# Jewish Community Safety Index

VERSION 1.2

Comprehensive Country Assessment - Seven Pillar Framework



CRITICAL PARADOX: The UAE presents a unique assessment challenge - strong government tolerance policies and Abraham Accords partnership (Sept 2020) contrast sharply with 80% population antisemitism (ADL Global 100) and the November 2024 murder of Rabbi Zvi Kogan, the first antisemitic killing in the Gulf region. The state-society divide is the most extreme of any assessed country.

# **Seven Pillar Summary**

#	Pillar	Weight	Score	Assessment
P1	Legal & Government Framework	10%	55	Mixed - Strong anti-discrimination law; no IHRA; autocratic system
P2	Security Infrastructure	10%	62	Moderate - Strict state control; swift Kogan response; limited community structures
Р3	Criminal Justice Outcomes	10%	78	Strong - Death sentences for Kogan killers; severe penalties enforced
P4	Threat Environment	18%	35	Concerning - Rabbi Kogan murder; Iran proxy threats; regional instability
P5	Movement Ecosystem  NEW	15%	52	Moderate - State suppresses extremism; regional Islamist influence
P6	Cultural & Societal Climate NEW	15%	18	Critical - 80% ADL antisemitism; state- society divide extreme
P7	Lived Experience & Community Voice	22%	22	Critical - Post-Oct 7 restrictions; identity concealment advised

#### **CRITICAL STRENGTHS**

- Abraham Accords (2020): Full diplomatic ties with Israel; tourism, trade active
- Government Tolerance: Ministry of Tolerance; official Jewish recognition 2019
- Anti-Discrimination Law: Federal Decree Law 2015/2023 with severe penalties
- **Justice Response**: Death sentences for Kogan killers within 4 months
- Gun Control: Near-total restrictions in autocratic state
- Abrahamic Family House:
   Synagogue, mosque, church complex
   2023

#### **CRITICAL VULNERABILITIES**

- **Population Antisemitism:** 80% ADL Global 100 among world's highest
- Rabbi Kogan Murder: Nov 2024 first antisemitic killing in Gulf
- Post-Oct 7 Restrictions: Jews advised to conceal identity
- Iran Threat: Suspected in Kogan murder; regional proxy operations
- Tiny Community: ~1,500-3,000 Jews minimal critical mass
- No IHRA Adoption: Definition not formally adopted

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FORMULA: JCSI = (55 \times 0.10) + (62 \times 0.10) + (78 \times 0.10) + (35 \times 0.18) + (52 \times 0.15) + (18 \times 0.15) + (22 \times 0.22) = 38/100
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Assessment Period: October 2023 - December 2025 | Framework v1.2 | Report Date: December 2025

# United Arab Emirates JCSI v1.2 - Detailed Assessment

- ASSESSMENT NOTE: The UAE represents a unique case in the JCSI framework. Unlike Western democracies where civil society, public opinion, and government policy generally align, the UAE demonstrates an extreme divergence: a government actively promoting religious tolerance while governing a population with among the world's highest antisemitic attitudes. This state-society gap fundamentally shapes every pillar assessment.

#### - DEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT (Reference Data - Not Scored)

Indicator	Measurement	Source
Jewish population	~1,500-3,000 (estimates vary; ~0.02% of total)	JCE/Community estimates
Muslim population	~8.5 million (76% of total)	Census/Pew 2020
Muslim:Jewish ratio	~3,000-5,000:1	Calculated
Total population	~11.5 million (88% non-citizens)	UN 2024
Geographic concentration	Jews concentrated in Dubai, Abu Dhabi	JCE
Population composition	Only 11.5% Emirati citizens; 88.5% expatriates	UAE Statistics

# 1.1 Government Leadership on Antisemitism (25%)

50/100

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Special Envoy for Antisemitism	No - No dedicated position	30	Govt Records
Ministry of Tolerance	Yes - Established 2016; broad mandate	75	UAE Cabinet
Official Jewish community recognition	Yes - February 2019	80	Ministry of Tolerance
National action plan on antisemitism	No specific plan - Covered under general tolerance	35	Govt Records

# 1.2 Constitutional & Fundamental Protections (15%)

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Religious freedom guarantee	Partial - Article 32 allows worship "in accordance with established customs"	50	UAE Constitution
Equal protection clause	Limited - Islam is state religion; sharia applies to family law	35	Constitution
Minority rights provisions	No specific constitutional provisions	35	Constitution

# 1.3 Antisemitism-Specific Legislation (25%)

58/100

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Holocaust denial criminalized	No specific law - Protected under anti- discrimination	40	Legal Code
Hate speech laws covering antisemitism	Yes - Federal Decree Law 2/2015 & 34/2023; severe penalties	80	Legislation
Hate crime enhancement statutes	Yes - 6 months to 10+ years; fines up to AED 2M	75	Criminal Code
IHRA definition adopted	No - Not an IHRA member; definition not adopted	30	IHRA Records
Incitement to violence laws	Yes - Strong penalties; includes religious incitement	75	Criminal Code

# 1.4 Gun Control Framework (10%)

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Constitutional right to arms	No - No right to bear arms	100	Constitution
Semi-automatic weapons banned	Yes - Highly restricted	95	Federal Law
Licensing + background check	Yes - Extremely strict; rarely granted	95	Federal Law
Gun ownership rate	~1.7 per 100 - among world's lowest	90	Small Arms Survey

#### 1.5 Organization & Symbol Bans (15%)

55/100

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Hamas banned (full organization)	Partial - Not formally proscribed; UAE maintains some channels	40	Govt Records
Hezbollah banned (full organization)	Yes - Listed as terrorist organization	85	UAE Terrorism List
Muslim Brotherhood banned	Yes - Listed as terrorist org 2014	90	UAE Cabinet
Nazi symbols criminalized	No specific law - May fall under anti- discrimination	40	Legal Code

# 1.6 Israel Relations & Diplomatic Framework (10%)

85/100

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Diplomatic relations with Israel	Yes - Full normalization since Sept 2020 (Abraham Accords)	95	State Dept
Embassy exchange	Yes - Full ambassadorial relations	95	MFA
Trade relations	Yes - \$3B+ bilateral trade; UAE is Israel's leading Arab trade partner	90	Trade Data
Security cooperation	Yes - Intelligence sharing; CENTCOM coordination	85	Reports
Relations maintained post-Oct 7	Yes - Strained but intact; no withdrawal	65	Diplomatic Reports

PILLAR 1 CALCULATION:  $(50 \times 0.25) + (40 \times 0.15) + (58 \times 0.25) + (95 \times 0.10) + (55 \times 0.15) + (85 \times 0.10) = 55/100$ 

**62/100** | Weight: 10%

# 2.1 Government Security Programs (35%)

58/100

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Dedicated Jewish security funding	No dedicated fund - General police protection	40	Govt Records
State security apparatus	Extensive - Strong internal security services	80	Security Reports
Protection of Jewish sites	Yes - Synagogues and community centers protected	65	Community Reports
Post-Oct 7 security advisory	Yes - Government advised Jews to be discreet for safety	45	Rabbi Abadie

# 2.2 Community Security Organization (30%)

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Organized Jewish community security	Limited - JCE coordinates but no CSO equivalent	50	JCE
Community-police liaison	Yes - Good cooperation with state security	70	Community Reports
Community size for security structure	~1,500-3,000 - Too small for extensive infrastructure	45	JCE

# 2.3 Intelligence & Counter-Terrorism (35%)

72/100

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Intelligence services capability	Strong - Extensive surveillance state; good threat detection	80	Security Reports
Counter-terrorism cooperation	Yes - Close ties with US, Israel; CENTCOM integration	85	CENTCOM
Response capability (Kogan case)	Swift - Arrests within 48 hours; international cooperation	75	Interior Ministry
Iran threat monitoring	Active - Regional adversary; known threat	65	Intelligence Reports

PILLAR 2 CALCULATION:  $(58 \times 0.35) + (55 \times 0.30) + (72 \times 0.35) = 62/100$ 

# PILLAR 3: Criminal Justice Outcomes

**78/100** | Weight: 10%

# 3.1 Investigation & Arrest (35%)

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Kogan murder investigation	Rapid - 3 suspects arrested within 48 hours	90	Interior Ministry
International cooperation	Strong - Turkey extradition; Mossad collaboration	85	Reports
Hate crime reporting system	No dedicated system - General criminal reporting	60	Govt Records
Antisemitism tracking	No dedicated tracking - No CSO data collection	55	Analysis

#### 3.2 Prosecution & Sentencing (40%)

85/100

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Kogan murder prosecution	Completed - Trial within 4 months of murder	90	Court Records
Sentencing outcome	Death penalty - 3 perpetrators sentenced March 2025	95	Media Reports
4th defendant	Life imprisonment - Accessory role	85	Court Records
General hate crime prosecution	Strong penalties available - Limited data on usage	70	Legal Code

#### 3.3 Judicial Independence & Process (25%)

65/100

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Judicial system type	Civil/sharia hybrid - Limited independence from executive	55	Constitution
Speed of justice	Very fast - Efficient but raises due process questions	70	Kogan Case
State commitment demonstrated	Strong - Kogan case shows serious treatment of antisemitic crimes	80	Analysis

PILLAR 3 CALCULATION:  $(82 \times 0.35) + (85 \times 0.40) + (65 \times 0.25) = 78/100$ 

#### **PILLAR 4: Threat Environment**

**35/100** | Weight: 18%

MAJOR INCIDENT: The November 21, 2024 murder of Rabbi Zvi Kogan - the first antisemitic killing in the Gulf region - fundamentally altered the UAE threat assessment. Three Uzbek nationals, suspected of Iran links, were sentenced to death in March 2025.

# 4.1 Fatal/Mass Casualty Attacks (40%)

25/100

Attack/Incident	Details	Impact	Decay
Rabbi Zvi Kogan Murder	Nov 21, 2024 - Kidnapped, killed; body found Nov 24	1 killed	100%
First antisemitic killing in Gulf	3 Uzbek nationals - Iran suspected; death sentences	Historic	100%
Prior incidents	No recorded antisemitic fatalities pre-2024	-	-

# 4.2 Violent Incidents (25%)

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Physical assaults on Jews	Very rare - Kogan murder is isolated incident	60	JCE
Property attacks (synagogues, etc.)	Minimal - Mezuzahs reportedly removed from Rimon Market	55	AP Report
Online threats	Present - Kosher store targeted by online protests	50	Reports

Actor Type	Assessment	Threat Level	Source
Iran/IRGC proxies	HIGH - Suspected in Kogan murder; regional operations	20	Mossad/ Intelligence
Domestic Islamist	LOW - State suppresses extremism effectively	75	Security Reports
Far-right extremism	MINIMAL - Not a significant factor in UAE	80	Analysis
Lone wolf/radicalized individuals	MODERATE - Large foreign population; some susceptibility	55	Analysis
Regional instability spillover	ELEVATED - Gaza conflict; Yemen; regional tensions	40	Regional Analysis

**PILLAR 4 CALCULATION:**  $(25 \times 0.40) + (55 \times 0.25) + (35 \times 0.35) = 35/100$ 

# **PILLAR 5: Radicalization & Movement Ecosystem**

**52/100** | Weight: 15% Now

SCORED

# **5.1 Islamist Movement Presence (40%)**

58/100

Organization/ Movement	Status in UAE	Score	Source
Muslim Brotherhood	BANNED - Listed as terrorist org 2014; heavily suppressed	85	UAE Cabinet
Hizb ut-Tahrir	BANNED - Proscribed organization	80	Security List
ISIS/Al-Qaeda	BANNED - Active counter-terrorism; no domestic presence	85	CT Reports
Iran-linked networks	PRESENT - External threat; suspected in Kogan murder	35	Intelligence
Regional influence	MODERATE - Large expat population from varied backgrounds	55	Demographics

# 5.2 Pro-Palestinian/Anti-Zionist Activism (35%)

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Public protests permitted	NO - Protests effectively banned in autocratic state	85	UAE Law
Online activism	PRESENT - Social media criticism; Rimon Market targeted online	45	Social Media
Campus activism	MINIMAL - Universities under state control; no encampments	80	Education Reports
Elite opposition to Abraham Accords	PRESENT - Some prominent figures critical post-Oct 7	50	Media Reports

#### 5.3 State Control & De-radicalization (25%)

65/100

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
State control of religious institutions	TOTAL - Awqaf controls Sunni mosques; sermon content regulated	85	Govt Records
De-radicalization programs	ACTIVE - Counselling centers; court- ordered programs (Art. 18)	70	Decree Law 34/2023
Prevention vs. population attitudes	LIMITED - State prevents action but can't change 80% attitudes	40	ADL/Analysis

**PILLAR 5 CALCULATION:**  $(58 \times 0.40) + (55 \times 0.35) + (65 \times 0.25) =$ **58/100**<--Adjusted to**52/100**(Iran threat factor)

PILLAR 6: Cultural & Societal

**18/100** | Weight: 15%

Climate

NEW PILLAR

**STATE-SOCIETY PARADOX:** The UAE demonstrates the most extreme state-society divide of any JCSI country. Government tolerance policies score highly, but 80% population antisemitism (ADL Global 100, 2014) makes this pillar critically low.

# 6.1 Public Attitudes Toward Jews (45%)

10/100

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
ADL Global 100 Index	80% hold antisemitic views - 10th highest globally	10	ADL 2014
"Jews have too much control over global media"	70% agree	15	ADL 2014
"People hate Jews because of the way Jews behave"	82% agree	10	ADL 2014
"Jews have too much control over global affairs"	73% agree	12	ADL 2014
MENA regional average	76% antisemitic attitudes - UAE at regional norm	12	ADL Regional

# 6.2 Anti-Israel Activity & Boycotts (25%)

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
BDS movement presence	LIMITED - State has normalized relations; BDS suppressed	75	Analysis
Academic boycotts	NONE - Universities maintain Israel relations	80	Education Reports
Corporate/consumer boycotts	SOME - Post-Oct 7 some private boycott activity	50	Reports
Public sentiment on Israel	NEGATIVE - Population opposed to normalization	25	Surveys

#### 55/100

#### 6.3 Jewish Heritage & Positive Indicators (30%)

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Synagogues operational	Yes - 3 synagogues; Abrahamic Family House 2023	80	JCE
Kosher infrastructure	Yes - EAKC certification; kosher restaurants; Rimon Market	75	JCE
Holocaust education	LIMITED - Some textbook inclusion; Holocaust museum proposed	40	Education Reports
Holocaust Remembrance	Yes - First Gulf state ceremony 2021 (Rabbi Kogan led)	65	Media
Interfaith initiatives	STRONG - Abrahamic Family House; Ministry of Tolerance	75	Govt Records

PILLAR 6 CALCULATION:  $(10 \times 0.45) + (55 \times 0.25) + (55 \times 0.30) = 18/100$ 

# PILLAR 7: Lived Experience & Community Voice

**22/100** | Weight:

22%

#### 7.1 Subjective Safety (40%)

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Pre-Oct 7 safety perception	HIGH - Community thrived openly; public Jewish life	-	JCE
Post-Oct 7 safety perception	SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED - Government advised discretion	20	Rabbi Abadie
Post-Kogan murder perception	SEVERELY REDUCED - First antisemitic killing in Gulf	15	Community Reports
Israel travel advisory	Level 3 - "Avoid nonessential travel"; avoid Jewish venues	20	Israel NSC

# 7.2 Behavioral Adaptation (35%)

18/100

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Government advice to hide identity	YES - Post-Oct 7 Jews advised to be "much more quiet"	10	Rabbi Abadie
Yarmulke/Jewish symbols in public	ADVISED AGAINST - "Don't wear yarmulkes on streets"	15	Rabbi Abadie
Synagogue attendance restrictions	LIMITED - "Refrain from gathering in shuls to daven"	15	Rabbi Abadie
Israeli departures post-Oct	SIGNIFICANT - "Many Israelis came back to Israel"	20	Rabbi Abadie
Pre-Oct 7 vs. post comparison	DRAMATIC CHANGE - Public to concealed Jewish life	15	Analysis

# 7.3 Community Vitality & Protective Factors (25%)

35/100

Indicator	Measurement	Score	Source
Community growth trajectory	STALLED - Grew 2020-2023; uncertain post-Kogan	40	JCE
Jewish institutional presence	DEVELOPING - Schools, synagogues established but fragile	50	JCE
Political representation	NONE - No Jewish citizens; all expatriates	20	Demographics
Community resilience	Community resilience UNCERTAIN - Commitment to expand (Beit Zvi) despite murder		Chabad

PILLAR 7 CALCULATION:  $(20 \times 0.40) + (18 \times 0.35) + (35 \times 0.25) = 22/100$ 

#### **Key Findings**

#### **CRITICAL STRENGTHS**

- Abraham Accords (95/100): Full Israel relations; only Gulf state with synagogues
- Government tolerance policy: Ministry of Tolerance; official Jewish recognition
- Criminal justice response: Death sentences for Kogan killers within 4 months
- Gun control (95/100): Near-total restrictions prevent mass casualty capability
- Anti-discrimination law: Strong penalties up to 10 years, AED 2M fines
- State control of extremism: Muslim Brotherhood banned; mosques regulated
- Interfaith initiatives: Abrahamic Family House; Pope Francis visit 2019

#### **CRITICAL VULNERABILITIES**

- Population antisemitism (80%): Among world's highest - 10th globally
- Rabbi Kogan murder: First antisemitic killing in Gulf region
- Post-Oct 7 restrictions: Government advised Jews to conceal identity
- Iran threat: Suspected in Kogan murder; ongoing regional operations
- State-society divide: Government tolerance cannot change public attitudes
- Tiny community: ~1,500-3,000 minimal critical mass; all expatriates
- No citizenship path: Jews cannot become UAE citizens; inherently transient
- No IHRA adoption: UAE not an IHRA member

#### **Final Score Calculation**

#### **JCSI v1.2 FORMULA**

```
JCSI = (P1 x 0.10) + (P2 x 0.10) + (P3 x 0.10) + (P4 x 0.18) +
(P5 x 0.15) + (P6 x 0.15) + (P7 x 0.22)
JCSI = (55 x 0.10) + (62 x 0.10) + (78 x 0.10) + (35 x 0.18) +
(52 x 0.15) + (18 x 0.15) + (22 x 0.22)

JCSI = 5.5 + 6.2 + 7.8 + 6.3 + 7.8 + 2.7 + 4.84 = 38/100
```

Score Range	Classification	UAE	
80-100	HIGH SAFETY		
60-79	MODERATE SAFETY		
40-59	CONCERNING		
0-39	CRITICAL	< UAE (38)	

#### **UAE Unique Assessment Factors**

#### - State-Society Paradox Analysis

The UAE presents a unique case that challenges traditional JCSI methodology:

- **Government vs. Population:** The UAE government scores highly on tolerance indicators (Ministry of Tolerance, Abraham Accords, anti-discrimination laws), but governs a population where 80% hold antisemitic views.
- Authoritarian Advantage: Unlike democracies, the UAE can suppress public antisemitism through state control protests are banned, mosques are regulated, extremist groups are proscribed. However, attitudes cannot be changed by decree.
- Fragile Equilibrium: The Jewish community exists at the pleasure of the state. The post-Oct 7 advice to Jews to conceal identity demonstrates that even a tolerant autocracy will sacrifice community visibility when social pressure rises.
- Expatriate Vulnerability: All UAE Jews are non-citizens (expatriates). They have no political representation, no citizenship path, and can be deported. This creates inherent transience and vulnerability.
- **Kogan Murder Significance:** The November 2024 murder shattered assumptions that state control could prevent violence. The swift justice response was exemplary, but the attack demonstrated that external threats can penetrate even the most surveilled society.

#### **Comparative Context**

Country	JCSI Score	ADL Antisemitism	Key Differentiator
UAE	38	80%	Extreme state-society divide; Abraham Accords partner
Australia	44	14%	Bondi attack; but low population antisemitism
France	45-50	17%	Large community; significant incidents; strong laws
Germany	48-52	20%	Strong legal framework; rising incidents

#### JCSI Framework v1.2 | Seven Pillar Assessment

Assessment Period: October 2023 - December 2025 | Report Date: December 2025

DISCLAIMER: This index provides comparative data for informational purposes. The UAE presents unique methodological challenges due to the extreme divergence between state policy and population attitudes. Small score differences (<5 points) may not be statistically meaningful. ADL Global 100 data is from 2014; more recent surveys were delayed due to regional conflict.

**Spotlight Research**