

# Anti-Jewish Hatred

Tackling Antisemitism in the UK 2023 –  
Renewing the Commitment



HM GOVERNMENT'S  
INDEPENDENT ADVISER ON ANTISEMITISM



✉ [mannjl@parliament.uk](mailto:mannjl@parliament.uk)

🐦 [@LordJohnMann](https://twitter.com/LordJohnMann)

✉ [amy@antisemitism.org.uk](mailto:amy@antisemitism.org.uk)

# CONTENTS

FOREWORD .....	4
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	5
PURPOSE OF THE REPORT .....	5
MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS .....	6
SCHOOLS ADDRESSING ANTISEMITISM .....	8
ANTISEMITISM ON UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES .....	14
RESEARCH ON REASONS BEHIND INCREASE OF ANTISEMITISM IN THE UK .....	18
COLLECTING RIGOROUS DATA ON ANTISEMITIC HATE CRIME .....	20
RESPONSE OF THE POLICE TO THE INCREASE IN ANTISEMITISM .....	27
RESPONSE OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM TO THE INCREASE IN ANTISEMITISM .....	33
ANTISEMITISM ON THE INTERNET, SOCIAL MEDIA AND IN MAINSTREAM MEDIA .....	38
CIVIC SOCIETY'S RESPONSE TO ANTISEMITISM .....	46
POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND ANTISEMITISM .....	55
ANNEX A - LIST OF WRITTEN SUBMISSIONS .....	62
ANNEX B - RECOMMENDATIONS OF HM GOVERNMENT'S INDEPENDENT ADVISER ON ANTISEMITISM IN FULL .....	63

## FOREWORD

This year, Jewish girls and boys have been abused and threatened on public transport, at school and on the street because they are identified as being Jewish. Government, Parliament and society needs to consider whether this is acceptable in our country, and if not, what additional action is needed to stand up to the oldest hatred of all.



In 2006 and 2015 I commissioned two major reports into antisemitism with the All-Party Parliamentary Group Against Antisemitism. While recognising that these reports and their detailed recommendations have led to effective actions being introduced to combat antisemitism in the UK, things change and it is now time to analyse what has worked and what still requires work. 15 years, after the first ground-breaking parliamentary report, this inquiry looks at what further action is required by Parliament, Government, public bodies and civil society.

Since the report of 2006, the world of social media and technology has transformed our lives, often for the better. However this has also led to an exponential increase in online hate and falsehoods reaching a mass audience of all ages with limited means of restriction or clarification. This is largely responsible for the abuse of Jewish school children and it is especially concerning that those responsible for the behaviour can be teenagers themselves.

Education is now more important than ever and for the first time people are now confident enough to report antisemitic incidents in schools. Jewish school children and university students have the right to go to school and university, to travel on public transport, to visit and participate in sports, cultural and other recreational events without fear or an impingement on their freedom and right to be themselves.

I am proposing some major developments in how this country tackles antisemitism, and I have done so following intensive discussions with Jewish communal organisations since commencing my advisory role.

Our country is a safe one for its Jewish communities. Jewish communal organisations, not least the Community Security Trust and the Union of Jewish Students, become more effective every year. We have good reason to be proud of what has been achieved and can be confident for the future. But we can never stand still nor be complacent.

This report and its recommendations intend to put into effect some major new priorities to tackle gaps and weaknesses in how we challenge anti-Jewish hatred in our country.

*Lord Mann of Holbeck Moor*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Office of HM Government’s Independent Adviser on Antisemitism was established to provide independent advice to the Government on issues relating to antisemitism in the UK and the most effective methods to combat it.

This evidence-based report could not have been produced without the valuable insights and expertise set out in the written submissions from governments, organisations and individuals across the UK (see Annex A). Further contributions were gathered from face-to-face and online meetings.

The chairs of the All-Party Parliamentary Group against Antisemitism and its members continue to offer me important advice which has helped inform the contents of the report.

This report is based on extensive research carried out by Aidan Relf.

## PURPOSE OF THE REPORT

The ground-breaking reports of the UK All-Party Parliamentary Group against Antisemitism in 2006 and 2015 led to effective actions being introduced to combat antisemitism in the UK and abroad and in some cases highly effective actions. The first purpose of this report was to gather views on which recommendations of the All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) have made a significant impact and where more work is needed.

This Office was also keen for those submitting evidence to share examples of good practice in tackling antisemitism which could be included in this report to promote their wider adoption.

Further reasons behind the report were the record number of antisemitic hate incidents reported in 2021 and 2022, the changed political landscape on both the left and right since the 2015 APPG report and the growth of alternative social media platforms.

With the input of expert witnesses from across the UK, it was important to draw up a fresh set of recommendations on how best to respond to these developments.

These aims have been fulfilled. In addition to the 10 main recommendations, each section of the report ends with a set of more detailed calls for action.

## MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

The report's main recommendations are set out below with proposals from this Office on who should take the lead responsibility for implementing them.

- Secondary schools across the UK should teach about contemporary antisemitism in addition to pupils learning about the Holocaust.**

**Proposed lead responsibility:**  
*The UK Government,  
 The Scottish Government,  
 The Welsh Government and  
 The Northern Ireland Executive*

- The mainstream political parties must unite to stop the spread of antisemitism and race hate especially to young people, including countering the increase from neo-Nazi groups.**

**Proposed lead responsibility:**  
*UK political parties*

- The UK Government must work with online platforms to eradicate antisemitism online and hold those accountable who knowingly fail to block their systems from promoting it.**

**Proposed lead responsibility:**  
*UK Department for Digital,  
 Culture, Media and Sport*

- The governments for the UK and the devolved nations should establish why so few prosecutions of antisemitic hate crime take place and should work with the prosecuting authorities and the Community Security Trust to address the issue.**

**Proposed lead responsibility:**  
*UK Ministry of Justice and Scottish Government Justice Directorate*

- A renewed and concerted effort is required across all UK universities and colleges to make Jewish students safe and feel safe on campus.**

**Proposed lead responsibility:**  
*Universities UK*

6. **New research is needed on extent of correlation between Middle East conflict, attitudes towards Israel, the explosion in conspiracy theories, harmful social media and antisemitic hate in the UK, especially among young people.**

**Proposed lead responsibility:**  
*Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR)*

7. **Multi-year government funding is needed for the security of Jewish communities to support physical guarding and interfaith initiatives.**

**Proposed lead responsibility:**  
*UK Home Office*

8. **A review is needed on what barriers are preventing more reporting of antisemitic and other hate crime incidents, how these barriers can be overcome and whether enough police investigations into reported incidents are taking place.**

**Proposed lead responsibility:**  
*The UK Government,  
The Scottish Government,  
The Welsh Government and  
The Northern Ireland Executive*

9. **Data submitted by all police forces for national collation and analysis should be disaggregated to help address the underreporting of antisemitic hate crime and a review should be undertaken on data on antisemitism being classified as both racial and religious.**

**Proposed lead responsibility:**  
*The UK Government,  
The Scottish Government,  
The Welsh Government,  
The Northern Ireland Executive  
and police chiefs*

10. **The UK should work closely with other nations to enhance the cooperation needed in combatting antisemitism across the globe.**

**Proposed lead responsibility:**  
*UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office*

# SCHOOLS ADDRESSING ANTISEMITISM

## MAIN RECOMMENDATION:

**Secondary schools across the UK should teach about contemporary antisemitism in addition to pupils learning about the Holocaust.**

Since the 2006 APPG report<sup>1</sup>, great strides have been made on promoting greater awareness and understanding of the Holocaust in schools with specialists including the Holocaust Educational Trust and the National Holocaust Centre and Museum continuing to play a vital role in educating thousands of students across the UK.

This Office also recognises the valuable contributions and the ongoing and pivotal work of institutions such as the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education in for example teacher training.

The APPG report also drew attention to the need for specific education on contemporary antisemitism and Jewish faith and culture, and wider education around issues of racism, tolerance and discrimination. Over 15 years later, stakeholders contributing to this report evidently believe that addressing this need requires significantly more concerted action.

A quarter of the 628 antisemitic hate incidents in the weeks after the flare-up of Israeli-Palestinian violence in 2021 took place in schools and universities<sup>2</sup>.

1 The APPG and its publications:  
[The APPG – Antisemitism Policy Trust](https://www.appg-antisemitism.org.uk/)

2 Source: Maccabi GB submission using CST data

The Community Security Trust (CST) took many telephone calls from schools seeking advice on how to respond to incidents in playgrounds, corridors and classrooms, with many having no idea how to react.

In July 2022, a survey of 1,315 secondary schools in England by the Henry Jackson Society think tank<sup>3</sup> found that antisemitic incidents in schools have almost trebled over the past five years. Only 47 of the schools which responded have any kind of formal, written policy that might make staff more aware of the vicious forms of antisemitic bullying which take place and how to deal with them.

If this scale of incidence among young people is not tackled, then we are storing up potentially serious problems for the future as well as for the present. As the Board of Deputies of British Jews points out, we must avoid young people going into higher education or working life without an understanding of anti-Jewish hatred.

In his submission to this Office, the UK's Special Envoy on Post Holocaust Issues, Lord Eric Pickles, argues that there must be a clear distinction between Holocaust education and education to address contemporary antisemitism. He adds that the adoption of the IHRA definition of antisemitism<sup>4</sup> is a good place to start because we can use the definition to assist

3 Henry Jackson Society survey, July 2022:  
[Antisemitism in Schools - Henry Jackson Society](https://www.hjs.org.uk/reports/antisemitism-in-schools-henry-jackson-society)

4 IHRA non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism with working examples:  
[What is antisemitism? | IHRA \(holocaustremembrance.com\)](https://ihra.org.uk/what-is-antisemitism/)

teachers and others to understand that antisemitism can take many forms and that it is not enough to teach about the Holocaust.

to address antisemitism in schools which was so prevalent during the summer term of 2021.

“ **Holocaust education should not be seen as a proxy for education to address antisemitism.** ”

— Rt Hon Lord Eric Pickles,  
UK Special Envoy on Post Holocaust Issues

Only limited progress on learning about antisemitism in schools since 2006 has been made and this report is not the first time that this matter has been raised within government. The Antisemitism Policy Trust highlighted concerns from the APPG inquiries about the suitability of training materials about the matter and how to have difficult conversations in the classroom. Jewish representative bodies also believe that some teacher unions are found wanting in their willingness to address the issue.

The National Education Union in its former guise of the NUT has recognised the imperative to conduct lessons on antisemitism and Islamophobia, and discussion continues about personal, social, health and economic (PSHE) education and the potential to deliver quality anti-discrimination training in respect of all forms of racism. However, despite these and other efforts, there has been little coordinated and coherent effort



If the UK Government were to address it comprehensively in England, the Department for Education should recognise that relevant teaching must take place in academy and independent schools in addition to maintained schools. Currently academies and independent schools cannot be put under any obligation to teach about antisemitism<sup>5</sup> and so this Office has initiated discussions with a large chain of academies in England to pilot an updated teaching approach. Other organisations, such as the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education and the National Holocaust Centre and Museum, are also engaged.

The four home nations of the United Kingdom should look at the initiatives

<sup>5</sup> The Government recently set a precedent in addressing a similar lacuna in English schools' provision by supporting the Education (Careers Guidance in Schools) Act 2022, originally a private members' bill. The new legislation will extend the existing duty on maintained schools, special schools and pupil referral units in England to secure independent careers guidance to pupils in academy schools and alternative provision academies throughout their secondary education. Now is the time to extend the scope of relevant legislation to reduce race hate among susceptible pupils.

undertaken by their counterparts. The Welsh Government is currently working in 160 schools across Wales via the Hate Crime in Schools Project with the aim of building awareness and critical thinking skills amongst staff and children, enabling them to better identify discrimination, bias, misinformation or disinformation. The new Curriculum for Wales, due to be taught in schools in Wales from September 2022, will promote an understanding of the history of Wales in all of its diversity including the contribution that Jewish communities have made to Wales.

The Welsh Government agrees that there is a new awareness of the need to explain to schoolchildren the history of antisemitism<sup>6</sup>. It recommends that guidance to local authorities should be updated and a greater duty be placed on them to provide effective anti-racist education.

The Director of Vision Schools Scotland makes the case for historical and contemporary antisemitism, such as the new expressions of antisemitism, to be taught to primary and secondary aged students, as well as to student teachers and teachers. Such teaching should be regarded as a requirement in citizenship and anti-racist education, and as recommended by UNESCO and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, not to be restricted to the historical Holocaust context.

<sup>6</sup> Details of Welsh schools project 2021-22:  
[Cof a lithr, llythyrau a geidw | JHASW/CHIDC](#)

This Office shares the view that improved teaching requires significant resources behind it and therefore the four home nations should work together on the task.

The Scottish Government has stressed that its programmes should not only focus on the Holocaust but also promote awareness of Jewish people, culture and their contribution to society and address antisemitism in the world today. School visits to the Scottish Jewish Heritage Centre in Glasgow will be added to the Scottish Government's travel subsidy programme for schools from April 2023.

More generally, the Scottish Government recommends taking a proactive and preventative approach to tackling hate crime, including antisemitism, through improved education materials for schools which will support teaching children and young people about the dangers of hatred and prejudice.

Throughout the UK, textbooks and printed resources on their own are unlikely to be sufficient to make a tangible difference. A review should be undertaken of relevant resources which are freely available to all schools online to ensure that they are up to date and easily navigable. But in the words of one leading stakeholder, let us do it properly.

Above all, this Office would like to see the UK Government work with the devolved nations in ensuring that all secondary schools across the UK should teach their pupils about contemporary antisemitism

with appropriate resources. In terms of required action, this forms the most critical recommendation of this report.

This Office is very aware that other initiatives have been launched to promote a more diverse and anti-racist curriculum which reflects the achievements of Black and minority ethnic people and addresses the legacy of colonialism. This is very welcome and we recognise that all forms of racism should be addressed.

### **LEARNING ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST**

The early achievements of the Holocaust Educational Trust included the Holocaust forming part of the National Curriculum for History. As the number of Holocaust survivors decreases, it is absolutely vital that survivors' testimonies are carried forward by others and heard in schools with the support of digital media.

But despite the highly impactful work on teaching and learning on the Holocaust (TLH), this Office has received calls for current teaching to be reviewed while also bearing in mind that TLH is not mandatory in the secondary History curriculum in Scotland nor is it in all schools in England.

This is not to say that no reviews have taken place before now. Researchers at the University of the West of Scotland have for example conducted systematic research on different aspects of the implementation of TLH and made use of the results in in-service training for teachers in Scotland.

Vision Schools Scotland is also very active in sharing good practice between teachers in different schools.

Salford City Council and others suggest in their evidence that it is now time for the UK Government, The Scottish Government, The Welsh Government and The Northern Ireland Executive to evaluate the progress of Holocaust education over the last 15 years and effective practice in teaching about antisemitism.

Proposals include:

- a. comparing the Holocaust knowledge of British people between 15 years ago and now;
- b. ensuring that Holocaust awareness becomes a compulsory part of curricula for all schools, academies and colleges;
- c. publishing a plan whereby all children, young people and adults learn about the Holocaust to fully understand where antisemitism can lead to unless steps are taken to combat it; and
- d. government setting goals and guidelines in order to implement the above.

This Office is sending these proposals to Lord Eric Pickles, UK Special Envoy on Post Holocaust Issues, for his consideration.

## SCHOOL TWINNING

Among its calls for action to build on the progress made as a result of the 2006 APPG recommendations, West Yorkshire Police (WYP) supports school twinning initiatives.

WYP highlight partnership work with The Linking Network to support schools and communities to develop a positive, cohesive ethos by bringing together two classes, usually from demographically diverse schools in a year-long programme within a local area.

Although it resisted the suggestion that twinning be mandatory, the UK Government responded to the APPG's recommendation that it was committed to developing twinning projects towards improved community cohesion and sustainable schools. It also demonstrated an understanding that faith schools were particularly important in relation to twinning projects and by 2010, the Government was able to report on a school linking programme, launched in late 2007 which had received more than £2m from the Department for Education and £1m from the Pears Foundation.

The programme supported 422 local authorities to embed linking programmes in their areas and more besides. By mid-2010, 2000 schools were involved and the project, though it was expected to complete in March 2011, was still in place by the time the UK Government reported in 2014. The Linking Network and a schools linking project continue to this day. It is vital that these initiatives are maintained.

## CASE STUDY

**Calderwood Lodge Primary School** is a Jewish school in East Renfrewshire near Glasgow. It is a pioneer in inspiring interfaith dialogue and in 2017 it opened a joint campus with the St Clare's Primary School, a neighbouring Catholic school.

Both schools were represented by pupils at a COP26 event organised by the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council. A sizeable proportion of the pupils at Calderwood Lodge are Muslim. The school is a previous winner of the Interfaith Scotland 'Eat, Share, Love' competition.



Students and teachers from Calderwood Lodge Primary School

The recommendations for our schools are:

- i. Most importantly, secondary schools of all types across the UK should teach about contemporary antisemitism in addition to students learning about the Holocaust. The UK Government should guarantee the funding for the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education's work on this.
- ii. Teacher training and continuous professional development for this purpose needs to be reviewed and updated, and discussion should be had over how it can be added to the Early Career Framework and PGCE courses for teachers.
- iii. In partnership with key stakeholder organisations, the UK Government, the Scottish Government, the Welsh Government and the Northern Ireland Executive should work together on producing an improved suite of online resources, which are freely available to schools, to supplement existing textbooks. These should be revised regularly to make sure they are always up to date.
- iv. Teaching and learning on the Holocaust should be evaluated for its nationwide effectiveness and its links to improving students' understanding of antisemitism.
- v. School leadership teams need guidance on how to deal with incidents of antisemitic hate on school premises and to report incidents away from the school premises which have involved the targeting of students but also where students are the perpetrators.
- vi. School twinning initiatives for community cohesion should be maintained and developed.
- vii. Support should be given to create professional networks across schools to share best practice.

# ANTISEMITISM ON UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES

## MAIN RECOMMENDATION:

**A renewed and concerted effort is required across all UK universities and colleges to make Jewish students safe and feel safe on campus.**

For all the advances made since 2006 in combatting antisemitism, the situation on university campuses remains an important issue. Over the past three years, this Office with strong support from former Department for Education Ministers<sup>7</sup> have urged universities to adopt the IHRA working definition of antisemitism and in November 2021, the Office for Students reported that over 200 universities, colleges and other higher education providers had signed up<sup>8</sup> with more following.

In Scotland, the First Minister and the Minister for Higher Education have separately met Jewish students this year to discuss self-isolation and alienation due to fears of Jewish students discussing their identity with other students, and the need for improved education on antisemitism and the Holocaust.

We also note that in guidance issued in June 2021, Universities UK (UUK) asked its members to consider adopting the IHRA definition as part of their approaches to tackling antisemitism.

There is no doubt that universities now approach the issue of antisemitism very

seriously and in addition to using the IHRA definition. For example, Lancaster University has met the university's Islamic Society and the Jewish Society since signing the REC, while the University of Manchester is working with the Manchester Jewish Museum and the British Muslim Heritage Centre to produce materials that will explore the consequences of hatred and intolerance.

However, while efforts and progress have been made in working to combat antisemitism in Britain's universities, there is still more to be done. Several written submissions highlighted some of the ongoing issues. For example:

- a. Jewish students feel disproportionately threatened, according to Jewish representative bodies, and believe that some of our leading universities do not take their complaints seriously enough.
- b. Among students and academics, the growth in antisemitism has largely occurred under the guise of anti-Zionism or criticism of the Israeli Government. The atmosphere can become particularly toxic when conflict in the Middle East arises.
- c. Comments on social media continue to cause harm with Jewish students sometimes finding antisemitic posts from students whom they considered to be good friends.

7 Statement : [Education Secretary leads call to tackle antisemitic abuse on campuses - GOV.UK \(www.gov.uk\)](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/education-secretary-leads-call-to-tackle-antisemitic-abuse-on-campuses)

8 Office for Students press release dated 10 November 2021 on adoption of IHRA: [OfS reports significant increase in universities signing up to IHRA definition of antisemitism - Office for Students](https://www.officeforstudents.org.uk/news/ofs-reports-significant-increase-in-universities-signing-up-to-ihra-definition-of-antisemitism)

d. Not all universities have been willing to accommodate the observance of Shabbat and Jewish festivals in their timetabling, including exam sittings. This is frequently an issue for medical and dental students.

Overall on the reporting of antisemitism, many students sadly feel staying silent is the best choice because of the insecurity and fear that the hate and abusive behaviour generates.

**“A lecturer was reported to have said to a student, ‘At some point you are going to have to decide between being a serious scientist or an observant Jew’.**

— *Submission from University Jewish Chaplaincy*

e. Jewish students have to expend too much time keeping Jewish societies free from boycott rather than focusing on other debates.

f. Calls to boycott contact with academics working in Israel are an assault on academic freedom and intellectual exchange, so pro-democracy lecturers in the University and College Union need to be given every support to combat selective boycotts that are anti-Jewish in practice.

g. There is a perception among Jewish organisations that the University and College Union (UCU) has been far from supportive on matters such as adopting the IHRA working definition and the David Miller case.

The CST published a special report in 2020 on campus antisemitism<sup>9</sup>. Encouragingly the Trust found that campus boycotts have generally been very rare, and unsuccessful where called for<sup>10</sup>. There are no successful academic boycotts of Israel in place anywhere in the UK.

The spirit of the APPG’s 2006 recommendations on reporting campus incidents was broadly adopted within higher education institutions, and through continued pressure, action was slowly taken.

In their written submissions for this report, the Union of Jewish Students (UJS) and the University Jewish Chaplaincy

9 CST report on campus antisemitism in Britain 2018-20: [Antisemitism on University Campuses.1615558987.pdf \(cst.org.uk\)](https://www.cst.org.uk/assets/reports/antisemitism-on-university-campuses-1615558987.pdf)

10 In 2007, the University and College Union legally advised its members that academic boycott of Israel was unlawful, because a boycott would contravene equalities legislation.

“ After the Texas synagogue hostage siege in January 2022, a lead Christian Chaplain [at the University of Essex] wrote to the Jewish society to express solidarity. These seemingly small acts create a warmer and gentle space for students to feel thought of and supported. ”

— Submission from University Jewish Chaplaincy

highlight good practice in addressing campus antisemitism. UJS cited Queen Mary of London, Middlesex and King's College London (KCL) universities as being particularly active with UJS, for example working in partnership at KCL to organise staff training.

Now with chaplains available to support students across 100 universities, the University Jewish Chaplaincy Service reported that Oxford, Birmingham, Coventry and Warwick and some London universities (there are others too) have all been responsive when it comes to accommodating Jewish students' needs relating to missing days for Jewish festivals, lectures on Friday afternoons and exams on Shabbat and festivals.

While considerable progress has been made since 2006, current levels of antisemitism within universities justify further calls for action and this Office recommends:

- i. All UK universities should be using the IHRA working definition of antisemitism as a reference tool

to understand what is and isn't antisemitism and for dealing with incidents and complaints on campus.

- ii. 16 years after the APPG recommendation, positive interventions by vice-chancellors remain patchy and a working party should be formed by UUK to systemise how universities address the issue of antisemitism on campuses.
- iii. In line with the forthcoming Freedom of Speech Act, whilst Boycott Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) is a political campaign, BDS cannot be used to specifically disadvantage Jewish students, academics or staff in their academic research or their ability to access goods and services. We recommend that universities ensure that it is never used to restrict the freedom of Jewish staff and students to purchase goods and services of their choice including Kosher products. We recommend that the UCU ensures the freedom of all academics to research and partner without restriction.

iv. The Union of Jewish Students and their Jewish Societies are the representative voice for Jewish students in universities. All UK universities should work with the Union of Jewish Students to make campuses more inclusive, e.g. more antisemitism awareness training in student unions and for university staff, especially at senior levels; encouraging more kosher accommodation; and flexibility around timetabling.

v. On having the right procedures in place to handle reports of antisemitic incidents correctly, universities should adopt the five recommendations made by the Community Security Trust in its report '*Campus Antisemitism in Britain 2018-2020*'<sup>11</sup>. The recommended procedures include:

- Third party reporting on behalf of students
- Using the IHRA definition of antisemitism (see i above)
- Clearly understood timeframe for responding to complaints
- Review of unfair burden of proof placed on students in some universities making complaints
- Ensuring impartiality in the handling of complaints.

11 CST report: [Antisemitism on University Campuses.pdf \(cst.org.uk\)](https://cst.org.uk)

# RESEARCH ON REASONS BEHIND THE INCREASE OF ANTISEMITISM IN THE UK

## MAIN RECOMMENDATION:

**New research is needed on extent of correlation between Middle East conflict, attitudes towards Israel, the explosion in conspiracy theories, harmful social media and antisemitic hate in the UK, especially among young people.**

The take-off of social media since 2006 with its accompanying snake pit of conspiracy theories and falsehoods more than underlines the necessity for presenting a case for combatting antisemitism that is based on rigorous data and independent and up-to-date research. While there continues to be plenty of anecdotal evidence to show the scale of the issue, it is not enough on its own and it can easily be dismissed by opponents as that of vested interest.

Good quality research not only strengthens constructive discourse on the subject but it has practical benefits too. For example, CST shares appropriate research into antisemitic extremists and terror threats with police forces, further enhancing Jewish communal and wider societal security. In its submission, the National Police Chiefs' Council makes the point that the police have to dedicate resources to those most at risk and this Office believes that sound decisions in this regard can only be based on accurate data and research.

Among other recommendations on

research, both APPG reports of 2006 and 2015 included calls for commissioning research on the correlation between conflict in the Middle East, attitudes towards Israel and antisemitic hate crime in the UK. Among others, Bury Council has submitted to this Office that this has not been addressed sufficiently to the extent that it risks undermining wider cohesion work.

In 2017 the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) in partnership with CST undertook the largest and most detailed survey of attitudes towards Jews and Israel ever conducted in Great Britain. The resulting report<sup>12</sup> harnessed a dataset containing 5,466 observations to produce insights of direct relevance for Jewish communal discourse and national political debates on antisemitism. JPR found that although antisemites constituted a relatively small cohort of UK society, antisemitic discourse and negative perceptions of Jewish people and Judaism was 'elastic' and reached significantly further into the UK population.

Specifically on Israel, the report said, "We discovered that anti-Israel attitudes are not, as a general rule, antisemitic; but the stronger a person's anti-Israel views, the more likely they are to hold antisemitic attitudes. A majority of those who hold anti-Israel attitudes do not espouse any antisemitic attitudes, but a

<sup>12</sup> JPR/CST report: [JPR.2017.Antisemitism in contemporary Great Britain.1615559606.pdf \(cst.org.uk\)](https://cst.org.uk/jpr-2017-antisemitism-in-contemporary-great-britain-1615559606.pdf)

significant minority of those who hold anti-Israel attitudes hold them alongside antisemitic attitudes. Therefore, antisemitism and anti-Israel attitudes exist both separately and together”.

The political context has changed since the two APPG reports and this Office strongly supports the view that a repeat of the JPR/CST survey is now required, supported with funding from the UK Government. Furthermore the explosion in conspiracy theories and false news, largely promoted through social media, have poisoned the minds of many more people, especially the young. Therefore more research is needed to establish how much the growth in antisemitism in the UK is associated with conflict in the Middle East as opposed to the usually recognised tropes involving Jews. The results would help to direct the finite resources dedicated to fighting antisemitism.

#### **RESEARCH ON ANTISEMITISM**

#### **WITHIN BRITISH MUSLIM COMMUNITIES**

Muslims Against Antisemitism (MAAS) has highlighted in its submission the lack of investment and funding into detailed research around antisemitism within Muslim communities. The car convoy that targeted Jewish communities in May 2021 has heightened fears within the Jewish community. There is little qualitative research about how widespread such attitudes are. The organisation argues that new research should include civil society and academics who are from

British Muslim communities and who have a track record in this area of work.

This Office supports the view of MAAS that the threat risk profile to British Jewish communities continues to involve Islamist extremist groups who are determined, energised and committed in the spread of their supremacist and antisemitic thinking.

In summary, this Office recommends the commissioning of new research covering the following:

- i.** The Government should assist in funding the 2023 Jewish Policy Research (JPR) research report in order to obtain the data on the extent of correlation between Middle East conflict, attitudes towards Israel, the explosion in conspiracy theories, harmful social media and antisemitic hate in the UK, especially among young people.
- ii.** the recent and alarming growth in antisemitism among young people and the reasons behind it.
- iii.** the extent and nature of antisemitism within different communities..

All of the above should involve the UK Government taking a lead as a funder and partner with the devolved governments and relevant communal partners.

# COLLECTING RIGOROUS DATA ON ANTISEMITIC HATE CRIME

## MAIN RECOMMENDATION:

**Data submitted by all police forces for national collation and analysis should be disaggregated to help address the underreporting of antisemitic hate crime and a review should be undertaken on data on antisemitism being classified as both racial and religious.**

Rigorous data is essential in the fight against antisemitism. It offers a firm rebuttal to claims that the issue is overblown and exaggerated. It also helps track growth or decreases in antisemitic incidents on an annual and regional basis in addition to possibly offering indications to why they happen.

Most importantly, accurate data supports the prioritising of responses of police forces and the judicial system in terms of investigating incident reports and pursuing the perpetrators of hate crime within the limits of annual operating budgets.

As the introduction of this report states, 2021 saw a record number of antisemitic incidents reported to CST. The charity recorded 2,255 incidents in the UK in 2021 and said that this was mostly due to the volume of anti-Jewish reactions to the escalation of conflict in Israel and Palestine in the same year. Police recorded religious hate crime inflicted on members of the Jewish community also increased by a staggering 49%.

Adding to the concern is that data shows

that 'normal time' incidents<sup>13</sup> are now three times what they were in 2014. This can be partly explained by the Labour Party's response to antisemitism within its ranks in the years leading up to the 2019 general election.

On a positive note, the reduction in conflict in the Middle East has led to a levelling out in incidents in the first six months of 2022<sup>14</sup>.

Incidents can be categorised as hate crime or non-crime hate and both forms of incident are recorded and included in CST data. It is vital that the police and other bodies should be able to retain non-crime hate incident data as part of a victim-led approach and to encourage victims to come forward<sup>15</sup>. However greater clarity is needed on how the data is kept and it relates to other police data.

The amount and scope of the data recorded now would not be available if it had not been for the recommendations contained in the APPG's 2006 report. At the time, the Parliamentarians drew attention to only a minority of police forces in the UK having the capability to record antisemitic incidents.

<sup>13</sup> 'Normal time' incidents mean those which have not been immediately prompted by a major news event such as a significant flare-up of violence in the Middle East.

<sup>14</sup> CST source: [Antisemitic Incidents Report January-June 2022 – Blog – CST – Protecting Our Jewish Community](#)

<sup>15</sup> Antisemitism Policy Trust, March 2022: [Danny Stone: Non-crime hate incidents serve a useful purpose – ministers should not undermine them | Conservative Home](#)

Improvements in the collection and sharing of data began almost immediately after the report's publication. As the Deputy Chief Constable of the Police Service of Northern Ireland and National Policing lead for Hate Crime recalls in his submission for this report, the formation of a National Independent Advisory Group brought victims, the police, academics and advocacy together to the heart of decision-making. This group included a director from the Community Security Trust (CST).

A shared definition of 'Monitored Hate Crime' was agreed in November 2007 and provided the first national commitment to record crimes in 5 strands: disability, race, religion, sexual orientation and transgender. At the time, the Group agreed not to disaggregate strands of hate crime to identify individual ethnicities in national crime data, although local agencies were encouraged to monitor trends through their intelligence and analysis work.

National hate crime data was produced from 2009 and antisemitic crime data was published alongside it until the system for crime statistics was changed in 2017. A similar agreement was reached for the publication of anti-Muslim hate crime data as a direct result of the APPG's recommendation.

Data gathering is enhanced by the CST encouraging the Jewish community to report antisemitic incidents to the police and CST. The latter has Third Party

Reporting status and is a signatory to a national incident information sharing agreement with the police. This has resulted in police forces sharing their data with the CST.

For some time, the police data was submitted and reported using the True Vision reporting portal/website<sup>16</sup>. The data is now more centralised, released by the Home Office and comprises a combination of racist and religious crimes targeting Jewish victims. The Antisemitism Policy Trust believes that these recommendations were ultimately successful in creating for Britain, when considered alongside the CST's incident figures, "arguably the best picture of hate in relation to antisemitism that exists in the world".

#### **IMPROVEMENTS NEEDED TO ADDRESS UNDERREPORTING OF HATE CRIME**

This Office does not disagree with the Antisemitism Policy Trust's positive verdict on the progress made on data collection since 2006. However the written evidence submitted for this report suggests that there is still considerable room for improvement.

The Board of Deputies of British Jews among others has expressed concern that antisemitic hate incidents continue to be underreported and hate crime continues to be under prosecuted.

<sup>16</sup> 'True Vision' report a hate crime website: [Stop Homophobic, Transphobic, Racial, Religious & Disability Hate Crime - True Vision \(report-it.org.uk\)](http://Stop Homophobic, Transphobic, Racial, Religious & Disability Hate Crime - True Vision (report-it.org.uk))

On underreporting, the Welsh Government has reminded us that the 2018 survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jewish people in the EU by the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights stated that 76% of Jewish people in the UK who experienced antisemitic harassment did not report it to the police or any other organisation. The Welsh Government calls for more work to encourage victims and witnesses to come forward, whether to the police or via third party reporting, and to highlight the support available to victims of antisemitic hate.



— Christina McKelvie MSP,  
Minister for Equalities and Older People, Scottish Government

This year under the banner of 'Help Make Scotland a Better Place', Police Scotland has launched a campaign to encourage everyone to report incidents of hate that they experience or witness<sup>17</sup>. This Office will be keen to learn if the campaign has led to more reporting and in particular in relation to antisemitic incidents of hate crime.

<sup>17</sup> Police Scotland's hate crime campaign 2022: [Hate Crime - Police Scotland](#)

#### RACE AND/OR RELIGIOUS INCIDENTS

It is one thing for more people to come forward to make reports but it is equally important that the data for reported incidents is properly collated and understood nationally in order to shape the correct policy response and action taken, especially by the police and the justice system. The submissions for this report have suggested a specific reason why the national data is not providing an accurate picture of the scale of the problem and while there is no quick fix for it, a debate is urgently needed on how to resolve the matter.

**We know that many victims of hate crimes remain hesitant when it comes to reporting instances to the police. As such, we have continued to work with our key stakeholders to address under-reporting of hate crime.**

The issue revolves around how antisemitic incidents are recorded, for example as a race or religious hate crime, or as can be the case, both.

Furthermore it is not clear whether a consistent approach to recording antisemitic hate crime has been adopted across the UK and the concern is that this results in the underreporting of incidents.

Police Scotland, for example, states that its immediate priority is improving the accuracy and reliability of hate crime data. The work includes developing the capacity to produce hate crime data that can be disaggregated easily by protected characteristic sub-categories such as race and religion although it is not clear whether antisemitism would be categorised as race or religion.

The approach of various police forces may have something to do with the discussions that took place after the 2006 APPG report although a review of them clearly has the benefit of hindsight and the comments which follow should not be taken as a criticism of the decisions taken.

Firstly the UK Government and other stakeholders agreed that all identities should be protected from hate crime and in November 2007 the then Attorney General and National Policing lead for Hate Crime were firm in rejecting any 'hierarchy of hate'. This also came in the light of the ongoing response of the Government and authorities to the murder of Stephen Lawrence in April 1993.

Subsequently the Equality Act 2010<sup>18</sup> prohibited discrimination in the workplace and in the delivery of public services in relation to "protected characteristics" which include both race and religion. Official guidance for public

bodies on the implementation of the Act offered as an example a local police force finding that the majority of reported hate crime locally was homophobic and that this should be taken into account by the force "in drawing up and implementing its new policy addressing hate crime"<sup>19</sup>.

Case law in England and Wales has gone on to confirm that antisemitism is likely to constitute both racist and religious discrimination, although it should also be noted that in respect of *Seide v Gillette Industries Ltd* [1980] IRLR 427, an employment appeal tribunal ruled that antisemitic comments made by a fellow worker were made because he was a member of the Jewish race, not because of his religion.

Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) guidance allows for antisemitic hate crime anywhere, e.g. abuse in a street, to be dealt with either as racist or religious hate crime<sup>20</sup>. The victim's own perception of what type of hate crime has been experienced will be crucial in determining how the incident will be recorded and taken forward.

At the same time, the Board of Deputies of British Jews has pointed out that the Census in England and Wales does not prompt for Jewish as a potential answer to its ethnic identity question

<sup>18</sup> The Equality Act 2010 was a UK-wide piece of legislation although the Scottish and Welsh devolved administrations were allowed to bring forward their own secondary legislation to implement its principles.

<sup>19</sup> Source – page 7: [Public sector: quick start guide to the public sector Equality Duty - GOV.UK \(www.gov.uk\)](https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/public-sector-quick-start-guide-to-the-public-sector-equality-duty)

<sup>20</sup> CPS guidance: [Racist and Religious Hate Crime - Prosecution Guidance | The Crown Prosecution Service \(cps.gov.uk\)](https://www.cps.gov.uk/publications/racist-and-religious-hate-crime-prosecution-guidance)

which has led to a tendency for some public bodies not to collect relevant data on Jewish residents, as data may be collected on ethnicity but not faith. The Board therefore urges public bodies to include a prompt for 'Jewish' when collecting ethnic status data to ensure that antisemitic incidents and concerns are not missed. The Board also feels that potential confusion lies in the fact that while the Equality Act refers to 'race', most public bodies refer to 'ethnicity'. It recommends an alignment of the two terms.

From 2015-16 for the purposes of Home Office official statistics on hate crime in England and Wales, police forces who returned data manually were required to provide an offence group breakdown for recorded hate crimes. The Home Office states that prior to 2015-16 only an aggregated total of hate crimes for each of the five strands (i.e. race or ethnicity; religion or beliefs; sexual orientation; disability; transgender identity) was asked for. It added that it is possible for more than one of the monitored strands (motivating factors) to be assigned to a crime. For example, an offence could be motivated by hostility to race and religion, so would be counted under both strands but would only constitute one offence.

For data purposes, the Home Office also states that "a hate crime is any criminal offence which is perceived by the victim or any other person to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice based on a person's race or perceived race, or any racial

group or ethnic background including countries within the UK and Gypsy and Traveller groups". In assimilating the Home Office's statement, it is worth bearing in mind that many of those in the aforementioned included groups might be seen of White ethnicity and this includes Jews.

The Home Office publishes annual statistics on hate crime<sup>21</sup> and it found in 2021-22 that seven out of ten such offences (109,843 in a total of 155,841 offences) were racially motivated. The racially motivated crime figures are not broken down according to the victim's ethnicity, but the same bulletin does offer a breakdown of religious hate crime data according to the perceived religion of victims. The publication records: "In year ending March 2022, where the perceived religion of the victim was recorded, two in five (42%) of religious hate crime offences were targeted against Muslims (3,459 offences). The next most commonly targeted group were Jewish people, who were targeted in just under one in four (23%) of religious hate crimes (1,919 offences)". The number of offences against Jewish people significantly increased by 49%.

#### WHY ONLY ONE TYPE OF BREAKDOWN?

It is not immediately obvious why a breakdown is offered for one type of hate crime, i.e. religious, but not for another. However, as the Mayor of

<sup>21</sup> Home Office annual hate crime statistics 2021/22: [Hate crime, England and Wales, 2021 to 2022 - GOV.UK \(www.gov.uk\)](https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2021-to-2022)

Greater Manchester points out in his submission, a police force may break down each recorded incident of race crime to identify antisemitism or Islamophobia for example, but it is not mandatory.

This Office would agree with the Home Office's view that police forces have made significant improvements in how they record hate crime since 2014 but the lack of disaggregated data and clarity in how incidents should be recorded highlight an issue which now needs to be addressed.

The concern is that if police forces are recording incidents of antisemitic hate crime as a race crime (but without passing on the actual disaggregated figures to the Home Office), a true picture of the level of antisemitic hate crime in the UK is not currently available.

The concern is underlined or confused by the fact that victims are encouraged by the True Vision portal to only report incidents as religious hate crime.

One of the devolved governments in its submission referred to a decline in religious hate crime in 2019-20 across its nation and stated: "There are other reasons which could have contributed to this drop, such as religious hate crimes being *mis-recorded as race hate crimes*, but it is likely that many religious hate crimes are going unreported" [our italics]. In other words, in one part of the UK and in contrast to the position in Greater Manchester, it is deemed incorrect to record incidents of antisemitism as a

race hate crime. This Office is led to the inescapable conclusion that across the UK there is a lack of clarity and possibly confusion on whether to treat antisemitism as a race or religious hate crime for data purposes while allowing for the fact that a single incident can be both. This is likely to be a major factor behind incidents of antisemitism being underreported and it is worth repeating that the submissions for this report from governments, police and the judicial authorities were in general agreement that underreporting is a significant problem.

Furthermore this Office would therefore support the Mayor of Greater Manchester's recommendation that "in order to provide a national view of the data collected by police forces, work is required at a national level to ensure this can be provided by individual forces". Progress on disaggregating data would mean that the police and the judicial system could better provide effective, targeted action as well as tackling the issue of underreporting of hate crime and non-crime hate incidents.

On the issue of securing more accurate data, this Office recommends:

- i. Public bodies to include a prompt for 'Jewish' when collecting ethnic status data to help ensure that antisemitic incidents and concerns are not missed.
- ii. The removal of potential confusion in the fact that while the Equality Act

refers to 'race', most public bodies refer to 'ethnicity' and agree on an alignment of the two terms.

- iii.** A review which establishes if the reporting and collating by the police of antisemitic hate incidents as both race and religious hate crimes is resulting in national underreporting of antisemitism and whether change in practice is needed.
- iv.** Jewish organisations to review the training of young Jewish people as advocates in combatting antisemitism and the reporting of it.

*As a footnote to this section and its reference to the UK Government's rejection of 'a hierarchy of hate' in 2007, it is worth noting that David Baddiel returned to the subject in 2021 in his best-selling book "Jews Don't Count" when he observed:*

*"Antisemitism has very little to do with religion". This view is not universally accepted across the Jewish community, but in the context of the issues raised in this section, it presents a further case for asking whether the national data is providing an accurate indication of the amount of antisemitism which is expressed as race hate.*

## RESPONSE OF THE POLICE TO THE INCREASE IN ANTISEMITISM

### MAIN RECOMMENDATION:

**A review is needed on what barriers are preventing more reporting of antisemitic and other hate crime incidents, how these barriers can be overcome and whether enough police investigations into reported incidents are taking place.**

The willingness of police forces and prosecuting authorities across the UK to respond promptly and fully to requests for written evidence for this report is an indication in itself to the significant progress made on tackling antisemitic hate crime since the APPG reports of 2006 and 2015 were published.

The submissions include examples of the positive steps forward and just as important, they demonstrate a clear desire to build on them and improve on the overall response. This is encouraging because sadly the gap between the reporting of the crime incidents and resulting prosecutions appears large. It has also been submitted to this Office that not enough incident reports result in police investigations and that there is still significant room for improvement in terms of police response to hate crime.

Police forces should be strongly commended for encouraging members of the Jewish community to report hate crime incidents and for identifying the reasons why others may be reluctant to do so.

“ **The timing and depth of the 2006 report was hugely important to our response to hate crime in general, as well as to antisemitism in particular.** ”

— *Mark Hamilton, Deputy Chief Constable – Police Service of Northern Ireland and National Policing Lead for Hate Crime*



It is also encouraging that the police are taking seriously incidents of non-crime hate<sup>22</sup> because forces recognise that these incidents can have an adverse and enormous effect on the victim, family members and the wider community. The police point out that both hate crimes and non-crimes can escalate to critical incidents and they should be considered within this context.

Examples of good practice by the police include:

- a. More police forces now value having Jewish officers and staff with these officers passing on experience, for example, to colleagues policing rural communities.
- b. Malicious posting of misinformation online has become an area of focus for the police<sup>23</sup>.
- c. Police forces across the world are regularly sharing information, improving relationships with Jewish communities.
- d. The Metropolitan Police Service has refreshed its key performance indicators to improve victim satisfaction by driving down the number of outstanding named
- e. Greater Manchester Police (GMP) ran an operation ('Operation Wildflower') during the 2021 crisis in the Middle East with victims of antisemitic hate crime in Manchester contacted quickly and antisemitic graffiti removed.
- f. GMP is now working closely with the Crime Prosecution Service at the start of an investigation instead of at the charging decision stage to increase the chances of securing convictions and justice for the victims – the 'early advice' initiative.
- g. West Yorkshire Police (WYP) and Police Scotland are among those forces who have dedicated hate crime co-ordinators and advisers. Police Scotland deploy their advisers to events to help combat possible expressions of antisemitism.
- h. WYP is committed to working with the Union of Jewish Students (UJS) to combat antisemitism on the university campuses in the West Yorkshire region.
- i. All WYP officers and police staff are expected to respond to hate crime and non-crimes in a positive, sympathetic and professional manner.

<sup>22</sup> College of Policing guidance on what constitutes a non-crime hate incident and responding to it: [Responding to non-crime hate incidents | College of Policing](#)

<sup>23</sup> The question of whether the police have sufficient powers in this respect is being considered as part of the deliberations over the UK Government's Online Safety Bill 2022-23: [Government Response to the Report of the Joint Committee on the Draft Online Safety Bill – CP 640 \(publishing.service.gov.uk\)](#)

suspects. It has also launched other initiatives in response to the number of incidents increasing in Greater London by 47%.

Recommendations from the police forces to combat antisemitism include

more interfaith working and more school twinning using The Linking Network (TLN).

In its submission, the National Police Chiefs' Council draws attention to the fall in Crime Survey estimates of 'experienced hate crime' over the past decade contrasting with the increase in recorded hate crime levels (124,091 in 2020-21). The Council believes that the Crime Survey provides evidence that the increases are fuelled by greater reporting rather than more crime. It adds that while there are limitations to the recording methodology in the survey, the data suggests that we have gone from 1-in-6 hate crimes being recorded by the police to 1-in-2 over that decade.

The National Police Chiefs' Council makes an interesting observation that according to official data to March 2021, there were 1,288 antisemitic crimes which accounted for 22% of religious hate crimes. It rightly points out that it is hugely difficult to make comparisons because, for instance, Muslim or Christian are classes of religions but not ethnicities, but 22% is significantly higher than the census estimate of the Jewish population. Or to put it another way, antisemitic hate crime is disproportionately higher than it should be for the size of Britain's Jewish population, now estimated to number approximately 300,000<sup>24</sup>.

The submissions from the police forces suggest reasons for this. Firstly forces have

<sup>24</sup> Data source: [United Kingdom - European Jewish Congress \(eurojewcong.org\)](http://United Kingdom - European Jewish Congress (eurojewcong.org))

developed products and initiatives which have encouraged more reporting since 2006, including the launch of the True Vision website which allows for online reporting direct to the local police. The site receives around 7,000 reports each year.

Secondly police forces have created and maintained formal agreements on how they will share anonymised data with trusted partners, such as the CST, and these are published on True Vision for transparency. Partners contribute to the police chaired 'Hate Crime Gold Group' that monitors community tensions during times of enhanced threat, which may be brought about by critical incidents in the UK or by global events that affect UK communities. The National Police Chiefs' Council regards the Gold Group is a core part of the police's Critical Incident response and it meets to assess the levels of threat and to agree actions to mitigate risk.

In response to the exponential growth in antisemitic hate crime online, one initiative has been a step-up in partnership working with academia and civil society researchers such as the Hate Lab based in Cardiff University, which has developed tools to identify the levels of antisemitic and other types of hostility on several platforms. Analysis of data and activity leads to a better assessment of risk and decision-making on the appropriate response.

The National Police Chiefs' Council's submission included three examples of this, namely: the 2015 terrorist attacks in

Paris; the intensification of Israeli and Palestinian conflict in May 2021; and a planned neo-Nazi march in Golders Green, London in July 2015.

The circumstances around the planned North London march show what can be achieved by the police and community partners working together to tackle hate but at the same time illustrate the limits of their powers to remove it online.



One of the organisers of the proposed march posted the following poster on his website (N.B. the reference to 'white people', i.e. the far-right primarily consider Jews to be a different race, not only a different religion):

The organiser was arrested and given a 3-year sentence and the police were able to restrict the march with minimal attendance at a different location. However the police did not have a power to order the removal of the above material. As it was hosted on the organiser's own server space, there was no intermediary to request intervention

and the website was provided by a 'data-warehouse' that was outside the UK and not cooperative. Of deep concern to this Office is that the UK Government's Online Safety Bill 2022-23 will not, as published, equip the police with the appropriate powers to order removal of hate material in similar circumstances in the future.

## BARRIERS TO REPORTING

### HATE CRIME INCIDENTS

This Office agrees with calls from the police for barriers to reporting incidents to be analysed and addressed. An example of a barrier was the withdrawal of some witnesses after the antisemitic North London convoy incident in May 2021<sup>25</sup>. Indeed the case was dropped against the two men charged with using threatening, abusive or insulting words, or behaviour, with intent, likely to stir up racial hatred.



The National Police Chiefs' Council's submission sets out some of barriers to

<sup>25</sup> Media report of North London convoy incident, 16 May 2021: [Four arrested after reports of anti-Semitic threats being shouted from cars - LBC](#)

reporting incidents. It notes that hate crime victims can exist in small, tight knit communities and many, particularly those in isolated communities, may find it difficult or be reluctant to report to the police directly. Fear of police, fear of reprisals and fear of the criminal justice system are cited as other barriers.

The police advocate the creation of more local partnerships with third party reporting organisations to help encourage increased reporting of both non-crime hate incidents and hate crimes.

Even though the reporting of antisemitic hate incidents reached record levels in 2021, the evidence submitted for this report points to the true number being significantly underreported. The Pinter Trust believes that this is a particularly concerning issue within the Charedi community<sup>26</sup>.

This Office recommends a review takes place on what barriers are preventing the reporting of antisemitic and other hate crime incidents and how these barriers can be overcome to encourage more reporting which in turn should lead to more police investigations. The question has been raised whether relevant police training is up to date, although the College of Policing is certainly aware of the need for it to be so<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> More commonly known as strictly Orthodox Jews.

<sup>27</sup> Police training updated, June 2022:

[Police training to change for all new officers to fight crime | College of Policing](https://www.collegeofpolicing.ac.uk/police-training-to-change-for-all-new-officers-to-fight-crime/)

The foreword of this report refers to the alarming experiences of Jewish children being abused on public transport as they travel to and from school and these incidents are increasingly being reported to the CST. A more visible presence by the police and transport police at selected public transport hubs at the beginning and end of the school day in urban areas where there are sizeable Jewish communities could act as a deterrent. It is recommended that the police and local authorities in Greater London, Greater Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow and Gateshead should conduct a review into this matter to ascertain what action is necessary.

In the light of the written submissions' observations on policing, this Office recommends:

- i. A review on what barriers are preventing the reporting of antisemitic and other hate crime and non-crime hate incidents, how these barriers can be overcome and whether enough police investigations into reported incidents are taking place. This might cover for example whether relevant and regular police training is up to date with new trends of antisemitism.
- ii. The Online Safety Bill sufficiently supporting the police in identifying online hate crime offenders, building on existing legal frameworks.

- iii. A requirement on all police forces throughout the UK to disaggregate recorded race hate crime and non-crime hate incidents to help identify the true number of antisemitic incidents and other hate incidents.
- iv. An increase in the creation of local partnerships with third party reporting organisations to help encourage increased reporting of both non-crime hate incidents and hate crimes.
- v. A more visible presence by the police and transport police at selected public transport hubs at the beginning and end of the school day to protect Jewish school children in areas where there are sizeable Jewish communities.

# RESPONSE OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM TO THE INCREASE IN ANTISEMITISM

## MAIN RECOMMENDATION:

**Governments should establish why so few prosecutions of antisemitic hate crime take place and should work with the prosecuting authorities and the Community Security Trust to address the issue.**

The written evidence, including from the prosecuting authorities themselves, which has been submitted for this report confirms that the Crown Prosecution Service (for England and Wales) and the Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service (for Scotland) are committed to bringing to justice perpetrators of antisemitism when the alleged hate crime falls within the scope of prosecution guidance<sup>28</sup>.

In Scotland, for example, the authorities have adopted a tough line against incidents of hate crime on social media with even the 'liking' or resending of offensive tweets likely to prompt action. The Hate Crime & Public Order (Scotland) Act 2021 has also added the 'stirring up of hatred' to the list of relevant offences and the Minister for Equalities and Older People is chairing a partnership group to develop a new Hate Crime Strategy for expected publication later in 2022.

Nonetheless the gap between the increased

number of reported antisemitic hate incidents and the number of resulting prosecutions is believed to be large, and Jewish representative organisations have made it clear that this is one of their biggest concerns.

Furthermore these organisations feel strongly that action which leads to an increase in prosecutions would be one of the most important and positive outcomes of this report.

They also say that the perceived lack of prosecutions is a significant contributory factor to the underreporting of hate crime because the victims do not see the point in submitting reports.

A huge obstacle to progress is that it is not possible to identify how many hate crimes of alleged antisemitism have been prosecuted in England and Wales because the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) does not disaggregate hate crime prosecution data.

CPS data shows that the volume of all hate crime prosecutions increased from 10,679 in 2020-2021 to 13,073 in 2021-2022, an increase of 22.4%. The conviction rate stood at 85.7% at the end of Quarter 4, 2021-22<sup>29</sup>.

This Office has not been able to obtain from the CPS what proportion of successful prosecutions related to cases of antisemitism. The CPS states that

28 Prosecution guidance for England and Wales:  
[Racist and Religious Hate Crime - Prosecution Guidance | The Crown Prosecution Service \(cps.gov.uk\)](https://www.cps.gov.uk/prosecution-guidance/racist-and-religious-hate-crime)

29 CPS quarterly data: [CPS quarterly data summaries | The Crown Prosecution Service](https://www.cps.gov.uk/prosecution-guidance/cps-quarterly-data-summaries)

disaggregated data is not available beyond ‘the flags’ covering the five monitored strands of hate crime under legislation, namely: disability, homophobic, racial, religious and transphobic.

The CPS must know when prosecuting counsel is going into court armed with a brief that accuses the defendant of committing an antisemitic hate crime and a conviction will confirm that the court has been dealing with a case of antisemitism. Therefore it should surely be possible to add up the number of successful prosecutions for antisemitic hate crime within the circa 11,200 convictions for hate crime overall.

If it is the law which is preventing the publication of further disaggregated data, then the law needs to be reviewed as part of the process instigated by the Law Commission’s 2021 report on hate crime (more of which below). On the other hand, if it is a case of the CPS not wanting to publish prosecution data for cases of antisemitism (or for example Islamophobia), this needs to be rectified.

The number of hate crimes reported to the Procurator Fiscal (COPFS) in Scotland<sup>30</sup> are considerably smaller but in the light of ongoing discussions about the implementation of the Hate Crime & Public Order (Scotland) Act 2021 and the fact that racial and religious hate crime are the first and third most reported types of hate crime in Scotland, the authorities

might wish to consider whether more needs to be done on disaggregation.

Transparency provides reassurance to communities that their concerns are being taken seriously. Full data also helps to inform policymakers in taking decisions on priorities and whether value for money is being delivered within finite budgets, especially when there are major pressures on the public purse. In the opinion of this Office, the current level of transparency on prosecutions is insufficient.

Nevertheless, as with the police, it should be recognised that progress on bringing forward prosecutions has been made since 2006 and particularly 2015. For England and Wales, examples of positive steps include:

- a. The creation of a Digital Case File should lead to better data sharing between police forces and the CPS.
- b. The CPS has improved on its publicising of successful case outcomes which was a recommendation of the 2015 APPG report.
- c. The CPS is committed to improve the victim’s experience with the justice system.
- d. The CPS is striving for more consistency in decision-making across regions and it has local scrutiny and case review panels as well as dedicated hate crime staff.

<sup>30</sup> Hate Crime in Scotland data 2021-22: [hate-crime-2021-22-publication-final.pdf \(copfs.gov.uk\)](https://www.copfs.gov.uk/hate-crime-2021-22-publication-final.pdf)

- e. The CPS recommended the IHRA definition of antisemitism in a newsletter in 2017 to all CPS Area Hate Crime Coordinators, calling it a useful tool to support prosecutors to assess evidence and its relevance when considering charges.
- f. The Covid pandemic has resulted in more interaction between all criminal justice agencies. The CPS has acknowledged that limited join-up had been a legitimate criticism previously.
- g. CPS training has been updated since 2018 while the CPS and CST have worked together to develop guidance for prosecutors.
- h. With regards to the courts' judiciary in England and Wales, the Judicial College improved the Bench Book for training purposes in respect of relevant cases, as recommended by the 2015 APPG report<sup>31</sup>.

In Scotland, positive developments include:

- a. The Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service has issued guidance to Police Scotland on investigating and reporting incidents, including the victim's perception of motive and the impact on the victim.
- b. The Crown Office and Procurator

Fiscal Service has adopted a presumption in favour of prosecution. It takes a tough line on plea negotiation and offers reassurance that cases are taken seriously.

Without further investigation, it would be inappropriate for this report to offer a full critique as to why a perceived limited number of prosecutions have taken place. However it can at least point to areas of concern which should be explored with a view to making improvements.

The first, as stated above, is the absence of disaggregated hate crime data collected and collated by the prosecuting agencies which means that they are unable to say what proportion of reported antisemitic hate crime reaches trial and what the prosecution success rate is for antisemitic hate cases.

As stated in the section on underreporting, case law in England has established that antisemitism is likely to constitute race and religious discrimination because the courts consider Jews to be both a religious and racial group as set out in the previously referenced CPS guidance.

The CPS believes that victims of antisemitism benefit from this because the evidence and circumstances of each incident will be different and the chances of a successful prosecution will be increased if the CPS has the option of choosing between the two or combination of both. CPS has also emphasised that the perception of the victim is crucial in determining how a case will be pursued.

<sup>31</sup> Of particular note, the Bench Book incorporates the IHRA definition of antisemitism, explains 'Zionism' as a term and outlines use of appropriate terminology such as use of 'Jewish person'/'Jew'.

However the legal framework is complex. There is no definitive piece of overarching legislation for hate crime. Instead we have what has been termed “a hotchpotch” of legislation acting as bolt-ons to the Public Order Act 1986.

The complexity has led to the Law Commission instigating its second review of hate crime with a view to ‘codifying’ or simplifying the law and its comprehensive report of December 2021<sup>32</sup> is now being considered by the Home Office.

In terms of protection under the law, the Commission is calling for a levelling up or equalisation of protection for victims of disability or homophobic hate crime. The CPS maintains that Jewish communities (and other races and religious groups) already benefit from the best legal protection already, but it added that all communities will benefit from a new law that puts hate crime under one legal framework.

This would be regarded as a welcome development if it were felt to respond to the view that antisemitism as a hate crime is under prosecuted.

In defence of the CPS, it should be noted that pre-charge receipts from the police for both racial and religious hate crimes have been decreasing<sup>33</sup> which might suggest that at least part of the problem lies somewhere before case files reach the Service.

The difference between the reporting of antisemitic hate crime to the police and resulting prosecutions has been likened to a pyramid where the chances of bringing forward a successful prosecution narrow at the top. Reasons for this narrowing happening can include insufficient evidence from potential witnesses and whether all evidence is sufficient to pass the CPS’s Code Test<sup>34</sup>.

As a result of a recommendation in the 2006 APPG report, the CPS conducted a wide-ranging review with the Metropolitan Police Service, Greater Manchester Police and the CST of reported antisemitic incidents and respective prosecution outcomes. This proved valuable in establishing lack of clear identification of a suspect as a key barrier to successful prosecution and it lay the foundations for continued dialogue with the CST and the Antisemitism Policy Trust.

More recently, the CPS have been working with police forces to try and secure more consistency in approach across England and Wales in pursuing cases and there have been six projects launched since a joint statement<sup>35</sup> was issued with the NPCC in October 2021. Early advice from the CPS on bringing charges, which was referenced in a Greater Manchester submission to us, is one example of a potential area for improvement.

<sup>32</sup> Law Commission report: [Hate Crime | Law Commission](#)

<sup>33</sup> Source: [CPS data summary Quarter 4 2021-2022 | The Crown Prosecution Service](#)

<sup>34</sup> CPS Code Test: [The Code for Crown Prosecutors | The Crown Prosecution Service \(cps.gov.uk\)](#)

<sup>35</sup> Joint statement: [Statement from the CPS and the NPCC on Hate Crime, October 2021 | The Crown Prosecution Service](#)

It is understood in relation to a long-promised, but as yet unpublished, new draft cross-government hate crime strategy, resulting from the Law Commission's review, consideration is being given to make more use of offender diversion<sup>36</sup> (the 'simple caution' scheme) as an alternative to prosecution. This prompts questions of how many reported incidents of antisemitism will then be considered to be "low level" and what kind of message that will send out to victims when the police and other authorities already recognise that barriers to reporting exist.

Out-of-court disposals sit overwhelmingly with the police, but the CPS and the police are working together on pilot initiatives to explore a fresh approach and it has been stressed that a new policy on issuing cautions will not be adopted without the outcomes of the pilots being known. Those involved in the discussions should also be mindful however that in response to the 2015 APPG report, the UK Government referenced increased sentencing for racially aggravated public order offences.

In respect of the CPS improving its external communications as a result of the 2015 APPG recommendation, improvements have been made but room for more remains. A recent example where Jewish communities felt badly let down was the CPS decision in July 2022 to announce publicly without advance

warning to the CST the dropping of charges of stirring up racial hatred against two men who travelled to north London in a "Convoy For Palestine" during the Israeli Palestinian conflict of May 2021.

Submissions for this report suggest that overall progress has been limited on bringing forward prosecutions and a new review, involving the UK and devolved governments, is needed to identify:

- i. action which requires prosecuting authorities (like the police) to further disaggregate hate crime case data to show how many Jews (and members of other communities) have been victimised according to their ethnicity or religion or both;
- ii. how many successful prosecutions of antisemitic hate crime take place in the UK each year;
- iii. why a significant gap seemingly remains between the reporting of antisemitic hate incidents and resulting prosecutions (and how much of that is a police or CPS issue), what the barriers are to securing convictions and what can be done to reduce the gap; and
- iv. whether proposed new Home Office legislation resulting from the Law Commission's report of 2021 is likely to result in more victims of antisemitism receiving justice.

<sup>36</sup> CPS guidance: [Cautioning and Diversion | The Crown Prosecution Service \(cps.gov.uk\)](https://www.cps.gov.uk/cps/guidance/cautioning-and-diversion)

# ANTISEMITISM ON THE INTERNET, SOCIAL MEDIA AND IN MAINSTREAM MEDIA

## MAIN RECOMMENDATION:

**The UK Government must work with online platforms to eradicate antisemitism online and hold those accountable who knowingly fail to block their systems from promoting it.**

## WEBSITES AND SOCIAL MEDIA

The police and the prosecuting authorities make clear in their submissions how big a factor social media has become in increasing the amount of antisemitic hate crime across the world.

Other submissions point to the extent it is fuelling hate among young people across some of the most popular platforms, such as TikTok and Instagram. There has been an alarming growth in white supremacist and neo-Nazi organisations using social media to garner support in younger age groups.

As a recent example, a UNESCO survey<sup>37</sup> with support of the World Jewish Council found that 49% of Holocaust-related content on Telegram denies or distorts the facts. The same study identified that on Twitter, 19% of posts denied or distorted while a separate snapshot survey by the Anti-Defamation League over a 9-week period in early 2022 found that Twitter only removed 5% of reported antisemitic posts which were “easy to spot”. A report published by the Antisemitism Policy Trust and CST found that there are

approximately two antisemitic tweets for every Jewish person in the UK per year.<sup>38</sup>

Of course when the 2006 APPG report was published, social media was in its infancy. But far-right groups, in particular, were promoting antisemitic messages on a wide range of websites, often making materials available via international payment systems.

One of the APPG's recommendations was that all providers of online payments systems adopt Offensive Material Policies which they undertake to actively police and that these organisations have clear mechanisms for members of the public to report any breaches of the policy.

The challenge for governments was that the internet was largely unregulated although this was to change, partly prompted by the issues raised in the report. By 2010, progress had been made and one of the leading payment providers discreetly cancelled some accounts. Nonetheless the problem very much remains and the development of cryptocurrencies adds to the need for a review<sup>39</sup>.

The 2006 report arguably led the way in recommending the closing down of antisemitic websites, especially in USA. In fact, 56 countries took action after 2010.

## 38 Antisemitism on Twitter: [APT-Twitter-Report-2021-Draft-4.pdf \(antisemitism.org.uk\)](https://www.antisemitism.org.uk/APT-Twitter-Report-2021-Draft-4.pdf)

### 39 Cryptocurrency report 2022: [Crypto-Report.pdf \(antisemitism.org.uk\)](#)

With social media as the gamechanger, matters were very different though by the time the APPG started taking evidence for its 2015 report. As late as 2011, only 12 of 609 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST were from social media whereas in July and August 2014 it was 130 out of 541 incidents.

Understandably the Parliamentarians devoted a section of their report to what the response should be to this development and they recommended that further research be carried out into the sources, patterns, nature and reach of the antisemitism on social media. They rightly believed that such learning could help to identify the most appropriate responses and effective deployment of resources to combat hate online.

The APPG's recommendations were well heeded. After 2015, the police were mandated to implement an 'online flag' for all crimes recorded with an online nature. The UK Government addressed online harms in its 2016 Action Plan, which the APPG fed into, and at the urging of the APPG convened ministerial seminars in 2017 to address concerns about hate on social media.

Since the inquiry, the CST has published figures relating to online antisemitism and the CST in partnership with the Antisemitism Policy Trust have published no less than four key pieces of research into online harms<sup>40</sup> including one

which identified **#chemtrails** as the most popular hashtag associated with antisemitic conspiracy theories<sup>41</sup>.

The Antisemitism Policy Trust has also published research with Hope Not Hate, and CST has published its own work in this area. Though there is limited data, this is an increasingly better understood subject as a result of this work.

Other positive steps forward include the Crown Prosecution Service in its Social Media Guidelines requiring hate crimes to be identified as such at an early stage and flagged on the Case Management System, regardless of whether they are charged as hate crimes. The CPS continues to maintain regular engagement with key groups about this and other issues.

In February 2018, in response to a report by the Committee on Standards in Public Life, the UK Government directed the Law Commission to review existing communications legislation (namely the Malicious Communications Act 1988 and the Communications Act 2003), to ensure what is illegal offline is also considered illegal online. That report has since fed into the Online Safety Bill process.

Before commenting on the Online Safety Bill 2022-23, it is important to acknowledge the substantial input which the submissions for this report, including those from the police and the prosecuting authorities, have offered on antisemitic

40 Joint research publications into online harms:  
[Policy Briefings & Reports – Antisemitism Policy Trust](#)

41 Source on hashtags:  
[Instagram-Report.1630924369.pdf \(cst.org.uk\)](#)

hate online. Recommendations and comments from stakeholders include:

- a. Anonymity makes it harder for law enforcement to pursue instigators of hate crime on social media. Servers based abroad make the task even harder.
- b. Algorithms should not be an excuse by platforms to duck responsibility for the appearance of online hate.
- c. Virtual Private Network (VPN) providers should cooperate with the authorities in tacking online hate because the voluntary response is not working.
- d. In Scotland, the Procurator Fiscal takes a tough line with 'liking' and re-sending of tweets counting as a possible offence.
- e. Freedom of speech should be restricted if this prevents crime or disorder.
- f. 81% of Welsh people want to see social media companies do more to reduce hate on their platforms, according to research cited by the Welsh Government<sup>42</sup>.
- g. The Online Safety Bill should be used for authorities, including Ofcom, and platform providers to be clear in their understanding of antisemitism and to be ready to move at speed to address it. The voluntary approach has been described as "woefully inadequate" and there is a strong view that Ofcom needs to get on top of it.
- h. The UK should consider the impact and lessons learned from Germany's NetzDG Act 2017 and its subsequent amendment in making platforms actively support the eradication of hate online.
- i. The Metropolitan Police Service has called for government and service providers to review how to better safeguard victims of online abuse.
- j. An antisemitic far-right narrative, promoted by white supremacist<sup>43</sup> and neo-Nazi groups, is on the increase online and many young people are susceptible to it.
- k. Social media plays a big part in Holocaust distortion, e.g. anti-vaxers wearing yellow stars, as Lord Pickles, UK Special Envoy for Post-Holocaust Issues, has made clear. Denials are expressed about the number of victims and attempts are made to rewrite history on the involvement of collaborators.

The Antisemitism Policy Trust has coordinated with Jewish communal organisations in response to the proposed Online Safety Bill. The Trust has published a briefing on the proposed legislation<sup>44</sup> and its chief executive has given further evidence to the House of

<sup>42</sup> HOPE not hate, August 2021 (page 33): [Welsh-fh-2021-07-v21Oct.pdf \(hopenothate.org.uk\)](https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/Welsh-fh-2021-07-v21Oct.pdf)

<sup>43</sup> The recent social media postings of Ye, formerly known as Kanye West, and NBA All-Star Kyrie Irving with their millions of young followers worldwide show however that the narrative is not confined to white supremacists. Ye alone has over 31 million followers on Twitter while Kyrie Irving has over 17 million Instagram followers.

<sup>44</sup> Antisemitism Policy Trust briefing on Online Safety Bill: [Online-Safety-Bill-Briefing.pdf \(antisemitism.org.uk\)](https://www.antisemitism.org.uk/Online-Safety-Bill-Briefing.pdf)

Commons Public Bill Committee<sup>45</sup>. The Trust's main proposals about the Online Safety Bill are:

**i. Different duties of care required according to how an online platform is categorised**

The Online Safety Bill has been structured so that different duties of care (e.g. ensuring that illegal content is not online and where it is, removing it swiftly) apply according to the categorisation of a platform, i.e. Category I and Category 2.

One of the criteria for requiring a greater onus for care is whether a platform is aimed at adults or children and naturally there are higher protections for children. The concern is a number of platforms will argue they are not designed for or aimed at children, or have minimum standards in place to avoid being classed as such.

Small but high harm, high risk platforms including Bitchute, Gab and 4Chan house extreme racist, misogynist, homophobic and other extremist content that radicalises and incites harm. The murderous attack in a synagogue in Pittsburgh in October 2018, and deadly Islamophobic attacks, like the Christchurch Mosque attacks of March 2019, were carried out by men who were, at least in part,

radicalised online and who signalled their intent to attack online.

It therefore recommends that risk be a factor in the classification process determining which companies are placed in Category I.

**ii. People left open to harm through search engines**

Antisemitism Policy Trust research has found that changes to Google's algorithm reduced antisemitic searches. The Trust has also worked with Microsoft Bing on similar issues, including its search bar promoting users towards the phrase 'Jews are b\*\*\*\*\*ds'. Exemptions in the Bill to the duties on search systems might equally apply to Amazon Alexa or the Siri service, despite these facilities directing people to antisemitic content.

Search engine design features that lead to legal harms should follow similar requirements for user-to-user platforms.

**iii. Tackling anonymous online hate crime**

Category I companies will be required to give users the ability to "filter out non-verified users" as part of the "user empowerment duties", but problematic anonymous accounts are also commonplace on small platforms.

If a crime or a libel has been committed in the UK on regulated technologies and companies in scope cannot or will

<sup>45</sup> Evidence from Danny Stone MBE (columns 128-140); [PBC004\\_OnlineSafety\\_1st17th\\_Compilation\\_29\\_06\\_2022.pdf](https://www.parliament.uk/documents/PBC004_OnlineSafety_1st17th_Compilation_29_06_2022.pdf)

not provide proof of identity, where a magistrate's court order demands it (subject to an appropriate burden of proof), then a range of options should be considered. The Trust believes that the civil or criminal liability should pass to the platform itself and fines or other corrective measures could be put in place.

Elon Musk's purchase of Twitter is likely to prompt some rethinking about the approach to the implementation of social media legislation. The idea of thousands of Twitter employees ultimately moderating content appears no longer to be Twitter's policy.

The implementation of the law should require social media companies to cooperate with the police when their users break other laws, such as inciting targeted violence. Twitter's purchase also strengthens the hand of the UK regulator in holding platforms to account over failures to identify users who libel or promote hate crime, including anonymously, so that victims can take action.

This Office will want to consider the effectiveness in implementing the forthcoming Online Safety Act once sufficient time allows its impact on antisemitism to be assessed in detail.

### MAINSTREAM MEDIA

While the sheer volume of race hate on social media has prompted legislators to act, it would be premature to believe that

antisemitism in the mainstream media has become a lesser issue, much of which has been linked to events in the Middle East.

A successful outcome of the 2006 APPG report was the prompting of governments to review the issue of offensive messages being broadcast into their countries from overseas. Over the next few years several UK ministerial events took place to consider the propagation of harm both broadcast and online, and Ofcom took action to revoke the licence of the Iranian-owned Press TV and fine the UAE-based Peace TV. It should be noted of course that even if TV channels are removed from broadcast satellites, they can be watched live on their respective websites and therefore the danger of harm spreading never goes away.

In the UK, the APPG report had been preceded by a BBC report a year earlier into biased reporting of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict which had found "identifiable shortcomings" but no "deliberate or systematic bias" within the Corporation. By 2008 the UK Government had agreed to fund the Society of Editors (SoE) to produce a guide for the media on the role and responsibility of moderators. The focus of that report changed somewhat over time and it became a survey and best practice guide for those under the SoE umbrella.

When the APPG reported in 2015, the media landscape had evolved further. The 24-hour news cycle was a reality and newspapers had invested considerably

in their digital output. In respect of the latter, the Parliamentarians addressed the issue of readers' posting hateful comments underneath articles. Their report recommended that the Editors' Code of Practice be reviewed and that the relevant section be extended to give recourse for groups to complain about discrimination on the grounds of race or religion whilst ensuring a sensible balance for freedom of speech.

The Editor's Code of Practice, which is applied by IPSO, was reviewed in 2017 by its Code Committee. In relation to discrimination and freedom of expression, the Review received a number of proposed amendments, including:

- a. a suggestion that complaints relating to groups might be accepted, subject to a public interest test;
- b. a prohibition on incitement to hatred;
- c. a new provision prohibiting levelling of abuse; and
- d. a new provision prohibiting material overwhelmingly comprising entirely negative stereotypes or stigmatisation of a group.

Disappointingly, the Code Committee concluded that "none of these suggestions would produce a workable formula – in particular in points already covered by the law, which the Code seeks to supplement rather than echo or replace". The Editor's Codebook still specifies that

Clause 12 (Discrimination) "does not cover generalised remarks about groups or categories of people", as such "would inhibit debate on important matters, would involve subjective views and would be difficult to adjudicate upon without infringing on the freedom of expression of others".

However, the Committee did welcome a suggestion by the APPG that the Codebook should explicitly outline the circumstances in which a representative group affected by an alleged breach can bring a complaint, subject to substantial public interest. It determined that IPSO may consider such a complaint "where an alleged breach of the Editors' Code is significant and there is substantial public interest in the regulator considering the complaint from a representative group affected by the alleged breach".

A subsequent review of the Code took place three years later. The Antisemitism Policy Trust was invited to present to a focus group and there was public agreement that a change to the code would be welcome. In this regard however the Code Committee once again refused such a change. The IMPRESS regulatory body, as part of its regulatory code, does consider discrimination against groups. Engagement with IPSO on this point continues.

In a 2016 update report, the UK Government maintained that the process of making complaints regarding media content was clear and comprehensive. It did however recommend that an

“

**Traditional media remains a concern.**

**Neither IMPRESS nor IPSO are universally recognised by media outlets, and many recognise neither. The BBC still continues, to a large extent, ‘mark its own homework’. Greater accountability needs to be introduced.**

”

— *Board of Deputies of British Jews*

appropriate group produce specific guidance for the Jewish community and encourage all regulators to contribute to this production. This never happened and this Office believes that the matter should now be revisited.

A further reason for initiating a review has more frequent problematic media portrayals of Orthodox Jewish (Charedi) people over the last five years. The Pinter Trust has drawn this Office’s attention to examples of press coverage, including a national newspaper’s seriously misleading headline ‘Prime Minister Condemns Charedi Forced Marriages’, which only serve to spread a new set of tropes such as many oppressed and unhappy women and girls within the community and encourage anti-Charedi hate. It is not unreasonable for the Charedim to feel that individual experiences can be imputed upon a whole community or system and disproportionate attention and focus are given to alleged misdemeanours or problems.

In summary, only limited progress on developing on the Editors’ Code of

Practice has been made since 2015. Given the diversity of mechanisms that exist for registering complaints about media content, the UK Government should identify the most suitable agency to produce a guide for consumers which sets out roles, responsibilities and grievance procedures in plain terms for all.

As an independent observer, this Office felt it necessary to request a meeting with the Director-General of the BBC in January 2022 to discuss the BBC’s coverage of antisemitic incidents such as the Texas synagogue hostage taking during the same month and the abuse aimed at Jewish passengers on a bus in central London during the Chanukah festival the previous November. Jewish representative bodies have also made complaints on several occasions about remarks made on BBC Arabic Service which they believe have ‘crossed a line’.

Following the meeting with the Director-General, this Office is hopeful that there will be far less grounds for complaint directed towards the BBC in the future.

With regard to the world wide web, social media and mainstream media, this Office has the following recommendations:

- i. The UK Government must work with online platforms to eradicate antisemitism online and hold those accountable who knowingly fail to block it.
- ii. Governments must address again the issue of platforms using payment systems to allow web users to access harmful materials in the light of the growth of cryptocurrencies.
- iii. The Editors' Code of Practice for the mainstream media in dealing with complaints needs review and a new guide for consumers is required which sets out roles, responsibilities and grievance procedures in plain terms for all.
- iv. The media should endeavour to improve its understanding of the Orthodox Jewish (Charedi) community to stop the promotion of existing or new tropes.
- v. The newsrooms of the BBC and other news outlets are not sufficiently familiar with the realities of the lives of the Jewish community and they should undergo the same half-day training that politicians have received from the Antisemitism Policy Trust and the Community Security Trust.

# CIVIC SOCIETY'S RESPONSE TO ANTISEMITISM

## MAIN RECOMMENDATION:

**Multi-year government funding is needed for the security of Jewish communities to support physical guarding and interfaith initiatives.**

The APPG reports of 2006 and 2015 galvanised governments and public bodies into tackling antisemitism in civic society, leaving a lasting impact but one which needs to be sustained.

The submissions for this report point to areas of public life where the UK could still do better and two stand out:

- a. Ensuring the long-term safety of Jewish communities by protecting schools, synagogues, other meeting places and neighbourhoods.
- b. Building on interfaith initiatives, particularly between Jews and Muslims, to counter antisemitic hate and Islamophobia, which needs a commitment to long-term funding support from government.

On the issue of safety, the 2006 APPG report recognised a pre-existing and excellent working relationship between the Community Security Trust (CST) and police which continues to this day and has deepened since the report.

The UK Government welcomed the APPG's recommendation for intensified co-operation and in 2014 stipulated that there were regular data sharing (anonymised) meetings at local and national level between the police and

the CST, which allowed a comparison between their two sets of data and promoted discussions with local police where discrepancies had arisen. This practice remains in place.

Nevertheless the APPG felt it necessary to call on the Government to provide a greater level of support in addressing the security needs of British Jews, especially with reference to their places of worship and schools<sup>46</sup>. There followed a one-off £1 million payment from the Home Office towards Jewish communal security in Scotland. Discussions took place with the then Labour administration to ensure Jewish and other faith schools within the state sector in England were able to properly secure their pupils against the threat of terrorism. The agreed funding was made available to all faith communities, subject to application, and it is administered by the CST for the Jewish community. Subsequently under the Coalition Government after 2010, there was agreement that the perpetrators of attacks against the Jewish community would not discern between state and non-state provision and so all schools should be able to access the relevant fund.

The 2015 APPG report made clear that the Jewish communal exposure to, and threat from, terrorist activity remained significant and unabated. In response, Prime Minister David Cameron announced a combined total of £11.9 million funding for Jewish communal

<sup>46</sup> It is estimated that there are currently at least 400 synagogues and well over 1,000 large and small Jewish organisations.

security. Mr Cameron promised that renewed funding would be made available every year “for as long as necessary”.

Recognised by many as a world leader in what it does, the CST has now shouldered the responsibility of engaging with the UK Government (and the Protective Security Grant funding is now supplied by the Home Office<sup>47)</sup> on an annual basis to seek to maintain the funding which is an essential component of Jewish communal security. To date, that funding has continued but it is regrettable that governments have been unable to make a firmer long-term commitment to the ongoing necessity and requirement for the support. So while the APPG’s recommendations seeking greater resource to protect the Jewish community against threats have been heeded, this Office now calls on the UK Government to bring forward a multi-year and inflation-linked funding agreement to support the CST and other charities and groups with a proven track-record for helping Jewish communities to feel and be safe. It also notes the view of Salford City Council that more protection of places of worship is needed.

Other examples of security best practice recommended to this Office in supporting victims of hate crime are CATCH in London and SAFE! In the Thames Valley. Both charities offer safe spaces to talk and receive advice including

how to report a crime, and SAFE! runs a highly regarded Young Victim Support service which offers young people between six and twelve one-to-one sessions with a professional worker.

### PROTECTING THE CHAREDI COMMUNITY

The UK is home to the third largest Charedi community in the world after Israel and USA. More commonly known as strictly Orthodox Jews and described as the ‘most religiously observant’ Jews, they approximately number 80,000 people and are the fastest growing part of the British Jewish community.

The Charedi community is concentrated in London, Manchester and Gateshead and it constitutes about a quarter of British Jews. In recent years, some members of the North London community have moved out to Canvey Island and Westcliff in Essex where there are now flourishing communities.

The Pinter Trust has pointed out that Charedi people have seen a marked increase in hostility expressed towards them because of their faith, and sometimes cultural, practices. As well as the media focus on alleged oppression of women and girls, popular tropes about the community include tyrannical theocratic leadership; children given unsafe and sub-standard education; a community that shuns wider society; and widespread poverty and welfare dependence.

The Trust makes a compelling argument that a key reason anti-Charedi hatred is

<sup>47</sup> Protective Security Grant announcement, April 2022: [Protective security grant funding for Jewish institutions to continue - GOV.UK \(www.gov.uk\)](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/protective-security-grant-funding-for-jewish-institutions-to-continue)

a fertile channel for anti-Jewish hatred is that the role of religion in society has markedly declined. Secular and humanist positions have become much more dominant, and in this context, Charedi people and their norms have been highlighted as ‘extremist’, ‘backward’ and ‘intolerant’. Taking this into account and the fact that it is the most visible part of the Jewish community, with marked differences in appearance and cultural practice, the Charedi community is often acknowledged to attract a high level of antisemitism compared to other Jews.

Written evidence for this report records that in addition to the vital role which the CST plays in offering protection to all parts of the Jewish community, the Shomrim neighbourhood patrol groups have since 2008 made the streets of London and Greater Manchester safer where Charedi people live. After initial doubts were expressed by some local police forces about the patrols, relationships between Shomrim and the police are stronger and the co-operation has helped secure arrests in relation to all types of crime as well as help find missing persons.

Salford City Council facilitates the Salford Orthodox Jewish Forum, which this Office believes is an example of effective partnership working in action. The Forum seeks to facilitate consultation, engagement and action with the Orthodox Jewish community and includes a broad range of statutory, business and third sector organisations. Similarly the Mayor of Greater

Manchester has drawn attention to the Jewish Support and Engagement programme which is a multi-agency programme that aims to develop engagement with Jewish communities to improve services, particularly in relation to safeguarding and support for children and vulnerable people. The primary districts covered are Salford, Bury and City of Manchester, where the majority of the Orthodox Jewish communities reside.

While these are encouraging developments, this Office believes that representatives of the Charedi community should be involved in ongoing discussions on implementing the recommendations of this report which the UK and the devolved governments choose to take forward.

### DEVELOPING INTERFAITH INITIATIVES

One of the deserving beneficiaries of sustained public funding would be Stand Up! which is an anti-discrimination interfaith project, led by Maccabi GB and CST, which brings Muslim and Jewish educators into the classroom to facilitate informal conversations with young people. Through interactive workshops, students aged 11 to 18 are empowered to learn about and act against racism and discrimination with a specific focus on antisemitism and anti-Muslim hate. The students are provided with the tools on how to report hate crime, whilst developing their sense of social responsibility to their local communities and British society as a whole. The Stand Up! project reaches over 10,000 young

people every year, inspiring a network of Upstanders<sup>48</sup> around the country.



The need to support interfaith initiatives has never been more acute. The 2006 APPG report observed that a minority of Islamist extremists in this country do incite hatred towards Jews. The Parliamentarians added that the undoubted prejudice and difficulties that British Muslims feel and their justified sense of increasing Islamophobia cannot be used to justify antisemitic words and violence.

In a submission for this report, the charity Muslims Against Antisemitism (MAAS) agrees that the APPG's finding remains of significant importance. In the organisation's opinion, risks of antisemitic attacks are "high, real and an ongoing concern". Like others, MAAS highlights data which show that antisemitic incidents involving perpetrators of 'Middle Eastern' or 'South Asian' appearance spike at times when there is conflict in the Middle East and between Israel and Palestine.

<sup>48</sup> The Alan Senitt Upstanders Leadership Programme: [Programmes | My Site \(standupeducation.org\)](http://Programmes | My Site (standupeducation.org))

Progress has been made since the 2006 APPG report, such as the Muslim Council of Britain's opposition to the Holocaust Memorial Day being dropped and the Council now attending the annual event, but MAAS argues that some Muslim networks are not properly seeing strong connecting points between Islamist extremism and antisemitism. The organisation comments: "The fact is that one of the underpinning factors within Islamist extremism is a worldview that is based on the perception of the victimisation of Muslims perpetrated by 'Jewish power' or the undermining of 'Muslim leaders' or 'the Muslim Ummah' by Jews (in this context – 'Ummah' means the wider 'community' of Muslims). These strong connecting points cannot be simply overlooked or brushed aside and they have been circulated by Islamist preachers, leaflets and websites over the last four decades".

The MAAS submission records that the events in the Middle East of May/June 2021 led to a suspension in tangible leadership contacts between British Muslim and Jewish communities, referring to a sense of hopelessness that had crept in at leadership levels. MAAS highlighted ongoing problems in the development of a younger leadership, who would be willing to speak up openly and vocally against antisemitism. According to the organisation, this is mainly because of a fear of online or offline harassment and the targeting by individuals or groups who seek to maintain fissures between both communities, or by those who seek to

shout down voices who want a future based on understanding, empathy and allyship.

The Abraham Accords offer a range of opportunities to deepen cooperation with Muslim leaders and Muslim communities in this country and around the world and this initiative needs to be moved up the political agenda. We recommend that The Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO) takes a stronger lead in promoting this.

Despite the more recent challenges, joint initiatives between Jewish and Muslim communities have continued to develop and grow since 2006 and representations from Jewish organisations for this report make clear that Jewish communities need to tackle their own racism within, including anti-Black prejudice.

The Inter Faith Network, which receives UK Government support, publishes an interfaith guide<sup>49</sup> that offers practical guidelines and examples of how to set up inclusive local interfaith forums. The Three Faiths Forum and Joseph Interfaith Foundation are amongst those that continue to develop such projects and there are others too.

In her submission, London's Deputy Mayor for Policing And Crime praises the work of the Muslim-Jewish Forum in Hackney and Nisa-Nashim which brings Muslim and Jewish women together to promote

<sup>49</sup> Toolkit guide: [Faiths Working Together Toolkit - Resources - The Inter Faith Network \(IFN\)](#)

understanding and shared experience. The Deputy Mayor believes that their work could be extended nationally. The Mayor Of Greater Manchester has identified in his submission community partnerships which make a difference including the Greater Manchester Muslim Jewish Forum which has forged many friendships between Muslims and Jews across the region.

In Wales, the Welsh Government-led Faith Communities Forum facilitates dialogue between the Welsh Government and faith communities on any matters affecting economic, social and cultural life in Wales. The Forum meets biannually, is chaired by the Minister for Social Justice and is attended by Jewish, Muslim and other faith leaders. To enable more frontline support, engaging more directly with communities to mitigate community tensions, the Welsh Government has provided increased funding of £1.12m per year since 2019-20 to expand its Community Cohesion Programme and recruit small teams of cohesion officers.

The Scottish Government has started work to develop a new strategy for engagement with faith and belief communities that will provide a forum for joint working and discussion on a range of policy topics and issues.

For England, the UK Government decided in 2011 to abolish the Faith Communities Consultative Council after initially responding positively to a recommendation in the 2006 APPG

report that the Council's work should be supported. Some local authorities and metro mayors have stepped up to fill the gap on a local basis<sup>50</sup> and communal interfaith dialogue continues. Nevertheless relations between major faith groups are not necessarily as strong as they could or might have been, though there are varying reasons for this.

Following the publication of the 2015 APPG report, the UK Government invested £9.5 million over two years in the Near Neighbours project for local interfaith and community resilience projects in England. More recently, the UK Government's Independent Adviser for Social Cohesion and Resilience, Dame Sara Khan, launched a welcome consultation "to understand the harm extremism is causing local communities, build resilience against it and better support victims, local authorities and civil society who are working to counter harmful extremist activity which is undermining social cohesion and our democratic freedoms"<sup>51</sup>.

## PUBLIC SECTOR AND OTHER CIVIC SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

In addition to the support given by them to security and interfaith initiatives, the track-record of local authorities and other public bodies in addressing antisemitism

<sup>50</sup> For example Salford Interfaith Forum receives support from Salford City Council to carry out a programme of interfaith awareness activities to promote shared understanding.

<sup>51</sup> Independent Review of Social Cohesion and Resilience: [Independent Review of Social Cohesion and Resilience: call for evidence - GOV.UK \(www.gov.uk\)](https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/independent-review-of-social-cohesion-and-resilience-call-for-evidence)

has generally been encouraging in terms of response to the 2015 APPG report.

As the APPG made clear, local authorities have a responsibility to bring people together during times of foreign conflict to strengthen inter-communal ties and to avoid isolating or inspiring fear in constituents they are elected to represent.

A move in 2016 by the UK Government to ban public institutions from imposing their own international boycotts unless such restrictions had already been implemented by the Government was subsequently subject to a High Court challenge. The Government has since committed to strengthen the law on this but the original announcement has had a positive impact.

This Office believes that more closer partnerships with local authorities and public bodies could play a larger role in tackling antisemitism, building on the progress made since 2015.

## CIVIC SOCIETY ADOPTING THE IHRA DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

The case for a working definition of antisemitism to assist in addressing this form of racism in civic society had already been recognised by the European Union before 2006 through the work of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia. It was under consideration by the UK Parliament and the 2006 APPG report recommended that the EU's working definition should be adopted and promoted by the UK Government and law enforcement agencies.

The UK was the first country to adopt the working definition after it was endorsed in 2016 by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA). In January 2017, the then Secretary of State for Communities wrote to all local authority leaders recommending its adoption by them as a “non-binding but important tool”.

The definition is now used by the UK Government, Scottish Government, Welsh Government, over 250 local authorities and other employers in civic society in addition to the other 35 member countries of the IHRA, observer nations and the European Parliament. Beyond the public sector, prosecuting authorities and universities, trade unions and numerous football clubs<sup>52</sup> in Europe have adopted it. Representations have been received that more professional bodies and trade unions should use it.

Following its own adoption in 2017, Greater Manchester Combined Authority encouraged Greater Manchester local authorities to take steps to adopt the working definition. This Office agrees with the Mayor’s recommendation that work should be undertaken nationally to encourage other public bodies to do the same. In its submission, Bury Council expresses concern that after adoption, some local authorities and public bodies only pay

lip-service to the definition and calls for advice to be provided on how it should be implemented in practice.

The Board of Deputies of British Jews has also observed a lack of proactive tackling of antisemitism by some organisations and the lack of knowledge sometimes evident. The Board believes that best practice guidance should be developed so that organisations avoid supporting or nurturing antisemitism.

The Antisemitism Policy Trust shares the belief that more needs to be done, i.e. organisations must not just ‘sign up and forget’. Having published some guidance of its own, it calls for a suite of training and support materials to accompany the definition to ensure that the definition is not misused and therefore undermined.

### RACISM IN THE WORKPLACE

Amidst the concerns, it is perhaps surprising that the submissions for this report did not raise the issue of antisemitic behaviour in the workplace. Most employers are aware of their obligations under the Equality Act 2010 not to discriminate on the grounds of a colleague being religiously observant. This is not to say that antisemitism does not occur at work – far from it – and this Office agrees with the observation in the TUC report ‘Still Rigged – Racism in the UK Labour Market 2022’<sup>53</sup> which stated:

<sup>52</sup> Mindful of how in recent years antisemitism has become entangled with sectarianism and football in Scotland, the Scottish Government has proactively addressed the issue, for example drawing on best practice from Borussia Dortmund in the Bundesliga. This Office has also been vocal in supporting efforts to stop the use of the Y-word in stadiums across the UK amid growing signs that it was being used by rival supporters as a form of abuse.

<sup>53</sup> TUC research, August 2022: [2 in 5 BME workers experience racism at work – new TUC report | TUC](#)

“

**Employers have a duty to take action to prevent racism at work. Bosses must ensure that they take measurable steps to prevent situations in which their employees are at risk of encountering racism.**

”

— TUC report ‘*Still Rigged – Racism in the UK Labour Market 2022*

A previous TUC survey in 2017 found that Jewish workers experienced wide-ranging antisemitism in their workplaces and often felt unable to talk to their union due to the extent of the problem. Another recent survey found that 39% of British Jews have tried to hide the fact that they are Jewish in public and union representatives have been advised that Jewish people can be a hidden minority and workers may be unaware a colleague is Jewish. The TUC advises union representatives that antisemitic behaviour is always unacceptable and should be challenged whether there are Jewish people present or not.

Based on the evidence presented for this report, this Office has a number of recommendations to improve interfaith and community resilience as follows:

i. The UK Government should bring forward an inflation linked multi-year funding agreement for the Protective

Security Grant to support the CST and other charities and groups with a proven track-record for helping Jewish communities to feel safe.

- ii. More support and funding should be available for joint Jewish and Muslim initiatives and multi-agency approaches. Interfaith organisations should in turn promote joint leadership programmes for young Jews and Muslims.
- iii. No annual survey for monitoring community tensions exists nationally although police forces conduct surveys in some areas. The UK Government in cooperation with the devolved nations should rectify this.
- iv. More closer partnerships with local authorities and public bodies could play a larger role in tackling antisemitism, building on the progress made since 2015.

v. All public bodies and universities should use the IHRA working definition of antisemitism and best practice should be shared on how it can be used to full advantage.

vi. Employers and trade unions should continue to work together to adopt a zero-tolerance approach to antisemitism in the workplace.

# POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND ANTISEMITISM

## MAIN RECOMMENDATION:

**The mainstream political parties must unite to stop the spread of antisemitism and race hate especially to young people, including countering the increase from neo-Nazi groups.**

The political landscape over which the dark cloud of antisemitism sits has changed markedly since the two APPG reports were published in 2006 and 2015.

The 2006 report expressed the hope that antisemitism promoted by far-right groups had become less of an issue after Britain had battled for 30 years against the scourge of the National Front and the British Nationalist Party.

Little did the authors of the 2015 report know that the Labour Party was about to become engulfed in turmoil over how it dealt with serious allegations of antisemitism within its membership.

This report can justifiably point to considerable progress which has directly resulted from actions taken in response to both sets of APPG recommendations, but at the same time it shows that the battle is far from won at either end of the political spectrum. It is a major reason another review was considered necessary and why a cross-party united front on the part of the mainstream political parties is now required to reinvigorate the fight against the resurgence of antisemitism. The model of cross-party cooperation on antisemitism through the APPG Against Antisemitism is one

that is now considered international best practice. It is vital for the future of the Jewish community in this country that a non-sectarian approach to tackling antisemitism is continued.

Social media has unquestionably propelled the resurgence of antisemitism into the mainstream of political dialogue. Younger generations, including future political leaders, are regularly exposed to messages of race hate without challenge and according to data collected by the CST, antisemitic attacks are often instigated by young people. Unless governments, the criminal justice system, our schools and universities, and all forms of media get more of a grip on the issue now, the spread of antisemitic discourse will continue to grow.

Since 2015, the discourse surrounding Brexit, Labour's difficulties, the Israeli/Palestinian conflict of 2021 and Covid 19 vaccinations has contributed to making the threat in the UK more acute.

Globally the resurgence of antisemitism is increasing being led by the growth of neo-Nazi and white supremacist groups.

To coincide with the tenth anniversary of the first APPG report, the UK Government backed the launch of 'Combating Antisemitism: A British Best Practice Guide'<sup>54</sup> at the March 2016 conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Coalition for Combatting Antisemitism.

<sup>54</sup> Best practice guide for international governments and parliaments: [Combating-Antisemitism.pdf](https://www.combatingantisemitism.org.uk/)

This was designed to share British good practice in countering antisemitism and to act as a guide for international parliaments or governments seeking to adapt and implement similar models in their own jurisdictions. The guide contained 10 key findings including for example involving in subsequent work Parliamentarians who were not generally known for speaking out on matters concerning antisemitism. This guide is still relevant today.

### ANTISEMITISM ON THE LEFT

What happened in the Labour Party after 2016 has been subject to previous reports including the investigation by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC)<sup>55</sup>. Jewish representative bodies state that a significant improvement in attitude towards addressing antisemitism has taken place since the change in the party's leadership.

In October 2020, the Labour Party committed to implementing all of the EHRC's recommendations in full and as quickly as possible. This was welcome and this Office agreed with the EHRC that its recommendations provided "a foundation to assist all politicians and political leaders in adhering to equality law, which still protecting freedom of expression".

This Office has always maintained that there is a responsibility of each political

party to get its own house in order and we warn again about the danger of complacency within every political party, particularly in respect of the huge growth of antisemitic tropes online.

Therefore all political parties should in particular adhere to the following:

- a. Recognising unequivocally that office holders are representatives of a party.
- b. Ensuring that there is always independent scrutiny within a party's disciplinary procedures.
- c. Strictly avoiding leadership interference in disciplinary procedures.
- d. Putting staff training in place to handle complaints of antisemitic behaviour.

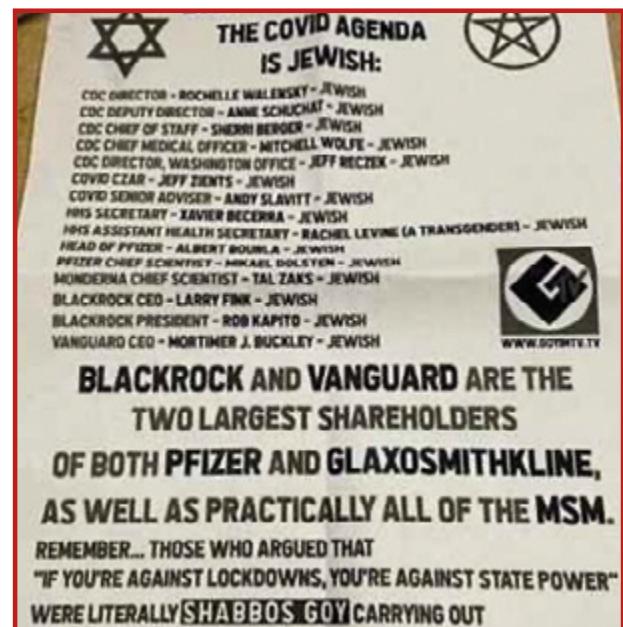
Antisemitism on the left remains virulent outside of the Labour Party. Much of it relates to conflict in the Middle East and it should be fully recognised and accepted that:

- People who hate Jews will use Israel to attack them; and
- British Jews should not be asked to justify the actions of the Israeli government.

The outbreak of conflict in Israel and Gaza in 2021 and the violence since have been a reason for UK politicians sometimes being slow to condemn incidents of antisemitism and the media leaning towards "both sideism" even when a story was about race hate.

Although not exclusive to the left by any means, long-perpetuated conspiracy

<sup>55</sup> EHRC investigation outcome, October 2020: [Investigation into antisemitism in the Labour Party finds unlawful acts of discrimination and harassment | Equality and Human Rights Commission \(equalityhumanrights.com\)](https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/enquiry/2016/07/05/investigation-into-antisemitism-labour-party-finds-unlawful-acts-discrimination-and-harassment-equality-and-human-rights-commission-equalityhumanrights-com)



theories about Jews controlling the global financial system and the media to oppress working people still run amok<sup>56</sup>.

In August 2022, a survey conducted by the anti-racism charity HOPE not Hate looking into attitudes and identity across UK society<sup>57</sup> found that 34% of those questioned in the 18-24 age group believed the statement that Jewish people have “an unhealthy control over the world’s banking system” to be probably or definitely true. In sharp contrast, only 12% of those aged over 75 share the same belief which underlines why we should be concerned by the spread of conspiracy theories among the young and the role of online platforms behind it.

### ANTISEMITISM ON THE RIGHT

The far-right has used the Covid pandemic to promote antisemitic narratives such as the virus being a Jewish hoax and vaccines invented by Jews to poison the population.

Particularly offensive has been the misuse of language and symbols related to the Holocaust. The CST and media reports have drawn attention to anti-vaccine and anti-lockdown protestors wearing yellow stars, similar to the identifying badges the Nazis forced Jews to wear during the Holocaust, and comparing vaccination centres to death camps<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> As a recent example, the rapper Diddy was accused by Ye (aka Kanye West) in October 2022 of being controlled by Jewish people when the former tackled the latter about antisemitic messages on Ye's subsequently suspended Instagram and Twitter accounts.

<sup>57</sup> “Fear and Hope 2022” survey: [Fear-HOPE-2022-FINAL-1.pdf](https://hopenothate.org.uk/)

<sup>58</sup> Covid conspiracies, July 2022: [Covid, Conspiracies & Jew-Hate: Antisemitism in the Covid-19 conspiracy movement – Blog – CST – Protecting Our Jewish Community](https://covid.conspiracies.jew-hate.org.uk/)

On the subject of the Holocaust (and in relation to views not exclusively held by the right), Lord Eric Pickles expresses his belief that Holocaust denial and distortion are gateways to antisemitism. He observes that Holocaust distortion can be found at all levels of society and is far from being a fringe phenomenon: from facts twisted on the internet to opportunistic statements by politicians, misleading exhibitions at museums, and most recently comparing measures to combat Covid 19 to the Holocaust. He adds that across the globe, malicious individuals or groups blame the Jewish people for exaggerating and manufacturing the Shoah (Holocaust) for political or financial gain.

With highly concerning levels of support in Europe and the United States, the far-right in the form of neo-Nazi and white supremacist groups maintains that in addition to Muslims and Latinos, the Jews are co-conspirators in the ‘Great Replacement

Theory', a conspiracy to use immigration to undermine white Christian populations. This theory was shown to be a factor behind the deadly attacks in Christchurch, El Paso and Pittsburgh.

As The Times newspaper reported in September 2022<sup>59</sup> in exposing the activities of neo-Nazi James Owens on YouTube, spreaders of hate will try and avoid bans by using terms such as "people who look white but aren't" for Jews. To reiterate, platforms such as Bitchute, Gab and 4chan (which was an original promoter of the QAnon conspiracy<sup>60</sup>) host far-right views which consistently promote antisemitic conspiracies.

The Board of Deputies of British Jews sounds a positive note in saying that there tends to be "wide political and societal consensus against recognisable antisemitism from the far-right and so the Jewish community does often feel supported in this regard".

This Office has received evidence of antisemitism across every political party during the last three years and in a number of submissions, and whilst the number of incidents is small, the seriousness is not.

In this context, it is important to record progress made since the 2006 APPG report recommended that the Electoral Commission drew up a contract of

<sup>59</sup> Source: [Neo-Nazi uses codewords to spread hate on YouTube | News | The Times](#)

<sup>60</sup> About QAnon: [QAnon | #TranslateHate | AJC](#)

acceptable behaviour which outlined the duty of all election candidates to exercise due care when addressing issues such as racism, community relations and minorities during political campaigning.

The Electoral Commission's initial response was that codes beyond the limit of the law were not generally welcomed by political parties and the Commission lacked the tools to ensure compliance. The Electoral Commission referenced guidance for local authorities distributed by the Commission for Racial Equality which was subsequently replaced by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC). Repeated meetings with the Electoral Commission and the EHRC failed to deliver progress on what should be considered as acceptable behaviour and so the APPG chair commissioned the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Electoral Conduct which led to a report published in late 2013<sup>61</sup>.

The inquiry's report made a number of recommendations in relation to combating racism and discrimination in elections. Action was pursued with political parties, Non-Departmental Public Bodies and others. Space does not allow a full review of the successes of that inquiry but two follow-up reports maintained progress. Highlights included Parliamentary clarification about correcting electoral disinformation, new guidance issued by the EHRC and improvements to police procedures. The recommendations of the

<sup>61</sup> Electoral conduct inquiry report: [3767 APPG Electoral Parliamentary Report Inside v16 TOPRINT.indd \(antisemitism.org.uk\)](#)

inquiry fed an inquiry by the Committee on Standards in Public Life into electoral abuse (the all-party inquiry was referenced numerous times), and that in turn fed work by the Law Commission and into the Elections Act 2022.

### MAINTAINING THE FIGHT

Other examples of progress have been evident in the political mainstream since the APPG reports were published.

For instance, to raise awareness of the dangers of allowing prejudice and antisemitism to go unchallenged, the Welsh Government funded the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust (HMDT) to commission eight Memorial Flames for Holocaust Memorial Day 2020, including entries from HM Prison Cardiff Art Group, Merthyr Tydfil Central Library, and the Association of Voluntary Organisations in Wrexham. It also funded the HMDT to put on a public exhibition of all of the UK's 75 Memorial Flames in Cardiff in March 2020.

Throughout the UK, the Jewish community has its own role to play in continuing to spread good practice within every political party. This means reviewing the training on antisemitism which is available to party representatives, checking that it is consistently applied and whether any streamlining is necessary. We recommend that all political parties involve the Jewish community in reviewing the training on antisemitism that they provide to their members, their staff and to their elected representatives.

This Office has become increasingly concerned about attacks on religious freedoms. Though these may not always be antisemitic in intent, they can often have antisemitic impacts. We have witnessed in Europe efforts to ban kosher meat (sometimes as the collateral damage of attacks on Halal butchering) and there are also examples of efforts to ban circumcision. These will have significant impacts on religiously observant Jewish people and in some cases will be driven by antisemitic intent or accompanied by antisemitic campaigns. This therefore impacts on some Jewish UK nationals abroad and we recommend that The Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO) makes representations to any government considering such action.

### 'ANTISEMITISM' AS UNDERSTOOD TERMINOLOGY

The call for a debate on whether the fight is best continued by the use of the term 'antisemitism' has come from Jewish representative bodies. There is general agreement that not enough of the population at large actually knows what the term means and the Jewish Leadership Council has said this was evident from focus groups held across the country between March 2018 and September 2019 even when awareness of the Labour party's mishandling of complaints was high. A major reason why the lack of understanding matters is that the media (through no fault of its own) uses the term assuming that it is understood and therefore the references to it are often falling on deaf ears.

Suggested alternative terminology includes '*Jew hatred*', '*anti-Jewish hatred*' or '*anti-Jewish racism*'.

This Office is not about to express a firm preference for change now and it recommends that the matter should be considered by the Jewish community. However from now on, this Office thinks that it is also important to use the concept of anti-Jewish hatred alongside the word antisemitism.

#### **NECESSITY OF GLOBAL COOPERATION**

There has been progress on global cooperation as a result of the two APPG reports and more could be done to share our best practices internationally.

The Abraham Accords of 2020 are fostering growing cooperation between Israel and some Arab nations which has resulted in a mutual commitment in combatting antisemitism. An example of action was the Global Imams Council and public institutions in Bahrain and Morocco adopting the IHRA working definition.

Nevertheless enhanced cooperation is now needed, involving major OECD nations such as USA. For the UK, The Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office should take a more active and confident role as an enabler in bringing this about in a manner that carries key messages to young people across the globe.

On political discourse, this Office has the following recommendations:

- i.** A united front on the part of the mainstream political parties is now required to reinvigorate the fight against the resurgence of antisemitism. The fight must be particularly directed towards the spread of race hate by neo-Nazi groups among younger people who include our future political leaders.
- ii.** All political parties should adopt the recommendations which can be applied to them as contained in the October 2020 report of the Equality and Human Rights Commission on the investigation of antisemitism in the Labour Party.
- iii.** Jewish organisations should work together to review the training on antisemitism which is available to representatives of political parties.
- iv.** UK politicians should be more ready to assert that British Jews should not be asked to justify the actions of the Israel government.
- v.** The mainstream political parties should work together to reduce the acute threat posed by the spread of harmful conspiracy theories such as those surrounding the control of the world's banking system, Covid-19 and vaccinations, the 'Great Replacement Theory' and the Holocaust.

**vi.** The UK Government should be rigorous in enforcing the new measures in the Elections Act 2022 to combat racial hatred during elections.

**vii.** Governments should maintain a close vigil in respect of attacks on religious freedoms that may be driven by antisemitic intent and be ready to act against them. This includes the UK Government being prepared to make representations when Jewish UK nationals abroad are adversely affected.

**viii.** The Jewish community should consider whether the term 'antisemitism' should be used alongside a term which is more easily understood by the population at large, such as anti-Jewish hatred.

**ix.** The Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office should play a more active role in bringing about the enhancement of global cooperation in combatting antisemitism.

In summary, this Office is urging a unified political initiative to ensure that:

- secondary school children are taught about the wrongs and consequences of contemporary antisemitism;
- people are better protected online from antisemitic hate; and
- more prosecutions for antisemitic hate crime are brought forward.

# ANNEX A

## LIST OF WRITTEN SUBMISSIONS

- Antisemitism Policy Trust
- Board of Deputies of British Jews
- Bury Council
- Community Security Trust
- Council of Christians and Jews
- Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service
- Crown Prosecution Service
- Hertsmere Labour & Cooperative councillors
- Jewish Leadership Council
- London Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime
- Maccabi GB
- Mayor of Greater Manchester
- Muslims Against Antisemitism
- National Police Chiefs' Council with additional contributions from Metropolitan Police Service, Greater Manchester Police and West Yorkshire Police
- Police Scotland
- Pinter Trust
- Salford City Council
- Scottish Government Minister for Equalities and Older People
- UK Special Envoy for Post-Holocaust
- Union of Jewish Students
- University Jewish Chaplaincy
- Vision Schools Scotland
- Welsh Government

# ANNEX B

## Recommendations of HM Government's Independent Adviser on Antisemitism in Full

### SCHOOLS ADDRESSING ANTISEMITISM

- i. Secondary schools of all types across the UK should teach about contemporary antisemitism in addition to students learning about the Holocaust. The UK Government should guarantee the funding for the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education's work on this.
- ii. Teacher training and continuous professional development for this purpose needs to be reviewed and updated, and discussion should be had over how it can be added to the Early Career Framework and PGCE courses for teachers.
- iii. In partnership with key stakeholder organisations, the UK Government, the Scottish Government, the Welsh Government and the Northern Ireland Executive should work together on producing an improved suite of online resources, which are freely available to schools, to supplement existing textbooks. These should be revised regularly to make sure they are always up to date.
- iv. Teaching and learning on the Holocaust should be evaluated for its nationwide effectiveness and its links to improving students' understanding of antisemitism.

v. School leadership teams need guidance on how to deal with incidents of antisemitic hate on school premises and to report incidents away from the school premises which have involved the targeting of students but also where students are the perpetrators.

vi. School twinning initiatives for community cohesion should be maintained and developed.

vii. Support should be given to create professional networks across schools to share best practice.

### ANTISEMITISM ON UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES

- i. All UK universities should be using the IHRA working definition of antisemitism as a reference tool to understand what is and isn't antisemitism and for dealing with incidents and complaints on campus.
- ii. 16 years after the APPG recommendation, positive interventions by vice-chancellors remain patchy and a working party should be formed by UUK to systemise how universities address the issue of antisemitism on campuses.
- iii. In line with the forthcoming Freedom of Speech Act, whilst Boycott Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) is a political campaign, BDS cannot be used to specifically disadvantage Jewish students, academics or staff in their academic research or their

ability to access goods and services. We recommend that universities ensure that it is never used to restrict the freedom of Jewish staff and students to purchase goods and services of their choice including Kosher products. We recommend that the UCU ensures the freedom of all academics to research and partner without restriction.

- iv. The Union of Jewish Students and their Jewish Societies are the representative voice for Jewish students in universities. All UK universities should work with the Union of Jewish Students to make campuses more inclusive, e.g. more antisemitism awareness training in student unions and for university staff, especially at senior levels; encouraging more kosher accommodation; and flexibility around timetabling.
- v. On having the right procedures in place to handle reports of antisemitic incidents correctly, universities should adopt the five recommendations made by the Community Security Trust in its report 'Campus Antisemitism in Britain 2018-2020'. The recommended procedures include:
  - Third party reporting on behalf of students
  - Using the IHRA definition of antisemitism
  - Clearly understood timeframe for responding to complaints
  - Review of unfair burden of proof

- placed on students in some universities making complaints
- Ensuring impartiality in the handling of complaints.

### RESEARCH ON REASONS BEHIND INCREASE OF ANTISEMITISM IN THE UK

- i. The Government should assist in funding the 2023 Jewish Policy Research (JPR) research report in order to obtain the data on the extent of correlation between Middle East conflict, attitudes towards Israel, the explosion in conspiracy theories, harmful social media and antisemitic hate in the UK, especially among young people.
- ii. Research is required on the recent and alarming growth in antisemitism among young people and the reasons behind it.
- iii. Research should be commissioned on the extent and nature of antisemitism within different communities

### COLLECTING RIGOROUS DATA ON ANTISEMITIC HATE CRIME

- i. Public bodies to include a prompt for 'Jewish' when collecting ethnic status data to help ensure that antisemitic incidents and concerns are not missed.
- ii. The removal of potential confusion in the fact that while the Equality Act refers to 'race', most public bodies refer to 'ethnicity' and there should be agreement on an alignment of the two terms.

iii. A review which establishes if the reporting and collating by the police of antisemitic hate incidents as both race and religious hate crimes is resulting in national underreporting of antisemitism and whether change in practice is needed.

iv. Jewish organisations to review the training of young Jewish people as advocates in combatting antisemitism and supporting the reporting of it.

#### **RESPONSE OF THE POLICE TO THE INCREASE IN ANTISEMITISM**

i. A review on what barriers are preventing the reporting of antisemitic and other hate crime and non-crime hate incidents, how these barriers can be overcome and whether enough police investigations into reported incidents are taking place. This might cover for example whether relevant and regular police training is up to date with new trends of antisemitism.

ii. The Online Safety Bill sufficiently supporting the police in identifying online hate crime offenders, building on existing legal frameworks.

iii. A requirement on all police forces throughout the UK to disaggregate recorded race hate crime and non-crime hate incidents to help identify the true number of antisemitic incidents and other hate incidents.

iv. An increase in the creation of local partnerships with third party reporting organisations to help encourage increased reporting of both non-crime hate incidents and hate crimes.

v. A more visible presence by the police and transport police at selected public transport hubs at the beginning and end of the school day to protect Jewish school children in areas where there are sizeable Jewish communities.

#### **RESPONSE OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM TO THE INCREASE IN ANTISEMITISM**

i. Action which requires prosecuting authorities (like the police) to further disaggregate hate crime case data to show how many Jews (and members of other communities) have been victimised according to their ethnicity or religion or both.

ii. Identify how many successful prosecutions of antisemitic hate crime take place in the UK each year;

iii. Properly establish why a significant gap seemingly remains between the reporting of antisemitic hate incidents and resulting prosecutions (and how much of that is a police or CPS issue), what the barriers are to securing convictions and what can be done to reduce the gap; and

iv. Ensure that proposed new Home Office legislation, resulting from the Law Commission's report of 2021,

is likely to result in more victims of antisemitism receiving justice.

### ANTISEMITISM ON THE INTERNET, SOCIAL MEDIA AND IN MAINSTREAM MEDIA

- i. The UK Government must work with online platforms to eradicate antisemitism online and hold those accountable who knowingly fail to block it.
- ii. Governments must address again the issue of platforms using payment systems to allow web users to access harmful materials in the light of the growth of cryptocurrencies.
- iii. The Editors' Code of Practice for the mainstream media in dealing with complaints needs review and a new guide for consumers is required which sets out roles, responsibilities and grievance procedures in plain terms for all.
- iv. The media should endeavour to improve its understanding of the Orthodox Jewish (Charedi) community to stop the promotion of existing or new tropes.
- v. The newsrooms of the BBC and other news outlets are not sufficiently familiar with the realities of the lives of the Jewish community and they should undergo the same half-day training that politicians have received from the Antisemitism Policy Trust and the Community Security Trust.

### CIVIC SOCIETY'S RESPONSE TO ANTISEMITISM

- i. The UK Government should bring forward an inflation linked multi-year funding agreement for the Protective Security Grant to support the CST and other charities and groups with a proven track-record for helping Jewish communities to feel safe.
- ii. More support and funding should be available for joint Jewish and Muslim initiatives and multi-agency approaches. Interfaith organisations should in turn promote joint leadership programmes for young Jews and Muslims.
- iii. No annual survey for monitoring community tensions exists nationally although police forces conduct surveys in some areas. The UK Government in cooperation with the devolved nations should rectify this.
- iv. More closer partnerships with local authorities and public bodies could play a larger role in tackling antisemitism, building on the progress made since 2015.
- v. All public bodies and universities should use the IHRA working definition of antisemitism and best practice should be shared on how it can be used to full advantage.
- vi. Employers and trade unions should continue to work together to adopt a zero-tolerance approach to antisemitism in the workplace.

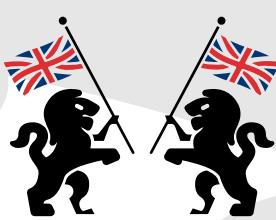
## POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND ANTISEMITISM

- i. A united front on the part of the mainstream political parties is now required to reinvigorate the fight against the resurgence of antisemitism. The fight must be particularly directed towards the spread of race hate by neo-Nazi groups among younger people who include our future political leaders.
- ii. All political parties should adopt the recommendations which can be applied to them as contained in the October 2020 report of the Equality and Human Rights Commission on the investigation of antisemitism in the Labour Party.
- iii. Jewish organisations should work together to review the training on antisemitism which is available to representatives of political parties.
- iv. UK politicians should be more ready to assert that British Jews should not be asked to justify the actions of the Israel government.
- v. The mainstream political parties should work together to reduce the acute threat posed by the spread of harmful conspiracy theories such as those surrounding the control of the world's banking system, Covid-19 and vaccinations, the 'Great Replacement Theory' and the Holocaust.

- vi. The UK Government should be rigorous in enforcing the new measures in the Elections Act 2022 to combat racial hatred during elections.
- vii. Governments should maintain a close vigil in respect of attacks on religious freedoms that may be driven by antisemitic intent and be ready to act against them. This includes the UK Government being prepared to make representations when Jewish UK nationals abroad are adversely affected.
- viii. The Jewish community should consider whether the term 'antisemitism' should be used alongside a term which is more easily understood by the population at large, such as 'anti-Jewish hatred'.
- ix. The Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office should play a more active role in bringing about the enhancement of global cooperation in combatting antisemitism.

In summary, this Office is urging a unified political initiative to ensure that:

- secondary school children are taught about the wrongs and consequences of contemporary antisemitism;
- people are better protected online from antisemitic hate; and
- more prosecutions for antisemitic hate crime are brought forward.



HM GOVERNMENT'S  
INDEPENDENT ADVISER ON ANTISEMITISM

✉ [mannjl@parliament.uk](mailto:mannjl@parliament.uk)

👉 [www.lordmann.co.uk](http://www.lordmann.co.uk)

🐦 [@LordJohnMann](https://twitter.com/LordJohnMann)