CST

PROTECTING OUR
JEWISH COMMUNITY

ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS

Report 2019

Front cover: Spate of antisemitic graffiti that was found around Belsize Park and Hampstead, December

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Antisemitic graffiti in Lewes, September

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- CST recorded **1,805 antisemitic incidents in the UK in 2019,** the highest total that CST has ever recorded in a single calendar year. This is **seven per cent higher** than the 1,690 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2018, making 2019 the fourth consecutive year in which the annual record has been broken.[1]

- This record total, following on from those registered in 2016, 2017 and 2018, perpetuates **a sustained pattern of historically high antisemitic incident figures.** Furthermore, CST recorded over 100 antisemitic incidents in every calendar month for the second year in a row and the second year ever. Since April 2016, more than 100 incidents have been reported in all but two months. This is unprecedented: by way of comparison, CST only recorded monthly totals exceeding 100 incidents on six occasions in the decade prior, from 2006 to 2015.

- The record totals in 2019 and the preceding three years were due to consistently high monthly totals, at a time when **Jews, antisemitism and the Labour Party were the repeated subjects of national controversy.** Debate surrounding **Brexit also made this a politically contentious time during which recorded hate crime rose more generally,** affecting many communities. These relatively lengthy contexts differ from the pre-2015 antisemitic incident highs, which were largely caused by temporary 'spikes' and sudden 'trigger' events.[2]

- An **increase in reports of online antisemitism, particularly on social media, is the largest single contributor to the record total** of incidents in 2019. CST logged **697 instances of online antisemitism in 2019,** comprising **39 per cent of the annual total** and a **rise of 50 per cent** from the 466 online incidents reported in 2018 (which was 28 per cent of that year's total). Six hundred and sixty seven of these online incidents – which include antisemitic social media posts, emails, direct messages, comments on online articles, and website hacking – fall into the category of Abusive Behaviour. Such a high escalation may reflect rising engagement in and intensity of arguments on social media, particularly where antisemitism is expressed in the context of political disagreements, as well as a greater capacity and motivation to report online antisemitism to CST. These totals are only indicative, as the actual amount of antisemitic content that is generated and disseminated on online platforms is much larger. In some cases, social media has been used as a tool for coordinated campaigns of antisemitic harassment, threats and abuse directed at Jewish public figures and other individuals. Where this is the case, CST will record a coordinated campaign as a single incident, even if it involves multiple tweets, posts or comments. CST does not trawl the internet looking for online incidents to log, and will only record online incidents that are reported to CST by a member of the public, and where either the offender or the victim is based in the UK.

- **The incident peaks recorded throughout the year by CST correlated with periods when discourse around Jews and antisemitism was prominent in news and politics due to the continuing controversy over allegations of antisemitism in the Labour Party.** The highest monthly totals

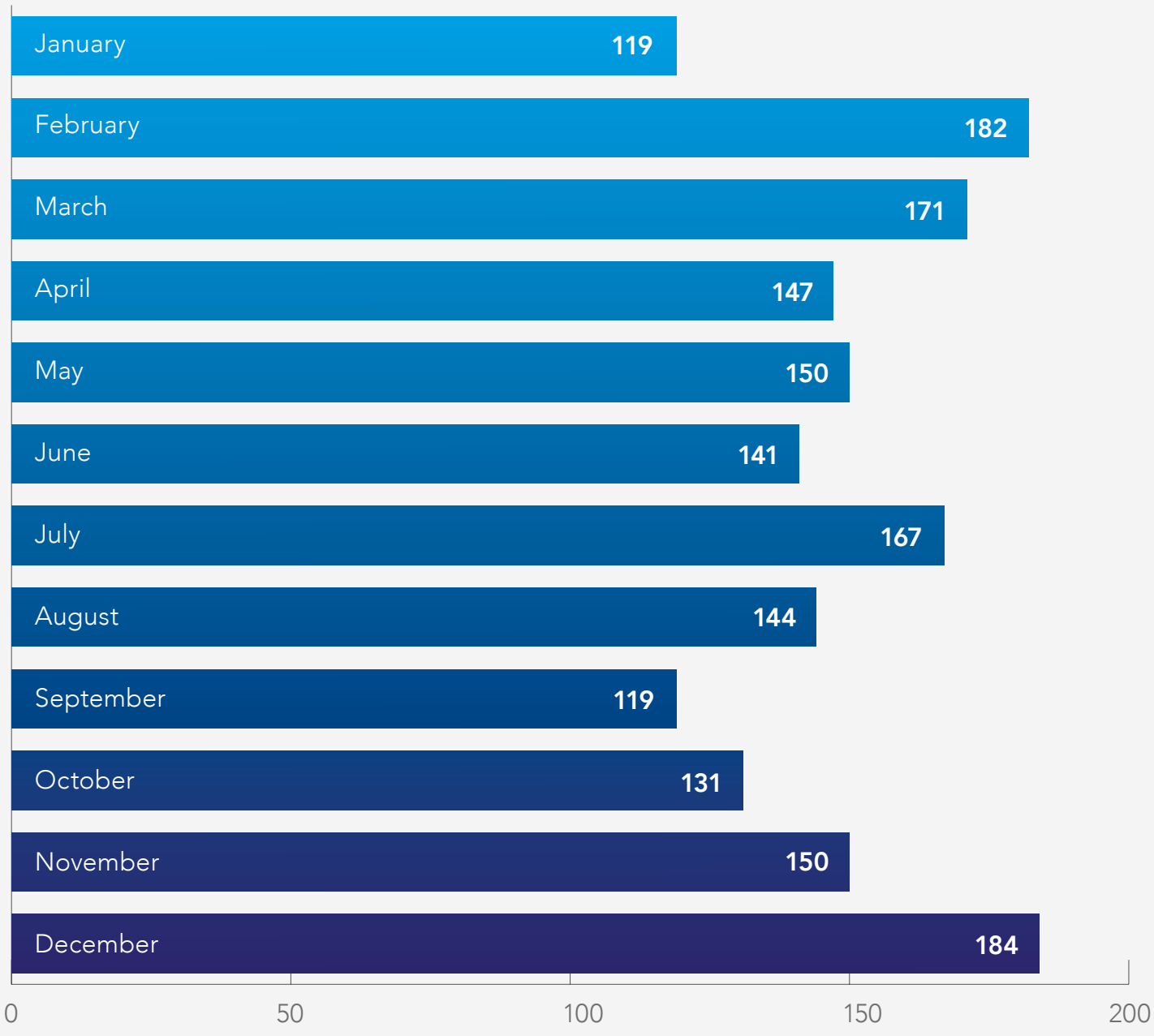
1 The incident totals for past years and months in this document may differ from those previously published by CST, due to the late reporting of some incidents to CST by incident victims, witnesses or other sources. Figures published in this report are subject to change should CST receive belated reports of incidents in 2019.

2 On five of the six occasions from 2006-2015 when the monthly total surpassed 100, this was mainly due to reactions to Israel-related conflicts. The outlier of this group, January 2015, was the month of an anti-Jewish terrorist attack in Paris.

in 2019 were in December and February, with 184 and 182 antisemitic incidents respectively, the fourth and joint-fifth highest months ever recorded by CST. The general election in December was preceded by Jewish community figures, most notably the Chief Rabbi, publicly voicing unprecedented concerns regarding a leading political party. February saw several MPs leave the Labour Party, some of whom cited antisemitism as an important reason for their decision. In **224 of the 1,805 cases of antisemitism reported to CST in 2019,** the offender or offenders, and the abuse they expressed, **were related to the Labour Party, or the incidents occurred in the context of arguments about alleged Labour Party antisemitism.** This is an increase from the 148 incidents of this kind recorded in 2018.

- In addition to the 1,805 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2019, **a further 566 potential incidents were reported to CST that were not included in the total number of antisemitic incidents,** as they did not show evidence of antisemitic motivation,

MONTHLY INCIDENTS, 2019



language or targeting. Many of these potential incidents involve suspicious activity or possible hostile reconnaissance at Jewish locations, and they play an important role in CST's provision of security protection to the Jewish community, but they are not classified as antisemitic for the purposes of this report.

- CST recorded **157 incidents in the category of Assault** in 2019, an increase of 27 per cent from the 124 incidents of this type recorded in 2018. This is the highest number of incidents in this category ever reported to CST in a calendar year. Seventy-two of these 157 antisemitic Assaults, or 46 per cent, took place across just three boroughs of Barnet (29), Hackney (28) and Salford (15). These boroughs are home to some of the largest Jewish populations in the UK, and some of the most visibly Jewish communities. In at least 64 of these 157 incidents, or 41 per cent, CST understands the victim(s) to have been visibly Jewish, although the actual number is likely to be higher. There was **one additional incident** that was serious enough to be **classified as Extreme Violence** but, for reasons of victim confidentiality, CST is not able to share any further details.

- Incidents of **Damage & Desecration** to Jewish property rose by 11 per cent, from 79 incidents in 2018 to **88 incidents** in 2019. Forty-five of these incidents involved damage done to the homes and vehicles of Jewish people, 12 to Jewish organisations or companies, ten to synagogues, seven to Jewish schools, and three to cemeteries.

- There were **98 incidents reported to CST in the category of Threats** in 2019, which includes direct threats to people, institutions or property, rather than more general abuse. This marks a fall of nine per cent from the 108 incidents of this type recorded in 2018.

- CST recorded **1,443 incidents in the category of Abusive Behaviour** in 2019, an increase of eight per cent from the 1,334 instances of Abusive Behaviour recorded in 2018. This is 80 per cent of 2019's total incidents tally and is the highest number of incidents in this category ever reported to CST in a single calendar year, once again making Abusive Behaviour the highest single category of antisemitic incident type.

- There were **18 incidents recorded in the category of mass-produced antisemitic Literature** in 2019. This is a decrease of 58 per cent from the 43 incidents recorded in this category in 2018, a drop explained by the diminishing circulation of one particular leaflet that was widely and repeatedly distributed across London and Hertfordshire in 2018.

- In the incidents in which a particular type of rhetoric, motivation or ideology could be identified, **conspiracy theories were the most common single brand of discourse,** present in 370 incidents recorded by CST in 2019 (20 per cent of the overall total of 1,805 incidents). This conveys the extent to which antisemitic tropes have become embedded across the social and political spectrum. In 342 incidents, a combination of two or more political and religious discourses were detected, a rise of 20 per cent from the reported 285 incidents in which this was the case throughout 2018. This reflects the complex and multifaceted nature of contemporary antisemitism, in which offenders viewing themselves as left wing may deploy antisemitic tropes common to the far right; and many offenders express an incoherent, self-contradicting mixture of anti-Jewish extremisms.

- In 330 of the incidents reported to CST in 2019, the offender or offenders **made reference to Hitler, the Nazis, the Holocaust,** employed discourse based on the Nazi period, and/or punctuated their abuse with a Nazi salute or the depiction of a swastika. Of these, 126 were adjudged to contain evidence of **far right political motivation,** wherein alignment with far

right extremist ideology or beliefs was expressed beyond the simple and superficial appropriation of Nazi-era references. In comparison, 456 of the 1,690 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2018 involved the use of far right discourse including references to Nazism and the Holocaust, with 84 showing evidence of far right motivation.

- In 2019, there were 505 **allusions to Israel, the Middle East or Zionism** in antisemitic incidents recorded by CST, of which 63 directly compared or equated Israel with the Nazis, compared to 49 such incidents reported in 2018. In 126 of these 505 incidents, there were explicit anti-Zionist or anti-Israel motivation or beliefs alongside the antisemitism (CST does not consider criticism of Israel or Zionism inherently antisemitic; all of the incidents recorded as such and included in this report have displayed antisemitic evidence within discourse condemning Israel or Zionism). This comprises a significant rise from the 254 antisemitic incidents using Israel or Zionism-related discourse in 2018, but a drop from the 173 of those that showed evidence of anti-Israel or anti-Zionist motivation.

- Eight incidents recorded by CST in 2019 contained **discourse relating to Islam and Muslims,** 21 fewer than in 2018, while 19 incidents showed evidence of **Islamist ideology** compared to 13 in 2018. In 39 incidents, another religious ideology was present. This is the first year in which CST has monitored **other religious ideologies** in reported incidents. CST has also started to monitor antisemitic incidents that are related to or ideologically inspired by the **UK's withdrawal from the European Union.** A total of eight incidents fell into this category throughout 2019.

- Although **conspiracy theories often unite far right and far left expressions of antisemitism,** there remain differences in how and when they are communicated.

Antisemitic graffiti on a residential fence reading *"Jew Ghetto"* with a Star of David, London, January

Antisemitism that emanates from the far left is frequently wrapped up in self-justifying political discourse and explanation, for example using antisemitic language in defence of the Labour Party or its leadership, while the antisemitic language of the far right is usually more direct, violent and knowingly insulting. A possible reason for this is that far right antisemitism is a more established hatred, whereas antisemitism from the far left is less self-aware and more reactive. This may explain why **Labour Party-related incidents fluctuated** throughout 2019 in response to events, whereas **incidents showing far right motivation occurred consistently** throughout the year. In the case of the former, noticeable spikes were observed in correlation with major political events to which supporters of the party were responding: the foundation of Change UK that saw the problem of antisemitism prominently cited by MPs who left Labour for the new group in February and March; the July airing of BBC's Panorama programme, which delved deep into the alleged institutional antisemitism within the Labour Party; and in the prelude to and aftermath of December's general election. Meanwhile, CST recorded 36 far right incidents in the first quarter of 2019, 33 in the second, 30 in the third and 27 in the fourth. This relative stability and consistency throughout the course of the year points to a strand of antisemitism that is less volatile and reactive, perhaps due to its deeper societal and cultural foundations.

- **Sixty-five per cent of the 1,805 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2019 took place in the UK cities with the largest Jewish populations, Greater London and Greater Manchester.** Nine hundred and forty-seven incidents were reported to have taken place in the former, falling by three from 2018's total of 950 London-based incidents. CST recorded 223 antisemitic incidents in Greater Manchester in 2019, a decrease of 11 per cent from the 251 incidents in the corresponding area last year. In 2018, London and Greater Manchester's combined total of 1,180 incidents comprised 70 per cent of the UK's reported total, five per cent more than in 2019. Outside of these two centres, CST recorded notable increases in Hertfordshire (from 56 to 76 incidents, of which ten were online), Northumbria (from 41 to 58 incidents, of which six were online) and Merseyside (from 21 to 56 incidents, of which 28 were online), the three areas with the highest incident counts after London and Greater Manchester in 2019.

- The **increases in antisemitic incidents observed across the UK** (antisemitic incidents were reported in all bar two of the country's police counties: Gloucestershire and Suffolk) may reflect the **increase in online antisemitism,** which does not rely on physical proximity to Jewish victims; **better reporting from the public to CST;** and the ever-developing **relationship and trust between CST and the Police.** Five hundred and twenty-seven of the 1,805 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2019 were reported by police services from all corners of the UK, making the Police a vital reporter of incidents to CST, accounting for 29 per cent of the total reports. This is indicative of a truly valuable collaboration, that sees information about crime shared between both parties. It is not, however, a statistically consistent process, as the numbers of incidents directly reported to the Police, recorded as hate crimes by the Police and then shared with CST can vary throughout the year and by police region. These variations can occur for a number of reasons, and may be partly responsible for what appears to be an anomalous fall in the number of incidents recorded by CST in Greater Manchester and Greater London, when compared with trends for the UK as a whole.

- There were 429 incidents reported to CST in 2019 in which the **victims were ordinary, Jewish individuals in public.** In at least 197 of these, the victims were visibly Jewish, on account of their religious or traditional clothing, Jewish school uniforms, or jewellery and insignia bearing religious symbols.

- One hundred and twenty-two antisemitic incidents in 2019 targeted **Jewish schools, schoolchildren or staff,** compared to 96 incidents relating to schools and schoolchildren in 2018. Of the 122 incidents of this kind recorded in 2019, 54 took place at the premises of Jewish faith schools; 43 affected Jewish schoolchildren on their journeys to or from school; and 25 involved Jewish children or teachers at non-faith schools.

- There were 40 antisemitic incidents in which the victims were **Jewish students, academics, students' unions or other student bodies,** compared to 25 campus-related antisemitic incidents in 2018. Of these 40 incidents, 21 occurred on university premises and 19 off campus.

- Forty-four antisemitic incidents in 2019 targeted **synagogues,** and a further 32 incidents targeted **synagogue congregants** on their way to or from prayers, compared to 66 and 30 incidents respectively in 2018.

- In 192 incidents, the victims were **Jewish community organisations and companies,** compared to 139 such incidents in 2018. CST recorded an additional 125

instances wherein antisemitic sentiment was aimed at a **Jewish public figure;** a rise from the 82 incidents of this nature reported in 2018.

- CST received a description of the **victim or victims' gender** in 893 of the 1,805 incidents recorded in 2019. Of these, 507 (57 per cent) were male; 333 (37 per cent) were female; in 53 incidents (six per cent) the victims were mixed groups of males and females. The **victim or victims' age** was ascertained in 861 of the antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2019. Of these, 662 (77 per cent) involved adult victims; 121 (14 per cent) involved victims who were minors; 37 (four per cent) involved victims over the age of 65; in 41 instances (five per cent), mixed groups of adults and minors were targeted.

- Some of the increases in types of incidents seen in 2019 are connected and help to shed light on trends within the overall total. For example, the increases in online incidents; incidents related to the Labour Party; incidents targeting publicly prominent Jewish individuals; and incidents located in Westminster (105 in 2019, the highest ever annual total recorded for this London borough) are not unrelated. They reflect a type of antisemitic incident reported to CST that involved social media being used to direct antisemitic abuse or threats at Jewish Members of Parliament by people professing to support the Labour Party or its leadership. This is an example of how **a growth in one type of incident can inflate the totals of several different analytical sub-categories** in CST's report.

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

- CST received a description of **the ethnic appearance of the offender or offenders** in 560 of the 1,805 antisemitic incidents reported during 2019. Of these, 356 (64 per cent) were described as white – north European; 17 (three per cent) were described as white – south European; 73 (13 per cent) were described as black; 50 (nine per cent) were described as south Asian; just five (one per cent) were described as east or south-east Asian; finally, 59 (10 per cent) were described as Arab or north African.

- CST received a description of the **gender of the offender or offenders** in 952 (53 per cent) of the 1,805 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2019. Of these, the offenders were described as male in 783 incidents (82 per cent of incidents where the offender's gender was obtained), female in 150 incidents (16 per cent) and mixed groups of males and females in 19 incidents (two per cent).

- From 836 of the 1,805 reports of antisemitism during 2019, the **approximate age of the offender or offenders** was obtained. Among these, 718 (86 per cent) involved adult offenders; in 115 cases (14 per cent) the perpetrators were minors; there were only three incidents (less than one per cent) in which the offenders were a mix of adults and minors. The most common profile of a single offender reported was a white, adult male.

INTRODUCTION

Community Security Trust

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

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

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

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

Definition of antisemitic incidents

The statistics in CST's annual *Antisemitic Incidents Report* include antisemitic hate crimes and antisemitic non-crime incidents. CST defines an antisemitic incident as any malicious act aimed at Jewish people, organisations or property, where there is evidence that the act has antisemitic motivation or content, or that the victim was targeted because they are (or are believed to be) Jewish. This is a narrower definition than that used by the criminal justice system, which defines an antisemitic hate incident as *"Any non-crime incident which is perceived by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice based on a person's race/religion or perceived race/religion."*[3] The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism is a useful guide in identifying the different types of antisemitic language that may be used in an incident.

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

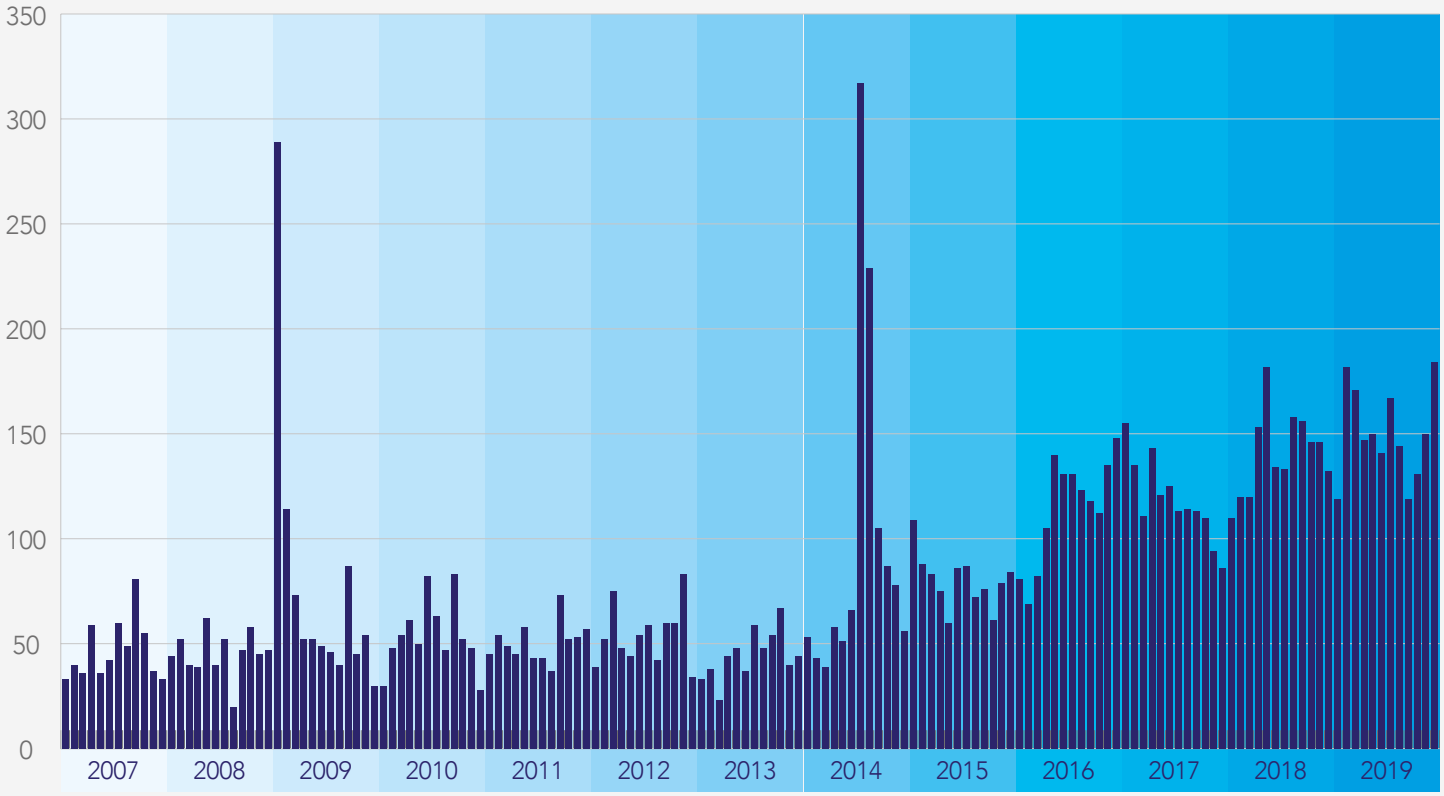
Reporting antisemitic incidents

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

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

3 *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

NUMBER OF INCIDENTS, MONTH BY MONTH, 2007-2019



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

It is likely that many, and perhaps even most, antisemitic incidents are not reported either to CST or to the Police. A 2018 survey by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights found that only 21 per cent of British Jews who had experienced antisemitic harassment over the previous five years had reported it to the Police or to any other organisation.[4] The Home Office's report on hate crime in England and Wales acknowledges that while a combination of a genuine rise in hate crime and growing public awareness of what it means is leading to a higher number of reports, there is still much that goes unreported.[5] It is likely, therefore, that the true figures of antisemitic hate incidents will be higher than those recorded in this report. No adjustments have been made to the figures to account for this.

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.

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

4 *Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism: Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018)

5 *Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2018/19* (London: Home Office, 2019)

ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, 2019

CST recorded 1,805 antisemitic incidents in the UK in 2019, the highest total that CST has ever recorded in a single calendar year. This constitutes a rise of seven per cent from the 1,690 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2018, making 2019 the fourth consecutive year in which the annual record has been broken.

Figures and trends

The 1,805 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2019 perpetuate a sustained pattern of a historically high level of reported antisemitic incidents. These incidents were spread throughout the year, with over 100 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in every calendar month for the second year running and the second year ever, since CST began recording antisemitic incidents in 1984. This all-time high total follows on from the record highs in the previous three years, with 1,690 recorded in 2018, 1,420 in 2017 and 1,275 in 2016. Since April 2016, monthly totals of more than 100 incidents have been reported in all but two months, whereas CST only recorded monthly totals exceeding 100 incidents on six occasions in the decade prior, from 2006 to 2015. On five of those six occasions, the dramatic spikes in monthly totals can be in part attributed to reactions to conflicts involving Israel, specifically on the Gaza border at the beginning of 2009 and in the summer of 2014. The remaining month, January 2015, saw the shooting at the Charlie Hebdo office and the *Hypercacher* kosher supermarket siege in Paris. However, there were no similar trigger events or temporary 'spikes' in incidents to explain the record incident totals since 2016. Rather, these totals are likely to be a consequence of the social and political context in the UK within which they have occurred.

Indeed, the relative peaks of antisemitic incidents that CST recorded in 2019 correlate most closely to periods when discourse around Jews and antisemitism was prominent in news and politics due to the ongoing allegations of antisemitism in the Labour Party. The highest monthly totals in 2019 came in December and February, with 184 and 182 antisemitic incidents respectively. These are the fourth and joint-fifth highest monthly tallies ever recorded by CST. In December, the British public was asked to vote in a general election and encouraged, by some high-profile voices from the Jewish community, not to vote for the Labour Party due to concerns over antisemitism. February saw several MPs leave the Labour Party, some of whom cited antisemitism as an important reason for their decision. CST recorded 25 incidents of Labour-related antisemitism in February 2019, 30 in March, and 26 in December. Overall, CST recorded 224 antisemitic incidents in 2019 that were examples of, or related to, alleged antisemitism in the Labour Party or that involved professed supporters of the party, compared to 148 such incidents in 2018. These include antisemitic incidents reported to CST that occurred within the Labour Party, whether directed towards Labour politicians and members, spouted by Labour politicians and members, or both. This total also encompasses antisemitic incidents where online offenders displayed obvious signs of affiliation to or support of the Labour Party within the content of their abuse or in the social media profiles they used to express their antisemitic views. Finally, an incident is considered Labour Party-related for these purposes if antisemitic views are expressed in a way that appears to be motivated by arguments over alleged antisemitism in Labour: for example, if antisemitic abuse is directed at a former Labour politician after they have left the party. If CST were to receive reports of antisemitism that pertain to any other particular political party, they would also be specified in the analysis. This may explain why CST recorded 105 antisemitic incidents

in Westminster in 2019, the highest total CST has ever recorded in that borough. It is also probable that when an issue plays out in the public arena to the degree that Labour Party-related antisemitism has, those who witness or are subjected to it are more motivated and inclined to report such incidents to CST.

This wider environment and deep political uncertainty and upheaval appears to have had a lasting impact on CST's annual antisemitic incident totals. It is hard to precisely disaggregate the impact of the continuing Labour antisemitism controversy upon CST's statistics, but it clearly has an important bearing. The trend for monthly totals above the 100 figure began in April 2016 when Ken Livingstone and Naz Shah MP were suspended by Labour for making antisemitic comments, and it has only fallen below 100 twice since then (in November and December 2017). In this context, the dynamics of antisemitism are similar to other forms of racism or political violence: the levels of hatred worsen when perpetrators feel motivated or emboldened to act, due to their perception of the target group and surrounding societal attitudes.

It is possible that the high antisemitic incident totals are also influenced by more general factors that have affected other strands of hate crime; such as the rise in hate crime across the board following the result of the European Union referendum in June 2016. This is laid out in Home Office figures demonstrating an initial spike in the immediate aftermath, as well as a continuous and steady increase since.[6] It may be the case that the way the referendum – and ultimate outcome – brought questions of racism, immigration, nationalism, hate crime, discrimination of minorities, and what it means to be British, more firmly into public discourse, contributed to an atmosphere in which those already predisposed to express their hatred of otherness have felt enabled and invigorated to do so. In turn, the heightened concern may have increased the desire and drive of victims and witnesses alike to report hate crime when it occurs.

These trends do not mean that all Labour Party members, or supporters of Jeremy Corbyn, are antisemitic, any more than the increase in all types of hate crime following the 2016 vote to leave the European Union meant that everyone who voted to leave the EU has racist attitudes. Rather, it is that an atmosphere of heightened public discussion of antisemitism, racism, hate crime and related issues 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 (which can lead to higher levels of reporting). Another, less tangible, factor is that the prevalence of antisemitism in public debate can encourage more antisemitism, if people perceive that the taboo against expressing hostility or prejudice towards or about Jews is weakening. The more people hear and read antisemitic comments and views, the more likely they are to have the confidence to express such views if they hold similar attitudes themselves.

Incidents of online antisemitism, particularly on social media, were the single largest contributor to the overall record incident total in 2019. CST logged 697 online incidents in 2019, constituting 39 per cent of the annual total, compared to 466 such incidents in 2018 (28 per cent of that year's total). These incidents are made up mostly of incidents of Abusive Behaviour, but also includes online threats and website hacking. The rise in reported social media antisemitism may be linked to the influence of political extremism or arguments over antisemitism in mainstream politics. Antisemitism accompanied by a specific discourse, motivation or ideology, whether related to the Labour Party, far right, other religious groups, or concealed in criticism of Israel and/or Zionism, finds a natural home on social media platforms. Here, there is space for the expression of ideas, both simple and nuanced, on easily accessible, virtual platforms.

6 *Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2018/19* (London: Home Office, 2019)

The most common social media platform to be host to the online antisemitism recorded by CST was Twitter, where 458 of the 697 online incidents occurred. For comparison, Facebook was host to 89 antisemitic incidents, and 36 incidents were recorded on other web-based social media. This may indicate that Twitter is objectively a repository of more online antisemitism than other platforms, or it may just reflect reporting patterns to CST. Twitter is a fully public platform where any random, anonymous individual can target Jewish users for abuse, and any Jewish user can view and report antisemitic content posted by others. Facebook, in contrast, is a platform where Jewish users can control their online environment to exclude those who might post antisemitic content, and where they are less likely to see antisemitic content shared between other users.

Whichever the platform used, those inclined to share their Jew hatred, but who do not seek to physically attack or directly abuse a Jewish person, appear to be migrating to this convenient, far-reaching and potentially anonymising online space. It represents an easier, more sustainable and realistic way to spread hate than, for example, producing and delivering antisemitic literature en masse, where the impact is deep but often much more localised. Offenders can instead express their hatred to potentially thousands of people, tailoring their communication for the intended targets at the touch of a button.

It is difficult to assess whether the increase in online incidents in 2019 reflects a genuine rise in the amount of antisemitic expressions online, or an increase in the reporting of online antisemitism to CST, facilitated by the relative ease of tagging CST in a thread or post. The truth is likely to lie somewhere in the middle. CST does not trawl the internet looking for online incidents to log, and will only record those that are reported by a member of the public, and where either the offender or the victim are based in the UK. In some cases, social media has been used as a tool for coordinated campaigns of antisemitic harassment, threats and abuse directed at Jewish public figures and other individuals. In those cases, CST will record a campaign of harassment as a single incident, even if it involves large numbers of coordinated tweets, posts or other messages. Consequently, these totals are only indicative and not a true measure of the amount of antisemitism that resides across all social media.

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 took 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 2019, 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.

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 2019, are given below.[7]

Extreme Violence

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

CST recorded one event of Extreme Violence in 2019, compared to two such incidents in 2018, none in 2017 or 2016, and four in 2015. For reasons of victim confidentiality, CST is not able to share any further details.

Assault

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

CST recorded 157 antisemitic Assaults in 2019, a 27 per cent increase from the 124 Assaults recorded in 2018. This is the highest number of incidents in this category ever reported to CST in a calendar year. There were 149 antisemitic Assaults reported to CST in 2017, 109 in 2016, and 83 in 2015.

One hundred and five of the 157 antisemitic Assaults recorded in 2019 were random attacks on Jewish people in public places, of which 64 targeted people who were reported to CST as visibly Jewish, usually on account of their religious insignia, Jewish school uniforms, or traditional clothing. Twenty-four Assaults were aimed at Jewish schoolchildren, of which 14 took place away from school premises. Nine of the incidents in this category either took place at synagogues, or targeted congregants on their way to and from their place of worship.

CST received a description of the victim's gender in 144 of the antisemitic Assaults recorded in 2019. They were reported to be male in 106 instances, and female on 28 occasions. In ten cases, the victims were mixed groups of males and females. The victims' age was obtained in 131 reports of violent activity: 86 targeted adults (of whom seven were over 65 years old), 37 were aimed at minors, and the victims were mixed groups of adults and minors on eight occasions.

CST received a description of the offender's gender in 100 of the 157 antisemitic Assaults reported in 2019, of which 83 involved male offenders, 14 involved female offenders, and three involved male and female offenders acting together. A description of the offender's age was

CASE STUDY

Bus Assaults

There were two antisemitic Assaults reported to CST that occurred on the same London bus route over the course of 2019. The first of these involved an adult male screaming *"Jews don't belong here"* at a Jewish couple. He then made a rude gesture towards them before pulling the man by the hood of his jacket and the woman by her sheitel – a hair covering worn by some observant Jewish women. In the second assault, a man reading a prayer book was subject to antisemitic verbal abuse from an adult male, who then directed his tirade at a group of girls. When the initial victim attempted to intervene, the perpetrator punched him in the arm.

7 A more detailed explanation of the six antisemitic incident categories can be found in the CST leaflet *Categories of Antisemitic Incidents*, available on the CST website: www.cst.org.uk

obtained in 85 cases: the offenders were adults in 58 instances and minors in 27.

In 44 of the 157 antisemitic Assaults recorded in 2019, the perpetrators punched or kicked their victims. There were 19 occurrences of an object being thrown at a Jewish person from a vehicle, and 17 instances involving eggs being thrown. Ten incidents involved spitting and a miscellaneous weapon was employed six times. The physical attack was accompanied by an element of verbal abuse in 85 instances, and by threatening language in 13.

Damage & Desecration to Jewish Property

This category includes any physical attack directed against Jewish-owned property, or property that is perceived to be connected to Jews, which is not life-threatening. This includes the daubing of antisemitic slogans or symbols (such as swastikas) – including fixing stickers and posters – on Jewish property; 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. As this type of incident is usually only seen after the act has been completed, it is often very difficult to get any information about the perpetrators.

There were 88 instances of Damage & Desecration to Jewish property recorded by CST in 2019, an increase of 11 per cent from the 79 incidents of this type reported in 2018. There were 93 antisemitic incidents recorded in this category in 2017, 81 in 2016, and 65 in 2015.

Forty-five of these incidents involved damage done to the homes and vehicles of Jewish people, 12 to Jewish organisations or companies, ten to synagogues, seven to Jewish schools, and three to cemeteries.

In 36 of the 86 cases of Damage & Desecration, the offender used graffiti, daubing or stickers of an antisemitic nature to desecrate the Jewish property targeted, while stones or bricks were used on nine occasions to cause damage. CST recorded four instances of arson or attempted arson, and one event involving the hacking of a Jewish website, re-appropriated to spread anti-Jewish hate.

CASE STUDY

South Hampstead Synagogue Graffiti

In December, a spate of graffiti appeared at 11 separate north and northwest London locations. These included high streets, private businesses, a bus stop, a phone box, a public menorah (traditional candelabra lit during the festival of Hanukkah) and South Hampstead Synagogue. All of these graffiti is thought to have been sprayed by the same offender or offenders, and depicted a Star of David next to *"9.11"*, promulgating the conspiracy theory that Jews were behind the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks. The image above shows this graffiti on the side of South Hampstead Synagogue, an example of Damage & Desecration to Jewish property.

Threats

This category includes only direct antisemitic Threats, whether verbal or written. This would include potential Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) that were designed to be hoaxes, if they do not contain any explosive material.

In 2019, CST recorded 98 direct antisemitic Threats, dropping nine per cent from the 108 incidents of this type reported in 2018.

Ninety-eight incidents were recorded in this category in 2017, 107 in 2016, and 79 in 2015.

Twenty-five of the 98 Threats recorded in 2019 took place in public spaces, and nine at the homes of Jewish individuals. Thirteen Threats were directed at Jewish schools, 12 at Jewish organisations or companies, nine at Jewish public figures, and six at synagogues. Six of these Threats were specifically threats to explode a Jewish location.

Twenty-nine of the incidents in this category were written on online platforms, six were delivered via phone call or voice message, and three as physical hate mail.

CASE STUDY

Bomb Threat

In December, an antisemitic threatening email was sent to one synagogue and two Jewish organisations, all with very similar rhetoric. The hoax bomb threat, in different instances, falsely claimed to have been sent from the Afghanistan Embassy and the Islamic State, waging revenge for the death of Usman Khan – the man who stabbed and killed two people on London Bridge on Friday 29 November. It read,

"We have come to know through our Intelligence that Mossad, CIA and MI6 are behind the recent killing of our fighter brother Usman Khan. We have already planned to bomb Jewish Schools, Colleges, Universities and Synagogues in UK and other EU countries through our brothers and sisters from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen and other Arab countries with pressure cooker bombs and mass shootings and with knives to take revenge of Usman Khan.

Sincerely
Amaq Islamic State"

This incident was reported to and dealt with by the Police.

Abusive Behaviour

Beneath the umbrella of Abusive Behaviour fall a wide range of incident types, including everything encompassed by verbal and written antisemitic abuse. The verbal abuse can be face-to-face or via telephone calls and voicemail messages. The category also includes antisemitic emails, text messages, 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 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 1,443 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in the category of Abusive Behaviour in 2019, signalling a rise of eight per cent from the 1,334 instances of Abusive Behaviour recorded in 2018, and forming 80 per cent of this year's total. This is the highest tally of incidents classed as Abusive Behaviour that CST has ever recorded in a calendar year, and is a significant driver behind the overall record annual figure of 1,805. There were 1,065 such incidents reported in 2017, 1,059 in 2016, and 717 in 2015.

In 295 of the Abusive Behaviour incidents reported in 2019, the victims were random Jewish people in public places, and in at least 117 of these they were visibly Jewish. One hundred and sixty-seven incidents in this category were targeted at Jewish organisations or companies, while Jewish public figures were the recipients of antisemitic abuse on 114 reported occasions.

Among the 1,443 incidents of this kind, 635 involved an element of verbal antisemitic abuse and insult, while 44 contained threatening language without making a direct threat to the victim. There were 182 incidents involving antisemitic daubing, graffiti or stickers on non-Jewish property, the majority of which included the depiction of swastikas. A further 83 instances

of offensive shouts or gestures from vehicles contribute to this category's tally, as well as 38 examples of physical hate mail sent to the victims' address.

The eight per cent surge in Abusive Behaviour (109 more incidents than in 2018) is heavily pushed by increasing reports of online antisemitism. Of the 1,443 instances of Abusive Behaviour recorded by CST in 2019, 667, or 46 per cent, occurred online. Alongside the antisemitic threats and website hacking conducted on these same forums, 697 online incidents were reported to CST in 2019, constituting 39 per cent of the annual total. Fifty antisemitic emails were reported, as were 44 texts or direct messages. It is difficult to assess whether the increase in online incidents in 2019 reflects a genuine rise in the amount of antisemitic expressions online; an increase in the reporting of online antisemitism to CST; or a combination of the two.

CASE STUDY

Memorial Stone Setting Verbal Abuse

CST received several reports of a verbal abuse incident at a Jewish cemetery in Hertfordshire in September. Walking behind a fence separating the cemetery from a public road, an unidentified male shouted, *"You f***ing Jews, Hitler didn't get you all, but we will!"* at a family during a memorial stone setting ceremony. This kind of incident, in which unprompted and unprovoked abuse is directed at Jewish people by a random member of the public, is typical of the most common offline antisemitism reported to CST.

Literature

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

There has been a significant drop of 58 per cent in mass-produced or mass-emailed antisemitic Literature, with just 18 reports of incidents in this category in the entirety of 2019, compared to 43 over the course of 2018. CST recorded 15 instances of Literature distribution in 2017, 19 in 2016, and 12 in 2015.

The abnormally high figure recorded by CST in 2018 – the second highest ever annual total – was largely due to the distribution of an antisemitic and conspiracy-laden leaflet called *Tip of the Iceberg*, about which more detailed information can be found in CST's *Antisemitic Incidents Report 2018*.[8] This leaflet was circulated around homes in north London and Hertfordshire, where many members of the UK's Jewish community reside. *Tip of the Iceberg* still accounts for 12 of the 18 reports of antisemitic Literature in 2019, but its diminished dissemination in 2019 may be the result of joint work between CST and the Police that identified a potential suspect, who was arrested. Although

8 *CST Antisemitic Incidents Report 2018* https://cst.org.uk/data/file/2/9/Incidents%20Report%202018%20-%20web.1549538710.pdf

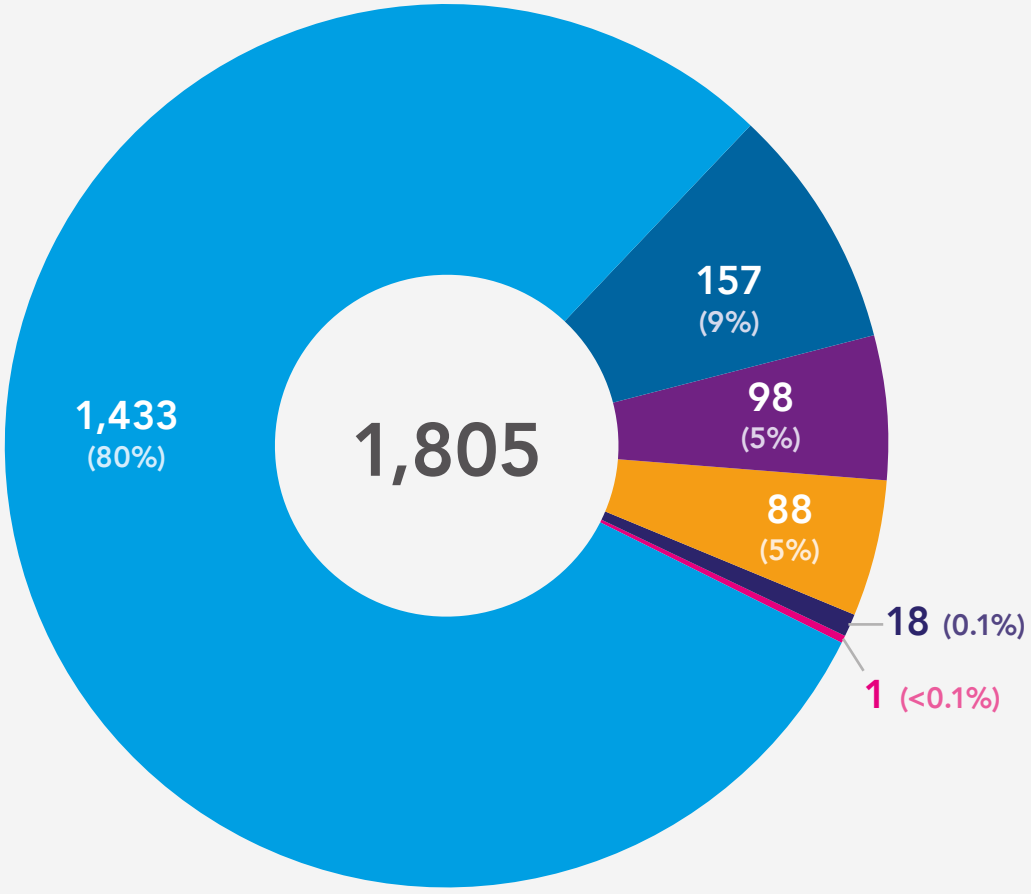
this did not lead to a prosecution, it may have disrupted and deterred similar large-scale distribution of the leaflet either by this suspect or by any potential accomplices.

It is not clear why incident figures have risen in some categories but fallen in others, given the overall incident total showed another record high in 2019. An examination of Assault and Abusive Behaviour, the two categories with the biggest numerical increases, may provide an insight into why this is.

As explained above, social media represents a convenient platform for antisemitism for those who do not seek to express their hatred in a physically violent way. The ease with which a message can be constructed, edited, disseminated and preserved, instantly reaching and impacting its intended target or targets while the identity of the perpetrator can be protected, makes these forums a convenient and appealing ground for spreading abuse and vitriol.

If this is so, then it may help to explain why CST's incident figures show a form of polarisation across different categories, with offenders gravitating towards either offline violence against people and property or online indirect abuse, while other categories of antisemitism have seen a decline. Abusive behaviour figures soar, propelled by the migration to online platforms by offenders who wish to convey their resentment of Jews verbally and loudly but not in person, while offline incidents become more extreme and violent in nature, as those who do intend on physically harming Jewish people and community spaces, and those who plan to deliver on their threats, are motivated to carry out their mission. This may explain the spikes

INCIDENT CATEGORIES



observed in incidents of Assault and Damage & Desecration. In the case of the former, there is another interesting detail for analysis that may support this theory.

CASE STUDY

Questions and answers

In January 2019, antisemitic A4 posters were seen plastered in Kensington High Street and on a bus stop in Westminster. This typed document, titled *Questions and answers for your information*, was filled with traditional antisemitic conspiracy theories relating to Jewish power, and the influence of 'Zionist Jews' in world politics and events. One passage read:

"The Grenfell Tower fire disaster was started on purpose and the aim of the shadowy government in England was to burn the people in the building alive, especially Muslim immigrants who were driven out of their home countries by sustained unjust Zionist Jewish global policies and who are occupying England, France and America and Palestine and are constantly waging more wars to expand their dominance in the world and if any good Jews speak against them, they are ignored or treated violently".

One hundred and five of the record 157 antisemitic Assaults reported in 2019 were random attacks on Jewish people in public places. Seventy-two of these 157 antisemitic Assaults, or 46 per cent, took place across just three boroughs of Barnet (29), Hackney (28) and Salford (15). These boroughs are home to some of the largest Jewish populations in the UK, and some of the most visibly Jewish communities. In at least 64 of these 157 incidents, or 41 per cent, CST understands the victim(s) to have been visibly Jewish (usually on account of their religious insignia, Jewish school uniforms, or traditional clothing), although the actual number may be higher. There may be many reasons why visibly Jewish people and communities are being disproportionately physically targeted in this way:

- Visibility is an obvious marker of difference, which may dehumanise them in the mind of the attacker. They may wonder what someone who looks so different could possibly have in common with them, and physical abuse is facilitated when humanity is removed;
- If the offender has set out to physically harm a Jewish person, visibility provides them with the assurance of who and what it is they are attacking;
- Visibility may be perceived by the offender as a threat, whether territorial, cultural or religious. This may be the case where attacks are reactive rather than premeditated.
- Visibility provides the opportunity for maximum antisemitic humiliation, as the offender has concrete markers of a victim's identity to publicly strip and degrade.

This theory is of course speculative and based on only one year's data, and it is impossible to completely understand what prompts someone to exhibit their antisemitism, violently or otherwise.

The reporting to the Police and CST of antisemitic Assaults has historically been strong, given the shocking and direct nature of an incident that may put its victim(s) in physical danger. As more antisemitism finds a home on social media, it may also be true that Jewish people are more likely to encounter antisemitism online than they ordinarily would in person, and the platforms' communicative purpose facilitates reporting to CST or to other bodies. These dual phenomena may have contributed to the acute upwards trajectory of online incidents recorded. These are just possible explanations for the trends in incident reporting, which is increasing in the aforementioned areas.

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, and that criticisms of Israel may draw upon antisemitic rhetoric and conspiracy theories. Discourse relating to the conflict is used by antisemitic incident offenders to abuse Jews; and anti-Israel discourse can sometimes repeat, or echo, antisemitic language and imagery. Drawing out these distinctions, and deciding on where the dividing lines lie, is one of the most difficult areas of CST's work in recording and analysing hate crime.

Sometimes the targeting of a particular incident can suggest an intention to intimidate or harass Jews on the part of the offender. For example, if anti-Israel posters or graffiti appear to have been deliberately placed close to a synagogue or other Jewish building, or in an area with a large Jewish population, then they are more likely to be classified as an antisemitic incident. If anti-Israel material is sent unsolicited to a synagogue or other clearly Jewish venue at random then it may well be recorded as an antisemitic incident (because the synagogue was targeted on the basis of it being Jewish and the offender has failed to distinguish between a place of worship and pro-Israel political activity). Likewise, if a synagogue receives hostile anti-Israel verbal abuse this may well be recorded as an antisemitic incident because the offender has intentionally targeted a Jewish place of worship. If, however, anti-Israel material (containing no antisemitic language) is sent unsolicited to specifically pro-Israel organisations, then this incident would not be classified as antisemitic. Similarly, if a Jewish individual or group is engaging in public pro-Israel advocacy and subsequently receives anti-Israel material, this would most likely not be classified as antisemitic (unless, again, it contains antisemitic language).

The political discourse used in an incident may also be the reason why the incident is accepted or rejected as antisemitic. In particular, incidents that equate Israel to Nazi Germany would normally be recorded as antisemitic because the comparison is so deeply hurtful and abusive, and because it uses Israel's Jewish character as the basis for the insult. However, incidents that compare Israel to, for example, apartheid South Africa, normally would not be recorded as antisemitic incidents. While the charge that Israel practises apartheid upsets many Jews, it does not contain the same visceral capacity to offend Jews on the basis of their Jewishness as does the comparison with Nazism, which carries particular meaning for Jews because of the Holocaust. CST recorded 63 incidents in 2019 where a comparison was made between Israel and the Nazis.

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, February 2019

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.

There were 429 incidents reported to CST in 2019 in which the victims were ordinary, Jewish individuals in public. In at least 197 of these, the victims were visibly Jewish, on account of their religious or traditional clothing, Jewish school uniforms, or jewellery and insignia bearing religious symbols. Of the 1,805 incidents recorded by CST in 2019, there was an element of verbal abuse in 773; 118 involved threatening language; and abuse of an antisemitic nature was shouted or gestured from a vehicle in 95 instances. All of this is broadly reflective of the most common single type of offline antisemitic incident reported: random, spontaneous, verbal abuse of strangers who are presumed for whatever reason to be Jewish, as they go about their lives in public areas that usually have a high concentration of Jews. Such incidents are often associated with anti-social behaviour or local patterns of street crime rather than with political activism or ideologies.

Cemetery desecration in Kent, October

There were 54 antisemitic incidents recorded at Jewish schools in 2019, compared to 40 in 2018. An additional 43 incidents involved Jewish schoolchildren away from school, often on their way to or from home, compared to 46 last year. There were 25 incidents reported to CST wherein the victims were Jewish schoolchildren or staff at non-faith schools, a significant increase from the ten recorded in 2018. This results in a total of 122 antisemitic incidents affecting people and buildings in the school sector, comprising a rise of 27 per cent from the 96 such incidents recorded in 2018. Of these 122 incidents, 24 came under the category of Assault, 14 of which involved Jewish schoolchildren away from the school premises; seven incidents were classified as Damage & Desecration to Jewish property; there were 15 direct Threats made to schools, staff or children; and 76 incidents were classed as Abusive Behaviour. Unlike 2018, which saw two counts, there was no mass-mailed antisemitic Literature aimed at schools in 2019. Tangentially, the month with the highest rate of school-related incidents is June, with 20 reported to CST: a sudden spurt from April and May, which saw seven and five such events respectively.

There were 40 antisemitic incidents affecting Jewish students, academics, students' unions or other student bodies in 2019, a rise of 60 per cent from the 25 such incidents reported in 2018.

Twenty-one of these incidents took place on campus, and 19 off campus. Among these, there were two instances of physical Assault, four in the category of Damage & Desecration, two Threats made, and 32 examples of Abusive Behaviour. Once again, there were no reports of campus-related mass-produced antisemitic Literature.

In 2019, 117 antisemitic incidents reported to CST took place at people's residential property, and 29 were related to the workplace. There were 192 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST that targeted Jewish organisations and companies, rising by 38 per cent from the 139 such incidents confirmed in 2018. This growth can largely be accounted for in the online reaction to Jewish leadership and information organisations issuing statements on social media regarding the alleged antisemitism in the Labour Party, or expressing concerns over what a Labour Party victory in the general election might mean for the UK's Jewish population. Many of the responses that were deemed antisemitic existed within the wider context of 'smear' accusations, spoke of conspiracies relating to disproportionate Jewish power, and attempted to delegitimise clear evidence of antisemitism and the experiences of those who have suffered it. Others specifically targeted the social media accounts of Jewish organisations, many of whom have no connection to Israel in their institutional mission or operation, demanding that they criticise and attack Israel as a counterpoint to their worries concerning antisemitism.

Not unrelated to this phenomenon is the rising number of incidents in which the victim was a prominent Jewish individual or public figure. In 2019, CST recorded 125 instances wherein antisemitic sentiment was aimed at a high-profile Jewish person, compared to 82 throughout 2018. This increase of 52 per cent, just as the significant increase in antisemitism targets at Jewish organisations, corresponds in no small part to the upsurge in social media activity reacting to major political events in the UK. These spikes within the year were specifically noted in the wake of the foundation of Change UK, that saw the problem of antisemitism prominently cited by MPs who left Labour for the new group, and in the prelude to and aftermath of the general election, all of which is set against the backdrop of the wider intertwined discourse concerning allegations of institutional antisemitism within the Labour Party. Jewish celebrities who engage in online discussion about these issues are also regularly subject to antisemitic abuse. If the prominent Jewish person being targeted is a woman, antisemitic sentiment is often accompanied by sexist abuse.

VICTIMS

where the age and gender are known

57%
of victims were **male**

37%
of victims were **female**

6%
of victims were **groups of males and females**

81%
of victims were **adults**

14%
of victims were **minors**

5%
of victims were **mixed age groups**

There were 44 antisemitic incidents recorded during 2019 that targeted synagogues (buildings, congregants and staff while on location), a drop of 33 per cent from the 66 incidents of this type recorded in 2018. An additional 32 incidents saw synagogue congregants or rabbis targeted on their way to or from prayer services, just over the 30 such incidents reported last year.

CST received a description of the victim or victims' gender in 893 of the 1,805 incidents recorded in 2019. Of these, 507 (57 per cent) were male; 333 (37 per cent) were female; in 53 incidents (six per cent) the victims were mixed groups of males and females.

The victim or victims' age was ascertained in 861 of the antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2019. Of these, 662 (77 per cent) involved adult victims; 121 (14 per cent) involved victims who were minors; 37 (four per cent) involved victims over the age of 65; in 41 instances (five per cent), mixed groups of adults and minors were targeted.

Working with victims of antisemitism

It is CST's mission to protect the UK's Jewish community. When a member of that community is subject to an antisemitic attack of any kind, it is part of CST's duty of care to support the victim through the wake of their experience, however that support looks. Often, it is a simple, understanding phone call that gives room to the victim to process their ordeal. Sometimes, it is the referral to another organisation that is better placed to help. On other occasions, CST will send someone to provide moral support to a victim in court, should their matter come to prosecution. This is a service that CST has been building over a number of years, and the following kind, much appreciated feedback, is a testament to the care and dedication of CST staff.

Feedback from Elizabeth

I am extremely pleased that CST exists as a service. They offer a critical service to the Jewish community and have been timely and incredibly helpful in assisting me in reporting antisemitic abuse online – directed towards the Jewish community and myself (not-Jewish). They are incredibly professional and I myself have benefited from and witnessed their dedication providing security at offline events such as Limmud. Without their services, I'm sure that not only myself but the Jewish community would worry a lot more about their safety. It's a sad sign of the times that such offline and online support is needed, however the reality is that it is and CST is helping to keep the Jewish community and its allies safe. Thank you for the great work that you do and the dedication of not just your staff, but your volunteers. When you're calling the helpline to make a report, you know that the person on the other end of the phone is 110% committed. Thank you. It's important that we all (whatever our faith or cultural background) are aware of and stand up against antisemitism – reporting antisemitic abuse wherever it is encountered. This helps to keep us all safe and to understand better the various forms of antisemitism and work against it as much as possible. By reporting, we're helping to keep the offline and online world safer, inform research and are taking a critical stand, saying *"no"* to antisemitism.

Feedback from Simon

CST has been an invaluable resource in mitigating antisemitism. Reporting content is simple, and responses to such reports, as well as other inquiries, are quick, clear and empathetic. There aren't many other organisations in the world that can offer such expeditious communication relating to hate speech, and I've found CST and its online team to be not only helpful when it comes to addressing bigotry on the web, but also crucial as a voice that allays concerns about such prejudice via guidance and support. In this manner, CST is remarkable and provides a much-needed service to the community.

INCIDENT OFFENDERS

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

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

CST received a description of the ethnic appearance of the offender or offenders in 560 of the 1,805 antisemitic incidents reported during 2019. Of these, 356 (64 per cent) were described as white – north European; 17 (three per cent) were described as white – south European; 73 (13 per cent) were described as black; 50 (nine per cent) were described as south Asian; just five (one per cent) were described as east or south-east Asian; finally, 59 (ten per cent) were described as Arab or north African. These proportions have fluctuated very little from 2018, and are broadly typical of a period without a significant trigger event from the Middle East.

A description of the gender of the offender or offenders was provided to CST in 952 (53 per cent) of the 1,805 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2019. Of these, the offenders were described as male in 783 incidents (82 per cent of incidents where the offender's gender was obtained), female in 150 incidents (16 per cent) and mixed groups of males and females in 19 incidents (two per cent).

From 836 of the 1,805 reports of antisemitism during 2019, the approximate age of the offender or offenders was obtained. Among these, 718 (86 per cent) involved adult offenders; in 115 cases (14 per cent) the perpetrators were minors; there were only three incidents (less than one per cent) in which the offenders were a mix of adults and minors. The most common single type of offender reported was a white, adult male.

PERPETRATORS: where the ethnicity was known

64%
described as White European

13%
described as Black

10%
described as Arab or north African

9%
described as south Asian

DISCOURSE, MOTIVES & IDEOLOGY

CST attempts to monitor the number of antisemitic incidents that take place in the UK each year behind which there is evidence of political, religious, or ideological discourse or motivation. CST now also monitors the number of instances where conspiracy-fuelled sentiments are present: stereotypical tropes about the Jewish people's power, influence, money, and exaggerating or inventing the tragedies of the Holocaust can be especially prevalent in online expressions of antisemitism. It is common for the same incident to combine two or more of these discourses, even if they would appear ideologically incompatible. Such seeming contradictions are entirely representative of the multifaceted nature of contemporary antisemitism. The historic, simplistic prejudices have been manipulated by such a vast array of social, religious, cultural and political factions, that a much more layered and complex landscape has emerged. It should be made clear that the use of political rhetoric and evidence of political motivation are not synonymous; for example, a person who shouts *"Heil Hitler"* at a Jewish passer-by might be motivated by far right extremist ideology, or they might simply know that this phrase will cause offence and upset to Jewish people.

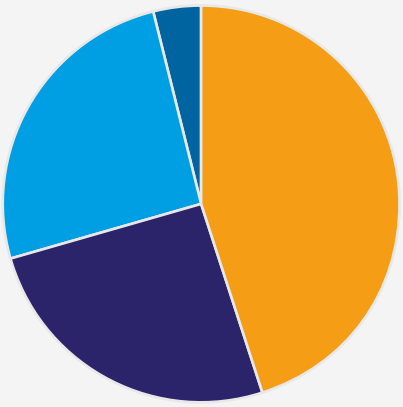
In 330 incidents – 18 per cent of the 1,805 incidents reported to CST in 2019 – the offender or offenders made reference to Hitler, the Nazis, the Holocaust, employed discourse based on the Nazi period, and/or punctuated their abuse with a Nazi salute or the depiction of a swastika. Of these, 126 were adjudged to contain evidence of far right political motivation, wherein alignment with far right extremist ideology or beliefs was expressed beyond the simple and superficial appropriation of Nazi-era references. Compare this with 2018, when 456 incidents employed allusions to Nazism and the Holocaust, of which 84 were classed as having far right motivation.

In 2019, there were 505 allusions to Israel, the Middle East or Zionism, used in antisemitic incidents recorded by CST, of which 63 directly compared or equated Israel with the Nazis. In 126 of these 505 incidents, there were explicit anti-Zionist or anti-Israel motivation or beliefs alongside the antisemitism (CST does not consider criticism of Israel or Zionism inherently antisemitic; all of the incidents recorded as such and included in this report have displayed antisemitic evidence within discourse condemning Israel or Zionism). On the one hand, there is a significant rise from the 254

antisemitic incidents using Israel or Zionism-related discourse in 2018, but on the other hand, a drop from the 173 of those that showed evidence of anti-Israel or anti-Zionist motivation. The rise in the use of discourse about Israel and Zionism in the expression of antisemitism may indicate the extent to which they are used as a vaguely Jewish-related discourse within which offenders attempt to conceal their contempt: the contention around the subject, the political nature of it and the difficulty in deciphering the line beyond which criticism slips into antisemitism, makes it a convenient vehicle for antisemitic thought. The contrasting fall in antisemitic incidents motivated by opposition to Israel or Zionism may be due to the lack of any significant trigger event emanating from the Middle East, in the way that a spike in such incidents was sparked in April and May 2018 as people responded to a flare up in violence on the border between Israel and Gaza.

An additional eight incidents contained discourse relating to Islam and Muslims, 21 fewer than in 2018, while 19 incidents showed evidence of Islamist ideology compared to 13 in 2018. In 39 incidents, another religious ideology was present. CST has also started to monitor antisemitic incidents that are related to or ideologically inspired by the UK's withdrawal from the European Union. A total of eight incidents fell into this category throughout 2019. While this is not, in isolation, a particularly high number given how prevalent Brexit has been as a topic of huge debate in media and social circles, it is impossible to separate the rise in antisemitic incidents from a wider pattern of

INCIDENT MOTIVES



224	Labour party-related
126	Far right
126	Anti-Zionist
19	Islamist

increased hate crime across the board since the result of the EU referendum. The questions that Brexit has asked of nationality, identity and immigration, alongside the political tumult and divide brought about since 2016, has contributed to an atmosphere in which those already predisposed to express their hatred of otherness may have felt enabled and invigorated to do so.

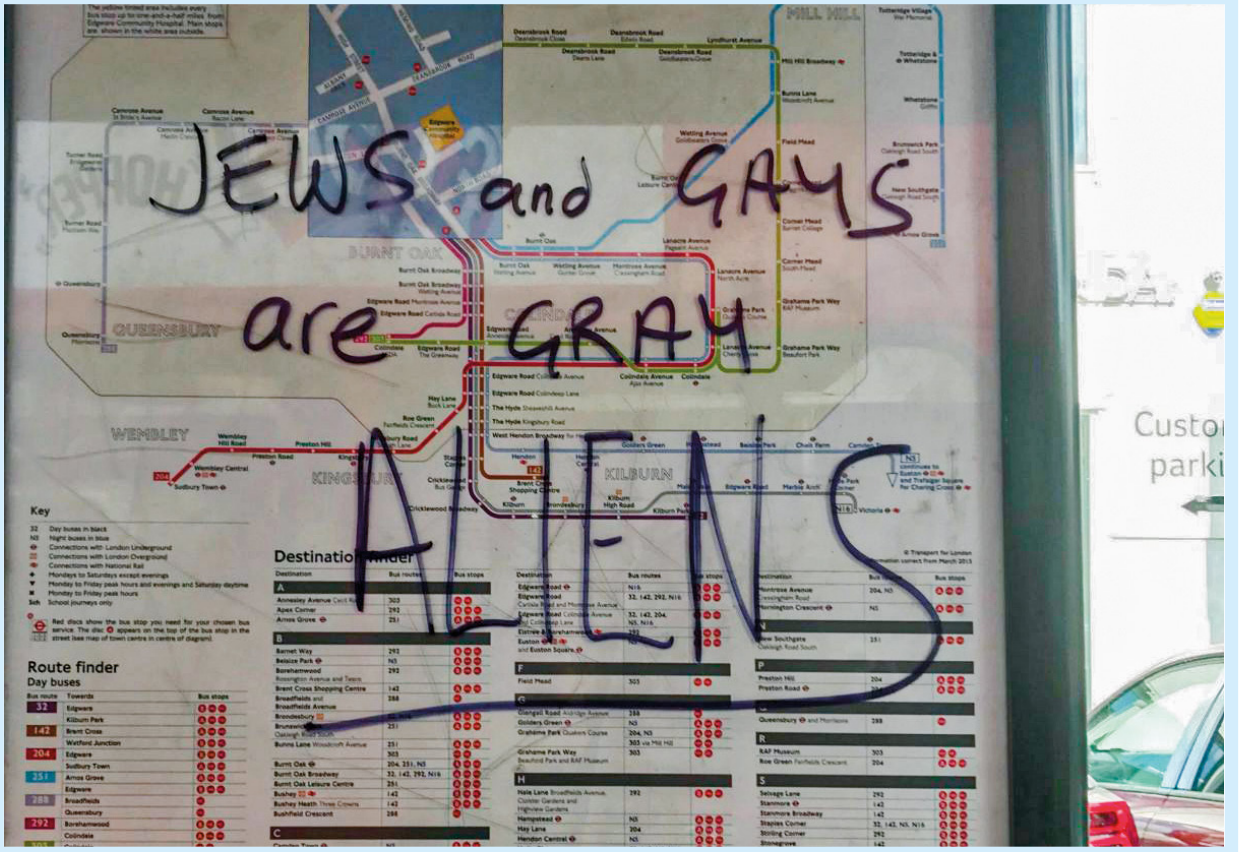
In 224 of the 1,805 cases of antisemitism reported to CST in 2019, the offender or offenders, and the abuse they expressed, were related to the Labour Party, or the incidents occurred in the context of arguments about alleged Labour Party antisemitism. This is an increase from the 148 incidents of this kind recorded in 2018.

While the 224 reported Labour Party-related incidents, contrasted with the number of recorded far right incidents (126), might suggest that antisemitism is now more prolific in left-wing circles than right-wing, this is not necessarily true. The nature of social media, and the space it gives for the expression of ideas, makes it the most common home of antisemitic incidents in which the above discourses and ideologies are identifiable. However, in the incidents reported to CST, antisemitism that emanates from the far left may be more easily identifiable as having an ideological basis, as it is frequently wrapped up in political discourse and explanation, and its purveyors, in the case of Labour Party-related incidents, regularly reveal their antisemitism in staunch defence of the party or its leadership. Antisemitism from far right sympathisers, in contrast, is usually more direct, vicious and knowingly insulting. A possible reason for this is that far right antisemitism is a more established, historic hatred, whereas antisemitism from the far left is less self-aware and more reactive. This notion is reflected in the fluctuations of Labour Party-related antisemitic incidents compared to the lack thereof in far right incidents during 2019. In the case of the former, the first three months of the year saw 71 incidents, 30 in the next three months, 60 in July through September, and 63 over the final quarter. These variations correlate to major events to which professed supporters of the Labour Party and its leadership were responding: the foundation of Change UK that saw the problem of antisemitism prominently cited by MPs who left Labour for the new group in February and March; the July airing of BBC's *Panorama* programme, which delved deep into the alleged antisemitism within the Labour Party; and in the prelude to and aftermath of December's general election. Meanwhile, CST recorded 36 far right incidents in the first quarter of 2019, 33 in the second, 30 in the third and 27 in the fourth. This relative stability points to an antisemitism that is less volatile and reactive.

A corollary of the more direct nastiness and violence that is traditionally found in examples of far right antisemitism is that the mainstream social media platforms are less accommodating of it. It has therefore found a host on fringe, gaming platforms which are dedicated to preserving freedom of speech by its most absolutist definition, and therefore have fewer to no hate speech rules to violate. By consequence of their relative obscurity, there are fewer Jewish people on these fringe websites exposed to it, and fewer potential reporters.

Something that unites antisemitic incidents that are ideologically aligned to both the far left and far right, and indeed across the spectrum of discourses and motivations explored in this chapter, is conspiracy theories. Conspiracy theories were present in 370 incidents recorded by CST in 2019, 20 per cent of the 1,805 reported, and more than any other individual brand of discourse. This conveys just how well these tropes are embedded across the social and political spectrum. Antisemitic conspiracy theories were apparent in much of the Labour Party-related incidents recorded on social media before and following the result of the general election. These tweets are examples of how stereotypes, propaganda and rhetoric that have been historically used and propagated by

Antisemitic graffiti in Camden, London, July



the far right have been adopted and accepted by some people who claim to support the Labour Party.

Three hundred and forty-two antisemitic incidents involved a combination of two or more of the above political and religious discourses and ideologies. This was only the case in 285 incidents in 2018. The fact that within a single incident there can be so many sources or examples of hatred indicates the layered and multifaceted make-up of contemporary antisemitism, that even many offenders are not clear on the basis for their often-confused prejudice. It also further shows how conventionally right-wing and left-wing antisemitism are converging and overlapping, with a single stream of hate containing conflicting rhetoric and ideas. The increase in this kind of discourse exemplifies the growing difficulty in establishing and analysing how, where and why antisemitic feeling – and subsequently action – takes place.

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS

Of the 1,805 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2019, 1,170 occurred across the regions of Greater London and Greater Manchester; the UK cities where the largest Jewish populations reside.

In the former, 947 incidents were reported to have occurred, marking a fall of three incidents from the 950 London incidents recorded in 2018. The latter's total of 223 is a fall of 11 per cent from the 251 incidents that took place in the Greater Manchester area last year.

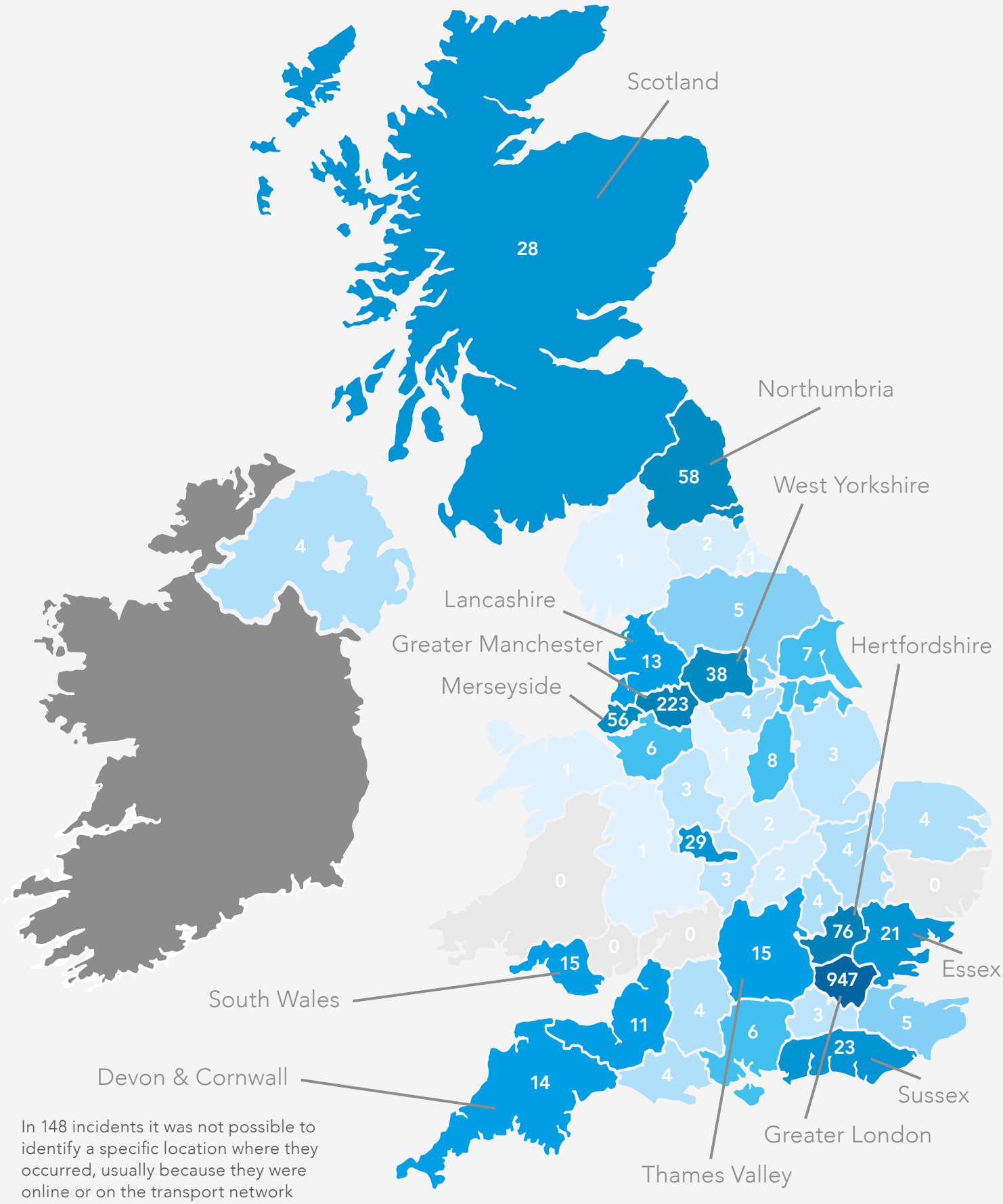
CST recorded at least one antisemitic incident in every single one of the 33 Metropolitan Police boroughs of London. Of the 947 incidents recorded across Greater London in 2019, 327 occurred in Barnet, the local authority with the largest Jewish population in the country; 105 took place in Westminster, the highest ever annual total recorded for this borough, which is likely to reflect the escalation of the abuse to which Jewish politicians were subjected. There were 99 instances of antisemitism recorded in Hackney, 64 in Camden, 30 in Haringey and 29 in Harrow. Finally, 81 are known to have transpired in London, although the exact whereabouts remains unidentified. These are almost exclusively online incidents, and it was not feasible to discern a more specific location.

Of Greater Manchester's 223 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2019, 73 happened in Bury, 68 in Salford, 39 in the City of Manchester, 12 in Bolton, nine in Stockport, and five in Trafford. Of all the police regions in which ten or more antisemitic incidents were reported throughout 2019, only Northumbria saw a higher proportion of assaults than Greater Manchester: eight of the 58 Northumbria incidents fell into this category, while 29 of the 223 Greater Manchester incidents were direct physical attacks.

Allowing for rough generalisations, it may be the case that antisemitic incidents in the northern regions are more likely to involve random, spontaneous acts of racism in public, whereas a higher proportion of those recorded in London are ideologically or politically motivated, aimed at Jewish organisations, leadership and public figures, many of whom are based in the capital. To illustrate this, 102 of Greater Manchester's 223 antisemitic incidents, or 46 per cent, targeted individual Jews in public, compared to 251 of the 947 incidents recorded in Greater London, or 27 per cent. Conversely, 212 of Greater London's tally, or 22 per cent, were cases that targeted Jewish organisations or public figures, whereas the 23 examples of this happening in Greater Manchester constitute just ten per cent of the region's annual total.

An additional quirk is the decrease in the proportional contribution of these hubs of Jewish life to the UK's recorded antisemitic figures for 2019. In 2018, Greater London and Greater Manchester's combined total of 1,180 incidents comprised 70 per cent of the UK's reported total. Conversely, the 1,170 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2019 in these two centres form 65 per cent of that year's total of 1,805. A possible factor in this is the increasing use of online forums as a medium for sharing antisemitic feelings and hatred. The accessibility of social media in particular has granted a wider demographic the opportunity to vent their prejudice, where the chances of it being both seen and reported are potentially higher than more localised incidents that may rely on geographical proximity to Jewish communities in order to realise their intended impact. This may explain why there have been significant regional increases from 2018 in areas with a historically much lower Jewish presence. Just as in 2018, antisemitic incidents were observed in all bar two of the country's police service regions – Gloucestershire and Suffolk the exceptions in 2019. Whereas in 2018 there were 510 incidents recorded outside of Greater London and Greater Manchester, 635 were recorded outside these areas in 2019, signalling

INCIDENT LOCATIONS



In 148 incidents it was not possible to identify a specific location where they occurred, usually because they were online or on the transport network

an increase of 25 per cent. This also means that incidents reported to CST outside of Greater London and Greater Manchester form 35 per cent of the annual total, compared to 30 per cent in 2018. Of the remaining regions, those that contributed most to the record annual total of antisemitic incidents are Hertfordshire (rising from 56 to 76 incidents between 2018 and 2019, ten of which occurred online), Northumbria (from 41 to 58 incidents, six of which occurred online) and, most significantly, in Merseyside (from 21 to 56 incidents, 28 of which occurred online). Noteworthy growth in antisemitic incidents was also found in West Yorkshire (from 33 cases in 2018 to 38 in 2019), Scotland (from 21 to 28), the West Midlands (from 12 to 29), and Wales (from two to 16). CST endeavours to establish a firm location of every reported online incident, whether that of the victim or offender. However, in some cases, there is simply not enough information from which to decipher where the antisemitism has been either received or perpetrated. In this event, CST records the incident location as 'Online – Unknown'. In 2019, CST had to record 110 incidents in this way, compared to just 58 in 2018. The sharp increase in such incidents may also have contributed to the dilution of Greater London and Manchester's proportional representation in the final reckoning.

Within these statistics are incidents that occurred on public transport, and therefore fall under the jurisdiction of the British Transport Police. In 2019, 60 antisemitic incidents took place on public transport that were reported to CST. Thirty-four of these were perpetrated on a London bus, 11 on the London Underground, and 15 on other transport around the country.

It is also possible that these increases reflect CST's ongoing and deepening relationship with police forces around the UK, which includes the exchange of anonymised antisemitic incident reports under a national data sharing agreement. It is not, however, a statistically consistent process, as the numbers of incidents directly reported to police, recorded as hate crimes by police and then shared with CST can vary throughout the year and by police region. These variations can occur for technical, logistical or resource-related reasons, and may be partly responsible for the apparently anomalous fall in the number of incidents recorded by CST in Greater Manchester and Greater London, when compared with trends for the UK as a whole.

Antisemitic graffiti in Lanarkshire, November

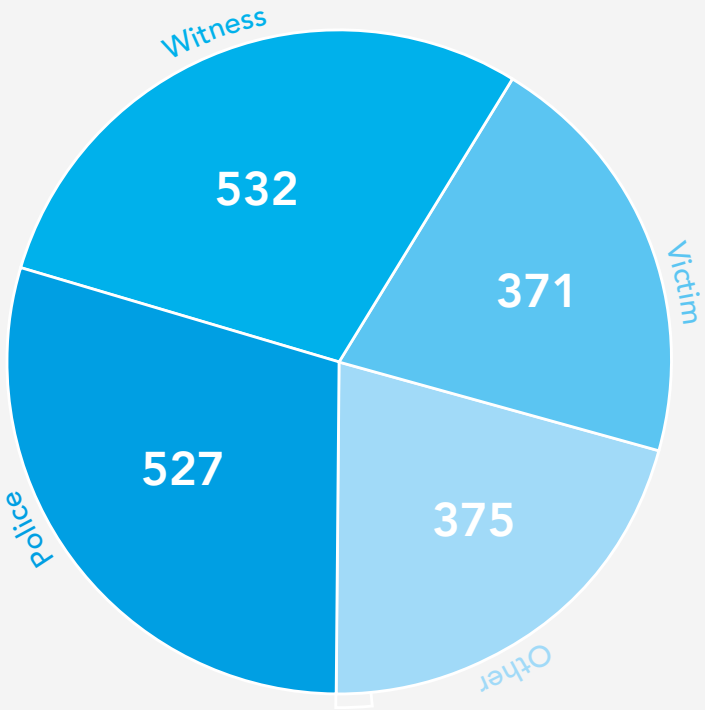
REPORTING OF INCIDENTS

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

This collaboration has proved increasingly valuable. In 2019, 527 of the 1,805 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST were reported to CST by the Police. This comprises 29 per cent of the total number of incidents recorded by CST. Of these 527 reports, 379 came courtesy of the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), 89 via Greater Manchester Police (GMP), and 59 from other police services around the UK. The 23 antisemitic incidents reported by Merseyside Police, and the 20 reported by Northumbria Police – 73 per cent of all incidents reported by police services outside the MPS and GMP – is a credit to the burgeoning relationship between CST and the Police in those areas.

In 2019, 532 of the 1,805 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST were reported by somebody who had witnessed the incident take place or seen antisemitic content online or exhibited in a public space, whereas 371 incidents were reported directly to CST by the victims themselves. In 87 cases, a friend or relative of the victim related details of the incident. In 192 instances, CST staff reported antisemitism. This sizeable figure is, once again, largely owing to the upswing in online incidents in which CST itself has been tagged by the perpetrator. Indeed, CST has hired a full-time social media caseworker specifically to monitor this kind of incidents and respond promptly to reporters. On 53 occasions, security guards or officers at Jewish premises reported antisemitic events, and 30 incidents came to CST's attention via a media report.

WHO REPORTED THE INCIDENT



INFORMATION COLLECTION AND SUSPICIOUS BEHAVIOUR

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

The recent tragic history of antisemitic terrorism against Jewish schools, synagogues, shops, museums and other buildings in Pittsburgh, Halle, San Diego, Copenhagen, Paris, Brussels, Toulouse, Kansas City, Mumbai and elsewhere attests to the importance of this work. Jewish communities have long been the targets of terrorists of different and varied political and religious motivations. Since the late 1960s, there have been over 400 terrorist attacks, attempted attacks and foiled terrorist plots against Diaspora Jewish communities and Israeli targets outside Israel.[9] In the UK, several terrorist plots targeting Jewish communities came to trial or were publicised via the media in recent years. It is well known that terrorist actors often collect information about their targets before launching an attack: identifying and preventing the gathering of this kind of information is an integral part of CST's work in protecting the UK Jewish community from terrorism. In order to be effective in keeping the public safe, CST relies on information from the public as well as CST's own volunteers and from commercial guards, and CST encourages the Jewish community to report any suspicious activity to CST, as well as to the Police.

CST works closely with the Police to gather, record and investigate incidents of information collection and suspicious behaviour. CST does this in order to keep the Jewish community safe and allow it to carry on as normal. Cases of potential information collection and suspicious behaviour are not included in CST's antisemitic incident statistics, as the motivation for many of them is not possible to determine and many may have innocent explanations. The vague and uncertain nature of many of these incidents means that they are easier to analyse if the two categories are combined, rather than treated separately. Taken together, there were 260 such incidents reported to CST in 2019, compared to the 265 incidents of this type reported to CST in 2018. Of the 260 incidents of potential information collection and suspicious behaviour reported to CST in 2019, 59 involved the photography or videoing of Jewish buildings, while in 27 cases suspicious people tried to gain entry to Jewish premises. Neither CST nor the Police underestimate the threat posed to Jewish communities by various terrorist organisations and networks. Identifying and preventing the potential hostile reconnaissance of Jewish buildings or other potential terrorist targets is an important part of reducing the possibility of future terrorist attacks and is integral to the work of CST.

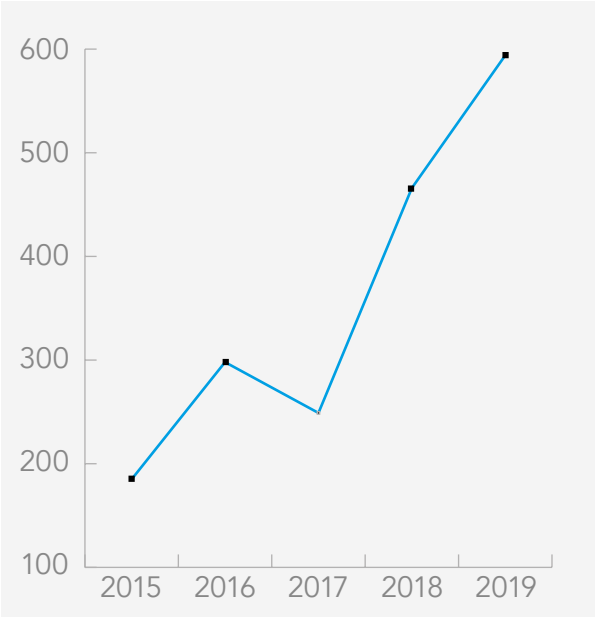
Suspicious package reported to CST

9 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

ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Incidents of online antisemitism, particularly on social media, were the single largest contributor to the overall record incident total in 2019. CST logged 697 online incidents in 2019, constituting 39 per cent of the annual total, compared to 466 such incidents in 2018 (28 per cent of that year's total). These incidents are made up mostly of incidents of Abusive Behaviour, but also include online threats and website hacking. Of the 697 online incidents recorded in 2019, 594 took place on social media platforms, an increase of 55 per cent from the 384 such incidents in 2018. In 2017, CST recorded 249 antisemitic incidents on social media, 289 in 2016, and 185 in 2015.

The significant rise in reported social media antisemitism may be linked to the influence of political extremism or arguments over antisemitism in mainstream politics. On these freely available, online forums, there is room to express and explain ideas, both simple and nuanced, and publicly react to breaking news stories within moments. For this reason, it is often the antisemitic incidents recorded on virtual platforms that show evidence of a specific discourse, motivation or ideology. The vast spectrum of these, covered in the previous section of this report, is represented in antisemitic tweets reported to CST over the course of 2019.



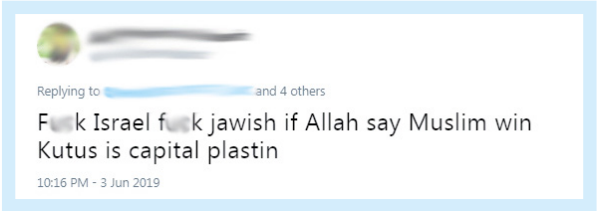
This includes far right ideology, present in 126 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2019:

- Discourse making reference to Hitler, the Nazi regime or the Holocaust, evident in 330 incidents:

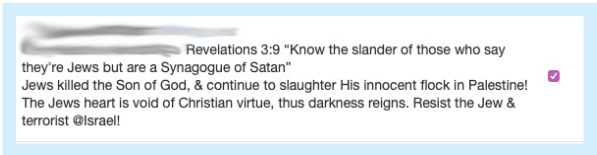
- The equation of Israel with the Nazis, a trope observed in 63 incidents:

- Labour Party-related ideas, detected in 224 incidents:

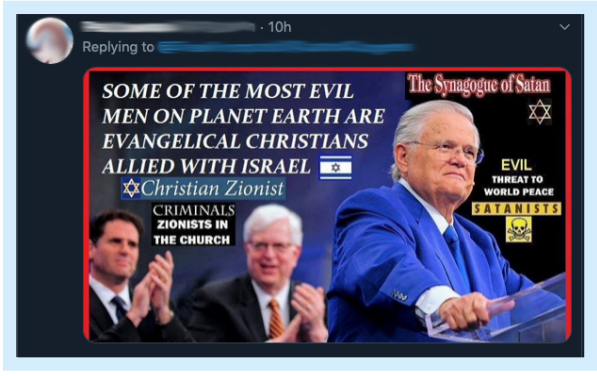
- Islamist rhetoric, present in 19 incidents:



- Other religious ideologies, evident in 39 incidents:



- Conspiracy theories, present in 370 incidents, more than any other individual brand of discourse:



The fact that 342 antisemitic incidents involved a combination of two or more of the above political and religious discourses and ideologies demonstrates the multifaceted nature of contemporary antisemitism, and the diversity of rhetoric and perception that fuels modern-day prejudice. This convergence and confusion of ideas is indeed present in some of these screenshots.

It is difficult to assess whether the increase in online incidents in 2019 reflects a genuine rise in the amount of antisemitic expressions online, or an increase in the reporting of online antisemitism to CST, facilitated by the relative ease of tagging CST in a thread or post. The truth is likely to lie somewhere in the middle. CST does not proactively trawl for antisemitic incidents on social media, but only records them if they are reported to CST by a victim or witness, and if it can be shown that either the victim or the offender is based in the United Kingdom. In addition, if, for example, a high-profile Jewish individual is subjected to a concentrated campaign of antisemitic abuse and harassment involving hundreds or thousands of antisemitic tweets, CST will record this campaign as a single incident, rather than logging each individual tweet as a separate incident; to do otherwise would be impractical and would render CST's overall incident statistics unintelligible. This all means that the number of social media incidents recorded in this report is only indicative, rather than being a guide to the actual number of antisemitic tweets, comments and posts in the United Kingdom in 2019, which is certain to be far higher.

ANTISEMITISM ON SOCIAL MEDIA BY PLATFORM

Twitter
458

Facebook
89

Other
36

YouTube
11

ANNUAL ANTISEMITIC INCIDENT FIGURES

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

Antisemitic incident figures by category, 2008–2019

Category	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Extreme Violence	1	3	0	2	2	0	1	4	0	0	2	1
Assault	87	121	115	93	67	69	80	83	109	149	124	157
Damage and Desecration	76	89	83	64	53	49	81	65	81	93	79	88
Threats	28	45	32	30	39	38	91	79	107	98	108	98
Abusive Behaviour	317	611	391	413	477	374	899	717	1,059	1,065	1,334	1,443
Literature	37	62	25	7	12	5	30	12	19	15	43	18
TOTAL	546	931	646	609	650	535	1,182	960	1,375	1,420	1,690	1,805

Antisemitic incident figures by month, 2008–2019

Month	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
January	44	289	30	45	39	33	53	109	81	155	110	119
February	52	114	48	54	52	38	43	88	69	135	120	182
March	40	73	54	49	75	23	39	83	82	111	120	171
April	39	52	61	45	48	44	58	75	105	143	153	147
May	62	52	50	58	44	48	51	60	140	121	182	150
June	40	49	82	43	54	37	66	86	131	125	134	141
July	52	46	63	43	59	59	317	87	131	113	133	167
August	20	40	47	37	42	48	229	72	123	114	158	144
September	47	87	83	73	60	54	105	76	118	113	156	119
October	58	45	52	52	60	67	87	61	112	110	146	131
November	45	54	48	53	83	40	78	79	135	94	146	150
December	47	30	28	57	34	44	56	84	148	86	132	184
TOTAL	546	931	646	609	650	535	1,182	960	1,375	1,420	1,690	1,805

Antisemitic incident figures, full breakdown, 2019

Month / Category	Extreme Violence	Assault	Damage and Desecration	Threats	Abusive Behaviour	Literature	MONTH TOTAL
January	0	8	7	4	97	3	119
February	0	14	8	11	149	0	182
March	0	16	4	14	137	0	171
April	0	11	5	6	121	4	147
May	0	19	8	7	115	1	150
June	0	17	7	7	108	2	141
July	0	14	5	11	133	4	167
August	0	13	2	7	122	0	144
September	1	9	6	9	93	1	119
October	0	16	12	8	95	0	131
November	0	7	12	6	124	1	150
December	0	13	12	8	149	2	184
CATEGORY TOTAL	1	157	88	98	1,443	18	1,805

Graffiti daubed in Liverpool, April

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.

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