

MEASURING ANTISEMITISM
An Expert Research Report in Progress
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FOREWORD

How can antisemitism be measured comparatively across countries and in the social media? In Paris on September 20, 2016, leading scholars, experts and practitioners from Europe, North America and Israel held a closed consultation to confront this question. Since then, the scholars involved have produced this draft Report. The objective of this project is to create an effective multi-layered "tool" to measure antisemitism effectively.

The lack of such a tool has been felt for some time. The European Union Fundamental Rights Agency noted in a Working Paper on Antisemitism in 2012 that "Continued and sustained efforts at the national and international levels, as well as at the level of civil society, need to be exerted if data collection on the matter is to be improved. The ready and regular availability of robust and comparable data on the situation of antisemitism in the EU would enable policy makers and relevant stakeholders to develop targeted interventions to combat antisemitism."

This innovative project to create an internationally applicable measurement tool was initiated by ISGAP (The Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy), and is supported by the Israel Ministry for Diaspora Affairs. The Paris meeting was graciously facilitated by CRIF. Professor Steven W. Popper of the JPPI (The Jewish People Policy Institute) has served as lead scholar and author. We anticipate that based on this draft Report, the measurement tool will be further refined and implemented to provide an integrated method greatly needed by international agencies to address a pressing problem felt by Jewish communities.

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Evaluating Contemporary Antisemitism:

A Framework for Collaborative Conceptualization, Measurement and Assessment

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Abbreviations

ADL	Anti-defamation League
BDS	Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions
CST	Community Security Trust
EU	European Union
FRA	European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SPCJ	<i>Service de Protection de la Communauté Juive</i> [Jewish Community Protection Service]

Executive Summary

If rising antisemitism has become a serious problem for Jewish communities, then it deserves to be taken seriously.

This may appear a curious statement. There are academics and organizations working to record, deter and help prepare for antisemitic acts and speech. Some of their efforts are localized while others have a wider geographic spread. Their annual reports, specific studies and programs of education and outreach are often of excellent quality and represent most of what we know of current antisemitism.

The core paper in this collection and the individual contributions found in its appendix are not launching yet another measurement initiative. Rather, current efforts should not only continue but be strengthened. This collection discusses how this might be achieved.

What we lack is a unifying framework for assessing what we know collectively (and what we don't know.) We lack **consistent terminology** and focus; a forward-leaning, **policy-oriented** posture to guide information gathering by illuminating what we still need to learn; **greater participation** by more communities potentially under threat; and a means to **unify, organize and disseminate** the work of those working in these fields. As a result, our assessment of antisemitic words and acts is a patchwork even within single countries.

What is required is collaboration, wide-spread engagement and the ability to be mutually supportive and leverage the knowledge that we gain. Surely, the internationalization of antisemitic discourse and instigation itself would be reason enough to do so. But such wide-ranging collaboration would also reflect similar phenomena of global collaboration in other disciplines as well. As in such instances, our call is not to create a monolith or monopolization of measurement activity but rather for a framework that will amplify, unify and disseminate the work of diverse contributors to a common goal: the better understanding and resisting of antisemitism in its modern forms.

An Agenda for Analyzing and Resisting Antisemitism

The core paper seeks to make two contributions toward more useful and effective understanding of and posture toward antisemitism. The first of these is to offer a draft of a consistent framework for categorization of the knowledge we possess in all forms and to characterize its empirical bases as well as potential value. Among other things, doing so also would clarify what knowledge we lack and why it would be valuable to collect and assess.

We argue the need for explicit discussion of what we wish to know and why. Rather than measuring that which is relatively easy to measure, we advocate discussions designed to determine from a strategic and policy-oriented perspective what we ought to be seeking to

measure. State leaders, such as in France,¹ have come to recognize in antisemitism a threat to their entire society through its effects on Jewish communities. The phenomenon of antisemitism is not unrelated to the general rise in racism, bias and radicalized violence. But within its microcosm, the fundamental interests threatened include:

- Physical security of Jews as individuals;
- Physical security of Jewish communities;
- Ability to exercise individual rights of citizenship such as freedom of movement and an absence of other *de jure* or *de facto* restrictions;
- Ability to communicate political beliefs and engage in political activities;
- Ability to establish and maintain Jewish communal institutions;
- Ability to engage freely in legal economic activities;
- Ability to engage in Jewish religious rites and practices.
- For those interested, the right to engage in nurturing and preserving Jewish national sovereignty as expressed through the State of Israel.

From these specific values under threat we derive a framework for measurement with four main components. The first two include measures of antisemitic **attitudes** and antisemitic **actions**, currently the most common focus for measurement of antisemitic incidents and phenomena. To this we add a third component, measuring **direct effects** on Jewish individuals and communities. The final component is seeking to measure potentially powerful effects on the **attitudes and sense of well-being** of Jews.

The parallelism among these four sets of phenomena is purposeful. "Balancing the books" provides cross-checks as well as indications of what important bodies of data or reporting are being missed and so is a guard against the common trap of analyzing only what is most readily measured – looking for the proverbial lost keys under the lamppost -- and not what a consideration of community interests would suggest ought to be measured.

We offer in the core paper an initial draft framework for measurement that proceeds from policy considerations but also incorporates needs and concerns of researchers as well as needs of governmental bodies and law enforcement authorities that represent and protect Jewish communities. Within the four main categories we discuss both those factors we would ideally wish to measure as well as those direct measures and proxies that are actually utilized, or may be utilized, to do so. In generating these lists, the holes in the resulting matrix are at least as important as those measures that placed within the cells of the matrix that are already in practice.

Who is measuring is at least as an important consideration as what is being measured. We lack consistency allowing comparisons between data collected in different countries, sometimes in comparing results obtained by the same organization in different years. But another vexing problem is the lack of information from many Jewish communities currently or potentially at most risk. The framework may therefore be also seen as a guide, if not to best practice, than of the range of opportunities for measurement that may be potentially available to such communities. The existence of a cross-national collaboration

¹ <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/01/french-prime-minister-warns-if-jews-flee-the-republic-will-be-judged-a-failure/384410/>

engaging in the practicalities of measurement may serve as a catalyst for broadening the geographic scope of measurement activities.

Roadmap for Action

The core paper outlines how we might provide ourselves with better short-term and longitudinal information on antisemitism, find ways to align and standardize information and data collection as well as leverage best practices in some countries to push others, and ground measurement activities the better to engage governments and policy actors in proper data collection and partnering with Jewish communities on security.

The second intention of the core paper is in many ways more challenging. That is to spur a collaborative effort of building a meaningful, expansive and dynamic knowledge base of service to all. We see five different projects for engaging diverse contributors.

Framing and Conceptualization

As with any other policy issue, effort spent in framing the context is rarely time wasted. We see three principal tasks for working groups to pursue.

Definitions. How do definitions differ among countries, within international organizations and in key cultural institutions such as universities, media and so forth? A common taxonomy could make cross-country and multi-year comparisons more meaningful but is not easy to address. This is one of the most crucial tasks for a framing project.

Perspectives. Framing around too narrow a perspective may be to turn a blind eye to the importance of antisemitism's consequences. What, for example, do we need to understand about "antisemitism without Jews" in the worlds' most dynamic region, East Asia? What are the implications of recrudescant antisemitism for non-Jews? Such question widen the scope but also provide a more comprehensive lens and potentially broaden the base for collaborative effort.

Dynamics. A conceptual framework must take cognizance that the relationships between different categories are not static and insulated but rather dynamic and interconnected. When do antisemitic attitudes become precursors of antisemitic acts? To think in terms of dynamics, transitions and lines of mutual influence is to prepare the way for policy thinking.

Measurement Design

A team of experts representing the communities of research, governance and practice should produce a detailed structure of measures within the draft framework to guide those who contribute to and make use of such information. This may proceed in a manner combining the best aspects of top-down and bottom-up design by proceeding from the end backwards: initially identify questions and actions we wish to inform. Objectives, rather than availability of data or ease in construction of indicators should guide the design. Attention should also be directed towards framing best standards for practice in the design and administration of different instruments such as surveys and focus groups, data and reporting lags and other key issues.

Data Collation and Database Design

Our research community needs infrastructure: data repositories, data-sharing tools and a set of standards for database design. Data collectors and analysts should have common identifiers for geographic units, formats for dates and times, file formats, etc. Choices must be made for data warehousing. A collective commitment to identifying and pursuing sufficient funding to maintain a data collation and access system will be needed.

New Data Acquisition, Characterization and Analysis

Of the five projects, this is the most advanced, widely conducted and requires the least agenda-setting and integration. Yet, the other four projects create the potential for mutual awareness and visibility on how individual research and data collection efforts might interact. Greater visibility could bring new researchers and organizations into the field. The value and importance of this joint enterprise would be made more palpable. Finally, the increased visibility and credibility derived from interdisciplinary and international coordination might also enhance support for specific projects.

Building a Community of Practice

A principal objective should be to encourage and support greater engagement within and by communities. Only a handful of countries monitor and collect data at a national level or publish such information. It should be a goal to expand the scope of measurement practice already performed in the US, France and the UK and improve practice in Jewish communities (Germany, Hungary, Ukraine, etc.) where monitoring is more intermittent. It will take skill and forethought to create such community efforts.

Next Steps: A Work Plan

Where and how to begin? We propose a work plan for the initial stages of the effort. It would involve first gathering a relatively small, representative group of researchers but would have as one of its objectives the expansion of this core group as early and as rapidly as feasible.

Task 1: Consultation defining first set of measures. The projects of **Framing and Conceptualization** and **Measurement Design** should involve active circulation of drafts to potentially interested parties, publication, workshops and briefings to collect a diversity of input and reactions at an early stage.

Task 2: Test application of measures against available data. Populate the emerging framework with data collected in test cases to inventory what is available, demonstrate the framework, and identify how to improve analysis.

Task 3: Select indicators and recommend applications. The first two tasks will have developed only the raw material for research and policy analytical tool-building. One of its uses may be to select from among the measures a few that may be designated as indicators—those data series that may convey important information on current and emerging trends. Creating a dashboard would bridge the realm of analysis with that of application which the proposed effort is intended to enable.

This core paper is by no means the last word. It is intended as the beginning of a process that would prove both broad and deep.

0. A Note to Readers

The core paper reaches out to several audiences: scholars of antisemitism, professionals within NGOs that gather data and generate reports, individuals in communities either affected by or concerned about rising antisemitism, community members and organizations seeking to provide warning and protection, and civil authorities and international agencies concerned with preventing physical harm or civic disenfranchisement stemming from antisemitic words and deeds. We therefore provide the potential readers with a guide to what follows.

In the first section of the core paper, we lay out its basic tenets and goals. In the second we provide a policy-based rationale not only for more systematic measurement and analysis of antisemitism but also for determining what we should seek to measure to gain greater comprehension and to better inform meaningful action. We present a draft framework for conceiving of a comprehensive, integrated and collaborative project of measurement. These two sections should be of interest to all of the intended audiences.

The third and fourth sections are likely to be of less interest to the general reader. They are directed toward those involved either in scholarship or other direct measuring and knowledge-creation activities. We discuss in greater detail the draft framework and advocate an integrated approach to measurement, the analysis of gathered information, and greater sharing of both. These two sections, one focused on measurement and the other on the resulting data, are central to the purpose of stimulating greater collaboration among workers in this field as well as more systematic approaches to the measurement and assessment of antisemitism. In short, these chapters are addressed to potential direct collaborators in an integrated effort that they will direct themselves.

The last section of the core paper lays out what is again intended as a first draft, subject to consultation and review, of a preliminary agenda for bringing about more systematic measurement, greater collaboration, wider participation and enhanced benefit derived from the efforts of workers in the field of antisemitism study. This, too, will be of greatest interest to those who might actually take part in such a collaboration. However, one of the purposes of working toward an agreed-upon approach and greater systemization is for the professionals collaborating on this effort to generate a sense of what may constitute “best practice” in tracking the presence and phenomena of antisemitism. We pursue this goal in the interest of lowering barriers to entry for those communities that do not yet engage in active monitoring of their local environment. We advocate a collaboration that grows not only by gaining membership from those already working in the field but by expanding that number by making it easier for others to follow protocols demonstrated in practice. Therefore, this final section is worthy of the attention – and critical evaluation and feedback – of all readers.

The appendix to the core paper also provides a first step toward realizing its goals. A range of noted scholars, practitioners and community leaders present a rich store of discussion, suggestions and insight into the issues surrounding the measurement, analysis and

deflection of antisemitic discourse and acts. This appendix therefore provides a casebook of individual perspectives that may form a basis for and first contribution toward the collaboration envisaged and presented in the core paper.

I. An Agenda for Analyzing and Monitoring Antisemitism

If rising antisemitism has become a serious problem for Jewish communities, then it deserves to be taken seriously.²

This may appear a curious statement. There are talented scholars as well as dedicated workers in several organizations working to record, prepare for and deter antisemitic acts and speech. Some of their efforts are localized while others have a wider geographic spread. We receive from them annual reports as well as specific studies and programs of education and outreach. Most of this work is of excellent quality and represents most of what we know of current antisemitism.

On 19 September 2016, a group of scholars, professionals and community representatives met in Paris to discuss contemporary antisemitism.³ A reinvigorated antisemitism has emerged as one of the hallmarks of contemporary political and social discourse. As such, it is a phenomenon deserving close study. Comprehending the drivers of antisemitism's resurgence may shed light on broader phenomena transforming the democracies of Europe, North America and elsewhere, but it is also a phenomenon worthy of detailed analysis in itself. At present, the resurgence is far from pandemic. Yet, for Jewish communities increasingly concentrated in the urban centers of the democratic West, the trend clearly must be monitored and potential courses of action explored to understand how best to staunch the contagion or limit its effects.

One finding from the Paris meeting was the need to address shortcomings in the realm of measurement and data. Despite the efforts of individuals and several outstanding organizations, we lack a unifying framework for assessing what we know collectively (as well as highlighting what we don't know.) We lack consistent terminology and focus. We lack a forward-leaning, policy-oriented posture to guide information gathering by illuminating what we still need to learn. We need greater participation by more communities potentially under threat. And we would benefit from a means to unify, organize and make widely available information derived from the work of those active in these fields. As a result, our assessment of antisemitic words and acts is a patchwork even within single countries. What is required is collaboration, wide-spread engagement and the ability to be mutually supportive and leverage the knowledge we gain.

The desire for greater consistency, coverage and integration of monitoring activities comes from practical rather than purely academic concerns. Precisely because the Jewish people has true enemies who wish to do individuals and communities harm, paranoia is a luxury it

² The authors benefited from thoughtful comments on an earlier draft of this paper provided by, *inter alia*, Andrew Baker, Jonathan Boyd, Edward H. Kaplan, Vladimir (Ze'ev) Khanin, Daniel Mariaschin, Sergio DellaPergola, Joanna Perry, Richard Steinberg, Ami Tavory, Mark Weizman and Michael Whine. This notwithstanding, the views we have expressed should be ascribed solely to the authors who are also responsible for any remaining errors in fact, perspective or logic.

³ They gathered under the joint auspices of the Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP; <https://isgap.org/>) and Israel's Ministry for Diaspora Affairs.

can ill afford. This situation instead requires a better understanding of the nature and origins of renewed antisemitism to determine where true danger may lie. Beyond the need for better scholarly understanding of the phenomenology and etiology of antisemitism, antisemitism monitoring must be relevant to governmental and NGO policies, actions, and interests. At best, this would mean developing a capacity to distinguish between that that must receive high-priority governmental and Jewish communal attention, that which is disturbing but not threatening, and threats which are more apparent than real. Academic scholarship and active measurement efforts have considerable potential for practical application if they can inform development of best practices for determining thresholds of danger, national and community-level protection, and active engagement measures. This is not an easy task—if only because antisemitism may assume different guises and morph into different forms, compounding measurement challenges. Traditional methods for examining negative attitudes toward Jews do not provide a sufficiently broad or accurate picture of the situation. The survey-based tools used by organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) or the Pew Research Center, while thorough and systematic, give partial glimpses and at times can even be confusing or misleading. This is because they focus, each in their own way, on only selected portions of the antisemitism puzzle. Some organizations focus on public opinion. Others may concentrate on tracking the number of reported instances of violence or harassment against Jews. One organization, The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA,) examines how antisemitism is perceived by Jews. Each organization has defined its own metrics and categories, often differing from country to country. There is currently no integrative measurement that comprehensively addresses antisemitic attitudes, actions and their effects on their intended targets and victims.

Vision statement

Since concern is growing that antisemitism has already (or soon may once more) become a serious threat, Jews, the communities of which they are members and the authorities seeking to protect their rights as citizens should avail themselves of tools to better confront it.

Many analysts and organizations have endeavored, often with considerable accomplishment, to objectively measure and yield normative insight on past and contemporary antisemitism. That said, an effort that is at once more integrative and synergistic among these analysts and which incorporates a variety of disciplinary perspectives has the potential to achieve much more. A platform for those organizations currently at the forefront to more easily encourage and provide an example for individual and collaborative efforts of others still at the earlier stages elsewhere would benefit not only those newer entrants but the wider membership in such a community of practice. In the shadow of recrudescing antisemitism in Europe and elsewhere, and in the light of EU governments' keen efforts to confront the phenomenon, one outcome of the 2016 Paris meeting was to envision an **integrative framework or dashboard** that will provide governments, local communal leaders, Israeli policy-makers and world Jewry with standardized measurement mechanisms to gauge the level of threat to Jewish communities, monitor and compare developments over time and across borders, facilitate decision-

making, and assess the efficacy of policy interventions. Monitoring of this type would be based on a systematically derived common understanding of taxonomies and definitions used to categorize incidents and their severity, as well as standardized measurement protocols. Doing so could substantially expand our collective knowledge base and its utility. Similarly, a system of metrics and measures aimed at improving both the academic and practical discourse on antisemitism could allow for more rapid and better-informed responses. The integration and collation of an expanding body of knowledge on the antecedents, forms and manifestations of antisemitism both in attitude and action, could also help address some of the most perplexing theoretical, empirical and practical questions antisemitism poses for the Jewish people. The existence of such an effort may even prove a direct or indirect spur to those communities that have not yet embraced or overcome obstacles to conducting regular measurement of antisemitic attitudes and actions.

Any movement in the direction of enhancing data gathering, reliability and more comprehensive approaches to understanding and monitoring antisemitism would be of value. Simultaneously, taking such a heroically all-embracing perspective could raise the prospect of framing a set of leading indicators of considerable value to Jewish communities and governments for whom this is more than a matter of intellectual curiosity. Such a vision would entail movement toward several key goals:

1. **Producing reliable data in every large community.** While some data from Europe and the United States are available about attitudes, incidents, and perceptions, this tri-dimensional data is not yet widely available from other Jewish communities -- and in no locale fully realized.
2. **Standardizing measurements.** For historical and policy reasons, each local organization and institution has developed its own system of measurement. What one organization defines as serious harassment is defined elsewhere as a minor incident. Consistent standards will have to be established through a consensus building process across diverse perspectives, including research centers and NGOs, local community stakeholders, international Jewish organizations, regional and national governments and existing Israeli governmental agencies that monitor and combat antisemitism.
3. **Establishing a monitoring methodology and means for deliberative assessment.** The movement from measuring to monitoring and towards practical action requires both a set of accurate gauges and a means to analyze incremental changes. This will then provide policy-makers with a more complex perspective to support a process of deliberation, priority-setting and action.

The purpose of this paper and the intention of its authors is to provide an initial basis for collaborative effort to establish and fulfill these goals. As such, it should be viewed as a first draft, an invitation for discussion, comment, suggestion and modification. Fundamental to the approach we advocate is the recognition that any viable effort on this scale must be the work of many hands and integrated effort. We hope to provide a venue for the many scholars, practitioners as well as government and community leaders to come together in a joint effort of construction.

II. Framing Measurement to Reflect Policy Concerns

Although using available information to inform policy would appear to come only at the end of a process of data gathering, measurement, analysis and assessment, the ultimate purposes (and audiences) for any system of measurement must be the first consideration in its design. What goals are to be served by a better understanding of antisemitic beliefs, intentions and acts? What aspects of the research agenda are best served by particular types of data? What are the potential avenues for operational and policy actions, both for defense and engagement? What do we need to know to be effective in policy decision making?

We would wish, at a minimum, to comprehend the range of available alternative policy interventions, assess potential outcomes from each and, most importantly, determine the criteria for choosing among candidate short-term actions to better achieve long-term goals. Rooting the architecture of a measurement framework in these questions may then both inform measurement efforts and make the resulting measures more useful for the several purposes we seek to achieve. Clearly, this is a reciprocal process: measures will inform answers to questions as much as the questions themselves will inform the framework of measurement.

Beyond the academic project of understanding the origins and development of antisemitism, an initial starting point for thinking about the goals of its measurement might be that we care about its impact on its intended victims. Therefore, one perspective is that of Jewish communal needs: aside from the detestable essence of the phenomenon itself, to what extent does antisemitism affect Jewish collective well-being and interests?

This is not the sole perspective possible. State leaders, such as in France,⁴ have come to recognize in antisemitism a threat to their society as a whole. While aspects of antisemitism are arguably *sui generis*, one may also place this form of hatred within a larger context of concern over the rise of racism, bias and radicalized violence. And scholars will, of course, bring their own needs and questions. But as a starting point, we can begin by enumerating interests threatened by militant or attitudinal antisemitism.

These main concrete interests would include:

- Physical security of Jews as individuals;
- Physical security of Jewish communities;
- Ability to exercise individual rights of citizenship such as freedom of movement and an absence of other *de jure* or *de facto* restrictions;
- Ability to communicate political beliefs and engage in political activities;
- Ability to establish and maintain Jewish communal institutions;
- Ability to engage freely in legal economic activities;
- Ability to engage in Jewish religious rites and practices.

⁴ <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/01/french-prime-minister-warns-if-jews-flee-the-republic-will-be-judged-a-failure/384410/>

The proposed draft framework below proceeds from such considerations but seeks also to incorporate needs and concerns of researchers as well as needs of governmental bodies and law enforcement authorities that represent and protect Jewish communities. We offer it as a starting point, a basis for discussion, and a foundation upon which to build and elaborate.

Comprehensive Framework for Antisemitism Measurement

Table 1 provides an overview of a comprehensive draft framework for measurement of antisemitism.⁵ The figure shows only the empty framework for ease of presentation. Table 3, below, will provide a fuller format with cells filled in to provide examples of the types of content they would contain. Considering first the rows of the framework, the framework has four main components.

Four Main Fields for Measurement

The first of these include measures of antisemitic attitudes. The second bloc focuses on antisemitic actions, including violent as well as non-violent behavior. This is the most common focus for measurement of antisemitic incidents and phenomena. It is understandable that this should be so: major concern with antisemitism arises when transgressive and problematic behavior contravenes laws or norms with the force of law. However, reliance on this perspective alone runs the risk of absolving individual Jewish communities of the responsibility to formulate an active posture: monitoring and responding to antisemitism is passively viewed as exclusively the responsibility of the “authorities.” This attitude in itself can affect efforts to improve measurement and enhance communal awareness. Further, focusing on behavioral phenomenology without simultaneously gathering data on the extent, nature and expression of antisemitic ideas and attitudes eliminates the potential for fully addressing several questions raised above. Clearly, the interplay between attitude and action, though complex and difficult to tease out, is nonetheless important—especially if one of our goals is better and earlier signal detection or implementation of potential protective or preventive initiatives before antisemitism’s escalation from noxious beliefs to large-scale violent action. Informed by the previous discussion of antisemitism’s effects on its principal targets, a third component of this framework should be explicit consideration of direct, physical effects on Jewish individuals and communities and their reactions in the same vein. Monitoring behavior does play a role in this area and so this entails some “double entry book-keeping”: to what extent may these measures be compared to those gathered for antisemitic incidents in the second bloc as a cross-check? Are important bodies of data or reporting missed when we seek to balance these books? Incorporating these measures in both blocs allows us to also speak to the intensity of antisemitic attacks and their potential impact. Though this appears to mirror image the preceding bloc, if the framework is designed explicitly to capture comprehensively the phenomenology of antisemitism, as well as the state of our knowledge, then this parallelism is purposeful.

⁵ This table is based on an earlier version developed by Dr. Dov Maiman appearing in “An Integrative Measure of European Anti-Semitism” (*Annual Assessment 2014-2015* [5775], Jewish People Policy Institute, 2015, pp. 95-101.)

The final component is a bloc that considers some of the most important impacts of antisemitism that fall short of traditional, virulent manifestations: indirect, but potentially powerful effects on the psyche of Jewish people, their beliefs, and attitudes. Some of the phenomena listed in the first bloc—antisemitic attitudes—will have connections to and influence the second and third blocs—antisemitic acts and direct consequences. By contrast, the final bloc considers indirect pressure such antisemitic attitudes and actions may have on Jews and their communities.

In presenting the draft framework in Table 1 we wish also to make explicit several principles underlying this approach:

- The fundamental unit of the framework is the individual measure (discussed in the next section.) Ideally, each such measure would appear as its own row. In this framing, we sought to distinguish between measures on the one hand and analyses on the other. This is sometimes a difficult distinction to make, but in general analyses are based on measures and that is the level we sought to address.
- Any formal representation of the complex construct that is our state of knowledge about antisemitism is just that – a representation and no more. The two-dimensional logical mapping in the table should not be taken as necessarily either the fullest nor most preferred embodiment of the envisioned tool and framework. It is intended only to give a sense of the several dimensions of relationships involved.
- Similarly, the framework’s goal of conveying the sense of a comprehensive and integrated measurement structure should not be interpreted as requiring from all providers and all communities a similar level of comprehensiveness in their own efforts of tool application. Rather, the table is a device for navigation, for determining the relationship among different potential measures from different communities. This will be touched on below in the discussion of indicators.
- Some concepts will be considerably more difficult to address through measurement than others. The “holes” that will appear as a result when canvassing current measurement efforts will in many ways be as important as the cells we can fill at this time. They invite further discussion of what we need to know.
- Several rows show a hierarchy of aggregation so that those organizations measuring in gross categories, such as “physical attacks”, may be included along with those whose measures discriminate between cases resulting in physical injury and those that do not.

Table 1. A Framework for the Measurement of Antisemitism

Metrics	Measures	Candi- date Indi- cator?	Characteri- stics	Data Type and Access				Audience		
				Method	Format	Storage	Academy	Jewish Comm.	Govt.	Civil society NGOs; int'l agencies
Antisemitic Attitudes										
	General sentiment									
	Specific ideas about Jews									
	Concern for welfare of Jews									
Characteristics of respondents										
Antisemitic Acts										
Expression										
Local target audience										
	Hateful speech (specific target)									
	Statement/expression									
	Incitement/mobilization									
	Harassment and intimidation									
Narrow-focused audience										
	Hateful speech (specific target)									
	Statement/expression									
	Incitement/mobilization									
	Harassment and intimidation									

Broad target audience

Hateful speech (specific target)

Statement/expression

Incitement/mobilization

Harassment and intimidation

Vandalism

Graffiti in a public place

Graffiti on a Jewish property

Damage to a Jewish property

Arson

Physical contact with persons

Physical harassment

Physical injury

Murder

Political

Political demonstrations

Exclusionary practices and
policies

Characteristics of acts

Effects on Jewish Communities

Direct and indirect consequences

Behavioral effect of
intimidation and exclusions

Property damage

Indirect economic

consequences / loss of
opportunity

Cost of physical injury

Indirect costs of health
consequences

Deaths

Reactions

Reports to civil authorities

Direct countering actions

Political and legislative
initiatives

**Jewish Community Attitudes and
Affect**

Perception of manifestations of
anti-Semitism

Sense of safety and security

Effect on 2nd & 3rd gen. Shoah
survivors

Experience of Violence against
Jews

Experiences of discrimination

Rights awareness

Comfort with Jewish
identification

Happiness and sense of
personal efficacy

Characteristics of respondents:

III. Metrics and Measures

This is the first of two discussions delving into technical aspects of the general framework presented in Table 1. This section touches on aspects of measurement. The emphasis is on the character of such measures. The next section is focused on the data collected during the process of measurement and its treatment.

Metrics, Measures and Indicators

The first three columns of Figure 1 are labeled ‘metrics,’ ‘measures’ and ‘candidate indicators.’ These are terms often used interchangeably in common parlance. However, we use them in the framework to convey three different concepts in evaluation efforts. We use the term **metrics** to indicate ‘what we would ideally like to know.’ For example, there are several metrics that might be informed by data on antisemitic acts. Ideally, we would like to know the extent, frequency and intensity of verbal or internet-based harassment. These metrics represent aspirations and as such may be difficult to assess and evaluate directly in practice.

In fact, we may find that—outside a few instances—the metrics appearing in the rows of the Table 1 matrix remain ideals difficult to assess through direct observation. We therefore need to frame one or more practical, operational **measures** for each metric. These may be only proxies for the ideal as a consequence of limited data availability, constraints on collection, or difficulty in operationalizing inherently fuzzy concepts. For example, attitudinal or cognitive metrics like “general sentiment” of non-Jews toward Jews, that is the nature and prevalence of antisemitic attitudes, are inherently broad and might be measured in a variety of ways. The mapping of measures to metrics may not be one-to-one. We may find that only by combining several measures can we compensate for their individual deficiencies and approximate an underlying ideal metric.

Making a distinction between metrics and measures also becomes something of a cross-check on evaluation activities. The distinction between the ideal and the practical may prevent us from resembling the proverbial drunk who searches for his lost keys under the lamp post rather than the dark alley in which he dropped them. Data may be more readily available in some areas than in others. We do not wish to gather data on what is most readily measured only to lose sight of the need to also maintain focus on what a conceptual framework rooted in community needs suggests ought to be measured. Highlighting the distinction also conveys forcefully that the framework ought not to be a static construct. It is intended to be aspirational. By explicitly deriving from first principles metrics of greatest value and only afterwards looking for their practical measures, we retain analytical humility, spotlighting shortfalls in our data and knowledge. We may find that the measures we need are not ready to hand and that we may need to rethink our priorities and patterns of information gathering. This, too, is a boon to the collective enterprise, its individual collaborators and the audiences served by evaluation.

The third column identifies measures that may serve as candidate **indicators**. While one may identify many measures to shed light on metrics of interest, some may warrant more

emphasis than others. This may be a consequence of the importance of the phenomena they capture or because we have reason to believe that they convey information of direct, intrinsic value, or indicate future trends. This column asks us to consider: were we to construct a “**dashboard**” by giving only a few measures prominence, or allocate scarce monitoring and data-gathering resources with little prior knowledge, which measures might we select?

In the doctor’s office, the measurement of patient blood pressure and temperature is routine because of the value of these data as indicators of general system health. Perhaps we can collectively determine which measures of antisemitism may fulfill similar functions. This may well be a judgment best made only over a period of time and after the Table 1 framework becomes more fully populated, but giving this future judgment explicit attention *ex ante* may affect how we think about the framework, its construction and future utilization. These as yet empty cells not only invite participants to fill them with a subset of measures from the prior column but, more importantly, to characterize the reasons why a specific measure is proposed—or currently used—as an indicator of antisemitic attitudes, actions, direct and indirect effects on their targets. The ‘pulling and hauling’ over the utility of these indicators may simultaneously help in assessment of existing data and the design of future monitoring efforts.

The concept of indicators becomes especially important in widening a community of practice beyond those countries, localities and organizations currently engaged in measurement. Rather than having communities or organizations confront a full panoply of potential measures, such as that implied by the extensive framework in Table 1, it should be feasible to instead recommend several such measures as indicators. These would serve to convey a sense of the areas toward which limited resources might be directed.

Data Types

We will discuss the core issues of data types, collection, scrubbing, standards, availability, and database construction and management in greater detail in the section below. We provide first a quick overview of their treatment within the Table 1 framework to complete the tour of the measurement architecture we envision.

The fourth of the columns is a placeholder standing for several ways in which measures appearing in the rows of the framework may be typified and characterized. These have been collapsed into a single column in the table for ease of presentation. They may be seen in greater detail in Table 3, below. Such characterization would include, at a minimum, publication in which presented, definitions used, precise questions, source of data, regularity of appearance and geographic locality.

The three central columns in the Table 1 framework explicitly consider that data aspects of measurements: what method was used to gather data, what format they may be found in, how and where they are stored, and the terms by which they may be accessed. Data are of key importance but only in service to the larger purposes for which we have established a system for assessment. Once more, the matrix format draws attention to the relationship between data, measurement and, ultimately, through metrics to the policy purposes data may support. By laying out the framework this way, data and the associated issues receive the centrality they deserve without becoming the sole focus or the driver.

Our discussions have revealed several categories of relevant data:

- **Opinion/attitude survey data**—both surveys of Jews and non-Jews are relevant
- **Event data**—this would include incidents documented by governments, community organizations, and individuals, as well as data extracted from media reports
- **Other behavioral data**—this could include Google Search or online purchasing behavior, data on emigration/immigration, voting records, donations to political causes or charities, etc.
- **Experimental data**—created in a controlled environment, this data describes responses to ‘treatments’ that might mimic real world stimuli or policy interventions
- **Institutional data**—this includes the characteristics of laws related to discrimination or hate crimes, the legal status of neo-Nazi or other anti-Jewish organizations, restrictions on Holocaust denial or, conversely, laws and policies that suppress unflattering historical truths. The characteristics of national and local governments would be another example.
- **Media, communication or social media-based data**—this might include information on the visibility of the Jewish community, the tone of media coverage discussing issues affecting the Jewish community, the prevalence of antisemitic themes or ideas in news or social media, manifestos of political parties that may target or seek the support of the Jewish community, etc.
- **Demographic data**—the health, size, age and spatial distribution of the population
- **Legal analyses.**

At present, some of these data types are more common than others. They also entail different levels of commitment, cost, potential frequency and each possesses a distinctive set of advantages and drawbacks. Survey and event data appear to be the default for many communities and research groups. The demography of the Jewish people has long been a subject of research. There are some existing data—collected by projects with more general aims such as assessing the qualities of national constitutions or hate crime laws—on institutional characteristics, but so far as we are aware, none of these have been adapted specifically for the study of antisemitism and most if it is at the national rather than local level. Media monitoring and other computational data collection methods are in their infancy. Experimental research related specifically to antisemitism also appears to be relatively thin on the ground.

Identifying Audiences

Remaining cognizant of the reception of the evaluation process while in the midst of its development is consistent with our goal of creating an approach that is as explicit, comprehensive, and integrated as possible. It follows that identifying potential recipients of both raw measurements and the resulting assessments is a useful and important exercise. The last four columns of Figure 1 identify four types of potential audiences: academics, Jewish communities, governments and their agencies, and finally a single category for civil society/NGOs and international organizations such as the OECD, EU, etc. The academic audience will be largely interested in gathering data that will more conclusively describe current or historical conditions, as well better understanding underlying drivers of antisemitism. Theirs is the project of elucidating hypotheses and

rigorously testing alternative theories of causation to better understand the genesis of antisemitic attitudes, and how and why attitudes affect Jewish targets and/or lead to destructive behavior.

The academic project is also of potential value to the second audience—Jewish communities that may be potential targets. Their concerns may be divided into two parts. The first is identification of signals and early warning. What needs to be taken seriously and when? What precursors, when observed and measured, should condition communal expectations? The second part is, of course, what to do about developing risks. Different measures may best inform each of these decisions—prediction and the design of interventions are related, but distinct enterprises. Under these circumstances, we might ask what types of actions or postures may serve to hedge against or mitigate the risks facing Jewish communities currently targeted by antisemitism, and what types of ‘shaping’ actions⁶ may reduce the propagation of antisemitic attitudes or reduce the propensity for antisemitic actions. While Jewish communities—being small parts of larger societies—may not possess sufficient hard and soft power to confront unfavorable developments directly and with equivalent force, they are more likely to be able to engage in and support “nudges.”⁷ These are small actions which, for reasons well-grounded in behavioral and cognitive science, can have out-size effects.

Governments are also prime potential audiences for evaluation and assessment of antisemitism. Nearly all of the developed countries where Jews reside governments take seriously their responsibility to provide security to all citizens, including Jews.⁸ Even with the best of will, however, until there are sudden eruptions—such as a series of terrorist attacks—the visibility of antisemitism and mobilization of public opinion—are usually low. In some countries, Jews and their communal organizations prefer not to call the attention of authorities to incidents in which they are targeted. This leads us to a second reason why governments are an important audience: not all regimes possess the best of will. In the absence of a widely-accepted system for reporting and measuring antisemitism, these governments may too easily plead ignorance or refute claims of inaction. Coupled with widely-accepted norms against antisemitism, robust data collection and dissemination would enable effective ‘naming and shaming campaigns’ by reducing the plausibility of claims of ignorance and raise the potential stakes for sustained denial.⁹

⁶ We borrow this terminology from the foreign policy community. For an explicit example, see: Reveron, D. A. (2007). *Shaping and Military Diplomacy*. Article, US Naval War College. http://faoa.memberlodge.org/resources/Documents/apsa07_proceeding_210193.pdf

⁷ See, for example, *Nudge: Improving Decisions about Health, Wealth, and Happiness* by Richard H. Thaler and Cass R. Sunstein (Yale University Press, 2008).

⁸ Noteworthy are the Council of Europe, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and its commissions especially the General Policy Recommendations No. 9 on Antisemitism, and reviews of member States' work on antisemitism when they carry out country visits. Also vital is the requirement of European Union Member States to criminalize incitement and holocaust denial, contained in the 2008 Framework decision, on which they are now inspected.

⁹ For evidence that these campaigns can achieve significant effects even in extreme cases, see: Krain, M. (2012). *J'accuse! Does naming and shaming perpetrators reduce the severity of genocides or politicides?* 1. *International Studies Quarterly*, 56(3), 574-589. <http://discover.wooster.edu/mkrain/files/2012/12/jaccuse.pdf>

The last column includes non-governmental entities with orientations and missions consistent with confronting antisemitism and reducing its influence and effects. At the local and national levels, this would include anti-discrimination and civil society organizations. At the international level, it would include organizations like the OSCE, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) or Organization of American States (OAS), which lack direct governmental responsibilities but seek the diffusion of principles and practices that militate against discrimination and threats to ethnic and religious communities. In the complicated calculus of determining the significance of potential threats and crafting appropriate responses, these bodies could potentially play an important role by supporting communal or governmental actors. Their scrutiny—or potential involvement—may also help cajole recalcitrant governments.¹⁰ Having a common, widely-accepted data base and means for assessment may serve to make such potential allies more aware of conditions and also provide a foundation for discussion and action. This would enhance the potential for concerted actions even if efforts are not formally coordinated.

Taxonomy and Definitions

The last consideration of the possibility for greater coherence across diverse stakeholders and actors seeking to combat antisemitism are questions about the basis for achieving this coherence. An important element must surely be consistency of terms, definitions and taxonomies. This may prove to be the most daunting challenge of all.

Different organizations and actors approach antisemitism from different perspectives. No single perspective is sufficient to accomplish the task at hand. As previously discussed, governments frequently view it from a law enforcement perspective and so the vocabularies they use are attuned to the legal requirements for defining crimes and enabling arrest and prosecution. This may leave a number of issues unaddressed, particularly the latency between attitude and action, and the possibility of preventive action. Moreover, legal definitions vary across jurisdictions; what constitutes a crime in some countries (for example, Holocaust denial) is not actionable in others. Some non-legal standards must be applied if the concepts included within a framework for evaluation are to be comprehensive and widely applicable.

A degree of consistency will also be a boon to analysts because it would render data from different countries and localities comparable, greatly enhancing the potential for scientific evaluation and hypothesis testing and expanding the empirical base. Estimates validated by robust cross-national comparison would, in turn, better-inform practitioners and advocates. For Jewish communities with limited data, consistency could prove an asset as they work towards better data collection and monitoring. Being able to refer to a more widely-accepted set of definitions within a consistent taxonomy would make it easier to plan and implement such activities. It would also diffuse what best practice in the form of a consistent set of concepts and measures, with a clear framework that defines their interconnections and importance.

¹⁰ Kim, D. (2013). International nongovernmental organizations and the global diffusion of national human rights institutions. *International Organization*, 67(3), 505-539

The lack of such a system to date should not be ascribed to a failure of due diligence or recalcitrance on the part of organizations and agencies currently conducting antisemitism evaluation. On the contrary, it is understandable as each such organization or community sought to understand and react to their own specific concerns. This state of affairs is less purposeful and desirable when antisemitism is no longer on the wane but has now become a recrudescent—and perhaps globalized—social force. The need for a less fragmented approach is the same as the rationale for this paper's entire conceptualization: if antisemitism is once more a serious transnational problem, then it needs to be dealt with seriously and internationally. A common frame of reference for identifying and speaking about the components of antisemitic thought and action would be an important step in that direction.

IV. Data Collection, Access and Quality Control

Although none of our experts believe there is sufficient high-quality data on antisemitism globally, nevertheless a great deal of information does exist. Unfortunately, these data have been created in an uncoordinated manner by many different organizations with distinct collection methods and standards. Each organization stores its data independently, and much of it has never been made available for analysis to external scholars or analysts. For example, the European Union FRA's last published survey on the prevalence of antisemitism is five years old. A new round of survey, expanded to additional States and experts is in progress, whose data is planned for publication in 2018, but will nevertheless be limited in focus. [The findings have been published in this [report](#) along with a [technical report](#) on the survey, as well as a [survey data explorer](#) is available on the website of the Agency. There will indeed be a second round of the survey, with results expected to be published during the course of 2018. Henri Nickels Sept. 6, 2017]¹¹ By contrast, relatively poor-quality data on national ethno-religious demographics made available by scholars at Harvard and Stanford have been cited more than 5,000 times.¹² WomanStats, an open-access portal with hundreds of thousands of largely crowd-sourced observations on the status of women around the world has had a dramatic influence on scientific research and has affected policy debates in the US Congress, the UN, the US Department of Defense, CIA and World Bank.¹³ We should aspire to create similarly powerful data on the Jewish people and antisemitism.

At the outset, a community of researchers, community data-collecting organizations and scholars interested in antisemitism could mutually profit from engaging in a forthright dialogue about data access. Ideally, a core group of scholars and community organizations would initially share data amongst themselves. Full public access could occur incrementally and would follow meticulous documentation and quality control of existing data. Some data will never be fully accessible—individual households and survey respondents cannot be identified, for example. Some community organizations may be initially reluctant to share their data. These issues are not at all unique to the Jewish community, however. Data collected in war-torn areas and on victims of violent crime as well as census and health records all face similar issues. Careful anonymization, restrictive terms of access, licenses,

¹¹ FRA Survey: Discrimination and hate crime against Jews in EU Member States: experiences and perceptions of antisemitism, FRA, 2013, <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2013/discrimination-and-hate-crime-against-jews-eu-member-states-experiences-and>

¹² See Google Scholar citations counts [for](#): Alesina, A., Devleeschauwer, A., Easterly, W., Kurlat, S., & Wacziarg, R. (2003). Fractionalization. *Journal of Economic growth*, 8(2), 155-194. [And](#) Fearon, J. D. (2003). Ethnic and cultural diversity by country. *Journal of economic growth*, 8(2), 195-222.

¹³ The project is here: <http://www.womanstats.org/> For an assessment of impact, see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/WomanStats_Project#Users_and_role_of_the_database

and login credentials can be used to resolve these issues and build confidence in skeptical communities.¹⁴

The science of measurement requires that data, methods, metrics and models be accessible for external review and replication. The accumulation of knowledge through replication and modification of prior studies is the *sine qua non* of science as such. There is a growing consensus among social scientists that replicability is synonymous with transparent data and analytical code.¹⁵ Open data access is now a requirement for the Proceedings of the National Academy of Science, PLoS journals as well as top-tier journals in economics and political science. This emerging norm affects research topics—like anti-Semitism—where data is fragmented or inaccessible. Since top-tier scholars seek to place research in outlets with requirements for open data, they will avoid research domains where data is unpublishable.

Moreover, this emerging consensus is built on sound logic. When data are not shared, the marginal cost of a new study is equal to the cost of prior work; new data is precisely as difficult to create and analyze as the prior data. Flaws in prior studies may go unnoticed if the data are not reviewed. By contrast, when scholars can access data freely, they can easily execute new analyses of existing data or integrate it with additional measurements. This creates economies of scale. Science can function as a competitive ‘market’ as publication and grant-making processes give analysts incentives to correct others’ mistakes and build on prior successes. Making data accessible enables ‘crowd-sourcing’—many hands make light work. Analyses and techniques that the creators of data would never have considered are implemented elsewhere, and knowledge can advance efficiently. [Requires clarification]

Skepticism flourishes when data are inaccessible; several recent scandals and systematic reviews have created widespread distrust of social science data—particularly when it makes strong or controversial claims.¹⁶ It may go without saying that the capacity of studies on antisemitism to persuade skeptics and policymakers may be affected by the very antisemitism that is the object of its study; accessible data signals that there is ‘nothing to hide’ as well as placing markers that are difficult to ignore or refute.

A quick review puts the dearth of high-quality, accessible data on antisemitism in stark relief. The Harvard Institute for Quantitative Social Science (IQSS) Dataverse—the premier repository for social science data—has only handful of datasets on antisemitism, none of which were collected by Jewish organizations, all of which are limited to the US. Even so, these datasets have had an out-sized impact—although most are more than 20 years old, they have been used in some of the most prominent scholarly studies on American antisemitism. An [open-access dataset](#) on global patterns of discrimination against ethnic and religious groups—which includes only a handful of sketchy observations related to

¹⁴ For example, see: <https://today.law.harvard.edu/voices-syria-unique-survey-offers-inside-look-worn-torn-country-people/> For a more general overview by a leader of the effort to make data available and transparent, see: King, G. (2011). Ensuring the data-rich future of the social sciences. *Science*, 331(6018), 719-721.

¹⁵ Herndon, J., & O'Reilly, R. (2016). Data Sharing Policies in Social Sciences Academic Journals: Evolving Expectations of Data Sharing as a Form of Scholarly Communication. *Databrarianship: The Academic Data Librarian in Theory and Practice*.

¹⁶ Want to Fix Science's Replication Crisis? Then Replicate (WIRED 2017) <https://www.wired.com/2017/04/want-fix-sciences-replication-crisis-replicate/>

Jewish populations—has more than 6,000 downloads and 500 academic citations since 2011. Because these data are already in circulation, the status of the Jewish people is already included in published work—with data that many of our experts would regard as suspect. The problem is that superior but inaccessible data will not supplant freely available but lower-quality material.

In light of inadequate data or research, the data used by FRA for its 2013 survey has since been utilized by JPR and other research institutes for further analysis, indicating its robust nature. Likewise, the forthcoming FRA survey on antisemitism has been widened to include additional states, and the list of questions has been extended while retaining the original questions to enable comparison.

Generating a holistic toolkit for measuring the prevalence and correlates of antisemitism requires the collection, integration, storage and management of several types of data.

These associated issues might be placed in three broad areas:

- Curation and management of existing data;
- Creating widely-accepted best practices and principles for data collection and dissemination;
- Collection of new data based on consensus best-practices and gaps identified by studies of prior data.

A scientific community focused on the study of antisemitism should seek:

- A survey of the types and quality of existing data for measuring patterns in antisemitism that will enable us to develop improved measures for the future;
- A consensus on best practices for creating data that encompass the incidence and severity of antisemitism across time and space;
- A centralized, searchable, and accessible repository for experts to work with data on antisemitism, refine and adjust their methods and models;
- Broader engagement with antisemitism-related data and analyses. Our research agenda should be credible and interesting to highly-qualified researchers in respected positions across academia and government.

Experts make strong claims only when supported by strong data. An assessment of data quality must precede any serious experimentation with measurement models. There are two practical reasons for this. First, it is inevitable: a consensus rule-of-thumb is that more than three quarters of the work in complex projects involves data preparation and cleaning. One either does this work intentionally and preemptively at the front end or runs the risk of doing so on the back end—with the added cost of lost credibility and potential harm caused. Second, it is difficult to debate the validity of models or metrics and their resulting inferences when the quality of the underlying data is in doubt. Optimal model selection requires knowledge of the underlying data. A flawless model will produce errant results if it is fed flawed data.

A shared research agenda requires consensus-based criteria for evaluating data. Initially, we will need to perform a survey of existing data—determining what we is available and evaluating its strengths and weaknesses objectively. A central repository—the Jewish equivalent of WomanStats—might follow that project’s lead with respect to its ‘crowd-

sourced' data. They offer clear, fair, and precise assessments of data quality and coverage.¹⁷ Each kind of data—survey, experiment, event, etc.—has its own unique quality and coverage issues. Specialists in each data type can work to develop a consensus on metrics for data quality. This could then become a template for data 'manifests' to assess the quality of a given contributed dataset. These documents are customarily distributed with open-access datasets when quality is variable.

A survey of existing data is also important because it will affect the agenda for future collection and the viability of metrics and measures. We need to know about the existence (or absence) of data, as well as its quality. Costs of data collection vary across data type, and some types cannot be collected retrospectively (for example, if you skip a year in opinion data collection, asking about it the following year is not a good solution). Certain measures may be very important, but also very costly to collect, or historical data to support them might be sparse. This will also give us a better understanding of gaps in existing data that would drive future outreach or project development efforts.

While developing criteria and performing evaluations of existing data, our community of experts can craft a set of best practices to be shared with community groups and researchers looking to improve their efforts or develop new data collection efforts. A consensus on these methods will enable us to **create a truly transferable toolkit**. If data collected in different places and times are superficially similar but fundamentally diverge with respect to collection methods, concepts, and quality, we will not be able to measure antisemitism across time and space. Perfect data and perfect technical harmonization are, of course, unobtainable in practice, but as aspirations they are important goalposts for a serious research community.

¹⁷ See: <http://www.womanstats.org/disclaimer.html>

V. Roadmap for Action

We conclude by laying out a roadmap for realizing the vision of an effective collaboration by scholars, analysts, policy planners and communities to create superior insight into the phenomena of, and potential countermeasures to, antisemitism. We first define five different projects to be pursued by engaging diverse contributors to the effort. In the previous sections of this paper we “set the table” for each – not by providing the intended final word but rather in the spirit of providing stimulus for action. These constitute the working elements of the overarching vision we propose. We then offer specific suggestions of practical next steps for moving forward along the projects and realizing the larger vision. We first provide brief outlines of the five projects below. Doing so is intended to be taken neither as agnosticism towards nor dismissal of work already currently undertaken by academics, governments or practitioners in the community. Far from it: these efforts make possible the course we propose. We offer the collection of identified projects, rather, in the spirit of being as comprehensive as possible to frame an integrated, systematic and collaborative approach.

Five Projects: Systematic Measurement and Assessment of Antisemitism

- *Framing and conceptualization*

Antisemitism suggests itself as a subject worthy of study, measurement and analysis not only for its intrinsic academic interest. As discussed above, it has profound implications for politics and society in general and for Jewish communities and individuals in particular. As with any other policy realm, effort spent up front in framing the issues and context for subsequent analysis is rarely time wasted. On the contrary, absent such preliminary reflection, a good deal of effort may be expended with less than the full measure of potential insight received.

Perspectives

The most obvious effects of antisemitism may presumed to be found in impacts upon its targets: Jews, Jewish communities and Jewish participation in a nation’s political, economic, social, legal and cultural life. This is the usual framing. To frame solely around this perspective, however, may be to turn a blind eye to the importance of antisemitism’s consequences. We have provided another framing already: looking not solely at attitudes toward Jews but also of Jews themselves regarding their circumstances.

Even so, a framing that encompasses other perspectives is desirable. What, for example, is important for us to understand about the phenomenon of “antisemitism without Jews” in East Asia, one of the most dynamic regions in today’s world? What are the implications of recrudescant antisemitism for non-Jews? For example, the 20th century forms of political antisemitism can be traced to the politics of Dr. Karl Lueger, Vienna’s very popular turn-of-the-century mayor (his statue is still to be found in a prominent place before the city’s

rathaus). Lueger himself does not appear to have been a classic antisemite. When chided for his large number of Jewish friends and associates he famously replied, "*Ich entscheide wer ein Jude ist.*"¹⁸ No matter what his personal feelings might have been, he recognized the political force that could be mobilized with antisemitic tropes and rhetoric. Such "antisemitic" politics may begin with the Jews but their general force and impact may be considerably wider and have implications far beyond those localized on Jewish communities or for those seeking to protect Jewish citizens.

To be sure, this widens the scope of inquiry. But at the same time, it also provides a more comprehensive lens and potentially a more sustainable and broadly based effort. Stakeholders will not be equally interested in all aspects of the phenomenology of antisemitism, yet a successful framing should fully encompass the widest range of potential pursuits. This has the potential to make the study and assessment of antisemitism less isolated from larger questions of policy at the community, regional, provincial, and national levels. Perhaps paradoxically, it is also important to better understand what is distinctive and possibly *sui generis* about antisemitism. To the extent that the resurgence of anti-Jewish speech and acts is part of a larger phenomenon of bias directed against many "others" in society, this perspective has considerable relevance.

Dynamics

Framing and conceptualizing the issues and factors comprising antisemitism requires yet another paradox to be maintained. While a conceptual framework should be sufficiently comprehensive to contain reference to the many drivers, venues, forms and effects of antisemitism, a pigeon-holing approach should be resisted. That is, we may for convenience look at attitudinal markers of antisemitic belief on the one hand and actual attacks on the other, or at economic, political or cultural consequences. These are convenient labels we use to compartmentalize knowledge and phenomena. They provide an intellectual convenience but should not be taken as accurate representations of the reality we wish to understand. The relationships between these different categories are not static and insulated but rather dynamic and interconnected. This realization should be one of the constituents of a framing of the problems at hand.

To give an obvious example, it is probably useful to distinguish between attitudinal antisemitism ("I don't like Jews, I don't want to come in contact with them, and I think they are on balance a negative element in our society,") and activist antisemitism ("Measures must be taken against Jews to suppress their influence, reduce their presence in our society and limit malign Jewish effects on the world.") But, of course, they are related.

Antisemitism of the first type is relevant in and of itself and by virtue of its effects. A framework for measurement and analysis, however, must also make provision for gaining insight into the potential for transmutation of the first seemingly 'passive' type into the second as well as how it provides an enabling factor or imparts motive force to more militant, active forms of antisemitism. While the militant manifestations of antisemitism most directly affect immediate Jewish collective and individual interests, passive attitudinal forms will inevitably effect Jewish community perspectives.

¹⁸ "I decide who is a Jew."

This distinction highlights just one of many questions we might be able to address if we had better information and tools. To think in terms of dynamics, transitions and lines of mutual influence is to prepare the way for policy thinking:

- For Jewish communities or Jewish people as a whole:
 - a) To what extent are Jewish well-being and interests affected by current and projected levels of antisemitism?
 - b) How can we best aid Jewish communities to avoid the gradual acclimatization and desensitizing effect that often accompanies a transition between attitudinal and active, militant antisemitism?¹⁹
 - c) Uncomfortable as it may be to confront, is there a threshold level of antisemitism that serves to maintain a Jewish community?²⁰
 - d) What adaptive, shaping or hedging actions are available to reduce or eliminate the effect of antisemitism on Jewish community and Jewish collective well-being and interests?
 - e) To what degree should individual Jewish communities, Jewish people or Israeli policies and actions in areas seemingly-unrelated to antisemitism be tempered by consideration of the potential indirect effects on antisemitic growth and activity?
- Many of these parochial framings have correspondence with concerns for the broader society and governance. In addition, several others have greater relevance for that higher level perspective:
 - a) Is the "old" antisemitism of the Right correlated more with attitudinal antisemitism while the "new" manifestations on the Left are more strongly correlated with militant action? Are Right/Left distinctions meaningful in this context?
 - b) Is it possible to identify threshold levels of antisemitism, both attitudinal and action-oriented, that would signal a society's circumstances have passed from one qualitatively distinct state-of-being to another (e.g., a Jewish community or a political environment that is "secure," "threatened," endangered"?)
 - c) What actions or policies can we recommend (drawing upon best practice) for affected communities?

Cognizance potential effects that cascade across categories within the framework is an important element to build into its conceptualization. Doing so would make us recognize the types of policy choices that might be better informed to the extent that our measurement of antisemitism approximates the ideal.

¹⁹ Nominally, the implicit policy since the *Shoah* has been zero tolerance and public statements branding antisemitic statements and actions as such while as a practical matter there is a background level of antisemitic expression and action, varying by locale that is endured, if not accepted.

²⁰ One may contrast the medieval European experience with that of the Jewish communities in China during the same period.

Definitions

Who is an antisemite and what constitutes antisemitic thought and deed? How do definitions differ among countries, within international organizations and in key cultural institutions such as universities, media and so forth? In France or Germany, Holocaust denial is a chargeable offense. In the U.S., it is an exercise of constitutionally protected speech. The pro-Palestinian Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement speaks in the language of rights, law and social justice. Simultaneously, it often conveys its messages in forms of accusation long associated with anti-Jewish hate speech.

It would clearly be useful for communities that lead in active monitoring—e.g., the U.S., U.K., and France—to consider carefully the type of data their institutions collect and whether that which is less amenable to measurement should nevertheless become more of a concerted focus.²¹ To some extent, that effort would be facilitated by generating a common taxonomy to render cross-country and multi-year comparisons more tractable and meaningful. But is this necessarily true across all issues touched upon by manifestations of antisemitism? The question is not an easy one to address simply but should be taken on as part of the framing project—indeed, in many ways, this is one of its most crucial tasks.

The best and most reputable agents for determining what is to be done and for carrying out the necessary changes would be major organizations that already represent the tall poles holding up the tent of data gathering and evaluation. Major Jewish community organizations within the United States, the United Kingdom, France and elsewhere charged with monitoring antisemitism, as well as highly regarded international organizations such as FRA, are best placed to design, guide and conduct a process for reconciling definitions and statistical time series that are already being used by each.

This is not to say the task laid out in this paper would be an easy one nor without considerable challenges. But the existing experts represent the best opportunity for bringing the prospect into realization. As difficult as it may be to do so, this commonality and transmissibility of terms and accepted definitions represent an important link in establishing a recursive loop of data, information, analysis, action, and assessment that would provide increasing returns to scale and enhance the potential of the resulting comprehensive data to affect positive outcomes all across the stakeholders in the fight against antisemitism.

- *Measurement design*

The third section of this paper discussed the role of measures and expanded upon the design for a framework accounting for different aspects of the measurement function presented in Table 1. Among the five roadmap projects, this design project comes immediately after (and should be made subordinate to) the project of conceptual framing. It is intimately bound with the project that follows, the practical architecture and engineering of a database facility, either virtual or localized. Having made this point, realistically all three are really aspects of a larger thrust and may usefully be considered concurrently rather than sequentially.

²¹ This already occurs as, for example, when the CST and SPCJ have conferred on their time frame, style and scope of incident measurement.

As with the problems associated with the framing project, the measurement design project could usefully be made a joint effort. The format presented in Table 1 or any other starting point should be the basis of specific effort by a team of volunteer experts representing the communities of research, governance and practice. Their collective effort should be to produce a more sophisticated and detailed version representing their collective thought and interaction. This can then be presented to those who may be expected to contribute to and make use of such information. The intent is to proceed in a manner that draws the best aspects of top-down and bottom-up design. Recognition of value added and delivered rather than imposition by decree (a recourse of notoriously dubious utility within the Jewish world) will determine how ubiquitously a proposed measurement strategy is adopted.

There are several big-picture ideas that should undergird any such effort. The first is to **proceed from the end backwards**: initially identify questions we wish to address and actions we want to inform. The second is a corollary of the first: rather than availability of data or ease in construction of indicators, **objectives should inform the design** of measurement frameworks. Some measures revealed by this approach will come more ready to hand than others.

Finally, the effort should aim to **broaden its own base of contributors**, a theme touched on more fully below. Certainly, broader coverage and gathering of information throughout the globe should be one of the goals, in contrast to the extreme patchiness prevalent today. The elucidation and presentation of the framework should serve as an implicit invitation to non-traditional data collectors to contribute. Although not specified in Table 1, a valuable contribution by those seeking to move the measurement project forward would be to embed in the design of the framework a consideration of from where and by whom the information to construct the measures might be obtained.

- *Data collation and database design*

Several data integration and data curation challenges are discussed above. Our research community needs infrastructure: data repositories and data-sharing tools, and a set of enforceable standards for database design. Some of these standard-setting issues are basic: data collectors and analysts should have common identifiers for certain kinds of characteristics: geographic units, formats for dates and times, file formats, etc. Data will need to be archived, and some data may require considerable cleaning or the creation of additional documentation before it meets baseline standards.

Some technical choices must be made: there are several competing tools for data warehousing. Academic social scientists tend to use the IQSS Dataverse to store model code and datasets, and it can integrate some nice web-based analytical and visualization tools like [Two Ravens](#). The Anti-Defamation League [recently partnered](#) with a new entrant in this market—data.world—to warehouse their data. Data.world is more popular with the software development community and incorporates features like chat, cooperative code writing, and enables ‘crowd sourced’ analysis of data in ways Dataverse does not. GitHub is a popular repository for data science and programming experts. Our community may be data-heavy and software-light at this stage, but insofar as we might seek to develop tools in future—i.e., software for detecting antisemitic discourse in local newspapers—a developer-friendly environment is something to consider.

Infrastructure creation, data collation and cleaning of this type creates a 'public good' for the research community. As such, it is subject to a typical dilemma: it is in everyone's interest to accomplish work, but it is burdensome for any one individual member of our community to take the challenge on. A collective commitment to identifying and pursuing sufficient funding to maintain a data collation and access system will be needed.

- *New data acquisition, characterization and analysis*

Data acquisition and assessment constitutes the core work of a collaborative effort to monitor manifestations of antisemitism and determine their implications. This work is, has been, and will be ongoing. Of the five projects it is the most advanced and widely conducted. While coordination and collaboration are always of potential value, as the bread and butter of both individual researchers and the organizations most prominent in this field, new data generation requires the least agenda-setting and integration of effort. That having been said, there are at least three ways in which pursuing the overall agenda of the full five projects may benefit efforts to gather and analyze information. First, while there are already many workers in these fields, placing their efforts within a larger framework creates the potential for **mutual awareness** and enhances the potential for concordances and collaborations. It would become clearer to those already engaged in these tasks and others how individual research and data collection efforts might interact. This greater visibility could have the additional effect of bringing **new researchers and organizations** into the field. Especially if informed by the grand conceptual framing and linkages to empirical and policy challenges advanced here, the value and importance of this joint enterprise would be made more palpable. More hands would make for lighter work and could considerably enhance our store of knowledge and in doing so support the gain of wisdom.

Finally, the increased visibility and credibility derived from interdisciplinary and international coordination might also enable researchers to pursue **additional sources of support** for their projects.

- *Building a community of practice*

Both implicitly and explicitly, the five-project agenda requires and intends to support a network of mutually-reinforcing effort among scholars, practitioners and local communities. Seamless communications might be the ideal but the practice should at least include the facilitation of discourse and provision of entry points and means for collaboration. This would be a goal not only across these three sectors but within them as well. Each is in itself a complex ecology of many actors and interests.

Certainly, a principal objective of this endeavor should be to encourage and support greater engagement within and by communities. Only a handful of national Jewish communities actively pursue an agenda for monitoring and data collection or make such information widely available. We would do well to jointly discover where barriers exist elsewhere and how national and local (often political) dynamics can undermine confidence and efforts in this area.

Some combination of a lack of capacity, focus, and reluctance to raise their profile contribute to these zones of relative shadow, where researchers gain only glimpses. Providing a standard and pursuing means for mobilizing activity could bring a fuller range

of antisemitic phenomenology into our ken. Specifically, it should be a goal to expand the scope of measurement practice already performed in the US, France and the UK. Another goal would be improved practice in sizable Jewish communities where monitoring is more intermittent or even non-existent.

This goal of community-building in multiple directions and across different kinds of research and data-collecting communities will not be easy to achieve. This is why it is a project in itself and not necessarily an expected consequence of the other efforts. Once more, all the projects are in many ways precursors to and in others consequences of the others. It will take both skill and forethought to effect the creation of such community bonds while retaining full cognizance of the needs of individual workers, their organizations and their respective countries.

Next Steps: A Work Plan

These five projects will necessarily be the work of diverse hands. They will require both crowd-sourcing of effort by many and the exercise of intellectual and community leadership. No one individual or organization will be sufficient in itself, and yet their absence could dampen the effort to pursue the projects we have outlined. What is required is a widely shared recognition that if antisemitism is to be taken seriously and cooperatively as a major issue of the day for Jews, their communities, and their fellow citizens and friends, it must be approached seriously as well.

But where and how to begin? We propose a work plan for the initial stages of the effort. It may begin with a small set of participants, but additional entrants as the process unfolds would be desirable. Clearly, the five listed projects are intended to be expansible (including more players, communities and elements for measurement) and recursive (prior work may be reviewed, expanded or revised based on insights gained later).

Task 1: Consultation defining first set of measures

The first two of the five projects (Framing and Conceptualization; Measurement Design) are very much on the table at the outset. This task should include a multiplicity of efforts including active circulation to potentially interested parties, publication, workshops and briefings to present the vision but more importantly collect a diversity of input and reactions at an early stage. In Table 1 we offered a framework; it is currently empty of content. The initial list of potential metrics needs to be widely agreed to and a first set of measures and proxies for each such metric proposed.

Task 2: Test application of measures against available data

The intent of first devising the measurement framework is to put us in a position to assess the adequacy of our existing data and determine what more we need to seek and collect. This is in contrast to an approach that first collects data that only afterwards is assessed for what it may tell us. After completion of Task 1, this second task would populate the emerging framework with data. The purpose is to conduct an inventory of what data are available, create and demonstrate a system for its inventory rooted in a statement of fundamental concerns, and simultaneously, identify the data and proxies that might be

required for improved analysis. We would ask: what more information would we need to be able to develop at least one measure for each of our chosen metrics?

Once this has been performed for a test case country or community, the effort can expand to assess other countries. Are there communities where the data missing from the test country can be found? If so, this aids in inferring what might constitute a model of best practice that might become more widely adopted and applied.

Tables 2 and 3 present a demonstration of this effort. They are designed solely to provide proof of principle and are by no means intended to be either comprehensive or dispositive. Quite the opposite: They were constructed with the deliberate intention of being provocative. While providing a demonstration of how the framework presented in this paper may actually be put to practice, they also invite elaboration, revision and supplementation by others. Table 2. maps several regularly published documents into the Table 1 framework with each appearing as a column. This selection is both limited and non-comprehensive. The intent was merely to provide a guide for efforts by others to use the framework as a tool for their own purposes. Table 3 provides detailed results of an initial mapping using Table 1.²²

Task 3: Select indicators and recommend applications

This is a task of consolidation. It would also be based on a consultative model and would be implemented by the same means as Task 1. While the latter will necessarily begin with a number of participating analysts and institutions, in Task 3 the goal will be to make participation as broad as possible.

Beyond the goal of sharing and ratifying the findings of the first two tasks, this effort will also involve normative evaluation of approaches for drawing upon the resulting evolving base of measures. The first two tasks will have developed only the raw material for research and policy analytical tool-building. The very richness of the data itself stands as an invitation to scholars and policy analysts to extract findings and draw informed inferences. Individual finding and assessments may still be debated, but the resource will exist to question them diligently and systematically.

One of the first such uses may be to select from among the many measures contained in the growing database a smaller number that may be designated as indicators—those data series that may convey important information on current and emerging trends. The goal of the effort proposed in this paper is not to be predictive per se. That ambition would require considerably more reflection and effort.²³ Yet, the underlying principle upon which these data will have been collected and curated is for them to be applied in ways that may serve larger purposes outlined discussed above. Creating a dashboard of candidate indicators may be one small step in going beyond the conceptual, measurement and data harmonization ambitions that are the focus of this paper into the realm of application and

²² In addition to the rows shown in Table 1, Table 3 also have rows beneath several of four main blocs of measures for “meta-data”, that is collateral data collected on the nature of incidents, the characteristics of perpetrators, etc.

²³ There is the potential for a Big Data approach to finding systematic relationships between attitudes, incidents and phenomena of greatest concern to Jewish communities. But the term would also apply to analytical efforts seeking, for example, to better elucidate the “stages” of the disease of antisemitism and the tendency of the process to go to its end stages or to more practically focused efforts to define what level, prevalence and forms of antisemitism may be deemed as rising above an unacceptable level of comfort and threat.

extensions that the proposed effort is intended to enable. It will also provide a template of best practice for other communities to employ in designing their own efforts.

Table 2. Characterizing a Selection of Antisemitism Assessments into the Table 1 Framework

Table 3. Mapping a Selection of Measures from Table 2 into the Table 1 Framework

INDIVIDUAL EXPERT CONTRIBUTIONS

Professor Scott Althaus

**Charles J. and Ethel S. Merriam Professor of Political Science
Director, Cline Center for Democracy
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign**

September 20, 2016

As we discuss a potential role of the Cline Center in this project moving forward, we would like to seek clarity on a couple of matters. Perhaps these could be discussed in general terms at the Paris meeting, or subsequently with you and/or Charles.

First, we are unsure of the likely role of media content analytics in the proposed tool. Much of the language in the planning documents refers to “instruments” or references survey-related data, but the Cline Center is a text analytic research center specializing in projects analyzing news content from all around the world. Survey design and implementation are not our core competencies.

Second, given this text-analytic focus, it is likely that any initial work on desired tool components at the Cline Center would require novel software or algorithm development. Timelines and cost for that work — even at the design/development stage — may be inconsistent with ISGAP and its academic partners’ expectations for survey design. We can envision approaches that limit the amount of technical work required at the front-end, but these might ultimately generate outputs similar to the “counting events” approach that the planning document disclaims.

Finally, there is an important question about the project’s ultimate goals in light of those constraints. It seems straightforward to envision a tool transferrable to EU member states or other governments that includes a survey instrument, some data and perhaps models for interpreting results. Handing off software and/or content raises a number of tricky questions about an architecture for sustainable maintenance and ‘tech support,’ as well as claims to intellectual property. While these questions are somewhat logistical or tactical in nature, they might have more “strategic” implication insofar as they affect the ultimate goals for funding and deploying the tool.



The Cline Center's Global News Archive

Voyager Webcrawler System

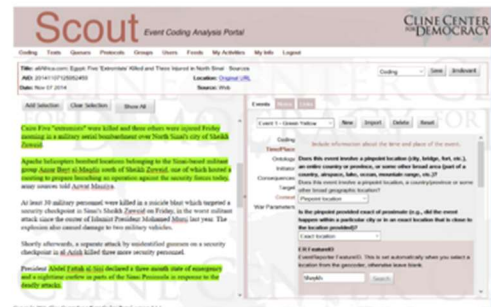
- 75 million documents (2006-yesterday) —
Acquires 30,000 new articles per day (average)
- Curated "White List" of ~5,000 Open-Access Feeds

Translated Media

- BBC's Summary of World Broadcasts
- Historical: CIA Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS; 1941-2004), including microform records for FBIS and BBC (6 million digitized images)

Historical Newspapers

- Historical Jewish-American Newspapers (1821-1990)
- New York Times and Wall Street Journal (1945-2005)
- Recently acquired: overseas newspapers, including United Kingdom, East and South Asian and Middle Eastern sources (1700's – 21st century)



Voyager is managed through Scout, a proprietary system integrating workflow, annotation and analysis

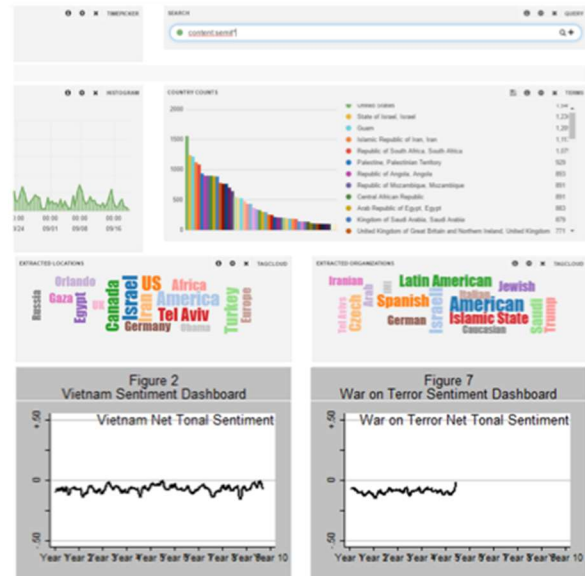
Cline Center Text Analytics

Extracted Features

- Meta-data from 95 million ingested documents
- Extracts: title, date, people, places, organizations, latitude/longitude and geophysical “features” (mountains, streets, military bases, etc.)
- Indexed and searchable - by content or feature
- Downloadable and visualization-ready

News Sentiment and Affect Data

- 5.7 million newspapers stories complete, complete archive pending (Fall 2016)
- Identifies “positive” and “negative” judgments, “us/them” rhetoric, moral discourse, anger, love, sadness, etc.
- Applications: Political Science, Economics, Social Psychology, Forecasting



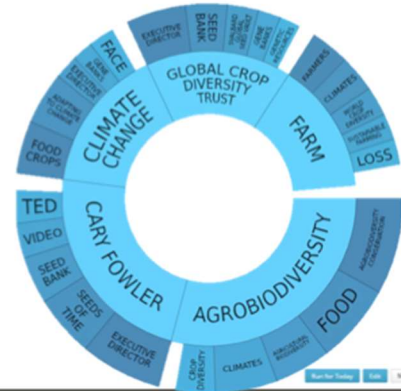
Social Media as Data Source

Crimson Hexagon, IBM Watson Analytics, TACIT

- Twitter, Blogs, Facebook, Reviews, Reddit, US legislative/judicial bodies
- Sentiment, topic models, keyword-tracking
- Nearly-real-time monitoring

Other Resources

- APIs: Twitter, News outlets, ‘Comment’ field providers, etc.
- Other subscription services: Digimind, Semantria, etc.
- iSchool, Illinois Informatics Institute and U of I Social Media Lab



Behavioral Approach: Monitor Events

TWO EVENT DATA APPROACHES:

Human-Machine Hybrid (SPEED)

- Produced in Scout based on Global News Archive
- Machine classification, human event description
- Analysts identify up to 1,000 attributes per event, human-quality precision/accuracy
- Ontologies and interfaces built at Cline Center

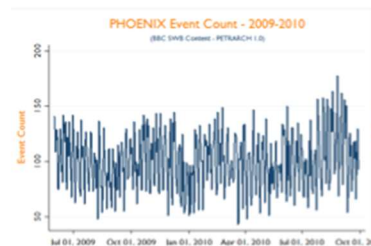


Applications (SPEED): impacts of climate change, conflict resolution program evaluation, regime change, counter-terrorism and unrest/repression dynamics

(Phoenix): forecasting, conflict/cooperation dynamics, OSINT

Machine-Coded (PHOENIX)

- Dictionary based — 40 years of US Government-funded research (see: ICEWS)
- Uses 'industry standard' cooperation-mediation-conflict framework (CAMEO) — classifies event type and location
- Cline Center-supported public-private partnership (OEDA)



Count of Phoenix events in 2 years of BBC media content

Rhetorical Approach: Analyze Discourse

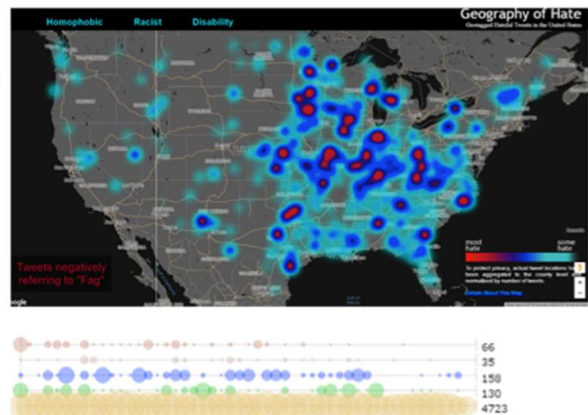
Enable comparison over time/space:

- Keywords/phrases
- Sentiment/emotion — including 'argument analysis'
- Identify topics, cluster ideas, 'influencers' and groups
- Track 'diffusion' of rhetoric from 'fringe' to 'center'

Varied methods and approaches

- Traditional vs. "Consumer created content"
- "Lexicon" (dictionary) based vs. learning algorithms
- Approaches to: geography, latent content and nuance, multi-lingual environments, language dynamics

Need to clarify: benchmarking and validation, shared understanding of what is being measured/predicted



"Hate Map" of anti-gay Tweets published by Prof. [Monica Stephens](#) (top) and topic trends broken down by source in discussions of extreme 'green' agriculture-related discourse (Crimson Hexagon)

Emerging Capabilities and Partnerships

Cline Center-Affiliated Experts Building Novel Technologies

- Inventors of ConText: software for network analysis of ideas, topics and language across media (built to assess 'impact' of foundation-funded documentary films)
- With Communication, Business and Information Sciences: identifying inter-ethnic "social comparison frames" and gender bias in media content

Software and Data Development

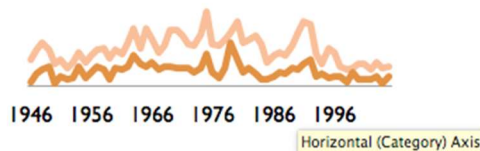
- With Computer Science and Informatics Institute: Artificial Intelligence for human-in-the-loop event monitoring
- With Psychology and Political Science: lexicons for tagging events involving named social, religious and ethnic groups
- Pending: interactive data access for researchers and NGO's, event and content-based forecasting methods, expanded dictionaries for emotion/sentiment analysis



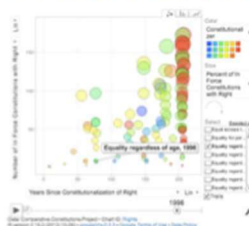
ConText network analysis of pre-documentary media discussion of mandatory minimum sentences (Diesner et. al. 2014)

Other Cline Center Event Data

DISRUPTIVE REGIME CHANGE



CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

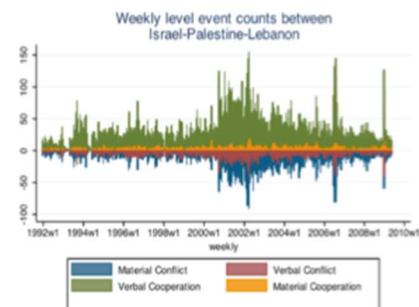


(c/o [Comparative Constitutions Project](#))

PHOENIX

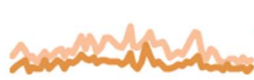
(c/o

[Open-Access Event Data Alliance](#))



Other Projects, Other Processes

DISRUPTIVE REGIME CHANGE

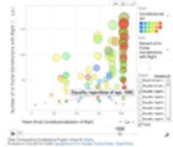


Manual Coding

Machine Coding

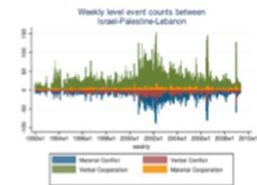


CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE



Manual Collection, Expert Survey

PHOENIX



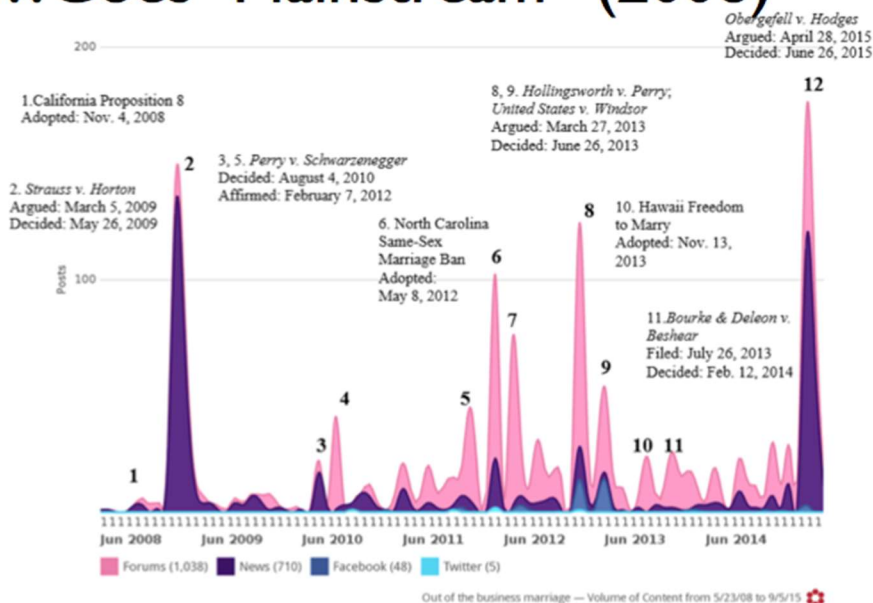
Cline Center Metadata Web Interface



Backlash...Goes “Mainstream” (2008)

WHEN COURTS RULE AGAINST GLBT MARRIAGE BANS...

Source: Professor
Robin Wilson, School
of Law (UIUC)



New Historical Newspapers – US and Int'l

Historical US Newspapers

Chicago Tribune	1849-1931
LA Times	1882-1931
Washington Post	1877-1933
New York Times	1851-1934
Wall Street Journal	1889-1933
San Francisco Chronicle	1865-1922
Boston Globe	1872-1983
Atlanta Constitution	1868-1931
Christian Science Monitor	1908-1992
Hartford Courant	1764-1930
Plus: regional papers from: New York, Texas, Arizona, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee. For a full list, email us .	

Historical Overseas Newspapers

Times of India	1838-2005
Irish Times	1859-1926
The Guardian	1821-1907
The Observer (UK)	1791-1907
Chinese Newspapers (collected)	1832-1953
South China Morning Post	1903-1950
Globe and Mail	1844-1960
Jerusalem Post	1932-1976
The Scotsman	1817-1927
Toronto Star	1894-1959

* These newspapers were part of other U of I Library holdings prior to the recent purchase, but are available now for data mining via Amazon Cloud

New Historical Newspapers – Ethno-Specific

Historical Black Newspapers

Atlanta Daily World	1931-2003
Chicago Defender	1910-1975
Los Angeles Sentinel	1934-2005
New York Amsterdam News	1922-1933
Norfolk Journal & Guide	1921-2003
Philadelphia Tribune	1912-2001
Pittsburgh Courier	1911-2002
Baltimore Afro-American *	1893-1988
Cleveland Call & Post *	1934-1991

Historical Jewish Newspapers

American Hebrew & Jewish Messenger	1857-1922
American Israelite	1854-1925
Jewish Advocate	1821-1907
Jewish Exponent	1887-1990

* These newspapers were part of other U of I Library holdings prior to the recent purchase, but are available now for data mining via Amazon Cloud

Tag Cloud for Genocide



Topic Modelling Genocide



Topic Modelling Genocide





Rabbi Andrew Baker
AJC Director, International Jewish Affairs

September 20, 2016

I remember a vivid incident. Javier Solana [then head of foreign policy for the EU] met members of the US congress. I talked with him. He said, "I do not see [the volume of] antisemitism in Europe." People were not measuring it. Communities were only beginning to collect data. We saw something. There was a lag to putting them down in a concrete way.

The EUMC [European Union Monitoring Centre] conducted its first survey in 15 states. It took what was out there - opinion surveys, civil monitor data collection. A second piece was interviewing Jewish community leaders of eight states. There was a disconnect. Leaders gave a darker picture than surveys. People thought leaders were exaggerating. On hindsight we can see that the leaders had better antennae than the surveys. The Berlin OSCE meeting [on antisemitism in 2004] put governments front and centre committed to collecting data.

There are three areas here - one is collecting data, second, opinion surveys. Antisemitism is more than hatred of Jews. It encompasses Holocaust denial and attitudes to Israel. Third, what do Jews experience or feel. We now have 2012 FRA [Fundamental Rights Agency] survey of what Jews in 8 EU countries experience. It is presented quantitatively. There is a desire to compare governments - a way to push governments. How do you get a good authentic objective sampling of Jewish opinion? Mobile phones make procedures of a decade ago outdated. We have better records now from governments who are collecting data on hate crimes. CST [Community Security Trust] is a model of joint cooperation in sharing data. This is hardly the case in most countries. In France, civil societies collect data to confront the government. Some data collection is not disaggregated. So we do not know which incidents are antisemitic. 75% of Jews do not report incidents - FRA survey. A good survey is expensive. AJC [American Jewish Committee] used to do surveys. ADL [Anti-Defamation League] did a survey of over 100 countries. It was felt in Sweden that the survey did a disservice, suggested that Sweden was a paradise. Communities can do that, surveys. It is involved. Can the surveys tell us the sources of antisemitism? We know that right wing is a source. We see it on the left. What has emerged is incidents from Arab Muslim communities. Jews have been pulled out of public schools in France because of harassment. The Education Ministry did not know this because they don't identify people by religion. Norway has done and will do a major survey. There is an effort to face up to this, recognize groups we recognize to be problematic. FRA survey was a contribution to elevating what we knew, from the impressionistic to the measurable. There was the fear that it was going to be a parallel to an earlier survey which was limited. By allowing those polled to identify stereotypes they heard, we got a picture. FRA tossed aside the EUMC definition. The survey was a wake up call. The difficulty now is pushing an earlier follow up survey than planned, 2018. We look for a way to draw comparisons - over time and between countries. We need a standardized

measurement and a commitment to collect data. Large numbers: are they a reflection of more of problem or better data collection? Hate speech - some countries will prosecute. In those countries, the data has more significance than measuring an atmosphere. Others will not prosecute and will not collect data. We are interested in data to address the problem. The more specific the data the better we can be in pushing governments or undertaking the work ourselves. One consequence is Jewish community security. We need to convey to governments that Jewish communities face special threats. We need to introduce educational programs. It makes sense to have a comprehensive definition. It does the job. The EUMC definition brings in the facet relating to Israel. It was controversial then, less so now. Antisemitism often starts with demonizing of Israel. What starts as anti-Israel often turns into attacks on Jews. The German Chair of OSCE wants to push this (adoption of the definition).

September 7, 2017

I am not an academic and no doubt that colors my initial reaction that this is unnecessarily lengthy and seems to dwell on delineating the most detailed, multi-dimensional devices for measuring antisemitism that may be optimally desired but are unlikely ever to be employed. Even by noting such topics for consideration as what degree of antisemitism might serve a role in building Jewish identity and cohesiveness is to show how far afield (in my view) this paper goes.

That said, it surely contains within it a very valuable description of the limited measuring tools we have now at our disposal and what additional information would be both helpful and possible to secure.

Thus, I would focus on what might practically be done to (1) provide us with better short-term and longitudinal information on antisemitism on a country-by-country basis with an emphasis on those countries with Jewish communities, (2) find ways to align and standardize information and data collection by leveraging the best practices in some countries to push others, and (3) identify those mechanisms that will successfully engage governments and intergovernmental bodies such as the EU and the OSCE to participate in the process of proper data collection, partner with Jewish communities on security assessments and back this up with the necessary financial and manpower support.

Dr. Jonathan Boyd,
Executive Director, Institute for Jewish Policy Research

September 20, 2016

After the murderous attack at Hyper Cacher in Paris, the central question we were being asked at my organisation in London – the Institute for Jewish Policy Research – was: “could it happen here?” And the truth is, with all of the data that exists on antisemitism, we couldn’t construct a compelling empirical answer. We spent several months trying to make sense of existing measurements, and wrote a paper on it (“Could it happen here?” – available at www.jpr.org.uk), and ultimately found that we have data proving that levels of antisemitism in the UK are increasing, are decreasing, and are stable. There are all sorts of inconsistencies and weaknesses in the existing data that need to be understood.

For example, antisemitic incident counts for the UK and France show that there are more antisemitic incidents in the UK than in France. This feels counter-intuitive. But the reason for it is not that there are more antisemitic incidents in the UK than France, but rather that antisemitic incidents are measured slightly differently, by different agencies, in the two countries. Moreover, as the FRA survey showed, most incidents aren’t reported anyway, so the figures can only reflect those that are reported. And now we have new challenge with incident data: social media creates an environment in which it is much easier to harass people and be abusive towards Jews. So, to what extent might the increases we see be due to a genuine increase in antisemitism, or simply the result of the existence of online tools that make antisemitic harassment easier? Discourse as a whole has grown thanks to social media, so it is logical that antisemitic discourse likewise will have grown.

ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS COUNTS

What do incident counts actually tell us?

Antisemitic incidents, UK and France, 2004-15, CST/SPCJ data

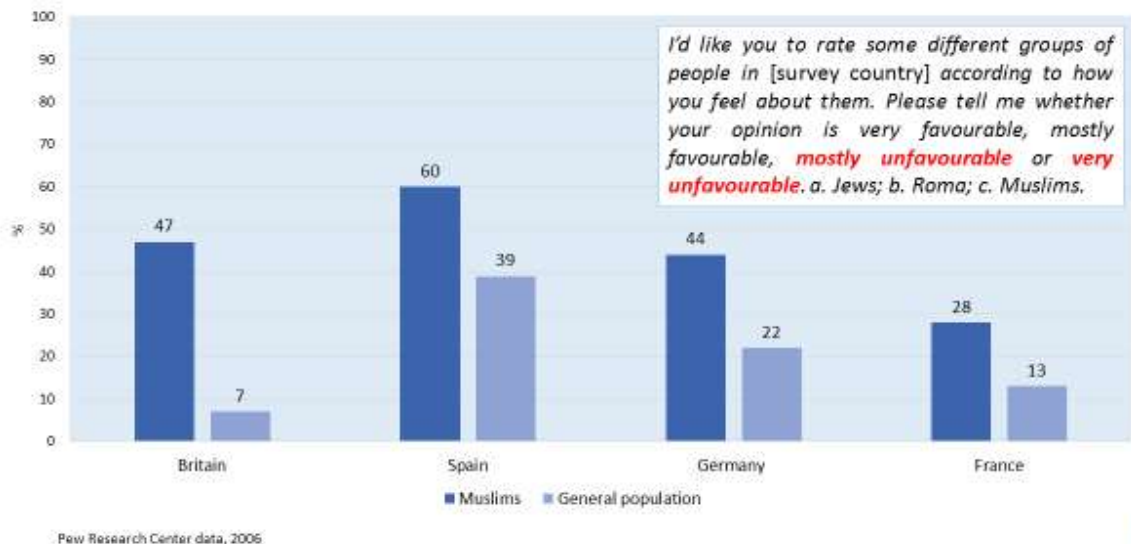


jpr /

Another example. We can measure antisemitic attitudes in various ways. But how we do this clearly generates different results. The Pew Research Center has consistently used a very good question over many years asking people to rank themselves on a scale of whether their opinion of Jews is favourable or unfavourable. The proportion of people in the UK who hold unfavourable attitudes has consistently been about 7%. In France, it is higher, but not much – about 10% - 15%. But ADL measures attitudes by testing certain antisemitic motifs or tropes – e.g. “Jews have too much influence in the business world.” And these types of statement always prompt noticeably higher levels of agreement. So which is right? Which measure more accurately captures the level of antisemitic sentiment in the country?

Within this realm of research, it is also important to consider the attitudes that exist with key sub-populations, as well as within the population as a whole. For example, we know that the attitudes of Muslims towards Jews are worse than the attitudes of the populations as a whole. For example, whilst Pew has found that 7% of British people hold unfavourable attitudes towards Jews, Pew has also found that 47% of British Muslims hold unfavourable attitudes towards Jews. So often the national figures conceal something very important than can only be revealed by examining key parts of the population where antisemitic attitudes are most prevalent.

Are we likely to see an increase in antisemitism? Is this Muslim antipathy towards Jews being imported?



Another example. Migration. The FRA survey found that 52% of French Jews have considered emigrating because they don't feel safe there as a Jew. But Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics data shows that only 4% of French Jews have made aliyah over the past five years. So there is a clear distinction between what people think and what they do. This is not unique to research about antisemitism; it is common finding in social research as a whole. So what does the 52% figure really mean? Furthermore, with migration, there is also the thorny question of what is actually driving it. For example, in the UK, aliyah rates almost perfectly track the unemployment rate in Britain, indicating that is economics more than antisemitism that prompts people to leave.

All of this is the background to the work we are now doing on our new survey of antisemitism in the UK, which aims to begin to resolve these and other issues. It will look at attitudes among the population of the UK, as well as key sub-populations – Muslims, Christians, the far left and the far right. It will look at what some of the inconsistencies found in existing data between different findings mean. It will also investigate correlations between antisemitism and anti-Zionism, in an attempt to understand, empirically, the extent to which these overlap in people's minds. It also includes a module about people's "action orientation" – i.e. measuring the extent to which they are likely to act on the beliefs they hold. It is a very expensive endeavour – its costs about \$250,000 – but our hope is that it will create a benchmark against which to measure repeat surveys in the UK, and hopefully, elsewhere in Europe.

September 10, 2017

My general sense is that I think it is fine as an initial paper for discussion, if a little difficult to follow at times. I don't know whether the ambition within the paper is realizable – to be honest, I have my doubts – but I think the key will be pulling together a small handful of key players properly schooled in antisemitism, social scientific methods and public policy, to establish some clear lines of collaboration going forward, with the on-going funding to meaningfully act on that.

I can try to carve out some time later this month to go through it in more detail, but my plate is already so full, I can't promise I'm afraid. But let me know if you want me to invest more time in it, and I will try.

[9.10.17]

Yes – happy to be part of that conversation. The idea of establishing a more coordinated approach to researching antisemitism is absolutely right; the challenge is that we operate in a very decentralized environment, and there is so much activity going on around antisemitism – of vastly varying quality and involving people with competing political agendas – that it is difficult to see how any single attempt to create a unified approach will work. But certainly happy to try.

Researching and Assessing Antisemitism: A Quantitative Perspective

Sergio DellaPergola

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January 2018

Antisemitism involves some kind of interaction between Jews – who always have constituted a tiny minority of humankind – and the non-Jewish majority. There is no symmetry in such bilateral relationship. The study and assessment of antisemitic attitudes, expressions and actions stand at the center of the following brief comments. To colorfully express the sense of diffidence that has existed and still persists between Jews and non-Jews, I will start quoting the old Tuscan saying:

***With the guts of the good one I would strangle the bad one
(Con le budella del buono strangolerei il cattivo)***

Many antisemites, but many Jews as well, would subscribe when referring to the opposite side.

When antisemitism turns into a topic for research that applies quantitative tools, what are its essential referential axes? (see Insert 1). A huge and valuable research effort has been devoted over time to the issue, but still contemporary research might benefit from some additional effort at conceptualization and systematization (ISGAP, 2016). The first imperative step is identification of something that can be measured, be it an event or a perception of an event or of a trend that links together several events. These eventual measurement units can be of very different nature, ranging from the *physical realm* to *impressionistic perceptions* of something that might or might not have happened. In current practice, several of these options have been explored quite in depth, but several others have not. Looking at past research on antisemitism, we detect studies of antisemitic *acts, experiences, perceptions, and discourse*. But these alternative paths have not been pursued each to the same and satisfactory depth and extent. One clarification must come since the beginning: there may be a huge gap between actual experiences of antisemitism and perceptions of existing antisemitism. The subjective can be disjoint from the objective through the mediation of personal and environmental characteristics, not the least of which is the degree of Jewish identification of those who report (Rebhun, 2014). Any comparisons must be drawn with the same and appropriate measuring and definitional standard.

Regarding a first *typology of the contents of offense*, three strands dominate the current scene: *Jewish excessive power, Holocaust denial* and *Israel delegitimation*. A fourth type stresses the *foreignness* of Jews to the local national context. A fifth type stressing *the Jew as a physical and moral degenerate* was important historically but is less central today. A sixth type recently emerged in the form of preoccupation towards the preservation of human or animal physical integrity – apparently neutrally

humanistic, actually oriented against Jewish rituals such as circumcision or ritual animal slaughtering.

Insert 1. Fundamental axes of research on antisemitism

Type of event

Expression of ideas

Action against things

Action against persons

Contents of offense

Anthropological difference

Jewish excessive power

Foreignness

Shoah denial

Israel delegitimation

Preoccupation for physical integrity

Degree of offensiveness

Perpetrators' ideology

Pagan, Animist

Christian:

Catholic

Protestant

Islamic:

Sunni

Shia

Right wing:

Nationalist

Fascist, Nazi

Left wing:

Marxist

Anarchist

Liberal

Frequency

Number of relevant events

Number of participating individuals:

Perpetrators

Victims

Impact

Number of people exposed to event:

Directly

Indirectly

Time framework

Long term trend

Association with external events

Comparative framework

Across national spaces

Across designed population groups, by demographic, socioeconomic and identification characteristics

Positives vs. negatives

Jewish response

Type and frequency of reaction

Consequences of reaction

Offense comes from a broad spectrum of *ideological foundations* – Pagan/Animist, Christian, Muslim, Right wing in its various manifestations, Left wing in its various manifestations, and liberal-centrist. Christian and Muslim antisemitisms – in turn with their internal variations – view the Jew as an unfaithful deviant, an enemy, but also a potential neophyte, hence someone to be curbed, dominated and converted. Left and Right political antisemitisms, each with their particular and different emphasis, identify among Jews negative characteristics – often specular and symmetric the ones to the others, such as the Jew as Capitalist and the Jew as Bolshevik. For Liberals, partly in the vein of early Pagans, their main quest is assimilation of the Jews. Tacitus – a distinguished member of the pre-Christian elite – suggests propositions on Jews that we would not define antisemitism in today's terms, but are well represented in contemporary antisemitic discourse. This hostile perception of Jews as an ancient culture, distinct from the majority, stands in conflict with the secular elites' quest to assimilate everybody into the norm – their norm. The Greens are leading in the effort to preserve the natural status of environment, including its living components, from human intervention. Consciously or not, they have metabolized concepts derived from an ancient Christian matrix. In the end, none of these different ideological matrices recognizes the right of a Jew to be him- or herself.

In the 2012 FRA study of Jewish perceptions of antisemitism, in most European countries examined people associated with the Left were more dominant in linking anti-Israeli attitudes to hostility against the local Jewish community, followed by people associated with Islam, and – at some distance – by followers of the Right. The association with Christianity was quite lower, except for Hungary. There appeared to be an emerging coalescence between Liberals and Islamists who could find common ground on some matters mostly related to antagonism against Israel.

To orderly and systematically study the character and incidence of antisemitism one must first note the *type of antisemitic event*. Antisemitism is a matter of expressions of ideas, concepts and stereotypes, diffusion of negative prejudices, hostile behavior and physical aggression against inanimate objects, personal and community discrimination, actions against persons ranging between harassment, physical violence, to the extreme of murder.

Frequency and impact of antisemitism should consider the *number of events*, *number of perpetrators* and *number of victims*. We need to carefully assess the *number of persons exposed to a given event*. In one of the most vicious websites I visited, I was the first visitor: the site was highly offensive, its public impact was nil. Such assessment of the *multiplier of events and people exposed to them* is prominently lacking in the literature.

We need a *comparative framework* considering a short- and long-term *time line*, and capable of separating the underlying antisemitic from the impact of any *association with external events*. It is often assumed that antisemitic perceptions and actions cyclically co-vary with the economic conjuncture and business cycle, particularly at times of deeper economic recession, or with periodical outbursts of violence between the state of Israel and the Palestinians. Such assumptions call for empirical validation. We also need to analyze and understand the selective incidence of antisemitism according to the geographic, demographic, and socio-cultural characteristics of all those involved: perpetrators, victims, and spectators. There may be a subtle division of labor between the conceptualization and leadership capabilities of intellectual and political elites, and the execution by less educated and lower class masses.

As mentioned, different sources can provide images of varying levels of intensity of the antisemitic phenomenology, but what is more interesting is the amount of coherence between these different sources. One interesting comparison can be performed using the FRA 2012 survey of Jewish perceptions of antisemitism in nine European Union countries (FRA, 2013), and the ADL 2013-14 and 2015 (ADL 2014, 2015) studies of general antisemitic perceptions in over 100 countries. In the 2012 FRA questionnaire, four questions deal with excessive Jewish power, two questions addressed holocaust denial, and two questions addressed Israel delegitimation. Eight frequently heard statements made by non-Jewish people were suggested for

evaluation by Jewish respondents. Of these, two items addressed "too much power" concepts:

- Jews have too much power in Country in economy, politics, media
- Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis

Two items addressed "Jewish foreignness" concepts:

- The interests of Jews in Country are very different from the interests of the rest of the population
- Jews are not capable of integrating into Country's society

Two items addressed "Holocaust denial or minimization" concepts:

- Jews exploit Holocaust victimhood for their own purposes
- The Holocaust is a myth or has been exaggerated

Two items addressed "Israel delegitimation" concepts:

- Israelis behave "like Nazis" towards the Palestinians
- Jews are only a religious group and not a nation

The ADL 2013-14 and 2015 surveys were less balanced in terms of anti-Jewish perceptual contents. In a sense it wasted some efforts by asking highly correlated questions. Of the eleven questions intended to measure antisemitic prejudice, nine addressed the "too much power" concept. One question addressed "Holocaust denial", one addressed "Israel delegitimation". Antisemitism was operationally defined as the percentage of individuals who in a country responded "probably true" to at least six out of the following eleven questions that suggested anti-Jewish prejudices: Six items addressed "too much power" concepts:

- Jews have too much power in the business world.
- Jews have too much power in international financial markets.
- Jews have too much control over global affairs.
- Jews have too much control over the United States government.
- Jews have too much control over the global media.
- Jews are responsible for most of the world's wars.

Three items addressed "Jewish foreignness" concepts:

- Jews don't care about what happens to anyone but their own kind.
- People hate Jews because of the way Jews behave.
- Jews think they are better than other people.

One item addressed "Holocaust denial or minimization" concepts:

- Jews still talk too much about what happened to them in the Holocaust.

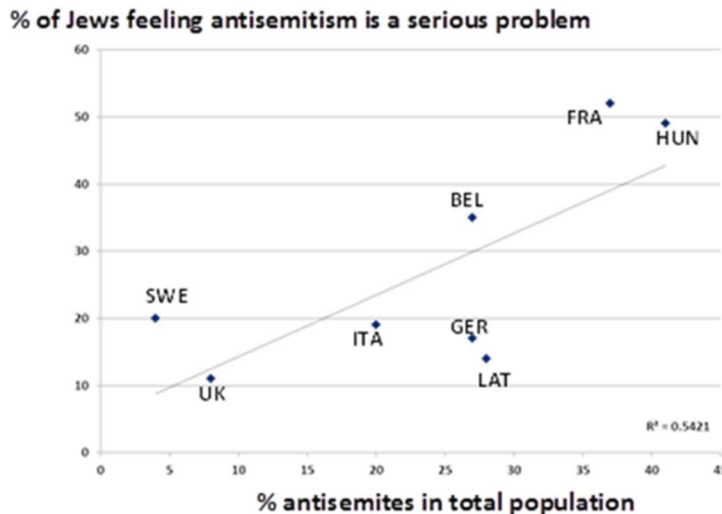
One item addressed both "Israel delegitimation" and "foreignness" concepts:

- Jews are more loyal to Israel than to [this country/the countries they live in].

This is not to minimize the usefulness of the ADL study which for the first time provided a measure of any sort of antisemitism in 102 countries. As noted, the FRA study measured perceptions by Jews and the ADL study measured perceptions mostly by non-Jews. In both studies quality of the samples was not equal in different countries. But the question is whether the two surveys produced results that could be

compared. Countries were selected for the FRA study primarily because of their larger Jewish population size. Over 6,000 Jews responded via the web. To assess validity of the samples, comparisons could be performed with other background data available for some countries. The UK has good census data; Germany and Italy have good Jewish community registers. France does not have either, but can rely on several independent national Jewish population surveys. Belgium is the weakest case having none of the above. In the FRA findings, the basic demographic profiles of those surveyed broadly corresponded with those known from other independent sources, which added credibility to the sample. ADL approached 500 individuals in each of 102 countries, for a total of over 50,000. It unveiled less antisemitism in Western than in Eastern Europe. In Southeast Asia – such as in South Korea, Japan, and China – where societies were not exposed to Christian thought, classic antisemitism is low. Antisemitism is highest in Moslem countries. In Insert 2 we compare the FRA and ADL findings for 8 relevant countries.

Insert 2. Comparing Jewish perceptions and total expressions of antisemitism in 8 European Union countries



Source: FRA (2013), ADL (2014). Author's processing.

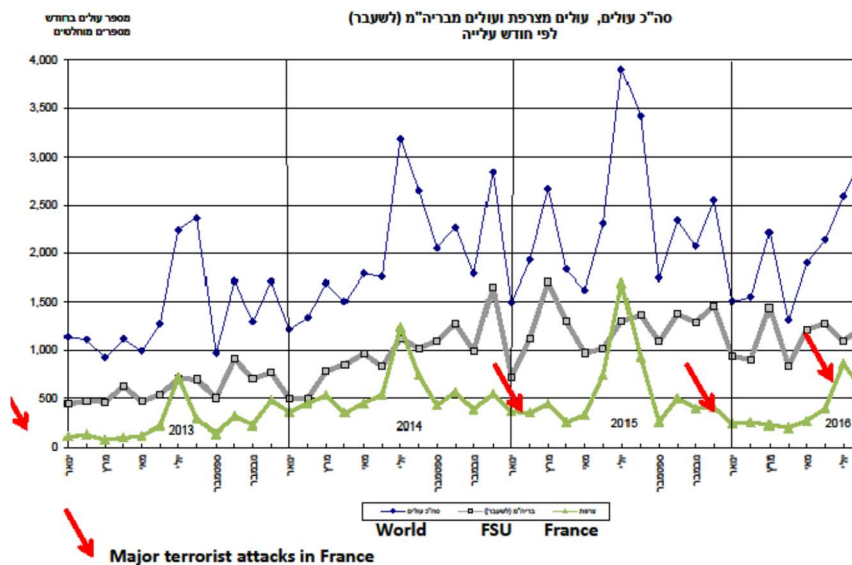
The consistency of findings is very high, with general antisemitic perceptions in a given European country statistically explaining over 50% of the variation in Jewish antisemitic perceptions in the same country. Hungary and France lead the pack on both accounts – though for different reasons. The UK is lowest on both accounts. This means that Jewish internal perceptions of antisemitism very much reflect ongoing antisemitic perceptions among the majority of society. We learn here an important lesson for future data collection: using one instrument instead of another, we may nevertheless obtain a robust result. However it should also be noted that Jewish (defensive) perceptions are significantly higher percent-wise than general (offensive) perceptions.

Regarding Jewish responses to antisemitism, one significant question is whether or not the latter may prompt a significant amount of Jewish emigration from

the victim country. In the FRA survey, 18% of the Jewish population in France would consider moving from their neighborhoods on grounds of perceived insecurity to other more secure areas in France, and one half of these already did. Over 40% of the Jews in France also indicated that they would consider emigrating from the country. Insert 3 shows the monthly variation of aliyah – emigration to Israel, from the world, the Former Soviet Union (FSU) and France.

Insert 3. Amount of Jewish emigration response from France to major terrorist attacks, 2013-2016

RESPONSE: MONTHLY MIGRATION TO ISRAEL 2013-16



Source: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics.

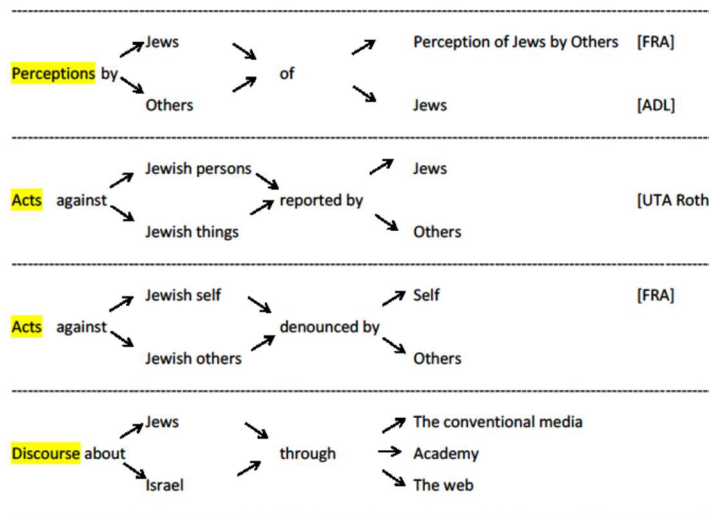
Evidently, Israel is only one of many possible countries of destination, but it is the only one who provides orderly and detailed data in the matter. Emigration from France clearly increased over time, possibly in relation to changing circumstances in the country, but its timing had not much to do with the time and intensity of terrorist attacks. Monthly variation is rather related to the school year and to holidays. Several instances of major terrorist acts are indicated along the time axis, but monthly variation on aliyah continued to follow its independent rhythms. In 2016, aliyah from France clearly diminished versus 2014 and 2015, in spite of dramatic instances of continuing terrorism. Incidentally, immigration from the FSU, is less seasonal because it older and more dependent on Israel logistical and economic support. Further analyses of FRA, ADL data for many more countries unquestionably demonstrate that emigration is much more related to socioeconomic determinants than to levels of perceived antisemitism in a country (DellaPergola, 2018).

We should outline more precisely who are the active and passive actors. We should have a better mapping of the main channels of diffusion of antisemitism. Among these the web trends to become the most polluted, overcoming the

conventional printed electronic media whose effects are more elusive but can reach far larger audiences. A more systematic definition and monitoring is needed of antisemitic discourse generated in politics, in the cultural arena, and in academy – with particular attention to double standards toward Jews and Israel, and toward others. We need to start creating a coherent mapping sentence toward more integrated future studies and policies. Insert 4 presents a few examples of the logical sequence followed in planning some of the main recent instruments of research about antisemitism. Further mapping needs to be developed in order to ascertain whether the actual contents of antisemitism reflect a permanent manifest and/or latent structure of contents, replicable under different circumstances, or rather reflect contingent situations related to specific times and places.

Insert 4. Main recent research strategies in the assessment of antisemitism

MAIN COGNITIVE STRATEGIES IN THE ASSESSMENT OF ANTISEMITISM



Another important issue for clarification is the main investigation methodologies pursued. Among these, attention has been devoted to the growth of several inventories of events rated as antisemitic. These databases are developed by Jewish organizations both community and academic oriented, as well as by general public organizations. Cross-sectional surveys of populations at selected points of time have tried to measure the incidence of prejudice as perceived within the Jewish and general public. There exists much less ongoing analysis of the contents openly or latently expressed in the conventional media, in the web and in the fast developing social media. Carefully selected semantic associations between words can result in much more powerful and disruptive effects than mere acts of violence. The problem is the latter are easy to detect and report, while the former require careful coding and wide command of historical, philosophical and literary sources. What also has been prominently missing is a study incorporating a systematic time perspective and broad sets of external social indicators that would provide the necessary context to the specific attitudinal and behavioral patterns being investigated.

Most available research on antisemitisms relies on data collection and cataloguing of events from the field, and n cross-sectional surveys of a given population at one specific point of time (Insert 5). An urgent recommendation is the implementation of a longitudinal study repeated periodically and based on monitoring and following up the same panel of respondents over time. This would provide a more consistent and accurate impression of the changes perceived by the selected public. Such panels need to be renewed periodically and may produce unprecedentedly useful insights. They potentially provide a new mechanism sending a regular flow of information, and creating an observatory about a field in permanent movement.

Insert 5. Selected research options in the future study of antisemitism

ANTISEMITISM RESEARCH OPTIONS

Among different strategies possible:

- Cross-sectional survey of the incidence of **acts of violence/ aggression/ profanation/ discrimination** by/among the total population
- Cross-sectional survey of the **incidence of prejudice** among a representative sample of the total population
- Cross-sectional survey of the **extent of suffered/perceived violence/ aggression/ prejudice/ discrimination/** among a representative sample of the Jewish population
- On-going monitoring of the **extent of prejudice in public discourse, the media, academy, culture and artistic representation** – through a contents analysis of words, but also body language, and the respective contexts

It is essential that some time perspective should be introduced:

- Through retrospective questioning in cross-sectional surveys, or much better:
- Through longitudinal panels to be replicated periodically in the future

A recurring research question is whether it would be useful to integrate every possible facet of antisemitism into one measure, or rather choose to develop multiple measures adjusted to multiple types of situations and contexts. Ways should be developed to coordinate research from different sources way beyond what was done so far. Comprehensive assessments are better reached based on multiple sources. One example provided here was the attempt to integrate the macro approach of the ADL survey with the more micro approach of the FRA survey. Comparison of the same measures across sources or complementing different measures across sources is imperative to a better understanding of antisemitism.

In this paper we represented a research approach largely relying on hard data. The logic explicitly or latently followed is that of statistical inference. However, there is no pretention here to affirm the superiority of quantitative over qualitative research when assessing the reality of contemporary antisemitism, or any related topic. Different disciplinary approaches in history, literature and the social sciences, and the respective different methodologies are all legitimate and useful when tackling the issues, provided each is conducted systematically and within its own appropriate disciplinary paradigms.

One important difference across disciplines is that some focus on the specific experiences of individual Jewish actors, while others focus on aggregate or collective Jewish communities, or on the non-Jewish societal environment at large. A micro-social research approach often infers the broader reality from the experiences of relatively small groups, such as intellectuals, writers and their work, who can provide the lead to other broader ones. A macro-social approach assesses the picture based on the collective performances of the largest possible number of anonymous informants, within which the elites are included but are not the dominant factor. Each approach has its advantages and disadvantages, the main trade-off being between depth and representativeness.

Let us also note some prominent lacunae in available knowledge. An interesting question is what reaction antisemitism does cause among the victims. Most research stresses either a cognitive or a behavioral/instrumental dimension. It is perhaps surprising to note how the affective/emotional aspect is neglected. Does antisemitism generate anxiety, anger, fear, aggressiveness, passivity, loneliness, solidarity, creativity? Does it strengthen or weaken previous identities? These questions need to be elucidated.

Elaborating on this last observation, we should look at the frequency and patterns of *Jewish response* to instances of antisemitism. We must know more about who pursues counteracting action after the initial antisemitic event; to what individual or authority; what the sanction applied is, if any; and what its effectiveness is. What surely is prominently missing in the available knowledge about antisemitism is an accurate assessment of the interrelations between one and another of these different dimensions. More broadly stated the question is: How to react to antisemitism? Does one stop at the analytic edge, or should more operational initiatives be contemplated? Academic books and articles in good general journals are an essential step in the dissemination of knowledge and also in creating the necessary know-how premises to policies that might help counteracting antisemitism. But there are other important ways as well. One way is through educating people to *know and appreciate Jewish values and history*, doing *good deeds* and providing good *behavioral examples*, being *alert and politically active*, bringing people to *directly know Jewish and Israeli realities*. As a last resort, it is – knowing how to *develop adequate self-defense initiatives*. Academic projects should be developed to gather a better understanding perception of the phenomenology and to create the foundations for policies aimed at fighting antisemitism. And all of this with the active collaboration of the many people of good will, from all strands, who in spite of all constitute the majority of society.

As noted above, the web and the new social media are an infinite and nearly unexplored sea of hostile but also of ambiguous contents. We do not know how to exactly assess the real impact of incidents on the web. Sometimes something with a positive goal may have negative side effects, and vice-versa. I mention for example articles and appeals critically addressing the Israeli internal political debate, which have a positive moral and educational aim in mind but can be exploited by hostile

people and organizations. There also is, in this respect an important grey zone whose contents can be interpreted on each side of the antisemitic divide.

One final crucial question is: Who are we? Who are those who should be concerned with old and new manifestations of antisemitism? Who should initiate any kinds of response? There are many organizations and institutions involved nowadays. Can or should worries, interests and energies be conveyed coherently? Is there a need for a roof organization of organizations, or there are already too many? These questions among others will determine the map, impact and hopefully diminished visibility and viability of antisemitism in the 21st century. Because one thing is assured: there will be antisemitism in the 21st century.

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2014.03.007>

Mark Gardner
Community Security Trust

October 20, 2017

The document is a terrific start, and clearly a great deal of thought and effort has already been committed. All strength to you and your colleagues. I would like to share it with our head of policy, Dr. Dave Rich (author of *The Left's Jewish Problem* <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/sep/13/the-lefts-jewish-problem-corbyn-israel-and-antisemitism-dave-rich-review>) if that is okay with you.

I am afraid that my initial response is not anything like as comprehensive as I would like, simply because of sheer crush of work in recent weeks. So, these comments below are not so much on the actual content of Draft One, but rather are comments on the overall matter.

It may be of benefit for you to look at the recent survey that we commissioned from the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, it is the most comprehensive survey yet undertaken on UK antisemitism and has what we believe to be a new way of measuring antisemitism: what JPR call "elasticity". This distinguishes between the prevalence of antisemitic attitudes (found in around 30% of the population) and the number of people who could reasonably be called antisemitic (based on how many attitudes are held, found in up to 5.5% of the pop'n). This explains why Jews encounter antisemitism far more often than they encounter people who could reasonably be called antisemitic.

The survey also drills into specific population groups and ideological sectors, but in confidence let me say to you that our primary objective by far, was to better understand antisemitism from UK Muslim communities and age groups: because obviously this is the most physically impactful and least understood aspect of UK antisemitism today. Indeed, we are barely even able to talk accurately and constructively about it.

Another area of likely interest for ISGAP in the survey is how it addresses the role of anti-Israel hate in antisemitism. This includes taking (ostensibly) anti-Israel statements that the majority of Jews feel to be antisemitic: and seeing how widely held these anti-Israel attitudes are. Again, this helps to explain why Jews encounter (or think they encounter) antisemitism far more often than they seem to encounter 'real' antisemites. (I appreciate the regrettable and unavoidable subjectivity in some of this terminology I am using!)

The survey is at <http://www.jpr.org.uk/publication?id=9993>. To be very honest, I think if CST had actually written it, we may have shifted some of the emphases, but really it was beyond our academic expertise to write the report and we do hold JPR in the highest regard. It was JPR who conducted the Fundamental Rights Agency survey. I was the UK representative to the survey and it was me who pressed for the

questions about Jewish behavior and feelings of future viability to be included (which they were, after a bit of push back). I think this question about how Jews perceive their futures is extremely powerful and important: but it must be asked with the utmost care and accuracy, especially because antisemitism is seldom the only reason in isolation and also because if we perceive antisemitism as a warning about the overall condition of society, then how do you even adequately distinguish the antisemitism driver from the 'society is in a mess' driver?

At CST we present antisemitic incident levels (primarily meaning hate crimes) as the basic indicator of where things stand. There are reasonably good analytical reasons and very good political and media reasons for doing so, which will be well known to you, but we are also keenly aware of how difficult it is to measure the actual reporting rate, even though this is a very important matter (and is one that also tells you about levels of communal concern). Also, incidents on social media can merely reflect how many staff hours are spent trawling for them (which is why we don't include such figures in our published statistics).

Obviously one major drawback of counting incidents is that the gravity of a single incident can outweigh the impact of a hundred others. How to accord weight to each incident? By objective criteria? By the amount of media coverage it generates? And, something need not necessarily be illegal to cause consternation. For example, if extreme anti-Israel attitudes in the UK Labour Party makes headline news, then it may not be illegal, or antisemitic: but the impact on communal fear is palpable. So, CST also produces an annual Antisemitic Discourse Report, which is not about the statistics of hate crime, but is rather about how Jews and Jewish issues are discussed in the public space.

CST incidents report -

[https://cst.org.uk/data/file/f/c/Antisemitic Incidents Report Jan-June 2017.1501074748.pdf](https://cst.org.uk/data/file/f/c/Antisemitic%20Incidents%20Report%20Jan-June%202017.1501074748.pdf) (This also explains what we define as antisemitic in terms of 'incidents'.)

CST discourse report -

<https://cst.org.uk/data/file/6/7/Antisemitic%20Discourse%20Report%202016%20final.1504698121.pdf>. (This will also give you a good idea of what we consider to be antisemitic in terms of discourse.)

I need to finish here (for now) because my office has closed 30mins ago for Shabbat, but something else I want to throw up for your consideration is actions against antisemitism and measures of pro-Jewish (or at least normal towards Jews) attitudes. If a survey (such as ours with JPR) shows a good number of people expressing positive attitudes to Jews, is that something that matters? I think it should matter, so how do we contextualise that against the negative? Similarly, most American and British Jews have every chance to succeed in society and every chance to lead whatever Jewish life they do (or do not) wish to lead. So, how do we contextualise the negative against that? And, do ISGAP, CST and others have some

kind of moral or academic duty to make the point that for every negativity there may actually be any number of unremarkable day-to-day positivities?

Edward H. Kaplan

William N. and Marie A. Beach Professor of Operations Research

Professor of Public Health

Professor of Engineering

Yale School of Management

August 19, 2017

1. While nothing as comprehensive as what you are thinking about has been attempted (to my knowledge) in the realm of anti-Semitism, there are of course other well-known groups that monitor hate and hate crimes, most of which I presume you know about. These include: Southern Poverty Law Center (<https://www.splcenter.org/issues/hate-and-extremism>), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (<http://www.osce.org/hatemonitorbih>), The Mandela Project (<http://mandola-project.eu/>), the FBI (<https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/civil-rights/hate-crimes>), in addition to ethnic-group-specific NGOs. If you haven't already, it would really be a good idea to consult with people from such groups to get a sense of what has already been tried, what works and what doesn't work in the realm of monitoring specific prejudices.

2. I appreciate the desire to generate data that serves multiple purposes, from background research to information to aid community programming to providing an "early warning" system. Having had many years of experience working in the counter-terrorism area, I think that the "early warning" aspect of your project is most likely overly ambitious. The most important and immediate goal is of course the prevention of anti-Semitic attacks on Jewish institutions/communities that could inflict injury and death, damage sacred objects, or otherwise damage property. Preventing such attacks falls squarely in the realm of undercover intelligence work, which in the US is the realm of the FBI and individual state and local police departments. These law enforcement organizations actively run informants online and in person to identify and interdict plots before they come to fruition, and at least in the realm of Jihadi terrorism is largely responsible for why there have been so few attacks in the US, in spite of the fact that on average there are a small number of unknown plots brewing all the time (I estimate in the neighborhood of 3). One thing you might be able to contribute via research, however, is the staging of radicalization that culminates in actual violent acts of anti-Semitism. I'm attaching a report produced years ago by [NYPD Intelligence Officials](#) that explains how they did this for Jihadi terrorists; see in particular the "phases of radicalization." Much like the progression of an infectious disease – first a person is susceptible, then becomes infected, then the disease progresses through various stages (e.g. latency, prodromal) before displaying physical symptoms – the idea is to look at the prevalence of these various stages and then try to understand the number that make it to the end stage (violence). So research that could be conducted might include defining the important stages, estimating the time spent in each, as well as the progression likelihoods from one stage to the next (as clearly most anti-Semites do not resort to violence). Such research would be challenging

but could be quite interesting, and if done well could provide important input to law enforcement. But, my view is that the actual work of identifying imminent threats falls on law enforcement and is outside the domain of academic or community-based research.

3. Someone once said that if you want to measure change, don't change the measure. In other words, whatever you come up with, it should be "backwards compatible" so that you can compare with past studies like the ADL surveys of anti-Semitism around the world.

4. Again, while I'm sympathetic to the idea of developing a comprehensive monitoring and data collection/reporting system, I think you should really be careful with how much you want to rely on survey data in contrast to measures derived from administrative or operational data like crime reporting, census data, and the like. Population surveys are really hard to administer (sample representativeness, non-response, accuracy in self-reporting, subject survey fatigue, etc.). That's not to say they should never be used, but I would err on the side of fewer surveys that are really good versus a new survey every time a new idea pops up.

5. Online anti-Semitism is important, and there has been some very important (albeit quite technical) research lately on not only how to detect hatred in social networks (and it is not always based on content – it can be deduced from operational data such as lists of friends and followers, avatars, etc.), but how to identify and suspend online bigots. Here's a link to (in my view) a very novel approach that uses identifying ISIS supporters/recruiters on Twitter as the case study: <https://arxiv.org/abs/1610.06242>

Yogev Karasenty

Ministry of Diaspora Affairs, Director for Combating Antisemitism

September 20, 2016

Ministry of Diaspora Affairs, Cyber Monitoring Project, we look at antisemitism, trading in Nazi paraphernalia. We measure in 8 languages including Arabic. We intend to make all research material open for civil society. To urge social media companies to take responsibility for their platforms, we need a monitoring device. On You Tube, Dieudonné is still there. It was categorized under comedy. We can get the geographic division of the discourse. We can monitor all media which has text. We use automatic discourse analysis. We do not use sentiment analysis. We analyze 1,500 newspapers a day. Our algorithm looks at topics within antisemitic discourse - extreme right or left, religion. We use native speakers, French, English, to teach the algorithm. The algorithm can go through any text and indicate ideas. By January we will release data. We can see the connection between BDS [boycotts, divestment, sanctions] and Jewish stereotypes. With social media, we can identify clusters and activists, shared interests. Are they clustered around a sports event, religious event, the Middle East conflict? We are working with the Kantor Centre on a legislative barometer. We created a table to allows you to create comparisons on different aspects of law in different countries. We are planning another project on enforcement. There is a big gap between legislation and enforcement.

Dr. Vladimir (Ze'ev) Khanin

Chief Scientist, Israeli Ministry of Aliya and Integration

Senior Lecturer, Dept. of Political Studies, Bar-Ilan University

Associate Professor, Ariel University of Samaria

October 1, 2017

My first impression:

1. Creating of commonly agreed algorithm for measurement of Antisemitism the world over is indeed badly needed and should be created urgently.
2. Still, there are a few reservations as concerns the possibility of creation of a framework of measurement that will be Universal for all countries and regions.
3. As far as Eastern Europe is concerned, one should take into account the fact that the issue of contemporary political, media and societal Antisemitism still has very much to do with the refusal of local political and intellectual, as well as the local societies, to take a responsibility for the Holocaust. Not just in Russia, but even in "new democracies" like Ukraine and some of Baltic States, which, as Prof. Yaroslav Hritzak correctly puts it, are trying to catch the European train without buying a ticket, meaning, taking this responsibility. Thus, one should think of adding this variability to the algorithm.

Dr. Vladimir (Ze'ev) Khanin

Alexander Kogan

Israeli Journalist, Historian and Media Analyst

March 7, 2018

First of all, we should take into account the fact that Western Jewish views and standards in regard to understanding and general vision of antisemitism are hardly suitable for analysis of antisemitic events in the post-Soviet space, due to following reasons:

1. Differences in mentality of citizens of the post-Soviet states, especially their culture codes concerning Jews.
2. Antisemitism in Eastern Europe and Eurasia is not a phenomenon that might be attributed to a specific ideology or a population group. Rather it could be divided into "State" or "politically-sponsored" antisemitism on the one side, and "public" or "societal" antisemitism on the other. This, as one can see, is quite different from the Western models of the "Left," "Right," or "Islamic" antisemitism.
3. Local Jewish approach to antisemitism is also a result of local culture codes, which are qualitatively different from what we can see among the Western Jewry. Thus, many of indications of antisemitism used by the Anti-Defamation League, European Fundamental Rights Agency, the Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism, etc. may not be accepted as such in Russia and Ukraine. (For example, publications about over-

representation of Jews among FSU political, intellectual and economic elite are often viewed by ADL as antisemitic inspirations, while locally they may be accepted even as a positive description – that depends on the context). And vise-versa.

Having said all this, we must ask ourselves a question: in what way could the universal automatic algorithm be applicable for monitoring of antisemitism in the FSU printed, electronic and social media? If the answer is still affirmative, it should include a mechanism of permanent **revoking** and adaptation vis-a-vis local mentality, the new realities and context of the events. For example, in a few recent years we may observe a new round of publications about damage that Jews caused to Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, etc. without declaring this openly.

One problem faced in searching such phenomena in the FSU sphere is that mentioning the pseudonyms of noted Jews, Communists, etc. – among other facts and phenomena, may not even be recognized by the search algorithm: In other words, one of the old-new forms of antisemitic proclamations -- mentioning a specific person, that according the post/article writer, is responsible (among others in his group) for evils and damages that were caused to the Russian, Ukrainian, Latvian, etc., people with "hinting" that all that happened due to his/her Jewish affiliation. However, the algorithm might not be able to recognize the antisemitic incitement case due to the fact that this Jewish person is mentioned according to his/her non-Jewish pseudonym. That is why the system should include the mechanism (names resource, typical word combinations, etc.) able to recognize such cases.

Marc Knobel

Director of Studies, CRIF

September 20, 2016

The situation in France is complicated. It requires prudence. It requires a fine analysis. The number of incidents has increased dramatically. There is disarray. Members of the Jewish community try to protect themselves. They try to move, if they have the means. They try to protect their children. They send children to denominational schools, sometimes Catholic because they feel they are safer there. Jewish schools are under armed guard. There is a perception that there is no longer hope in France. Some no longer feel French and leave. There are strong numbers making aliyah to Israel. 500,000 to 600,000 the number of Jews in France.[*] About 10 % have moved to Israel. Young try to destroy synagogues. There are scenes of intifada in Paris. The victims can go to court. We have put in place a structure, a system of protection. We protect threatened locations. We are in contact with the Ministry of Interior. We take complaints from the Jewish community and put them in contact with lawyers. The Ministry collects the data. We and they classify data. Antisemitic incidents are divided into actions - attacks, murders, arson, vandalism, threats - words, gestures, tracts, the internet. We have data for all. We have a body of case law. There are a number of laws. We have collected the laws on the internet. Antisemitism is an aggravating factor. This case law does not exist in the United States. This causes a problem with the internet. Le Nouvel Observateur did a page one story in 2012 on antisemitism. We do not have the necessary tools. We are victims of a situation. There are surprises. Some question the use of the term "antisemitism" and at the same time attempt to promote the term "Islamophobia". The Asian community has the same problems, isolation. We try to aid them. They are attacked because people think they have money. There are not now large anti-Israel demonstrations. Now there are around 900 incidents a year. There is no study about Jewish migration within France. We know that there are some areas which Jews have left, where Jewish children stop going to school. Communist areas are antisemitic, denouncing and boycotting Israel. The Jewish community migrates to areas which are pro Israel.

Anti-Semitism and Related Expressions of Prejudice in a Global World. A View from Latin America

Prof. Judit Bokser Liwerant

Universidad nacional autónoma de México

January 2018

Anti-Semitism has acquired a worldwide presence and complex dynamics. Its recurrences as well as its transformations display differentially along global interconnected realms, mediated by shared regional traits and local singular configurations. Thus, the current international scenario, characterized by the unexpected revival of old anti-Semitic expressions and the rise of new ones, calls for an analysis of both the specific and the common traits, the constant and the changing modalities and interactions. Whereas we witness a greater conceptual awareness of the complexity of anti-Semitism, we still need more clarity when analyzing related contemporary expressions of prejudice, rejection, exclusion and, specifically, of anti-Zionism (in its heterogeneous composition), critiques of Israel and anti-Israelism.

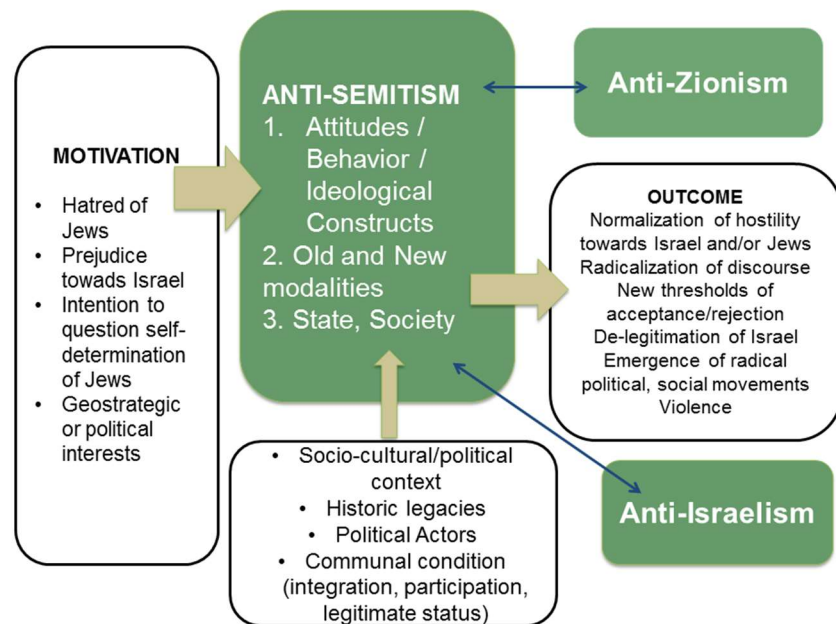
Anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism and anti-Israelism are singular yet overlapping phenomena at the meaning-making level. Criticism of Israel, for example, is not necessarily anti-Semitic in essence or motivation. However, both overlap if prejudiced rhetoric or images (recovering old myths and old/new stereotypes, such as conspiracy theories or the representation of Israel's policies as emblematic of evil, racist, or genocidal states) are used. By overlapping at the meaning-making level, these phenomena are likely to have significant –and even dangerous– implications. Legitimate criticism of Israel (largely based on human rights' violations) is different from the former in both its inner and outer sphere of origin, the causality of origin (ethical, universal, cosmopolitan) and expected outcome (public pressure, international accountability). Indeed, anti-Semitism adopts singular forms that reflect the complex interactions between historic recurrences and changes, as well as between different referents of collective belonging –culture, ethnicity, language, religion, and history. Religious, racial, and cultural factors frequently have coexisted with social, economic and political motivations. New contemporary constellations restructure and redefine meanings and scope. Its historical socio-political expressions and symbolic representations, as well as the ways in which they are produced and reproduced discursively pose conceptual and empirical challenges –to define, to measure, to combat. They entail attitudes and behaviors, but also ideological constructs displayed around the behavioral and the cognitive axes. Stereotypes, myths, attitudes –as well as practices and institutional arrangements– reflect and shape the representation of the Other.

In Latin America, as in other parts of the world, anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism, critiques of Israel, and anti-Israelism are singular phenomena that have historically

overlapped. This is evident in political discourses that have accompanied particular local or international governmental positions, in the press and social networks, as well as in national and transnational social movements. They are global phenomena and yet anchored in diverse local realities. We are thus compelled to avoid abstract universalisms that could dilute the specificity of space, actors and societies.

It is our contention that analyses of contemporary anti-Semitism need to account for multiple connections among particular actors, ideas and symbols through national, regional, and global circuits and levels. A multi-dimensional perspective that does not deem the borders of the nation-State or even the region to be the only referents, shall contribute to robust explanations of its structural manifestations and modes of expression, historical and cultural legacies, and subjectivity.

Conceptual Chart



This chart shows that anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism, and anti-Israelism are particular phenomena that while symbolically overlapping, they also reinforce each other. The complexity and density of the arguments reveal that causal factors accounting for their overlapping include hatred of Jews, prejudice towards Israel, the rejection of the self-determination of Jews, and geostrategic or political interests (Bokser, 2011; Bokser and Siman, 2016).

Possible outcomes include:

- normalization of hostility towards Israel and/or Jews,
- radicalization of discourse,
- new thresholds of acceptance/rejection; new thresholds of what becomes understandable, acceptable and even legitimate,

- de-legitimation of Israel,
- the emergence or central role in radical political and social movements (including transnational ones), and
- violence (symbolic and physical).

These outcomes become particularly acute in our times given the transnationalization of prejudice (de-territorialization), the globalization of hatred, the prevalence of new technologies, and the reconfiguration of social arrangements leading to new convergences between seemingly different and even opposing actors.

Given the historic pattern of recurrence and change, the non-linearity of the interactions and mutual influences between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism are complex. We do consider that this approach, while relating to the current debate on old-new anti-Semitism, seeks to overcome its mutually exclusive character and contributes to clarify and recognize the strength and limitations of diverse formulations.

A Conceptual Debate: Old and New...

Addressing the prevailing debate on the heuristic and pragmatic dimensions of the binomial and, specifically, the concept of “new anti-Semitism”, a wide spectrum of stands have been displayed.

A special place has acquired the formulation that triggered the debate emphasizing that a new anti-Semitism stems from different sources that tend to converge on its opposition to the existence of Israel as a Jewish state (Lewis, 1986; Taguieff, 2008). As in the past, when modern anti-Semitism crossed the socio-political and ideological spectrum of European societies, this new expression is nourished by converging interests of otherwise opposed political actors. They encompass Left, such as strong adherents to the Palestinian cause, to Right supporters including nationalists for whom the Jews are the eternal foreigner, as well as fundamentalist Muslims who immigrated to Europe carrying their hatred of Israel and of the Jews (Fischel, 2005). The new expression presents a number of parallel tracks that symbolically converge to include both Jews and Israel, in such a way that the terms Jew, Zionist and Israel are increasingly interchangeable in contemporary discourse at the global level (Goldhagen, 2013; Cohen, 2004; Alvin, 2013; Edelman, 2008).

Thus, while classical anti-Semitism implies discrimination against Jews as such, the new one is embedded in discrimination and opposition to the embodiment of Jewishness in Israel. Similar to the past, the essence of anti-Semitism is an assault upon the core of Jewish self-definition. Therefore this line of thought underscores that while classical anti-Semitism is the denial of the rights of Jews to live as equal members of whatever host society, the new means the denial of the right of the Jews

to live as an equal member of the family of nations. Some proponents of the concept of new anti-Semitism argue that criticism of Israel and Zionism are most often disproportionate in degree and unique in kind when compared to attitudes toward other foci of conflict worldwide (Cotler, 2002; Powell, 2000).

Taguieff (2008) contends that anti-Semitism is no longer based on racism and nationalism but, paradoxically, on anti-racism and anti-nationalism. It equals Zionism and racism, resorts to Holocaust denial, borrows a Third-World discourse, and the slogans of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, anti-Americanism, and anti-globalization, and disseminates the myth of the intrinsically good Palestinian – isolated from the conflictive political configuration of the Middle East – which became today's victim *par excellence*. Thus, while Jews may not suffer discrimination, they are often victims of stigma, threats, physical violence, and even the media, endorsing radical anti-Zionism. On its part, Judeophobia or neo-Judeophobia results in anti-Jewish violence incited by radical Islamists. It becomes a cultural given on a public scene mechanically and unanimously supportive of the Palestinian cause, and transcends the boundaries between Left and extreme Left. Its anti-Israelism, coupled with anti-Americanism, permeates all parts of Right-wing opinion. At the same time, Judeophobia accuses the Jews of being “too community,” too religious, and nationalist, as well as too cosmopolitan.

For his part, Michel Wieviorka (2007) emphasizes the multiple sources of anti-Semitism: far-Right and far-Left circles, certain milieus within the Muslim population, youngsters of disadvantaged educational contexts, or the spin-offs of the Middle-East conflict, as well as the sympathy awakened by the Palestinian cause among educated strata. Nevertheless, Wieviorka views anti-Semitism as one aspect among the many others of a general societal malaise.

Contrasting approaches downplay the significance of the new anti-Semitism. They posit that people supporting the Palestinians resent being wrongly accused of anti-Semitism; that supporters of the Jewish state exploit the anti-Semitism stigma to silence legitimate criticism of Israel's policy; that accusations of anti-Semitism based on anti-Israel opinions lack credibility, and that reasonably informed people think that Israel has the largest share of responsibility for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Raab, 2002; Zipperstein, 2005). Thus, much of the recent discourse on new anti-Semitism is deemed to blur conceptual differences between anti-Semitism, critics against US imperialism, and condemnation of both anti-Zionism and Israel security policies *vis-à-vis* the Palestinians.

Brian Klug (2003; 2005) considers that the new prejudice is not anti-Semitism strictly speaking, but rather a new phenomenon. He argues that the concept of a “new anti-Semitism” is unhelpful because it devalues the historical significance of the term, transforming it into a part of a *mindset*, a way to overstate criticism and hostility of the Left towards Israel as irredeemably anti-Semite prejudice. Earl Raab argues that charges of anti-Semitism based on anti-Israel views usually lack credibility.

In a new era that poses unprecedented challenges –both conceptual and policy-oriented– scholars such as David Hirsh (2007) also question if criticism of Israel is necessarily anti-Semitic. In his view, the difficult argument for some “critics of Israel” to deal with is that criticism of Israel is often expressed by using rhetoric or images that resonate as anti-Semitism: holding Israel to higher standards than other states, and for no good reason; articulating conspiracy theories; using demonizing analogies; casting Jews in the role of oppressors; formulating criticism in such a way as to pick a fight with the vast majority of Jews; using the word criticism but meaning discriminatory practices against Israelis or against Jews. Hirsh adds that the recurrence of anti-Semitism does not mean witnessing the same phenomenon, but one that may recover old elements while acquiring new expressions, responding to different logics and framed by distinct individuals and groups.

One problem with the ‘Hydra’ explanation is that while each form of anti-Judaism draws on and replicates older forms, “they are also hugely different phenomena. They arise and they become widespread in radically different times and places. They have different manifestations, are employed by different social forces, they make use of different narratives.” Such differences are actually as striking as the commonalities, among the Spanish Inquisition, Christian anti-Semitism in 19th century Poland, socialist anti-Semitism in Germany at the time of August Bebel, Right wing anti-Semitic anti-Bolshevism, racist anti-Semitism, Nazi genocidal anti-Semitism, understated and gentlemanly English exclusion, contemporary anti-imperialist anti-Zionism, and Jihadi anti-Semitism. However, Anti-Zionism is indeed defined as a form of anti-Semitism because it denies the right of Jewish self-determination while defending self-determination for all other nations (Matas, 2005; Bokser and Siman, 2016). In this sense, an academic boycott of Israel is anti-Semitic because it aims to punish Israeli academics by applying standards that are different from those applied to academics elsewhere. Even if anti-Semitism does not motivate that boycott, it is nevertheless anti-Semitic in effect. Some circles, which consider themselves as Left, act upon their belief that Israel is a unique evil. As a result of their activism, these ideas permeate the academia, the media, the mainstream discourse and are no longer marginalized. The ideological novelty is that hatred of Jews is now expressed in the language of the “fight against racism” or “human rights.” Racism also takes a new form as anti-Islamophobia (Hirsh, 2017).

Jews have always been a target of special attention and feelings, in so many different circumstances. Addressing this issue, Zygmunt Bauman incorporates the notion of *allosemitism*, which implies the notion that Jews’ plights in society are radically different from any other social entity and require special concepts to be described and analyzed (Bauman, 1998a; Senkman, 2014; Bokser, 2017). Jewishness may attract hate or love, but always feelings that are extreme and intense. The object indicated by *allosemitism* is “unfamiliar” or “strange” in its essence: it does not comply with the general order of things, nor does it fit into any other category or phenomena. Furthermore, the attitude toward its object is extra-

temporal and extra-spatial: it consists of a permanent interrogation resulting, each time, from the interplay of continuous historical developments and actual circumstances. In Bauman's view, modern anti-Semitism or hate of Jews targets "Jewishness" rather than Judaism. For the anti-Semite, whatever they do, Jews possess their own inimitable *Volkseigentümlichkeit*, that is, people peculiarities. It is in this sense that one may effectively speak of Jews as a "special species."

However, it is relevant to underscore Bauman's own ambivalences, and contradictions in his approach to the State of Israel and his recurrent and open criticism that became rejection. I have widely analyzed it both in the historical connection of the State to the Holocaust and its memory as well as the State's alleged distancing of ethical and universal values (Bokser Liwerant, 2005, 2017)

Either by building the Jewish identity through a negative paradigm or explaining anti-Semitism through the lenses of Jewish alleged isolation and particularism, a strong chain of social thought has impacted the representation of the Jews among intellectuals and the public sphere. Butler's (2102) critique of Israel's policies of occupation and disposition of territories nourished by her call for universal human values and Jewishness as source of ethics, becomes entrenched in a more radical and vast critique of Zionism as the whole paradigm and the possibility of a Jewish sovereignty and the Jewish State.

Anti-Semitism/Anti-Zionism: A Bi-nomial? From a Cultural Code to a Transnational Ideological Package

Today's anti-Semitism is marked by diverse sources and strands. A variety of anti-Semitic (and later anti-colonial and anti-imperialist) meanings are transferred and reinforce each other through a historical and now trans-regional and trans-national cultural/ideological code that characterizes wide sectors of intellectuals, public figures and the media. Thus, anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism have become transnational phenomena that connect people across countries, regions and continents, through the flow of theories and prejudices and the political agenda of social movements at the local, regional and global levels.

Already in the 1960s and 1970s, the anti-Zionist discourse acted in the United States and Western Europe as a cultural code amid the New Left that suggested a belonging to the camp of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and a new sort of anti-capitalism. In North and South America, anti-Zionist stands—with their frequent anti-Jewish twists—were not initially an independent issue among the prevalent political and social views of the Left, but instead a code for more important matters other than the Israel-Palestine conflict. The cultural contours of this code displayed its struggle against the overall set of values and norms typical of the imperialist West, such as authoritarianism, paternalism, and the legacy of colonialist conceit *vis à vis* the Third World (Volkov, 1978; 2002; 2006): a discursive resource in terms of cultural code.

Nevertheless, as Shulamit Volkov points out, after many years of an unsettled Israel-Palestine conflict, today's opposition to Israel can hardly be regarded as a mere code for some other evil. Alongside a more open anti-Semitism by right-wing xenophobic groups –though not only by them– the subculture of the Left, even of the center-Left, cannot be seen in its stance towards Israel as a side-issue, ripe to serve as a cultural code (Volkov, 2007; (Senkman, 2014; Bokser, 2015; Bokser and Senkman, 2013). Increased hostility towards Israel is globally articulated, transcending the national boundaries of countries. It is a “transnational ideological package” that symbolizes the struggle against globalization and US hegemony. Thus, the anti-Zionist discourse points to a belonging to a larger camp that transcends the national boundaries of the Latin American countries.

Looking at Europe: in Davos, Switzerland, on January 2003, at the annual meeting of the World Economic Forum, a group of anti-globalization protestors publicly expressed their hostility to Israel and Zionism as a mask concealing anti-Semitism as a motivating factor. At the same time, the theatrical performance of this group caught the attention of the Jews who condemned the Left in general for conflating anti-Globalization with anti-Zionism.

In Latin America, 157 organizations and social movements worldwide participated at the World Social Forum (WSF) held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in November-December 2012. The meeting was “taken over” by organizations and NGOs based outside Brazil, from the US, Canada, South Africa, Europe and Asia. Many Palestine organizations also attended the Forum. As it was convened specially to support the Palestine cause, the meeting brought together non-governmental organizations, Left political groups, as well as Arab federations based in Brazil, and formal and informal social movements. Thus, this WSF meeting epitomizes transnational advocacy networks seeking the international recognition of Palestinian statehood claims at the UN through mass demonstrations and the use of social network in addition to the local media. Thus, a large array of local social movements, international NGOs and heterogeneous institutions within a transnational civil society are making use of an anti-Zionist discourse in a global scale. Advocacy for the legitimacy of the Palestine cause by using an anti-Zionist language that de-legitimizes Israel reflects the constituencies, ideological codes and working procedures/mechanisms of transnational advocacy networks and global civil society (Wajner, 2013). Unlike developments in previous decades, current social and political actors with anti-Zionist stands are not confined solely to political parties and organizations.

Thus, a joint anti-Zionist and anti-Israel discourse of social movements does not play merely a cultural role as an ideological code to indicate belonging to the camp of anti-imperialism as part of the national politics of each country. In contrast to the 1960s, in the new Millennium, anti-Zionism has become a mobilization myth for action and political identification of the anti-Globalization Left in both local and transnational public spheres. Unlike the balanced criticism of Israel from some Latin American governments, anti-Zionism is a radical mobilization myth of local social

movements that combat US globalization and also Israel, perceived as a rogue state refusing to afford legitimacy to the Palestinian national aspirations. Additionally, within the current pattern of anti-Zionism, transnational social networks emerging from civil society advocate legitimacy for the Palestine state while instilling, through their discourse and actions, de-legitimacy arguments against Israel. Opposition by the Latin American Left to Israel's policies towards the Palestine, even among center-Left and Liberal organizations in the region, can hardly be regarded as a side issue. This has become a major concern for Latin American policy makers, as long as stagnation of the unsettled Israeli-Palestine conflict persists.

Globalization as an Analytical Framework

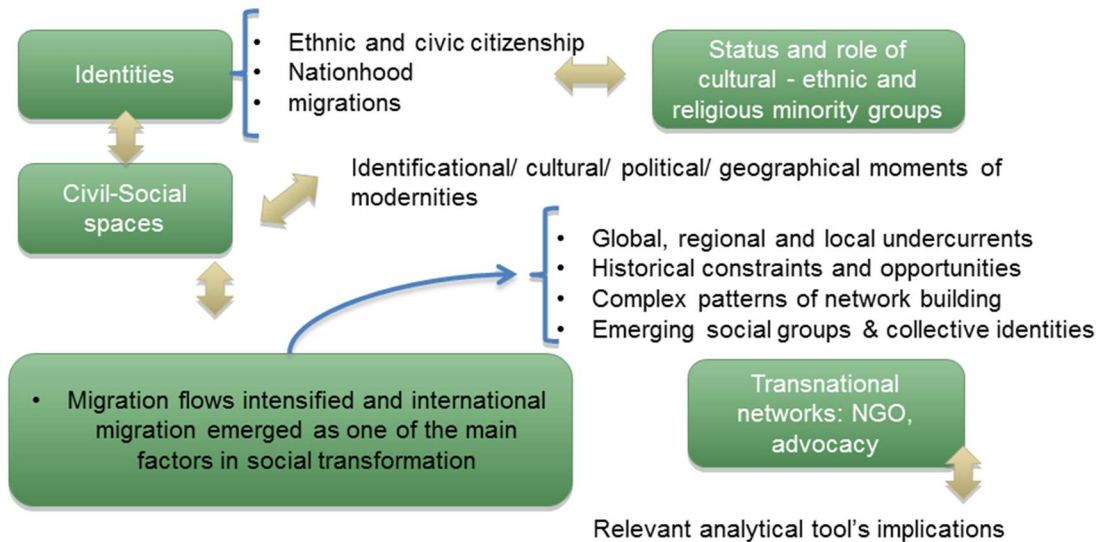
Globalization processes and transnationalism have brought Latin America to new unprecedented levels of interconnectedness that demand rethinking the relations between collective identities and public spheres.

Globalization processes are not uniform; instead, they take place in differentiated modes of time and place, with territorial, cultural, sub-ethnic sector, and social stratification inequalities. They are also of a multifaceted, multidimensional and contradictory nature. Multifaceted insofar as they bring together economic, political and cultural aspects, as well as the interdependence and influences between these planes. Multidimensional, because they are expressed both in networks of interaction between transnational institutions and agents, and in processes of organizational, institutional, strategic and cultural convergence, alignment and standardization. And contradictory because it entails processes that can be simultaneously intentional and reflexive, as well as not intentional, and of international, regional, national, or local scope.

Much of the economic debate in Latin America has revolved around the effects of globalization and structural reform upon economic growth, poverty, and inequality. We need to move to other cultural, political and social realms. The construction, resilience, transformation, competition and reconstitution of identities take place in changing scenarios. Evolving patterns of ethnic and civic citizenship, of ethnic-civic conceptions of nationhood and of migration have a meaningful though differentiated impact on the status and role of cultural-ethnic and religious minority groups in Latin America. Particular realities and expressions of transnationalism take place in a more general and extended horizon. Growing mobility, international migrations, and the diversification of internal and transnational movements have surfaced in the continent and in the world. Migrations involve the renewed expansion of spaces and places, and national belonging as a substratum to hate-speech. A multidimensional framework for connecting social movements at an international level (protest, advocacy, human rights).

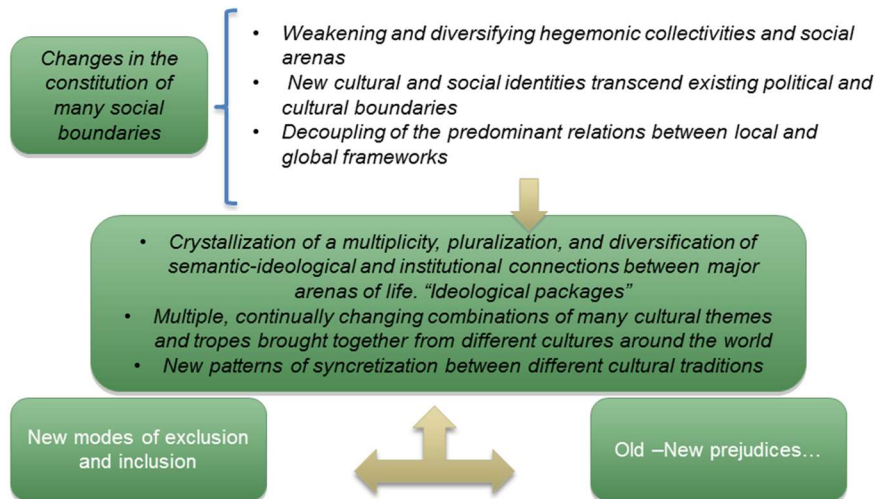
Globalization and Transnationalism I

- Rethinking the relations between collective identities, culture and public spheres: State/ civil society



Globalization processes, in their twofold form, while leading to weakening and diversifying hegemonic collectives and social arenas, bring about the crystallization of new cultural and social identities that transcend existing political and cultural boundaries, and the decoupling of the hitherto predominant relations between local and global frameworks (Eisenstadt, 2010). One has to underscore the emergence of very strong tendencies to politics of identity, to the redefinition of boundaries of the collective, and of new ways of combining “local” and global, transnational or trans-state components in the processes of constituting these collectivities. This points to new thresholds of acceptance/rejection. The recognition of difference, the politics of identity, and the emphasis on heterogeneity have increasingly widened the public sphere’s scope, and act as a substratum that enhances and reinforces pluralism. “Struggles for recognition” and “identity/difference movements” propel cultural identity issues to the forefront of the public political discourse. In light of the general processes, Jews, as other minorities, find new paths of recognition and collective expression in the public sphere and its wider scope. Thus, globalization processes have given rise to new identities with a different level of aggregation and have renewed the relevance of primordial ethnic, religious and local identities. However, the porosity of borders allows a circulation of vision, values, opinions and –also– prejudices. This twofold contradictory character and impact point to the complexity, tensions and contradictions it carries.

Globalization and Transnationalism II



The Latin American Scene: Regional Considerations

The impact of anti-Semitism on the social representation of the Other is both subjective (stereotypes, myths, attitudes, among others) and behavioral (actions, practices, institutional arrangements). These two interacting but also autonomous levels are particularly relevant in countries that in the past found difficult dealing with their inner cultural diversity, but recently underwent profound transformations resulting in the legitimate expression of differences in the public sphere. We need to stress both tensions and ambiguities, as well as the inner diversity of the region.

Certainly, both the central place and role of the Catholic Church, and European corporate traditions hampered dealing with religious and ethnical diversity, still actually projecting human encounters with Otherness as a combined reality of social diversity and homogeneous narratives. *De facto* collective coexistence acted as an open parameter to build Jewish life, define its communal contours, and redefine its borders on the light of the always-complex dynamics between social integration and group autonomy.

Political cultures that underscore homogeneity are likely to question the legitimacy and limit the visibility of Jewish collective affirmation and transnational links. In Argentina, while the territorial and religious bases of the national State's collective identity tended to conceal the multi-ethnic composition of its civil society, mass migration led to a growing gap between the discourse of the melting pot and reality. Although the State promoted the latter, society developed as multi-ethnic.

Thus, ethnic tolerance in a society of immigrants was the framework for the building of communities that sought to preserve their ethnic links to their "homelands." Such was the case with Spaniards, Italians, and Jews, among others.

Historically, Mexico has sought its own national identity and culture as the base for national unity. Its original ethnic composition enhanced the conviction that a unified and homogeneous society with a homogeneous identity was both possible and desirable. Thus, like other minorities Jews developed their communal life without the corresponding visibility in the public sphere, lacking their recognition as a legitimate collective component of the national chorus. Correspondingly, limited integration and autonomy to preserve cultural, religious, and social differences further reflected and reinforced social differences and the distinct frontiers of Jewish life.

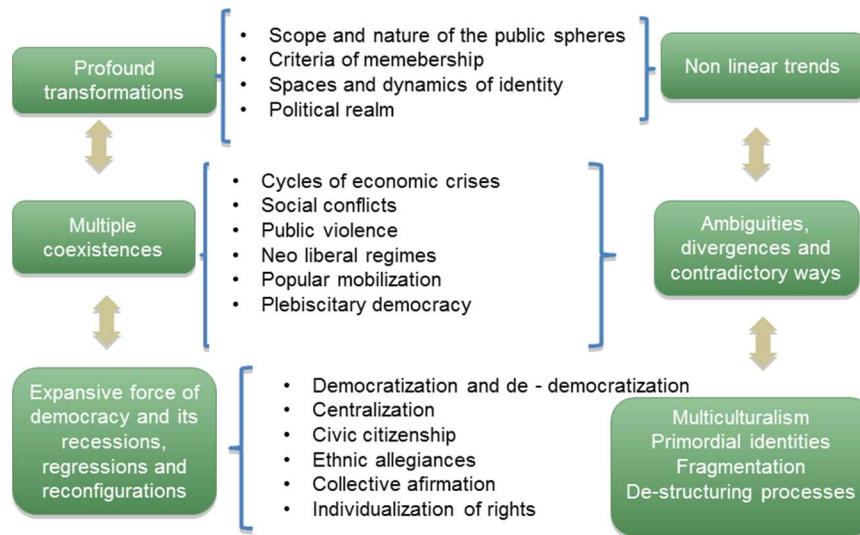
Today's changing reality reflects the expansive force of democracy (as well as its recessions, regressions) and reconfigurations. Latin America has incorporated global cycles of political opportunities and social conflicts in contradictory ways, as evident in democratization and de-democratization; centralization; civic citizenship and ethnic allegiances; collective affirmation and individualization of rights. Multiculturalism and new claims for recognition of primordial identities seek inclusion based on essentialism, even though they reinforce exclusion on ethnic grounds. While the scope for diversity broadens, Latin American societies also face serious risks of fragmentation and even de-structuring processes (Bokser, 2011). The prevalence of historically complex relations with the United States and widespread dissatisfaction with the effects of globalization opened new opportunities for radical movements in the region. In this context of non-linear trends, anti-Semitism acquires new modalities of expression.

Neo-liberal and growingly institutionalized citizenship regimes coexist with corporatist and populist political forms, social mobilization and plebiscitary democracy. Thus, the region experiences contradictory trends: an increasing civic participation of social and political actors is threatened by exclusionary initiatives. In pluralistic Latin American societies, a widened public sphere and a stronger civil society facilitate the emergence of new actors. Different social movements attract vast middle-class sectors, including Jews and the Jewish community, as civic participants of the national arena. This has been further enhanced by liberal democratic policies. Indeed, Jewish individuals have increasingly entered the political sphere and assumed high rank public roles, while organized Jewish communities have reached prominent roles as a result of increased top-to-bottom citizenship participation. Thus, the twofold complex process of erosion of a national ethnic narrative and the increased recognition of minorities based on religious and ethnic grounds render increasing visibility and legitimacy to Jewish communities.

Paralleling these developments, we should go back and look at the fragmented integration of Latin America into the international economic system. In

light of growing inequalities, inclusive political entities coexist with exclusionary trends that hinder democracy.

Transformations, ambiguities and divergences in Contemporary Latin America



The multidimensional and multifaceted nature of globalization processes point simultaneously to the economic crises that have also impacted Jewish communities, although in different ways. As Mexico was not hit as harshly as the Southern Cone –e.g., Argentina–, its economic conditions led to radical changes in the organized Jewish life. Globalization processes, for instance, deteriorated the economic standing of some while boosting higher and middle classes into advantageous positions in international commerce, high technology, services, the sciences, academia and its institutions, and the financial sectors. This resulted in a wider interaction between the Jewish community and diverse sectors of Mexican society. A new concern with civil society and the public sphere also acquired new force.

Community arrangements, actors, flows, and narratives of the binomial “being national/being transnational” also reveal the new interaction between ascription and self-ascription: a collective affirmation of being first Mexican citizens and thus share civic commonalities and the national interest, while being perceived as bearer of a transnational link and center.

In the case of Argentina, the recovery of democracy granted Jews the possibility of becoming active citizens in the public sphere without being exposed to ethnic or religious discrimination. At the same time, a solid civil society took shape. The infrastructure for community and grassroots activism also widened and was further strengthened by the work of international NGOs focused on rights, identity, education and civic responsibility. The more pluralistic and democratic Argentina’s

civil society has become, the greater its rejection of anti-Semitism, although it will hardly disappear any time soon. Additionally, as more Jewish institutions participate in the public sphere demanding justice –e.g., the terrorist attacks of the Israeli Embassy (1992) and AMIA/Jewish Community Center (1994)–, the greater the appreciation towards Jews as citizens committed to democracy.

One cannot dismiss the paradoxes and contradictions: repression during the military regime (1976-1983), abduction, torture, and disappearance of thousands of citizens, among which Jews were targeted disproportionately to the general population. The 1992 bombing of the Israeli Embassy and of the communal building AMIA in Buenos Aires in 1994 brought to the forefront a mixture of old and new expressions of anti-Semitism which impacted the promissory notes of a changing reality; also transnationalization of the ME conflict; while the event simultaneously became focus and mirror of a shared national constellation. Claims of justice, similitude of repression camps with concentration camps, calls for democracy. Thus amidst the processes of democratization, their public political action saw the fight against anti-Semitism intertwined with the fight against impunity of the former military regime. Particular Jewish values such as mourning and memory essentially connected to the Shoah experience were therefore displayed to a society confronted with impunity.

Venezuela is a contrasting case. Shifting political forces and changing relations between the Venezuelan state and international actors has made the Jewish community subject of great constraints. However, the influence of *Chavismo* in spreading anti-Zionism in Latin America has probably been less critical than the increasing impact of international social movements and transnational networks fighting against imperialism, neo-liberalism and racial discrimination, including Zionism and Israel. However, Chávez and Maduro regimes radical and polarizing rhetoric, coalitional dynamics and strategic international positioning have narrowed the legitimate public space of the Jewish collective. It is highly probable that the current crisis of *Chavismo* will revert this situation.

A Look into the Past: Grounding Terrains of Prejudice. Zionism, Racism and Regionalization in a Critical Juncture: Enhancing- Redefining Discursive Strategies

During the 1970s, the national, regional and global socio-political world and regional scenarios went through complex processes of change and reconfiguration, and anti-Semitic expressions catalyzed through new political codes. This processes reached their climax with UN's Resolution 3379 that equated Zionism with racism, a resolution that Mexico (and Brazil) supported –thereby entering the international dynamics of confrontation with Zionism and Israel while projecting entrenched stereotypes to the Jewish communities (Bokser 1997).

From the Mexican perspective, through radical elaborations, anti-Zionism was formulated in new terms that recovered old anti-Semitic referents, thus combining the hard nucleus of prejudice with changing motivations and functions. Symbolic became intertwined with referents of ascription, such as the national, the foreigner and the Other. Accusations of double loyalty acquired an unprecedented strength. Mexico's positive vote was explicitly associated to the radical positions and alleged progressive international stance of the government, whose domestic policies aimed to incorporate dissent and opposition, mainly of intellectual sectors. The same regime that condemned Zionism was the promoter of an incipient project of democratization.

Aiming to incorporate Left-wing academics and intellectuals, and, more generally, progressive sectors that had distanced themselves from the government after the 1968 repression of the student movement, President Echeverría implemented international "audacious stands." This was clearly exemplified by the integration of figures like Carlos Fuentes and Octavio Paz in Mexico's diplomacy. Actions taken regarding the regime of Allende in Chile and the break-up of relations with Spain were also partly for domestic consumption. These measures were gradually interpreted as progressive and democratizing actions; many in the public viewed the vote against Zionism as an equally progressive measure.

The specific axis of the relations with the United States was relevant. Following the historical tension with the Northern neighbor, the basic assumption and expectation were that the organizations regulating international relations would act as the forum to promote new patterns of the relations between domestic markets and the United States. In the international context of the mid-1970s, such beliefs nourished an ideology and a discourse that brought to the forefront the Third World as an actor. The drafting of the *Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States* and the establishment of an Economic System for the Third World, the proposals to reorganize participation in international organizations –i.e., Organization of American States and the United Nations Security Council– constitute some of the emblematic moments of a new political-ideological foreign policy. In effect, an economic project for the Third World would encompass a collective bargaining power and new specific programs of economic, financial, industrial and technological cooperation. It thus reflected an interest to strengthen the United Nations, for which assuming a proactive stance towards the Arab-Israeli conflict could be instrumental. Thus, the Mexican goal of assuming a leadership role while mediating through the suggested implementation of international resolutions such as the evacuation of Israeli troops, the guarantee of integrity and sovereignty for all states, and the adoption of adequate measures to grant freedom to the Palestinian people.

Intermingled with political and economic goals, several national and regional dimension acquired priority: the elimination of "economic colonialism"; the enhanced role of Latin America in the Third World; and the strengthening of the Third World's solidarity, for which the coordination of shared actions was

necessary. Paralleling these claims, the condemnation of any form of discrimination and racism and the need to intensify the fight against all forms of imperialism, racism and colonialism took shape. Together with the economic and political goals, personal praxis has to be considered: the role as Third World leader that President Echeverría sought to achieve if becoming General Secretary of the UN. While visiting Egypt, President Echeverría met Yasser Arafat on August 5, 1975, and immediately afterwards announced his intention to officially recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). One month later, a PLO delegation led by Faruk Kaddumi, head of the organization's political division, visited Mexico and was welcomed by Echeverría, a step that formalized the opening of the Organization's local office.

Mexico was the setting of the World Conference for the International Woman's Year, a significant precedent of Resolution 3379. It incorporated the condemnation of Zionism into the fight against colonialism, equating Zionism with Apartheid and other forms of racial discrimination. Together with this condemnation, there were Resolution 77-XII adopted by the heads of State and Government of the Organization for African Unity –also in 1975– and the Declaration of Politics and Strategy to Strengthen Solidarity and Mutual Aid between Non-Aligned Countries in Lima promulgated simultaneously. These were important precursors of the United Nations equation of Zionism with racism.

The singularity of the Mexican case throws light on the more general process of interplay between discourse, practice and ideological undercurrents. The national constellation and the international projection provided the discursive roots of symbolic violence, which evince growing interrelated combinations of old prejudices and new contextual referents. Therefore I consider it is relevant to present the detailed textual references widespread along the mainstream printed media.

Following Mexico's vote against Zionism, the US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger declared that his government would retaliate against those countries that voted in favor of the resolution, even before it would take any action against the UN. In this context, the Jewish community in the US announced its decision to cancel any touristic trips to Mexico, considering that "Americans make more business and touristic trips to Mexico than to any of the other 71 nations that voted against Zionism."

The Mexican regime attempted to "rectify the vote" through arguments intersecting different moments: the vote against Zionism, the tourism boycott and the attempt to amend Mexico's position at the UN. In this way, critiques of any one dimension did not prevent critiques of the other issues; on the contrary, they further interactively nourished each other. The boycott functioned as a pressure mechanism. "Rectifying measures" that aimed to clarify the "misunderstandings" associated with the vote included the visits of high-level politicians to Chicago, Los Angeles and New York where meetings with Jewish leaders were held, as well as the Foreign Minister's trip to Israel. Foreign Minister Rabasa asserted on several

occasions that Zionism was not racism, that there was no discrimination in Israel – exemplified by a floral offering at Herzl's grave– and that given the clarifications of the matter, the “misunderstanding was forgiven and forgotten.”

While the official discourse sought to differentiate between the condemnation of Zionism and anti-Semitism²⁴, critiques of Zionism also recovered anti-Jewish prejudice in particularly acute ways. Thus, Zionism was seen not only as expansionist and colonialist²⁵, but also as a “doctrine based on ethnic motivations, relentless, messianic, discriminatory and even brutal”²⁶, or as the “combination of a religious fanaticism and an exclusionary nationalism, both equally racist”. It was further defined as an ideology that reflected the belief of God's chosen people; as if Jews segregate, have pride and believe to be superior to other races”.²⁷

Mexico's initial position at the UN and its later amendments led to a severe criticism of the regime's inconsistent policy and continued through the argument of Mexico's distancing from its traditional international trajectory. The alleged loss of autonomy in regards to Mexico's sovereign exercise of power and its giving way to external pressures were underscored.

The resignation by Minister of Foreign Affairs Rabasa, on December 29th, detonated by his declarations of an alleged forgiveness and forgetting by the Israeli government and followed by the president's assertion “I prefer to die before asking another country's for its forgiveness”²⁸ reinforced the symbolic connection between Jewish pressure (Jewish lobby) and loss of autonomy. Thus, the Jewish community of Mexico was questioned in regards to the boycott's unjust nature given that the country had offered asylum to persecuted Jews and where the Jewish community had developed in conditions of freedom and “prosperity”.²⁹ This argument was advanced by intellectuals and academics that viewed the boycott as a lack of understanding and loyalty by Jews towards Mexico thus leading to the twofold questioning of the Jewish collectivity in Mexico and Zionism. The main argument

²⁴ Huerta Cruz, José Luis, "Antisionismo no es anti-Semitismo", *El Universal*, November 29; Op-ed, *Ibid.*, December 13.

²⁵ González, Genaro María, "Falta de bases históricas y legales", *Excelsior*, November 17; Lara Barragán, Antonio, "El judaísmo internacional", *El Universal*, December 16; González, Genaro María, "Diplomacia caprichosa ¿hay algo que perdonar?", *Excelsior*, December 15.

²⁶ Tellez Girón, José María, "Judaísmo, sí; sionismo, no", *El Día*; Allaz, Tomás Gerardo, "Estatuto de animales para los no judíos" e "Israel, víctima de sí mismo", *Excelsior*.

²⁷ Sánchez Gavito, Vicente, "No sólo discriminación semántica del racismo", *Excelsior*, December 29; Lara Barragán, Antonio, "El judaísmo internacional", *El Universal*, December 6; Ilanes, Esteban, "Elitismo pero no racismo", *Novedades*, November 22; Chávez Hayhoe, Salvador, "Sionismo y racismo", *El Universal*, November 27; Armendáriz, Antonio, "¿Semitismo o sionismo?", *Novedades*, December 1.

²⁸ *El Heraldo*, December 31.

²⁹ Armendáriz, Antonio, *Op. Cit.*; Villegas, Abelardo, "¿México antijudío? Una diplomacia errática" *Excelsior*, December 8; De la Lama, Beatriz Eugenia, "Desproporcionado ataque contra México por parte de los judíos norteamericanos", *Revista de la Secretaría del Trabajo*, December 9.

was that such measures would “tomorrow lead the Mexican Jewish community to face its government under the banner and for the defense of Zionism”. The impact of this sort of questioning on the process of citizenship building is not a marginal aspect of the long term impact of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. The radicalized prejudice emerged too: that the boycott confirmed the racist and imperialist attitude of the Jewish people.³⁰ The argument of a powerful group that is simultaneously alien to the nation –ideas that gave birth to Modern anti-Semitism- reappeared in the Mexican context. Therefore, anti-Zionism became part and parcel of a political culture shared by important sectors of the national sphere.

The UN resolution 3379 also received the supportive vote of Brazil. In the prevailing regional context, due to the increasing pro-Palestine stance among Latin American countries –Chile and Brazil included, both under military anti-Communist dictatorships–, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) gradually gained considerable political and diplomatic clout via the introduction of liaison and information offices in Brazil and Mexico City (1976), Lima (1979), Managua (1980), La Paz (1982), and Buenos Aires (1985). Following the PLO proclamation for Palestinian statehood, in December of 1988, the UN General Assembly approved Resolution 43/177, viz. Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, though at that time, only Nicaragua and Cuba formally recognized a Palestine State.

Ultimately, the impact of the equation of Zionism/racism transcended the specific national, regional and international political scenarios and the correlation of forces as well as its temporal context. The radical questioning of the whole paradigm can be read in terms of the complex interactions that developed between the ideological discourse, social representations and political conflicts. The symbolic violence developed and the consequent othering and de-legitimation surpassed the political constellation that gave birth to it and projected itself into new scenarios, in spite that its roots and causes were transformed. This is precisely what paradigmatically occurred in Mexico years later, during the 1991 Gulf War; a trend spread at the international level fed by fifteen years of an international effort and mediated by the invasion of Lebanon –as well as by the events of Sabra and Shatila– the initial anti-Zionist discourse further radicalized. Sort of cumulative layers that transformed the seeds of political criticism to a state policy into an overall disqualification of Zionism as a foundational national movement and state paradigm.

The Gulf War also illustrated the consolidation of an intellectual atmosphere – particularly strong in Mexico but expanded as grounding narrative beyond its borders– that censored Israel as the instigator of the war and as spearhead of Western imperialism. It expressed in the recurrent argument that the Palestinian-

³⁰ Zea, Leopoldo, “¿Qué es por fin el sionismo?”, *Novedades*, December 16, and “El sionismo y las trampas del pacifismo”, December 23; Villegas, Abelardo, *Op. Cit.* and Villegas, Abelardo, “Balance político de 1975. Candidato, grupos de presión, Israel”, *Excésior*, December 22.

Israeli conflict stood at the center of the critical situation that led to the war. This thesis originated in an attempt to equate Iraq's invasion of Kuwait to Israel's occupation of Gaza and the West Bank. While it initially seemed a didactic resource based on similarities –and which was first used on August 12, 1990, ten days following the Iraqi invasion— it gradually led to the dilution of one *problematique* in the other. This explains why when Saddam Hussein's regime declared at the United Nations –in early December– that the Palestinian question was key to solving the Persian Gulf conflict, the Mexican national press and wide sectors of the public opinion were already a fertile soil for such biased reading. *Reductionism*- as a growing and expanding strategy- prevented to see a real map of the convergence of different regional conflicts and the participation of multiple actors. As if the radical criticisms of Israel and Zionism lead the otherwise alleged progressive thought to free itself from empirical, rational or comparative methodological constraints (Hirsch, 2017), overlapping anti-Semite, anti-Zionist and anti-Israel arguments convey old prejudices to oppose political actions that could be subject to serious criticism.

Israel was continuously seen as the most aggressive country that systematically “violated” the UN's accords, that maintained its presence in the Palestinian territories -where it committed daily assassinations,³¹ and which provoked violence in the region.³² Gradually, Israel was further conceived as a military power, invader and oppressor, with a war prone and expansionist spirit.³³ “Intransigent” and “aggressive” were thoroughly and unilaterally applied to Israel throughout the different stages of the conflict. In this way, with the outbreak of the war, the Palestinian question remained a substratum that was prioritized and got intertwined with new formulations, based on an opposing rationale to the alleged double standards of the UN and the US towards Israel and the Arab countries; specifically, Iraq.³⁴

Given that Israel was seen as a military power that was “paranoid by nature and which set as its main objective the displacement, and even...the destruction of...the Arab race”, it was asserted, “dispossession was followed by expansionism and genocide”.³⁵ The dialectic victim-perpetrator was inverted, thus projecting the Nazi Holocaust unto relations with the Palestinians, arguing that the Jewish people

³¹ Ambou, Juan, “No al uso de la fuerza en el Golfo,” *El Día*, September 6, 1990.

³² Editorial, *El Universal*, October 10, 1990; Támez García, Aurelio, “Los excesos de Israel,” *El Economista*, October 10, 1990; Miguel, Pedro, “Dos genocidios y la ONU,” *La Jornada*, October 23, 1990; González Ruiz, José Enrique, “Kuwait y Palestina: dos raseros de la ONU,” *El Día*, September 24, 1990; Newspaper Op-ed, “Israel: reiterada intransigencia,” *El Nacional*, November 5, 1990.

³³ Támez García, Aurelio, “Reflexiones sobre la guerra,” *El Economista*, January 23, 1991.

³⁴ García, Verónica A., and Hugo Gámez, “El sionismo causa de la división en el Medio Oriente,” *El Universal*, January 23, 1991; “Israel, la guerra y los palestinos,” Op-ed, *La Jornada*, February 4, 1991; Méndez, Manuel Luis, “La eterna tragedia palestina,” *Uno más Uno*, February 6, 1991.

³⁵ Bellinghausen, Hermann. “¿Razas arrasadas?,” *La Jornada*, January 24; Op-ed, *La Jornada*, January 16, 1991.

“has always raised the suffering of the diaspora and the Holocaust around the world” but indeed Israel was the perpetrator of a new Holocaust as they (Jews, Israelis...?) had “learned from their own Nazi killers, the use of violence to impose their own interests”.³⁶ This evil inversion was also expressed in the questioning of Israel as an entity that was “doing to the Palestinians what Hitler did to the Jews”³⁷, “playing the eternal role of attacked victim given that it has benefited from it over time”,³⁸ and succeeding –given their economic power- in turning the Holocaust “into the massive crime more widely publicized in the history of humanity”, in contrast to the Palestinians who lack the means to broadcast their own genocide (Bokser Liwerant, 1997).³⁹ Israel was recursively seen as a racist country that operated outside any legal framework-

Another shared trend was and still is that while the discourse radicalized, efforts were channeled to differentiate between Zionism and progressive Judaism. Respected intellectuals whose position before 1975 had been favorable towards Israel and the Jewish community, modified their attitude expressing anti-Zionism fifteen years later. Their position was further reinforced by hard-core anti-Jewish prejudice and was expressed in 1991 through arguments such as the historical intransigence of the Jewish people that resulted from its self-perception as the chosen people. The Left played an important role in building anti-Zionism. Ideologically influenced by the political conditions of a bipolar world, and trying to recover the revolutionary ascription of the past, it expressed a radical opposition to the Gulf War and a complaint regarding imperialist interests in the Middle East, where Israel was defined as its main spearhead. The political Left did not exclusively endorse an anti-Zionist discourse; more primitive anti-Semitic stereotypes appeared as well.

In this line, the Jew was defined as arrogant, exclusionary, of questionable morality and money lover.⁴⁰ It was also seen as someone who lacks the possibility to exercise a “non-prejudiced and autonomous thought; its voice of a herd, a uniform and monotonous bleating, based on the conviction of a postponed, dazzling and useless destiny”.⁴¹ At the same time, recovering the stereotype of the Jew as exploitative⁴², the cartoons were a privileged media to overshadow the invasion of

³⁶ Op-ed., *La Jornada*, January 16, 1991; Zea, Leopoldo, “Israel en el conflicto del Pérsico,” *Novedades*, November 6, 1990; Op-ed., *El Día*, December 12, 1990; Segovia, Eduardo, “Palabras de México en la filosofía y en la ONU,” *El Día*, February 27, 1991.

³⁷ Galeano, Eduardo, “Preguntitas,” *La Jornada*, January 15, 1991.

³⁸ Martre, Gonzalo, “La tormenta debe seguir,” *El Universal*, January 22, 1991.

³⁹ Hernández Ascencia, Halive, “Scuds: los que van a morir te saludan,” *El Sol del Mediodía*, February 1, 1991.

⁴⁰ García Jaime, Roberto, “El judío,” *Uno Más Uno*, February 4, 1991.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² The unfortunate episode of the “costureras” (seamstresses) who died in downtown Mexico City during the 1985 earthquake gave way to the expression of prejudice related to the presence of a significant number

Kuwait, presenting a Jewish invasion of Mexico and the exploitation to which the Mexican people was subjugated.⁴³

The 1975 vote configuration shows how de-legitimation of Zionism (whether as a motivation or an outcome) provided a substratum through which anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism were mutually reinforced, thereby suggesting a permanent and complex relation between ideas, discourses and social conflicts. Moreover, expressed as symbolic violence, they temporarily surpassed the initial conditions that originated them, thereby acquiring great autonomy and efficacy.

Anti-Zionist expressions have historically fluctuated with the development of events in the Middle East: Six Day War (1967), Yom Kippur War (1973), Lebanon War (1982), First Intifada (1987-1993), Gulf War (1991), Second Intifada (2000-2005), Cast Lead (2008-2009), Flotilla Incident (2010), cross-border attacks by Egyptian and Palestinian militants (2011), Pillar of Defense (2012) and Protective Edge (2014)... Paradigmatically, the Mexican press has been highly sensitive to the ebbs and flows of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, as seen by the substantial increment of articles and editorials published when conflicts erupt.

We have analyzed an exemplary display of this dynamics in the above-mentioned span of time. We found that preceding the Flotilla Affair of May 31, 2010, or Operation Cast Lead of December 2009-January 2010, there were a few mainstream news items or editorials regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

However, the number of articles, editorials, photographs and cartoons published significantly increased when the war broke out. In fact, negative mentions in the Mexican press in 2011-2012 were closely connected to events in the Middle East, signaling what may be a consistent pattern. A large number of Op-Eds questioned the long-term and entrenched Israeli policy of occupation and immorality towards the Palestinians.

When Operation "Defense Pillar" occurred in November 2012, 105 negative articles (based on *Tribuna Israelita's* categorization) were published mainly in Leftist newspapers. In light of critical events in Palestine/Israel, the debate broadened and included more mainstream newspapers and voices.

of Jews in the textile industry. Arguments that brought together the Jewish collective and the socio-economic adscription expressed traditional prejudices in new ways. *Vid.*, for example, *El Universal*, September 28, October 7 and 17, 1985; *Cuestión*, October 3 and 8; *Novedades*, October 7; *Quehacer Político*, October 7; *El Día*, October 7; Tonatiuh A., Marcos, "Un rescate parcial de la dignidad arrebatada," *Uno Más Uno*, October 11; Martre, Gonzalo, "El pozo de las costureras," *El Universal*, October 22; Cárdenas Cruz, Francisco, "Pulso Político," *El Universal*, October 24, among others. In regards to the cartoons that incorporated antisemitic stereotypes, *Vid.*, *Uno Más Uno*, October 9; *Novedades*, October 11; *Ovaciones*, October 11; *Últimas Noticias*, October 15; *Revista de Revistas*, October 18; *Jueves de Excelsior*, October 24; *Impacto*, October 31.

⁴³ *Vid. El Sol del Mediodía*, November 22, 1990, January 19, February 4 and 6, 1991.

A look at 2010-2011 data, viz. *Tribuna Israelita*,⁴⁴ finds an overall reduction in the number of published notes related to Jewish issues and Israel (-38.21% from 2009 to 2010, -8.33% from 2010 to 2011). This is also the case for news reports, editorials, cartoons, reviews, reproductions, photographs, interviews, and classified letters (-41.74% from 2009 to 2010, -5.16% from 2010 to 2011).⁴⁵ This seems to be related to the lower impact on Mexican public opinion that events in the region –e.g., the "Flotilla Affair"– had in comparison to the impact of "Operation Cast Lead," a finding consistent with the 2010 World Report by the Stephen Roth Center at Tel Aviv University. Using the same data for the same period, "negative" articles and editorials far outnumbered "positive" ones.

But it is also observed that the number of negative news reports –31 in 2010 and 27 in 2011– was significantly smaller than the number of Op-Eds –313 and 277, respectively. That is, negative news regarding Jews and/or Israel had a significant and disproportional impact on Mexican public opinion. Those classified as "neutral" represented the largest number.⁴⁶

It has to be stressed that *Tribuna Israelita* also codes as "negative" arguments that are highly critical of Israel's policies towards the Palestinians. "Positive" arguments include the questioning of anti-Jewish prejudice and/or simplistic generalizations regarding Israel-Palestinian dynamics, Jews or both. "Neutral" arguments are generally descriptive rather than value-laden –although in some instances they may be underlined by more subtle prejudiced assumptions.

The gamut of arguments that appeared in the printed press in 2010 epitomizes the previous argument. Among the most common positions we observe Israel's conduction of "war crimes" in Lebanon and Gaza; Israel's "terrorist" traits and its implementation of "massacre", "genocide" and "collective punishment" in Gaza to a million and a half Palestinians; the building of a Wall in the West Bank that seeks to "exterminate" 4.5 million Palestinians; Israel's "violation" of international law in the occupied territories and worldwide; the Zionist Jewish State as a racist one on nationality and citizenship issues; and Israel as an "apartheid" State.⁴⁷ But

⁴⁴ There is no comparable data in the 2012 report.

⁴⁵ *Tribuna Israelita Annual Reports*. The number of annual incidents remained below 100 (67 in 2010, 88 in 2011, 65 in 2012), mostly harassment actions: verbal aggressions, painted signs and propaganda (demonstrations, conferences, distribution of books, flyers and objects). A limited number of actions included e-mails, physical aggression (generally with low levels of violence), threats, and a few incidents in the media (other than newspapers).

⁴⁶ These include Op-Eds, news reports, newspaper editorials, cartoons, reviews, reproductions, photographs, interviews and classified letters. Each category separately shows only few exceptions.

⁴⁷ Pascoe Pierce, Andrés. "La década del Terror" (A Decade of Terror) in *Crónica*. January 2, 2010; Caño Tamayo, Xavier. "Sobre una bomba de violaciones de derechos humanos" (About a human rights' violations' bomb) in *Rumbo de México*. January 4th; Steinsleger, José. "¿Cuándo caerá el muro?" (When will the Wall fall?) in *La Jornada*. January 6th, 2010; Delgado, Héctor. "ONU monosabía, ignora la autodeterminación" (Mono-wise United Nations, ignores self-determination) in *Uno más uno*. February 11th, 2010; Dorberier, Manu. "El que se somete a la infamia, se convierte en infame" (He who puts himself

covert prejudice towards Israel may also be revealed by omission of relevant information or the use of double standards. While it differs from explicit prejudice association, it also has a meaningful impact. Insofar as the State of Israel became the main focus of argumentation the fluid interconnections established between anti-Israelism and historical anti-Semitism, or between anti-Israelism and dilution, inversion or even denial of the Holocaust, the former became the radicalized argumentative point of departure.

Further overlapping at the meaning making level between anti-Israelism and anti-Zionism can be observed through analogies, parallels and metaphors that point to Holocaust inversion: the West Bank Wall was conceived out of a great strategic plan, the slow and sustained “extermination”; “This time, without gas chambers”.⁴⁸ The *naqba* as Israel’s “expulsion” of 700,000 Palestinians –which was preceded by “ethnic cleansing”-, has a straightforward parallel with the Holocaust: the word *naqba* denotes the “oldest and most prolonged Holocaust” in contemporary History as a result of the creation of an “illegal Zionist State”.⁴⁹

Intermingled with the national/regional anti-American and anti-Imperialist discourse that recurrently emphasizes the alliance between the US and Israel, both the wall at the West Bank and at USA-Mexico border were equated, yet differentiated: only the former was seen as a “genocide wall”.⁵⁰ This phenomenon requires an analytical differentiation that disentangles anti-globalization and anti-Zionism and it also questions the political discourse of both international civil society organizations and partisan anti-global movements.⁵¹ Similar to the period that followed Operation Cast Lead, the Flotilla Affair reflected the implications of the Middle East conflict for anti-Zionist expressions.⁵² Israel’s negative image reached an apex in this episode that conveyed its “genocidal” and “anti-humanitarian”

under infamy, becomes infamous) in *El Sol de México*. February 20th, 2010; Newspaper Editorial. “Lula en Israel” (Lula in Israel) in *La Jornada*. March 16th, 2010; Steinsleger, José. “¿Israelíes o judíos?” (Israelis or Jews) in *La Jornada*. April 21st, 2010; Gelman, Juan. “Prohibido y ya” (Forbidden, That’s It) in *Milenio Diario*. May 29th, 2010.

⁴⁸ Steinsleger, José. “¿Cuándo caerá el muro?” (When will the Wall Fall?) in *La Jornada*. January 6th, 2010.

⁴⁹ Steinsleger, José. “Palestina: orígenes de la nakba” (Palestine: nakaba origins) in *La Jornada*. May 5th, 2010.

⁵⁰ Delgado, Héctor. “¡Bienvenida Señora Michelle Obama!” (Welcome Ms. Michelle Obama) in *Uno más uno*. April 15th, 2010.

⁵¹ See, the two articles discussing the Israel/Palestine conflict and the charge of anti-semitism, Brian Klug, “A Plea for Distinctions: Disentangling anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism today”, and the response of Tamar Meisels, “Is It Good For the Jews? A Response to Brian Klug’s ‘A Plea for Distinctions: Disentangling Anti-Americanism From Anti-Semitism’”, *Tink 20*, Vol.7, The Royal Institute of Philosophy, Winter 2008, pp.69-90

⁵² Beltrán, Esteban (Director, Amnesty International, Spain). “El asfixiante bloqueo de Gaza” (The suffocating blockade of Gaza) in *El País*. June 1st, 2010.

nature, and an illegitimate code of action.⁵³ However, this episode is also a microcosmos of the diverse arguments, including both policy-critical and de-legitimizing positions of Israel and Zionism, as well as more objective representations of the conflict (Bokser Liwerant, 2011).

On its part, the annual DAIA Report on Anti-Semitism⁵⁴ in Argentina also reveals that hostility towards Israel is prominent during the years 2006 and 2009, when *Tzahal* conducted military actions. This survey showed that in 2009, following the Cast Lead Operation in Gaza, the high percentage of anti-Semitic manifestations was quite similar to the percentage of incidents and manifestations of Jew-hatred that were grounded on Nazi symbols. A plausible hypothesis that accounts for the substantial reduction in the complaints regarding defamatory anti-Jewish graffiti and messages daubed on the street walls in 2011 is the absence of “military actions” by Israel (Senkman, 2014; Braylan, 2012).

According to the discursive typology elaborated by the 2012 DAIA Report, the Middle East conflict ranked third as an explanatory hypothesis for anti-Semitism in Argentina. However, this hypothesis works out only during November-December, the two months when *Tzahal* conducted a military operation in Gaza (Braylan, 2012: 67-68). The last DAIA annual reports on anti-Semitism disclose not so much an increasing level of anti-Semitism but rather a rising anxiety *vis à vis* the implications of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Along the periods analyzed, discursive recurrences and changes evince a wide array of arguments that conform several groups: anti-Zionism (entrenched in or derived from radical critique of Israel); conspiracy theories (magnified economic and political power associated with lack of national loyalty and aliens); racism; and Shoah instrumentalization (associated with reversal of the victim-victimizer binomial).

Beyond Discourse

Further analytical differentiation is required between anti-globalization and anti-Zionism as well as between the political discourse of both international civil society organizations and partisan anti-global movements.⁵⁵ Following polarization towards the Palestinian-Israeli conflict during the 1970s-1980s, the end of the Cold War led to normalization of relations with both the Palestinians and the Zionist state, although founded on an equidistance basis. Motivated by the signing of the peace Oslo accords (1993), formal diplomatic missions of the new Palestine

⁵³ Delgado, Héctor. “Israel asesina marinos civiles en Gaza” (Israel assassinates civil marines in Gaza) in *Uno más uno*. June 1st, 2010.

⁵⁴ It is not a public opinion poll. Instead, since 1998, it monitors acts of denunciation and complaints placed at DAIA’s Department of Legal Issues and classified according to the underlying motifs.

⁵⁵ See the two articles discussing the Israel-Palestine conflict and the charge of anti-Semitism: Brian Klug (2008) and the response of Tamar Meisels (2008).

Authority opened in Chile (1992), Brazil (1993), Mexico (1995), Argentina and Colombia (1996), and Peru (1998).

A few years after the signing of the Chilean-Palestine Memorandum for Scientific Technical, Cultural and Educative Cooperation (June 1995), Chile opened in Ramallah the first diplomatic Latin American representation (April 1998). But it should be recalled that simultaneously, anti-Zionism, as an ideological stance among the diplomacy of Latin American countries, lost its virulence as a resource to rhetorically attack Israel and in countries such as Brazil, Mexico, and Nicaragua was replaced, instead, by pragmatic considerations. With the exception of Cuba, all Latin American countries voted in favor of UN resolution 46/86 on December 16, 1991 reversing the infamous Zionism = racism declaration (Baeza, 2012; Baeza and Brun, 2012; Barrata, 1989).

Not surprisingly, years later, the main ALBA countries, i.e., Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Cuba, cut diplomatic relations with Israel. They were first led by Hugo Chávez and Evo Morales, in January 2009, to protest over the military offensive in Gaza. In June 2010 Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega followed suit, voicing a harsh opposition of Israel Zionism. Unlike other ALBA members, Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa did not break diplomatic ties with Israel, although Iranian economic and political relations strengthened.

Regarding the policies of Latin American countries towards the Middle East, a contradictory picture develops. On the one hand, globalization has brought new opportunities to the region, both in the arena of international relations and world markets. On the other hand, the stalled Israel-Palestine peace process has given way to the emergence of regional leaderships and their positioning as emergent superpowers in the international arena. In this context, Latin American countries led by Brazil were among the first to give support to the UN recognition of Palestine as non-state member in 2011, a step by the Latin American bloc that challenged the US and Israel's hegemonic policy –simultaneously, they took advantage of new markets.

Venezuela under Hugo Chávez (1998-2013) became a Latin American proxy of the Iranian state and its hatred of Jews. Chávez positioned himself on the world stage as opposing US foreign policy, and thus Israel, its military partner. The regime tried to establish itself as a global player and a regional leader in a multi-polar international system. As part of this strategy, he developed regional oil initiatives such as Petrocaribe and Petrosur geared towards providing oil through “soft” financing and bankrolling. While Chávez's government declared his unwillingness to foster xenophobic hatred, its political dynamic and its polarizing rhetoric coupled with a strategic alignment against the United States reinforced chauvinistic attitudes. The Maduro regime has followed its steps, while losing its influence due to the economic crisis the country is going through: that lack of resources weakened the international influence of the regime.

At governmental level, it must be stressed that Iran is involved in an active quest for allies in the region in order to countervail the international community's pressure against its development of nuclear capabilities. Benefiting from the anti-American climate and discourse as well as from the recurrent search of a realignment in the region, Iran has extended its trade and energy ventures to create increasingly strategic relations with Latin American governments. It is important to point to the very recent open accusation of Iran as implied in the AMIA bombing, in close association with the past populist Argentine government.

Present trends point to changes, given the region's ongoing political shift towards more pragmatic, market-friendly leadership. Beginning with Mauricio Macri's assumption of the presidency of Argentina in 2015, then Pedro Pablo Kuczynski's election in Peru in 2016, and the recent re-election of Sebastián Piñera in Chile (he served previously, from 2010 to 2014).

Continuity/Changes in Discursive Resources: From the Printed Press to the Social Networks Media

Recurrences, changes and ruptures trace the past while conditioning the present. While anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism have been discursively conveyed through the media mostly in the printed press, following a global trend it has moved to the local Internet-based social networks.

Paralleling the pattern of radicalization in the printed media, though exacerbated by its differing nature, it includes, magnifies and reformulates prejudices. This phenomenon may signal new dynamics via interactive social web (Web 2.0), used both by young, educated people, members of higher socio-economic strata and by non-educated marginal urban sectors.⁵⁶

Users, as opposed to publishers, are able to create content, share it and react to it beyond national boundaries, legitimizing multiple narratives or rendering credibility to relativism, thus weakening the canon of validation of the information (Oboler, 2008).

The shift in sources –from accountable to largely anonymous ones– are key to understanding the impact of non-institutionalized social character minimizing public resistance —what David Hirsch calls “unmediated opinions”. A potential implication is the widespread acceptability of the new modalities of prejudice and exclusion along the axis antisemitism, anti-Zionism and anti-Israelism, blurring boundaries of private-public discourse.

⁵⁶ The Twitter user's profile: 60% are between 18 and 30 years old, and 95% live in urban areas (Mitofsky Survey, 2011)

Social networks vary in their impact.⁵⁷ Tweets and electronic messages appear to mirror each other in terms of radical content and language. The number of electronic messages is generally small but their tone is more violent and extreme. The use of Protocols like arguments and old traditional representations is extended: it includes Jews as foreigners, Christ killers or economic powerful and exploiters of the local labor force, messages that are delivered also via institutional e-mails or Jewish websites (*Tribuna Israelita, Mexico*; DAIA, Argentina).

As in the past, political hostility towards US economic imperialism, combined with a sustained ideological hostility at neo-liberal globalization, yielded an anti-Zionist discourse, mostly among some leftist social networks.

To fully appreciate the nature and scope of anti-Semitism/anti-Zionism in the social networks, we have analyzed paradigmatic episodes that evoke chain of prejudices. While some reveal historically rooted stereotypes of Jews (e.g., Jewish = money/success), others put anti-Zionism at the center of its discourse (the powerful Zionist-US axis) connected with the financial Zionist power (plus conspiracy and lack of loyalty); or the massive past and present colonization of Palestine by Zionists. The overlapping and mutual references is a phenomenon that persists.

While historical type of prejudices are displayed with no specific time definition, the more anti-Zionist oriented are exacerbated, as stated, by the ups and downs of the Israeli-Palestine conflict or specific events which imply Israel.

Paradigmatic arguments:

On social media such as Twitter, "Jew" is a word or phrase preceded by a hash or pound sign to identify messages on a specific topic. Some examples: "Miguel Sacal! One more Jew who in a piece of soap would produce less damage and more benefit," "When Hitler comes to life again we need to invite him to Mexico to cook in his ovens every other bastard Jews," "The Jewish businessman [...] makes offensive statements. Has he forgotten Nazi racist anti-Semitism and the Holocaust?"

Arguments as "financial and speculative Jewish power" or the "powerful financial corridor" that runs from Wall Street and Chabad to Mexico were systematically displayed by a known anti-Zionist/anti-Semite) college professor (Alfredo Halife). He also refers to Israel as "racist and genocidal" and equates Zionism with Nazism. He self-defines himself as follows: "I am not anti-Semite. I am

⁵⁷ According to the global traffic monitoring group Alexa, Facebook remains the most popular social media, with monthly visits nearing a billion; the users are younger and are part of a computer cohort; other social forums continue to outpace each other, e.g., Twitter, by which millions tweet daily traveling into other linked Internet platforms, such as YouTube or Facebook. While the fastest-growing age group for Facebook is the 25+ group, an August 2006 study showed that 33.5% of Facebook users were in the 35-54 age range; only 34% were aged 18-24, Facebook's original target audience.

a Semite –referring to his Lebanese ethnicity–. I am not a Jew hater. I am anti-Zionist for the same reasons that I am anti-Nazi.”

Interesting cases concern the university realm. Partly reflecting criticisms to the current government’s policies –shared by Jewish academics, as in other parts of the world– these expressions become part of the growing “bistro anti-Semitism” (Cohen, 2014)), civilized, and sophisticated. Examples are abundant. However, during academic forum of solidarity with Palestine, held in 2017 at the Mexican Autonomous National University (UNAM), extreme anti-Zionist positions were expressed, in which the critic of Israel incorporated hard-core prejudices.

As the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement (BDS) was promoted within the University campus, expression like “dyslexic Biblical exegesis,” “a vicarious avocation,” “a dangerous delusion” were unexpectedly uttered. The transnational dimension of prejudice may be best appreciated in the words of Columbia’s professor, Hamid Habashi in Mexico:

“Half a century of systematic maiming and murdering of another people has left its deep marks on the faces of these people, the way they talk, the way they walk, the way they handle objects, the way they greet each other, the way they look at the world. There is an endemic prevarication to this machinery, a vulgarity of character that is bone-deep and structural to the skeletal vertebrae of its culture.”

All in all, current expressions of anti-Zionism are much more than an ideational-cultural struggle for equality and human rights. In contrast to the past, social and political actors with anti-Zionist stands are not confined solely to political parties and leftist organizations. As previously analyzed, a large array of local social movements, NGOs, international organizations and a heterogeneous groups of the transnational civil society are articulating an anti-Zionist discourse on a global scale. This suggests the formation of new coalitions.

The globalization of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict will likely continue if certain conditions are present, such as the continued stagnation of the peace process; the eruption of new cycles of violence in the Middle East; the strengthening of Islamic radical groups in countries that are now experiencing political turmoil; the presence of neo-populist governments in the region; and the particular interactions between strategic decisions of international, regional, and national and local activists.

The need to recognize global civil society and organization leads to differentiate between diverse actors of the public sphere. A look into the regional scene shows that, different extreme Right organizations have diminished their public visibility and the intensity of their activities. Expressions of grassroots anti-Semitic attitudes promoted by small nationalistic groups, and not sanctioned by the authorities, tend to diminish.

In addition, a comparative perspective makes evident the differences between Latin America and Europe. Indeed, the latter has seen the re-emergence of various anti-Semitic movements and parties: a Muslim radical youth is mobilized by an extremist rhetoric that locates the Middle East conflict in a continent with renewed interests in the Arab world, resulting from a new geopolitical reconfiguration and the larger struggle to achieve multipolarity *vis-à-vis* unipolarity. Of particular importance is the role of the extreme Right, profoundly anti-Semitic as well as anti-Muslim.

As analyzed, anti-Semitism is associated with Left-wing sectors, among which anti-American positions are intertwined with attitudes against globalization, expressed by a cognitive elite with a strong representation in the media and the academia. It is worth stressing that in spite the abovementioned differences, at the discursive level there is an increased convergences of arguments.

The analytical framework we have presented reveals singular and common traits of a global anti-Semitism and related anti-Jewish prejudices in the 21st century. It also sheds light on historical recurrences and changes; past and present expressions and modalities; ways in which old elements are reformulated with new meanings, reflecting different logics, contexts and social, political and cultural circumstances. It certainly points to the complexity embedded in anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism and anti-Israelism, as they interact and overlap in a globalized and transnational world. Mutually reinforcing anti-Semitic, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist meanings are transferred, and reinforce each other, through a historical –and now trans-regional and transnational– cultural substratum. Prejudices and geopolitics, national settings and regional changing logics, social structures and agency, widen the frameworks to explain how historical experiences and symbolic narratives create and recreate meanings.

Anti-Semitism and its continuity/discontinuity dynamics; the diverse related dis-junctures, tensions and contradictions that nourish its varied dimensions draw a map of increased complexity in which structural and the cultural dimensions interact in divergent and convergent ways along the national, regional and international world. As the following scheme shows, diverse deep-rooted historical conglomerates should orient a comparative analysis that accounts for anti-Semitism complexity.

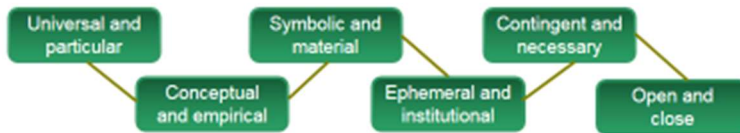
Discontinuity, breakdowns and tensions

- Different levels and sublevels of analysis in the realm of institutions and of symbolic codes (with a degree of autonomy)

The public sphere

Civil society
Government

- Comparatively oriented mode of social analysis



Historical conglomerates

Therefore, the need to develop new conceptual and methodological tools becomes particularly important to help clarify and distinguish –as well as connect– among the many discourses, motivations, and outcomes. Even with respect to anti-Semitism, claims may differ qualitatively in their argumentative structure and underlying assumptions. It is important to underscore that labeling all critic of Israel as anti-Semitism blurs the distinction, dilutes anti-Semitism, and limits the heuristic advantages of a multifocal approach that relates the studied expressions at the meaning-making level.

In this regard, it becomes crucial to focus on the interaction between quantitative indicators and qualitative traits. Thus, the challenge we still face is to elaborate robust measurement criteria, as well as precise indicators and categories that are not mutually exclusive while equally relevant for analyses of text and context, of potential or actual political and ideological undercurrents. It will allow us to further develop a critical approach to the profound tensions, contradictions and paradoxes arising from the emergence of a globally interconnected reality. Amidst homogenizing trends, there are differing models of social and cultural order that define the criteria of membership and Otherness, inclusion and exclusion with which anti-Semitism and related prejudices interact.

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Daniel S. Mariaschin

CEO and Executive Vice President, B'nai B'rith International

September 29, 2017

As one who has been involved, broadly put, in the fight against anti-Semitism for over forty years, I enthusiastically welcome your proposal.

Though I have been at B'nai B'rith for nearly 30 years, I put in 9 years at ADL, and at the beginning of my career, and a stint at Boston's CRC. For sure, many have been engaged in the battle, both on the front lines and in terms of data collection and analysis.

Over the years, I have seen these efforts become more publically known, due, of course, to the internet. It is much easier to see what others are doing, and in that sense, best practices are certainly available to all, sometimes by a click of the mouse, or by being present at conferences and symposia. In recent years, we have been able to engage more governments in the process. The OSCE and now the EU have professionalized, though on a small scale, data collection and analysis. The government of Israel has convened several important gatherings of Jewish leaders on the subject.

I have just come from a round of meetings with senior diplomats on the sidelines at the opening of the United Nations General Assembly, and had many conversations about specific examples of anti-Semitism (from the left, right, the BDS campaign, etc.) in specific countries.

All of this is vitally import. But is it enough?

What you have laid out here is certainly ambitious. You clearly say that you are not proposing these new measures to re-invent the wheel, but to bring together our current resources, and then expand them in a planful, and meaningful way. I sense that the synergy you are proposing, of bringing together those who are already practitioners in this field, with the latest (and comprehensive) methodology for data collection and analysis available, can only strengthen not only our knowledge of the phenomenon, but would give us the tools and greater expertise to better combat it.

As an organizational exec, one of the first questions that comes to mind is what your next steps will be re; funding and who, exactly, will convene those in the field who are working on the subject?

I plan on being in Israel during the first week of November, and would be pleased to further discuss all of this with you, particularly the nuts and bolts of implementing all of this in the broader international Jewish community.

Measuring Antisemitism on the Internet

David Matas

Senior Honorary Counsel to B'nai Brith Canada

Revised remarks from September 20, 2016

How do we measure antisemitism on the internet? We can see easily that it is there. But how much of it is there? Antisemitism on the internet, we can easily see, is a problem. But how big is the problem?

To answer that question properly, we need to answer three prior questions. First, why does it matter? Second, what do we want to measure? Third, what do we want to do with our measurements?

First, why should we even care how much antisemitism there is on the internet? "What can be done about it?" may seem to be a more important question than "what is the volume?" Should we not be focused on blocking or removing antisemitism on the internet, no matter what its volume? Is not a focus on determining volume just a diversion from the effort to combat antisemitism on the internet?

When you are caught in a flood, measuring water levels is not your first priority. The internet is flooding society with antisemitism. Do we really need to find out how much there is before we go about doing something about it?

My answer is that before we jump to any solution, we need to know the problem. Simply to get internet access to virtually any platform, we click an icon acknowledging that we agree to the terms of service of the internet provider. If we bother to look, we can see that most internet providers prohibit use of their services for hate speech.

We can also see that most providers have complaints procedures and that they commit in principle to denying service to those who violate their terms of service. Indeed, when we click on the tab "I agree", that is the agreement - respect the terms of service or lose access to the service.

If that is all we knew, we might think that there is no problem. We might think that the antisemitism which we see on the internet is just the result of lag time between posting of antisemitic material and the resolution of complaints procedures.

Yet that thought is an assumption. Only through monitoring and analysis, by delving into the figures can we see whether the systems in place for prohibiting the use of the internet for hate speech are working.

It does not take much investigation to realize that the problem with the internet in this area, in a nutshell, is that incitement to hatred is prohibited everywhere in theory, but very little in practice. The system in place is not working.

Moreover, this is not a legal or governmental or police system which is failing. This is the system the internet providers have set up for themselves. Unless we look at the numbers, we would miss this reality.

The second preliminary question I posed is "what do we want to measure?" The internet is so voluminous and constantly changing, that we can not possibly hope to measure all antisemitism on the internet. But that does not mean we can not get an insight into the scope of the problem.

We should be able in principle to measure complaints to internet providers and what is done with them. How many complaints are there? What happens to them? Are they accepted or rejected? Does acceptance mean removing the content, blocking the person who posted or denying access to the source of the materials? Who are the readers of the material? Does the result vary by country? By type of hate cont? By type of antisemitism? If either accepted or rejected, what are the reasons for the decision? What are the lag times between complaints and decisions? How do various internet providers differ in answers to these questions?

Those instances of antisemitism which are seen by the greatest number, those which cause the most harm, are the items which will be complained about most often. They are both the most important to measure and, because of the complaints they generate, the easiest to measure.

The third preliminary question I posed is "what do we want to do with our measurements?" The answer is that we want the terms of service to be respected. There is no good reason why internet providers should prohibit use of their service to incite hatred and then allow it to happen.

The goal is to remove or block antisemitic content. In some countries the posting of antisemitic content may prompt court action or legislation which would later allow for court action. Yet, ultimately, that sort of effort is indirect and raises, unnecessarily, the issue of the balance between right to freedom of expression and the right to be free from incitement to hatred and discrimination. The right to freedom of expression imposes duties on governments but not on private businesses. The right to freedom of expression does not impose on businesses an obligation to offer to the public the platforms the businesses provide without regard to the content members of the public wish to express.

With the answer to those three preliminary questions in mind, let us take a look at what in fact is happening about reporting antisemitism on the internet. The first conclusion one can draw is that internet providers, who, in theory, tout openness as the very basis of their business, are far from open about the abuse of their services.

Internet provider produce reports on the workings of their complaints procedures. Some of these reports are boldly called transparency reports. Yet, these reports are not all that transparent.

The internet providers do not have a problem collecting data. The providers have the data. But they do not disclose what they have. Companies which advocate openness and need openness for the effective functioning of their businesses are far from open about how they deal with antisemitism. In what follows, I run through a few internet providers as examples - Google, Facebook, Microsoft and Twitter.

Google

The specific Google products with a hate speech policy provide:

"Hate Speech: Our products are platforms for free expression. But we don't support content that promotes or condones violence against individuals or groups based on race or ethnic origin, religion, disability, gender, age, nationality, veteran status, or sexual orientation/gender identity, or whose primary purpose is inciting hatred on the basis of these core characteristics. This can be a delicate balancing act, but if the primary purpose is to attack a protected group, the content crosses the line."⁵⁸

Google+, Blogger, Hangouts, Google Photos, Spaces and YouTube all prohibit use of these platforms to incite to hatred. Gmail does not. The Gmail terms of service asserts, for instance, that Google will terminate service if the product is used to distribute child sexual abuse imagery. There is no similar assertion if the product is used to distribute incitement to hatred.

How many complaints does Google receive for violation of its hate speech policy? How many of the hate speech complaints are complaints about antisemitism? How long does Google take to decide on the complaints? How many of the complaints are accepted and how many rejected? What is the breakdown of this information by country? What are the reasons for the decisions?

Google produces what it calls a Transparency Report on internet complaints, across all products.⁵⁹ The report provides figures on requests from courts and government agencies to remove content such as blog posts, YouTube videos or search results. Private requests are not reported.

⁵⁸ <https://www.google.com/intl/en-US/+policy/content.html>

⁵⁹ <https://www.google.com/transparencyreport/removals/government/?hl=en>

The report gives examples which themselves are incomplete; as well they do not give an overall picture. For instance, the report provides this for Germany for the request period, July to December 2009:

"A substantial number of German removal requests resulted from court orders that related to defamation in search results. Approximately 11% of the German removal requests are related to pro-Nazi content or content advocating denial of the Holocaust, both of which are illegal under German law."⁶⁰

In the example, the results of these requests to remove material which is illegal under German law are not stated. The number of requests is not stated.

Was there a substantial number of German removal requests of this sort just for the period July to December 2009, for some other periods, for all other periods? Did these sorts of removal requests exist only for Germany? For some other countries? For all other countries?

The period January 2015 to June 2015 for Germany shows "There are no results to display". The comment is cryptic. Does mean that there was no request to remove information that was of public interest in that period? Does it mean that there were requests worthy of public interest in that period but none was worth highlighting because all were similar in nature to requests made before? Does it mean that there not a single request to remove information during that period? If so, is this a reflection on the content of the information posted or the reporting process?

Pro-Nazi content and content advocating denial of the Holocaust, in addition to being illegal under German law, would be content whose primary purpose is inciting hatred on the basis of core characteristics. Characterizing this content as illegal under German law rather than as content whose primary purpose is inciting hatred on the basis of core characteristics suggests that Google allows this content on Google services in countries which do not have a legal prohibition against this content.

This manner of characterization of German content, as illegal in Germany, suggests that Google is not enforcing its terms of service against content whose primary purpose is inciting hatred on the basis of core characteristics. It suggests that the content disclosed as removed was blocked in Germany only and not removed from the Google servers altogether.

The Transparency Report provides a breakdown by category by time period, category and country but only for the most recent period reported. For Germany, for instance, for the period January to December 2015 there were 13 government or court hate

speech removal requests.⁶¹ How many of these hate speech removal requests were requests to remove antisemitism is not indicated.

In theory, one could go through every country report in the Transparency Report Google produces to get an aggregate figure for hate speech requests. But why cannot Google do that for us? What is also missing is what happens to the complaints, how long it takes to deal with them, what is the Google product which is the basis of the complaint and what are the numbers of private complaints.

Simply getting to the place on the website which gives us these figures is not simple. It means going first to the Transparency Report, then clicking on "Government requests to remove content", then, in the section titled "Explore Requests from July to December 2015", clicking on the phrase "See more requests", then, in the "Explore Requests" section, choosing a particular country, and then, under the round flag like symbol of the country, clicking on the name of the country. Since there is no indication at any point that a particular link leads to the data, finding the data means, for first time users, clicking everything in sight till the data pops up.

Google reports that its compliance rate for requests from German government agencies or law enforcement during the period was 66% and that its compliance rate for requests which include a court order was 68%. It seems odd that Google would be ignoring 32% of requests which included a court order. Google explains it this way:

"Note that frequently court orders included with requests do not compel Google to take any action. Rather, they often result from a dispute with a third party and are submitted by the requesting user as evidence to support their claim that we should remove the content."

Compliance rates are given across all requests. There is not a specific figure for hate speech compliance requests let alone requests to comply with requests to remove antisemitic content.

The Transparency Report sub-component for Germany states:

"We receive lists of URLs from BPjM (BPjM-Modul), a federal government youth protection agency in Germany, for sites that contain content that violates German youth protection law, like content touting Nazi memorabilia, extreme violence or adult content, and we may remove those search results from google.de."

The statement refers to violation of a local law rather than violation of a global standard prohibiting use of its products to incite hatred. The statement refers to search results only, and not to YouTube, Blogger or other Google products. The statement refers also only to removing results from google.de and not all Google search sites.

⁶¹ <https://www.google.com/transparencyreport/removals/government/DE/?hl=en>

It is not clear what happens with other Google products, like YouTube or Blogger. Is there removal? What is removed? Is it content emanating from Germany? Is it content going into Germany? Is it only content that both emanates from and goes into Germany, so that content emanating from outside of Germany and going into Germany, as well as content emanating from Germany and going outside Germany is not removed? Or, as with the search engine itself, is it just the result of the search on YouTube, Blogger and so on, that is blocked, the content all the while remaining?

The phrase "removal requests" might seem to indicate that we are not dealing with the blocking of searches, since blocking a search result does not remove anything from the internet. It just prevents access through the Google search engine to the items blocked. However, as one can see, the Google Transparency Report uses the term "removal" to refer to blocking, removing the results from the search engine.

The Google search engine does more than just search. It also provides autocomplete, a service which expands the requested search to include terms commonly used. But, regrettably, terms commonly used may be hate speech. Anecdotally we hear that Google removes hate speech autocomplete suggestions which its common use algorithm would otherwise propose.

Autocomplete usually gives four suggestions. In a search for "Jews are" all four possible options have been removed and nothing is suggested. In contrast, "Holocaust is" gives the suggestions "Holocaust is a lie" and "Holocaust is a hoax". "Blood libel" gives the suggestions "Blood libel true" and "blood libel truth". There are no statistics and there is no reporting on autocomplete in the Transparency Report.

Google can not take down all hate speech on the internet. When it comes to search results, omitting specific results, blocking access to them via Google, blocking is the best it can do, although it certainly could block globally rather than country by country. When it comes to its own products, it can remove the offending content entirely and not just block access to it from particular countries. But does it?

The Transparency Report states:

"Governments ask us to remove or review content for many different reasons. For example, some requests allege defamation, while others claim that content violates local laws prohibiting hate speech or adult content. The laws surrounding these issues vary by country."

The concept of hate speech does not vary by country. Hate speech, in general, and antisemitism, in particular, are uniform concepts. Laws may vary. But, insofar as they are targeting hate speech, they are targeting one phenomenon, not many.

The content of hate speech may vary from country to country. The form of antisemitism may vary over time and place. But what makes it hate

speech/antisemitism in any country is its commonality with hate speech/antisemitism everywhere, its link to the concept of hate speech/antisemitism.

Addressing hate speech/antisemitism country by country depending on what the local laws are not only runs contrary to the conceptual nature of hate speech/antisemitism, which is global in nature; it also is more resource intensive than a global approach. Making determinations country by country means setting up country teams for every country to determine the applicability of local laws.

While saving Google money is not a concern I have, the fact that Google has chosen a means of implementing its hate speech policy which is resource intensive means that it is less likely to be done well. An expensive remedy is less likely to be implemented effectively than an inexpensive remedy.

How big are these country teams? Where are they located? What is their expertise? What is their budget? Do the country teams have staff dedicated only to antisemitism or to hate speech, or are they doing everything? These are all questions unanswered by the Transparency Report.

The reference to local laws in the Transparency Report, the suggestion of variation from one country to the next, as well as a reference to government complaints only leads one to wonder whether Google has an operational concept of hate speech or antisemitism. One can legitimately ask whether Google does not enforce its terms of service prohibiting hate speech because Google does not know what hate speech or antisemitism is.

That may well be so because addressing incitement to hatred is not the business of Google. Addressing incitement to hatred is not an expertise that comes inherently with the businesses which Google has developed. For Google to rely on government and court edicts is a shortcut, avoiding the necessity for Google to have to make judgments it has no necessary skill in making.

Are the Google terms of service on hate speech an illusion, giving the impression that hate speech is prohibited when in fact it is not? Is the prohibition of hate speech in the terms of service a cosmetic facade without any reality behind it? Only the release of information which Google has but does not provide would allow us to answer those questions.

This analysis may seem that I am being hard on Google. Yet, compared to other internet providers when it comes to transparency, Google is a leader. The detail in the reports of others providers pales in comparison to what Google produces. I would not suggest, for all the reasons listed above, that the manner in which Google presents its data should be emulated. But at least it should be commended for trying to come to grips, however feebly, with the issue of transparency in this area, which is more than can be said of some other internet providers.

Facebook

Facebook sets out an elaborate policy on hate speech but then provides almost no data. The Facebook policy on hate speech is this⁶²:

"Facebook removes hate speech, which includes content that directly attacks people based on their: Race, Ethnicity, National origin, Religious affiliation, Sexual orientation, Sex, gender, or gender identity, or Serious disabilities or diseases.

Organizations and people dedicated to promoting hatred against these protected groups are not allowed a presence on Facebook. As with all of our standards, we rely on our community to report this content to us.

People can use Facebook to challenge ideas, institutions, and practices. Such discussion can promote debate and greater understanding. Sometimes people share content containing someone else's hate speech for the purpose of raising awareness or educating others about that hate speech. When this is the case, we expect people to clearly indicate their purpose, which helps us better understand why they shared that content.

We allow humor, satire, or social commentary related to these topics, and we believe that when people use their authentic identity, they are more responsible when they share this kind of commentary. For that reason, we ask that Page owners associate their name and Facebook Profile with any content that is insensitive, even if that content does not violate our policies. As always, we urge people to be conscious of their audience when sharing this type of content.

While we work hard to remove hate speech, we also give you tools to avoid distasteful or offensive content. Learn more about the tools we offer to control what you see. You can also use Facebook to speak up and educate the community around you. Counter-speech in the form of accurate information and alternative viewpoints can help create a safer and more respectful environment."

The Facebook report is called a "Government requests report". So there is no reporting of private requests. The report is just one large table with the names of countries on the vertical axis and various columns on the horizontal axis.

The columns on the horizontal axis are "Requests for User Data", "User Accounts Referenced", "Percentage of requests where some data produced" and "Content restrictions". There is nothing specific about hate speech. No reasons are given for content restrictions. What content is restricted is not stated.

Microsoft

⁶² <https://www.facebook.com/communitystandards/#>

The Microsoft services agreement provisions on hate speech are as terse as can be. It takes an eagle eye even to notice them. This is what is said:

"3. Code of Conduct.

a. By agreeing to these Terms, you're agreeing that, when using the Services, you will follow these rules:

vii. Don't engage in activity that is harmful to you, the Services or others (e.g., ... communicating hate speech, ...).

Microsoft produces a Content Removal Requests Report.⁶³ But that report says nothing about hate speech content removal requests. The report covers types of requests, one of which is requests from governments such as claims of violations of local laws or terms of use. Since one of the terms of use is not communicating hate speech, in theory, this component of the Report includes those requests. There is no reporting on private requests for violation of the prohibition against hate speech communication in particular or violation of the terms of use in general.

The information provided on government requests is cryptic. The report lists by country and by year the number of requests and the number of requests on which action was taken. What the action was that was taken or when action was taken, is not indicated. There is an overall total figure for this component of the report for the year for all countries of requests that might result in account closure and, again, action taken, without indicating what the action was. One might guess that the action taken was account closure. But one cannot be sure.

This component of the report has a note stating:

"Numbers are aggregated across all Microsoft consumer online services (e.g., Bing, Bing Ads, OneDrive, MSN) for which government content removal requests were received during this reporting period. Government content removals are directed by governmental entities and may be received pursuant to a court order or other demand to Microsoft. Our numbers do not include content removed as the result of a court order against Microsoft unless a government entity was the party pursuing the content removal. Requests may include a wide array of subject matters, and often contend that the content violates local law, such as prohibiting hate speech, defamation, political rumors or adult content. The laws surrounding these issues vary by country. Requests may report alleged violations of our terms of use. The numbers for 'Requests that May Result in Account Closure' include those government requests for content removal that could lead to account closure (e.g., if a government reports to Microsoft an alleged violation of the terms of use for our services, and the alleged violation may lead to account closure under our terms of use), or if the government requests included an explicit request for account closure."

⁶³ <https://www.microsoft.com/about/csr/transparencyhub/crrr/>

The reference to hate speech in the context of local laws and the reference to variation suggests that Microsoft treats hate speech the same way Google seems to do. The impression left is that the only context in which Microsoft deals with hate speech is situations where local law is violated.

This self imposed restriction, if indeed it exists, as it seems to do, not only goes against the global conceptual nature of hate speech. It also makes the terms of use prohibiting communication of hate speech superfluous. Another term of use is not "Do not do anything illegal". If the only hate speech which concerns Microsoft is illegal hate speech then the term of use prohibiting illegal activity would be sufficient. The term of use prohibiting communication of hate speech becomes just window dressing.

Twitter

The Twitter rules provide:

"Hateful conduct: You may not promote violence against or directly attack or threaten other people on the basis of race, ethnicity, national origin, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, religious affiliation, age, disability, or disease. We also do not allow accounts whose primary purpose is inciting harm towards others on the basis of these categories."⁶⁴

The Twitter Ads policy states:

"Twitter prohibits the promotion of hate content This policy applies, but is not limited, to: Hate speech or advocacy against an individual, organization or protected group based on race, ethnicity, national origin, color, religion, disability, age, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, veteran status or other protected status Organizations or individuals associated with promoting hate ... This policy generally does not prohibit: News and information that calls attention to hate ... This policy applies to Twitter Ads in all countries."⁶⁵

Twitter produces what it calls a Transparency Report and within that Report, has a component titled "Removals requests". This component is sub-titled "legal requests for content removal".⁶⁶ The Removals requests report indicates what the words "legal" means. It states:

"The number of removal requests reflected in this section only includes official legal process, such as court orders served on Twitter, and other legal requests that are specifically directed to our intake channels for law enforcement and other authorized reporters ('Legal Requests'). It does not include all requests, including those submitted by government officials, directed to our customer

⁶⁴ <https://support.twitter.com/articles/18311>

⁶⁵ <https://support.twitter.com/articles/20169693>

⁶⁶ <https://transparency.twitter.com/>

support team through our online support forms. We are working on collecting more comprehensive data around all known government requests, legal or otherwise, for publication in a future report."⁶⁷

So, we are not dealing here with requests claiming violation of international law or even local law. We are not dealing even with all government requests claiming violation of local law. We are dealing only with requests from law enforcement and other authorized reporters.

Who authorizes reporters? Is it Twitter or local law enforcement? Twitter does not say.

The Twitter Removals Requests Report takes the form of a table. On the vertical axis is a list of country. On the horizontal axis are columns for removal requests (court orders), removal requests (government agency, police, other), percentage where some content withheld, accounts reported, accounts withheld, tweets withheld, and accounts (TOS).

The table has these explanatory footnotes:

"Each request may identify multiple items to be removed. For example, a single request may ask us to remove individual Tweets or an entire user account. ...

- 'Percentage where some content withheld' includes instances where Tweets and/ accounts were withheld. It does not include situations ... where the content was removed for violating our Terms of Service."

Content withheld presumably means that the content never reaches the internet. Withholding is equivalent to blocking. Removing presumably means that the content was originally there, but then was taken down.

However, a complaint driven content withheld category raises the question, how would a complainant ever know of content which did not reach the internet? The answer presumably is that removal and withholding are linked. Twitter, when removing some content, must block or withhold similar content.

The footnotes also state:

- 'Tweets withheld' refers to Tweets that have been withheld at the individual Tweet level, and does not count the total number of individual Tweets from the 'Accounts withheld' column.

- 'Accounts (TOS)' includes the number of accounts where some content was removed for violating Twitter's Terms or Service."

The Removals Request Report also states:

⁶⁷ <https://transparency.twitter.com/en/removal-requests.html>

"Where permitted, Twitter has published to Lumen copies of removal requests, at times redacted, that have resulted in withheld content. We try to redact as little information as possible. Redacted information usually consists of personally identifiable information, but may also include defamatory statements or information that we are prohibited from publishing."

About Lumen, more is said below.

Twitter provides examples by country of matters withheld or removed. The example for Germany is this:

"We withheld four accounts and four Tweets in Germany in response to requests regarding content that violates the German Criminal Code. For example, content containing symbols of unconstitutional organizations under German law (e.g., Nazi symbols), as well as content promoting the glorification of Nazi rule. Jugendschutz and other organizations whose goal is to protect German youth using the Internet from offensive and prohibited content filed the majority of these requests, examples of which can be found [here](#) and [here](#)."

So, we know that Twitter is withholding some hate related content. But, it seems, as with Google, that the withholding is not an application of their hate speech policy but rather an application of their illegal content policy. The clickable examples take us to Lumen.

Lumen

Lumen calls itself "The Lumen database". But it is a database without numerical data. There is no statistical reporting.⁶⁸

The website states that Lumen "collects and analyses legal complaints and requests for removal of online materials". There is analysis by topic for a list of categories of complaints and requests. Hate speech is not one of topics for which an analysis is presented. Lumen also has blog and research web pages. As far as I can tell, none of these blogs or research pieces addresses hate speech.

The Google Blogger Help page has a heading "Someone is copying my content or other legal concerns". Under that heading, Google states "A copy of every removal notice we receive related to Blogger is sent to the Lumen project complaint database." On the same help page, there is a heading "Hate speech, violent, or crude content". There is no similar entry about Lumen under that heading.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ <https://lumendatabase.org/>

⁶⁹ <https://support.google.com/blogger/answer/76315?hl=en>

So, Google Blogger reports to Lumen about legal concerns but not about hate speech. What does Google Blogger do about hate speech content which is also a legal concern? Does Lumen get it or not?

As noted earlier, the Twitter Ads policy "does not prohibit ... information that calls attention to hate". Yet, if we look at the removals requests posted in Lumen, there is almost nothing there. Even though Twitter does not prohibit others from providing information that calls attention to hate, they impose, it seems, such a prohibition on themselves.

Of the two clickable Twitter complaints reports posted to Lumen to which Twitter referred in the excerpt from their Transparency Report quoted earlier, one tells us only the reported user, the requesting party and the law claimed to be violated. The content of the material against which the complaint is made, the disposition of the complaint, the time lag between complaint and disposition, and the reasons for disposition are all not reported.

The second clickable complaint report tells us only a bit more. This report gives a list of links to tweets which are presented as evidence on which the complaint is based. But clicking on the tweets leads to pages which state: "Sorry, that page doesn't exist". Presumably the complaint was successful. But what actually the success was, we are left to guess.

Garbage in, garbage out. Lumen would presumably report what Twitter gave it to report. When Twitter reports elliptically and cryptically, so does Lumen.

Free speech

While the individual transparency reports have their specific features, one common feature, when it comes to hate speech, is the focus on government complaints. Though this is just a reporting restriction, it raises the question whether this is also a policy restriction.

Are providers, when it comes to hate speech, acting on government complaints only? Do they take government complaints more seriously than private complaints? Is the time lag shorter in dealing with government complaints than in dealing with private complaints?

This concern is not just a worry about downplaying of civil society, not just an objection to possible favouritism to Big Brother. The concern relates to content.

International and constitutional law protections for free speech, as noted earlier, typically apply to governments and not the private sector. Governments and legislatures must protect free speech. Private businesses are typically not subject to any such restriction.

Governments and legislatures may be constrained in what they can do about hate speech in general or antisemitism in particular because of the duty to respect the right to free speech. For governments and legislatures the right to free speech and the right to freedom from incitement to hatred must be balanced off one against the other.

There is typically no similar externally imposed balancing requirement for private businesses, including internet providers. Internet providers may self-impose this balancing as part of their terms of service. But the fact remains that they have a much greater latitude to block or remove hate speech from their sites than law enforcement agencies would have.

The internet providers, by reporting only on government requests for hate speech removal and blocking, may be signalling an artificial restriction on blocking and removing of this content. Internet providers may be limiting themselves only to what governments can do, when, legally, they do not have to be so limited. Have they restricted themselves in this way?

The motivation by internet providers for focusing on government requests may lie elsewhere. Internet providers may focus on government requests to save money, since governments screen complaints before they pass them on. Internet providers, by a focus on government requests, offload screening costs onto governments.

Internet providers may focus on government requests in order to minimize the threat of legal action. Legal remedies for hate speech, in some countries or for some remedies, can be initiated only by governments or with government approval. Even where individuals can bring internet providers to court, governments have deeper pockets and specialized institutions and capacity to do so.

This offloading of costs or avoidance of litigation, if that is all that it is, is not content free, since governments take into account, must take into account, freedom of speech constraints which do not apply to the private sector. Whether internet providers, through a focus on government requests, intend freedom of speech constraints which legally do not apply to them or are an unintended consequence of that focus, the result is the same.

The Global Forum

The woeful state of internet provider reporting has led to a mimicking device, asking the public to report antisemitism on the internet not just to internet providers but also to a web site set up for that purpose. Its genesis was the Global Forum for Combating Antisemitism, a periodic global gathering of NGOs, academics and government representatives dedicated to combating antisemitism, hosted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Israel.

The Forum in 2009 was divided into working groups. From then, Andre Oboler and I have been and remain co-chairs of the Working Group on Antisemitism on the Internet

and in the Media. The 2009 Working Group report, its first, outlined a number of challenges to combating online antisemitism. The first was to address the fact that:

"We have a lack of metrics on:

- a. The number of problem items in specific platforms e.g. reported groups in Facebook, reported Videos on YouTube
- b. The number of items resolved on specific platforms e.g. groups shut down, videos removed, complaints reviewed or dismissed ...
- d. The time delay between something being reported and action being taken in a specific platform".

The 2013 Working Group meeting recommended the creation of a global database of antisemitic material. In response, the Australia based Online Hate Prevention Institute, whose head is Working Group co-chair Andre Oboler, developed and launched, in December 2014, the FightAgainstHate.com reporting tool. The public were invited to report online hate speech to this online tool. In January 2016, the Global Forum released a report of data about Facebook, Twitter and YouTube compiled from reports to this tool.⁷⁰ The author of the report is Andre Oboler.

The authors of a UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization) publication released June 2015 wrote:

"Various organizations that have combatted hate speech in other forms or have defended the rights of specific groups in the past have found themselves playing an increasingly important role online. ... Organizations like ... the Australian-based Online Hate Prevention Institute ... have become increasingly invested in combating online hate speech by putting pressure on internet intermediaries to act more strongly against online hate speech, and by raising awareness among users. ...

A second type of initiative promoted by some organizations is collecting complaints from users about specific types of content. This activity is particularly interesting when considered in relation to the internet intermediaries' processes of resolving cases of hate speech. While some companies have begun to publish public transparency reports listing requests that governments make for data, information, and content to be disclosed or removed, they have not released information about requests from individual users. When individuals flag content as inappropriate, they may be notified about the processing status of their complaints, but this process remains largely hidden to other users and organizations. This has the result of limiting the possibility of developing a broader understanding of what speech individuals deem to be offensive, inappropriate, insulting, or hateful. Examples of initiatives crowdsourcing requests to take action against specific types of messages include ... the Online Hate Prevention Institute's Fight Against Hate.

⁷⁰ <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/AntiSemitism/Documents/Measuring-the-Hate.pdf>

These initiatives serve as innovative tools for keeping track of hate speech across social networks and how different companies regulate it."⁷¹

The Forum/Institute report has data streams which the internet providers could easily have compiled from the complaints they receive, but do not provide. There are three immediately obvious differences between internet provider transparency reports and the Forum/ Institute Report. One is that the Forum/ Institute Report gives us numbers for private complaints.

The second difference is that it gives us numbers on antisemitism. Beyond that, the antisemitism is broken down into four categories - promoting violence, Holocaust denial, Israel-related, and traditional.

The third difference is that the Report tracks identified items over time, telling the reader whether, in aggregate, the items are removed and how long the removal takes. The report tells the reader whether, in aggregate, the identified items were taken down by June 11th, 3 months after the items had been identified by the public, by August 7th, 5 months after, and by January 25th 2016, 10 months, after, or if the items remained online.

Following the Global Forum in May 2015, Facebook, YouTube and Twitter were each offered, in exchange for an undertaking to review them, the list of addresses to content on their platform which had been included in a draft of the Forum/Institute report. Twitter and YouTube agreed and were provided the list.

The combination in the Forum/Institute report of platforms, categories and delays means that there can be comparisons amongst all three. We can see which platform is more likely to remove antisemitism, which category of antisemitism is more likely to be removed and which platform addresses complaints more quickly.

There are four striking features of the Forum/Institute report. One is the huge volume of antisemitism on the internet. This may be obvious from just by a cursory glance at what is posted on the internet. Yet, a tabulation of numbers makes the point forcefully. This huge volume is apparent despite the limitations of the report, that it is based on voluntary identification by individuals who know about the website.

The report analyses 2,024 postings identified by the public to the website in January and February 2015. The volume of antisemitism on the internet that the Forum/ Institute Report discloses shows that the lack of detail in internet provider

⁷¹ Gargliardone I, Gal D, Alves T, Martinez G, *Countering Online Hate Speech*, June 20, 2015; Rachel Pollack Ichou (Ed) *"World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development: Special Digital Focus 2015"*, UNESCO, 2 November 2015 <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002349/234933e.pdf>

transparency reports is masking a big problem. Underneath the bland, vague over-generalized data the internet providers report is a seething pit of antisemitism.

A second striking feature of the Forum/ Institute Report is the consistency of its methodology across platforms. Since the same categories and measurements are used for Twitter, Facebook, and Google alike, it is possible to compare platforms. The differences in methodology of the internet provider transparency reports makes difficult the sort of comparisons in which the Forum/ Institute Report is able to engage.

A third striking feature of the Forum/Institute Report is the contrast between the Institute which produced the report and the internet providers behind the platforms. The Institute is a shoestring NGO with meagre funding and staff. The internet providers are billion dollar enterprises. Yet, the Institute, with its minuscule size and resources was able to produce a far more detailed and informative report than any of the behemoth platforms.

A fourth striking feature is the absence of any correlation between the quality of reporting and the effectiveness in enforcing terms of service. Of the internet providers canvassed, Facebook is the worst in terms of reporting details, but the best in terms of removing antisemitic content from its platform.

It would be wrong, nonetheless, to draw from this absence of correlation the conclusion that detailed reporting would not be an effective tool in combating antisemitism. The better existing reports are still so far off the mark that the true value of detailed reporting has yet to be tested.

Though the Global Forum of May 2015 did not have the final Forum/Institute report, they had, as noted, a draft. The recommendations of the Forum included that internet providers post on their websites:

- a) hate speech search results,
- b) decisions and reasons on complaints, without identifying the complainants, both those accepted and those rejected, and
- c) a running total for complaints of the numbers, categories, dispositions and average time between complaints and dispositions and make their internal data bases available to concerned NGOs for the purpose of analysis of the complaints process and their response."

The Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP) participated in the Global Forum. The Forum meets only periodically. ISGAP should take advantage of its continuity of operations to advocate actively for the implementation of the Forum recommendations addressing the measurement of antisemitism on the internet.

Measuring Antisemitism – some relevant evidence from the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights

Henri Nickels

Head of Sector Equality

Equality and Citizens' Rights Department

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights

September 20, 2016

In my presentation, I will talk about the annual overview of data available on antisemitism in the EU produced by the agency, as well as about technical aspects of the 2012 survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews that could be of relevance to the project on measuring antisemitism.

Please allow me to start by saying a few words about the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights and what it does. It is one of the EU's decentralised agencies, and it has been set up to provide expert advice to the institutions of the EU and its Member States on fundamental rights. Through the collection and analysis of social and legal data, the agency assists EU institutions and Member States in understanding and tackling challenges to safeguard the fundamental rights of everyone in the EU. It does so by working in partnership with the EU institutions, its Member States and other organisations at the international, European and national levels.

Annual overview of data on antisemitism available in the EU

This [report](#) compiles available data on antisemitic incidents collected by international, governmental and non-governmental sources in Member States of the European Union. Evidence collected by the agency consistently shows that few EU Member States record antisemitic incidents in a way that would allow them to have adequate official data.

Where data do exist, they are generally not comparable, not least because they are collected using different methodologies and sources across EU Member States. Furthermore, while official data collection systems are generally based on police records and/or criminal justice data, authorities do not always categorise incidents motivated by antisemitism under that heading.

The current state of official data collection is such that this report can only provide an overview of data that are available on antisemitism in EU Member States. Due to gaps in data collection and to high levels of underreporting, the data presented cannot be taken as an indication of the prevalence of antisemitism in any given EU Member State, nor should one compare the situation in different countries based on these data.

To obtain the most complete and accurate data available on the situation of antisemitism in the EU, FRA consults a variety of sources in all 28 EU Member States. The data are collected through the means of desk research, implementing the following three steps.

Official sources of data on antisemitism available in the public domain are consulted, both at international and national levels. The former includes the United Nations, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) of the Council of Europe and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) at the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and.

At the national level, data published by relevant governmental offices, equality bodies, police forces and criminal justice systems are consulted.

Specific requests are made to governmental offices through the national liaison officers system in place at FRA. This step is taken to ensure that the latest available official data

Data on antisemitism published by civil society organisations are consulted.

It is not possible to compare the number of recorded incidents of antisemitism between EU Member States as official statistics apply different criteria and methodologies in each Member State. Instead, the reader should look at national trends and assess the increase or the decrease in recorded antisemitic incidents from one year to the other and over a number of years on the basis of percentage changes in collected data.

The quality of official data to date enable trends analyses for 10 Member States (AT, BE, CZ, DE, FR, IT, NL, PL, SE and UK).

The quality of unofficial data to date enable trends analyses for nine Member States (BE, CZ, DE, DK, HU, IT, NL and UK).

To tackle antisemitism effectively, relevant stakeholders need to be able to rely on robust data on antisemitic incidents that would enable them to target their interventions more efficiently. Such data are often lacking. As the agency's annual overview consistently shows, there remain large gaps in data collection on antisemitism in EU Member States, with each of them collecting different types of data.

Under the current state of affairs, this prevents any meaningful comparison of officially collected data between Member States, whereas it increases the relevance of and need for surveys on perceptions and experiences of antisemitism among self-identified Jews, such as that conducted by the agency.

Another issue of concern is that in many EU Member States, the number of officially recorded incidents is so low that it is difficult to assess the long-term trend. Low numbers of recorded incidents should not, however, be taken as an indication that antisemitism is not an issue of concern in these EU Member States.

Conversely, it cannot be said that antisemitism is necessarily a bigger problem in Member States where the highest numbers of incidents are recorded, compared with those where fewer incidents are recorded. Next to the size of the Jewish population in any given Member State, there are a number of factors that affect how many incidents are recorded, including the willingness and ability of victims and witnesses to report these incidents, and to trust that the authorities are able to deal with such incidents accordingly.

Not only do victims and witnesses need to be encouraged to report antisemitic incidents, but the authorities need to have systems in place that would enable the recording of such incidents in the first place. In the words of the British Association of Chief Police Officers: "The Police Service is committed to reducing the under-reporting of hate crime and would view increases in this data as a positive indicator, so long as it reflects an increase in reporting and not an increase in the actual incidence of crime which we strive to reduce."

Survey background

The aim of the [FRA survey](#) on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in European Union Member States was to obtain robust and comparable data in selected EU Member States on the experiences and perceptions of Jewish people. The survey provides for the first time comparable data on the perceived extent and nature of antisemitism across a number of EU Member States, whether it is manifested as hate crime, hate speech, discrimination or in any other form that undermines Jewish people's feelings of safety and security.

The survey sought to reach people who considered themselves Jewish, were 16 years or above and lived in any of the nine EU Member States included in the survey, that is Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Romania, Sweden and the United Kingdom. In the beginning of the survey, respondents were asked whether they considered themselves Jewish on any grounds – that is, respondents could self-identify as Jewish based on their religion, culture, upbringing, ethnicity, parentage or any other basis.

Based on stakeholder consultations and desk research, FRA designed the survey questionnaire and set out the methodology for carrying out the survey. The survey data collection was managed by Ipsos MORI – a survey research company – and the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR). The JPR academic team included several social scientists who are experts in contemporary European Jewry.

The survey collected data on the effects of antisemitism in respondents' daily lives, their feelings of safety and any actions they may take in response to safety concerns. The questionnaire included questions about personal experiences of specific forms of harassment, vandalism or physical violence. The survey collected data about personal experiences of discrimination against Jews on different grounds and in various areas of everyday life – for example at work, school or when using specific services. The survey further explored the level of rights awareness regarding antidiscrimination legislation, victim support organisations and knowledge of any legislation concerning trivialisation or denial of the Holocaust.

The survey was developed in close cooperation with relevant stakeholders. These stakeholders ranged from policy actors at the national and international levels to representatives of Jewish community organisations. They also included leading professional and academic experts in the fields of Jewish population studies, antisemitism research and survey research.

The academic team contributed to the background research which provided information on the cultural and historical background that contextualised the survey. The members of the academic team also provided advice on the terminology used in the survey.

The survey used a predominantly quantitative online questionnaire to collect data. The questionnaire was composed mainly of closed single-response questions – both affirmative-negative (Yes/No) and scale-type questions (where answers represent categories on a continuum ranging, for example, from 'a very big problem' to 'a fairly big problem', 'not a very big problem' and 'not a problem at all'), as well as multiple response questions. Where applicable, respondents could also select 'don't know' as their answer. After completing the survey questions, respondents had an opportunity to complement their responses with additional remarks in their own words in a free-text field.

The survey questionnaire was made available to respondents in 11 languages: Dutch, English, French, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Romanian, Russian and Swedish. The questionnaire translations were produced based on the English original questionnaire (master questionnaire for the United Kingdom) following a rigorous testing and translation procedure.

The main areas covered by the questionnaire include:

- Feelings of safety and security
- Harassment
- Experiences of vandalism and violence
- Rights awareness, particularly as regards discrimination
- Experiences of discrimination

The cost per country surveyed was about €50,000. This budget was used for the designing and setting up the online survey, the translations, the promotion and communication of the survey, the technical hardware and software requirements for its implementation, preliminary statistical analysis and presentation of the results.

Joanna Perry

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October 12, 2017

- I think that this is a brilliant contribution to the literature and proposes a really practical yet holistic tool to be used by all those with an interest in understanding and addressing antisemitism. It also has potential to be of great use to other communities experiencing targeted violence, bias and prejudice. I really like the collaborative approach that you are taking. I share the view that all stakeholders have something to contribute to efforts to compile the full picture of the nature, prevalence and impact of antisemitism and the model that you are proposing has the potential to support this process in a way that generates an accurate picture that brings people onto the same page, helps clarify roles and galvanize efforts to improve protection and prevention.

- Connected to point one, perhaps it would be worth being more explicit about the potential contribution of this model for other communities' efforts, echoing the spirit of leading organizations such as CST, which has been transformational in its support and cooperation with other communities in efforts to improve hate crime recording in the UK. I found your discussion on 'perspectives' interesting in its contextualization of antisemitism and thought the natural next step would be to think about how this model can support other communities.

- I really like the holistic approach generated by your matrices. Do you think that building a picture of the quality of *responses* to antisemitism by the state and its agencies [is possible]? For example, experiences and perceptions of criminal investigation, prosecution, the use of available legal/sentencing tools by the courts. And the effectiveness of educational and prevention activities? Also the quality of response of victim support organization, generic or specialized? To me, this is part of the evidencing process and also goes to the heart of community confidence in state responses and their feelings of safety.

- I think that you realistically point to the challenges in this area: definitions, resources and so on. I love that you bring in the concept of a community of practice - this is also something I have thought a lot about. The work I am doing with CEJI has been trying out/exploring ways to build this community through interdisciplinary, online learning in the area of hate crime monitoring and recording and we are starting to build a virtual community of practice in this way.

You make the important point [supra] that many Jewish communities in particular national contexts are not able to, or not engaged in monitoring. Might it be an important area of research to find out more about these barriers and how national and local - often political - dynamics can undermine confidence and efforts in this area?

- You mention the important point that part of the work will entail, e.g. meeting/workshop online collaboration to start to get views about these issues. I think that this is absolutely key. I would be interested to know if you already had plans about this. Who to involve, how to make sure international and interdisciplinary views are sought heard and acted on, how to fully consider issues of language and terminology, etc. The facilitation around this will be essential - - this is what we are finding in our research on what works to support public authority-NGO cooperation in the area of hate crime recording. The project is called Facing All the Facts, it is funded by the European Commission, comprised of six full partners and led by CEJI.

- I have been doing some thinking about the dynamics of scholars/practitioners-policy makers and NGOs/ communities working together to understand and address hate crime generally. I believe that it is the only way forward but that there are challenges and, as you have pointed to diverse perspectives, and power dynamics that need to be understood and addressed. I am not sure -- do you think that your Opus would benefit from a fuller consideration of the conceptual and practical issues involved in the type of complex and dynamic cooperation and collaboration that you are suggesting? I attach an article I wrote about this for interest.⁷²

- You read my mind in proposing that you test out this framework. I think I can imagine how your model would work in practice, but it would be really interesting to take existing data and give it a trial run. I am thinking of a small, busy, under-resourced and overwhelmed, but highly knowledgeable and skilled community organization implementing this framework. The test will help think through your model's strengths and limitations, and how it might be used by countries that one might assess as being sophisticated in this area (e.g. applying it to the UK using CST and official UK data) as well as those that are earlier in their journey (e.g. Hungary, Greece or Moldova). My first instinct would be that you would want the model to be able to incorporate the relatively rich data that is available from the first 'type' of countries, but also provide some comparative and diagnostic insights on 'sparse' data offered by the second 'type.' Then there are all the countries and contexts in between!

- This relates to the point above. Would you want to aim to find a way to be able to stay high level and comparative, as well as 'dive deep' where the data allows it? This would allow some kind of comparison between the 'rich' and 'sparse' contexts. Can this framework help 'sparse context' whether NGO, community or government stakeholders to 'start small but start right' so that with resources, increased capacity and ability, their data can grow and be comparable and useful from the beginning? Also established organizations s will not want to mess around much with their successful approach that has been tried and tested and works with their

⁷² Joanna Perry, "A Shared Global Perspective on Hate Crime?" *Sage Publications, Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 2015, pp 1-17.

stakeholders, in their national context. Those that are early in their journey will want approaches that are practical, straightforward and still effective with few resources. You make the very important point of putting effort into an effective design from the beginning.

- Perhaps you would want to consider reviewing and referencing the work of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). They release annual data on hate crime, including official and NGO data on antisemitic crimes, with some narrative information about government projects and programs, either addressing antisemitism as part of overall efforts to understand and respond to racism and xenophobia or as specific projects. This will support your existing point that the sheer diversity of approaches to measuring the phenomena can cloud the issue; it also provides another source of information about the problem and what is(n't) being done about it.

Finally, I know that you have also been in touch with CEJI and perhaps, if it is helpful for you, together we can think through how you might best design the collaborative events/ workshops/ testing phases you propose. I think that this could help ensure that you draw out and build on the diverse (geographical and interdisciplinary) views that you seek.

Shimon Samuels

Director for International Relations, Simon Wiesenthal Center

September 14, 2016

I would start from the question of the validity of measurement?

I am leery of snapshots and would value trends, taking into account:

- The 'iceberg effect': the percentage of acts below the surface and unreported.
- A counter productive 'self-fulfilling effect' in legitimizing antisemitism - "if it is so prevalent in public opinion perhaps it can be justified" etc.

There is a need for:

- Constant exchange of data between participant organizations and countries to explain differences in findings.
- A clear and agreed understanding of the measurement's objectives.
- Factoring in cross-cultural regional commonalities and country specificities as also the particular cognitive, affective and dispositional elements that profile perpetrator and public.

September 20, 2016

I began my work in the 1980s. Most antisemitism was neo-Nazi. After World War II, antisemitism diminished. The Teflon lifted in the 1980s. Terrorists attacked non-Jewish targets. Governments tracked them down. There was a wave of caricatures in the Western press using the language of the Holocaust to describe Israel. It was a catharsis mechanism for European crimes of Holocaust and colonialism. Use of Holocaust imagery in 1982 was the apogee of antisemitic discourse. The Community submitted divergent figures. We opened a telephone hotline. For every call received, there were five not made. There were cases of imaginary antisemitism. There were false positives. Academics came up with statistics. Jewish organizations asked governments to act. The EUMC set the stage. We have to show the damage generally. Protesting too much devalues the currency. We must measure trends.

Measuring and Defining Contemporary Antisemitism

Dr. Charles Asher Small
Executive Director, ISGAP

October 2017

I. Antisemitism: An Introduction

In order to measure antisemitism and to gain an understanding into, what some observers refer to as “the longest hatred,” it is vital to place this multi-dimensional phenomenon into historical, economic, political, socio-cultural, philosophical, theological, and ideological context, mindful of associated processes. Antisemitism, therefore, must be understood as a complex and, at times, perplexing form of hatred. It spans centuries of history, infecting different societies, religious, philosophical and political movements, and even civilizations. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, some have even argued that antisemitism illustrates the limitations of the Enlightenment and modernity itself. Manifestations of antisemitism occur in numerous ideologically based narratives and in constructed identities of belonging and Otherness, such as race and ethnicity, as well as nationalist and anti-nationalist movements. In the contemporary context of globalized relations, it appears that antisemitism has taken on new, changing forms that need to be decoded, mapped, and exposed. The academic study of antisemitism, like prejudice more generally, has a long and impressive intellectual and research history. It remains a topic of ongoing political importance and scholarly engagement. However, especially at this important historical juncture, unlike prejudice and discrimination directed at other social groups, antisemitism, in particular its contemporary forms and processes, is almost always studied outside an organized academic framework.

The process of neo liberal globalization has led to an increase in adversarial identity politics. Globalization has a direct bearing on contemporary antisemitism. During the last several decades, nationalism and new forms of identity politics have exacerbated existing social, economic, and political cleavages. The causes of this emerging crisis include the extension of global competitive markets and the effects of structural adjustment, the intensification of socio-economic inequalities, the blurring of international and domestic political conflicts, and the world-wide escalation of adversarial “identity politics.” The concept of globalization, therefore, does not imply a shift from one period to another in the form of an historical rupture, as do other encompassing terms most frequently used to describe contemporary metropolitan experience. Rather it denotes an intensification and stretching out of movements and flows, as captured for instance in Giddens’s definition of globalization as “the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.”

Some social groups initiate flows and movement, while other do not; some are more on the receiving end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it. What does not follow from the considerations above, and yet continues to inform much of the literature on global flows, is the social imaginary of a borderless world. Inherent to the concept of global flows, differentiated and differentiating, is the capacity to transgress taken for granted boundaries between nation states, between racial, ethnic, and gender groups, and between the public and private spheres. This does mean, however, an increasingly order-less world, one in which boundaries have lost meaning. On the contrary, borders have become the locus of struggles among a variety of social actors, mobilized to reassert or redefine their boundaries *vis-à-vis* other relevant actors, and translate onto the space of the metropolis.

Globalization divides as much as it unites. Neo-tribal and fundamentalist tendencies, which reflect and articulate the experience of people on the receiving end of globalization, are as much legitimate reactions to globalization as the widely acclaimed hybridization of top-culture—the culture at the globalized top. There is a break down in communication between the globalized elites and the ever-more localized rest.

In this environment, Israel, as a central manifestation of contemporary Jewish identity, and Jews more generally, have become the focus of scapegoating and hateful rhetoric. At a more structural and socio-historical level, the old ideologies and tendencies of antisemitism have re-emerged and are being fused with anti-Zionism or, what in many cases might be more appropriately described as, “Israel bashing.” The old theological and racist forms of European antisemitism are being amalgamated with anti-Jewish and anti-Israel pronouncements emanating, in particular, from the Muslim world, which is located mainly, but not exclusively, in and around the Middle East. Contemporary globalization and the related socio-economic, cultural, and political processes are being fused with these historical tendencies, creating the conditions that pose a threat to Jewish people and Jewish communities in the Diaspora. In addition, new structural realities within the realm of international relations and the emergence of anti-Israel propensities appear to pose a threat to Israel and the Jewish people in a manner not seen since the end of World War II. Once again, in this age of globalization, the Jewish people seem to be caught between the “aristocracy” or “wealthy establishment” (core) and the marginalized or disenfranchised masses (periphery), as they have been throughout much of history.

With the advent of the “socialism of fools,” a term describing the replacement of the search for real social and political equity with antisemitism, which is frequently attributed to August Bebel, Jews continued to be targeted. In much the same way, the current marginalization of the Jewish people in the Arab world or, more accurately, the marginalization of the image of the Jew, since most were pressured to leave or expelled from Arab countries between 1948 and the early 1970s after a strong, continual presence of thousands of years, is staggering. As the social movements in the Middle East have turned to their own version of the

“socialism of fools” (i.e., the antisemitism of radical political Islamism), they have incorporated lethal forms of European genocidal antisemitism as their fuel. However, many scholars, policy makers, and journalists of record still refuse to acknowledge this fact and to critically examine the ideology and mission of this social movement.

In the discourse surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, extreme criticisms of Israel (e.g. Israel is an apartheid state, the Israel Defense Forces deliberately target Palestinian civilians) coupled with extreme policy proposals (e.g. boycott of Israeli academics and institutions, divest from companies doing business with Israel) have sparked counter-claims that such criticisms are antisemitic (for only Israel is singled out).⁷³

Many Israeli and Jewish individuals and organizations have characterized statements such as these as antisemitic in effect, if not intent, given that Israel is singled out, while there is silence over human rights violations committed elsewhere. There is indeed a long and sad history of antisemitism in Europe and elsewhere (). Dating back to the study of Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford (1950), scholars have conducted empirical (i.e. survey based) studies to determine those factors that characterize persons who exhibit more (or less) prejudice against Jews. In reviewing this literature, Konig, Scheepers and Falling (2001) identify religious (e.g. Christian world view, fundamentalism), social-psychological (e.g. anomie, authoritarianism), and socio-structural (e.g. age, education, gender) variables as key correlates of antisemitism at the individual level. More recently, scholars have addressed the relationship between antisemitism and anti-Zionism, however, whether extreme criticism of Israel, as exemplified in the recent AUT boycott debate, is *de facto* antisemitism remains bitterly contested.

II. Defining Antisemitism

THE EUMC WORKING DEFINITION: In an important modern reformulation of the definition of antisemitism, the former European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) established a working definition of antisemitism that is notable for its explicit recognition that “such manifestations could also target the State of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity.” The US Department of State announced that, “this definition provides an adequate initial guide by which anti-Semitism can eventually both be defined and combated.” In particular, the EUMC definition provides several recent examples of antisemitism in public life, the media, schools, the workplace, and religious institutions that relate to this collectivity, including the following:

⁷³ For an analysis linking classical forms of antisemitism with contemporary Israel bashing, see Edward H. Kaplan and Charles A. Small, “Anti Israel Sentiment Predicts Anti Semitism in Europe,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 50, No. 4, August 2006.

i. Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective—such as, especially, but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.

ii. Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-^[L]_[SEP]Jews.

iii. Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g. gas chambers) or intentionality of the ^[L]_[SEP]genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its ^[L]_[SEP]supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust). ^[L]_[SEP]

iv. Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the ^[L]_[SEP]Holocaust. ^[L]_[SEP]

v. Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities ^[L]_[SEP]of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.

These examples demonstrate the EUMC's definitional insights that political or anti-Israel sentiment, casts a shroud, or tries to do so, of the significance of the antecedence of the longest hatred, in its new contemporary form, the attack against Jewish Peoplehood. In addition, the EUMC working definition provides the following examples of "the ways in which antisemitism manifests itself with regard to the State of Israel taking into account the overall context":

- i. Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination. ^[L]_[SEP]
- ii. Applying double standards by requiring of it a behaviour not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation. ^[L]_[SEP]
- iii. Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of ^[L]_[SEP]Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- iv. Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policies to that of the Nazis. ^[L]_[SEP]
- v. Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the State of Israel. ^[L]_[SEP]

The EUMC emphasizes, as do virtually all commentators, that criticism of Israel, similar to that leveled against other countries, does not constitute a form of antisemitism. Indeed, virtually all commentators agree that criticism of Israel is not a form of antisemitism, per se. ^[L]_[SEP]The criteria by which antisemitic criticisms of Israel may be distinguished from other criticisms have now become largely conventional. They include the use of classic antisemitic stereotypes, such as the

demonization of Jews or the Jewish state; the use of double standards for Israel and all other nations, including denial of national self-determination only to the Jews; and holding Jews collectively responsible for Israeli policies. What these criteria have in common is that they all indicate when facially anti- Israeli expressions are in fact an expression of an underlying anti-Jewish animus. [L] [SEP]

The United States Department of State adopted the definition of antisemitism which is based on the European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia. (EUMC). The EUMC Working definition, which had been posted on their website for years was but never formally adopted, though was widely circulated and used. It was influential and used widely in academic and policy circles. In fact [why “in fact”? – maybe say “however”] several years ago it was removed from the website.

Soon after the EUMC issued its definition, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODHIR), within the Organization of Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) used the definition in its official documentation. This watershed moment, culminated in 2004, when the working definition was used in the Cordoba conference of the OSCE. Subsequently, many international bodies as well as national governments adopted this definition of antisemitism. The British National Union of Students and the US Commission on Civil Rights are just two examples of the use of the EUMC definition.

In February 2009, the British Parliament hosted the Inter-parliamentarian Coalition for Combating Antisemitism (ICCA). This resulted in the London declaration. In 2010, the Canadian parliaments in Ottawa hosted the second ICCA Conference, which brought together more than 46 countries and over 250 parliamentarians to fight the resurgence of global antisemitism. These major international events were held because of the increase in recorded antisemitic hate crimes, and attacks against Jewish people and property, as well as religious and educational and communal institutions. The ICCA also expressed alarm by state sanctioned genocidal incitement to antisemitism and related extreme ideological actors. In addition, the coalition expressed alarm at the resurgence of antisemitism on the Internet, as well as on university campuses worldwide. The ICCA conferences produced the Ottawa Protocol and the London Declaration. The EUCM working definition of antisemitism was reaffirmed and urged universities and global institutions to adopt the definition into policy and legislation.

The US State Department defines antisemitism as “a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred towards Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of anti-Semitism are directed towards Jewish individuals and/or their property, towards Jewish community institutions and religious facilities”. This State Department definition cautions that “criticism of Israel is similar to that levied against any other country cannot be regarded as anti-Semitic”. The State Department, however, agrees that antisemitic manifestations itself pertaining to

Israel must take into account the overall context, when there are manifestations of the following:

- i. The demonization of Israel, which includes: a) using the symbols and images associated with classical antisemitism to characterize Israel and Israelis; b) drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policies to that of the Nazis; c) blaming Israel for all religious or political tensions.
- ii. Double Standards for Israel: a) applying double standards by requiring a behaviour not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation; b) multilateral organisations focusing on Israel only for human rights investigations.
- iii. Delegitimization of Israel: a) denying the Jewish people the right to self-determination and denying Israel the right to exist.

The State Department definition of antisemitism introduces a wide spectrum of antisemitism(s), including various notions that are associated with historical antisemitic tropes, as well as the more contemporary forms of the demonization of Israel and notions of Jewish peoplehood, such as the rhetorical comparison between Jews and Nazis, or the condoning of terrorism against Israel or the Jewish people. Despite the importance of the US State Department definition, it has not filtered down into law and policy in the US Government, though it is currently being addressed.

Most recently, in June 2017, the European Parliament voted in favor of a resolution endorsing the working definition of antisemitism of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA). The resolution urges EU Member States and the EU institutions and agencies to: protect Jewish citizens and Jewish institutions from hate crime and hate speech; support law enforcement efforts to identify and prosecute antisemitic attacks; appoint national coordinators on combating antisemitism; systematically and publicly condemn antisemitic statements; promote Holocaust education; and review school textbooks to ensure that content about Jewish history and contemporary Jewish life are devoid of antisemitism.

The text notes that, "Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities." While the resolution is a step toward protecting European Jewry from increasing antisemitism, it omits vital examples of contemporary manifestations of antisemitism, namely the demonization and delegitimization of the State of Israel.

Professor Richard Steinberg
Chair in Operations Research, Department of Management,
London School of Economics

September 15, 2017

I have only a few comments on the draft document, "Treating Antisemitism Seriously," dated 1 August 2017. Before I state my comments, I would like to say that, although I know little about the ISGAP, from what I do know, I very much like and admire [the] organization and its goals. It is an organization that needs to exist. Further, having had Elie Wiesel and Alan Dershowitz playing prominent roles in the organization is superb. However, you have not asked me about your organization, but rather about this document.

I should begin by saying that I do not know who the intended audience is. Is it written for scholars of antisemitism, academics generally, policy makers, Jewish people generally, or the general public? No one document could reach all of these audiences, but it appears from the format and writing style that it is written for scholars of antisemitism, which is a very small (albeit important) audience. Perhaps you could have your final document be in two forms: one for academic specialists, and another, an "executive summary," for a wider audience.

I cannot really comment on your plans for the systematic measurement and assessment issues, as I have not worked with empirical data. However, for those aspects of the document with which I am familiar, I am afraid that I found it slightly disappointing.

To begin, I have one major comment: Israel is obliquely mentioned a few times in the document. I would suggest that Israel be considered in a prominent way. Is anti-Zionism or excessive criticism of Israel in fact "antisemitism through the backdoor"? I think so. But this critical issue of major importance is never directly raised in the document.

Finally, I think the document would benefit from being re-written, especially if you want people to actually read it thoroughly, and not say, simply browse or consult it. I am vitally interested in this topic, but frankly found the document difficult going. Writing can both be scholarly and clear. I don't know how actively involved Alan Dershowitz is "on the ground" with the ISGAP—I believe he is nearly 80 years of age—but he is not only a highly respected scholar but also someone who writes fluently and communicates well. Perhaps you ask him to look the document over for organization, style, and presentation; if not, I should think he could recommend someone who could.

I am sorry to be somewhat critical of this document. But if I did not deeply support your goals, I would have had just given you a few words of encouragement and not raised my concerns.

Seth Stephens-Davidowitz

Data Scientist, Contributing Op-Ed Writer, *New York Times* best seller

September 20, 2016

I research how to use internet data. How much are we getting the truth? We can use Google searches to tease out attitudes. We measure black prejudice by search for anti-black jokes. Surveys did not show the racism. The searches correlated with poor Obama- vote performance. I have looked for top questions -- why are Jews evil, racist, ugly, cheap, greedy? Google is anonymous. It is more honest. We want to monitor searches. We need to build searches into algorithms. We miss a lot if we look at just social media or news. Searches about divestment correlate with questions about evil Jews. In college towns, anti-black searches are low, anti-Jewish searches are high. Iowa is a problem.

We want to monitor Google searches. You will see a little of this problem in social media. Magnitude is higher in Google searches.

David Matas - Is search data public? Can searches be barred?

Seth Stephens-Davidowitz - Yes it is at Google Trends and Google AdWords. I have a website. You can monitor with those Google sites. People search "Is someone a Jew?" Google took away autocomplete. Google cannot bar a search. Google searches are anonymous. "Why are Jews greedy?" is a troubling question. I have looked into this.

From the book, *Everybody Lies: Big Data, New Data, and What the Internet Can Tell Us About Who We Really Are*. Copyright ©2017 by Seth Stephens-Davidowitz. Reprinted with permission of Dey Street Books, an imprint of HarperCollins Publishers.

THE TRUTH ABOUT HATE
AND PREJUDICE

Sex and romance are hardly the only topics cloaked in shame and, therefore, not the only topics about which people keep secrets. Many people are, for good reason, inclined to keep their prejudices to themselves. I suppose you could call it progress that many people today feel they will be judged if they admit they judge other people based on their ethnicity, sexual orientation, or religion. But many Americans still do. (This is another section, I warn readers, that includes disturbing material.)

You can see this on Google, where users sometimes ask questions such as "Why are black people rude?" or "Why are Jews evil?" Below, in order, are the top five negative words used in searches about various groups.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
AFRICAN AMERICANS	rude	racist	stupid	ugly	lazy
JEWS	evil	racist	ugly	cheap	greedy
MUSLIMS	evil	terrorists	bad	violent	dangerous
MEXICANS	racist	stupid	ugly	lazy	dumb
ASIANS	ugly	racist	annoying	stupid	cheap
GAYS	evil	wrong	stupid	annoying	selfish
CHRISTIANS	stupid	crazy	dumb	delusional	wrong

A few patterns among these stereotypes stand out. For example, African Americans are the only group that faces a “rude” stereotype. Nearly every group is a victim of a “stupid” stereotype; the only two that are not: Jews and Muslims. The “evil” stereotype is applied to Jews, Muslims, and gays but not black people, Mexicans, Asians, and Christians.

Muslims are the only group stereotyped as terrorists. When a Muslim American plays into this stereotype, the response can be instantaneous and vicious. Google search data can give us a minute-by-minute peek into such eruptions of hate-fueled rage.

I recently analyzed tens of thousands of such Stormfront profiles, in which registered members can enter their location, birth date, interests, and other information.

Stormfront was founded in 1995 by Don Black, a former Ku Klux Klan leader. Its most popular “social groups” are “Union of National Socialists” and “Fans and Supporters of Adolf Hitler.” Over the past year, according to Quantcast, roughly 200,000 to 400,000 Americans visited the site every month. A recent Southern Poverty Law Center report linked nearly one hundred murders in the past five years to registered Stormfront members.

Stormfront members are not whom I would have guessed.

They tend to be young, at least according to self-reported birth dates. The most common age at which people join the site is nineteen. And four times more nineteen-year-olds sign up than forty-year-olds. Internet and social network users lean young, but not nearly that young.

Profiles do not have a field for gender. But I looked at all the posts and complete profiles of a random sample of American users, and it turns out that you can work out the gender of most of the membership: I estimate that about 30 percent of Stormfront members are female.

The states with the most members per capita are Montana, Alaska, and Idaho. These states tend to be overwhelmingly white. Does this mean that growing up with little diversity fosters hate?

Probably not. Rather, since those states have a higher proportion of non-Jewish white people, they have more potential members for a group that attacks Jews and nonwhites. The percentage of Stormfront's target audience that joins is actually higher in areas with more minorities. This is particularly true when you look at Stormfront's members who are eighteen and younger and therefore do not themselves choose where they live.

Among this age group, California, a state with one of the largest minority populations, has a membership rate 25 percent higher than the national average.

One of the most popular social groups on the site is "In Support of Anti-Semitism." The percentage of members who join this group is positively correlated with a state's Jewish population. New York, the state with the highest Jewish population, has above-average per capita membership in this group.

In 2001, Dna88 joined Stormfront, describing himself as a "good looking, racially aware" thirty-year-old Internet developer living in "Jew York City." In the next four months, he wrote more than two hundred posts, like "Jewish Crimes Against Humanity" and "Jewish Blood Money," and directed people to a website, jewwatch.com, which claims to be a "scholarly library" on "Zionist criminality."

Stormfront members complain about minorities' speaking different languages and committing crimes. But what I found most interesting were the complaints about competition in the dating market.

A man calling himself William Lyon Mackenzie King, after a former prime minister of Canada who once suggested that "Canada should remain a white man's country," wrote in 2003 that he struggled to "contain" his "rage" after seeing a white woman "carrying around her half black ugly mongrel niglet." In her profile, Whitepride26, a forty-one-year-old student in Los Angeles, says, "I dislike blacks, Latinos, and sometimes Asians, especially when men find them more attractive" than "a white female."

Certain political developments play a role. The day that saw the biggest single increase in membership in Stormfront's history, by far, was November 5, 2008, the day after Barack Obama was elected president. There was, however, no increased interest in Stormfront during Donald Trump's candidacy and only a small rise immediately after he won. Trump rode a wave of white nationalism. There is no evidence here that he created a wave of white nationalism.

Obama's election led to a surge in the white nationalist movement. Trump's election seems to be a response to that.

One thing that does not seem to matter: economics. There was no relationship between monthly membership registration and a state's unemployment rate. States disproportionately affected by the Great Recession saw no comparative increase in Google searches for Stormfront.

But perhaps what was most interesting—and surprising—were some of the topics of conversation Stormfront members have. They are similar to those my friends and I talk about. Maybe it was my own naiveté, but I would have imagined white nationalists inhabiting a different universe from that of my friends and me. Instead they have long threads praising *Game of Thrones* and discussing the comparative merits of online dating sites, like PlentyOfFish and OkCupid.

And the key fact that shows that Stormfront users are inhabiting similar universes as people like me and my friends: the popularity of the *New York Times* among Stormfront users. It isn't just VikingMaiden88 hanging around the *Times* site. The site is popular among many of its members. In fact, when you compare Stormfront users to people who visit the Yahoo News site, it turns out that the Stormfront crowd is twice as likely to visit nytimes.com.

Members of a hate site perusing the oh-so-liberal nytimes .com? How could this possibly be? If a substantial number of Stormfront members get their news from nytimes.com, it means our conventional wisdom about white nationalists is wrong. It also means our conventional wisdom about how the internet works is wrong.

Mala Tabory

Director of ISGAP-Israel

Editor of JUSTICE, International Association of Jewish Lawyers & Jurists

September 20, 2016

Measuring antisemitism is uncharted territory. As my specialty is legal aspects of antisemitism, initially it was not obvious to me that it was necessary to define and measure antisemitism. I thought antisemitism was like love. You knew what it was when you experienced it. After studying the issue, I came to understand the challenge of determining what constitutes antisemitism and how important it is that it be measured across time and countries. The mission of this Project is to meet this challenge.

On the academic level, the late Dr. Stephen Roth used to prepare his yearly reports on global antisemitism that we published in the Israel Yearbook on Human Rights at the Law Faculty at Tel Aviv University. On the governmental level, Elyakim Rubinstein, as Government Secretary (former Justice and Deputy President of the Israel Supreme Court) founded and served as the first chairman of the closed monthly Government Forum to Monitor Antisemitism [Inter-Ministerial Forum for Monitoring Anti-Semitism established in 1988]. The forum had no budget and no publicity, and that was part of its strength and effectiveness. In various agencies, we had the capacity to send people to check the veracity of reported antisemitic events. A constant problem is that law-abiding States tend to report antisemitism more accurately, whereas other States, no matter how perfect their laws, did not comply or report. Over the years, the Forum submitted periodic reports to the Israeli Government, which discussed them as a basis for important decisions. This Forum subsequently evolved in scope and auspices.

Later the challenge became more complex, requiring verification of claims of antisemitism. In certain countries, some would deny the occurrence of events, often due to fear. Others would use alleged antisemitism for their own ends (e.g., claiming refugee status in desired countries of immigration, for alleged fear of persecution). Now we face a different challenge, measuring antisemitism, which to a great extent is manifested in social media and virtual spaces. For every antisemitic manifestation counted in the graph or "pie" tallying antisemitic incidents, there may be a huge cloud of antisemitic sentiment.

Can Holocaust Denial be Measured?

Mark Weitzman

**Director of Government Affairs, Simon Wiesenthal Center
Past Chair, Committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial
International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance**

September 20, 2016

I was asked to discuss the question of whether Holocaust Denial can be measured. To properly assess this question we have to begin by pointing out that there are really two different types of Holocaust Denial that we face today.

The first is the familiar, hardcore flat out negation of the actual historicity of the Holocaust. This is the one that most people recognize and can be identified for example, with the notorious David Irving, who's noxious pseudo-scholarly antisemitism is now highlighted in the new film, ***Denial***. The film details the story of how Irving charged Deborah Lipstadt with libelling him and the ensuing trial in London that resulted in an overwhelming victory for Lipstadt and the total discrediting of Irving.

Irving's antisemitism was thoroughly documented in the course of the trial through the damning critique by Richard Evans and the rest of Lipstadt's team, and then officially recognized in the devastating verdict of Judge Charles Gray. This verdict effectively meant that Irving and his circle, including such figures as Robert Faurisson, Ernst Zundel, Arthur Butz, Mark Weber and those associated with the misleadingly named Institute of Historical Research would now be far removed from any semblance of respectability and cemented them as figures from the professional antisemitic and neo-Nazi fringe.

While the Irving trial meant the end of respectability for Holocaust denial in the West, we do have to point out that in the Middle East Iran has made Holocaust denial a core element of its official policy, and denial has also been a featured staple of many other anti-Israel and antisemitic elements in the Muslim world.

Those two examples demonstrate the fairly obvious nature of outright Holocaust denial. However, there also exists the variant of Holocaust Distortion, which is much more sophisticated, much more difficult to recognize and label, and thus to measure; and indeed, because it cannot be so obviously dismissed it might even be more dangerous today as it currently manifests itself in government and other elite circles, and can even flourish where Holocaust Denial cannot.

For example Hungary today has a law banning Holocaust denial and even has prosecuted some cases of Holocaust denial. Yet at the same time the reality is that Hungarian government has engaged in Holocaust distortion and manipulation. They

have tried to rehabilitate and build statues to collaborators; World War II era Hungarian antisemitic writers are inserted into school curricula and a new Holocaust museum that had questionable content was proposed. Poland has tried to intimidate researchers and historians with a new law that threatens those who shame Poland's name. In Croatia the minister who oversees the notorious Jasenovac concentration camp introduced and screened a film there that minimized the number of Jewish victims, causing the Jewish community of Croatia to boycott the Holocaust Remembrance events. The same minister has also contributed articles to a magazine that aimed to whitewash the Ustashe. In Serbia there is a movement that is attempting to rehabilitate Milan Nedic, who led the Serbian collaborationist government during World War II.

These people do not negate the Holocaust, so they cannot be accused of being Holocaust deniers. They play around with numbers minimize the numbers of the victims, attempt to rehabilitate local collaborators with the Nazis and deny local antisemitism and antisemitic actions.

Examples of distortion can also be clearly found in the US Presidential campaign, where most recently one of the candidates' representatives claimed that given certain circumstances "the media could be warming up the gas chambers"! And as we all know the internet and especially social media has been both a home and a potent tool for the massive dissemination.

This is why it is extremely significant that the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) officially adopted a legally non-binding Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion in 2013. It took five years for us to get the definition adopted -- as the lead author of the definition and as the Chair of IHRA's Committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial I was deeply involved in the process that took so long because IHRA operates on the principle that consensus is required for any official adoption. It was easy to get agreement on the denial aspect of the definition -- much more difficult to obtain consensus on the distortion aspect. But that was the most significant part of the definition for us and we ultimately succeeded. This now gives us a tool with which we can identify Holocaust denial and distortion.

An even more significant event was the recent (May 2016) adoption by the IHRA of a legally non-binding Working Definition of Antisemitism. This is the first time that there is an internationally accepted definition that provides a basic framework for a common understanding of antisemitism. Based on the old EUMC definition, with some revisions by Prof. Dina Porat and myself, this definition was also recommended by the IHRA expert community and was championed by the current Romanian Chair of the IHRA, Amb. Mihnea Constantinescu, who was most responsible for getting the definition adopted. Both these definitions can be found at the IHRA website (<https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-holocaust-denial-and->

distortion; https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/press_release_document_antisemitism.pdf).

These two new tools make it easier to answer the question of whether we can measure Holocaust denial. Using the definitions I believe that we can begin to measure basic Holocaust denial. But at the same time, Holocaust distortion presents a more difficult problem. However, again, using the definitions as an analytic tool provides us the opportunity for an initial assessment that is the necessary first step in any attempt to quantify Holocaust distortion as well.

And, given the active presence of Holocaust distortion in certain political circles, as well as the explosion of tropes and memes on social media, the task to measure and counter Holocaust denial and distortion is even more urgent today.

August 30, 2017

First of all, the text [of this Opus] is clearly the result of a lot of thought and research. It is a very ambitious attempt to lay out parameters for a major, indeed unprecedented research project with important policy implications relating to a subject which, we would all agree, is of vital importance today.

My comments here are meant to strengthen and support the text and the project behind it. I believe it is commendable, and even necessary for us to reconceptualize research on antisemitism, and to bring together the disparate approaches that have so far operated, for the most part, as distinctive streams that only come together at infrequent intervals. To provide a generally accepted set of data on antisemitism is an important step to further both academic research and implementation of policy designed to counter the impact of antisemitism.

This leads unto the first point I would like to raise. As the document itself notes, in calling for “an effort that is at once more integrative and synergistic among these analysts and which incorporates a variety of disciplinary perspectives,” multiple audiences and stakeholders are being addressed. These audiences include, *inter alia* academic and other researchers, governmental and policy makers, and civil society and communal leaders. Thus the document itself must be written in a way that provides both clarity and is persuasive to the intended audiences. However, it appears to me that in crafting a document that stresses methodology and relies on numerous technical terms, there is a danger that it will turn off the non-specialist reader, i.e. those coming from the perspective of government, policy, communal leaders etc. I make this observation as one who has many years of experience in working on issues related to antisemitism in the area of policy, government, etc., and who also still produces scholarly work as well. It is indeed necessary to create a working intersection between those worlds, and if this project succeeds in that alone, it will be a significant step forward, but the way to do that has to be open and accessible to all of the targeted audiences, and not to run the risk

of allowing the proposal to be pigeon holed as just another abstruse and jargon-filled proposal.

Further, the emphasis on methodology could lead the reader to assume that the main purpose of the proposal is only, or largely, academic in nature. And while we would all agree that bad scholarship is a porous and dangerous base on which to build public policy, the emphasis on methodology as is laid out in the Opus could easily lessen its significance and interest in the eye of the non-academic reader. Therefore I would suggest that it should be recast in a way that while still lucidly laying out the importance and innovative aspects of the research, stresses both the need for policy and action on antisemitism, and equally important how the research section of the proposal clearly contributes to the desired end result.

I would also suggest that a short explanation on how we are defining antisemitism is absolutely necessary at the start of our discussion. It is always best to clearly define our terms of reference at the beginning of our argument. Minus such a statement we leave ourselves open to misinterpretation (both accidental and willful) and diversion. I would strongly urge that we adopt the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's Working Definition of Antisemitism (text can be found at https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/press_release_document_antisemitism.pdf; full disclosure – I was the initiator and led the effort for adoption).

My next point might initially be seen as somewhat counterintuitive and controversial. I am going to suggest that we need to be careful on how we reference "Israeli policy-makers" as key stakeholders in this effort. It has become increasingly clear over recent months that despite some of the political rhetoric of Israeli politicians, antisemitism, or more precisely the struggle against antisemitism, is just another ingredient of Israeli policy, and sometimes one with only minor importance. Recent examples include Israeli silence or cooperation with problematic governments or figures in Hungary, Poland, and yes, in the US as well. And this is perfectly legitimate in my view. Israel, like any other country, has to weigh its own strategic needs and requirements and act accordingly. Its first priority has to be its own national interest. However, while that is entirely justifiable, it does sometimes create conflict with our goals of measuring and ultimately fighting antisemitism.

Another point relates to the necessity of our understanding that realistically we have to create a threshold of what we might term "minimal level of antisemitism." While we all agree that there should not be any "acceptable" form of antisemitism, in practical terms we are looking at marginalizing antisemitism, removing it from a position where it could have any practical impact on Jews and Jewish life, but knowing all the same that we will not be able to actually erase any vestige of antisemitism from our world. Given that, I think we need to be prepared to acknowledge that reality and to offer suggestions as to what constitutes these levels, and how and where we draw that line. Again, this would be an important

consideration for policy makers, and also for those approaching from legal perspectives. (This is addressed briefly in the Opus [p. 20 in original, but cite new ref p. supra] but deserves more attention).

In general the document seems to lean heavily on national data (with some exceptions). While this may be where most of the currently available statistics and information can be found, it points up to a fundamental reality that needs to be integrated into our research; namely the international component of much of today's antisemitism. The flow of information and people includes, as we all know, many traffickers in antisemitism, and our proposal must include an attempt to include this as well. Whether it is online, particularly through social media and its influence on radicalization from, for example either radical Islam or the alt-right, or through the physical interactions by antisemites of various persuasions who have crossed borders, we must take this transnational component into account.

At the same time, while the goal of a standardized tool to measure and assess antisemitism is our agreed aim, we also have to be careful in our own research; to suggest as the proposal does that "Germany, Hungary, Ukraine, etc. (are countries) where monitoring is more intermittent" [pp. 11] is both simply incorrect (the TEV Foundation had been producing a monthly report on antisemitic incidents in Hungary since 2013; the latest one can be found at http://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/TEV_2017_04_EN.pdf. While there are some extremely problematic aspects of Hungarian antisemitism these reports have been produced consistently. And, it is clear to any observer that the three countries mentioned have vastly different historical and current political and social contexts that should preclude lumping them together).

The proposal on pp.8-9 to view antisemitism [from] a wider perspective than only its impact on Jews is very important and deserves even more detailed attention. Antisemitism also has to take into account the distinction between different cultural norms that can vary greatly between countries and regions, and thus can make achieving that goal very difficult. We might have to consider creating different approaches in our proposal, including both standardized and more general tools to accommodate some of these concerns disruptive force in general society helps focus the attention of the non-Jewish community on this problem, and helps create willing allies in this effort. And, by also emphasizing the importance and lessons of fighting antisemitism to other targeted groups, existing alliances of partners can be strengthened and new networks built. To really reach a wider audience and to have greater impact, this proposal needs to be framed and presented in the context of great concern about the rise in racism, bias and radicalized violence.

I would also suggest that the distinction between Right/Left antisemitism as portrayed in the Opus [pp. 36] needs to be reviewed, especially in light of recent events in the US. First of all, the "Old Right" needs to be augmented by the newer alt-right etc. Second, the assumption that violent antisemitism is associated mainly on

the Left (which I assume refers primarily to Islamist radical terrorism) is, at least in the US unwarranted and unsupported. The available statistics seem to indicate that homegrown, extremist right wing violence is at least equal to, or in certain ways a greater threat than radical Islamist terrorism in the US (According to the GAO, in the period between 9/12/2001 to 12/31/2016, there were 62 extremist right wing incidents with 106 fatalities, and 23 incidents of radical Islamist incidents with 119 fatalities (49 of which were in one incident, at the Orlando gay club on 6/12/2016 <http://www.gao.gov/assets/690/683984.pdf>, pp. 32, 34. For an insightful discussion of some of the difficulties in obtaining accurate and reliable statistics and data, see <https://lawfareblog.com/search-data-white-supremacist-violent-crime>).

Any discussion about statistics, especially those relying on government data [Such as mentioned on pp. 38-39] must also include recognition of some of the issues related to the collection of that material. These include the time lag in the publication of the data (for example, the FBI hate crime statistics are usually two years behind (so 2015 is the last year that statistics are available for), and also the under-reporting of incidents. Thus the latest OSCE/ODIHR hate crimes report (which also dates from 2015) reflects submissions from only 41 of the 57 OSCE nations, and in their own words “limited data on some bias motives continue to indicate under-reporting and gaps in recording.” (<http://hatecrime.osce.org/what-do-we-know>).

Based on my experience with international organizations, governments and policy I would also suggest that we need to be realistic about the pace of the response by the above to proposals. And, very often the price of their buy-in requires a willingness to compromise from their prospective partner; so in other words, we have to be certain of what we can compromise on in order to gain their cooperation and participation.

I am also not sure if crowd sourcing can work for this. I worry that it might be difficult to maintain “quality control” of the received data and to be able to properly integrate and rely upon it. Are there successful examples of such usage? Do any of us have experience with that? And finally I would also be extremely cautious about being “predictive” [p. 41]. I think that may be venturing out to far and would also open us to criticism that we are, for instance basing policy recommendations on skimpy data and unproven assertions. That might fatally weaken the prospects for acceptance of the proposal as a whole.

Michael Whine

Director, Government & International Affairs, Community Security Trust (CST); UK Member, European Commission against Racism & Intolerance (ECRI), Council of Europe

September 20, 2016

What do we need to measure in order to analyse and influence? Our target audience is not the Jewish community; it is law enforcement agencies and governments. In 1986 CST started to measure incidents and adopted the standards employed by the police. We also now deal with discourse. We measured incidents, not only crimes, as incidents provide context and intelligence. There are norms for measuring hate crimes. The Council of Europe, the European Union and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) require collection and publication of data on hate crimes. A European Court of Human Rights judgment requires states to unmask the racist motivation behind crimes. The UN Human Rights Council also requires states to collect data, and all according to international norms.

The definition of antisemitism - any malicious incident where there is evidence of antisemitic motivation. Reporting can be by victim or a third party acting on their behalf. The whole array of media are available to report. The UK national police website - True Vision - allows victims to report and the report will be passed on to local police station.

There have to be standardized criteria for collection of data in order to have a basis for comparison. There needs to be common definitions. We should use the definitions the authorities are using. Jewish organizations often report hate crimes by relying on newspaper articles, but to meet criminal justice standards, there has to be evidence and reliability. There needs to be a centralized reporting system for international agencies to act upon. There is a Jewish community security organisation in every European community and we aspire to work to common standards. The common definitions are slowly begin adopted and now there is increasing encouragement to exchange data. We have a contractual agreement with the police and pass them information, which is anonymized. They do the same, passing over data to us. We have encouraged Jewish organizations to gather information on antisemitism to evidentiary standards, and established the EC-funded Facing Facts Project to do so. The UK government publishes a strategy to combat antisemitism. They have also now offered money to other community organizations to bring up their standards on reporting, and facilitated exchanges with other states' police agencies to assist them.

August 21, 2017

Suggested additions and possible changes to draft text

I agree with the Statement of Need, in particular the comments about the survey-based tools, which provide incomplete pictures in several respects. At CST

we decided some years ago to collect data on incidents and antisemitic discourse and to publish annual reports on both. However to complete the picture we have also commissioned surveys and recently funded and advised the Institute for Jewish Policy Research(JPR) to carry out the largest survey of antisemitism ever undertaken in the UK.

At this stage I have no comments on or suggested changes to the draft text, but I should like to show it to my colleagues who write the two CST reports on incidents and discourse before we go too far into the project (see below). They now have more practical experience than I of collecting and analyzing the data now.

Metric and Measures

Agreed we have to define our purpose. Without proposing any 'hierarchy of victimhood' we need to demonstrate that there is a specific threat to Jewish communities coming from various directions and in different forms and that they undermine our security and the cohesion and democratic nature of the societies we inhabit.

Framework for Measurement

Antisemitic Acts – 'Discourse and political mobilization' instead of 'Agitation'. Agitation and Incitement are too similar whereas Discourse can cover words and speech that directly and indirectly promote antisemitism

'Physical harassment of persons' rather than 'Physical attacks on persons' - we need to differentiate between non life-threatening bullying and intimidation attacks, and life-threatening attacks (ie murder)

Communities

'Damage' rather than 'Cost of damage' – Jewish communities will struggle to quantify damage, particularly if religious and cultural relics and valuables are affected.

'Physical injury to person' and 'Deaths' are misplaced and could led to double counting as they are included in the previous sub-set.. Communities will also struggle to measure 'Indirect health consequences'. We do need to measure the impact of antisemitism and attacks on communities

Comprehensive Framework for Antisemitism Measurement

As stated above it is necessary to measure attitudes / discourse, action / incidents and effects / consequences. The final bloc, that of indirect but potentially powerful effects, is clearly harder to measure but there is emerging research on the biochemical profiles of second and third generations of Holocaust survivors which

demonstrate that Jews are especially susceptible to continuing trauma. I don't have reviews of the research with me but can easily access it on request.

On p10 you might want to note the Council of Europe, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and its commissions especially the General Policy Recommendation No 9 on Antisemitism, and reviews of Member States' work on antisemitism when they carry out country visits. Also and vitally, the requirement of European Union Member States to criminalize incitement and Holocaust denial, contained in the 2008 Framework decision, on which they are now inspected.

The point made on p15 about inadequate data or research is important. For this reason, the data used by FRA for its 2013 survey has since been utilized by JPR and other research institute for further analysis, indicating its robust nature. For the same reason the forthcoming FRA survey on antisemitism has been widened to include additional states and the list of questions extended, while retaining the original questions to enable comparison.

The suggestions made on p21 that the US, France and UK provide data that may be comparable is important. For example, CST and SPCJ, as well as other communities' security agencies, have conferred on our data and style and scope of our incidents' measurement.

Agreed that it is vital that we have first to `define our requirements and our audiences (pp22) before collecting the data, ie what are their requirements and what information do they need to provide the response we need.

The projected scale envisioned in the Framework however will be beyond the capacity of most Jewish communities to provide, information to the standards and on the scale we are seeking. But this should not prevent us going forward.

The Antisemitism Measurement Project: Integration through Collaboration

Panel at the 6th Global Forum
For Combating Antisemitism

21 March 2018
Nisan 5778



The 6th Global Forum for
Combating Antisemitism

Charles Asher Small
Executive Director, ISGAP

- **Introduction**

Steven Popper

Senior Fellow, Jewish People Policy Institute

Abstract. What is required for an effective approach to understanding and confronting modern antisemitism? This talk presents some of the problems we currently face, particularly the disjointedness between knowledge gathering and policy needs. It outlines a five-task enterprise for achieving better collaboration, more effective use of existing knowledge, wider engagement, closer collaboration in determining and gathering what further data are needed, and placing the knowledge creation effort more firmly in synchrony with the needs of communities and policy makers.



Toward a *Comprehensive Approach* for Assessing Antisemitism:

Roadmap for Action

Steven W. Popper
Jewish People Policy Institute
6th Global Forum for Combatting Antisemitism
Jerusalem
5 Nisan 5778
21 March 2018



***“If antisemitism is now a serious problem,
then it deserves to be taken seriously”***

- Despite substantial and valuable measurement effort by many, we lack:
 - Consistent terminology and taxonomy
 - Policy-oriented approach to information gathering
 - Comprehensive participation by communities at risk
 - Sufficient means to aggregate, organize and disseminate work being performed
 - Unifying map to assess what we know and what we don't

Greater Emphasis on Collaboration Could Address these Shortcomings

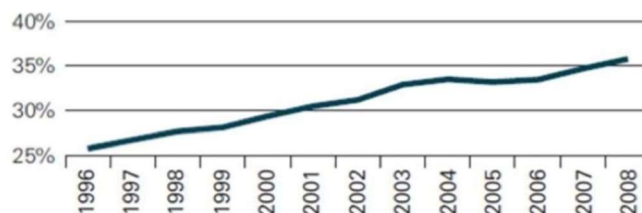
Such emphasis would bring more focus on:

- Means for amplifying the results from each effort
- Disseminating findings more widely
- Providing a template for new entry and expansion
- Enhancing the ability to assess and resist modern antisemitism

This would reflect similar trends in other fields...

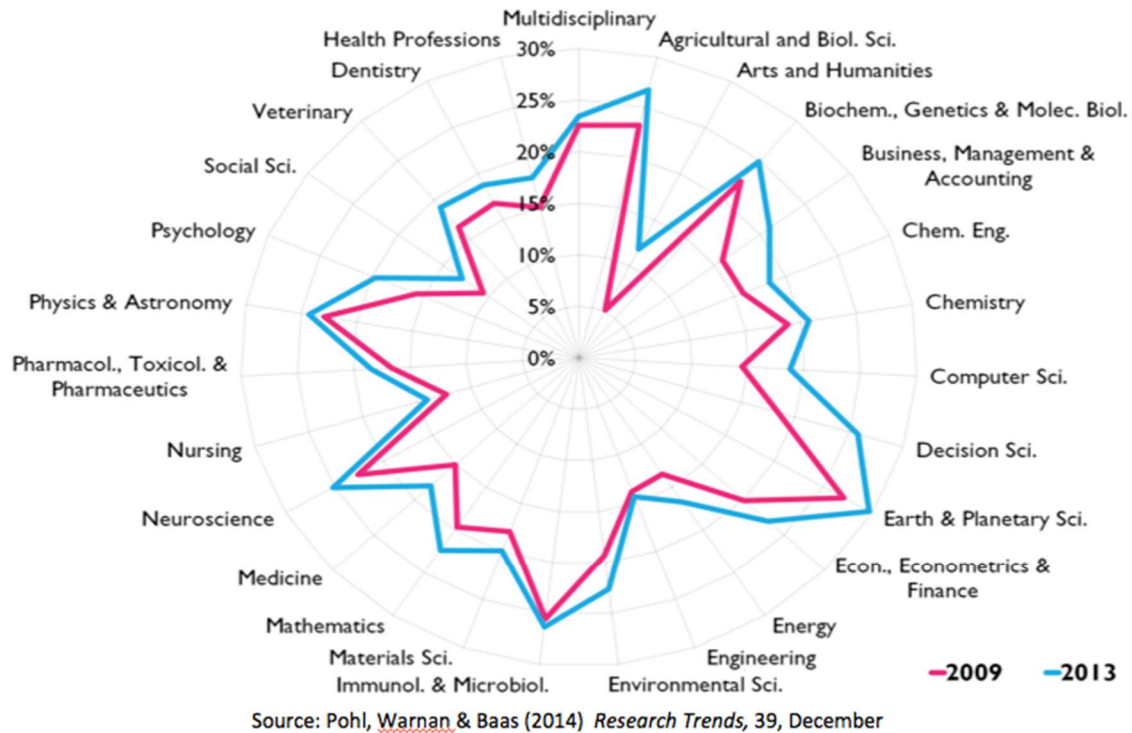
International Collaboration is a Hallmark of Modern Research...

**Increase in the proportion of the
world's papers produced with more than
one international author, 1996–2008.¹⁶¹**



Source : Knowledge, networks and nations . Global scientific collaboration in the 21st century
The Royal Society

...Across All Fields of Study



Toward this End, We Put Forward Two Initiatives to Stimulate Discussion

- 1. Common framework** for comprehensive and integrated knowledge building and sharing
 - Conceptualization
 - Gathering
 - Sharing
 - Assessment
- 2. Staged efforts toward greater collaboration**
 - Collaboration may be a goal but it is also a means

Standards are Required Only to the Extent They are Purposeful

- A “unified” approach should
 - Support proliferation and diffusion of effort
 - Not restrict endeavors into a few selected channels
 - Be geared toward inclusion, not exclusion
 - Illuminate for all where more work is required
 - Result from consultation and deliberation
- In each instance, what we recommend is only a first guess at the appropriate approach
 - Many voices need to be heard

We Begin By Starting from the End: What Goals do we Wish to Achieve?

- Physical security of Jews as individuals;
- Physical security of Jewish communities;
- Exercise of individual rights of citizenship (absence of *de jure* or *de facto* restrictions);
- Communicate political beliefs; engage in political activities;
- Establish and maintain Jewish communal institutions;
- Engage freely in legal economic activities;
- Engage in Jewish religious rites and practices.

From These We Derive Four Subjects of Desirable Knowledge

MAIN ELEMENTS OF MEASUREMENT FRAMEWORK	
<u>1. Antisemitic Attitudes</u>	
<u>2. Antisemitic Acts</u>	
<u>3. Effects on Jewish Communities</u>	
<u>4. Jewish Community Attitudes and Affect</u>	

We Can Add Categories Within Each Group

MAIN ELEMENTS OF MEASUREMENT FRAMEWORK	
<u>1. Antisemitic Attitudes</u>	
<u>2. Antisemitic Acts</u>	
Expression	
Vandalism	
Physical contact with persons	
Political	
<u>3. Effects on Jewish Communities</u>	
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2. Antisemitic Acts
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Vandalism
Physical contact with persons
Political
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4. Jewish Community Attitudes and Affect

Each Measure Appearing in a Row Under Its Heading May be Further Described

MAIN ELEMENTS OF MEASUREMENT FRAMEWORK	Measures	Publication	Definition	How derived?	Regularity of appearance	Localities covered
1. Antisemitic Attitudes						
2. Antisemitic Acts						
Expression						
Local target audience						
Narrow-focused audience						
Broad target audience						
Vandalism						
Graffiti in a public place						
Graffiti on a Jewish property						
Damage to a Jewish property						
Arson						
Physical contact with persons						
Physical harassment						
Physical injury						
Murder						
Political						
Political demonstrations						
Exclusionary practices and policies						
3. Effects on Jewish Communities						
4. Jewish Community Attitudes and Affect						

...these columns can be added to include all desired characteristics and meta-data for each row (specific data or measure)

We Can Describe What We Know Based upon What We Need to Know

MAIN ELEMENTS OF MEASUREMENT FRAMEWORK		Measures	Publication	Definition	How derived?	Regularity of appearance	Localities covered
1. Antisemitic Attitudes							
	General sentiment						
	Specific ideas about Jews						
	Characteristics of respondents						
2. Antisemitic Acts							
	Expression						
	Local target audience						
	Narrow-focused audience						
	Broad target audience						
	Vandalism						
	Graffiti in a public place						
	Graffiti on a Jewish property						
	Damage to a Jewish property						
	Arson						
	Physical contact with persons						
	Physical harassment						
	Physical injury						
	Murder						
	Political						
	Political demonstrations						
	Exclusionary practices and policies						
3. Effects on Jewish Communities							
Direct and indirect	Behavioral effect of intimidation and exclusions						
	Property damage						
	Indirect economic effect / loss of opportunity						
	Cost of physical injury						
	Indirect costs of health consequences						
	Deaths						
Reactions	Reports to civil authorities						
	Direct countering actions						
	Political and legislative initiatives						
4. Jewish Community Attitudes and Affect							
	Perception of manifestations of anti-Semitism						
	Sense of safety and security						
	Effect on 2nd & 3rd gen. Shoah survivors						
	Experience of violence against Jews						
	Experiences of discrimination						
	Rights awareness						
	Comfort with Jewish identification						
	Happiness and sense of personal efficacy						

As diverse efforts and results are mapped we can see:

- What data are available to us
- Where there may be holes

Greater Collaboration May Be Possible Across Five Areas

1. Framing and conceptualization
 - Taxonomies – especially across countries
 - Perspectives – what views enhance understanding
 - Dynamics – what is the relation between concepts
2. Measurement design
3. Data collection protocols and data base design
4. Acquiring and assessing new data
5. Build a community of practice

Where to Begin? Three Initial Tasks...

1. Consultative process defines initial measures

- Drafts, workshops, briefings, colloquia
- Collect diverse input and reactions

2. Test framework against available data

- Populate emerging framework to assess value
- How well does it cover and what may it suggest

3. Select indicators and recommend applications

- Begin to assemble policy-oriented “dashboard” for community use

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Dan A. Shalmon

Cline Center for Advanced Social Research
University of Illinois

Abstract. This presentation provides an overview of the motivating logic and conceptual framing of a wide-spread scientific effort to aggregate, innovate and leverage data about antisemitism. It addresses some of practical issues in data gathering, integration, database structure and accessibility.



TOWARDS EFFECTIVE ANTI-SEMITISM MONITORING: A Global Data Repository

DAN A. SHALMON
CLINE CENTER FOR ADVANCED SOCIAL RESEARCH

I ILLINOIS

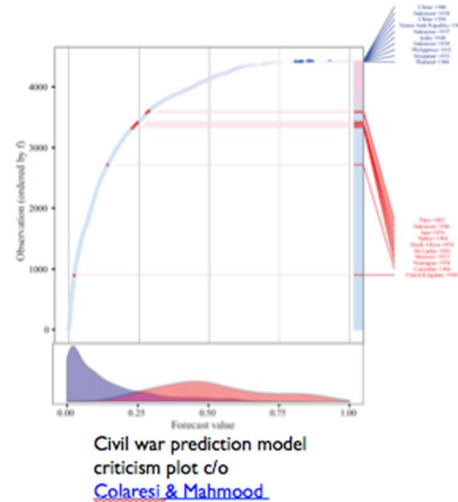
A REPOSITORY FOR ANTI-SEMITISM DATA

Motivation: Make Causal Models, Forecasts and Anti-Semitism-related Policy Analyses **Valid, Rigorous, and Accessible**

- Science require requires scientists: build it and they will come
 - How ‘normal science’ works
 - “Many hands make light work”
- Replicability = credibility
 - Definition: valid analyses are replicable
 - Like third-party audits, addresses claims of bias & demonstrates consensus
 - Required for most high-end social science journals
- Accessibility = innovation for scientists and communities
 - Think: crowd-sourcing
- Comparison enables standard-setting
 - Building good data and measures is hard—everyone needs ‘lessons learned’

Payoff: Rigorous Inquiry = Useful Knowledge

- Knowledge is useful when it enables us to:
 - Target interventions more effectively
 - Predict changes in risk
 - Engage public controversies with facts
- To do this we need to:
 - Describe specific causes and effects
 - Identify points of leverage and change
 - Build models seeking:
 - Predictive accuracy
 - Domain agnosticity/portability
 - Interpretability/comprehensibility



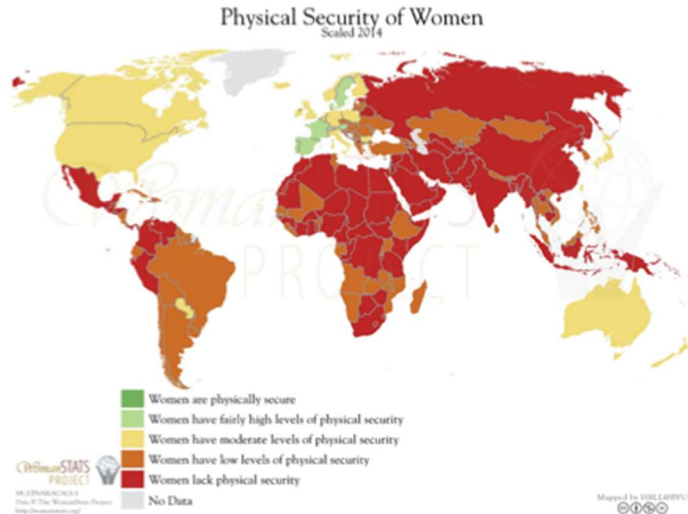
Lots of “Testable Propositions” at the GFC

- "It starts with Jews, but it never ends with them" – Charles (et al.)
 - Hypothesis: discrimination against other groups and international aggression are correlated with anti-Semitic values/behavior/institutions
- "I'm not so concerned about [some faction X], because [some other faction Y] is now greatest risk to Jewish communities" – Many speakers
 - Hypothesis: Faction X has less of an impact on Jewish life than Y
- "Online anti-Semitism is a breeding ground for radicalization that spills into the real world" – Yogev
 - Hypothesis: areas producing, and people producing or exposed to online anti-Semitism will experience more real-life acts of anti-Semitism
- "Anti-Semitism increases during economic crises and austerity, when elites and global/regional systems are blamed" - Sergio
 - Hypothesis: regions exposed to prolonged economic stress and where populist/anti-globalization politics are prominent will feature more anti-Semitism
- "What is born of cats, eats mice." – My mom
 - Areas with long histories of anti-Semitism will continue to be hotspots for anti-Semitism

Accessible Data = Science with Impact: Gender

Womanstats Project

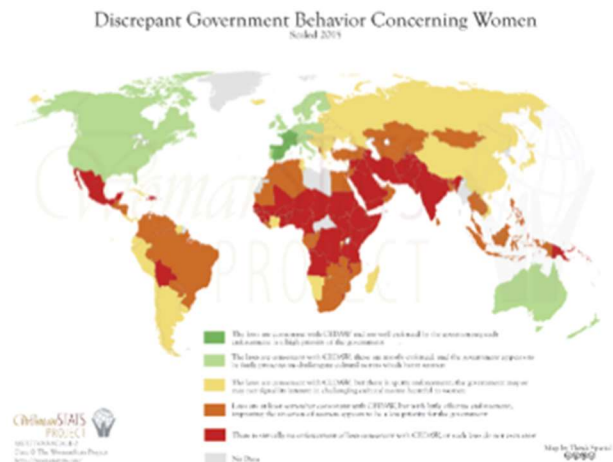
- Open data
- Collaborative structure with many contributors
- Assessments of data quality
- Qualitative and Quantitative data
- 170-plus indicators



Accessible Data = Science with Impact: Gender

Impact:

- 100 articles on Google Scholar, 120,000 Google hits
- Publications: International Security, International Studies Quarterly, Peace and Conflict, Journal of Peace Research, Political Psychology, Cumberland Law Review, and World Political Review, book from Columbia University Press.
- Policy attention: DOD, CIA, United Nations, World Bank, US Senate (crafting legislation)



Accessible Data = Science with Impact: Gender

Catalyzes investments by others:

- "one of the most significant challenges of cross-national empirical studies of the prevalence of interpersonal violence is the paucity of available data... Our findings suggest that, in the same way that larger disciplinary resources have invested in interstate and intrastate war, disciplinary resources need to be expended in creating a data set exploring interpersonal violence. Until the rights and the lives of women and children are taken as seriously as the survival of states by more proactively collaborating on projects like WomanStats, we will continue to only have a small lens through which to understand problems like this..."



Accessible Data = Science With Impact: Ethnicity and Conflict

Large research communities and national government interest are powerful:

- Open data and tools catalyze research (lots of it)
- Initial findings catalyze support from research funding agencies
- Conventional wisdom shifts

[\[book\] Peoples versus states: Minorities at risk in the new century](#)

TR Gurr - 2000 - books.google.com

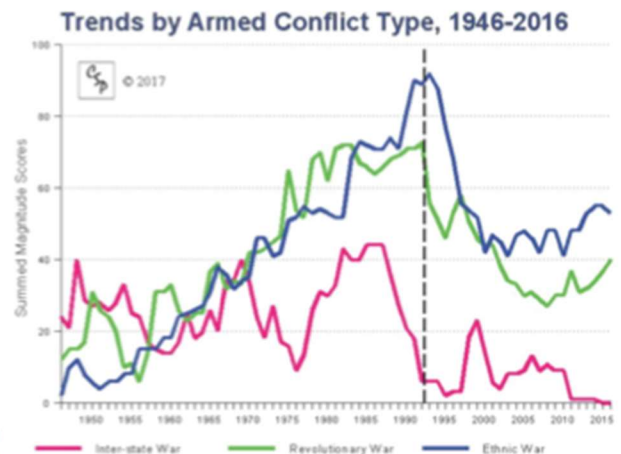
... Political and cultural restrictions on national and minority peoples also declined during a shift that was strikingly evident in new democracies ... A code book, **Minorities at Risk** Users Manual, and a data set consisting of 975 variables for each group are ...

☆ [Cited by 1532](#) [Related articles](#) [All 2 versions](#)

[Horizontal inequalities and ethnonationalist civil war: A global comparison](#)

LE Gleditsch, NB Weidmann, KS Gleditsch - American Political Science Review, 2011

[Cited by 605](#) [Related articles](#) [All 18 versions](#)



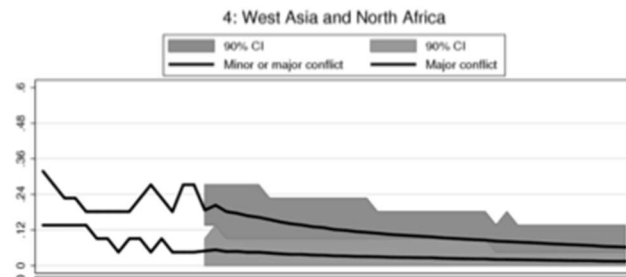
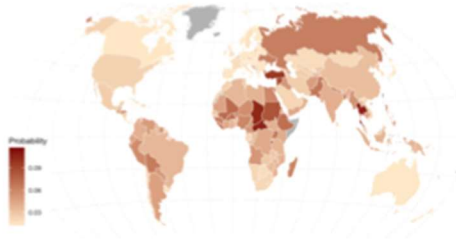
Accessible Data = Science With Impact: Ethnicity, Conflict & Genocide

Large research communities and national government interest are powerful:

- Generates predictive tools and communities.
- Examples:
 - Atrocity prevention c/o [Early Warning Project](#) @ Dartmouth
 - Civil war and coup forecasts c/o Duke [WardLab](#)
 - Conflict forecasts (-2050) c/o [Peace Research Institute Oslo](#)



Risk of a coup attempt in 2017



Accessible Data = “Reese’s Peanut Butter Cups”

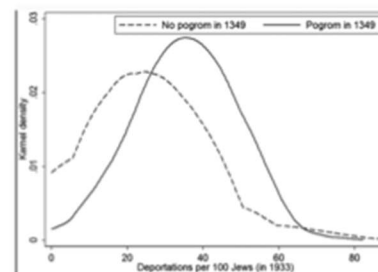
Diplomatic parking tickets index corruption ([NBER](#))



Terrorism is distributed along ancient communication and travel networks (80% of variance) [Guo et al.](#)



Black death pogroms predict (1349) predict Der Stürmer letters, votes for Nazis and Holocaust deportations. [Voigtländer & Voth](#)



Racist google searches predict opposition to Obama and inequitable police use of force

([Stephens-Davidowitz](#), [Ross](#))



And... “present-day financial development is lower in German counties where historical antisemitism was higher...”

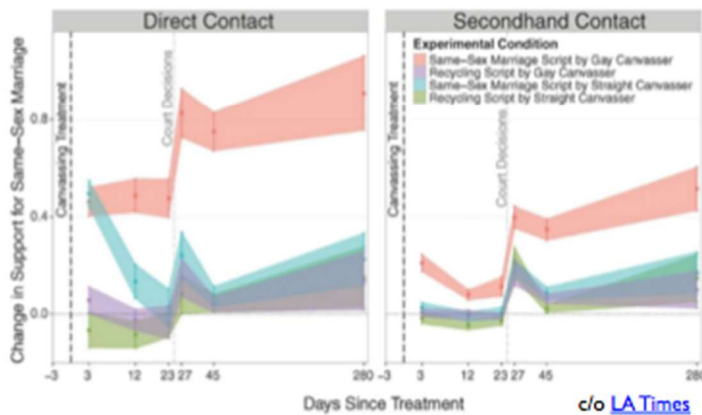
[D’Acunzio et al.](#)

Accessible Data = Experiments/ Replications

Requirements for open data enable assessment of experimental interventions

- See: the “nudge unit” in the [UK](#) and US ([RIP](#))
- And... to root out fakes and mistakes...

Fig. 1 Direct and secondhand effects on support for same-sex marriage, by assigned message and messenger, and time since treatment.



Some Takeaways:

- Existing data sometimes include information about anti-Semitism
- Accessibility is a prerequisite for innovation
- Prediction requires:
 - Many kinds of data
 - ‘Slow’ and ‘fast’
 - Granular and global
 - Behavioral, cognitive, demographic
 - Many attempts, failures and expert reviews
 - Reasonable understanding of causal mechanisms
- Open data is **not optional** in many cases

Status Quo Ante of Anti-Semitism Data

- Lots of collection, little uptake outside of producers' own reports
- Many examples of hypotheses and 'folk wisdom, on etiology, less science
- Little uniformity or cross-national validation/collaboration
- No access—arbitrary examples:
 - EU Fundamental Rights Agency: collects data from all 28 member states, OSCE, UN, etc. Doesn't publish it, but [report has charts](#).
 - Kantor Center: publishes [reports](#), and has a search tool—but no datasets for statistical analysis

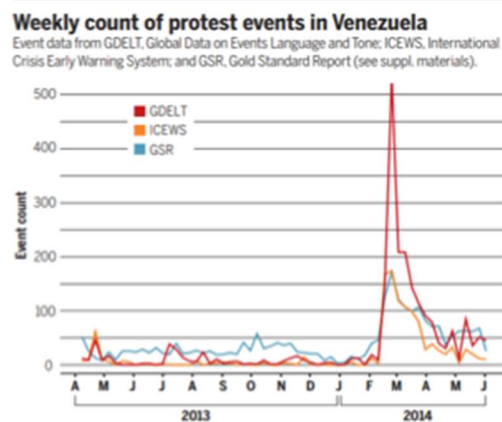
Kantor Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry
Home > Antisemitism and Racism > Moshe Kantor Antisemitism Database

■ Moshe Kantor Database on Antisemitism and Racism



Accessibility and Data Quality

- Building good data is hard
- Key criteria for 'good data'
 - Valid—does it measure what [someone] thinks it does
 - Reliable—test by replication/ repetition
 - Accurate and complete—error and bias are understood
 - Effectively documented—codebooks, collection details, etc.
- 'Peer review'/wisdom of the crowd: many hands make light work

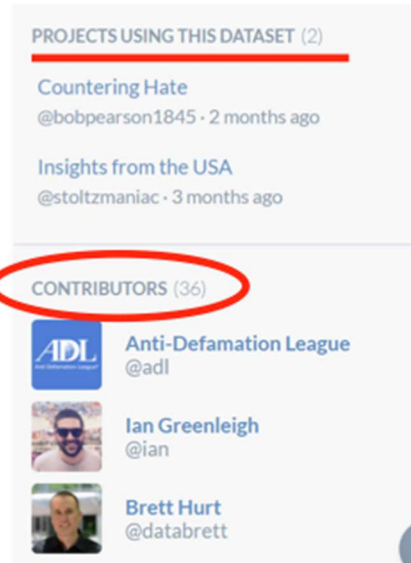


Example c/o Lazer et. al. ([Science](#))

All the Cool Kids are Doing It

- Data.World & ADL

- See: if you publish data, people will work with it



All the Cool Kids are Doing It

- Dataverses: if you publish a lot of data, a lot of people will use it



- Harvard's is big

- ☒  **Dataverses (2,555)**
- ☒  **Datasets (75,879)**
- ☐  Files (373,866)

- It already has some data about Jews...



Sergio DellaPergola

Professor Emeritus, Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry,
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Abstract. Are the structure and process being proposed sufficient for the purpose? How can it be better framed to take into account existing effort, present obstacles and future needs?



האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים
THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES

Antisemitism in the EU, 2012: Jewish Perceptions and Experiences

Type of event	Percent
Perceives increase in antisemitism, 5 years	76
Identifies given statement as antisemitic	17-80
Often heard given antisemitic statement	3-15
Feels Israeli-Arab conflict impacts own security	40
Considered emigrating from country	29
Witnessed verbal insult/physical attack, 12 months	21
Suffered physical violence attack, 5 years	7
Suffered physical violence, 12 months	4
Feels discriminated in public services	2-8

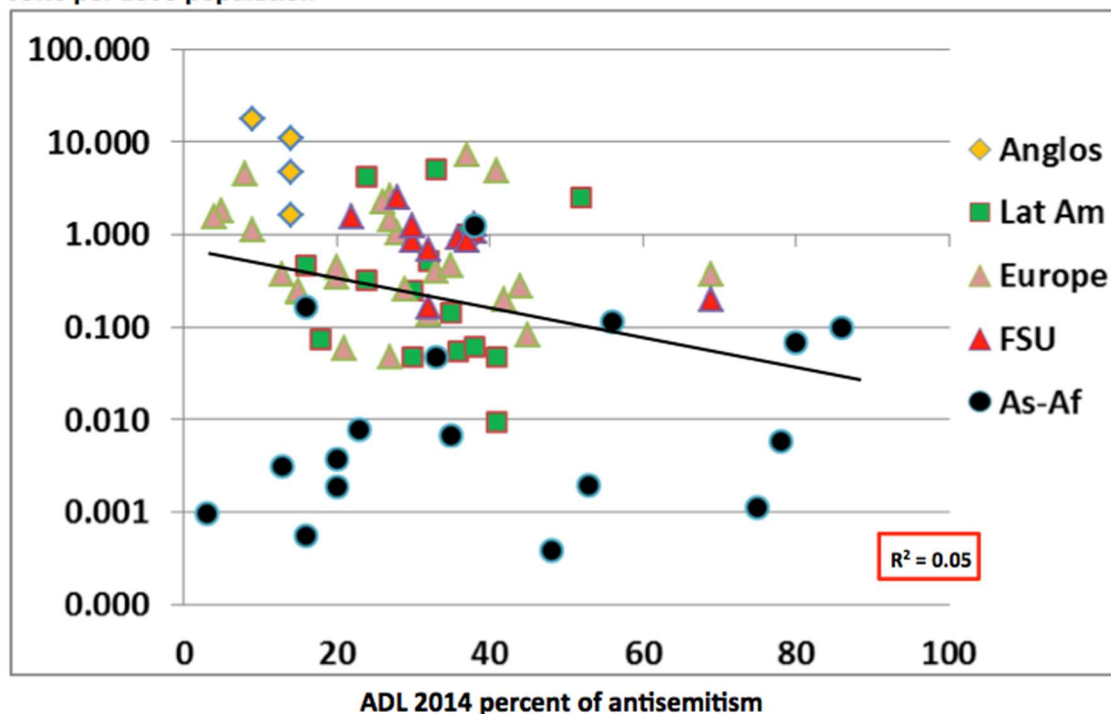
JEWS, ANTISEMITES, AND OTHERS

World Jewish Population by Civilization Areas - 2013

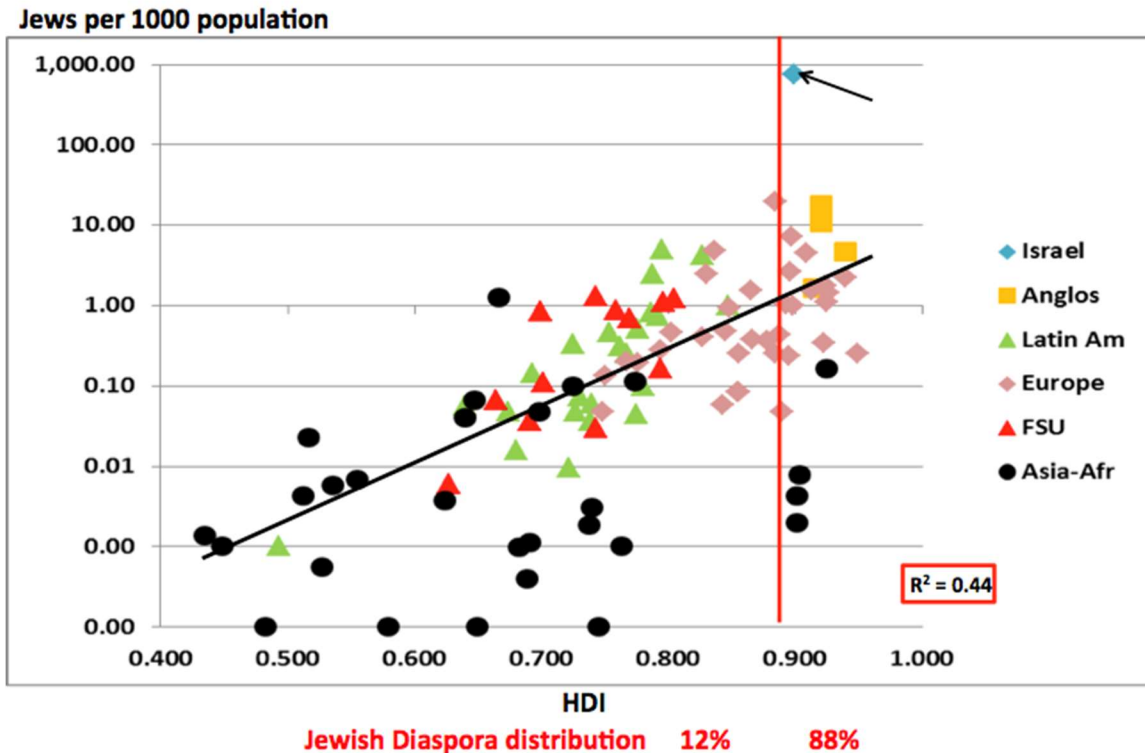
Civilization area	Jewish population	Total population	Jews %	Total %	Jews per 1000
Total world	13,854,800	7,056,691,800	100.0	100.0	1.963
English speaking	6,216,200	443,248,000	44.9	6.3	14.04
Israel	6,014,300	11,909,800	43.4	0.2	504.99
Catholic Europe	563,600	213,871,000	4.1	3.0	2.645
Protestant Europe	189,300	132,470,000	1.4	1.9	1.43
Latin America	384,900	599,003,000	2.8	8.5	0.64
Ex-Communist	374,600	408,300,000	2.7	5.8	0.92
Sub-Sahara Africa	71,300	858,900,000	0.5	12.2	0.08
Muslim	31,150	1,080,100,000	0.2	15.3	0.03
Confucian Asia	9,450	3,308,890,000	0.1	46.9	0.00

% of Jews in World Countries by Index of Antisemitism 2016

Jews per 1000 population



% of Jews in World Countries by Index of Development 2016



Comparing countries

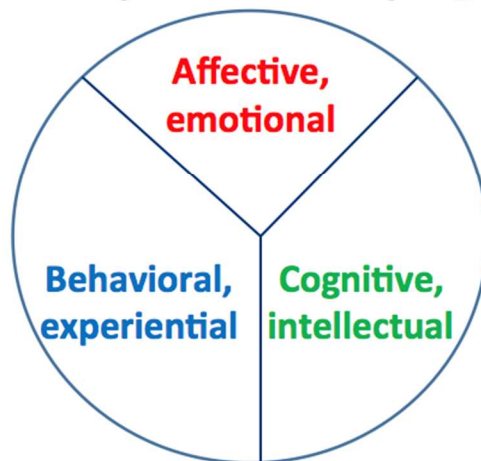
- **Antisemitism and world Jewish population density distribution stand in reverse relationship.** Antisemitism accounts for only **5%** of total variation in Jewish population distribution.
- **Less** antisemitism is associated with **more** frequent Jewish presence, but the other way around is also true: **More** frequent Jewish presence is associated with **less** antisemitism.

Comparing countries

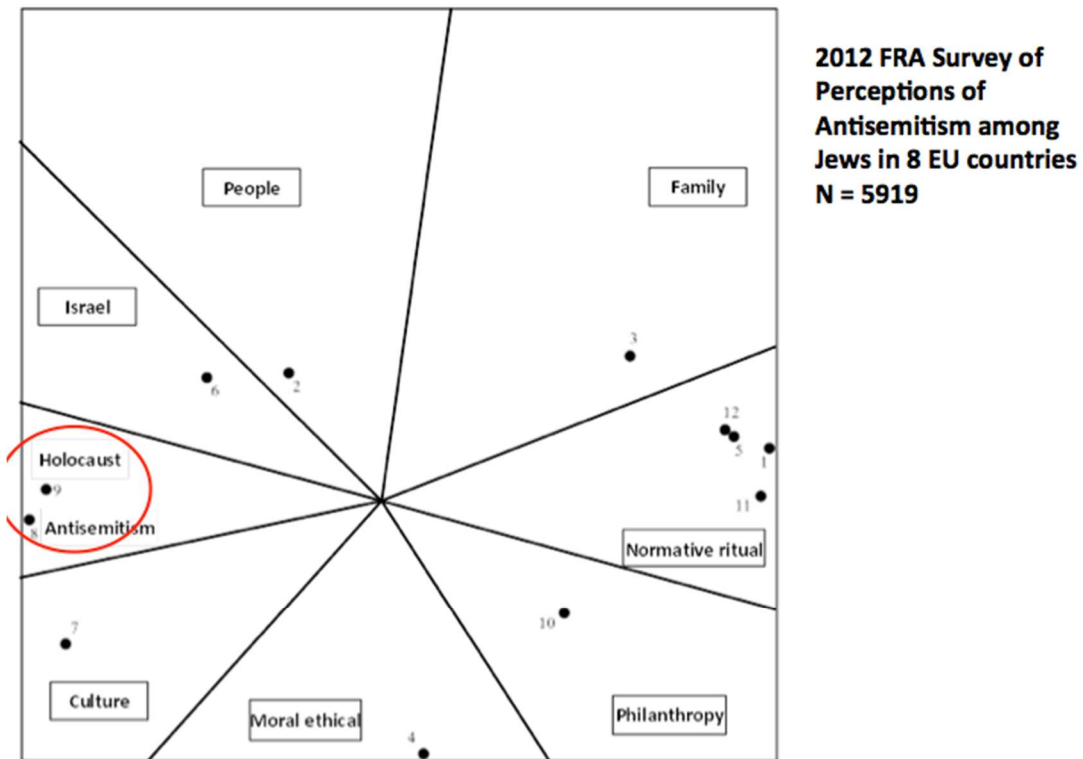
- **Socio-economic development and Jewish population density** stand in **direct** relationship. Development accounts for **44 %** of total variation in Jewish population distribution.
- **More** development is associated with **more** frequent Jewish presence.

ANTISEMITISM AND JEWISH IDENTITY

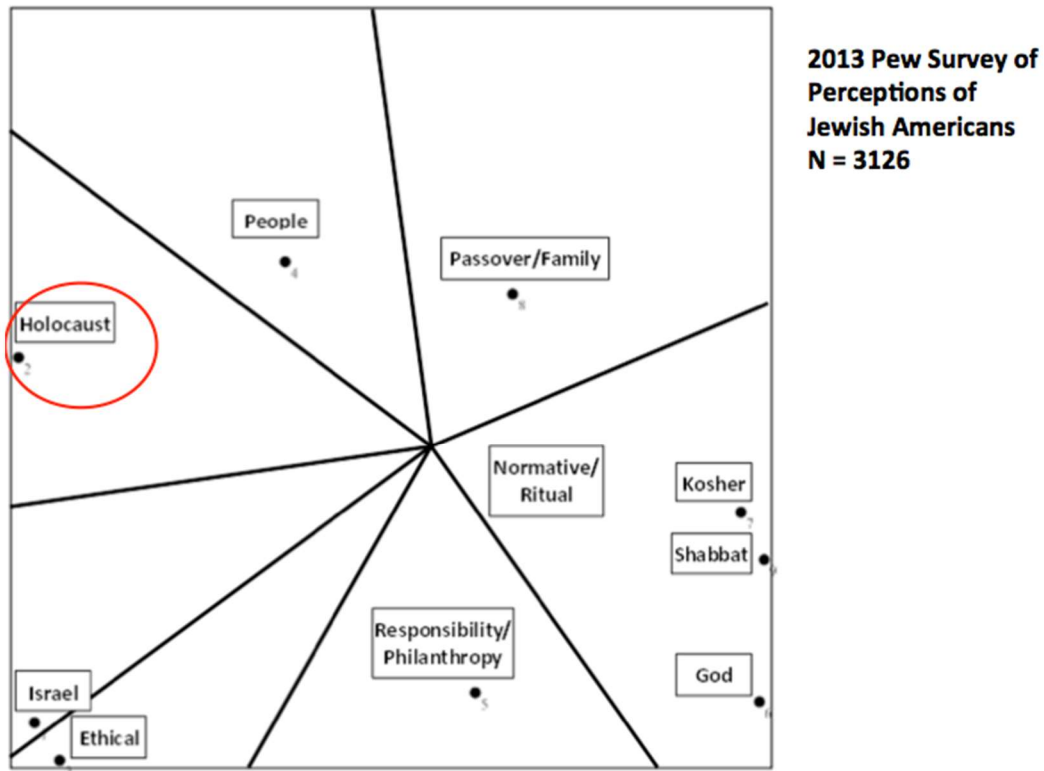
Similarity Structure Analysis [SSA]



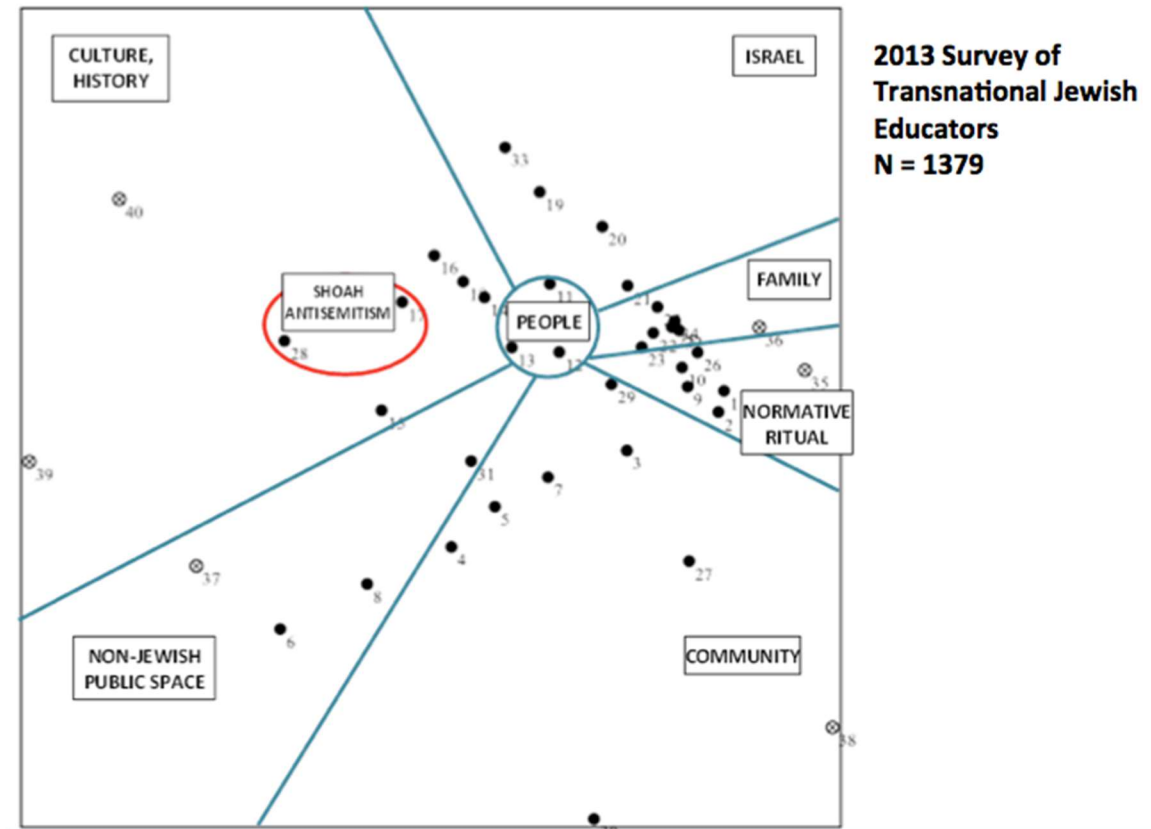
SSA of Jewish Identification in the EU



SSA of Jewish Identification in the USA

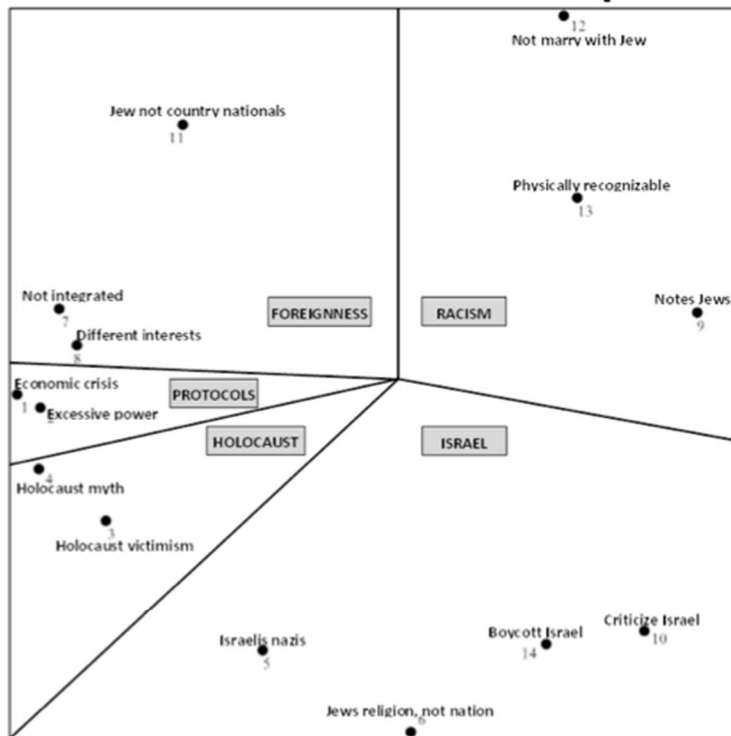


SSA of Jewish Identification in Latin America



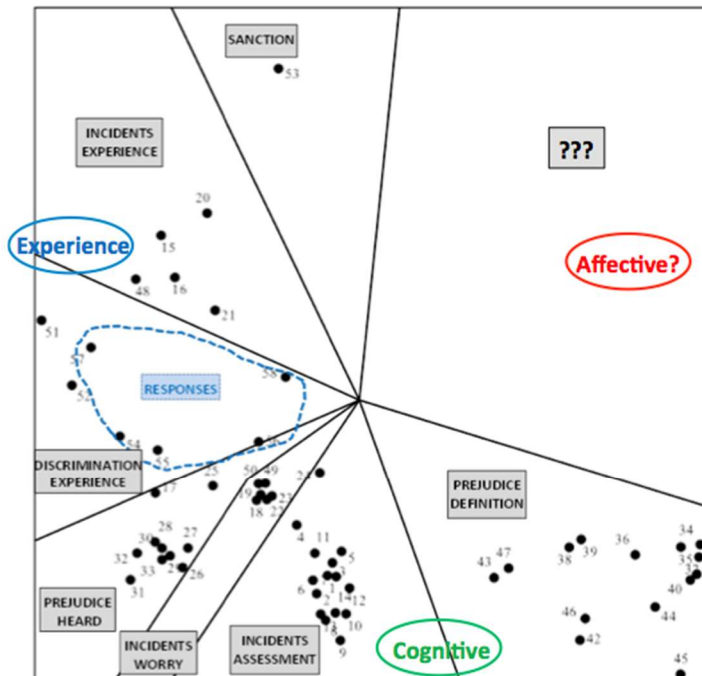
FACETS OF ANTISEMITISM

SSA of Antisemitic Concepts in the EU



2012 FRA Survey of
Perceptions of
Antisemitism among
Jews in 8 EU countries
N = 5919

SSA of Antisemitism Perceptions in the EU

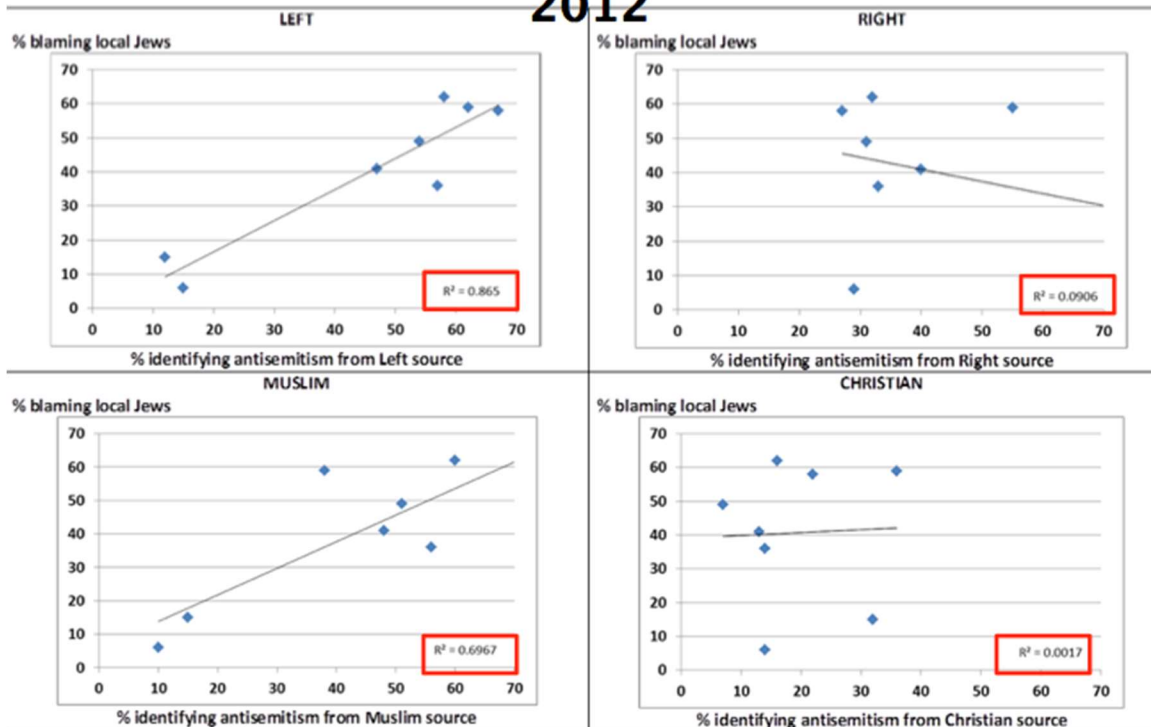


2012 FRA Survey of
Perceptions of
Antisemitism among
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N = 5919

MATRICES OF ANTISEMITISM

Relationships between Ideological Matrices and Blaming Local Jews for the Middle East Conflict – 8 EU Countries

2012



FUTURE RESEARCH AND ACTION

- Most Jews today live in **cultural areas** characterized by **low-intensity** of antisemitism
- Antisemitism growingly is an insidious **global transnational phenomenon** unrelated to direct contact with Jews

The main intervening concepts are **Israel delegitimation, Shoah denial and manipulation, and economic-political dominance**, with further dimensions of **physical recognizability** and **“piety” for human body and animal integrity**.

Antisemitism thus affects symbolically all Jews as a global collective, beyond its past local salience

Contents wise, the **cognitive/intellectual** and **behavioral/experiential** facets of antisemitism have been sufficiently clarified. This is not the case with the **affective/emotional** facets and their relationships to other facets

- **Continuing documentation and monitoring** is a must, with the involvement of Israeli, World Jewish, and general public institutions
- **Updated and appropriate research methods** should be applied to reach and unveil the **multivariate** depth and complexity of the phenomenology

- Research techniques not enough pursued so far include **longitudinal** follow-up panels periodically re-interviewed, and more **contents analysis** of various bodies of texts
- All that in the **daily printed press, television and radio, internet, social media** is associated with **Jews** or with **Israel** should be scrutinized and interpreted

Yogev Karasenty

Director for Combating Antisemitism
Ministry of Diaspora Affairs

Abstract. This provides a policy maker's view of what needs to be done and in what manner it should be carried out not only to realize the vision outlined in the prior talks but to make the results accessible and of value to those who most need the information.



Ministry of Diaspora Affairs
Creating a common Jewish future

- The importance and challenge of creating an integrative measuring tool
- *Quo vadis*—Where do we go from here?
- How do we achieve this?

Special Thanks To Project Contributors

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- **Yogev Karasenty**, Director for Combating Antisemitism, Israel Ministry of Diaspora Affairs
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- **Steven W. Popper**, Senior Fellow, Jewish People Policy Institute
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Yogev Karasenty
Director for Combating Antisemitism,
Israel Ministry of Diaspora Affairs

March 21, 2018

Sixth Global Forum for Combating Antisemitism, Jerusalem

I would like to thank everyone who is with us here today at the “Measuring Panel” at the Sixth Global Forum, and took part in the immense challenge of attempting to define the methods and variables that can provide us with the “holy grail” of Antisemometer. I would particularly like to thank Dr. Mala Tabory, without whom this project could not have been accomplished.

These were three very impressive presentations. I will focus on our need, as a government, for such an index. From what we’ve already heard here, one can see how complex the subject is and the level of expertise required of the people engaged in this field.

The need to develop a comprehensive integrative index of the phenomenon of antisemitism became apparent to me as soon as I entered the position of director for combating antisemitism at the Israel Ministry of Diaspora Affairs. The goal of the ministry is to ensure that Jewish communities and individuals can live a full and thriving Jewish life with strong connection to Israel. In order to ensure that, we need to know the severity of the situation in the field, to gage the “fuel vapor” and the height of the flames. I remember reading one report after another, and when I tried to compare between the situations in different countries, it was evident that this was an impossible task.

The reports were each a heroic effort of measuring. However:

- There was no one definition of “antisemitic incident.” Fortunately, the situation today is much better, thanks to IHRA working definition.
- The reporting rate was UNKNOWN, so one couldn’t know what the actual scale of the phenomenon is.
- The reports were using different research methodologies and measured different aspects of antisemitism like: public opinion about Jews, sense of security, physical and verbal incidents, etc.

And even when they measured the same aspect, they rated the parameters differently.

- Additionally, in many countries there were no reports at all, or only unofficial reports based on partial information.

An exception to this situation are reports about physical incidents; when it comes to severe violence we do have accurate data with a high reporting rate. But it is

important to remember that physical incidents are the end of a sequence. A sequence which proceeded by ongoing incitement in the street and in the virtual space, in lack of education for tolerance, in a hostile political atmosphere, lack of deterrence and other contributing factors that we need to identify.

In order to understand the threats that Jewish communities are facing, I started to deduce information from one report to another. One example was taking the reporting rate published by the FRA, and casting it on the other reports, official and unofficial, in an attempt to grasp the true number of antisemitic incidents. This reality urged the Ministry to take part in the attempt to create a consensual index, which we hope would be adopted by more countries and organizations.

I firmly believe that measuring antisemitism is important, first and foremost, for the countries where antisemitism occurs. Since antisemitism is a very sensitive indicator of the development of social illness, it is such a good indicator that it even works in countries where the Jewish population is negligible or even non-existent.

Second, measuring antisemitism is important for countries with a Jewish population, in order to assure that their Jewish citizens are truly granted the opportunity to live as equal citizens.

Third, measuring antisemitism should also be important for countries willing to bravely confront their history, to ensure that there is no recurrence of the same patterns and rhetoric that led to the events of the past.

Fourth, measuring antisemitism is important to the State of Israel and to countries and organizations that wish to combat it, because it allows us to adjust allocation of resources to the scale of the task, to channel them efficiently, and to monitor the results of projects in order to demonstrate proven effectiveness.

Antisemitism today is a local and transnational phenomenon at the same time, and thereby it should be measured according to local cultural variables, but also according to variables that can detect the spillover from one arena to another and the cross-national incitement networks.

The required measuring tool should supply us with a unifying framework for assessing what we know from existing efforts and from future ones. It should allow us to overcome obstacles we encountered in the past, to rely more on technological developments, to introduce a consistent terminology... He who leads it has the Sisyphean task of introducing and implementing it.

Being the last presenter, I can sum up by saying, that I believe we have come very close to the maximum that can be achieved within our small pioneering group, and now the time has come to expand our ranks and join forces with other actors in the field.

We at the Ministry of Diaspora Affairs will contribute to this enterprise the capabilities we have, including our special expertise in big data analysis of online incitement, including incitement in the Arab and Muslim world. We anticipate that together with other endeavors, we will succeed in producing an index that, if not perfect, will provide a better understanding of the changing nature of contemporary antisemitism.

Thank you! Toda Raba!

INDIVIDUAL EXPERT BIOGRAPHIES

Scott Althaus

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Professor Althaus joined the University of Illinois faculty in 1996 with a joint appointment in the departments of Political Science and Communication. He is currently the Charles J. and Ethel S. Merriam Professor of Political Science, Professor of Communication, and Director of the [Cline Center for Democracy](#) at the University of Illinois.

Professor Althaus's research and teaching interests explore the communication processes that support political accountability in democratic societies and that empower political discontent in non-democratic societies. His interests focus on four areas of inquiry: (1) how journalists construct news coverage about public affairs, (2) how leaders attempt to shape news coverage for political advantage, (3) how citizens use news coverage for making sense of public affairs, and (4) how the opinions of citizens are communicated to leaders through collective preferences, such as the results of opinion polls, and through collective behaviors, such as civil unrest. He has particular interests in popular support for war, data science methods for extreme-scale analysis of news coverage, cross-national comparative research on political communication, the psychology of information processing, and communication concepts in democratic theory.

Professor Althaus serves on the editorial boards of Critical Review, Human Communication Research, Journal of Communication, Political Communication, and Public Opinion Quarterly. His research has appeared in the American Political Science Review, the American Journal of Political Science, Communication Research, Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Politics, Public Opinion Quarterly, Political Communication and Sociological Methodology. His book on the political uses of opinion surveys in democratic societies, *Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics: Opinion Surveys and the Will of the People* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), was awarded a 2004 Goldsmith Book Prize by the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University, and a 2004 David Easton Book Prize by the Foundations of Political Theory section of the American Political Science Association. He was named 2014-15 Faculty Fellow at the National Center for Supercomputing Applications at UIUC, a 2004-5 Beckman Associate by the UIUC Center for Advanced Studies, and a 2003-4 Helen Corley Petit Scholar by the UIUC College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. In 2013, he was honored with a Dean's Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching from the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at UIUC, and his undergraduate and graduate courses regularly appear on the university's "List of Teachers Ranked as Excellent by Their Students."

Andrew Baker

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As Director of International Jewish Affairs, Rabbi Baker is responsible for AJC's network of relationships with Jewish communities throughout the Diaspora and addressing the accompanying issues and concerns. He has been a prominent figure in international efforts to combat anti-Semitism and in addressing Holocaust-era issues in Europe.

In January 2009 he was appointed the Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in Office on Combating Anti-Semitism and has been reappointed in each successive year. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, an intergovernmental body of 57 nations headquartered in Vienna, has become a central arena for addressing the problems of a resurgent anti-Semitism. As a special envoy for the OSCE, Rabbi Baker has taken up the issue with senior officials in over a score of European capitals.

He has played an active role in pressing governments to confront the legacy of the Holocaust. He was a member of Government Commissions in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Lithuania and Romania that were established to examine Holocaust-era history and address the claims of its victims. He is co-chair of the Lithuanian Good Will Foundation and a long-time officer of the Jewish Claims Conference.

Rabbi Baker directed AJC efforts in the development of the Belzec Memorial and Museum, a joint project of AJC and the Polish Government on the site of the former Nazi death camp in Southeastern Poland. For his diplomatic work in Europe, Rabbi Baker has been decorated by the Presidents of Germany (2003), Lithuania (2006), Latvia (2007) and Romania (2009).

He is a past President of the Washington Board of Rabbis and the Interfaith Conference of Washington. He served as a congregational rabbi in Chicago and a chaplain at San Quentin Prison in California.

Rabbi Baker received his undergraduate degree from Wesleyan University and rabbinic ordination from HUC-JIR in New York.

Jonathan Boyd
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Jonathan Boyd is the Executive Director of JPR, the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, a London-based independent research center and think-tank that provides data and policy insight on contemporary Jewish issues for organizations working to support Jewish life in Europe.

A specialist in contemporary Jewry, he holds a doctorate in education from the University of Nottingham UK, and a BA and MA in Modern Jewish History from University College London. He was formerly a Jerusalem Fellow at the Mandel Institute in Israel, and has held professional positions in research and policy at the JDC International Centre for Community Development in London and Paris, the Jewish Agency for Israel in London and New York, and the UK-based United Jewish Israel Appeal and Holocaust Educational Trust. He is a columnist for the *Jewish Chronicle*, his writings have been published in various newspapers, publications and journals, and he is the editor of *The Sovereign and the Situated Self: Jewish Identity and Community in the 21st Century* (Profile Books, 2003).

He is a board member of the Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry (ASSJ) and the Journal for the Study of Antisemitism. His current work focuses on antisemitism in Europe, British Jewish demography and sociology and Jewish educational philosophy. He was academic director of the 2012 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) study of Jewish perceptions and experiences of antisemitism in Europe, which was conducted by JPR in partnership with Ipsos MORI, and is now leading a major new survey examining antisemitic attitudes in the UK.

Among his recent publications are: *Could it happen here? What existing data tell us about contemporary antisemitism in the UK* (JPR, 2015); *The Exceptional Case? Perceptions and experiences of antisemitism among Jews in the United Kingdom* (JPR, 2014); and *Jewish life in Europe: Impending catastrophe or imminent renaissance?* (JPR, 2013).

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Born in Italy in 1942, in Israel since 1966. Ph.D., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, former Chairman and Professor Emeritus at the Hebrew University's Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry. An internationally known specialist on the demography of world Jewry, he has published many books including *Jewish Demographic Policies: Population Trends and Options* (2011) and over two hundred papers on historical demography, the family, international migration, Jewish identification, antisemitism, and projections in the Diaspora and in Israel. He was senior policy consultant to the President of Israel, the Israeli Government, the Jerusalem Municipality, and many major national and international organizations, and won the Marshall Sklare Award for distinguished achievement of the Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry (1999), and the Michael Landau Prize for Demography and migration (2013).

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Professor Kaplan's research has been reported on the front pages of the New York Times and the Jerusalem Post, editorialized in the Wall Street Journal, recognized by the New York Times Magazine's Year in Ideas, and discussed in many other major media outlets. The author of more than 125 research articles, Professor Kaplan received both the Lanchester Prize and the Edelman Award, two top honors in the operations research field, among many other awards. An elected member of both the National Academy of Engineering and the Institute of Medicine of the US National Academies, he has also twice received the prestigious Lady Davis Visiting Professorship at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he has investigated AIDS policy issues facing the State of Israel. Kaplan's current research focuses on the application of operations research to problems in counterterrorism and homeland security.

In 2014, he was elected to the presidency of the Institute for Operations Research and the Management Sciences (INFORMS), the world's largest society of operations research and analytics academics and professionals. He will serve as President-Elect in 2015, President in 2016, and Past-President in 2017.

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Yogev Karasenty is the Director for combating Antisemitism at the Ministry of Jerusalem and Diaspora Affairs. Prior to that, Yogev Advised to JAFI Chair and was the director of Planning and Evaluation section in the Jewish Agency Strategy, Planning and Content Unit, in which capacity he has a lead role in developing Sharansky's compromise plan for the Western Wall, as well as developing policy for work with Israelis abroad and new strategies to promote Aliya and Giur. Earlier he was a fellow at the Jewish People Policy Planning Institute for seven years, where among other papers he co-wrote the new paradigm for Israel Diaspora relationships (commissioned by the Israeli Government), and policy recommendation concerning the Israeli Diaspora to the Government secretary.

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Dr. Vladimir (Ze'ev) Khanin is one of the leading Israeli expert on Russian Jewish community in Israel and the Diaspora and the FSU politics. He got his Ph.D. in Political Science from Moscow Institute for African studies, the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1989, and in 1991 completed post-Doctoral studies in the Institute for Russian and Soviet Studies at the University of Oxford, U.K. He currently serves as Chief Scientist (Senior Adviser to Minister on Research and Strategic Planning) of the Israeli Ministry of Immigrant Absorption. He is also Associate Professor, Dept. of Political and Middle Eastern Studies at the Ariel University of Samaria and lectures Political Studies at Bar-Ilan University, Israel. He served as a Visiting lecturer in Israeli and FSU Government, Politics and Society in a few Universities in the Great Britain and the FSU (including London, Moscow, Kiev, Riga, Minsk and Baku) and as a political commentator at the Israeli Channel Nine TV, The Voice of Israel Radio, and BBC Russian Service. His interviews and articles often appear at various Israeli, USA and European, as well as Russian and other FSU printed and electronic media assets.

His academic publications include 8 books, 9 edited collections, several monographs, and numerous articles on Israeli, East European, Jewish and African politics and society. Among the books are: *Documents on Ukrainian Jewish Identity and Emigration* (London, 2004); *"Russian" Israelis at "Home" and "Abroad": Migration, Identity and Culture* (Ramat-Gan, 2011); *Post-Soviet Jewish Youth* (Moscow and Ramat-Gan, 2013); *Political Party Systems and Electoral Trends in Israel of the Early 21st Century* (Moscow, 2014); *Joining the Jewish Collective: Formalizing the Jewish Status of Repatriates from the Former USSR of non-Jewish and Mixed Origin in Israel* (Jerusalem, 2014), *"The Third Israel": Russian-speaking Community and Politics in the Contemporary Jewish State* (Moscow, 2015).

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Marc Knobel is a former researcher from the Simon Wiesenthal Center. He was also Vice President of the International League against Racism and Anti-Semitism (Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l'Antisémitisme) and a member of the Observatory of Antisemitism.

An expert in anti-Semitism, terrorism and extreme right-wing movements, he has published numerous papers and articles in this area. He has also participated in a number of collective publications.

His recent publications include: *L'internet de la haine* (Paris, 2012); *Haine et violences antisémites*; *Une rétrospective 2000-2013* (Paris, 2013); *L'indifférence à la haine, racisme et antisémitisme*, (Paris, 2015).

As a specialist of the issue of extremism on the Internet, he has advised the Council of Europe, the French Parliament, and the United Nations. He has given lectures at the National School for Judges in Paris (Ecole Nationale de la Magistrature de Paris) and has been a rapporteur for the Consultative Commission on Human Rights (Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l'Homme) since 2004.

Marc Knobel is a member of the Commission against anti-Semitism with the Foundation for the Memory of the Shoah. He is also a member of the Scientific Council of the Interministerial Delegation fight against racism and anti-Semitism (DILCRA), co-director of the working group on anti-Semitism in Western Europe with the Global Forum against antisemitism (Israel), member of the International Advisory Council of Online Hate Prevention Institute (OHPI- Australia); Advisor in France and Eastern Europe Institute (US) for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP).

Marc Knobel was also engaged in judicial procedures involving extremist Internet sites. In 2000 and 2001, he initiated a legal procedure against Yahoo! in order to stop the sale of Nazi and neo-Nazi memorabilia.

Marc Knobel is now a researcher and Director of Studies at the Representative Council of Jewish Institutions (CRIF). He also serves as President of J'accuse, an association fighting against racism and anti-Semitism on the Internet.

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Judit Bokser Liwerant is a full professor of political science at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), where she is the director of the Graduate School of Political and Social Sciences. She also heads the Academic Committee of the Universidad Hebraica. Her B.A. and Master studies in sociology and political science were at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and she holds a Ph.D. in political science from the UNAM. She is a member of the Mexican Academy of Science and was the recipient of a National Annual Research Grant of the National Council of Science and Technology. She is the associate director of the Mexican Journal of Political and Social Science.

She has published numerous books as author and editor and many scientific articles and chapters in the field of political theory, collective identities and contemporary Latin American Jewry.

Prof. Bokser Liwerant was a member of the National Commission Against Discrimination, where she collaborated in the enactment of the Federal Law against Discrimination, condemning antisemitism. In 2002 she was appointed a member of the Human Rights Councils.

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David Matas is an international human rights, immigration and refugee lawyer based in Winnipeg. He has produced eleven books on human rights themes. He is co-chair with Andre Oboler of the working group on antisemitism on the internet and in the media of the Global Forum for Combating Antisemitism. In 2008, he was awarded the Order of Canada.

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Henri Nickels' areas of expertise with respect to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights work include equality and non-discrimination; racism, xenophobia and related intolerance; and hate crime. He was previously Research Fellow at the London Metropolitan University, where he worked on the impact of counter-terrorism on Irish and Muslim communities in Britain. Prior to that he worked as a Research Officer at the University of Surrey on representations of Islam as a security threat.

He has published extensively on minority issues and is co-author of the book *Islam, Security and Television News* and co-editor of the books *Islam in the Plural: Identities, (Self-) Perceptions and Politics* and *Islam in its International Context: Comparative Perspectives*.

He studied social psychology at the London School of Economics and Political Science and holds a PhD from the University of Amsterdam.

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Joanna joined ICPR as a visiting fellow in September 2015. She is an independent consultant, working with the Council of Europe, Crown Prosecution Service and CEJI, A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe. She is currently the lead researcher (UK) for the DG-JUSTICE funded project, Facing all the Facts, examining what works to support effective cooperation between police and NGOs on hate crime recording and victim support in 6 countries. Her previous roles include criminal justice policy lead at Victim Support, policy adviser on hate crime and equality issues at the Crown Prosecution Service, and hate crime adviser at the OSCE Office for Democratic Organizations and Human Rights.

She has a BSc in Psychology from the University of Bristol, a Graduate Diploma in Law from the College of Law and a Masters in Research in Law from Birkbeck College, University of London.

Joanna is currently convening the hate crime module for Birkbeck's Masters in Criminal Law and Criminal Justice.

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Steven W. Popper is a Senior Fellow at the Jewish People Policy Institute in Jerusalem. He holds a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of California, Berkeley. He has been a Senior Economist at the RAND Corporation, a consultant to the World Bank and OECD and associate director of the Science & Technology Policy Institute (a federally funded research institute working on behalf of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy). He is a past chair of the industrial science and technology section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the founding chair for education and training of the Society for Decision Making Under Deep Uncertainty.

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Born and schooled in England, degrees in International Relations from Hebrew University of Jerusalem, London School of Economics and the University of Pennsylvania.

Director for International Relations of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, based in Paris, responsible for issues of contemporary racism and antisemitism in Europe, Latin America and international organizations.

Chair of the Journal for the Study of Antisemitism and laureate of its Jabotinsky Award.

Lead Editor of "Antisemitism: The Generic Hatred. Essays in Memory of Simon Wiesenthal", a book co-sponsored by UNESCO, published in English by Vallentine Mitchell, London, and in French, Spanish and Russian language editions.

He has been involved, among other issues, in containing resurgent antisemitism in Europe and Latin America, restitution claims against banks and insurance companies, Vatican diplomacy and countering NGO incitement in international fora. His cardinal philosophy is best summarized in his chapter on "Applying the Lessons of the Holocaust" in the book *Is the Holocaust Unique?*, edited by Alan Rosenbaum, published in 2000.

Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, awarded by President Jacques Chirac, member of the Anglo-American Press Association of Paris, he has been elected a Member of the European Jewish Parliament based in Brussels.

Dan Shalmon

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Dan Shalmon is the External Engagement Coordinator for the Cline Center for Advanced Social Research at the University of Illinois, where he manages collaborative partnerships and interdisciplinary research and education programs. He is also the Chief Analytics Officer at Vocable Communications, a data-driven communications consultancy.

He has more than 10 years of experience as a social scientist and a half-decade more as an educator and coach. His work at the Cline Center focuses on developing novel methods for extracting and analyzing information extracted from Big Data—specifically, extreme-scale news media archives—in order to understand and predict complex, potentially-destructive processes. Prior to his arrival at the Cline Center, he worked as a consultant and contractor for the US Department of Defense, other US government agencies, and coalition partners facing analytical and communication challenges. Dan also served in research and coaching roles in public policy, and communication departments at the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, Harvard, and UC Berkeley.

In addition to data science-driven conflict analysis, his academic research focuses on defense, energy, and national security policy challenges. His work on strategic communications processes focuses on counter-propaganda, and media coverage of contentious processes ranging from non-violent unrest to large-scale violence and terrorism.

His communication skills were developed during efforts to win national debate championships and coaching top individual speakers, teams, and champions at UC Berkeley, Harvard, Northwestern. Dan graduated with honors in Political Science from Berkeley and did postgraduate coursework in Security Studies at Georgetown's Walsh School of Foreign Service and in the doctoral program in Political Science at the University of Illinois.

Charles Asher Small

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Charles Asher Small is the Founding Executive Director of the Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGP). He is currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Moshe Dayan Centre for Middle East and African Studies at Tel Aviv University. He is the Goldman Fellow at the School of Political Science, Government and International Affairs at Tel Aviv University. He was recently offered to be a Visiting Academic and Senior Member of St. Antony's College, Oxford University. Charles Asher Small was the founding Director of the Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism (YIISA), the first interdisciplinary research center on antisemitism at a North American university. At Yale he taught in the Political Science Department, as well as a Program on Ethics, Politics and Economics, and ran a post-doctorate and graduate studies fellowship program at YIISA. He was the Koret Distinguished Fellow, the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, also an Associate Professor and the Director of Urban Studies at Southern Connecticut State University (SCSU), as well as an Assistant Professor at Tel Aviv University in the Department of Geography. Charles was also the VATAT Fellow at Ben Gurion University; taught in departments of sociology and geography at Goldsmiths' College, University of London; Tel Aviv University; and the Institute of Urban Studies of Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

As the director of ISGAP Charles has convened groundbreaking academic seminar series, conferences and programming in the emerging field of contemporary antisemitism studies at Harvard University, Yale University, Columbia University, Stanford University, Fordham University, McGill University, University of Miami, La Sapienza University in Rome, the Sorbonne in Paris, the National University of Kyiv, the CNRS (the French National Center for Scientific Research or Centre national de la recherche scientifique), and other top-tier universities around the world. He also runs an annual innovative, cutting-edge professor training program at St. Johns' College, Oxford University in which professors from all over the world develop new courses on contemporary antisemitism, and then teach them at their respective home universities upon completion of the course for academic credit.

Charles is the author of numerous books and articles including; ""The ISGAP Papers: Antisemitism in Comparative Perspective" Volume Two (2016); The Yale Papers: Antisemitism in Comparative Perspective: Volume One (2015); the six volume Global Antisemitism: A Crisis of Modernity (2013) Brill Press; and Social Theory – a Historical Analysis of Canadian Socio-cultural Policies Race and the Other (2013), Eleven International Publications. Volume Three of the ISGAP papers will be published in 2018.

Charles received his Bachelor of Arts in Political Science, McGill University, Montreal; M.Sc. in Urban Development Planning in Economics, Development Planning Unit (DPU), University College London; and a Doctorate of Philosophy (D.Phil), St. Antony's College, Oxford University. He completed post-doctorate

research at the Groupement de recherche ethnicité et société, Université de Montréal.

Charles lectured throughout the world as an expert scholar on antisemitism. He was a Visiting Professor at McGill University, Cape Town University, La Sapienza University, Rome, and the University of Lithuania. Charles has been a guest scholar and provided academic seminars at hundreds of universities through the world. Charles also addressed the European Parliament, United Nations, Israeli Knesset, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the Kigali International Forum on Genocide, as well as the Australian, British, Canadian, Chilean and Italian Parliaments, and German Bundestag, various leading think tanks in China and India, Europe and the Americas. Dr. Small [submitted evidence](#) to the British and Canadian All-Party Parliamentary Inquiries into Antisemitism and continues to help inform public policy. He has also served as a consultant and policy advisor in North America, Europe, Southern Africa, and the Middle East.

Charles has been active in issues of human rights throughout his life. He was the Chairperson of the African National Solidarity Committee of Canada and worked with the ANC leadership and the international anti-apartheid movement. He was also active in the student struggle for Soviet Jewry, as well as the struggle for Ethiopian Jewry. He was also engaged in the rights of the First Nations in Canada. Charles is committed to safeguarding human rights and democratic principles and conducting scholarly programming and research on contemporary antisemitism at top tier universities internationally, as well as helping to establish contemporary antisemitism studies as a recognized academic discipline.

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Experience

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Write a column of my original research on how to use new data to uncover hidden attitudes and behaviors. All these columns have appeared both online and in the print *Sunday Review* section.

2/2015 – Present; **Visiting Researcher**, *Russell Sage Foundation*, New York, NY.
Visited while writing my book about what new internet data sources can teach us about human behavior.

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Her fields of expertise include public international law and human rights, international organizations and diplomacy, immigration and citizenship law.

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She served as a member of the Israeli team at the Taba Arbitration with Egypt and as a member of the Israeli Negotiating Team on the Peace Treaty with Jordan.

Mala has academic experience at Bar Ilan and Tel Aviv universities. She coordinated courses on "Legal Aspects of the Middle East Peace Process" for American law students, under the auspices of Tel Aviv Law Faculty and Temple University Law School. She edited the *Israel Yearbook on Human Rights*, at Tel Aviv University's Faculty of Law.

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Mala served in the initial forum to combat anti-Semitism in the Israel Prime Minister's Office and numerous international and internal frameworks monitoring anti-Semitism. She specializes in legal, human rights and international aspects of antisemitism.

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His books include *Antisemitism, the Generic Hatred: Essays in Memory of Simon Wiesenthal*, which won the 2007 National Jewish Book Award for Best Anthology and *Dismantling the Big Lie: the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. His *Jews and Judaism in the Political Theology of Radical Catholic Traditionalists* was published last year by The Vidal Sassoon Center for the Study of Antisemitism at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Other publications include the chapters *Magical Logic: Globalization, Conspiracy Theory and the Shoah*, which appeared in the 2012 volume *Holocaust Denial: the Politics of Perfidy*, edited by Robert Wistrich and *Antisemitism and Terrorism on the Electronic Highway* which appeared in the book *Terrorism and the Internet: Threats — Target Groups — Deradicalisation Strategies* (IOS Press for NATO, 2010).

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He has represented the UK at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and its National Point of Contact on Hate Crime meetings since 2008.

He is a member of the UK Government Hate Crime Independent Advisors Group, and between 2010 and 2012 acted as Lay Advisor to the Counter Terrorism Division of the Crown Prosecution Service. In 2013 he was appointed to the Hate Crime Scrutiny and Involvement Panel of the London Crown Prosecution Service, which scrutinizes and evaluates hate crime prosecutions.

He is a founding partner of Facing Facts, a European Commission-funded initiative to train civil society organizations and police officers to investigate and monitor hate crime. He has also been trainer on hate crime for the UK National Police Chiefs Council and the European Police College, an agency of the European Commission.

He is the author of over twenty five works in peer-reviewed scholarly journals and books with a focus on religious extremism and terrorism, extremists' use of information and communications technologies, and political and diplomatic action against antisemitism.

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