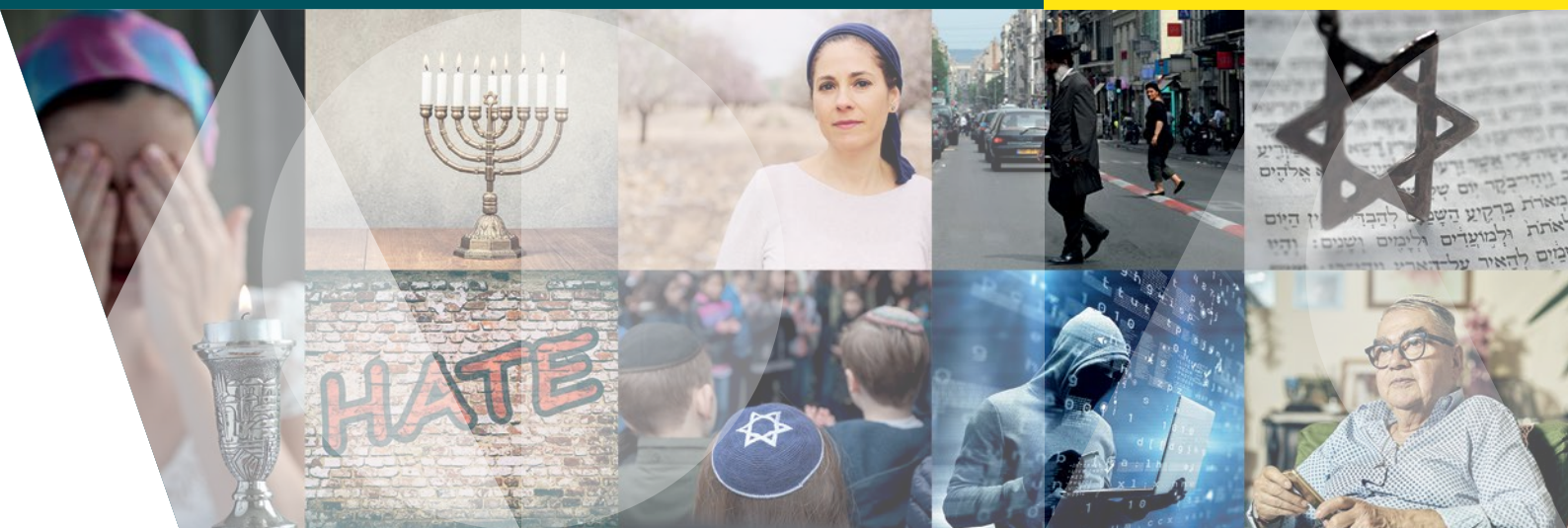


EQUALITY



# Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism

## Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU



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# Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism

## Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU



# Foreword

When you last walked by one of Europe's many beautiful synagogues, were heavily-armed police officers standing guard at its gates? It is a jarring sight. But, over 70 years after the Holocaust, it is also all too familiar.

This report outlines the main findings of FRA's second survey on Jewish people's experiences with hate crime, discrimination and antisemitism in the European Union – the biggest survey of Jewish people ever conducted worldwide. Covering 12 EU Member States, the survey reached almost 16,500 individuals who identify as being Jewish. It follows up on the agency's first survey, conducted in seven countries in 2012.

The findings make for a sobering read. They underscore that antisemitism remains pervasive across the EU – and has, in many ways, become disturbingly normalised.

It's not just synagogues that require protection – at countless Jewish community centres and schools, too, special security measures are in place. Jewish people also encounter vicious commentary online, in the media and in politics; endure hostile stares and gestures in their neighbourhoods; come across graffiti and other forms of vandalism; and face discrimination in social settings, at school and at work.

Not surprisingly, an overwhelming majority of survey participants feel that antisemitism is getting worse. They also fear for their own safety, and that of their loved ones. They protect themselves by leaving their *kippa* at home, only discreetly displaying *mezuzas*, avoiding certain areas in their cities or skipping Jewish events.

It is impossible to put a number on how corrosive such everyday realities can be. But a shocking statistic sends a clear message: in the past five years, across twelve EU Member States where Jews have been living for centuries, more than one third say that they consider emigrating because they no longer feel safe as Jews.

On September 26, UN Secretary General António Guterres underlined that the "origins of the United Nations itself are rooted in the need to learn the lessons of the Holocaust" and called for combating antisemitism and hatred "with all our energy and will".

We join this call and strongly encourage policymakers across the EU to take heed of the profoundly troubling messages this survey brings, and to step up their efforts now to ensure the safety and dignity of all Jewish people living in the EU.

**Michael O'Flaherty**  
*Director*

# Country codes

Country code	EU Member State
AT	Austria
BE	Belgium
DE	Germany
DK	Denmark
ES	Spain
FR	France
HU	Hungary
IT	Italy
LV	Latvia
NL	Netherlands
PL	Poland
SE	Sweden
UK	United Kingdom



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# Why is this report needed?

The European Union (EU) and its Member States are required by law to do everything in their power to combat antisemitism effectively and to safeguard the dignity of Jewish people. Yet more than 70 years after the Holocaust, Jews across the EU continue to experience antisemitism in the form of vandalism, insults, threats, attacks and even murder.<sup>1</sup> The persistence and prevalence of antisemitism hinders people's ability to live openly Jewish lives, free from fears for their security and well-being, as the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights' (FRA) 2012 and 2018 large-scale surveys on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU show.<sup>2</sup>

The fight against antisemitism needs to be underpinned by robust and reliable data that can show to which extent EU Member States meet their obligations under EU law in that regard, mainly the Framework Decision on Racism and Xenophobia, the Racial Equality Directive and the Employment Equality Directive. (For more information on the relevant legal framework, see [Annex 3](#)).

Such data are, however, seldom available, as evidence collected annually by FRA shows.<sup>3</sup> As a result, the EU and its Member States can often only make decisions to counter antisemitism on the basis of patchy evidence. The present report addresses this shortcoming by presenting information about experiences with antisemitism made by people in the EU who identify themselves as Jewish, based on data extracted from FRA's second survey on antisemitism. By repeating the survey, FRA's research can help the EU and its Member States assess the effectiveness of measures they have taken to combat and prevent antisemitism.

The findings presented in this report thereby provide policy makers with evidence they can draw on to refine existing or devise new courses of action to prevent and counter antisemitism. The findings are also relevant to civil society organisations concerned with ensuring the security of Jewish communities or with preventing and fighting antisemitism, as well as those working towards supporting fair and just societies.

## THE SURVEY IN A NUTSHELL

This report presents the main findings of FRA's second survey on Jewish people's experiences and perceptions of hate crime, discrimination and antisemitism.<sup>4</sup> It analyses data from the responses of 16,395 self-identified Jewish people (aged 16 or over) in 12 EU Member States – **Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom**. These Member States are home to over 96 % of the EU's estimated Jewish population.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the 12 EU Member States mentioned above, FRA also carried out the survey in Latvia. Due to the low response level to the online dissemination campaign in Latvia, changes in recruitment methodology and data collection were applied. While the survey was able to reach more respondents in this way, the changes in the respondent recruitment and data collection methods limit the scope for comparisons between Latvia and the other survey countries. Therefore, the results concerning Latvia are presented in a summary overview in [Annex 2](#).

### How was the survey carried out?

The survey was carried out online during May and June 2018. In the absence of reliable sampling frames, and based on experiences with the 2012 survey,<sup>6</sup> FRA opted to use online surveying as it allowed respondents to complete the survey when and where it was most convenient for them, at their own pace, and in their national languages. The online survey mode also made it possible to offer respondents details about FRA, the organisations managing the data collection and how the collected data would be used. This method had the potential to allow all interested self-identified Jewish people in the 12 EU Member States to take part and share their experiences. It was also the method which could most easily be used to survey respondents from all the selected Member States under equal conditions. This method does not deliver a random probability sample fulfilling the statistical criteria for representativeness. However, the survey findings are reliable and robust, and represent the most comprehensive data available on experiences of antisemitism in the EU.

1 FRA (2018).

2 FRA (2013).

3 FRA (2018).

4 For more details on the topics in this section, see [Annex 1](#).

5 DellaPergola, S. (2016).

6 FRA (2013).

### Who took part in the survey?

The survey was open to individuals aged 16 years and over who consider themselves Jewish – based on religion, culture, upbringing, ethnicity, parentage or any other reason – and who, at the time of the survey, were living in one of the survey countries. The largest samples were obtained from the two countries which, according to estimates, have the largest Jewish populations in the EU – France (3,869 respondents) and the United Kingdom (4,731 respondents). Samples over 1,000 respondents were obtained in Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. For the remaining seven countries, the sample sizes ranged from 400 to 800 respondents.

### What did the survey ask?

The survey asked respondents about their opinions on trends in antisemitism, antisemitism as a problem in everyday life, personal experiences of antisemitic incidents, witnessing antisemitic incidents and worries about becoming a victim of an antisemitic attack. The survey also provides data on the extent to which respondents consider antisemitic acts against the Jewish community – such as vandalism of Jewish sites or antisemitic messages in the broadcast media or on the internet – to be a problem in the countries.

The survey collected data on the effects of antisemitism on respondents' daily behaviour and their feelings of safety, and about any actions they take due to security fears. The questions about personal experiences of specific forms of harassment or physical violence were followed up with questions concerning the details of such incidents, including their frequency, the number and characteristics of perpetrators, and the reporting of the incident to any organisation or institution. The survey collected data about personal experiences of feeling discriminated against on different grounds and in various areas of everyday life – for example, at work, school, or when using specific services. The survey followed up on respondents' discrimination experiences with questions concerning the reporting of incidents and the reasons for non-reporting. The survey also explored the level of rights awareness regarding antidiscrimination legislation, victim support organisations and knowledge of any legislation concerning the trivialisation or denial of the Holocaust.

More details on the questions asked in the survey are given at the beginning of each chapter. Each table and figure that reports on the survey results provides the exact wording of the question as presented in the survey questionnaire. The survey questionnaire will be made available in the Technical Report (forthcoming 2019).

### Presentation of the survey results

The report presents an analysis of the main survey findings, summarising the rich and complex survey data in the form of text, tables and figures. When survey results are presented for the 12 EU Member States, the average of all countries is adjusted by a weight that takes into account the differences in the size of the Jewish population in the different countries.<sup>7</sup> This is done in order to adjust the achieved samples proportionately, in such a way that the correct relationships are kept between different countries' contributions to the findings on the EU level.

The report compares selected results of the 2012 and 2018 surveys for the seven countries<sup>8</sup> included in both survey waves. Due to the nature of an open opt-in online survey, the comparison should be read with caution as it is affected by several factors, such as country coverage; sample sizes and their quality; as well as the changes in the questionnaire (e.g. adding new items or slightly changing the wording to address problems in question comprehension or to ensure comparability with other surveys). The presented results from the two surveys cannot be used to establish actual trends in the populations targeted.

7 The calculations are based on the mid-point of the core and extended Jewish population estimates in the selected countries. The estimates are available in DellaPergola, S. (2016).

8 In 2012, the survey covered the following countries: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Latvia, Sweden and the United Kingdom. In 2018, due to data quality concerns, the sample from Latvia was excluded from the comparative analysis. Therefore, the 2012 survey results presented in this report for purposes of comparing the 2012 and 2018 surveys exclude Latvia, as well.

### **Note on quotes used in the report**

At the end of the survey, respondents were invited to submit in writing any further information about their experiences concerning antisemitism, or anything else that they feel the survey should have addressed or that they wanted to add. This report includes a small selection of over 3,500 individual responses collected with this open-ended question. The written quotes, translated from the source language where necessary, have been kept as close to the respondent's original comments as possible, correcting only small grammatical errors.

The answers to the open-ended question covered a great variety of topics and issues, some of them beyond the scope of the survey. The answers to the open question were treated as a rich source of illustrative material that can help in understanding and interpreting some of the survey results, reflecting certain opinions and alternative points of view of a diverse population of respondents. When selecting the quotes for this survey report, the main criterion for including a quote was its relevance to the survey topics presented.



# Key findings and FRA opinions

Drawing on the survey findings, FRA formulated the following opinions to support EU and national policy-makers in developing and implementing measures to prevent and counter antisemitism. These opinions supplement those formulated by FRA in its report on the first survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU, published in 2013. Due to the continued prevalence of antisemitism on the ground, the opinions formulated in 2013 remain valid in 2018.

## Antisemitism pervades everyday life

The survey findings suggest that antisemitism pervades the public sphere, reproducing and engraving negative stereotypes about Jews. Simply being Jewish increases people's likelihood of being faced with a sustained stream of abuse expressed in different forms, wherever they go, whatever they read and with whom ever they engage. A comparison of the 2012 and 2018 surveys shows that the perception among respondents that antisemitism is a worsening problem in the country where they live is growing.

Overall, nine in 10 (89 %) respondents in the 2018 survey feel that antisemitism increased in their country in the five years before the survey; more than eight in 10 (85 %) consider it to be a serious problem. Respondents tend to rate antisemitism as the biggest social or political problem where they live. They assess antisemitism as being most problematic on the internet and on social media (89 %), followed by public spaces (73 %), media (71 %) and in political life (70 %). The most common antisemitic statements they come across – and on a regular basis – include that “Israelis behave like Nazis toward Palestinians” (51 %), that “Jews have too much power” (43 %) and that “Jews exploit Holocaust victimhood for their own purposes” (35 %). Respondents most commonly come across such statements online (80 %), followed by media other than the internet (56 %) and at political events (48 %).

In this context, it is encouraging that the European Parliament adopted a resolution on combating antisemitism in June 2017, which calls for increased efforts on local, national and European levels. This follows a number of initiatives by the European Commission at EU level, as well as globally.<sup>9</sup> These include appointing a coordinator on combating antisemitism in December

2015; establishing in 2016 an EU High Level Group on combating racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance, which produced policy guidance for improving responses to hate crime and hate speech including anti-semitic crime and speech; and agreeing with IT companies on a code of conduct for countering illegal hate speech online in May 2016.

Some Member States responded by appointing coordinators on combating antisemitism, while others adopted or endorsed a non-legally binding, working definition of antisemitism<sup>10</sup> agreed on in May 2016 by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) and welcomed by the Commission as a useful initiative aiming to prevent and combat antisemitism. A link to the IHRA definition is available on the Commission's website.<sup>11</sup>

However, several Member States have yet to fully and correctly transpose the Framework Decision on Racism and Xenophobia (2008/913/JHA) into national law. This Framework Decision defines a common EU-wide criminal law approach to countering severe manifestations of racism or xenophobia, and therefore also antisemitism, including in “cases where the conduct is committed through an information system” (Article 9). Eradicating antisemitism from the public sphere calls for sustained and decisive action to break down the persistent negative stereotyping of Jews, including online.

### FRA opinion 1

*Member States should facilitate the integration of measures dedicated to preventing antisemitism into relevant national strategies and action plans. Measures developed to prevent antisemitism should include a specific focus on awareness raising, including an emphasis on Holocaust education. Member States should also ensure that the effectiveness of the measures developed is systematically evaluated. National coordinators on combating antisemitism, as well as a broad range of social partners, civil society organisations and community groups – including non-Jewish ones – should be closely involved in developing prevention measures, as well as in the evaluation of their effectiveness.*

<sup>9</sup> In 2016, the EU together with Canada, the US and Israel organised the first UN High Level Forum on Global Antisemitism to further promote the EU's efforts to tackle antisemitism globally.

<sup>10</sup> See the [website](#) of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.

<sup>11</sup> See the [Commission's webpage](#) on combating antisemitism.

## Pervasive antisemitism undermines Jews' feelings of safety and security

The survey findings show that many Jews across the EU cannot live a life free of worry for their own safety and that of their family members and other individuals to whom they are close. This is due to a risk of becoming targets of antisemitic harassment and attacks. Feelings of insecurity among Jews have also prompted some to consider emigrating. A comparison of findings from the 2012 and 2018 surveys shows similar levels of experiences of antisemitic harassment and violence among Jews in the EU. The findings also show similar levels of worry among respondents about becoming, or their family members and other persons to whom they are close becoming, targets of antisemitic harassment or violence.

Findings from the 2018 survey show that hundreds of respondents personally experienced an antisemitic physical attack in the 12 months preceding the survey. More than one in four (28 %) of all respondents experienced antisemitic harassment at least once during that period. Those who wear, carry or display items in public that could identify them as Jewish are subject to more antisemitic harassment (37 %) than those who do not (21 %).

One in five (20 %) respondents know family members or other people close to them who were verbally insulted, harassed or physically attacked. Nearly half of the respondents worried about being subjected to antisemitic verbal insults or harassment (47 %), and four in 10 worried about an antisemitic physical attack (40 %).

One in three (34 %) respondents avoid visiting Jewish events or sites because they do not feel safe as Jews when there or on their way there. More than one third considered emigrating (38 %) in the five years preceding the survey because they did not feel safe as Jews in the country where they live.

More than half of the respondents (54 %) positively assess their national governments' efforts to ensure the security needs of the Jewish communities. But seven in 10 (70 %) believe that the government in their country does not combat antisemitism effectively.

Sustained encounters with antisemitism severely limit people's enjoyment of their fundamental rights, including the protection of their human dignity, the right to respect for their private and family life, or their freedom of thought, conscience and religion. It is encouraging that many Jews believe that their government does enough to meet the protection needs of

their communities. However, the very fact that special security measures – for example, around synagogues, Jewish community centres and schools – are required on a more or less permanent basis to ensure the safety of Jewish communities points to a persisting and deeper societal malaise. Member States need to be steadfast in their commitment to meet the protection needs of Jewish communities.

### FRA opinion 2

*Member States should systematically cooperate with Jewish communities in the area of security and protection of Jewish sites. Member States should continue implementing security measures and ensure that Jewish community security organisations are appropriately funded. The EU and its Member States should closely and regularly monitor changes in hate crime prevalence and feelings of safety and security among Jews – including through conducting victimisation surveys – to help assess the effectiveness of the security measures that are taken.*

## Antisemitic harassment is so common that it becomes normalised

The survey findings suggest that people face so much antisemitic abuse that some of the incidents they experience appear trivial to them. But any antisemitic incident is at its core an attack on a person's dignity and cannot be brushed away as a mere inconvenience. Both the 2012 and 2018 surveys show that respondents report very few experienced incidents of antisemitism to the police or other institution. A comparison of the two surveys' results shows that the categories of perpetrators of antisemitic harassment remain consistent, with certain categories of individuals consistently over-represented as perpetrators.

Findings from the 2018 survey show that eight in 10 respondents (79 %) who experienced antisemitic harassment in the five years before the survey did not report the most serious incident to the police or other organisation. The main reasons given for not reporting incidents are the feeling that nothing would change as a result (48 %); not considering the incident to be serious enough to be reported (43 %); or because reporting would be too inconvenient or cause too much trouble (22 %).

The normalisation of antisemitism is also evidenced by the wide range of perpetrators, which spans the entire social and political spectrum. The most frequently mentioned categories of perpetrators of the most serious incident of antisemitic harassment experienced by

the respondents include someone they did not know (31 %); someone with an extremist Muslim view (30 %); someone with a left-wing political view (21 %); a colleague from work or school/college (16 %); an acquaintance or friend (15 %); and someone with a right-wing political view (13 %).

The Victims' Rights Directive provides that victims are to be treated in a respectful and sensitive manner without discrimination based on any ground, including religion (Recital 9). According to Article 22 of the directive, all victims are entitled to an assessment of whether measures are necessary to protect them against further victimisation. This assessment must take personal characteristics of the victim into account, including their religion where it is relevant for assessing a victim's protection needs. The directive particularly highlights cases where a crime was committed with a discriminatory motive that relates to a victim's personal characteristics, including their religion. In such cases, Member State authorities are under a special duty to assess the risks of further victimisation motivated by this characteristic. The Framework Decision on Racism and Xenophobia requires that the bias motivation is considered an aggravating circumstance or taken into consideration by the courts in the determination of the penalties handed down to offenders (Article 4). The full implementation of EU law entails encouraging victims to report antisemitic offences to the police, as well as ensuring that the police properly record the bias motivation at the time of reporting.

### FRA opinion 3

*Member States should fully and correctly transpose the Victims' Rights Directive (2012/29/EU) into national law to ensure that victims of antisemitism get the support they need when they report incidents to the relevant authorities. Member States should also fully and correctly transpose the Framework Decision on Racism and Xenophobia (2008/913/JHA) into national law to ensure that effective, proportionate and dissuasive criminal penalties are consistently handed down to offenders. Criminal justice systems in Member States should also report regularly on the penalties handed down to offenders and on the reasoning of courts in relevant judgments.*

## Antisemitic discrimination in key areas of life remains invisible

The survey findings suggest that antisemitism translates not only into hate crime, but also into unequal treatment in key areas of life. But the very low reporting rate for antisemitic discrimination, combined with

the apparent normalisation of incidents, prevent the true extent of antisemitic discrimination from coming to the attention of relevant authorities, equality bodies or community organisations. A comparison of findings from the 2012 and 2018 surveys shows that levels of perceived antisemitic discrimination in employment, education, health and housing and education remained the same. No changes can be observed in the reporting rate, which remains low.

Findings from the 2018 survey show that, in the 12 months preceding the survey, one in 10 (11 %) respondents felt discriminated against in employment, education, health or housing because they are Jewish. Nearly eight in 10 (77 %) of those who say they experienced such discrimination did not report the most serious incident to any authority or organisation. The main reasons given for not reporting are the perception that nothing would change as a result (52 %); the incident is not serious enough (34 %); and not having any proof of discrimination (33 %). Meanwhile, the vast majority of respondents are aware of anti-discrimination legislation (85 % in the area of employment, for example), as well as of organisations that can offer advice or support in cases of discrimination (71 %), including Jewish community organisations and national equality bodies.

The Racial Equality Directive (2000/43/EC) prohibits ethnic discrimination in key areas of life, including employment, education, health or housing. The Employment Equality Directive (2000/78/EC) prohibits discrimination on the ground of religion or belief in employment. The directives require Member States to ensure that their provisions are communicated to those concerned through all appropriate means and throughout the territory of each country. The directives foresee effective, proportionate and dissuasive sanctions for offenders in cases of discrimination.

### FRA opinion 4

*The EU and its Member States should ensure that victims of antisemitic discrimination are encouraged and facilitated to report incidents to relevant authorities, equality bodies or third-party organisations. This could be achieved through the EU and its Member States funding dedicated awareness-raising and information campaigns. These campaigns could be organised by relevant ministries, in close cooperation with national equality bodies and Jewish community organisations, to ensure that their messages are better targeted. Such campaigns could highlight how antisemitic discrimination constitutes a serious violation of people's fundamental and human rights and why it is worthwhile for them to seek redress. Any such campaign should also highlight that effective, proportionate and dissuasive sanctions are imposed on offenders.*





# 1

## Manifestations of antisemitism



### KEY FINDINGS

- A large majority of respondents (85 %) consider antisemitism and racism to be the most pressing problems across the EU Member States surveyed.
- A large majority of respondents (89 %) believe that antisemitism has increased over the past five years in the country they live in.
- A majority of respondents (72 %) express concern about increasing intolerance towards Muslims.
- A large majority of respondents (89 %) consider antisemitism expressed online as a problem in the country they live in.
- A large majority of respondents (88 %) believe that antisemitism online has increased over the past five years; most say it has increased 'a lot'.
- Most survey respondents say they are regularly exposed to negative statements about Jews. A large majority of respondents across all survey countries (80 %) identify the internet as the most common forum for negative statements.

This chapter presents the survey results that reflect respondents' perceptions about antisemitism and changes in its severity over time. In addition, the chapter discusses survey findings on the perceived impact of antisemitic incidents, such as antisemitic graffiti, vandalism of Jewish buildings or institutions, and manifestations of antisemitism in the media, political life or on the internet. The survey also asked respondents to assess select statements about Jewish people and the Jewish community, and whether they would consider them antisemitic if expressed by non-Jewish persons.

### 1.1. How big of a problem is antisemitism?

The respondents were asked to place antisemitism in a broader context. They were asked to what extent they consider antisemitism and other social issues – ranging from unemployment, crime levels and immigration, to

racism and intolerance towards Muslims – to be a problem in their country today.

On average, across all EU Member States surveyed, most respondents consider antisemitism and racism to be a serious or very serious problem (Table 1). Except for in Italy, antisemitism was rated among the three most pressing social and political issues in all survey countries. Over 80 % of respondents in five countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Poland, and Sweden) saw antisemitism as 'a very big' or 'a fairly big problem' – in France, this share reaches 95 % of respondents. A large majority of respondents in Austria, Belgium, France, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Sweden saw racism as 'a very big' or 'a fairly big problem' in the country where they live (depending on the country, between 82 % and 91 % of the respondents hold this view).

Most respondents in Spain and Italy consider unemployment and government corruption to be the most pressing issues (94 % and 98 %, and 95 % and 91 %



of respondents, respectively, said that these are ‘a very big’ or ‘a fairly big problem’). A notable share of respondents in Hungary (96 %) and Poland (63 %) identified government corruption as a problem.

Most respondents in Denmark consider intolerance towards Muslims to be the most pressing issue (60 % of respondents said this is ‘a very big’ or ‘a fairly big problem’). A notable share of respondents in Poland (83 %), Austria and Hungary (69 % each) identified the issue as a problem.

When looking at how big of a problem antisemitism is, a large majority of the respondents (85 %) considers antisemitism to be ‘a very big’ or ‘a fairly big problem’ in the country where they live. Respondents in Denmark identify antisemitism as a problematic issue in their country at the lowest rate: while it does appear among the three most pressing social or political issues, a smaller share of respondents (56 %) feels that antisemitism amounts to ‘a very big’ or ‘a fairly big problem’, compared with respondents from other countries (Figure 1). Similar shares of respondents in Denmark consider racism and immigration to be problematic: 56 % and 59 %, respectively, say these are ‘a very big’ or ‘a fairly big problem’) in their country.

**Table 1: Assessing social and political issues as a problem, by EU Member State (%)**<sup>a,b,c,d,e</sup>

	AT	BE	DE	DK	ES	FR	HU	IT	NL	PL	SE	UK	12 country average
<b>Antisemitism</b>	73	86	85	56	78	95	77	73	73	85	82	75	85
<b>Racism</b>	82	84	76	56	67	90	91	87	68	89	83	79	84
<b>Crime level</b>	28	68	48	32	50	80	68	69	47	34	66	72	70
<b>Unemployment</b>	46	71	39	20	94	93	66	98	27	27	52	44	67
<b>Immigration</b>	63	74	69	59	57	80	18	71	60	37	63	49	65
<b>Intolerance towards Muslims</b>	69	50	54	60	37	52	69	54	53	83	63	65	57
<b>Government corruption</b>	34	48	19	7	95	37	96	91	21	63	18	24	36

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Question: B02. To what extent do you think the following are a problem in [COUNTRY] (Items as listed in the table)?

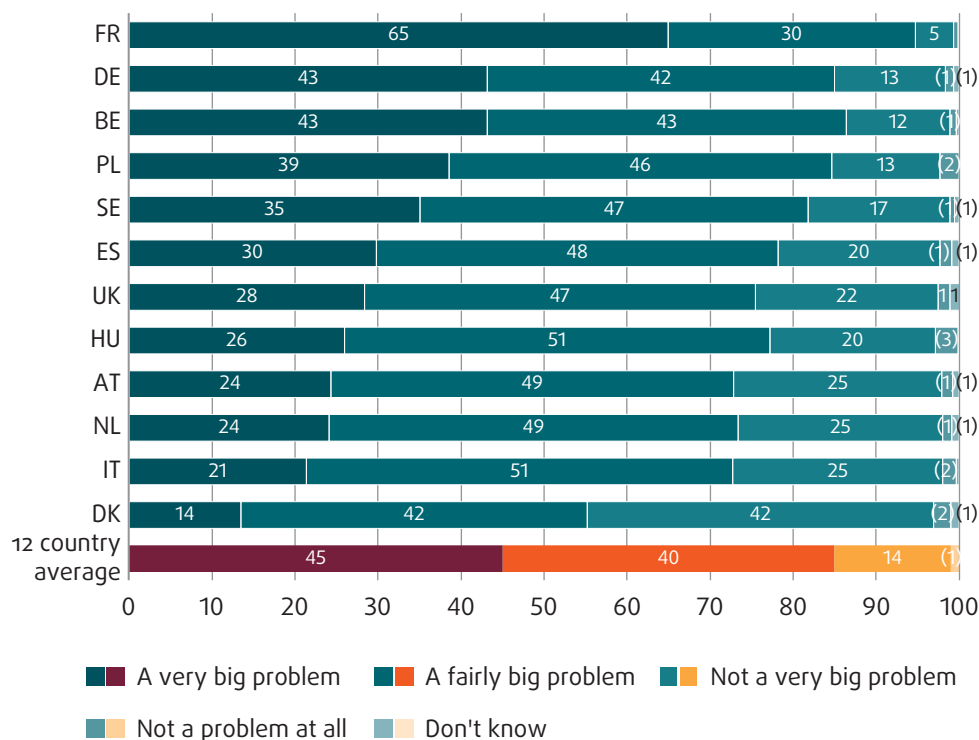
<sup>c</sup> The results presented in the table are the sum of answer categories ‘a very big problem’ and ‘a fairly big problem’.

<sup>d</sup> The social issues are listed in descending order according to the average of the 12 countries.

<sup>e</sup> For each country, the three most serious problems – as assessed by the respondents – are highlighted in the table.

Source: FRA, 2018

Figure 1: Antisemitism is seen to be a problem in the country today, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted; sorted by 'a very big problem'.  
<sup>b</sup> Question: Bo2. In your opinion, how big a problem, if at all, is each of the following in [COUNTRY] today? Answer: D. Antisemitism.  
<sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.  
<sup>d</sup> Results based on a small number of responses are statistically less reliable. Thus, results based on 20 to 49 unweighted observations in a group total or based on cells with fewer than 20 unweighted observations are noted in parentheses. Results based on fewer than 20 unweighted observations in a group total are not published.

Source: FRA, 2018

*"Antisemitism and racism are like the Wiener Schnitzel. They are part of the Austrian cultural heritage, just as xenophobia and 'we are different'. There is nothing to fight against, just suppressing the consequences has to suffice."*

(Man, 50-54 years old, Austria)

*"The way things are now, I experience, for example, that 'Jew' is a widespread cuss word in Copenhagen. As a Jew who has grown up in Denmark, I have always avoided showing/telling people I am a Jew."*

(Woman, 20-24 years old, Denmark)

*"Antisemitism in Germany today is just like it was 30 years ago. For the past 12 years, antisemitism has no longer been a taboo in Germany, and so it occurs more often – verbally and physically, on German streets and in social media."*

(Woman, 60-69 years old, Germany)

*"At work and in the media and social media, antisemitism is a daily and unrepressed occurrence."*

(Woman, 40-44 years old, France)

*"There is no antisemitism in Hungary, no matter how they try to paint this picture about this country. There are historical wounds, but these are healing beautifully."*

(Man, 20-24 years old, Hungary)

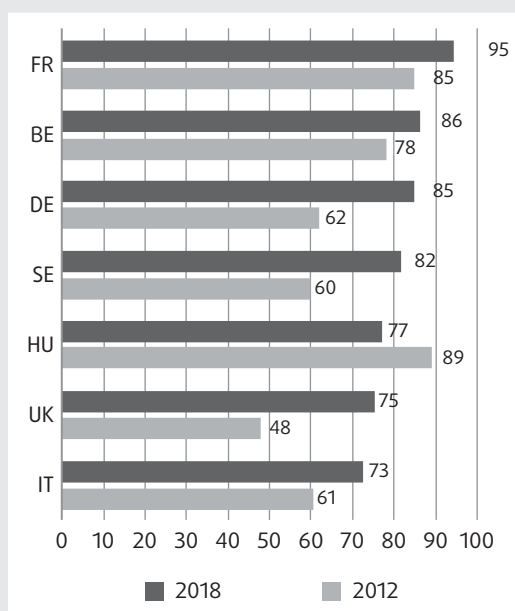
*"It seems as if the Netherlands is tired of antisemitism. It seems like it's a subject that gets trivialised and also on social media, it's seen as very normal. [...] Very worrisome!"*

(Woman, 35-39 years old, the Netherlands)

*"I think that Sweden was not antisemitic at all before, that has changed, it's that which feels so difficult. Before, I wasn't at all afraid to say that I was Jewish; my children even though it was interesting when they were teenagers and they wanted to be special. Nowadays, I'm more reluctant to talk about my background. I am concerned about the future."*

(Woman, 70-79 years old, Sweden)

Respondents who indicated antisemitism to be 'a very big' or 'a fairly big' problem in the country, by EU Member State, 2018 and 2012 surveys (%)



Notes: In 2018, n=13,083; in 2012, n=5,693.

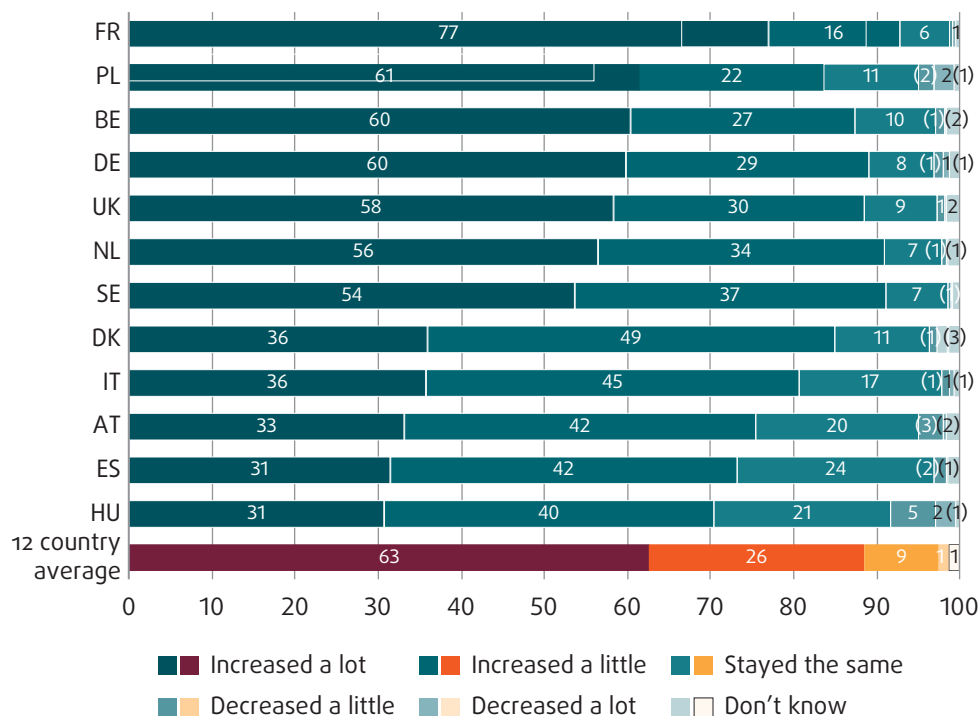
Question: in 2018, B02, category D; in 2012, category F. Answers include both 'a very big problem' and 'a fairly big problem'.

When comparing the findings of the 2012 and 2018 surveys in seven countries for which data from both surveys are available, several tendencies are observed. Overall, the 2018 findings show a slight increase in perception of antisemitism as a problem in most countries. Three countries stand out with increased shares of respondents who say that antisemitism is 'a very big' or 'a fairly big' problem – the United Kingdom, Germany and Sweden (increase by 27, 23 and 22 percentage points, respectively, between 2012 and 2018). By contrast, in Hungary, the respective share decreased (by 12 percentage points) between the 2012 and 2018 surveys.

Respondents were also asked whether they feel that antisemitism has increased or decreased in the country they live in during the five years before the survey. According to a large majority of respondents in all 12 survey countries, antisemitism is increasing – having increased 'a lot' or 'a little' in the past five years, which corresponds roughly to the interval between the two surveys (2012 and 2018) (Figure 2). The percentage of respondents indicating that antisemitism increased

during the past five years is especially high (about 90 %) in Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Most of these are also countries where, as shown earlier, respondents were most likely to say that antisemitism is 'a very big' or 'a fairly big problem' today. However, in the other six EU Member States, the majority of respondents (over 70 %) also feel that antisemitism increased during the past five years.

**Figure 2: Perceptions on changes in the level of antisemitism in the country over the past five years, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted; sorted by 'increased a lot'.  
<sup>b</sup> Question: B03. Over the past five years, have the following increased, stayed the same or decreased in [COUNTRY]? Answer: B. Antisemitism.  
<sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.  
<sup>d</sup> Results based on a small number of responses are statistically less reliable. Thus, results based on 20 to 49 unweighted observations in a group total or based on cells with fewer than 20 unweighted observations are noted in parentheses. Results based on fewer than 20 unweighted observations in a group total are not published.

Source: FRA, 2018

*“Antisemitic thoughts that slowly enter everyday ‘acceptable’ thinking is the biggest danger for me. There will always be someone who will let it go further and when it becomes too crude or hard to ignore, it’ll be too late.”*  
 (Man, 55-59 years old, Belgium)

*“Unfortunately, the development over time has been for the worse. For many years, being Jewish in Denmark was not a problem. In this millennium, we have started to see threats, offending statements and terrorist attack against persons characterised as Jews. The majority of these have been initiated by people of a Muslim background.”*  
 (Woman, 55-59 years old, Denmark)

*“The phenomenon is increasing and is dangerous especially as it is not taken seriously. It is attributed to childish pranks or actions/expressions by poorly educated people.”*  
 (Man, 55-59 years old, Italy)

*“In my upbringing I heard my mother talk about ‘never tell anyone in school, where you work’ that you are of Jewish descent. When I realised this myself at an adult age and I was targeted with antisemitic insults, I felt it – how much of my fear transferred from my mother’s fear of antisemitism I don’t know, but from my daily life as outspoken Jew, I see it, hear it and experience it. My experience should in this case be counted as ‘for real’. Antisemitism is for real, it’s a habit that routinely grows, it’s there and runs wild.”*  
 (Woman, 30-34 years old, Sweden)

*“I feel very safe in the UK. I have been living outside of London as well but it was never a problem to be openly Jewish.”*  
 (Woman, 40-44 years old, the United Kingdom)

*Respondents who said that the level of antisemitism has increased a lot or increased a little over the past 5 years, by EU Member State, 2018 and 2012 surveys (%)*



Notes: In 2018, n=13,083; in 2012, n=5,693.

Question: in 2018, B03, category B; in 2012, B03, category B. Answers include both 'increased a little' and 'increased a lot'.

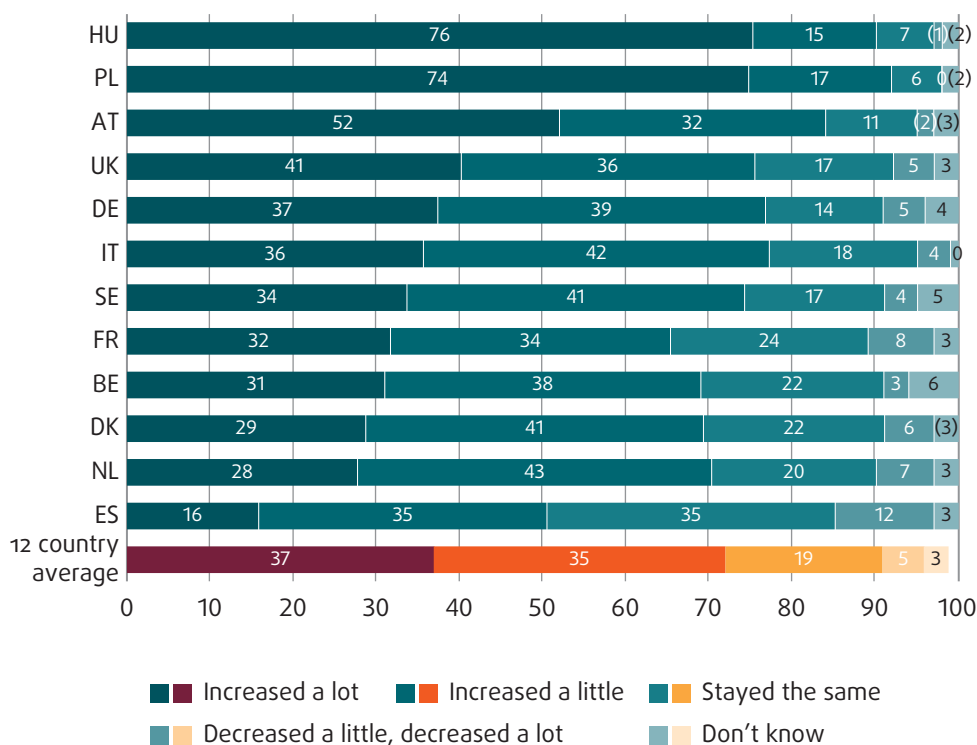
When comparing the findings of the 2018 and 2012 surveys in seven countries, several tendencies are observed. Overall, the 2018 findings show a slight increase in the perception that antisemitism in the country has worsened over the past five years. The following countries stand out with increased shares of respondents who say that antisemitism has increased 'a little' or 'a lot': the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and Sweden (increase by 24, 21, 14 and 11 percentage points, respectively, between the 2012 and 2018 surveys). By contrast, in Hungary, the respective share decreased (by 21 percentage points).

The survey also asked respondents whether they feel that racism and intolerance towards Muslims have increased or decreased during the past five years. The majority of respondents across the survey countries feel that these have increased (76 % and 72 %, respectively). The percentage of respondents indicating that intolerance

towards Muslims has 'increased a lot' over the past five years is especially high in Hungary (76 %) and Poland (74 %) (Figure 3). Regarding racism, a large majority of respondents (around 80 %) in Sweden, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Austria, and the Netherlands indicate that this has increased 'a lot' or 'a little' over the past five years.



**Figure 3: Perceptions of changes in the level of intolerance towards Muslims in the country over the past five years, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted; sorted by 'increased a lot'.  
<sup>b</sup> Question: B03. Over the past five years, have the following increased, stayed the same or decreased in [COUNTRY]? C. Intolerance towards Muslims.  
<sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.  
<sup>d</sup> Results based on a small number of responses are statistically less reliable. Thus, results based on 20 to 49 unweighted observations in a group total or based on cells with fewer than 20 unweighted observations are noted in parentheses. Results based on fewer than 20 unweighted observations in a group total are not published.

Source: FRA, 2018

## 1.2. Manifestations of antisemitism affecting the Jewish community

Antisemitic acts can have a profound impact not only on individuals and those close to them, but also on the Jewish community as a whole. The survey covers seven such acts. The respondents were asked to assess the extent to which each one is or is not a problem today in the country where they live. The survey also asked respondents whether they think that manifestations of each of the types of antisemitic acts increased or decreased in the five years before the survey. The acts asked about are:

- antisemitic graffiti;
- desecration of Jewish cemeteries;

- vandalism of Jewish buildings or institutions;
- expressions of hostility towards Jews in the street and other public places;
- antisemitism in the media;
- antisemitism in political life;
- antisemitism on the internet, including social media.

Each of these manifestations of antisemitism is considered 'a very big' or 'a fairly big' problem by at least half of the respondents (Table 2). Among the specific manifestations listed, antisemitism online is seen as a particularly widespread problem: a large majority of all respondents in the 12 survey countries (89 %) consider this either 'a very big' or a 'fairly big' problem, and as many (88 %) believe that it has increased



over the past five years (Figure 4). The percentage of respondents indicating that antisemitism on the internet is problematic is especially high (at least 90 %) in Belgium, France, Italy, and Poland. In Belgium and France, a majority of respondents rate almost all antisemitic manifestations that the survey asked about as ‘a very big’ or ‘a fairly big’ problem. These are also the countries with the highest proportion of respondents indicating antisemitism in general as a problem (Section 1.1.).

The majority of all respondents (73 %) in the 12 survey countries perceive expressions of hostility towards Jews in the street and other public places as the second-most widespread manifestation of antisemitism. In addition, 71 % of the respondents feel that antisemitism in the media is ‘a very big’ or ‘a fairly big’ problem; 70 % say the same about antisemitism in political life. The majority of the respondents in Belgium (84 %), Spain (85 %), and France (80 %) consider antisemitism in the media to be ‘a very big’ or ‘a fairly big’ problem in the country. Also, two thirds of all respondents in the 12 survey countries identify the vandalism of Jewish buildings or institutions, antisemitic graffiti, and desecration of Jewish cemeteries as ‘a very big’ or ‘a fairly big’ problem in the country (66 %, 64 %, and 63 %, respectively).

The results also show some striking differences in the experiences of Jewish people across the 12 survey countries. A large majority of respondents in Hungary, Poland and the United Kingdom consider antisemitism in political life to be a problem (74 %, 77 %, and 84 %, respectively). By contrast, in Denmark, 37 % of respondents see antisemitism in political life as a problem. Expressions of hostility towards Jews in the street and other public spaces is considered to be ‘a very big’ or ‘a fairly big problem’ by the large majority of respondents in France (91 %), Belgium (81 %), Germany (80 %), and the Netherlands (71 %), but less so in Poland, Hungary and Denmark (37 %, 46 % and 47 %, respectively).

The survey results show that, among the seven manifestations of antisemitism outlined in Table 2, respondents in all survey countries identified antisemitism on the internet as increasing (respondents who say it has increased ‘a lot’ or ‘a little’) (Figure 4). More than 70 % of the respondents living in each of the 12 survey countries are concerned about the level of antisemitism on the internet, which they say has increased either a lot or a little in the past five years. Antisemitic hostility in public places, antisemitism in political life and in the media are the next three manifestations that the majority of respondents perceive as being on the rise.

**Table 2: Assessment of manifestations of antisemitism against Jewish community as a problem, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d,e</sup>**

	AT	BE	DE	DK	ES	FR	HU	IT	NL	PL	SE	UK	12 country average
<b>Antisemitism on the internet, including social media</b>	85	92	89	71	86	95	81	90	80	92	81	84	89
<b>Expressions of hostility towards Jews in the street or other public places</b>	46	81	80	47	52	91	46	51	71	37	69	52	73
<b>Antisemitism in the media</b>	51	84	68	51	85	80	69	73	63	73	63	61	71
<b>Antisemitism in political life</b>	63	69	61	37	66	67	74	55	49	77	58	84	70
<b>Vandalism of Jewish buildings or institutions</b>	31	68	61	45	45	88	35	48	57	39	60	45	66
<b>Antisemitic graffiti</b>	36	64	53	28	54	83	58	66	38	71	48	45	64
<b>Desecration of Jewish cemeteries</b>	40	53	61	20	31	83	53	51	37	51	48	45	63

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Question: B04a. To what extent do you think the following are a problem in [COUNTRY] (Items as listed in the table)?

<sup>c</sup> Answers in the table are a sum of answer categories ‘a very big problem’ and ‘a fairly big problem’.

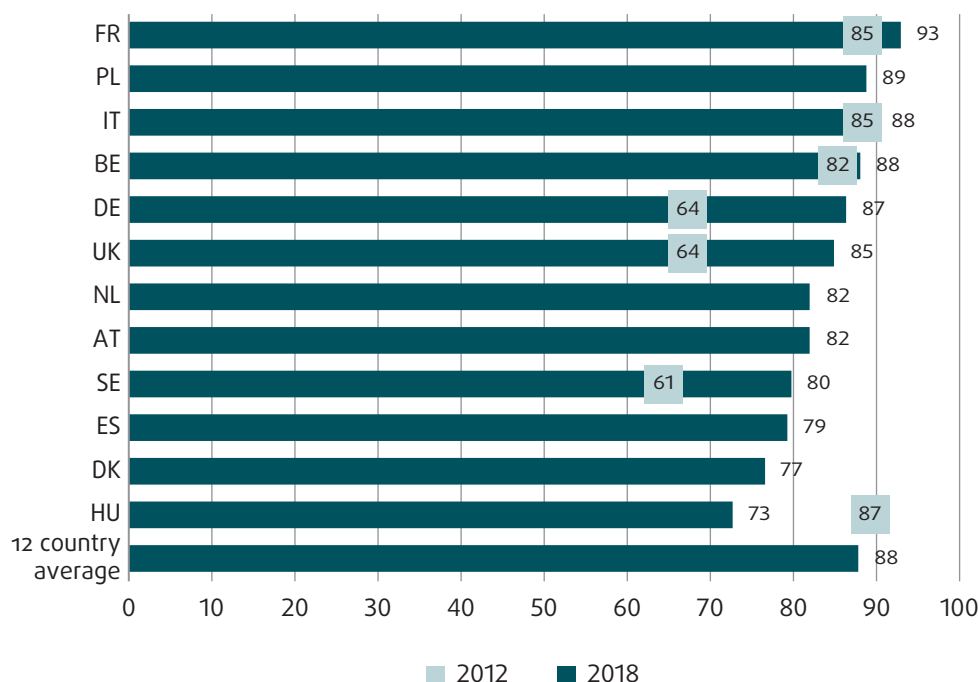
<sup>d</sup> The items are listed in descending order according to the average of the 12 countries.

<sup>e</sup> For each country, the three most serious manifestations of antisemitism – as assessed by the respondents – are highlighted in the table.

Source: FRA, 2018



**Figure 4: Perceptions of changes in the level of expressions of antisemitism on the internet in the country over the past five years, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.  
<sup>b</sup> Question: Bo4b. Over the past five years, have the following increased, stayed the same or decreased in [COUNTRY]? Answer: G. Antisemitism on the internet, including social media.  
<sup>c</sup> Answers include 'increased a lot' and 'increased a little'.  
<sup>d</sup> The values in light blue squares refer to the respective findings of the 2012 survey in seven Member States.

Source: FRA, 2018

*"Some news outlets publish misinformation, the internet is polluted by antisemitism. The situation gets worse every day."*

(Man, 60-69 years old, France)

*"Social media dramatically amplifies and spreads antisemitic hate quickly."*

(Woman, 60-69 years old, France)

*"Especially on Facebook there are many antisemitic and antiisraeli comments with an antisemitic character. If you report them to Facebook, they respond almost automatically 'it meets our standards'."*

(Man, 55-59 years old, Germany)

*"My largest concern are the 'alternative' media like YouTube-channels, Twitter, Facebook or social media groups: racist and antisemitic insults are stated (apparently anonymously) and crude, insane, often antisemitic conspiracy theories are spread."*

(Woman, 45-49 years old, Germany)

*"I found the online antisemitism dangerous, it's unutterably supported by the government."*

(Man, 70-79 years old, Hungary)

*"Certainly on social media, antisemitism runs wild."*

(Woman, 30-34 years old, the Netherlands)

*"The media are providing fake news to the citizens creating prejudices in this way."*

(Woman 16-19 years old Spain)

*"The survey asks if I have personally been a victim of antisemitism, which I have not, but I feel it's important to add that I have a strong feeling of unease at the moment regarding the level of antisemitism in the media and online which makes me feel unsafe."*

(Woman, 40-44 years old, the United Kingdom)

*"Some forms of antisemitism (especially in social media) have become so commonplace that they are almost accepted. These are the sort of things that you can't report to the police or even to the media platform, but strengthen a hostile culture. For example, references to Jewish bankers, Rothschild cults, etc etc."*

(Man, 40-44 years old, the United Kingdom)

When comparing the findings of the 2012 and 2018 surveys in seven countries, similar tendencies to those mentioned earlier in relation to perceptions of antisemitism as a problem and changes in its levels are observed. Overall, the 2018 findings show a slight increase in the perception that antisemitism on the internet has worsened over the past five years in the country. Germany, the United Kingdom and Sweden stand out with growing shares of respondents who say that antisemitism on the internet is on the increase (increase of 23, 21 and 19 percentage points, respectively, between 2012 and 2018). Hungary stands out with a decreased share of respondents holding this opinion (14 percentage points less in 2018 than in 2012).

### 1.3. Prevalence and context of negative statements about Jews

Hearing or seeing statements that offend human dignity by assigning fictional negative attributes to individuals as members of a group can be detrimental to Jewish people's sense of safety and security, and undermine their ability to live their lives openly as Jews. The FRA survey addresses this issue by asking respondents to what extent they have been exposed to certain statements selected for the survey, and whether they consider these statements antisemitic. The statements selected cover various issues, including the role of the Jewish community in society, their interests and distinctiveness, attitudes towards historical experiences and current issues. First, respondents were asked how often they have heard or seen non-Jewish people make these statements, and in what contexts they did so. [Figure 5](#) shows the full list of statements together with the results. These statements do not necessarily reflect the whole spectrum of antisemitic views or connotations. They were used to guide the respondents into thinking about situations where they may have heard negative comments about Jewish people, in order to identify the contexts in which these comments are made. Respondents' assessments of these statements offer insights into what issues they consider antisemitic.

#### 1.3.1. Respondents assessing the antisemitic nature of negative comments and their prevalence

A large majority of the respondents in all survey countries consider the statements addressed in the survey to be antisemitic if made by non-Jews: over 80 % of respondents said 'yes, definitely' or 'yes, probably'

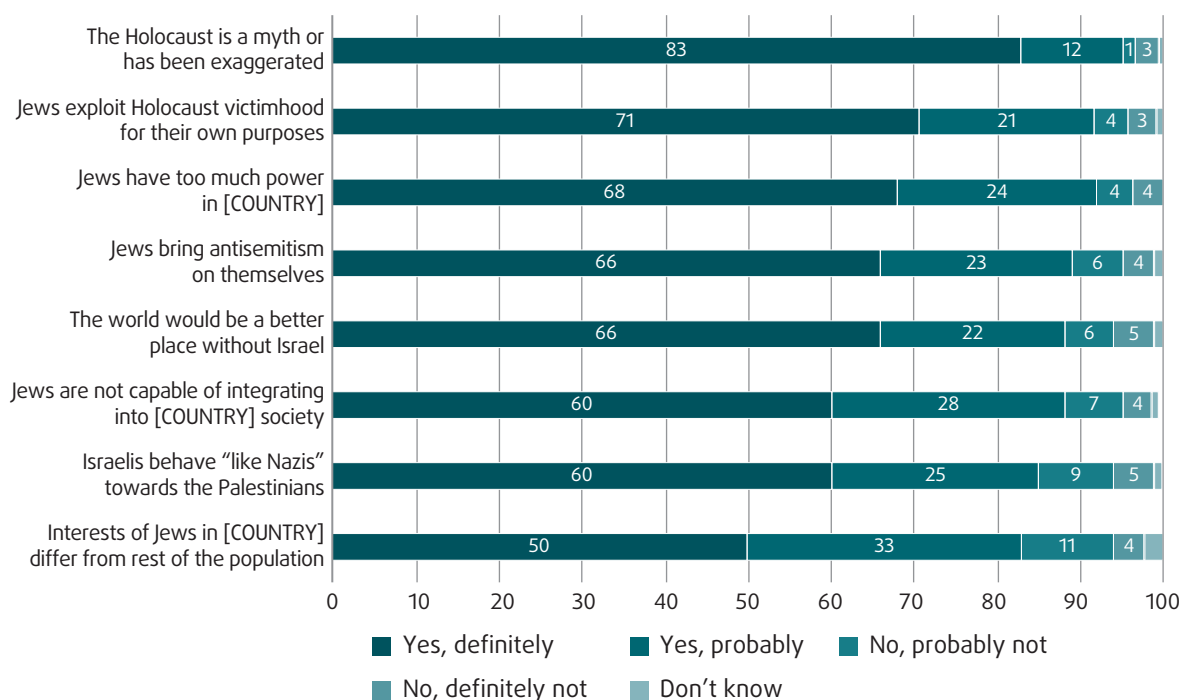
for each of the eight statements ([Figure 5](#)). There are no notable differences between countries in terms of respondents' views concerning the statements.

Many respondents indicate that they have to deal with such statements on a regular basis. Depending on the country, 11 %–51 % have heard or seen them 'all the time' or 'frequently' in the past 12 months, while 29 %–40 % say they have heard or seen them 'occasionally' ([Figure 6](#)). For example, half of respondents (51 %) have heard or seen the statement "Israelis behave 'like Nazis' towards Palestinians" 'all the time' or 'frequently'. Close to half (43 %) have heard or seen the statement 'Jews have too much power in [COUNTRY]' at least frequently. The statement 'Jews are not capable of integrating into society' is an exception, as 60 % of all respondents say they have not heard or seen it in the past 12 months.

An analysis of the prevalence of the listed statements uncovers some differences in experiences across the 12 EU Member States ([Table 3](#)). In Poland, a majority of the respondents have heard or seen five out of seven statements regularly. For example, two thirds of respondents say they have heard or seen the following statements: "Israelis behave 'like Nazis' towards the Palestinians", 'Jews exploit Holocaust victimhood for their own purposes' and 'Jews have too much power in [COUNTRY]' 'all the time' or 'frequently' (63 %, 67 % and 70 %, respectively). Respondents in Germany, Belgium and Spain also regularly face the statement "Israelis behave 'like Nazis' towards the Palestinians" (63 %, 64 % and 68 %, respectively said 'all the time' or 'frequently'). Half of the respondents in France and Hungary (50 % and 53 %, respectively) regularly hear the statement 'Jews have too much power in [COUNTRY]', while in Denmark and Sweden, this share comprises 24 % and 27 %, respectively.



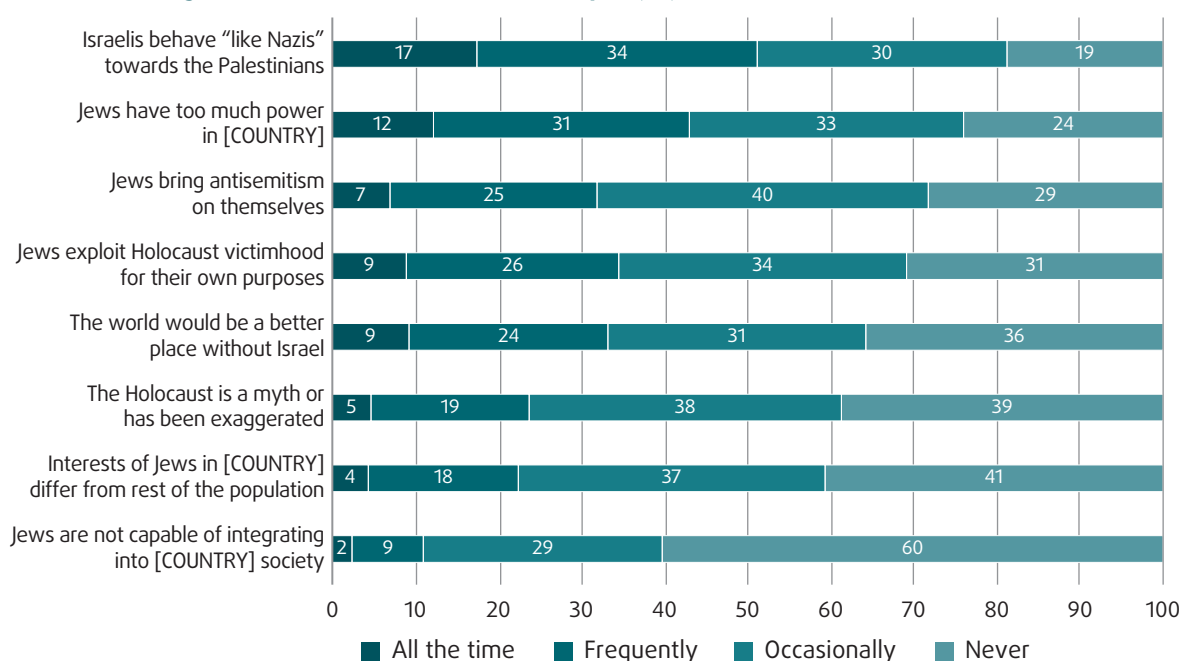
**Figure 5: Opinions on the antisemitic nature of select statements when made by a non-Jewish person, average of the 12 EU Member States surveyed (%)<sup>a,b,c</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); 12 country average is weighted; sorted by 'yes, definitely'.  
<sup>b</sup> Question: B15b. Would you consider a non-Jewish person to be antisemitic if he or she says that: (Items as listed in the figure)?  
<sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.

Source: FRA, 2018

**Figure 6: Frequency of hearing or seeing select statements made by non-Jewish people, average of the 12 EU Member States surveyed (%)<sup>a,b,c</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); 12 country average is weighted; sorted by 'never'.  
<sup>b</sup> Question: B15a. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, have you ever personally heard or seen non-Jewish people in [COUNTRY] suggest that: (Items as listed in the figure)?  
<sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.

Source: FRA, 2018

**Table 3: Respondents who have heard or seen the selected statements made by non-Jewish people, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>**

	AT	BE	DE	DK	ES	FR	HU	IT	NL	PL	SE	UK	12 country average
Israelis behave “like Nazis” towards the Palestinians	50	64	63	55	68	53	44	60	51	63	43	42	51
Jews have too much power in [COUNTRY]	33	35	42	24	30	50	53	37	32	70	27	35	43
Jews exploit Holocaust victimhood for their own purposes	35	45	45	32	42	36	41	36	34	67	25	27	35
The world would be a better place without Israel	24	43	38	34	40	34	19	34	32	29	26	32	33
Jews bring antisemitism on themselves	26	36	38	29	39	34	34	35	31	56	25	24	32
The Holocaust is a myth or has been exaggerated	20	26	28	15	29	22	26	21	24	35	18	23	24
Interests of Jews in [COUNTRY] differ from rest of the population	15	26	21	14	22	27	28	19	19	55	13	17	22
Jews are not capable of integrating into [COUNTRY] society	8	19	11	7	17	10	19	12	8	36	4	9	11

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Question: B15a. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, have you ever personally heard or seen non-Jewish people in [COUNTRY] suggest that: (Items as listed in the figure)?

<sup>c</sup> Answers include ‘all the time’ and ‘frequently’.

<sup>d</sup> The items are listed in descending order according to the average of the 12 countries.

Source: FRA, 2018

“My biggest problem has been that people use the word Jew as an invective in their daily speech, which I find offensive. Besides, people really like the so-called Jewish jokes and often do not realise how antisemitic many of these are.”

(Woman, 20–24 years old, Denmark)

“Often people react like ‘Really? You are Jewish? That’s very cool’, even though it shouldn’t matter, who I am and you shouldn’t have to stress that you are not antisemitic (keyword: positive discrimination). Often you are exposed to jokes about Jews that are not meant antisemitic at all and that should be funny, but jokes about concentration camps or about prejudices are not funny, if you have lost a relative because of them.”

(Man, 16–19 years old, Germany)

“Trivialising the shoah is very serious and yet so many things turn up on social media our young people have to live through this all the time.”

(Woman, 50–54 years old, France)

“There are still a lot of prejudices. People often make jokes and after I call them out on it they say, ‘But that doesn’t apply to you.’”

(Man, 50–54 years old, the Netherlands)

“Manifestations of antisemitism include jokes about Jews, the Holocaust, Hitler, etc., which are still strongly present in Poland in some circles, including among people with higher education. In addition, much is said about the influence of Jews on political decisions not in Poland but in the US, which is simply a way of saying that Jews rule the world because of the position of the US in international relations.”

(Woman, 25–29 years old, Poland)

“In my opinion, antisemitism in Poland is primarily in the heads, convictions and statements of people, it rarely takes the form of physical attacks, partly because non-religious Jews (such as myself) are difficult to recognise. In almost every conversation, discussions with a taxi driver, etc., the interlocutors reveal antisemitic beliefs, and generally racist ones. It has grown a lot over the last two years, it is also given value by public media. People have stopped being ashamed that they are racists and antisemites nowadays. And this hurts me.”

(Woman, 45–49 years old, Poland)

“I have had antisemitic comments made to me at work such as ‘all Jews are rich.’”

(Woman, 20–24 years old, the United Kingdom)

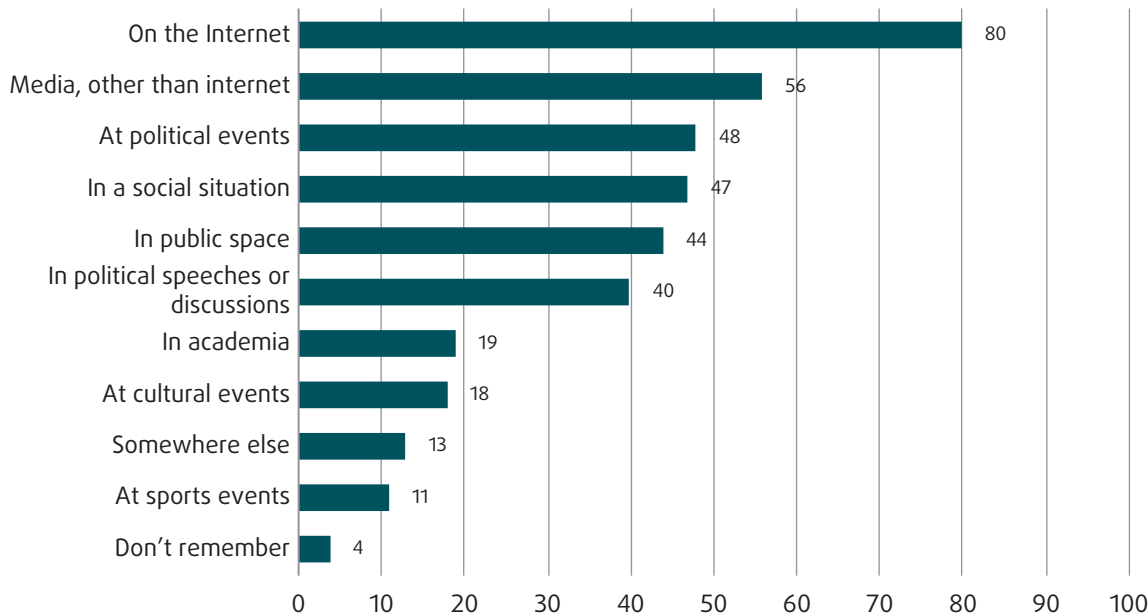
### 1.3.2. Context of negative statements about Jews

Respondents who have been exposed to negative statements about Jews were asked further details concerning the specific context in which they heard or saw non-Jews making these statements. Respondents could select as many contexts as relevant. Respondents in all 12 EU Member States surveyed identify the internet as the most common forum for negative statements. Four in five respondents (80 %) who have heard or seen one or more of the listed statements at least occasionally in the past 12 months mentioned the internet (Figure 7). More than half of the respondents who have seen or heard the negative statements indicate that they are made in media other than internet (56 %). Close to half of respondents mention political events, social situations or public spaces (such as on the street or in public transport) as forums for negative statements about Jewish populations (48 %, 47 % and 44 %, respectively). Out of respondents who have seen or heard the statements made, two in five (40 %) have come across them in political speeches or discussions.

Slight differences among age groups can be observed regarding the internet, social situations or public spaces, and academia as settings for antisemitic statements.

For example, hearing or seeing the negative statements about Jews made on the internet was most common among the youngest respondents (aged 16–29 years) and 30–44-year-olds – 88 % and 89 %, respectively, had heard or seen the statements, compared with 70 % of respondents who are 60 years old or older. Younger respondents more often hear negative statements about Jews in social situations (for example, among friends and colleagues) or public spaces than older respondents. Among the youngest respondents (aged 16–29 years), half of those who have heard or seen the negative statements about Jews indicate that the statements are made in social situations or public spaces (58 % and 52 %, respectively). Among the oldest age group (60 years old and over), one third of respondents mention social situations or public spaces (35 % and 34 %, respectively). Also, the youngest respondents tend to mention academia as a source of negative statements more often than the others (e.g. 39 % of those aged 16–29 years; 20–21 % of those aged 30–59 years, and 17 % of the oldest respondents). This may indicate differences in exposure to certain situations at different stages of life, as younger respondents may be more likely to meet with diverse groups of people as part of their studies and in social life. There are no significant differences by respondents’ gender and the situations where negative comments about Jews occur.

**Figure 7: Context of specific comments by non-Jewish people in the 12 months before the survey, average of the 12 EU Member States surveyed (%)<sup>a,b</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of respondents who have heard or seen the statements at least ‘occasionally’ (n=15,145); 12 country average is weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Question: B16a. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, WHERE did you personally hear or see these comments: (Items as listed in the figure)? Multiple responses possible.

Source: FRA, 2018

Some notable differences between EU Member States emerge with regard to public spaces, political events, academia and social situations as specific contexts for the negative statements, while in all countries, the internet is mentioned most often as the context of negative statements about Jews (Table 4). Among the respondents who have seen or heard one or more of the negative statements about Jews in the 12 months prior to the survey, fewer respondents in the United Kingdom (29 %), Denmark (34 %) and Sweden (38 %) indicate public spaces as the context of the statements in comparison to, for example, Poland (62 %), Hungary (56 %) or Germany (53 %). Furthermore, more respondents from Poland (65 %) say that they have heard such

statements at political events compared with respondents from Germany and France (52 % and 51 %, respectively) or from other countries. Negative statements about Jews in political speeches and discussions are noted by more respondents from the United Kingdom (50 %), Poland (48 %) and Hungary (42 %). Also, more respondents in Spain and Italy (38 % and 37 %, respectively) than in other countries note negative statements being made in academia. Fewer respondents from the United Kingdom, Sweden, the Netherlands and Denmark (33 %, 39 %, 41% and 42 %, respectively) say that they have heard such statements in social situations than respondents from, for example, Germany, Poland or Spain (56 %-58 %).

**Table 4: Context of negative statements about Jews made by non-Jewish people in the 12 months before the survey, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>**

	AT	BE	DE	DK	ES	FR	HU	IT	NL	PL	SE	UK	12 country average
<b>On the internet</b>	78	83	82	79	82	80	82	82	74	92	77	77	80
<b>Media, other than internet</b>	39	66	50	52	66	55	45	45	66	64	57	60	56
<b>At political events</b>	43	42	52	37	49	51	37	45	44	65	48	44	48
<b>In a social situation</b>	50	51	56	42	58	51	51	52	41	57	39	33	47
<b>In public space</b>	46	47	53	34	40	48	56	41	40	62	38	29	44
<b>In political speeches or discussions</b>	30	35	35	27	33	37	42	28	33	48	35	50	40
<b>In academia</b>	14	17	29	24	38	10	11	37	21	18	13	28	19
<b>At cultural events</b>	10	24	18	11	28	20	5	21	17	10	29	17	18
<b>Somewhere else</b>	16	16	19	11	14	14	10	10	19	24	19	9	13
<b>At sports events</b>	11	20	12	4	18	9	24	28	15	23	5	9	11
<b>Don't remember</b>	5	3	3	5	4	4	4	3	5	2	5	4	4

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of respondents who have heard or seen the statements at least 'occasionally' (n=15,145); 12 country average is weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Question: B16a. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, WHERE did you personally hear or see these comments: (Items as listed in the table)? Multiple responses possible.

<sup>c</sup> The items are listed in descending order according to the average of the 12 countries.

<sup>d</sup> For each country, the three most frequent contexts are highlighted in the table.

Source: FRA, 2018

When comparing the findings of the 2018 and 2012 surveys in seven countries, no differences are observed in the opinions about the antisemitic nature of the selected statements when made by non-Jewish persons. The same applies to the frequency of hearing or seeing the respective statements. The same shares of respondents said they have heard or seen these statements regularly (all the time or frequently) in the countries surveyed – except for Germany, where higher proportions of respondents are regularly confronted with some of these statements in 2018 than in 2012. Equally, the internet remains the most common forum for these negative statements as perceived by the respondents across the seven survey countries.

### 1.3.3. Assessing the antisemitic nature of selected opinions or actions by non-Jews

In addition to select negative statements about Jews, the survey explored the extent to which respondents consider certain behaviours or actions by non-Jews to be antisemitic. These questions sought to add additional detail to the picture concerning respondents' perceptions of antisemitism. The questions covered opinions about Jewish people, attitudes or behaviour towards Jewish people, and statements such as Jewish people having recognisable features, as well as support for a boycott of Israeli goods (Table 5 shows the full list of items together with the results by Member State). The respondents were asked whether they consider these opinions or actions to be antisemitic when expressed

or carried out by a non-Jewish person. The survey did not include any follow-up questions, on topics such as the frequency or context of these opinions or actions.

For a majority of survey respondents, most of the opinions or actions listed in the questions are antisemitic – except for 'criticises Israel', which a minority (38 %) of respondents considers antisemitic. Regarding the other listed opinions or actions, the proportions of respondents viewing these as antisemitic differ widely. Across the country average, the results range from 55 % of respondents who think that a non-Jewish person is 'definitely' or 'probably' antisemitic if they always note who among their acquaintances is Jewish, to 94 % of respondents saying that a non-Jewish person who does not consider Jews living in the country to be country nationals is 'definitely' or 'probably' antisemitic.

**Table 5: Respondents who consider certain opinions or actions by non-Jews to be antisemitic, by type of opinion or action, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>**

	AT	BE	DE	DK	ES	FR	HU	IT	NL	PL	SE	UK	12 country average
<b>Does not consider Jews living in [COUNTRY] to be [COUNTRY NATIONAL]</b>	93	90	90	93	89	96	93	91	90	91	91	95	94
<b>Supports boycotts of Israel or Israelis</b>	83	83	84	63	89	87	82	83	77	69	66	75	82
<b>Thinks that Jews have recognisable features</b>	83	67	78	56	72	82	68	73	70	66	59	67	75
<b>Would not marry a Jew</b>	76	45	67	68	74	55	82	63	56	72	71	55	59
<b>Always notes who is Jewish among his/her acquaintances</b>	48	49	46	44	58	59	72	52	46	58	56	52	55
<b>Criticises Israel</b>	37	34	37	19	62	42	35	37	25	27	28	34	38

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Question: B17. Would you consider a non-Jewish person to be antisemitic if he or she: (Items as listed in the table)?

<sup>c</sup> Answers include both 'yes, definitely' and 'yes, probably'.

<sup>d</sup> The items are listed in descending order according to the average of the 12 countries.

Source: FRA, 2018





# 2

## Safety and security



### KEY FINDINGS

- Nearly half (47 %) of all respondents worry about becoming a victim of an antisemitic verbal insult or harassment in the next 12 months, while over one third (40 %) worry about being physically attacked in that same period.
- One third (34 %) of all respondents said that they at least occasionally avoid visiting Jewish events or sites because they would not feel safe there, or on the way there, as a Jew. Over one third of all respondents (38 %) avoid certain places in their local area or neighbourhood at least occasionally because they do not feel safe there as a Jew.
- Across the 12 EU Member States surveyed, half of respondents (49 %) at least sometimes wear, carry or display items that could identify them as Jewish. Of those respondents who at least sometimes carry or display such items, over two thirds (71 %) at least occasionally avoid doing so.
- More than one third of all respondents have considered emigrating (38 %) in the past five years because they did not feel safe as a Jew in the country where they live.
- A majority of respondents (70 %) believe that their national governments' efforts to combat antisemitism are not effective. Meanwhile, half of the respondents (54 %) positively assess their national governments' efforts to ensure the security needs of the Jewish communities – but the level of satisfaction with such efforts varies widely between countries.

This chapter explores the extent to which Jewish people feel safe to lead an openly Jewish way of life in their own country and neighbourhood. It provides data on the extent to which Jewish people have witnessed antisemitic incidents in the form of verbal insults or physical attacks. The survey results further describe the level of respondents' concern about themselves becoming, or having their family members become, victims of antisemitic incidents; and how people respond to safety concerns. The chapter includes the results on questions

about taking, or considering taking, certain actions in response to feelings of insecurity – for example, avoiding certain places or avoiding being recognised as a Jew in public places. Furthermore, the chapter briefly covers respondents' opinions about governments' efforts to combat antisemitism and about the possible impact of international events on their lives as Jewish people living in the EU. Survey results concerning respondents' personal experiences of antisemitic harassment and physical attacks are described in [Chapter 3](#).

## FRA ACTIVITY

### FRA's work on hate crime and its victims

FRA has generated and analysed extensive evidence on the situation of hate crime victims from their perspective – through its EU-wide surveys\* and other research\*\* – as well as on some of the barriers and challenges criminal justice professionals face. The evidence has consistently shown that victims encounter difficulties in reporting and, in many cases, the police, public prosecutors and criminal court judges are reluctant to record and acknowledge hate crime. In 2016, the European Commission invited FRA to coordinate the Subgroup on improving recording and collecting data on hate crime under the EU High Level Group on combating racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance. One of the Subgroup's activities involves holding national workshops that FRA and ODIHR jointly facilitate. These workshops aim to raise awareness of the need to properly record hate crimes; to identify gaps in existing hate crime recording and data collection frameworks; and to identify practical steps to improve these frameworks.

\*See FRA's webpage on its surveys.

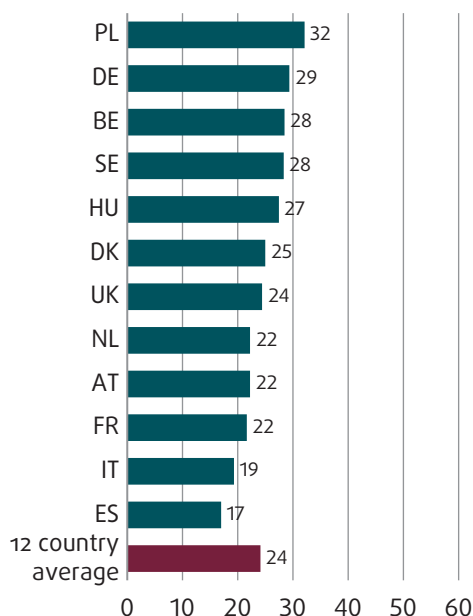
\*\*See, for example, *Database 2012–2017 on anti-Muslim hatred; Children with disabilities: targeted violence and hostility; Incitement in media content and political discourse in Member States of the European Union; Current migration situation in the EU: hate crime; and Ensuring justice for hate crime victims: professional perspectives.*

## 2.1. Worrying about becoming a victim of hate crime

While personal experiences of violence and harassment can directly affect people's sense of safety, observing how others are treated – especially family members and friends – can provide equally strong indications of existing risks. Respondents were asked whether they have witnessed other Jewish people being subjected to antisemitic insults, harassment or physical attack, or whether any of their family members or close friends experienced such incidents in the 12 months before the survey.

On average, in all 12 countries covered, one quarter (24 %) of the respondents indicated that they witnessed other Jews being verbally insulted, harassed and/or physically attacked in the 12 months before the survey, and one fifth (20 %) of respondents know family members or other people close to them who have been subjected to antisemitic verbal or physical attacks (Figure 8 and Figure 9). Poland, Germany and Belgium show the highest levels of antisemitic incidents that affect respondents indirectly, either as witnesses (32 %, 29 % and 28 %, respectively) or through their circle of family members and close friends (25 %, 27 % and 28 %, respectively). The majority of these incidents refer to experiences of verbal insults or harassment, while on average across the 12 countries, 1 % of respondents indicated witnessing other Jews being physically attacked, and 2 % said their family members were physically attacked.

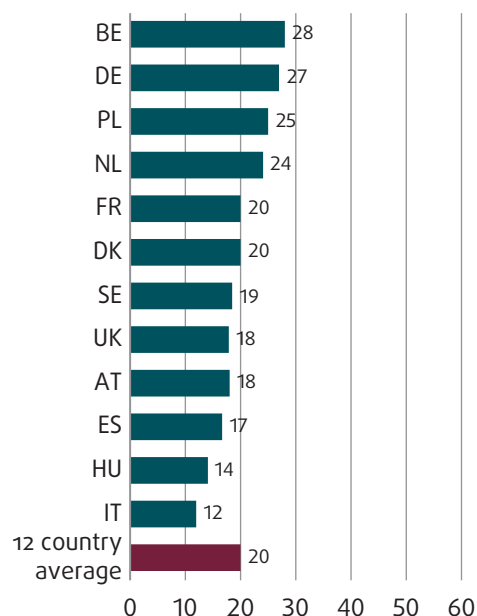
**Figure 8: Witnessing other Jews being verbally insulted or harassed and/or physically attacked in the past 12 months, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.  
<sup>b</sup> Question: B09c. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, have you personally witnessed any of the following types of antisemitic incidents in [COUNTRY]?  
<sup>c</sup> Answers include 'I have witnessed other Jew(s) being verbally insulted or harassed', 'I have witnessed other Jew(s) being physically attacked', 'I have witnessed other Jew(s) being both verbally insulted or harassed AND physically attacked'.

Source: FRA, 2018

**Figure 9: Family member a victim of verbal insults or harassment and/or physically attacked because of being Jewish in the past 12 months, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c</sup>**



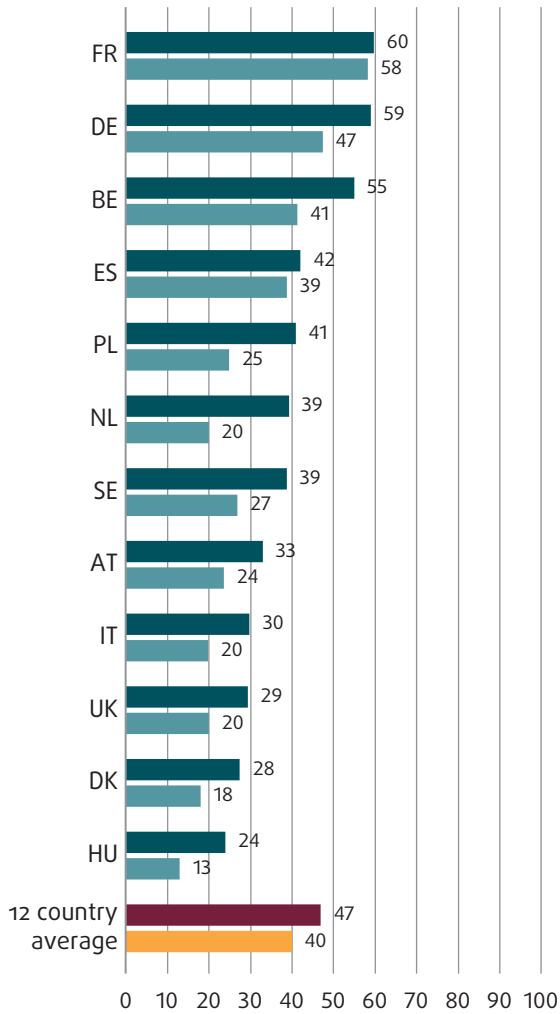
Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.  
<sup>b</sup> Questions: B12a. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, has a family member or a person close to you experienced any of the following incidents in [COUNTRY]? B12b01/B12b02. Did any of these incidents happen BECAUSE they are Jewish?  
<sup>c</sup> Answers category 'They have been verbally insulted or harassed', 'They have been physically attacked'.

Source: FRA, 2018

The survey asked whether respondents worry that in the next 12 months they may be harassed or physically attacked in a public place, and whether they worry that a family member or other person to whom they are close might fall victim to a similar incident because they are Jewish. On average, nearly half of the respondents said that they worried about being confronted with antisemitic verbal insults or harassment (47 %) in that time period, while over one third said that they worried about facing an antisemitic physical attack (40 %). Although the rates of concern about antisemitic physical violence and harassment are similar, the survey results show a gap between personal experiences and peoples'

worries; this gap is much higher regarding antisemitic violence than harassment. The survey findings show that 2 % of all respondents experienced a physical attack and 28 % encountered some form of harassment because they are Jewish in the 12 months before the survey. Considering the results for each of the EU Member States surveyed, France had the greatest share of respondents who worried about such issues (60 % worried about antisemitic verbal insults and harassment and 58 % about antisemitic physical attacks), followed by Germany (59 % and 47 %, respectively) and Belgium (55 % and 41 %, respectively) (Figure 10).

**Figure 10: Worries about becoming a victim of verbal insults, harassment or physical attack in the next 12 months because of being Jewish, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c</sup>**

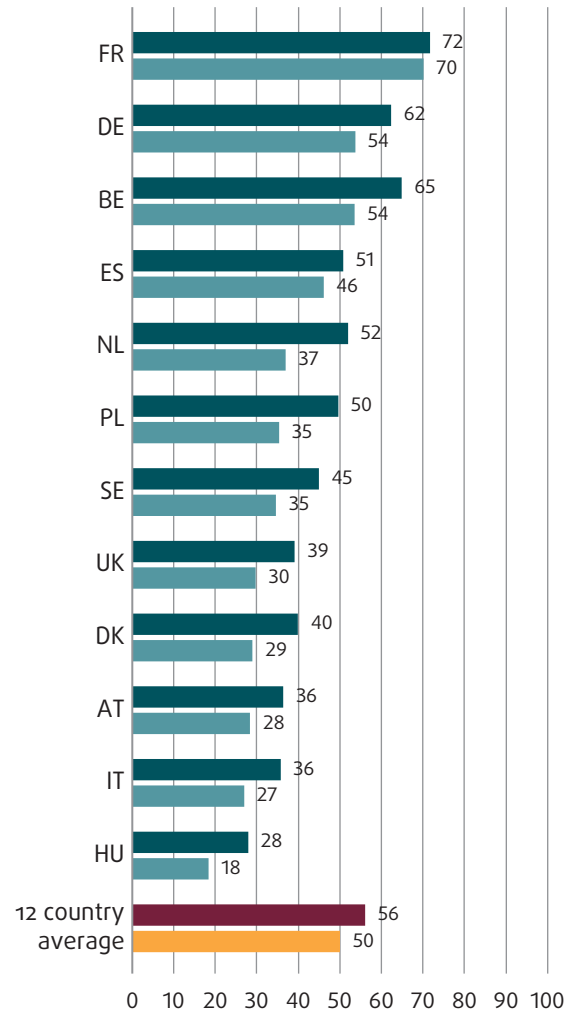


■ Verbal insults or harassment ■ Physical attack

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.  
<sup>b</sup> Bo6/7. How worried are you that you will be a victim of the following when you are in the street or in any other public place in [COUNTRY] in the next 12 months BECAUSE you are Jewish [A. Verbal insults or harassment; B. Physical attack]?  
<sup>c</sup> Answers include both 'very worried' and 'fairly worried'.

Source: FRA, 2018

**Figure 11: Worries about family member or person close to the respondent becoming a victim of verbal insults or harassment and/or physical attack in the next 12 months because they are Jewish, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c</sup>**



■ Verbal insults or harassment ■ Physical attack

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.  
<sup>b</sup> Question: B10/11. How worried are you that in the next 12 months a family member or a person close to you will be a victim of the following in a public place in [COUNTRY] because they are Jewish? [A. Verbal insults or harassment; B. Physical attack]?  
<sup>c</sup> Answers include both 'very worried' and 'fairly worried'.

Source: FRA, 2018

Respondents are more worried that family members or other persons close to them might be attacked than that they themselves might face an attack. On average, in all 12 countries, half of all respondents (56 %) worried that their family members or other people close to them would be harassed or insulted in the next 12 months because of being Jewish, with 50 % worrying about physical antisemitic attacks against their family members or close friends. Of the respondents in France, 72 % were concerned that family members or close friends might become victims of antisemitic insults and harassment in the next 12 months, with 70 % worried about antisemitic physical attacks against persons close to them. Respondents in Belgium and Germany recorded the next highest rates of concern: in Belgium, 65 % worried that a family member or other close person might be subjected to insult or harassment, and 54 % worried that they might be physically attacked; in Germany, the responses were 62 % and 54 %, respectively (Figure 11).

*"I am really scared about the safety of my child who goes to a Jewish school. Every day I ask myself if I should send him to school somewhere else."*

(Woman, 30–34 years old, Belgium)

*"I am very scared about my children's future, since 'Jew' is an invective in my district, and people hate Jews so much that life means nothing. We are scared that our children will be attacked one way or another."*

(Man, 45–49 years old, Denmark)

*"I noticed that my Jewish people from my generation (including myself) experience a strong increase in the sensation of insecurity and not being welcome/accepted as a Jew in the Netherlands."*

(Woman, 30–34 years old, the Netherlands)

*"I believe that the fear of antisemitism is greater than the reality."*

(Man, 40–44 years old, the United Kingdom)

*"I hear about many incidents and have concerns about myself and family. We are often on edge at synagogue or other Jewish events worrying about what might happen. However my personal experience as a kippa-wearer has been very good. At the same time I still do not feel comfortable in less Jewish areas (ie nearly everywhere else)."*

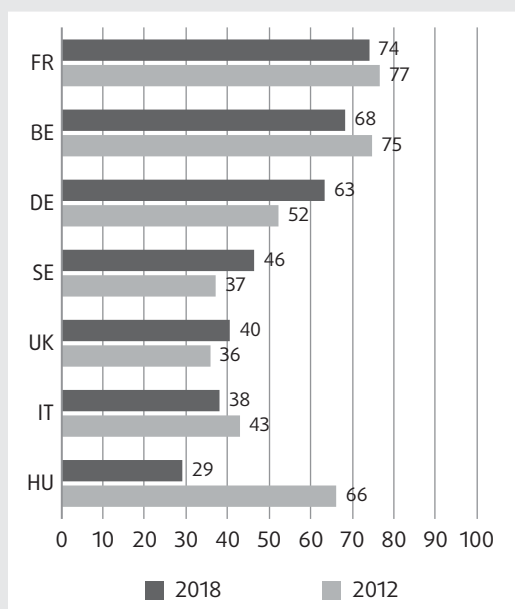
(Man, 55–59 years old, the United Kingdom)

The survey results show that, among respondents, rates of concern about becoming a victim of antisemitic verbal insult or harassment and/or physical attack are higher than the rates of actually experiencing these incidents. On average, 2 % of respondents are aware of family members having become victims of antisemitic physical attacks in the 12 months before the survey. However, the rate of concern about the potential victimisation of family members is much higher, with nearly half of respondents being very or fairly worried about this. Aside from personal experiences, concern about victimisation may be fuelled by experiences of other acquaintances or friends, incidents reported in the media or even developments in international politics.

Worries about an antisemitic physical attack or verbal harassment correlated with observing Jewish practices, as well as with the strength of respondents' religiosity, Jewish identity<sup>12</sup> and their age. For example, 61 % of respondents who attend synagogue weekly or more often said they are worried about becoming a victim of an antisemitic incident, compared to 46 % among those who don't attend synagogue regularly. Respondents who themselves assess their religiosity to be relatively high were the most worried about facing antisemitic verbal harassment or physical attack in the next 12 months: 64 % of respondents with high self-assessed religiosity said that they worried about being a victim in the next 12 months, compared with 38 % of respondents with low self-assessed religiosity. Similarly, respondents who picked high values on the Jewish identity scale, reflecting a strong Jewish identity, expressed the highest level of concern about victimisation; respondents with low values on that scale indicated the lowest levels of concern (55 % and 24 %, respectively). Also, younger respondents expressed concern about antisemitic victimisation at higher levels than older people; for example, 63 % of respondents aged 16–29 years said that they worry about being victimised based on antisemitic motives in the next 12 months, compared with 41 % of those over 60.

<sup>12</sup> See Annex 1 for information on the measurement of the level of religiosity and Jewish identity.

Respondents who are 'very worried' or 'fairly worried' about family member or person close to them becoming a victim of verbal insult or harassment and physical attack in the next 12 months, by Member State, 2018 and 2012 surveys (%)



Notes: In 2018, n=13,083; in 2012, n=5,693.

The results presented above are a sum of respondents who worry about a family member or other person to whom they are close being a) verbally insulted or harassed, and/or b) physically attacked.

When comparing the findings of the 2012 and 2018 surveys in seven countries, in most countries there are no notable differences between the surveys in terms of the level of respondents' concern about either antisemitic insults, harassment and violence against themselves or against their family members or other persons to whom they are close. In terms of family members or other persons to whom they are close, respondents in Hungary stand out with lower levels of concern about them being victimised in 2018 compared with 2012 (decrease of 37 percentage points). In addition, in the seven countries, similar shares of respondents said that they witnessed other Jews or family members being harassed or physically attacked because they were Jewish in 2012 and 2018.

## 2.2. Responses to safety concerns: actions taken or considered

Worrying about being personally subjected to either harassment or physical attack, as well as indirect experiences – such as hearing about incidents that happened to family members and friends – may prompt people to take steps they feel are necessary to reduce their risk of victimisation. This can include steps – such as taking enhanced security measures or restructuring daily activities to avoid areas perceived as dangerous – that impose a significant burden in terms of costs or quality of life.

Respondents were asked whether and how often they avoid Jewish events or sites, or certain parts of their neighbourhood, because they do not feel safe there as Jews. One third (34 %) of all respondents in the 12 countries said that they avoid visiting Jewish events or sites at least occasionally, because, as Jews, they do not feel safe there or on the way there. The highest proportions of respondents indicated this in the Netherlands, France,

and Belgium (43 %, 41 %, and 37 %, respectively). The lowest proportions did so in Italy, Hungary, Austria, and the United Kingdom (17 %, 22 %, 25 %, and 27 %, respectively). Just over one third of respondents (38 %) avoid certain places in their local area or neighbourhood at least occasionally because they do not feel safe there as Jews. Higher proportions do this in Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, and Sweden (49 %, 49 %, 46 %, 45 %, and 44 %, respectively).

*"I do not feel safe when I go to Jewish events because of the multitude of security checks and measures such as 'locks', etc."*

(Woman, 70–79 years old, Denmark)

*"I feel safe in Hungary that is what matters!"*

(Man, 60–69 years old, Hungary)

*"Sometimes I don't think anything has changed in all those years. Sometimes I'm afraid and sometimes I stick my neck out and fight against the prejudices and crazy ideas about Jews. But in certain districts of my city I keep my head down."*

(Man, 50–54 years old, the Netherlands)



*“When going to a Jewish event, no matter how small, you always need to register and only then do you get to know the location. That you don’t feel safe at all any more to go somewhere where many Jews come together.”*

(Woman, 55–59 years old, the Netherlands)

*“None of my friends where I live or who I work with know that I’m a Jew. Our children don’t know about my Jewish background, because I am terrified that they would get comments on that in school. I no longer visit the synagogue, because it’s not worth it if we’d be targeted for something. The best thing was when I got married, because now my last name is ‘Svensson’.”*

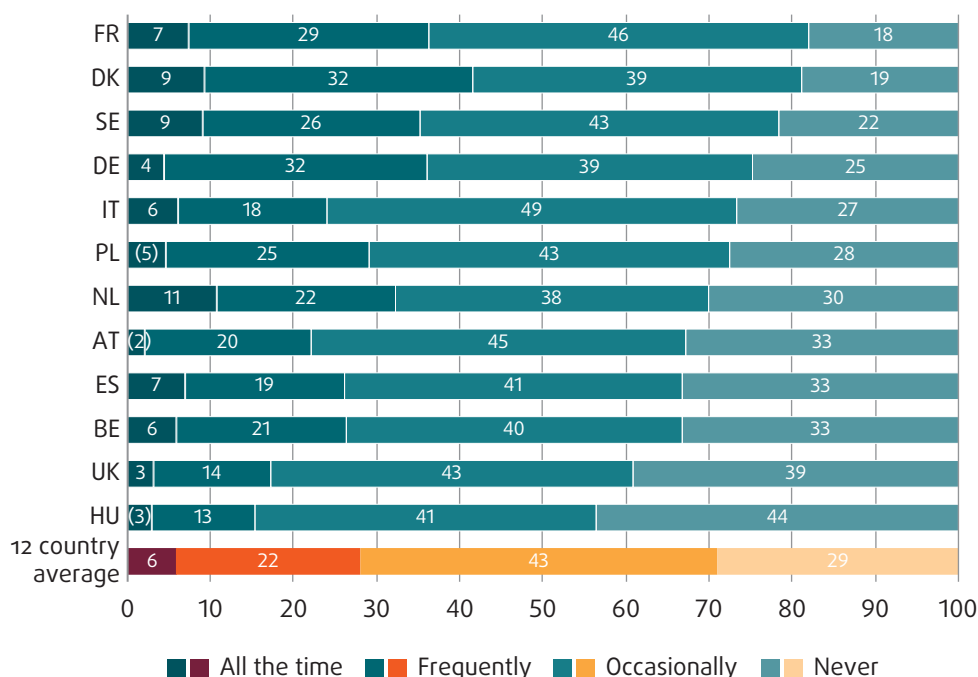
(Woman, 40–44 years old, Sweden)

The survey asked respondents if they ever wear, carry or display items in public that could identify them as Jewish, for example a *kippa*/skullcap or a *magen david*/Star of David. Respondents were also asked whether they avoid displaying these items in public, and about the reasons for not wearing or carrying such items, including any safety concerns.

Across the 12 EU Member States surveyed, respondents distributed nearly evenly among those who at least sometimes wear, carry or display items that could identify them as Jewish (49 %) and those who never do (51 %). The highest shares of those who wear, carry or display such recognisable items at least sometimes were observed in Poland, Spain, the United Kingdom, Hungary and the Netherlands (61 %, 60 %, 58 %, 58 %, and 57 %, respectively). It was more common for respondents in France, Denmark, and Belgium to say that they never wear or display these items (62 %, 56 %, and 52 %, respectively) than in the other countries.

The respondents who at least sometimes carry or display such items were asked if they avoid doing so in public. On average, across the 12 countries surveyed, out of respondents who at least sometimes carry or display items that could identify them as Jewish, over two thirds (71 %) at least occasionally avoid doing so (Figure 12). The highest proportions of respondents who at least occasionally avoid wearing, carrying or displaying these items were in France (82 %), Denmark (80 %), Sweden (78 %), and Germany (75 %).

**Figure 12: Avoidance of wearing, carrying or displaying in public things that could identify a person as Jewish, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>**



- <sup>a</sup> Out of those respondents who at least sometimes wear, carry or display these items (n=8,425); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted; sorted by ‘never’.
- <sup>b</sup> Fo8. Do you ever avoid wearing, carrying or displaying things that might help people recognise you as a Jew in public, for example wearing a kippa/skullcap, Magen David/Star of David or specific clothing, or displaying a mezuzah?
- <sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.
- <sup>d</sup> Results based on a small number of responses are statistically less reliable. Thus, results based on 20 to 49 unweighted observations in a group total or based on cells with fewer than 20 unweighted observations are noted in parentheses. Results based on fewer than 20 unweighted observations in a group total are not published.

Source: FRA, 2018

When asked about the reasons for not wearing, carrying or displaying things in public that might help other people recognise them as being Jewish, on average, slightly more respondents emphasise their safety concerns (41 %) than say that they do not consider the items as very important (36 %) or cite other reasons (19 %). Out of those who never wear, carry or display these items, half of the respondents in Germany, Sweden, Denmark and Belgium (55 %, 54 %, 53 %, and 48 %, respectively) mentioned concerns about their safety as a reason for doing so.

*“Only my closest friends know about my religion because of the present antisemitism in Austria.”*

(Woman, 40–44 years old, Austria)

*“I wear a chain with a Star of David, but I don’t wear it consciously in public, because I try to avoid antisemitic reactions that way.”*

(Woman, 16–19 years old, Belgium)

*“One of the fundamentally biggest problems for Jews in Denmark is that we do not dare visibly show our Jewish identity in public, at school, at the gym, etc. for fear of antisemitic statements, unfortunately, in particular from our Muslim neighbours.”*

(Man, 35–39 years old, Denmark)

*“As far as I’m concerned I hide my Magen David according to the situation I’m in. It’s shameful...”*

(Woman, 45–49 years old, France)

*“You rather experience antisemitism in Germany when you are out/openly visible.”*

(Woman, 30–34 years old, Germany)

*“Usually, I don’t like to self-identify as a Jew in a public space in Berlin or among strangers in Berlin because I’m afraid of ignorance, negative reactions, and threats.”*

(Woman, 60–69 years old, Germany)

*“I am not scared when I leave onto the street, as my mezuzah is next to the inside of my house and cannot be seen. So, only those that come into my flat can see it. I am scared to put the mezuzah in the outside part.”*

(Woman, 30–34 years old, Spain)

*“I never wear any Jewish symbols publicly and I always look over my shoulder when I attend a Jewish event. [...] I only want to be left in peace and be able to practice my religion.”*

(Woman, 40–44 years old, Sweden)

*“We can, and many choose to, hide or draw attention away from our identity. Therefore, people are reluctant to discuss antisemitism as they cannot see how a Jew can possibly be discriminated against, therefore Jews must be over-emphasising it.”*

(Woman, 16–19 years old, the United Kingdom)

Safety concerns may prompt some respondents to consider changing neighbourhoods or emigrating. The survey asked respondents several related questions. One set of questions concerned whether or not they had moved, or considered moving, to another area or neighbourhood in the country because they did not feel safe as Jews in their current neighbourhood. The second set of questions addressed respondents’ thoughts about emigrating because of not feeling safe as a Jew in the country where they live, whether certain preparations had been made, and which country was considered.

On average, very few respondents in the 12 survey countries have either moved (4 %) or considered moving (5 %) out of their neighbourhood due to safety concerns as Jews. This could be interpreted as respondents feeling safe where they live, or that differences in the security situation between different neighbourhoods are relatively small and thus moving to another neighbourhood in the country would not substantially improve the feeling of safety.

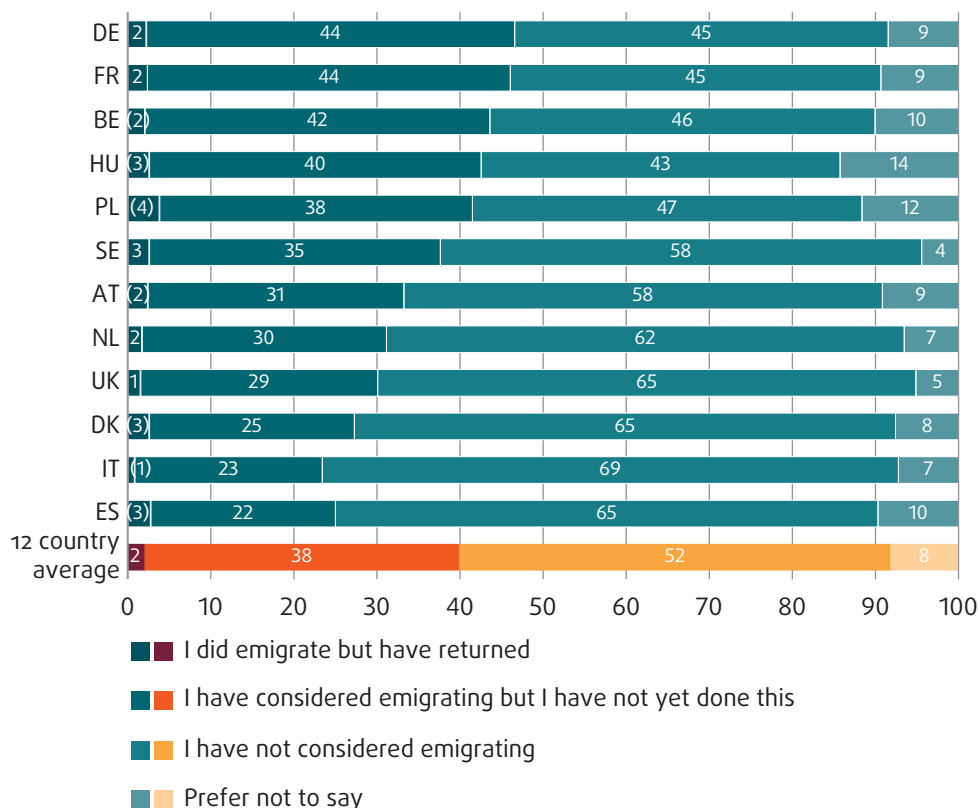
However, on average, more than one third have considered emigrating (38 %) in the past five years because they did not feel safe as a Jew in the country where they live. Considerations of emigration due to security concerns varied by country (Figure 13). Most respondents in Italy (69 %), Spain, Denmark, the United Kingdom (65 % in each of the three countries), the Netherlands (62 %), Austria and Sweden (58 % each) have not considered emigrating. However, in Hungary, Belgium, France and Germany, between 40 % and 44 % of respondents indicate that they have considered emigrating in the past five years because they did not feel safe there as Jews. Roughly one fifth to one third of respondents in the other countries reported having considered emigrating.

Of those respondents who have considered emigration, close to one third (30 %) say they have taken some form of active preparatory steps towards emigrating – for example, looked for housing or employment, or made travel arrangements – in the past five years. With regard to the destinations, two thirds of respondents who have considered emigrating selected Israel; one in ten chose the USA; and a few mentioned Canada. Also, one in ten selected another EU Member State as their destination.





**Figure 13: Respondents' views on emigrating because of not feeling safe as a Jew, in the past five years, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted; sorted by 'I have considered emigrating but I have not yet done this'.  
<sup>b</sup> Question: B26. In the PAST FIVE YEARS, have you considered emigrating from [COUNTRY] BECAUSE you don't feel safe living there as a Jew (Items as listed in the figure)?  
<sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.  
<sup>d</sup> Results based on a small number of responses are statistically less reliable. Thus, results based on 20 to 49 unweighted observations in a group total or based on cells with fewer than 20 unweighted observations are noted in parentheses. Results based on fewer than 20 unweighted observations in a group total are not published.

Source: FRA, 2018

*"Due to antisemitism at our children's school, and in the [REGION] where we live, we have had to move to a different town where the costs are much higher. Financially, life is more difficult and we can't leave France because of our jobs."*

(Woman, 40-44 years old, France)

*"Two years ago I thought maybe at some stage I might need to emigrate. I have taken no steps to do this, but before I would not even have imagined leaving the UK."*

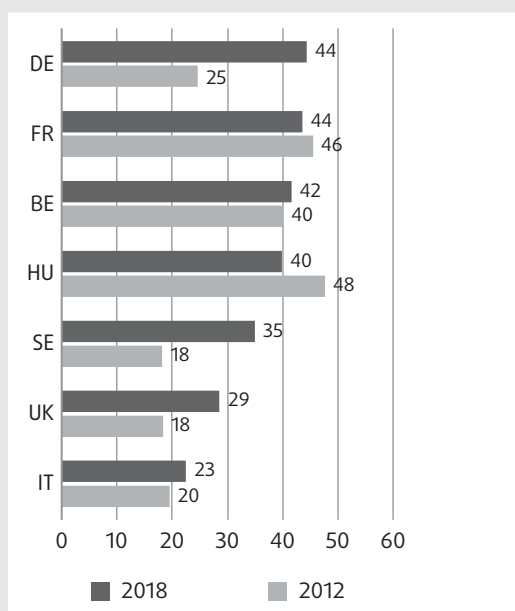
(Man, 50-54 years old, the United Kingdom)

*"In two months we'll be emigrating to Israel because of the antisemitism in Europe. Nothing is being done about it. So we are leaving voluntarily."*

(Woman, 55-59 years old, the Netherlands)

Respondents' avoidance of certain Jewish events or sites due to security concerns may indicate that parts of the Jewish population do not feel free to live openly Jewish lives, or that their concerns about their personal security, or the security of their family members and friends, curtail the extent to which they take part in Jewish life. The results also suggest that some respondents avoid certain places in their local areas or in their neighbourhoods because of concerns for their safety there as Jews.

Respondents who have considered emigrating because of not feeling safe as a Jew, by EU Member State, 2018 and 2012 surveys (%)



Notes: In 2018, n=13,083; in 2012, n=5,693.  
Question: In 2018, 2012, B26, category 2.

On average, there is no significant difference in respondents' views on emigration when comparing the findings of the 2018 and 2012 surveys in seven countries. However, three countries stand out with increased shares of respondents who say that they have considered leaving the country due to safety concerns in the past five years: Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom (with increases of 19, 17 and 11 percentage points, respectively).

### 2.3. Assessing governments' efforts to combat antisemitism

Five years after the Council of the EU published its conclusions on combating hate crime in the European Union<sup>13</sup> urging Member States take measures to tackle hate crime and hate speech, including on grounds of antisemitism, the survey asked respondents whether they consider the efforts of their country's government to combat antisemitism effective and whether the government responds adequately to the security needs of Jewish communities.

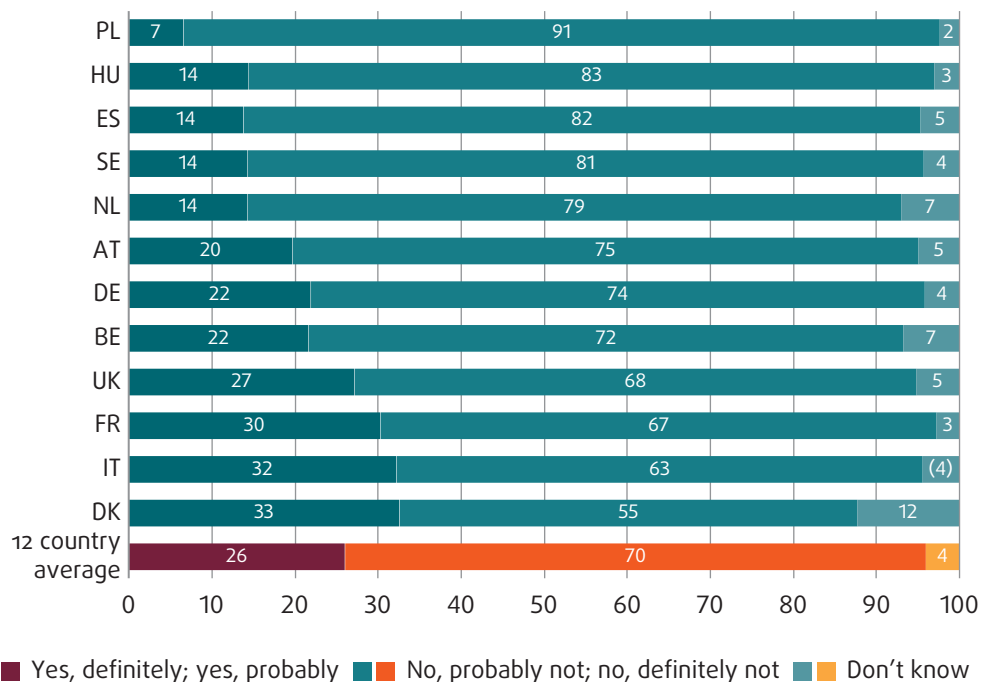
Most of the survey respondents (70 %) across the 12 countries surveyed believe that the government in their country does not combat antisemitism effectively (sum of respondents answering 'no, probably not' or 'no, definitely not' to the questions about the effectiveness of

government efforts) (Figure 14). Nearly one third of respondents in Denmark, Italy and France (33 %, 32 %, and 30 %, respectively) said that their country's government combats antisemitism effectively. In Poland, only 7 % of respondents share this opinion.

In terms of the national governments' efforts to respond to the security needs of Jewish communities, the survey shows diverse assessments across the countries (Figure 15). Looking at the average results of all 12 countries, a majority of respondents assess these efforts positively – 54 % answered 'yes, definitely' or 'yes, probably' when asked whether the government responds adequately to the security needs of Jewish communities. Closer examination shows that, while over three quarters of respondents in Italy, Denmark, and Belgium (79 %, 78 %, and 75 %, respectively) consider government efforts to be adequate, this is not the case in Sweden and Poland (with 74 % and 64 %, respectively, indicating 'probably' or 'definitely' not).

13 See Council of the European Union (2013).

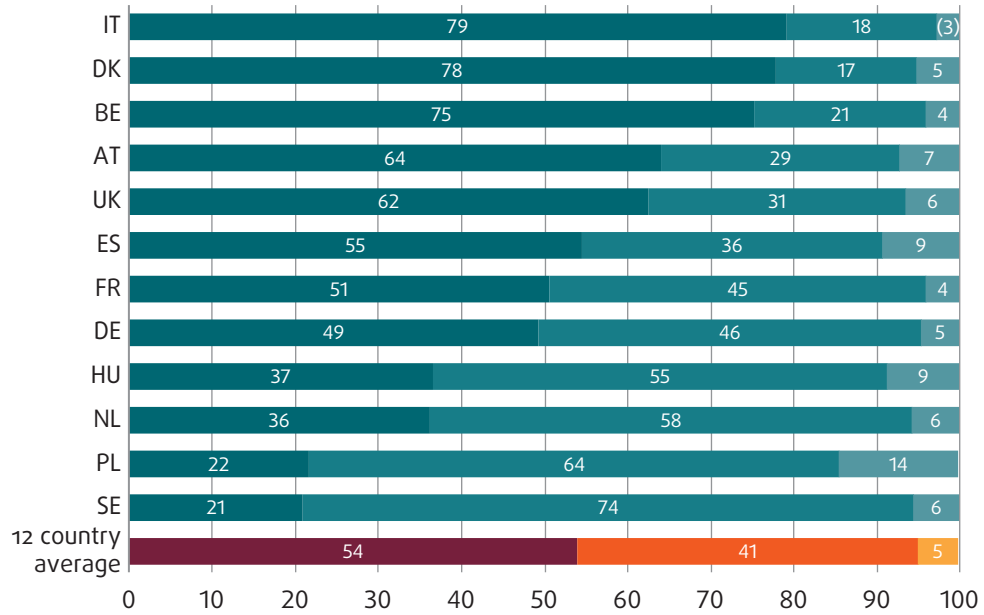
Figure 14: Assessment of government’s efforts to combat antisemitism, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>



- Notes:
- <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted; sorted by 'no, probably not' and 'no, definitely not'.
  - <sup>b</sup> Question: B17a. Do you think the [COUNTRY] government combats antisemitism effectively?
  - <sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.
  - <sup>d</sup> Results based on a small number of responses are statistically less reliable. Thus, results based on 20 to 49 unweighted observations in a group total or based on cells with fewer than 20 unweighted observations are noted in parentheses. Results based on fewer than 20 unweighted observations in a group total are not published.

Source: FRA, 2018

**Figure 15: Assessment of government’s efforts to respond to the security needs of Jewish communities, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>**



■ Yes, definitely; yes, probably ■ No, probably not; no, definitely not ■ Don't know

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted; sorted by 'yes, definitely' and 'yes, probably'.  
<sup>b</sup> Question: B17b. Do you think the [COUNTRY] government responds adequately to the security needs of Jewish communities?  
<sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.  
<sup>d</sup> Results based on a small number of responses are statistically less reliable. Thus, results based on 20 to 49 unweighted observations in a group total or based on cells with fewer than 20 unweighted observations are noted in parentheses. Results based on fewer than 20 unweighted observations in a group total are not published.

Source: FRA, 2018

*“Official Denmark does a lot to prevent antisemitism, but the popular feeling has gone the wrong way.”*  
 (Woman, 55-59 years old, Denmark)

*“Laws and actions against antisemitism are not effective at all; even at the higher levels of State, nothing seems to be successful in fighting antisemitism.”*  
 (Man, 70-79 years old, France)

*“Politically, one shouldn't only act on a national level but also clearly on a state and local level.”*  
 (Man, 25-29 years old, Germany)

*“I find it dangerous that the state does not make a stand against the extremist parties or organizations. By referring to the Rule of Law and Democracy, extreme right and left protests can become overwhelming.”*  
 (Man, 16-19 years old, Hungary)

*“The Hungarian government not only [...] doesn't take any actions against antisemitism, but [is] fuelling it, 'in an amusing way' together with anti-Muslim [sentiment].”*  
 (Woman, 40-44 years old, Hungary)

*“The government is much too lenient in fighting antisemitism, they call an attack vandalism instead of antisemitic terrorism and that's really frightening; it again gives the feeling we are outlawed and the only solution is going on Aliyah, but I'm too old for that (59 years).”*  
 (Woman, 55-59 years old, the Netherlands)



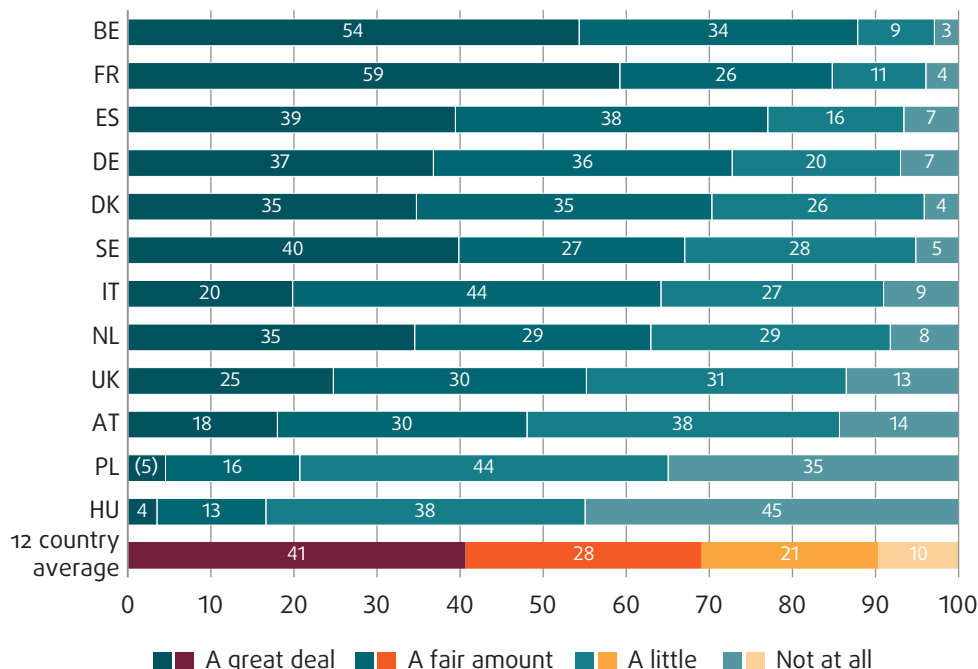
## 2.4. Influence of events in Middle East on antisemitic incidents

FRA’s 2016 summary overview of antisemitic incidents in the EU – a compilation of data on incidents recorded by the national authorities and/or civil society<sup>14</sup> – includes evidence suggesting that events in the Middle East can trigger antisemitic sentiment in the EU.

In the survey, respondents were asked to what extent, if at all, the Arab-Israeli conflict affects how safe they feel

in the country where they live. According to the survey, a majority of respondents in nine out of 12 countries say that the Arab-Israeli conflict affects their feelings of safety ‘a great deal’ or ‘a fair amount’ (Figure 16). Notably, over 85 % of the respondents in Belgium and France, and at least 70 % of the respondents in Spain, Germany and Denmark indicate that the Arab-Israeli conflict has a notable impact on their feelings of safety as Jews (‘a great deal’ or ‘a fair amount’). On the other hand, about 20 % of respondents in Hungary and Poland feel that the conflict has this level of impact on their feelings of safety.

Figure 16: Arab-Israeli conflict’s impact on feeling of safety, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>



- <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted; sorted by a sum of ‘a great deal’ and ‘a fair amount’.
- <sup>b</sup> Question: B13. Does the Arab-Israeli conflict impact at all on how SAFE you feel as a Jewish person in [COUNTRY] (Items as listed in the figure)?
- <sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.
- <sup>d</sup> Results based on a small number of responses are statistically less reliable. Thus, results based on 20 to 49 unweighted observations in a group total or based on cells with fewer than 20 unweighted observations are noted in parentheses. Results based on fewer than 20 unweighted observations in a group total are not published.

Source: FRA, 2018

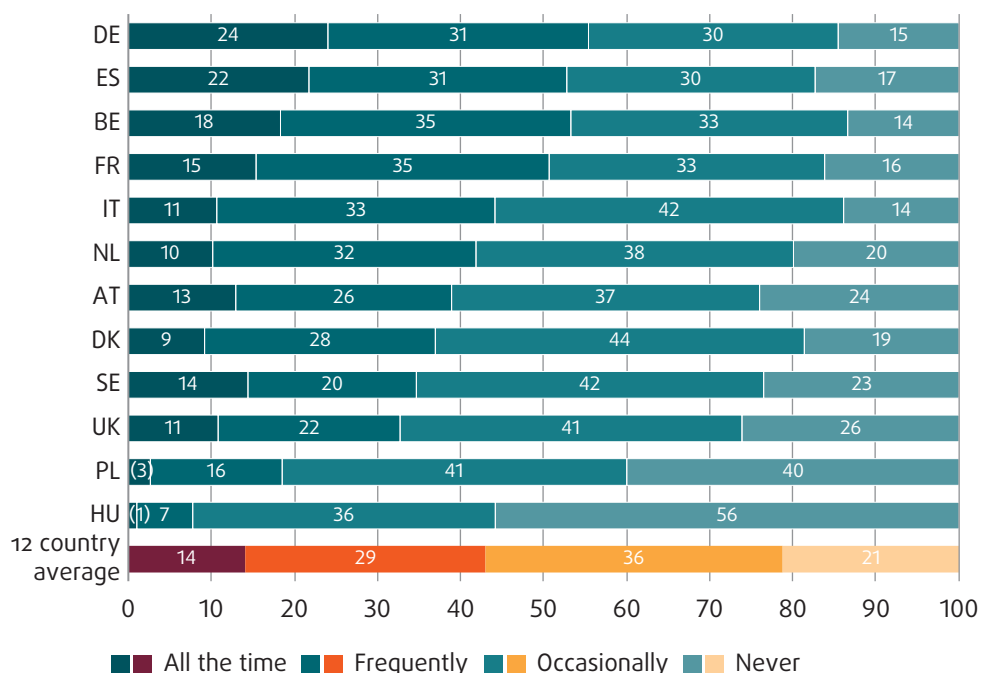
When comparing the findings of the 2018 and 2012 surveys in seven countries, in almost all countries, no notable differences are observed between the respondents’ opinions about the impact of the Arab-Israeli conflict on their feelings of safety.

14 FRA (2016).

The survey also asked respondents if they feel that they are deemed responsible for the Israeli government’s actions. Half of the respondents in Belgium, France, Germany, and Spain (50 %-55 % depending on the country) said that people in their country ‘frequently’ or ‘all the time’ blame them for anything done by the Israeli government (Figure 17). The corresponding percentages in Hungary and Poland were the lowest (8 % and 19 %, respectively).

In sum, the results suggest that, in some EU Member States, respondents feel a close link between their safety and events taking place in Israel as well as relations between Israel and its neighbours; while in other EU Member States, Jewish people see these issues as having limited impact on their feelings of safety.

**Figure 17: Feelings of being blamed for something done by the Israeli government, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted; sorted by a sum of ‘all the time’ and ‘frequently’.  
<sup>b</sup> B14. Do you ever feel that people in [COUNTRY] accuse or blame you for anything done by the Israeli government BECAUSE you are Jewish (Items as listed in the figure)?  
<sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.  
<sup>d</sup> Results based on a small number of responses are statistically less reliable. Thus, results based on 20 to 49 unweighted observations in a group total or based on cells with fewer than 20 unweighted observations are noted in parentheses. Results based on fewer than 20 unweighted observations in a group total are not published.

Source: FRA, 2018



# 3

## Violence against Jews: experiences of harassment, physical violence and vandalism



### KEY FINDINGS

- On average, over one third of all respondents (39 %) experienced some form of antisemitic harassment in the five years before the survey. More than one quarter (28 %) encountered such harassment in the 12 months before the survey.
- Survey respondents identify antisemitic content on the internet as the most acute form of antisemitism. However, comments made in person, and offensive gestures or inappropriate staring, are the most common forms of antisemitic harassment personally experienced by respondents – for example, 18 % and 16 %, respectively, said they were faced with these forms of harassment in the 12 months before the survey.
- In terms of the most serious incident of antisemitic harassment experienced in the five years before the survey, during most of these incidents, antisemitic language was used. In addition, the harassment occurred in situations where it was possible to identify the respondents as being Jewish. (On average, two in three respondents noticed these two aspects during the respective incidents).
- When asked to describe the perpetrator of the most serious incident of antisemitic harassment experienced in the five years before the survey – to the extent possible and based on their perceptions – respondents in 31 % of the cases identified the perpetrator as someone they do not know, in 30 % as someone with Muslim extremist views, and in 21 % of cases as someone with left-wing political views.
- The majority of respondents (79 %) who experienced antisemitic harassment in the five years before the survey did not report the most serious incident to the police or to any other organisation.
- Almost half (48 %) of the respondents who did not report the most serious incident to the police said that nothing would have changed had they done so. A similar proportion (43 %) of respondents did not consider the incident to be serious enough.
- Across the 12 countries surveyed, 3 % of all respondents personally experienced a physical attack because they are Jewish in the five years before the survey. In the 12 months before the survey, 2 % of all respondents experienced a physical attack because they are Jewish.
- Across the 12 countries surveyed, 4 % of all respondents say that their property was deliberately vandalised because they are Jewish in the five years before the survey; 2 % experienced this in the 12 months before the survey.

Official criminal justice statistics on violent incidents, including antisemitic violent incidents, are typically based on cases that have come to the attention of the police, equality bodies or Jewish community organisations. Research on victims of crime has repeatedly shown that incidents recorded in official statistics

represent only the 'tip of the iceberg'. However, FRA's surveys shed some light on the 'dark figure' of hate-motivated crime, including crime motivated by anti-semitism that has not come to the attention of the criminal justice system.

This chapter examines Jewish people’s experiences of antisemitic harassment, physical violence, and vandalism against personal property in both the five years and the 12 months prior to the survey. The results show how many respondents have experienced such incidents, what happened in a particular incident, whether it was reported and to whom – and if a case was not reported, why the incident was not brought to the attention of the relevant authorities or organisations. In the case of antisemitic harassment and physical violence, the chapter further explores certain details of these incidents, such as where the incident took place and characteristics of the perpetrators and of the victims.

#### FRA ACTIVITY

##### Analysis of data collection on hate crime and antisemitism in the EU

Every year, FRA publishes an update assessing the progress in capturing antisemitic incidents through statistical data. The 15<sup>th</sup> update collates statistical data on antisemitic incidents collected by international, governmental and non-governmental sources between 1 January 2007–31 December 2017.

See FRA (2018), *Antisemitism: Overview of data available in the European Union 2007-2017 (November 2018)*, Luxembourg, Publications Office.

There are significant differences in how EU Member States record, collect and publish data on hate crime, including on antisemitic crime. FRA’s report *Hate crime recording and data collection practice across the EU* can provide guidance to the EU and its Member States on where to focus their efforts to improve recording and collecting data on hate crime, with a view to ensuring better access to justice for victims of hate crime.

See FRA (2018), *Hate crime recording and data collection practice across the EU*, Luxembourg, Publications Office.

## 3.1. Harassment

The survey asked respondents about experiences related to six specific forms of harassment:

- offensive or threatening emails or text messages;
- offensive, threatening or silent phone calls;
- loitering or being deliberately followed by somebody in a threatening way;
- offensive or threatening comments in person;
- offensive gestures or inappropriate staring by somebody;
- offensive personal comments posted on the internet, including through social media.

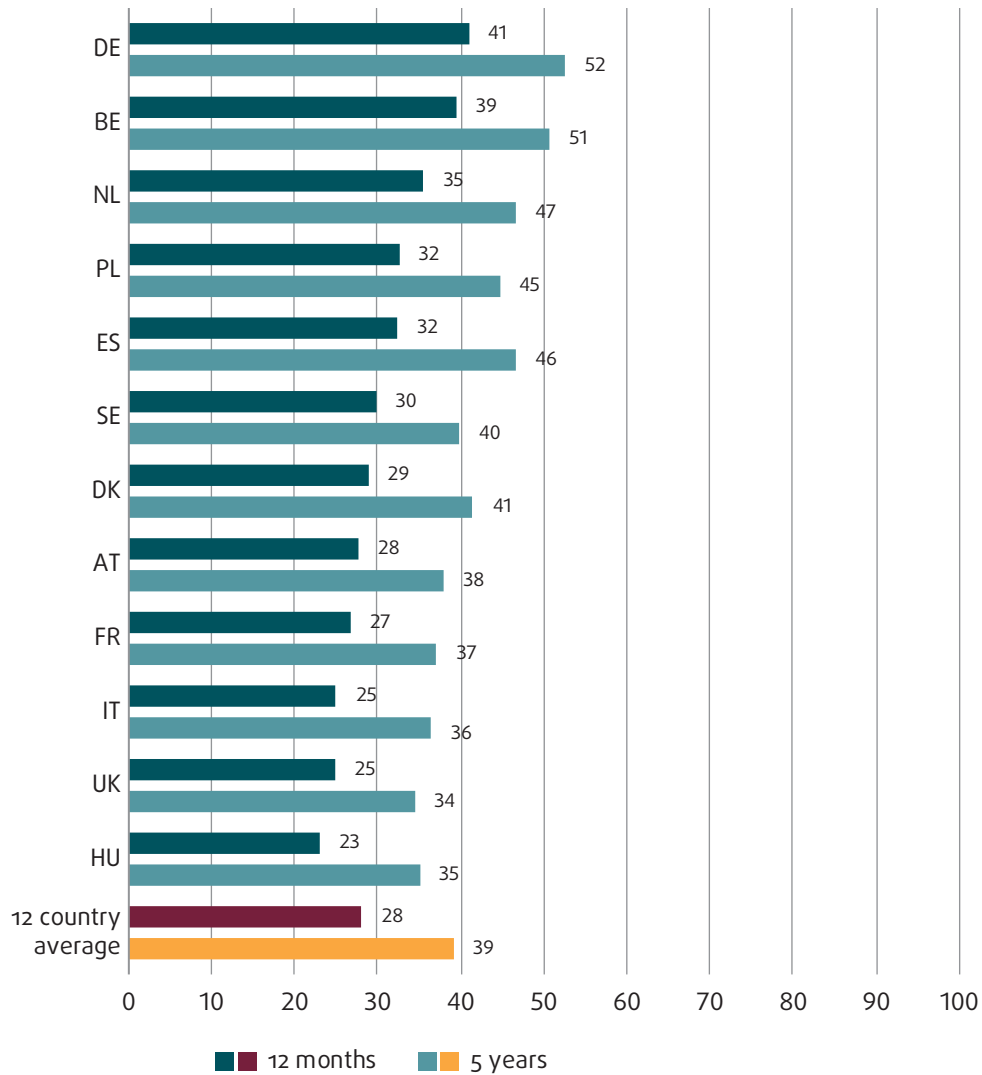
Respondents who experienced at least one form of harassment either in the past five years or in the past 12 months were then asked to specify whether they feel that they were harassed specifically because they are Jewish.

The results of the survey show that on average across all 12 countries, more than one quarter (28 %) of respondents experienced a form of antisemitic harassment – that is, an incident of harassment they feel was due to them being Jewish – at least once in the 12 months preceding the survey. Over one third (39 %) did so in the five years before the survey (Figure 18).

There are notable differences between EU Member States in terms of the extent of perceived antisemitic harassment. More than one third of respondents in Germany (41 %), Belgium (39 %) and the Netherlands (35 %), and close to one third of respondents in Poland, Spain (32 % each) and Sweden (30 %) experienced at least one type of antisemitic harassment in the 12 months before the survey. In the rest of the countries surveyed, this share comprises one fourth of respondents. For example, in Hungary, the United Kingdom and Italy, the results range from 23 % to 25 % (Figure 18).



**Figure 18: Experience of antisemitic harassment (at least one out of six forms), in the past 12 months and in the past five years, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c</sup>**



<sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.

- <sup>b</sup> Questions:
- Co1. In the PAST five years in [COUNTRY] has somebody ever:
  - Co3. In the PAST 12 MONTHS in [COUNTRY] has somebody:
    - sent you emails or text messages that were offensive or threatening;
    - made offensive, threatening or silent phone calls to you;
    - loitered, waited for you or deliberately followed you in a threatening way;
    - made offensive or threatening comments to you in person;
    - made offensive gestures to you or stared at you inappropriately;
    - posted offensive comments about you on the internet, including social media?

Co4a. Did this happen BECAUSE you are Jewish?

<sup>c</sup> The answers include those who have been harassed at least 'once' in the past 12 months and the past five years.

Source: FRA, 2018

*"I have been hacked while reading Israeli newspapers or posting pro-Israeli statements on social media; this is in contravention of my fundamental rights, but is difficult to report."*

(Woman, 55–59 years old, Denmark)

*"A couple of years ago some people of an immigrant background were watching who was leaving the Jewish House, with some of them harassing and others threatening people. My report to the Jewish community never got through."*

(Woman, 55–59 years old, Denmark)

*"My experience with antisemitism is being spat on and getting comments for wearing a Star of David."*

(Man, 70–79 years old, the Netherlands)

*"The looks in the community center, I feel them as the worst part I experienced, because they have potential for physical violence; however, of course I get uglier comments in the social media."*

(Man, 30–34 years old, Spain)

*"I walk down a main street every Shabbos day I don't think a week goes by that I don't get a hoot or middle fingers. It's very intimidating."*

(Man, 30–34 years old, the United Kingdom)

The exposure to antisemitic harassment is greatest among the youngest respondents and decreases with age: 46 % of 16–29-year olds, 38 % of 30–44-year olds, 30 % of 45–59-year olds, and 19 % of those 60 years old and older were victims of antisemitic harassment in the 12 months preceding the survey. Also, exposure to antisemitic harassment is greater among respondents who at least occasionally wear, carry or display items in public that might identify them as Jewish. Every third respondent (37 %) who wears, carries or displays these items experienced antisemitic harassment in the 12 months preceding the survey. By contrast, among respondents who do not wear, carry or display such items in public, one fifth (21 %) experienced antisemitic harassment.

Differences in victimisation rates by gender are not significant, with a few more men than women being exposed to antisemitic harassment incidents.

*"My Jewish-sounding surname means that people can often guess that I am a Jew. I do not use my surname in the social media, exactly in order to avoid being identified as a Jew."*

(Woman, 25–29 years old, Denmark)

*"Luckily, I have never been the victim of antisemitic expressions, but that's because I'm very careful about telling people I'm Jewish. I think us Jews are keeping a low profile here, we censor ourselves for our own safety. I think the number of antisemitic incidents would rise if we wouldn't do that."*

(Woman, 45–49 years old, the Netherlands)

*"Personally, I haven't experienced many verbal or physical antisemitic attacks because I am very restrictive about talking about my Jewishness."*

(Woman, 40–44 years old, Sweden)

*"Most Jews that I know are not visibly Jewish, and the people who are visible (e.g. wear Chasidic regalia, a kippa or religious jewellery) are, in my experience, the ones who attract the most attacks."*

(Woman, 16–19 years old, the United Kingdom)

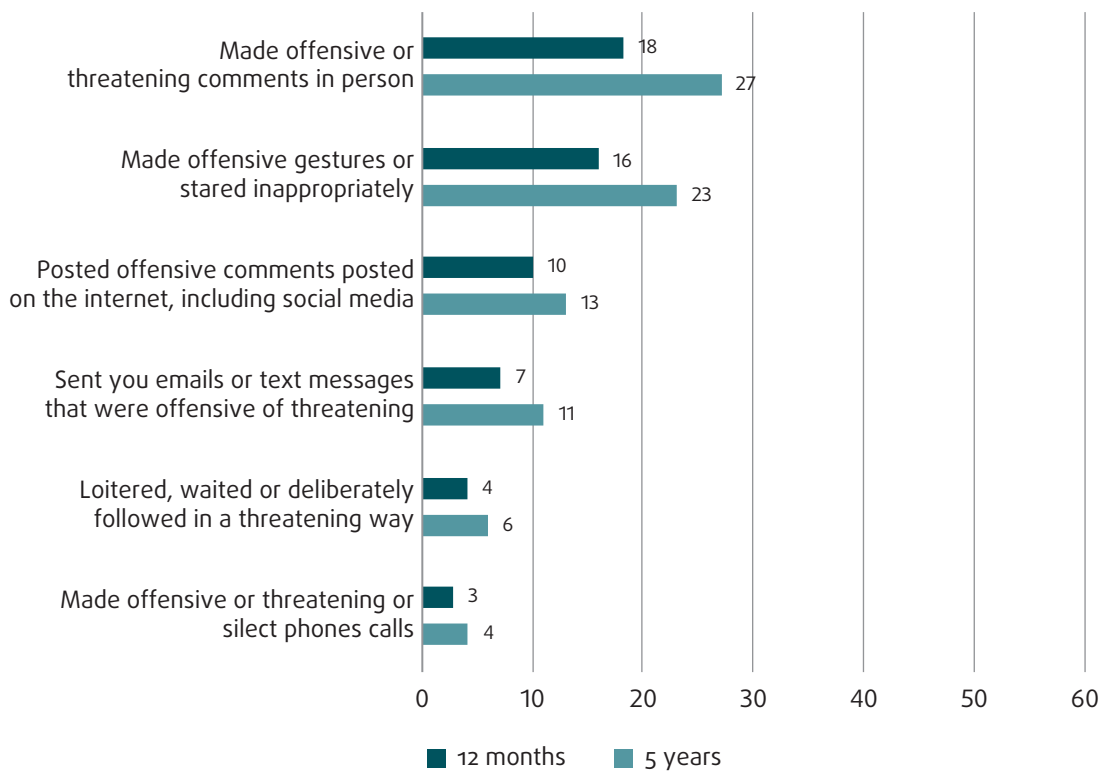
Of the six specific forms of harassment listed in the survey, and focusing on incidents which in the view of the respondents took place because they are Jewish, offensive comments in person are most widespread. Almost one in five respondents (18 %) experienced such comments at least once in the 12 months preceding the survey. Smaller proportions of respondents referred to offensive gestures (16 %) and offensive comments posted on the internet (10 %) (Figure 19).

Higher shares of respondents in Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium indicate that they personally experienced offensive or threatening comments because they are Jewish in the 12 months before the survey (29 %, 26 % and 25 %, respectively) than in the other EU Member States surveyed (Figure 20). Similar proportions of respondents in Belgium and Germany say they personally experienced offensive gestures or inappropriate staring because they are Jewish in the 12 months before the survey – 26 % and 24 %, respectively, the highest among the 12 countries. Poland stands out with the highest rate among the 12 countries regarding offensive comments posted on the internet, including social media (20 %).

The survey results show that the majority of respondents who were exposed to antisemitic harassment in the 12 months before the survey were subject to repeat victimisation. Out of those respondents who experienced some form of antisemitic harassment in the 12 months before the survey, one in four (23 %) experienced a single incident, while the majority (77 %) experienced several incidents (either repeated cases of one form of harassment or various forms of harassment). The highest incidence of a single form of antisemitic harassment is related to cyberharassment. For example, the survey findings show that, out of those respondents who encountered offensive posts about them on the internet in the 12 months before the survey, 28 % did so once; 18 % – twice; 21 % – three to five times; and 32 % – six or more times. In case of antisemitic offensive or threatening comments in person, close to half of the victims experienced these once (49 %), and one in ten (11 %) did so six or more times. The burden of cyberharassment may therefore be greatly increased by its repetitiveness, which may also indicate that respondents lack the means to stop cyberharassment from reoccurring.



**Figure 19: Experience of specific forms of antisemitic harassment (one or more times), in the past 12 months and in the past five years, average of the 12 EU Member States surveyed (%)<sup>a,b</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); 12 country averages are weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Questions: Co1. In the PAST five years in [COUNTRY], has somebody: (Items as listed above in the figure)? Co2a. Did this happen BECAUSE you are Jewish? Co3. In the PAST 12 MONTHS in [COUNTRY], has somebody: (Items as listed above in the figure)? Co4a. Did this happen BECAUSE you are Jewish?

Source: FRA, 2018

The respondents who experienced some form of anti-semitic harassment in the five years before the survey were asked to provide more details about the most serious incident – that is, the incident that affected them the most – such as a description of the place and circumstances in which it happened, and their perceptions concerning the perpetrators. The results on perpetrators and reporting incidents are discussed later in this chapter, with reference to all incidents of antisemitic harassment and violence. (For results on perpetrators, see Section 3.3. For results on reporting incidents, see Section 3.4).

When respondents were asked to identify the most serious incident of antisemitic harassment that they had experienced, in most cases (47 %) this involved receiving offensive or threatening comments in person, followed by offensive comments posted about them on the internet (17 %), offensive gestures or inappropriate staring (15 %), and loitering or deliberate following in a threatening way (11 %).

**Figure 20: Experience of antisemitic harassment (three of the most widespread forms experienced one or more times), in the past 12 months, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b</sup>**



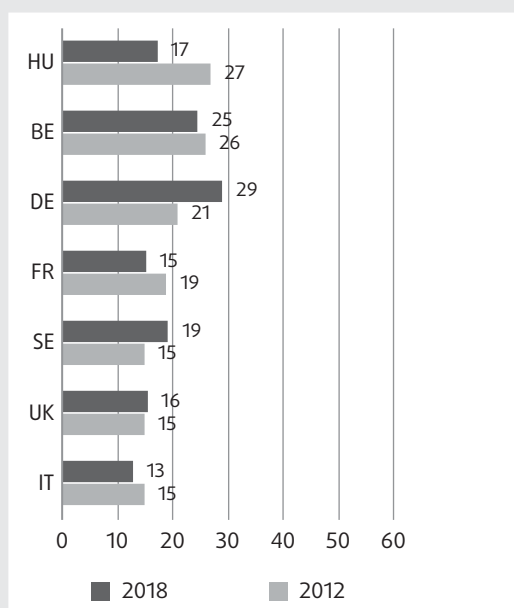
Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted.

- <sup>b</sup> Questions: C03. In the PAST 12 MONTHS in [COUNTRY, has somebody:
- made offensive or threatening comments to you in person;
  - made offensive gestures to you or stared at you inappropriately
  - posted offensive comments about you on the internet, including social media?
- C04a. Did this happen BECAUSE you are Jewish?

Source: FRA, 2018



Respondents who say they experienced antisemitic offensive or threatening comments in person, by EU Member State, 2018 and 2012 surveys (%)



Notes: In 2018,  $n=13,083$ ; in 2012,  $n=5,693$ .  
Questions: In 2018, C03.D; 2012, C03.4.

On average, the same level of antisemitic harassment persists, a comparison of the results of the 2012 and 2018 surveys shows. No major differences are observed in the rates of antisemitic harassment, either in overall rates (ie, covering all of the five forms asked about in both surveys) or with respect to each of the specific five forms (it should be noted that, in the 2018 survey, the category 'made offensive gestures to you or stared at you inappropriately' was added). The figure illustrates some minor differences in the extent of the most widespread form of antisemitic harassment – antisemitic offensive or threatening comments in person – experienced across the survey countries in 2012 and 2018. Hungary is the exception, with a decrease by ten percentage points in such experiences.

### 3.2. Physical violence and vandalism against personal property

The survey asked respondents to consider their own experiences of physical violence – that is, physical attacks, for example on the street, on public transport, at the workplace or anywhere else – in the 12 months as well as in the five years before the survey. Respondents who experienced such violence were further asked to specify whether they believe this occurred because they are Jewish.

Overall, across the 12 countries surveyed, 3 % of the respondents personally experienced a physical attack because they are Jewish in the five years before the survey. In the 12 months before the survey, 2 % of all respondents experienced a physical attack because they are Jewish. The relatively low numbers of respondents who experienced antisemitic physical violence either in the past 5 years ( $n=555$  across 12 EU Member States, from 9 to 125 per country) or in the past 12 months ( $n=287$ , from 3 to 68 per country) do not allow any reliable breakdowns by country; the results are therefore presented on an aggregated level for the 12 countries surveyed.

In terms of differences in risk of experiencing an antisemitic attack, the survey results show that the probability for an antisemitic physical attack is much higher for men,

younger respondents and those who can be recognised in public as Jewish due to the items they wear, carry or display. For example, out of those respondents who at least sometimes wear, carry or display things that might help people recognise them as Jewish in public, 5 % personally experienced a physical attack because they are Jewish in the five years before the survey.

Respondents were also asked if anyone vandalised or damaged their private property – such as their home or car – in the past 12 months or past five years. This question focused specifically on respondents' personal experiences regarding their own personal property (as opposed to vandalism against Jewish community buildings or memorial sites, for example). Those who experienced vandalism of their private property were asked whether they thought that any of these incidents were due to them being Jewish.

In total, across the 12 countries surveyed, 4 % of all survey respondents said that their property was deliberately vandalised because they were Jewish in the five years preceding the survey; 2 % experienced this in the 12 months prior to the survey. The relatively low numbers of respondents who experienced antisemitic vandalism either in the past 5 years ( $n=639$  in the 12 countries surveyed, ranging from 12 to 208 per country) or the past 12 months ( $n=355$ , from 5 to 113 per country) do not allow any reliable breakdowns by country; results are therefore presented on an aggregated level for the 12 EU Member States surveyed.

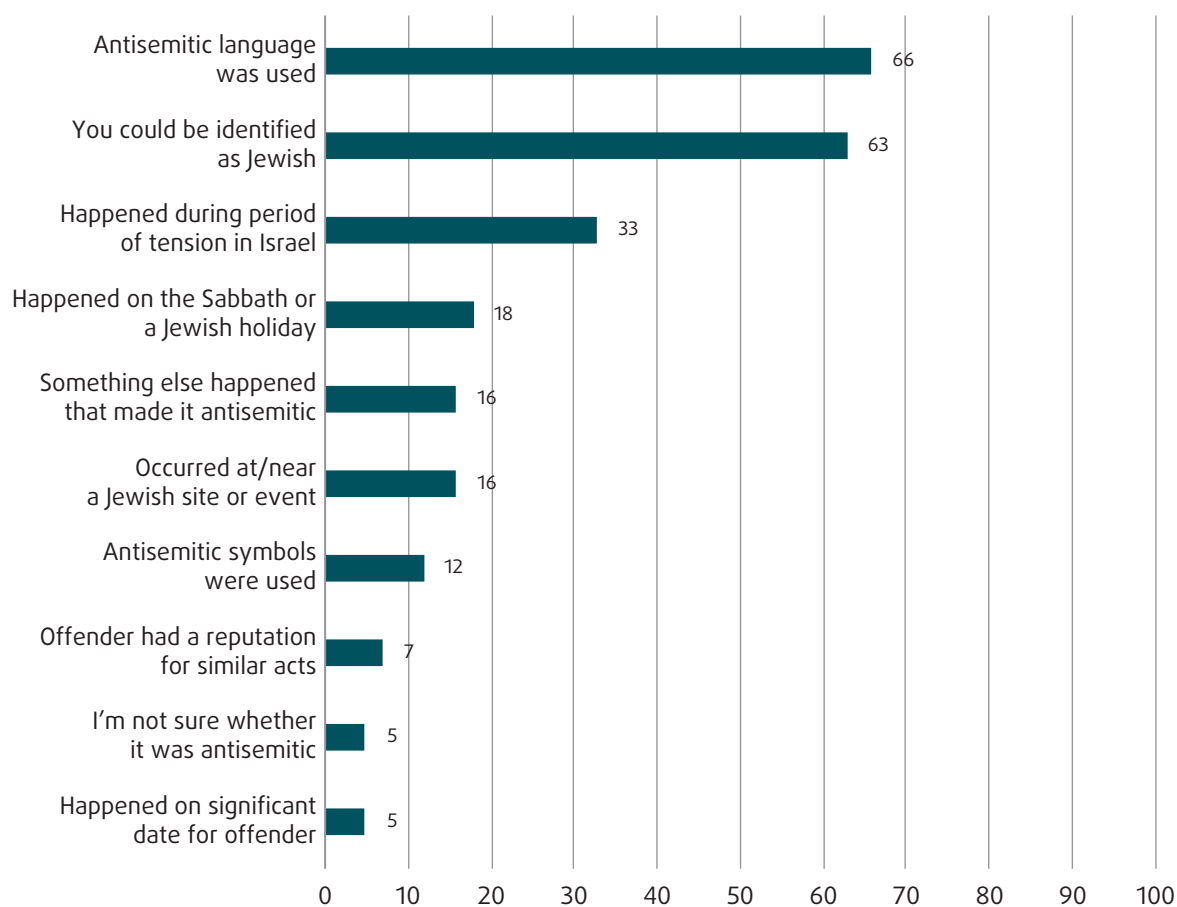
When comparing the findings of the 2018 and 2012 surveys in seven countries regarding experienced antisemitic physical violence and vandalism against personal property, similar prevalence rates are identified.

### 3.3. Respondents' perceptions of the incident circumstances and perpetrators

The respondents who had experienced some type of antisemitic harassment and physical attack were asked a number of questions concerning the most serious incident – that is, the incident that affected them the most – in the five years preceding the survey. This includes questions concerning the place where the incident happened, whether the incident was reported anywhere, as well as questions concerning the background of the perpetrator.

One of the questions concerning the characteristics of incidents of antisemitic harassment and violence addressed the incident's antisemitic bias element and asked the respondents to consider characteristics that made them perceive the incident as antisemitic. Both in the case of antisemitic harassment as well as antisemitic physical attack, most of the respondents across the 12 countries referred to two prevailing features: use of antisemitic language (e.g. comments, verbal abuse) (66 % of incidents of antisemitic harassment and 79 % of incidents of antisemitic physical attack); and the respondents could be identified as being Jewish (63 % and 73 %, respectively). In both cases, around one third of respondents referred to a period of tension or conflict in Israel as a context of the antisemitic incident (33 %

**Figure 21: Signs of antisemitic bias behind the most serious antisemitic incident of harassment in the 5 years before the survey, average of the 12 EU Member States surveyed (%)<sup>a,b</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of respondents who experienced some form of antisemitic harassment in the past five years (n=6,486); 12 country averages are weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Question: Cnewd. Does any of the following apply to the incident? (Items as listed in the figure.) Multiple responses possible.

Source: FRA, 2018

and 37 %, respectively). The results concerning signs of antisemitic bias are presented in more detail in [Figure 21](#) with respect to incidents of antisemitic harassment.

In the case of the most serious incident of antisemitic harassment, the proportions of victims who referred to antisemitic language during the incident range from 61 %–65 % in France, Denmark, Austria, and Sweden, to 72 %–79 % in Belgium, Hungary and Poland. That the respondent could be identified as Jewish was less often the case in incidents of antisemitic harassment in the Netherlands, Poland and Italy (ranges in between 43–48 %) than in France, the United Kingdom or Sweden (65 %–67 %).

Respondents who had experienced antisemitic harassment in person (that is, excluding incidents that took place online, for example) were asked to describe where the incident occurred. The survey findings show that most of these incidents happen in a public place – for example, in the street, a park or car park. More than half (60 %) of victims specified this as the place where the incident happened. Meanwhile, 17 % said that the incident happened in their workplace, 9 % at school or college, and 14 % mentioned a shop, café or restaurant. Similarly, the majority (75 %) of the most serious incidents of antisemitic physical violence took place on the street, a square, car park or other public place.

Among the other follow-up questions about exposure to antisemitic violence and harassment, the survey asked about the number of perpetrators involved and respondents' perceptions of the perpetrator(s). With regard to the most serious incident of antisemitic harassment, close to half (48 %) of cases involved only one perpetrator, while other cases (41 %) involved two or more perpetrators. Additionally, 12 % of the respondents said they did not know how many perpetrators there were. This could be the case with antisemitic cyberharassment, for example, where it may be difficult for victims to know whether or not the perpetrator is acting alone.

In the case of the most serious incident of physical violence that respondents experienced within the 12 months before the survey, one in three of these incidents (34 %) involved only one perpetrator, whereas the rest of the incidents (63 %) involved two or more perpetrators.

Respondents were also asked to describe the perpetrator as far as possible. To help, the survey offered a list of 11 categories. Respondents could select as many options as relevant, either to describe cases which involved two or more perpetrators of different type, or cases where a single perpetrator could be described in various terms (for example, both as 'a teenager' and 'work colleague'). They could also indicate that the perpetrator involved in the most serious incident could not be described using the list ('someone else I knew' and 'someone else I did not know') – either because there was no suitable category available in the survey, or because they did not have any information on the perpetrator ([Table 6](#)). The survey data do not provide information on the way in which respondents identified the perpetrators, and therefore only limited conclusions can be drawn from these results.

With respect to the most serious incident of antisemitic harassment, on average, across the 12 Member States surveyed, the most frequently mentioned categories for perpetrators were: 'someone else I cannot describe' (31 %); 'someone with an extremist Muslim view' (30 %); 'someone with a left-wing political view' (21 %); 'work or school/college colleague' (16 %); 'teenager or group of teenagers' (15 %); 'an acquaintance or friend' (15 %); 'someone with a right-wing political view' (13 %); 'someone else I can describe' (13 %).

While the category 'someone with Muslim extremist view' is reported often, respondents frequently selected it in combination with another category. In one third of the cases of antisemitic harassment, respondents chose it together with 'someone with a left-wing political view' (33 %); in one quarter, together with the category 'teenager or group of teenagers' (22 %). Slightly fewer respondents also selected 'someone else I did not know' (15 %), 'work or school/college colleague' (14 %); or 'someone with a right-wing political view' (13 %) in addition to 'someone with Muslim extremist view'.

Regarding the category 'someone else I did not know' – which was selected by many respondents – this category was also often selected in combination with other categories. Around every tenth respondent chose 'someone with a left-wing political view' (16 %), 'someone with Muslim extremist view' (14 %), 'an acquaintance or friend' (12 %), 'someone with a right-wing political view' (12 %) or 'work or school/college colleague' (11 %) to describe the perpetrator, in addition to characterising the perpetrator(s) as 'someone else I did not know'.



**Table 6: Perceptions of the perpetrator(s) in the most serious antisemitic incident of harassment in the 5 years before the survey, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c</sup>**

	AT	BE	DE	DK	ES	FR	HU	IT	NL	PL	SE	UK	12 country average
Someone else I can not describe	23	38	22	22	22	40	30	11	20	30	16	29	31
Someone with a Muslim extremist view	35	34	41	34	17	33	(2)	20	35	(2)	40	22	30
Someone with a left-wing political view	14	19	16	27	34	21	(3)	38	18	(6)	27	25	21
Work or school/college colleague	17	11	20	18	24	16	15	20	19	19	20	11	16
Teenager or group of teenagers	12	24	19	16	9	14	(6)	13	18	11	16	15	15
An acquaintance or friend	19	13	19	13	28	14	18	25	16	14	16	12	15
Someone with a right-wing political view	25	7	20	10	11	7	46	28	6	53	18	11	13
Someone else I can describe	(8)	13	12	21	15	12	17	21	19	18	12	15	13
Customer or client from work	(4)	7	3	(4)	(5)	6	(3)	(4)	7	(6)	5	4	5
Someone with a Christian extremist view	(6)	(4)	5	(1)	(7)	4	18	12	5	34	(3)	3	5

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of respondents who experienced some form of antisemitic harassment in the past five years (n=6,486); 12 country average is weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Question: Co6. Who did this to you? (Items as listed in the figure.) Multiple responses possible.

<sup>c</sup> Results based on a small number of responses are statistically less reliable. Thus, results based on 20 to 49 unweighted observations in a group total or based on cells with fewer than 20 unweighted observations are noted in parentheses. Results based on fewer than 20 unweighted observations in a group total are not published.

Source: FRA, 2018

The results also show some differences in respondents' perceptions of the perpetrators of the most serious antisemitic incident of harassment across the 12 survey countries (Table 6). The most often mentioned categories across the 12 survey countries – 'someone I can not describe' and 'someone with a Muslim extremist view' – are also among the top three categories in eight Member States: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom (they range from 20 % to 40 % and from 22 % to 41 %, respectively). The category 'someone with a left-wing political view' is observed among the three most frequently mentioned perceptions in Denmark, Spain, France, Italy, Sweden and the United Kingdom (it ranges from 21 % in France to 38 % in Italy). The category 'someone with a right-wing political view' is observed among the three most frequently mentioned perceptions in Austria, Germany, Hungary, Italy, and Poland (it ranges from 20 % in Germany to 53 % in Poland). 'Someone with a Christian extremist view' as a perceived perpetrator(s) in the case of the most serious antisemitic incident of harassment is observed among the most often chosen categories only in Poland (34 % of the victims of the antisemitic harassment incident chose it).

The survey results presented in the chapter on safety and security discuss intolerance towards Muslims as

one of the most pressing issue in the survey countries. On the one hand, a majority of the respondents (70 %) in the 12 countries indicate concern for increasing intolerance against Muslims over the past five years. On the other hand, a notable share of victims of antisemitic harassment and violence in the five years preceding the survey mention people with Muslim extremist view as perpetrators.

*"Currently (2017/18), we unfortunately experience massive hatred against Muslims in Austria. I think it is very important that all developed strategies focus on racism in general including all kinds of antisemitism and Islamophobia. As long as one minority isn't able to live peacefully and safely, no minority is able to."*

(Woman, 45-49 years old, Austria)

*"Nowadays, antisemitism is unfortunately mostly present in Muslim and left-wing circles. Sure, right-wing hatred against Jews exists as well, that's not a question."*

(Man, 25-29 years old, Germany)

*"I am regularly abused by right-wing Jews online who call me self-hating, Kapoor, and have posted my name and address on a public list on line and encouraged others to attack and harass me. They got the information from the election information when I stood for election locally."*

(Woman, 60-69 years old, United Kingdom)



When comparing the findings of the 2018 and 2012 surveys in seven countries with regard to the most frequently mentioned categories<sup>15</sup> of the perpetrators of the most serious harassment incident, no significant differences are observed. For example, in the 2012 survey<sup>16</sup>, 32 % of the respondents in seven countries identified ‘someone with a Muslim extremist view’ as a potential perpetrator in the most serious antisemitic harassment incident. In the 2018 survey, in the same seven countries, this respective share comprises 29 % of victims of the most serious incident of antisemitic harassment. In the 2012 survey, 23 % of the respondents in seven countries identified ‘someone with a left-wing political view’ as a potential perpetrator in the most serious antisemitic harassment incident, while in the 2018 survey, in the same seven countries, this respective share comprises 22 %. The same tendencies are observed in the case of ‘teenager or group of teenagers’ (17 % and 16 %, respectively) or ‘someone with a Christian extremist view’ (6 % and 5 %, respectively).

### 3.4. Reporting antisemitic incidents

FRA research has consistently shown that many incidents of hate crime never come to the attention of the criminal justice system.<sup>17</sup> Because many incidents are not reported, the official statistics on racist crime, which are typically based on police records, fail to reflect the volume and nature of racist crime in EU Member States.

In the survey, respondents who experienced antisemitic harassment or an antisemitic physical attack were asked to indicate whether they reported the most serious incident in the five years preceding the survey to the police or any other organisation, such as a victim support organisation, the media, someone in authority at the workplace or educational institution, or a Jewish community body that provides assistance to victims of antisemitic incidents.

The survey results show that many respondents do not report antisemitic incidents to the police or other organisations. However, respondents are more likely to report incidents of physical violence than harassment – this finding is consistent with results of other FRA surveys, such as the European Union Minorities and Discrimination survey (EU-MIDIS I, EU-MIDIS II). Nevertheless, only half (49 %) of the respondents who were victims of antisemitic physical violence in the five years preceding the survey reported this to the police or any other organisation. The great majority (79 %) of victims of antisemitic harassment never reported the most serious incident to the police or any other organisation. Meanwhile, 7 % of victims of harassment reported the most serious incident to the police, 9 % reported it to other organisations, and a further 4 % reported the case both to the police and to another organisation. Taken together, respondents said they

contacted the police and other organisations – mainly Jewish community organisations specialising in security and/or antisemitism issues – in only 20 % of harassment incidents, although the incident was the most serious one they had experienced in the past five years.

Comparing the results between the EU Member States in terms of the most serious antisemitic harassment incidents in the past five years shows the highest reporting rates in Austria, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom (21 %–28 %), and the lowest in Spain, Belgium and Denmark (13 %–17 %) (Figure 22).

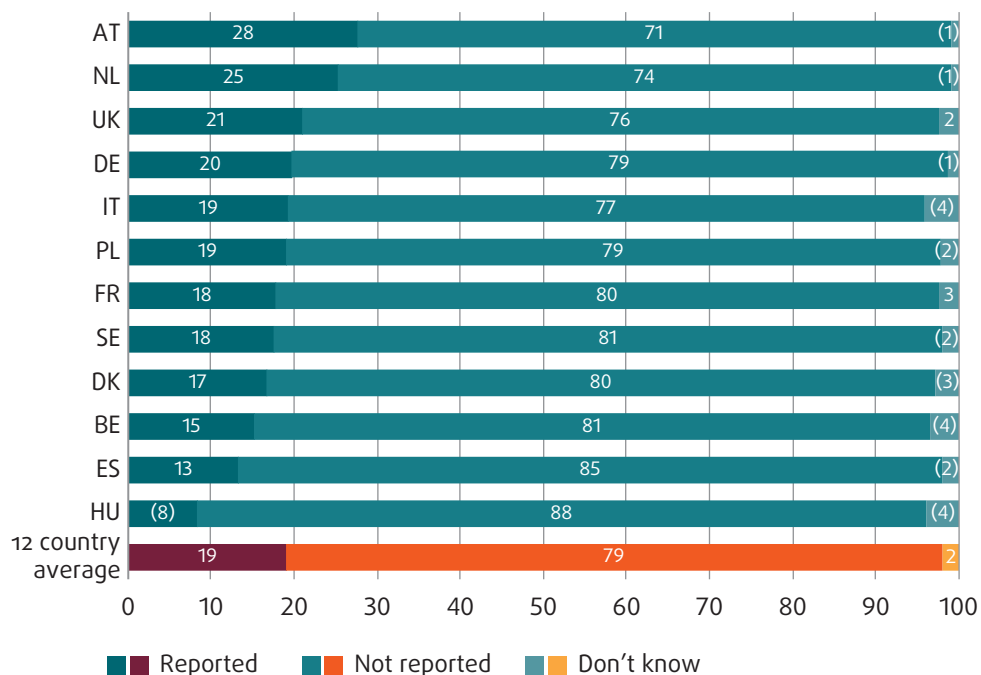
The survey asked respondents why they did not report the most serious incident of antisemitic harassment to the police. Those who had not contacted the police were presented with a list of possible reasons for not doing so – respondents could indicate all options applicable to their case. Figure 23 shows that almost half (48 %) of the respondents who did not report the most serious incident to the police answered that nothing would have changed had they done so. A similar proportion (43 %) of the respondents considered the incident not serious enough. One in five (22 %) considered reporting to the police to be too inconvenient or would cause too much trouble. Similarly, in the case of antisemitic physical violence, respondents felt that reporting the incidents would have changed nothing (64 %) or that it was too inconvenient or would cause too much trouble (36 %). The respondents also noted that they did not trust the police (25 %) or feared reprisals (22 %).

15 In the 2018 survey questionnaire, the list of items that specifies the perceived perpetrators was shortened to 9 categories (the 2012 survey questionnaire had 14 categories). In addition, two categories were added: ‘someone else I knew’ and ‘someone else I didn’t know’.

16 The 2012 survey data were recalculated and weighted to adjust the proportions of the achieved country samples proportionately.

17 See FRA (2017b), FRA (2017c).

**Figure 22: Reporting of the most serious incident of antisemitic harassment in the past 5 years, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>**

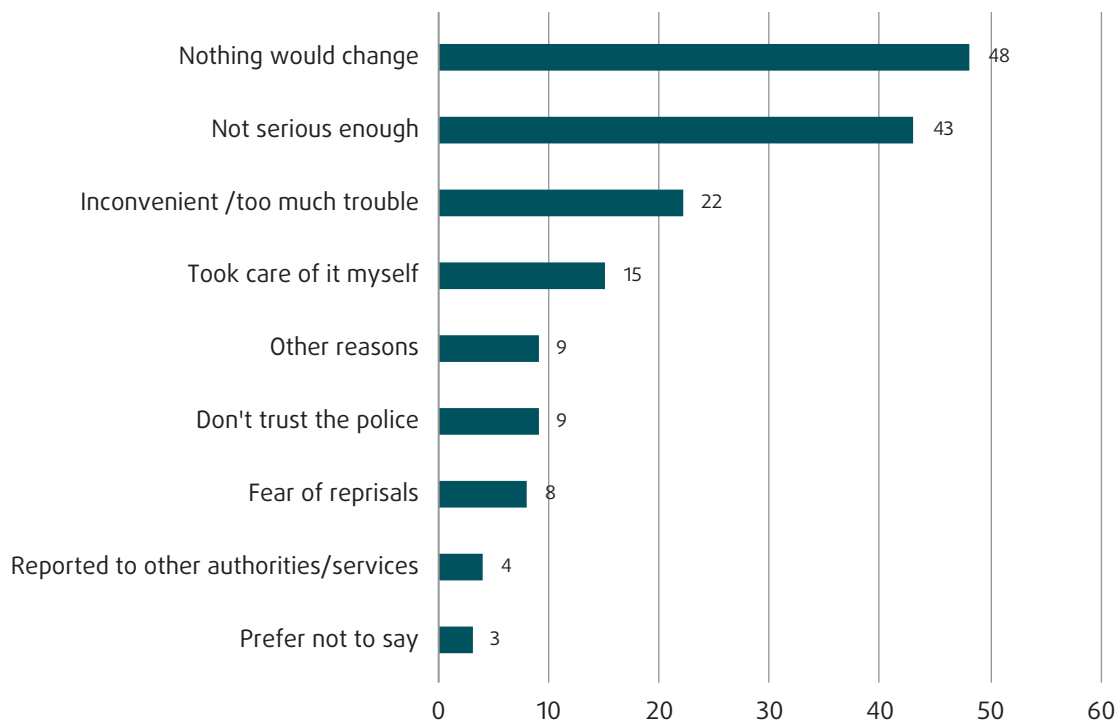


Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of respondents who experienced some form of antisemitic harassment in the past five years (n=6,486); 12 country averages are weighted.  
<sup>b</sup> Question: Co8. Did you or anyone else report this incident to the police or to any other organisation?  
<sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.  
<sup>d</sup> Results based on a small number of responses are statistically less reliable. Thus, results based on 20 to 49 unweighted observations in a group total or based on cells with fewer than 20 unweighted observations are noted in parentheses. Results based on fewer than 20 unweighted observations in a group total are not published.

Source: FRA, 2018



**Figure 23: Reasons for not reporting the most serious incident of antisemitic harassment in the past five years to the police, average of the 12 EU Member States surveyed (%)<sup>a,b</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of respondents who did not report the most serious incident of antisemitic harassment to the police (n=5,682); 12 country averages are weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Question: C10. Why did you not report the incident to the police: (Items as listed in the figure)? Multiple responses possible.

Source: FRA, 2018

*“If there would be tougher punishments for people who insult or attack each other; people will be afraid to act aggressively.”*

(Woman, 35-39 years old, Belgium)

*“One other time, I was surrounded by a group of young immigrants right next to the synagogue. I got rid of them by giving them my money – and was ready to fight for my life. I was ready to die, and they gave up. But I was shaken afterwards. I did not report it to the police because I do not believe it was worth the effort when ‘nothing had happened to me’.”*

(Man, 60-69 years old, Denmark)

*“I am now eighteen years old. When I was fifteen I was chased and discriminated against. I did not go to the police then, because I was afraid and I didn’t know how. I think more explanation should be given about that.”*

(Woman, 16-19 years old, the Netherlands)



# 4

## Experiences of discrimination



### KEY FINDINGS

- Overall, 11 % of all respondents say they felt discriminated against for being Jewish in the 12 months before the survey in one or more of the five areas listed in the survey – employment (at work or when looking for work), education, health or housing.
- More than three in four (77 %) of those who say they felt discriminated against in the 12 months before the survey because they are Jewish did not report the most serious incident to any authority or organisation.
- A majority of respondents (52 %) who felt discriminated against in the 12 months before the survey and who did not report the most serious incident anywhere say that they were not confident that reporting the incident would improve their situation. One third of respondents who felt discriminated against and did not report the most serious incident say that they did not report it because it was not serious enough (34 %) or they lacked proof (33 %).

This chapter examines respondents' experiences of discrimination on different grounds and in a variety of areas of life where discrimination may occur – such as at work or when using public or private services – and whether they reported incidents of discrimination to any organisation. It includes a general assessment of discrimination experienced across a range of grounds, including ethnicity or religion.

### FRA ACTIVITY

#### Handbook on European non-discrimination law

The handbook provides an overview of key aspects of non-discrimination law in Europe, referencing examples of European Court of Human Rights and Court of Justice of the European Union case law. These cover, among others, discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity and religion.

See *FRA (2018), Handbook on European non-discrimination law – 2018 edition, Luxembourg, Publications Office.*

## 4.1. Overall discrimination experiences

In the survey, respondents were asked to consider their discrimination experiences, if any – both in terms of experiences in general as well as with reference to particular areas of life where discrimination could take place, such as at work or in an educational setting. The respondents were asked to consider their experiences of discrimination in the past 12 months, relating to various grounds such as ethnic background, skin colour, gender, sexual orientation, age, religion or belief, disability, gender identity or any other reason. The questions used in the survey with respect to discrimination are largely similar to questions used in other FRA surveys that have addressed this topic, such as the second European Union Minorities and Discrimination survey (EU-MIDIS II). In contrast to the question on overall discrimination experiences that could happen on various grounds, the set of questions concerning discrimination in particular areas of life asked respondents whether their experiences were related to them being Jewish.

In total, across all 12 countries surveyed, over one third of the respondents (39 %) felt discriminated against in the 12 months before the survey based on one or more of the grounds listed. Overall, 21 % of respondents cited feeling discriminated against based on religion or belief, followed by age, sex or gender, and ethnicity (13 %, 12 %, and 11 %, respectively) (Table 7). Other grounds were cited by fewer respondents – skin colour, disability, sexual orientation (3 % each); gender identity (1 %); and other reasons (5 %).

Most respondents who had felt discriminated against cited one ground of discrimination (48 %), whereas 29 % cited two grounds and the rest (23 %) cited three or more grounds of discrimination. Cases where several grounds of discrimination are mentioned can indicate that people are discriminated against on several grounds in a single incident (intersectional discrimination), or that people experience discrimination on separate occasions, each time on different grounds (additive discrimination).<sup>18</sup> It is likely that, for some respondents, their Jewish identity involves both Judaism as a religion and Jewishness as an ethnic background, which may lead these respondents to indicate both grounds<sup>19</sup>, as

almost one in 10 of all respondents (9 %) indicate that they have felt discriminated against on the grounds of both ethnicity and religion.

In Germany and Poland, more than one in three respondents (37 % and 35 %, respectively) said that they personally felt discriminated against on the basis of their religion or belief in the 12 months before the survey – notably higher rates compared with the average of 21 % in the 12 survey countries. Similarly, in Germany and Poland, one in four respondents said that they have personally felt discriminated against based on their gender (21 % and 24 %, respectively) and ethnicity (27 % and 23 %, respectively). Notably, the higher rate of discrimination experiences in Germany and Poland do not cut across all grounds of discrimination, but are specifically related to respondents' experiences with respect to their religion or belief, gender, and ethnic origin or immigrant background. On the other hand, only 8 % of respondents in Hungary indicated that they had felt discriminated against because of their religion of belief, compared with 21 % in the 12 survey countries overall.

**Table 7: Respondents who personally felt discriminated against in the past 12 months, by grounds of discrimination, and EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>**

	AT	BE	DE	DK	ES	FR	HU	IT	NL	PL	SE	UK	12 country average
<b>Religion or belief</b>	20	25	37	24	26	20	8	17	27	35	17	17	21
<b>Age</b>	9	8	12	10	12	12	15	10	16	17	16	13	13
<b>Sex/Gender</b>	17	9	21	11	15	12	8	13	8	24	16	10	12
<b>Ethnic origin or immigrant background</b>	15	12	27	15	21	8	4	5	13	23	13	9	11

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Question: Fo1. In the PAST 12 MONTHS have you personally felt discriminated against in [COUNTRY] for any of the following reasons: Skin colour; Ethnic origin or immigrant background; Religion or belief; Age; Sex/Gender; Disability; Sexual orientation; Gender identity; For another reason. Multiple responses possible.

<sup>c</sup> The items are listed in descending order according to the average of the 12 countries.

<sup>d</sup> In addition to the four grounds listed in the table above, respondents were asked whether they felt discriminated against in terms of their skin colour, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity or for other reason. The percentage of respondents indicating one of these grounds for discrimination was relatively low (5 % or less in the 12 EU Member States) and the number of respondents with relevant experiences is too small for country level analysis. The table therefore presents the four grounds for discrimination which were mentioned more often in the survey.

Source: FRA, 2018

<sup>18</sup> A more detailed description of the content and use of terms related to multiple, intersectional and additive discrimination is available in FRA (2013c).

<sup>19</sup> The difficulties that some respondents have in differentiating between certain discrimination grounds was also apparent in the FRA analysis of the European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS) in terms of discrimination experiences of Muslim respondents; see: FRA (2009c).

## 4.2. Context of discrimination incidents

In addition to asking respondents about their overall experiences of discrimination, the survey asked them whether discrimination had taken place in specific situations. This helps respondents consider various situations where discrimination might have occurred and to collect more detailed information on such incidents.

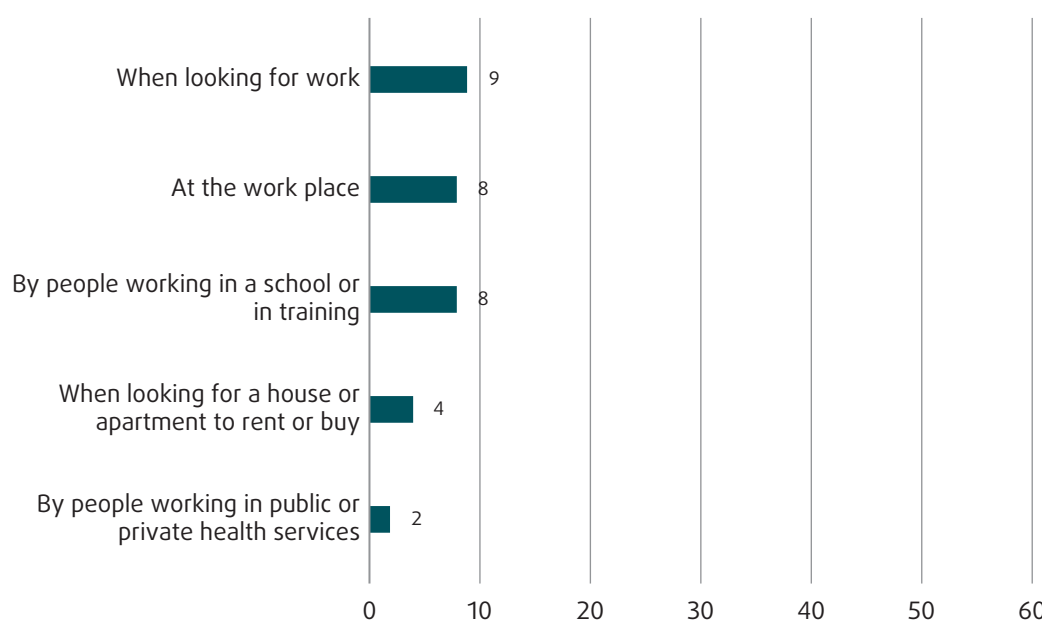
The survey asked respondents about their experiences of discrimination in the following five situations:

- when looking for work;
- at the workplace, by people you work for or work with;

- when looking for a house or apartment to rent or buy, by people working in a public housing agency, or by a private landlord or agency;
- by people working in public or private health services (such as by a receptionist, a nurse or a doctor);
- by people working in a school or in training, including respondent's experiences as a student or as a parent.

Respondents were first asked whether they had been in one of the five situations in the 12 months prior to the survey. If respondents indicated that they had felt discriminated against in one or more of those five situations, they were asked if they thought this had happened because they are Jewish.

**Figure 24: Respondents who personally felt discriminated against in different situations because they are Jewish, in the past 12 months, average of the 12 EU Member States surveyed (%)<sup>a,b</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of respondents who have been in the corresponding situations (such as working, or looking for work) in the last 12 months (looked for a job: n=3,174; worked/been employed: n=10,622; looked for a house or apartment to rent or buy: n=3,100; used public or private healthcare services: n=14,325; been in education (either yourself or one of your children): n=7,053); 12 country averages are weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Questions: Fo2. During the LAST 12 MONTHS, have you done any of the following in [COUNTRY]: (Situations as listed in the figure)?  
Fo3. Did you feel in any of these cases that you were discriminated against BECAUSE you are Jewish (Situations as listed in the figure)?

Source: FRA, 2018



*“Discrimination is sadly also very present in daily life, e.g. when shopping, or in services, or when having contractors do jobs. And truly, at every occasion when dealing with non-Jews, 50-60 % of all cases are a result of antisemitism.”*

(Man, 45-49 years old, Belgium)

Overall, 11 % of the respondents said they felt discriminated against for being Jewish in the 12 months before the survey in one or more of the five areas listed in the survey – employment (at work, looking for work), education, housing or health. Of the five situations listed, respondents were most likely to say that they had felt discriminated against in employment: almost one in ten respondents who had been looking for work (9 %) or had been working (8 %) during the 12-month period said that they felt discriminated against because they are Jewish. In addition, almost one in ten (8 %) respondents who had been, or whose children had been, in education or training in the 12 months before the survey said that either they themselves or their children felt discriminated against because they are Jewish by the school staff or people responsible for the training (Figure 24).

*“Keeping it a secret is also an approach not to be discriminated.”*

(Woman, 35-39 years old, Germany)

*“The problem is that many people are afraid to identify as such due to the strong antisemitism. I would never openly wear a Star of David as jewelry or wear a T-shirt with a Hebrew text or with ‘Israel’ on it. Thus, the question about discrimination is null and void, because the problem is already much bigger.”*

(Woman, 30-34 years old, Germany)

*“I have always lived in a very civilised small town and have been well integrated into the city life. I have never felt like I have been discriminated against – since the period of the race laws and the Nazi occupation.”*

(Man, over 80 years old, Italy)

*“I never admit that I am a Jewish; out of fear. Only 2 people know about my background. [...] I can’t be discriminated against if no one knows that I am a Jewish. I answer a direct question about my nationality with a lie.”*

(Woman, 50-54 years old, Poland)

*“The lack of antisemitic incidents in the public space is due mainly to the fact that a lot of Jews, we decide not to use the Kipá or to talk much about the topic, in order not to be discriminated. We are not discriminated, because we are ‘hiding’.”*

(Man, 35-39 years old, Spain)

*“I never identify myself in public in order to avoid discrimination. Spanish society is not exposed to many religions and does not understand Judaism and I am afraid to be seen as ‘strange’. I prefer to integrate in society in my day-to day.”*

(Woman, 30-34 years old, Spain)

*“You helpfully asked about ‘hiding’ Jewish identity which is something I definitely do, but not only for personal safety, I do it to avoid discrimination or inappropriate scrutiny at work, and when I meet new people, so that I am not unduly ‘judged’ in any prejudicial way before they get to know me.”*

(Woman, 60-69 years old, the United Kingdom)

The survey also asked respondents whether – when at work or at school or university – they had encountered situations where they had not been allowed to take time off for an important religious holiday, service or ceremony, or they had been prevented from expressing or carrying out religious practices and customs, including wearing a kippa/skullcap, Magen David/Star of David or specific clothing. Out of those who had been working in the past 12 months, 5 % said that were not allowed to take time off for an important religious holiday/service/ceremony. In case of school attendance or studies at university, 10 % said they have faced a similar situation. With regard to the ability to express or carry out religious practices and customs, 4 % of those in employment and 6 % of those in education said they had been prevented from this in the past 12 months.

*“In educational and work contexts, when I tell non-Jews that I am a Jew I often experience a kind of silence. In my experience, they subsequently often distance themselves from me, leaving me outside the community. [...] In the course of the last 12 months, I have had fellow students who were most likely familiar with my Jewish identity make antisemitic jokes in my presence.”*

(Woman, 50-54 years old, Denmark)

*“I am confronted with antisemitic comments from colleagues at work. And I actually work at the police department.”*

(Woman, 50-54 years old, the Netherlands)

*“The antisemitism I experienced is more subtle than can be described in a form like this. Like the bizarre silence after I spoke about being Jewish at work once.”*

(Man, 25-29 years old, Sweden)





### 4.3. Reporting discrimination

The respondents could also indicate in the survey whether they reported the most serious incident of discrimination experienced in the past 12 months to any authority or organisation. On average, the great majority (77 %) did not report the most serious incident of discrimination to any authority or organisation. Those who did report the incident (23 %) mentioned that they reported it to one or more organisations or services, which could include someone in authority at the workplace, school or university, the police, a national equality body or a Jewish community organisation specialised in collecting data on antisemitic incidents and assisting victims. More detailed analysis on the situations where antisemitic discrimination incidents took place is limited by the relatively small number of incidents of discrimination disclosed in the survey, particularly

when the results are examined by country. For example, out of over 1,500 respondents who felt discriminated against for being Jewish in the 12 months before the survey, only 11 respondents reported the incident to the national equality body.

Respondents who felt discriminated against in the 12 months before the survey but did not report this anywhere were asked to specify why they did not do so. The most frequently chosen reasons are, to a large extent, the same reasons given for incidents of harassment. These include concern that nothing would change as a result of reporting (52 %) or that what happened is not serious enough (34 %). Some respondents also felt they had no proof (33 %), were concerned about negative consequences if they reported (23 %) or expected the reporting process to be too inconvenient or cause too much trouble (22 %).



# 5

## Rights awareness



### KEY FINDINGS

- The majority of respondents are aware of legislation that forbids discrimination based on ethnic origin or religion – some 64 %–87 %, depending on the area, indicated knowing about it. Respondents are most aware of anti-discrimination legislation in employment and least aware of protection related to housing.
- Most respondents (71 %) say they are aware of an organisation in the country that offers advice or support for people who are discriminated against. Respondents most often referred to Jewish organisations specialising in the safety and security of the Jewish community and/or antisemitism, and national equality or human rights bodies.

This section examines the extent to which respondents in each of the 12 EU Member States are aware of legislation protecting them from discrimination,<sup>20</sup> organisations able to help them after relevant incidents, and the existence of legislation concerning trivialisation or denial of the Holocaust.<sup>21</sup>

### FRA ACTIVITY

#### Accessing justice and supporting victims

Low awareness of rights and missing support services for people who have been discriminated against can form obstacles to accessing justice. Member States' obligations under the Victims' Rights Directive to ensure the availability of support services to all victims of crime are examined in the FRA report on support for victims.

See FRA (2014), *Victims of crime in the EU: the extent and nature of support for victims*, Luxembourg, Publications Office.

<sup>20</sup> Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin, OJ 2000 L 180; Council Directive 2000/78 of 27 November 2000 establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation, OJ 2000 L 303.

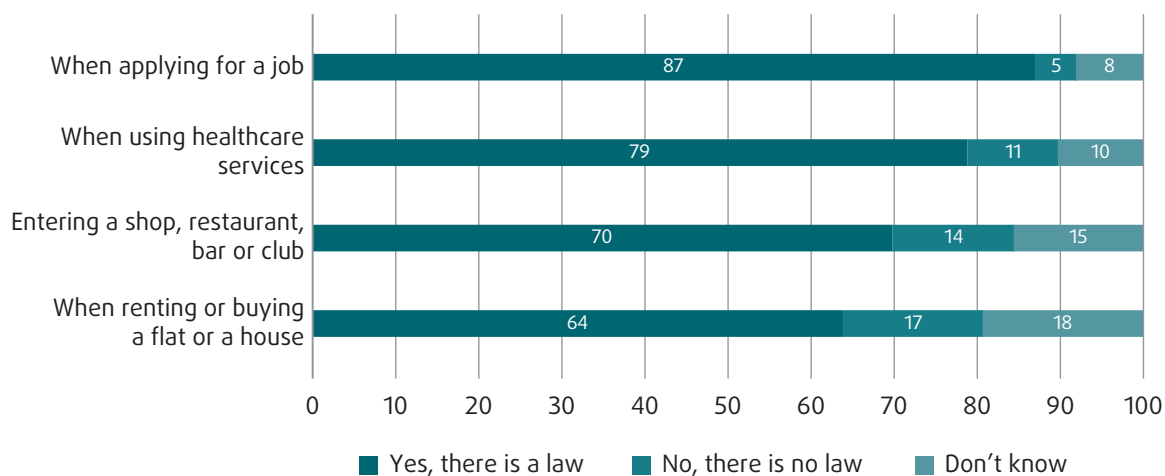
<sup>21</sup> Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA of 28 November 2008 on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law, OJ 2008 L 328.

## 5.1. Awareness of protection measures against discrimination

The survey asked respondents about their awareness of laws that forbid discrimination based on ethnic origin or religion in the following situations:

- when applying for a job;
- when entering a shop, restaurant, bar or club;
- when using healthcare services; and
- when renting or buying a flat or a house.

Respondents were most aware of the existence of non-discrimination legislation in the field of employment and healthcare services: more than three quarters of the respondents confirmed being aware of the existence of the relevant laws (85 % and 77 %, respectively). In the case of other services such as shopping or housing, 68 % and 61 % of respondents, respectively, in the 12 EU Member States are aware of the relevant legislation. Considering these results from the opposite perspective, depending on the area, the percentage of respondents unaware that such legislation exists ranges from 9 % to 21 % (Figure 25).

**Figure 25: Awareness of a law that forbids discrimination based on ethnic origin or religion in four situations, average of the 12 EU Member States surveyed (%)<sup>a,b,c</sup>**

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); 12 country averages are weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Question: Eo1. From what you know or have heard, is there a law in [COUNTRY] that forbids discrimination based on ethnic origin or religion in the following situations: (Items as listed in the figure)?

<sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.

Source: FRA, 2018

As noted in Section 4.2 on the context of discrimination incidents, respondents highlighted the field of employment as an area where discrimination is most likely to occur, either for those who are employed or for those who are looking for work. The survey results also show that discrimination on the ground of religion is the most widespread, compared with other grounds asked about in the survey (Section 4.1). Awareness of legislation prohibiting discrimination based on ethnic origin or religion when applying for a job is highest among respondents in the United Kingdom (92 %), Sweden (91 %) and France (90 %) (Figure 26). In contrast, the lowest awareness levels are observed in Hungary (64 %), Spain (70 %), and Poland (71 %), with relatively larger proportions saying that there is no such law or answering “don’t know”.

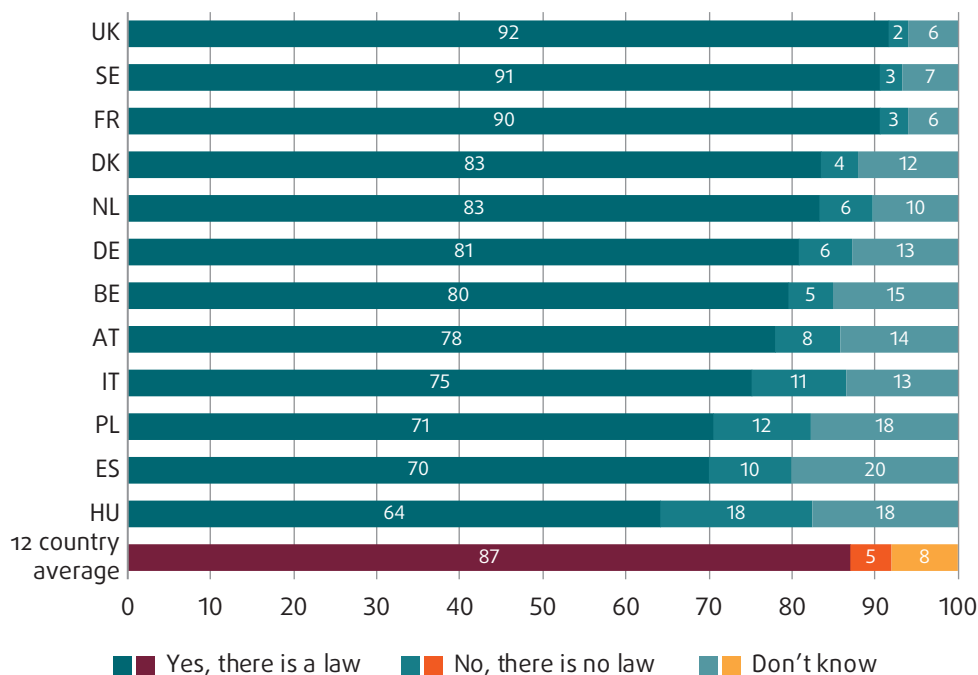
The pattern for the results from the 12 EU Member States is similar for awareness of anti-discrimination legislation in other areas such as entering a shop, restaurant, bar or club, using healthcare services and renting a flat or a house. Respondents’ awareness of the existence of anti-discrimination legislation in these areas, however, is a bit lower than for employment, as shown in Figure 26.

When asked about their knowledge of organisations that support victims of discrimination, most respondents (71 %) in the 12 survey countries overall said they are aware of an organisation in the country that could help them if they are discriminated against. Respondents

from Hungary (84 %), France (78 %), the Netherlands (77 %) and Poland (77 %) are the most aware of such organisations. Respondents from Denmark (45 %), Italy (46 %), Spain (50 %) and Germany (56 %) are the least aware of such organisations.

Respondents who said that they are aware of such an organisation were asked to identify in more detail what type of organisation(s) they meant (respondents were allowed to indicate one or more organisation types from the list provided in the survey). Two particular types of organisations stand out in this regard. Of the respondents who said they know an organisation that could help people who have been discriminated against, 73 % indicated a Jewish community organisation that concentrates on issues of security, with the highest proportions doing so in the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands (81 %, 78 %, and 75 %, respectively). National equality or human rights bodies were mentioned by 61 % of those who know of the existence of an authority or a support organisation, with higher proportions in Sweden (91 %), Hungary (79 %) and Poland (75 %). Furthermore, 45 % of the respondents who are aware of such an organisation mentioned that, if discriminated against, they could turn to a victim support organisation and 39 % to a Jewish authority figure, such as a rabbi or other leader in a Jewish organisation. 32 % of the respondents mentioned members of national parliament and 28 % mentioned local government councillors.

**Figure 26: Awareness of a law that forbids discrimination based on ethnic origin or religion when applying for a job, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.  
<sup>b</sup> Question: E01. From what you know or have heard, is there a law in [COUNTRY] that forbids discrimination based on ethnic origin or religion in the following situations? [A. When applying for a job]  
<sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.

Source: FRA, 2018

## 5.2. Holocaust denial and trivialisation

The survey measured respondents’ awareness of legal safeguards against incitement to hatred as well as Holocaust denial and trivialisation, which are covered by Article 1 of the Framework Decision on Racism and Xenophobia.

### FRA ACTIVITY

#### Fostering reflection on the Holocaust and fundamental rights

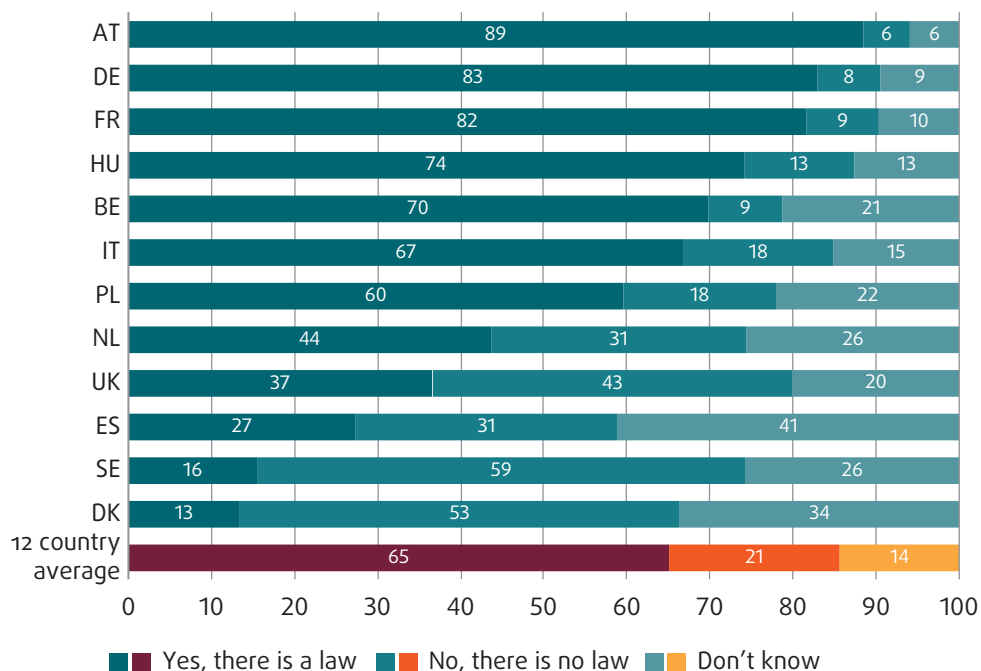
In 2015, FRA commissioned an online toolkit designed to encourage reflection on the Holocaust and fundamental rights today. The aim of this e-learning module is to make users familiar with important aspects of Holocaust history and encourage them to explore whether this history provides insights that are relevant for them as citizens and professionals today.

For more information, see the [Learning from History website](#).

Survey results show considerable country-specific variation in awareness of laws against denying or trivialising the Holocaust. Fewer than one in five respondents in Denmark (13 %) and in Sweden (16 %) believe that their country has legislation forbidding denying or trivialising the Holocaust. In Spain, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, less than half of the respondents are aware of such a law (27 %, 37 % and 44 %, respectively). However, it should be noted that, in addition to respondents who answered that there is a law against denying or trivialising the Holocaust, or that there is no such law, a relatively large number of respondents in these countries answered “don’t know”, indicating that they were not sure of the situation. In some cases where people claimed to know of such a law, they may be wrong, as the state of implementation of the Framework Decision on Racism and Xenophobia differs by EU Member State.<sup>22</sup> Respondents in the other countries surveyed (e.g. Austria, Germany, France, Hungary, Belgium, Italy, and Poland) are more convinced that there is a law against denying or trivialising the Holocaust, with 60 % to 89 % saying that the country has a law prohibiting such actions (Figure 27).

<sup>22</sup> European Commission (2014).

**Figure 27: Awareness of a law that forbids denial or trivialisation of the Holocaust, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.  
<sup>b</sup> Question: Eo4. From what you know or have heard, is there a law in [COUNTRY] against [Eo4a] Denying or trivialising the Holocaust?  
<sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.

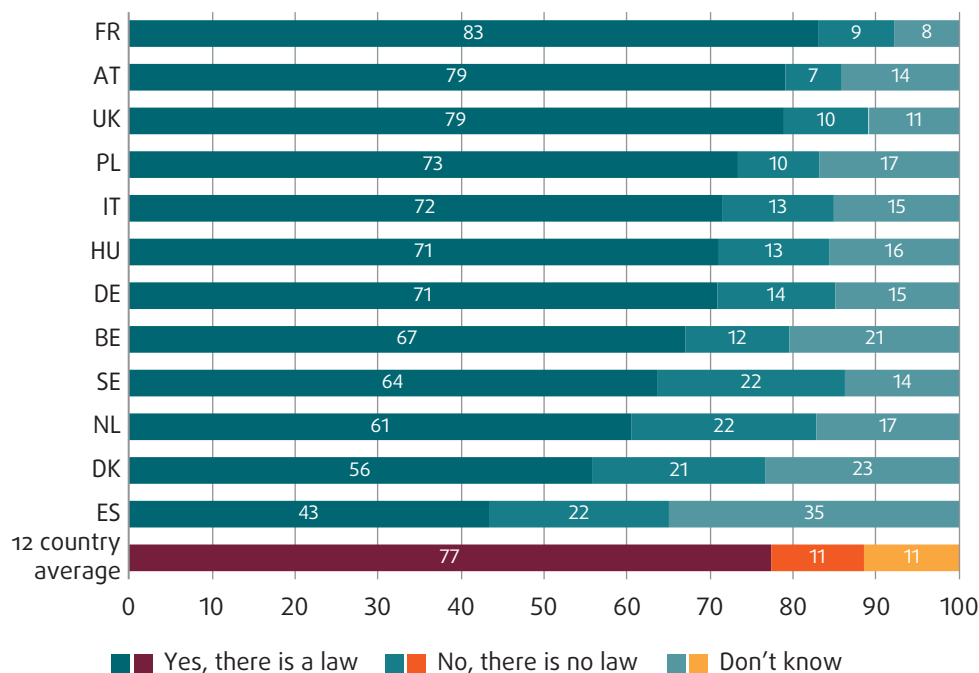
Source: FRA, 2018

In the countries included in the survey, most respondents are aware of the existence of laws against incitement to violence or hatred against Jews, with the exception of those in Spain (Figure 28). In countries

other than Spain, Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden, more than two thirds of respondents – from 67 % in Belgium to 83 % in France – said that such a law exists.



**Figure 28: Awareness of a law in the country that forbids incitement to violence or hatred against Jews, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Question: Eo4. From what you know or have heard, is there a law in [COUNTRY] against [Eo4b] Incitement to violence or hatred against Jews?

<sup>c</sup> Some bars do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.

Source: FRA, 2018

### 5.3. Protection of traditional religious practices

The questionnaire included two specific questions dealing with traditional religious practices, namely circumcision (*brit mila*) and traditional slaughter (*shechita*), which have been the subject of political debates in several EU Member States.<sup>23</sup>

The survey asked respondents about the extent to which they have heard it suggested that circumcision (*brit mila*) or traditional slaughter (*shechita*) should be banned, and whether a ban would constitute a problem for them as Jews.

Respondents from the 12 EU Member States surveyed differ in their awareness of opinions on these issues. Almost all respondents in Denmark said that they had heard non-Jewish persons suggesting that circumcision or traditional slaughter, or both of these, should not take place in the country, with 98 % of respondents saying

they are aware of such expressions. Denmark aside, Sweden, Poland, Austria, the Netherlands and Germany show the highest proportions of respondents who say that they have heard non-Jewish persons suggesting that circumcision, traditional slaughter or both of these should not take place in the country, with over 70 % of respondents saying they are aware of such discussions.

Half of the respondents (50 %–52 %) in the Netherlands, Sweden and Austria, respectively, have heard non-Jewish people suggest bans on both circumcision and traditional slaughter. Nearly half (48 %) of the respondents in Poland have heard suggestions about a ban on traditional slaughter, while a ban on circumcision was mentioned by only few respondents in Poland. The lowest proportions of those who have heard such suggestions concerning circumcision and/or traditional slaughter are observed in Hungary and Spain, where 83 % and 63 % of respondents, respectively, said that they are not aware of debates on banning circumcision, traditional slaughter or both (Table 8).

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, FRA's *Fundamental Rights Reports*, chapter on equality and non-discrimination.

A large majority of respondents in Italy, France, Belgium, Spain, and the United Kingdom (91 % to 80 % depending on the country) and about three quarters in Denmark, Austria, and Germany (77 % to 74 % depending on the country) indicate that a prohibition of circumcision would be a very big or fairly big problem for them. About three quarters of respondents in Italy (79 %), France (76 %), Spain (73 %), and the United Kingdom (71 %) held the same position

regarding prohibition on traditional slaughter. In Sweden, 44 % of respondents said that a ban on traditional slaughter would be a problem for them as Jews, with 38 % in Poland sharing this view (Figure 29). A partial explanation for the results concerning Sweden may be that, unlike the other countries included in the survey, Sweden has banned traditional slaughter since 1937, although Jewish people there have been able to import traditionally slaughtered meat.

**Table 8: Respondents' awareness of non-Jewish people suggesting that circumcision and/or traditional slaughter be prohibited in the country where they live, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>**

	Yes, about circumcision (brit mila)	Yes, about traditional slaughter (shechita)	Yes, about both circumcision (brit mila) AND traditional slaughter (shechita)	No, I have not heard or seen any such suggestions
<b>Austria</b>	12	9	52	28
<b>Belgium</b>	6	19	45	30
<b>Denmark</b>	40	(1)	57	(2)
<b>Germany</b>	16	6	49	29
<b>Spain</b>	17	6	14	63
<b>France</b>	7	14	33	45
<b>Italy</b>	13	10	26	51
<b>Hungary</b>	7	(2)	7	83
<b>Netherlands</b>	5	15	50	29
<b>Poland</b>	(2)	48	25	25
<b>Sweden</b>	22	4	51	23
<b>United Kingdom</b>	7	10	45	37
<b>12 country average</b>	9	11	38	42

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Question: F10. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, have you personally heard or seen non-Jewish people suggest that circumcision and traditional slaughter (shechita) should NOT be allowed to take place in [COUNTRY]? (Items as listed in the table).

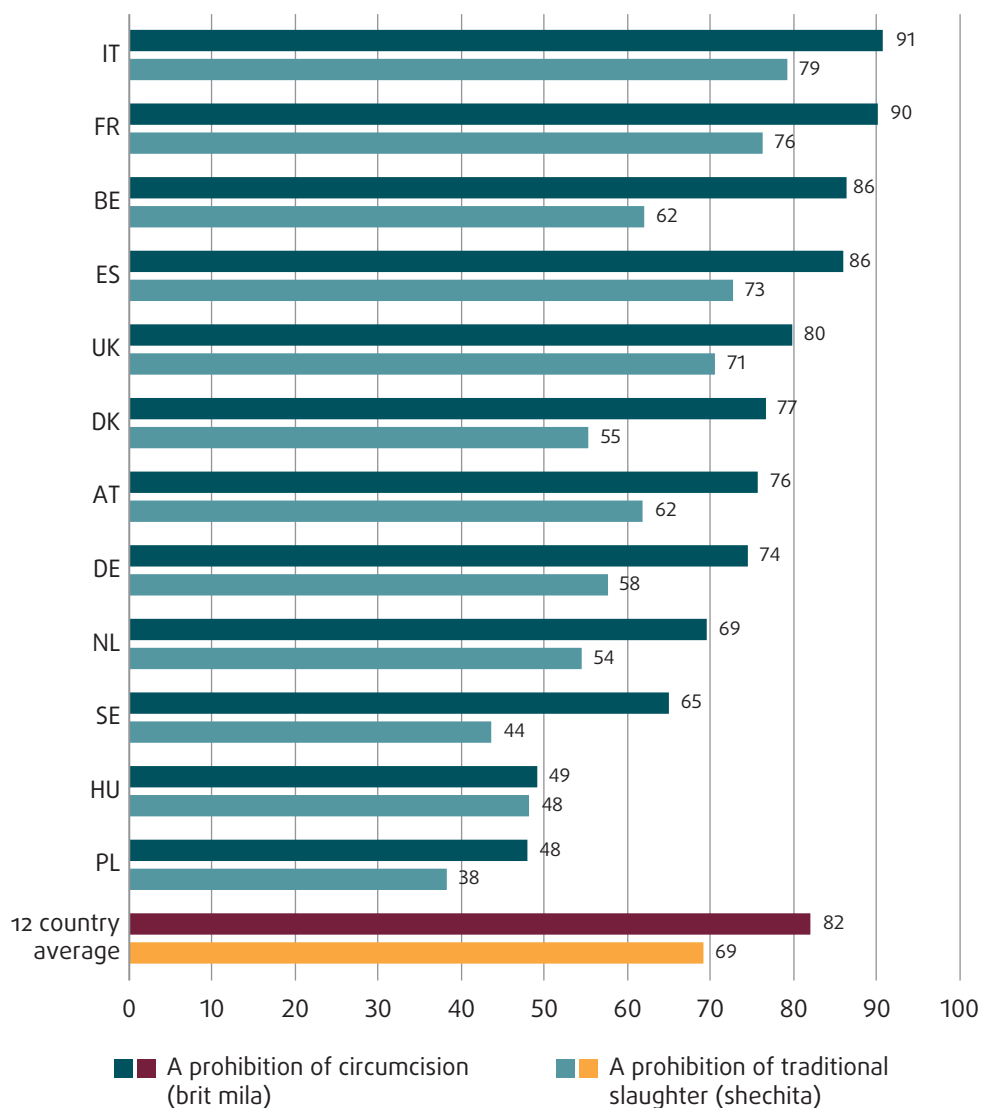
<sup>c</sup> Some lines do not add up to 100 %; this is due to rounding of numbers.

<sup>d</sup> Results based on a small number of responses are statistically less reliable. Thus, results based on 20 to 49 unweighted observations in a group total or based on cells with fewer than 20 unweighted observations are noted in parentheses. Results based on fewer than 20 unweighted observations in a group total are not published.

Source: FRA, 2018



**Figure 29: Respondents for whom the prohibition of circumcision or traditional slaughter would be a problem, by EU Member State (%)<sup>a,b,c</sup>**



Notes: <sup>a</sup> Out of all respondents (n=16,395); country results are unweighted, 12 country average is weighted.

<sup>b</sup> Question: F11. How big a problem, if at all, would the following be for you as a Jew [1. A prohibition of circumcision (brit mila); 2. A prohibition of traditional slaughter (shechita)]?

<sup>c</sup> The results presented are a sum of the answer categories 'a very big problem' and 'a fairly big problem'.

Source: FRA, 2018



# Annex 1: Survey methodology

## Background

FRA's second survey on Jewish people's experiences and perceptions of hate crime, discrimination and anti-semitism collected data from 16,395 self-identified Jewish respondents (aged 16 or over) in 12 EU Member States – Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The 12 EU countries covered correspond to 97 % of the estimated Jewish population in the EU.<sup>24</sup> The online questionnaire was available in 13 languages: Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Polish, Russian, Spanish and Swedish.

In addition to these 12 EU Member States, FRA also carried out the survey in Latvia, where 200 respondents took part. Due to the low response level to the online dissemination campaign, changes in recruitment methodology and data collection (such as face-to-face interviewing, direct help in completing the survey) were applied. While the survey was able to reach more respondents in this way, the changes in the respondent recruitment and data collection methods have an impact on data quality, limiting the scope for comparisons between Latvia and other survey countries. Therefore, the results concerning Latvia are not presented together with those of the other 12 EU Member States; instead, a summary overview of the results for Latvia is available in [Annex 2](#).

## Data collection implementation

FRA's second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews builds strongly on the experience and methodology developed for the 2012 FRA survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews (which covered eight Member States) and on stakeholder consultations carried out in 2017. The survey collected data through an open online survey.

In preparation for the latest survey, the 2012 survey questionnaire went through a review which resulted in changes to some of the questions. Efforts to reduce the survey length were taken, with a view to minimising the respondent burden. This included reviewing possible questions for deletion and reducing the number of items and answer categories in individual questions. Some questions were deleted and some were streamlined, rephrased or repositioned in the questionnaire to improve the flow when answering the questions. The

questionnaire was also revised to establish a design that is compatible across most common, latest operating systems (such as Microsoft Windows, Apple's iOS, Linux) and that also works on different types of devices, including desktop and laptop computers, [tablets](#) and [smartphones](#), that can be used for completing the survey. All revisions aimed to retain the comparability with the 2012 survey, to the extent possible. The 2018 survey questionnaire will be available in the Technical Report (forthcoming 2019).

The survey was open for respondents to complete for seven weeks in May–June 2018. The survey was designed to be accessible to all eligible participants, i.e. those self-defining as Jews, aged 16 or over and resident in one of the survey countries. The questionnaire was administered online and could be accessed via an open web link that was publicised on the FRA website, via Jewish organisations, Jewish media outlets and social networks.

A consortium of Ipsos MORI and the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR), both based in the United Kingdom, managed the survey data collection under the supervision of FRA staff. The national research teams of academic experts and local researcher and community liaison points in each survey country supported the survey implementation. Several leading specialists on issues of contemporary European Jewry advised on the design and implementation of this survey: Professor Eliezer Ben-Rafael (Tel Aviv University, Israel), Professor Michal Bilewicz (University of Warsaw, Poland), Professor Chantal Bordes-Benayoun (National Centre for Scientific Research, France), Dr. Jonathan Boyd (Institute for Jewish Policy Research, United Kingdom), Professor Sergio DellaPergola (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel), Professor Lars Dencik (Roskilde University, Denmark), Dr. Olaf Glöckner (Moses Mendelssohn Zentrum, Germany), Dr. Erich Griessler (Institute for Advanced Studies, Austria), Professor András Kovács (Central European University, Hungary), Dr. Hannah van Solinge (Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute), Dr. Daniel Staetsky (Institute for Jewish Policy Research, United Kingdom), Dr. Mark Tolts (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel) and Dr. Martina Weisz (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel). JPR collected information on the size and composition of the Jewish population in each country, and on communal structures of the European Jewish communities; identified ways to make Jewish people in the selected countries aware of the survey; and implemented the communication strategy. Ipsos MORI ensured the technical set-up of the survey, including the translation of all survey materials, development of the survey website and compliance with the standards of data security, privacy and confidentiality.

<sup>24</sup> DellaPergola, S. (2016).

Throughout the data collection, responses were monitored using the online monitoring tool provided by Ipsos. The tool allowed monitoring of response levels on a daily basis, and enabled observing the impact of particular communications campaigns by different organisations across the survey countries and checking the distributions of responses by age, sex, geography and Jewish affiliation to assess how the communications campaigns were reaching different segments of the target population.

The data collection outcomes confirm the experience of similar online surveys: that the launch day is critical. In this case, over 4,000 responses were obtained on the first day alone, constituting over a quarter of the total sample. Following the processes undertaken to assess the quality of the data and cleaning of the dataset, the final dataset includes 16,395 completed questionnaires across the 12 survey countries. The average time for survey completion was 33 minutes, and the median duration was 27 minutes. The majority of respondents completed the survey on their laptop (62 %), with 29 % completing it on a smartphone, and 9 % on a tablet.

## Weighting

The samples across the 12 survey countries range from 422 respondents in Poland to 4,731 respondents in the United Kingdom. In order to adjust the proportionality of the achieved samples' sizes and their impact for calculating the average of the 12 survey countries, the weight was applied that takes into account the differences between the size of the Jewish population in the different country. In order to compare the corresponding findings with the 2012 survey, the 2012 survey data follow the same approach for the countries where both surveys took place.

To assess the trends in results between the 2012 and 2018 surveys, FRA carried out a detailed assessment of the quality of the samples achieved across the surveyed countries, namely Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Sweden and the United Kingdom. This aimed to clarify whether trends in perceptions and experiences of antisemitism can be identified on the basis of information collected in the two surveys, and whether any adjustments to the data should be considered before such comparisons are made.<sup>25</sup> FRA explored several possibilities to weight the data based on estimates of socio-demographic characteristics (for example, age, gender) of the target population, in order to adjust for specific respondent characteristics. Due to the lack of comprehensive Jewish population

statistics (such as census statistics on age and gender distributions), and data relating to Jewish communities (e.g. Jewish communal affiliation), in most countries the available information is based on educated estimates and assumptions, the accuracy of which is difficult to ascertain. The data regarding the Jewish population composition and the community composition differs in comprehensiveness from country to country. Even if weights based on these data were applied, the within-sample weights tested by FRA during the data analysis do not change the overall results substantially.

Over the course of its data analysis, FRA also developed propensity weights based on variables associated with the recruitment process, as well as a composite weight, which takes into account all different adjustment possibilities. These weights also tend to correct the results to the same direction as the within-sample weights and their overall impact of any correction is small. Based on this experimental testing of different weighting options, weighted trends seem to reproduce the same trends that can be observed based on unweighted data without exception.<sup>26</sup> Taking into account the uncertainty about the validity of the population benchmark data and the available estimates, and low sensitivity of data to the weights (low impact of weighting), the results presented in the report are based on unweighted data, with the exception of the 12 country average, as described earlier.

## Description of respondents

The open online survey approach adopted by FRA depended on individuals' willingness to participate in the survey. Consequently, and in view of the interpretation of the results, it is particularly important to consider the composition of the sample and the profile of the respondents that the survey results represent.

### Sample sizes

The largest samples, as expected, were obtained from the two countries with the largest estimated Jewish communities: France and the United Kingdom. Samples over 1,000 respondents were obtained in Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. For the remaining seven countries, the sample sizes ranged from 400 to 800 respondents.

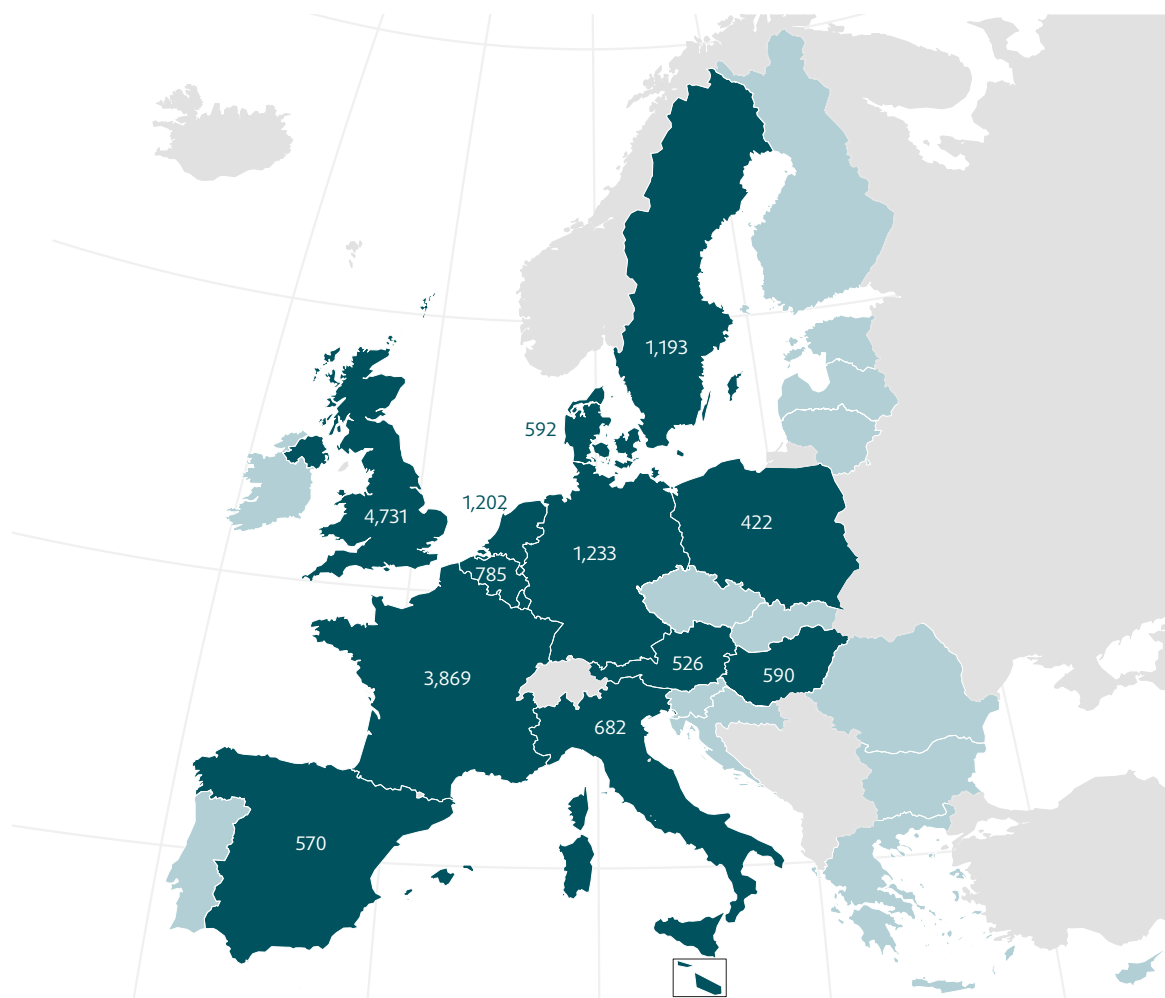
**Table 9** shows that the 2018 survey reached much higher samples in some of the selected countries than the 2012 survey did.

<sup>25</sup> More details are provided in the Technical Report (forthcoming 2019).

<sup>26</sup> For more details, see the Technical Report (forthcoming 2019).



Figure 30: EU Member State samples



Source: FRA, 2018

Table 9: Sample sizes in 2012 and 2018 surveys

	2012	2018
Belgium	438	785
Germany	608	1,233
France	1,192	3,869
Hungary	528	590
Italy	649	682
Sweden	810	1,193
United Kingdom	1,468	4,731

Source: FRA, 2013, 2018

## Main socio-demographic characteristics

The survey respondents can be characterised based on the information that was collected from the respondents as a part of the survey – an overview of these characteristics is presented in Table 10. This information is important, both because it provides details about the composition of the sample and because respondents' socio-demographic characteristics are likely to affect their experiences in everyday life, including exposure to situations where people might face discrimination

or hate crime. Respondent background information allows contextualising responses to other questions in the survey, and to examine whether certain sub-populations of Jews (e.g. based on age, gender or area where they live) are at a higher or lower risk of experiencing antisemitic incidents.

Somewhat more men (52 %) than women (48 %) took part in the survey. 70 % of the respondents in the FRA survey are 45 years old or older (43 % are over 60 years old). The youngest age group (16–29 years) is relatively small, comprising 12 % of all respondents, with the remaining 18 % of the respondents 30–44 years of age. The overall age distribution of the survey respondents might reflect the ageing of Jewish populations in the 12 EU Member States. About three quarters (73 %) of the respondents completed higher education (university degree or above),<sup>27</sup> and 58 % of the respondents are in employment, whereas 28 % of respondents are retired. Over 80 % of survey respondents in all countries are urban residents living by their own account in big cities or towns. Rural residents constitute a small minority of up to 5 %. Nearly two thirds (64 %) of the respondents are married or living in a registered partnership, and one third (34 %) have never married, are widowed, divorced or separated from their spouses.

The data show slight differences in the socio-demographic characteristics (such as gender, age and employment) between the respondents in the 12 survey countries. Regarding gender, nearly equal proportions of female and male respondents answered the survey in the Netherlands (50 % each), Austria (49 % women and 50 % men), Germany (49 % women and 51 % men), while in Belgium, France, Spain and the United Kingdom more men than women took part (56 %, 55 %, 54 % and 54 % of respondents, respectively, were men in these countries). In Sweden, Poland and Denmark, more women than men took part in the survey (59 %, 57 %, and 54 % of respondents, respectively, were women in these countries).

Regarding age, the oldest age group (60 years of age and over) is most prevalent in the samples in the Netherlands, Sweden and France (respondents who are over 60 years old comprise 55 %, 51 %, and 50 % of the samples, respectively). The Spanish, Belgian and Polish samples are distinct as 30–59-year olds comprise around 60 % of the sample (30–44-year olds, 26 %,

26 %, and 34 %; and 45–59-year olds, 39 %, 32 %, and 23 %, respectively). Among Jews in Germany, Poland and Denmark, the proportions of the youngest age group are relatively bigger (24 %, 21 %, and 17 %, respectively) than in other countries.

Respondents were also asked how long they had been living in their country of residence. In all 12 EU Member States surveyed, an absolute majority of respondents (82 %) have lived all or nearly all their life in the country where they live.

The survey asked the respondents about their country or countries of citizenship (in cases where countries allow multiple citizenship). The majority of respondents (93 %) are citizens of the country where they currently live, survey results showed. In Germany, 81 % of the respondents are German citizens while in Spain 75 % of the respondents are Spanish citizens.

## Jewish identity

### Measuring Jewish identity

It is not possible to distill the various dimensions of Jewish identity into a single survey question, especially in a survey that covers a number of countries. As a result, the FRA survey on anti-semitism used a set of items to measure respondents' Jewish identity. The following list shows the types of questions that were used in the survey, with some examples of the possible response categories (the full list of response categories can be found in the survey questionnaire):

- self-assessment of the strength of one's religious beliefs (on a scale of 1 to 10);
- observing Jewish practices (e.g. eating kosher, or attending synagogue);
- membership in synagogues and/or Jewish organisations;
- classification of Jewish identity (e.g. Orthodox, traditional, progressive, Haredi);
- importance of selected issues to respondent's Jewish identity (e.g. Jewish culture, remembering the Holocaust, supporting Israel);
- self-assessed strength of Jewish identity (on a scale from 1 to 10);
- Jewish background (e.g. Jewish by birth, Jewish by conversion).

<sup>27</sup> During the questionnaire translation and scripting process, an error occurred in the country specific ISCED categories in the German version of the questionnaire for Germany: the corresponding code for "university degree level education" (*Universitätsabschluss* (z. B. BA, Master, Dipl., Staatsexamen), *Dr., Habil.*) was not displayed to respondents who completed the survey in German. As a result, an error in the data occurs, with responses skewed towards lower education levels. To correct the error, the values for the education categories in Germany were imputed.

Table 10: Main social demographic characteristics of the full sample

		%	N
<b>Gender</b>	Women	48	7,865
	Men	52	8,484
	Other	0	46
<b>Age</b>	16-29	12	1,897
	30-44	18	3,020
	45-59	27	4,461
	60+	43	7,035
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16,395</b>
<b>Education</b>	No higher education	27	4,389
	Higher education	73	12,006
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16,395</b>
<b>Employment status</b>	Employed	37	6,018
	Self-employed	21	3,390
	Unemployed	2	319
	Retired	28	4,549
	Unable to work due to long standing health problems	1	269
	Student, pupil	7	1,117
	Fulfilling domestic tasks	2	287
	Military or civilian service	0	27
	Other	2	419
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16,395</b>
<b>Marital status</b>	Married or in a registered partnership	64	10,417
	Married but separated	2	252
	Divorced	10	1,672
	Widowed	4	734
	Never married	18	3,004
	Prefer not to say	2	316
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16,395</b>
<b>Residence location</b>	The capital city/ a big city	55	9,064
	The suburbs or outskirts of a big city	27	4,438
	A town or a small city	12	2,022
	A country village	4	697
	A farm or home in the countryside	1	113
	Other	0	61
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16,395</b>

Source: FRA, 2018

The survey included several questions that aimed to capture on what basis respondents in the survey self-identify as being Jewish.

In all countries, an absolute majority of the respondents (87 %) identify themselves as Jewish by birth, with the lowest proportions observed in Poland and Spain (66 %



and 71 %, respectively) and the highest in the United Kingdom (94 %). The highest proportions of respondents who are converts to Judaism are observed in Spain (25 %), Poland (21 %), Austria (15 %), and the lowest in the United Kingdom (4 %), Hungary (7 %), and the Netherlands and France (8 % each).

In nine out of the 12 EU Member States, Ashkenazi Jews,<sup>28</sup> who trace their ancestry to France, Germany and Eastern Europe, constitute a majority of the respondents (57 % and over), peaking at 83 % in the United Kingdom. Ashkenazi Jews are a minority in Italy (12 %), Spain (33 %) and France (34 %). In these countries Sephardi Jews,<sup>29</sup> who trace their ancestry to Spain, Portugal, North Africa and the Middle East, constitute 30 %-50 % of the respondents. Italy has by far the largest proportion of respondents identifying as 'mixed' (48 %), followed by Poland (26 %).

Of the categories used to describe respondents' Jewish identity, the two largest across all countries are 'Just Jewish' (33 %) and 'Traditional' (31 %). The shares of 'Just Jewish' range between 54 %-59 % in Italy, Poland and Hungary. The lowest shares of 'Traditional' Jews are observed in Poland, Hungary, Italy and the Netherlands (7 %-17 %). 32 % of respondents in the Netherlands identified themselves as 'Reform/Progressive', while this share in Austria, Germany, the United Kingdom and Spain ranges between 19 %-24 %. The highest proportion of 'Haredi' Jews are observed in Belgium (14 %).

The respondents were asked to define the strength of their Jewish identity by using a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means very low strength of Jewish identity and 10 means very high strength. The majority of the respondents (71 %) maintain a strong Jewish identity (values 8-10 on the scale), according to the survey results. One quarter (24 %) define their Jewish identity as medium strength (values 4-7), and 4 % define it as being weak (values 1-3). The average levels of strength of Jewish identity are similar in the 12 EU Member States surveyed.

In addition to the questions on Jewish identity, the respondents were asked how religious they were on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 meant 'not at all religious' and 10 meant 'very religious'. A minority of the respondents (16 %) are characterised by a high level of religiosity (values 8-10 on the 10-point scale). Almost half of the respondents (46 %) can be described as moderately religious (values 4-7), and a significant share (38 %) as not religious (values 1-3 on the scale). Average levels of religiosity slightly differ in the 12 EU Member States surveyed. Relatively lower religiosity is observed among the respondents from Hungary, Poland and Sweden (the average values range from 3.2 to 3.7, respectively). The highest levels of religiosity are observed in the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom (the average values range from 4.9 to 5.3, respectively).

The survey respondents were asked about the Jewish practices they personally observe or holidays they celebrate. From the list provided, the majority of the respondents attended Passover Seder (92 %) and fasted on Yom Kippur (84 %) most or every year. Nearly half of the respondents said that they light candles most Friday nights (58 %) and eat only kosher meat at home (45 %). One third of the respondents (32 %) attend synagogue once a week or more often. In addition, 17 % of the respondents said they do not switch on the lights on the Sabbath. In contrast, 12 % of the respondents said they do not personally observe any of these Jewish practices.

The survey asked the respondents how they had heard about the survey. The majority of the respondents said they received an email from an organisation or online network (74 %), and 18 % said that somebody told them about it or sent a link. These and other results suggest that many of the respondents who participated in the survey are affiliated with Jewish community organisations, either as members or at least belonging to their mailing lists. Unaffiliated Jews are difficult to reach for surveys in the absence of the sampling frames, and it can be assumed that they are underrepresented in the current sample, based on estimates and assumptions of affiliated and unaffiliated Jewish people in the 12 EU Member States.

<sup>28</sup> For more information, see the Jewish Virtual Library website. (All hyperlinks were accessed on 20 August 2013.)

<sup>29</sup> For more information, see the Jewish Virtual Library website.



## Annex 2: Survey in Latvia

Data collection for FRA's second survey on Jewish people's experiences and perceptions of hate crime, discrimination and antisemitism took place in 13 EU Member States – Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom. However, the results concerning Latvia are not presented together with the other 12 EU Member States.

Certain difficulties in data collection were expected in Latvia from the beginning of the project. Latvia has a small, elderly and declining Jewish population; in the 2012 survey, a sample of 154 cases was reached there. In the 2018 survey, the level of response to the online dissemination campaign in Latvia was very low, contrary to the other countries, and only over 30 respondents completed the survey in the first weeks of the fieldwork. The poor success of email awareness-raising activities most likely could be explained by the majority of the population being elderly. Therefore changes in recruitment methodology and data collection were applied, focusing exclusively on face-to-face interviews. Also, the data collection was prolonged for one week to gain the maximum number of responses possible.

However, the changes in the respondent recruitment and data collection methods have an impact on data quality. The survey is primarily based on the voluntary opt-in participation of the potential respondents and on self-completion of the questionnaire. The questionnaire includes a certain amount of sensitive questions, and any intermediation of an interviewer can have an impact on a respondent's willingness to respond. In the end, 200 respondents completed the questionnaire in Latvia. An assessment of the data quality confirms that all the measures did not produce robust and comparable results.

### Main results

Looking at the Latvian sample, more men (61 %) than women (39 %) took part in the survey. The respondents are nearly equally distributed by their age. One in three respondents (31 %) have a higher education. Most of the respondents are in employment (67 %), while 33 % are either retired or in education.

Some of the main results concerning Latvian respondents' experiences and perceptions of hate crime, discrimination and antisemitism are presented here.

- One in ten respondents in Latvia (12 %) consider antisemitism to be a very big or a fairly big problem in the country. A majority (77 %) of respondents consider antisemitism to have stayed the same over the past five years. Most respondents (61 %) do not consider antisemitism on the internet as a problem and have not observed its change over the past five years (46 % said it stayed the same and 38 % said they don't know).
- In Latvia, 3 % of respondents experienced at least one type of antisemitic harassment in the 12 months before the survey, and 6 % experienced such an incident in the five years before the survey. 8 % of respondents said that a family member or a close friend experienced verbal insults or harassment because of being Jewish in the last 12 months.
- Nearly one in three respondents in Latvia said they were worried about becoming a victim of verbal insults or harassment and of physical attack because of being Jewish in the 12 months before the survey (29 % and 39 %, respectively). Respondents expressed higher levels of worry regarding corresponding experiences of their family members – 40 % said they were worried about their family members being verbally insulted or harassed, and 49 % about being physically attacked because of being Jewish.
- 5 % of respondents in Latvia said that they had felt discriminated against because of their age, 3 % because of their religion or belief, and 3 % due to their ethnic background.
- In Latvia, three in four respondents (77 %) knew about the existence of the law that forbids discrimination based on ethnic origin or religion when applying for a job.
- Two thirds of respondents (62 %) in Latvia were aware of a law forbidding incitement to violence or hatred against Jews.
- One in ten respondents (11 %) in Latvia were aware of a law forbidding the denial or trivialisation of the Holocaust.

# Annex 3: Preventing and combating antisemitism: what does the law say?

## **European Union – primary law**

*Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union states that:*

“The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.”

*Article 10 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union states that:*

“In defining and implementing its policies and activities, the Union shall aim to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.”

*Article 19 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union states that:*

“Without prejudice to the other provisions of the Treaties and within the limits of the powers conferred by them upon the Union, the Council, acting unanimously in accordance with a special legislative procedure and after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament, may take appropriate action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.”

*Article 1 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union states that:*

“Human dignity is inviolable. It must be respected and protected.”

*Article 3 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union states that:*

“Everyone has the right to respect for his or her physical and mental integrity.”

*Article 21 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union states that:*

“Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited.”

## **European Union – secondary law**

Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin prohibits ethnic discrimination. Article 3 sets out the scope of the directive, which applies to both the public and private sectors, and covers: conditions of access to employment and training; employment and working conditions; membership of trade unions, similar organisations and professions; social protection; social advantages; education; and, access to and supply of goods and services, including housing.

Council Directive 2000/78/EC of 27 November 2000 establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation prohibits discrimination based on religion or belief in employment and occupation, whether in the public and private sectors, or public bodies.

Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA of 28 November 2008 on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law aims “to ensure that certain serious manifestations of racism and xenophobia are punishable by effective, proportionate and dissuasive criminal penalties throughout the European Union (EU).” The Framework Decision sets out the obligation for Member States, among others, to penalise incitement to violence or hatred because of another person’s presumed race, colour, religion, descent, or national or ethnic origin and to ensure that, for any other crime, racist and xenophobic motivation is considered an aggravating circumstance or can be taken into consideration by the courts in the determination of the penalties. The Framework Decision also applies in “cases where the conduct is committed through an information system” (Article 9).



### **Council of Europe**

*Article 1 of Protocol 12 of the European Convention on Human Rights states that:*

“1. The enjoyment of any right set forth by law shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status.”

### **United Nations**

*Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that:*

“Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.”

*Article 12 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that:*

“No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.”

*Article 26 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights states that:*

“All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.”

*Article 2 (1) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination states that:*

“States Parties condemn racial discrimination and undertake to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating racial discrimination in all its forms and promoting understanding among all races.”

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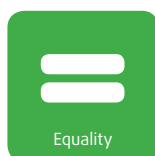
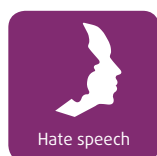
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## HELPING TO MAKE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS A REALITY FOR EVERYONE IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

This report outlines the main findings of FRA's second survey on Jewish people's experiences with hate crime, discrimination and antisemitism in the European Union – the biggest survey of Jewish people ever conducted worldwide. Covering 12 EU Member States, the survey reached almost 16,500 individuals who identify as being Jewish. It follows up on the agency's first survey, conducted in seven countries in 2012.

The findings make for a sobering read. They underscore that antisemitism remains pervasive across the EU – and has, in many ways, become disturbingly normalised. The important information provided herein can support policymakers across the EU in stepping up their efforts to ensure the safety and dignity of all Jewish people living in the EU.



**SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS**

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