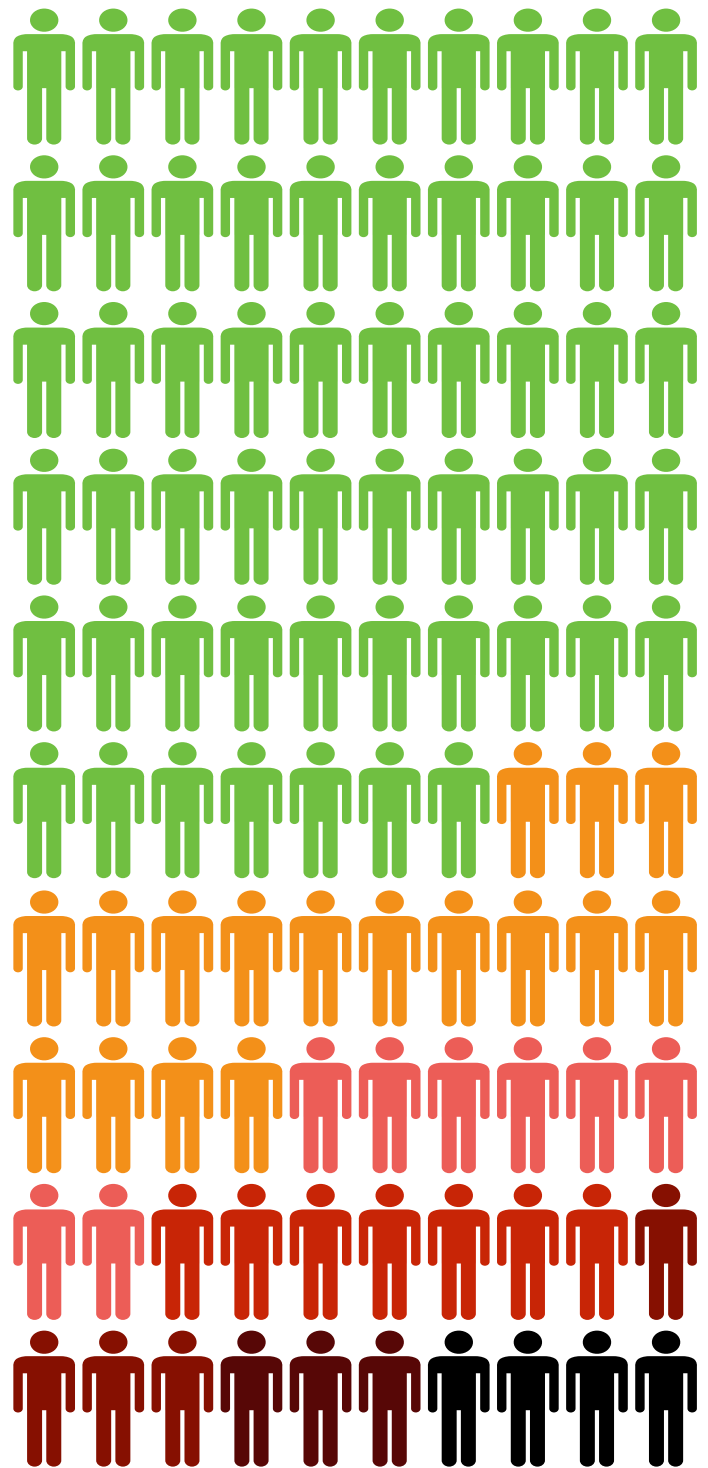
Using the Generalised Antisemitism Scale, 57% of British adults — a small majority — did not affirm a single one of the twelve antisemitic statements. This is a welcome finding, and a slight increase from the 55% recorded last year.

The other side of the coin, however, gives considerable reason for concern, as more than four in ten (43%) of British adults did affirm at least one antisemitic statement.

Seventeen percent of respondents agreed with one antisemitic statement only, as last year. The most popular statement was that “Israel treats the Palestinians like the Nazis treated the Jews”, with which almost one quarter of respondents (24%) agreed, representing a slight rise compared to last year’s 23%.

Eight percent agreed with two antisemitic statements, seven percent with three, four percent with four, and three percent agreed with five. Three percent agreed with six antisemitic statements, which is an increase on last year’s 1.5%, but only one percent of respondents agreed with more than half of the twelve statements, which is a marked improvement on last year’s three percent.

Over ten percent of respondents agreed with four or more antisemitic statements, which is a very concerning reflection of the entrenchment of anti-Jewish racism among a segment of the British public.



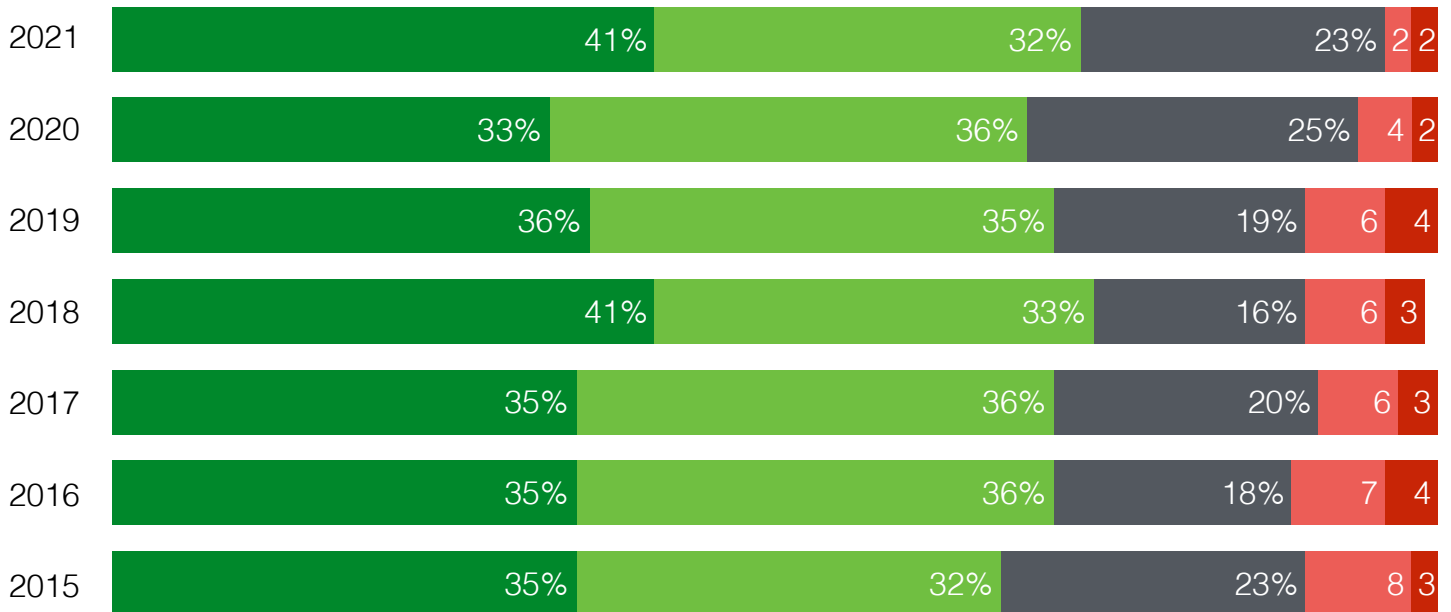
ANTISEMITIC STATEMENTS ENDORSED

	2020	2021
None	55%	57%
One	17%	17%
Two	9%	8%
Three	7%	7%
Four	4%	4%
Five	3%	3%
Six or more	4%	4%

JEWES AND BUSINESS

Question 1: "Jewish people can be trusted just as much as other British people in business."

• Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree



The stereotype of a thieving, duplicitous Jew is linked to the portrayal of Judas as the epitome of Jewishness by the early Church. In British literature from *The Merchant of Venice* to *Oliver Twist*, Jews have been portrayed as dishonest in business and inherently untrustworthy. In modern Britain, there remains a perception amongst some that Jews are greedy or crooked, for example in the controversy over the Herschel Fink character in a play at the Royal Court Theatre. This perception sometimes surfaces in discourse about Jews who are at the centre of business controversies, such as Robert Maxwell, the 'Guinness Four' and Sir Philip Green.

This year saw a marked rise in the proportion of respondents who strongly agreed that Jewish people can be trusted just as much as other British people in business, from 33% last year to 41% this year. That is the highest figure that our polling has recorded, tied with 2018. The overall proportion of respondents who agreed (73%) was also notably higher than last year (69%) and was one of the highest figures that we have recorded. The proportion of those who disagreed also fell from 6% to 4%, and the proportion of those who neither agreed nor disagreed also fell by 2%, indicating a positive swing across the spectrum.

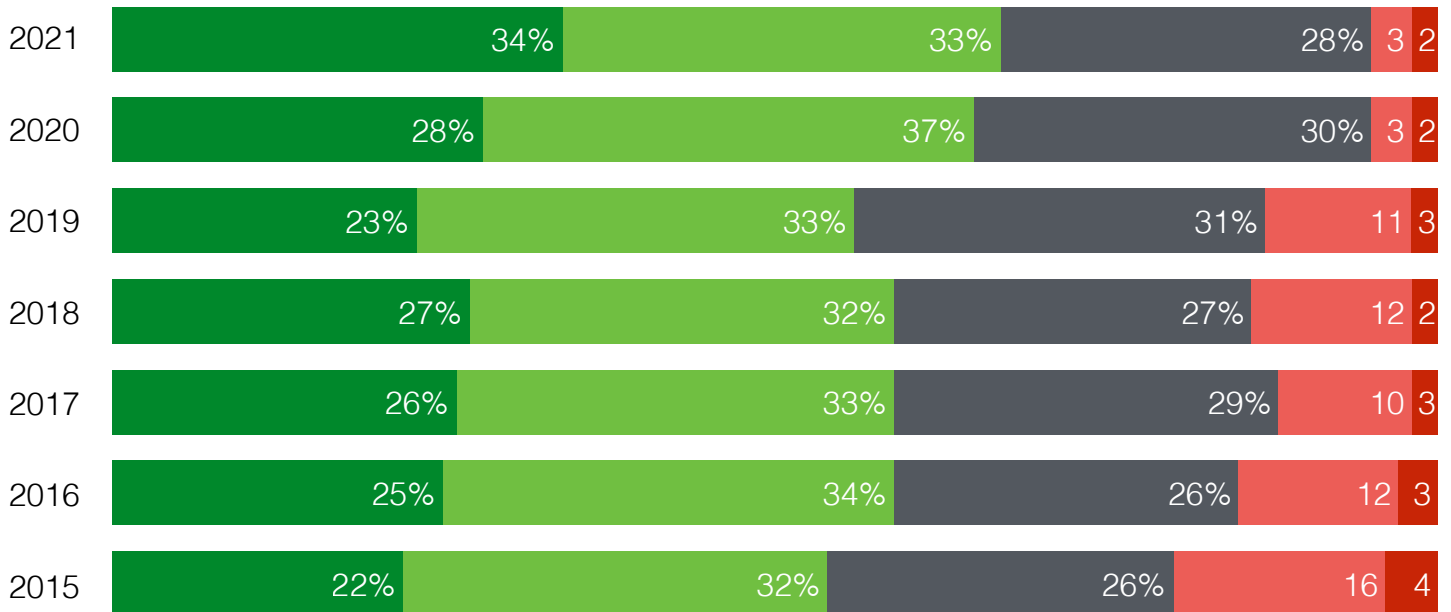
Notes on charts in this report:

- Due to the reverse wording of the question in 2015, the colours in the chart on this page and some others have been reversed for ease of comparison.
- Throughout this report, percentages on charts have been rounded to the nearest whole number and as a result may not total to 100.

JEWS AND LOYALTY

Question 2: “Jewish people are just as loyal to Britain as other British people.”

• Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree



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

The theme of Jewish treachery is today commonly found in British far-left and far-right claims that British Jews serve ‘Zionist’ masters, for example when a former aide to Jeremy Corbyn claimed that they overheard the Labour leader and other members of his staff describe Jewish then-MP Dame Louise Ellman as “the Honourable Member for Tel Aviv” or when an academic at the University of Glasgow accused her of acting at “the behest of a foreign power”.

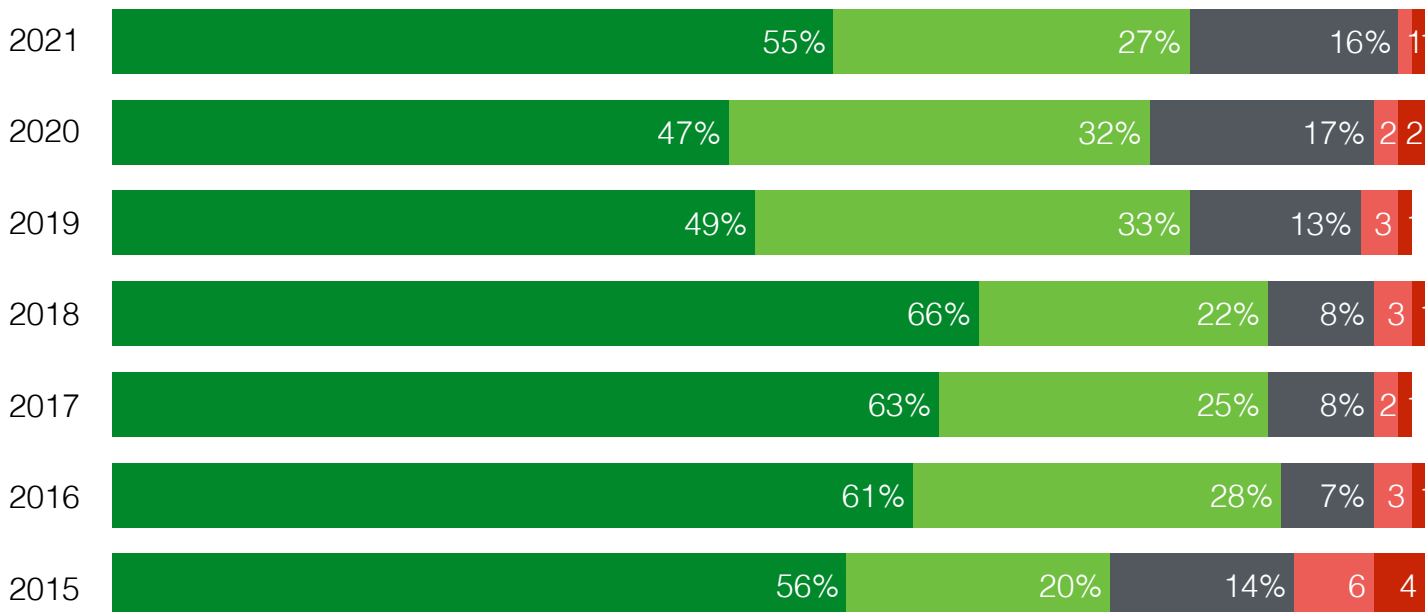
The proportion of respondents disagreeing with this statement this year (5%) is equal to last year’s (which itself was far smaller than in previous years, which was likely the result of removing an explicit reference to “Israel” in the question, which was until 2019 worded: “Having a connection to Israel makes Jewish people less loyal to Britain than other British people.”).

However, there has been a fall of 2% in the proportion of those who neither agreed nor disagreed, in favour of agreement, which rose by 2% from 65% last year to 67% this year. The proportion of those agreeing strongly also rose markedly.

EXCLUSION OF JEWS

Question 3: “I am just as open to having Jewish friends as I am to having friends from other sections of British society.”

• Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree



“Some of my best friends are Jewish” is a clichéd excuse for antisemitic behaviour, but there remains a proportion of the British public that admits to not being as open to having Jewish friends as to having friends from other sections of society. However, this year only 2% of respondents fall into this category, which is lower than the results for the past four years, which were stable.

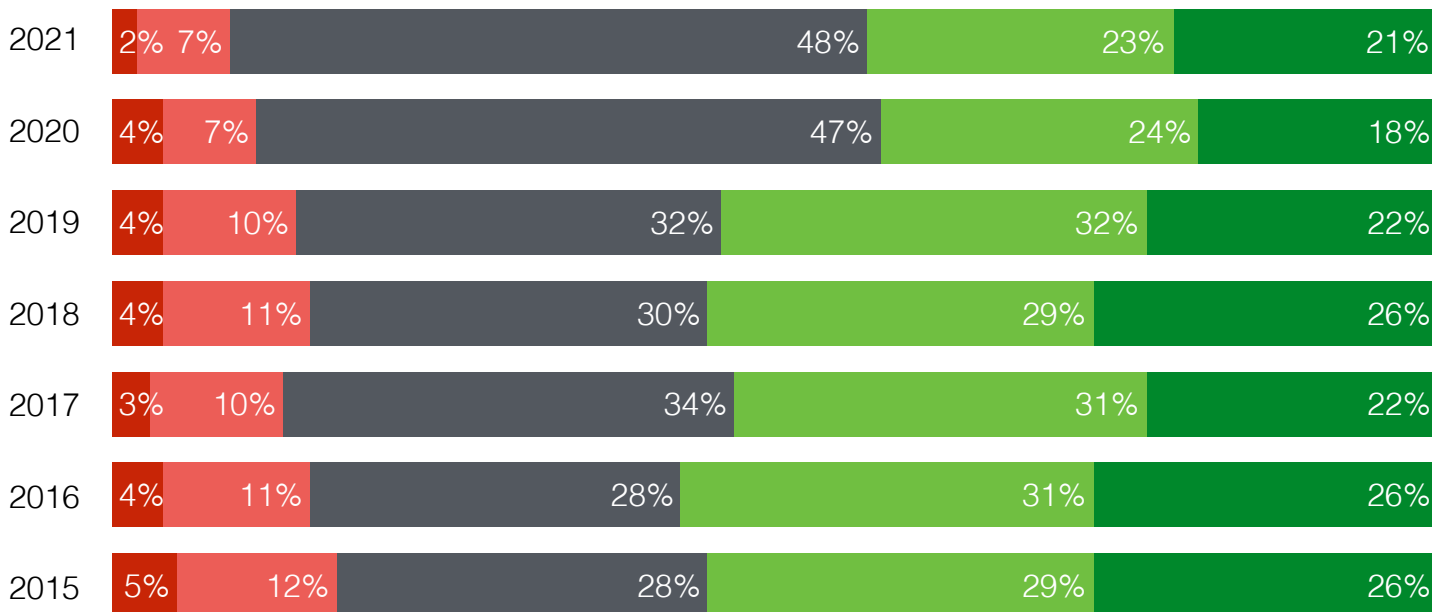
The 2% fall in those who disagree combined with a 1% fall in those who nether agreed nor disagreed to produce a 3% rise in those who agreed, compared with last year. Thus this year 82% agreed that they are just as open to having Jewish friends as they are to having friends from other sections of British society.

Our research has also suggested that many people may not be as open to friendship with Jewish people as they like to think, as revealed by the responses to Question 7 below, which showed that 12% of respondents said that they were not comfortable spending time with people who openly support Israel (a rise from 11% last year).

JEWS AND THE MEDIA

Question 4: “Compared to other groups, Jewish people have too much power in the media.”

• Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree



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

For example, Malia Bouattia, former President of the National Union of Students, became infamous for her remarks about what she described as the “Zionist-led media”.

The idea that Jews have too much power in the media was affirmed by 9% of respondents, which represented a drop from the 11% recorded in 2020.

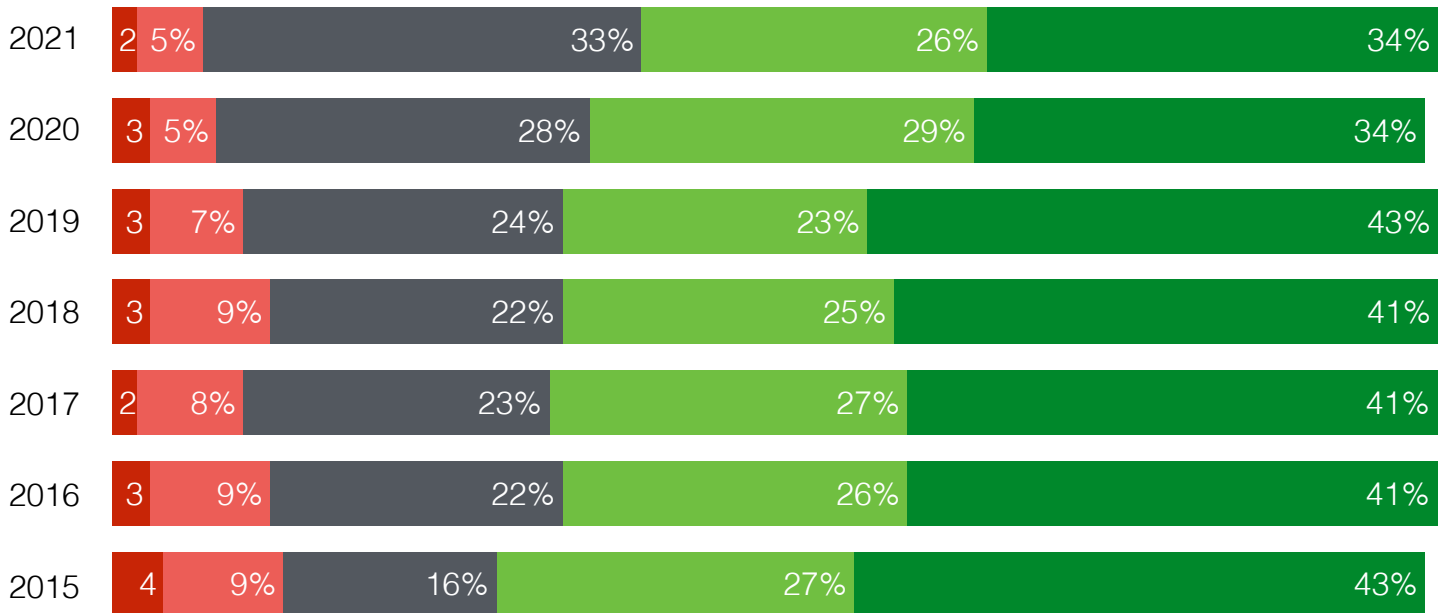
The proportion of those disagreeing with the statement has remained fairly stable compared with last year, rising slightly from 42% to 44%.

The proportion of those who neither agreed has also remained stable compared to last year, representing a considerably higher figure than in prior years. This means that, still, almost half of respondents apparently remain unsure as to whether Jewish people have too much power in the media compared with other groups.

HOLOCAUST GUILT

Question 5: “Jewish people talk about the Holocaust just to further their political agenda.”

• Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree



In the aftermath of the Holocaust, antisemites have claimed that Jews have used sympathy following the Nazi genocide in order to gain advantage for themselves.

This antisemitic myth presupposes that Jews act in a concerted manner in order to pursue a commonly-held objective that comes at the expense of others (it thus also touches on other antisemitic conspiracy theories about Jewish cabals and power).

As well as being a common feature of antisemitic conspiracy myths, the theme plays a major part in Holocaust denial by providing a supposed motive for Jews to have fabricated the Holocaust.

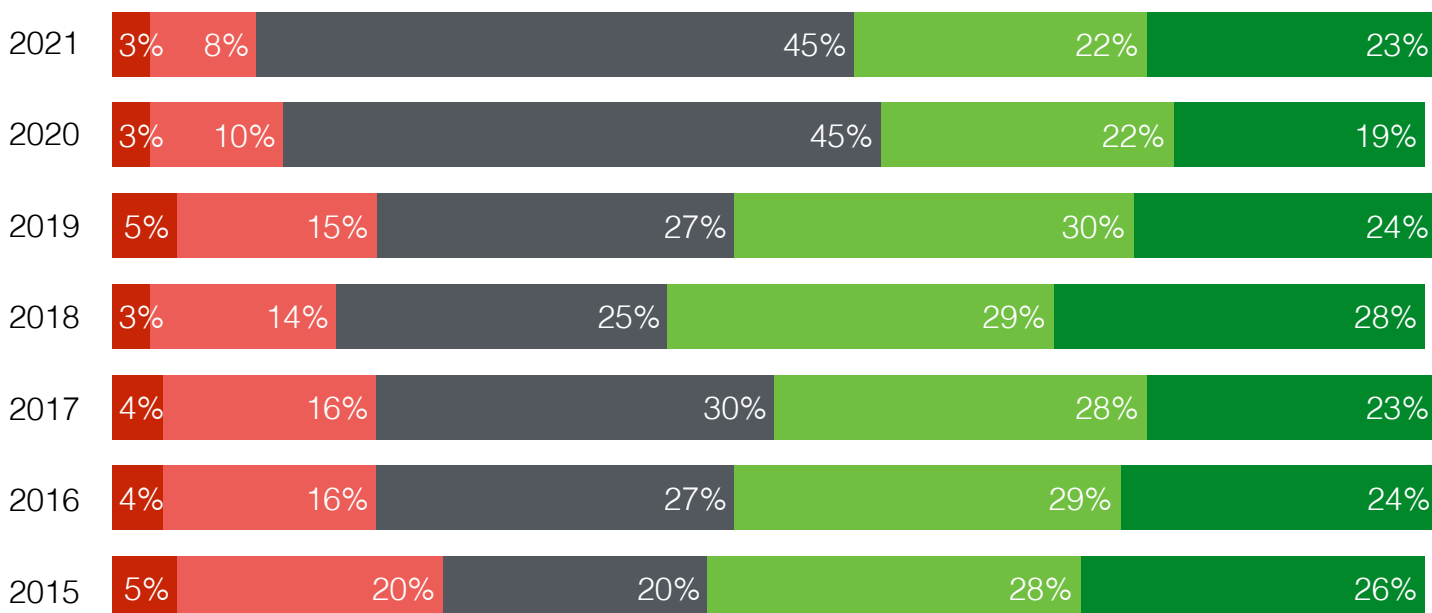
This is sometimes referred to as ‘playing the Holocaust card’, a phrase previously used even by the BBC’s former Middle East Editor, Jeremy Bowen. The idea that Jews talk about the Holocaust only in order to further their political agenda was regarded as true by 7% of respondents, which represents a negligible fall from last year’s 8%.

Conversely, the proportion of those disagreeing with the statement has also fallen slightly, such that the number of those neither agreeing nor disagreeing is higher higher this year than ever (prior to 2020, the equivalent option was “don’t know”).

JEWES AND MONEY

Question 6: “Jewish people chase money more than other people do.”

• Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree



The stereotype of a greedy and miserly Jew originated centuries ago in the story of the betrayal of Jesus. Though Jesus and his disciples were Jewish, Judas, the disciple who supposedly betrayed Jesus for a bribe, was singled out by the early Church as the epitome of what was described as the Jewish ‘trait’ of avarice. It remains a popular trope, as, for example, when Barry Sheerman MP tweeted in reference to “silver shekels”.

In reality, poverty is a major problem for many British Jews, while data also suggests that British Jews are disproportionately philanthropic. However, our polling shows that 11% of British people consider that Jews chase after money, and under half of British people firmly disagree with this classic antisemitic trope.

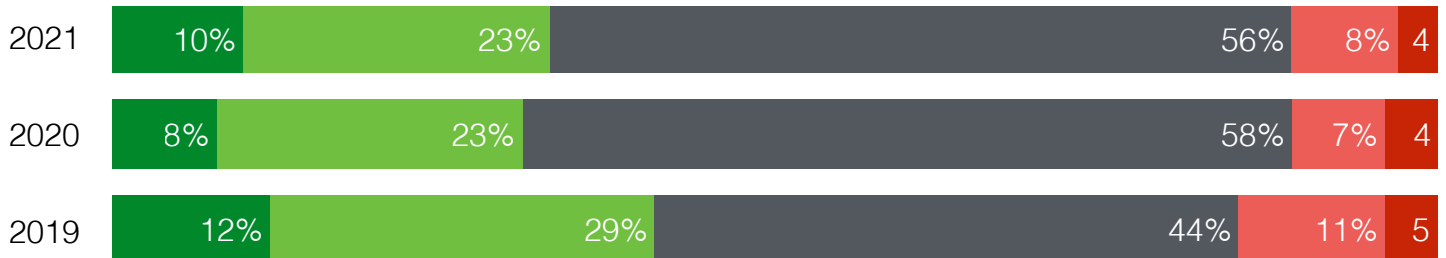
The proportion of respondents agreeing with this trope represents a slight fall from previous years’ polling.

It is notable that the wording for this question from 2016 to 2019 was: “British Jewish people chase money more than other British people.” The apparent decline in antisemitic sentiment in 2020 may therefore be the result, in whole or in part, of the removal of the word “British” from the question in two places. If so, it would suggest that concerns about Jews and money are particularly strong when juxtaposed to nationality and when the implication is that supposed Jewish avarice is at the expense of ‘ordinary’ British people.

SOCIALISING WITH SUPPORTERS OF ISRAEL

Question 7: “I am comfortable spending time with people who openly support Israel.”

• Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree



It is noteworthy that while merely 2% of respondents said that they were not open to having Jewish friends (see Question 3 above), 12% of respondents said that they were not comfortable spending time with people who openly support Israel. Other studies have noted that the overwhelming majority of British Jews support Israel. This suggests that many British people are not as comfortable with Jews as they like to think, or perhaps that they are willing to tolerate Jews only as long as they keep their opinions quiet.

This figure is a regression on last year's 11%, a change possibly attributable to the conflict between Hamas and Israel in May 2021 that provoked an explosion of antisemitic incidents in the UK.

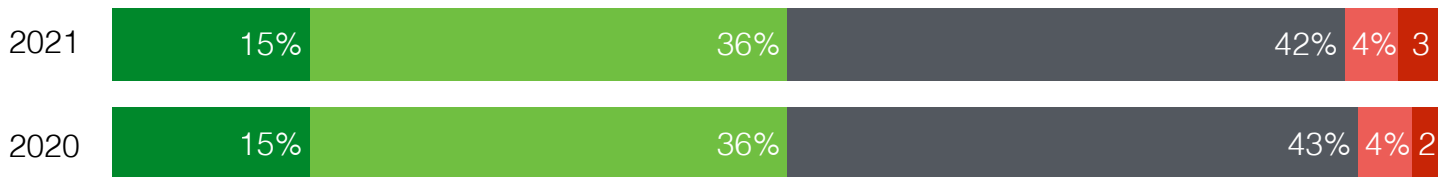
A brighter spot is that the proportion of those saying the opposite — that they would be comfortable spending time with people who openly support Israel — rose slightly from 31% last year to 33% this year, with slightly fewer saying that they neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement.

We did not ask this question prior to 2019.

ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST AS A JEWISH HOMELAND

Question 8: "Israel has a right to exist as a homeland for the Jewish people"

• Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree



The right of the Jewish people to self-determination is guaranteed by Article 1 of the United Nations Charter, and it is embodied in the State of Israel, which is universally recognised as the world's only Jewish state.

Opposition to the existence of Israel invariably represents a double standard, as it would deprive the Jews alone of their right to self-determination in a state of their own.

Beneath the surface, opposition to Israel's existence additionally rests on the supposition that the Jews are only the adherents of a religion, rather than also being the members of a distinct nation, and since they are only a religious and not a national grouping, they have no need for a state.

This is antisemitic, not merely because it denies the Jews their right to identity and self-determine, but also because it ignores thousands of years of Jewish connection to the Land of Israel, where the modern State of Israel is situated.

Indeed, opposition to Israel's existence often goes hand in hand with denial of Jewish claims to holy sites and concerted efforts to destroy archeological evidence of an ancient and continuous Jewish presence in the area.

We did not ask this question prior to 2020, therefore there is limited comparable data. But our polling this year indicates a degree of stability in the proportion of the British population that endorses, rejects or is agnostic on this antisemitic proposition.

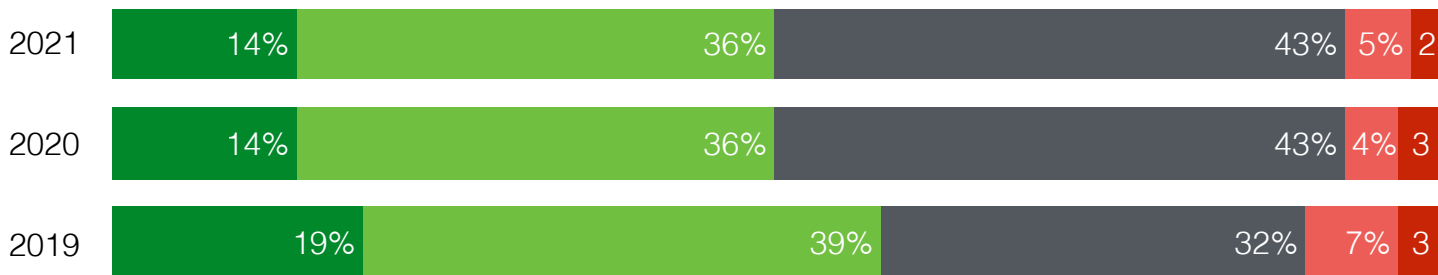
As last year, more than half of respondents affirm that Israel has a right to exist as a homeland for the Jewish people.

The only change was that 7% now affirm the antisemitic notion — an unwelcome slight rise from last year's 6%.

ISRAEL DEFENDING ITSELF

Question 9: “Israel is right to defend itself against those who want to destroy it.”

• Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree



This question bears a relationship to the preceding question, as often those who deny Israel’s right to exist as a Jewish homeland will be open to denying also its right to defend itself against those who wish to destroy it.

7% of respondents did not believe that Israel is right to defend itself against those who want to destroy it, the implication being that they are indifferent to, or are supportive of, the violent destruction of the state that is home to almost half of the world’s Jews.

This figure is unchanged from last year, except that the proportion of those strongly believing the idea has fallen slightly.

Otherwise, the figures are stable compared to last year’s. However, it is notable that almost half of respondents (43%) still neither agree nor disagree that Israel — the world’s only Jewish state — is right to defend itself against those who want to destroy it.

We did not ask this question prior to 2019.

ISRAEL AND BRITISH POLITICS

Question 10: “Israel and its supporters are a bad influence on our democracy.”

• Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree



The idea that Jews maintain an excessive influence in society was popularised by *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Most people would probably recognise the idea that Jews are a bad influence on Britain’s democracy as racist, but replace the word “Jews” with a reference to the Jewish state and its supporters and we find that this pernicious notion remains popular, albeit hidden.

14% of respondents believe that the Jewish state and those who support it do damage to British democracy, which is equal to last year’s figure, albeit the belief is slightly less strongly held this year.

Overall, the proportions are unchanged compared to last year.

ISRAEL AND THE MEDIA

Question 11: “Israel can get away with anything because its supporters control the media.”

• Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree



This is another question that can reveal how Israel and “its supporters” can function as a proxy for “the Jews”.

Whereas 9% of respondents agreed that the Jews have too much power in the media compared to other groups (see Question 4 above), 15% believe that supporters of the Jewish state not only influence the media but in fact control it, and that Israel can act with impunity as a result.

Chillingly, fewer than a third disagree with the statement. Again, this is a clear example of how old-fashioned prejudices about Jews appear to become more palatable if they are rephrased to implicate the Jewish state.

Although the proportion of those agreeing with the proposition fell by 1% compared to last year, the proportion of those disagreeing also fell by 2%, leaving more neither agreeing nor disagreeing than ever that Israel can get away with anything because its supporters control the media.

ISRAEL AND THE NAZIS

Question 12: “Israel treats the Palestinians like the Nazis treated the Jews.”

• Strongly agree • Agree • Neither agree nor disagree • Disagree • Strongly disagree



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

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

This antisemitic belief had not been captured in previous surveys prior to our Antisemitism Barometer in 2019, yet it is held by 24% of the British population. However, the proportion of those disagreeing with the statement has also risen from 20% last year to 22% this year, but that is still an astonishingly small proportion who forthrightly reject the antisemitic notion that “Israel treats the Palestinians like the Nazis treated the Jews.”

Note that in 2019, there was a “don’t know” option in place of the “neither agree nor disagree”, which likely explains the discrepancy between 2019 and 2020.

EFFECT OF HATRED ON BRITISH JEWS

Every year since 2016, Campaign Against Antisemitism has worked with partners in the Jewish community to poll a nationally-representative sample of British Jews, using methodology modelled on the methodology of the National Jewish Community Survey conducted by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

This polling maps British Jews' sense of security, the threats that concern them most, and their perception of the response of political parties, the criminal justice system, the Government, and wider society. Not every question asked in 2021 was asked in previous years, therefore comparisons to previous years are not available for every question.

Overall, the optimism of 2020 was a bright spot that has been eclipsed by the events of 2021. In particular, the surge in antisemitism in Britain during the conflict between Hamas and Israel has left a mark on British Jews' perception of how welcome they are in this country, whence the threats to them emanate, and who their allies are.

Fewer than six in ten British Jews believe that Jews have a long-term future in the UK, which is a marked decline from the high-point of last year, while a record 46% of British Jews avoid displaying outward signs of their Judaism in public, which is the highest figure ever recorded in our polling.

There can be little question that these figures have been influenced by the surge in antisemitism witnessed in Britain during the conflict between Hamas and Israel. The impact of that surge is noticeable throughout the findings detailed in this report. For example, **79% of British Jews — almost eight in ten —**

found that the various anti-Israel demonstrations, processions and convoys, many of which featured vehemently antisemitic speakers, chants or banners, caused them “to feel intimidated as a Jew”.

The antisemitism surge likely also affected how British Jews view the criminal justice system. A majority of British Jews believe that every branch of the criminal justice system does not do enough to protect them. This includes not only the consistently poorly-performing Crown Prosecution Service but also, for the first time, the police and the courts.

More worrying still is how the surge in antisemitism appears to have affected how British Jews view wider society. For the first time ever, a majority of British Jews do not believe that their non-Jewish neighbours do enough to protect them, while many respondents, when asked to identify threats to the Jewish community, mentioned the apathy of the British public towards antisemitism.

British Jews still reserve their strongest criticism for politicians, with almost eight in ten believing that politicians do not do enough to protect Jews. **Over eight in ten British Jews continue to feel that the Labour Party is too tolerant of antisemitism**, a figure that remains markedly higher than any other political party.

The Liberal Democrats and Scottish National Party also fared more poorly than before, but the most noticeable political finding was that, for the first time, a majority of British Jews believe that the Green Party is too tolerant of antisemitism, making it the only party other than Labour to cross this threshold.

For the first time, we polled British Jews on their views on antisemitism in British

universities and on social media. The results were staggering.

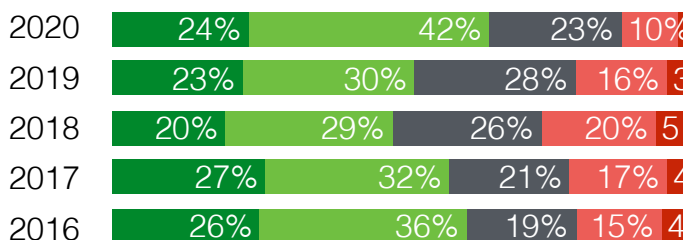
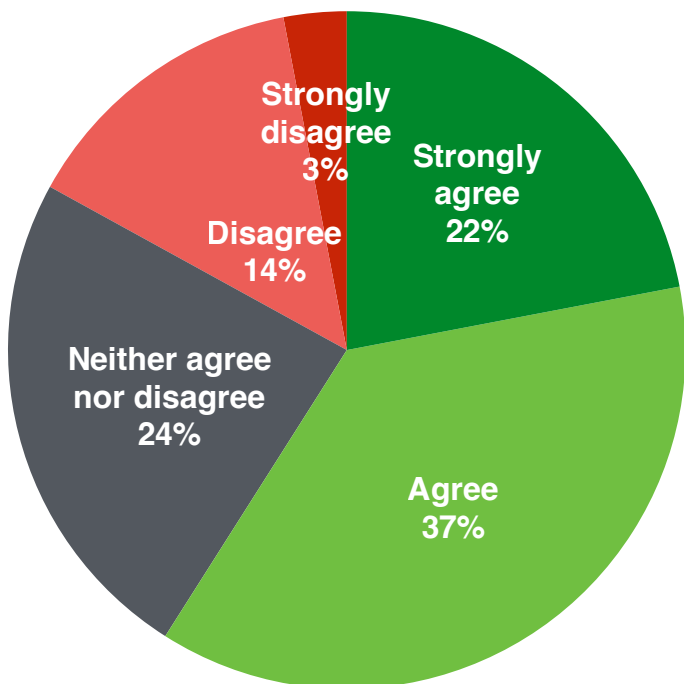
An overwhelming majority of British Jews — 92% — believe that antisemitism in British universities is a problem, which underscores the importance of action taken by the Government and signals the urgency of further action by the Office for Students, which regulates universities, the universities themselves and also the academic trade unions and students' unions that have so abysmally failed to represent their Jewish members.

The problem of rampant antisemitism on social media is well-known, but for the first time, we can show that an enormous majority of 96% of British Jews believe that it is a problem, with only a negligible 1% believing that it is not a problem. With the manifest failure of social media companies to regulate themselves, the need for legislation to address racism towards Jews online is clear.

SENSE OF SECURITY

FUTURE IN THE UK

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

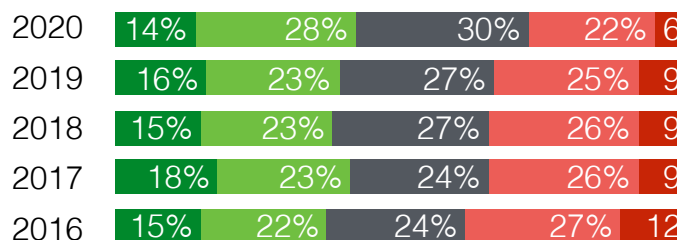
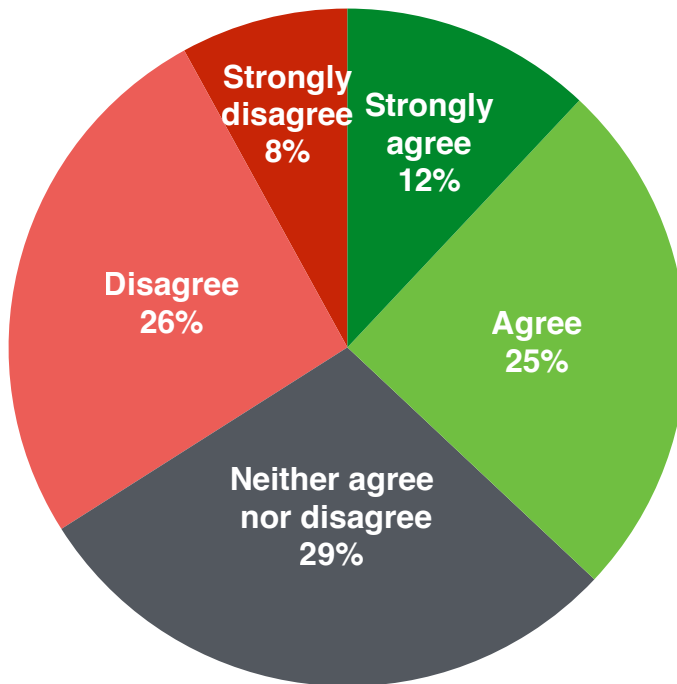


2020 has seen a marked decline in how British Jews feel about their future in the UK, with fewer than six in ten now believing that Jews have a long-term future in the UK, compared to two thirds last year.

The proportion of those who disagree has also risen to 17%, from 12% last year. The figures are therefore neither as comforting as last year's not as dire as those in 2018-19, and represent something of a return to the concerning figures of 2017, when 59% were positive about the future.

FUTURE IN THE REST OF EUROPE

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

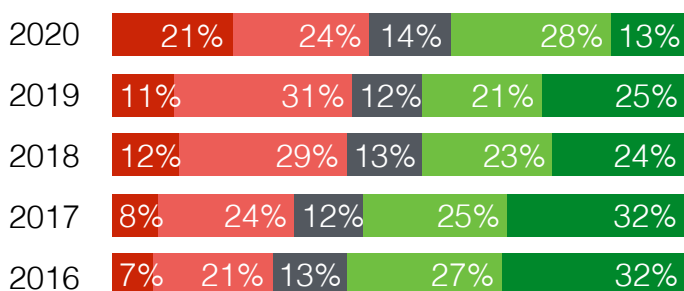
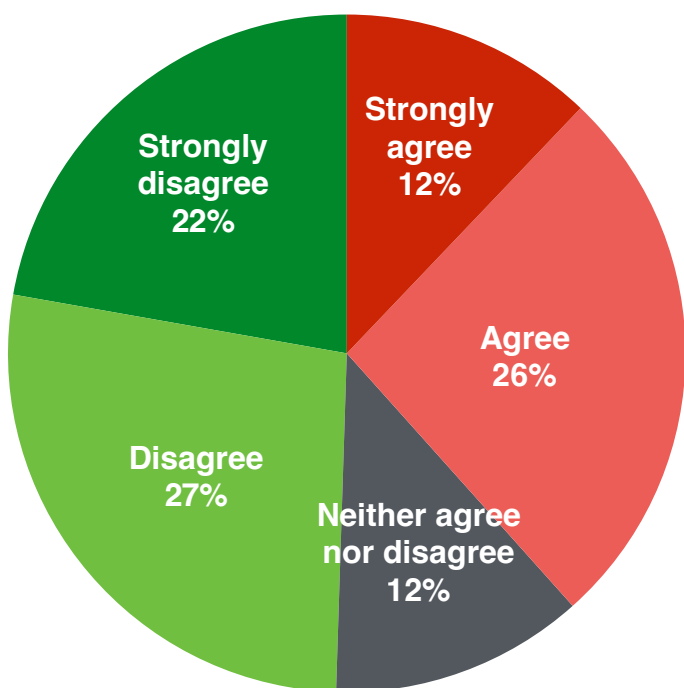


British Jews' less positive feelings about their future in the UK also appear to have affected how they perceive the future of Jews in Europe. In 2020, 42% of British Jews felt that Jews have a long-term future in Europe outside of the UK, but in 2021 this figure has fallen to 37%, which fits the pattern we have seen throughout the years of polling with the exception of last year.

British Jews remain far more positive about the Jewish future in the UK than in Europe.

LEAVING THE UK

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



38% of British Jews have considered leaving the UK in the past two years due to antisemitism, a fall from 45% last year.

This is therefore the first year since 2017 that fewer than one in four British Jews say that they have considered leaving Britain due to antisemitism in the past two years.

Still, however, fewer than half of British Jews are prepared to disagree with the notion that they have considered leaving Britain in the past two years.

It should be borne in mind, however, that Jeremy Corbyn was still leader of the Labour Party within the past two years of this polling, and that may still therefore have an impact on responses.

We also asked respondents who had considered leaving the UK to select their main reasons for doing so. **Antisemitism in political parties scored by far the highest, with 65% of British Jews who have considered leaving the UK in the past two years selecting that as a reason.**

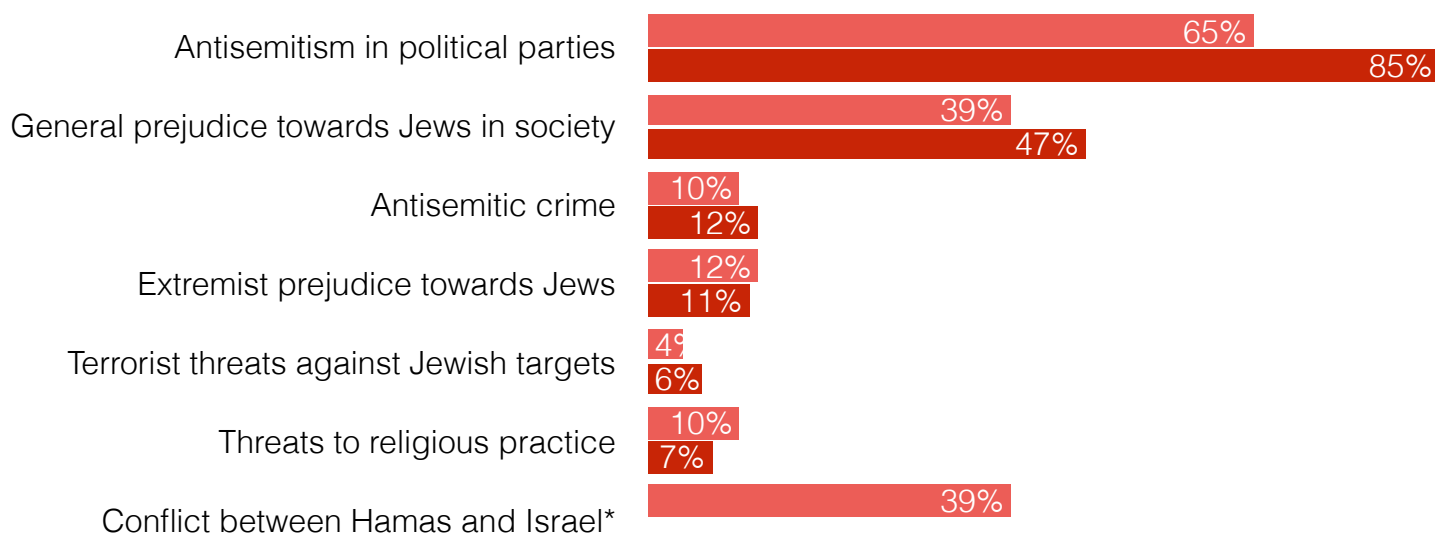
Later in this report, a question on antisemitism in political parties also indicates that overwhelming numbers of British Jews still remain deeply concerned about antisemitism in the Labour Party.

Those attributing their responses to antisemitism in political parties fell from a high of 85% last year, while “General Prejudice towards Jews in society” rose from 39% last year to 47% this year. This may be a reference to the surge in antisemitic sentiments and incidents that arose in the wake of the conflict between Hamas and Israel in May 2021.

One in ten of those who said that have considered leaving the UK in the past two years due to antisemitism said that threats to religious practice are a motivation for them, which is an increase from the 7% recorded last year. It is notable in this connection that a record 46% of respondents this year said that they try not to show visible signs of their Judaism when they go out due to antisemitism.

Question: “What are your main reasons for considering leaving the UK? Please select up to two options.”

• 2021 • 2020



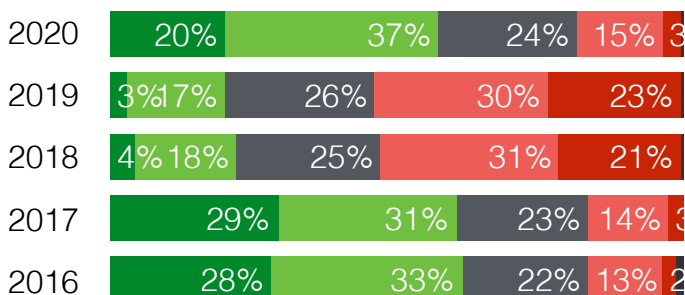
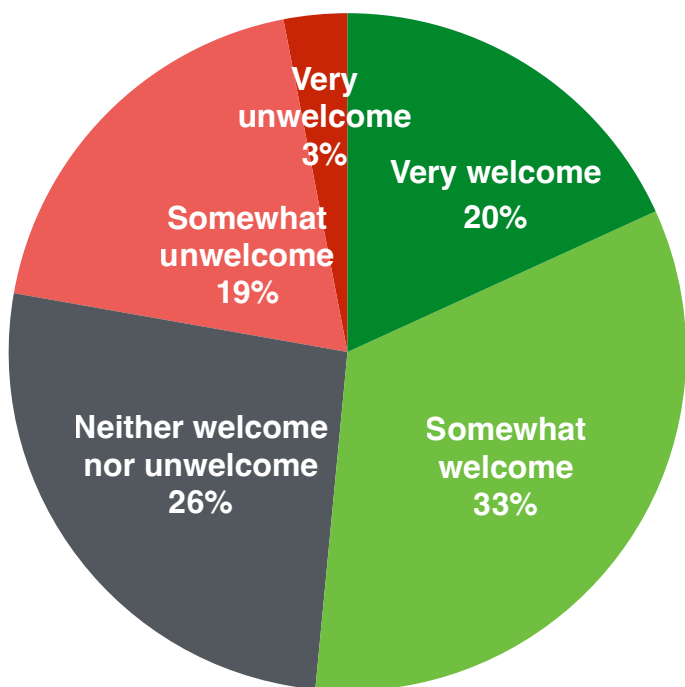
Although the number of those respondents who said that they have considered leaving Britain due to antisemitism in the past two years citing “General prejudice towards Jews in society” as a reason fell from 47% last year to 39% this year, this figure is still a very concerning finding, as it is more difficult to determine and address, yet it is clearly having an effect on how British Jews feel.

The fall in those citing “General prejudice’ may also be due to the new, more specific option available this year of “Antisemitic incidents during the conflict between Hamas and Israel in 2021”. **The period of the conflict saw a surge of antisemitic incidents across Britain, which, as this report shows later, an overwhelming majority of Jews found intimidating. 39% of respondents cited this reason as contributing to their having considered leaving Britain due to antisemitism in the past two years.**

* The precise wording of this answer was: “Antisemitic incidents during the conflict between Hamas and Israel in 2021”

FEELING WELCOME IN THE UK

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

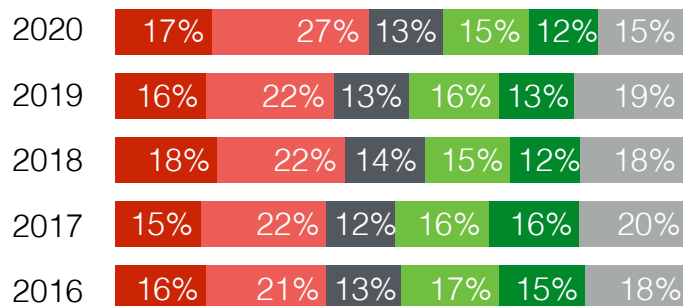
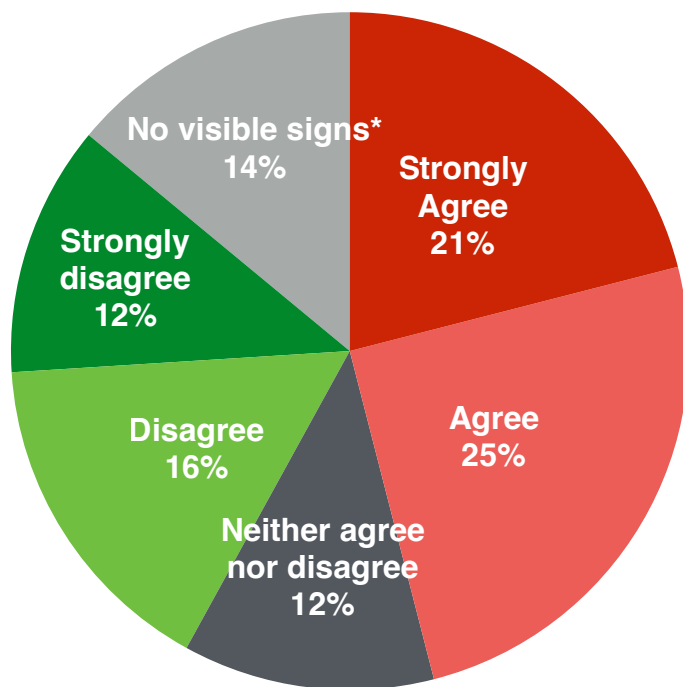


The proportion of British Jews who feel welcome in the UK has fallen from last year’s dramatically higher figure of 57% to 53% this year, which may reflect concerns over the surge in antisemitic sentiments and incidents during the conflict between Hamas and Israel in May 2021.

More than one in five British Jews feel unwelcome in the UK, a figure which, while considerably lower than the figures recorded in 2018 and 2019, is still markedly higher than in 2017 and indicates a worrying reversal of the positive change last year.

PUBLIC DISPLAYS OF JUDAISM

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



46% of British Jews avoid displaying outward signs of their Judaism in public, which is the highest figure recorded in our polling, and is slightly higher even than last year’s record figure.

The slight rise this year may be attributable to surge in antisemitism during the conflict between Hamas and Israel in May 2021.

* The precise wording of this answer was: “I do not show visible signs of my Judaism, but that has nothing to do with antisemitism”

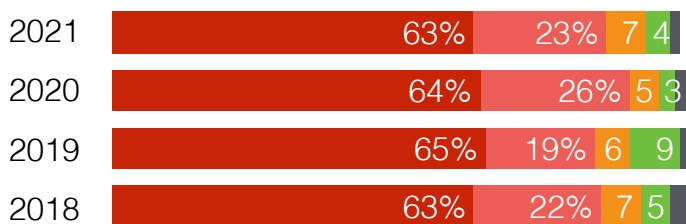
PERCEIVED THREATS

Question: “How serious a threat to British Jews are: Islamists?”

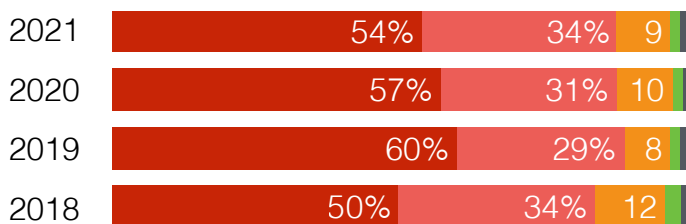
- Very serious
- Moderately serious
- Not very serious
- Not serious at all
- Don't know



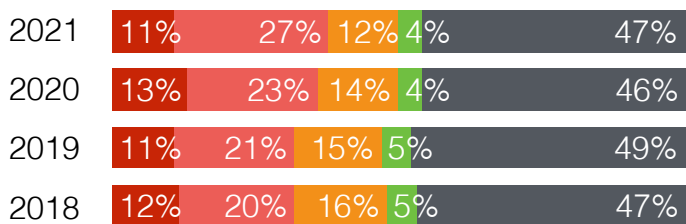
Question: “How serious a threat to British Jews are: the far-left?”



Question: “How serious a threat to British Jews are: the far-right?”



Question: “How serious a threat to British Jews are: other (please specify)?”



Over eight in ten British Jews consider threats from the far-right, the far-left and Islamists to be very or moderately serious: in the case of the threat from Islamists, the figure is 94%, for the far-left it is 86% and for the far-right it is 88%.

This year, more British Jews considered the threat from Islamists to be very serious, followed by the far-right and finally the far-left, which is a slight change from last year.

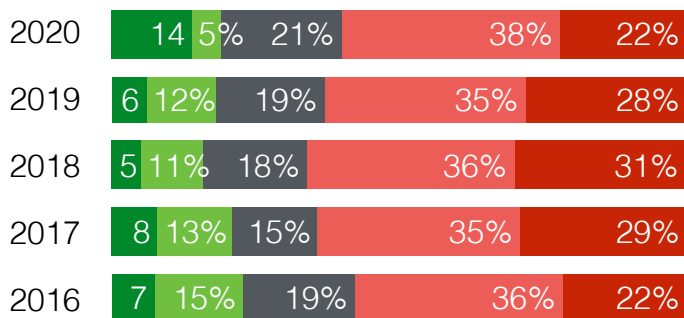
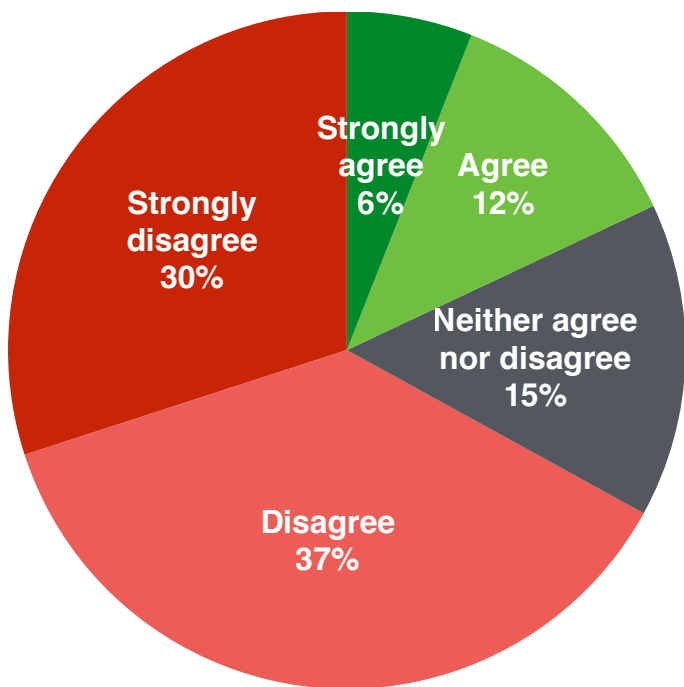
Respondents were also given the option of specifying an “other” threat in a free-text box. Some answers reiterated possible far-right threats, such as Holocaust-denial and white power. Others underscored possible far-left threats, such as fringe antisemitism-denial groups like Jewish Voice for Labour, as well as antisemitism within Black Lives Matter, Extinction Rebellion and trade unions. The danger of conspiracy theories was also mentioned in both far-right and far-left contexts, as well as in relation to social media, which was a persistent concern.

Respondents also mentioned traditional media repeatedly; certain Christian and Muslim groups (including one respondent who felt betrayed after those with whom they had engaged in Muslim interfaith dialogue had attended rallies where antisemitism was rife); celebrities such as the antisemitic rapper Wiley; and the Black Hebrew Israelites, whose hateful offshoot has inspired acts of terrorism against Jews abroad. Antisemitism in football and apathy from the general public featured as well, but the most frequent concern were academics, supporters of the boycott of Israel, NGOs (Amnesty International and others were named) and the “pseudo-intellectual left” which fights all forms of discrimination except antisemitism, in which it too often indulges.

CONFIDENCE IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

LAW ENFORCEMENT

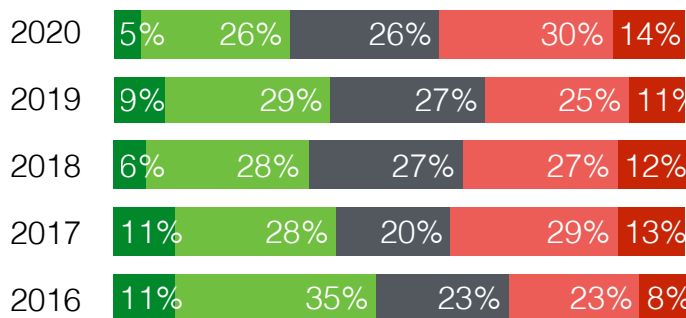
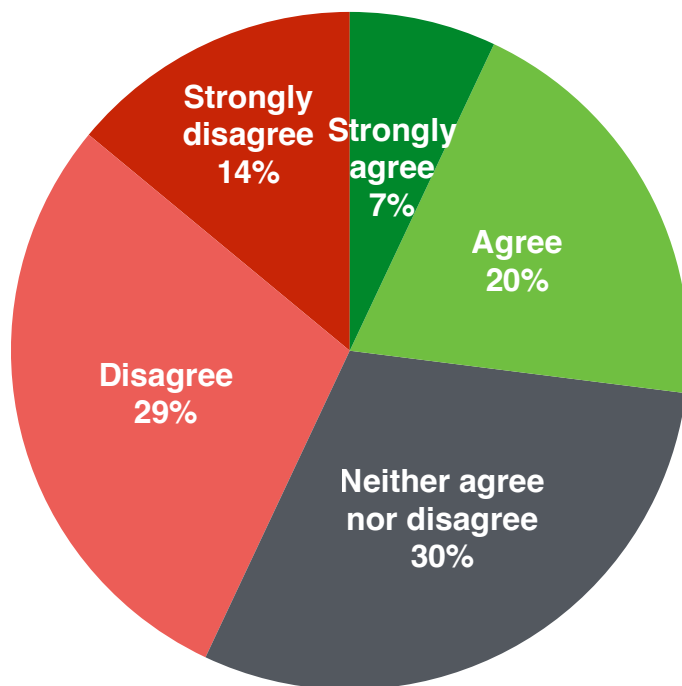
Question: “The authorities are doing enough to address and punish antisemitism.”



Over two thirds of British Jews (67%) believe that the authorities, in general, are not doing enough to address and punish antisemitism, which is a marked rise from last year’s 60%. Fewer than two in ten British Jews believe the authorities are doing enough. These figures indicate that British Jews continue to lack confidence in the authorities when it comes to tackling antisemitism, and may have been exacerbated by the surge in antisemitic incidents in May 2021, for which the community is still awaiting justice.

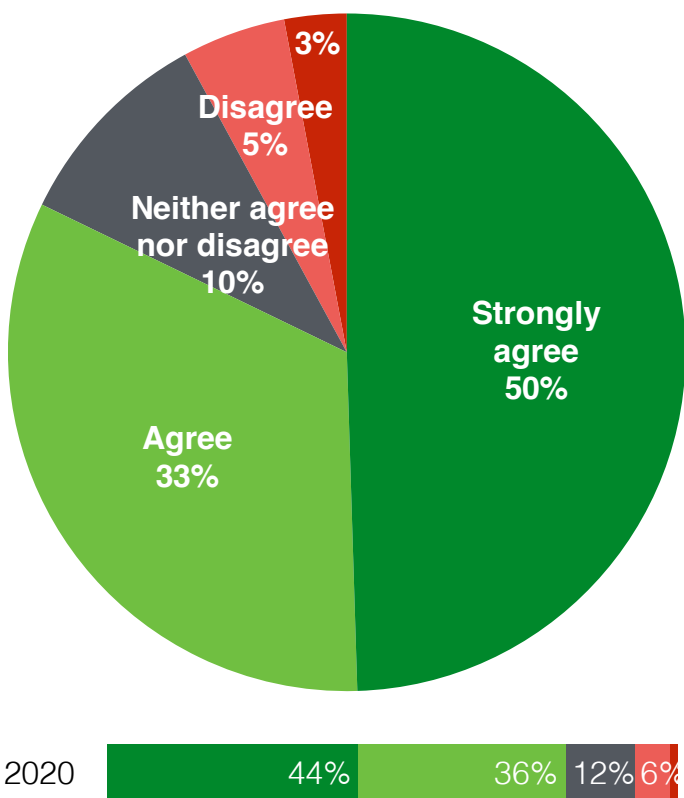
REPORTING HATE CRIME

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



Back in 2016, 46% of British Jews felt confident that antisemitic hate crimes against them would be prosecuted. In 2021, this figure has reached a record low of 27%. Although the surge in antisemitism during the conflict between Hamas and Israel — and the clear police failures during that period — have likely contributed to this year’s figure, confidence in law enforcement has been falling almost year on year, which points to deeper problems in how the Crown Prosecution Service is perceived by the Jewish community.

Question: “If I were to be the victim of a hate crime, I would report it to the police.”



• Strongly disagree

Over eight in ten British Jews said that if they were the victim of a hate crime, they would report it to the police.

This is the second year we have asked this question, and this year’s figure is a slight rise on last year’s 80%.

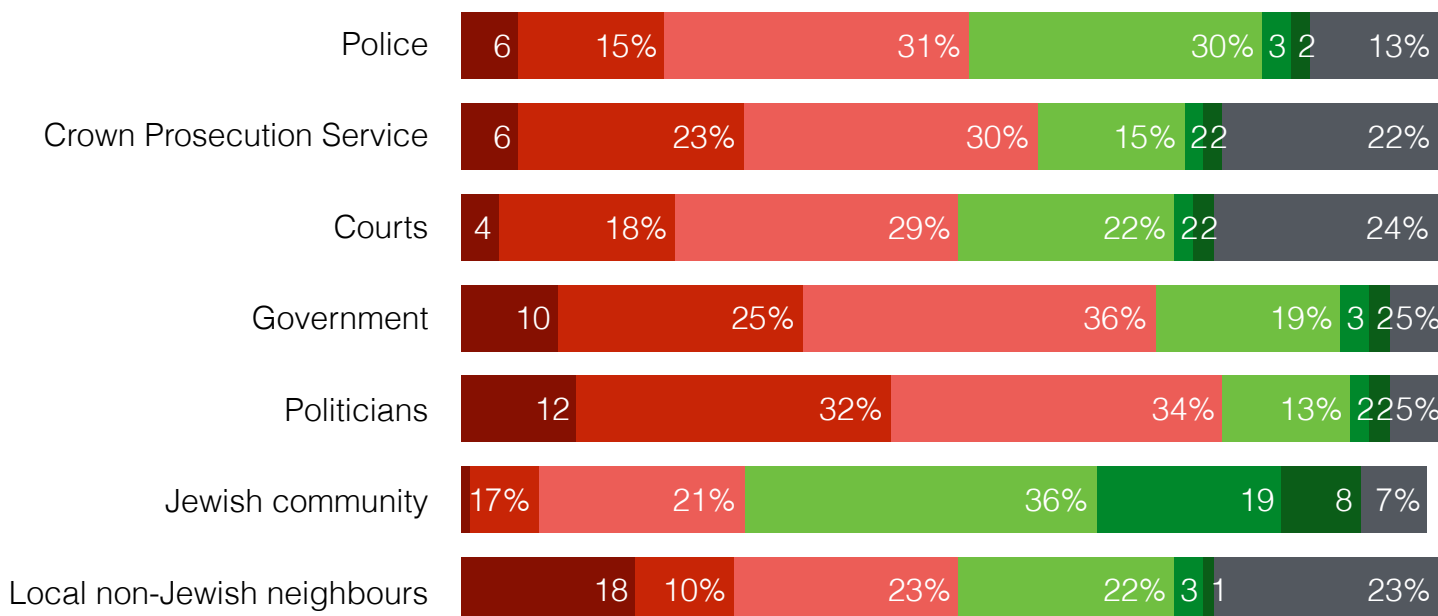
Although fewer than one in three British Jews are confident that if they reported a hate crime it would be prosecuted, this does not deter an overwhelming majority from saying that they would nevertheless report the crime.

This suggests that the Jewish community is more confident in the work of the police than in the rest of the criminal justice system where there is a perception of failure. This point is particularly borne out in relation to the Crown Prosecution Service in both the previous question, which found that only 27% of British Jews feel confident that antisemitic hate crimes against them would be prosecuted, and the next question, which shows that 59% of British Jews believe that the Crown Prosecution Service does too little to protect British Jews.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM, POLITICIANS AND SOCIETY

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

- Does nothing
- Does much too little
- Does too little
- Does enough
- Does more than enough
- Does much more than enough
- Don't know



When asked about the roles played by the criminal justice system, politicians and society in protecting British Jews, respondents gave more scathing answers for every group than they did last year.

Over half of British British Jews do not believe that the police do enough to protect British Jews, unlike last year, when a slim majority of British Jews opted to commend rather than criticise the police.

A record proportion of British Jews (59%) believe that the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) does not do enough to protect British Jews, compared to 52% last year and 48% the year before. A majority (51%) also criticised the courts, compared to 43% and 41% in the past two years. **Thus a majority of British Jews believe that every branch of the criminal justice system does not do enough to protect them.**

Turning to politics, 71% of British Jews believe that the Government does not do enough, compared to 61% last year and 64% the year before. **British Jews again reserved their strongest criticism for politicians, with 78% believing that politicians do not do enough to protect Jews.** This is a rise on last year's 77%, but still not as bad as the 82% recorded just prior to the 2019 General Election.

The only group that the majority of Jews did perceive to be doing enough was the Jewish community itself (63%), but this was still a fall on last year's 67%. **For the first time, a majority of British Jews do not believe that their non-Jewish neighbours do enough to protect them,** with 51% affirming that view compared with 48% and 42% in the last two years. This sentiment was reflected also in the free text answers provided by those who have considered leaving Britain in the last two years.

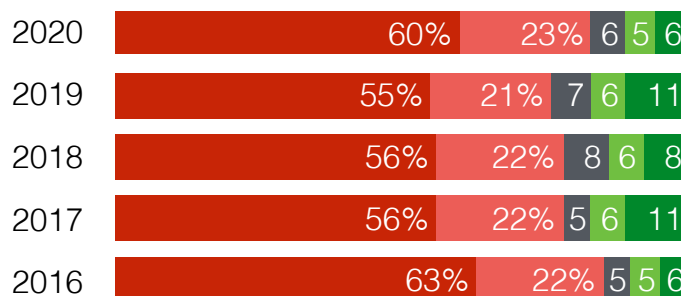
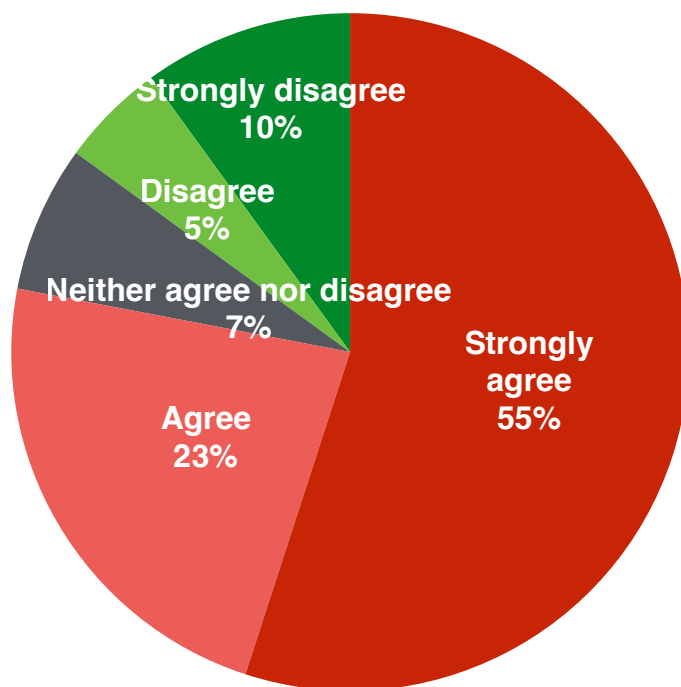
DISCOURSE ABOUT ISRAEL

When asked about antisemitism in discourse about Israel, British Jews responded emphatically: 84% had witnessed antisemitism disguised as a political comment about Israel or Zionism, 87% said that media bias against Israel was fuelling persecution of Jews in Britain, and 78% felt intimidated by tactics used to boycott Israel. In all cases, at least half of British Jews did not simply agree, they stated that they strongly agreed.

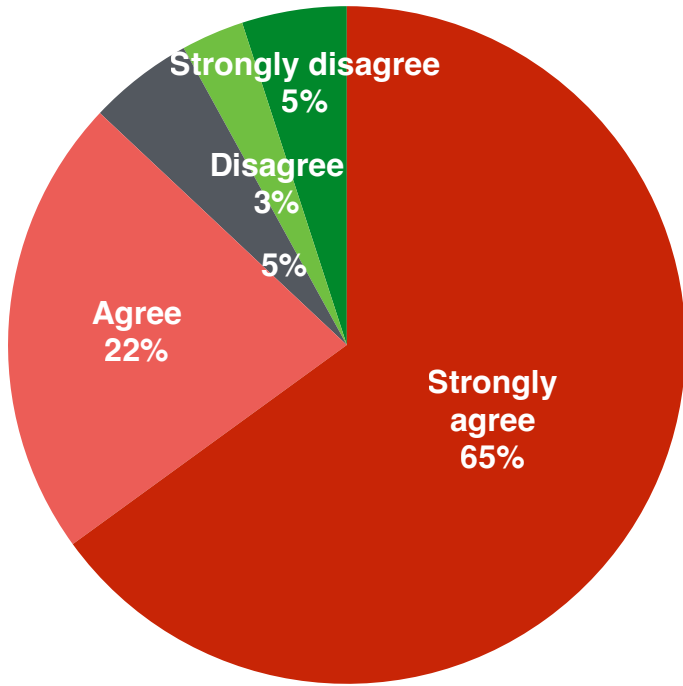
These results are consistent with previous years' findings, showing that these are longstanding and enduring concerns.

We have observed discourse about Israel being used as a disguised vector for antisemitism by Islamists, the far-left and the far-right, and it is extremely clear from these responses that British Jews feel targeted by those who do not merely criticise Israel but use it as a means to camouflage their antisemitism.

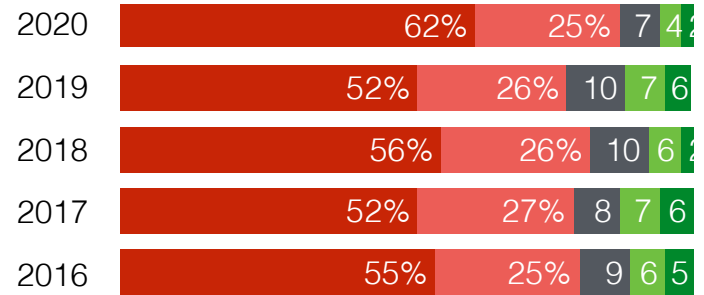
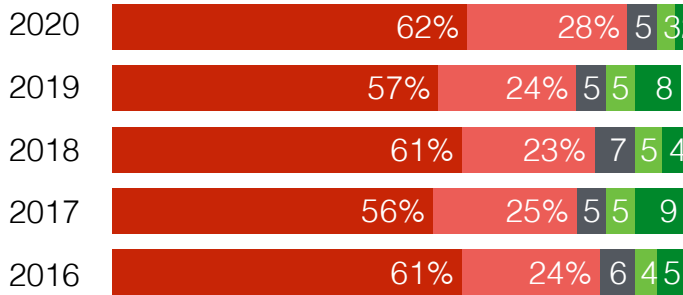
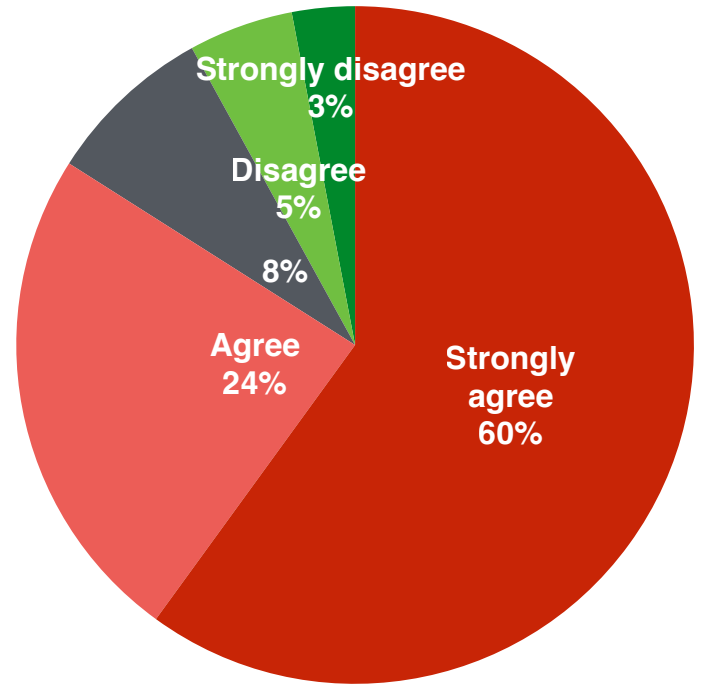
Question: "Boycotts of businesses selling Israeli products constitute intimidation."



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



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



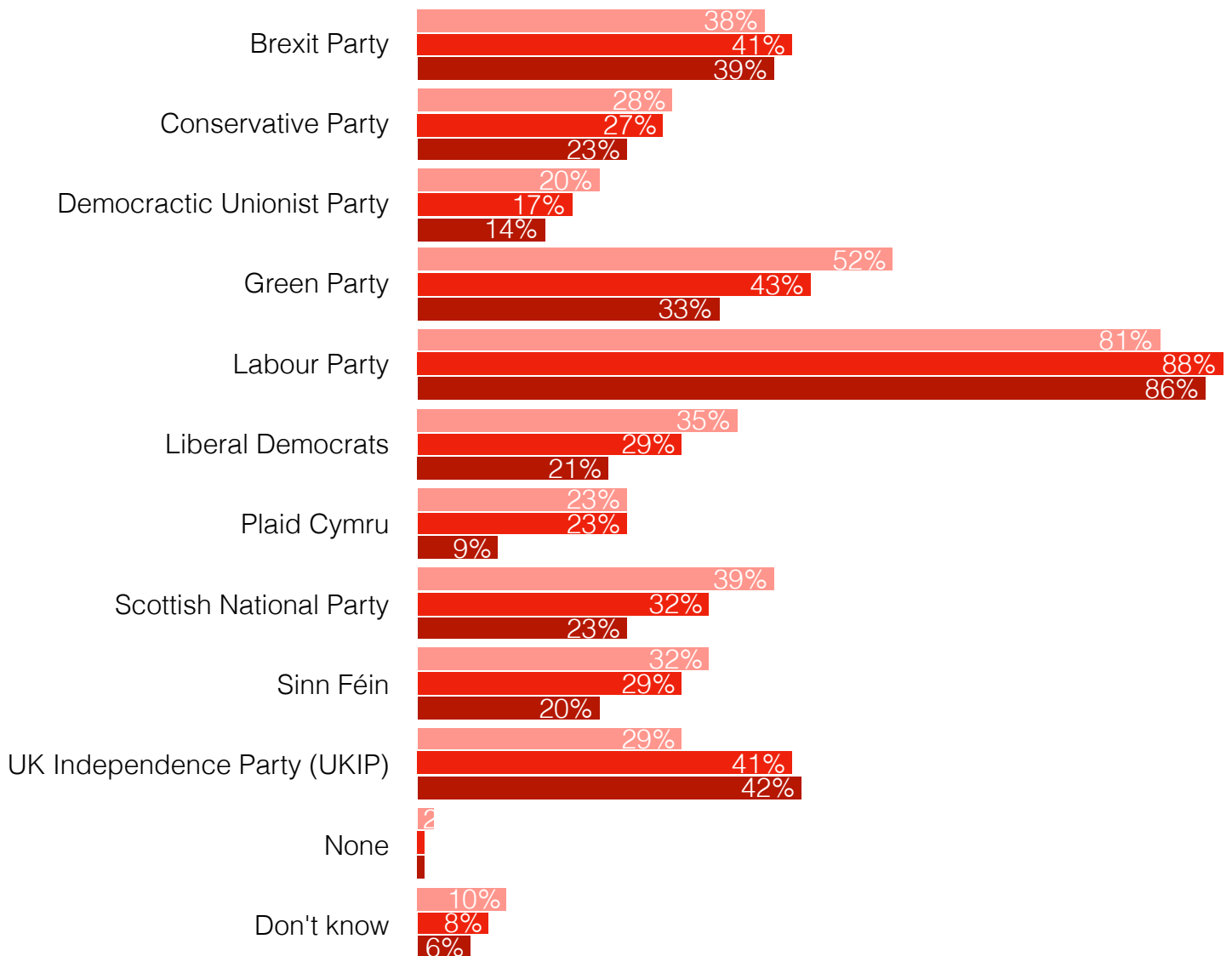
• Neither agree nor disagree

ANTISEMITISM AND POLITICS

POLITICAL PARTIES

Question: “Do you feel that any political parties are too tolerant of antisemitism among their MPs, MEPs, councillors, members and supporters? Please select all that apply.”

• 2021 • 2020 • 2019



Over eight in ten British Jews feel that the Labour Party is too tolerant of antisemitism, which represents a slight fall from last year’s record 88% but remains markedly higher than any other political party.

The Conservatives have risen slightly from 27% to 28%, which still means that over a quarter of British Jews believe that the party of Government is too tolerant of antisemitism.

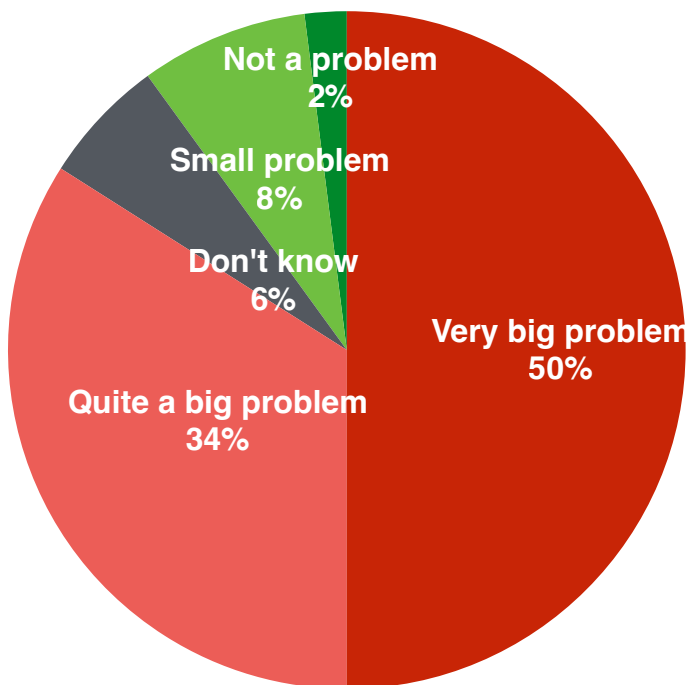
The Liberal Democrats and Scottish National Party have both seen larger rises, from 29% to 35% and from 32% to 29% respectively, which should be concerning trends for those parties.

The only parties to improve in this metric were the Brexit Party and UKIP, but this may be because the former has been renamed and the latter is now a more marginal force in British politics with less media attention. Plaid Cymru has remained stable at 23%, despite the exposure of problems of antisemitism within its ranks.

By far the most noticeable result, however, is the Green Party, which not only rose first from 33% to 43% last year, but this year has similarly risen to 52%, making it, for the first time in this polling, the only party other than Labour that is perceived as too tolerant of antisemitism by a majority of British Jews. This perception is doubtless impacted by the Party's actual failure to tackle antisemitism, which must now be a priority for its new leaders.

ANTISEMITISM IN BRITISH UNIVERSITIES

Question: “In your opinion, how much of a problem is antisemitism in British universities?”



While Jewish life on campus is thriving, antisemitism at British universities has long been a concern within the Jewish community, affecting Jewish students, faculty and staff to varying degrees and also impacting the perceptions of non-Jewish students, some of whom will become the future political, business and cultural leaders of the nation.

Antisemitic tropes recur in academic discourse in universities, occasionally spilling over explicitly into lectures or academics' political and social activism off-campus, as in the case of the disgraced sociologist David Miller.

But while communal concerns have long been spoken of internally and expressed anecdotally to Government, universities and the higher education regulator, the Office for Students, for the first time we are able to present empirical evidence of these concerns, and we are grateful also to the Union of Jewish Students for its assistance in gathering this data.

A staggering 92% of British Jews believe that antisemitism in British universities is a problem, with 84% believing that it is a “very big problem” or “quite a big problem”. Only 2% believe that it is not a problem.

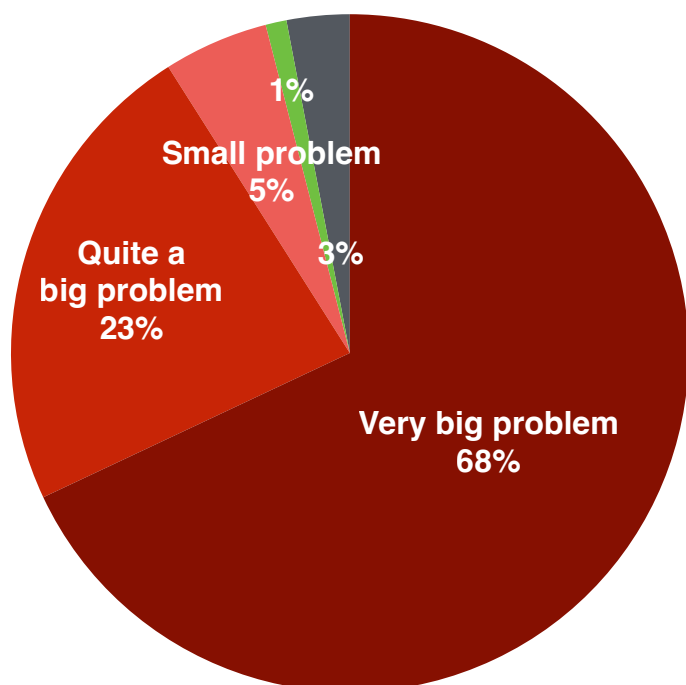
These figures must give pause to the Government and the Office for Students, which must continue to exert pressure on universities not only to adopt the International Definition of Antisemitism but to apply it when allegations of racism against Jews arise and to sanction offenders appropriately.

More importantly, the figures must signal to universities themselves and students' unions the urgency of their duty of care to Jewish students, academics and staff in their campus communities. No student should be put off a course or lecture because of what the teacher is saying, nor should they have to worry about being marked down in an essay because of their course leader's views. Neither should they be intimidated on campus because of their fellow students' activism, nor should Jewish events be prevented from taking place or disrupted. Similarly, no Jewish academic or member of staff should find themselves harassed by their students or peers because of their identity, or feel uncomfortable going to their workplace because of who they are.

Finally, those trade unions that have consistently failed to represent their Jewish members cannot escape mention. The University and College Union's reputation in the Jewish community is in the gutter, and this is unlikely to change until it learns that antisemitism is real and that the fight against it deserves the union's support.

ANTISEMITISM ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Question: “In your opinion, how much of a problem is antisemitism on social media?”



- Not a problem
- Don't know

The problem of rampant antisemitism on social media is well-known, but, for the first time, we can show that an enormous majority of 96% of British Jews believe that it is a problem, with 91% believing that it is a “quite a big problem” or a “very big problem”. A negligible 1% believe that it is not a problem.

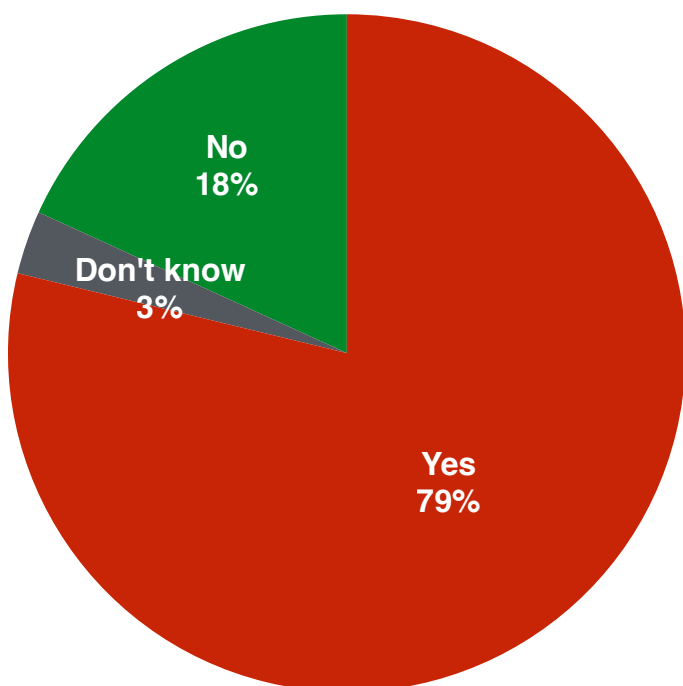
Concerns this widespread — and this is the first time that they can be shown empirically — belie the claims by social media companies that they are addressing the problem. Such remedial policies, which our investigations have shown to be, for the most part, utterly superficial and inconsistently implemented, have not worked to solve the problem of racism against Jews online, which persists and grows worse every year.

The figures underscore the urgency of Government legislation to address the issue, in view of the failure of the technology companies to do so themselves.

Ultimately, social media algorithms must not be allowed to amplify antisemitism (such as antisemitic phrases that trend, or users being directed to pages spouting antisemitic hatred), the process to unmask anonymous trolls must be streamlined, and racist online abusers must be brought to justice.

CONFLICT BETWEEN HAMAS AND ISRAEL

Question: “During the conflict between Hamas and Israel in 2021, there were numerous demonstrations, processions and convoys in Britain. Did any of these cause you to feel intimidated as a Jew?”



For several weeks in May and June 2021, during and after the conflict between Hamas and Israel thousands of miles away, antisemitism surged on British streets and campuses, online, in workplaces, schools, hospitals and in other institutions. Reported incidents broke records, with some resulting in national headlines and political condemnation.

Among the incidents were demonstrations and processions that featured antisemitic speakers, chants and banners, and convoys that saw car rammings and allegations of the most despicable antisemitic incitement in Jewish neighbourhoods and in broad daylight.

79% of British Jews — almost one in eight — found that these demonstrations, processions and convoys caused them “to feel intimidated as a Jew”.

This figure reinforces the finding, cited earlier, that this conflict motivated almost 40% of those who have considered leaving Britain in the past two years. These findings are a red warning sign for politicians, the criminal justice authorities and wider society.

The Government has finally proscribed in full the antisemitic genocidal terrorist organisation, Hamas — a policy change that followed our polling last year, which showed that 91% of British Jews supported the move, as well as urging by Campaign Against Antisemitism and other groups. But political parties also have a duty to discipline those MPs and councillors who themselves promoted antisemitic tropes or backed, attended or addressed rallies where antisemitic tropes were on display.

The criminal justice system has much to answer for too, with antisemitic criminals yet to face justice for their roles in the events of last spring. The surge in antisemitism doubtless contributed to the belief, shared by record numbers of British Jews, that the police, Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) and courts do not do enough to protect them, with almost six in ten British Jews feeling this way about the CPS, and, for the first time ever, majorities saying the same about the police and the courts.

Beyond the participants in these rallies and convoys, the apparent apathy or even acquiescence of many non-Jewish neighbours was felt by Britain’s Jews. Such apathy was cited by many respondents as a “threat” to the Jewish community, and, for the first time, a majority of British Jews have said that they do not believe that their non-Jewish neighbours do enough to protect them, which is a particularly saddening finding.

RECOMMENDATIONS

CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Several of the following recommendations were first raised in 2015 in our meeting with the then Home Secretary, Theresa May, the Director of Public Prosecutions, and the Chief Executive of the College of Policing. They have since been published in our National Antisemitic Crime Audit in 2017 and our Antisemitism Barometers in 2019 and 2020, and have been discussed in further meetings with Government officials and public bodies, including subsequent Home Secretaries. Despite some of these measures being included in the Government's Hate Crime Action Plan at our urging in 2018, they have yet to be implemented.

CROWN PROSECUTION SERVICE (CPS)

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

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

We recommend that the CPS should be asked to treat antisemitic hate crime prosecutions as

Special Crime, submitting junior prosecutors' decisions to the scrutiny of more senior colleagues. This would improve prosecution rates by preventing junior prosecutors from incorrectly disposing of antisemitism cases.

We recommend that the CPS appoints an antisemitic hate crime lead who oversees the prosecution of all antisemitic hate crime nationally.

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

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

We recommend that the CPS should work with us to draft clear guidelines for prosecutors which links antisemitic acts to the corresponding offences, with worked examples

for different kinds of antisemitic acts and evidential requirements.

POLICE FORCES

Law enforcement against antisemitic hate crime must be consistent and firm. In our experience, procedures and oversight within police forces fail to ensure that each and every response to antisemitism is as firm as the law permits. Learning from police forces which have established good practice in this area, we believe that the establishment of clear procedures and the nomination of a senior officer to oversee them is the most crucial element in developing deterrence against antisemitic hate crime through a consistently firm response.

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

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

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

The National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) has numerous National Information Sharing Agreements with charities but has not established a procedure or criteria for entering

into such agreements, frustrating collaboration between national hate crime charities and police forces.

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

LEGISLATION

DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

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

In 2016, the British Government became the first in the world to adopt the International Definition of Antisemitism, often called the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition. This was accomplished after numerous meetings between Campaign Against Antisemitism and officials in Downing Street, as well as lobbying by Lord Pickles and others.

Since then, Campaign Against Antisemitism has been at the forefront of the campaign for widespread adoption of the International Definition of Antisemitism, including by local authorities, universities and other public bodies. Thanks to the support of allies and the Government, this campaign is bearing fruit. The International Definition of Antisemitism has also been adopted by numerous other national Governments.

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

SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS

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

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

The Government has taken steps to redress this through proposed online safety legislation.

We recommend that the new legislation should include provisions to compel social media platforms to comply with requests from police forces to provide information on the identities of users under investigation; to require the preservation of deleted content for one year in order to ensure that evidence remains available to the police; to create a duty of care for social networks with personal liability for executives; and to compel swift action to remove grossly offensive content, under the supervision of a new regulator.

We also made similar calls in a petition to Parliament regarding the Government's Online Harms Bill. We are pleased that the Culture Secretary has taken these concerns — which are shared by other stakeholders within and beyond the Jewish community — on board, in his recent announcement about the Government's legislative intention to introduce sanctions for social media networks that fail to act against criminal antisemitic activity on their platforms.

We recommend that the Government does not dilute its legislative plans to effect sanctions on

criminal antisemitic activity on social media platforms.

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

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

DENIAL OF ENTRY FOR ANTISEMITIC ACTIVISTS

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

Timeframes for denying entry are typically short.

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

PREVENT TRAINING

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

We recommend that training by Campaign Against Antisemitism should be offered to all

Prevent coordinators currently known to the Home Office.

CROSS-GOVERNMENT WORKING GROUP ON ANTISEMITISM

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

We recommend that Campaign Against Antisemitism should be invited to join the Cross Government Working Group on Antisemitism.

HONOURS SYSTEM

Honours bestow credibility and prestige on individuals as a reward for bravery, achievement, or service to the UK. Some recipients later prove unworthy, but the Honours Forfeiture Committee deliberates in private and does not publish its decisions. Recipients of honours who incite or encourage discrimination do not face automatic forfeiture.

We recommend that, to maintain confidence in the honours system, individuals who have incited or encouraged discrimination should be automatically stripped of their honours and the Honours Forfeiture Committee should deliberate in public, with its decisions published and subject to judicial review.

POLITICAL PARTIES

On 28th May 2019, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) launched a full statutory investigation into antisemitism in the Labour Party following a formal referral and detailed legal representations from Campaign

Against Antisemitism, which was the complainant, publishing its devastating findings in the Labour Party in October 2020.³

Following a request by Campaign Against Antisemitism, the EHRC also published new guidance for all political parties and associations entitled 'New Guiding Principles for all Associations and Membership Organisations'.⁴

We recommend that political parties adhere to the EHRC's 'New Guiding Principles for all Associations and Membership Organisations'.

In September 2016, Campaign Against Antisemitism launched its manifesto for fighting antisemitism in political parties, which is a blueprint for ensuring that antisemitism is dealt with fairly, robustly and transparently.

This manifesto also informed our submissions to the EHRC's Labour investigation.

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

1. Antisemitism is a form of racism. It is a key component of extremist ideology espoused by Islamists, the far-right and the far-left alike. Antisemites and their supporters have no place in any political party.
2. Antisemitism will be construed in accordance with the International Definition of Antisemitism, as adopted by the British Government. The Definition is published on the website of Campaign Against Antisemitism at antisemitism.org/definition.
3. For more information, see antisemitism.org/ehrc.
4. See <https://antisemitism.org/ehrc-publishes-guidance-warning-all-political-parties-of-their-responsibilities-as-requested-by-caa/>.

3. All disciplinary processes must be fair, transparent and efficient.
4. All allegations will be investigated as soon as possible, and in all events within a period of four weeks. Investigations will be carried out by an impartial, independent investigator.
5. In the case of corroborated, substantial allegations, the member will be suspended from the party pending the outcome of the investigation.
6. There is a presumption in favour of suspension for antisemitic speech or action by party members.
7. Where a suspension is imposed following a finding of antisemitic conduct, that suspension should only be lifted when an independent investigator is satisfied that the person suspended has demonstrated insight into their behaviour, and is committed both to not reoffending and to actively fighting antisemitism. If such insight and commitment cannot be demonstrated then the individual should be expelled from the party.
8. Where a finding of antisemitic speech or conduct has been upheld against a senior party member (which for this purpose includes any party member holding public office) there should be a strong presumption in favour of expulsion.
9. Education is not to be considered a disciplinary measure. It is a general preventative measure. In a disciplinary context, it may, at most, form part of a rehabilitation package for members returning from suspension or readmitted following expulsion.
10. An apology is not to be considered a substitute for a disciplinary investigation.
11. Independent investigators should be assisted by published disciplinary guidelines including a tariff for specific types of offence to ensure consistency, for example Holocaust denial is highly likely to lead to expulsion.
12. Where a disciplinary investigation leads to a sanction, this fact should be published on the party's website along with a short summary of the case, including how the disciplinary tariff was applied. The name of the member who has been sanctioned should be published unless there is a good reason not to, for example there is a mental health aspect, supported by medical evidence. The need to protect a person from public embarrassment would not be a good reason for these purposes.

MEDIA ORGANISATIONS

Concerns in the Jewish community over coverage of matters of Jewish interest and antisemitism have been voiced for decades, especially in relation to the BBC and Channel 4 News, which are publicly funded.

Our Antisemitism Barometer 2020 put empirical flesh on the anecdotal bone for the first time, finding that two thirds of British Jews consider the BBC's coverage to be unfavourable and almost half (45%) say the same about Channel 4. Both broadcasters are state-funded, and these figures are several times higher than those for ITV and Sky News.

Given that broadcasters have duties to ensure fair representation, these results raise serious questions about the treatment of Jews by the BBC and Channel 4, and are compounded by our consistent finding, year on year, that

around 90% of British Jews believe that media bias against Israel fuels persecution of Jews in Britain.

The BBC, ITV, Channel 4 and Sky News are all regulated by Ofcom, which is the public body to which complaints about coverage — such as antisemitism — can be made directly, except in the case of the BBC, which has a multi-stage complaints process that must be exhausted before a complaint can be escalated to Ofcom. Complaints about antisemitic conduct by staff can be made directly to the relevant broadcaster.

According to our polling, over half of the Jewish community say that they are unsatisfied with how the BBC handles complaints relating to antisemitism. This too raises serious questions for the Corporation. Just under a third say the same about Channel 4, which is considerably higher than for ITV and Sky News.

We recommend that all broadcasters adopt the International Definition of Antisemitism in full and without caveat, and apply the Definition in complaints about coverage or staff relating to antisemitism.

We recommend that the BBC and Channel 4, for as long as they are publicly-funded, appoint credible independent advisers to review coverage of antisemitism and matters of Jewish interest.

UNIVERSITIES

Over half of British universities have adopted the International Definition of Antisemitism, as monitored in real time at antisemitism.org/universities. This trend of adoption by universities must be accelerated, and students' unions should also be encouraged to adopt the

Definition to show solidarity with their Jewish members.

Too often, however, antisemitic incidents arise at universities that have adopted the Definition, but the Definition plays no discernable role in the administration's determination of whether an incident is antisemitic. It is vital that the Definition is not only adopted but actually applied — and be seen to be applied — when allegations of antisemitism arise.

We recommend that universities and students' unions continue to adopt the International Definition of Antisemitism in full and without caveat, and apply the Definition in complaints relating to antisemitism.

Antisemitism is a complex phenomenon, and universities and students' unions should welcome opportunities for antisemitism training offered by Campaign Against Antisemitism and other reputable groups. They should consider seeking specialist advice when antisemitism allegations arise and when university administrations are unsure of how to proceed.

In addition to the complexity of antisemitism, some controversy over the intersection of the Definition and freedom of expression has needlessly arisen, and training in the use of the Definition is available to address this point from Campaign Against Antisemitism.

We recommend that universities and students' unions provide antisemitism awareness training, to include addressing the complexity of antisemitism and the proper application of the Definition.

DATA COLLECTION METHODOLOGY

SURVEYS OF BRITISH ADULTS

SAMPLING

Our surveys of British adults were conducted by YouGov Plc. The surveys were administered online to members of YouGov's panel of over 1,000,000 British adults who have agreed to take part in surveys. E-mails were sent to adult panellists who fulfilled the requirements of the sample, inviting them to take part in the surveys, and providing a link to the survey. YouGov normally achieves a response rate of between 35% and 50% to surveys however this does vary depending on the subject matter, complexity and length of the questionnaire.

FIELDWORK

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

In 2016, fieldwork was conducted between 18th and 19th August. In total, 1,660 responses were obtained.

In 2017, fieldwork was conducted between 2nd and 3rd August. In total, 1,614 responses were obtained.

In 2018, fieldwork was conducted between 6th and 7th September. In total, 1,606 responses were obtained.

In 2019, fieldwork was conducted between 24th and 25th September. In total, 2,040 responses were obtained: 1,639 as part of the nationally-representative main sample, 197 as part of the 'very right-wing' boost sample, and 204 as part of the 'very left-wing' boost sample.

The boost samples were collected to enable us to measure the attitudes of people with particular political views.

In 2020, fieldwork was conducted between 16th and 17th December. In total, 1,853 responses were obtained.

In 2021, fieldwork was conducted between 19th and 20th December. In total, 1790 responses were obtained.

QUALITY CONTROL

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

REPRESENTATIVENESS

The responding sample was weighted according to age and gender, social grade, political attention level, education, and region, in addition to past voting behaviour, to provide a representative reporting sample. The profile is derived from the 2011 Census as well as the mid-year population estimates and Annual Population Survey published by the Office for National Statistics.

SURVEYS OF BRITISH JEWS

SAMPLING

Our surveys of British Jews were modelled on the National Jewish Community Survey (NJCS) conducted by the Institute for Jewish Policy research. In common with the NJCS, the samples were self-selecting, and respondents were required to self-identify as Jewish and confirm that they lived in the United Kingdom. Like the NJCS, they were contacted primarily through 'seed' organisations, including

religious bodies, Jewish online networks (including targeted advertising on social networks), and community welfare organisations, among others. In common with the NJCS, the seed organisations were used to initiate a ‘snowballing’ process which, in effect, created a non-probability convenience sample. It was not possible to use a random probability sampling approach for this study because a suitable sampling frame for the Jewish population is not available in the UK.

FIELDWORK

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

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

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

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

In 2020, fieldwork was conducted over the course of a month between 21st November and 22nd December. In total, 1,846 responses

were obtained. The average length of time spent completing the survey was 16 minutes and 10 seconds.

In 2021, fieldwork was conducted between 17th August and 1st October. In total, 1,678 responses were obtained. The average length of time spent completing the survey was 5 minutes and 51 seconds.

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

QUALITY CONTROL

A key issue with an online survey is to ensure that respondents are not counted twice. To avoid this and other abuses that might affect the survey’s integrity, several measures were implemented. These included: carefully monitoring responses for unusual trends during the fieldwork phase, and assessing the completed dataset for the presence of extreme or unrealistic values (i.e. outlier diagnostics) and for the presence of unlikely combinations of values across variables (i.e. logical checks). Additionally, cookies were used to avoid respondents completing the survey more than once. Finally, respondents’ IP addresses were logged so that if a respondent deleted their cookies, multiple responses from the same IP address could still be identified.

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

In 2016, of the original 1,910 completed responses, 26 duplicate responses were removed, 2 responses were removed due to extreme or unrealistic values, 18 responses

from people younger than 18 were removed, and 10 responses from respondents who completed the survey in less than 1 minute and 45 seconds were removed (though 2 of those were also removed because they were duplicate responses). The final dataset therefore contained 1,857 unique responses.

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

In 2018, of the original 2,163 completed responses, 18 duplicate responses were removed, 15 responses were removed due to extreme or unrealistic values, 22 responses from people younger than 18 were removed, and 5 responses from respondents who completed the survey in less than 1 minute and 45 seconds were removed. Some responses were removed for more than one reason. The final dataset therefore contained 2,103 unique responses.

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

In 2020, of the original 1,846 completed responses, no duplicate responses were removed, no responses were removed due to extreme or unrealistic values, 16 responses from people younger than 18 were removed, and no responses from respondents who completed the survey in less than 2 minutes were removed. The final dataset therefore contained 1,830 unique responses.

In 2021, of the original 1,678 completed responses, 4 duplicate responses were removed, no responses were removed due to extreme or unrealistic values, 7 responses from people younger than 18 were removed, and 1 response from a respondent who completed the survey in less than 1 minute and 45 seconds was removed. The final dataset therefore contained 1,666 unique responses.

REPRESENTATIVENESS

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

In general, the survey samples reflect the diverse character of Jewish respondents in the UK across geographical, demographic and religious variables. Where the sample does depart from baseline characteristics,

responses were weighted for location, gender, age and religious affiliation.

Population estimates were based on responses to the 2011 Census, and size estimates with regard to religious denominations were based on the NCJS 2013. The weights were calculated using random iterative method weighting by an external consultant, Dr Daniel Allington of King's College London, who also checked the data tables produced.

It should be noted that, with samples of 1,857, 2,025, 2,103, 2,695, 1,830 and 1,666 carefully-targeted, weighted, individual responses, these are large samples, which are sufficiently large for us to be confident that the percentages obtained through our polling are representative of the Jewish population. However, in common with the NJCS, due to the nature of the sampling process, it is not possible to conduct a comprehensive test of representativeness. Given that the surveys initially utilised seed lists partly held by Jewish community organisations for snowballing, it is reasonable to assume that British Jews who are not involved in the Jewish community might be under-represented, though the survey does include significant numbers of such respondents.

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

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

Our surveys have generally under-represented females: according to the 2011 Census, the expected proportion of females at ages 18 and over is 51.3%, but females constituted 44.3% of our 2016 survey sample, 47% in 2017, 45.8% in 2018, 45.0% in 2019, 44.2% in 2020 and 42.3% in 2021.

In terms of age, using the 2011 Census we found that our 2016 survey accurately represented adults aged 18-24 and over 65, slightly under-represented adults aged 25-49, and slightly over-represented adults aged 50-64.

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

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

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

Our 2020 survey slightly under-represented adults aged 18-24 and 25-49, and slightly over-represented adults aged 50-64 and over 65.

Our 2021 survey slightly under-represented females and adults aged 18-24 and 25-49, and slightly over-represented males and adults aged 50-64 and over 65.

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



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