



KING'S  
College  
LONDON

YouGov



# ANTISEMITISM BAROMETER 2020

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Foreword</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Executive summary</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Prejudice against Jews in Britain</b>	<b>5</b>
Attitudes towards Jews in Britain	5
The Generalised Antisemitism Scale	5
Findings	8
<b>Effect of hatred on British Jews</b>	<b>21</b>
Sense of security	24
Perceived threats	28
Confidence in law enforcement	29
Discourse about Israel	33
Television broadcasters	35
Antisemitism and politics	37
<b>Recommendations</b>	<b>38</b>
Criminal justice system	38
Legislation	39
Government departments	41
Honours system	41
Political parties	41
<b>Data collection methodology</b>	<b>44</b>



# FOREWORD

Britain's Jews are back from the brink.

Following the crushing electoral rejection and then resignation of Jeremy Corbyn as leader of the Labour Party, this year's Antisemitism Barometer data shows that two thirds of British Jews now believe that they have a long-term future in the UK and almost three in five now feel welcome in this country.

It is a reflection of the enormity of the underlying problem of antisemitism that these new findings — which still show that almost one fifth of British Jews do not feel welcome in this country — represent such vast improvements on the past two years.

This data indicates that the early signs of returning confidence are due to the removal of the threat that British Jews saw in Mr Corbyn's leadership of the Labour Party: of those who have considered leaving the UK in the past two years due to antisemitism, half referenced the defeat of Labour in the 2019 General Election or the removal of Mr Corbyn as its leader as having changed their mind.

Though a large swathe of the Jewish community has breathed a sigh of relief, the news is not entirely good. Nine months into Sir Keir Starmer's leadership of Labour, British Jews still feel that the Party is tolerant of antisemitism (indeed, there has been a slight increase in the proportion of British Jews holding this opinion since last year).

Antisemitism in political parties, online, and in the institutions of civil society have left one fifth of British Jews still feeling unwelcome in this country — a return to the figures we polled in 2016 and 2017, before the Labour antisemitism scandal was fully acknowledged by some in the Jewish community.

Appallingly, almost half of British Jews now conceal visible signs of Judaism in public due to antisemitism — a record figure in our polling.

As our polling of the British public shows, there is reason for discomfort: almost half of the British public affirms at least one of the twelve antisemitic statements in our new Generalised Antisemitism Scale, which has been devised and implemented here for the first time by Dr Daniel Allington of King's College London, Dr David Hirsh of Goldsmiths, and Louise Katz of the University of Derby.

Long before the rise of Mr Corbyn, Britain's Jews were rightly concerned about surging antisemitism. Though Britain remains one of the best countries in the world in which to live as a Jew, our already-anxious community has been subjected to a harrowing ordeal by Mr Corbyn and his allies. As the Jewish minority begins to regain confidence, Britain cannot allow itself to be content with a return to a situation that was worrying to begin with.

Though this year's Antisemitism Barometer shows improving confidence amongst British Jews, no modern, liberal nation should be content when almost a fifth of its Jews feel unwelcome and nearly half conceal their Judaism in public. We need firm action against antisemitism, not just in politics, but also in arenas that have long been problematic, such as universities and social media.

The recommendations made in this report are mostly easy to implement and have been proposed by us for years. They would make a vast difference to the experience of British Jews. The time for action is now.

Gideon Falter  
**CHIEF EXECUTIVE**

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## SURVEY OF BRITISH ADULTS

- Campaign Against Antisemitism (CAA) commissioned King's College London to survey British adults' attitudes towards Jews in 2020 using YouGov. The YouGov survey was designed and analysed by Dr Daniel Allington of King's College London.
- This is the first survey to use the Generalised Antisemitism Scale, devised by Dr Allington, with Dr David Hirsh of Goldsmiths and Louise Katz of the University of Derby.
- The Generalised Antisemitism Scale consists of twelve questions, half of which focus on Judeophobic antisemitism and the other half on anti-Zionist antisemitism, a distinction first surveyed in our ground-breaking Antisemitism Barometer 2019.
- Using the new Generalised Antisemitism Scale, **55% of British adults do not harbour any antisemitic views**; they did not affirm a single one of the twelve statements.
- The other side of the coin, however, is that **there is deeply troubling normalisation of antisemitism, as 45% of British adults did affirm at least one antisemitic statement, although over half of them only agreed with one or two antisemitic statements.**
- **12% of British adults have entrenched antisemitic views, affirming four or more antisemitic statements.**
- The most popular antisemitic statement was that "Israel treats the Palestinians like the Nazis treated the Jews", with which 23% of British adults agreed. That view is antisemitic under the International Definition of Antisemitism adopted by the Government.

## SURVEY OF BRITISH JEWS

- CAA worked with partners to survey British Jews' responses to antisemitism in 2020. This separate survey was designed and analysed in consultation with by Dr Daniel Allington of King's College London.
- **British Jews are showing early signs of recovery from the Corbyn era but have been left scarred.** Far more British Jews are optimistic about their future in the UK this year, but the proportion who decline to display visible signs of their Jewish identity due to antisemitism is at a record high.
- **British Jews' confidence in the criminal justice system is low: a majority believes that the Crown Prosecution Service does not do enough to protect British Jews** and the courts were also strongly criticised. Only the police receive more praise than criticism.
- British Jews reserve the greatest opprobrium for politicians. They believe that almost every political party is more tolerant of antisemitism than it was last year; **the Labour Party is viewed as more than twice as tolerant of antisemitism than any other party** showing that it still has a great deal of work to do to win the confidence of British Jews.
- **In the first ever poll on the subject, an overwhelming majority of British Jews — 91% — want the Government to proscribe Hamas in its entirety.**
- **Two thirds of British Jews are deeply concerned by the BBC's coverage of matters of Jewish concern, and 55% by its handling of antisemitism complaints,** Channel 4 also performs poorly with British Jews. Both broadcasters are state-funded.

# PREJUDICE AGAINST JEWS IN BRITAIN

## ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS IN BRITAIN

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

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

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

Together, the twelve examples — the Generalised Antisemitism Scale — cover antisemitism across the range of examples incorporated in the International Definition of Antisemitism (also known as the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition of Antisemitism).

## THE GENERALISED ANTISEMITISM SCALE

*The Generalised Antisemitism Scale has been devised by Dr Daniel Allington of King's College London, Dr David Hirsh of Goldsmiths, and Louise Katz of the University of Derby, who together have authored this explanation of the scale.*

Anti-Zionist antisemitism needs to be acknowledged in the way that Judeophobic antisemitic attitudes are measured. That is why we have developed the Generalised Antisemitism Scale.

A scale is a set of questionnaire items used to measure a single trait, or a small number of closely related traits. These typically take the form of statements with which respondents are invited to agree or disagree. The Generalised Antisemitism Scale consists of six statements about Jews and six statements about Israel and its supporters. The first six statements were adapted from a set developed and tested by Campaign Against Antisemitism over a period of several years. The second six were adapted from a set which two of us developed and published in a peer-reviewed journal.

Within each group of six statements, half are designed to measure antisemitism positively — that is, agreement with them indicates the potential presence of antisemitic attitudes — and half are designed to measure it negatively — that is, it is disagreement with them which indicates the potential presence of antisemitic attitudes.

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

In developing the Generalised Antisemitism Scale, we were guided by the International Definition of Antisemitism. Together with other Jewish communal institutions from around the world, Campaign Against Antisemitism has campaigned for this definition for several years. The Definition has been formally adopted by many governments, including the UK Government, the Scottish Government, and the Welsh Government, as well as by many other institutions such as universities, sports associations, and local government bodies. It uses a number of examples to explain what antisemitism looks like in the modern world. These examples, which have formed part of the College of Policing's official hate crime guidance since 2014, range from accusations of Jewish disloyalty and allegations about Jewish control of the media to denials of the right to Jewish national self-determination and comparisons between Israel and Nazi Germany.

Through these examples, the Definition makes clear that contemporary antisemitism can be expressed in relation to Israel and its supporters (or perceived supporters) just as easily as it can be expressed in relation to Jews identified as Jews. It is time for that insight to be acknowledged in the way that antisemitic attitudes are measured.

Before a scale can be used as a research instrument, it needs to go through a process of statistical analytic procedures to ensure that it is a valid and robust measure of the specific phenomena it addresses. Confirmatory factor analysis is one such technique. When this form of analysis was conducted on data collected using the Generalised Antisemitism Scale, the results showed the best fit to be what is called a "bifactor model" with one "general factor"

and two "group factors". This means that there appears to be a single underlying trait which is measured by all the items in the scale, and also two further traits, each of which inclines a person towards greater acceptance or rejection of certain specific items in the scale. We refer to the former trait as antisemitism and to the latter two traits as Judeophobia and anti-Zionism.

To measure antisemitism in general, responses to the whole Generalised Antisemitism Scale should be considered. To measure antisemitism in its specifically Judeophobic or anti-Zionist aspects, one may choose to focus on those items which relate to Jews identified as such or to Israel and its supporters, as appropriate. Importantly, our analysis shows that the Generalised Antisemitism Scale measures men and women equivalently, which suggests that the results for different genders can be meaningfully compared, if required.

The full analysis referred to above will be published separately. Simpler measures of scale reliability are included in the companion paper released alongside this report produced by Dr Allington.<sup>2</sup>

## JUDEOPHOBIC ANTISEMITISM

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

For further information about the formulation of the questions, please see the companion paper.

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

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

2. “Jewish people are just as loyal to Britain as other British people.” (2016-19 wording: “Having a connection to Israel makes Jewish people less loyal to Britain than other British people.”; 2015 wording: “Jews’ loyalty to Israel makes them less loyal to Britain than other British people.”)

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

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

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

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

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

## ANTI-ZIONIST ANTISEMITISM

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

The principal novelty in this year’s questions is that respondents were given a “neither agree

nor disagree” option in lieu of last year’s “don’t know”. In each of the five questions that were also asked last year, the proportion of respondents giving this response is higher than those saying “don’t know” last year. This rise has come at the expense of those who agree with statements and those who disagree (both of which are invariably lower than last year’s figures). The result is that, while the proportion of those affirming anti-Zionist antisemitic tropes has fallen across the board, so have the proportions of those disputing them (the change from “don’t know” to “neither agree nor disagree” also applies to the Judeophobic questions, but its impact on the answers is far less marked).

For further information about the formulation of the questions, please refer to the companion paper.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## FINDINGS

### BRITISH SOCIETY ON ANTISEMITISM

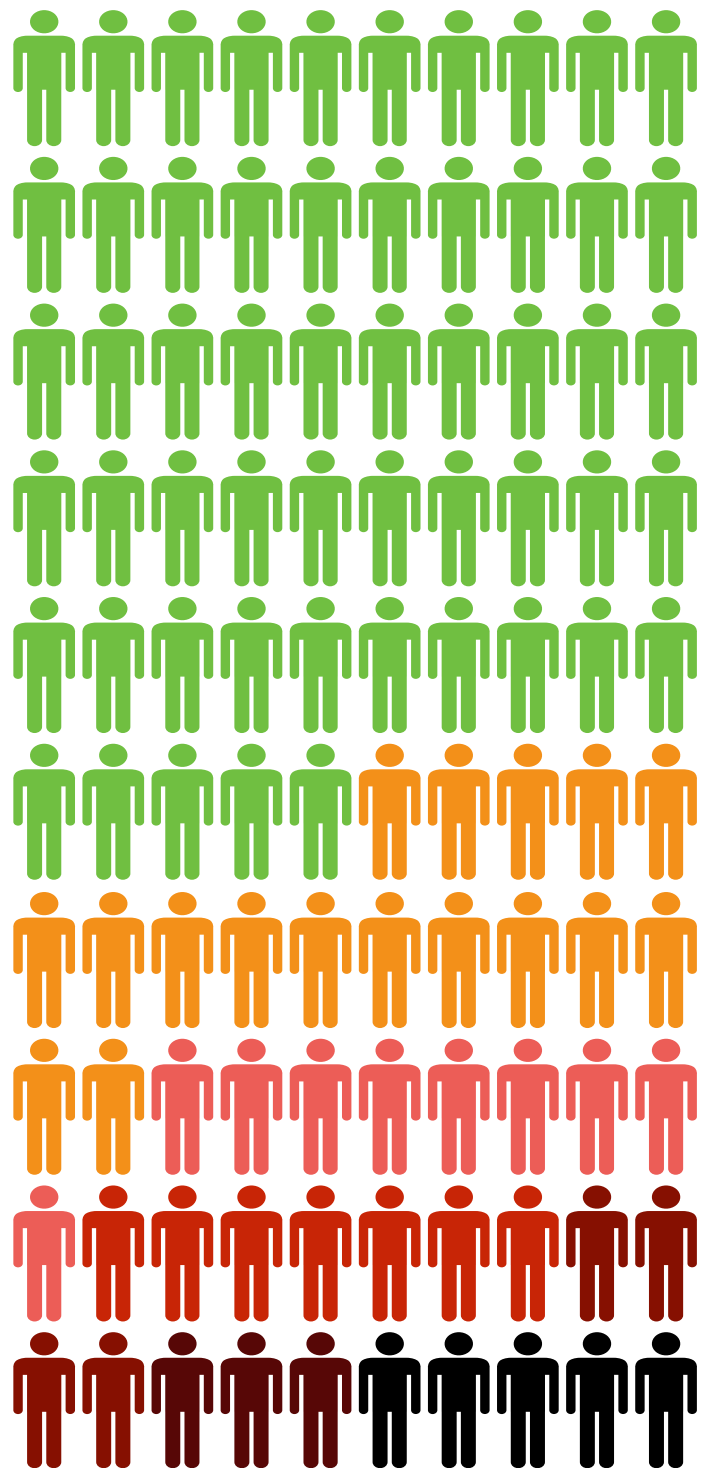
Using the new Generalised Antisemitism Scale, 55% of British adults — a small majority — did not affirm a single one of the twelve antisemitic statements. This is a welcome finding, and a positive foundation for further progress in the fight against antisemitism.

The other side of the coin, however, gives considerable reason for concern, as 45% of British adults did affirm at least one antisemitic statement.

Seventeen percent of respondents agreed with one antisemitic statement only. The most popular statement was that “Israel treats the Palestinians like the Nazis treated the Jews”, with which 23% — almost one quarter of respondents — agreed.

Nine percent agreed with two antisemitic statements, seven percent with three, and four percent with four. 3.3% agreed with five statements and 1.5% agreed with six. Three percent of respondents agreed with more than half of the twelve statements.

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



#### ANTISEMITIC STATEMENTS ENDORSED

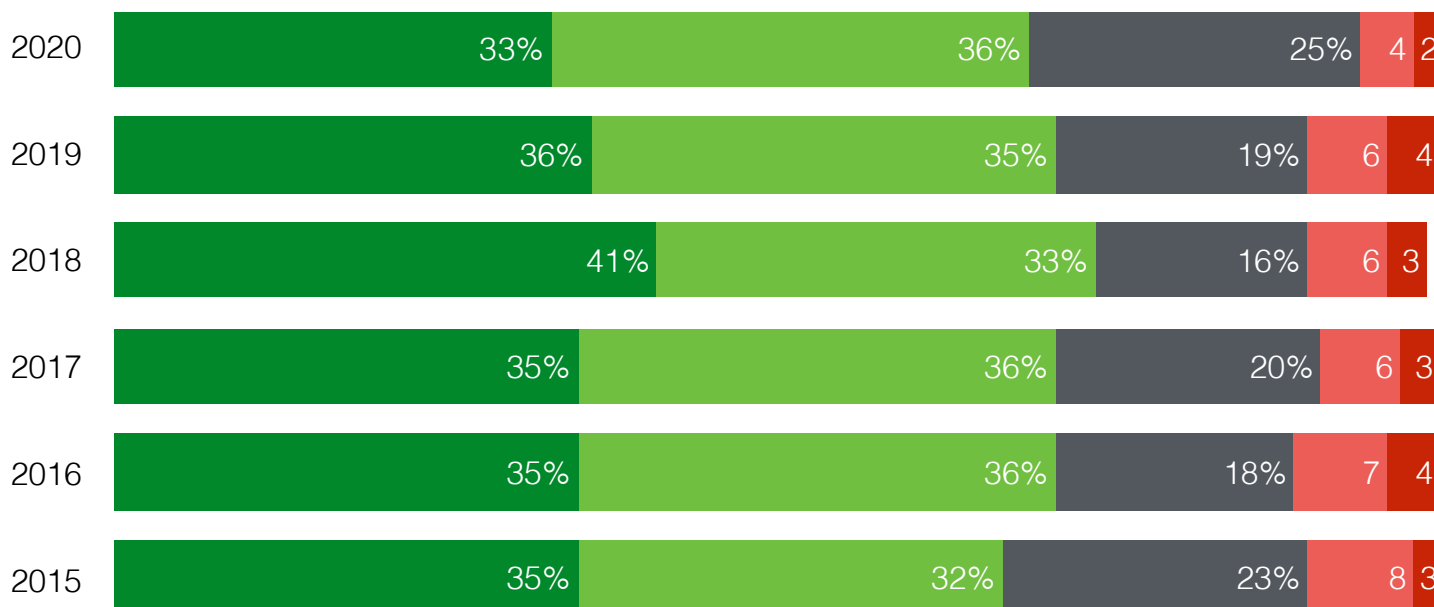
None	●	55%
One	●	17%
Two	●	9%
Three	●	7%
Four	●	4%
Five	●	3%
Six or more	●	4%



## JEWS AND BUSINESS

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

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



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

This year saw a fall in the proportion of respondents who disagreed that Jewish people can be trusted just as much as other British people in business to 6%, from the stable 10-11% over the past five years. It is likely that the increase from the 19% who said that they “don’t know” last year to the 25% who said this time that they “neither agree nor disagree” (this year’s equivalent category) is accounted for by the change in wording. Almost one in seven said that they agree or strongly agree that Jewish people can be trusted just as much as other British people in business.

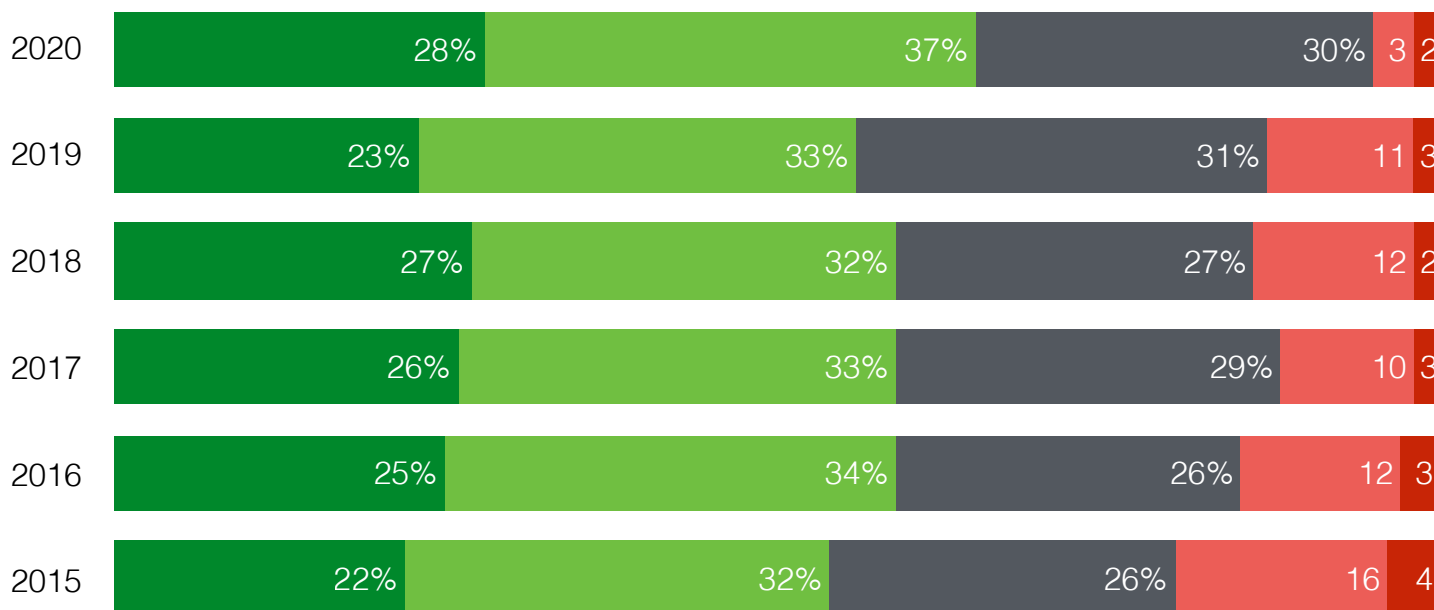
Notes on charts in this report:

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

## JEWS AND LOYALTY

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

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



One of the best-known antisemitic conspiracy myths is contained in the antisemitic forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which was used to incite violent pogroms against Jews in Tsarist Russia and to dispossess them.

Following the establishment of the modern State of Israel, Jewish conspiracy myths often accuse “Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations” in the words of the International Definition of Antisemitism.

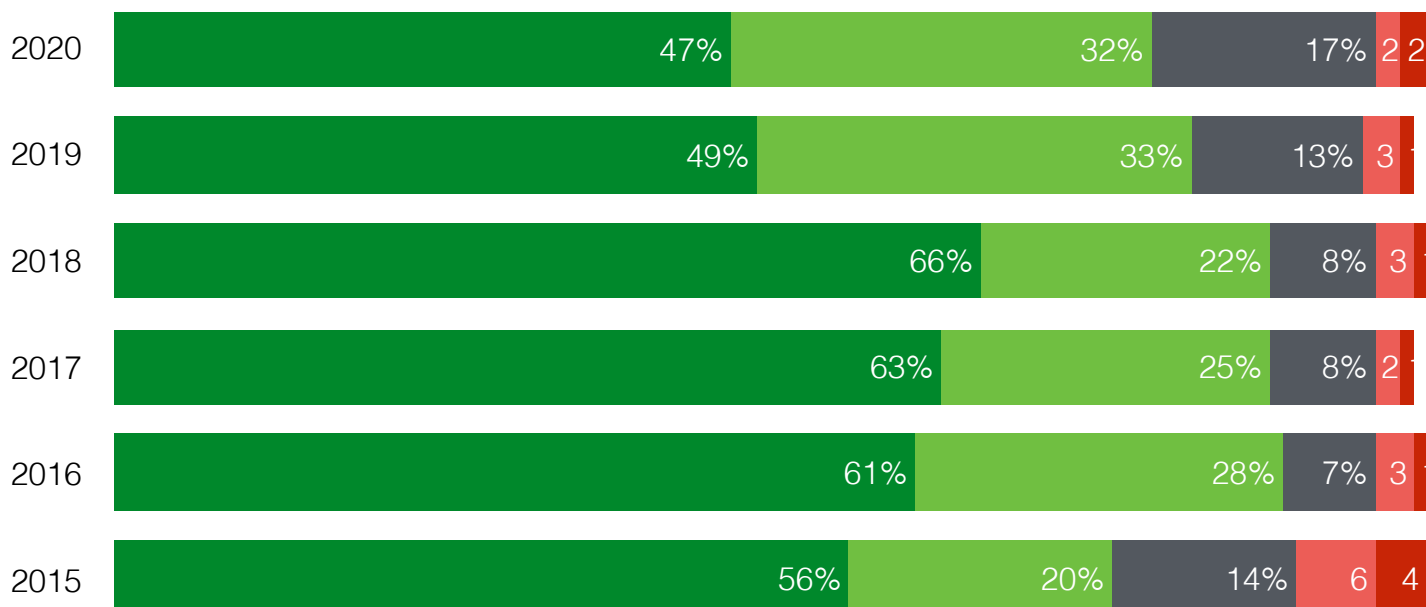
The theme of Jewish treachery is today commonly found in British far-left and far-right claims that British Jews serve ‘Zionist’ masters, for example when a former aide to Jeremy Corbyn claimed that they overheard the Labour leader and other members of his staff describe Jewish then-MP Dame Louise Ellman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

The proportion of respondents disagreeing with this statement this year (5%) is far smaller than in previous years. This may represent a welcome decline in antisemitic sentiments, but it is likely that the removal of the reference to Israel in the wording between last year (“Having a connection to Israel makes Jewish people less loyal to Britain than other British people.”) and this year has impacted the responses. If so, it would signify that the notion that Jews are generally disloyal has a degree of purchase which grows significantly when juxtaposed with Israel, which is today considered to be the principal Jewish allegiance by those who believe this antisemitic trope.

## EXCLUSION OF JEWS

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

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



“Some of my best friends are Jewish” is a clichéd excuse for antisemitic behaviour, but there remains a proportion of the British public that admits to not being as open to having Jewish friends as to having friends from other sections of society. 4% of respondents fall into this category, which is consistent with the results for the past four years.

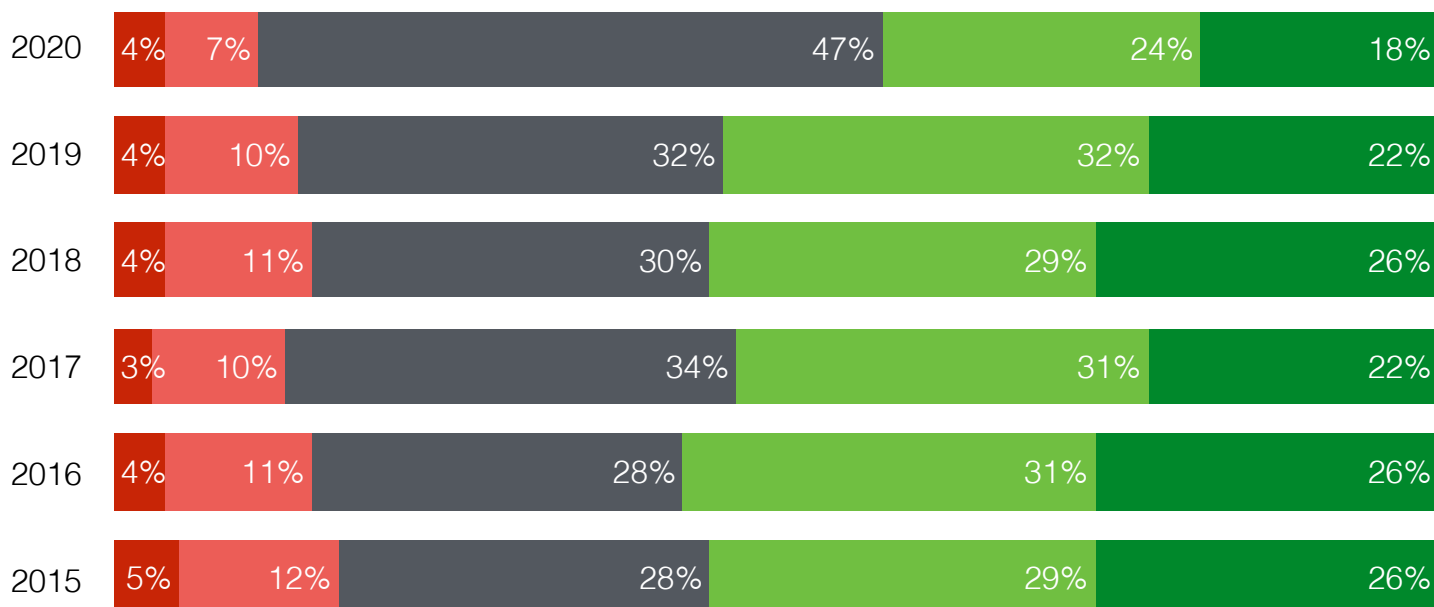
However, the 13% who said that they “don’t know” last year – which was a larger proportion compared with previous years – has grown further to 17% who this year said that they “neither agree nor disagree” with the statement.

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

## JEWS AND THE MEDIA

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

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



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

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

The idea that Jews have too much power in the media was affirmed by 11% of respondents, which represented a drop from the 14% recorded in 2019.

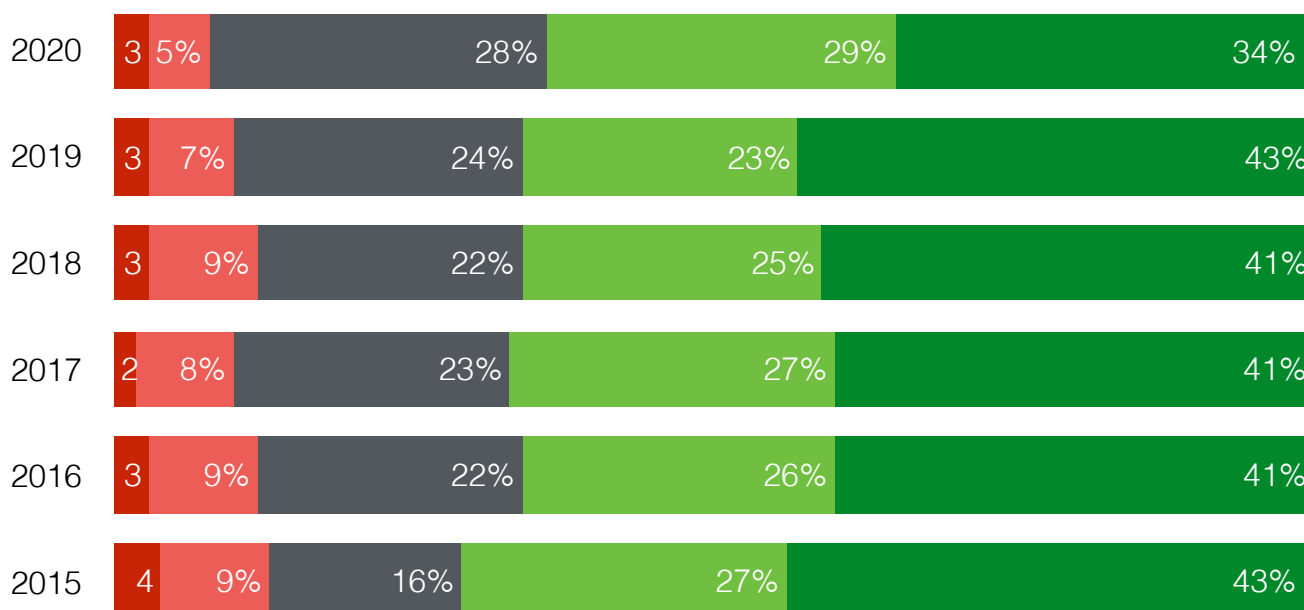
While the proportion of those agreeing strongly with the statement has remained fairly stable over the past several years, the proportion of those merely agreeing with it has fallen from 10% last year to 7% this year.

Unlike with the previous two questions analysed above, the wording of this question has not changed since last year, which suggests that there has been a decline in antisemitic sentiments of this nature. However, the number of those disagreeing with the statement has also fallen sharply, leaving almost half of respondents apparently unsure as to whether Jewish people have too much power in the media compared with other groups.

# HOLOCAUST GUILT

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

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



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

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

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

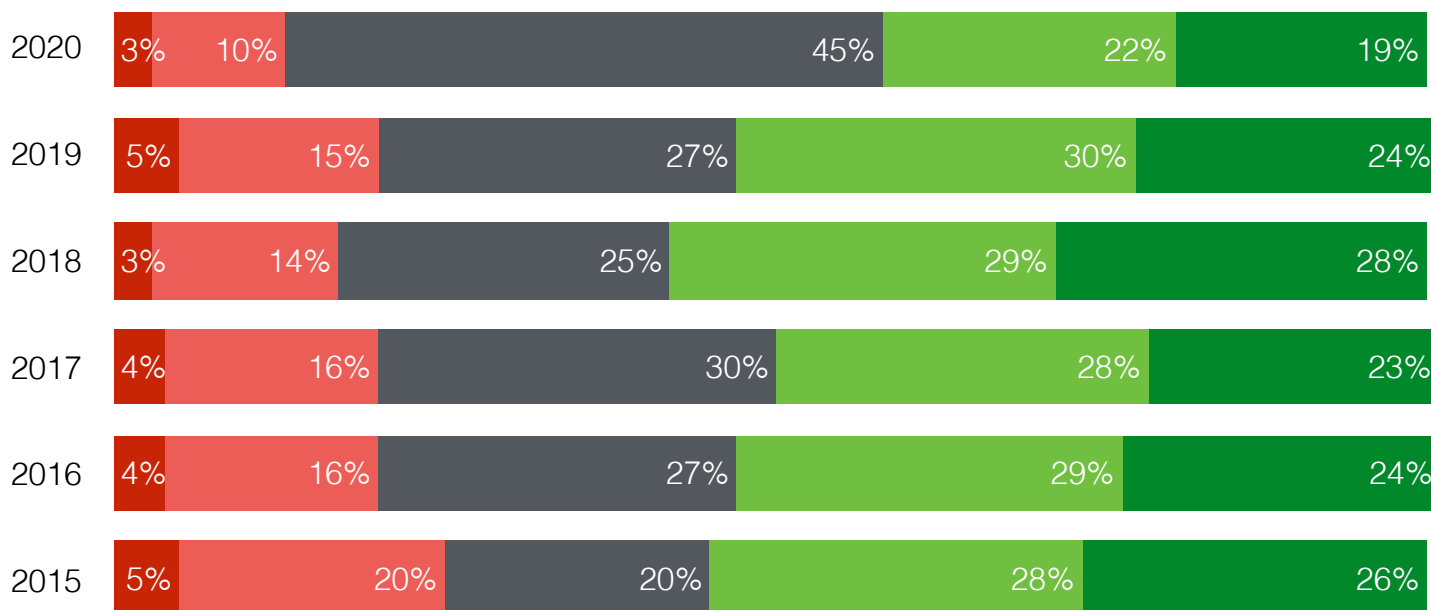
This is sometimes referred to as ‘playing the Holocaust card’, a phrase previously used even by the BBC’s Middle East Editor, Jeremy Bowen. The idea that Jews talk about the Holocaust only in order to further their political agenda was regarded as true by 8% of respondents, which represents a slight fall on last year. Conversely, the proportion of those disagreeing with the statement has also fallen slightly, such that the number of those neither agreeing nor disagreeing is slightly higher this year than those who said that they “don’t know” last year.



## JEWS AND MONEY

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

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



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

In reality, poverty is a major problem for many British Jews, while data also suggests that British Jews are disproportionately philanthropic. However, our polling shows that 13% of British people consider that Jews chase after money, and under half of British people firmly disagree with this classic antisemitic trope.

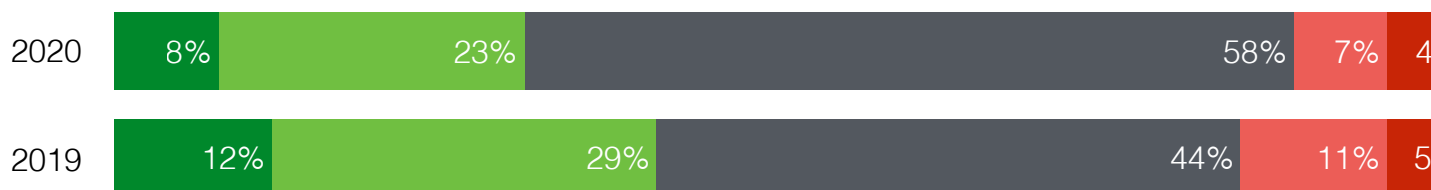
The proportion of respondents agreeing with this trope represents a considerable fall from previous years’ polling, which may suggest a decline in antisemitic sentiments among the British population.

It is, however, notable that the wording for this question in 2016-19 was: “British Jewish people chase money more than other British people.” The apparent decline in antisemitic sentiment this year may therefore be the result, in whole or in part, of the removal of the word “British” from the question in two places. If so, it would suggest that concerns about Jews and money are particularly strong when juxtaposed to nationality and when the implication is that supposed Jewish avarice is at the expense of ‘ordinary’ British people.

## SOCIALISING WITH SUPPORTERS OF ISRAEL

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

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



It is noteworthy that while merely 4% of respondents said that they were not open to having Jewish friends (see Question 3 above), 11% of respondents said that they were not comfortable spending time with people who openly support Israel. Other studies have noted that the overwhelming majority of British Jews support Israel. This suggests that many British people are not as comfortable with Jews as they like to think, or perhaps that they are willing to tolerate Jews only as long as they keep their opinions quiet.

That said, this figure is an improvement on last year, when 16% said that they would not be comfortable spending time with people who openly support Israel. This change may be the result of the Labour antisemitism crisis, in which the public learned how animosity toward Israel could be a proxy for hatred of Jews.

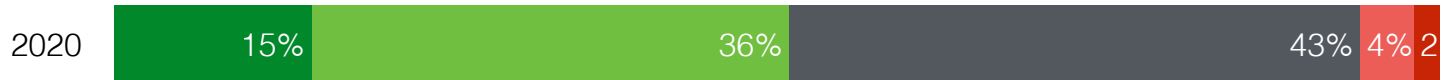
Also of concern was that the proportion of those saying the opposite — that they would be comfortable spending time with people who openly support Israel — fell significantly from 41% last year to 31% this year, with many more saying they neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement.

We did not ask this question prior to 2019.

## ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST AS A JEWISH HOMELAND

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

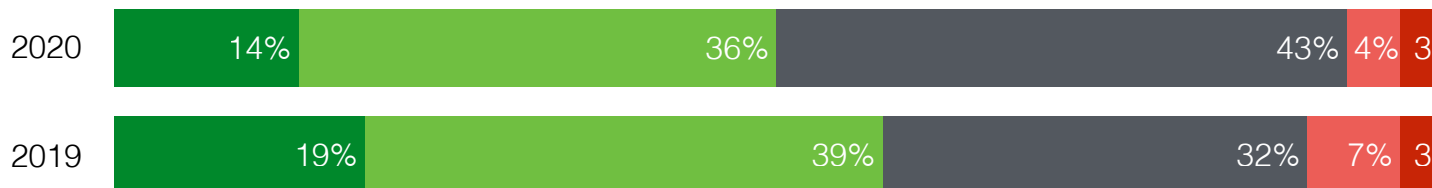
We have not asked this question in past years, therefore there is no comparable data. But our polling this year shows that 6% of respondents — almost one in ten — believe that Israel does not have a right to exist as a homeland for the Jewish people, and 43% neither agree nor disagree with the principle.

More than half of respondents, however, affirm that Israel has a right to exist as a homeland for the Jewish people.

## ISRAEL DEFENDING ITSELF

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

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



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

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

While this figure represents a fall from last year's 10%, there was also an even more marked fall from the 58% who agreed with the statement last year to the 50% who agreed with it this year.

It is notable that almost half of respondents (43%) neither agree nor disagree that Israel — the world's only Jewish state — is right to defend itself against those who want to destroy it. The implication is that, for these respondents, it is possible that Israel may be wrong to defend itself, and that those who want to destroy it may be justified in doing so.

We did not ask this question prior to 2019.

## ISRAEL AND BRITISH POLITICS

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

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



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

14% of respondents believe that the Jewish state and those who support it do damage to British democracy (down slightly from 17% last year), and, alarmingly, only 27% disagree with the claim (also down on last year’s 33%).

The 50% who said last year that they “don’t know” has risen to 60% who have said this year that they neither agree nor disagree.

We did not ask this question prior to 2019.



## ISRAEL AND THE MEDIA

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

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



This is another question that can reveal how Israel and “its supporters” can function as a proxy for “the Jews”. Whereas 11% of respondents agreed that the Jews have too much power in the media compared to other groups (see Question 4 above), 16% believe that supporters of the Jewish state not only influence the media but in fact control it, and that Israel can act with impunity as a result.

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

## ISRAEL AND THE NAZIS

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

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



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

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

This antisemitic belief has not been captured in previous surveys except last year's Antisemitism Barometer, yet it is held by 23% of the British population. This is down from 31% last year, which is likely due to the appeal of the “neither agree nor disagree” category this year over last year's “don't know” option.

Astonishingly, only two in ten respondents rejected this antisemitic proposition, which is also down on last year's 26%.

# EFFECT OF HATRED ON BRITISH JEWS

Every year since 2015, Campaign Against Antisemitism has worked with partners in the Jewish community to poll a nationally-representative sample of British Jews.

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

This polling maps British Jews' sense of security, the threats that concern them most, and their perception of the response of political parties, the criminal justice system, the Government, and wider society. Not every question asked in 2020 was asked in previous years, therefore comparisons to previous years are not available for every question.

**Overall, British Jews are recovering from the Corbyn era but have been left scarred by the experience. Far more British Jews are optimistic about their future in the UK this year compared to last year, but the proportion of Jews who decline to display visible signs of their Jewish identity due to antisemitism is at a record high. Relatedly, British Jews' confidence in the criminal justice system is low, with a majority believing that the Crown Prosecution Service does not do enough to protect British Jews and more criticising the courts than last year. Only the police come in for more praise than criticism.**

**But it is politicians for whom British Jews reserve the greatest opprobrium, and they believe that almost every political party is**

**more tolerant of antisemitism than it was last year, including the Labour Party.**

**This year, we also asked about British Jews' views on the main broadcasters, and our findings show that dissatisfaction with the BBC in particular is enormous, with Channel 4 also coming in for significant criticism.**

The findings are divided into six sections, namely British Jews' sense of security; perceived threats; their confidence in law enforcement; discourse about Israel; television broadcasters; and antisemitism and politics.

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

**British Jews' sense of security is markedly improved since last year, with about two thirds now believing that Jews have a long-term future in the UK. The results point quite emphatically to the defeat of the Labour Party in the 2019 General Election and the departure of Jeremy Corbyn as leader of the Party earlier this year as reasons for this renewed optimism about the Jewish future in the UK.**

**However, the picture is not entirely rosy, with almost one fifth of British Jews maintaining that they feel unwelcome in the UK, and 44% saying that they do not display visible signs of their Judaism in public due**

**to antisemitism, which is the highest figure recorded since 2016.**

In order to understand why British Jews might have feelings of insecurity, we have again asked how serious they perceive the threat emanating from the far-left, far-right and Islamism, respectively, to be.

**More British Jews considered the threat from Islamists to be very serious, followed by the far-left and finally the far-right.**

However, many also specifically referenced the threat from antisemitism within the Black Lives Matter movement; the extremist Black Hebrew Israelites; incitement on social media networks; biased traditional media; followers of David Icke; student and church groups, the Palestine Solidarity Campaign; anti-Zionist groups; and the movement to delegitimise Israel.

Next, we polled British Jews' confidence in the state, law enforcement and politicians to take action against antisemitism. Since 2014, each year has seen record-breaking levels of antisemitic hate crime. Last year, for example, there were an average of over three hate crimes directed at Jews every single day in England and Wales, according to Home Office figures, and per capita, Jews were almost four times as likely to be targeted by hate crime than any other religious group.<sup>3</sup> The response from the authorities has remained lacklustre, however, and we again asked British Jews about their confidence in the authorities to take action against antisemitism.

**The police remain the only element of the criminal justice system which more Jews praised than criticised, and fully eight in ten British Jews said that if they were the victim of a hate crime, they would report it to the police.**

**British Jews are far less confident in the other elements of the criminal justice system, with a majority believing that the Crown Prosecution Service does not do enough to protect British Jews and more British Jews criticising the courts this year compared to last year.**

**British Jews still reserve their strongest criticism for politicians, however, with an overwhelming 78% believing that politicians do not do enough to protect Jews.**

**For the first time, we are also able to show that an overwhelming majority of British Jews — 91% — agree that Hamas should be proscribed in its entirety by the British Government.**

Given how integral anti-Zionist antisemitism is to contemporary manifestations of anti-Jewish racism, we also asked about how British Jews perceive discourse about Israel.

On this topic, British Jews responded emphatically: **87% had witnessed antisemitism disguised as a political comment about Israel or Zionism, 90% said that media bias against Israel was fuelling persecution of Jews in Britain, and 83% felt intimidated by tactics used to boycott Israel. In all cases, at least half of British Jews did not simply agree; they stated that they strongly agreed. Almost without exception, these were the highest figures recorded in our polling since 2016.**

For the first time this year, we asked British Jews about how the major television broadcasters cover British issues and antisemitism, and how they handle complaints about antisemitism.

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

**An astonishing two thirds of British Jews believe that the BBC's coverage of matters of Jewish concern, including antisemitism, is unfavourable, with almost half saying the same of Channel 4.**

**Over half of British Jews also expressed dissatisfaction with how the BBC handles complaints relating to antisemitism, with Channel 4 also performing worse in the poll than ITV and Sky News in this metric. These results will raise serious questions about the treatment of Jews by the BBC and Channel 4, both of which are state-funded broadcasters.**

Finally, we also asked about developments in British politics, which, in view of the scandal of institutional antisemitism in the Labour Party and concerns about antisemitism in other parties, is as vital as ever in understanding how British Jews see their place in Britain today.

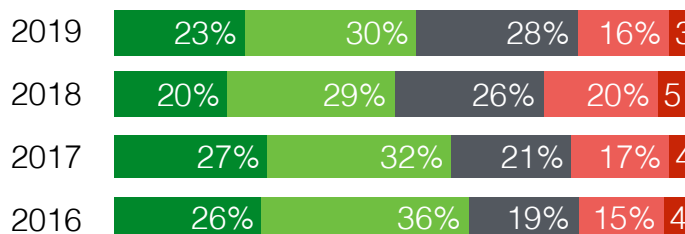
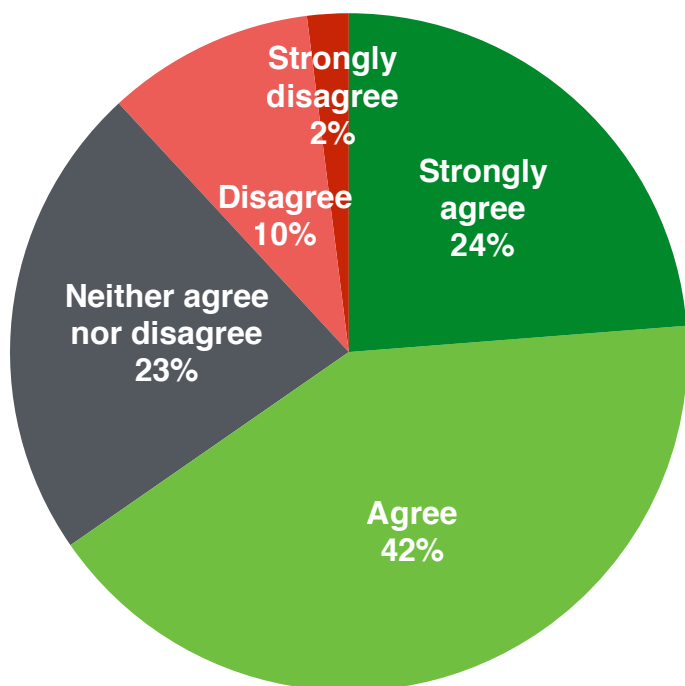
**British Jews feel that the Labour Party is more than twice as tolerant of antisemitism than any other political party, and more think that antisemitism is tolerated by political parties in 2020 than did in 2019. Clearly, political parties — especially the Labour Party — have a great deal of work to do to win the confidence of British Jews.**



## SENSE OF SECURITY

### FUTURE IN THE UK

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

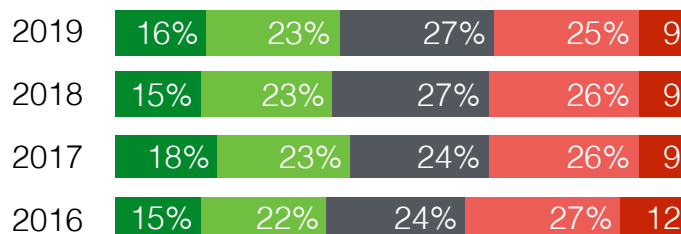
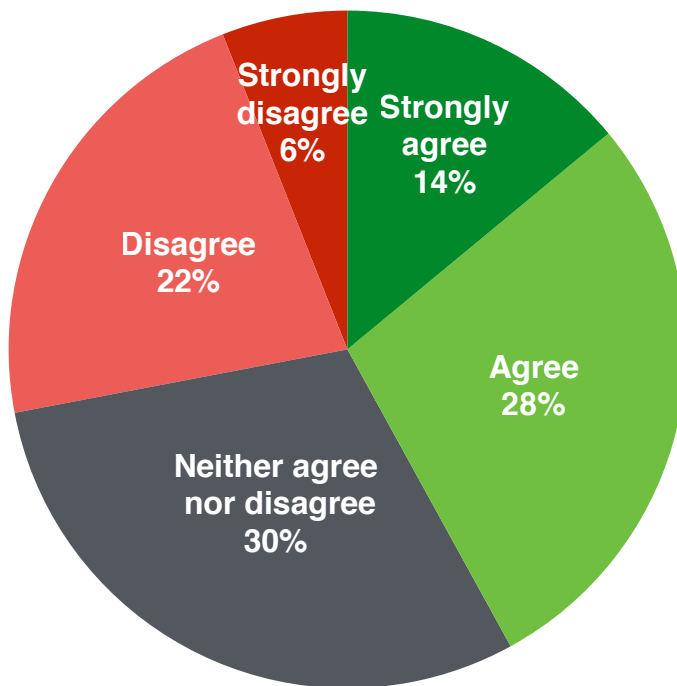


**2020 has seen a marked improvement in how British Jews feel about their future in the UK, with about two thirds now believing that Jews have a long-term future in the UK, compared to around half over the past two years.**

The proportion of those who disagree has also fallen to 12% from between a quarter and a fifth in the past two years. Indeed, the proportion of those disagreeing this year is lower than in any year since 2016, suggesting that events over the past year have significantly improved how British Jews feel about their future.

### FUTURE IN THE REST OF EUROPE

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

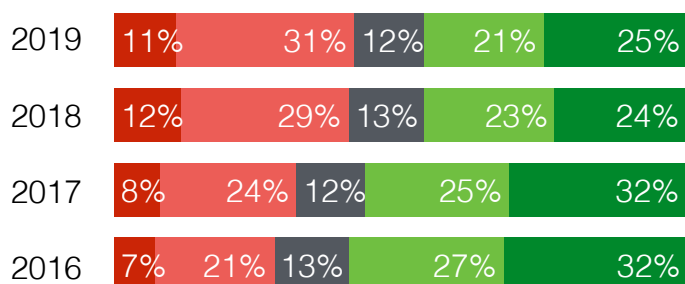
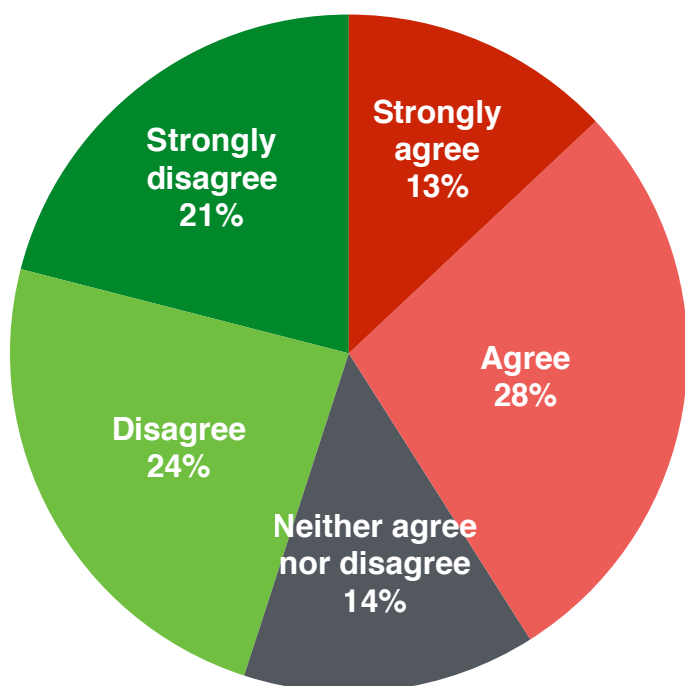


British Jews' more positive feelings about their future in the UK also appear to have affected how they perceive the future of Jews in Europe. In 2019, only 39% of British Jews felt that Jews have a long-term future in Europe outside of the UK, but in 2020 this figure has risen to 42%. The proportion of those disagreeing has also fallen significantly from 34% in 2019 to 28%.

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

## LEAVING THE UK

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



41% of British Jews have considered leaving the UK in the past two years due to antisemitism.

This represents a slight fall from 2019’s record figure of 42% and matches 2018’s 41%. **For three years now, over one in four British Jews have considered leaving Britain due to antisemitism in the past two years.**

It is noteworthy that this question asks about the past two years precisely to capture longer-term sentiment and to avoid transient considerations. For this reason, it may not yet reflect the impact that the events of the past

year may have had in a way that the question on the Jewish future — which saw a marked improvement this year — has done.

We also asked respondents who had considered leaving the UK to select their main reasons for doing so. **Antisemitism in political parties scored by far the highest, with 85% of British Jews who have considered leaving the UK in the past two years selecting that as a reason.**

Many of those who specified an “other” reason used the free-text answer to refer specifically to the Labour Party and its former leader Jeremy Corbyn in particular.

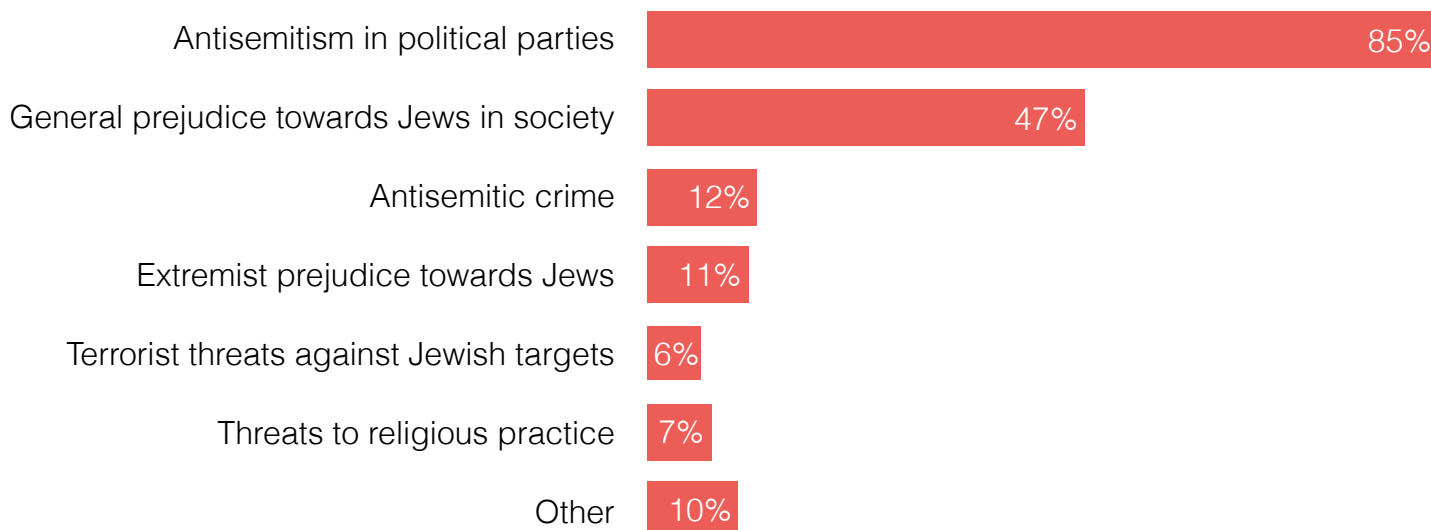
Later in this report, a question on antisemitism in political parties also indicates that overwhelming numbers of British Jews still remain deeply concerned about antisemitism in the Labour Party.

Almost half (47%) of those respondents who said that they had considered leaving the UK in the past two years also cited “General prejudice towards Jews in society” as a reason.

This is a very concerning finding, as it is more difficult to determine and address, yet it is clearly having an effect on how British Jews feel. It may include — as some of the “other” free-text answers suggest — problems with coverage of matters of Jewish interest in the media (which is also covered later in this report) or antisemitism at universities.

Over one in ten respondents mentioned antisemitic crime, and several of those specifying an “other” reason also mentioned antisemitic victimisation or criminality in which they were the targets.

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



In our poll, we also asked respondents a further, optional question: “Over the past two years, has anything caused you to change your mind about leaving Britain due to antisemitism?” A free-text box was provided for answers.

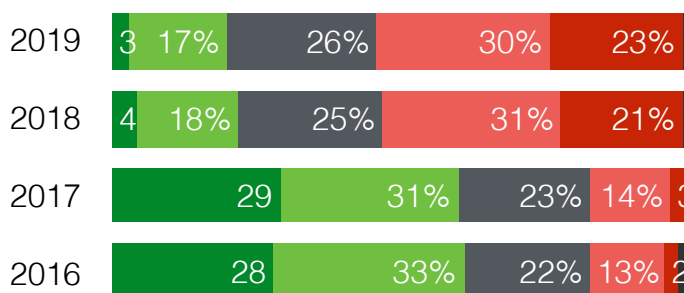
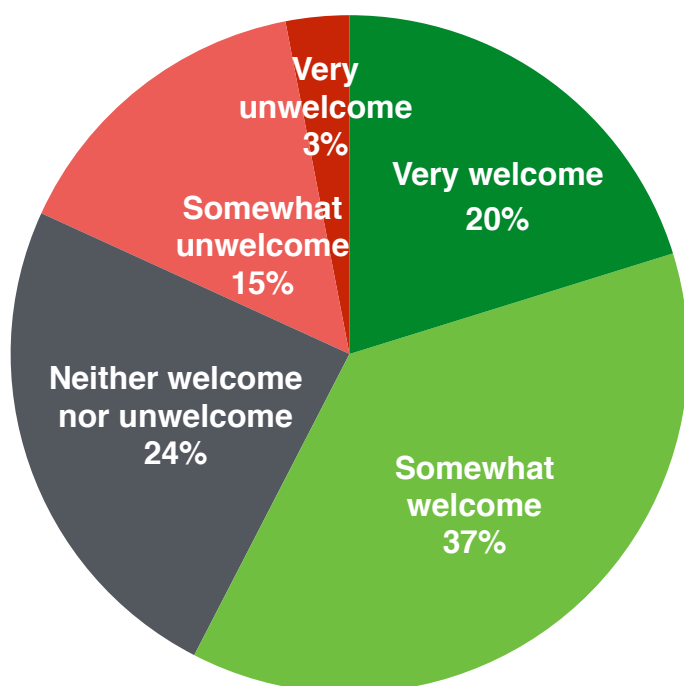
**Of those who have considered leaving in the past two years, half specifically referenced the defeat of the Labour Party in the 2019 General Election and/or the departure of Jeremy Corbyn as leader of the Party as having changed their mind.**

Almost one in four said that nothing has changed their mind.

It is likely that the number of British Jews *currently* considering leaving Britain due to antisemitism is lower than the figure of those who have considered leaving in the past two years, and **it is highly likely, from these findings, that the defeat of the Labour Party in the 2019 General Election and Mr Corbyn’s departure as leader of the Labour Party has had a marked impact on the numbers of British Jews considering leaving the UK.**

## FEELING WELCOME IN THE UK

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

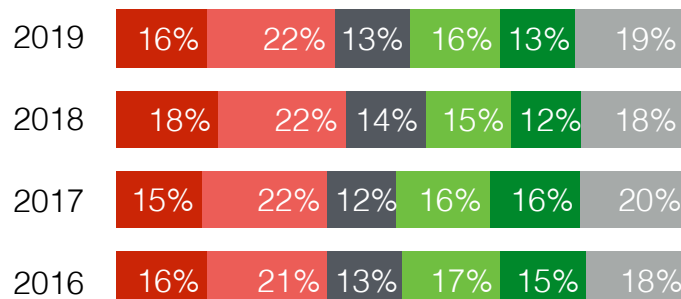
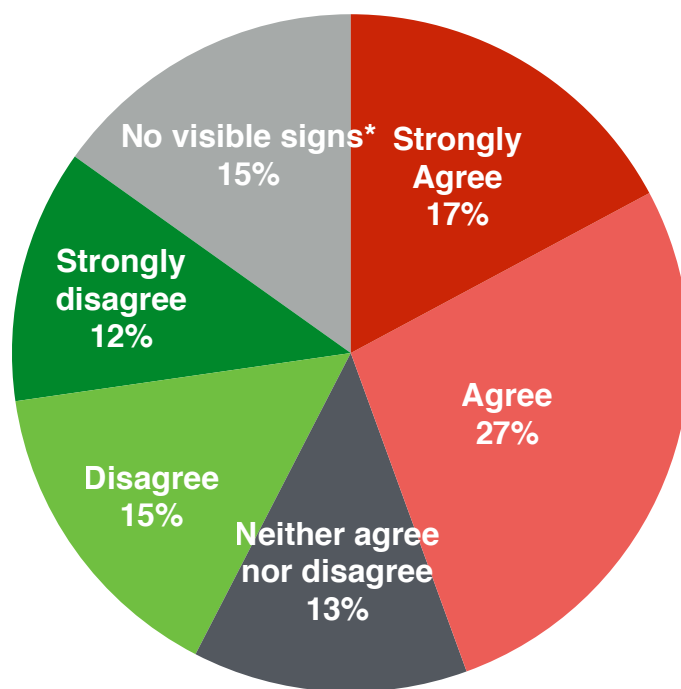


The proportion of British Jews who feel welcome in the UK has skyrocketed to 57% in 2020, up from 20% in 2019 and 22% in 2018, thereby almost returning to the 60% recorded in 2017. It is an extraordinary reversal and speaks volumes about the impact of the events over the past year in making British Jews feel welcome in the UK again.

It is still notable, however, that almost one fifth of British Jews still feel unwelcome in the UK, indicating that there is still a great deal of work to do to address the concerns of the Jewish community.

## PUBLIC DISPLAYS OF JUDAISM

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



44% of British Jews avoid displaying outward signs of their Judaism in public, which is the highest figure recorded since 2016.

Despite British Jews feeling more welcome in the UK this year, this may, to some degree, have come at the expense of showing visible signs of their Judaism in public.

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

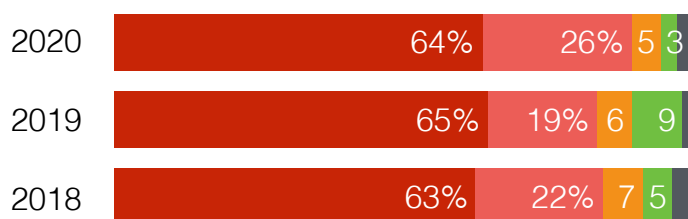
## PERCEIVED THREATS

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

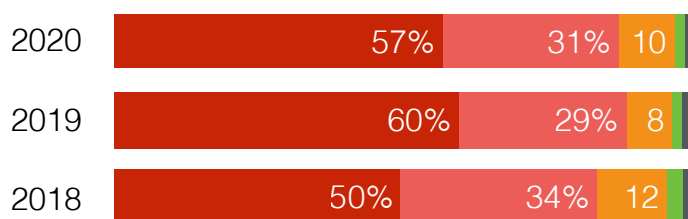
- Very serious
- Moderately serious
- Not very serious
- Not serious at all
- Don't know



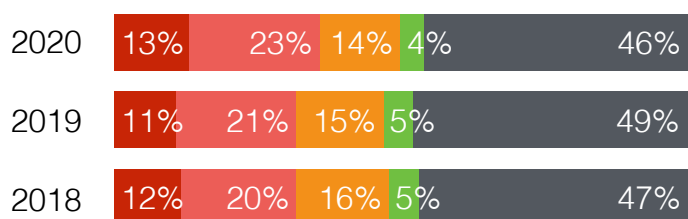
**Question: “How serious a threat to British Jews are: the far-left?”**



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



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



Around nine in ten British Jews consider threats from the far-right, the far-left and Islamists to be very or moderately serious: in the case of the threat from Islamists, the figure is 96%, for the far-left it is 90% and for the far-right it is 88%.

**This year, more British Jews considered the threat from Islamists to be very serious, followed by the far-left and finally the far-right. These results differ from last year's, when the far-right was considered a more serious threat overall than the far-left.**

These figures suggest that, while tackling the problem of the far-right remains significant, the threat of the far-left is perceived by British Jews to be more serious — and to have increased in seriousness since last year. Nevertheless, the perceived threat from Islamists remains the greatest.

Respondents were also given the option of specifying an “Other” threat in a free-text box. Some answers reiterated far-right threats, such as followers of the conspiracy theorist and antisemitic hate preacher David Icke; or far-left threats, such as fringe and unrepresentative antisemitism-denial groups such as Jewish Voice for Labour, or antisemites in trade unions.

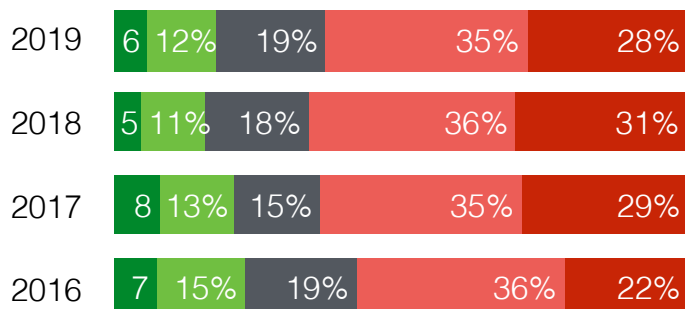
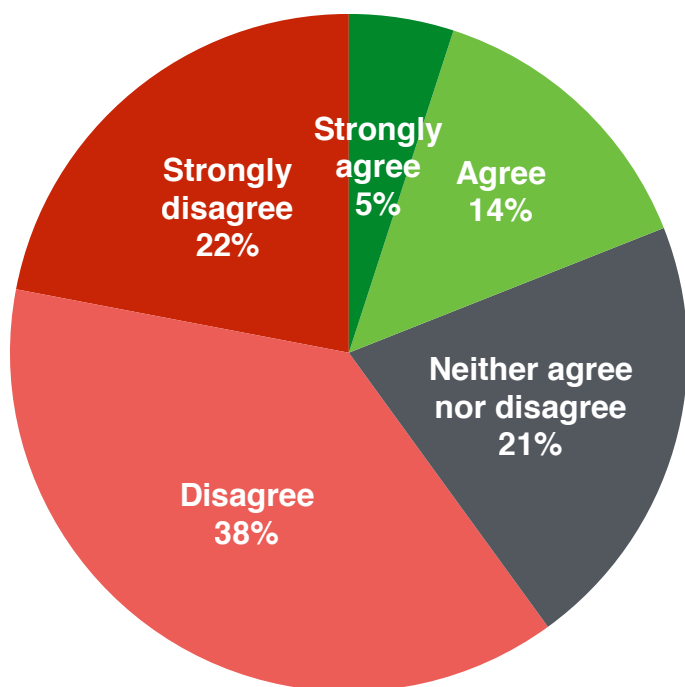
They also mentioned the media (which is addressed later in this report); certain Christian groups; social media networks; the Black Hebrew Israelites, whose hateful offshoot has inspired acts of terrorism against Jews in the United States; the Black Lives Matter movement, which has seen incidents of antisemitism; some universities and student groups; the Palestine Solidarity Campaign; anti-Zionist groups; and the movement to boycott Israel (addressed later in this report).



## CONFIDENCE IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

### LAW ENFORCEMENT

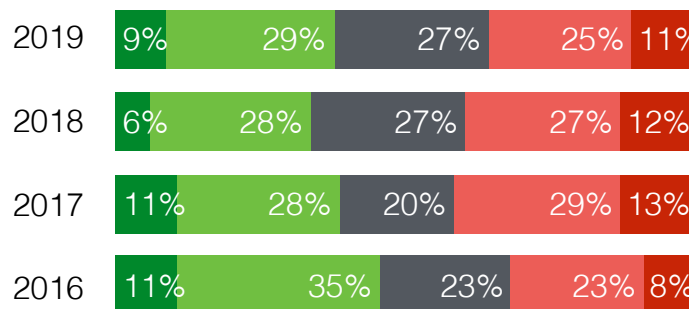
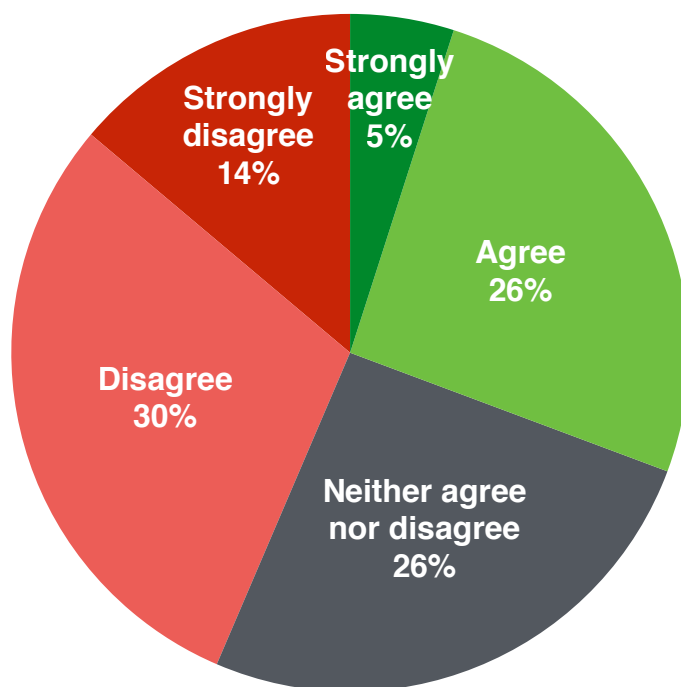
Question: “The authorities are doing enough to address and punish antisemitism.”



**Three in five British Jews believe that the authorities, in general, are not doing enough to address and punish antisemitism.** Fewer than two in ten British Jews believe the authorities are doing enough. These figures are slight improvements on 2019's findings; nevertheless, a significant majority of British Jews still lack confidence in the authorities when it comes to tackling antisemitism.

### REPORTING HATE CRIME

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



**Back in 2016, 46% of British Jews felt confident that antisemitic hate crimes against them would be prosecuted, but in 2020 this figure, which has been falling over the years, has reached a record low of 31% — less than one third.** This report has shown that British Jews are feeling more optimistic in 2020 than last year, but confidence in law enforcement is evidently not the reason.

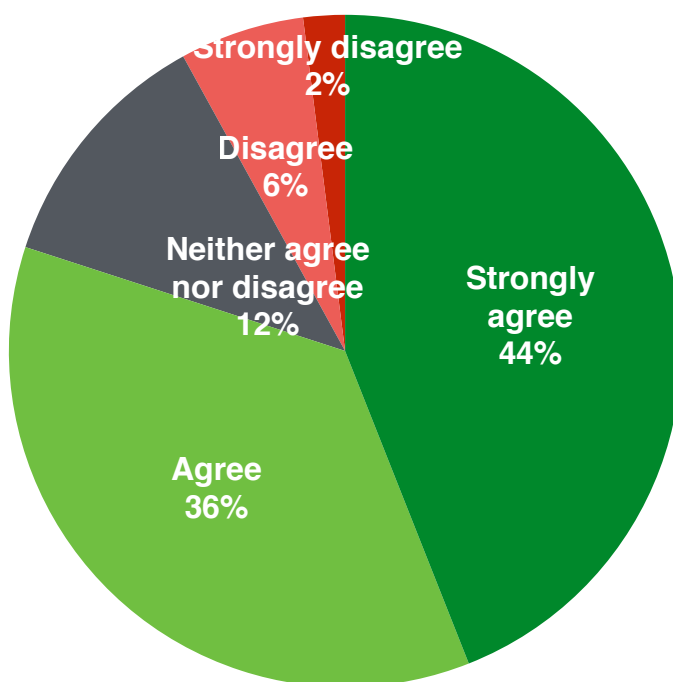
**More promisingly, fully eight in ten British Jews said that if they were the victim of a hate crime, they would report it to the police.**

This is the first year we have asked this question.

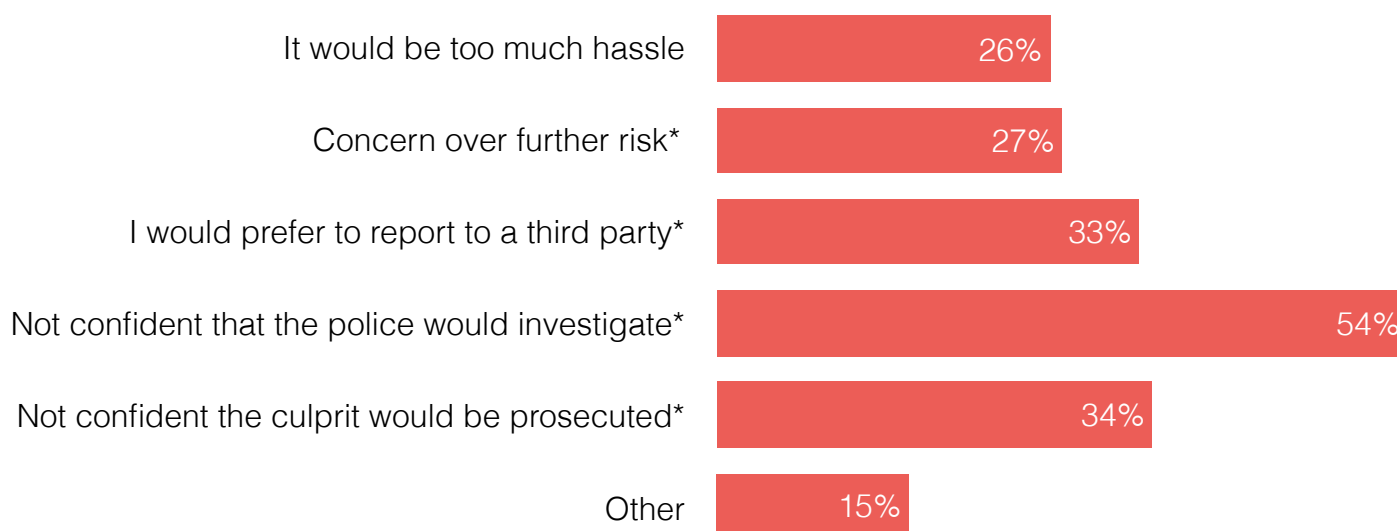
Although under one third of British Jews are confident that if they reported a hate crime it would be prosecuted, this does not deter an overwhelming majority from saying that they would nevertheless report the crime.

We also asked the 20% of those who did not say that they would report the hate crime why they would not do so. Over half said that they were not confident that the police would investigate, while a third said that they were not confident that even following an investigation there would be a prosecution, or that that they would prefer to report the hate crime to a third party.

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



**Question: “Please give your reasons why you would not report an antisemitic hate crime to the police. Please select as many options as apply.”**

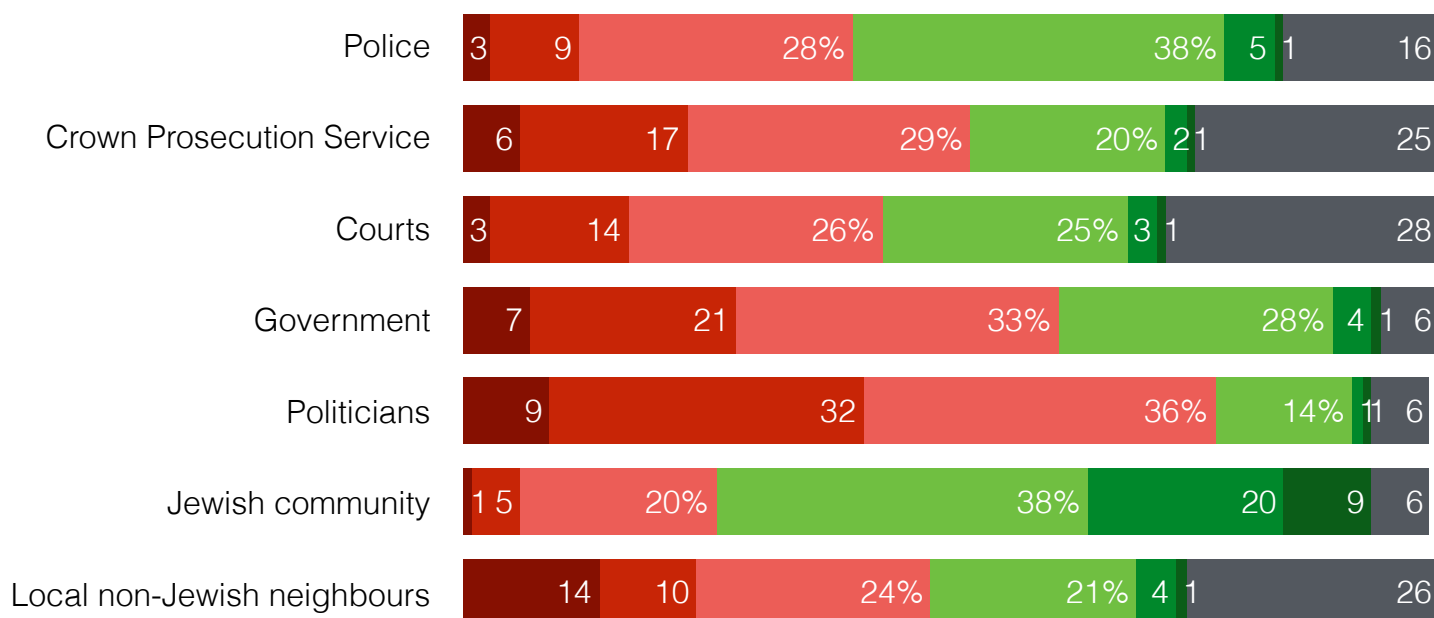


\* The precise wording of these answers was: “I would be concerned that I might be putting myself at further risk”, “I would prefer to report the hate crime to a third party (such as CAA, CST or Shomrim)”, “I am not confident that the police would investigate the hate crime” and “Although I am confident that the police would investigate the hate crime, even if the culprit were identified I am not confident that the culprit would be prosecuted”.

## CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM, POLITICIANS AND SOCIETY

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

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



When asked about the roles played by the criminal justice system, politicians and society in protecting British Jews, respondents gave largely similar answers to last year.

Four in ten British Jews do not believe that the police do enough to protect British Jews, but the police remain the only element of the criminal justice system which more Jews praised than criticised.

**A majority of British Jews believe that the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) does not do enough to protect British Jews, with 52% saying so compared to 48% last year.** More British Jews also criticised the courts this year (43%) compared to last year (41%).

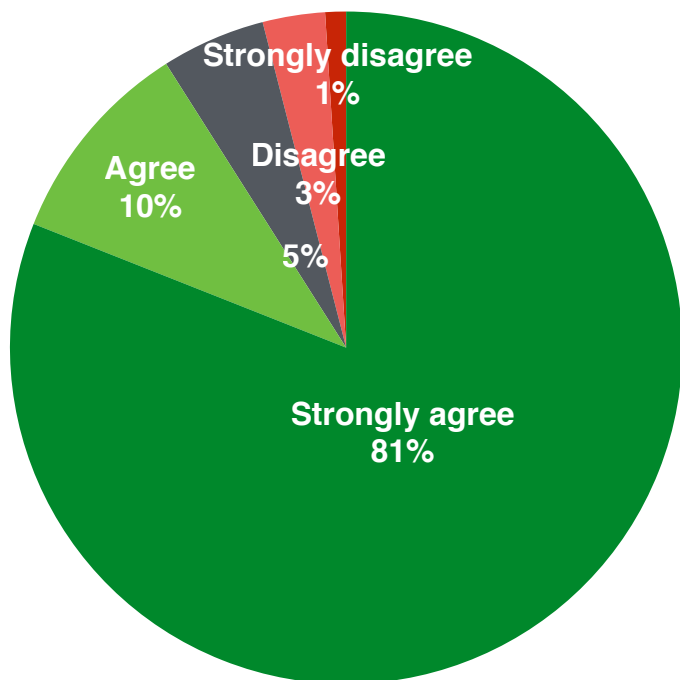
Turning to politics, this year 61% of British Jews believe that the Government does not do enough, a slight improvement on last year's 64%. But **British Jews again reserved their strongest criticism for politicians, with an overwhelming 78% believing that politicians do not do enough to protect Jews.**

Remarkably, this is still a small improvement on last year's 82%.

As last year, the only group that the majority of Jews did perceive to be doing enough, other than the police, was the Jewish community itself. But British Jews have lost some of their confidence in non-Jewish neighbours, with 48% believing that they do not do enough this year compared with 42% last year.

## PROSCRIPTION OF HAMAS

**Question: “The British Government should proscribe Hamas in full as a terrorist organisation”**



• Neither agree nor disagree

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

Campaign Against Antisemitism has long called for the proscription of Hamas in its entirety under the Terrorism Act 2000.

In 2001, the UK proscribed Hamas' military wing, the Izz Ad-Din Al-Qassam Brigades, as a terrorist organisation. However, it has not proscribed its political wing, even though in reality the military and political wings are indistinguishable and any separation between them is made purely for reasons of political convenience.

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

**For the first time, we are able to show that an overwhelming majority of British Jews — 91% — agree that Hamas should be proscribed in its entirety by the British Government.**

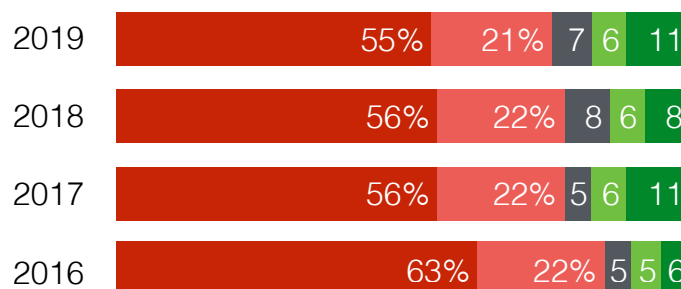
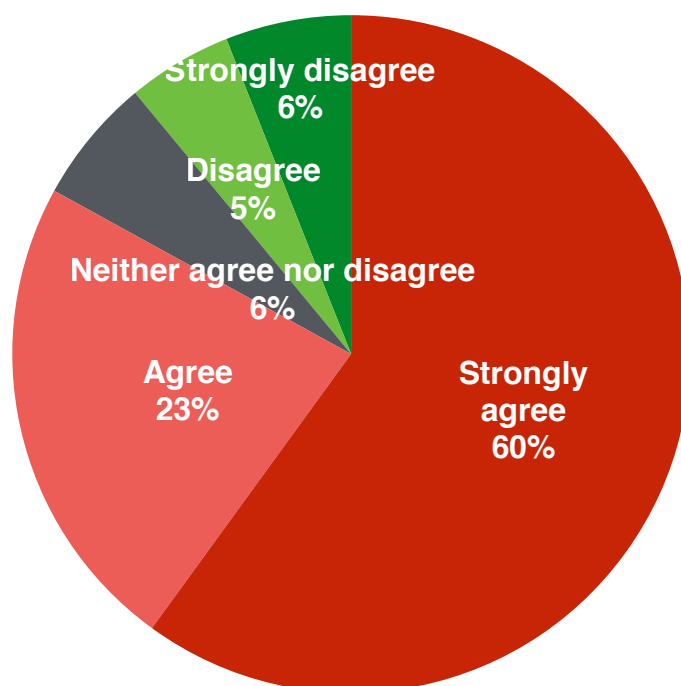
## DISCOURSE ABOUT ISRAEL

When asked about antisemitism in discourse about Israel, British Jews responded emphatically: 87% had witnessed antisemitism disguised as a political comment about Israel or Zionism, 90% said that media bias against Israel was fuelling persecution of Jews in Britain, and 83% felt intimidated by tactics used to boycott Israel. In all cases, at least half of British Jews did not simply agree, they stated that they strongly agreed.

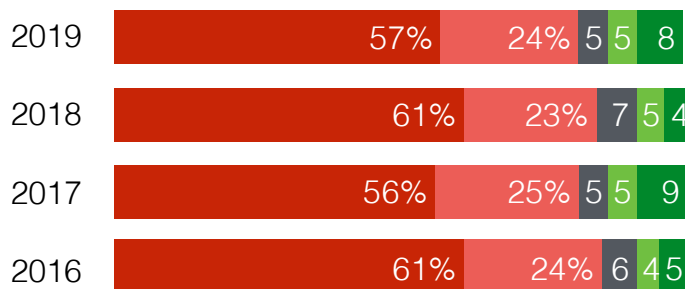
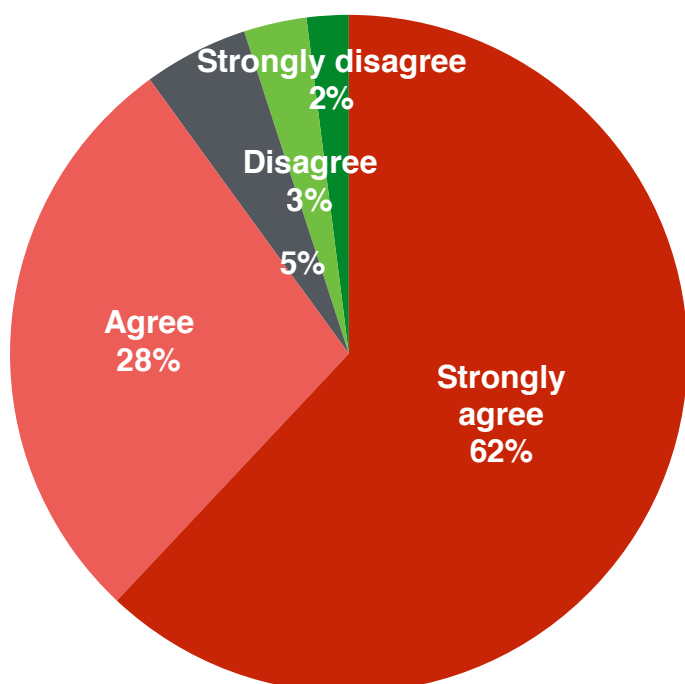
These results are not only consistent with previous years' findings, showing that these are longstanding and enduring concerns, but **this year's figures are the highest recorded since 2016** (the only exception is that 85% of British Jews agreed in 2016 that boycotts constituting intimidation, compared with 83% this year).

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

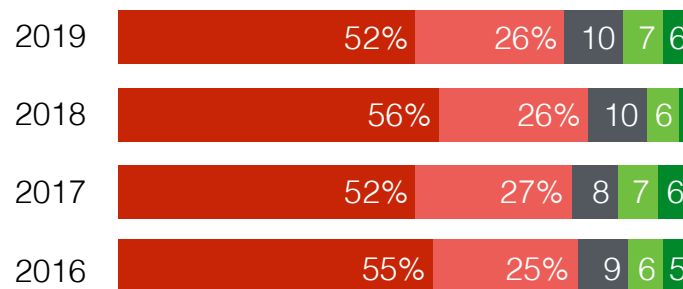
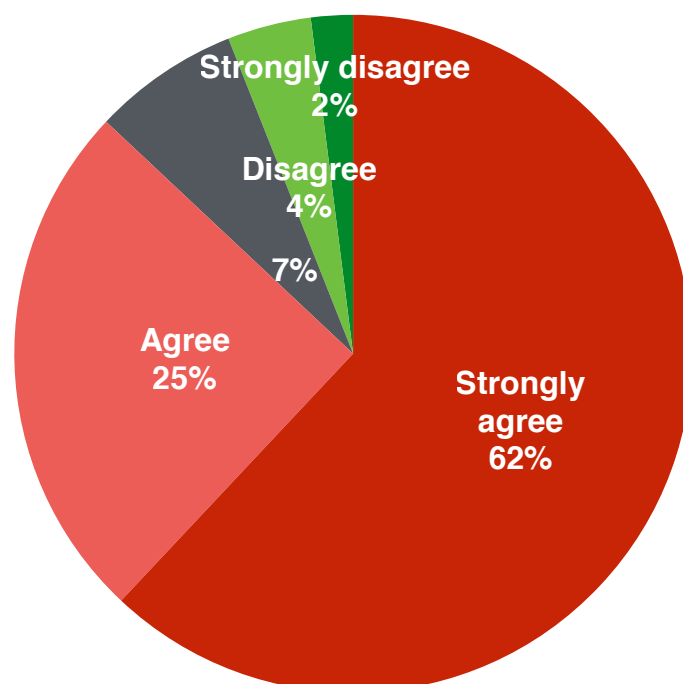
Question: "Boycotts of businesses selling Israeli products constitute intimidation."



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



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



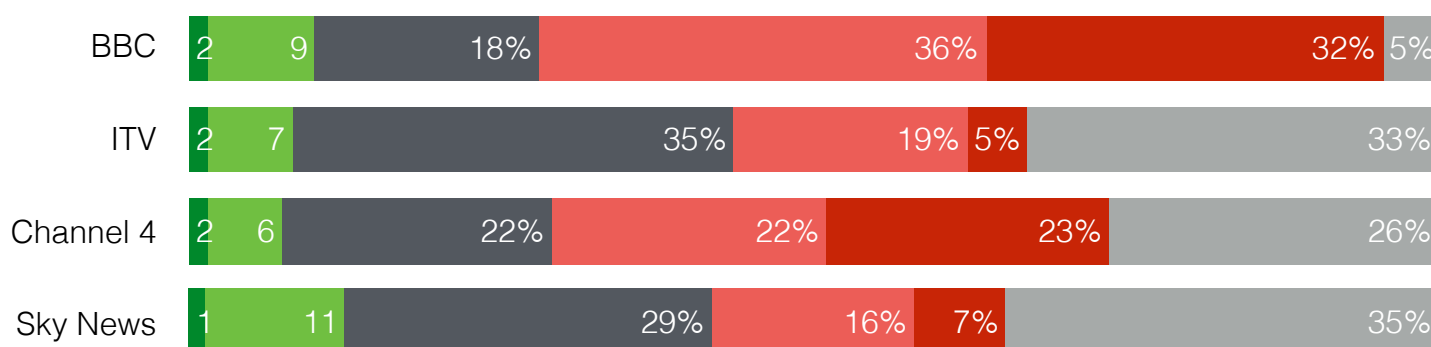
• Neither agree nor disagree

# TELEVISION BROADCASTERS

## COVERAGE OF ANTISEMITISM

**Question: “Please rate each of the following broadcasters according to whether you consider their coverage of matters of Jewish interest (including antisemitism) to be favourable or unfavourable.”**

- Very favourable • Somewhat favourable • Neither favourable nor unfavourable
- Somewhat unfavourable • Very unfavourable • Don't know



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

**This poll puts empirical flesh on the anecdotal bone, demonstrating for the first time that coverage by the BBC and Channel 4 is a matter of grave concern, with a damning two thirds of British Jews considering the BBC’s coverage to be unfavourable and almost half — 45% — saying the same about Channel 4. These figures are several times higher than those for ITV and Sky News.**

Given that broadcasters have duties to ensure fair representation, these results will raise serious questions about the treatment of Jews by the BBC and Channel 4, both of which are state-funded broadcasters.

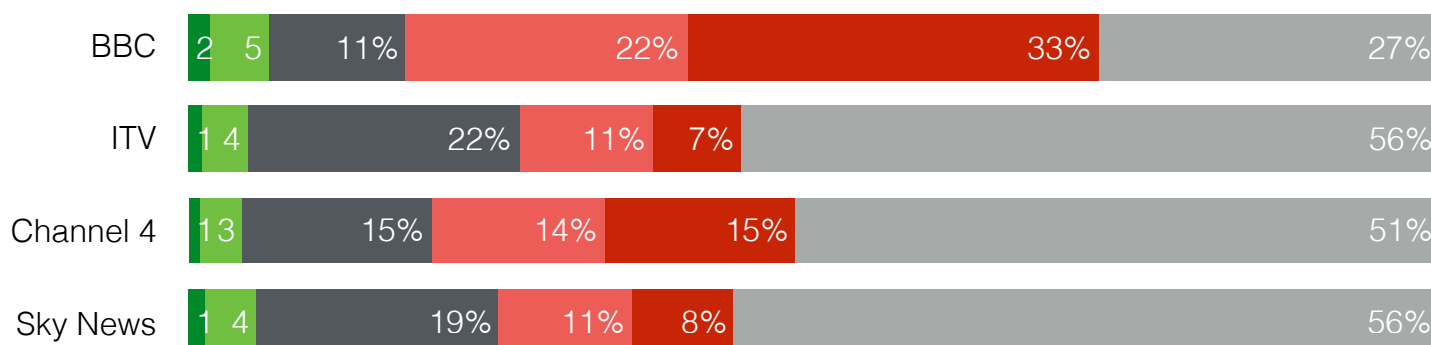
Combined with the finding that 90% of British Jews believe that media bias against Israel fuels persecution of Jews in Britain — a finding consistent with years of previous polling that we have conducted — these concerns about coverage of matters of Jewish interest is deeply worrying.



## DEALING WITH ANTISEMITISM COMPLAINTS

**Question: “Please rate each of the following broadcasters according to whether you are satisfied with how they deal with complaints relating to antisemitism.”**

- Very satisfied • Somewhat satisfied • Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied
- Somewhat unsatisfied • Very unsatisfied • Don't know



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

Our survey is the first of its kind to ask British Jews about their experiences of making complaints relating to antisemitism. For three broadcasters, most respondents answered that they “don’t know”, likely because they do not have experience of making complaints, which is to be expected. But it usefully suggests that those respondents who have given a substantive response actually do have experience of making such complaints or monitoring their progress.

**The finding with regard to the BBC is astonishing: over half of respondents say that they are unsatisfied with how the BBC handles complaints relating to antisemitism. This too will raise serious questions for the Corporation.**

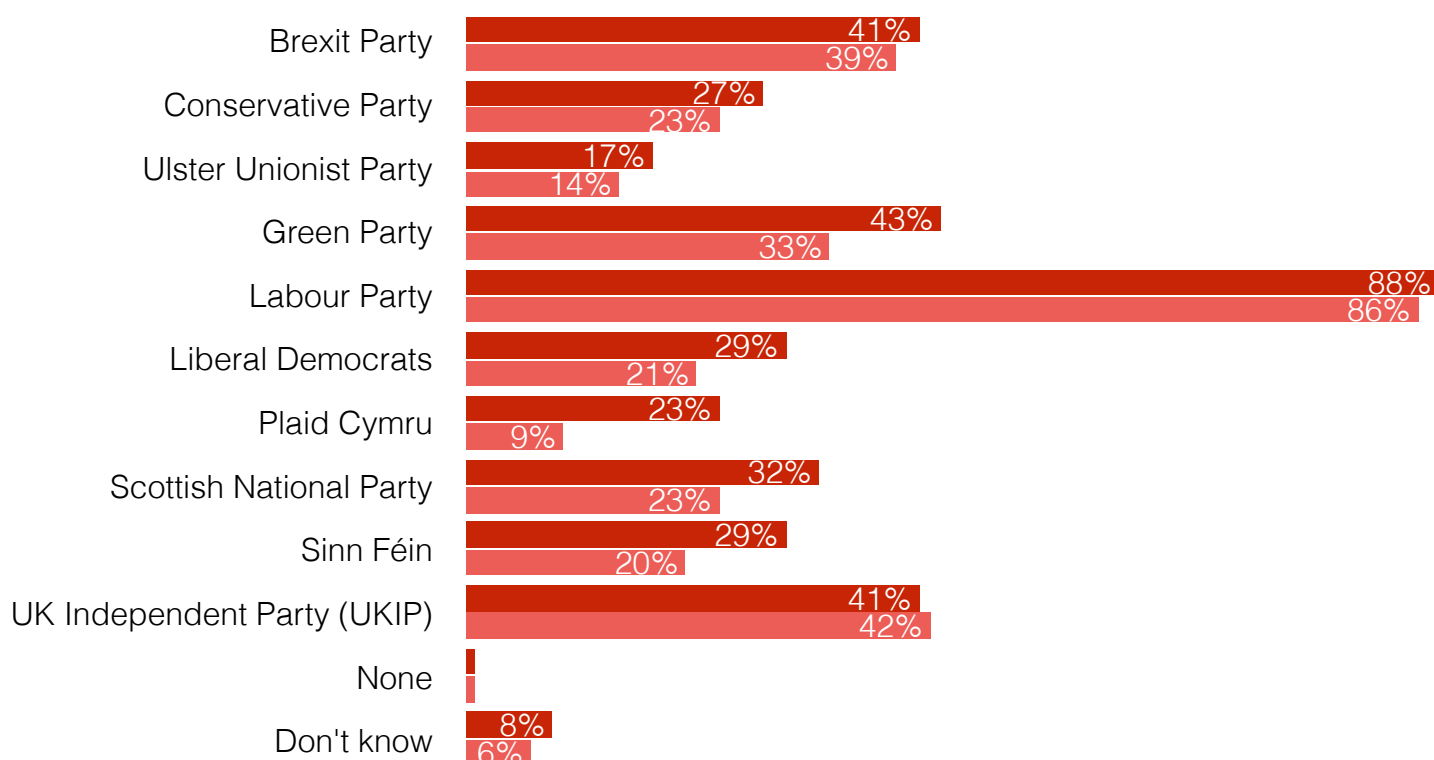
It is also notable that, although the other three broadcasters did not score nearly as unfavourably as the BBC, Channel 4 still performed markedly worse than ITV and Sky News, with 29% of British Jews saying that they are unsatisfied with how Channel 4 deals with complaints relating to antisemitism.

# ANTISEMITISM AND POLITICS

## POLITICAL PARTIES

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

• 2020 • 2019



**British Jews feel that the Labour Party is more than twice as tolerant of antisemitism than any other political party:** more than

twice as much as the Green Party, UKIP and the Brexit Party, and around three times more than the Liberal Democrats and the Conservative Party.

**British Jews think that antisemitism is tolerated by political parties more in 2020 than in 2019** in every single party but one (UKIP, which has fallen by merely 1%).

Labour's performance is also slightly worse in 2020 than in 2019, having risen to 88% from 86% last year. This suggests that the departure of Jeremy Corbyn as leader of the Party is not sufficient to convince British Jews that Labour

no longer tolerates antisemitism. It is also noteworthy that this polling took place after the publication of the report by the Equality and Human Rights Commission and the suspension of Mr Corbyn, and during his rapid and controversial readmission.

Other parties to have performed considerably worse this year than last are the Green Party (43% compared to 33%) and Plaid Cymru (23% compared to 9%). Plaid Cymru announced an internal review into antisemitism at around the time that polling was conducted.

The Liberal Democrats and the Scottish National Party also performed worse (rising by 8% and 9% respectively), while the figure for the Conservative Party has increased by 4%.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

## CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

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

## CROWN PROSECUTION SERVICE (CPS)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

for different kinds of antisemitic acts and evidential requirements.

## POLICE FORCES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## LEGISLATION

### DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

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

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

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

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

## SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS

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

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

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

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

**We recommend** that the Government introduce legislation to effect sanctions on criminal antisemitic activity on social media platforms as soon as possible.

## FULL PROSCRIPTION OF HAMAS

In 2001, the UK proscribed Hamas' military wing, the Izz Ad-Din Al-Qassam Brigades, as a terrorist organisation. However, it has not proscribed its political wing. Hamas is a genocidal antisemitic terrorist organisation which seeks the murder of all Jews worldwide. Article 7 of the Hamas Covenant issued in 1988, which remains Hamas' governing document states that: "The Day of Judgment will not come about until Muslims fight Jews and kill them. Then, the Jews will hide behind rocks and trees, and the rocks and trees will cry out: 'O Muslim, there is a Jew hiding behind me, come and kill him.'"

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

A precedent was set in February 2019 when, at the request of Campaign Against Antisemitism and others in the Jewish community, the then Home Secretary, acting with the then Foreign Secretary, completely proscribed Hizballah, another genocidal antisemitic terrorist organisation.

This year's Antisemitism Barometer shows the overwhelming consensus in the Jewish community that the entirety of Hamas should be proscribed as a terrorist organisation by the British Government.

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

## GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

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

### DENIAL OF ENTRY FOR ANTISEMITIC ACTIVISTS

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

Timeframes for denying entry are typically short.

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

### PREVENT TRAINING

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

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

## CROSS-GOVERNMENT WORKING GROUP ON ANTISEMITISM

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

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

## HONOURS SYSTEM

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

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

## POLITICAL PARTIES

On 28th May 2019, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) launched a full statutory investigation into antisemitism in the Labour Party following a formal referral and 8. detailed legal representations from Campaign Against Antisemitism, which was the

4. For more information, see [antisemitism.org/ehrc](https://antisemitism.org/ehrc)

complainant, publishing its devastating findings in the Labour Party in October 2020.<sup>4</sup>

Following a request by Campaign Against Antisemitism, the EHRC also published new guidance for all political parties and associations entitled 'New Guiding Principles for all Associations and Membership Organisations'.<sup>5</sup>

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

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

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

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

1. Antisemitism is a form of racism. It is a key component of extremist ideology espoused by Islamists, the far-right and the far-left alike. Antisemites and their supporters have no place in any political party.
2. Antisemitism will be construed in accordance with the International Definition of Antisemitism, as adopted by the British Government. The Definition is published on the website of Campaign Against Antisemitism at [antisemitism.org/definition](https://antisemitism.org/ehrc-publishes-guidance-warning-all-political-parties-of-their-responsibilities-as-requested-by-caa/).
3. All disciplinary processes must be fair, transparent and efficient.
4. All allegations will be investigated as soon as possible, and in all events within a period of four weeks. Investigations will be carried out by an impartial, independent investigator.
5. In the case of corroborated, substantial allegations, the member will be suspended from the party pending the outcome of the investigation.
6. There is a presumption in favour of suspension for antisemitic speech or action by party members.
7. Where a suspension is imposed following a finding of antisemitic conduct, that suspension should only be lifted when an independent investigator is satisfied that the person suspended has demonstrated insight into their behaviour, and is committed both to not reoffending and to actively fighting antisemitism. If such insight and commitment cannot
8. Where a finding of antisemitic speech or conduct has been upheld against a senior party member (which for this purpose includes any party member holding public office) there should be a strong presumption in favour of expulsion.
9. Education is not to be considered a disciplinary measure. It is a general preventative measure. In a disciplinary context, it may, at most, form part of a rehabilitation package for members returning from suspension or readmitted following expulsion.
10. An apology is not to be considered a substitute for a disciplinary investigation.

5. See <https://antisemitism.org/ehrc-publishes-guidance-warning-all-political-parties-of-their-responsibilities-as-requested-by-caa/>



11. Independent investigators should be assisted by published disciplinary guidelines including a tariff for specific types of offence to ensure consistency, for example Holocaust denial is highly likely to lead to expulsion.
12. Where a disciplinary investigation leads to a sanction, this fact should be published on the party's website along with a short summary of the case, including how the disciplinary tariff was applied. The name of the member who has been sanctioned should be published unless there is a good reason not to, for example there is a mental health aspect, supported by medical evidence. The need to protect a person from public embarrassment would not be a good reason for these purposes.

# DATA COLLECTION METHODOLOGY

## SURVEYS OF BRITISH ADULTS

### SAMPLING

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

### FIELDWORK

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### QUALITY CONTROL

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

### REPRESENTATIVENESS

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

## SURVEYS OF BRITISH JEWS

### SAMPLING

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

the NJCS, the seed organisations were used to initiate a 'snowballing' process which, in effect, created a non-probability convenience sample. It was not possible to use a random probability sampling approach for this study because a suitable sampling frame for the Jewish population is not available in the UK.

## FIELDWORK

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

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

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

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

In 2020, fieldwork was conducted over the course of a month between 21st November and 22nd December. In total, 1,846 responses were obtained. The average length of time spent completing the survey was 16 minutes and 10 seconds.

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

## QUALITY CONTROL

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

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

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

In 2017, of the original 2,058 completed responses, 9 duplicate responses were

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

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

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

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

## REPRESENTATIVENESS

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

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

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

It should be noted that, with samples of 1,857, 2,025, 2,103, 2,695 and 1,830 carefully-targeted, weighted, individual responses, these are large samples. It is certainly sufficiently large for us to be confident that the percentages obtained through our polling are representative of the Jewish population. However, in common with the NJCS, due to the nature of the sampling process, it is not

possible to conduct a comprehensive test of representativeness. Given that the surveys initially utilised seed lists partly held by Jewish community organisations for snowballing, it is reasonable to assume that British Jews who are not involved in the Jewish community might be under-represented, though the survey does include significant numbers of such respondents.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



# צדק צדק תרדף

JUSTICE, JUSTICE, YOU SHALL PURSUE

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