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DRAFT ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Executive Summary: 2019 Annual Assessment of the Situation and Dynamics of the Jewish People

Presented to the Israeli Cabinet on June 30, 2019

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Table of Contents

Introduction By Ambs. Dennis Ross and Stuart Eizenstat.....	3
Policy Recommendations for the Israeli Government, 2019	6
ANTI-SEMITISM.....	6
GEOPOLITICS	6
RELATIONS BETWEEN COMMUNITIES.....	7
Integrated Assessment of the Status of the Jewish People.....	9
GEOPOLITICS	10
COMMUNITY BONDS	12
IDENTITY AND IDENTIFICATION.....	14
MATERIAL RESOURCES.....	16
DEMOGRAPHY	18
Comprehensive Three-Dimensional Anti-Semitism Index.....	20
MAJOR RECENT DEVELOPMENTS	21
PART ONE: ANTI-SEMITISM IN EUROPE AFFECTS THE DAY-TO-DAY LIFE OF JEWS	23
PART TWO – ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE UNITED STATES.....	27
DIRECTIONS FOR ACTION	31

Introduction

This is the fifteenth year that the Jewish People Policy Institute (JPPI) has published its Annual Assessment. Every year, the JPPI's annual assessment seeks to offer a snapshot of the state of world Jewry. The gauges used to evaluate how world Jewry is doing year-to-year are largely unchanged this year, with one critical exception we are including for the first year in our report to the government: an expanded version of the yearly integrative index on anti-Semitism.

The integrative index examines the threat to Jews in different countries, by tracking anti-Semitic incidents, the public's attitude toward Jews and the feelings of the local Jewish community, which also express that community's trust in the local government's ability and desire to protect them. Anti-Semitism is rising by every metric and can potentially affect each of the other measures we weigh every year in the Assessment: Geopolitics, Inter-Communal Bonds, Identity and Identification, Material Resources and Demography. Anti-Semitism is no longer a secondary concern but has significant impact on Israel and the Jewish people worldwide.

As the integrated Anti-Semitism index describes, the sheer number of anti-Semitic incidents has risen around the world, including in the United States. The FBI reported that Jews are the most targeted religion-based group by hate crimes, although Jews comprise less than 2 percent of the American population. Most of the more violent anti-Semitic attacks in the U.S. seem unrelated to Israeli policies, although on college campuses the insidious, if non-violent, BDS movement feeds on overblown portrayals of Israeli policies. This has taken a toll on American Jews: nearly three-quarters of American Jews polled felt less secure than they did two years ago.

On the other hand, the rate of those in North America who hold anti-Semitic views is not high nor is it growing. An ADL survey shows that only 14 percent of Americans hold anti-Semitic views while over half of Americans are concerned with anti-Semitic violence. A recent Gallup poll indicates that over 90% of Americans would not hesitate to vote for a Jew as President, while another study showed that Jews are the most admired religious group in the U.S., above Catholics, Evangelicals and other religious groups.

Why the disconnect between record high numbers of anti-Semitic incidents and record-high acceptance of Jews in the U.S.? There is a direct connection between this phenomenon and the weakening of globalization and the rise in popular nationalism. Around the globe, a hard-core minority of populist nationalists enjoys increased exposure in marginalizing the "other" in society". The extremists among these at times turn to violence, verbal or physical, including against Jews. Alongside these, worrying trends of anti-Semitism from the other side of the political spectrum abound.

Left-wing groups in Europe, including Muslim migrant populations, also identify an opportunity to advance their own anti-Semitic rhetoric. The anti-Semitism in Europe is entirely more threatening than that in the U.S. Across Europe, anti-Semitism is rising and sentiment against Israel along with it. The sources are a dangerous combination of a radical minority of the increasingly large Muslim migrant population in the Continent, and the far left and far right on the political spectrum.

At both ideological extremes, the falsehood resonates that Jews control the financial and political strings of the world. Jeremy Corbin the leader of the British Labour Party regards Hamas and Hezbollah as friends, leading eight Labour members of parliament to leave their party. Jonathan Sacks, the former chief rabbi of the UK, has called Corbin an “existential threat” to British Jews.

Clearly, the rise in anti-Semitism affects Israel—the state of the Jewish people—insofar as it takes on a greater responsibility both to focus on protection of Jews in the Diaspora and the relations Israel has with a number of different states. Managing these important foreign relations demands navigating a relatively new reality: many of the new populist leaders in countries like Hungary, Italy, Poland and other places may create an environment unfriendly to the immigrant and to “the other,” which can encourage a rise in anti-Semitism, but tend to be supportive of the state of Israel.

The dilemma the Israeli government faces is complicated. Strong relations and support for Israel in the international arena has clear value. But it comes with a price: when this support comes from populist governments or leaders, it actually tends to exacerbate growing tensions between the Israeli government and the Diaspora. On the one hand, embracing authoritarian leaders like Orban of Hungary raises the question of whether the government of Israel will itself stand up against anti-Semitism when it is diplomatically inconvenient; on the other, drawing close to such leaders signals that the rightward turn of the Israeli public and could also signal a departure from such core values as tolerance, kindness, respect for the other—which define the essence of Jewish values for many in the Diaspora.

Nowhere is this dilemma more acute than in the relationship of the Government of Israel with President Trump. America is Israel’s most important and indeed only true—ally. And, Donald Trump’s friendship toward Israel has led to impressive results: declaring Jerusalem Israel’s capital, moving the American embassy, recognizing Israeli sovereignty in the Golan Heights, providing unlimited support in the United Nations, consistently backing Israel’s right of self-defense in Gaza and elsewhere, and calling out the threat that Iran represents to Israel and the region. However, like other populist leaders, President Trump also raises problems for Israel in America. He is a polarizing figure in the United States and identifying with him so publicly has served to alienate most Democrats and a significant majority of American Jewry from Israel. Certainly, any Israeli leader and government would need to have good relations with any American president. However, the long-term interest of Israel demands strong relations with the entire American political spectrum. The Israeli government runs the risk of alienating a significant part of the Jewish community in the United States with too close an embrace of the president—especially younger Jews in America. Moreover, as recent polling shows, such attitudes are no longer limited only to younger Jews but are affecting the importance of Israel in the eyes of many older members of the Jewish community as well.

All this is to help explain why the gauge on inter-communal bonds is slightly more negative this year than last, even at a time when the rise of anti-Semitism should foster greater solidarity within the Diaspora. This seems to be a paradox, but the factors noted above help to explain why the measure is more negative this year than last.

Other measures in the Annual Assessment remain largely the same. In the instance of geopolitics, the picture is mixed with offsetting realities. Yes, Israel's Sunni Arab neighbors have drawn closer to Israel, because they share common perceptions of threats from Iran. However, another factor is driving key Arab leaders to improve relations with Israel: the perception that the United States is withdrawing from the region and is not keen to live up to commitments.

It is geopolitically beneficial that Arab leaders see the value of close cooperation with Israel. It is, however, worrying that one of the reasons driving this is the sense that the U.S. is withdrawing or wants less and less to do in the region. As Russia and China become more involved in the region, especially as the U.S. retrenches, Israel will face more challenges. Additionally, a U.S.-China trade war will also pose a significant challenge for Israel as it seeks to preserve its economic trading relationship with China.

As always, this year's assessment does not provide just a snapshot of what is changing this year from last, but also makes recommendations for actions. One recommendation that stands out on the rise of anti-Semitism is the importance of developing "a set of guiding principles" for the Israeli government and other global or public leaders to use in responding to this issue wherever it arises. Similarly, at a time when the U.S. is seemingly less willing to remain engaged in the Middle East, this may be the time to formalize America's commitments to Israel, through "a long-term strategic contractual alliance" with the United States.

Like all of the recommendations, these are thought-provoking and should be carefully considered by Israeli and Diaspora leaders in America and around the world.

Dennis Ross and Stuart Eizenstat

June 2019

Policy Recommendations for the Israeli Government, 2019

Anti-Semitism

The proliferation of anti-Semitic incidents in Europe and the US – as documented by the Jewish People Policy Institute's Anti-Semitism Index – amounts to a quantum leap and reflects a waning of Holocaust awareness. To cope with this new situation, the Israeli government and major Jewish organizations will have to take steps of a whole different order and adopt new modes of thinking to replace those that have become entrenched over the past few decades.

We recommend that the Israeli government entrust the handling of anti-Semitic incidents to a single body with powers and executive ability. For this purpose, a governmental operational entity should be established and given appropriate resources for multidisciplinary action. This entity will monitor the scope of anti-Semitism and assess the nature of the threat (among other things, it will develop uniform indices for evaluating anti-Semitism in the various spheres where it presents itself). Based on its assessment, the entity will formulate an overall policy, set operational initiatives in motion vis-à-vis governments, Jewish communities, and other relevant parties, coordinate implementation between the various relevant bodies, and monitor effectiveness. The entity will launch initiatives in the spheres of education, legislation/law, diplomacy, hasbara (publicity/informational activity), the new media, security in the communities, and more.

Geopolitics

Should there turn out to be no Palestinian partner for the American peace initiative, consideration should be given to leveraging US President Donald Trump's friendship for Israel into a unilateral political initiative, to mitigate the danger of a slide into binational statehood that would threaten Israel's Jewish-democratic identity.

At the same time, Israel should strategically plan for the continual erosion of US willingness to invest in the Middle East, to be present and to lead regional stabilization and calm-promoting efforts. As part of these preparations, and given President Trump's demonstrated friendship, consideration should again be given to advancing a long-term, contractual strategic alliance with the US. Such an alliance would, of course, have disadvantages, but given the emerging reality, and the opportunity to leverage the President's friendship for an agreement that would serve Israeli interests, it is worth reconsidering the cost-benefit balance of such a measure.

Relations between communities

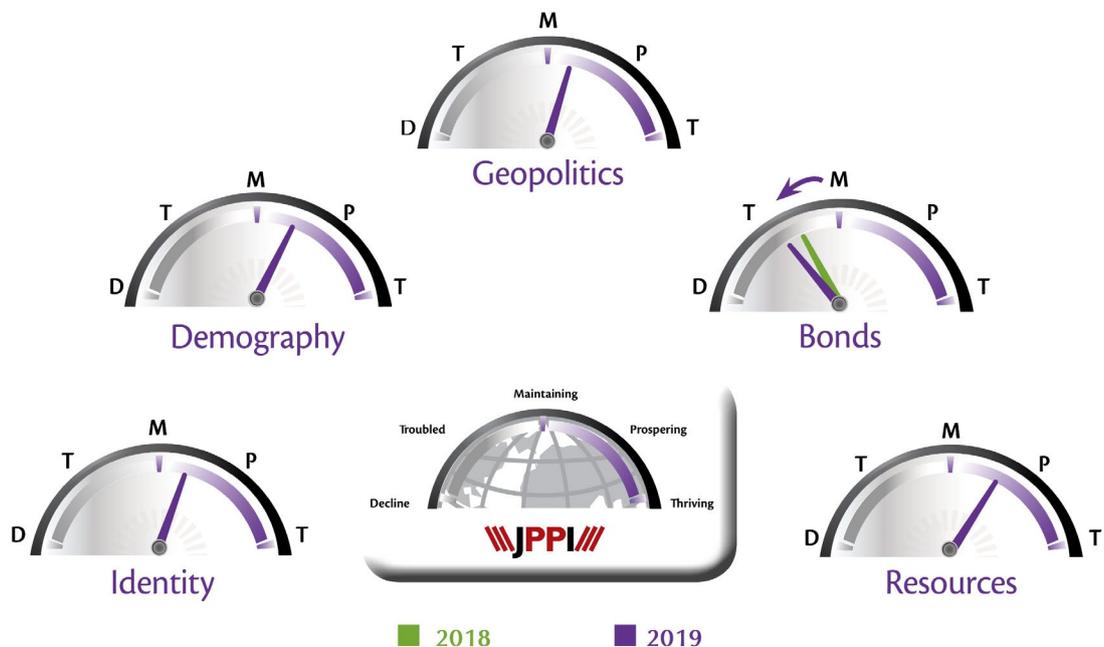
The Haredi (ultra-Orthodox) public's established status as a major factor in the Jewish world makes it incumbent on the Haredi community's leaders, and on the leaders of the other Jewish sectors, to cooperate for the good of the entire Jewish people. Accordingly, vital efforts currently underway to further the Haredi sector's integration in Israeli national life (national service, economic contribution, social and political integration) should be continued. At the same time, efforts should be made to promote similar Haredi integration in Diaspora Jewish community leadership. We should also be advancing initiatives to cultivate a Haredi leadership that will integrate in public and political activity and leadership at both the local and the national levels.

Additional relevant recommendations from previous years

- As the next US presidential election campaign approaches, Israel should strive to maintain its current good relations with the Trump administration, without signaling that these relations attest to a full adoption of the President's value system. This is necessary due to growing political polarization in the US and the need to preserve bipartisan sympathy for Israel, to the extent possible. At the same time, Israel should cultivate ongoing dialogue with those segments of the American Jewish public that express criticism of Israeli policy, so as to ensure the resilience of the Israel-Washington-American-Jewry triangle.
- As anti-Semitic incidents proliferate, the Israeli government must prepare appropriately for potential immigration, especially from European countries. As noted in earlier Jewish People Policy Institute reports, the main barriers that cause prospective olim to reconsider aliya to Israel have to do with employment, children's education, and housing. The employment barrier could be addressed by continuing the (unfinished) effort to provide career guidance and degree recognition even before olim have left their countries of origin; training and placement programs could also be created and offered to olim after their arrival in Israel. Because the relevant immigrant populations are, for the most part, highly-educated and economically strong, there can be no doubt that such investment would be profitable and feasible for the Israeli economy.
- Israel needs to exercise caution in its relations with countries and political parties that exhibit great friendship for Israel but whose leaders are veering away from democratic norms or allowing anti-Semitic elements to thrive. Beyond considerations related to actual Israeli values, one should take into account that strengthening relations with countries perceived as hostile to the liberal-democratic ethos harms Israel's image in the eyes of broad segments of the US public, some of which could potentially reach positions of power and promote assertive international policies unfavorable to Israel. Israel's image as a friend of these anti-liberal countries is also causing the younger generation of Jews to

distance themselves from Israel, thereby compromising Israel's future ability to rely on American Jewry in times of need.

Integrated Assessment of the Status of the Jewish People



Introduction

The status of the Jewish people is relatively stable and has not changed significantly in the last year. However, several trends have emerged that should be monitored and that are likely to have outcomes with long-term implications.

Chief among them is the significant rise of anti-Semitism: the hard facts (number of anti-Semitic incidents in various countries around the world); its increased prominence in public discourse (articles, books, media, social media); and the obvious increased concern of Jews themselves. We have therefore decided to include in this executive summary of the 2019 assessment prepared for the government of Israel JPPI's 2019 integrated Anti-Semitism Index.

Naturally, anti-Semitic phenomena have significant influences on the Jewish communities, in the context of the connection among them (the growing need for a supportive global community), in the context of their effect on the strength of our identity (as Jews sometimes assume a low profile for fear being attacked), and in the context of relations with Israel (which is perceived as a powerful refuge but also as a pretext for hostile discourse). At this point it is too soon to determine whether the incidents we've seen this year are a passing wave or a long term phenomenon, and how these events will influence Jewish consciousness and identity in the coming years.

Israel continues to be recognized as a regional power, both economic and military/security, even if some of the key issues it is dealing with have yet to be resolved, including the threat from radical entities (Iran, terrorist organizations) and the lack of a political solution on the horizon of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In the Jewish world the growing centrality of Israel is recognized, both as a source of identity and a source of social and political controversy. Israel's April 2019 elections, and what will come in their wake – including legislation in which Diaspora Jews have an increased stake (matters relating to religion and state, pluralism, democracy and society in Israel) – will undoubtedly impact the dynamics of Israel-Diaspora relations.

Geopolitics



This gauge has not changed from last year

The past year, as in previous years, was characterized by a dual geopolitical reality that impacted Israel and the entire Jewish people. On the one hand: Israel is militarily strong and free of threat from regular armies at its borders; relations with the White House are at an all-time high; it has a close working relationship with Russia; it is expanding its economic ties with China, enhancing its network of regional and international ties; it is an economic and technological power; and its natural gas resources in the Mediterranean Sea have enabled new strategic regional connections. On the other hand, there are shadows on Israel's strategic horizon cast by: Iran's strategic aspirations against Israel, its military strength in the region, and its development of non-conventional means; and the situation in the Israeli-Palestinian arena, which also feeds the de-legitimization of Israel. These shadows could portend a violent decline in one area or another – vis-à-vis Hamas, Hezbollah, Iran, Syria, and in Judea and Samaria. Alongside the Middle East's chronic instability, Israel is also affected by changes in the international sphere. The United States does not appear to be interested in playing the role of the "strategic cop" that is present and militarily engaged all over the world – including the Middle East. This reality leaves Russia and China a larger playing field than in the past in which to expand their influence. Below is a description of some key spheres that impact the geopolitical situation of the Jewish people.

- **The United States:** During the past year we have witnessed the deep strategic pact between Israel and the United States on several occasions. First and foremost, moving the

American Embassy to Jerusalem and recognizing Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights. Sweeping expressions of sympathy for Israel have been heard, especially from Republican Party. However, the Democratic camp has seen a decline in the level of its support, and all told, there has been a deepening erosion in the traditional bi-partisan support of Israel. At the same time, American Jews are, by and large, distancing themselves from the American administration and its close relationship with Israel. At this point in time it is difficult to accurately assess the impact that anti-Semitic incidents in the United States and the increased public debate on the subject will have on the power and influence of American Jewry.

- **The Middle East:** Israel is situated in a violent and tumultuous region – wars, waves of refugees, humanitarian crises, struggling economy, unemployment, failing authoritarian central governments, flourishing terrorist organizations, and movements that promote a radical Islamic ideology (the defeat of ISIS this year does not guarantee the destruction of the social and religious basis upon which it grew, and its ability to carry out serious terror attacks worldwide such as the one in Sri Lanka). The threat posed by Iran and Islamic terror have created a common interest between Israel and Sunni Arab countries, the result of which is unprecedented security cooperation. Here and there the relations bubble up to the surface. The paralysis in the political process with the Palestinians has not prevented, at this point, the development of these relationships although it makes public normalization more difficult.
- **Iran:** Israel's effort to stop Iran from gaining a military stronghold in Syria and preventing the transfer of strategic weapons to Hezbollah carries the risk that the situation could turn violent. American sanctions have exacerbated Iran's economic crisis and has awakened agitation against the regime. The question is still open as to whether sanctions will lead to regime change or will force Iran to accept demands in addition to those it accepted in the JCPOA, the 2015 nuclear agreement (curtailing its ballistic missile program and stopping its regional destabilization). The question still remains: Will Iran decide at some point to deviate from the treaty's boundaries and thereby cause a greater risk of escalation?
- **The Palestinian arena:** The humanitarian crisis in Gaza increases the chances that temporary rounds of violence, several of which broke out during the past year, will deteriorate into a comprehensive military confrontation. Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the possibility that the isolation of Hamas, the desperate economic situation in Gaza, and pressure from Egypt will push the Hamas leadership to a long-term ceasefire with Israel. At the same time, the past year saw developments indicating the shaky status of the Palestinian Authority – a decline in its relations with the United States, a difficult economic situation in light of cuts to the American aid budget and a drop in Israeli tax transfers, a deep internal Palestinian split and internal rumblings ahead of possible change in leadership. The American peace plan was rejected by the Palestinians before it was even officially presented.

Concomitant with meaningful accomplishments, this past year did not mark a turning point that would promise a solution to the basic strategic issues facing Israel: security threats (Iran's nuclear program, Hezbollah, and Hamas) and the challenges – political, security, demographic, and moral – the lack of a resolution of the Palestinian issue bring. Against this background we leave the gauge as it was last year.

Community Bonds



The gauge has moved in a somewhat negative direction this year

The dynamics of the relations between Jewish communities did not change much this year compared to previous years. Long-term trends that had been identified in the past can still be seen throughout the Jewish world and in Israel. First, the trend that continued to register this past year – the governments of the United States and Israel are in the hands of political streams that represent values of conservatism, nationalism, and tradition. In Israel, most of the Jewish public supports this leadership, while in the US most of the Jewish public opposes it. This polarization undermines the connection to Israel of Diaspora Jews, who tend to hold more liberal attitudes, particularly the younger generation. Some of these Jews feel that Israel is not loyal to values that are important to them. Their claims focus on Israel's attitude toward the Palestinians, the status of Israeli Arabs, gender equality, questions touching on religion and state, suspicions of government corruption, and more. The internal-political polarization in the United States, alongside the dominance of the political right wing in Israel, which was demonstrated once again in this year's elections, make it harder to develop a sense of solidarity with Israel among these groups.

Furthermore, we should mention several additional developments of this past year that have affected relations between the Jewish communities: 1. The impact of anti-Semitic phenomena (for more on this, see the integrated Anti-Semitism Index below); 2. Political trends in the United States, primarily developments regarding the evolving attitudes within the Democratic Party – supported by most American Jews – toward Israel; 3. Perceptions among some Diaspora Jews regarding the passing of Israel's "Nation State" law and its significance; 4. The Israeli elections and the policy emerging in their wake.

These developments have had a certain effect on the dynamics of inter-community relations. However, it is not always easy to determine whether the influence is positive (enhancing the relationship) or negative (weakening the relationship). The following table briefly describes the trends and developments in the past year that contributed to enhancing or weakening relations between Jewish communities around the world – with an emphasis on Israel-Diaspora relations. It is understood that the nature and

intensity of relations between Israel and Jews in other countries, particularly the United States, also has implications for other dimensions relating to the status of the Jewish people, such as geopolitics, or identity and identification, mentioned in other sections.

Development	Dynamic that enhances the relations	Dynamic that weakens the relations
Right wing governments in Israel and the US	The governments are not in a conflict that forces Jews to “choose a side” (as was the case during the previous administration)	Makes it difficult for most American Jews who oppose the right. Emphasizes the gap between political attitudes among Israeli Jews and American Jews
Rising anti-Semitism	Generates solidarity among all Jews	Leads to reciprocal claims regarding policies that “encourage” anti-Semitism
Other global trends (for more information, see the section on Geopolitics)	Lack of stability increases the need for a connection to a community that is very stable (Israel)	Possibility of confrontation between Israel’s interests and local Jewish interests
Status quo of relationship of religion and state in Israel	Data presented this year show greater identification with liberal Judaism among Jews in Israel	Issues that permanently create gaps have not yet been resolved (Western Wall, conversion, marriage), and others have joined these (reduced power of the courts to rule on these matters)
Nation-State Law	Emphasizes anchoring Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people	Controversy between the majority in Israel and the majority of Diaspora Jewry regarding the law’s effect on the status of non-Jews in Israel

Identity and Identification



The gauge remains unchanged from last year

Studies published during the past year in the United States, Israel and in other Jewish communities can enhance our understanding of the status of contemporary Jewish identity. JPPI published an extensive study on Israeli Jewry, and major research was also published on the Jewish community in the Washington DC area and on the Jewish community in Canada.

JPPI's study of Israeli Jews enhances the insights presented in the Pew Research Center's 2016 study. It shows that most Jews in Israel (55 percent) identify with the Jewish national symbols and values as well as traditional Jewish symbols and/or religion. As the researchers (Shmuel Rosner and Prof. Camille Fuchs) describe it, most Israeli Jews say Kiddush on Friday night and also hang out Israeli flags on Yom Ha-Atzma'ut (Independence Day). The study finds that most Israeli Jews identify with both identity dimensions and suggests that this is a strong identification. Data from the extensive survey carried out as part of the research confirm this. Eighty-eight percent of Israeli Jews rank "their feeling as Jews" with a score of at least 7 out of 10. Eighty-seven percent reported that their Jewishness is important or very important to them.

This relatively high national-traditional identity has implications on the third dimension of identity, the civil-political dimension. Israeli-Jews identify "Israeli-ness" itself with "Jewish-ness."

The study also elucidated the dynamics of Jewish identity in Israel. It indicates that the main identity changes are in the direction of less religious practice. Accordingly, religious Jews are becoming traditional or secular-somewhat-traditional. Traditional Jews are becoming secular, and so on. This process seems to have an impact on the values of Israel's secular population, a large portion of which observes a high level of traditional practices (Seder night, b'nei mitzvah, and the like).

Studies on American Jews tell a different story. Inter-marriage with non-Jews is the norm today. Among non-Ultra-Orthodox Jews in America (aged 25-54), 58 percent of

those married are married to non-Jews. Only about half of the offspring of such couples are raised as Jews.

It might be that the long-term impact of these trends will be reduced somewhat in light of other factors. Research indicates that young American Jews tend to give their Jewish identity a cultural interpretation rather than ethnic or religious. This kind of interpretation allows for a Jewishness whose borders are open to the non-Jewish world. Concomitantly, those who are active in Jewish leadership report that new, “post-denominational” synagogues (that is, those that don’t belong to any recognized religious movement) attract “borderland” Jews (Jews who are only partly affiliated), although these claims are not, at this point, backed up by research. One way or the other, it is doubtful that exciting developments in culture, literature, research and religion among American Jews can offset the trends in the spheres of demography and identity.

One factor with a long-term influence on these trends is the growing number of Orthodox Jews, particularly the Ultra-Orthodox, in the United States. While the average birth rate among non-Orthodox Jewish women is 1.4 children (far less than the replacement rate), the average birth rate among Modern Orthodox women is more than 3 children, and more than 5 children for Ultra-Orthodox women. Accordingly, in some Jewish communities in America the Ultra-Orthodox already constitute a considerable percentage of the younger age cohorts. The Ultra-Orthodox have a strong Jewish identity and a high rate of retention (that is, there is almost no intermarriage or assimilation among them). These statistics led JPPI to devote its 2019 Annual Dialogue to a discussion of ways to ensure greater Ultra-Orthodox participation in Jewish community life and the general American society, in public service and politics. This is due to a concern that the new demographic may erode the influence of the Jewish community in America.

In other English-speaking Diaspora communities, the intermarriage rate is significantly lower than in the United States. According to a survey Canada’s Jewish population published this year, the rate is some 23 percent there and is not higher in younger age groups. Therefore, the researchers find that the Canadian community has a “highly resilient Jewish identity.” In Australia, too, the intermarriage rate is significantly lower than in the United States (15-24.9 percent), but it is higher among the younger the age cohort.

A rise in anti-Semitism has had an impact the world over on public expressions of mutual responsibility, which strengthens Jewish identity. However, at the same time and particularly in Europe, displays of anti-Semitism are more prevalent in people’s daily lives and undermine the sense of security. The response by most Jews in France, Denmark, and Sweden to this situation was to lower their Jewish profile and to avoid wearing identifying clothing or carry items that would identify them as Jews in the public sphere. This gradual withdrawal from daily routine and, on occasion, from the Jewish community, may have a negative long-term impact on Jewish identity.

Material Resources



The gauge remains unchanged from last year

The gauge indicating Jewish assets and resources has not been changed this year. This conclusion is based on a balance between positive indicators and trends that hint at possible difficulties in the future.

Israel is the primary generator of capital in the Jewish world, and it continues to present a strong economy. The low inflation rate, steady rise in the employment rate, and macroeconomic stability – combine to tell us this is true. Undoubtedly, a great many countries around the world would be happy to present economic conditions like Israel's. Although the government's deficit is higher than planned, it is still manageable relative to the scope of the Israeli economy.

Nonetheless, a long-term look at Israel's economic future requires that we address the risks that lie ahead. Israel's productivity level is low, as is the growth rate, compared with the levels of other OECD countries. The combination of productivity and population growth is what promotes economic growth, but a look at Israel's economic situation minus the relatively narrow high-tech industry reveals signs of difficulty. Another cause for concern comes from the indices regarding the status of Israel's education system. Both in the context of demography and education, it appears there is no relative increase in the relative size of the production sector. Similarly, an inefficient resource allocation system causes high prices for many products (which contributes to job security). Higher prices only highlight the gaps between Israeli sectors of disparate economic conditions.

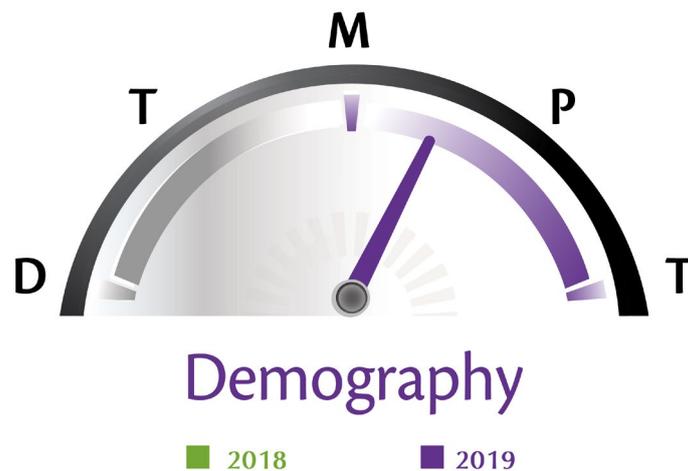
Economists describe Israel's economy as "open," meaning that both exports and imports play a significant role in national income. Changes in the climate of the global economy on which Israel relies are also liable to indicate potential difficulties. Israel has flourished in a system whose natural tendency is to develop in the direction of free trade. An example of such a system can be seen in the free trade agreement signed with the United States in 1985, thanks to which Israeli products enjoy a tax

exemption in the American marketplace. Israel has similar agreements with various countries around the world, but the principles of free trade on which Israel relies are under attack, particularly in the US.

If the free access Israel has to the American market is no longer the norm and becomes a matter of special treaties that require specific negotiations, Israeli product exports will likely suffer. If Israel's international trade partners force Israel to open its doors to more competition, we can assume that the Israeli consumer would benefit, but this could also jeopardize employment, particular among workers in low-tech industries.

Jewish communities outside of Israel, including the large North American community, have been stable since its recovery from the economic downturn that began in 2008. JPPI continues with its efforts, as reported in last year's assessment, to thoroughly understand the material condition of institutions that are vital to the existence of Jewish identity in the United States. The results of these efforts will be summarized in a separate report later in the year.

Demography



The gauge remains unchanged from last year

As in previous years, the Jewish population grew in the past year at a moderate rate of around 100,000 people; at the beginning of 2019 it was estimated at 14.7 million. This change derives from the rise in the number of Jews in Israel, from 6.55 million at the start of 2018 to 6.66 million at the start of 2019 (an increase of 110,000 or 1.7 percent), which was partially offset by the slight decline in the number of Jews in the Diaspora. Furthermore, at the beginning of this year there were 427,000 people of no religion in Israel, that is, immigrants eligible under the Law of Return and who have put down national and social roots in Israel but are not Jewish according to *Halacha*.

Altogether, the ratio between Jews and non-Jews in Israel (including Jewish settlers in Judea and Samaria) remains stable – roughly 79 percent Jews and 21 percent non-Jews. The Jewish group also includes residents with no religion, based on the assumption that they are socially and culturally settled in the majority society (without them the ratio of Jews to non-Jews would be 74 and 26 percent, respectively). It should be noted that this past March (2019), for the first time Israel's population reached more than 9 million persons.

The number of Jews in the United States, the largest Jewish community outside of Israel, remains stable and stands at around 5.7 million people. This estimate relies, in large part, on findings from the 2013 Pew Report and assessments of demographic trends among US Jews since then. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there are also higher estimates of the American Jewish population, up to 6.7 million or 7 million. The differences are due to different definitions of "Jewishness," that is, of who should be included in the count. The broader estimates also include those who indicated in surveys that they were partly Jewish; additionally, other sources were also used.

Most of the growth in Israel's Jewish population stems from natural reproduction (89 percent of the increase) with another 11 percent deriving from a positive migration balance (Aliyah). The lion's share of those immigrating to Israel – about three fourths – comes from Europe (particularly from Russia, Ukraine and France), another 17 percent are from America and Oceania, and some 6 percent from Asia and Africa. We should note that less than half (46.1 percent) of immigrants to Israel in 2018 were

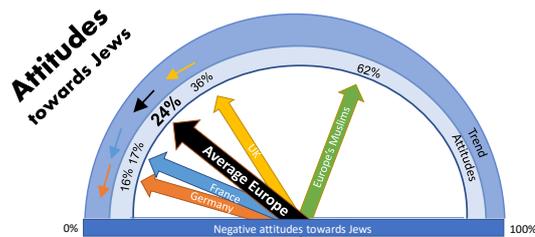
Jews, and only they were included in the number of Jews in Israel and in assessing the demographic change in the Jewish population over the past year.

Following several years of higher birth rates among Jewish women in Israel – from 3.09 in 2014 to 3.16 in 2016 – in 2017 (the latest year for which we have updated data) the rate remained unchanged. Despite the continuing trend of a rise in the number of Jews, because of Israel's positive balance we have left the gauge unchanged this year.

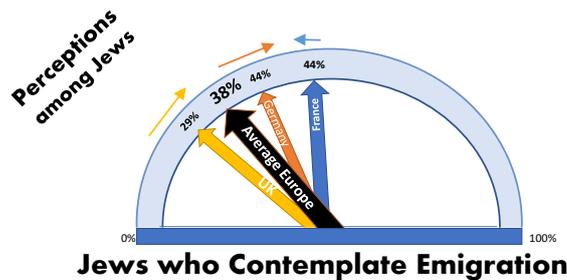
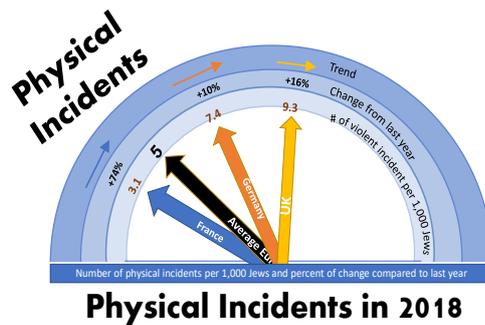
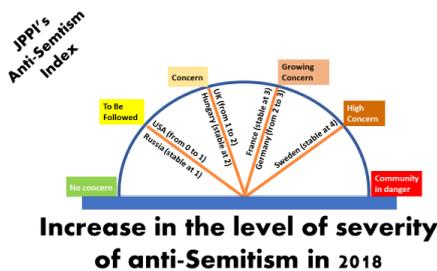
Comprehensive Three-Dimensional Anti-Semitism Index

LEVEL OF SEVERITY OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES
(BASED ON PERCEIVED DISCOMFORT AMONG JEWS)

	USA	UK	Germany	France	Russia	Hungary	Sweden
Level of severity in 2018							
Level of severity in 2017							
	Slight Concern	To be followed	Concern	Growing Concern	High Concern	Community in danger	



Anti-Jewish Attitudes in 2018



Major Recent Developments

- Anti-Semitism is on the rise all over the world. The two most notable and worrying developments that require urgent attention are the penetration of anti-Semitism in Britain's Labour party, which may endanger the future thriving of the British Jewry, and the two deadly mass shootings by white supremacists in synagogues in the United States, which may inspire "copycat" attacks.
- After a seven-decade grace period following the Shoah, **anti-Semitism returns to becoming a "new normal"** with which Jewish communities will have to learn to live.
- In a world full of fear and uncertainty, in which significant segments of the population have experienced a social downgrading and are worried that their horizons are grim, conspiracy theories flourish and the "Jew" reemerges as a scapegoat that can bring together conspiratorialists from all political, religious, and social backgrounds. Taking advantage of digital means for free expression, simplistic theories accusing the Jews of malicious motivations are spread to millions, perhaps billions, of people across the internet.
- In Europe, anti-Semitism – visible and invisible – impedes the participation of Jewish communities in the life of their general societies as well as demotivates Jews from participating in local Jewish communal life. Despite the fact that anti-Jewish attitudes are steadily decreasing in the population, a critical mass of anti-Semitic elements makes life troublesome for the Jews and in some places social exclusion is running rampant.ⁱ
- In continental Europe, and despite the existence of some groups of Muslim activists who courageously combat anti-Semitism, **the single main discerning and predictive indicator of Jewish community sustainability appears to be the percentage of Muslims in the population.**
- **In North America and Australia**, anti-Semitism has almost no tangible impact on the social, academic, economic and political integration of the Jews in general society. Yet, in the last two years in the United States, **anti-Semitic right-wingers have become** emboldened in their willingness to express their anti-Jewish prejudices and to act upon them. **Similarly, anti-Semitic views on the left have increased** and Jews (particularly, on college campuses) feel more threatened by them, even though most of the abuse has been verbal and psychological, not physical.
- Anti-Zionism has become a main-stream opinion in Europe and frequently features traditional anti-Semitic components. Jews are often held accountable for the actions and policies of the Israeli government. On American campuses, pro-Israel students are confronted with peer and institutional pressures to decrease their Zionist engagement. These pressures resemble what Jewish students started encountering 20 years ago in Europe.
- **As a positive development, we may mention that the world media interest in the Israeli-Palestinian is declining sharply.** A large part of the leading international foreign media outlets have decided to close their Israel's offices and bring back home their permanent correspondents. As the one-side coverage and over coverage of the conflict have been the major causes of the anti-Israel propaganda and have nurtured the anti-Jewish discourse, we may expect that this decreasing coverage will give back a lower profile to the Palestinian issue.
- Despite the worsening situation, **comparisons with the blackest periods of Jewish history are mistaken.** All across the Western world discrimination is forbidden by law, occurrences of state anti-Semitism are very rare, there is adherence to the rule of law in countries where Jews live, and the existence of the State of Israel has influenced the status of the Jewish communities living in problematic environments for the better.

These elements and the figures in Tables (1) and (2) below, demonstrate that even in the US the previously inconceivable return of anti-Semitism becomes conceivable: two members of the US House of Representatives have publicly questioned the full allegiance of American Jews to the US; young and energetic anti-Zionist activists on the left may become a significant stream within the Democratic Party; the number of anti-Jewish incidents has doubled during the last year; harassing mail reaches public Jews on a regular basis; anti-Semitic tropes are increasingly detectable in the mainstream discourse and anti-Israel criticism is adopting anti-Semitic rhetoric.

The discomfort European Jews have complained about for the last 20 years has crept into the American landscape. While, as a legitimate precaution, more American synagogues have begun adopting security measures, they may advance an unconscious message to the general population that Jews are not just “regular citizens” but are “citizens at risk.”

The three-dimensional EU indicator

JPPI’s Anti-Semitism Index on Europe is presented here for the fifth year. The index aims to measure the discomfort of European Jewry and the threat levels against it. This integrated index, meant as a tool for policy-makers, relates to three complementary dimensions of anti-Semitism affecting individual Jews and communal Jewish life. Our integrative index utilizes existing data collected globally by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and locally by others (such as CNN, Eurobarometer, IFOP, UEJF, JPR), anti-Semitic harassment figures collected by local Jewish organizations and governmental agencies entrusted with security (such as CST in UK, SPCJ in France, and various specialized governmental agencies), and findings regarding perceptions of anti-Semitism among Jews (FRA, AJC and JPPI’s survey).

What has changed since 2014?

When JPPI launched its integrated “Anti-Semitism Index”, very few reports providing a global perspective have been available. Things have changed: in the recent months the Israel Ministry of Diaspora Affairs, ADL, and the Kantor Center have published global reports on the resurgence of a structural anti-Semitism that has anchored not only in Arab and European countries but in North America too. High-quality research has been published just recently that we refer to in this analysis.

Our role is not to synthesize the in-depth analyses offered in these reports but rather to signal the changes in the chosen three indicators of the JPPI index, articulate a diagnostic summary of in-depth transformations, identify the critical developments to follow, and to provide policy-makers with a policy planning meta-analysis along with a set of recommendations.

JPPI Survey Findings

According to a recent JPPI survey of a selected group of 180 US rabbis and communal leaders, a large majority stated that anti-Semitism has increased considerably over the past five years. Fifty percent of respondents believe the government does not combat anti-Semitism effectively, forty percent worry about a possible decrease in community participation in their area for fear of a possible anti-Jewish incident, but only a third are worried that in the next 12 months a person close to them will be a victim of anti-Jewish harassment or physical attack.

While alarming, these figures appear less bleak when compared with answers to the same questions in Europe: 24 percent of the 16,000 Jewish respondents in an FRA survey (see below) say they have witnessed other Jews being verbally insulted, harassed, or physically attacked in the past year 56 percent are worried about their friends or family members falling victim to anti-Semitic harassment in the coming year, 71 percent of the European Jewish respondents hide – at least occasionally – their Jewishness, 70 percent give a scathing assessment of their governments' efforts to combat anti-Semitism, and 38 percent have contemplated emigration as they don't feel safe in their countries.

Part One: Anti-Semitism in Europe affects the day-to-day life of Jews

In 1945, following the exposure of the Nazi extermination camps and the realization of the severity of the catastrophe caused by anti-Semitic ideology, European countries adopted a policy of rejecting in principle any expression that could be construed as supporting racism or bigotry. But seven decades after the Shoah, the grace period that had been extended to the Jews is over. Resentment of Jews that had been long silenced has again openly erupted. The consolidation of a critical discourse on Israel has granted renewed legitimacy to Holocaust denial and anti-Semitic expressions, which were once confined to the margins.

In addition to this development, immigration waves washing over Europe and other developments, boosted nationalist and conservative sentiments across the continent and threaten the stability of European Union and the common political vision of its member states. A large segment of the middle class in the Western countries where Jews live, feels that it is under existential threat. Some fear that migrants may “replace” them and take over the political and cultural control of the country (largely on the right); others fear a socio-economic downgrading that might leave them impoverished (mainly on the left). Jews often find themselves on the receiving end of such fears.

Main findings:

1. Security threats significantly affect the lives of European Jews.
2. Jewish communal life is under direct threat.
3. The participation of Jewish communities in their general societies is reduced.
4. Because of anti-Semitism and other factors, Europe's Jewish population is declining.
5. Local governments could do much more to increase security for Jews.
6. If nothing is done, a significant number of European Jews will relocate to more inviting environments, some will self-segregate while others decrease their Jewish profile and distance themselves from Jewish communal life.

Selected quantitative data illustrating the deteriorating trend:

- A recent French Institute of Public Opinion (IFOP) poll found that nearly nine in ten Jewish college students in France have experienced anti-Semitism on campus.ⁱⁱ Of those students, 85 percent said that they were subjected to an anti-Semitic trope, 75 percent said they had been on the receiving end of Jewish and Holocaust jokes, and 19 percent said they had been subjected to anti-Semitic “aggression.” The situation is clearly deteriorating and not only on campuses: according to the French government, anti-Semitic acts in France increased by 74 percent over the previous year. Anti-Jewish stereotypes and among the activists of the populist “yellow vest” social movement conspiracy theories associated with Jews are especially high (30 percent as compared to 10 percent in the general population). Despite efforts invested in Holocaust education, one of five French young adults say they have never heard of the genocide of Jews during the Second World War.ⁱⁱⁱ
- In a major break with the past, the German Agency for Domestic Security has revealed what was well-known by local Jews: Muslim migrants have imported from their countries of origin strong anti-Semitic prejudices and a large proportion of the anti-Jewish violent incidents are perpetrated by Muslims.^{iv}
- While anti-Semitism in France and Germany largely comes from fringe populations, in Britain, it emanates from what may be its next ruling party, which has been described as “institutionally anti-Semitic.” Drawing on extensive research, a report sponsored by the CST (the security organization of British Jews) says the Labour party has failed to prevent itself from becoming a host for contemporary anti-Semitism, failed to effectively tackle anti-Semitism, and has failed to root out a culture of anti-Semitism denial and victim-blaming.^v
- The biggest spike in violent incidents against Jews was in Ukraine (paradoxically, a country in which both the newly elected President and the Prime Minister happened to be Jewish), which registered an increase of more than 50 percent. This increase emerged against the backdrop of renewed nationalism in Eastern Europe and attempts to whitewash and glorify the nationalist leaders and movements of the past who were also responsible for the murder and expulsion of Jews before and during World War II. In May 2017, the Pew Research Center conducted a study of 2,000 residents in each of Central and Eastern Europe’s 18 countries. The study found that 20 percent of the respondents did not want Jews in their country, and 30 percent did not want Jews as neighbors. In addition, 22 percent of Romania’s citizens and 18 percent of Polish citizens were interested in denying the right of Jews to citizenship in their country.^{vi}
- Other countries are not in much better shape: the majority of Austrian adults do not know that six million Jews were killed during the Holocaust.^{vii}

Table 1	Trend	Europe average	France	UK	Germany
Anti-Semitism in Western Europe 2018					
PUBLIC OPINION TOWARD JEWS (%)					
Harbor anti-Semitic attitudes (%) ^{viii}		24 (26)	17 (37)	36 (39) ^{ix}	16 (27) ^x
– as above, among Muslims (%) ^{xi}		62 (55)	49 (83)	58 (54)	70 (62)
ANTI-SEMITIC BEHAVIOR (number of incidents; only  reported to official agencies)					
Increase/Decrease in violent assaults (%)			+74%	+16%	+10%
Violent assaults ^{xii}			183 [97]	123 [149]	62 [24]
Total incidents (extreme violence, assaults, damages, desecrations and threats)			541 [311]	1,652 [1,420]	1,646 [1,504] ^{xiv}
Number of physical attacks per 1,000 Jews		5	3.1 [1.8]	9.3 [8]	7.4 [6.7]
Per cent of attacks that are not reported		79 (77)	76 (72)	80 (73)	79 (72)
ANTI-SEMITISM AS PERCEIVED BY JEWS^{xv} (%)					
Anti-Semitism is a very or fairly big problem (%)			85 (67)	95 (86)	75 (48)
Have considered emigration because they do not feel safe in their country (%)			38 (32)	44 (46) ^{xvi}	29 (18)
Avoid places in their neighborhood because they would not feel safe there as a Jew (%)			38 (27)	35 (20)	68 (37)

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are the latest available data. Numbers in brackets are 2017 scores.

An analysis of the data and main developments in Europe, as arises from the JPPI's 2019 Anti-Semitism Index, indicates that:

- General public attitudes toward European Jews have somewhat improved over the past few years. It is possible that these sentiments are linked to the rise in negative attitudes toward Middle Eastern and African immigrants, who are perceived to threaten the primary national identity of various European countries.
- Despite the overall positive trend, the number of violent anti-Semitic incidents rose dramatically in the past year. This discrepancy stems from the presence of fringe groups, radical right and radical left activists and radical Muslims.
- These three groups, who combine to make up between one-fifth to one-third of the total population in the various European countries, combine to create a critical mass that (unofficially) blocks the comfortable integration of Jews to the local public sphere.
- The number of violent anti-Semitic attacks against Jews rose in the three main countries examined. In France, despite the fact that the total number of anti-Semitic incidents decreased, violent radicalism increased and included the brutal murders of two elderly Jewish women at the hands of their devout Muslim neighbors.^{xvii}
- If the anti-Semitic violence in France is associated with radical Islam, in England, the anti-Semitic violence is associated more with a radical-right orientation. In Germany, the government identifies most of the perpetrators of anti-Semitic violence as belonging to the radical right (a caveat: this is the conclusion made when the identity of an attacker is unknown). However, in the three main countries

examined, the Jewish communities themselves fear violence from radical Muslims more than from any other groups.

- While anti-Semitic sentiment in Western Europe continues to decline, Jews are concerned about their future and many do not feel safe to express their Jewish identities in public. A third of European Jews are considering emigrating, and many more do not see their children's future on the continent.

Impact on Jewish life

Anti-Semitism and Jews are not on a first blind date. Jews have been able to live, and sometimes thrive, despite anti-Semitic environments. Jewish discomfort comes from several different populations that harm the Jews in different spheres. The following figure, drawing on field research, illustrates the three main types of anti-Jewish hatred and their expressions in daily life:^{xviii}

Figure 1: Types of Anti-Jewish Hatred and their Impact on Communal Life

Different Types of Anti-Semitism	Classic Anti-Semitism	Israel-derived Anti-Semitism	Aufklärungs Anti-Semitism
The unacceptable entity	The Jewish individual	The Jewish nation-state	Jewish particularistic religious practices
Goal	Jew-free world	Israel-free world	Judaism-free world
Ideology	Racism Nationalism	Anti-racism Post-nationalism	Rationalism. Human and animal rights
Jews perceived as	Non-European Semites invading Europe	European imperialists in the Middle East	Tribalists. Adept of obscurantist and cruel rituals
Discourse	Negative Stereotypes about Jews	Anger against the Jewish state	Core Jewish practices (Mila, Shechita, etc.)
Political leaning	Right-wingers	Muslims & Left-wingers	Liberals & left-wingers
Primary manifestations	Derogatory remarks and acts of social discrimination	Violence toward Jewish institutions, symbols and people	Public debate and legal prohibition of certain Jewish practices
Part of Europe	Central & Eastern Europe	Western Europe, UK and Scandinavia	Western Europe, UK and Scandinavia
Demographic context	Small Migrant Population	Large voting Muslim population	Large voting Muslim population

Who will remain, who will go?

As indicated in Figure 1, while all anti-Semites want Jews to feel like second class citizens and are interested in expunging them from public life, the different types of anti-Semites do not equally harm Jewish life. Jews will continue to live in their places of residence when symbolic expression of disdain such as cemetery desecration (generally perpetrated by far-right activists) occurs in their vicinity. They may conceal their Jewish belonging when they encounter derogatory remarks and discrimination in the work place or on college campuses (such as perpetrated by right-wingers and anti-Israel left-wingers). However, they will seriously consider relocation when their children are insulted and beaten in the streets (violence most often perpetrated by Muslim anti-Semites) and they feel that the local government does not protect them. The impact of the imposition of mandatory gender studies in Jewish orthodox schools as well as the ban on kosher slaughter and circumcision is less immediate but is likely to have a long-term determinant impact on organized Jewish life. We may, therefore, expect that Jews will remain and even thrive in Eastern Europe while, unless drastic interventions by local governments are implemented, Jewish communities in Scandinavia, France and Germany will likely decrease. Despite this pessimistic perspective, Britain is an exception as the Jewish community there is well organized and may be able to confront the anti-Semitism emanating from the political left effectively.

The future scenarios forecasted for Europe do not bode well for the Jews of the old continent. It is likely that a significant number of Europe's Jews will emigrate in the coming decades, given the economic stagnation on the continent, demographic shifts, political instability, the undermining of personal security, and the anti-Semitic violence that local governments, despite good intentions, will have difficulty in preventing.^{xix}

Part two – Anti-Semitism in the United States

The rate of anti-Semitic incidents in North America is significantly lower than in Europe or the Arab world. However, recently, American Jews have been voicing concerns of rising anti-Semitism, mostly among radical groups on the right. The prominence and acceptance of Jews in the American political and cultural elites has no parallel in modern Jewish history.^{xx} Despite this, there is concern over a "slippery slope" and a reversion to previous eras (until the 1950s and 1960s), in which discrimination of Jews, and anti-Jewish expressions were more common.

A three-dimensional US indicator

Although still only a peripheral phenomenon of the conservative backlash against globalization and political liberalism, the Alt-Right phenomenon is a source of significant anxiety among Jews. But there are at least three questions that did not yet get a clear answer on the significance of this group.

1. Is the Alt-Right a transitory fringe phenomenon or the beginning of a cultural backlash that will endanger 70 years of Jewish prosperity and successful social integration in America?
2. Can white supremacists inculcate anti-Semitism in the white, blue-collar masses suffering the effects of economic globalization by scapegoating the Jews and other minority groups?

3. Is there a tacit support of political elites (including the current occupant of the White House) for this group that includes a willingness to ignore anti-Semitic tendencies?

Nobody currently knows the answer to the three questions posed above, so our role will be, to provide an integrated methodology for assessing American anti-Semitism, similar to the one we have for Europe. Given the inherent differences, we will keep US and European analyses separate.

The integrated index illustrates the fact that both anti-Semitic incidents and anxiety among American Jews concerning anti-Semitism is on the rise. As we follow the evolution of the index for the US and gather reliable data regarding the feelings of the Jews regarding anti-Semitism, we will hopefully be able to elaborate concrete directions for action.

JPPI's integrated Anti-Semitism Index has three dimensions:

Dimension 1: Public opinion toward Jews.

Dimension 2: Anti-Semitic incidents of different sorts (extreme violence, assault, damage and desecration of Jewish property, threats, abusive behavior, literature), including online harassment.

Dimension 3: Anti-Semitism as perceived by Jews.

There is data for the first dimension (ADL and Pew reports) and for the second one. Regarding the third dimension, which relates to the degree of anxiety among American Jews, systematic data is still missing. Inspired by the work of the European Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), JPPI has launched in May 2019 a limited Delphi consultation with 180 rabbis and communal leaders in the United States to collect their perceptions about the rise of anti-Semitism in their vicinity and its possible impact on the communal life.

Table 2	Trend	2019	2018	2017	2016
Anti-Semitism in the USA					
PUBLIC OPINION TOWARDS JEWS					
Harbor anti-Semitic attitudes (%) ^{xxi}			NA	10%	9%
ANTI-SEMITIC BEHAVIOR (number of incidents; only as reported to official agencies)^{xxii}					
Increase/Decrease of Assault (%)			+105%	-47%	
Assaults (physical)			39	19	36
Vandalism (property)			774	952	510
Harassment (verbal, written)			1,066	1,015	720
Total Incidents (extreme violence, assaults, damages, desecrations and threats)			1,879	1,986	1,266
Number of incidents per 1,000 Jews			0.28	0.29	0.2
ANTI-SEMITISM AS PERCEIVED BY JEWS^{xxiii}					
Anti-Semitism is currently a very serious or somewhat of a problem in the United States				73%	
Anti-Semitism is currently a very serious or somewhat of a problem on the American college campus				57%	74.2%
Compared to a year ago, the status of Jews in the United States is less secure		65%			89.9%
Compared to a year ago, the climate on college campuses is more hostile toward pro-Israel students		57%	55%		

Dimension 1: Public opinion towards Jews.

According to ADL findings, 9% of American adults in 2014 and 10 percent in 2015 harbored anti-Semitic attitudes. According to the Pew Research Center (2014), half of U.S. adults rate Jews “very warmly” (over 67 degrees on the “Pew Thermometer”). Only 9 percent of US adults rate Jews “very coldly” (under 33 degrees on the Pew thermometer). Certainly, the Pew data and the ADL data converge.^{xxiv}

Dimension 2: Anti-Semitic incidents.

Data from the 2018 ADL Anti-Semitic Incidents Audit, published in May 2019, shows that anti-Semitic incidents in the United States surged by 100 percent in 2018.^{xxv}

Dimension 3: Anti-Semitism as perceived by Jews

As they are few available data about the perceptions of the anti-Semitism among the US Jews (In Table 2 above, the results of the few questions on the subject from the American Jewish committee 2018 survey are shown), JPPI has decided to launch a short had-hoc survey among a selected group of rabbis and community leaders to collect their perceptions of the developments of a possible anti-Jewish sentiment among non-Jews in their specific neighborhood, to assess their worries about possible negative developments (harassment, violence, physical attacks) and their assessment of the impact of the increased anti-Semitism (including the recent deadly shootings) to the participation to the communal life. Altogether, some 180 respondents answered the survey and we are presenting below some of the results.

The survey was administered to a broad group of Jewish lay leaders (N=136) and then to a group of 44 rabbis in addition. The desire for a rapid response to immediate events militated against designing a survey that would yield clinically rigorous statistical output. Nevertheless, the results do reflect several broad areas of shared sentiment. There is a clear sense that something has changed in North America compared to five years ago. The responses were weighted toward the choices indicating that these changes have been considerable and not just a perceptible shift from prior patterns. Several phenomena ranging from anti-Semitic graffiti, desecrations, vandalism to hostile expressions were claimed to have been directly observed by 20-55 percent of respondents. More than half of both survey respondents observed what they considered to be anti-Semitic expression in the traditional media. Numbers were higher when asked about political life or internet and social media. However, in the US, anti-Israel sentiment may not be as much of a driver or cover for anti-Semitic expression as appears to be the case in Europe. When asked whether “the Arab-Israeli conflict affect[s] how safe you feel as a Jewish person”, three-quarters of all respondents answered either “Not at all” or “A little”. An even higher share answered “Never” or “Occasionally” to the question, “Do you ever feel that people accuse or blame you for actions of the Israeli government because you are Jewish?” (as opposed to the other choices of “Frequently” or “All the time.”)

Another difference from what the perceptions within some European Jewish communities is that there is a strong feeling among the laity and the religious establishment that local governments “[respond] adequately to the security needs of Jewish communities.” More than half of the general sample and 75 percent of the rabbis answer this question “Yes, definitely”. They are less certain that these local governments, mostly city and county, are capable of combatting antisemitism effectively. This may well reflect that these jurisdictions have really not needed to confront the attendant issues for a half century and more and did not by and large consider the phenomenon as a societal problem before that. The biggest divergence in views among the laity and rabbis is in characterizing the primal cause for the recent increase in attacks and mass killings in churches, synagogues and mosques. The laity puts more weight on explanations resting at least in part on a rise in antisemitism while over 60 percent of the rabbis (responding to a slightly different set of choices)^{xxvi} lay the blame on the general increase in mass murder in the US.

What may be considered the bottom line finding, perhaps reflective of the perceived trust in the authorities’ ability and willingness to prevent physical harm, is that among the laity two-thirds are either “Not at all worried” or “Not very worried” that “in the next 12 months [they] or a person close to [them] will be the victim of harassment or physical attack because they are Jewish”. Despite the changes in perception of threat attested to in the survey responses, more than 80

percent of the laity and an even larger share of rabbis “never avoid certain places or locations...because [they] don’t feel safe there as a Jew.” And while a third of the laity worries about a possible “decrease in the number of participants [in Jewish communal life] in the coming year for fear of a possible anti-Jewish incident,” only one respondent among the 44 rabbis answered yes with three-quarters responding “No.” These may be the key indicators to be scrutinized most closely over the coming years to gauge the changing sentiments of North American Jews.

Directions for Action

1. Recommendations to the Government of Israel

- A. **Special programs for occupations in high demand in Israel.** The figure of 38 percent of the Jews in Europe investigating leaving their country can’t leave us indifferent. As high-end employment is the main impediment to Aliyah of young professionals, this field requires our attention. Should Israel be able to provide tailor-made attractive Aliyah programs, dozens of thousands of European Jews could relocate in Israel. Structured employment programs should be launched similar to those designed in the past for engineers and physicians from the CIS. In coordination with Israeli employers interested in hiring their graduates, these programs would involve early identification in France and Belgium and initial training in Israel. Relevant occupations include researchers in selected fields, specialist physicians, engineers, investment consultants, and more.
- B. **Vocational guidance centers.** In cities with large numbers of immigrants, it is advisable to establish vocational guidance centers that provide assessment, courses and training vouchers, and personal guidance and placement services. These centers should also be accessible to Aliyah candidates, prior to immigration.
- C. **Provide training for Israeli politicians on effective ways to address Diaspora communities in times of anti-Semitic and terror attacks.** It is important to avoid making unhelpful remarks to Diaspora communities, such as “come home to Israel.” American Jews feel at home in the United States. Further, generalizations about “anti-Semitism in the Democratic Party should be avoided (it could become self-fulfilling prophecy), as should conflating legitimate criticism of Israeli policies with anti-Semitism.
- D. **Relationship with European countries ruled by far-right parties.** We recommend adopting four guiding principles in combining political pragmatism with Jewish values:
 - Zero-tolerance of Holocaust denial, historical revisionism, distortion of historical fact, diminution of the Holocaust, or trampling the memory of victims.

- Take a firm stance against any official anti-Semitic infringement on local Jews or attempts to grant legitimacy to anti-Semitic past leaders.
- Appreciate and nurture all national leaders friendly to Israel who respect principles (1) and (2).
- Encourage Eastern European countries to abandon the **competition over victimhood status** by declaring that all European nations – Jews and non-Jews – suffered at the hands of the Nazi past and communism.

2. Recommendations to Communal Leaders in North America

- A. **Security training for young activists in the United States.** Projects should be investigated (in communities that demonstrate interest) to integrate local Jewish youth who wish to take responsibility for the security of their communities. Twenty years of successful experience in France and the UK has shown that a large number of young people who had been Jewishly unaffiliated took interest in being engaged in communal security. In France and the UK, turning a threat into an opportunity, well-funded youth organizations have been established to train these new activists in self-defense, crisis management, and coordinated intervention. The activities to be investigated include trans-regional training gatherings, crisis simulation *shabatonim*, visits to para-military and anti-terror centers in Israel (including *gadna*, *kravmaga* courses, and more). It is notable that at one point the French Youth Organization SPCJ included more than 15,000 male and female Jewish youth who met regularly on holidays for training sessions and provided professional security services to local synagogues and JCCs.
- B. **Interfaith programs.** The mass killings in synagogues and mosques present the opportunity to build trust, long term relationships, dialogue programs, anti-hatred educational programs, mutual understanding programs for youth, and interfaith coalitions against racism and xenophobia.
- C. **Security.** Watchfulness, forethought, and action plans for security are fully justified under the current circumstances. At the same time, the lay and religious leadership should take care that responses are consistent with the actual level of threat rather than presuming the worst. It is a fine line, but it would be ironic if North American Jews, fearing potential ostracism or isolation, took measures that might be deleterious to the very bonds that characterize their place in Jewish history and among Jewish communities around the world.

Notes

ⁱ For an in-depth understanding of the rampant social exclusion phenomenon in Europe, see Amar J. (2013), *Les identités religieuses au miroir des droits de l'homme*, contribution à une sociologie des droits de l'homme, Presses Académiques Francophones, Paris, pp. 415-428. Special thanks to Dr. Jacques Amar for his contribution to the analysis of the situation in Europe.

ⁱⁱ Ifop, *Les Français et l'antisémitisme*, February 2019. <https://www.ifop.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/116217-Rapport.pdf>

ⁱⁱⁱ Ifop, op.cit.

^{iv} Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, *Antisemitismus im Islamismus*, April 2019, <https://www.verfassungsschutz.de/de/oeffentlichkeitsarbeit/publikationen/pb-islamismus/broschuere-2019-03-antisemitismus-im-islamismus>

^v Johnson A., *Institutionally Antisemitic Contemporary Left Antisemitism and the Crisis in the British Labour Party*, A Fathom publication, March 2019. <http://fathomjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Institutionally-Antisemitic-Report-for-event.pdf>

^{vi} Karsenty Y., *Anti-Semitism in 2018, overview, trends and events*, January 2019, Ministry of Diaspora. <http://antisemitism.mda.gov.il/en/office-publications/>

^{vii} "New Survey by the Claims Conference Finds Critical Gaps in Holocaust Knowledge in Austria" <http://www.claimscon.org/austria-study/>

^{viii} ADL Global 100 (2015), Anti-Defamation League, *An Index of Anti-Semitism*, Executive Summary. <http://global100.adl.org/>

^{ix} Staetsky, L. D., *Antisemitism in contemporary Great Britain A study of attitudes towards Jews and Israel*, JPR, September 2017. '[Antisemitism in contemporary Great Britain: A study of attitudes towards Jews and Israel](#)'.

^x See *Bericht des Unabhängigen Expertenkreises Antisemitismus*, German Parliament, April 2017. <http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/18/119/1811970.pdf>

^{xi} Ifop op.cit. See also Koopmans, Ruud. "Fundamentalism and out-group hostility Muslim immigrants and Christian natives in Western Europe." *WZB Berlin Social Science Center, WZB Mitteilungen*, December 2013.

^{xii} France: The number of recorded anti-Semitic violent incidents (attack or attempted attack, homicide or attempted homicide, violence, arson or attempted arson, defacement or vandalism) increased by 89 percent with 183 incidents (compared to 97 in 2017). Within the violent incidents category, anti-Semitic physical violence against persons increased by 170 percent with 81 incidents (30 in 2017). The number of recorded anti-Semitic threats (oral threats, threatening gestures or insults, flyers and hate mail, graffiti) increased by 67 percent with 358 incidents compared to 214 in 2017. 824 Jewish community sites are subject to protection by police security and military forces.

^{xiii} Community Security Trust (UK), *ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS Report 2018* p. 10.

<https://cst.org.uk/data/file/2/9/Incidents%20Report%202018%20-%20web.1549538710.pdf>

^{xiv} Source: Kantor Center - European Jewry and Antisemitism Database. P.71. The total number of recorded anti-Semitic manifestations (according to the official governmental data) in Germany for the year 2018 indicates an overall rise of at least 10 percent. 1646 anti-Semitic crimes were reported, including 62 acts of violence (that left 43 people injured) - a rise of almost 70 percent, in comparison to 2017, when 1504 anti-Semitic crimes, including 37 violent incidents, were registered.

^{xv} *Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU*, EU Agency for Fundamental Rights' (FRA), December 2018. https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2018-experiences-and-perceptions-of-antisemitism-survey_en.pdf

^{xvi} The percentage of French Jews considering emigration has decreased since the 2012 survey. During this period, more than 25,000 French Jews have relocated to Israel (7.5% of the French Jewry) and several additional dozens of thousands to other countries.

^{xvii} McAuley, James (28 March 2018), "The brutal killing of a Holocaust survivor raises anti-Semitism fears in France". *Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/frances-jewish->

[leaders-raise-the-alarm-over-brutal-murder-of-holocaust-survivor/2018/03/26/28cf8686-30f4-11e8-8abc-22a366b72f2d_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.6bf5644f3c59](https://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR_2017._Different_Antisemitisms_in_Sweden_and_across_Europe.pdf)

xviii Major elements of this typology is inspired by the excellent following JPR research report. The conclusions are ours see Dencik L. and K. Maros, Different Antisemitisms: perceptions and experiences of antisemitism among Jews in Sweden and across Europe, JPR, London, 2017

https://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR_2017._Different_Antisemitisms_in_Sweden_and_across_Europe.pdf

xix Maimon D., “Re-Emergence of the Jewish Diasporistic Identity in Europe”, JPPI 2017 Annual Assessment, pp. 147-155. [http://jppi.org.il/new/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Re-](http://jppi.org.il/new/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Re-Emergence_of_a_Diasporistic_Jewish_Identity_in_Europe-JPPI_AA_2017.pdf)

[Emergence_of_a_Diasporistic_Jewish_Identity_in_Europe-JPPI_AA_2017.pdf](http://jppi.org.il/new/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Re-Emergence_of_a_Diasporistic_Jewish_Identity_in_Europe-JPPI_AA_2017.pdf)

xx Fischer S., The Rise of Orthodoxy and Cultural-Political Polarization within the Jewish Community in the US, JPPI 2017 Annual Assessment, pp. 131-142. <http://jppi.org.il/new/en/article/aa2017/part-2-dimensions-of-jewish-well-being/identity/the-rise-of-orthodoxy/#.W0PYgtLX12w>

xxi ADL Global 100 (2014) and update about 19 countries (2015), Anti-Defamation League, An Index of Anti-Semitism, Executive Summary. <http://global100.adl.org/>, PEW research center, Religion & Public Life, February 2017.

http://www.pewforum.org/2017/02/15/americans-express-increasingly-warm-feelings-toward-religious-groups/pf-02-15-17_thermometer-04/

xxii Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents: Year in Review 2018. April 2019. ADL.

<https://www.adl.org/audit2018>

xxiii [AJC's 2018 Survey of American Jewish Opinion](https://www.ajc.org/news/survey2018), <https://www.ajc.org/news/survey2018>

xxiv PEW research center, Religion & Public Life, February 2017.

http://www.pewforum.org/2017/02/15/americans-express-increasingly-warm-feelings-toward-religious-groups/pf-02-15-17_thermometer-04/

xxv op. cit. U.S. Anti-Semitic Incidents Surged in 2018.

xxvi The choices posed as responses in the lay survey were, “Mainly reflects the increase in mass shootings” (7.8%), “Mainly reflects the increase in attacks on churches, synagogues and mosques” (19.5%), “Reflects in a similar manner the increase in mass killings and heightened anti-Semitism” (53.9%), “Mainly reflects heightened anti-Semitism” (15.6%) and “None of the above” (3.1%). Rabbis were not presented with the second of these choices. Their responses were, respectively, 61.9% [increase in mass killings], 35.7% [mass killings and anti-Semitism], 2.38% [anti-Semitism] and 0%.