

COVID IS A LIE  
HOLOCAUST IS A LIE  
FUCK THE JEWS



# ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS

## Report 2021

Front cover: Holocaust denial graffiti on site hoarding, Haringey, April



Antisemitic graffiti, Tower Hamlets, March

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- CST recorded 2,255 antisemitic incidents in the UK in 2021, the highest total ever reported to CST in a single calendar year.** This is an increase of 34% from the 1,684 incidents recorded by CST in 2020 and is 24% higher than the previous record incident total of 1,813, reported in 2019. CST recorded 1,690 antisemitic incidents in 2018, and 1,420 in 2017.<sup>1</sup>
- This record figure is due to the volume of anti-Jewish reactions to the escalation of conflict in Israel and Palestine last year. In May, the month when the conflict peaked, CST recorded its highest ever monthly total of 661 antisemitic incidents.** This is more than the second- and third-highest ever monthly totals combined: which were July 2014 and January 2009, when 317 and 289 incidents were respectively reported during other sustained episodes of violence in the region. Trigger events in the Middle East impact diaspora Jewish communities, as the consequent rises in reports of antisemitism in the UK consistently demonstrate.<sup>2</sup>
- The sharp rise in antisemitic incidents during last year's conflict did not immediately decline as the fighting in the region ended. **May and June's respective incident totals of 661 and 210 together account for 39% of the 2,255 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2021.** The average monthly total across the remaining ten months is 143, only slightly more than 2020's monthly

average of 140. **It is no exaggeration to say that the landscape of UK-based antisemitism in 2021 is largely defined by responses to conflict in Israel and Palestine, as indeed is the unprecedented annual figure.** It perpetuates the pattern of historically high antisemitic incident totals recorded in recent years, with more than 100 incidents reported in 11 of the 12 months of 2021. By way of comparison, CST recorded monthly totals exceeding 100 incidents on six occasions between January 2006 and March 2016.<sup>3</sup>

- The increase in violence in the Middle East – and the subsequent surge in reported antisemitism here – took place concurrently with the easing of COVID-19 restrictions. In May, the UK entered Step 3 of its pandemic response: most businesses were allowed to open and event capacities were raised, most legal controls on outdoor socialising were lifted, and two households were able to meet indoors.<sup>4</sup> **It is possible that the relaxing of regulations, coinciding with a trigger event as emotive as renewed war between Israel and Hamas, provided the opportunity and impetus for a mass release of lockdown-induced frustrations. These factors may have played a part in the extent of the rise in antisemitic incident reports during and in the aftermath of this period.**
- Within these circumstances, incident levels have crept back up towards their pre-pandemic level.** In 2019, the

1 The incident totals for past years and months in this report may differ from those previously published by CST, due to the late reporting of some incidents to CST by incident victims, witnesses or other sources. Figures published in this report are also subject to change for the same reason.

2 An in-depth report on the extent of the antisemitism reported during and in the aftermath of the escalation of violence in the Middle East can be found in CST's research briefing, [The Month of Hate: Antisemitism & extremism during the Israel-Gaza conflict](#)

3 On five of these six occasions when the monthly total surpassed 100, it was mainly due to reactions to Israel-related conflicts. The outlier of this group, January 2015, was the month of an anti-Jewish terrorist attack in Paris.

4 COVID-19 Response - Spring 2021: [COVID-19 Response - Spring 2021 \(Summary\) - GOV.UK \(www.gov.uk\)](#)

last full year unaffected by COVID-19, CST recorded a monthly average of 151 antisemitic incidents. From April 2020 to April 2021 inclusive, the months prior to the escalation of aggression in the Middle East during which the virus had reshaped daily life, the monthly average was 133 incidents. In the final six months of 2021, after the significant peak reported across May and June, the monthly average was 147 incidents.

- A feature of the UK's roadmap out of lockdown was the reopening of schools in March. **When the conflict in Israel and Palestine flared up, Jewish schoolchildren and staff were especially targeted with antisemitism.** There were 41 antisemitic incidents recorded at Jewish schools in 2021, compared to 19 in 2020. An additional 42 incidents involved Jewish schoolchildren away from school, often on their way to or from home, compared to 21 incidents of this type reported in 2020. Ninety-nine incidents involved Jewish schoolchildren or staff at non-faith schools, rising considerably from the 14 reported in 2020. **This results in a total of 182 incidents affecting people and property in the school sector, the most reported in any year, constituting a sharp increase of 237% from the 54 such incidents recorded in 2020. Ninety-five of these 182 incidents occurred in May.**
- It is unusual for such a high proportion – 54% – of school-related incidents to take place at non-faith, mainstream schools. This proportion was just 25% in 2020 and 20% in 2019. **Throughout the year, CST supported many schoolchildren and teachers who felt fearful of returning to their places of education and work, anxious that they might be vulnerable in a space that should be safe.** It highlights one of the impacts of a trigger event in the Middle East: Jewish people face extreme backlash for Israel's alleged actions,

particularly in places where they are a small minority. In some ways, these non-faith school incidents are a microcosm of the wider UK Jewish community's experience during and since the period of inflamed hostilities between Israel and Hamas.

- A spike in antisemitism relating to events in the Middle East was also registered within the higher education sphere. **In 2021, there were 128 antisemitic incidents in which the victims or offenders were students or academics, or which involved student unions or other student bodies.** Thirty-eight of these events took place on campus or university property, and 90 away from campus, 75 of which were instances of online threats and abuse. Of these 128 incidents, 65 occurred in May. **This is the highest number of campus-related incidents ever recorded across a calendar year, and a rise of 191% from the 44 incidents of this kind reported in 2020.**
- **CST recorded 173 incidents in the category of Assault in 2021, an increase of 78% from the 97 incidents of this type reported in 2020 and the most ever recorded in a year.** They form 8% of the overall figure, suggesting that physical attacks on Jewish people are approaching the proportion of the incident total that was typical pre-pandemic. In 2019, 158 (9%) of the 1,813 antisemitic incidents reported were Assault, which fell to 97 (6%) of the 1,684 recorded in 2020. It makes sense that, in a year during which public interactions were less impacted by pandemic regulations, physical altercations were more common. This is perhaps revealed in the additional three attacks that were severe enough to be classed as Extreme Violence, equalling the three recorded in 2020.
- **Cases of Damage & Desecration rose by 11%, from 74 incidents in 2020 to 82 in 2021.** Thirty-eight of these

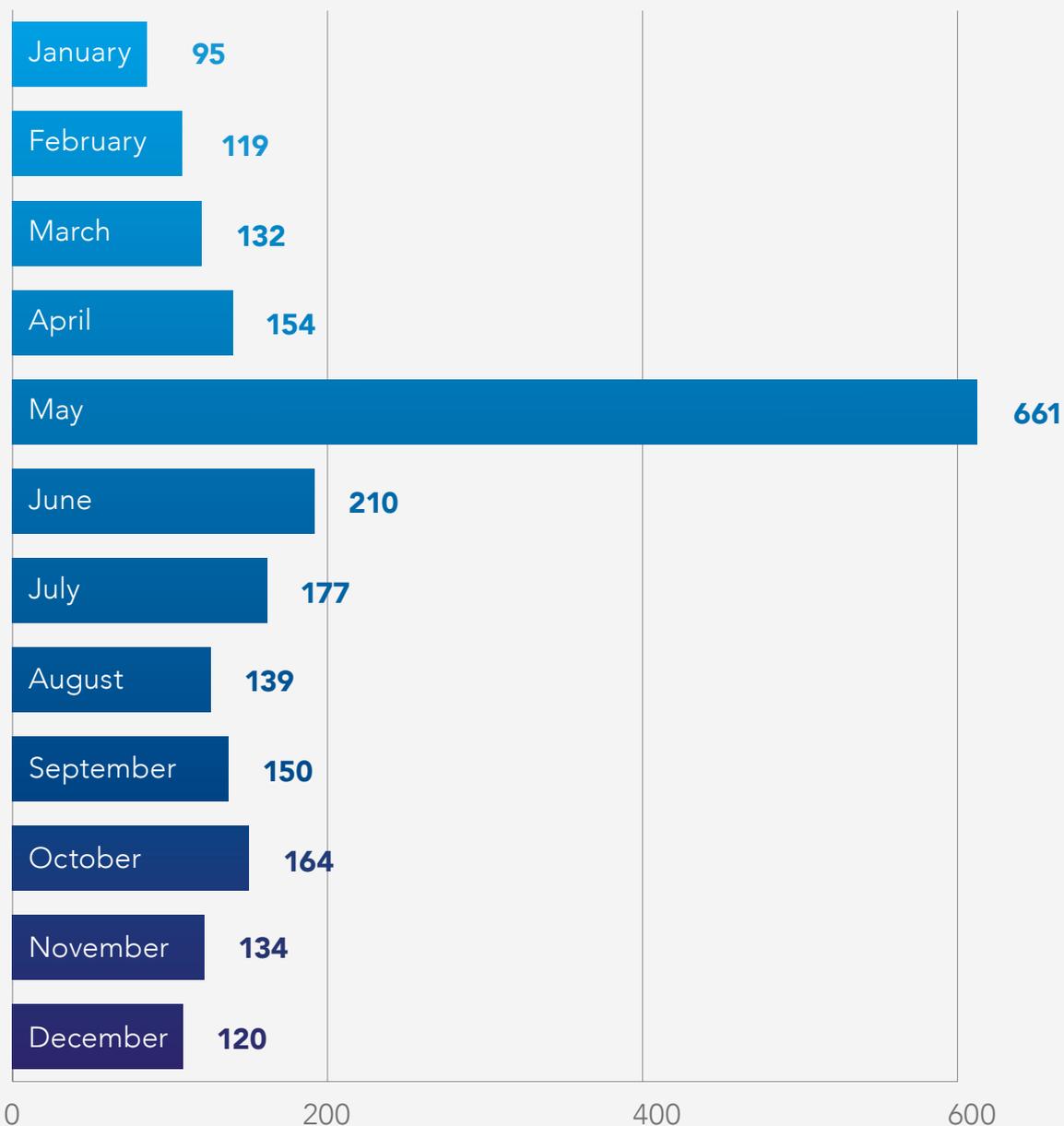
incidents involved damage done to the homes and vehicles of Jewish people, 17 to Jewish businesses and organisations, nine to synagogues, four to Jewish schools, and four to Jewish cemeteries.

- **There were 143 incidents reported to CST in the category of Threats in 2021**, which includes direct threats to people, institutions or property, rather than more general abuse containing non-specific threatening language. This marks a rise of 68% from the 85 incidents of this type recorded in 2020, and is Threats' highest ever annual total.
- **CST recorded 1,844 incidents in the category of Abusive Behaviour in 2021, more than in any other year and an increase of 31%** from the 1,413 instances of Abusive Behaviour reported in 2020. This figure alone eclipses the incident total in all categories for every year preceding 2021.
- **There were ten incidents reported to CST in the category of mass-produced antisemitic Literature in 2021**, a reduction of 17% from the 12 such incidents recorded in 2020.
- **The most common single type of rhetoric evident in the 2,255 reports of antisemitism in 2021 was language referencing Israel, Palestine, the conflict; which demonstrated anti-Zionist motivation; or had a mixture of all, which was present on 826 occasions.** This is an increase from 255 such incidents in 2020 – a year without a significant trigger event in the region. These 826 incidents include instances where the subject matter was directly mentioned (e.g., shouts of “Free Palestine” at visibly Jewish people) and cases where the motive was obvious by context and intention (e.g., cars draped in Palestinian flags driving through and causing disruption in Jewish communities). Of these, 62 incidents equated Israel to Nazis, while the terms “Zionism” or “Zionist” were employed in 103 instances, often as euphemisms for “Jewishness” and “Jew” or alongside other antisemitic language. In 120 cases, the offender called for the destruction of Israel together with antisemitic abuse or targeting.
- This trigger event in the Middle East had a legacy in the way it shaped antisemitic language for the rest of 2021. **From January to April inclusive, CST recorded a monthly average of 12 antisemitic incidents containing discourse relating to Israel and Palestine; whereas from July to December inclusive, this figure was 22 per month.** This rhetoric persisted in circulation well beyond the peak of the war's escalation and had a ripple effect throughout the rest of the year. The targeting of Jewish people with shouts of “Free Palestine” was still being reported well into December, words that have become somewhat anthemic: an easy way for antisemites to feel part of and hijack a social movement as a vehicle for their hatred, without engaging or caring to engage with the complex reality of the cause.
- **Some antisemites latch onto whatever story is prevalent in the media and use it as an avenue for the expression of anti-Jewish hate.** For example, 33 of the 90 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2021 that contained comments glorifying the Holocaust took place in May and June, and were made in the context of responses to Israel's alleged actions. Pro-Palestinian sentiment is often assumed to stem predominantly from those who would self-identify as left-wing, but these 33 cases championed the far-right values and actions of Nazi Germany. **It underlines the fluidity of contemporary antisemitism, where feelings of animosity towards Jews take priority over other pillars of identity and worldview.**
- These **90 instances of Holocaust celebration, rising from the 79 reported in 2020** – as well as 17 examples

of Holocaust denial, falling from 61 last year – form a portion of the 502 incidents in 2021 in which the offenders made reference to Hitler, the Nazis, the Holocaust, employed discourse based on the Nazi period, and/or punctuated their abuse with a Nazi salute, the depiction of a swastika or other related imagery. This is an increase from the 402 such incidents recorded in 2020. There were 111 instances of antisemitism laced with far-right motivation, often alongside or regurgitating Nazi-era references, climbing slightly from the 108 incidents that displayed this in 2020.

- **Forty-nine antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2021 contained discourse relating to Islam and Muslims, significantly more than the eight reported in 2020**, while 20 showed evidence of Islamist extremist ideology, more than the seven such incidents recorded in 2020. These increases are once again indicative of the distinction between the volume and content of antisemitic expression in the UK when there is an eruption of war in the Middle East, and when no such trigger event occurs: 25 of the 49 incidents with

## MONTHLY INCIDENTS, 2021



mention of Islam or Muslims occurred in May, the month of the conflict's escalation. In 29 incidents, another religious ideology was present, compared to 35 in 2020.

- **Conspiracy theories were evident in 183 of the 2,255 antisemitic incidents reported in 2021, a drop from the 333 incidents of this kind recorded in 2020.** From these, 149 spoke of Jewish influence over global politics, media, finance and other walks of life (compared to 264 in 2020); 19 involved falsehoods regarding religious rituals and practices (21 in 2020); and four aimed to propagate myths about the origins of Jewishness, with the intention to undermine any notion of modern Jewish identity (fewer than the 17 such incidents reported in 2020).
- **There were 30 incidents in which specific aspects of Judaism were attacked or deliberately mischaracterised to antisemitic ends,** fewer than the 47 such incidents recorded in 2020. Of these, 14 manipulated ideas taken from religious scripture (equal to the 14 in 2020), ten focused on religious traditions (also ten in 2020), while six targeted religious literature (23 in 2020). On 97 occasions, the antisemitism was expressed through stereotypes or dehumanising language and imagery, falling slightly from 101 cases in 2020.
- **In 2021, CST recorded 30 incidents connected to specific political parties or their supporters. All of these were linked to the Labour Party, but they represent a large decrease from 2020, when 175 of the 180 incidents related to political parties were Labour Party-related.**<sup>5</sup> This suggests that

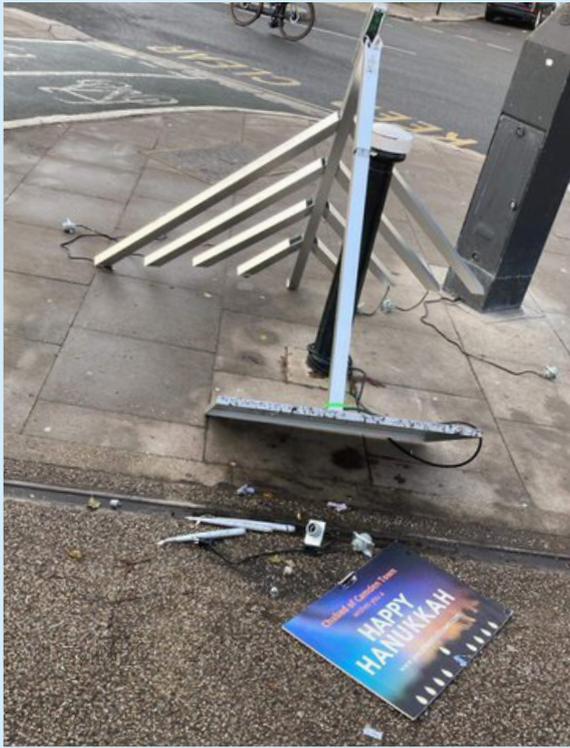
<sup>5</sup> These include antisemitic incidents reported to CST occurring within the Labour Party, directed towards Labour politicians and members, spouted by Labour politicians and members (or both), or antisemitic incidents where online offenders displayed clear signs of affiliation to/support of the Labour Party in their abuse or their social media profiles. Finally, an incident is also

antisemitic incidents in Labour Party contexts are less commonplace than they were before. Additionally, the issue of alleged antisemitism in the Labour Party has been less prevalent in public discourse and consciousness than it was in 2020, when the leadership change and subsequent suspension of Jeremy Corbyn from the Labour Party inspired a deluge of online vitriol from those who held Jews accountable for the end of Corbyn's tenure. A further two incidents in 2021 were connected to the UK's withdrawal from the European Union.

- **Of the 2,255 incidents recorded by CST in 2021, 157 (7%) involved two or more political, religious, and racist discourses, conspiracy theories and ideologies.** The fact that multiple sources and narratives can coexist within the same antisemitic incident highlights the complexity of contemporary antisemitism. It also exposes the confusion of offenders, who draw their prejudice from various notions and tropes that lie deeply embedded as much in the collective consciousness as in that of the individual perpetrator. These accepted 'truths' about Jews form a library of reference points from which antisemites of contrasting value systems can pick and choose, adopting and repackaging them for their own agendas.
- The record annual total of antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2021 **happened in the context of a global pandemic, which continued to affect the levels of anti-Jewish hate at different points in the year. Just as antisemitic incidents climbed when restrictions were lifted, they diminished when the tightest lockdown measures were implemented and when reported COVID-19 cases were at their highest.**

considered Labour Party-related for these purposes if antisemitic views appear to be motivated by arguments over alleged antisemitism in Labour: for example, if antisemitic abuse is directed at a former Labour politician after they have left the party.

Hanukiah damage, Camden, December.  
Credit: Chabad of Camden Town



This is consistent with a trend observed in 2020, when the peaks and troughs of recorded antisemitism correlated with the severity of governmental restrictions on public activity. In January, CST recorded just 95 antisemitic incidents, the second-lowest monthly total reported since December 2017 (86 incidents) and only the second month since in which fewer than 100 antisemitic incidents were reported, with December 2020 (90 incidents) the other. In January, a national lockdown had been implemented and the country had then reached a high point in confirmed COVID-19 cases and deaths.<sup>6</sup> These restrictions extended into February, when 119 incidents were reported: the second-lowest monthly total of 2021. In December 2021, when 120 incidents were recorded – the third-lowest monthly total of the year – the UK reached a new peak of COVID-19 cases as the Omicron variant spread through the population. The government confirmed a move to Plan B

<sup>6</sup> [The United Kingdom: WHO Coronavirus Disease \(COVID-19\) Dashboard With Vaccination Data | WHO Coronavirus \(COVID-19\) Dashboard With Vaccination Data](#)

in England, advised people to work from home if possible, and made a COVID-19 Pass mandatory in certain settings.<sup>7</sup>

- The pandemic has continued to prove a fertile topic for strands of antisemitic discourse. **In 2021, CST recorded 78 incidents containing antisemitic rhetoric alongside reference to COVID-19, rising from 40 in 2020.** This may seem odd considering that, on the whole, life in 2021 was less disrupted than in 2020, when the pandemic was a new reality and there was perhaps greater uncertainty about what it would entail. However, as discussed, those who hate Jews are quick and ready to adapt to shifts in social dynamics and repurpose the discourse around current affairs for their own nefarious ends. At the pandemic's outset, conspiracy theories emerged about Jewish involvement in creating and spreading COVID-19 or the myth of the virus for their own malevolent and financial purposes, while some expressed their desire for Jews to catch and die from COVID-19.<sup>8</sup> While these have still been in circulation, a greater emphasis has been placed on antisemitic narratives comparing lockdown restrictions, the vaccine rollout and vaccine passports to the oppression of Jews in the Holocaust. This has often been represented by the appropriation of the yellow Star of David, a symbol of Jewish trauma. The speed at which these narratives were spawned – and have mutated throughout different stages of the pandemic – is another unfortunate legacy of COVID-19.
- The pandemic has not only given rise to new discourses through which perpetrators can communicate their prejudice, but also a new medium. **In 2021, CST received 16 reports involving the hijacking of video conferencing events**

<sup>7</sup> [Prime Minister confirms move to Plan B in England - GOV.UK \(www.gov.uk\)](#)

<sup>8</sup> An in-depth examination of coronavirus and antisemitic discourse can be found in CST's publication, [Coronavirus and the Plague of Antisemitism](#)

with antisemitic material. These 'Zoombombings' were unheard of prior to the COVID-19 outbreak, but quickly became a method by which antisemites could access and disturb Jewish people and spaces acclimatising to the new landscape. There were 19 such incidents in 2020.

- **These 'Zoombombings' contributed to the 552 online antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2021. This is the third-highest annual total for online incidents ever reported,** falling by 13% from the 638 of this kind in 2020. The 700 incidents of online antisemitism recorded in 2019 remains the most recorded in a calendar year. The 552 online incidents in 2021 forms 24% of last year's total, compared to 38% of 2020's figure. It is perhaps odd that online incidents have not increased at the rate of offline incidents, especially given that a significant amount of conversation regarding events in the Middle East was played out on social media platforms. However, these totals are only indicative, as the actual amount of antisemitic content that is generated and disseminated on online platforms is much

larger. In some cases, social media has been used as a tool for coordinated campaigns of antisemitic harassment, threats and abuse directed at Jewish public figures and other individuals. Where this is the case, CST will record a coordinated campaign as a single incident, even if it involves multiple tweets, posts, messages or comments. CST does not trawl the internet looking for online incidents to log and will only record online incidents that are reported to CST by a member of the public, and where either the offender or the victim is based in the UK.

- **In 2021, 1,254 antisemitic incidents were reported to have taken place in Greater London, rising by 33% from 2020's total of 941 London-based incidents.** CST recorded 284 antisemitic incidents in Greater Manchester in 2021, an increase of 86% from the 153 incidents in the corresponding area in 2020. These are the highest annual incident figures ever reported in these communal hubs. Their combined contribution to the year's total has also risen, from 65% in 2020 to 68% in 2021. The numeric and proportional increases observed in these

Antisemitic graffiti, Tower Hamlets, March. The (((triple brackets))) are an online code to identify people as Jewish, originally used by far-right extremists.



regions are largely based in the fact many of the antisemitic reactions to the escalation of violence in Israel and Palestine were directed at the largest Jewish populations in the UK.

- Within Greater London, **423 antisemitic incidents occurred in Barnet, the local authority which is home to the largest Jewish population in the UK.** There were 129 instances of antisemitism recorded in Hackney, 109 in Camden, 99 in Westminster and 56 in Tower Hamlets. Of Greater Manchester's incidents, 130 happened in Salford, 51 in the City of Manchester, 46 in Bury, 17 in Stockport and 12 in Trafford.
- While it is expected that the majority of incidents take place in areas where Jewish life is most visible and widely established, **antisemitism's broad spread across the UK continued. Antisemitic incidents were reported in all police regions bar Suffolk in 2021.** In 2020, Surrey was the sole exemption. Several explanations are possible. Although online incidents reduced compared to 2020, they remain significant in quantity and do not necessitate physical proximity to Jewish populations. CST's social media footprint has grown with online incidents, and with it the accessibility and capacity for the public to report antisemitism. CST has improved its own efforts to establish the locations within the UK of either the offender or victim of online incidents, reflected in the decrease of incidents for which the location was recorded as 'Online Unknown' from 39 in 2020 to 27 in 2021. Likewise, the ever-developing relationship with police services around the country has played a significant role in painting a more accurate landscape of antisemitism in the UK. CST benefits greatly from data-sharing agreements with many police services around the country.
- Apart from Greater London and Greater Manchester, the police regions with the highest levels of reported antisemitism in 2021 were West Yorkshire with 105 incidents (up from 76 in 2020), Northumbria with 86 (94 in 2020), Hertfordshire with 62 (31 in 2020), Devon & Cornwall with 45 (13 in 2020), Scotland with 31 (30 in 2020), and Thames Valley also with 31 (17 in 2020).
- Apart from boroughs in Greater London and Greater Manchester, the towns and cities within police regions where antisemitism was most often reported were Leeds in West Yorkshire (59 incidents), Gateshead in Northumbria (43 incidents), Birmingham in West Midlands (28 incidents), Liverpool in Merseyside (28 incidents), Elstree & Borehamwood in Hertfordshire (25 incidents), and Glasgow in Scotland (18 incidents).
- **There were 631 incidents reported to CST in which the victims were ordinary Jewish individuals in public.** In at least 267 of these, they were visibly Jewish on account of their traditional clothing, Jewish school uniforms, or jewellery and insignia bearing religious symbols. In 2020, this was true of 377 and 145 incidents respectively.
- **Fifty-nine antisemitic incidents in 2021 targeted synagogues, including buildings, congregants and staff while on location. A further 35 targeted congregants on their way to or from prayers, compared to 45 and 18 incidents respectively in 2020.** This increase of 49% in incidents affecting synagogues and the people travelling to, from, or already inside them, is partially due to the fact that places of worship were allowed to remain open at various capacities throughout 2021, which was not the case the previous year. Synagogues also represented an easy, visible and symbolic target for those looking to direct their extreme anger over Israel towards Jewish communities. Meanwhile, Jewish cemeteries were desecrated on four occasions, rising slightly from three in 2020.

- **Twenty-three incidents were related to places of work, rising from 14 such incidents reported in 2020, while Jewish businesses and organisations were targeted on 152 occasions, compared to 174 in 2020.** CST recorded 69 instances wherein antisemitic abuse was aimed at an individual of public prominence, a fall from the 94 incidents of this nature reported in 2020. Though still considerable, these totals have reduced in part because the issue of alleged antisemitism within the Labour Party has not been as prominent in public discourse as it was in previous years, which often saw Jewish politicians and institutions targeted with the same abuse they were trying to address.
- **CST recorded 167 incidents that took place at residential property in 2021, climbing from 160 incidents of this kind reported in 2020.** These figures, significantly higher than the 118 home-based cases of antisemitism reported in 2019, may be explained by an increase in neighbour and housemate tensions during the pandemic.
- CST received a description of the victim or victims' gender in 1,344 of the 2,255 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2021. Of these, 770 (57%) were male; 471 (35%) were female; in 103 incidents (8%), the victims were mixed groups of males and females.
- The victim or victims' age was ascertained in 1,331 of the antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2021. Of these, 1,098 (83%) involved adult victims, of which 22 were over the age of 65; 178 (13%) involved victims who were minors; in 55 instances (4%), mixed groups of adults and minors were attacked. Compared to 2020, when just 8% of incidents targeted minors, the higher proportion of victims under 18 years old in 2021 is a result of the noted surge in antisemitism aimed at schoolchildren.
- CST will ask incident victims or witnesses if they can describe the person, or people, who

committed the incident they are reporting. Interactions between perpetrators and victims may be crude and brief, leaving little reliable information, and while it is often possible to receive reports regarding the apparent appearance or motivation of incident offenders, this is not absolute proof of the offenders' actual ethnic or religious identity, nor of their motivation. In addition, many incidents do not involve face-to-face contact between offender and victim, so there is no physical description of the offender. With these caveats, CST does provide data regarding the ethnic appearance, age and gender of incident offenders.

- CST obtained a description of the ethnic appearance of the offender or offenders in 744 of the 2,255 antisemitic incidents reported during 2021. Of these, 297 (40%) were described as white – North European; 25 (3%) as white – South European; 86 (12%) as black; 116 (16%) as South Asian; seven (1%) as Southeast Asian; finally, 213 (28%) were described as Arab or North African. **There is a key difference here in the offender ethnicities described to CST in 2021, compared to periods without escalation in conflicts involving Israel: a far higher proportion of perpetrators are of North African, Arab or South Asian descent.** It is a contrast to 2020, for example, when 63% of offenders were described to CST as white – North European; 3% as white – South European; 17% as black; 6% as South Asian; less than 1% as Southeast Asian; and 11% as Arab or North African. A similar shift in the relative ethnicity proportions of described incident offenders was observed during July and August 2014 – the last episode of intensified conflict in Israel and Gaza.
- A description of the gender of the offender or offenders was provided to CST in 1,197 of the 2,255 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2021. Of these, the offenders were described as male in 982 incidents (82% of incidents where

the offender's gender was obtained); female in 186 incidents (16%); and mixed groups of males and females in 29 incidents (2%).

- In 1,122 of the 2,255 reports of antisemitism in 2021, the approximate age of the offender or offenders was given. Among these, 918 (82%) involved adult offenders; in 200 cases (18%) the perpetrators were minors; there were just four instances (less than 1%) where the offenders were a mix of adults and minors. **Once more, using 2020 as a barometer for a typical age distribution of perpetrators during periods without trigger events in the Middle east, 2021 saw a more even spread between adult and minor offenders.** In 2020, 90% of antisemitic offenders were adults and 10% were minors. This change is again indicative of the rise in antisemitic incidents occurring in the school sector following events in Israel and Palestine.

- **In addition to the 2,255 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2021, a further 752 potential incidents were reported to CST that are not included in this report's statistics as, upon investigation, they did not evidence antisemitic motivation, language or targeting.** Many of these potential incidents involve suspicious activity or possible hostile reconnaissance at Jewish locations, and they play an important role in CST's provision of protection to the Jewish community. It is an increase from the 402 such events recorded in 2020, reflecting the general rise in anti-Israel (but not antisemitic) rhetoric in response to the conflict in the Middle East, as well as a Jewish community that has felt a heightened sense of uncertainty and fear, thus more inclined to report any perceived hostile activity.

Neo-Nazi graffiti, Thames Valley, August



# INTRODUCTION

## Community Security Trust

Community Security Trust (CST) is a UK charity that advises and represents the Jewish community on matters of antisemitism, terrorism, policing and security. CST received charitable status in 1994 and is recognised by government and the police as a best practice model of a minority-community security organisation.

CST provides security advice and training for Jewish schools, synagogues and Jewish communal organisations and gives assistance to those bodies that are affected by antisemitism. CST also assists and supports individual members of the Jewish community who have been affected by antisemitism and antisemitic incidents. All this work is provided at no charge.

An essential part of CST's work involves representing the Jewish community to police, legislative and policy-making bodies and providing people inside and outside the Jewish community with information to combat antisemitism.

CST has recorded antisemitic incidents in the United Kingdom since 1984.

## Definition of antisemitic incidents

The statistics in CST's annual Antisemitic Incidents Report include antisemitic hate crimes and antisemitic non-crime incidents. CST defines an antisemitic incident as any malicious act aimed at Jewish people, organisations or property, where there is evidence that the act has antisemitic motivation or content, or that the victim was targeted because they are (or are believed to be) Jewish. This is a narrower definition than that used by the criminal justice system, which defines an antisemitic hate incident as *"Any non-crime incident which is perceived by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice based on a person's race/religion or perceived*

*race/religion.*"<sup>9</sup> The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism is a useful guide in identifying the different types of antisemitic language that may be used in an incident.

Antisemitic incidents can take several forms, including physical attacks on people or property, verbal or written abuse, hate mail (including antisemitic emails), antisemitic leaflets and posters, or abuse and comments on social media. CST does not include the general activities of antisemitic organisations in its statistics. CST does not record as incidents antisemitic material that is permanently hosted on websites or that is published by mainstream media, nor does CST trawl social media platforms to look for antisemitic comments. CST will, however, record antisemitic comments or posts from internet forums or transmitted via social media, if they have been reported to CST by a member of the public who fulfils the role of a victim or witness; if the comment shows evidence of antisemitic content, motivation or targeting; and if the offender is based in the UK or has directly targeted a UK-based victim.<sup>10</sup>

## Reporting antisemitic incidents

Antisemitic incidents are reported to CST in several ways, most commonly by telephone, email, via the CST website, via CST's social media platforms, by post or in person to CST staff and volunteers. CST staff have undergone specialist training, in order to provide the best possible response to incident victims and witnesses who contact CST.

Incidents can be reported to CST by the victim, a witness, or by someone acting on their behalf. In 2001, CST was accorded 'Third Party Reporting'

<sup>9</sup> [HATE CRIME DEFINITIONS \(report-it.org.uk\)](https://www.report-it.org.uk/hate-crime-definitions)

<sup>10</sup> Examples of antisemitic expressions that fall outside this definition of an antisemitic incident can be found in CST's annual [Antisemitic Discourse Report](#), available on the CST website.

status by the police, which allows CST to report antisemitic incidents to the police and to act as a go-between for victims who are unable or unwilling to report to the police directly. CST works closely with police services and specialist units in monitoring and investigating antisemitic incidents. CST regularly exchanges anonymised antisemitic incident reports with police forces around the United Kingdom under a national Information Sharing Agreement that was signed with the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) and with individual forces.

It is likely that many, and perhaps even most, antisemitic incidents are not reported either to CST or to the police. A 2018 survey by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights found that only 21% of British Jews who had experienced antisemitic harassment over the previous five years had reported it to the police or to any other organisation.<sup>11</sup> The Home Office's report on hate crime in England and Wales acknowledges that while a combination of a genuine rise in hate crime and growing public awareness of what it means is leading to a higher number of reports, there is still much that goes unreported.<sup>12</sup>

If an incident is reported to CST but shows no evidence of antisemitic motivation, language or targeting, then it will not be recorded as antisemitic and will not be included in CST's annual antisemitic incident total. In 2020, CST received 402 reports of potential incidents that fit this description, down by 30% from the 571 such incidents recorded in 2019; a decrease that is almost certainly because many Jewish community buildings were closed at various points due to government Covid-19 restrictions. Many of these potential incidents involve suspicious activity or possible hostile reconnaissance at Jewish locations; criminal

<sup>11</sup> [Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism: Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU \(Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018\)](#)

<sup>12</sup> [Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2019/20 \(London: Home Office, 2020\)](#)

## NUMBER OF INCIDENTS, 2007-2021



assaults on or theft from Jewish people that do not show antisemitic motivation; or anti-Israel activity which did not involve the use of antisemitic language or imagery and was directed at pro-Israel campaigners, rather than being directed at Jewish people, buildings or organisations chosen solely because they were Jewish. These reports still play an important role in CST's provision of security protection to the Jewish community.

CST always prioritises the wishes and needs of incident victims, both individuals and the heads of Jewish organisations or communal buildings. CST especially treats the issue of victim confidentiality as a top priority. If an incident victim chooses to remain anonymous or wishes there to be no publicity about an incident, CST will respect their request as far as possible.

# ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, 2021

CST recorded 2,255 antisemitic incidents across the UK in 2021, the highest figure that CST has ever recorded in a single calendar year. This constitutes a rise of 34% from the 1,684 incidents reported to CST in 2020, and is 24% higher than the previous record incident total of 1,813, reported in 2019.

## Figures, trends and context

The 2,255 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2021 continue the cycle of historically high levels of reported antisemitism over the past six years. The annual totals for 2019 (1,813 incidents), 2018 (1,690 incidents) and 2017 (1,420 incidents) were all, at the time, record annual totals. CST has been recording antisemitic incidents since 1984.

The driving factor behind 2021's record total of antisemitic incidents is the spike in anti-Jewish hate that was reported during and after the escalation of violence in the Middle East. In May, when violence in Israel and Gaza intensified, CST recorded 661 antisemitic incidents. This record monthly total is unmatched, eclipsing the second- and third-highest monthly totals combined, when 317 and 289 incidents were reported in July 2014 and January 2009 respectively: periods when the war in the region reached a similar degree of severity.

The 661 antisemitic incidents recorded in May, together with June's figure of 210 incidents – the fifth-highest monthly total ever reported to CST – account for 39% of the annual total. Across the remaining ten months, the average monthly incident total is 143, only slightly more than the monthly average of 140 recorded across 2020. Reactions to the trigger event in the Middle East defined the picture of antisemitism in the UK in 2021, both in the content and number of reported incidents. More than 100 incidents were reported to CST in 11 of the 12 months covered by this report, whereas monthly totals surpassing

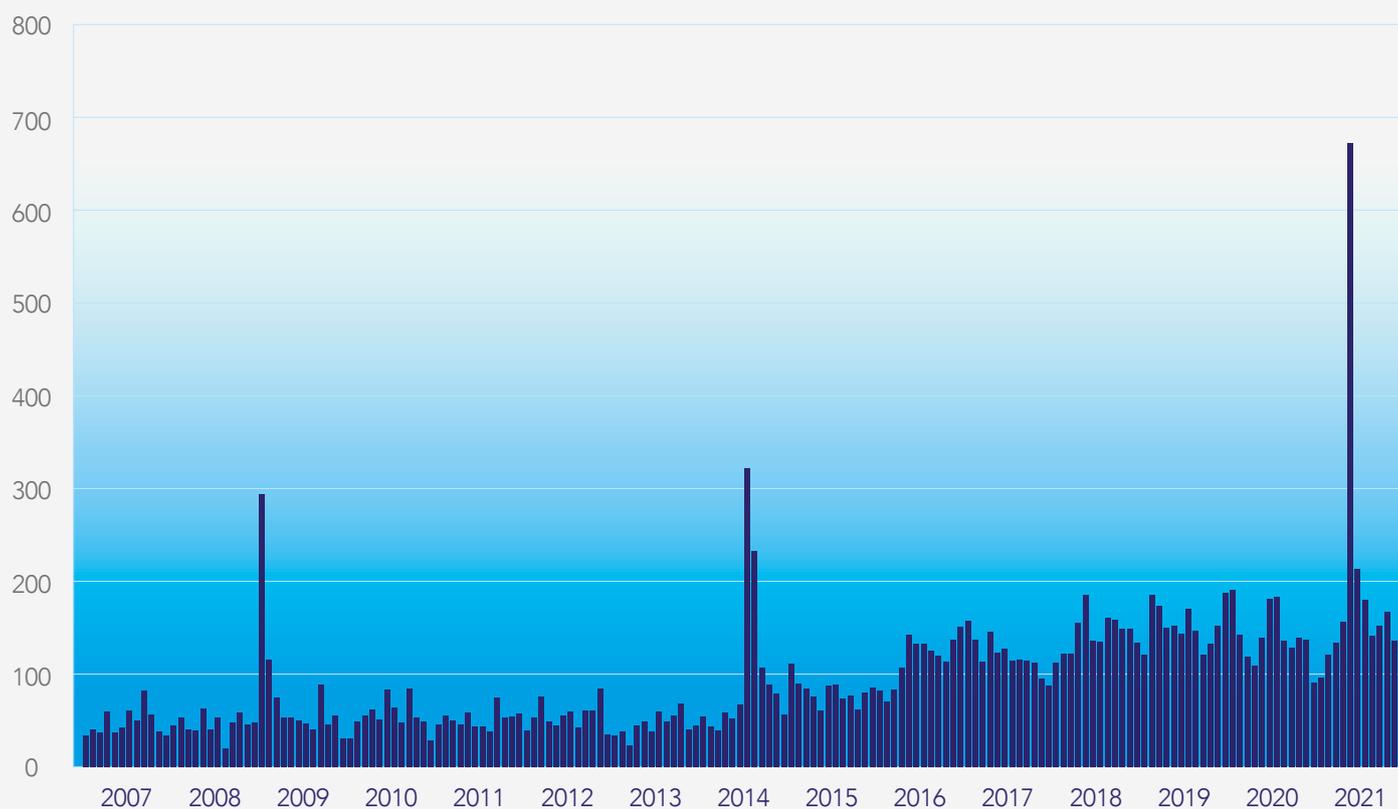
100 incidents were only recorded on six occasions from January 2006 to March 2016; five of which were also the consequence of responses to periods of sustained violence in the region.

Following the wave of anti-Jewish hatred expressed in May and June, the frequency of antisemitic incident reports settled back towards its pre-pandemic level. In 2019, the last full year untouched by the virus, CST recorded an average monthly total of 151 incidents. This dropped to a monthly average of 133 incidents from April 2020 to April 2021 inclusive: the period from the start of the pandemic, when the realities of COVID-19 had transformed daily life, up until the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East. After that conflict, from July to December 2021 inclusive, the monthly average climbed back up to 147 antisemitic incidents.

While strongly influenced by circumstances in Israel and Palestine, the surge of antisemitism in May and ensuing elevation of monthly incident averages also occurred within the context of lockdown measures relaxing. It was in May that the UK began Step 3 of its response to the pandemic: most businesses were allowed to open and restrictions on collective social gatherings were loosened. The emotional reactions that conflict in the Middle East stimulates, coupled with the concurrent opportunity for lockdown-induced frustrations to be released, are likely to have exacerbated the volume and ferocity of antisemitic incidents subsequently reported in 2021.

Just as incident figures rose in correlation with the lifting of regulations on public activity, they fell when the strictest rules were applied and when reported COVID-19 cases peaked. In January – when the country was under lockdown and a high point in confirmed COVID-19 cases and deaths was announced – CST recorded 95 antisemitic incidents, the second-lowest

## NUMBER OF INCIDENTS, MONTH BY MONTH, 2007-2021



monthly total reported since December 2017 (86 incidents) and only the second time since then that under 100 incidents had been reported in a single month (in the other, December 2020, similarly tight restrictions on in-person meetings were implemented and 90 antisemitic incidents were recorded). The second-lowest monthly total of 2021 was reported in February, with 119 incidents, when these restrictions were still in place. The third-lowest tally of the year was recorded in December 2021, with 120 antisemitic incidents, when the UK reached a new peak in virus cases as the Omicron variant spread through the population. The government advised people to work from home once again if feasible, and made a COVID-19 Pass compulsory for access to certain spaces and events.

In addition to shaping the peaks and troughs of antisemitic incident levels throughout the year, the pandemic has continued to have repercussions for antisemitism in other respects. COVID-19 has deeply impacted communal interactions, forcing many people and

organisations to conduct their communications online rather than face-to-face. This need for innovation and reliance on new media has been equally applicable to those who wish to express their anti-Jewish prejudice. CST received 16 reports of video conferencing events that were hijacked with antisemitic content, a slight decrease from the 19 such incidents recorded in 2020. These 'Zoombombings' were unprecedented before the virus' outbreak, but immediately emerged as a new modus operandi for antisemites to spread their hatred. It highlights just how quick, ready and able antisemitic incident offenders are to adjust to and exploit shifts, however radical, in the social landscape.

These 'Zoombombings' constitute 16 of the 552 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2021 that took place online. This marks a decrease of 13% from the 638 incidents of this type recorded in 2020 and is the third-highest ever annual total for online incidents. They comprise 24% of the yearly total, compared to 38% of 2020's figure. Five hundred and nine of these incidents

fall into the category of Abusive Behaviour, 40 are Threats, two are classed as Literature and one as Damage & Desecration (the hacking of a Jewish charity's social media account with pro-Palestinian imagery). Of these 552 online incidents reported to CST, 210 occurred on Twitter; 115 through text or instant messaging services; 52 on Facebook; 49 via email; 16 on video conferencing platforms; ten were abusive comments on online articles; five took place on YouTube; and 110 happened on a range of other social media. Ninety-two of these posts included antisemitic memes, images or cartoons. The online space provides antisemites with the opportunity to share political, ideological and extremist ideas, both simple and nuanced, with the security of anonymity and distance from their target. Abuse and threats can be preserved on these forums, spread across the world in an instant and reach their victim easily, often without meaningful ramifications for the perpetrator.

It is perhaps surprising that the number of online incidents has not risen to the extent that offline incidents have. A significant amount of the discussion around the violence in Israel and Palestine was conducted on social media platforms – although much of this would not have been antisemitic – and the potential

for boredom and disillusionment during the lockdown at the start of the year would seem optimal for a sharp upswing in online antisemitism. A possible component of the decrease in online incidents is the reduction in Labour Party-related incidents, from 175 in 2020 to 30 in 2021. Whenever the issue of alleged antisemitism in the Labour Party has featured prominently in media and public discourse, CST has registered a surge in antisemitic vitriol from those who feel that these allegations were manufactured by the wider Jewish community to 'smear' Jeremy Corbyn and undermine his tenure of the party, much of which occurred online. This is revealing of a primary trend in contemporary antisemitism: the discourses of anti-Jewish hate arise and evolve in direct correspondence to current affairs. In 2020, an outpouring of this kind was observed both when there was a change in leadership, and later in the year when the EHRC delivered the conclusions of its investigation into Labour Party antisemitism. Jeremy Corbyn was then suspended from the party, reinstated, and subsequently removed from the parliamentary whip all within a few days. In 2021, this subject matter was simply less dominant in the news cycle, and so fewer Labour Party-related incidents – and, as a corollary, online incidents – were reported.

F\*ck Jews written on a pavement in Gateshead, October



What cannot be quantified is the influence that online discourse had on the volume of offline incidents reported to CST. When there is online incitement to extreme levels of anger and hatred towards Israel, when information and misinformation is circulated non-stop across virtual forums, it is likely to have an effect on offline incidents against Jewish people, perpetrated by those who act on this encouragement. When on-the-ground instances of antisemitism are captured and shared virally on social media, it heightens feelings of fear and panic among the Jewish community. At such times CST consequently receives a larger quantity of reports from a public more motivated to make them.

CST records each specific targeted online campaign as a single incident, because to record each piece of antisemitic content as a separate incident would be unsustainable and cause extreme variations in CST's incident totals, obstructing clear analysis of offline incidents. It is also worth bearing in mind that the number of online incidents in this report reflects the number of reports received by CST from victims, witnesses or other third parties, and does not include the vast amount of antisemitic material sifted by CST's researchers as part of its wider work protecting the Jewish community from potential attack. Given the vast array of material posted and the variety of platforms across which it is circulated, an accurate figure for the actual amount of antisemitic content on social media would be impossible to quantify. Instead, this total highlights that online forums continue to be a fertile ground for public expressions of antisemitism, sometimes culminating in coordinated campaigns against Jewish public figures and institutions.

It is difficult to gauge whether the pattern of historically high antisemitic incident figures observed by CST since 2016 is due to more incidents taking place in the UK, or a society that feels more comfortable to report. The answer is likely to be a combination of both. A less tangible factor behind this sustained rise is the

way in which the prevalence of antisemitism in public debate can inspire more antisemitism, if people perceive that the taboo against voicing hostility towards Jews is weakening. The more people hear and read antisemitic comments and views, the more they realise that they are far from alone in their prejudice, the more likely they are to have confidence to show their own. Home Office figures demonstrate that hate crime figures have continued to steadily increase across the board since 2016.<sup>13</sup> The changes to the social and political environment in the UK since – with questions of racism, antisemitism, immigration, nationalism, minorities and what it means to be British all playing a prominent role in public discourse – may well have contributed to an atmosphere in which antisemitism is more commonly discussed, and in which those who want to express their hatred of Jews feel enabled and emboldened to do so.

Sometimes, as in May 2021, it is clear that there has been a genuine increase in incidents that is linked to a specific set of circumstances. Despite improvements in reporting, it is expected that antisemitic hate crime and incidents are underreported, especially where the victims are minors, or the incident is considered of 'lesser' impact by the victim. The statistics contained in this report should therefore be seen as indicative of general trends, rather than absolute measures of the number of incidents that took place. Answering why antisemitic incidents take place is not simple. Victim or witness evidence for what may have been a brief, traumatic experience can be vague and disjointed. Many incidents do not have a specific victim and the offender is often unknown, but it is still possible to analyse the data contained in the individual reports received by CST, and the picture they show is complex. In short, there is no single profile of an antisemitic incident victim or offender, nor is there a single explanation as to why antisemitism persists in modern society.

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<sup>13</sup> [Hate crime, England and Wales, 2020 to 2021 - GOV.UK \(www.gov.uk\)](https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2020-to-2021)

## ANTISEMITISM AND THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The 34% rise in antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2021, and the record annual total of 2,255 incidents, are emblematic of the influence that a trigger event in the Middle East has on levels of antisemitism in the UK. When the war between Israel and Hamas intensified, its impact was instant. CST recorded its highest ever monthly total of 661 incidents in May, and its fifth-highest monthly total of 210 incidents in June. The second-, third- and fourth-highest monthly antisemitic incident totals ever reported to CST have also occurred during periods of heightened conflict in the region: in January 2009, with 289 incidents, and July and August 2014, with 317 and 229 incidents respectively. The escalation of violence in Israel and Palestine always has repercussions for the UK Jewish community, as the consequent surges in antisemitism consistently prove.

Even taking that into account, CST has never witnessed a spike quite as substantial as that recorded in 2021. May's figure of 661 antisemitic incidents is greater than the second- and third-highest monthly totals combined, reported in July 2014 (317 incidents) and January 2009 (289 incidents). Certain trends started to develop straight away, which would come to define the main themes of UK-based antisemitism observed in 2021.

When the war flared up, Jewish schoolchildren and staff were particularly targeted with antisemitic abuse. In 2021, CST recorded 182 incidents affecting people and property in the school sector, a record annual figure and increase of 237% from the 54 such incidents reported in 2020. Of these 182 cases, 95 (52%) occurred in May. Similarly, a rise of 191% in antisemitism within the higher education sphere was recorded, from 44 university-related incidents in 2020 to 128 in 2021: the record total for a calendar year. Of these, 65 (51%) took place in May.

The way that education settings became places in which extreme anger towards Israel was commonly channelled into antisemitic harassment is evident in other reporting statistics as well. Of the incidents in which victim age details were obtained, 178 (13%) involved victims who were minors in 2021, compared to 69 in 2020, or 8% of incidents where victim age was ascertained. Of these record 178 incidents, 72 (40%) were reported in May. This numerical and proportional increase is also reflected in statistics regarding offender age. In 2021, a record 200 antisemitic offences were perpetrated by minors, 18% of incidents where the offender's age was described. Of these, 87 (44%) took place in May. In 2020, this was the case in just 77 instances, or 10% of incidents where CST received information about the perpetrator's age.

Another by-product of antisemitism happening within these spaces is the number of incidents reported that took place between people who had a prior relationship to each other. These 209 interpersonal incidents again constitute a record yearly figure, and a rise of 122% from the 94 such incidents recorded in 2020. Eighty-one (39%) of these 209 cases occurred in May. This includes students and fellow students or school students and teachers, although they do not account for all 209 incidents.

At the time of the conflict's escalation, one of the most common types of incident reported to CST involved offenders driving through Jewish communities, often in a car draped with a Palestinian flag, causing disruption and shouting "Free Palestine" at Jewish passers-by. In 2021, CST recorded 184 antisemitic incidents where abuse was shouted from a vehicle, more than in any previous year, and 77 (42%) of these incidents happened in May. It is an increase of 130% from the 80 such incidents reported in 2020.

All of this data serves to illustrate the volume of anti-Jewish hate reported in correlation with violence in the Middle East, and how the antisemitic incidents recorded in May were central to the record annual total of 2,255. However, this eruption had a legacy that shaped the nature and content of antisemitism in the UK for the remainder of 2021, well beyond the peak of the hostilities' escalation. CST recorded a monthly average of 12 incidents involving discourse concerning Israel and Palestine from January to April inclusive. This figure climbed to 22 per month from July to December inclusive. This shift demonstrates the ripple effect that a trigger event in the region has on the language of antisemitic prejudice, and the persistence of the anger within those who hold Jewish people responsible for Israel's alleged actions. Its implications over the short term are noteworthy, but the longer-term fallout is just as instructive about how contemporary antisemitism relates to anti-Israel sentiment.

The impact of the war between Israel and Hamas was seen in every aspect of antisemitism in 2021, and will be found in every chapter in this report.

### Antisemitic or anti-Israel?

CST is often asked about the difference between antisemitic incidents and anti-Israel activity, and how this distinction is made in the categorisation of incidents. The distinction between the two can be subtle and the subject of much debate. Clearly, it would not be acceptable to define all anti-Israel activity as antisemitic. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that contemporary antisemitism can occur in the context of, or be accompanied by, extreme feelings over the Israel/Palestine conflict, and that hostility towards Israel may be expressed via, or motivated by, antisemitic rhetoric and conspiracy theories. Discourse relating to the conflict is used by antisemitic incident offenders to abuse Jews, and anti-Israel discourse can sometimes repeat, or echo, antisemitic language and imagery. For example, the terms "Zionist" and "Zionism" will often be used in arguments about Israel and the Middle East; sometimes

they are used accurately and legitimately, and at other times they are deployed in an antisemitic way. CST must distinguish between the occasions when these terms are used in a purely political sense, and the times when they are abused as euphemisms for "Jewishness" and "Jews". Similarly, the phrase "Zionist Lobby", when it is reserved for Jewish organisations and individuals regardless of whether they have taken a public stance on Zionism, walks the line between the conspiracy theory that Jews have a disproportionate political power and influence, and the antisemitic trope that Jews are not to be trusted. Drawing out these distinctions, and deciding on where the dividing lines lie, is one of the most difficult areas of CST's work in recording and analysing hate crime.

Sometimes the targeting of a particular incident can suggest an intention to intimidate or harass Jews on the part of the offender. For example, if anti-Israel posters or graffiti appear to have been deliberately placed close to a synagogue or other Jewish building, or in an area with a large Jewish population, then they are more likely to be classified as an antisemitic incident. If anti-Israel material is sent unsolicited to a synagogue or other clearly Jewish venue at random then it may well be recorded as an antisemitic incident (because the synagogue was targeted on the basis of it being Jewish and the offender has failed to distinguish between a place of worship and pro-Israel political activity). Similarly, if cars draped in Palestinian flags are driven through the heart of Jewish communities, or shouts of "Free Palestine" or comments and questions demanding an opinion on the Middle East are directed at Jewish people – simply because they are perceived to be Jewish – it will also be considered an antisemitic incident.

If, however, anti-Israel material (containing no antisemitic language) is sent unsolicited to specifically pro-Israel organisations, then this incident would not be classified as antisemitic. Similarly, if a Jewish individual or group engaging in public pro-Israel advocacy subsequently receives anti-Israel material,

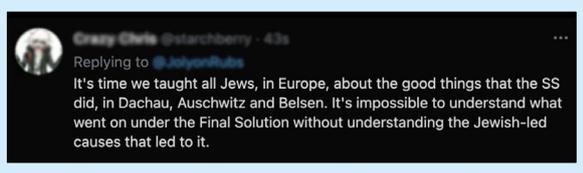
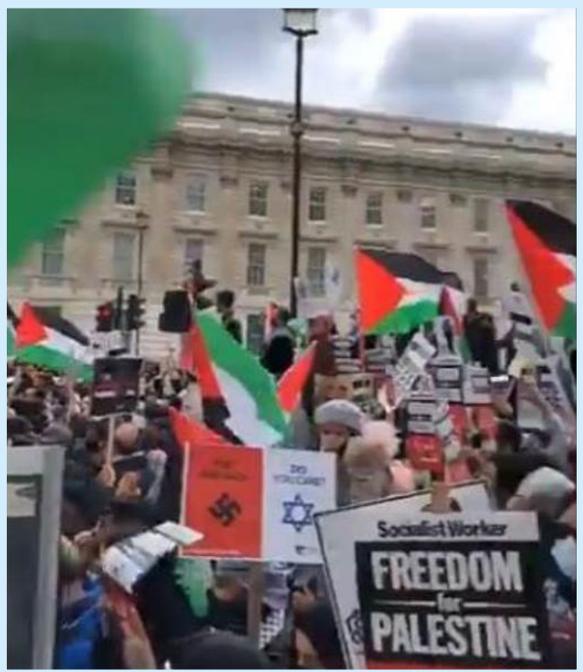
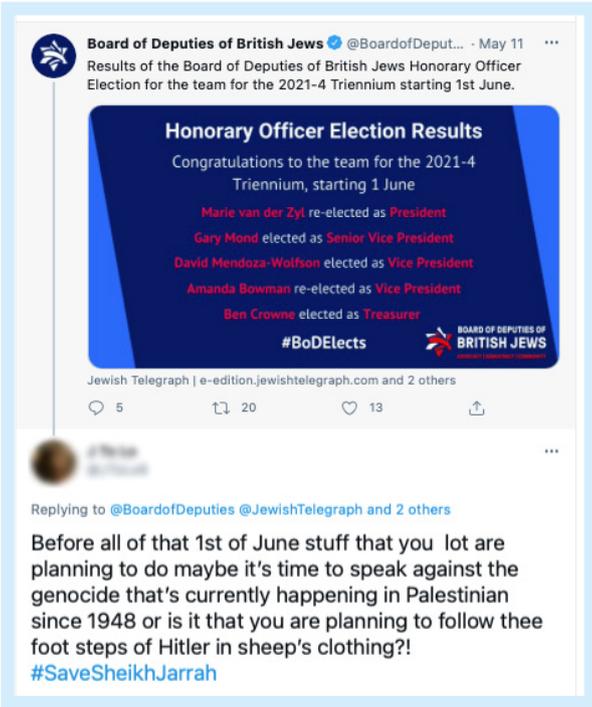
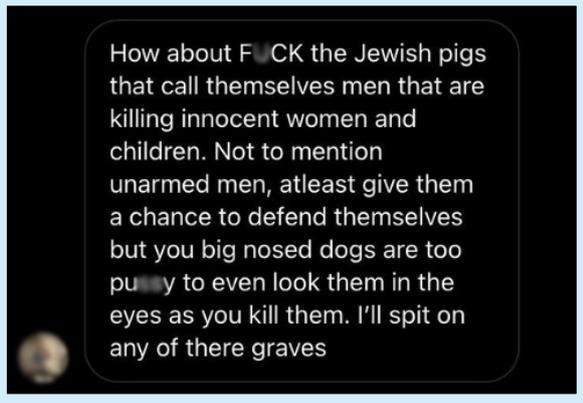
comments or questions, this would most likely not be classified as antisemitic (unless, again, it contains antisemitic language).

The political discourse used in an incident may also be the reason why the incident is accepted or rejected as antisemitic. In particular, incidents that equate Israel to Nazi Germany would normally be recorded as antisemitic because the comparison is so deeply hurtful and abusive, using Israel's self-definition as a Jewish state as the basis for the insult. However, incidents that compare Israel to, for example, apartheid South Africa, would not normally be recorded as antisemitic incidents. While the charge that Israel practises apartheid upsets many Jews, it does not contain the same visceral capacity to offend Jews as the comparison with Nazism, which carries particular meaning for Jews because of the Holocaust; nor does it play on Israel's Jewishness as a way of causing hurt.

CST recorded 826 antisemitic incidents that alluded or were related to Israel and the Middle East, evidenced anti-Zionist motivation, or both in 2021. Of these, 62 included a comparison between Israel and the Nazis, while the terms "Zionism" or "Zionist" were employed in 103. Explicit calls for the destruction of the State of Israel, or any idea of a Jewish nation, were made in 120 antisemitic incidents, alongside explicitly anti-Jewish comments or abuse aimed at unsuspecting Jewish people. Irrespective of whether or not anti-Israel incidents are classified as antisemitic by CST, they are still relevant to CST's security work as they may involve threats and abuse directed at Jewish people or organisations who work with – or in support of – Israel, and therefore have an impact on the security of the UK Jewish community.

Graffiti reading "F\*\*k Israel and equating the Jewish Star of David with the Nazi swastika, Kensington and Chelsea, October





## INCIDENT CATEGORIES

CST classifies antisemitic incidents by six distinct categories: Extreme Violence; Assault; Damage and Desecration to Jewish property; Threats; Abusive Behaviour; and antisemitic Literature. The definitions of these categories are given below.<sup>14</sup>

### Extreme Violence

Incidents of Extreme Violence include any antisemitic attack with the potential or intention of causing loss of life or grievous bodily harm (GBH). GBH is the most serious form of assault that anyone can commit.

CST recorded three antisemitic incidents of Extreme Violence in 2021, equalling the three such incidents in 2020. One event of this kind was reported in 2019, two in 2018, and none in 2017. In one case in 2021, a vehicle was used as a weapon. In the other two, the victims were hit on the head, with one knocked unconscious and requiring hospital treatment for head injuries and broken bones.

### Assault

Incidents of Assault include any physical attack against a person or people, which does not pose a threat to their life or cause GBH, but instead may be considered actual bodily harm (ABH) or common assault. This includes attempted assault, even if it fails, and spitting or throwing objects at Jews, including where the projectile misses its target.

CST recorded 173 incidents in this category in 2021, an increase of 78% from the 97 assaults reported in 2020 and the highest ever annual total. There were 158 antisemitic assaults reported to CST in 2019, 124 in 2018, and 149 in 2017. Of the recorded attacks, 44 involved stones, bricks, eggs, bottles, non-kosher foodstuffs or other objects thrown, on 22 occasions from a passing vehicle; 34

involved punching or kicking of the victim; in 19 cases, the victim was spat at; on 18 occasions, the victim was pushed or pulled; seven assaults involved the offender stripping the victim of religious clothes or accessories; in six instances, a vehicle was used with the intention of causing harm to pedestrians; sticks, metal bars or other miscellaneous weapons were employed in six further cases; on two occasions, a non-lethal or fake firearm was deployed; in one attack, a car window was smashed onto a victim while still in their vehicle; one assault involved a knife, although thankfully the offender was unable to use it. Ninety-three of these incidents were accompanied by verbal abuse, and 12 contained an element of threatening language.

### CASE STUDY

#### Assault and abuse of teenagers

In October, it was reported to CST that two teenage Jewish girls were physically and verbally attacked by a group of other teenage girls in north London. The offenders, riding past on scooters, shouted, "Dirty Jews", before they grabbed one of the victims by the throat and pushed her against the wall. The other victim was pushed down onto the floor. Two witnesses approached and scared the perpetrators away.

These 173 incidents comprise 8% of the overall incident total for 2021, indicating that the proportional contribution of physical attacks on Jewish people is reverting towards its pre-pandemic level. In 2019, Assault constituted 9% of the 1,813 reports of antisemitism, whereas only 6% of the 1,684 incidents recorded in 2020 fell into this category. As fewer pandemic restrictions on public, face-to-face interactions were generally enforced in 2021 than in 2020, it follows that physical altercations were more commonplace.

<sup>14</sup> A full explanation of CST's antisemitic incident categories can be found in the leaflet, '[Definitions of Antisemitic Incidents](#)'

The monthly averages in this category substantiate the notion that the application of social distancing guidelines have a direct impact on Assault levels: it reduces both the likelihood of an offender initiating close physical contact with a stranger and the opportunity to do so, given the reduced public presence of potential victims. From January to April inclusive, when various lockdown measures were still in place, CST recorded an average of seven instances of Assault or Extreme Violence per month.<sup>15</sup> From July (when most COVID-19 restrictions were lifted) to December inclusive, a monthly average of 14 incidents in these categories was reported.<sup>16</sup>

Since the outset of the COVID-19 outbreak, CST has noted a general rise in the aggression levels of antisemitic assaults; an unfortunate theme that persisted in 2021. While every unprovoked physical attack is nasty, several of those that occurred last year featured a high level of malice in intention, outcome or both. The three occurrences of Extreme Violence – the joint second-highest annual total ever recorded in this category – as well as the six other occasions on which vehicles were used as weapons, the two instances involving non-lethal firearms, and the one case involving a knife, exemplify this.

It is difficult to know why the general severity of assaults remains relatively high, let alone understand the psyche of someone who chooses to manifest their contempt so viciously. It is possible that it is at least partly representative of a release of frustrations that have built up over the course of the pandemic. The lockdowns, isolation and general sense of anxiety and uncertainty have proved difficult for many. For antisemites who have found the reality of COVID-19 a claustrophobic, irritating experience, even the slightest alleviation of restrictions may

<sup>15</sup> Even though some COVID-19 regulations were still active, May and June have been discounted from this calculation so that it is not distorted by the surge in antisemitic incidents reported across the board in the immediate reactions to conflict in the Middle East.

<sup>16</sup> [19 July remains our target date for ending restrictions - GOV.UK \(www.gov.uk\)](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/19-july-remains-our-target-date-for-ending-restrictions)

have offered an outlet for these stifled emotions. Coupled with the timing of events in the Middle East and the anger felt towards Jews by those who hold them responsible for Israel's actions, some expressed these feelings in an especially hostile manner.

Regions where there are sizeable, established, visibly Jewish populations continue to be most targeted with physical attacks. Of the 176 cases of Assault and Extreme Violence reported in 2021, 96 (55%) took place across just five boroughs: Barnet (27) and Hackney (24) in Greater London, Salford (30) and Bury (eight) in Greater Manchester, and Gateshead (seven) in Northumbria. These areas are home to some of the largest and most visible Jewish communities in the UK. While impossible to know for certain Jewish visibility – whether individual or communal – seems to correlate with the likelihood of antisemitic assault. The signs of difference may be interpreted by the offender as a threat to what they perceive is their own culture or territory, or as something so alien from their own lived experience that it becomes easier to degrade and dehumanise. It may also provide them with a certainty of who and what they are attacking, as well as the opportunity to maximise their target's public humiliation in stripping and desecrating their markers of identity.

Indeed, at least 69 (39%) of these 176 violent incidents targeted people understood to be visibly Jewish, usually on account of their religious insignia, Jewish school uniforms or traditional clothing. Twenty-seven assaults were directed at Jewish schoolchildren or staff, 13 of which occurred away from school premises. This speaks to a sad aspect of incidents classed as Assault and Extreme Violence recorded in 2021: in incidents where the victim or victims' age was provided, 28% were minors, a higher proportion than in any other category. For comparison, only 24% of known assault victims were minors in 2020. This is likely to be a result of the upswing in school-related incidents at the time of the war's escalation.

## Damage & Desecration to Jewish Property

This category includes any physical attack directed against Jewish-owned property, or property that is perceived to be connected to Jews, which is not life-threatening. This includes the daubing of antisemitic slogans or symbols (such as swastikas) – including fixing stickers and posters – on Jewish property; damage caused to property where it appears that the property has been specifically targeted because of its perceived Jewish connection, or where antisemitic expressions are made by the offender while causing the damage; and the hacking of Jewish websites and social media accounts with antisemitic material, or where the site has been targeted specifically because of its relevance to the Jewish community. As this type of incident is usually only seen after the act has been completed, it is often very difficult to get any information about the perpetrators.

There were 82 instances of Damage & Desecration to Jewish property recorded by CST in 2021, an increase of 11% from the 74 incidents of this type reported in 2020. There were 88 antisemitic incidents recorded in this category

in 2019, 79 in 2018, and 93 in 2017. Thirty-eight of these incidents saw damage done to the homes and vehicles of Jewish people, 17 to Jewish businesses and organisations, nine to synagogues, four involved the desecration of Jewish schools and four of Jewish cemeteries.

In 36 of the 82 instances of Damage & Desecration, the offender used graffiti, daubing or stickers of an antisemitic nature to deface the Jewish target (of which 14 depicted swastikas or made reference to the Holocaust), while eggs, stones, bricks, bottles or other projectiles were thrown to cause damage on 15 occasions. CST recorded nine cases involving the destruction of a mezuzah (a Jewish prayer scroll affixed to a building's entrance), five in which windows were broken, three involving the punching or kicking of Jewish property, three where non-kosher foodstuffs were left at or on Jewish premises, and one involving arson. Additionally, there was one example of a Jewish charity's social media account being hacked. All included some element of anti-Jewish focus, language or imagery in order to be recorded among these figures by CST.

### CASE STUDY

#### Graffiti at synagogue

In September, a synagogue in Kent was desecrated with graffiti. The offender sprayed the word "JEW" on its doorstep. This is one of nine antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2021 in which damage was done to a Jewish place of worship.



## Threats

This category includes only direct antisemitic Threats, whether verbal or written. This would include potential improvised explosive devices (IEDs) that were designed to be hoaxes rather than IEDs that are intended to be viable.

CST recorded 143 direct antisemitic Threats in 2021, more than in any other year, rising by 68% from the 85 incidents of this sort reported in 2020. Ninety-nine incidents were recorded in this category in 2019, 108 in 2018, and 98 in 2017.

Forty-four of the 143 Threats took place in public spaces while 12 were school-related; nine were made to or by people associated with universities, and an additional nine took place at the homes of Jewish individuals; seven were aimed at Jewish businesses or organisations; seven at synagogues (and an additional three at congregants on their way to or from services); six were directed at public figures. Forty of the incidents in this category were written on online platforms, 16 were delivered via phone call or message and two via mail, while there were six bomb threats made.

### CASE STUDY

#### Threatening email

In July, councillors for a local authority in London were sent a threatening email with the text reproduced here, promising the genocide of Jews. It contains antisemitic, racist and homophobic slurs, and its language suggests the offender aligned to the far right.

Smashing the skulls of k\*ke f\*\*\*\*t pedophiles and their pet third world monkeys

← ↶ →

To everyone addressed in this email:

You are a disgusting subhuman piece of homosexual dog sh\*t that belongs in a trash dump with a bullet in its worthless maggot skull. It will be better for a homosexual k\*ke pederast animal like you to have a millstone tied around your filthy worthless n\*\*\*\*r neck and be thrown into the depths of the ocean, than what a worthless n\*\*\*\*r fa\*\*ot monkey like you has coming, especially that DISGUSTING k\*ke piece of sh\*t **VICTIM'S NAME REDACTED** - YOUR DISGUSTING K\*KE VISAGE IS A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY - PUT A F\*\*\*\*ING VEIL OVER THAT SH\*T B\*\*CH BEFORE YOUR GET A CRICKET BAT ACROSS YOUR DIRTY PIG K\*KE SNOUT

To the stupid brown n\*\*\*\*rs who are festering in England: If you think the subhuman k\*ke filth who gave you your job will protect you from the violence you have coming, think again: You and the k\*ke dog sh\*t who brought you to England will have your filthy f\*\*\*\*t skulls smashed, and your entire family of subhuman animal sh\*t will be burned in the street.

<https://twitter.com/ /status/>

K\*KE GENOCIDE NOW!!  
 BEAT K\*KE MARXIST F\*\*\*\*T TRASH TO DEATH FOR SPORT!!!  
 SMASH A K\*KE'S TEETH OUT WITH A CRICKET BAT TODAY!!!  
 SET A THIRD WORLD N\*\*\*\*R MONKEY ON FIRE AND SLAUGHTER ITS WHOLE FAMILY OF USELESS WELFARE TRASH.  
 SO MOTE IT BE.

## Abusive Behaviour

Beneath the umbrella of Abusive Behaviour falls a wide range of incident types, including everything encompassed by verbal and written antisemitic abuse. The verbal abuse can be face-to-face or via telephone calls and voicemail messages. The category also includes antisemitic emails, text messages, social media posts and comments, as well as targeted antisemitic letters (that is, one-off letters aimed at and sent to a specific individual), irrespective of whether the recipient is Jewish. This is different from a mass mailing of antisemitic leaflets, pamphlets or group emails, which is dealt with by the separate Literature category. Antisemitic graffiti on non-Jewish property is also included in this category.

There were 1,844 incidents reported to CST in the category of Abusive Behaviour in 2021, comprising 82% of the 2,255 total and signalling a rise of 31% from the 1,413 instances of Abusive behaviour recorded in 2020. It is the highest annual figure ever reported in this category and is greater than the total number of antisemitic incidents in all categories combined, for every year before 2021. There were 1,449 counts of Abusive Behaviour in 2019, 1,334 in 2018, and 1,065 in 2017.

In 457 of the Abusive Behaviour incidents reported in 2021, the victims were Jewish people in public, and visibly Jewish in at least 178 of these. One hundred and thirty-eight of these incidents were related to the school sector, and 119 to the university sector. Jewish businesses or organisations were the target of 125 incidents in this category, while public figures – Jewish and non-Jewish – were subjected to antisemitic abuse on 53 occasions. In 74 instances, this abuse was directed at synagogues and/or congregants travelling to or from their place of worship.

Among the 1,844 incidents in this category, 762 involved spoken abuse and 340 written abuse, while 92 contained threatening language without making a direct threat to the victim. There were 341 instances of antisemitic graffiti, daubing or stickers on non-Jewish property, many of which included the depiction of swastikas. Two hundred offensive shouts or gestures, of which 164 were made from passing vehicles, contribute to this category's total. This is an increase of 85% from the corresponding figures in 2020, when 108 incidents involved hateful public shouts, 71 of which emanated from a vehicle. Behind this rise are the reports of offenders driving through Jewish neighbourhoods, often flying Palestinian flags, and abusing Jews in public about the conflict in the Middle East. This became an increasingly popular way of expressing antisemitic hatred in the guise of pro-Palestinian support. Sixty-one abusive phone calls or voice messages were made, and there were 28 examples of hate mail sent to the victims' personal or professional address that are not thought to have been mass-produced and distributed.

### CASE STUDY

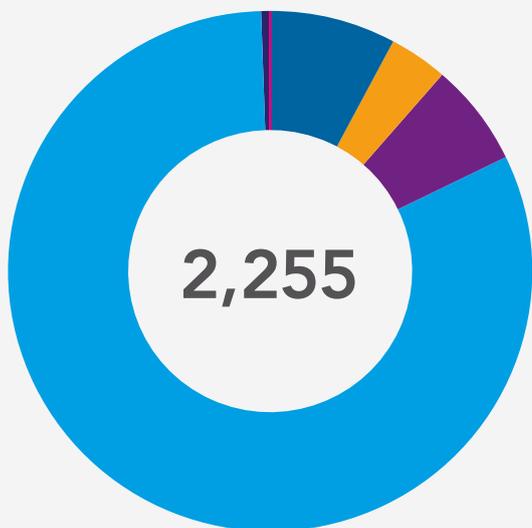
#### Anti-Israel and antisemitic shouts

In July, a visibly Jewish man was walking in public in northwest London. Two men approached him and started verbally abusing him, shouting, "I hate Jews", "why are you doing that to Palestine", and "say you don't hate Muslims". This is representative of a common type of incident reported to CST in 2021: a Jewish person, in this case visibly so, who is approached unsolicited, held accountable for events in the Middle East and forced to express their opinion on the matter.

Of the 1,844 instances of Abusive Behaviour, 509 occurred online, forming 28% of the category's total. These comprise the majority of the 552 online incidents reported which, although they did not increase at the rate of offline incidents, still constitute the third-highest annual total of online incidents ever recorded. Social media and instant messaging services remain fertile ground for the cultivation and expression of hate, where prejudice is affirmed and regurgitated by likeminded individuals, and shared indiscriminately or with a specific target in mind. These 509 incidents reveal the vital role that virtual forums continue to play as a conduit for abuse by antisemites who, in many cases, choose to hide under a cloak of anonymity, confident that they are safe from any meaningful reproach.

This abuse also leaves a footprint that is more difficult to quantify, observed during and after the intensification of hostilities between Israel and Hamas in 2021: the online proliferation of information and misinformation about the conflict – and the incitement to extreme rage over the topic, frequently witnessed on these platforms – have an impact on offline levels of antisemitism when people are emboldened and inspired to act on these feelings. Online anger and hate directed at Israel has real-world consequences for the Jewish community.

## INCIDENT CATEGORIES



Extreme Violence	<b>3</b> (<1%)
Assault	<b>173</b> (8%)
Damage & Desecration	<b>82</b> (4%)
Threats	<b>143</b> (6%)
Abusive Behaviour	<b>1,844</b> (82%)
Literature	<b>10</b> (<1%)

## Literature

This category covers mass-produced antisemitic literature that is distributed in multiple quantities. This can involve a single mass mailing or repeated individual mailings, but it must involve the multiple use of the same piece of literature in order to fall into this category. This is different from one-off cases of hate mail targeted at individual people or organisations, which would come under the category of either Abusive Behaviour or Threats. This category includes literature that is antisemitic in itself, irrespective of whether or not the recipient is Jewish, and cases where Jews are specifically targeted with malicious material, even if the content itself is not antisemitic. This would include, for instance, the mass mailing of neo-Nazi literature targeted at Jewish organisations or homes, even if the literature did not mention Jews. This category also includes antisemitic emails that are sent to groups of recipients. The statistics for this category give no indication of the extent of distribution. A single mass mailing of antisemitic literature is only counted as one incident, although it could involve material being sent to dozens of recipients. Thus, the number of incidents reflects the number of offenders and their actions, rather than the number of victims.

Antisemitic Literature is the one category in which CST has recorded a drop in 2021, with ten incidents compared to 12 incidents in this category in 2020: a fall of 17%. CST recorded 18 instances of Literature distribution in 2019, 43 in 2018, and 15 in 2017. It is not since 2013, when five such incidents were recorded, that the annual Literature total has been so low.

The abnormally high number of incidents in the category seen in 2018 was in large part due to the circulation of an antisemitic, conspiracy theory-laden leaflet called Tip of The Iceberg, which was posted through the letterboxes of north London and Hertfordshire. Although its distribution has dwindled substantially since, it was still used as the offending material in two of the ten Literature incidents reported in 2021. The remaining eight cases involve the dissemination

of five other leaflets (two of which contained far right or neo-Nazi rhetoric, and two containing antisemitic discourse regarding the pandemic); one antisemitic conspiracy theory that was referenced in a home-schooling kit sent out to multiple families; one antisemitic tweet sent to multiple people; and one email sent to hundreds of addresses with threatening Islamist language.

### CASE STUDY

#### "Jew jab" leaflets

In December, leaflets were posted through the letterboxes of a South Yorkshire apartment complex. On them were printed antisemitic caricatures, alongside the phrases "BEWARE THE K\*KE SPIKE" and "DON'T TRUST THE JEW JAB". This is one of 71 incidents reported to CST in 2021 that contained antisemitic, pandemic-related discourse.



It is curious that, in a year when a record overall number of antisemitic incidents were reported, record totals were not reported in every category. This may have a simple explanation, albeit one that is speculative, when viewed through the lens of the conflict between Israel and Hamas. It is an issue that is clearly very personal and emotive for many people, shown in the volume and content of reactions to the escalation of violence in May and June. When these reactions stray into antisemitism, they are perhaps more likely to be of a 'personal' nature – such as Assault, Threats or Abusive

Behaviour – where the perpetrator knows that, in most cases, it will provoke a more immediate and visceral confrontation or reaction as the victim knows that they have been specifically targeted at the time. This aspect is lacking in most instances of Damage & Desecration and Literature – categories in which record totals were not reported in 2021 – where the offence will usually only be seen a while after it has been committed, and the offender does not witness the hurt they cause.

Letter sent to a personal address, Barnet, June

ITS NO SURPRISE TO ME WHY WE ARE HATED  
THIS HAS JUST BEEN BROUGHT TO MY ATTENTION  
 We live in a country whose people 80 years past took up arms and many gave their lives to defeat the most evil abhorrent human act against innocent humans, acts that no normal human being could ever imagine. Now we find some descendants of the very victims of this evil regime,  
 LETS CALL THEM THE UNSCRUPULOUS ROGUES  
 to name a few  
 } Scum Bags  
 VIA their companies LTD  
 LTD AND OTHERS  
 they Issue imoral fines to the descendants of the very humans who gave so much to save ours and so many nationalities  
 for more information about these individuals and their disgusting tactics visit the following  
 Civil Enforcements Ltd complaints  
 Trustpilot or bailiffhelpforum co uk  
 These vile individuals have created a scheme that enables them to use scaremongering tactics to frighten decent people with threats including debt collection, court action, bailiffs, and county court judgment.  
 Jealous  
 Evil  
 Wicked  
 Inconsiderate  
 Selfish  
 Horrid  
 } How can any decent person be employed by these scourge of the human race

comments made by victims of the Roges when shown the truth

- 1 nothing would surprise me about these people
- 2 My wife worked for some of this type the most important thing to them is money they wanted to treat her like a dog
- 3 a few of my family and friends have had grief from these companys one of us discovered the jew boys so its no surprise to me
- 4 every community creates Trash and these are the worst
- 5 It beggars belief what ungrateful scoudrels are prepared to do
- 6 its only because you could show me the truth i can accept this
- 7 a group with no shame no morals who are happy to rob good people using threats, people who do not have the guts to face their victims but who hide
- 8 thank you so much for highlighting who we can explore and view their details
- 9 can we set up site to bring all these detaits to the public attention including our POLITICIANS
- 10 THIS IS A DISPICABLE GROUP OF REAL NASTY HORRIBLE DIRECTORS AND THEIR STAFF QUESTIONS MUST BE ASKED AND ANSWERS FROM OUR M Ps

## INCIDENT VICTIMS

The victims of antisemitic incidents come from the whole spectrum of the Jewish community: from strictly orthodox to liberal, reform and secular Jews; from the largest Jewish communities to small, isolated communities across the UK; from Jewish schoolchildren to Members of Parliament. Occasionally, antisemitism will also be directed at people who do not identify as Jewish.

There were 631 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2021 in which the victims were ordinary Jewish individuals in public. In at least 267 of these, they were visibly Jewish on account of their traditional clothing, Jewish school uniforms, or jewellery and insignia bearing religious symbols. In 2020, this was true of 377 and 145 incidents respectively. Of the 2,255 incidents recorded by CST in 2021, there was an element of verbal abuse in 923 incidents. These 923 spoken incidents included 234 in which the abuse incorporated threatening language; in 231, the abuse was shouted or gestured in public, and on 184 occasions by the occupant of a vehicle. All of this is broadly representative of the most common single type of offline antisemitic incident reported to CST: the random, unprovoked, verbal harassment of strangers who are presumed for whatever reason to be Jewish, as they go about their lives in public spaces that often have a large footfall of Jewish people. This was especially true of incidents motivated by, or expressed as, anger towards Israel during and after the conflict's escalation: if there was a single recurrent incident reported to CST, it involved the targeting of Jewish people in public with shouts of "*Free Palestine*" or other related abuse, often from a passing vehicle, simply because they were Jewish.

There were 41 antisemitic incidents recorded at Jewish schools in 2021, compared to 19 in 2020. An additional 42 incidents involved Jewish schoolchildren away from school premises, often on their way to or from home, compared

to 21 incidents of this type reported in 2020. CST recorded 99 incidents wherein the victims were Jewish schoolchildren or staff at non-faith schools, rising substantially from the 14 such incidents in 2020. This results in a total of 182 incidents affecting people and incidents in the school sector, more than have ever been reported in a calendar year, constituting a sharp increase of 225% from 56 incidents recorded in 2020. Of these 182 incidents, 27 came under the category of Assault, 13 of which occurred off school premises; four incidents were classified as Damage & Desecration; there were 12 direct Threats made, six of which were to Jewish schools; 138 incidents were classed as Abusive Behaviour; there was one case of antisemitic Literature, sent out to pupils with home-schooling materials. Ninety-five (52%) of all these incidents took place in May, of which 62 occurred at non-faith schools.

It is atypical for such a high proportion of school-related incidents to emanate from non-faith schools. Fifty-four percent of school-related incidents were at or linked to non-faith schools in 2021, but just 25% in 2020 and 20% in 2019. Much of CST's victim support work throughout the year was dedicated to helping schoolchildren and teachers for whom returning to their places of education and work was a source of great anxiety and concern for their wellbeing and safety in a space that should be safe. These cases serve as a microcosm of the kind of backlash the wider Jewish community receives – especially in contexts where they are a small, isolated minority – from some people when hostilities in the Middle East intensify.

A rise in antisemitism was also reported in the higher education sphere. In 2021, 128 antisemitic incidents affected Jewish students, academics, student unions or other student bodies, or were perpetrated by people involved in the university sector. It is an increase of 191% from the 44 such incidents recorded in 2020, and the highest

annual campus-related figure ever reported. Thirty-eight of these events occurred on campus or university property, while 90 were off campus (including 75 online incidents). Among them, one is classified as Assault, eight as Threats, and 119 as Abusive Behaviour. Sixty-five of the 128 antisemitic incidents in higher education took place in May.

The extent of the increase in school and university-related antisemitic incidents reported to CST is partly a product of the fact that these educational facilities were open for in-person learning for more of 2021 than 2020, as they got to grips with the realities of the pandemic. However, this rise may also give an insight into how the subject of the conflict in the Middle East is consumed and discussed in the UK. The abundance and sharing on social media of information and misinformation regarding the war in Israel and Palestine makes it even more pervasive in public discourse than it would be otherwise, particularly among a demographic more likely to spend time and intake daily news on these platforms. The fact that 75 (59%) of the 128 university-related incidents were online, even in a year when the overall online total fell, is indicative of this phenomenon. When this online rhetoric is inflammatory or inciteful, it can translate into offline debate and abuse.

There are several aspects to the dynamics of school and campus settings that could explain why a subject matter like this becomes a channel for harassment in those spaces, one of which is the sense of belonging that membership of a social movement can offer. To fulfil this need – one perhaps particularly felt among young people – they align themselves with a cause whose complexity they do not fully appreciate, without understanding or giving thought to how their words and actions can become antisemitic when directed at Jews. This is not to excuse the offenders or absolve them of responsibility: it merely presents a possible reason behind the upswing in antisemitic incidents observed in these environments, triggered by reactions to the escalation in violence between Israel and Hamas.

There were 59 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2021 that targeted synagogues (including buildings, congregants and staff while at the location), exceeding 2020's total of 45 by 31%. A further 35 incidents saw congregants or staff targeted on their way to or from prayer services, rising by 95% from the 18 such incidents reported to CST in 2020. This comprises a 49% net increase in cases of antisemitism affecting

## VICTIMS

where the age and gender are known



**57%**

of victims were **male**



**35%**

of victims were **female**



**8%**

of victims were **groups of males and females**



**83%**

of victims were **adults**



**14%**

of victims were **minors**



**3%**

of victims were **mixed age groups**

synagogues and the people traveling to, from, or already inside them, from 63 in 2020 to 94 in 2021: a rise that can be explained by a couple of factors. Unlike in 2020, when places of worship were instructed to close between March and July because of COVID-19, they were allowed to remain open at various capacities throughout 2021. Synagogues also represented a visible, symbolic target for people who do not separate their anger towards Israel from their hatred of Jewishness and Jews. Twenty-four (26%) of these 94 incidents happened in May. An additional four acts of antisemitism desecrated Jewish cemeteries, compared to three in 2020.

In 2021, 167 incidents reported to CST took place at people's residential property. It is a rise of 4% from the 160 incidents of this kind recorded in 2020. These figures, which are much higher than the 118 home-based cases of antisemitism reported in 2019, reflect a surge in neighbour and housemate disputes during the pandemic. Whether because of lockdown, working from home initiatives, self-isolation or shielding reasons, people across the country have generally had to spend more time at home since COVID-19's outbreak. With frustration potentially increased and their outlets limited, it is possible that local tensions have been heightened and more likely to spill over into words and acts of a hateful nature, directed at those closest by.

In a similar vein, 23 antisemitic incidents were related to the workplace, rising by 64% from the 14 reports of this nature in 2020. These statistics, combined with the incidents recorded in the education sector – many of which occurred between a victim and offender who are known to each other – contribute to a record 209 interpersonal incidents, wherein the victim and offender have prior relationship. They comprised 9% of the 2,255 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2021, up from 94 (6%) of the 1,684 incidents recorded in 2020.

One hundred and fifty-two antisemitic incidents targeted Jewish businesses and organisations in 2021, dropping by 13% from 174 in 2020. Meanwhile, antisemitic incidents in which the victim was a prominent individual or public figure fell by 27%, from 94 in 2020 to 69 in 2021. Although these totals remain significant, they have reduced partly because the issue of alleged antisemitism within the Labour Party was not as salient in the news agenda or public discourse as it had been in previous years. When it was, Jewish Members of Parliament – as well as institutions using their platform to express their solidarity against the abuse these politicians were facing – were often confronted with the very hatred they were attempting to address. In 2020, for example, CST recorded spikes in these incidents both at the time of the Labour Party's leadership change, and when Jeremy Corbyn was suspended from the party.

There were 43 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2021 that were in some way related to the world of professional football, rising by 139% from the 18 such incidents recorded in 2020. This increase is influenced by a couple of factors. When plans for a European Super League were announced in April, they drew the ire of many football fans. Some of them responded to the news with online antisemitic abuse directed at the Jewish owners and board members of some clubs involved. In addition, CST has observed an increase in professional football-related incidents since supporters have been allowed back in stadia. It began during the European Championships in June, and has continued throughout the season: a stark contrast to 2020 when, for most of the year, football games were played behind closed doors. Likewise, there has been a rise of 125% in reported antisemitism that took place in an amateur football setting, from four in 2020 to nine in 2021, when there were fewer restrictions on outdoor group exercise.

CST received a description of the victim or victims' gender in 1,344 of the 2,255 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2021. Of these, 770 (57%) were male; 471 (35%) were female; in 103 incidents (8%), the victims were mixed groups of males and females.

The victim or victims' age was ascertained in 1,331 of the antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2021. Of these, 1,098 (83%) involved adult victims, of which 22 were over the age of 65; 178 (13%) involved victims who were minors; in 55 instances (4%), mixed groups of adults and minors were attacked. The percentage split between adult and minor victims is more balanced than that recorded in 2020, when adults were targeted in 88% of incidents and minors in just 8%. The higher proportion of victims under 18 years old in 2021 is a consequence of the surge in antisemitism aimed at schoolchildren noted in 2021.

## INCIDENT OFFENDERS

It is not always easy to ascertain the ethnicity, gender or age of antisemitic incident offenders. Many face-to-face incidents involve fleeting, nonverbal, public encounters in which the offenders may not be fully visible or leave the scene quickly. Victim and witness testimonies may be vague and disjointed, which is understandable given the nature of the ordeal that they have experienced. Many incidents do not involve face-to-face contact, and it is therefore not always possible to obtain a physical description of the perpetrator. Furthermore, those who commit antisemitic offences online may choose to completely anonymise themselves, which makes it almost impossible to garner any information about the person behind the abuse. On the other hand, if social media profiles are not anonymised, they can provide some personal details of offenders, such as a name, photograph or approximate location.

While it is possible to collect data regarding the ethnic appearance of incident offenders, this data is not direct evidence of the offenders' religious affiliations. The content of an antisemitic letter may reveal the motivation of the offender, but it would be a mistake to assume the ethnicity or religion of a hate mail sender solely on the basis of the discourse they employ.

CST received a description of the ethnic appearance of the offender or offenders in 744 of the 2,255 antisemitic incidents reported in 2021. Of these, 297 (40%) were described as white – North European; 25 (3%) as white – South European; 86 (12%) as black; 116 (16%) as South Asian; seven (1%) as Southeast Asian; finally, 213 (28%) were described as Arab or North African. In comparison with periods when there is no trigger event in the Middle East, the make-up

of incident offender ethnicities is atypical: a far higher proportion of perpetrators are of North African, Arab or South Asian origin, while a minority of perpetrators were described as white. A look at 2020's breakdown displays this contrast, when 63% of offenders were described to CST as white – North European; 3% as white – South European; 17% as black; 6% as South Asian; less than 1% as Southeast Asian; and 11% as Arab or North African. This change is due to the atypical pattern of incident perpetrators during the conflict in Israel and Palestine in May. A similar change in the relative proportions of described incident offender ethnicities was also seen in 2014, when the last sustained episode of violence in Israel and Gaza occurred.<sup>17</sup>

A description of the gender of the offender or offenders was obtained by CST in 1,197 of the 2,255 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2021. Of these, the offenders were described as male in 982 incidents (82%); female in 186 incidents (16%); and mixed groups of males and females in 29 incidents (2%).

In 1,122 of the 2,255 reports of antisemitism during 2021, the approximate age of the offender or offenders was provided. Among them, 918 (82%) involved adult offenders; in 200 cases (18%) the perpetrators were minors; and there were only four instances (less than 1%) in which the offenders were a mix of adults and minors. The proportion of incident offenders who were minors is larger than in 2020, when 10% of perpetrators were minors. This point highlights the increase in school-related antisemitic incidents during and in the aftermath of heightened conflict in the Middle East in 2021.

<sup>17</sup> [Antisemitic Incidents Report 2014](#), CST, 2015

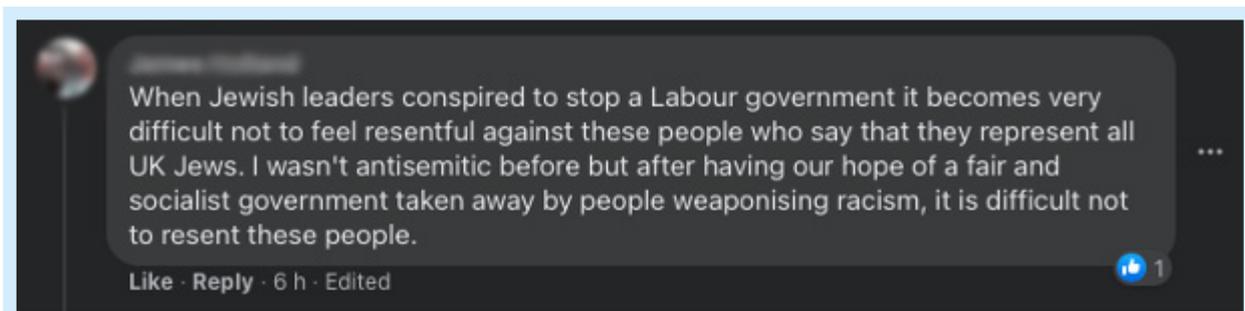
## DISCOURSE, MOTIVES AND IDEOLOGY

CST attempts to assess the number of antisemitic incidents that take place in the UK each year behind which there is evidence of political, religious, or ideological discourse or motivation. CST also monitors the number of instances where conspiracy-fuelled sentiments are present: stereotypical tropes about the Jewish people's power, influence, and money – and exaggerating or inventing the tragedies of the Holocaust – can be especially prevalent in online expressions of antisemitism. It is common for two or more of these discourses to exist within the same incident, even if they would seem ideologically incompatible. Such apparent contradictions perfectly capture the multifaceted nature of contemporary anti-Jewish hate. Historic, simplistic prejudices have been manipulated and deployed by such a vast array of social, religious, cultural and political forces over such a long period of time, that a much more complex and layered landscape of antisemitic language, imagery and references has emerged. Partly as a consequence of this, the use of a certain rhetoric does not necessarily evidence a specific motivation or allegiance: for example, a person who shouts “Heil Hitler” at a Jewish passer-by might align themselves with far-right extremist ideology, or they might simply know that this phrase will cause upset and offence to Jewish people.

In 2021, CST recorded 30 incidents linked to specific political parties or their supporters, all

of which were connected to the Labour Party, classed as such for the offender's expressed affiliation or support, because the abuse targeted or was said by the party members or politicians, or because it appeared to be motivated by news stories related to Labour. This total is a significant fall of 83% from the 175 Labour Party-related incidents reported in 2020, indicating that anti-Jewish hatred in Labour Party contexts is significantly less prevalent than it was in previous years. One likely cause of this is that the issue of alleged antisemitism within the Labour Party has not held the same level of prominence in public discourse and consciousness as it did in 2020, when the change in leadership and subsequent suspension of Jeremy Corbyn from the party prompted a spike in online antisemitic abuse by those who felt his tenure had been undermined and destabilised by the Jewish community. In 2019, Jewish Members of Parliament left the Labour Party, citing antisemitism as the reason for their decision. In both cases, Jewish politicians and ally organisations were harassed with the exact hatred they were trying to fight.

Of the incidents containing explicitly UK-related political discourse, a further two were recorded in 2021 connected to the UK's withdrawal from the European Union, compared to three in 2020.



Specific aspects of Judaism were attacked or deliberately mischaracterised for antisemitic purposes in 30 instances, fewer than the 47 such incidents reported in 2020. Fourteen of these manipulated ideas taken from religious scripture (equal to the 14 recorded in 2020); ten singled out religious traditions (again matching the ten in 2020); while six focused on religious literature (compared to 23 in 2020 that targeted specific Jewish holy books). In 97 cases, the antisemitism was laced with anti-Jewish stereotypes, caricatures or dehumanising language and imagery, decreasing slightly from 101 such examples in 2020.



Antisemitic conspiracy theories were present in 183 (8%) of the 2,255 incidents reported in 2021, marking a decrease from the 333 such incidents recorded in 2020. From these, 149 discussed Jewish influence over global politics, media, finance and other walks of life (compared to 264 in 2020); 19 spread falsehoods about religious rituals and practices (just below the 21 reported in 2020); and four involved myths about the origins of Jewishness in attempts to undermine any concept of modern Jewish identity (fewer than the 17 incidents of this nature reported in 2020).



In 502 incidents – 22% of the 2,255 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2021 – the offender or offenders alluded to Hitler, the Nazis, the Holocaust, used discourse associated with the period of Nazi rule, and/or punctuated their abuse with a Nazi salute, the depiction of a swastika or other related imagery. It is an increase of 25% from the 402 incidents employing these references recorded in 2020. Ninety of these 502 incidents glorified the Holocaust, its perpetrators and/or their ideas, or expressed a desire for the mass extermination of Jews to happen again (rising from 79 in 2020). Seventeen incidents contained the denial of either the scale of the Holocaust, or its having happened at all (falling from 61 in 2020). There were 111 instances in which evidence of far-right political motivation was shown, wherein the offender displayed subscription to far-right extremist beliefs beyond – though often alongside – the simple and superficial appropriation of Nazi-era rhetoric, compared to 108 such incidents in 2020.

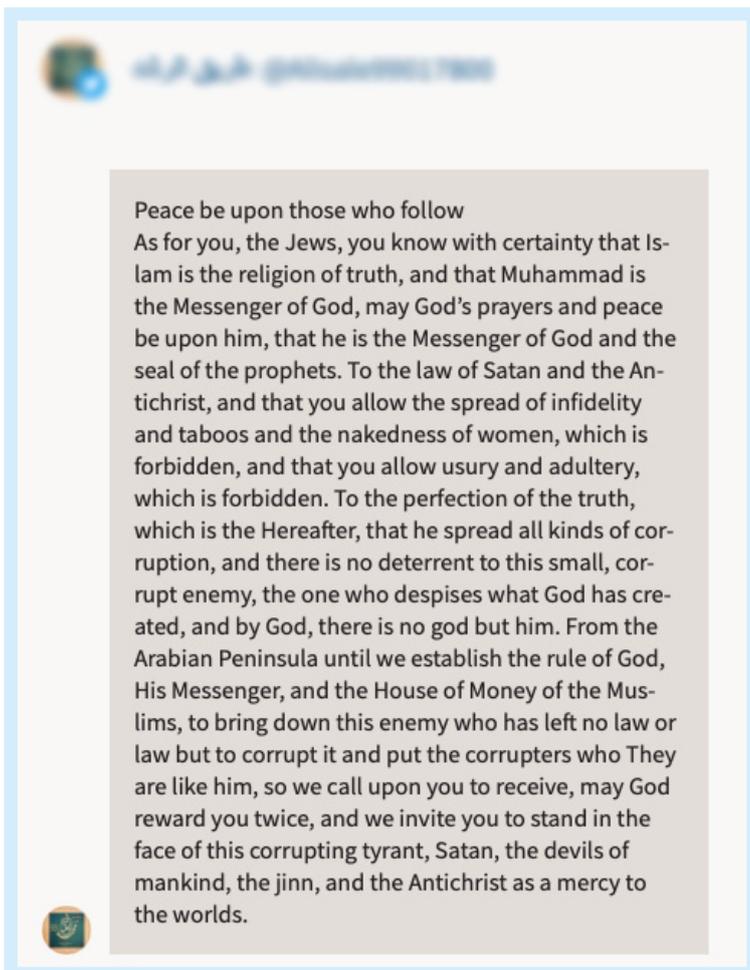


Of the 2,255 incidents recorded by CST in 2021, 826 referenced Israel, Palestine or the conflict between the two; demonstrated anti-Zionist motivation; or combined several of these elements. It was predictably the most common individual brand of rhetoric, evident in 37% of the incidents reported to CST in 2021 and a 224% rise from the 255 such incidents in 2020. These 826 incidents include occasions where the subject matter was directly mentioned (e.g., shouts of “Free Palestine” at visibly Jewish people), where the context made the intention obvious (e.g., cars draped in Palestinian flags driving and making commotion through Jewish communities), and the 120 cases where anti-Jewish remarks were supplemented with explicit calls for the destruction of the State of Israel. Although upsetting to many Jewish people, CST would not consider this sentiment as inherently antisemitic, but in these 120 cases, it was expressed alongside antisemitic comments, or directed at Jewish people purely because they were perceived to be Jewish. The terms “Zionism” or “Zionist” were

employed in 103 instances (compared to 105 in 2020), often as by-words for “Jewishness” and “Jew”. Holocaust-related incidents and those referencing the Middle East were connected together on the 62 occasions on which the offender directly compared Israel to the Nazis, rising from the 51 such incidents reported in 2020. An additional 49 incidents involved discourse relating to Islam and Muslims, an increase from eight in 2020, while Islamist extremist ideology was present in 20, up from the seven recorded in 2020. A further 29 antisemitic incidents evidenced another religious ideology, falling from 35 in 2020.

The increases in incidents with the discourses described in the above paragraph showcase the quantitative and qualitative differences between UK-based antisemitism in a year with a trigger event in the Middle East and one without. The sheer volume of incidents reported to CST that were in some way related to events in Israel and Palestine is not only indicative of how circumstances in the region provoke reactions

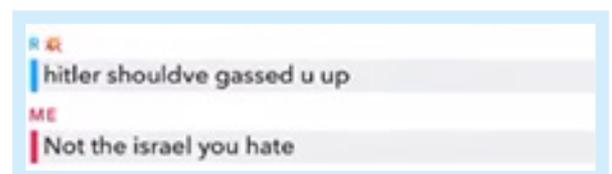
across different parts of society, or how often such reactions incorporate antisemitic abuse. It is also emblematic of how modern-day antisemitism follows the news cycle, latching onto the story of the day as a vessel for its instant dissemination. Of the 826 incidents referencing the conflict and/or showing anti-Zionist intent, 585 (71%) occurred in May. Of the 120 incidents where antisemitism was accompanied by expressed desires for Israel’s elimination, 43 (36%) occurred in May. Of the 103 incidents where the offender used the words “Zionism” or “Zionist”, 39 (38%) occurred in May. Of the 49 incidents that made mention of Islam or Muslims, 25 (51%) occurred in May. The spike in certain rhetoric during and in the immediate aftermath of the intensification of violence between Israel and Hamas illuminates the unifying effect of a trigger event in the Middle East, quickly mobilising antisemites to take offensive action.



It would, however, be a mistake to assume that antisemitic responses to the war's escalation were confined to the period of active combat. Instead, it shaped the content of reported antisemitism for the remainder of the year. From January to April inclusive, CST recorded a monthly average of 12 antisemitic incidents employing discourse relating to Israel and Palestine; from July to December inclusive, this figure rose to 22 per month. The harassment of Jewish people with shouts of "Free Palestine" was still being reported in December. It is telling that these two words – rather than any of the more layered discourses dissected in this chapter – are characteristic of the most common single antisemitic, anti-Israel incident recorded by CST in 2021. This simple phrase has become almost anthemic, its repetition an easy way for offenders to feel as if they are participating in a social movement without having to engage with the complexity of the cause, and without necessarily giving thought or care to how their words can translate into antisemitic hate speech when directed at unsuspecting Jewish targets.

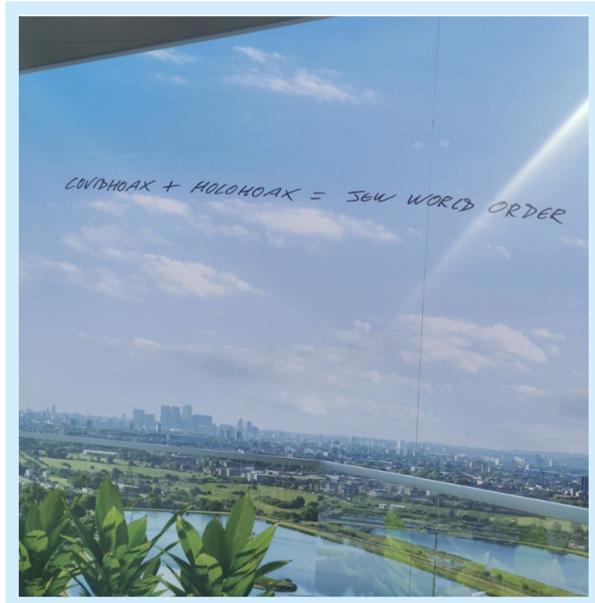
Of the 2,255 incidents recorded by CST in 2021, 157 (7%) involved a combination of two or more of the political, religious and racist discourses, conspiracy theories and ideologies covered in this chapter. The many and varied sources and tropes that can exist within a single antisemitic incident underline the complexity of contemporary anti-Jewish hate and the difficulty in combatting it. It also exposes the confusion of offenders, whose prejudice is often unfocused, composed of disparate antisemitic notions. It is perhaps misguided to assume that antisemitism is born of a conscious rationale of the individual perpetrator, even if certain myths enable them to feel righteous in their hatred. Rather, it is embedded in the unexamined and unchallenged 'truths' that exist in the collective consciousness, where the same base narratives can be adopted and repurposed by antisemites across the social, political and ideological spectra to fit their own particular agenda.

Some of the antisemitic reactions to events in the Middle East demonstrate this pattern. It is often presupposed that pro-Palestinian, anti-Israel sentiment is held predominantly by people who would self-identify as left-wing, but among the reported responses to Israel's alleged actions, in the guise of support for Palestine, were comments glorifying the Holocaust and the values of Nazi Germany.

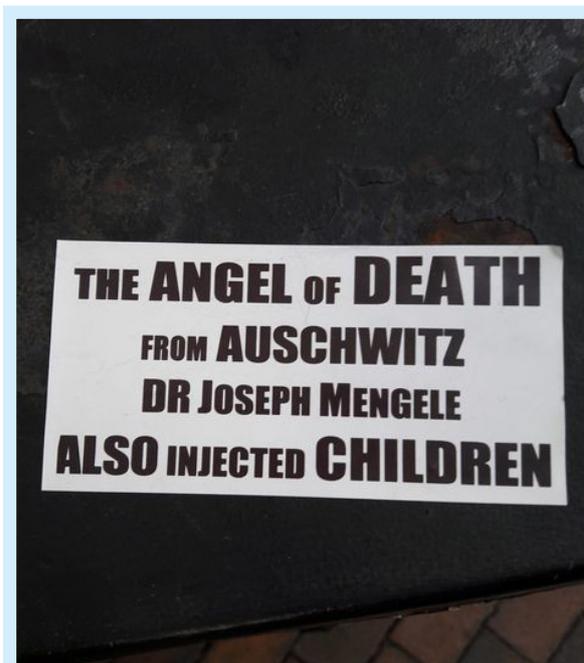


These examples show people who profess to stand up for the oppressed celebrating far-right, fascistic, genocidal antisemitic policies. They perfectly capture the kind of cognitive dissonance that runs through modern-day antisemitism; a lack of self-awareness that allows offenders to prioritise their animosity towards Jews above other tenets of identity and worldview.

They also illustrate another worrying trend of 2021, emphasised by the 502 incidents containing Holocaust-related abuse: the second most prevalent discourse recorded in the year. This reference point is one of the first ports of call for people seeking to proclaim the hatred of Jews, whether in response to conflict in the Middle East or any other topic that elicits their prejudice.



In these three images, the interweaving of antisemitism with Holocaust-related rhetoric is on display. In the first, two offenders reflect on Tottenham Hotspur's draw with Southampton, apparently blaming Jews for the result and championing Hitler's ideas in a Twitter exchange. In the second, the perpetrator has replied to the official Tottenham Hotspur Twitter account's post wishing Jewish fans well over Yom Kippur with a picture of Hitler and written abuse. In the third, graffiti has been scrawled on a property development hoarding, denying the existence of COVID-19, denying the Holocaust, and ascribing these two "hoaxes" to a Jewish conspiracy of world domination. These three images, unrelated in every aspect but the chosen discourse, are a snapshot of how ready antisemites across the board are to manipulate a source of collective, cross-generational trauma as a means of inflicting further pain on Jewish people.



The final image of the three shows that the pandemic has continued to provide material for antisemites to draw upon, as indeed it has since the virus' outbreak. In 2021, CST recorded 78 incidents containing antisemitic rhetoric alongside allusions to COVID-19, an increase of 95% from the 40 such incidents reported in 2020. This may seem counterintuitive given that, in general, life in 2021 was less disrupted than in 2020, when the virus was completely novel and there was perhaps less understanding of how exactly it would reshape the reality of daily life. Nevertheless, as discussed, people who hate Jews are quick to tailor the discourse around current affairs to any shifts in social dynamics. At the pandemic's outset, strands of discourse emerged, including rehashed tropes of Jews being disease carriers; conspiracy theories alleging Jewish involvement in creating and spreading COVID-19 (or creating and spreading the myth of COVID-19) for their own nefarious ends; alongside hopes that Jewish people catch the virus and die from it. While these have persisted in circulation, they have increasingly given way to burgeoning antisemitic narratives comparing lockdown restrictions, the vaccine rollout and vaccine passports to the persecution and mass-murder of Jews in the Holocaust. Nazi-era imagery, such as the yellow Star of David – a symbol of Jewish oppression – has often been appropriated to make this equation.



This offensive rhetoric is further proof not only of how the Holocaust and Jewish suffering are so readily abused, but also of the way in which antisemitism finds new life as the news agenda and popular discourse evolve. The speed at which antisemitic, pandemic-related narratives were spawned in March 2020 – and the way they have endured and mutated through the months of uncertainty since – are additional unfortunate legacies of COVID-19. It is a case study in the adaptability and opportunism of contemporary antisemitism and its perpetrators, who repackage familiar and deep-rooted tropes, conspiracy theories, misconceptions and Jewish trauma to fit the present context.

## GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS

Of the 2,255 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2021, 1,538 occurred across the regions of Greater London and Greater Manchester; the UK cities where the largest Jewish populations reside.

In the former, 1,254 incidents were reported, marking a rise of 33% from the 941 incidents recorded in 2020. Greater Manchester's total of 284 is an even steeper increase of 86% from the 153 incidents in the same area in 2020.

CST recorded at least one antisemitic incident in each of London's 33 Metropolitan Police boroughs. Of the 1,254 incidents recorded across Greater London in 2021, 423 occurred in Barnet, the local authority that is home to the biggest Jewish population in the UK. There were 129 instances of antisemitism reported to have taken place in Hackney, 109 in Camden, 99 in Westminster and 56 in Tower Hamlets. Barnet, Hackney and Camden are all areas where significant portions of London's Jewish community live, and so it is not surprising that, in a year that saw a sharp overall rise in antisemitic incident reports, these boroughs' totals increased in tandem from the 243, 116 and 91 incidents respectively recorded in each in 2020. However, the same cannot be said about Westminster and Tower Hamlets, yet incidents there surged from the 64 and 23 cases recorded in those local authorities respectively in 2020. In Westminster's case, this is partly due to the protests that took place in Central London regarding the Middle East. Antisemitic abuse was

reported at both pro-Palestine and pro-Israel demonstrations, contributing to Westminster's figure. As for Tower Hamlets, CST received reports of antisemitic, conspiracy theory-laden, anti-Zionist graffiti throughout the year. CST has worked with the police to identify the serial offender behind this campaign.

Within Greater London's statistics, 77 incidents were reported to have taken place on property that falls under the jurisdiction of the British Transport Police. A further 45 were online incidents where it is known that either victim or offender was based in London, but a more specific location could not be established.

Of Greater Manchester's 284 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2021, 130 happened in Salford, 51 in the City of Manchester, 46 in Bury, 17 in Stockport and 12 in Trafford. Forty-six (16%) of the 284 reported incidents in Greater Manchester were in the categories of Assault or Extreme Violence, double the national average. Of all the police regions where more than ten cases of antisemitism were recorded in 2021, a higher proportion of direct physical attacks was only reported in Essex (four of 24 incidents, or 17%).

Not only have Greater London and Greater Manchester's figures increased from 2020, but so have their combined proportional contribution to the national incident total, from 65% in 2020 to 68% in 2021. These increases largely derive from the antisemitic reactions to the intensification of

Pro-Palestinian demonstration in Westminster, May 2021

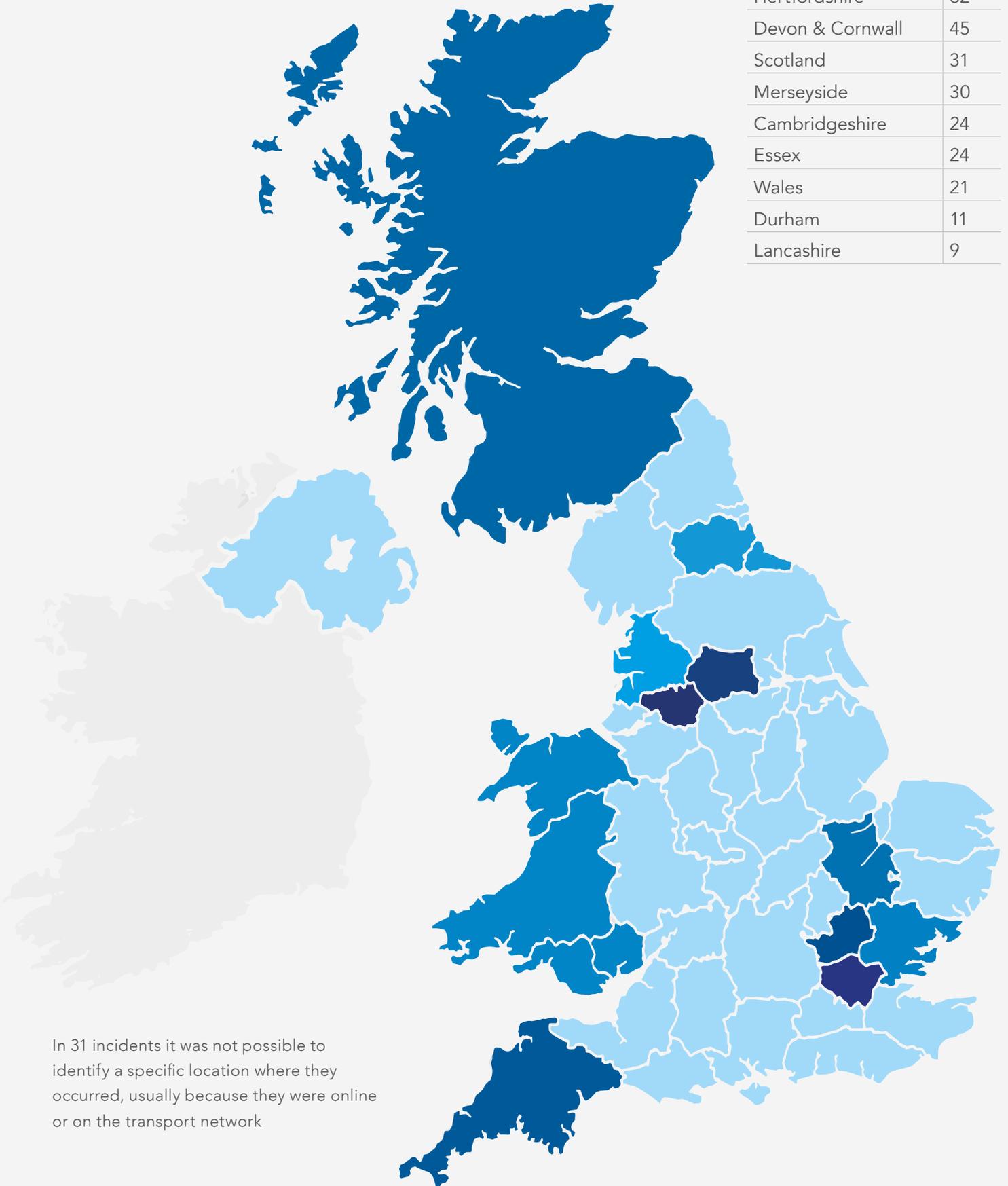


Antisemitic graffiti in Tower Hamlets, November 2021



# INCIDENT LOCATIONS

London	1254
Manchester	284
West Yorkshire Police	105
Northumbria	86
Hertfordshire	62
Devon & Cornwall	45
Scotland	31
Merseyside	30
Cambridgeshire	24
Essex	24
Wales	21
Durham	11
Lancashire	9



In 31 incidents it was not possible to identify a specific location where they occurred, usually because they were online or on the transport network

hostilities in the Middle East, many of which were directed at the institutions and people within the hubs of Jewish community in the UK. The point is illustrated by the following fact: 155 (84%) of the 184 instances of abusive antisemitic language or gestures from passing vehicles reported in 2021 occurred in either Greater London (85 incidents) or Greater Manchester (70 incidents). Of these 155 cases, 86 happened in May and June, most of which showed evidence that they were motivated by events in Israel and Gaza as the offenders drove through Jewish neighbourhoods, sometimes with Palestinian flags draped on their cars, shouting pro-Palestine or anti-Israel slogans at Jews going about their daily business. Their visible and substantial Jewish populations often made Greater London and Greater Manchester the designated targets for this brand of antisemitism.

While it is not a surprise that most antisemitic incidents occur in the areas central to Jewish life, incidents were nevertheless reported in all but one police region in the UK in 2021. Suffolk was sole exception in 2021, whereas Surrey was the only constabulary in 2020 where no instances of antisemitism were reported to have occurred. It shows that anti-Jewish hate continues to span the country, and there are several possible factors behind the broad spread of reports. One is that online incidents, although reduced from 2020, are still high in number. Social media and instant messaging platforms are accessible and convenient channels for hate, granting a wider demographic the opportunity to spout their prejudice with impunity, while also expanding the range of potential victims. Physical proximity to a Jewish community is no longer a prerequisite for ensuring that antisemitism reaches its intended target.

As online antisemitism has become a significant aspect of contemporary anti-Jewish hate, CST's social media presence has grown and, with it, the capacity of the public to report incidents. CST has also improved its precision in determining the location within the UK of either the offender

or victim of online antisemitism: just 27 of the 552 online incidents in 2021 are recorded as 'Online Unknown', compared to 39 of 638 in 2020.

The deepening relationship with police services across the country has also contributed to this spread. CST shares anonymised incident data with many constabularies in the UK, which has proved vital in gaining a more accurate and detailed understanding of where and how antisemitism happens in the UK. For example, the increases observed in Devon & Cornwall (from 13 to 45 incidents, of which 38 came via the police) and Northern Ireland (from five to 18 incidents, 14 of which were reported by the police) are a testament to this work and the new information-sharing agreements that CST worked to establish in 2021.

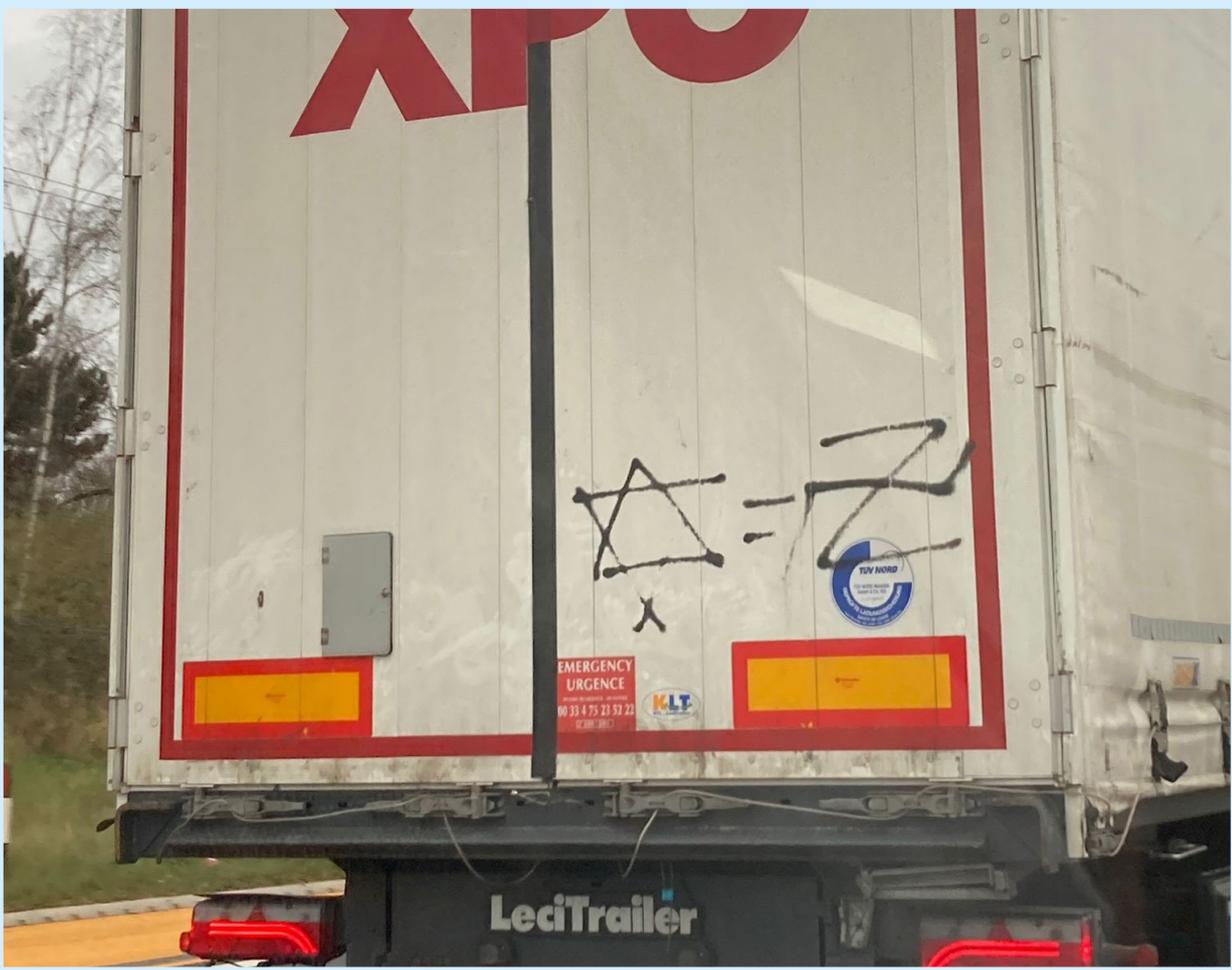
Aside from the locations already mentioned, the police regions with the highest reported antisemitic incident totals were West Yorkshire with 105 incidents (compared to 76 in 2020); Northumbria with 86 incidents (a decrease from 94 in 2020); Hertfordshire with 62 incidents (doubling from 31 in 2020, linked to the re-opening of schools in March and the volume of school-related incidents reported in relation to events in the Middle East); Scotland with 31 incidents (up from 30 in 2020); and Thames Valley, also with 31 incidents (a rise from 17 in 2020).

Apart from Greater London and Greater Manchester's boroughs, the towns and cities within police regions where antisemitism was most often reported were Leeds in West Yorkshire (59 incidents), Gateshead in Northumbria (43 incidents), Birmingham in West Midlands (28 incidents), Liverpool in Merseyside (28 incidents), Elstree & Borehamwood in Hertfordshire (25 incidents), and Glasgow in Scotland (18 incidents). Included within all the figures in this chapter are the 101 instances of antisemitism that took place on public transport or at public transport stations (32 on London buses, 30 on the London Underground and 39 on other transport) that fall under the authority of the British Transport Police.

Antisemitic graffiti using (((triple brackets))) motif, Tower Hamlets, July



Graffiti on lorry, M1, December



## REPORTING OF INCIDENTS

Not every incident recorded by CST has an identifiable victim. Not every incident recorded by CST has an identifiable perpetrator; but every incident recorded by CST has a reporter. Antisemitic incidents are reported to CST in a number of ways, most commonly by telephone, email, the CST website, via CST's social media profiles, or in person to CST staff and volunteers. Incidents can be reported to CST by the victim, a witness, or an individual or organisation acting on their behalf. In 2001, CST was accorded third party reporting status by the police. CST has a national Information Sharing Agreement with the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC), and similar agreements with a number of regional forces, which allow CST to share antisemitic incident reports, fully anonymised to comply with data protection requirements, so that both CST and the police can glean as complete a picture as possible of the number and nature of reported antisemitic incidents. CST began sharing antisemitic incident data with Greater Manchester Police in 2011, followed by the Metropolitan Police Service in 2012. Now, using the national agreement, CST shares anonymised antisemitic incident data with several forces around the UK. Any duplicate incidents that are reported to both CST and the police are excluded from this process to ensure there is no 'double counting' of incidents.

This collaboration continues to prove of immense value. In 2021, 985 of the 2,255 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST were reported by the police. This comprises 44% of the total and is the highest number of incidents reported to CST by the police in any calendar year. Of these 985 reports, 554 came from the Metropolitan Police Service, 127 from Greater Manchester Police, 75 courtesy of West Yorkshire Police, 62 from Northumbria Police, 38 via Devon & Cornwall Police, and 129 from other police services around the country. Some of these partnerships have existed for a long time, others are much more recently established, and it is the work invested in making and maintaining these relationships

that explains the volume of data it contributes to CST's incident total and our comprehension of anti-Jewish hate in the UK

In 2021, 584 of the 2,255 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST were reported by the victim, while 321 were reported by a witness to antisemitism, whether exhibited in a public space or online. This makes a change from 2020, when a higher number of witnesses than victims reported incidents, with 419 and 306 reports made respectively; a trend that precedes 2020. This shift to a higher proportion of victim testimonies perhaps suggests an overall greater appreciation among those closest to the event both of what hate crime is and of the importance of reporting it.

In 156 cases, a friend, relative or support provider related details of the incident, accounting for 7% of all incidents recorded by CST. This is a numerical and proportional increase from the 48 antisemitic incidents reported by close associates of the victim in 2020, which was 3% of that year's 1,684 total. This rise is largely due to an upswing in antisemitism directed at minors, particularly in a school context – cases that were usually reported by the parents of the children concerned. CST staff reported 117 occurrences of antisemitism, which included online abuse directed at CST social media accounts, while 57 incidents were reported by security guards at Jewish premises. An additional 20 incidents came to CST's attention through CST volunteers, 12 through media reports, while two reports were made by Manchester Shomrim and one by a student chaplaincy.

Every single report helps CST better understand the nature and scale of antisemitism in the UK today. Every single report better enables CST to protect and facilitate Jewish life.

## INFORMATION COLLECTION AND SUSPICIOUS BEHAVIOUR

One of the most important jobs CST does is to record and analyse incidents of potential hostile reconnaissance (categorised by CST as Information Collection) and Suspicious Behaviour around Jewish locations. Although these potential incidents are not included in CST's antisemitic incident statistics, they still form a vital part of CST's work as they relate directly to the security of the Jewish community.

The recent tragic history of antisemitic terrorism against Jewish communities and at Jewish schools, synagogues, shops, museums and other buildings in Colleyville, Pittsburgh, Halle, San Diego, Copenhagen, Paris, Brussels, Toulouse, Kansas City, Mumbai and elsewhere attests to the importance of this work. Jewish communities have long been the targets of terrorists of different and varied political and religious motivations. Since the late 1960s, there have been over 400 terrorist attacks, attempted attacks and foiled terrorist plots against Diaspora Jewish communities and Israeli targets outside Israel. In the UK, several terrorist plots involving the aspiration to attack the Jewish community came to trial or were publicised via the media in recent years. It is well known that terrorist actors often collect information about their targets before launching an attack: identifying and preventing the gathering of this kind of information is an integral part of CST's work in protecting the UK Jewish community from terrorism. To be effective in keeping the public safe, CST relies on information from the public as well as CST's own volunteers and from commercial guards, and CST encourages the Jewish community to report any suspicious activity to CST, as well as to the police.

CST works closely with the police to gather, record and investigate incidents of information collection and suspicious behaviour. CST does this to keep the Jewish community safe and allow it to carry on as normal. Cases of potential Information Collection and Suspicious Behaviour are not included in CST's antisemitic incident statistics, as the motivation for many of them is not possible to determine and many may have innocent explanations. The vague and uncertain nature of many of these incidents means that they are easier to analyse if the two categories are combined, rather than treated separately. Taken together, there were 277 such incidents reported to CST in 2021, compared to the 175 incidents of this type reported to CST in 2020. It is likely that the rise is a result in the overall increase in anti-Israel activity and general unwanted attention placed on the Jewish community in response to the conflict in the Middle East. These factors have perhaps led to a heightened sense of uncertainty and fear among the community, which has therefore been more inclined to report any perceived hostile activity. Of the 277 incidents of potential information collection and suspicious behaviour reported to CST in 2021, 61 involved the photography or videoing of Jewish buildings, while in 42 cases suspicious people tried to gain entry to Jewish premises. Neither CST nor the police underestimate the threat posed to Jewish communities by various terrorist organisations and networks. Identifying and preventing the potential hostile reconnaissance of Jewish buildings or other potential terrorist targets is an important part of reducing the possibility of future terrorist attacks and is integral to the work of CST.

## ANNUAL ANTISEMITIC INCIDENT FIGURES

Some of the numbers in the tables may differ from those previously published by CST, due to the late reporting of incidents to CST by incident victims and witnesses, or the recategorisation of some incidents due to new information.

### Antisemitic incident figures by category, 2007–2021

Category	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Extreme Violence	1	1	3	0	2	2	0	1	4	0	0	2	1	3	3
Assault	116	87	121	115	93	67	69	80	83	109	149	124	158	97	173
Damage & Desecration	65	76	89	83	64	53	49	81	65	81	93	79	88	74	82
Threats	24	28	45	32	30	39	38	91	79	107	98	108	99	85	143
Abusive Behaviour	336	317	611	391	413	477	374	899	717	1,059	1,065	1,334	1,449	1,413	1,844
Literature	19	37	62	25	7	12	5	30	12	19	15	43	18	12	10
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>561</b>	<b>546</b>	<b>931</b>	<b>646</b>	<b>609</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>535</b>	<b>1,182</b>	<b>960</b>	<b>1,375</b>	<b>1,420</b>	<b>1,690</b>	<b>1,813</b>	<b>1,684</b>	<b>2,255</b>

### Antisemitic incident figures by month, 2007–2021

Month	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
January	33	44	289	30	45	39	33	53	109	81	155	110	119	188	95
February	40	52	114	48	54	52	38	43	88	69	135	120	182	142	119
March	36	40	73	54	49	75	23	39	83	82	111	120	171	119	132
April	59	39	52	61	45	48	44	58	75	105	143	153	147	109	154
May	36	62	52	50	58	44	48	51	60	140	121	182	150	138	661
June	42	40	49	82	43	54	37	66	86	131	125	134	142	179	210
July	60	52	46	63	43	59	59	317	87	131	113	133	167	181	177
August	49	20	40	47	37	42	48	229	72	123	114	158	144	134	139
September	81	47	87	83	73	60	54	105	76	118	113	156	119	128	150
October	55	58	45	52	52	60	67	87	61	112	110	146	131	140	164
November	37	45	54	48	53	83	40	78	79	135	94	146	152	136	134
December	33	47	30	28	57	34	44	56	84	148	86	132	189	90	120
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>561</b>	<b>546</b>	<b>931</b>	<b>646</b>	<b>609</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>535</b>	<b>1,182</b>	<b>960</b>	<b>1,375</b>	<b>1,420</b>	<b>1,690</b>	<b>1,813</b>	<b>1,684</b>	<b>2,255</b>

## Antisemitic incident figures, full breakdown, 2021

Month	Category	Extreme Violence	Assault	Damage and Desecration	Threats	Abusive Behaviour	Literature	MONTH TOTAL
January		1	5	2	4	81	2	95
February		0	8	6	2	103	0	119
March		0	6	7	6	112	1	132
April		0	9	4	7	133	1	154
May		1	42	29	54	534	1	661
June		0	19	11	14	166	0	210
July		0	13	4	14	145	1	177
August		1	13	2	10	113	0	139
September		0	14	4	10	121	1	150
October		0	12	5	9	137	1	164
November		0	11	5	12	106	0	134
December		0	21	3	1	93	2	120
<b>CATEGORY TOTAL</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>1844</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2255</b>

Swastika carved into a tree, Essex, October. Credit: Twitter



## CST'S MISSION

- To work at all times for the physical protection and defence of British Jews.
- To represent British Jews on issues of racism, antisemitism, extremism, policing and security.
- To promote good relations between British Jews and the rest of British society by working towards the elimination of racism, and antisemitism in particular.
- To facilitate Jewish life by protecting Jews from the dangers of antisemitism, and antisemitic terrorism in particular.
- To help those who are victims of antisemitic hatred, harassment or bias.
- To promote research into racism, antisemitism and extremism; and to use this research for the benefit of both the Jewish community and society in general.
- To speak responsibly at all times, without exaggeration or political favour, on antisemitism and associated issues.



[www.cst.org.uk](http://www.cst.org.uk)



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Community Security Trust



CSTmedia



National Emergency Number (24-hour) **0800 032 3263**

London (Head Office) **020 8457 9999**

Manchester (Northern Regional Office) **0161 792 6666**

