



## ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS REPORT 2011



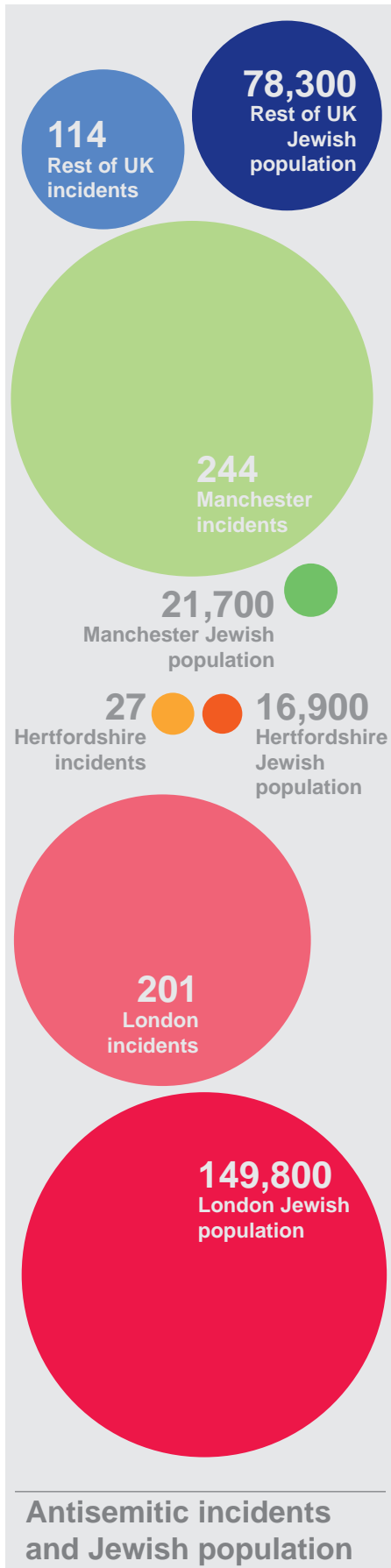


**Antisemitic graffiti on a Jewish-owned house in Liverpool, October 2011**

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## Executive summary

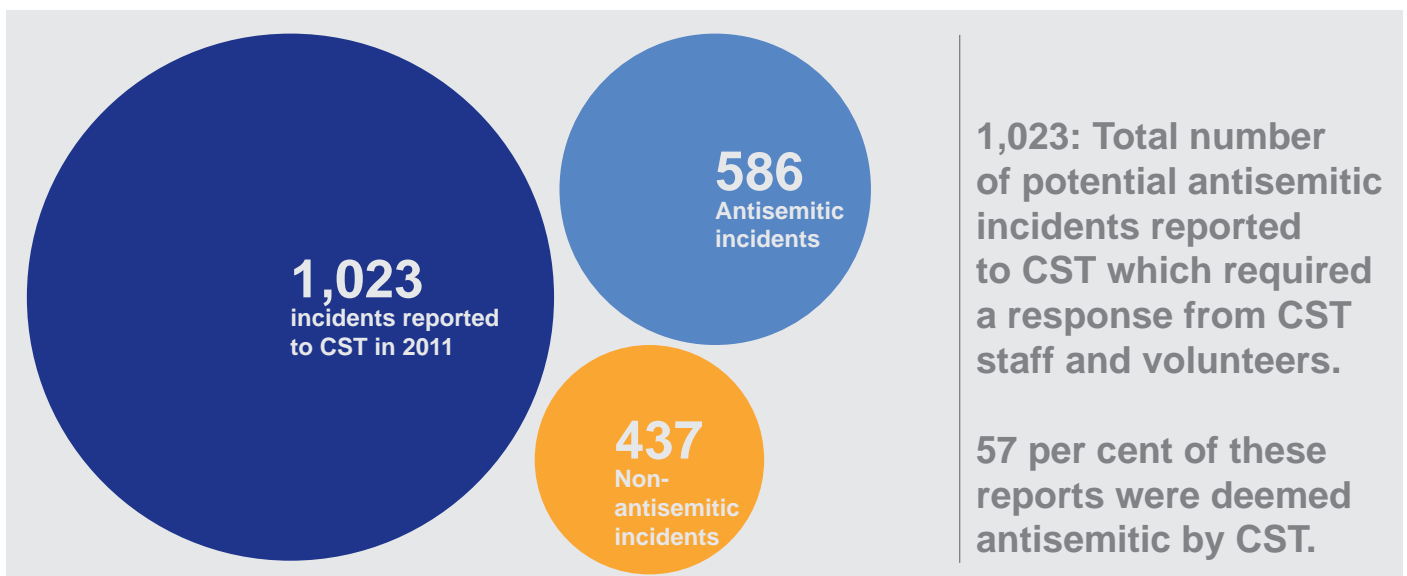


Population statistics provided by the Board of Deputies of British Jews

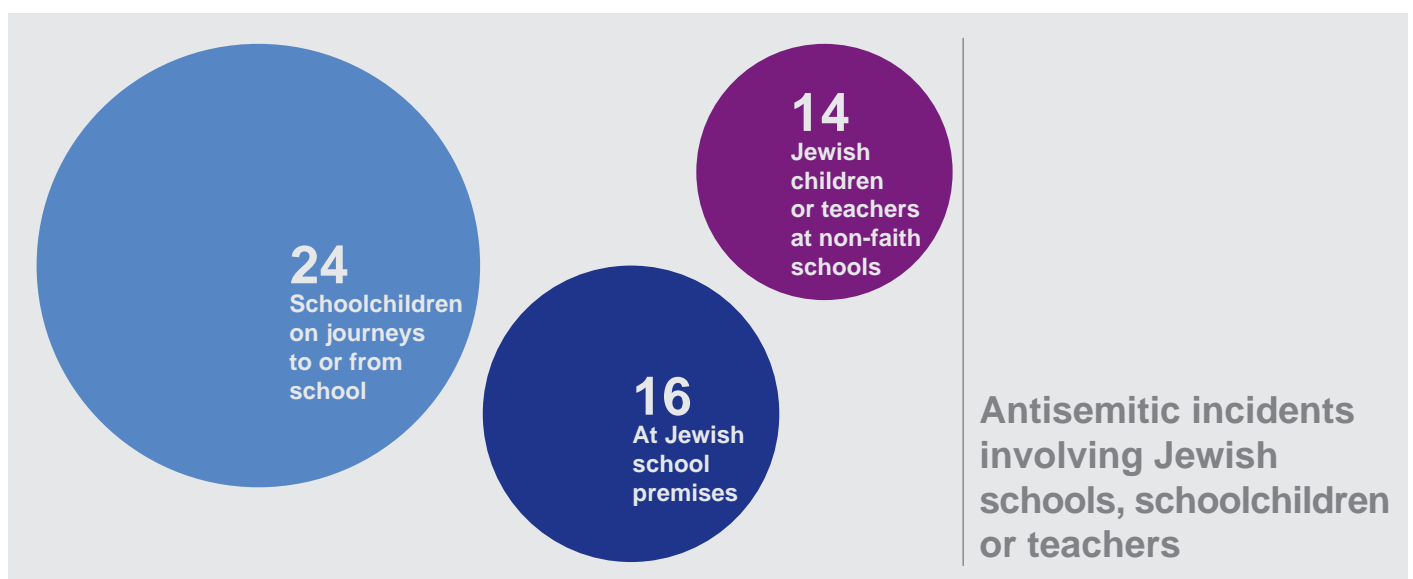
- 586 antisemitic incidents were recorded by CST in 2011. This is the second successive year in which the number of recorded incidents has fallen, from the record high of 929<sup>1</sup> antisemitic incidents in 2009.
- There were 92 violent antisemitic assaults in 2011, a fall of 19 per cent from the 114 violent assaults in 2010. This is the lowest number of violent antisemitic assaults reported to CST since 2008, when 88 assaults were recorded.
- The total of 586 incidents is a decrease of 9 per cent from the 2010 total of 645 incidents, which is the second-highest annual total on record. The 2011 total of 586 incidents is the fourth-highest total on record, and the lowest since 2008, when 546 antisemitic incidents were reported to CST.
- The 92 violent antisemitic incidents included one incident categorised as Extreme Violence, meaning that it involved grievous bodily harm (GBH) or a threat to life. CST recorded no incidents of Extreme Violence in 2010, and three in 2009.
- Incidents of Damage and Desecration to Jewish property fell by 24 per cent, from 83 incidents in 2010 to 63 incidents in 2011. This is the lowest number of incidents recorded by CST in this category since 2005, when 48 such incidents were recorded.
- There were 394 incidents of Abusive Behaviour reported to CST in 2011, three more than the 391 incidents recorded in this category in 2010. This category includes verbal abuse, hate mail and antisemitic graffiti on non-Jewish property.
- There were 29 incidents reported to CST in the category of Threats, which includes direct threats to people or property, rather than more general abuse. This is a fall of 9 per cent from the 32 incidents reported to CST in 2010.
- In previous years, antisemitic incident totals have 'spiked' due to antisemitic reactions to 'trigger events', often involving Israel. The fall in the number of antisemitic incidents reported to CST for the second consecutive year reflects the relative lack of trigger events of any kind during 2011.
- September saw the highest monthly total in 2011, with 72 antisemitic incidents reported to CST. This is partly explained by the high numbers of visibly Jewish people in public during the Jewish New Year festival of Rosh Hashanah, rather than by any particular trigger event: Eighteen of these 72 incidents took place on the three days of the month covering Rosh Hashanah.

<sup>1</sup> The incident totals in this report may differ from those previously published by CST, due to the late reporting of incidents to CST by incident victims and witnesses.

- There were 8 incidents recorded in the category of Literature in 2011, which covers mass-produced antisemitic mailings and emails, rather than individual hate mail. This is a fall of 68 per cent from the 25 incidents of this type recorded in 2010, which was itself a 60 per cent fall from the 62 incidents in this category in 2009 (an unusually high total due to a series of hostile or abusive emails sent to one victim, probably by a single perpetrator). The 8 incidents recorded in this category in 2011 is the lowest total for over a decade.
- The most common single type of incident in 2011 involved verbal abuse randomly directed at visibly Jewish people in public. In 300 incidents, the victims were ordinary Jewish people, male or female, attacked or abused while going about their daily business in public places (304 in 2010). In 170 of these incidents, the victims were visibly Jewish, usually due to their religious or traditional clothing, school uniform or jewellery bearing Jewish symbols (155 in 2010).
- 46 antisemitic incidents targeted synagogues, and a further 38 incidents targeted synagogue congregants on their way to or from prayers, compared to 59 and 52 incidents respectively in 2010.
- In 68 incidents, the victims were Jewish community organisations, communal events, community leaders or other high-profile individuals, compared to 92 incidents in 2010.
- In 27 incidents, the victims were Jewish students, academics or other student bodies, a 39 per cent fall from the 44 campus-related incidents recorded in 2010. This is the lowest number of student-related incidents reported to CST since 2006, when 18 incidents of this type were recorded. Of the 27 incidents recorded in 2011, 17 took place on campus, three of which involved physical assaults, and there were 10 incidents which affected students off campus.
- 54 incidents targeted Jewish schools, schoolchildren or teachers in 2011, compared to 58 incidents relating to schools and schoolchildren recorded in 2010. Of the 54 incidents in 2011, 24 targeted Jewish schoolchildren on their journeys to or from school; 16 took place at the premises of Jewish faith schools; and 14 involved Jewish children or teachers at non-faith schools.



- There were 176 antisemitic incidents which showed far right, anti-Zionist or Islamist motivation in 2011, making up 30 per cent of the overall total of 586 antisemitic incidents, compared to 234 incidents showing such motivations (37 per cent) in 2010. Of the 176 antisemitic incidents in 2011 showing ideological motivation as well as antisemitism, 101 showed far right motivation; 59 showed anti-Zionist motivation; and 16 showed Islamist motivation.
- CST received a physical description of the incident perpetrator in 218, or 37 per cent, of the 586 antisemitic incidents during 2011. Of these, 111 (51 per cent) were described as 'white – north European'; 21 (10 per cent) were described as 'white – south European'; 11 (5 per cent) were described as 'black'; 59 (27 per cent) were described as 'south Asian'; and 16 (7 per cent) were described as 'Arab or north African'.
- There is no clear correlation between the ethnicity of incident perpetrators and the antisemitic language they use; contemporary antisemitic incident perpetrators will select from a range of Jewish-related subjects, such as insults related to the Holocaust or Israel, for language or imagery with which to abuse, insult or threaten their Jewish victims.
- Of the 586 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST, 201 took place in Greater London, compared to 221 incidents in London in 2010 and 460 in 2009; 244 incidents took place in Greater Manchester, compared to 216 incidents in Manchester in 2010 and 206 in 2009; and 141 incidents were reported to CST from 51 other locations around the country. This is the first year that CST has recorded more antisemitic incidents in Greater Manchester than in Greater London, and continues the pattern whereby a higher proportion of the antisemitic incidents reported to CST occur in Greater Manchester than should be the case, given the relative sizes of the Jewish communities in Manchester and in London.
- 371 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2011 (63 per cent of the total) showed evidence of being 'mission' incidents, whereby the incident perpetrators instigated contact with a person, organisation or property they believed to be Jewish, in order to express their antisemitism.
- In addition to the 586 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2011, a further 437 reports of potential incidents were received by CST but not included in the total number of antisemitic incidents as there was no evidence of antisemitic motivation, targeting or content.
- The 437 potential incidents reported to CST that were not included in the annual total



included 158 cases of potential Information Collection and Suspicious Behaviour at Jewish locations. These included 43 incidents of photography or videoing of Jewish buildings, while in 24 cases suspicious people tried to gain entry to Jewish premises. These are not categorised as antisemitic by CST as it is often not possible to determine their motivation and many are likely to have innocent explanations. However, identifying and preventing the potential hostile reconnaissance of Jewish buildings or other potential terrorist targets is an important part of reducing the possibility of future terrorist attacks.

- In total, there were 1,023 incidents, including antisemitic incidents and those of a non-antisemitic security-related nature, which required a response from CST staff and volunteers during 2011.



**Desecration  
of a Jewish cemetery  
in London, August 2011**

# Introduction

## **CST**

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 Police as a 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.

## **Reporting of incidents**

CST classifies as an antisemitic incident 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. Incidents can take several forms, including physical attacks on people or property, verbal or written abuse, or antisemitic leaflets and posters. CST does not include the general activities of antisemitic organisations in its statistics; nor does it include activities such as offensive placards or massed antisemitic chanting on political demonstrations. CST does not record as incidents antisemitic material that is permanently hosted on internet websites, but CST will record antisemitic comments reported to CST that have been posted on blogs or internet forums, or transmitted via social media, if they show evidence of antisemitic content, motivation or targeting.

Antisemitic incidents are reported to CST in a number of ways, most commonly by telephone, email, via the CST website or by post. In the past three years, supported by grants from the Ministry of Justice Victim and Witness General Fund (formerly run by the Home Office), CST has conducted advertising campaigns to encourage incident reporting in areas of London and Manchester with significant Jewish communities. In 2011, a grant from the Ministry



of Justice enabled CST to develop and launch an incident reporting facility for internet-enabled mobile phones. CST staff have also undergone specialist training from the Victim Support charity, in order to provide the best possible response to incident victims and witnesses who contact CST.

Incidents can be reported by the victim or by someone acting on their behalf. In 2001 CST was accorded third-party reporting status by the Police, which allows CST to report antisemitic incidents to the Police and to act as a go-between for victims who are unable or unwilling to report to the Police directly. CST works closely with Police services and specialist units in monitoring and investigating antisemitic incidents.

Not all antisemitic incidents will be reported to CST, and therefore the true figures will be higher than those recorded. No adjustments have been made to the figures to account for this. It is likely that this non-reporting also varies from category to category; for instance, while most serious antisemitic assaults are probably reported to CST, it is likely that the vast majority of cases of verbal abuse are not. All reports of incidents are investigated thoroughly before being included in CST's incident statistics. If there is no evidence of antisemitic motivation, language or targeting in a particular incident, then it will not be included in the annual total. In 2011 CST received 437 reports of potential incidents that were rejected for this reason, and are not included in the total number of antisemitic incidents. These represent 43 per cent of the potential incidents reported to CST and mostly involved criminal damage to, or theft from, Jewish property; assaults on or theft from Jewish people; suspicious activity or potential information-gathering around Jewish locations; or anti-Israel activity which does not use antisemitic language or imagery and is directed at pro-Israel campaigners, rather than simply Jewish people, buildings or organisations chosen at random.

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

# Antisemitic incidents in the United Kingdom in 2011

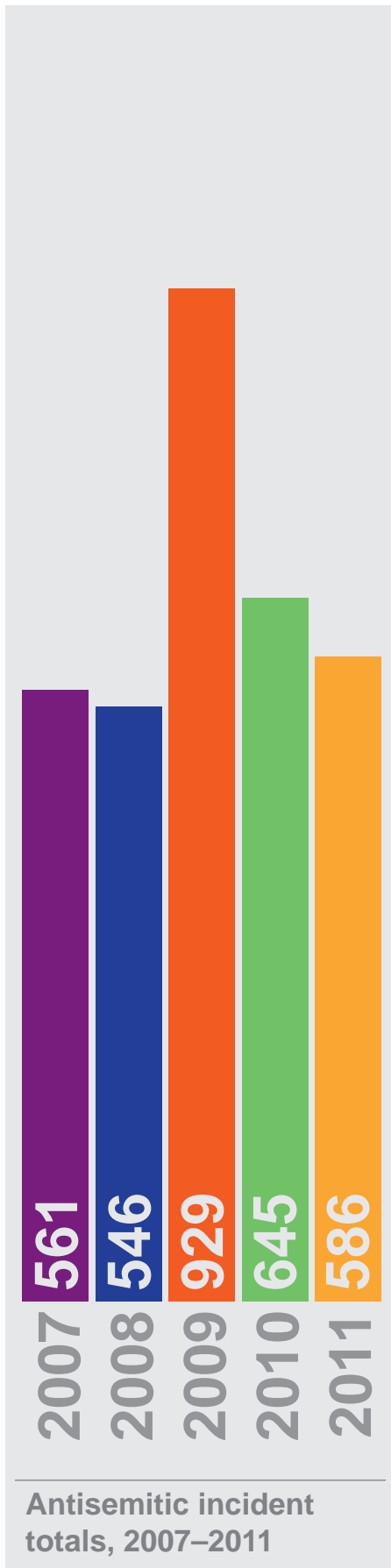
CST recorded 586 antisemitic incidents in the UK in 2011. This represents a 9 per cent fall from the 2010 total of 645<sup>2</sup> incidents and is the second year in a row that the annual total of antisemitic incidents recorded by CST has fallen, from the record high of 929 antisemitic incidents in 2009. The 586 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2011 is the lowest annual total since 2008, when 546 incidents were recorded.

## Contexts and influences

Antisemitic incidents in the UK often rise temporarily, or 'spike', in response to 'trigger events', normally related to Israel or the wider Middle East. The record high total in 2009 was triggered by antisemitic reactions in the UK to the conflict in Gaza that year between Israel and Hamas. The previous record high of 598 incidents, in 2006, reflected responses to the second Lebanon war in 2006. Other past trigger events include the Iraq war in 2003; the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001; and the outbreak of the Second Intifada in 2000. Not all of these trigger events involved Israel, or Jews, but the absence of any such trigger event in 2011 is the biggest single factor that explains the fall in the incident total. By comparison, 2010 saw one trigger event, when Israeli forces boarded a flotilla of ships bearing pro-Palestinian activists who were trying to break the Israeli naval blockade of Gaza. Nine activists were killed during the subsequent onboard clashes. This triggered a monthly total of 81 antisemitic incidents in the UK in June 2010, of which 32 occurred during the week following the trigger event.

Antisemitic incidents happen in a variety of contexts, with a wide range of perpetrators, victims and motives, which fluctuate from year to year and location to location. As a result, the national 'headline' picture can sometimes obscure these independent or localised patterns and trends. For example, as described above, antisemitic reactions to the flotilla trigger event in June 2010 contributed to a monthly total of 81 incidents, compared to 49 in June 2009, thereby having an inflationary impact on the annual total for 2010. On the other hand, the 2011 annual total was affected by joint efforts by CST and Greater Manchester Police to improve incident reporting in Manchester (described in greater detail in "Geographical locations and differences" on page 26). This contributed to 28 more incidents being recorded by CST in Greater Manchester in 2011 than in 2010. While neither of these factors greatly affected the underlying trend (removing both from the 2010 and 2011 totals still leaves a 9 per cent fall from one year to the next), they are part of the overall picture of antisemitic incidents in the UK which this report will describe.

In addition, single clusters of incidents can have a noticeable impact on incident figures. For example, there were 19 antisemitic assaults



<sup>2</sup> This is a higher number than the 639 incidents cited in CST's *Antisemitic Incidents Report 2010*, as it includes incidents reported to CST after the publication of that report. Similar 'late' incidents have also been taken into account for previous years. As well as affecting the annual totals, these adjustments mean that some of the monthly and category figures for these years cited in this report differ from previously published data.

recorded by CST in December 2011, almost double the second-highest monthly total for assaults during the year (10, in April). All but three of the 19 assaults in December were recorded in the London borough of Barnet, and formed a series of incidents involving eggs being thrown at visibly Jewish people from a passing car on consecutive Friday nights, sometimes accompanied by verbal abuse, and carried out by a single group of perpetrators.

Despite the correlation between trigger events overseas and antisemitic incident levels in the UK, it would be a mistake to assume that this alone explains why antisemitic incidents happen. The month in 2011 that showed the highest total of antisemitic incidents was September, with 72 incidents. This was mainly because of the high number of visibly Jewish people in public during the Jewish New Year festival of Rosh Hashanah. Of the 72 antisemitic incidents recorded in September 2011, 18 – exactly a quarter – occurred on the last three days of the month, when Rosh Hashanah took place. This period also sees an increased CST and Police presence in Jewish communities, which in turn makes it easier for victims of antisemitism to report incidents.

### **Long-term trends**

While the decline in incident numbers over the past two years is very welcome, the 2011 total of 586 antisemitic incidents is still significantly higher than the annual totals recorded by CST a decade ago. The incident data collected by CST since 1984 suggest that it normally takes at least two years without any trigger events for antisemitic incident numbers recorded by CST to return to their 'pre-trigger' levels. When trigger events have occurred more frequently, the successive spikes in antisemitic incidents have led to a gradual, long-term increase in the baseline level of antisemitic incidents recorded in the UK, which is what has occurred since the late 1990s. This factor is particularly noticeable in London, where incident totals correlate to the national totals more than anywhere else.

As well as the impact of repeated spikes in incident levels caused by trigger events, the long-term increase in the number of antisemitic incidents reported to CST is also a result of better awareness in the Jewish community of CST's work, and a consequent improvement in the rates of reporting antisemitic incidents to CST by Jewish communities around the UK. For example, the year-on-year increase in antisemitic incidents reported to CST in Greater Manchester is explained by a combination of a genuine rise in the number of incidents affecting a growing and increasingly visible Jewish community in Salford and Bury; increased reporting of those incidents to CST; and a close partnership and information exchange between CST and Greater Manchester Police. This is part of CST's ongoing efforts nationally to encourage better reporting of antisemitic incidents by members of the Jewish community.



## Incident categories

CST classifies antisemitic incidents by six distinct categories: Extreme Violence; Assault; Damage and Desecration of Property; Threats; Abusive Behaviour; Antisemitic Literature. The definitions of these categories, and examples of the incidents that occurred in each one in 2011, are given below.<sup>3</sup>

### Extreme Violence

Incidents of Extreme Violence include any attack potentially causing loss of life or grievous bodily harm (GBH). There was one incident of Extreme Violence in 2011, compared with none in 2010 and three in 2009.

The incident of Extreme Violence in 2011 involved a Jewish family who were filling up their car at a petrol station in Manchester. As one of the family members crossed the forecourt in order to make payment, a car containing two white women reversed sharply into her, knocking her to the ground. The occupants then got out of their car, shouted, "Dirty Jew" and spat at the injured woman lying on the ground, before getting back into their car and driving away.



### Assault

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

CST recorded 91 incidents of Assault in 2011. By combining this with the single incident of Extreme Violence, we can see the full range of physical attacks on Jews. This gives a total of 92 violent antisemitic assaults in 2011, a 19 per cent fall from the 114 violent antisemitic assaults (including both categories of Assault and Extreme Violence) recorded by CST in 2010. The number of violent assaults also fell as a proportion of the overall total, from 18 per cent in 2010 to 16 per cent in 2011. The total of 92 violent antisemitic assaults reported to CST in 2011 is the lowest since 2008, when 88 assaults were recorded. However, over a longer period the number of antisemitic assaults has fluctuated, with 114 in 2010, 124 in 2009, 88 in 2008, 117 in 2007 and 114 in 2006.



Seventy-nine of the 92 incidents of Assault or Extreme Violence recorded in 2011 were random, opportunistic attacks on Jewish people in public places, of which 56 targeted people who were visibly Jewish, usually due to their religious or traditional clothing. Nine targeted synagogue congregants on their way to or from prayers. In 51 incidents of Assault, the victims were male; in 27 incidents they were adults; and in 18 incidents the victims

### Assault incident in Manchester, October 2011

<sup>3</sup> A more detailed explanation of the six antisemitic incident categories can be found in the CST leaflet "Definitions of Antisemitic Incidents", available on the CST website [www.thecst.org.uk](http://www.thecst.org.uk)

were minors. Fifty-four of the incidents involved objects, usually eggs, being thrown at visibly Jewish people from passing cars. Particular targets for this kind of incident are the strictly Orthodox communities in Salford and Bury in north Manchester and Golders Green and Hendon in north London. There were nine assaults on Jewish schoolchildren or staff in 2011, five of which took place away from school premises. There were three assaults on Jewish students during 2011, all of which took place on campus.

Incidents in the category of Assault in 2011 included:

- **Hertfordshire, February:** A Jewish schoolgirl was at a bus stop on her way home from school. She was approached by three older girls who slapped her on the arm and said, "It's Slap a Jew Day", the name of an event organised on Facebook.
- **Salford, April:** Three Jewish school pupils were walking home from school when two white men drove past. The driver of the car shouted, "Dirty Jew" and the passenger threw a lit firework at the group.
- **Manchester, May:** Some Jewish children were playing in the street when the children from a neighbouring family threw water at them and shouted antisemitic abuse. The mother of the perpetrators then threw a stone at the Jewish children and told them that her husband would finish them off with a baseball bat when he came home.
- **Salford, May:** A Jewish man was walking along the pavement when a car pulled up alongside him and one of the occupants, all white men, shouted, "F\*\*\*ing Jew!" and threw a glass beer bottle at him.
- **Manchester, May:** Four white men were seen shouting antisemitic abuse and throwing eggs from a car at a group of Jewish men outside a synagogue, just after Saturday morning (Shabbat) prayers had finished.
- **London, June:** A visibly Jewish man was walking to his car when the driver of an approaching vehicle spat at him and said, "You Jew". The perpetrator drove off but then turned around and came back, and said, "Free Palestine" to the victim.
- **London, July:** A Jewish man was walking through a park when he was approached by a group of white youths who asked him if he was Jewish, before attacking him, causing severe bruising and suspected broken ribs.
- **Salford, September:** A Jewish man was walking along the pavement when a car drove past him containing a white couple. The man then jumped out of the car, knocked the victim's yarmulke (skullcap) off his head and punched him several times, breaking his glasses and giving him a black eye and a small cut to the face.
- **Hertfordshire, November:** A Jewish woman was leaving an event at a synagogue when a car drove past, and the occupants threw three eggs at her while saying, "Mazel tov".

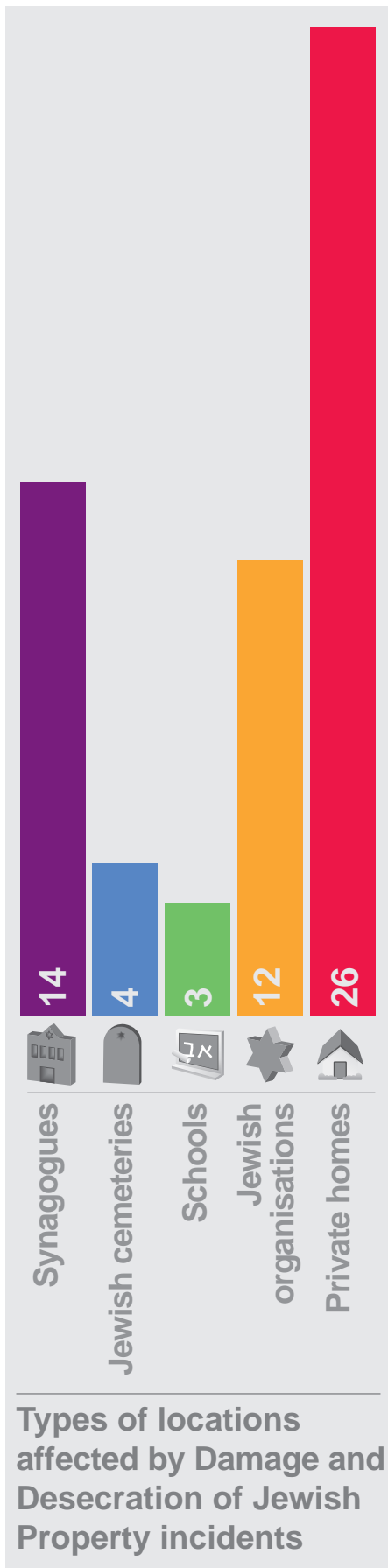
### Damage and Desecration to Jewish Property

This category includes any physical attack directed against Jewish property, which is not life-threatening. This includes the daubing of antisemitic slogans or symbols (such as swastikas), including stickers and posters, on Jewish property, or damage caused to Jewish property where it appears that the building has been specifically targeted because of its Jewish connection.

There were 63 incidents of Damage and Desecration in 2011, a fall of 24 per cent from the 2010 figure of 83 incidents in this category. The 2011 total of 63 incidents is the lowest in this category since 2005, when 48 antisemitic incidents of this type were recorded. Of the 63 incidents in 2011, 14 involved the desecration of synagogues and 26 affected the homes of Jewish people, or vehicles parked at their homes. There were four desecrations of Jewish cemeteries in 2011.

Incidents of Damage and Desecration in 2011 included:

- **East Midlands, February:** Nine gravestones were knocked over in a Jewish cemetery.
- **Belfast, May:** "F\*\*\* all Jews" was written on the gates of a synagogue.
- **Glasgow, May:** A Jewish student living in a hall of residence found that a picture of a chanukiah (ceremonial candelabrum) on her front door had been removed and replaced with a swastika.
- **London, June:** Bacon was stuck to the front window of a Jewish family's home.
- **London, July:** The website of a kosher shop was hacked into by people calling themselves "GoyHackers".
- **Salford, August:** Two swastikas were daubed in red paint on the wall of a kosher butcher.
- **Gateshead, September:** "Will kill U Jewish C\*\*\*" and "Jew Freeks" [*sic*] were daubed in paint on the wall of a Jewish school.
- **Manchester, November:** The postbox attached to the roadside gate of a Jewish-owned home had a swastika drawn on it, and the following evening a smoke bomb was placed inside it.
- **Salford, November:** The word "Jew" was written in the condensation on the windscreen of a rabbi's car.



## Threats

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

There were 29 antisemitic threats recorded in 2011, a fall of nine per cent from the 32 incidents reported to CST in this category in 2010. There were 45 incidents of this type reported to CST in 2009, and in 2008. Twenty-six of the 29 threats in 2011 were verbal; the other three were by email or text message.

Incidents in the category of Threats in 2011 included:

- **Manchester, February:** A Jewish man was riding his bicycle when somebody in a car shouted at him, "I'll take your f\*\*\*ing nose off, you big-nosed f\*\*\*ing Jew".
- **London, February:** A south Asian man was standing in the doorway of a synagogue. When a security officer asked him to move, he threatened to firebomb the synagogue.
- **London, February:** A Jewish family were on the Underground returning home. A south Asian youth in the carriage, who appeared to be drunk, started shouting that he would destroy Israel and the Jews, and that he supported Al-Qaeda. He then threatened to attack the family unless they got off the train, which they did at the next stop.
- **Manchester, February:** A Jewish man was in dispute about some repairs to a property, when the person he was in dispute with told him, "I'll get you, Jew boy, Jewish pr\*\*\*".
- **Salford, May:** A man was seen driving around Salford shouting antisemitic verbal abuse, including "Gonna kill f\*\*\*ing Jews".
- **London, June:** Several businesses in north-west London received bomb threats on the Jewish festival of Shavuot. Although most of the businesses were not Jewish-owned, the caller said that it was a Jewish holiday and they should all die.
- **Manchester, July:** A group of youths shouted to a Jewish woman, "F\*\*\*ing Yid, we know where you live" and threatened to set fire to her home.
- **London, August:** A rabbi was in his car at some traffic lights when three south Asian men pulled up in a car alongside him and one said, "You f\*\*\*ing Jews, I will get you and kill your mother".
- **Salford, September:** Two Jewish girls were approached by two girls, one white and one mixed-race, who held cigarette lighters up to them and threatened to "burn you like Hitler".
- **Manchester, November:** A visibly Jewish man was walking to his car when he was approached by two south Asian men, who shouted, "Jew boy, get back into your car and go". When the victim challenged this, they said, "If you don't leave, we are going to beat you up".

“I’LL  
TAKE  
YOUR  
F\*\*\*ING  
NOSE OFF,  
YOU  
BIG-NOSED  
F\*\*\*ING  
JEW.”

## Abusive Behaviour

This category includes verbal and written antisemitic abuse. The verbal abuse can be face to face or via telephone or answerphone messages. The category also includes antisemitic emails and text messages, as well as targeted antisemitic letters (that is, one-off letters aimed at and sent to a specific individual), irrespective of whether or not the recipient is Jewish. This is different from a mass mailing of antisemitic leaflets or other publications, which is dealt with by the separate Literature category. Antisemitic graffiti on non-Jewish property is also included in this category.

There were 394 incidents of Abusive Behaviour reported to CST in 2011, three more than the 391 incidents recorded in this category in 2010. There were 609 antisemitic incidents recorded in this category in 2009 and 317 in 2008.

Incidents of Abusive Behaviour in 2011 included:

- **London, January:** A Jewish woman was queuing at a supermarket checkout when she overheard a man at the next till talking loudly about Israel and Gaza. She then heard the man say, "Hitler had the right idea. It's a shame he didn't gas them all".
- **Leeds, January:** Multiple swastikas were found drawn on a desk in a university library.
- **Salford, February:** A visibly Jewish man entered a shop, and heard a group of south Asian youths loitering outside say, "We don't like Jews around here. We don't want Jews around here."
- **London, February:** An organisation that supports Israel received an email which mentioned "Jew Usury" and claimed, "Lying by omission is what jews do best!...Jews have NEVER contributed anything, anytime, anyplace jews have ever been. Jews WRECK any country fool enough to let them in." The email writer had then pasted into the email the full text of an article, titled "Israeli Economy for Beginners", by the ex-Israeli writer Gilad Atzmon.
- **Manchester, February:** Somebody left a message on the answerphone of a café which is not owned by Jews, which stated: "Hitler had the right f\*\*\*ing idea about you Jews!"
- **Brighton & Hove, March:** A Jewish man received an email with the subject title "die you foul Jewish c\*\*\*", which read, "Hitler had the right idea with you greedy b\*\*\*\*\*ds".
- **London, March:** An organisation linked to Israel received an email which read, "How do you know when a jew is lying? When he opens his mouth".
- **Bournemouth, March:** A man was heard shouting "F\*\*\*ing Jewish b\*\*\*\*\*ds" outside a local synagogue. The security team on duty called the Police, who came and arrested the perpetrator. He admitted the offence and was fined £85 and given a 12-month conditional discharge, suspended for 12 months.
- **London, April:** Swastikas were scratched into the window ledge outside a Jewish studies room and in a lift at a university.
- **Leicester, April:** A visibly Jewish man was walking along the pavement when a car drove past and the occupant shouted, "F\*\*\* off, Jew!"
- **Manchester, April:** A visibly Jewish man was walking to synagogue on the first night of Passover, when a group of three youths shouted at him that Hitler didn't do his job properly, and other references to the Holocaust. Two of the youths were arrested, convicted of a racially aggravated public order offence and sentenced to 200 hours' community service.
- **London, April:** A group of men were seen photographing each other giving Nazi salutes outside a synagogue.
- **Manchester, May:** As congregants were leaving synagogue after prayers, an Arab man shouted at them: "Yiddo", " Hamas Fatah together,



- yeah" and "F\*\*\*ing Yids, you brought the Germans to Israel".
- **Leeds, May:** A visibly Jewish student was walking home from university when a white man shouted, "Jude, Jude, Jude" at him and gave a Nazi salute.
  - **Glasgow, June:** A bride and groom were leaving synagogue on their wedding day, when a man on the other side of the road shouted, "F\*\*\*ing Jews" at them.
  - **Salford, July:** An eight-year-old boy shouted, "You Jewish c\*\*\*, shut up" at a Jewish man.
  - **London, August:** Two white men approached people walking to synagogue, asked them if they were Jewish and then said, "Heil Hitler", "Sieg Heil" and made Nazi salutes.
  - **Manchester, September:** A south Asian man made a Nazi salute from a passing car at congregants leaving a synagogue after Shabbat morning prayers.
  - **Manchester, September:** A Jewish woman was out shopping when another woman raised her middle finger to her and called her a "f\*\*\*ing Jew" and a "f\*\*\*ing b\*\*\*\*\*d".
  - **London, September:** A visibly Jewish boy was cycling home from school when a car drove past containing four men, who shouted, "You dirty Jew" and other antisemitic abuse at him.
  - **Manchester, September:** A Jewish family were walking home from Rosh Hashanah services at their synagogue when a car drove past and the occupants shouted, "Hamas, Hamas is coming" at them.
  - **Manchester, September:** A Jewish man was walking to Rosh Hashanah services at synagogue when a car drove past and one of the occupants shouted, "F\*\*\*ing Jewish b\*\*\*\*\*ds" at him.
  - **London, October:** Graffiti including a Star of David with the words "Kill Juden" was found on the wall of a hospital.
  - **London, October:** A group of white teenage boys were racially abusing a south Asian couple in a park. They then saw a visibly Jewish man and said to him, "You should have been gassed in Auschwitz". Then, while leaving the park, they threw acorns at a south Asian family.
  - **Manchester, November:** A Jewish schoolboy was standing outside his school when a south Asian couple walked past, and the man said, "F\*\*\*ing Jewish c\*\*\*, Palestine belongs to us".
  - **London, November:** A wreath was left at a war memorial by the neo-Nazi Racial Volunteer Force, which read: "Unity call worldwide in remembrance of our millions of racial brothers and sisters whose lives were treacherously manipulated and sacrificed by Zionist controlled governments. No more brother wars."
  - **London, December:** A man posted a comment on a non-Jewish woman's Facebook page, which read, "I think we should put poison on the back of Israeli postage stamps and finish the job the Germans started in 1939 – would save Iran needing a Nuke."
  - **London, December:** A Jewish family were walking home when a car drove towards them; the front passenger stuck his finger up at the family and shouted, "You f\*\*\*ing Jews" at them.



**Graffiti on a car in north London, October 2011**

Dear Yiddish retards, so you are going to kill a dog are you.  
You want people to respect you ?. ill tell you what Hitler  
was right, you should all be gassed like the scum you are.  
Long live Palestine.

Ein volk

Ein reich

Ein fuhrer

*Joseph Mengele*

## Literature

This category covers mass-produced antisemitic literature which is distributed in multiple quantities. This can involve a single mass mailing, or repeated individual mailings, but it must involve the multiple use of the same piece of literature in order to fall into this category. This is different from one-off cases of hate mail targeted at individual people or organisations, which would come under the category of Abusive Behaviour or Threats (depending on their content). The Literature category includes literature that is antisemitic in itself, irrespective of whether or not the recipient is Jewish, or cases where Jews are specifically targeted for malicious distribution, even if the material itself is not antisemitic. This would include, for instance, the mass mailing of neo-Nazi literature to Jewish homes, even if the literature did not mention Jews. This category also includes emails that are sent to groups of recipients, but not material that is generally available on websites.

The statistics for the category of Literature 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 perpetrators, rather than the number of victims.

There were eight incidents recorded in the category of Literature in 2011. This is a fall of 68 per cent from the 2010 total of 25 incidents, which was itself 60 per cent lower than the 62 incidents in this category in 2009. There were 37 incidents of this type recorded in 2008 and 19 in 2007. The high 2009 total was largely due to a series of hostile or abusive emails sent to one victim, probably by a single perpetrator. However, while this cluster of incidents caused the 2009 total to be abnormally high, it does not explain the sharp fall in the number of incidents in this category since then. The 2011 total of eight Literature incidents is the lowest recorded for over a decade, and there is no obvious reason for this decline.

Examples of Literature incidents in 2011 included:

- **London, February:** A Jewish man received a leaflet through his door, titled "9/11 WAS CARRIED OUT BY ISRAEL", and which read: "The same forces behind Israel are the same forces that created 7/7, WW1, WW2, the Russian Revolution, the French Revolution, every conceivable act of terrorism and financial downfall in history – including this recession." The same leaflet had been hand-delivered to homes in the South East in 2010.
- **London, February:** Several Jewish and non-Jewish organisations received a mass email that denied the Holocaust and claimed that "the Rothsh\*te Zionist Illuminati" was attempting "the wholesale disruption of the British socio-cultural order".
- **London, June:** A non-Jewish Member of Parliament was sent a series of leaflets referring to "Jewish economics" and claiming that "Jewish Wall Street" controls world finance.
- **London, June:** A Jewish peer received hate mail, addressed to him as a "Khazar Fake Jew", which denied the Holocaust and claimed that "Talmudic Bolshevik Communism" had tried to destroy Europe.



**Graffiti in Manchester,  
August 2011**

## Incident victims

The victims of antisemitic incidents come from the whole spectrum of the Jewish community, from strictly Orthodox to Liberal, Reform and secular Jews; from the largest Jewish communities of London and Manchester to small, isolated communities all over the United Kingdom; and from Jewish schoolchildren to Members of Parliament.

The most common single type of incident involved verbal abuse randomly directed at visibly Jewish people in public. In 300 incidents, the victims were ordinary Jewish people, male or female, attacked or abused while going about their daily business in public places. In 170 of these, the victims were visibly Jewish, usually due to their religious or traditional clothing, school uniform or jewellery bearing Jewish symbols. Forty-six incidents targeted synagogue property and staff, and a further 38 incidents targeted congregants on their way to or from prayers. There were 68 incidents that targeted Jewish community organisations or communal leaders and high-profile individuals, while 57 incidents happened at people's private homes.



**Graffiti on a railway  
tunnel near a Jewish  
school, London,  
September 2011**

A total of 54 antisemitic incidents took place at schools or involved Jewish schoolchildren or teaching staff. Of these, 16 incidents took place at Jewish schools, 14 at non-faith schools and 24 targeted Jewish schoolchildren on their journeys to and from school. There were 58 school-related incidents reported to CST in 2010.

There were 27 antisemitic incidents in which the victims were Jewish students, academics or other student bodies, a 39 per cent fall from the 44 campus-related incidents recorded in 2010.

This is the lowest number of student-related incidents reported to CST since 2006, when 18 incidents of this type were recorded. Of the 27 incidents reported to CST in 2011, 17 took place on campus and 10 off campus. Three of the 26 incidents involving students, academics or student bodies were in the category of Assault, all of which took place on campus. Of the remaining 24 incidents, 20 were in the category of Abusive Behaviour, which includes verbal abuse and antisemitic graffiti. The 17 on-campus incidents occurred across 16 different campuses, with no university seeing more than two antisemitic incidents in the calendar year. Of the ten off-campus incidents, three took place in Manchester, three in London, two in Leeds and one each in Birmingham and Nottingham.

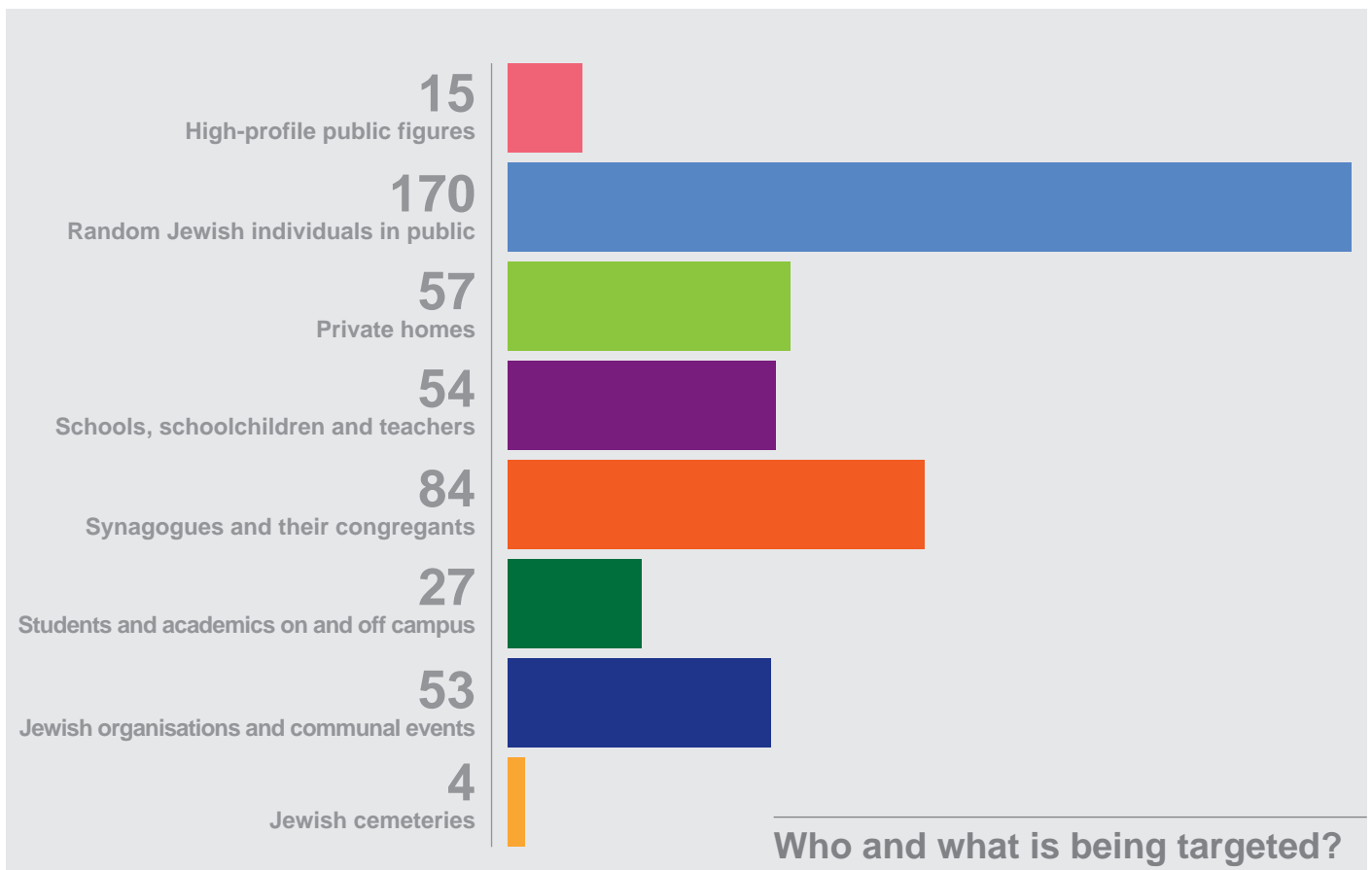


**Graffiti in Glasgow,  
October 2011**

CST received a description of the gender of the victim or victims in 384 (66 per cent) of the 586 antisemitic incidents reported to CST during 2011. Of these, the victims were male in 251 incidents

(65 per cent), female in 112 incidents (29 per cent) and both male and female together in 21 incidents (5 per cent).

CST received a description of the age of the victim or victims of 259 (44 per cent) of the 586 incidents recorded during 2011. Breaking this down into adults and minors, and acknowledging the difficulty in accurately categorising incident victims who may be merely described as “youths” or “teenagers”, shows that 185 incident victims were adults (71 per cent), 57 were minors (22 per cent) and in 17 cases (7 per cent) the victims were adults and minors together. Younger victims appeared to be more prone to violent antisemitism than their elders: minors were the victims of 18 antisemitic assaults in 2011 (38 per cent of incidents where the victim’s age was accurately reported), but of 36 Abusive Behaviour incidents (20 per cent). Another explanation for this may be that younger victims are more likely to report assaults than adults, but less likely to report verbal abuse; but there is no obvious reason why this should be the case.



## Incident perpetrators

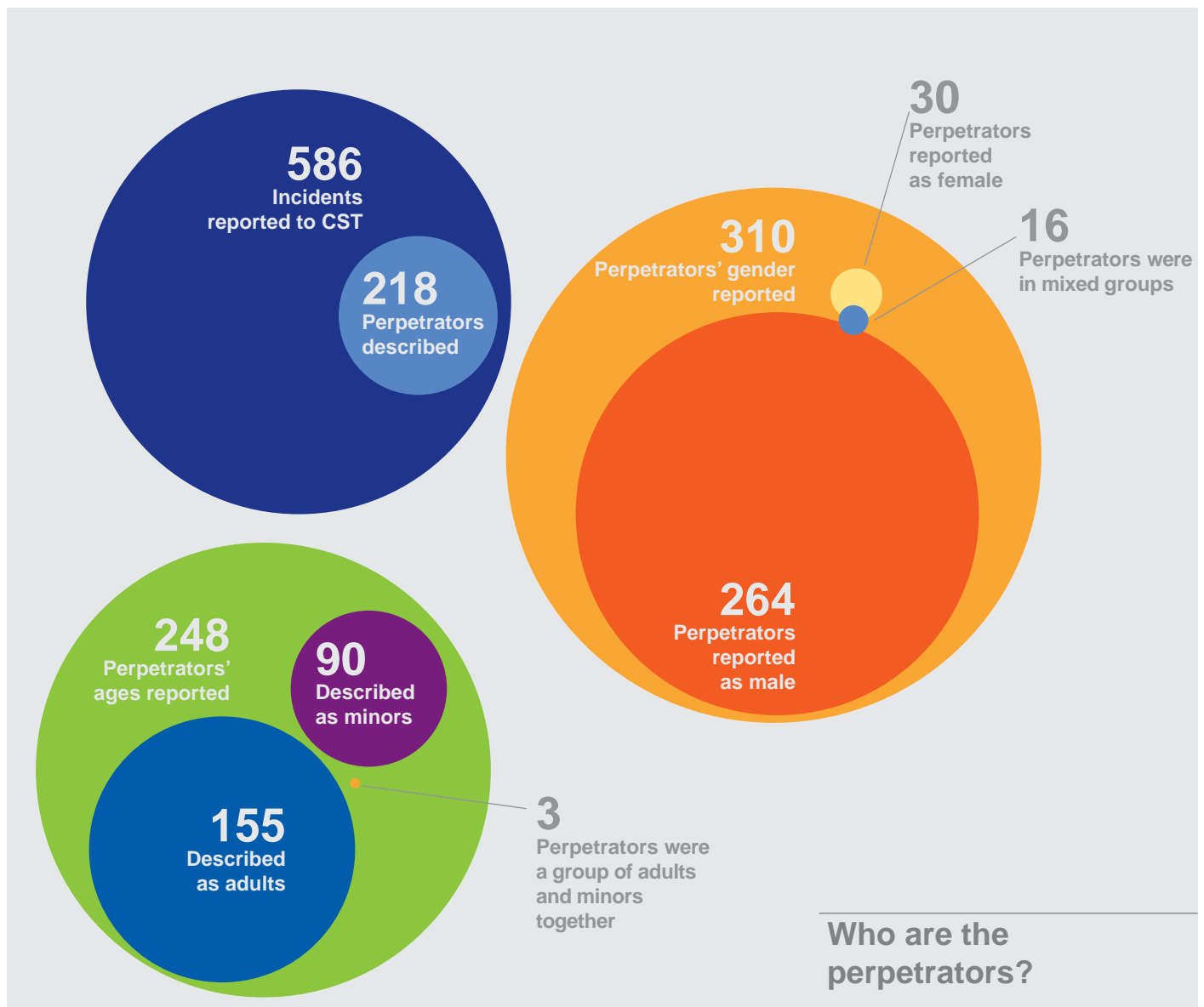
Identifying the motives and ethnicity of the perpetrators of antisemitic incidents can be a difficult and imprecise task. Many antisemitic incidents involve public encounters where the antisemitic abuse may be generic, brief and sometimes non-verbal. In cases involving physical or verbal abuse, this identification depends on the evidence of victims of, and witnesses to, antisemitic incidents, and may rely on the perpetrators' physical appearance, language or other indicators. Sometimes the evidence of victims or witnesses concerning what may have been a shocking and traumatic experience can be vague and disjointed. Many incidents do not involve face-to-face contact between incident perpetrator and victim, so it is not possible to obtain a physical description of the perpetrator. It is obviously an easier task to analyse, for instance, a sample of hate mail, where the content of an antisemitic letter often reveals the motivation of the perpetrator, although it would be a mistake to assume to know the ethnicity of a hate-mail sender on the basis of the discourse they employ.

Bearing in mind all these limitations, a physical description of the perpetrator was obtained in 218 of the 586 incidents recorded by CST in 2011.<sup>4</sup> Of these, 111 of the perpetrators were described as white – north European (51 per cent); 21 as white – south European (10 per cent); 11 as black (5 per cent); 59 as south Asian (27 per cent); none as South-east Asian; and 16 as Arab or north African (7 per cent). These figures partly reflect the fact that Britain's Jewish communities tend to live in relatively diverse urban areas, and that the perpetrators of street crime (where most antisemitic incidents take place) tend to come from a younger, and consequently more diverse, demographic profile. Events during the year also have an impact on the reported ethnicities of incident perpetrators: the proportion of perpetrators described to CST as other than 'white – north European' tends to rise if a year includes a major trigger event related to Israel or the wider Middle East.

CST received a description of the gender of the perpetrator or perpetrators of 310 (53 per cent) of the 586 antisemitic incidents reported in 2011. Of these, the perpetrators were described as male in 264 incidents (85 per cent), female in 30 incidents (10 per cent) and mixed groups of males and females in 16 incidents (5 per cent). These proportions did not vary significantly across different incident categories. CST also received a description of the approximate age of the perpetrator or perpetrators of 248 of the 586 incidents reported during the year (42 per cent). Of these 248 incidents, and allowing for the same caveats as when attempting to analyse the ages of incident victims, the perpetrators were described as adults

<sup>4</sup> CST uses the 'IC1-6' system, used by the UK Police services, for categorising the ethnic appearance of incident perpetrators. This uses the codes IC1, IC2, IC3, etc, for 'White – north European'; 'White – south European'; 'Black'; 'South Asian'; 'East or South East Asian'; and 'Arab or north African'. This is obviously not a foolproof system and can only be used as a rough guide.

in 155 antisemitic incidents (63 per cent), minors in 90 incidents (36 per cent) and adults and minors together in just three incidents. Just as with the age profile of incident victims, younger antisemitic incident perpetrators are much more likely to be involved in violent incidents (albeit mostly using minor levels of violence): minors were responsible for 65 per cent of the antisemitic assaults recorded by CST in 2011 (where an age description of the perpetrator was provided), but for only 28 per cent of the incidents of Abusive Behaviour where an age description of the perpetrator was obtained.



## Discourse and motives

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

- **Wales, August:** A visibly Jewish boy attending a summer camp in Wales was in hospital when a Polish man, Zbigniew Lebek, made Nazi salutes at him and sang songs about Auschwitz and Birkenau death camps. Lebek was arrested and a swastika flag was found at his home. He pleaded guilty to a racially aggravated public order offence and was jailed for nine months.
- **Salford, April:** A group of white, black and south Asian teenagers made Nazi salutes at a Jewish man and shouted, "Hitler" and "Dirty Jew".

In the first example, discourse relating to the Holocaust and Nazism was used by the incident perpetrator, who held neo-Nazi beliefs, which motivated him to verbally abuse a Jewish person. However, although the perpetrators in the second incident used similar Nazi-related discourse, the fact that they were a mixed group of white, black and south Asian teenagers makes it very unlikely that they were motivated by far right ideology. Although it is counter-intuitive that black or south Asian people would display neo-Nazi language or behaviour for any reason, a third incident gives a clue as to how this paradox can occur:

- **London, April:** A man phoned a Jewish organisation and said, "I am Hitler. He is not dead, coming to get you" and "We are Palestinians and we are not scared of you or the Jews".

In this incident, the perpetrator uses both neo-Nazi discourse and anti-Zionist language relating to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict; it is not possible to determine whether either discourse indicates a particular ideological motivation. The perpetrator of this particular incident is typical of contemporary antisemitic incident perpetrators who will select from a range of Jewish-related discourses for language or imagery with which to abuse, insult or threaten their Jewish victims. The specific language used is sometimes of secondary importance, compared to the desire to insult or abuse Jews.

There were 37 incidents reported to CST in 2011 in which the perpetrator used more than one type of discourse in this way. Rather than being limited to more traditional, far right politics, the antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2011 represent the



multifaceted nature of contemporary antisemitism. In 135 of the 586 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2011, the perpetrators employed discourse based on the Nazi period, including swastikas and references to the Holocaust. Of these, 101 showed evidence of far right motivation. Discourse related to Israel or the Middle East was used in 84 antisemitic incidents in 2011, of which 59 showed evidence of anti-Zionist motivation; and discourse relating to Islam or Muslims was present in 15 antisemitic incidents, while 16 incidents showed evidence of Islamist motivation. Overall, there was a 25 per cent fall in the number of antisemitic incidents showing political motivation, from 234 in 2010 to 176 in 2011. In all of these incidents, it was necessary for there to be evidence of antisemitic language, targeting or motivation as well as any political or ideological motivation for the incident to be recorded by CST as antisemitic.



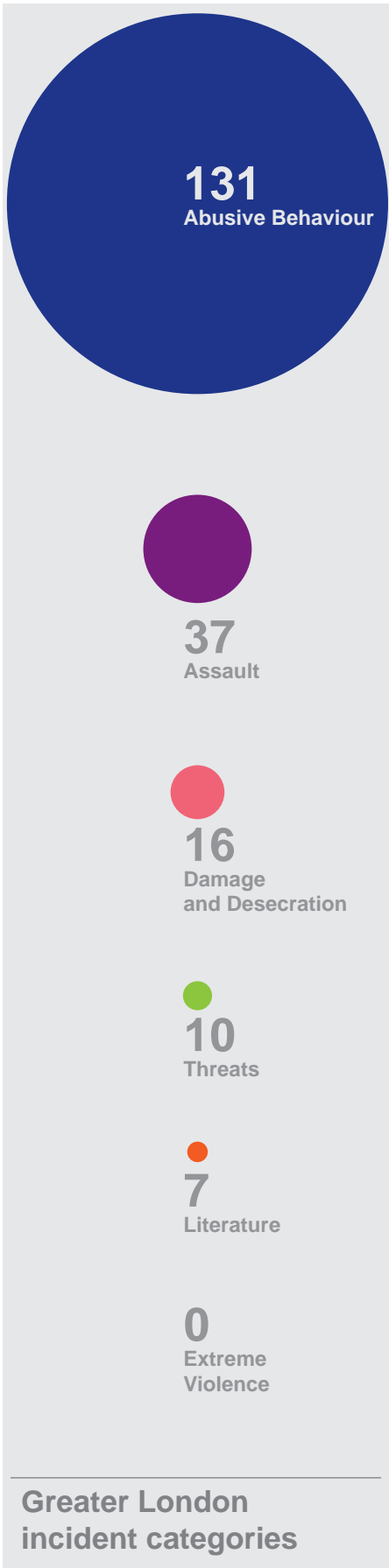
Graffiti on pavement outside a house in Manchester, September 2011

## Geographical locations and differences

Three-quarters of the 586 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2011 took place in Greater London and Greater Manchester, the two largest Jewish communities in the UK. However, for the first time the number of incidents recorded in Greater Manchester (244) was larger than the number recorded in Greater London (201). It is normally the case that the number of antisemitic incidents recorded in Greater Manchester is disproportionately high, given the size of the Jewish community there compared to the size of the community in Greater London, but this year the number of incidents recorded in Greater Manchester rose above 40 per cent of the national total for the first time. For comparison, in 2010 there were 221 antisemitic incidents in Greater London and 216 in Greater Manchester, and in 2009 there were 460 incidents in Greater London and 206 in Greater Manchester.

This absolute and relative rise in the number of antisemitic incidents in Greater Manchester can be explained by a combination of several causes, which become apparent through detailed analysis of the types and locations of the incidents that are reported to CST from around the country (CST has analysed antisemitic incidents according to geographical location since 2003). In particular, the differing figures for London and Manchester suggest a genuine difference in local trends.

Since 2003, the antisemitic incident trends for London have correlated to the national picture, increasing with each spike in incidents and then falling when the national figure falls. This is partly because, until 2011, London recorded more antisemitic incidents than any other location in the UK and consequently it would have the greatest single influence on the national trend. However, it is also because spikes in antisemitic incidents that are triggered by events overseas have a greater impact in London than elsewhere. Such spikes in incidents tend to be made up of antisemitic emails, hate mail and phone calls to Jewish community institutions and leaders, most of whom are based in London (CST records incidents by the location of the victim, not the perpetrator). The correlation may also reflect the fact that London has a more diverse population than much of the UK, and is consequently more sensitive to overseas events than other locations. This also means that, when there are two or three years in a row with no significant trigger event, the antisemitic incident total for London will normally fall as a consequence. The 201 incidents recorded in Greater London in 2011 is the lowest total since 2003, when 170 incidents were recorded in the capital.

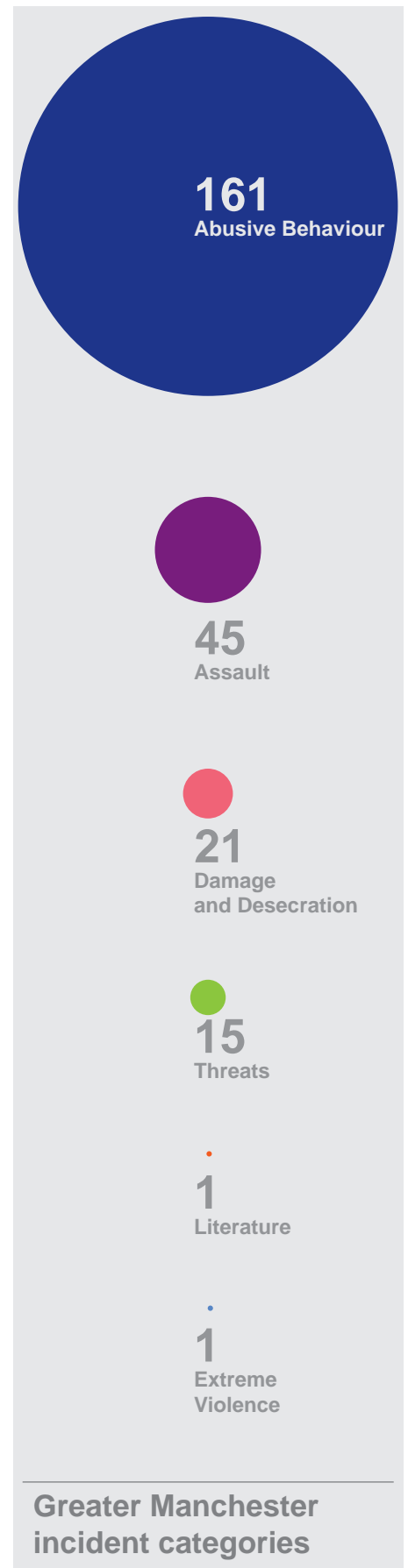


In contrast, the incident totals in Greater Manchester since 2003 have risen steadily year-on-year and, most years, are barely influenced by outside trigger events or the national trend line. Instead, the local picture in Manchester reflects two complementary factors. Firstly, there is a growing, and increasingly visible, Jewish community in parts of north Manchester, particularly in Salford and Bury. This fact alone is likely to lead to more antisemitic incidents taking place in those areas. However, the number of antisemitic incidents reported to CST in Manchester has trebled since 2003, and it is very unlikely that this reflects a genuine trebling in the number of incidents taking place. It is more likely that, as well as there being some degree of increase in the number of incidents taking place, much of the rise is due to the work done by CST and Greater Manchester Police (GMP) over a number of years to encourage community members in these areas to report antisemitic incidents, a process that has been made easier by the relatively compact nature of the community. Additionally, over the past year CST and GMP have developed a system of regular exchange of information about antisemitic incidents reported to either agency, ensuring that both CST and GMP have the fullest picture possible of the antisemitic incidents taking place in the city, especially more 'minor' incidents of verbal abuse that are less likely to have been reported to both agencies by the victims, and are consequently best-placed to assist those who suffer from antisemitism.

Outside Greater London and Greater Manchester, CST received reports of 141 antisemitic incidents from 51 locations around the United Kingdom in 2011, compared to 204 incidents from 58 different locations in 2010. There were 27 antisemitic incidents in Hertfordshire (of which 11 were in Borehamwood); 15 in Leeds; 12 in Liverpool; 11 in Glasgow; and seven in Leicester.

Within London, 114 antisemitic incidents, over half the total for the capital, were recorded in the borough of Barnet, which has the largest Jewish community of any London borough; 15 were recorded in Westminster; 14 in Camden; and 13 in Redbridge. In Greater Manchester, 111 of the 244 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST took place in the Metropolitan Borough of Salford; 74 took place in Bury; and 40 in Manchester Borough.

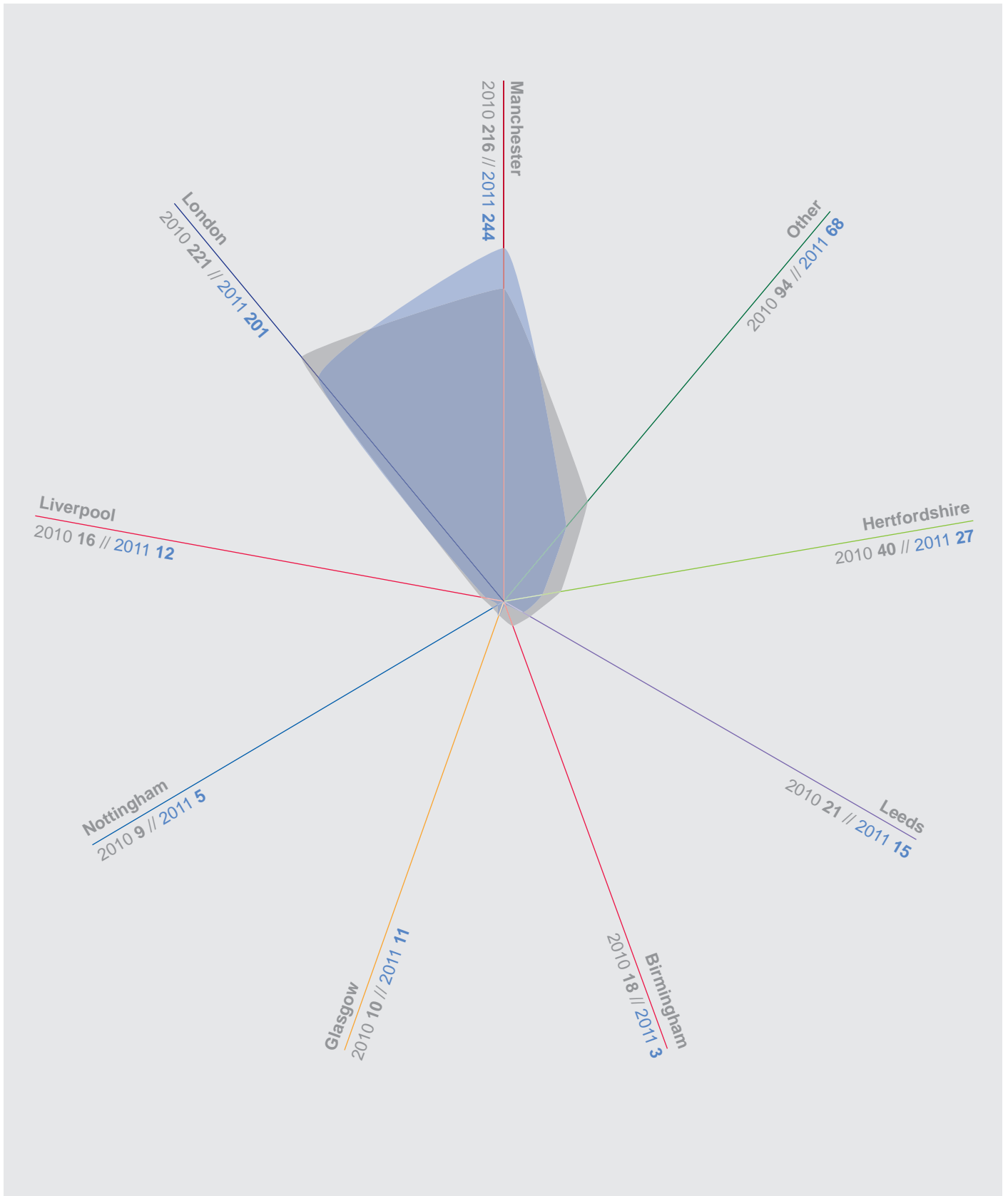
Further differences between incident types in Greater London and Greater Manchester can be drawn out of the statistics. Taken broadly, and allowing for very rough generalisations, these show that antisemitic incidents in Greater Manchester are more likely to involve random street racism – what might be called antisemitic



hooliganism – against individual Jews, while ideologically motivated antisemitism – which normally takes the form of hate mail, abusive phone calls or antisemitic graffiti – tends to be concentrated in Greater London where most of the Jewish community's leadership bodies and public figures are based. So, 68 per cent of antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in Greater Manchester targeted individual Jews in public, compared to 48 per cent of the incidents recorded in Greater London; whereas 21 per cent of incidents recorded in Greater London targeted Jewish organisations, events or communal leaders, compared to just 4 per cent of incidents in Greater Manchester. Also, 38 per cent of antisemitic incidents in Greater London showed evidence of far right, anti-Zionist or Islamist ideological motivation alongside the antisemitism, compared to just 18 per cent in Greater Manchester. Incidents in Greater London are more likely to involve hate mail, abusive emails or online antisemitism: there were 43 such incidents in Greater London in 2011 (21 per cent), compared to just nine in Greater Manchester (4 per cent). While 60 per cent of antisemitic incident perpetrators in Greater Manchester in 2011 were described as 'white – north European' (for those incidents where a description was provided to CST), that figure fell to 38 per cent in London, probably reflecting the greater diversity in the capital's population.



**Graffiti on a kosher butchers in Manchester,  
August 2011**



Geographical breakdown of antisemitic incidents in the UK in 2011, compared with 2010

## Typology of incidents: mission, opportunistic or aggravated?

A study of antisemitic incidents recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service from 2001 to 2004<sup>5</sup> defined 'mission' incidents as those in which "the offender takes some premeditated action to instigate the incident by engineering their interaction with the victim. In addition, antisemitism seemingly drives the offender's actions – as manifest by their language or symbols they use" (Iganski, Keilinger & Paterson, 2005). Applying this definition to the 586 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2011 reveals that 371 incidents, or 63 per cent of the total, showed evidence of being mission incidents. This does not mean that, in every case, the perpetrator left their house intending to find a Jewish person or building to attack, although this did happen in several cases. Rather, it relates to incident perpetrators who, in the moments preceding an antisemitic incident, go out of their way to make contact with a person, organisation or property they believe to be Jewish, in order to express their bigotry.

Examples of mission incidents recorded in 2011 include:

- **London, January:** Three youths entered the front gates of a Jewish school and shouted Nazi slogans and "Dirty Jews" at some of the pupils.
  - **Manchester, February:** A Jewish student was returning to her car in the car park of a Jewish student building. Two south Asian men drove into the car park and then, after asking her if she lived in the building, said: "We're going to get you. We know what car you drive. We're Jew-hunting".
  - **Manchester, May:** A Jewish man was walking along the pavement when a white man approached him, called him a "stupid Jew" and then punched him in the face, knocking him to the ground. The offender was arrested and cautioned for common assault.
  - **Cardiff, June:** A non-Jewish woman was standing outside a synagogue waiting to meet someone, when a group of youths approached her and asked if she was Jewish, before trying to set her hair alight.
  - **Salford, June:** Three white men were seen driving around the area and throwing eggs at visibly Jewish people on the street, while giving Nazi salutes out of the car windows.
  - **Leeds, May:** A man phoned a Jewish organisation and said he wanted to speak to Adolf Hitler.
  - **Manchester, July:** Three white youths carved the words "RIP Yid" into the door of a Jewish woman's home.
  - **London, September:** Several non-Jewish organisations received a mass email which claimed that the Rothschilds control the CIA, Mossad and the Council of Europe, and blamed Jews for various wars, revolutions and the slave trade.
- The 371 mission incidents recorded by CST can be further broken down by type of incident. The five examples given above are all what can be referred to as 'mission-direct', which involves direct, face-to-face contact between perpetrator and victim. Other incidents, which do not involve this face-to-face contact, can be classified as 'mission-indirect', of which these are examples:
- **London, January:** A Jewish organisation received hate mail which described them as "Kikesters" and referred to "Rabbi Shylock Scumstein".
  - **London, January:** Graffiti showing a Star of David with a swastika was found on bus stops near to a venue which
- Other mission incidents do not target a specific victim, but rather take place in a public area where the victims can be any members of the public who happen to pass by. Examples of these 'mission-indiscriminate' incidents include:

<sup>5</sup> Iganski et al., "Hate Crimes against London's Jews" (Institute for Jewish Policy Research, London 2005).

had hosted a Holocaust Memorial Day event the day before.

- **Salford, March:** A swastika and an SS sign were drawn on a metal post opposite a Jewish nursery school.
- **Glasgow, September:** A Facebook page was set up called "Welcome to Israel, only kidding you're in Giffnock". Comments left on the page included "Giffnock got loads of fkn Jews", "Where's my Holocaust ring" and "Crawling wae f\*\*\*ing Jews".
- **London, October:** The words "No Jews on the bus" were written on a bus stop in an area with a large Jewish community.

The final type of mission incidents that made up the 371 incidents of this type in 2011 were 'mission-inadvertent', whereby the perpetrator's expression of antisemitism is inadvertently overheard or seen by somebody who the perpetrator did not intend to directly abuse. Examples of this from 2011 include:

- **Wolverhampton, February:** A Jewish man was on a bus when he overheard two white men sitting in front of him, who were saying "F\*\*\*ing Jews are taking over the world" and "Even the Labour Party leader is a Jew".
- **Stoke, July:** A Jewish woman was in a taxi when the south Asian male driver, not realising she was Jewish, said, "The

most racist newspaper in the UK is the *Daily Mail*, but it would be, it's owned by Jews".

- **Hertfordshire, October:** A Jewish student was at a pub quiz in the students' union when one of the teams read out a poem which went, "Roses are red, violets are blue, gas in the shower, 'cause you're a Jew". Everyone in the room laughed, except for the victim.

By comparison, 128 incidents, or 22 per cent of the 586 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2011, appeared to be 'opportunistic', whereby "the offender takes immediate advantage of an opportunity that presents itself to vent their antisemitism, rather than engineering the incident in a premeditated way" (Iganski, Keilinger & Paterson, 2005). Examples of opportunistic incidents from 2011 include:

- **Hertfordshire, January:** A Jewish schoolgirl was walking out of her school when a group of children from a neighbouring school saw her. One of the boys said, "Oh look, there's a Jew. Your nose is bigger than Hitler's gas bill".
- **Hertfordshire, July:** A visibly Jewish man was walking home from synagogue when a white man outside a pub shouted, "Yiddo, Yiddo" at him.
- **London, December:** A Jewish man was on the Underground travelling home late at night, when another man in his

carriage called him a "f\*\*\*ing Jew" and made hissing gas noises at him. The perpetrator then headbutted the Jewish man and got off the train, while asking him for a fight.

Fifty-one incidents, or 9 per cent of the overall total of 586 incidents, were what may be categorised as 'aggravated' incidents, whereby "the offender and victim are caught up in a conflict situation that initially does not involve antisemitism. However, in the course of the conflict the offender's bigotry emerges" (Iganski et al., 2005). Examples of aggravated incidents recorded by CST in 2011 include:

- **London, January:** A Jewish man returned home to find that his house had been broken into. The contents had been ransacked and the burglar had written, "Catch me if you can – Jewish c\*\*\*" on the wall.
- **London, March:** A Jewish couple were driving near their house when they found their way blocked by a car coming the other way down a road with cars parked on either side. As the Jewish couple pulled over to let the other car through, the other driver said, "You Jews. The trouble with you Jews is that you are all f\*\*\*ing ignorant".

## 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 much contemporary antisemitism takes place in the context of, or is accompanied by, extreme feelings over the Israel/Palestine issue. Drawing out these distinctions, and deciding on where the dividing lines lie, is one of the most difficult areas of CST's work in recording and analysing hate crime.

CST received reports of 437 potential incidents during 2011 that, after investigation, did not appear to be antisemitic and were therefore not included in the total of 586 antisemitic incidents. These 437 potential incidents included examples of anti-Israel activity directed at organisations involved in pro-Israel work, which did not involve antisemitic language or imagery, and were therefore not classified by CST as antisemitic. Examples of anti-Israel incidents that were not recorded by CST as antisemitic include the following:



Graffiti in Manchester, 2011

- **Manchester, October:** A Jewish person involved in organising a pro-Israeli conference received a phone call in which the caller said, "Stop the Zionist conference, we don't want Zionist propaganda in Manchester. Save Palestine".
- **London, October:** "Boycott Israel" stickers were stuck up on a university campus.

Sometimes the targeting of a particular incident can suggest an intention to intimidate or offend Jews on the part of the perpetrator. For example, graffiti reading "F\*\*k Israel" would probably be classified as an antisemitic incident if it appears to be targeted at an area known for having a large Jewish community, but would probably not be counted as antisemitic if it appears in an area where few Jews live. Similarly, anti-Israel material that is sent unsolicited to a synagogue at random may be recorded as an antisemitic incident (because it fails to distinguish between a place of worship and a political organisation), when the same material sent unsolicited to specifically pro-Israel organisations would not be. On the other hand, if a particular synagogue has been involved in public pro-Israel advocacy, and subsequently is sent anti-Israel material, it may not be classified as antisemitic unless the content of the material dictates otherwise.

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



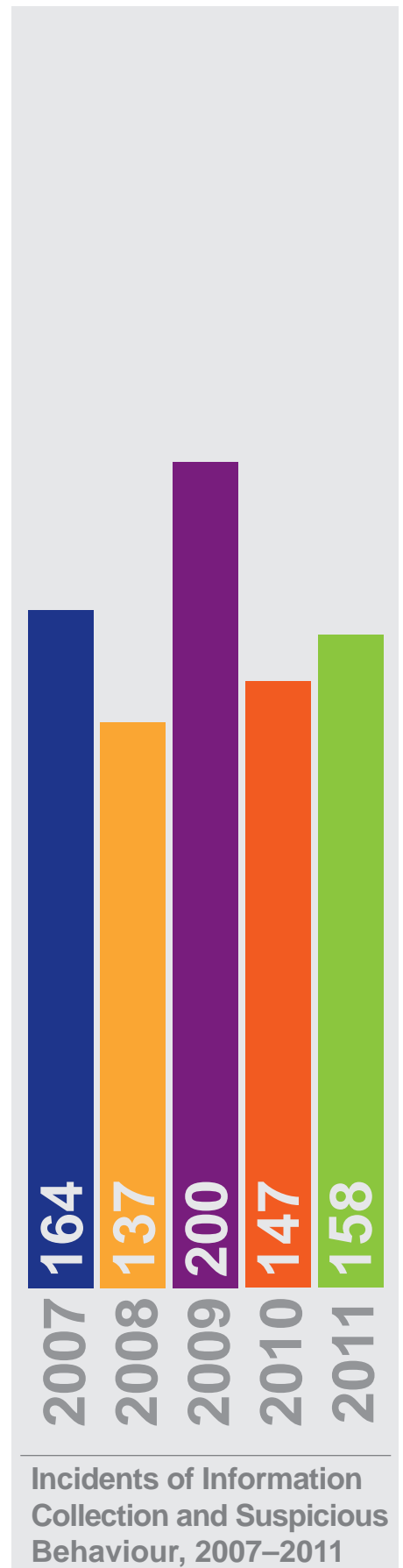
## Information Collection and Suspicious Behaviour

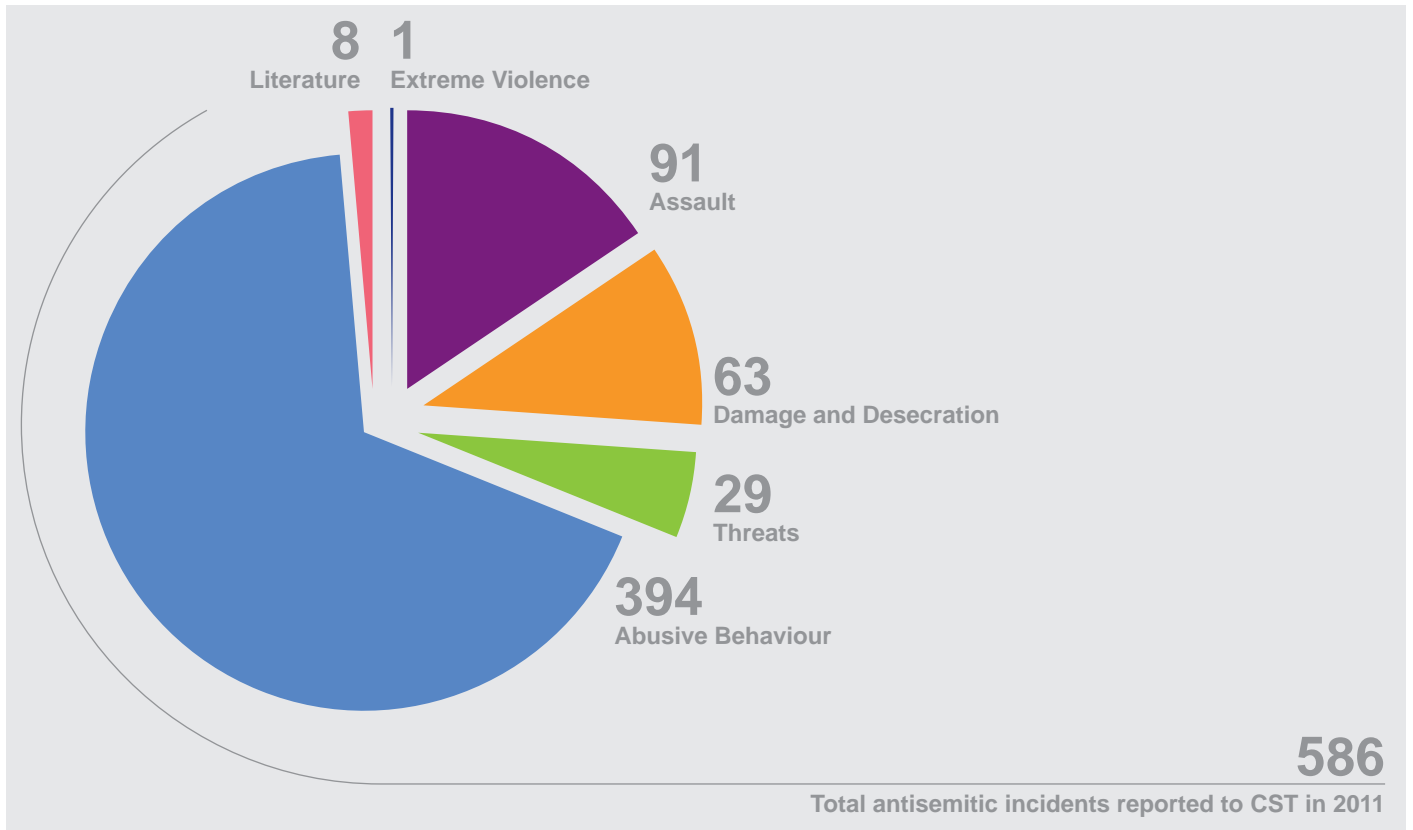
One of the most important jobs CST does is to record and analyse incidents of Information Collection and Suspicious Behaviour around Jewish locations. It is well known that terrorist groups often collect information about their targets before launching an attack. Identifying and preventing the gathering of this kind of information is an integral part of CST's work in protecting the community from the danger of terrorism. Jewish communities have long been the targets of terrorists of different and varied political and religious motivations. Since the late 1960s there have been over 400 terrorist attacks, attempted attacks and foiled terrorist plots against diaspora Jewish communities and Israeli targets outside Israel.<sup>6</sup> Most recently, Jewish communities in Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia and India have all been attacked by Al-Qaeda and its supporters, while plots to attack Jewish communities in Germany, Australia and the United States have been foiled by Police action. Here in the UK, a group of Islamist extremists jailed in April 2007 for plotting terrorist attacks in Britain were found to have downloaded lists of synagogues from the internet, possibly as potential targets for attack; and two men convicted in Manchester in December 2008 of belonging to Al-Qaeda and directing terrorism, had gathered information about a prominent Jewish communal leader. In addition to this threat from violent jihadist terrorism, there is growing evidence of efforts by British neo-Nazis to plan and execute terrorist attacks against minorities here in Britain, including against the Jewish community.

Cases of Information Collection and Suspicious Behaviour are not included in the antisemitic incident statistics, as the motivation for many of them is not possible to determine. The vague and uncertain nature of many of these incidents means that they are easier to analyse if the two categories are combined, rather than treated separately. Taken together, there were 158 such incidents reported to CST in 2011, compared to 147 in 2010 and 200 in 2009.

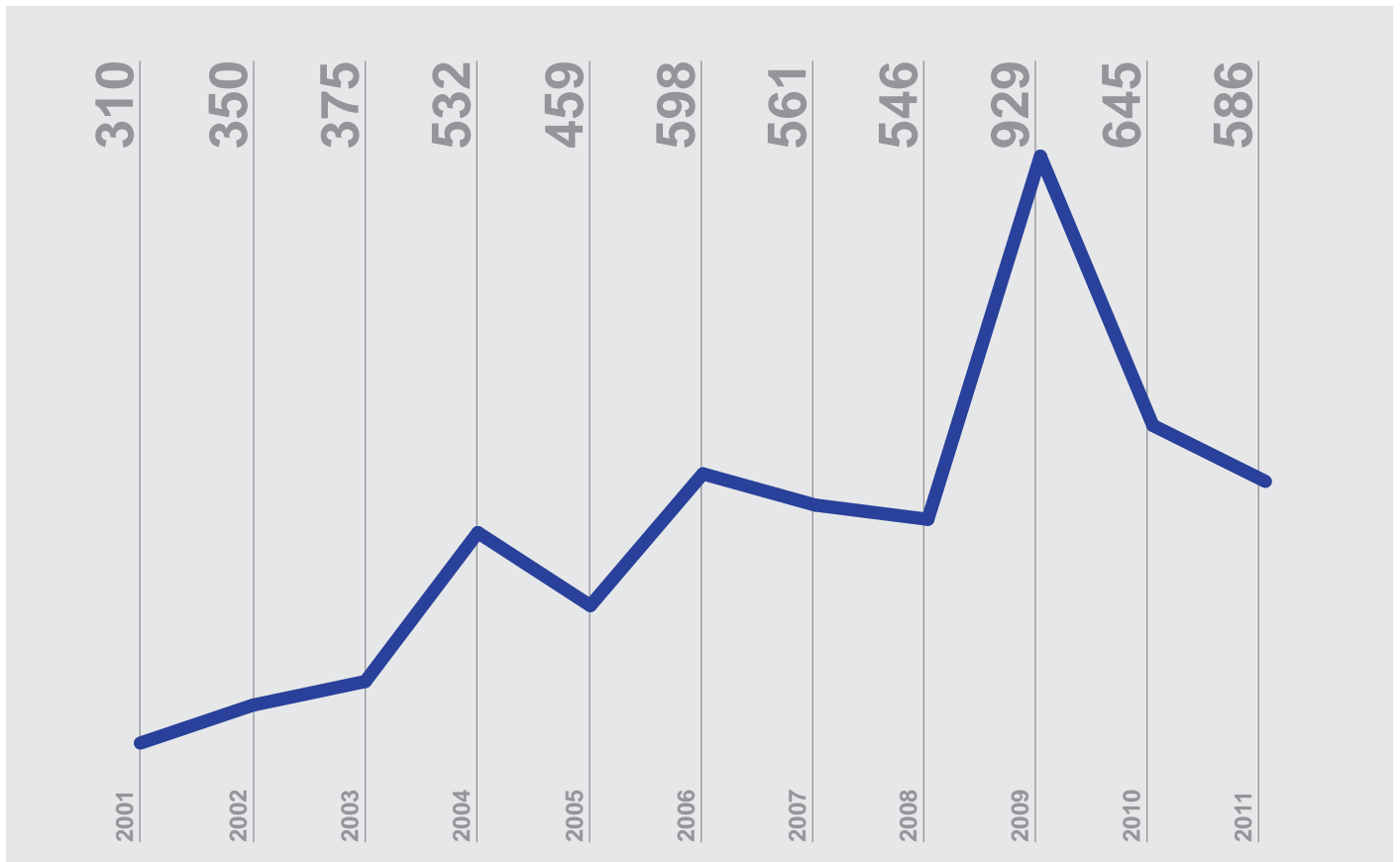
Of the 158 incidents of Information Collection and Suspicious Behaviour reported to CST in 2011, 43 involved the photography or videoing of Jewish buildings, while in 24 cases suspicious people tried to gain entry to Jewish premises. These are not categorised as antisemitic by CST as it is often not possible to determine their motivation and many are likely to have innocent explanations, so they do not appear in CST's antisemitic incident statistics. However, neither CST nor the Police underestimate the threat posed to Jewish communities by various terrorist organisations and networks. Identifying and preventing the potential hostile reconnaissance of Jewish buildings or other potential terrorist targets is an important part of reducing the possibility of future terrorist attacks.

<sup>6</sup> For a full chronology and analysis of anti-Jewish terrorism, see the CST publication "Terrorist Incidents against Jewish Communities and Israeli Citizens Abroad, 1968–2010", available at [www.thecst.org.uk](http://www.thecst.org.uk)





Antisemitic incident category totals in 2011



Annual antisemitic incident figures since 2001

## Annual incident figures by category, 2001–2011

| Category               | 2001       | 2002       | 2003       | 2004       | 2005       | 2006       | 2007       | 2008       | 2009       | 2010       | 2011       |
|------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Extreme Violence       | 1          | 5          | 0          | 4          | 2          | 4          | 1          | 1          | 3          | 0          | 1          |
| Assault                | 40         | 42         | 54         | 79         | 79         | 110        | 116        | 87         | 121        | 114        | 91         |
| Damage and Desecration | 90         | 55         | 72         | 53         | 48         | 70         | 65         | 76         | 89         | 83         | 63         |
| Threats                | 37         | 18         | 22         | 93         | 25         | 28         | 24         | 28         | 45         | 32         | 29         |
| Abusive Behaviour      | 122        | 216        | 211        | 272        | 278        | 366        | 336        | 317        | 609        | 391        | 394        |
| Literature             | 20         | 14         | 16         | 31         | 27         | 20         | 19         | 37         | 62         | 25         | 8          |
| <b>Total</b>           | <b>310</b> | <b>350</b> | <b>375</b> | <b>532</b> | <b>459</b> | <b>598</b> | <b>561</b> | <b>546</b> | <b>929</b> | <b>645</b> | <b>586</b> |

## Monthly incident figures, 2001–2011

|              | 2001       | 2002       | 2003       | 2004       | 2005       | 2006       | 2007       | 2008       | 2009       | 2010       | 2011       |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| January      | 16         | 15         | 23         | 20         | 60         | 34         | 33         | 44         | 288        | 30         | 45         |
| February     | 14         | 11         | 24         | 28         | 45         | 56         | 40         | 52         | 114        | 48         | 54         |
| March        | 20         | 26         | 48         | 100        | 39         | 40         | 36         | 40         | 73         | 54         | 49         |
| April        | 33         | 47         | 29         | 62         | 49         | 33         | 59         | 39         | 52         | 61         | 45         |
| May          | 32         | 47         | 27         | 39         | 39         | 44         | 36         | 62         | 52         | 50         | 58         |
| June         | 30         | 26         | 34         | 64         | 38         | 37         | 42         | 40         | 49         | 82         | 43         |
| July         | 28         | 31         | 30         | 48         | 40         | 94         | 60         | 52         | 46         | 63         | 42         |
| August       | 20         | 15         | 20         | 29         | 32         | 78         | 49         | 20         | 40         | 47         | 37         |
| September    | 50         | 47         | 22         | 60         | 30         | 67         | 81         | 47         | 86         | 82         | 72         |
| October      | 48         | 45         | 57         | 29         | 45         | 59         | 55         | 58         | 45         | 52         | 51         |
| November     | 14         | 28         | 36         | 29         | 22         | 36         | 37         | 45         | 54         | 48         | 45         |
| December     | 5          | 12         | 25         | 24         | 20         | 20         | 33         | 47         | 30         | 28         | 45         |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>310</b> | <b>350</b> | <b>375</b> | <b>532</b> | <b>459</b> | <b>598</b> | <b>561</b> | <b>546</b> | <b>929</b> | <b>645</b> | <b>586</b> |

## Annual incident figures full breakdown, 2011

| Category     | Extreme Violence | Assault   | Damage and Desecration | Threats   | Abusive Behaviour | Literature | Total      |
|--------------|------------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------|------------|
| January      | 0                | 8         | 7                      | 0         | 30                | 0          | 45         |
| February     | 0                | 3         | 3                      | 6         | 39                | 3          | 54         |
| March        | 0                | 5         | 5                      | 3         | 36                | 0          | 49         |
| April        | 0                | 10        | 4                      | 1         | 30                | 0          | 45         |
| May          | 0                | 8         | 11                     | 3         | 36                | 0          | 58         |
| June         | 0                | 8         | 5                      | 2         | 26                | 2          | 43         |
| July         | 0                | 4         | 5                      | 1         | 32                | 0          | 42         |
| August       | 0                | 1         | 5                      | 4         | 27                | 0          | 37         |
| September    | 0                | 9         | 6                      | 3         | 53                | 1          | 72         |
| October      | 1                | 7         | 6                      | 3         | 33                | 1          | 51         |
| November     | 0                | 9         | 4                      | 1         | 30                | 1          | 45         |
| December     | 0                | 19        | 2                      | 2         | 22                | 0          | 45         |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>1</b>         | <b>91</b> | <b>63</b>              | <b>29</b> | <b>394</b>        | <b>8</b>   | <b>586</b> |

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

Front cover image:  
Antisemitic graffiti on a Jewish-owned house in Manchester, March 2011

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