



# ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS

## Report 2016

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Front cover: Jewish prayer book found burnt in the car park of a Jewish school, London, March

Antisemitic graffiti, Sussex, November. Photo credit, James Lillywhite/Twitter



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- CST recorded **1,309 antisemitic incidents in 2016**, the highest annual total CST has ever recorded. The total of 1,309 incidents is an increase of 36 per cent from the 2015 total of 960 antisemitic incidents. The previous record high annual total recorded by CST was 1,182 antisemitic incidents in 2014.<sup>1</sup>
- The 1,309 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2016 were spread uniformly throughout most of the year. The highest monthly total came in May, with 135 incidents; the second highest was in December, with 133 incidents recorded. Every month from May to December returned a monthly incident total above 100 incidents, **an unprecedented run of consistently high monthly incident totals** over an eight month period. For comparison, in the decade prior to 2016 monthly totals above 100 incidents per month had only happened six times.
- Previously, record high annual incident totals had been dominated by antisemitic reactions in the UK to sudden and specific 'trigger events'. For example, the two previous record high annual totals came in 2014 and 2009, when conflicts in Israel and Gaza acted as sudden trigger events that caused steep, identifiable 'spikes' in antisemitic incidents recorded by CST. In contrast, **there was no single sudden trigger event in 2016** comparable to those of 2014 and 2009, nor was there a temporary, large spike in incidents that stands out from the rest of the year, causing and explaining the overall record high.
- Rather than a single trigger event causing the 2016 record total, it appears that the high number of recorded antisemitic incidents may be due to the cumulative effect of a series of relatively lengthy events and factors that, taken together, created an atmosphere in which the number of incidents recorded by CST has remained at a high level over a sustained period of time. This pattern in fact precedes 2016, dating back to the last major trigger event, the conflict in Israel and Gaza in July and August 2014, when CST recorded a then-record high number of antisemitic incidents. In the two and a half years since then, from July 2014 to the end of 2016, CST has recorded an **average of 105 antisemitic incidents per month**, compared to an average of 50 incidents per month over the same period prior to July 2014 (i.e. from January 2012 to June 2014). Thus CST is currently recording, on average, more than double the number of antisemitic incidents per month than was the case four years ago.
- The **combination of events and factors that are likely to have contributed** to more antisemitic incidents occurring, and to a higher than before level of reporting of those incidents to CST and the Police, include the conflict in Israel and Gaza of July-August 2014; terrorist attacks in Western nations, particularly those against Jewish communities in France and Denmark in January and February 2015; high profile allegations of antisemitism in the Labour Party; a perceived climate of increased racism and xenophobia in Britain following the EU referendum, including an increase in recorded racial and religious hate crime; and regular, high-profile discussion of antisemitism, racism and hate crime in mainstream media, politics and on social media during the year.
- In addition to the 1,309 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2016, **a further 791 reports of potential incidents were received by CST but not included in the total** number of antisemitic incidents

1. The numbers given in this report for previous years' incident totals may differ from those previously published as this report includes incidents reported to CST after the publication of previous reports, and reflects the re-categorisation of some incidents after publication due to the emergence of new information. As well as affecting the annual totals, these adjustments mean that some of the monthly, category and geographical totals for previous years cited in this report differ from previously published data. CST has been recording antisemitic incident statistics since 1984.

as there was no evidence of antisemitic motivation, targeting or content. This is a 15 per cent increase from the 686 potential incidents that were reported to CST in 2015, but not included in the antisemitic incident statistics for that year. In total, CST staff and volunteers recorded, processed and analysed 2,100 incidents and potential incidents in 2016, most of which required some element of victim support or security response.

- **Over three-quarters of the 1,309 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2016 took place in Greater London and Greater Manchester**, the two

largest Jewish communities in the UK. CST recorded 813 antisemitic incidents in Greater London in 2016 compared to 494 during 2015, an increase of 65 per cent. In Greater Manchester, CST recorded 205 incidents in 2016 compared to 226 in 2015, a fall of 9 per cent. Beyond these two centres, CST recorded 291 antisemitic incidents in 96 locations around the UK in 2016, compared to 240 incidents from 83 different locations in 2015 (an increase of 21 per cent in the number of incidents). The 2016 total included 35 antisemitic incidents in Hertfordshire (of which 17 were in Borehamwood), 21 in Leeds, 16 in Gateshead, 13 in Liverpool and 9 in Brighton and Hove.

- It is likely that there is **significant under-reporting of antisemitic incidents** to both CST and the Police, and that the number of antisemitic incidents that took place is significantly higher than the number recorded in this report. A 2013 survey of Jewish experiences and perceptions of antisemitism in the EU found that 72 per cent of British Jews who had experienced antisemitic harassment over the previous five years had not reported it to the Police or to any other organisation; 57 per cent of British Jews who had experienced antisemitic violence or the threat of violence had not reported it; and 46 per cent of

British Jews who had suffered antisemitic vandalism to their home or car had not reported it (despite this, UK reporting rates were the highest of the eight countries polled). The same survey also found that, over the previous 12 months, 21 per cent of British Jews had suffered antisemitic harassment, 3 per cent had suffered antisemitic violence or the threat of violence and 2 per cent had experienced antisemitic vandalism to their home or car.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the Crime Survey for England and Wales estimates that around 40 per cent of all hate crimes come to the attention of the Police.<sup>3</sup>

- There were 107 **violent antisemitic assaults** reported to CST in 2016, an increase of 29 per cent from the 87 violent incidents recorded in 2015 and the highest number since 2010, when CST recorded 115 violent antisemitic assaults. None of the violent incidents recorded in 2016 were classified as Extreme Violence, which would mean incidents that involved grievous bodily harm (GBH) or a threat to life. CST recorded four incidents of Extreme Violence in 2015 and one in 2014.
- Incidents of **Damage and Desecration** to Jewish property increased by 25 per cent, from 65 incidents in 2015 to 81 incidents in 2016. There were 81 incidents in this category in 2014 and 49 in 2013.
- There were 1,006 incidents of **Abusive Behaviour** recorded by CST in 2016, a rise of 40 per cent from the 717 incidents recorded in this category in 2015 and the highest total CST has ever recorded in this category. Incidents of Abusive Behaviour include verbal abuse, hate mail, antisemitic graffiti on non-Jewish property and antisemitic content on social media. CST recorded 899 incidents in this category in 2014 and 374 in 2013.
- There were 100 incidents reported to CST in the category of **Threats** in 2016,

2. *Discrimination and hate crime against Jews in EU Member States: experiences and perceptions of antisemitism* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2013).

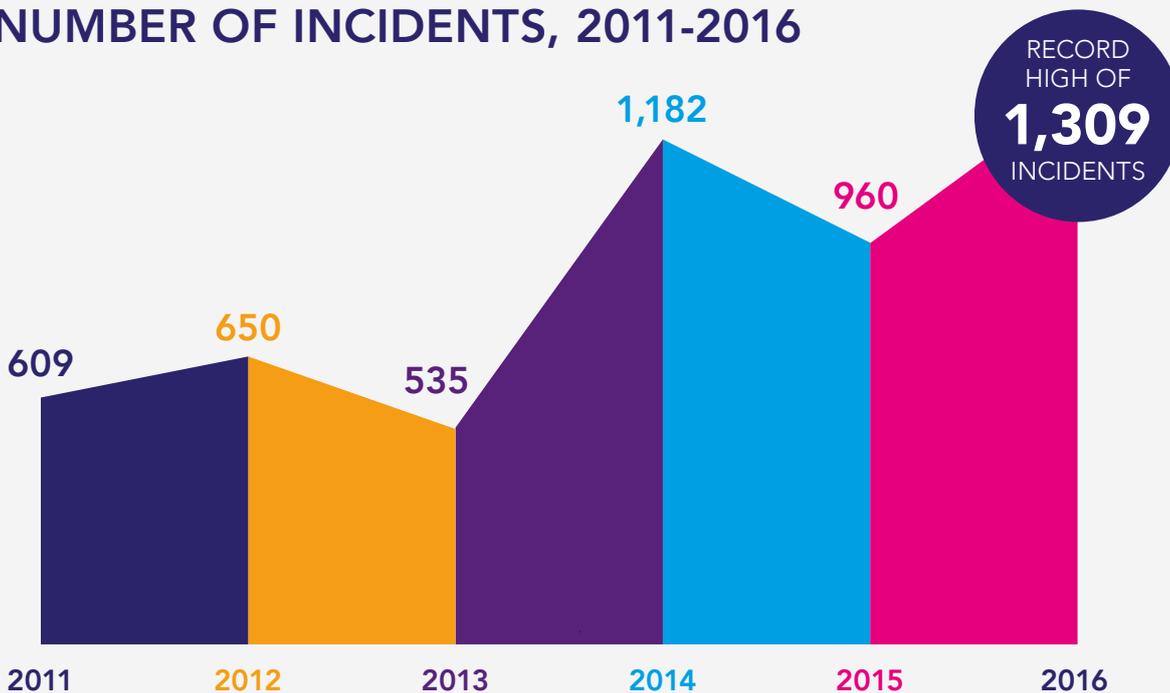
3. *An Overview of Hate Crime in England and Wales* (London: Home Office, Office for National Statistics and Ministry of Justice, 2013).

which includes direct threats to people or property, rather than more general abuse. This is an increase of 27 per cent compared to the 79 incidents of this type recorded in 2015 and is the highest total CST has ever recorded in this category. CST recorded 91 incidents of this type in 2014 and 38 in 2013.

- There were 15 incidents recorded in the category of **Literature** in 2016, which comprises mass-produced antisemitic mailings and emails, rather than individual hate mail. This is an increase of 25 per cent from the 12 incidents recorded in this category in 2015. CST recorded 30 incidents in this category in 2014 and five in 2013.
- The **most common single type of incident** in 2016 involved verbal abuse directed at random Jewish people in public, a form of antisemitism that is more commonly associated with anti-social behaviour or local patterns of street crime than with political activism or ideologies. In 385 incidents, the victims were Jewish people, male or female, attacked or abused while going about their daily business in public places. In at least 186 of these incidents, the victims were visibly Jewish, usually due to their religious or traditional clothing, school uniform or jewellery bearing Jewish symbols. A total of 402 antisemitic incidents out of the 1,309 incidents in 2016 involved verbal antisemitic abuse.
- CST recorded 287 antisemitic incidents that involved the use of internet-based **social media** in 2016, which represents 22 per cent of the overall total of 1,309 antisemitic incidents. For comparison, CST recorded 185 incidents in 2015 that involved the use of social media, which was 19 per cent of the overall incident total that year. This reflects the role of social media as a place where Jews encounter antisemitism and the ease with which it can be reported from there directly to CST online, rather than being an absolute measure of the amount of antisemitism on social media platforms. CST does not proactively 'trawl' social media platforms to look for incidents of this type and will only record social media incidents that have been proactively reported to CST by a member of the public, where the offender is based in the UK or the incident involves the direct antisemitic targeting of a UK-based victim.
- During 2016 CST recorded several social media campaigns of antisemitic harassment and abuse directed at **Jewish public figures** by transnational networks of online activists, some of whom are involved in extremist politics. These networks are facilitated by social media – their harassment campaigns would be impossible without it – and the activists involved are united by their antisemitism, whatever their political background. These campaigns each generated hundreds or even thousands of pieces of antisemitic online content, of which CST only recorded a small number as a representative sample in each case.
- 64 antisemitic incidents in 2016 targeted **synagogues**, and a further 25 incidents targeted synagogue congregants on their way to or from prayers, compared to 51 and 34 incidents respectively in 2015.
- In 169 incidents, the victims were **Jewish community organisations**, communal events, commercial premises or high-profile individuals, compared to 114 such incidents in 2015.
- 83 incidents targeted **Jewish schools, schoolchildren or teachers** in 2016, compared to 86 incidents relating to schools and schoolchildren in 2015. Of the 83 incidents of this type recorded in 2015, 30 affected Jewish schoolchildren on their journeys to or from school; 37 took place at the premises of Jewish faith schools; and 16 involved Jewish children or teachers at non-faith schools.

- In 41 antisemitic incidents, the victims were **Jewish students, academics or other student bodies**, compared to 21 such incidents recorded in 2015. Of the 41 incidents recorded in this sector in 2016, 17 took place on campus, while there were 24 incidents that affected students, academics or student bodies off campus. Two of the 41 incidents recorded in this sector were in the category of Assault, one of which occurred on campus, while 35 were in the category of Abusive Behaviour.
- CST is often asked by journalists and members of the public to identify the **ethnic or religious background of incident offenders**. CST will ask incident victims or witnesses if they can describe the person, or people, who committed the incident they are reporting, but this is difficult and imprecise: many antisemitic incidents involve public encounters where the antisemitic abuse may be generic, brief and sometimes non-verbal. While it is possible to collect data regarding the ethnic appearance of incident offenders, this data is not direct evidence of the offenders' ethnic or religious identity. In addition, many incidents do not involve face-to-face contact between offender and victim so it is not always possible to obtain a physical description of the offender. Where there is no face-to-face contact, it would be a mistake to assume to know the ethnicity or religion of an incident offender on the basis of the abusive language they use. Bearing in mind these caveats, CST does provide data regarding the ethnic appearance of incident offenders, and the discourse they use to abuse or threaten Jews.
- CST received a **physical description of the incident offender** in 499, or 38 per cent, of the 1,309 antisemitic incidents recorded during 2016. Of these, 274 offenders (55 per cent) were described as 'White – North European'; 21 offenders (4 per cent) were described as 'White – South European'; 75 offenders (15 per cent) were described as 'Black'; 96 offenders (19 per cent) were described as 'South Asian'; 2 offenders (0.4 per cent) were described as 'Far East or South East Asian'; and 31 offenders (6 per cent) were described as 'Arab or North African'.

## NUMBER OF INCIDENTS, 2011-2016



- There were 236 antisemitic incidents which showed **far right, anti-Israel or Islamist beliefs or motivations alongside antisemitism** in 2016, making up 18 per cent of the overall total of 1,309 antisemitic incidents, compared to 229 incidents showing such ideas or motivations in 2015 (24 per cent of the overall total for that year). Of the 236 antisemitic incidents in 2016 showing ideological motivation or beliefs as well as antisemitism, 162 showed far right motivation or beliefs; 62 showed anti-Israel motivation or beliefs; and 12 showed Islamist motivation or beliefs.
- There is no clear correlation between the ethnicity of incident offenders and the **antisemitic language** they use; contemporary antisemitic incident offenders will select from a range of Jewish-related subjects, particularly insults related to the Holocaust or Israel, for language or imagery with which to abuse, insult or threaten their Jewish victims.
- CST receives reports of antisemitic incidents from a **range of sources**, including directly from victims or members of their family; from witnesses; from CST's own national volunteer structure; from security guards at Jewish buildings; and via incident data sharing programmes with Police forces around the UK. In 2015 CST signed a national information sharing agreement with the National Police Chiefs' Council (under its former name of the Association of Chief Police Officers), that allows for the systematic sharing of antisemitic incident reports between CST and the Police, so that both agencies have sight of incidents that had not otherwise been reported to them. The incident reports are fully anonymised to comply with data protection requirements. This national agreement follows bilateral agreements with Greater Manchester Police (since 2011), the Metropolitan Police (since 2012) and Nottinghamshire Police (2014).
- 451 of the 1,309 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST nationally in 2016 came to CST via **information sharing agreements with the Police**, representing 34 per cent of the incidents included in this report. A total of 450 incidents, or 34 per cent of the total, were reported directly to CST by the victims of antisemitic incidents, or by a friend or family member of an incident victim. In addition, 268 antisemitic incidents (20 per cent of the total) were reported to CST by people who had witnessed the incident but were not the direct victims of it. Fifty-two antisemitic incidents were reported by CST staff or volunteers throughout the UK. CST received reports of 59 antisemitic incidents from security guards and security officers at Jewish buildings and organisations. Sixteen antisemitic incidents were recorded by CST during 2016 on the basis of media reports. The remaining incidents were reported to CST by other Jewish community or hate crime monitoring organisations.
- The 791 potential incidents reported to CST that were not included in the annual total for 2016 included 325 cases of potential **Information Collection and Suspicious Behaviour** at Jewish locations, compared to 380 such incidents in 2015. The 325 cases of potential Information Collection and Suspicious Behaviour recorded in 2016 included 109 incidents of photography or videoing of Jewish buildings, while in 59 cases suspicious people tried to gain entry to Jewish premises. These types of incidents are not categorised as antisemitic by CST as it is often not possible to determine their motivation, and many are likely to have innocent explanations. However, 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.

# 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 Reports* 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>4</sup>

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 on social media. CST does not include the general activities of antisemitic organisations in its statistics; nor does it include activities such as offensive placards or massed antisemitic chanting

on political demonstrations. CST does not record as incidents antisemitic material that is permanently hosted on internet websites or that is generated by mainstream media, nor does CST 'trawl' social media platforms to look for antisemitic comments. However, CST will record antisemitic comments posted on internet forums or blog talkbacks, 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 United Kingdom or has directly targeted a UK-based victim. Examples of antisemitic expressions that fall outside this definition of an antisemitic incident can be found in CST's annual *Antisemitic Discourse Reports*, available on the CST website.

## Reporting antisemitic incidents

Antisemitic incidents are reported to CST in a number of 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

4. The Agreed Definition of 'Monitored Hate Crime' for England, Wales and Northern Ireland [www.report-it.org.uk/files/hate\\_crime\\_definitions\\_-\\_v3\\_0.pdf](http://www.report-it.org.uk/files/hate_crime_definitions_-_v3_0.pdf)

have undergone specialist training from the Victim Support charity, in order to provide the best possible response to incident victims and witnesses who contact CST.

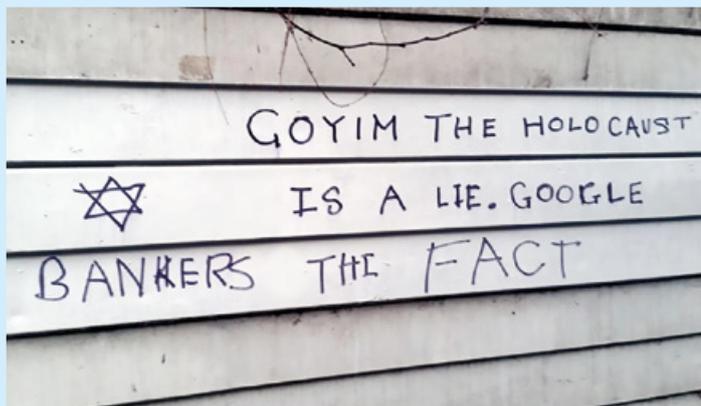
Incidents can be reported to CST by the victim, a witness, or by someone acting on their behalf. In 2001, CST was accorded 'Third Party Reporting' status by the Police, which allows CST to report antisemitic incidents to the Police and to act as a go-between for victims who are unable or unwilling to 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 and compares antisemitic incident trends with analysts from the National Community Tension Team, which is part of the National Police Chiefs' Council.

The Crime Survey for England and Wales estimates that around 40 per cent of all hate crimes come to the attention of the Police.<sup>5</sup> It is likely, therefore, that most antisemitic incidents go unreported either to CST or to the Police, and therefore the true figures will be higher than those recorded in this report. No adjustments have been made to the figures to account for this. It is likely that this non-reporting also varies from category to category: a 2013 survey found that 72 per cent of British Jews who had

experienced antisemitic harassment over the previous five years had not reported it to the Police or to any other organisation; 57 per cent of British Jews who had experienced antisemitic violence or the threat of violence had not reported it; and 46 per cent of those who had suffered antisemitic vandalism to their home or car had not reported it.<sup>6</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 2016, CST received 791 reports of potential incidents that were rejected for this reason, and are not included in the total number of antisemitic incidents. These represent 38 per cent of the potential incidents reported to CST during 2016 and mostly involved criminal damage to, or theft from, Jewish property; criminal assaults on, or theft from, Jewish people; suspicious activity or potential information-gathering around Jewish locations; 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. This is a 15 per cent increase from the 686 potential incidents that were reported to CST in 2015, but not included in the antisemitic incident statistics for that year.

#### Antisemitic graffiti, London, January



CST always prioritises the wishes and needs of incident victims, both individuals and the heads of Jewish organisations or communal buildings. In particular, CST 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 whenever possible.

5. *An Overview of Hate Crime in England and Wales* (London: Home Office, Office for National Statistics and Ministry of Justice, 2013).

6. *Discrimination and hate crime against Jews in EU Member States: experiences and perceptions of antisemitism* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2013).

## ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 2016

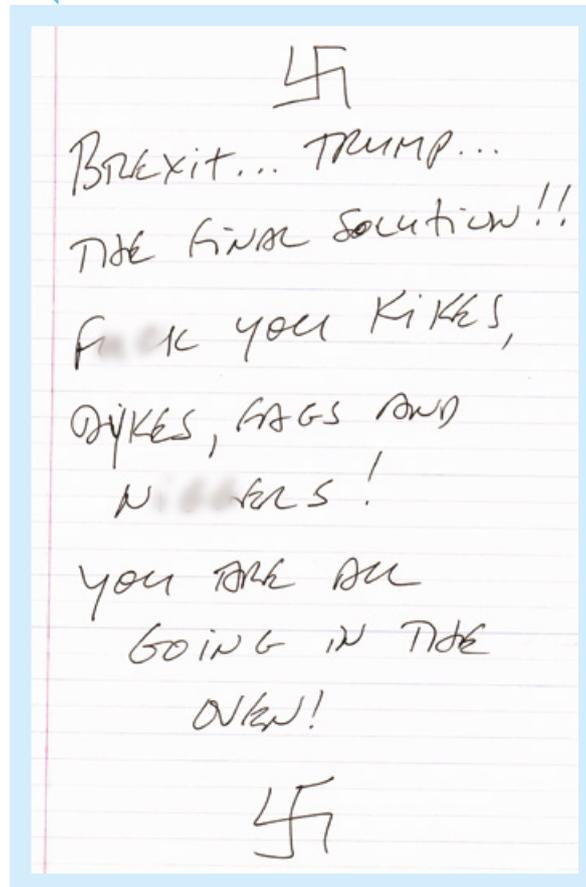
CST recorded 1,309 antisemitic incidents in the UK in 2016, an increase of 36 per cent from the 960 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2015.<sup>7</sup> The 2016 total of 1,309 antisemitic incidents is the highest annual total CST has ever recorded. The previous record high total came in 2014, when CST recorded 1,182 antisemitic incidents.

### Contexts and patterns

The 1,309 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2016 marks a departure from the previous pattern whereby record high totals were associated with specific 'trigger events' that caused sudden 'spikes' in the number of incidents recorded. For example, the previous record high in 2014 was dominated by a single, large spike in July and August 2014, due to antisemitic reactions to the conflict in Israel and Gaza that summer. Almost half of the 1,182 incidents recorded in 2014 came in July and August, the two months when that conflict occurred. In contrast, the 1,309 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2016 were spread more uniformly throughout the year: CST recorded over 100 incidents in every month from May to December 2016. This run of consistently high incident totals over a period of eight months is unprecedented. For comparison, while CST recorded monthly totals of more than 100 incidents on eight occasions in 2016, in the decade prior to 2016 monthly totals above 100 incidents had only happened six times.

The 2016 total of 1,309 antisemitic incidents continues a long-term trend of rising antisemitic incident totals since 2000. This gradual increase may partly reflect better awareness in the Jewish community of CST's work, and therefore an improvement in the rates of reporting antisemitic incidents to CST, but annual totals have fluctuated within that period. Incident data collected by CST since 1984 suggested previously that when sudden

Antisemitic, racist and homophobic letter sent to charity, London, November



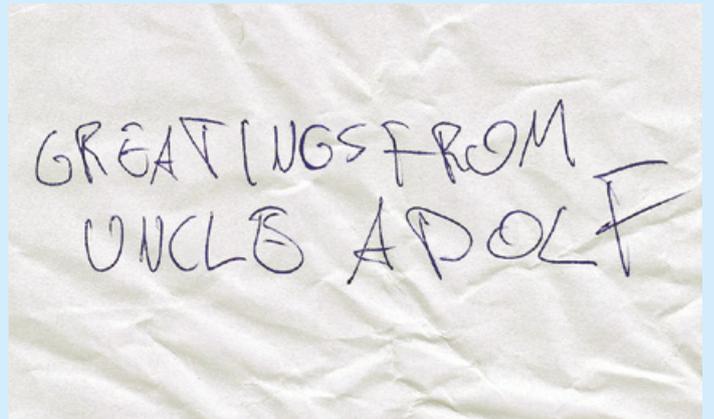
trigger events occur frequently, as they did during the decade following 2000, successive spikes in antisemitic incident levels generated a gradual, long-term increase in the baseline level of antisemitic incidents recorded in the UK. On the other hand, the relative absence of major trigger events between 2010 and 2013 led to a gradual decrease in the baseline level, until the next sudden trigger event occurred in 2014, leading to a record annual total that year.

7. This is a higher number than the 924 incidents cited in CST's *Antisemitic Incidents Report 2015*, as it includes incidents reported to CST after the publication of that report, and reflects the re-categorisation of some incidents after publication due to the emergence of new information. Similar changes have also been made for previous years. As well as affecting the annual totals, these adjustments mean that some of the monthly, category and geographical totals for previous years cited in this report differ from previously published data.

A different pattern appears to be responsible for the record high incident total in 2016. Rather than a single, sudden trigger event causing the 2016 record total, the high number of recorded antisemitic incidents is probably due to the cumulative effect of a series of events and factors that, taken together, have created an atmosphere in which the number of incidents recorded by CST has remained high over a sustained period of time. These included, in 2016, allegations of antisemitism in the Labour Party; a perceived increase in racism and xenophobia following the EU referendum, including a general increase in recorded racial and religious hate crime in that period; and regular, high-profile discussion of antisemitism, racism and hate crime in mainstream media, politics and on social media during the year. These factors are likely to have contributed to more antisemitic incidents occurring, and to a greater level of reporting of those incidents to CST and the Police.

It also appears that this pattern of successive events keeping the number of antisemitic incidents at a high level precedes 2016 and in fact dates back to the sudden spike in antisemitic incidents recorded in July and August 2014. In the two and a half years from the beginning of 2012 to June 2014 (i.e. before the 2014 incident spike occurred), CST recorded an average monthly incident total of 50 antisemitic incidents per month. However, in the 30 months since then, from July 2014 until the end of 2016, the average monthly incident total recorded by CST more than doubled to 105 antisemitic incidents per month. During that period, several events occurred that caused ongoing concern about antisemitism in the Jewish community, while also having the potential to excite and

Antisemitic message written on an Amazon package, London, December



motivate antisemitic incident offenders. These included, for example, terrorist attacks on Jewish communities in Paris and Copenhagen in January and February 2015, and terrorist attacks on other targets in Western Europe; allegations of antisemitism in the Labour Party, including the suspension of high profile party members and the holding of three inquiries into the issue in 2016; and concerns over a reported increase in racism and hate crime in Britain following the vote to leave the European Union. The figures recorded by CST suggest that, while none of these factors on their own are sufficient to explain the record high incident total in 2016, taken together they have created an atmosphere in which the overall number of recorded incidents has remained high.

The highest monthly incident total in 2016 came in May, when CST recorded 135 antisemitic incidents. This was a noticeable jump from the 99 incidents that CST recorded in April 2016. One possible explanation for this might be that, at the end of April, antisemitism became a national political and media story in the UK, following the suspension by the Labour Party of Naz Shah MP and Ken Livingstone for alleged antisemitism on 27th and 28th April 2016 respectively. However, the number of antisemitic incidents reported to CST did not

increase sharply from that date, but rather showed a gradual rise throughout May, and most incidents recorded at that time did not make explicit reference to the Labour Party, Ken Livingstone, Jeremy Corbyn or other Labour-related terms (although some incidents did include such references). This suggests that events in the Labour Party did not act as a direct, sudden trigger event to cause a specific rise in antisemitic incidents in the UK, but may have contributed in a more indirect way.

Another possible trigger event in 2016 was the campaign and vote over Britain's European Union membership, which was decided by referendum on 23 June 2016. According to official figures from the Home Office, racially and religiously aggravated offences recorded by the Police increased by 41 per cent in July 2016 compared to July 2015, and declined thereafter.<sup>8</sup> This increase has been broadly attributed to the impact on attitudes and behaviour of the EU referendum result. CST recorded 125 antisemitic incidents in July 2016, compared to 87 in July 2015: an increase of 44 per cent. The number of antisemitic incidents recorded by CST following the referendum therefore increased roughly in line with the increase in all racial and religious hate crime recorded by the Police, when compared to July 2015. At first sight, this suggests that the referendum did influence levels of antisemitic hate crime in the period following the vote on 23 June. This increase was even starker in the week immediately after the referendum: CST recorded 43 antisemitic incidents from 24 June to 30 June 2016, compared to 18 in the same week in 2015. However, the wider picture does not support the theory that the referendum was the sole cause of this increase. For example, while the Police figures showed that racial and religious hate crime increased from May 2016 to June 2016, and then increased more sharply still from June to July, CST's figures show the opposite. The 125 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in July 2016 were

slightly less than the 127 incidents recorded in June 2016, which was in turn less than the 135 antisemitic incidents recorded in May. Plus, of the 43 incidents recorded by CST in the week following the referendum, 14 involved antisemitic abuse and threats on social media directed at a Jewish student activist, the timing and motivation of which was not linked to the EU referendum. CST did record a small number of antisemitic incidents during 2016 that made direct reference to the European Union or to Brexit, but not enough to explain, on their own, the overall high total for the year.

Instead of looking to a single identifiable cause for the record high total in 2016, it is likely that these events, and their subsequent discussion in mainstream and social media, provided material and motivation for antisemitic hate incident offenders to carry out incidents, and are also likely to have provided extra motivation and encouragement for victims of antisemitism to report those incidents to CST and the Police. This does not mean that, for example, most people who voted to leave the EU are racist or antisemitic, and these figures should not be used as evidence for such a suggestion. Rather, it is that an atmosphere of heightened public discussion of antisemitism, racism, immigration, hate crime and other issues related to minorities can excite activity amongst those people who are already predisposed to carry out hate crimes, while also causing heightened concern about antisemitism amongst potential victims and witnesses of hate incidents.

Social media is increasingly an important forum for the dissemination and reporting of antisemitism. Two hundred and eighty-seven of the 1,309 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2016 took place on social media. This amounts to 22 per cent of the overall incident total, compared to 185 incidents on social media recorded by CST in 2015 (19 per cent of the overall total for that year). It also means that the number of social media incidents

8. Hannah Corcoran and Kevin Smith, *Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2015/16* (London: Home Office, 2016), [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/559319/hate-crime-1516-hosb1116.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/559319/hate-crime-1516-hosb1116.pdf)

reported to CST in 2016 increased by 55 per cent compared to 2015, while the overall total of 1,309 increased by 36 per cent – so social media incidents increased disproportionately compared to other types of incidents. These numbers are only indicative, rather than being a guide to the actual number of antisemitic tweets, comments and posts, which is likely to be far higher. During 2016 CST recorded several social media campaigns of antisemitic harassment and abuse directed at Jewish public figures by transnational networks of online activists, some of whom are involved in extremist politics. These networks are facilitated by social media – their harassment campaigns would be impossible without it – and the activists involved are united by their antisemitism, whatever their political background. These campaigns each generated hundreds or even thousands of pieces of antisemitic online content, of which CST only recorded a small number as a representative sample in each case. While antisemitism on social media is a growing problem, it is important to view it in context: CST still recorded more antisemitic incidents in public places in 2016 (385 incidents) than on social media, and more incidents involved verbal abuse (402 incidents) than digital abuse.

It is always necessary, when analysing an increase in recorded antisemitic incidents, to investigate whether this increase reflects an improvement in the reporting of incidents as well as an increase in the actual number of incidents taking place. As stated above, the sustained public profile given to antisemitism in the media and politics in 2016 may have played a role in increasing the motivation and awareness of incident victims to report their experiences. It is also possible that an increased security presence at Jewish buildings since the middle of 2015 has contributed to the higher levels of antisemitic incidents recorded by CST. This increased security presence is partly a result of increased Jewish communal concern about terrorism,

and partly due to government funding for security guards at Jewish communal buildings that was made available from April 2015 and continued throughout 2016.<sup>9</sup> Fifty-nine of the 1,309 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2016 were reported by security guards or security officers at Jewish locations, compared to 33 in 2015 and 20 in 2014.

Since 2011, CST has exchanged anonymised antisemitic incident data with Greater Manchester Police, and since 2012 CST has done so with the Metropolitan Police Service in London. These agreements allow for the systematic sharing of individual incident reports between CST and the Police to give both agencies sight of incidents that had not previously been reported to them. The reports are fully anonymised to comply with data protection requirements, and any duplicates – incidents that had been reported to both CST and the Police – are eliminated to ensure that there can be no ‘double counting’. In 2014, CST signed a similar information sharing agreement with Nottinghamshire Police and in 2015, CST signed a national information sharing agreement with the National Police Chiefs’ Council (under its former name of the Association of Chief Police Officers). As a result of this national agreement, CST now shares anonymised antisemitic incident data with several Police forces around the UK and intends to expand this area of its work further in 2017. In 2016, 451 antisemitic incidents were reported to CST by this method, which had not been reported directly to CST from any other source, compared to 307 in 2015. The number of incidents reported to CST by the Police therefore increased by 47 per cent in 2016. This may reflect the fact that CST has extended its information sharing to other forces in 2016, or it may reflect an improvement in reporting of antisemitic incidents to the Police, which has then filtered through to CST’s antisemitic incident statistics via the information sharing agreement.

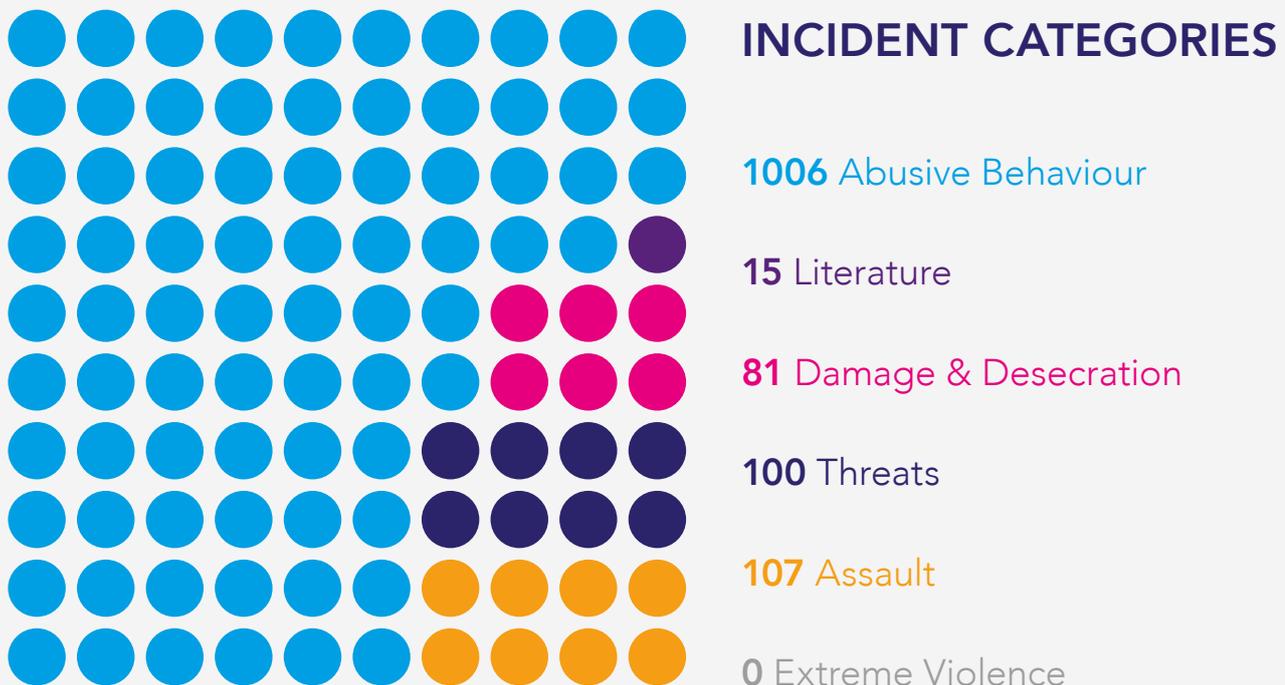
9. Government funding has been provided for security guards at voluntary aided faith schools since 2010 and was extended to other Jewish buildings in 2015. In 2016/17, government funding for security guards across the Jewish community amounted to £13.4m. The fund is administered by CST and the guards are supplied by commercial guarding companies.

The number of antisemitic incidents reported to CST by the Police comprised 34 per cent of the overall incidents recorded by CST in 2016, compared to 32 per cent in 2015 and 30 per cent in 2014. Prior to the introduction of these information sharing agreements, antisemitic incidents had been shared by the Police with CST on an ad hoc basis, for operational or community engagement purposes; but most incidents reported to the Police would not have been shared with CST and therefore were not counted in CST’s antisemitic incident statistics. Consequently, these new and significant sources of antisemitic incident reports must be taken into consideration when comparing CST’s antisemitic incident totals since 2011 with those from 2010 and earlier.

Despite improvements in reporting, it is to be expected that antisemitic hate crime and hate incidents, like other forms of hate crime, are significantly under-reported. This is particularly the case where the victims are minors; where the incident is considered of ‘lesser’ impact by the victim; and for incidents that take place on social media. Consequently, the statistics contained in this report should be taken as

being indicative of general trends, rather than absolute measures of the number of incidents that actually take place.

Answering the questions of why antisemitic incidents take place, who carries them out and who suffers from them is not always straightforward. Sometimes the evidence of victims or witnesses concerning what may have been a shocking, traumatic and brief experience can be vague and disjointed. Many antisemitic incidents, particularly those that take place on social media or via graffiti in public places, do not have a specific victim and the offender is often unknown. While allowing for all these caveats, it is still possible to analyse the data contained in the individual incident reports received by CST during 2016, and the picture they show is one of complexity. In short, there is no single profile of an antisemitic incident victim, nor of an antisemitic incident offender, nor is there a single explanation as to why antisemitic incidents take place. This is explained in more detail in the sections “Incident victims”, p.22; “Incident offenders”, p.24; and “Discourse and motives”, p.25.



## INCIDENT CATEGORIES

CST classifies antisemitic incidents by six distinct categories: Extreme Violence; Assault; Damage and Desecration of Property; Threats; Abusive Behaviour; and Antisemitic Literature. The definitions of these categories, and examples of incidents recorded in each one during 2016, are given below.<sup>10</sup>

### Extreme Violence

Incidents of Extreme Violence include any attack potentially causing loss of life or grievous bodily harm (GBH). There were no incidents of Extreme Violence in 2016, compared with four in 2015 and one in 2014.

### Assault

Incidents of Assault include any physical attack against a person or people, which does not pose a threat to their life and is not GBH.

CST recorded 107 incidents of Assault in 2016, compared to 83 in 2015, an increase of 29 per cent. A more accurate comparison, though, is found by comparing the total number of violent antisemitic incidents recorded across the two categories of Assault and Extreme Violence. This method shows that the number of violent incidents increased by 23 per cent, from 87 violent antisemitic incidents in 2015 to 107 in 2016. The total of 107 violent antisemitic assaults reported to CST in 2016 is the highest since 2010, when 115 violent incidents were recorded. The 107 violent incidents comprised 8 per cent of the overall total in 2016, compared to 9 per cent in 2015 and 6 per cent in 2014.

Seventy-seven of the 107 incidents of Assault recorded in 2016 were random attacks on Jewish people in public places, of which 46 targeted people who were visibly Jewish, usually due to their religious or traditional clothing. Three assaults targeted synagogue congregants on their way to or from prayers, and 10 targeted Jewish schoolchildren on their way to or from school. CST received a description of the gender of the victims

in 99 of the incidents of Assault. Of these, the victims were male in 75 incidents; in 17 incidents they were female; and in 7 they were mixed couples or groups of males and females. CST received a description of the age of the victims in 60 of the incidents of Assault. Of these, in 32 incidents the victims were adults; in 23 incidents the victims were minors; and in 5 incidents they were mixed groups of adults and minors.

CST received a description of the gender of the offenders in 73 of the incidents of Assault, of which 60 involved male offenders, 11 involved female offenders and 2 involved male and female offenders acting together. CST received a description of the age of the offenders in 52 of the incidents of Assault. Of these, the offenders were adults in 25 incidents; in 27 incidents they were minors; and no incidents involved adults and minors offending together. Twelve of the incidents involved objects, usually eggs, being thrown at visibly Jewish people from passing cars. Particular targets for this kind of incident are the Strictly Orthodox communities in Salford and Bury in north Manchester and in Golders Green, Hendon and Stamford Hill in north London.

Incidents in the category of Assault in 2016 included:

- **London, January:** Six Jewish schoolgirls wearing Jewish school uniforms had got off the bus on their way home from school when they were assaulted and verbally abused by 2 older girls, one of whom appeared to be wearing a Muslim headscarf. The offenders shouted, "You f\*\*king Jews,

10. A more detailed explanation of the six antisemitic incident categories can be found in the CST leaflet "Definitions of Antisemitic Incidents", available on the CST website: <http://www.cst.org.uk>

you shouldn't be here, you should be dead" and went to kick the victims.

- **London, January:** Three men threw laughing gas canisters at 3 visibly Jewish victims whilst shouting, "Heil Hitler."
- **Leicester, March:** A visibly Jewish man was attacked on his way home from synagogue by an East European attacker.
- **London, July:** A visibly Jewish boy was on a bus when 2 girls, one white and one black, started swearing at him and threatened to take the victim's kippah (skullcap). The girls then punched him and grabbed his glasses.
- **London, July:** A visibly Jewish boy was playing football with 3 friends. A group of black boys approached the victim, shouted, "Dirty Jew" and punched him, resulting in a black eye.
- **Manchester, July:** Two Asian youths walked past a Jewish school, approached a visibly Jewish boy and poured curry over him.

A group burning a Menorah attached to a bin with swastikas carved into it at a World War II event. This group later assaulted a Jewish family who had confronted them, July, Kent



- **Manchester, July:** Eight white youths approached a visibly Jewish boy, shouted, "Dirty Jew" towards him and pushed him to the ground.
- **Manchester, October:** A visibly Jewish man got into a dispute with a woman and a man who had dented his car in a car park. The man put his hands around the victim and made an antisemitic comment.
- **London, November:** Three black males approached 2 Jewish males, shouted, "F\*\*\*\*\*g Jewish c\*\*ts" and pushed them into a metal frame structure.

### Damage and Desecration to Jewish Property

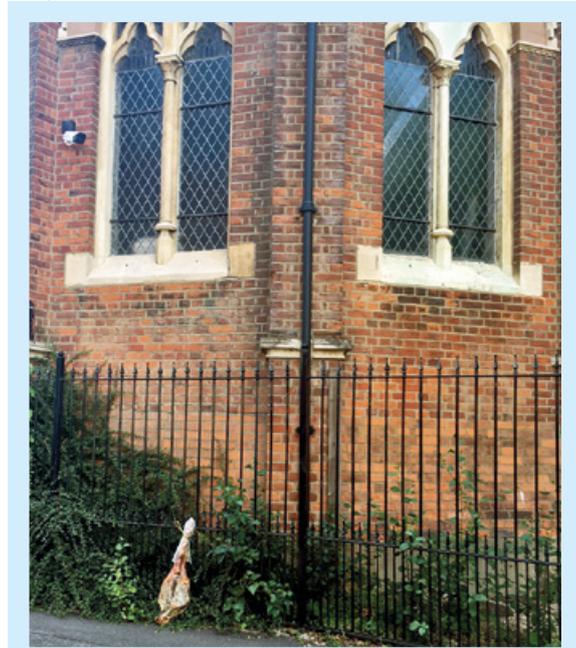
This category includes any physical attack directed against Jewish-owned property, or property that is perceived to be connected to Jews, which is not life-threatening. This includes the daubing of antisemitic slogans or symbols (such as swastikas) – including fixing stickers and posters – on Jewish property; and 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.

There were 81 incidents of Damage and Desecration in 2016, an increase of 25 per cent from the 2015 total of 65 incidents in this category. There were 81 antisemitic incidents recorded in this category in 2014 and 49 in 2013. Of the 81 incidents recorded in 2016, 39 affected the homes of Jewish people, or vehicles parked at their homes. Eleven involved desecrations of, or antisemitic damage to, synagogues. There were 3 incidents in 2016 that involved antisemitic damage to, or desecration of, a Jewish cemetery, 2 that involved the antisemitic hacking of websites of Jewish organisations and 6 that involved the use of arson.

Incidents of Damage and Desecration in 2016 included:

- **Liverpool, January:** A Jewish man was in bed when his front door was smashed in and a brick came through his window. The offender shouted, "You Jewish c\*\*t. Move out or we are going to kill you."
- **London, March:** A swastika had been scratched into a metal door in a building owned by a Jewish estate agent, where the majority of the tenants are Jewish.
- **Manchester, May:** Sixteen gravestones had been pushed over and broken at a Jewish cemetery.
- **London, April:** Four men threw eggs at a visibly Jewish man's car. The men also shouted antisemitic abuse at the victim.
- **London, May:** A Jewish woman found a swastika etched into her front door. Her home was visibly Jewish due to having a mezuzah on her door.
- **London, May:** Graffiti was found on a synagogue that read, "F\*\*k the Juda!!!"
- **Manchester, May:** A stone was thrown through a window of a synagogue.
- **London, May:** A Holocaust memorial plaque was vandalised with what appeared to be blood.
- **London, July:** A leg of ham was hung on the gates of a synagogue.
- **London, July:** Graffiti and a swastika were found on the door of a synagogue that said, "We know you're here, f\*\*k yids."
- **Northern Ireland, August:** Twelve headstones were smashed in the Jewish section of the cemetery.

A leg of ham hung on the gates of a synagogue, London, July



## Threats

This category includes only direct antisemitic threats, whether verbal or written.

There were 100 incidents reported to CST in the category of Threats in 2016, the highest total ever recorded by CST in this category and an increase of 27 per cent from the 79 incidents of this type recorded in 2015. There were 91 antisemitic incidents recorded in this category in 2014 and 38 in 2013. Forty-six of the 100 threats recorded in 2016 took place in public, of which 8 involved threats shouted from passing vehicles. Seventy-six incidents in this category involved verbal abuse and 8 took place on social media.

Incidents in the category of Threats in 2016 included:

- **London, January:** A visibly Jewish man was on the train when a man with a Middle Eastern appearance said, "F\*\*\*\*\*g evil Jew, why are you murdering my people? I'm going to come over and slap you."

- **Manchester, May:** A visibly Jewish man entered the ground of a synagogue. A white male walked passed and said, "I am going to f\*\*\*\*\*g stab you."
- **Gateshead, May:** A school bus arrived at a Jewish school and the offender, who was walking past, shouted towards the security guard, "I will stab you and the Jew children."
- **Manchester, July:** A post was found in relation to Joshua Bonehill-Paine, a neo-Nazi activist convicted of online antisemitism. The post read, "Revenge for Joshua Bonehill-Paine will be sweet. Watch your back Jewish scum. Your friends, the Nazis."
- **Manchester, July:** A Jewish girl was playing with friends in the street when 3 white youths shouted, "I will call Hitler. We will call Hitler to shoot you."
- **London, August:** A male of South Asian appearance threatened to burn down and to bomb a kosher grocery store unless it stopped selling Jewish food.
- **Hertfordshire, August:** A male of Middle Eastern appearance pulled up next to a visibly Jewish male on a roundabout. The offender said, "Get out of your car and I will fight you. You white bastard, you f\*\*\*\*\*g Jew."
- **London, September:** Three Muslim males

walked past a Jewish school and said, "We're going to blow up the school."

- **London, November:** A white female drove past a Jewish woman and shouted, "Jews are disgusting, Jewish people smell." The offender then ran her thumb across her neck in a throat slitting action.

### Abusive Behaviour

This category includes 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, tweets and social media comments, as well as targeted antisemitic letters (that is, one-off letters aimed at and sent to a specific individual), irrespective of whether or not 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 1,006 incidents of Abusive Behaviour reported to CST in 2016, the highest total CST has ever recorded in this category and a 40 per cent increase from the 717 incidents recorded in this category in 2015. The record high in this category was previously 899 incidents, recorded in 2014, and there were 374 incidents of Abusive Behaviour recorded in 2013. In 257 of the antisemitic incidents recorded in this category in 2016, the victims were random Jewish people in public places; in at least 115 of these, the victims were visibly Jewish. Verbal antisemitic abuse was used in 251 incidents in this category, 24 which were by phone. There were 278 incidents of Abusive Behaviour recorded that took place on social media. Twenty-eight incidents of Abusive Behaviour occurred via email and 19 involved the use of paper hate mail. Two hundred and thirty-six incidents in this category involved antisemitic daubings, graffiti or stickers on non-Jewish property.

#### Antisemitic tweet, Derbyshire, July



@Smeggypants @CST\_UK

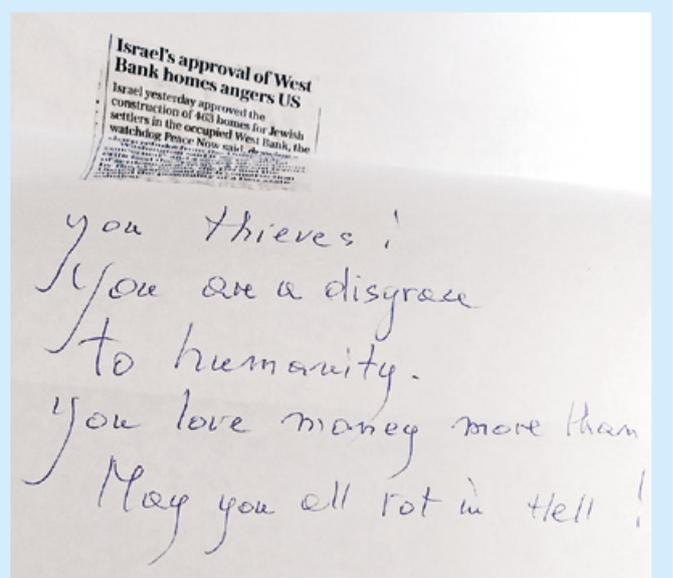
@JOYOURPAPARAZZI The biggest 'conspiracy theory' of all is that 6m Jews were gassed by Germans. #holohoax #cashcow

12:00 PM - 18 Jul 2016

Incidents of Abusive Behaviour in 2016 included:

- **London, January:** Four south Asian youths walked past a Holocaust memorial event at a synagogue and shouted, "F\*\*k the Jews."
- **London, February:** A Jewish woman was at a café having dinner when a white man approached her and said aggressively, "Where are you from? You're Jewish aren't you? You're a dirty Jew stealing our nation's wealth."
- **London, February:** A Jewish female student was having a political discussion with a Turkish female student on their university campus. The Turkish student then said she was "not surprised that Jews were killed in the Holocaust as Jews are troublesome people."
- **Manchester, March:** A visibly Jewish woman, her 3 children and a friend were walking home from synagogue following a Shabbat morning service. The offender was walking towards them and gave a Heil Hitler salute.
- **London, March:** An email was sent to a Jewish charity. It read, "Jews are evil and should be ashamed of themselves. The inhuman way they treat the Palestinians. No wonder Jews are not wanted anywhere, they are greedy and corrupt and make money of people's misery. They also got Jesus killed when the Romans didn't want to kill Jesus, you forced them too. The more I learn about the Jews the more I hate them and they disgust me. Repent change your evil ways."
- **Cambridge, April:** A visibly Jewish male student was walking in the street when a man in his 20s said, "Dirty Jew" and "F\*\*\*\*\*g c\*\*t" towards him.
- **West Yorkshire, May:** After a football match between a Jewish team and a non-Jewish team, a player from the non-Jewish team refused to shake hands and said, "Piss off you f\*\*\*\*\*g Jewish c\*\*t."
- **London, May:** Two Jewish men were chased by a white male in his 50s who shouted, "Hitler had the right idea about you." The offender appeared to be intoxicated.
- **London, May:** A visibly Jewish man was waiting for a bus when he noticed a bus driver of south Asian appearance look at him and perform the Quenelle salute.
- **Manchester, May:** A visibly Jewish man was on the bus when 2 youths sat behind him and said, "I hate Jews. When is the Jew getting off the bus? The Jew will probably want to get off the bus because he probably has not paid. Oh we are going past a dirty stinking Jewish area."
- **London, June:** A man chased a group of visibly Jewish boys whilst shouting, "Come here you Jew boys."

Antisemitic letter sent to synagogue,  
London, October



- **London, June:** A Jewish woman was opening up her shop when a south Asian man called her a "F\*\*\*\*\*g Jewish Israeli F\*\*k."
- **London, June:** A group of black girls shouted, "Hitler" at a Jewish girl on a train.
- **Manchester, September:** The victim received a phone call while working at a Jewish book shop. The male caller said, "Jews" and "Baby killer".

## Literature

This category covers mass-produced antisemitic literature which 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 (depending on the hate mail's content). 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 for malicious distribution, even if the material itself is not antisemitic. This would include, for instance, the mass mailing of neo-Nazi literature to targeted 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, rather than the number of victims.



There were 15 incidents recorded in the category of antisemitic Literature in 2016, a 25 per cent increase from the 12 incidents recorded in this category in 2015. There were 30 incidents recorded in this category in 2014 and 5 in 2013. Nine of the Literature incidents recorded in 2016 involved email and 6 involved the distribution of paper leaflets or pamphlets.

Examples of Literature incidents in 2016 included:

- **London, May:** A synagogue received a letter about how the Jewish community and Police conspire together to "set up people."
- **London, July:** A synagogue received an email calling the Jewish people "scum on earth that need to be eradicated. The reason Jews are hated is because hate flows through their veins and their mind is polluted with filth."
- **London, September:** Members of the House of Commons and Lords received an email with antisemitic and antizionist content, including "Israel has divided the world into two parts. It's a killer and it's killing the world" and "The Jews are laughing all the way to the bank, as they watch the world destroy each other."

## 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 of London and Manchester to small, isolated communities all over the United Kingdom; and from Jewish schoolchildren to Members of Parliament.

The most common single type of incident involved verbal abuse randomly directed at visibly Jewish people in public. Such incidents are more commonly associated with anti-social behaviour or local patterns of street crime rather than with political activism or ideologies: 18 per cent of incidents recorded in 2016 showed evidence of political motivations or beliefs, while 82 per cent did not. In 385 incidents, the victims were ordinary Jewish people, male or female, attacked or abused while going about their daily business in public places. In at least 186 of these, the victims were visibly Jewish, usually due to their religious or traditional clothing, school uniform or jewellery bearing Jewish symbols. Sixty four incidents targeted synagogue property and staff, compared to 51 in 2015, and a further 25 incidents targeted congregants on their way to or from prayers, compared to 34 in 2015. There were 169 incidents that targeted Jewish community organisations, communal events, commercial premises or high-profile individuals, compared to 114 in 2015, while 96 incidents happened at people's private homes (76 in 2015). Fifty three antisemitic incidents took place in the workplace or were work-related, compared to 30 in 2015.

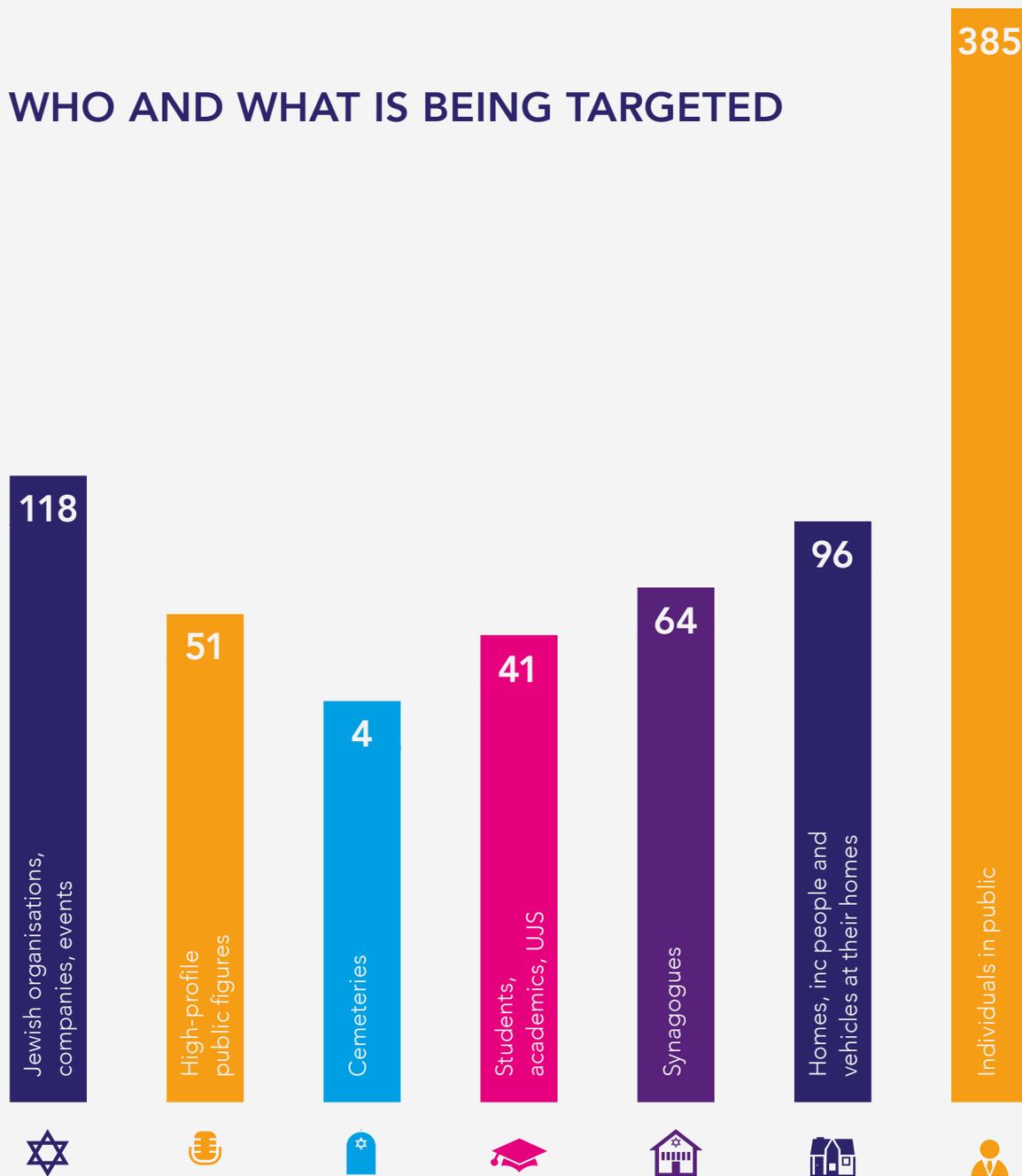
A total of 83 antisemitic incidents took place at schools or involved Jewish schoolchildren or teaching staff, compared to 86 in 2015. Of the 83 incidents of this type in 2016, 37 took place at Jewish schools, 16 at non-faith schools and 30 affected Jewish schoolchildren on their journeys to and from school. Fourteen of the 83 school-related

incidents were in the category of Assault; 2 involved Damage and Desecration of Jewish property; 8 were in the category of Threats; 58 were in the category of Abusive Behaviour and there was 1 in the category of Literature.

There were 41 antisemitic incidents in which the victims were Jewish students, academics or other student bodies, compared to 21 campus-related antisemitic incidents in 2015. Of the 41 incidents of this type reported to CST in 2016, 17 took place on campus and 24 off campus. Out of the 41 incidents involving students, academics or student bodies, 2 were in the category of Assault, one of which occurred on campus; there was 1 incident in the category of Damage and Desecration of Jewish property; 3 in the category of Threats; and 35 in the category of Abusive Behaviour. Of the 17 antisemitic incidents that took place on campus, 6 involved graffiti or other daubing on non-Jewish property; there were 7 incidents that involved verbal abuse and 1 that took place on social media. Seven involved the use of language or imagery related to the Holocaust or the Nazi period, while 2 involved the use of language or imagery related to Israel and the Middle East. Fourteen of the 24 antisemitic incidents affecting students off campus involved targeted social media abuse directed at Jewish student activists by non-student offenders.

CST received a description of the gender of the victim or victims in 733 (56 per cent) of the 1,309 antisemitic incidents reported to CST during 2016. Of these, the victims were male in 478 incidents (65 per cent of incidents

## WHO AND WHAT IS BEING TARGETED



where the victim's gender was known), female in 201 incidents (27 per cent) and groups of males and females together in 54 incidents (7 per cent).

CST received a description of the age of the victim or victims of 519 (40 per cent) of the 1,309 incidents recorded during 2016. Breaking this down into adults and minors (while acknowledging the difficulty in

accurately categorising incident victims who may be merely described by witnesses as "youths" or "teenagers") shows that in 404 incidents, the victims were described to CST as adults (78 per cent of incidents where the victim's age was described), in 83 incidents they were described as minors (16 per cent) and in 32 cases (6 per cent) the victims were described as adults and minors together.

## INCIDENT OFFENDERS

CST is often asked by journalists and members of the public to identify the ethnic or religious background of incident offenders. This can be a difficult and imprecise task. CST will ask incident victims or witnesses if they can describe the person, or people, who committed the incident they are reporting, but many antisemitic incidents involve public encounters where the antisemitic abuse may be generic, brief and sometimes non-verbal. The evidence of victims of, and witnesses to, these antisemitic incidents may rely on their interpretation of the offender's physical appearance, language or other indicators. Many other incidents do not involve face-to-face contact between offender and victim so it is not always possible to obtain a physical description of the offender.

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 to know the ethnicity or religion of a hate mail sender on the basis of the discourse they employ. Social media platforms afford a level of anonymity to offenders, should they wish to hide their identity, but can also provide some personal details of offenders, such as their name, photograph or approximate location.

Bearing in mind all these limitations regarding the availability and reliability of this data, a description of the ethnic appearance of the offenders was obtained in 499, or 38 per cent, of the 1,309 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2016.<sup>11</sup> Of these, 274 offenders were described as 'White – North European' (55 per cent); 21 offenders were described as 'White – South European' (4 per cent); 75 offenders were described as 'Black' (15 per cent); 96 offenders were described as 'South Asian' (19 per cent); 2 offenders were described as 'Far East or South East Asian' (0.4 per cent); and 31 offenders were described as being 'Arab or North African' (6 per cent). These figures partly reflect the fact that Britain's Jewish communities tend to live in relatively diverse urban areas, and that street crime offenders (where the most common type of

antisemitic incident takes place) make up a younger, and more diverse, demographic profile than the population as a whole.

CST received a description of the gender of the offender or offenders in 707 (54 per cent) of the 1,309 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2016. Of these, the offenders were described as male in 575 incidents (81 per cent of incidents where the offender's gender was known), female in 111 incidents (16 per cent) and mixed groups of males and females in 21 incidents (3 per cent).

CST received a description of the approximate age of the offender or offenders in 438 of the 1,309 incidents reported during the year (33 per cent). Of these 438 incidents, and allowing for the same caveats as when attempting to analyse the ages of incident victims, the offenders were described as adults in 355 antisemitic incidents (81 per cent of incidents where the offender's age was estimated), minors in 83 incidents (19 per cent) and no incidents included adults and minors together. Younger antisemitic incident offenders appear to be more likely than adults to be involved in violent incidents (albeit usually using relatively limited violence): minors were responsible for 52 per cent of the incidents recorded by CST in the category of Assault in 2016 where an age description of the offender was provided, but for only 15 per cent of the incidents in the categories

11. CST uses the 'IC1-6' system, used by the UK Police services, for categorising the ethnic appearance of offenders. This uses the codes IC1, IC2, IC3, etc for 'White – North European'; 'White – South European'; 'Black'; 'South Asian'; 'East or South East Asian'; and 'Arab or North African'. This is obviously not a foolproof system and can only be used as a rough guide.

of Abusive Behaviour or Threats combined (where an age description of the offender was provided). Similarly, minors were the victims of 38 per cent of Assault incidents recorded by CST where the age of the victim was obtained, but they were the victims of only 14 per cent of incidents of Abusive Behaviour or Threats combined (where the age of the victim was obtained).

### Where the gender was known



**81%** of offenders were **male**

**16%** of offenders were **female**

**3%** of offenders were groups of both **males** and **females**

## DISCOURSE AND MOTIVES

Analysing the content of incidents can help to identify the motives of incident offenders, although the link between the discourse used in an incident and the motivation of the offender or offenders is not always obvious. For example, compare these two incidents:

- **Norfolk, January:** Paper swastikas were scattered on the floor around a Holocaust memorial tree, shortly before a Holocaust memorial ceremony was due to take place.
- **London, August:** Graffiti reading “Stop bombing kids” and “Free Palestine” was written on a bench in an area with a large visibly Jewish population.

In both of these examples, the link between political motivation and the antisemitic targeting of the incident appears straightforward. In the first case, Holocaust commemoration has been targeted in a public way in order to offend and upset people attending a Holocaust memorial ceremony; in the second, the graffiti has been displayed in such a way as to deliberately target the many Jewish people who live in that area. The first incident appears to be motivated by neo-Nazi political beliefs, while the second appears to have been motivated by anti-Israel

political beliefs. However, in other incidents the connection between the discourse used and any political motivation is not so clear. For example, consider these two incidents:

- **Manchester, January:** A male of south Asian appearance shouted, “Jewish b\*\*\*\*\*ds are we in Palestine?” at a Jewish man. When the Jewish man walked away, the offender shouted, “Why are you walking away from me you f\*\*\*\*\*g Jewish b\*\*\*\*\*d?”
- **Liverpool, May:** A Jewish man was watching the Eurovision Song Contest in a bar, and when the Israeli song came on people began to shout, “Jewish c\*\*ts” and, “What about Palestine”.

In both these incidents, the offenders refer to Israel in the language they use to abuse their victim, alongside overtly antisemitic language. However, it is hard to tell whether the offenders were motivated primarily by hatred of Israel, and then proceeded to abuse Jews as a result of this anti-Israel sentiment; or whether their primary bigotry was towards Jews, which was then expressed via reference to Israel and Palestine.

In other incidents, discourses relating to Jews are more indicative of a general conspiracist

mindset than of a coherent political ideology. For example:

- **London, January:** Graffiti reading “Goyim the Holocaust is a lie. Google the fact” with a Star of David and the word “Bankers” was written on a garage door.
- **London, March:** Graffiti reading “Jews start all war for £” and “Jews run UK” was written in the toilet of a pub in central London.

In these incidents, fragments of political discourse are present but they do not add up to a coherent, identifiable political outlook. Rather, both incidents reflect a belief in conspiracy theories and the ubiquity of antisemitism in conspiracy theories.

Sometimes, different political discourses are mixed together in a way that reveals a more basic antisemitism:

- **London, January:** A man walked past a synagogue and said to the security guard, “Heil Hitler”, “Free Palestine”, “Get out of Palestine.”

This particular incident is typical of contemporary antisemitic incident offenders, who will often select from a range of Jewish-related discourses for language or imagery with which to abuse, insult or threaten their Jewish victims. Sometimes the specific language used is of secondary importance, compared to the desire to insult or abuse Jews.

Rather than being limited to prejudice rooted in traditional, far right beliefs, or fuelled exclusively by more contemporary extremisms or anti-Israel sentiment, the antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2016 represent the multifaceted nature of contemporary antisemitism. In 326 of the 1,309 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2016, the offenders employed discourse based on the Nazi period, including swastikas and references

to the Holocaust. Of these, 162 showed evidence of far right motivation or beliefs. For comparison, in 2015, Nazi-related discourse was used by offenders in 232 antisemitic incidents, of which 144 showed evidence of far right motivation or beliefs. In 2016, discourse relating to Israel or the Middle East was used in 105 antisemitic incidents, of which 62 showed evidence of anti-Israel motivation or beliefs; compared to 87 incidents using Israel-related discourse in 2015, of which 52 showed evidence of anti-Israel motivation or beliefs. In addition, language or images relating to Islam or Muslims was present in 27 antisemitic incidents in 2016, compared to 39 in 2015, while 12 incidents showed evidence of Islamist motivation or beliefs in 2016 (33 in 2015).

Overall, 35 per cent of antisemitic incidents recorded in 2016 involved the use of political language alongside antisemitism, while 18 per cent of incidents in 2016 showed some degree of ideological motivation or belief. This compares to 37 per cent of incidents in 2015 that used political language, and 24 per cent that showed political motivation. In all of these incidents, it was necessary for there to be evidence of antisemitic language, targeting or motivation, as well as any political or ideological motivation for the incident to be recorded by CST as antisemitic.

Antisemitic graffiti on a pub wall, London, March



## 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; but it cannot be ignored that contemporary antisemitism can occur in the context of, or be accompanied by, extreme feelings over the Israel/Palestine conflict. 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. 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.

CST received reports of 791 potential incidents during 2016 that, after investigation, did not appear to be antisemitic and were therefore not included in the total of 1,309 antisemitic incidents. These 791 potential incidents included examples of anti-Israel activity directed at organisations involved in pro-Israel work, which did not involve explicitly antisemitic language or imagery and were therefore not classified by CST as antisemitic. Examples of anti-Israel incidents during 2016 that were reported to CST but were not recorded as antisemitic include the following:

- **London, February:** Posters accusing Israel of apartheid practices were put on London Underground trains without permission.
- **London, March:** A sign reading "Free Palestine F\*\*k Israel" was seen outside a block of flats in an area where there is not a large Jewish population.

Sometimes the targeting of a particular incident can suggest an intention to intimidate or offend Jews on the part of the offender. For example, if the above example of a sign reading "Free Palestine F\*\*k Israel" had been placed in close proximity to a synagogue or Jewish school, or in an area with a large, visibly Jewish population, then it is likely that it would have been classified as an antisemitic incident. However on this

### Antisemitic tweet, London, August



occasion it was not counted as antisemitic because it was placed in a location where few Jews live or visit, and therefore does not appear to have been deliberately targeted at Jews. Similarly, anti-Israel material that is sent unsolicited to a synagogue at random may be recorded as an antisemitic incident (because the synagogue was targeted simply because it is Jewish and the offender has failed to distinguish between a place of worship and a political organisation), when the same material sent unsolicited to specifically pro-Israel organisations would not be. On the other hand, if a particular synagogue has been involved in public pro-Israel advocacy and subsequently is sent anti-Israel material, it may not be classified as antisemitic unless

the content of the material dictates otherwise.

The political discourse used in an incident may also be the reason why the incident is accepted or rejected as antisemitic. Incidents that equate Israel to Nazi Germany would normally be recorded as antisemitic, whereas those that compare Israel to, for instance, apartheid South Africa, normally would not be. While the charge that Israel practises apartheid upsets many Jews, it does not contain the same visceral capacity to offend Jews on the basis of their Jewishness as does the comparison with Nazism, which carries particular meaning for Jews because of the Holocaust.

Irrespective of whether or not these incidents are classified as antisemitic by CST, they are still relevant to CST's security work as they often 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.

#### Antisemitic tweet, London, September



#### Antisemitic Facebook post, June



#### Antisemitic graffiti, Cheshire, August



## GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS AND DIFFERENCES

Seventy eight per cent of the 1,309 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2016 took place in Greater London and Greater Manchester, the two largest Jewish communities in the UK. In Greater London, CST recorded 813 antisemitic incidents in 2016 compared to 494 during 2015, an increase of 65 per cent. In Greater Manchester, CST recorded 205 antisemitic incidents during 2016, a fall of 9 per cent compared to the 226 incidents recorded there during 2015.

A total of 267 antisemitic incidents, a third of the incidents in Greater London, were recorded in the borough of Barnet, which has the largest Jewish community of any local authority in the UK. There were 89 antisemitic incidents recorded in Hackney, 77 in Camden, 54 in Westminster, 48 in Haringey, 41 in Redbridge, 22 in Brent, and 17 each in Harrow and Tower Hamlets. In Greater Manchester, 71 antisemitic incidents (35 per cent of the Greater Manchester total) were recorded in the Metropolitan Borough of Salford. There were 48 antisemitic incidents recorded in the Borough of Bury and 41 in the Borough of Manchester.

Outside Greater London and Greater Manchester, CST received reports of 291 antisemitic incidents from 96 locations around the UK in 2016, compared to 240 incidents from 83 different locations in 2015. There were 35 antisemitic incidents in Hertfordshire (of which 17 were in Borehamwood), compared to 29 in 2015; 21 in Leeds, compared to 34 in 2015; 16 in Gateshead (3 in 2015), 13 in Liverpool, the same number of incidents recorded in 2015; 9 in Brighton & Hove (1 in 2015) and 6 in Leicester (none in 2015). Going by Police region rather than specific locations, and in addition to the figures already given for London, Manchester and Hertfordshire, CST recorded 28 antisemitic incidents in West Yorkshire (48 in 2015), 17 in Northumbria (5 in 2015), 15 in Scotland (12 in 2015), 14 each in

Antisemitic graffiti, Eastbourne, August



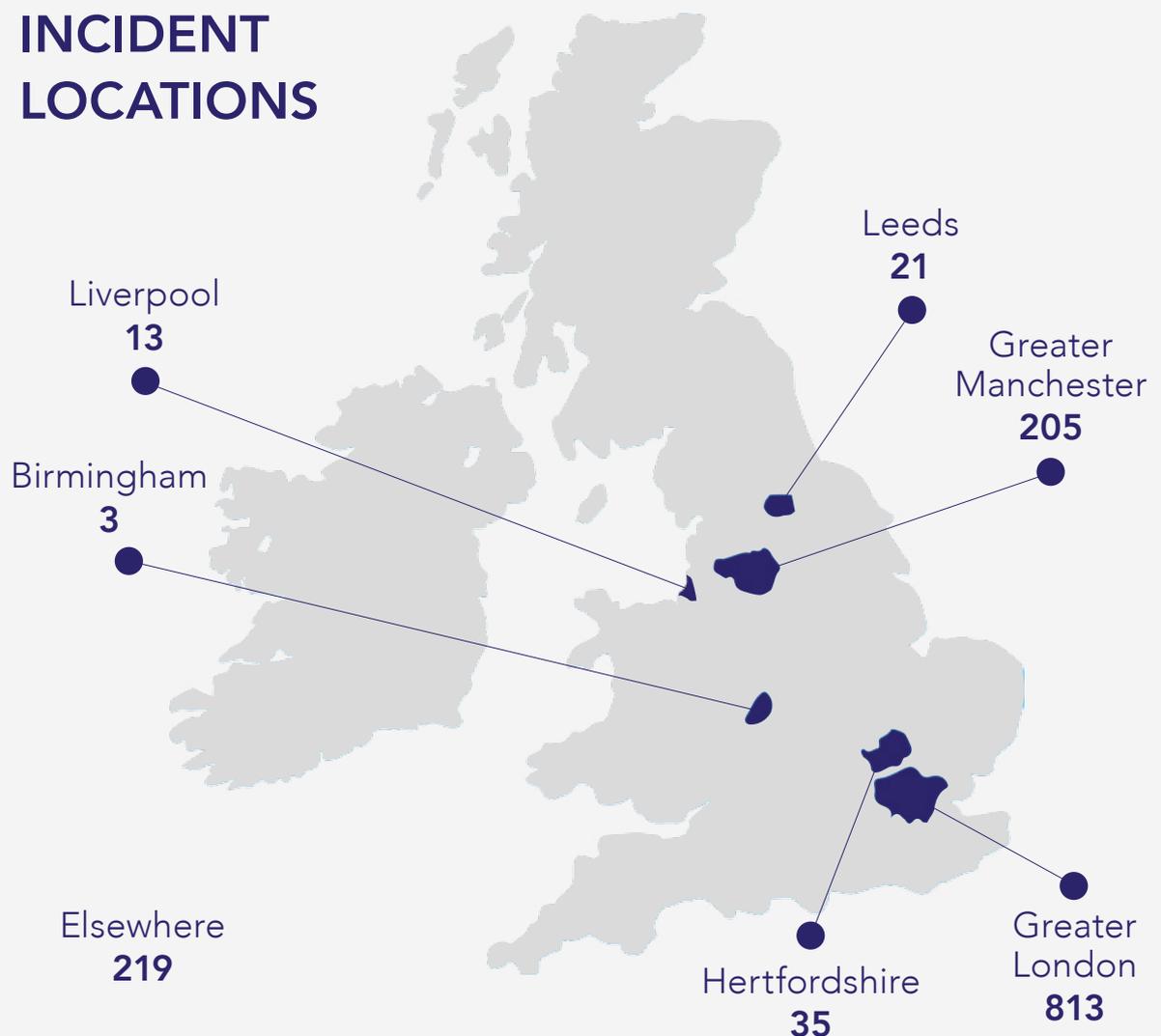
Merseyside and Sussex (13 and 4 respectively in 2015) and 8 each in the West Midlands and Lancashire (13 and 3 respectively in 2015). CST also recorded 19 incidents in places that fall under the jurisdiction of British Transport Police, which includes the national rail network, the London Underground, Docklands Light Railway, the Midland Metro tram system, Croydon Tramlink, Sunderland Metro, Glasgow Subway and the Emirates Air Line cable car (compared to 15 such incidents in 2015).

Further differences between incident types in Greater London and Greater Manchester can be drawn out of the statistics. Taken broadly,

and allowing for rough generalisations, the statistics show that antisemitic incidents in Greater Manchester are more likely to involve random street racism – what might be called antisemitic hooliganism – against individual Jews; while ideologically motivated antisemitism – which normally takes the form of hate mail, abusive phone calls or antisemitic graffiti – tends to be concentrated in Greater London where most of the Jewish community’s leadership bodies and public figures are based. So, 49 per cent of antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in Greater Manchester targeted individual Jews in public, compared to 28 per cent of the incidents recorded in Greater

London; whereas 16 per cent of incidents recorded in Greater London targeted Jewish organisations, events or communal leaders, compared to 3 per cent of the incidents in Greater Manchester. Incidents in Greater London are more likely to involve hate mail, abusive emails or online antisemitism: there were 215 such incidents in Greater London in 2016 (26 per cent of incidents in Greater London), compared to 18 in Greater Manchester (9 per cent of incidents in Greater Manchester). One hundred and fifty one antisemitic incidents (19 per cent) recorded in Greater London showed some form of political motivation, compared to 27 incidents recorded in Greater Manchester (13 per cent).

## INCIDENT LOCATIONS



## TYOLOGY OF INCIDENTS: MISSION, OPPORTUNISTIC OR AGGRAVATED?

Antisemitic incidents take place in a range of contexts and for a variety of reasons. Sometimes the offender's actions are premeditated; sometimes they are spontaneous; and sometimes they arise out of day-to-day conflicts that initially have nothing to do with antisemitism. Using a typology set out in a study of antisemitic incidents recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service from 2001 to 2004,<sup>12</sup> it is possible to separate these into 'mission' incidents, 'opportunistic' incidents, and 'aggravated' incidents. CST received sufficient information to categorise 1,117 of the 1,309 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2016 by one of these three types.

The Metropolitan Police Service study referred to above defined 'mission' incidents as those in which "the offender takes some premeditated action to instigate the incident by engineering their interaction with the victim. In addition, antisemitism seemingly drives the offender's actions – as manifest by their language or symbols they use". Applying this definition to the 1,117 antisemitic incidents categorised by CST in 2016 reveals that 779 incidents, or 70 per cent of those incidents that CST was able to categorise, showed evidence of being mission incidents. This does not mean that, in every case, the offender embarked on a lengthy and planned course of action in order to find a Jewish person or building to attack, although this did happen in several cases. Rather, it relates to incident offenders who, in the moments preceding an antisemitic incident, take some action to make contact with a person, organisation or property they believe to be Jewish, in order to express their bigotry. Examples of mission incidents recorded in 2016 include:

- **London, March:** A Jewish man was followed out of a shop by a white man who shouted, "Dirty Jewboy. Dirty f\*\*\*\*g Jew. I'm going to have you." The offender was drunk.
- **Gateshead, June:** An egg was thrown at a visibly Jewish woman from a moving vehicle.

- **Scotland, June:** Five minors shouted abuse and banged on the door of a synagogue during a Shabbat service. When the minors were confronted by the congregation, they performed Nazi salutes.
- **London, August:** Two youths of south Asian appearance approached a synagogue and shouted, "F\*cking Jews" at the Rabbi's sons.
- **Manchester, August:** A group of youths approached a Jewish school and shouted, "Jewish b\*\*\*\*\*ds" at the guards.

The 779 mission incidents recorded by CST in 2016 can be further broken down by type of incident. The 5 examples given above are all what can be referred to as 'mission-direct', which involves direct, face-to-face contact between offender and victim. Other incidents, which do not involve this face-to-face contact, can be classified as 'mission-indirect', of which these are examples:

- **London, March:** A Jewish woman at her place of work received a voice message from a male caller saying, "Adolf Hitler."
- **Norfolk, March:** A Jewish woman was harassed on Facebook. The user wrote comments directly towards her saying, "F\*\*k you, you Jewish piece of s\*\*t. You're a

12. Paul Iganski, Vicky Keilinger & Susan Paterson, *Hate Crimes against London's Jews* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 2005), pp.41-42.

Jewish Zionist scum, you're a cancer to the world and the world knows it."

- **Hertfordshire, May:** A Jewish school received the following email, "Scum of the Earth. I shout out to the Holocaust. To recap, send your Jews to Auschwitz as they have been dormant for a while now (not as many Jews left as I killed the rest), we will gas them and send your corpses for display to deter further Jews from your premises. We will also send you a complimentary swastika to remember your time in my camp."
- **Manchester, June:** The victim received a text saying, "You stupid Jew, go back home."
- **London, June:** A Jewish organisation's Twitter account received a tweet saying, "History shows that most Jews are incapable of telling the truth about anything. Most of the propaganda Jews are peddling is easily disprovable lies. #BDS."
- **Leeds, August:** A Jewish care home received 3 calls from a male who said, "I am Hitler. I want to speak with a Jew?" There was another male in the background who said, "We are coming to burn you down."

Other mission incidents do not target a specific victim, but rather take place in a public area – where the victims can be any members of the public who happen to pass by – or on social media where the offending comments are publicly visible to many people. Examples of these 'mission-indiscriminate' incidents include:

- **London, February:** A swastika and a picture of Adolf Hitler were found on a bus stop.
- **Durham, May:** Jewish students found swastikas painted on the doors of student accommodation.
- **Manchester, July:** A group of south Asian youths were driving around a Jewish area shouting abuse at general Jewish pedestrians in the area.
- **London, July:** Graffiti in German translating to "Jews out" was found.
- **London, August:** A female tweeted, "Auschwitz Museum is a fraudulent enterprise, forced to admit the 'gas chamber' exhibit was a post-war reconstruction."

The final type of mission incident that made up the 779 mission incidents in 2016 were 'mission-inadvertent', whereby the offender's expression of antisemitism is inadvertently overheard or seen by somebody who the offender did not intend to directly abuse. Examples of this from 2016 include:

- **Leeds, May:** The reporter was standing in his garden when he overheard his neighbour saying, "ISIS is great. Hitler did nothing wrong. The Jews are the worst religious group in the world."
- **Glasgow, May:** A pub quiz was held at a University campus. One of the pub team names was "Scooby Jew and the Gas Chamber."
- **London, June:** A Jewish man was in a restaurant when another female customer, who didn't know he was Jewish, started talking to him about the EU referendum. The female customer showed the victim various websites all to do with Jews owning the media and other Jewish conspiracies.
- **London, July:** A Jewish male overheard a male employee say, "All the Jews are taking over the business and taking over planning in Hackney."
- **Leicester, September:** An Asian boy and

two friends were overheard saying that the Holocaust never happened.

In contrast to these 'mission' incidents, 211 incidents, or 19 per cent of the 1,117 antisemitic incidents categorised in this way by CST in 2016, appeared to be 'opportunistic', whereby "the offender takes immediate advantage of an opportunity that presents itself to vent their antisemitism, rather than engineering the incident in a premeditated way" (Iganski, Keilinger & Paterson, 2005). Examples of opportunistic incidents from 2016 include:

- **London, February:** A 14 year old visibly Jewish boy was jogging outside when a member of the public shouted, "You f\*\*\*\*\*g Jew."
- **Hertfordshire, March:** A minor wearing visibly Jewish school uniform put his drink in the bin outside a McDonalds when a vehicle passed and a male driver wound down his window to say, "F\*\*\*\*\*g Jews all need to be put in the bin."
- **London, June:** A Jewish female was walked home when she passed a white female who said, "You f\*\*\*\*\*g Jewish whore."
- **Manchester, August:** A visibly Jewish man was walking with his wife and child when a white male behind him said, "F\*cking Jew."

One hundred and twenty-seven incidents, or 11 per cent of the 1,117 incidents CST was able to categorise by type, were what may be called 'aggravated' incidents, whereby "the offender and victim are caught up in a conflict situation that initially does not involve antisemitism. However, in the course of the conflict the offender's bigotry emerges" (Iganski et al., 2005). Examples of aggravated incidents recorded by CST in 2016 include:

- **London, February:** A Jewish woman was at a pub with friends. She accidentally bumped into a man and after apologising

#### Antisemitic graffiti, Sussex, November



Photo credit, James Lillywhite/Twitter

to him, he said, "You should be sorry, you Jewish looking c\*\*t." He then poured drinks over her and her friends.

- **London, February:** A Jewish woman was driving when a car started flashing her. At the traffic lights, a white male driver pulled into the right hand lane, wound down his window and screamed, "F\*\*\*\*\*g drive. F\*\*\*\*\*g Jew, you shouldn't f\*\*\*\*\*g be here."
- **Manchester, June:** An argument broke out between the victim and a traffic warden, who asked the victim to move their car. The traffic warden then said, "You Jews are all the same, they think that they can get away with anything."
- **London, June:** A Jewish woman told a man to stop shouting and singing in the street and he responded with, "F\*\*k off you Jewish c\*\*t."
- **Hertfordshire, June:** A Jewish man got out of his car to confront a male driver who had reversed his vehicle into the victim's car. The driver said, "I didn't touch your car. You're a con artist Jew-bag, it's bulls\*\*t." The female passenger added, "He's looking for money. Typical of a Jew."
- **Manchester, July:** A dispute between 2 pupils resulted in one calling the other a "Dirty Jew."

## 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. The recent tragic history of antisemitic terrorism against Jewish schools, synagogues, shops, museums and other buildings in Copenhagen, Paris, Brussels, Toulouse, Kansas City, Mumbai and elsewhere attests to the importance of this work. 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.

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.<sup>13</sup> In the UK, several terrorist plots targeting Jewish communities in the United Kingdom came to trial or were publicised via the media in recent years. The most serious of these involved a local couple in Manchester, Mohammed and Shasta Khan, who had conducted surveillance of the Manchester Jewish community as part of their preparations for a terrorist attack in the city, for which they both received prison sentences. In addition to this threat from violent jihadist terrorism, there is evidence of efforts by British neo-Nazis to plan and execute terrorist attacks against minorities here in Britain, including against the Jewish community.

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. 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 325 such incidents reported to CST in 2016, compared to the 380 incidents of this type reported to CST in 2015. Of the 325 incidents of potential Information Collection and Suspicious Behaviour reported to CST in 2016, 109 involved the photography or videoing of Jewish buildings, while in 59 cases suspicious people tried to gain entry to Jewish premises. These incidents are not categorised as antisemitic by CST as many are likely to have innocent explanations and it is often not possible to determine their motivation. However, 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.

13. For a full chronology and analysis of this history of modern anti-Jewish terrorism, see the CST publication "Terrorist Incidents against Jewish Communities and Israeli Citizens Abroad 1968–2010", available at [www.cst.org.uk](http://www.cst.org.uk)

# ANNUAL ANTISEMITIC INCIDENT FIGURES\*

## Antisemitic incident figures by category, 2006–2016

Category	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Extreme Violence	4	1	1	3	0	2	2	0	1	4	0
Assault	110	116	87	121	115	93	67	69	80	83	107
Damage and Desecration	70	65	76	89	83	64	53	49	81	65	81
Threats	28	24	28	45	32	30	39	38	91	79	100
Abusive Behaviour	366	336	317	611	391	413	477	374	899	717	1,006
Literature	20	19	37	62	25	7	12	5	30	12	15
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>598</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>1,309</b>

## Antisemitic incident figures by month, 2006–2016

Month	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
January	34	33	44	289	30	45	39	33	53	109	80
February	56	40	52	114	48	54	52	38	43	88	67
March	40	36	40	73	54	49	75	23	39	83	79
April	33	59	39	52	61	45	48	44	58	75	99
May	44	36	62	52	50	58	44	48	51	60	135
June	37	42	40	49	82	43	54	37	66	86	127
July	94	60	52	46	63	43	59	59	317	87	125
August	78	49	20	40	47	37	42	48	229	72	121
September	67	81	47	87	83	73	60	54	105	76	114
October	59	55	58	45	52	52	60	67	87	61	108
November	36	37	45	54	48	53	83	40	78	79	121
December	20	33	47	30	28	57	34	44	56	84	133
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>598</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>1,309</b>

## Antisemitic incident figures, full breakdown, 2016

Month	Category	Extreme Violence	Assault	Damage and Desecration	Threats	Abusive Behaviour	Literature	MONTH TOTAL
January		0	6	6	4	63	1	80
February		0	5	0	6	55	1	67
March		0	6	8	4	61	0	79
April		0	11	3	10	74	1	99
May		0	7	9	11	103	5	135
June		0	10	6	10	99	2	127
July		0	15	4	10	94	2	125
August		0	5	10	9	96	1	121
September		0	10	5	10	88	1	114
October		0	11	7	10	79	1	108
November		0	13	13	9	86	0	121
December		0	8	10	7	108	0	133
<b>CATEGORY TOTAL</b>		<b>0</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1,006</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>1,309</b>

\*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.

## 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.

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

 FACEBOOK **Community Security Trust**

 TWITTER **@CST\_UK**       YOUTUBE **CSTmedia**

 NATIONAL EMERGENCY NUMBER (24-hour) **0800 032 3263**  
LONDON (Head Office) **020 8457 9999**  
MANCHESTER (Northern Regional Office) **0161 792 6666**