

Antisemitic Incidents



• • EMBARGO UNTIL THURSDAY 9 FEBRUARY 2023 AT 00.01 • •
2022



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I HATE
DIRTY JEWS AND
F

Antisemitic abuse written on playground equipment, Coventry, July

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- **CST recorded 1,652 antisemitic incidents in the UK in 2022, the fifth-highest total ever reported to CST in a single calendar year.** This is a decrease of 27% from the 2,261 anti-Jewish hate incidents recorded by CST in 2021, which was the highest annual figure ever reported. CST recorded 1,684 antisemitic incidents in 2020, 1,813 in 2019, and 1,690 in 2018.¹
- **The relative fall in incidents from 2021 highlights the sheer amount of anti-Jewish hate witnessed in the UK in May and June 2021, during and following the escalation of violence in Israel and Palestine.** Without such a significant trigger event occurring in 2022, reports of anti-Jewish hate incidents were always likely to diminish. In May 2021, CST recorded 661 antisemitic incidents, the highest monthly total ever reported, due to the spike in antisemitic reactions to war in the Middle East.² The month with the highest total in 2022 was May, with 173 incidents recorded.
- **In fact, the average monthly total in 2022 was somewhat higher than for the ten months of 2021 that were not affected by the conflict-related spike in antisemitism that year.** In 2021, the average monthly total discounting May and June – when war in the Middle East intensified and a surge in antisemitism was reported – was 116 incidents, compared to 138 per month in 2022.
- **The annual total of 1,652 antisemitic incidents is substantial.** Only in 2021, 2020, 2019 and 2018 were higher figures reported, and all these years featured extenuating circumstances that directly impacted the volume and nature of antisemitism. In 2021, there was the intensification of conflict between Israel and Hamas; in 2020, the Covid-19 outbreak gave antisemites new avenues and strands of discourse through which to share their prejudice; in 2019 and 2018, allegations of antisemitism in the Labour Party led to spikes in incidents that appeared to be linked to those who wished to defend the party and its then-leader, Jeremy Corbyn. In 2022, no event had this effect, and the 1,652 total may just represent a ‘new normal’ – a baseline of anti-Jewish hate in the UK – which far exceeds figures reported to CST in any similarly triggerless year.
- **More than 100 antisemitic incidents were recorded in every month in 2022, perpetuating the pattern of historically high incident totals reported in recent years.** For comparison, CST recorded monthly figures exceeding 100 incidents on just six occasions between January 2006 and March 2016.³ Since then, monthly antisemitic incident totals have only dipped below 100 four times.⁴
- **There were 1,294 offline incidents out of the overall 1,652 instances of antisemitism reported to CST in 2022.** Only in 2021 were there more offline incidents recorded, when 1,709 were reported in a record year for cases of anti-Jewish hate in the UK. The 1,294 offline incidents in 2022 form 78% of the annual total, signalling that in-person antisemitic activity has not

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

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

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

⁴ Two of these – December 2020 and January 2021 – coincided with national lockdowns enforced as part of the UK’s response to the Covid-19 pandemic.

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only returned to the volume and proportion typically observed before the Covid-19 outbreak, but surpassed it. These incidents include face-to-face verbal abuse, assault, threats, graffiti and hate mail.

- **A concerning trend witnessed during 2022 was the high proportion of incidents that involved victims or offenders under the age of 18.** Of the 922 antisemitic incidents recorded where the victim or victims' age was ascertained, 141 (15%) exclusively targeted victims who were minors. This is broadly similar to 2021, when 82% of victims were adults and 14% were minors. This, though, was a departure from 2020, when 89% of victims were adults and 8% were minors. These percentages had generally been the norm until 2021, when a sharp rise in school-related antisemitism was reported in response to heightened tensions in the Middle East. It appears that this increase in the proportion of incidents affecting children has continued in 2022.
- **In 159 (20%) of the 803 incidents in which the approximate age of the offender or offenders was provided, the perpetrators were minors.** This extends a worrying feature established in 2021's analysis, when 82% of antisemitic incident perpetrators were adults and 18% were minors, which was also due to the increase in anti-Jewish hate reported in a school context. Contrast this with 2020, when 90% of the offenders were adults and 10% were minors: a ratio broadly consistent with previous recorded averages.
- **The increased proportion of young people both enacting anti-Jewish hate and experiencing it, sustained since the escalation of violence between Israel and Hamas in May 2021,** may suggest that, while initially a reaction to war in the Middle East, it runs deeper than the desire to blame Jewish people for what incident offenders perceive as Israel's wrongdoing.
- **Of the 159 incidents reported to CST in 2022 where the offender is described to CST as a minor, 83 (52%) involved at least one strand of antisemitic discourse or showed evidence of at least one form of ideological motivation.** In comparison, these were evident in 314 (49%) of the 643 incidents perpetrated by adults. It may imply that the rising percentage of child antisemitic offenders is occurring within a context of increased exposure to extremist beliefs and conspiracy theories among the younger demographic, possibly linked to the range of social media platforms on which many of this generation spend time. In 66 of the incidents perpetrated by culprits under 18 years old, Holocaust- or Nazi-related rhetoric was present, 14 of which involved the glorification of the Holocaust and its architects, or the wish to see the genocide of Jews repeated. In 11 cases, the antisemitism showed far-right motivation. The prevalence of these intertwined ideas, cited more frequently by minors than any other discourses, may indicate that extreme right-wing ideas are possibly at the root of the proportion and content of anti-Jewish hate propagated by children.
- **Although there has been a proportional rise in reported antisemitic acts perpetrated by and targeting minors, there has been a fall in the number of school-related incidents.** There were 20 instances of anti-Jewish hate recorded at Jewish schools in 2022, compared to 41 in 2021. An additional 41 incidents involved Jewish schoolchildren away from school, often on their way to or from home, compared to 42 incidents of this type reported in 2021. Thirty-three incidents involved Jewish schoolchildren or staff at non-faith schools, down from 100 in 2021, resulting in a total of 94 incidents affecting people and buildings in the school sector. This constitutes a sharp decrease of 50% from the 183 such incidents recorded in 2021, an anomalously

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high figure that reflects the extent to which pupils and teachers were targeted with antisemitism when conflict between Israel and Hamas escalated.

- **The 94 cases of anti-Jewish hate that took place in a school context over 2022 signify a regression closer to the quantity normally reported pre-pandemic.** In 2019, CST recorded 122 incidents in the school sector, falling to 54 incidents in 2020, when lockdown measures included the closure of schools at various points in the year.
- **The weighting of the different types of school-related incidents also reverted to type for years without a trigger event involving Israel.** In 2021, 55% of antisemitic incidents in the school sector occurred at non-Jewish schools, compared to 35% in 2022. This proportion was 26% in 2020, and 20% in 2019. Such a discrepancy between 2021's statistics and those recorded in other years reinforces the notion that the flare-up in Middle Eastern hostilities uniquely strained relations in educational environments where Jewish and non-Jewish people coexist. When Israel is not at war, these tensions are not as active, or not as often publicly expressed.
- **Incident totals in the higher education sector followed a similar pattern to those observed in schools.** In 2022, there were 56 reports of anti-Jewish hate in which the victims or offenders were students or academics, or which involved student unions or other student bodies. Twenty-six of these took place on campus or university property. It is a decrease of 56% from the 128 such incidents recorded in 2021 when, much like schools, universities proved a hotbed of antisemitism, with circumstances in the Middle East dominating social discourse across different age groups and parts of society. Eighteen (32%) of these 56 cases contained reference to Israel and/or Palestine,

potentially revealing a legacy left by the upswing in antisemitic rhetoric at universities in 2021. The 56 campus-related incidents nevertheless is closer in number to the figures recorded in years without such impactful trigger events, with 44 incidents of this kind registered in 2020, and 40 in 2019.

- **Fifty-six antisemitic incidents in 2022 targeted synagogues, including buildings, congregants and staff while on location.** Congregants on their way to or from prayers were victims in a further 27, compared to 59 and 35 incidents respectively in 2021. This net drop of 12% in incidents affecting synagogues and the people travelling to, from, or already inside them, can also be attributed to the state of affairs in May and June 2021, when synagogues symbolised a visible and easy target for those seeking to direct their anger about Israel towards Jewish communities. Conversely, the 83 incidents of this kind recorded in 2022 mark an increase from 2020, when 63 cases of anti-Jewish hate targeting synagogues, staff and congregants were reported. Like schools, places of worship were closed for significant parts of 2020 in Covid-19 lockdowns and, like school-related antisemitic incidents, those that occurred in the synagogue sector returned to their pre-pandemic levels, with 76 observed in 2019. Jewish cemeteries or graves were desecrated in a further four incidents, equal to the total recorded in 2021.
- **There were 56 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2022 that took place in the context of professional football.⁵** It is a rise from the 43 such incidents reported in 2021, and 18 recorded in 2020. The increase can be partly explained by the fact that 2022 is the first year for the entirety of which fans were allowed to attend matches since CST began collating data on

⁵ These include antisemitic abuse that took place inside and outside stadia, stickers and graffiti related to football clubs and supporter groups, online comments regarding football, and anti-Jewish replies to British football clubs posting about Jewish holidays on social media.

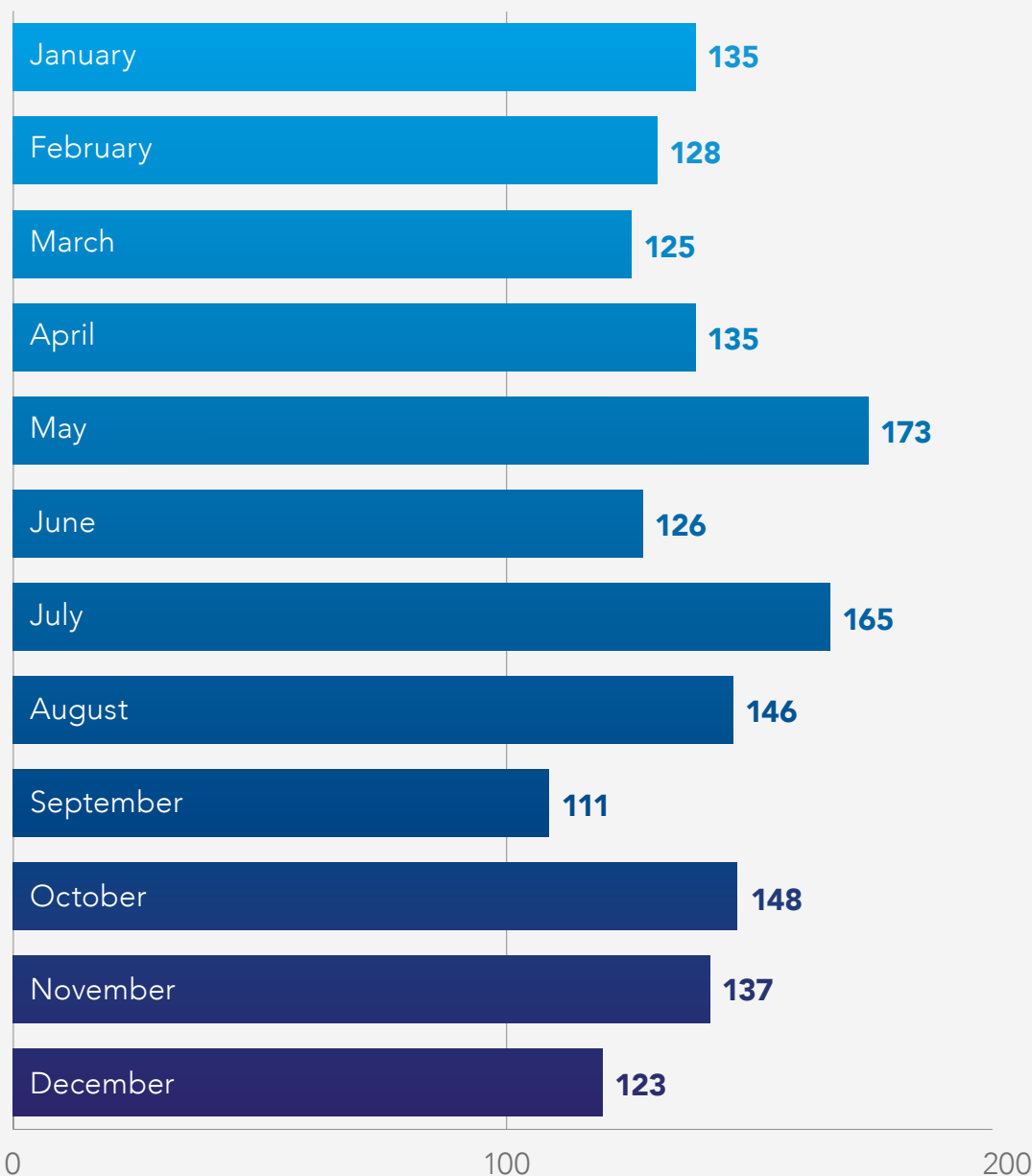
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football-specific antisemitism in 2020, when Covid-19 regulations prohibited crowds at sporting and other entertainment events.

- **CST recorded 136 incidents in the category of Assault in 2022, a decrease of 22% from the 174 incidents of this type reported in 2021.** Only in 2021, 2019 and 2017 were more physical attacks on Jewish people recorded. Together with the one additional instance severe enough to be classed as Extreme Violence, they constitute 8% of the annual

total, equal to their proportional make-up of the 2,261 incidents reported in 2021. For comparison, Assault and Extreme Violence formed 6% of the total incident count in 2020, when pandemic regulations had a greater and more regular impact on the potential for public, physical altercations. Without any of these restrictions present in 2022, it is not a surprise that the percentage of these attacks remains closer to the levels observed before the Covid-19 outbreak: 9% of the anti-Jewish hate incidents reported in 2019 were in the categories of Assault and Extreme Violence.

MONTHLY INCIDENTS, 2022



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- **Cases of Damage & Desecration fell by 10%, from 82 incidents in 2021 to 74 in 2022.** Twenty-six of these involved damage done to the homes and vehicles of Jewish people, 13 to synagogues and synagogue property such as public menorahs (candelabras used during the festival of Chanukah), 11 to Jewish businesses and organisations, four to Jewish schools, and four to Jewish cemeteries.
- **There were 101 incidents reported to CST in the category of Threats in 2022, which includes direct threats to people, institutions or property, rather than more general abuse containing non-specific threatening language.** This signifies a decrease of 29% from the 143 incidents of this type recorded in 2021.
- **CST recorded 1,331 incidents in the category of Abusive Behaviour in 2022, a decrease of 28% from the 1,849 instances of Abusive Behaviour reported in 2021.** Anti-Jewish hate in this category forms 81% of all antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2022.
- **There were nine incidents reported to CST** in the category of mass-produced antisemitic Literature in 2022, just fewer than the ten such incidents recorded in 2021.
- **Covid-19 partly shaped the antisemitic incident trends observed in 2020 and 2021, and the absence of pandemic restrictions in 2022 is apparent in the nature of anti-Jewish hate reported across the year.** During the first lockdown in March 2020, offenders quickly took to hijacking videoconferencing events with antisemitic material, taking advantage of the sudden reliance on them for social, communal and work-related activities. Nineteen 'Zoombombings' were reported to CST in 2020, and 16 in 2021. This figure fell to just four in 2022, with dependence on these platforms reduced for both antisemites and their victims.
- **Covid-19 also proved fertile ground for the emergence of antisemitic tropes and conspiracy theories.** In 2020, CST recorded 40 incidents containing anti-Jewish rhetoric alongside references to the pandemic, which rose to 78 incidents in 2021. In 2022, this figure fell to just eight incidents. It suggests that the volume of incidents related to Covid-19 reported in the preceding two years was largely a response to a new, scary and uncertain situation, which included frustration at the restrictions placed on daily activity that was previously taken for granted, and demonstrated how hate crime offenders will manipulate the content and language of news stories to express their prejudice. In many of these incidents reported since the pandemic's outbreak, perpetrators compared lockdown parameters, the vaccination rollout and the idea of immunisation passports to the conditions of Nazi-era Germany. The drop in incidents involving these discourses may be partly because these regulations were not applied at any point in 2022, and the topic was generally less prevalent in the news cycle.⁶
- **A subject that did come to prominence in the news and social consciousness in 2022 was the Russian invasion of Ukraine.** There were 16 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST that referenced or were inspired by the war in Ukraine. These reports contained a variety of antisemitic discourses: conspiracy theories accusing Jewish people of causing and funding the war, of Jewish influence at every level on both Ukrainian and Russian sides; pro-Vladimir Putin and pro-Russian sentiment that favourably compares the Russian President to Adolf Hitler and his regime to Nazi Germany; attacks on Volodymyr Zelenskyy – the "Zionist" Ukrainian President – for his Jewish

⁶ These discourses have far from vanished. They remain abundant on fringe online platforms, as documented in CST's report, [Covid, Conspiracies & Jew-hate: Antisemitism in the Covid Conspiracy Movement](#)

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identity; and comparisons between Russia's aggression and Israel's actions, framed in a way that holds Jewish people responsible for the latter. It follows and recycles a theme of contemporary anti-Jewish hate, in which offenders take well-worn antisemitic ideas, tropes and conspiracies and rehash them in the context of present-day current affairs as they try to find a new, relevant channel for their prejudice.

- **In 465 of the 1,652 reports of antisemitism in 2022, the offender made reference to Hitler, the Nazis, the Holocaust, employed symbology or rhetoric related to the Nazi era, or punctuated their abuse with a Nazi salute.** Present in 28% of cases reported to CST, this was the most common discourse observed throughout the year, falling from the 503 such incidents recorded in 2021. Among these 465 incidents, there were 79 instances of Holocaust celebration, compared to 90 in 2021, and 19 of Holocaust denial, rising from 17 in the previous year. On eight occasions, the perpetrator simultaneously denied and glorified the Nazi extermination of European Jewry, highlighting the confusion and blending of antisemitic ideas that often occurs in the minds of those who hold anti-Jewish hatred. There were 99 instances of antisemitism laced with far-right motivation, often alongside or regurgitating references from the period of Nazi rule, falling from the 111 incidents showing these extremist beliefs in 2021.
- **Included in the 465 incidents containing Holocaust-related discourse and imagery were 32 in which the offender directly compared Israel with the Nazis, a decrease from the 62 such incidents reported in 2021.** These 32 cases are also counted among the 244 antisemitic incidents wherein references to Israel, Palestine and circumstances in the Middle East were made, falling from 826 reported in 2021. Of

these, 148 exhibited anti-Zionist motivation, while the terms "Zionism" or "Zionist" were used on 80 occasions, often as euphemisms for "Jewishness" and "Jew" or alongside other antisemitic language. While still a considerable figure, the drop in anti-Jewish hate incidents related to Israel between 2021 and 2022 exemplifies the difference between a year with a major conflict escalation in the region, and one without.

- **In 2022, CST recorded 40 incidents connected to specific political parties or their supporters.** Thirty-five of these were linked to the Labour Party; a slight increase from 2021, when 30 incidents were Labour Party-related.⁷ It should be noted that these are incidents related to events in, or arguments about, the Labour Party, and should not be treated as a measure of incidents perpetrated by Labour Party members (which CST is not in a position to assess). As with much online antisemitism, this total would be higher if CST recorded every antisemitic remark that was made in relation to online arguments about the Labour Party, but CST records each specific targeted online campaign (or 'pile-on') as a single incident, because to record each piece of antisemitic content as a separate incident would be unsustainable and cause extreme variations in CST's incident totals, obstructing clear analysis of offline incidents. For example, a barrage of antisemitic comments was posted in response to a joint statement put out by CST, the Board of Deputies and the Jewish Leadership Council following Labour's National Executive Committee election results in September, but these were recorded as three incidents only – one for each Jewish

⁷ These include antisemitic incidents reported to CST occurring within the Labour Party, directed towards Labour politicians and members, spouted by Labour politicians and members (or both), or antisemitic incidents where on-line offenders displayed clear signs of affiliation to/support of the Labour Party in their abuse or their social media profiles. Finally, an incident is also considered Labour Party-related for these purposes if antisemitic views appear to be motivated by arguments over alleged antisemitism in Labour: for example, if antisemitic abuse is directed at a former Labour politician after they have left the party.

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Swastika on an electricity box, Leamington, July

organisation targeted – rather than counting every single antisemitic tweet or post that was made. Twenty-one of the 35 cases of antisemitism linked to the Labour Party also made reference to the Middle East. There were three antisemitic incidents associated with the Conservative Party, one with the British National Party, and one with the UK's withdrawal from the European Union.

- **Conspiracy theories were evident in 161 of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents reported in 2022, a slight fall from the 183 incidents of this kind recorded in 2021.** From these, 138 spoke of Jewish power over global politics, media, finance and other walks of life (compared to 149 in 2021); 16 involved falsehoods regarding religious rituals and practices (19 in 2021); and three aimed to propagate myths about the origins of Jewishness, with the intention of undermining any notion of modern Jewish identity (just lower than the four such incidents reported in 2021).
- **There were 31 incidents in which specific aspects of Judaism were attacked or deliberately mischaracterised to antisemitic ends, more than the 30 cases of this kind recorded in 2021.** Of these, 14 focused on religious traditions (compared to ten in 2021); 13 manipulated ideas taken from religious scripture (just under the 14 in 2021); while four targeted religious literature (six in 2021). On 87 occasions, the anti-Jewish prejudice was expressed through stereotypes or dehumanising language and caricatures, falling from 98 instances in 2021.
- **Twenty-seven antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2022 contained discourse relating to Islam and Muslims, fewer than the 49 reported in 2021, while Islamist extremist ideology was present in eight, a decrease from the 20 such incidents reported in 2021.** These falls are once more indicative of the different patterns of antisemitism in the UK when there is an eruption of violence involving Israel, and when no trigger event of this kind occurs. In 31 incidents, another religious ideology was present, compared to 29 in 2021.
- **Of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2022, 827 (50%) involved at least one political, religious, and racist discourse,**

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conspiracy theory or ideology; 110 (13%) of these 827 reports combined two or more. The coexistence of multiple narratives in a single antisemitic incident demonstrates the complexity of modern-day anti-Jewish hate. Offenders draw their prejudice from numerous notions and tropes that are entrenched not just in the consciousness of the individual, but of the collective too. These accepted 'truths' about Jews comprise a library of reference points on which antisemites of differing worldviews can draw, and mould them to fit their own agendas.

- **Online platforms continue to play a major role in the production and dissemination of anti-Jewish hate in the UK, often providing the space for the expression of various antisemitic ideas and ideologies.** The 358 online antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2022 – 277 of which were laced with at least one of these political, religious or conspiracist discourses – is the fifth-highest annual total for online incidents ever recorded, but is a decrease of 35% from the 552 reports of this kind in 2021. The 700 instances of online antisemitism recorded in 2019 remains the most recorded in a calendar year, followed by 638 in 2020. Online incidents form 22% of the overall yearly total, compared to 24% in 2021, 38% in 2020, and 39% in 2019.
- **The decrease in the number of online incidents over the last three years may be explained in part by the fact that perpetrators of extremist antisemitic rhetoric are increasingly migrating their prejudice to fringe social media forums, where their radical views are not censored and are less likely to be seen and reported by the general public.** CST's online figures are only indicative, as the actual amount of antisemitic content that is generated and circulated on online platforms is much larger. CST does not trawl the internet looking for

online incidents to log and will only record online incidents that are reported to CST, and where either the offender or the victim is based in the UK.

- **In 2022, 920 antisemitic incidents were reported to have taken place in Greater London, falling by 27% from 2021's total of 1,259 London-based incidents.** CST recorded 210 antisemitic incidents in Greater Manchester, a decrease of 26% from the 284 incidents in the corresponding area in 2021. Their combined contribution to the annual has stayed the same, at 68% in both 2021 and 2022. This is entirely in line with a fact of UK-based antisemitism observed since CST began compiling statistics: these communal hubs, home to the largest Jewish populations in the country, remain the areas where antisemitic prejudice is most actively expressed.
- **Within Greater London, 316 antisemitic incidents occurred in Barnet, the local authority with the largest Jewish community in the UK.** There were 113 instances of antisemitism recorded in Hackney, 66 in Westminster, 62 in Camden and 48 in Haringey. Of Greater Manchester's incidents, 56 happened in Bury, 51 in the City of Manchester, 51 in Salford, 11 in Trafford and eight in Stockport.
- **It is to be expected that anti-Jewish hate is mostly concentrated in the areas where Jewish life is most visible and widely established, but it still occurs across the UK.** Antisemitic incidents were reported in all but five police regions in 2022: Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Suffolk and Surrey. This hatred exists and is articulated in all parts of the country, regardless of the immediate presence or size of a Jewish community.
- **Apart from Greater London and Greater Manchester, the police regions with the highest levels of**

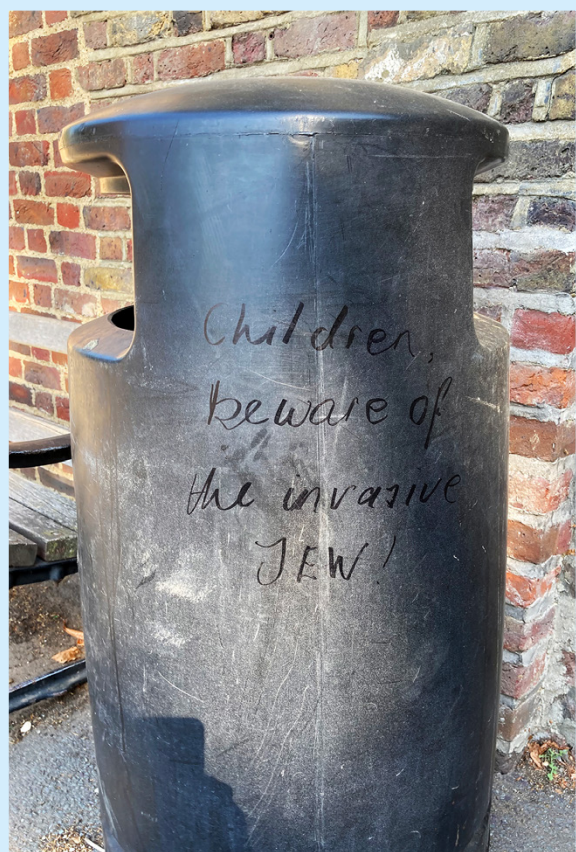
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reported antisemitism in 2022 were Hertfordshire with 59 incidents (down from 62 in 2021), Merseyside with 56 (30 in 2021), Northumbria with 51 (86 in 2021), West Yorkshire with 48 (105 in 2021), and Devon & Cornwall with 41 (45 in 2021).⁸

- **After the boroughs in Greater London and Greater Manchester, the towns and cities within police regions where antisemitism was most often reported were Gateshead in Northumbria** (32 incidents), Liverpool in Merseyside (31 incidents), Borehamwood in Hertfordshire (30 incidents), Leeds in West Yorkshire (28 incidents), and Brighton in Sussex (20 incidents).
- **There were 467 incidents reported to CST in 2022 in which the victims were ordinary Jewish individuals in public.** In at least 200 of these, they were visibly Jewish on account of their traditional clothing, Jewish school uniforms, or jewellery and insignia bearing religious symbols. In 2021, this was true of 632 and 267 incidents respectively.
- **Fifteen incidents were related to places of work, falling from 23 such incidents reported in 2021, while Jewish businesses and organisations (including one youth movement) were targeted on 131 occasions, a decrease from 152 in 2021.** CST and other communal organisations received a flurry of anti-Jewish hate in retaliation to a joint statement released about the Labour Party's NEC election results in September, but as explained above, and in line with CST's policy for recording online antisemitism, this was counted as three incidents – one for each organisation – rather than logging every item of antisemitic content as a separate incident. Seventeen (13%) of the 131 incidents targeting
- Jewish institutions involved Labour Party-related discourse or context, while 65 (50%) contained references to Israel, Palestine and the Middle East.
- **CST recorded 73 instances wherein antisemitic abuse was aimed at an individual of public prominence, rising from the 69 incidents of this nature reported in 2021.** Nineteen of these contained theories about Jewish power and influence, while 37 were related to Middle Eastern affairs. It demonstrates how public figures in the UK, Jewish and non-Jewish, are held responsible for the actions of Israel, and are perceived by antisemites to be complicit in a global Jewish conspiracy.
- **There were 133 incidents that took place at residential property, dropping from 169 incidents of this kind in 2021 and 160 in 2020.** It is closer in number to the 119 such incidents reported in 2019, before the pandemic outbreak perhaps exacerbated neighbour and housemate tensions, with the public spending more time at home in the two years prior to 2022.
- **CST received a description of the victim or victims' gender in 938 of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2022.** Of these, 572 (61%) were male; 309 (33%) were female; in 57 incidents (6%), the victims were mixed groups of males and females.
- **The victim or victims' age was ascertained in 922 of the antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2022.** Of these, 739 (80%) involved adult victims, of which 36 were over the age of 65; 141 (15%) involved victims who were minors; in 42 instances (5%), mixed groups of adults and minors were attacked.

⁸ The comparatively high number of incidents reported in Devon & Cornwall over the last two years (only 13 were recorded in 2020) is partly down to the initiation of a data-sharing agreement with Devon & Cornwall Police in that time.

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Antisemitic writing on a bin, Hounslow, August

- **CST will ask incident victims or witnesses if they can describe the person, or people, who committed the incident they are reporting.**

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

- **CST obtained a description of the ethnic appearance of the offender or offenders in 508 of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents reported during 2022.** Of these, 257 (51%) were described as

white – North European; 26 (5%) as white – South European; 83 (16%) as black; 49 (10%) as South Asian; three (less than 1%) as Southeast Asian; finally, 90 (18%) were described as Arab or North African. This breakdown is typical of periods without an intensification of hostilities in the Middle East.

- **A description of the gender of the offender or offenders was provided to CST in 848 of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2022.** Of these, the offenders were described as male in 695 incidents (82% of incidents where the offender's gender was obtained); female in 137 incidents (16%); and mixed groups of males and females in 16 incidents (2%).
- **In 803 of the 1,652 reports of antisemitism in 2022, the approximate age of the offender or offenders was given.** Among these, 643 (80%) involved adult offenders; in 159 cases (20%) the perpetrators were minors; there was just one instance (less than 1%) where the offenders were a mix of adults and minors.
- **In addition to the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2022, a further 615 potential incidents were reported to CST that are not included in this report's statistics as, upon investigation, they did not evidence antisemitic motivation, language or targeting.** Many of these potential incidents involve suspicious activity or possible hostile reconnaissance at Jewish locations, and they play an important role in CST's provision of protection to the Jewish community. It is a decrease from the 752 such events recorded in 2021.

INTRODUCTION

Community Security Trust

Community Security Trust (CST) is a UK charity that advises and represents the Jewish community on matters of antisemitism, terrorism, policing and security. CST received charitable status in 1994 and is recognised by government and the police as a best practice model of a minority-community security organisation. CST provides security advice and training for Jewish schools, synagogues and Jewish communal organisations and gives assistance to those bodies that are affected by antisemitism. CST also assists and supports individual members of the Jewish community who have been affected by antisemitism and antisemitic incidents. All this work is provided at no charge. An essential part of CST's work involves representing the Jewish community to police, legislative and policy-making bodies and providing people inside and outside the Jewish community with information to combat antisemitism. CST has recorded antisemitic incidents in the United Kingdom since 1984.

Definition of antisemitic incidents

The statistics in CST's annual *Antisemitic Incidents Report* include antisemitic hate crimes and antisemitic non-crime incidents. CST defines an antisemitic incident as any malicious act aimed at Jewish people, organisations or property, where there is evidence that the act has antisemitic motivation or content, or that the victim was targeted because they are (or are believed to be) Jewish. This is a narrower definition than that used by the criminal justice system, which defines an antisemitic hate incident as "Any non-crime incident which is perceived by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice based on a person's race/religion or perceived race/religion."⁹ The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism is a useful guide in identifying the different types of antisemitic language

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

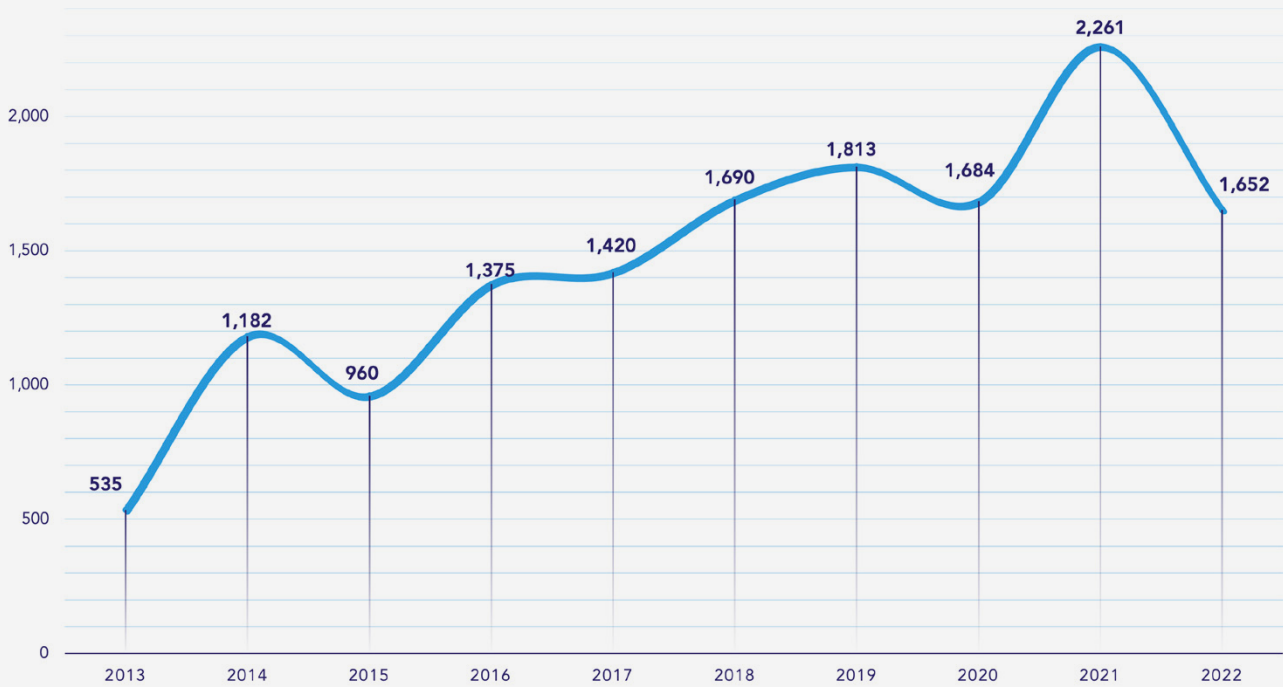
Reporting antisemitic incidents

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 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

⁹ [Hate Crime Definitions](https://report-it.org.uk) (report-it.org.uk)

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

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Information Sharing Agreement that was signed with the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) and with individual police constabularies.

It is likely that many, and perhaps even most, antisemitic incidents are not reported either to CST or to the police. A 2018 survey by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights found that only 21% of British Jews who had experienced antisemitic harassment over the previous five years had reported it to the police or to any other organisation.¹¹ The Home Office's latest 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 – as well as police accuracy in correctly recording them – is leading to a higher number of reports, there is still much that goes unreported.¹²

If an incident is reported to CST but shows no evidence of antisemitic motivation, language or targeting, then it will not be recorded as

antisemitic and will not be included in CST's annual antisemitic incident total. In 2022, CST received 615 reports of potential incidents that fit this description, down by 18% from the 752 such incidents recorded in 2021. Many of these potential incidents involve suspicious activity or possible hostile reconnaissance at Jewish locations; criminal assaults on or theft from Jewish people that do not show antisemitic motivation; or anti-Israel activity which did not involve the use of antisemitic language or imagery and was directed at pro-Israel campaigners, rather than being directed at Jewish people, buildings or organisations chosen solely because they were Jewish. These reports still play an important role in CST's provision of security protection to the Jewish community.

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

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

¹² [Hate crime, England and Wales, 2021 to 2022 - GOV.UK \(London: Home Office, 2022\).](#)

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ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, 2022

CST recorded 1,652 antisemitic incidents across the UK in 2022, the fifth-highest figure that CST has ever recorded in a single calendar year.

Figures, trends & context

The 1,652 antisemitic incidents reported to CST constitute a fall of 27% from the 2,261 incidents reported to CST in 2021, which remains the highest annual total on record. CST received 1,684 reports of anti-Jewish hate in 2020, 1,813 in 2019, and 1,690 in 2018.

The relative decrease in antisemitic incidents from 2021 is a reflection of the volume of anti-Jewish hate reported in the UK during and after the escalation of hostilities between Israel and Hamas in May and June 2021. The 661 incidents recorded in May 2021 is the highest monthly total ever reported, driven by antisemitic reactions to the conflict's intensification during that period. By way of comparison, the highest monthly total in 2022 occurred in May, with 173 incidents. This disparity illustrates the difference in scale of UK-based antisemitism between a year with a significant trigger event from the Middle East, and a year without.

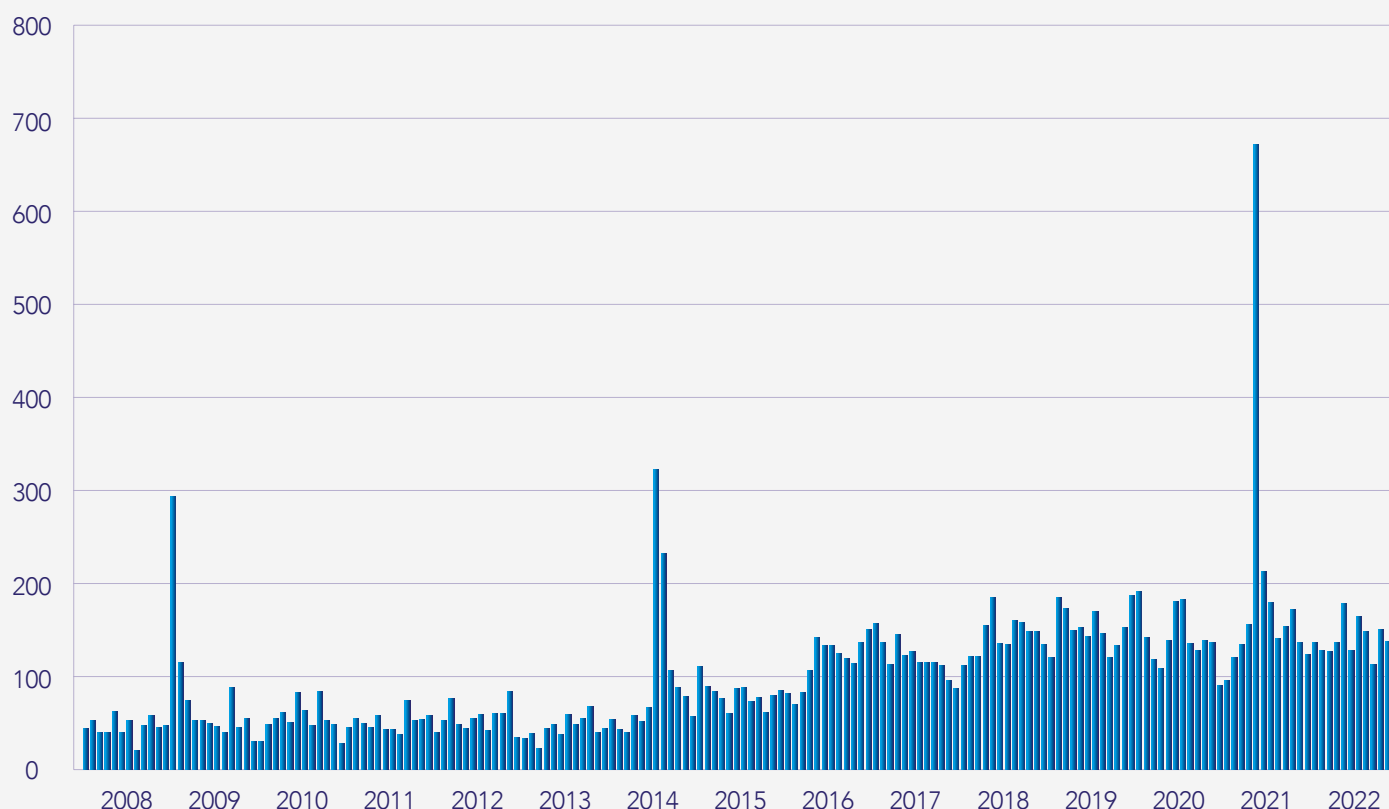
Nevertheless, the figure recorded in 2022 is still significant. The only four years in which a higher total was reported had extenuating circumstances to explain their high totals, albeit of different nature and scale. In 2021, the upswing was a result of people holding the Jewish population in the UK accountable for war involving Israel; in 2020, the pandemic outbreak gave antisemites new methods and rhetoric through which to express their hatred; while incident levels were heightened at various points in 2019 and 2018 when the issue of alleged antisemitism in the Labour Party was prominent in media and social discourse. Without any real kind of trigger event, major or minor, the 1,652 cases of antisemitism reported

to CST in 2022 may just be the 'new normal' of anti-Jewish hate in the UK, surpassing previous totals by some distance.

This high annual total, the most recent in a sequence of historically high figures, involves over 100 incidents reported in every calendar month in the year. Even taking these unprecedented levels of reports into account, only in 2018 and 2019 did CST also record over 100 instances of antisemitism in every month. For comparison, monthly figures exceeding 100 incidents were recorded just six times between January 2006 and March 2016, five of which were due to antisemitic responses to conflicts involving Israel. Since March 2016, months with fewer than 100 incidents have only occurred four times, two of which (December 2020 and January 2021) coincided with periods of national lockdown as Covid-19 cases increased. In fact, the average monthly total in 2022 was somewhat higher than for the ten months of 2021 that were not affected by the conflict-related spike in antisemitism that year. In 2021, the average monthly total discounting May and June – when war in the Middle East intensified and a surge in antisemitism was reported – was 116 incidents, compared to 138 in 2022.

Of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2022, 1,294 happened offline, constituting 78% of the annual total. This is the second-highest figure for offline incidents recorded, fewer only than in 2021, when 1,709 instances of offline anti-Jewish hate were reported. These figures suggest that in-person antisemitic activity has not only returned to the volume ordinarily seen pre-pandemic, but eclipsed it in the first year since 2019 that restrictions on public contact have not been in place at any point to limit the opportunity and likelihood of offenders to target Jewish people with their prejudice. These incidents include face-to-face

NUMBER OF INCIDENTS, MONTH BY MONTH, 2008-2022



abuse and threats, assault, graffiti, property damage and hate mail.

In turn, CST received 358 reports of antisemitism that took place online in 2022, a fall of 35% from the 552 incidents of this type recorded in 2021. Seventeen of them were classed as direct antisemitic Threats, 339 as Abusive Behaviour, and two as mass-produced anti-Jewish Literature. It is the fifth-highest yearly total that CST has recorded for online anti-Jewish hate, and online platforms remain integral to the expression of hate speech, often giving room for the propagation of different antisemitic ideologies and notions: 277 (77%) of these 358 cases evidenced at least one political, religious or conspiracist discourse, while 52 made use of antisemitic memes, images, caricatures or cartoons. Online incidents comprise 22% of the annual figure compared to 24% in 2021, 38% in 2020 when 638 were recorded, and 39% in 2019 when a record 700 reports of this kind were made.

It may be surprising that, in a year when the fifth-highest antisemitic incidents figure was recorded, the number of online incidents reported is lower than in years with lower overall totals. There are, however, contextual considerations to this. In 2021, many of the antisemitic reactions to Israel's conflict with Hamas were hosted on online platforms. Covid-19 regulations implemented at various stages in 2021 and 2020 reduced the opportunity for in-person attacks and abuse, while online channels remained especially viable for sharing hate. The record reports of online anti-Jewish hate in 2019 were prompted by the sheer number of antisemitic comments that were made in virtual discussions and arguments regarding alleged antisemitism in the Labour Party. It is also possible that disseminators of anti-Jewish rhetoric are progressively moving their prejudice to non-mainstream social media platforms that are happy to accommodate their extremism under the guise of absolute freedom of speech. Here, it is less likely that ordinary members of the public will see this hatred and report it to CST.

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The lack of pandemic restrictions in 2022 reduced the reliance on videoconferencing platforms, reflected in the year-on-year decrease of 'Zoombombings' from 19 in 2020, to 16 in 2021, to just four in 2022, wherein videocalls are hijacked with antisemitic content. In total, 202 of the 358 online incidents reported to CST occurred on Twitter; 54 through text or instant messaging services; 27 via email; 14 on Facebook; 11 on Instagram; 11 on TikTok; six were abusive comments on online articles; three were recorded on Snapchat; one took place on YouTube; and 25 transpired on a range of other social media. It should be noted that the disparity between different platforms in these figures may reflect the usage patterns of the people who report antisemitic incidents to CST, rather than being a guide to the relative quantities and availability of antisemitic content on each of these platforms.

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

It is difficult to gauge whether the pattern of historically high antisemitic incident figures observed by CST since 2016 is due to more

incidents taking place in the UK, or a society and community that feels more comfortable to report. The answer is likely to be a combination of both. A less tangible factor behind this sustained rise is the way in which the prevalence of antisemitism in public debate can inspire more antisemitism, if people perceive that the taboo against voicing hostility towards Jews is weakening. The more people hear and read antisemitic comments and views, the more they might feel that they are far from alone in their prejudice, and the more likely they are, perhaps, to have confidence to show their own.

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

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INCIDENT CATEGORIES

CST classifies antisemitic incidents by six distinct categories: Extreme Violence; Assault; Damage and Desecration to Jewish property; Threats; Abusive Behaviour; and antisemitic Literature. The definitions of these categories are given below.¹³

Extreme Violence

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

CST recorded one instance of Extreme Violence in 2022, a fall from three such incidents in 2021. Three incidents of this kind were reported in 2020, one in 2019, and two in 2018. The incident of Extreme Violence recorded in 2022 involved battery with a hammer by a male known to the victim, while antisemitic slurs were said during the attack. The victim was hospitalised as a result of his injuries.

Assault

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

CST recorded 136 incidents in the category of Assault in 2022, a decrease of 22% from the 174 assaults reported in 2021. There were 97 antisemitic assaults reported to CST in 2020, 158 in 2019, and 124 in 2018. Of the recorded attacks, 37 involved punching or kicking the victim; in 29, stones, eggs, bricks, bottles or other objects were thrown at the victim, on 12 occasions from a passing vehicle; in 16 cases, the offender

stripped the victim of religious clothes or accessories; in 15 instances, the victim was spat at; sticks, metal bars or miscellaneous weapons were employed in six cases; on five occasions, a vehicle was driven with the intention of harming pedestrians; in two assaults, a non-lethal or fake firearm was deployed; in one attack, a car window was broken onto a victim; one incident involved a knife, although the offender did not use it. Sixty-seven of these incidents were accompanied by verbal abuse, and 12 contained an element of threatening language.

Together with the case of Extreme Violence, physical antisemitic attacks form 8% of the overall incident total, just as they did in 2021. In 2019, 9% of the 1,813 reports of antisemitism were attacks on Jewish people, whereas just 6% of the 1,684 incidents reported in 2020 fell into this category. This drop in 2020 occurred when pandemic restrictions had a significant impact on the possibility for face-to-face confrontation, as well as the number of potential victims in public spaces. Without any such regulations implemented in 2022, it follows that the proportion of physical altercations returned closer towards the levels recorded before the Covid-19 outbreak.

Areas where there are sizeable, established, visibly Jewish populations continue to be the primary location for violent antisemitic attacks. Of the 137 cases of Assault and Extreme Violence, 80 (58%) took place across just five boroughs: Barnet (35) and Hackney (25) in Greater London, Salford (nine) and Bury (six) in Greater Manchester, and Gateshead (five) in Northumbria. These regions are home to some of the largest and most clearly identifiable Jewish communities in the UK. The prominent visibility of Jewish signifiers, whether at an individual or collective level, correlates with the likelihood of antisemitic assault. These signs of difference may be interpreted by the offender as a threat to what they perceive to be their own

¹³ A full explanation of CST's antisemitic incident categories can be found in the leaflet, [Definitions of Antisemitic Incidents](#).

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culture and territory, or as something so alien from their own lived experience that it becomes easier to degrade and dehumanise. It may also provide perpetrators with a certainty of who and what they are attacking, and a gratification in maximising their target's public humiliation by stripping them of their symbols of religious identity, as occurred in 16 assaults in 2022.

Indeed, at least 64 (47%) of these 137 violent incidents targeted people understood to be visibly Jewish, usually on account of their religious insignia, traditional clothing or Jewish school uniforms: 15 of these 64 attacks were perpetrated against children in Jewish school uniform on their way to or from home. This forms part of a wider, worrying aspect of the antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2022, which extends a trend reported in 2021: a higher proportion of the incidents in the categories of Extreme Violence and Assault targeted, and were perpetrated by, minors than any other category in CST's analysis. In 43 (31%) of the attacks recorded, the victim was known to be a child, while this was the case for the offender in 33 (24%) of the assaults. It is a rise from 2021, when these figures were 25% and 21% respectively, and an even starker increase from 2020, when 16% of victims and 18% of offenders in violent incidents were known to be under 18 years old. This increase, initially linked to the rise in school-related incidents when

Israel's war with Hamas escalated in 2021, has persisted and worsened, suggesting that anti-Jewish violence involving minors is becoming more commonplace. Overall, 24 (18%) of the 137 antisemitic cases of Assault and Extreme Violence reported in 2022 were committed by children against children.

Damage & Desecration to Jewish Property

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

There were 74 instances of Damage & Desecration to Jewish property recorded by CST in 2022, a decrease of 10% from 82 incidents of this type reported in 2021. There were also 74 antisemitic incidents recorded in this category in 2020, 88 in 2019, and 79 in 2018. Twenty-six of these incidents saw damage done to the homes and vehicles of Jewish people, 13 to synagogues and synagogue property such as public menorahs (candelabras used during the festival of Chanukah), 11 to Jewish businesses and organisations, four involved damage to Jewish schools and there were four desecrations of Jewish cemeteries.

In 29 of the 74 instances of Damage & Desecration, the offender used graffiti, daubing or stickers of an antisemitic nature to deface the

CASE STUDY

Assault and abuse of a visibly Jewish man

In August, a visibly Jewish man was walking with his wife in a park in Hertfordshire. A group of teenage boys saw them and shouted, "Oi Jews". When he told the offenders to stop being antisemitic, they came over to him and punched him in the face twice, leaving him with a black eye and bruising on his cheek. As well as calling CST, he called the police who attended immediately, and Hatzola, a Jewish medical emergency response team, who treated the victim for his injuries.

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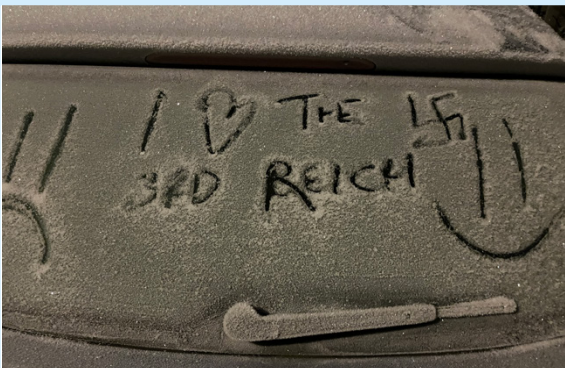
Jewish target (of which nine depicted swastikas or made reference to the Holocaust), while eggs, stones, bricks, bottles or other projectiles were thrown to cause damage on 18 occasions. CST recorded seven cases where windows were broken, six involving the destruction of a mezuzah (a Jewish prayer scroll affixed to a building's entrance), four in which the offender punched or kicked Jewish property, three where non-kosher foodstuffs were left at or on Jewish premises, three involving attempted arson, and one in which a non-lethal firearm was discharged at a Jewish building. All included some element of anti-Jewish focus, language or imagery to be recorded among these figures by CST.

Forty-five of the 101 Threats took place in public spaces, while 13 took place at the homes of Jewish individuals; six were aimed at Jewish businesses or organisations; six at high-profile individuals; two targeted Jewish schools, with an additional six threats directed at Jewish schoolchildren on their way to or from their place of education; four were made to or by university students or staff; one was directed at a synagogue, and a further two at congregants on their way to or from services. Eighteen of the incidents in this category involved written threats on online platforms, seven were delivered via phone call or message, and there were four bomb threats made.

CASE STUDY

Writing on car

In December, an antisemite took advantage of the cold weather to write a neo-Nazi message onto the car of a Jewish student in Bristol. The offender wrote, "I [heart] THE 3RD REICH", punctuating this statement with a swastika.



Threats

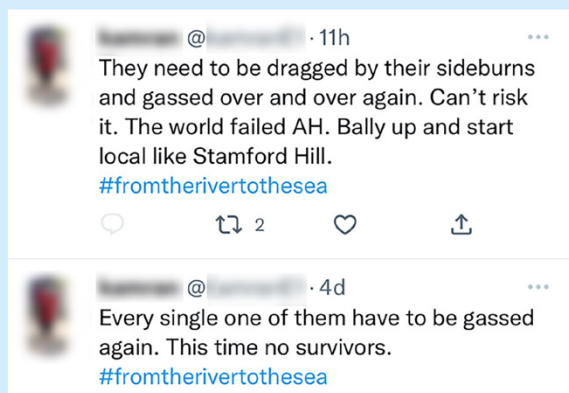
This category includes only direct antisemitic Threats, whether verbal or written. This would include potential improvised explosive devices (IEDs) that were designed to be hoaxes rather than IEDs that are intended to be viable.

CST recorded 101 direct antisemitic Threats in 2022, falling by 29% from the 143 incidents of this sort reported in 2021. Eighty-five incidents were recorded in this category in 2020, 99 in 2019, and 108 in 2018.

CASE STUDY

Threats and incitement on Twitter

In November, a man from London made explicit threats on Twitter to the Jewish community in Stamford Hill, inciting others to attack. His tweets read "Every single one of them have to be gassed again. This time no survivors. #fromtherivertothesea", and, "They need to be dragged by their sideburns and gassed over and over again. Can't risk it. The world failed AH. Bally up and start local like Stamford Hill. #fromtherivertothesea". His rhetoric contained a mix of far-right, pro-Nazi sentiment, and was suffixed with an anti-Zionist hashtag.



Abusive Behaviour

Beneath the umbrella of Abusive Behaviour falls a wide range of incident types, including everything encompassed by verbal and

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

There were 1,331 incidents reported to CST in the category of Abusive Behaviour in 2022, comprising 81% of the 1,652 total and signalling a fall of 28% from the 1,849 instances of Abusive Behaviour recorded in 2021. There were 1,413 counts of Abusive Behaviour in 2020, 1,449 in 2019, and 1,334 in 2018.

In 309 of the Abusive Behaviour incidents reported in 2022, the victims were Jewish people in public, and visibly Jewish in at least 114 of these. Jewish businesses or organisations were targeted in 113 cases in this category, while public figures – Jewish and non-Jewish – were subjected to antisemitic abuse on 67 occasions. Sixty-five of these incidents related to the school sector, and 44 to the university sector. In 56 instances, this abuse was directed at synagogues and/or congregants travelling to or from their place of worship. On 86 occasions of Abusive Behaviour, the victims were harassed in their own homes.

Among the 1,331 instances of Abusive Behaviour, 553 involved spoken abuse and 288 written abuse, while 45 contained threatening or intimidating language without making a direct threat to the victim. There were 283 instances of antisemitic graffiti, daubing or stickers on non-Jewish property, 188 of which included the depictions of swastikas or other references to Hitler, the Nazis or the Holocaust. There were 135 incidents that involved offensive shouts or gestures in public, of which 87 emanated from

passing vehicles. Forty-nine abusive phone calls or voice messages were made, and there were 22 examples of hate mail sent to personal or professional addresses that are not thought to have been mass-produced and distributed.

Of the 1,331 incidents in this category, 339 occurred online, constituting 25% of the category's total. These comprise the majority of the 358 online incidents reported which, while fewer than the 552 cases of online anti-Jewish hate recorded in 2021, remain a significant element of modern-day hate speech. Social media and instant messaging services, the number of which is expanding year-on-year, provide a space where anti-Jewish hate can be cultivated, expressed and affirmed by like-minded peers. Ideas can be shared globally at the touch of a button; harassment can be simultaneously indiscriminate and targeted. The volume of online incidents reveals the crucial role that virtual forums and platforms continue to play as a conduit for prejudice, often of an extremist nature, where antisemites can spout their hatred under the cloak of anonymity if they so choose, confident that it protects them from any meaningful reproach.

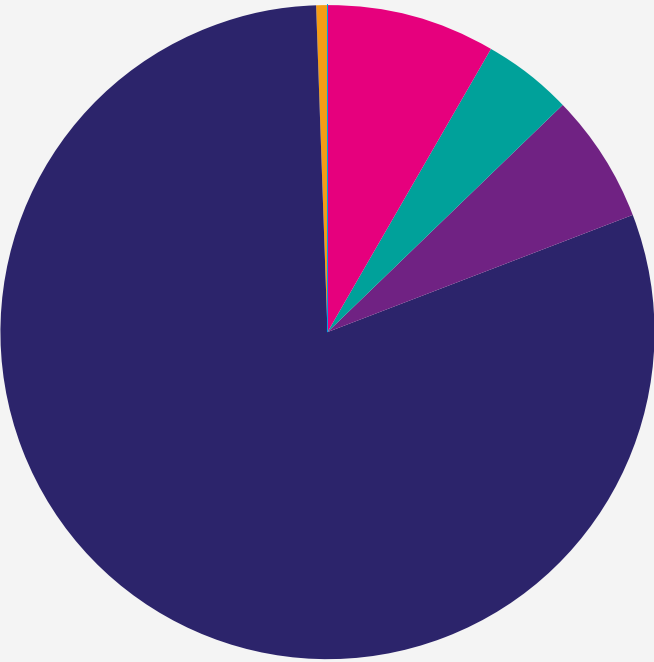
This abuse also leaves a footprint that is more difficult to quantify. Every antisemitic post has the capacity for worldwide reach, and every antisemitic post is a potentially dangerous weapon of incitement to in-person abuse and attacks. With every antisemitic post, the taboo against anti-Jewish hate is weakened,

CASE STUDY

Offensive shouts in Manchester

In November, a visibly Jewish man was walking home in Manchester. On his way, as he walked past a synagogue, a cyclist rode past and shouted, "F**king Jew, Hitler is coming". This is indicative of the most common type of incident reported to CST: unprompted verbal abuse towards a visibly Jewish person who is just going about their day in public.

INCIDENT CATEGORIES



Extreme Violence	1 (<1%)
Assault	136 (8%)
Damage & Desecration	74 (4%)
Threats	101 (6%)
Abusive Behaviour	1,331 (81%)
Literature	9 (1%)

and antisemites feel more legitimised in their worldview and emboldened to act upon it. Online antisemitism has real-world consequences for the Jewish community, which may help to explain the increased proportion of child victims and offenders reported to CST in 2022.

Literature

This category covers mass-produced antisemitic literature that is distributed in multiple quantities. This can involve a single mass mailing or repeated individual mailings, but it must involve the multiple use of the same piece of literature in order to fall into this category. This is different from one-off cases of hate mail targeted at individual people or organisations, which would come under the category of either Abusive Behaviour or Threats. This category includes literature that is antisemitic in itself, irrespective of whether or not the recipient is Jewish, and cases where Jews are specifically targeted with malicious material, even if the content itself is not antisemitic. This would include, for instance, the mass mailing of neo-Nazi literature targeted at Jewish organisations

or homes, even if the literature did not mention Jews. This category also includes antisemitic emails that are sent to groups of recipients. The statistics for this category give no indication of the extent of distribution. A single mass mailing of antisemitic literature is only counted as one incident, although it could involve material being sent to dozens of recipients. Thus, the number of incidents reflects the number of offenders and their actions, rather than the number of victims.

There were nine incidents reported to CST of antisemitic Literature in 2022, a slight drop from the ten such incidents recorded in 2021 and the lowest total for this category since 2013, when five cases were reported. CST recorded 12 instances of Literature distribution in 2020, 18 in 2019, and 43 in 2018.

The anomalously high number of Literature incidents seen in 2018 was in large part due to the circulation of an antisemitic, conspiracy theory-laden leaflet titled *Tip of The Iceberg*, posted through the letterboxes of north London and Hertfordshire. CST was still receiving reports

of its dwindling distribution in 2021, but none were made in 2022.

Of the nine antisemitic incidents recorded in this category in 2022, two involved the dissemination of leaflets bearing the name of the far-right group Patriotic Alternative; two involved leaflets titled, "Every Single Aspect of The Ukraine-Russia War Is Jewish" that are linked to an antisemitic, conspiracist website called GOYIM.TV; one pamphlet was posted to homes and a synagogue in Harrow; one was handed out at a church in Islington; and in one case, the antisemitic conspiracist newspaper *The Light* was seen left around Durham University. The remaining two were online incidents: one involved the mass-emailing of a text filled with anti-Jewish tropes and conspiracy theories, and another where the offender spammed several accounts on Twitter with an anti-Jewish paragraph masquerading as a Bible quote.

CASE STUDY

Anti-Jewish Letter

In October, a letter was posted through the letterbox of a synagogue in Harrow. It spoke of the "Jewish pharisees of Jesus' time" misrepresenting the Bible and denying people access to "the truth of the real hope and comfort for mankind". The framing of Jewish people in this way is an old antisemitic stereotype, with roots in the trope of Jews being the killers of Christ. The fact that it was sent to a synagogue adds a further layer of anti-Jewish targeting to the incident.



Replying to @

Yes we need to riot & remove these Jews from running the U.K. Parliament is run by Jews. We should've help hitler not fight against him. If we helped him we wouldn't have these Jewish Zionist cxxts running the U.K. 🇺🇸

8:15 pm · 29 Jul 2022 · Twitter for iPhone

Online antisemitic abuse, conspiracy theory and neo-Nazism, July

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INCIDENT VICTIMS

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

There were 467 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2022 in which the victims were ordinary Jewish individuals in public. In at least 200 of these, they were visibly Jewish on account of their traditional clothing, Jewish school uniforms, or jewellery and insignia bearing religious symbols. In 2021, this was true of 632 and 267 incidents respectively. There was an element of verbal abuse in 706 of the 1,652 incidents recorded by CST in 2022, 104 of which incorporated threatening language. On 157 occasions, antisemitic abuse was shouted or gestured in public, of which 101 were perpetrated by the occupant of a vehicle. All of this is broadly representative of the kind of offline incident most commonly reported to CST: the random, unprovoked, verbal harassment of strangers who are presumed for whatever reason to be Jewish, as they go about their lives in public spaces that often have a large footfall of Jewish people.

There were 20 antisemitic incidents recorded at Jewish schools in 2022, compared to 41 in 2021. An additional 41 incidents involved Jewish schoolchildren away from school premises, often on their way to or from home, compared to 42 incidents of this type reported in 2021. CST recorded 33 incidents wherein the victims were Jewish schoolchildren or staff at non-faith schools, falling from the 100 such incidents in 2021. This results in a total of 94 incidents affecting people and buildings in the school sector, constituting a sharp fall of 50% from the 183 incidents reported in 2021. Of these 94 incidents, 16 came under the category of Assault, 15 of which occurred off school premises; four incidents were classed as Damage & Desecration; there were nine direct Threats made; 65 incidents were classed as Abusive Behaviour.

The drop in school-related antisemitism between 2021 and 2022 is a reflection of the sheer volume of anti-Jewish hate that was reported in school contexts when the conflict in Israel and Gaza intensified in May 2021. Without a similarly impactful trigger event, the 94 incidents in the school sector is more comparable to the total of 122 such incidents recorded in 2019, the last full year in which school-based antisemitic incident totals were not affected by conflict in the Middle East, or by lockdown-induced school closures for large

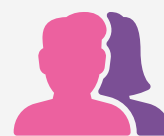
VICTIMS where the age and gender are known



572 (61%)
victims were **male**



309 (33%)
victims were **female**



57 (6%)
victims were **groups of males and females**



739 (80%)
victims were **adults**



141 (15%)
victims were **minors**



42 (5%)
victims were **mixed age groups**

VICTIM TYPES



In Public
467



Visibly Jewish
200



School-related
94



University-related
56



Synagogue-related
83



Jewish Orgs/Businesses
131



Public Figures
73



At Home
133



At Work
15



Professional Football
56



Amateur Football
3

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parts of the year as in 2020, when 54 cases of this type were reported.

As well as the overall figure, the ratio of the different types of school-related incidents reverted towards the pattern typically witnessed in years without a significant trigger event in the Middle East. The proportion of incidents that took place at non-Jewish schools fell from 55% in 2021 to 35% in 2022, while it was 26% in 2020 and 20% in 2019. It demonstrates how tensions in educational spaces where Jewish and non-Jewish pupils and teachers coexist on a daily basis were exacerbated when Israel and Hamas were at war in 2021. At times of relative peace in the region, these tensions spill over into antisemitism less often.

A similar trend was observed in the higher education sphere. In 2022, 56 antisemitic incidents affected Jewish students, academics, student unions or other student bodies, or were perpetrated by people involved in the university sector. It is a decrease of 56% from the 128 such incidents recorded in 2021 which, like the school-sector total, was a record annual figure, sparked by the upswing in antisemitic reactions to circumstances in the Middle East observed in campus settings. Of these 56 incidents, 18 (32%) referenced or were related to Israel and the Middle East, compared to just 226 (14%) of the 1,596 reports of anti-Jewish hate that did not take place in higher education. It may show that the way in which this discourse came to dominate student environments in 2021 had a legacy beyond the period of intensified hostilities. Nevertheless, the overall total is more closely aligned with the 44 reported in 2020 and 40 in 2019.

Of these 56 university-related antisemitic incidents, four were classified as Assault, three as Damage & Desecration, four as Threats, 44 as Abusive Behaviour, and there was one instance of antisemitic Literature. Seventeen (30%) of these university-related reports occurred online, whereas this was the case in 341 (21%) of the 1,596 anti-Jewish incidents

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that were not in the sector. It suggests that the student demographic, having grown up with these platforms playing a formative role in their adolescence, are particularly active on social media and online spaces, using them as a tool for interaction, hostile or otherwise. These 17 incidents are counted among the 30 cases of university-related anti-Jewish hate that occurred off campus, while 26 took place on university property.

There were 56 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2022 that targeted synagogues (including buildings, congregants and staff while at the location), decreasing by 5% from 2021's total of 59. In an additional 27 incidents, congregants or staff were targeted on their way to or from prayer services, falling by 23% from the 35 such incidents reported to CST in 2021. This comprises a 12% net drop in cases of antisemitism affecting synagogues and the people travelling to, from, or already inside them, from 94 in 2021 to 83 in 2022. The figure reported in 2021, as with the totals observed in the educational sphere, was an annual record that should be considered within the context of Israel and Hamas' war, when those who sought to vent their anger over Israel towards Jewish communities found an easy and visible target in synagogues. The 83 synagogue-related incidents are significantly more than the 63 recorded in 2020, when pandemic restrictions limited the public's capacity to attend places of worship. Again, like school- and university-related antisemitism, incidents in the synagogue sector returned to the levels typically reported before the Covid-19 outbreak, when 76 were recorded in 2019. A further four acts of anti-Jewish hate resulted in the damage of Jewish cemeteries or graves in 2022, equal to the total recorded in 2021.

In 2022, 133 incidents reported to CST took place at people's residential property. It is a fall of 21% from the 169 incidents of this kind recorded in 2021. As with the figures reported for antisemitism in the school, university and synagogue sectors, this number has settled

back down towards the typical pre-pandemic totals. In 2020, the volume of reported incidents of this kind was also high, with 160 recorded by CST. In 2021 and 2020, lockdown regulations implemented at various points over the two years meant that people spent more time at home than would ordinarily have been the case, potentially aggravating local tensions and neighbour disputes that developed into antisemitic abuse. Without these conditions, reports of this nature diminished in quantity in 2022, closer to the 119 such cases recorded in 2019, before Covid-19 altered daily life. Nevertheless, 58 of the 133 incidents targeting people while at home were perpetrated by offenders known to the victim. In total, and including these 58 cases, there were 160 incidents – 10% of the 1,652 total reported to CST in 2022 – wherein the victim and perpetrator had a prior relationship. They also comprised 9% of the annual figure in 2021, and 6% in 2020.

Fifteen antisemitic incidents were related to the workplace, falling by 35% from the 23 reports of this nature in 2021. Meanwhile, 131 incidents targeted Jewish businesses and organisations (including one youth movement), a drop of 14% from the 152 such incidents recorded in 2021.

An increase of 6% was observed in the volume of antisemitism directed at public figures, who were victims in 73 instances in 2022 compared to 69 in 2021. Of these, 19 involved theories about disproportionate Jewish political and social control, while 37 referenced Israel, Palestine and the Middle East. It highlights the extent to which antisemites hold public figures – particularly politicians – to account for the actions of Israel, and how they believe those in positions of relative power are complicit in a global Jewish conspiracy. Fifty-seven of these 73 reports were online incidents, once again displaying how the virtual presence of those in the public eye makes them more exposed to antisemites than they might have been before social media became as central to modern life as it is. This level of accessibility is part of

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the reason why these forums have become so popular as a means for spreading prejudice.

CST received a description of the victim or victims' gender in 938 of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2022. Of these, 572 (61%) were male; 309 (33%) were female; in 57 incidents (6%), the victims were mixed groups of males and females.

The victim or victims' age was ascertained in 922 of the antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2022. Of these, 739 (80%) involved adult victims, of which 36 were over the age of 65; 141 (15%) involved victims who were minors; in 42 instances (5%), mixed groups of adults and minors were attacked. The difference between incidents exclusively targeting minors and those with exclusively adult victims is slightly slimmer than it was in 2021, when 82% of victims were adults and 14% were children. This breakdown – a symptom of the increase in school-related antisemitism – signified a sizeable shift from 2020, when adults were the exclusive target in 89% of incidents, and minors in just 8%. This ratio had generally been the norm until 2021, and it is concerning that a higher proportion of young people continued to suffer antisemitic harassment in 2022, well after the number of incidents recorded in the school sector diminished. It indicates that perpetrators of anti-Jewish hate – of whom a worryingly high percentage are also under the age of 18 – are increasingly singling out children to be the recipients of their prejudice.

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ANTISEMITISM IN FOOTBALL

There were 56 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2022 that took place in the context of professional football. These include antisemitic abuse that took place inside and outside stadia, stickers and graffiti related to football clubs and supporter groups, online comments regarding football, and anti-Jewish replies to British football clubs posting about Jewish holidays on social media. It is a rise from the 43 such incidents reported in 2021, and 18 recorded in 2020. The increase can be partly explained by the fact that 2022 is the first year for the entirety of which fans were allowed to attend matches since CST began collating data on football-specific antisemitism in 2020, when Covid-19 regulations prohibited crowds at sporting and other entertainment events.

Of these 56 incidents, 27 involved racist abuse and chants inside stadia; 14 were reports of anti-Jewish hate outside stadia, including racist abuse and chants, as well as stickers and graffiti related to football clubs and supporter groups; 15 were online incidents, including comments regarding football, and anti-Jewish replies to British football clubs posting about Jewish holidays on social media.

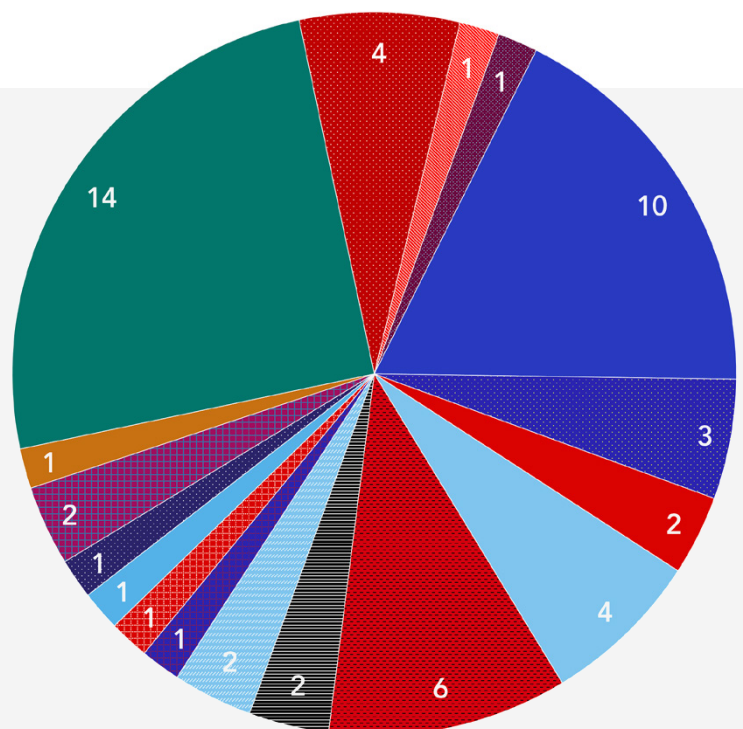
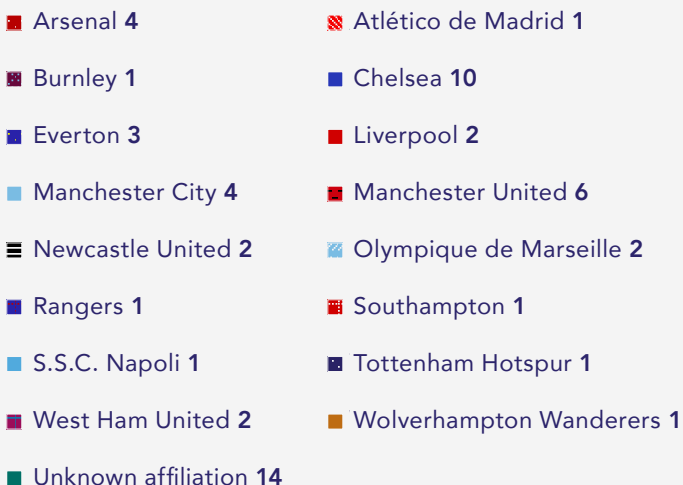
Ten incidents were perpetrated by fans of Chelsea; six by Manchester United supporters; four by fans of Arsenal and Manchester City; three by

Everton supporters; two each by fans of Liverpool Newcastle United, Olympique de Marseille and West Ham United; and one each by supporters of Atlético de Madrid, Burnley, Rangers, Southampton, S.S.C. Napoli, Tottenham Hotspur and Wolverhampton Wanderers. On 14 occasions, the offender or offenders' affiliation was unknown.

On 30 occasions, this abuse targeted Tottenham Hotspur or their fans; Chelsea, Manchester United or their supporters in six instances each; Manchester City or their fans in five cases; Liverpool or their supporters on three occasions; Arsenal and their fans in two instances; and Fulham, West Ham United and Welling United or their supporters in one incident each.

These statistics do not mean to suggest that any of the clubs mentioned have a particular problem of antisemitism. It can happen anywhere, and often the reason that one club or another will get headlines and publicity over antisemitism is because those are the clubs that are trying to deal with the problem, by investigating complaints, banning fans and taking meaningful action. An additional three incidents were recorded in grassroots or amateur football, compared to nine in 2021 and four in 2020.

INCIDENT OFFENDERS: Football fans



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INCIDENT OFFENDERS

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

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

CST received a description of the ethnic appearance of the offender or offenders in 508 of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents reported in 2022. Of these, 257 (51%) were described as white – North European; 26 (5%) as white – South European; 83 (16%) as black; 49 (10%) as South Asian; three (less than 1%) as Southeast Asian; finally, 90 (18%) were described as Arab or North African. These percentages, in which white offenders make up the majority, are typical for periods where there is not a significant trigger event involving Israel. It is a reversion to the norm from 2021's breakdown, when violence in the Middle East intensified and the proportion of offenders described as Arab and North African rose to 29%, while those of South Asian ethnic appearance perpetrated 16% of the anti-Jewish hate incidents reported. It is important to bear in mind that these details rely on the subjective judgement of witnesses and victims, made in what can be brief, disorienting encounters.

A description of the gender of the offender or offenders was obtained by CST in 848 of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2022. Of these, the offenders were described as male in 695 incidents (82% of incidents where the offender's gender was obtained); female in 137 incidents (16%); and mixed groups of males and females in 16 incidents (2%).

OFFENDERS where the age and gender are known



695 (82%)

offenders were **male**



137 (16%)

offenders were **female**



16 (2%)

offenders were **groups of males and females**



643 (80%)

offenders were **adults**



159 (20%)

offenders were **minors**



1 (<1%)

offenders were **mixed age groups**

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Desecration of football-related sticker, Hertfordshire, September

In 803 of the 1,652 reports of antisemitism in 2022, the approximate age of the offender or offenders was given. Among them, 643 (80%) involved adult offenders; in 159 cases (20%) the perpetrators were minors; there was only one instance (less than 1%) where the offenders were a mix of adults and minors.

This age distribution continues a worrying trend similarly observed in 2021, wherein 18% of antisemitic incidents were perpetrated by minors compared to 82% by adults. In the context of 2021, this could be attributed to the surge in school-related anti-Jewish hate as a response to Israel's war with Hamas. This was in stark contrast to 2020, when 10% of offenders were minors and 90% were adults; a ratio that is broadly consistent with previous records. In 2022, however, the number of school-related incidents decreased, and yet the proportion of child perpetrators marginally increased.

Such a shift could indicate growing antisemitic sentiment amongst a younger demographic. While circumstances in the Middle East may have prompted its expression in 2021, the continuation of such sentiment well beyond May and June 2021 suggests a prejudice more profound than a determination to hold diasporic Jewish people accountable for Israel's activity. In fact, only 11 (7%) of the 159

antisemitic offences committed by minors in 2022 referenced or were related to Israel and/or Palestine. Rather, anti-Jewish rhetoric used by minors far more frequently utilised the Holocaust and Nazi-era themes, which were present in 66 (42%) of the incidents perpetrated by children in 2022. A deeper analysis of this trend is provided in the Discourse, Motives & Ideology chapter.



Swastika etched into snow on a car, Barnet, December

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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 difference between the two can be subtle and the subject of much debate. Clearly, it would not be acceptable to define all anti-Israel speech and action as antisemitic. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that contemporary antisemitism can occur in the context of, or be accompanied by, extreme feelings over the Israel/Palestine conflict, and that hostility towards Israel may be expressed via, or motivated by, antisemitic rhetoric and conspiracy theories. Discourse relating to the conflict is used by antisemitic incident offenders to abuse Jews, and anti-Israel discourse can sometimes repeat, or echo, antisemitic language and imagery. For example, the terms “Zionist” and “Zionism” will often be used in arguments about Israel and the Middle East; sometimes they are used accurately and legitimately, and at other times they are deployed in an antisemitic way. CST must distinguish between the occasions when these terms are used in a purely political sense, and the times when they are abused as euphemisms for “Jewishness” and “Jews”. Similarly, the phrase “Zionist Lobby”, when it is reserved for Jewish organisations and individuals regardless of whether they have taken a public stance on Zionism, walks the line between the conspiracy theory that Jews have a disproportionate political power and influence, and the antisemitic trope that Jews are not to be trusted. Drawing out these distinctions and deciding on where the dividing lines lie is one of the most difficult areas of CST’s work in recording and analysing hate crime.

Sometimes the targeting of a particular incident can suggest an intention to intimidate or harass Jews on the part of the offender. For example, if anti-Israel posters or graffiti appear to have been deliberately placed close to a synagogue or other Jewish building, or in an area with a large Jewish population, then they are more likely to

be classified as an antisemitic incident. If anti-Israel material is sent unsolicited to a synagogue or other clearly Jewish venue at random then it may well be recorded as an antisemitic incident (because the synagogue was targeted on the basis of it being Jewish and the offender has failed to distinguish between a place of worship and pro-Israel political activity). Similarly, if cars draped in Palestinian flags are driven through the heart of Jewish communities, or shouts of “Free Palestine” or comments and questions demanding an opinion on the Middle East are directed at Jewish people – simply because they are perceived to be Jewish – it will also be considered an antisemitic incident.

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

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

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CST recorded 244 antisemitic incidents that alluded or were related to Israel and the Middle East in 2022. Of these, 32 included a comparison between Israel and the Nazis, while the terms “Zionism” or “Zionist” were employed in 80 cases of anti-Jewish hate. There were 148 reports in which the offender demonstrated outright anti-Zionist motivation that went beyond more superficial discourse about the region or the conflict, alongside explicitly anti-Jewish comments or abuse aimed at unsuspecting Jewish people. Irrespective of whether or not anti-Israel incidents are classified as antisemitic by CST, they are still relevant to CST’s security work as they may involve threats and abuse directed at Jewish people or organisations who work with – or in support of – Israel, and therefore have an impact on the security of the UK Jewish community.



Tattoo of Adolf Hitler on a man's leg, Glasgow, August

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DISCOURSE, MOTIVES AND IDEOLOGY

CST attempts to assess the number of antisemitic incidents that take place in the UK each year behind which there is evidence of political, religious, or ideological discourse or motivation. CST also monitors the number of instances where conspiracy-fuelled sentiments are present: stereotypical tropes about the Jewish people's power, influence, and money – and exaggerating or inventing the tragedies of the Holocaust – can be especially prevalent in online expressions of antisemitism. It is common for two or more of these discourses to exist within the same incident, even if they would seem ideologically incompatible. Such apparent contradictions perfectly capture the multifaceted nature of contemporary anti-Jewish hate.

Historic, simplistic prejudices have been manipulated and deployed by such a vast array of social, religious, cultural and political forces over such a long period of time, that a much more complex and layered landscape of antisemitic language, imagery and references has emerged. Partly as a consequence of this, the use of a certain rhetoric does not necessarily evidence a specific motivation or allegiance: for example, a person who shouts "Heil Hitler" at a Jewish passer-by might align themselves with far-right extremist ideology, or they might simply know that this phrase will cause upset and offence to Jewish people.

In 465 incidents – 28% of the 1,652 cases of antisemitism reported to CST in 2022 – the perpetrator alluded to Hitler, the Nazis, the Holocaust, used rhetoric associated with the period of Nazi rule, and/or punctuated their abuse with a Nazi salute, the depiction of a swastika, or other related imagery. This is a decrease of 8% in number but an increase from 2021 in the proportional contribution to the annual total, when the 503 incidents employing these references formed 22% of the overall reported figure. This was the most common

discourse reported in antisemitic incidents in 2022, which is normal for a year without an Israel-related trigger event. It is a shocking reflection of contemporary far-right discourse that far more antisemitic incident offenders glorified the Holocaust than denied it. In 79 of these 465 incidents, the Holocaust, its perpetrators and/or their ideas were celebrated, or the desire for a repeat mass-extinction of Jews was expressed (falling from 90 in 2021). Nineteen incidents contained the denial of either the scale of the Holocaust, or its having happened at all (rising from 17 in 2021). On eight occasions, the offender simultaneously glorified and denied the Nazi extermination of European Jewry, a contradiction that indicates how confused and blended antisemitic ideas can be in the minds of those who feel anti-Jewish prejudice. In 202 of these 465 incidents containing Nazi-related hate speech, abuse was graffitied, daubed, scratched, stuck or printed on public or private property: in most of these instances, the vandalism incorporated the depiction of a swastika. There were 99 incidents in which far-right motivation was apparent, wherein the perpetrator showed



Comparison of Jews and Israel to Nazis, July

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Far-right antisemitic graffiti, Liverpool, October

allegiance to radical far-right beliefs, a drop from 111 such incidents in 2021. On 82 occasions, this evidence of support for far-right ideology was present alongside the use of Nazi-era discourse.

Among the 465 incidents involving Holocaust-related discourse were 32 in which the offender directly compared Israel to Nazi Germany, falling from the 62 such incidents reported in 2021. These 32 cases also contribute to the 244 antisemitic incidents that referenced Israel, Palestine or the conflict between the two. These 244 incidents with Israel-related discourse comprised 15% of the 1,652 incidents recorded by CST in 2022; 70% fewer than the 826 such incidents in 2021. On 148 occasions, there was evidence of explicitly anti-Zionist motivation, while the terms "Zionism" or "Zionist" were employed on 80 occasions, often as euphemisms for "Jewishness" and "Jew" or alongside other antisemitic language. The drop in Israel-related discourse or motivation from 2021 marks a return to an amount conventional for a period without a spike prompted by events in the Middle East. The same was true of the decrease observed in antisemitic incidents

including discourse relating to Islam or Muslims, from 49 in 2021 to 27 in 2022, and in those where Islamist extremist ideology was present, falling from 20 to eight reports. An additional 31 incidents evidenced another religious ideology, just over the 29 recorded in 2021.

Antisemitic conspiracy theories were present in 161 (10%) of the 1,652 incidents reported in 2022, marking a decrease from the 183 such incidents recorded in 2021. From these, 138 discussed Jewish power over global politics, media, finance and other industries (compared to 149 in 2021); 16 spread falsehoods about religious rituals and practices (just below the 19 reported in 2021); and three involved myths regarding the origins of Jewishness in attempts to undermine the legitimacy of any concept of modern Jewish identity (just fewer than the four incidents of this nature reported in 2021).

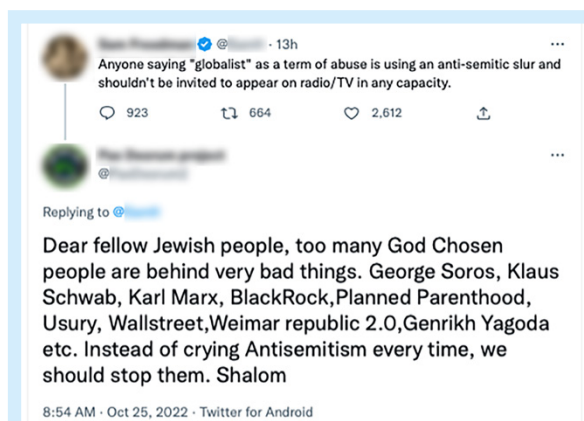
Specific aspects of Judaism were attacked or deliberately mischaracterised for antisemitic purposes in 31 instances, more than the 30 such incidents recorded in 2021. Fourteen singled out religious traditions (an increase from ten in 2021); 13 of these manipulated ideas taken from religious scripture (just under the 14 reported in 2021); and four focused on religious literature (compared to six in 2021 that targeted specific Jewish holy books). In 87 cases the antisemitism was littered with anti-Jewish stereotypes, caricatures or dehumanising language and imagery, decreasing from 98 such examples in 2021.



Mock-up of a banknote with antisemitic conspiracy theories, September

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In 2022, CST recorded 40 incidents that were politically motivated, or linked to specific political parties or their supporters. Three of these were connected to the Conservative Party, one to the British National Party, and one with the UK's withdrawal from the European Union. The vast majority – 35 – were associated to the Labour Party, classed as such for the offender's expressed affiliation or support, because the abuse targeted party members or politicians, or because it appeared motivated by news stories and events related to Labour. It should be noted that these are incidents related to events in, or arguments about, the Labour Party, and should not be treated as a measure of incidents perpetrated by Labour Party members (which CST is not in a position to assess). It is a slight rise of 17% from the 30 Labour Party-related incidents reported in 2021. CST records each specific targeted online campaign as a single incident, because to record each piece of antisemitic content as a separate incident would be unsustainable and cause extreme variations in CST's incident totals, obstructing clear analysis of offline incidents. If this were not CST's policy, the total number of Labour Party-related incidents would be far higher, due to the volume of antisemitic comments recorded in reactions to the publication of a joint statement made by CST, the Board of Deputies and the Jewish Leadership Council following Labour's National Executive Committee election results in September. These were recorded instead as three separate incidents, one for every organisation targeted.



Antisemitic conspiracy theory and manipulation of religious text, October

This scale of anti-Jewish responses to this statement – so great it would have distorted the overall figure to count all of them – is indicative of a pattern observed in previous years: when the issue of alleged anti-Jewish hate linked to the Labour Party – historic or current – is raised once more in the news and public discourse, it is almost always immediately followed by an acute peak of related antisemitism, before subsiding again. This was the case in 2020, when Labour Party-related antisemitic incidents swelled in response to the change in party leadership and subsequent suspension of Jeremy Corbyn. This trend also appeared in 2019, when a spike followed the formation of Change UK after several Jewish Members of Parliament left the Labour Party, citing allegations of internal antisemitism as the cause. To generalise, anti-Jewish hate that emanates from the political left tends to be more reactive to current affairs, whereas antisemitism from the far right is a more constant hatred expressed irrespective of news and media, and so the number of reported incidents with neo-Nazi or far-right extremist rhetoric usually fluctuates less vigorously from one year to the next.

This may also explain the extent of the drop in incidents referencing Israel, Palestine and the Middle East in 2022 compared to 2021, when



Antisemitic response to the communal statement, September

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the intensified hostilities in the region triggered the highest annual total of anti-Jewish hate incidents ever reported to CST. In 2022, this topic – which typically inspires response from the far left – was not nearly as high in the news agenda, and so reports of related incidents fell. In fact, there were 21 incidents recorded in 2022 associated with the Labour Party that also made reference to the Middle East. These discourses intersected more often than any other two, and form part of the 110 antisemitic incidents reported in 2022 that combined two or more of the political, religious and racist rhetoric, conspiracy theories and ideologies discussed in this chapter. The coalescence of multiple discourses within a single expression of anti-Jewish hate, recorded in 13% of the 827 incidents involving at least one, underlines the complexity of contemporary antisemitism, where offenders from across social, political, cultural and ideological spectra store and deploy the same array of well-worn tropes and narratives with which to convey their prejudice.

This opportunistic element to anti-Jewish hate, in which incident perpetrators mould antisemitic ideas that are deeply embedded in the individual and collective psyche to fit the

present context, was apparent at the outbreak of Covid-19. In 2020, when the pandemic began to take hold, 40 incidents were reported to CST that included references to the virus alongside antisemitic rhetoric. These included conspiracy theories about Jewish involvement in creating and spreading Covid-19 (or creating and spreading the myth of Covid-19); rehashed stereotypes of Jews being disease carriers; and hopes that Jewish people would be killed off by the pandemic. In 2021, 78 incidents of this kind were recorded, but the discourse had largely evolved to equate lockdowns, vaccines and the idea of immunisation passports to aspects of the persecution and genocide of Jews in the Holocaust. Just eight such incidents were reported to CST in 2022, a sizeable decrease that suggests the previous years' totals were predominantly a reflection of the uncertainty and fear that many felt about a new and disorienting reality, combined with a frustration at the restrictions placed on daily activity that hitherto had been taken for granted. Without these in place at any point in 2022, the subject of Covid-19 was not as prominent in the news cycle as it had been, and the volume of pandemic-associated incidents fell.



Labour Party- and Israel-related antisemitism, December



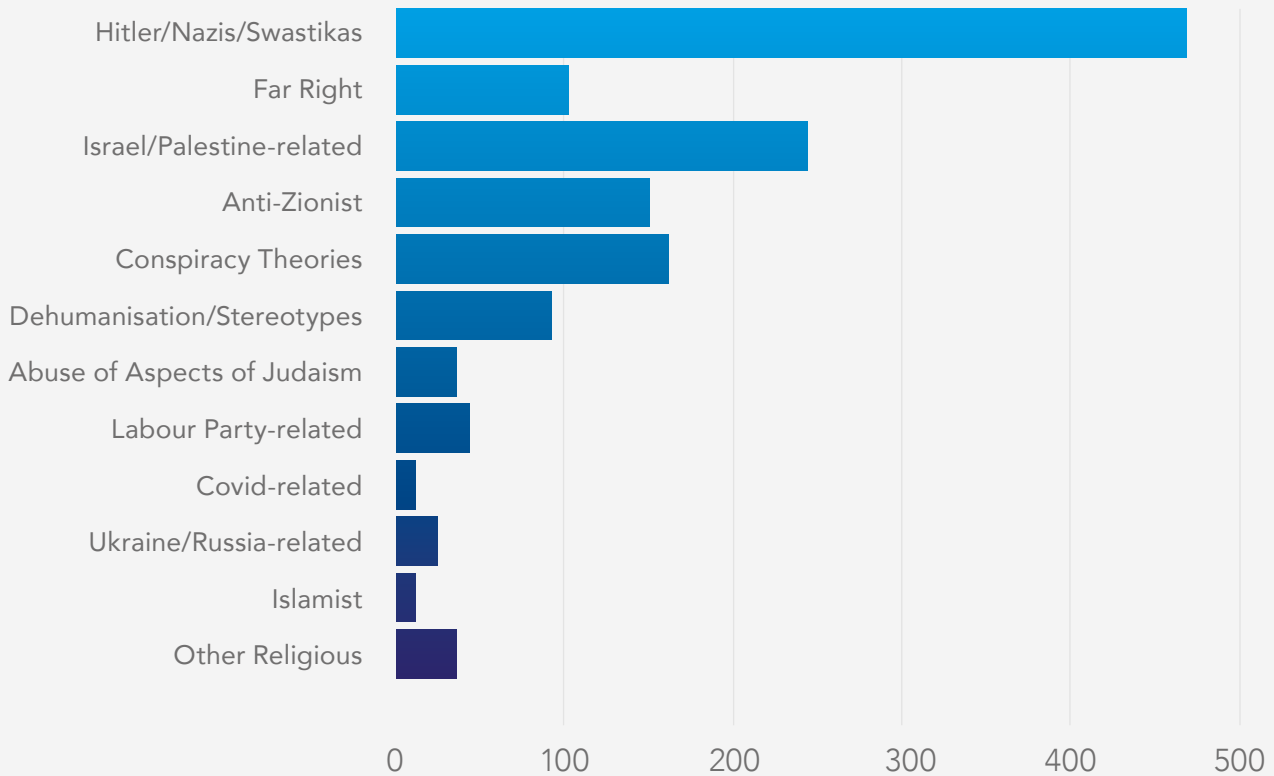
Pandemic-related sticker, Durham, November

A core theme of the analysis of antisemitic incidents recorded in 2022 is the growing percentage

It is a disturbing component of the anti-Jewish hate reported in 2022 that, in slightly more incidents with child perpetrators than not, abuse was laced with at least one antisemitic ideology or narrative strand. It suggests that children are no less aware of antisemitic ideologies and conspiracy theories than adults, and may potentially be slightly more open to them. It potentially indicates that the rising ratio of offenders under the age of 18 is happening



DISCOURSE, MOTIVES & IDEOLOGY



as their generation experiences increased exposure to extremist beliefs, conspiracies, and imagery, all of which abound on the social media platforms where many of this demographic are active. It cannot be quantified exactly how substantial an influence this type of material has on offline reports of antisemitism, but it is possible that such content is inspiring and appearing in the harassment of Jewish people. Holocaust- or Nazi-era references and rhetoric were observed in 66 of the incidents perpetrated by minors, glorifying the Holocaust and its architects, or expressing a desire to see it happen again on 14 occasions. In 11 instances, there was evidence of far-right motivation. These interconnecting discourses were more frequently cited by children than any other. It may reveal, at least on a superficial level, that extreme right-wing ideology is the prevailing force behind the proportion and composition of anti-Jewish hate promulgated by minors.



Far-right graffiti, Greater Manchester, October

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GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS

Of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2022, 1,130 occurred across the regions of Greater London and Greater Manchester; the UK cities where the largest Jewish populations reside.

In the former, 920 incidents were reported, marking a fall of 27% from the 1,259 incidents recorded in 2021. Greater Manchester's total of 210 is a decrease of 26% from the 284 incidents in the same area in 2021.

CST recorded at least one antisemitic incident in all but one of the 33 Metropolitan Police boroughs of London. Of the 920 incidents recorded across Greater London in 2022, 316 occurred in Barnet, the local authority that is home to the biggest Jewish population in the UK. There were 113 instances of antisemitism reported to have taken place in Hackney, 66 in Westminster, 62 in Camden and 48 in Haringey. Barnet, Hackney, Haringey and Camden are all areas where significant portions of London's Jewish community live, so it is not surprising that a significant portion of London's anti-Jewish hate incidents continue to take place there. Meanwhile, the high volume of reported antisemitism in Westminster has several possible explanations. At the city centre, its high footfall inevitably means that people from different walks of life will pass through at the same time, including Jewish people and antisemites. Since January 2018, the Metropolitan Police Service has recorded more hate crime offences of all types in Westminster than any other borough.¹⁴ As the UK's political hub, antisemitic abuse of public figures and institutions is often directed at the offices that are based there: high-profile people based in Westminster were the target of anti-Jewish hate in six cases, as were Jewish organisations. Additionally, it is here that many people are often inclined to make their public political statements, whether through protest, graffiti, speech or other modus operandi. Thirty-

nine (59%) of the 66 reports of antisemitic hate in Westminster involved at least one ideological, political, or conspiracist discourses and tropes. For comparison, this was only the case in 48% of the incidents that occurred in Barnet.

Within Greater London's statistics, 63 incidents were reported to have taken place on property that falls under the remit of British Transport Police. A further 44 were online incidents where it is known that either the victim or offender is based in London, but a more specific location could not be established.

Of Greater Manchester's 210 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2022, 56 happened in Bury, 51 in the City of Manchester, 51 in Salford, 11 in Trafford and eight in Stockport. Within Greater Manchester's data, ten of the recorded incidents happened on property over which the British Transport Police has jurisdiction. An additional ten were online incidents where either the victim or offender is known to be based in Manchester, but it was not possible to pinpoint a specific location within the region.

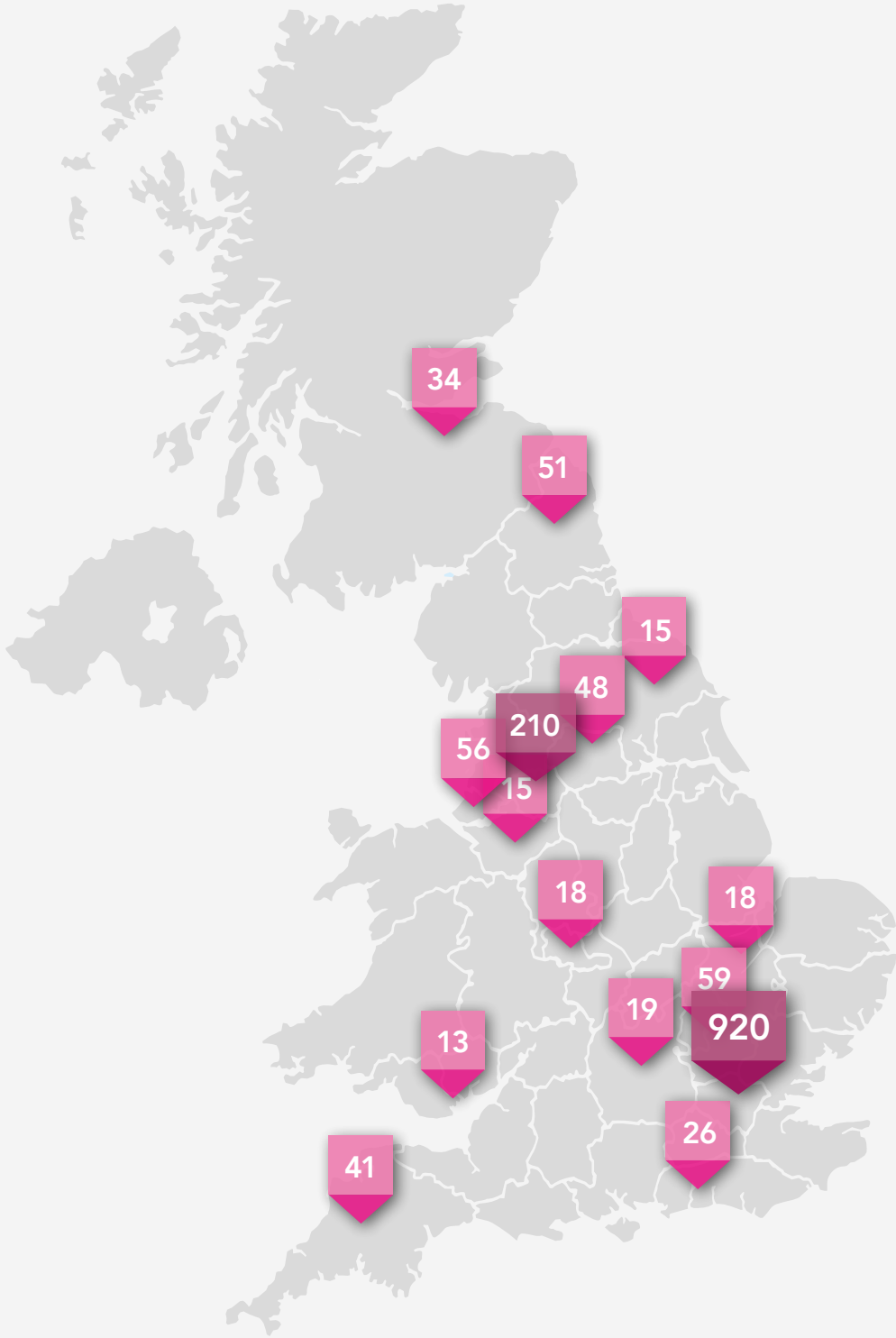
Although the incident numbers reported in Greater London and Greater Manchester decreased from those recorded in 2021, their proportional contribution to the national total remained 68% in 2022. This is consistent with a trend observed throughout the years that CST has been analysing anti-Jewish hate in the UK: these communal hubs are the regions where antisemitic incidents occur the most.

While it is to be anticipated that the majority of antisemitic incidents happen where Jewish life is most visible and established, anti-Jewish hate was reported to CST from all but five police regions in the UK in 2022: Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Suffolk and Surrey. In 2021, Suffolk was the only region with no recorded incidents, while there were none reported in Surrey in 2020. This reliably

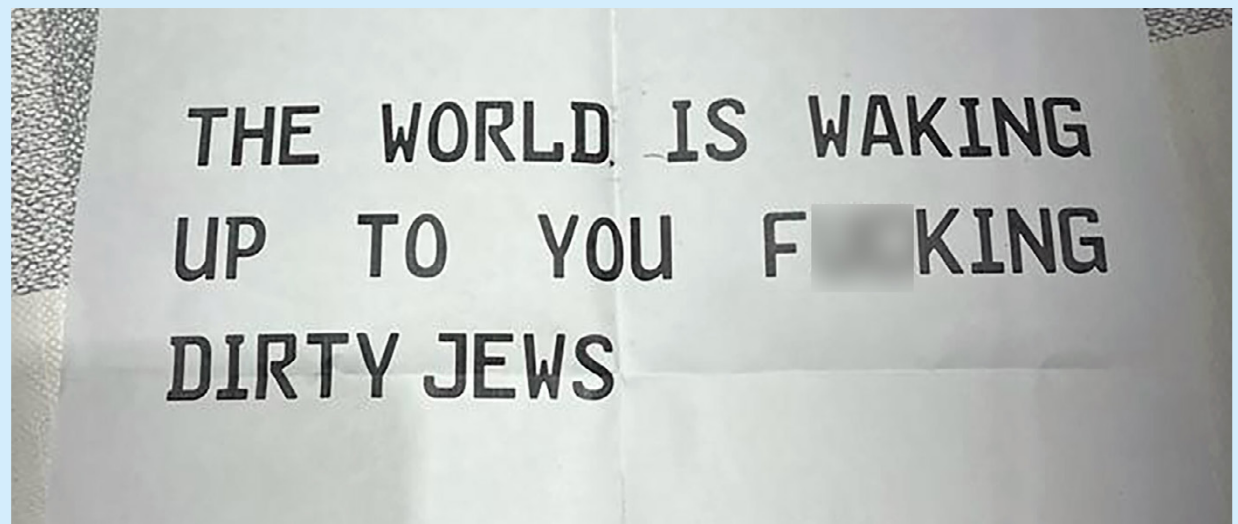
¹⁴ [Monthly Crime Data New Cats | Tableau Public](#)

INCIDENT LOCATIONS

Avon & Somerset	9
Bedfordshire	4
Cambridgeshire	18
Cheshire	15
Cleveland	3
Cumbria	4
Derbyshire	5
Devon & Cornwall	41
Dorset	4
Durham	7
Essex	11
Gloucestershire	0
Greater London	920
Greater Manchester	210
Hampshire	2
Hertfordshire	59
Humberside	1
Kent	3
Lancashire	10
Leicestershire	4
Lincolnshire	0
Merseyside	56
Norfolk	1
North Yorkshire	15
Northamptonshire	0
Northern Ireland	6
Northumbria	51
Nottinghamshire	9
Scotland	34
South Yorkshire	7
Staffordshire	9
Suffolk	0
Surrey	0
Sussex	26
Thames Valley	19
Wales	13
Warwickshire	4
West Mercia	1
West Midlands	18
West Yorkshire	48
Wiltshire	3
Unknown	4



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Antisemitic hate mail, Liverpool, November

geographically broad spread highlights just how contemporary antisemitic prejudice festers and is communicated countrywide, irrespective of the distance between its perpetrators and the centres of Britain's Jewish community.

There are several possible reasons for this widespread distribution of reported antisemitism. Although the number of online incidents has diminished since 2021, they remain a considerable factor in contemporary antisemitism, and do not require physical proximity to Jewish people. As the online space has, over a longer period, become increasingly used as a medium for hate speech, so has CST's online footprint and with it, the opportunity for the public to report antisemitism. CST has improved its efforts to establish the precise location within the UK of either an online incident victim or offender: the number of incidents for which the location was recorded as 'Online/Unknown' has come down from 148 in 2019 to 40 in 2020, to 31 in 2021, to 22 in 2022.

Additionally, CST's ever-developing relationship with police services around the country has played a significant role in painting a more accurate landscape of antisemitism in the UK. The data-sharing agreements with many of these services are invaluable: in 2022, 695 (42%) of the 1,652 reports of anti-Jewish hate recorded by CST were received from the police.

Aside from the locations already mentioned, the police regions with the highest antisemitic incident totals in 2022 were Hertfordshire with 59 incidents (compared to 62 in 2021); Merseyside with 56 incidents (an increase from 30 in 2021), Northumbria with 51 incidents (down from 86 in 2021), West Yorkshire with 48 (a fall from 105 in 2021), and Devon & Cornwall with 41 (decreasing from 45 in 2021). The comparatively high number of incidents reported in Devon & Cornwall over the last two years (only 13 were recorded in 2020) is partly down to the initiation of a data-sharing agreement with Devon & Cornwall Police in that period.

Apart from Greater London and Greater Manchester's boroughs, the towns and cities within police regions where antisemitism was most often reported were Gateshead in Northumbria (32 incidents), Liverpool in Merseyside (31 incidents), Borehamwood in Hertfordshire (30 incidents), Leeds in West Yorkshire (28 incidents), and Brighton in Sussex (20 incidents). Included within all the figures in this chapter are the 93 instances of antisemitism that took place on public transport or at public transport stations (32 on London buses, 19 on the London Underground and 35 on other transport services), and seven incidents where the victims were in private taxis when subjected to abuse by the driver.

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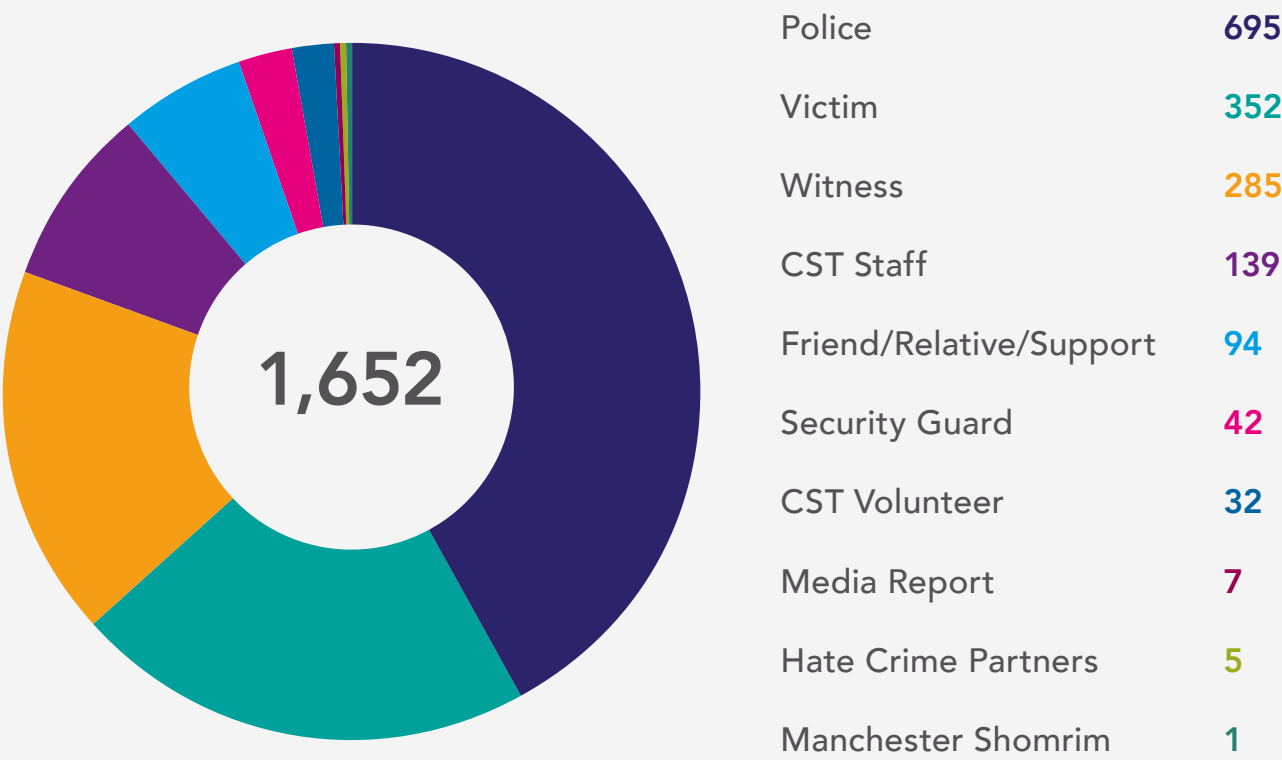
REPORTING OF INCIDENTS

Not every incident recorded by CST has an identifiable victim. Not every incident recorded by CST has an identifiable perpetrator; but every incident recorded by CST has a reporter. Antisemitic incidents are reported to CST in a number of ways, most commonly by telephone, email, the CST website, via CST’s social media profiles, or in person to CST staff and volunteers. Incidents can be reported to CST by the victim, a witness, or an individual or organisation acting on their behalf. In 2001, CST was accorded third party reporting status by the police. CST has a national Information Sharing Agreement with the National Police Chiefs’ Council (NPCC), and similar agreements with a number of regional forces, which allow CST to share antisemitic incident reports, fully anonymised to comply with data protection requirements, so that both CST and the police can glean as complete a picture as possible of the number and nature of reported antisemitic incidents. CST began sharing antisemitic incident data with Greater

Manchester Police in 2011, followed by the Metropolitan Police Service in 2012. Now, using the national agreement, CST shares anonymised antisemitic incident data with several forces around the UK. Any duplicate incidents that are reported to both CST and the police are excluded from this process to ensure there is no ‘double counting’ of incidents.

This collaboration continues to prove of immense value. In 2022, 695 of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST were reported by the police, comprising 42% of the annual total. Of these 695 reports, 388 came from the Metropolitan Police Service, 93 from Greater Manchester Police, 37 each from Merseyside Police and Devon & Cornwall Police, 35 courtesy of Northumbria Police, 29 from West Yorkshire Police, and 77 from other police services around the country. Some of these partnerships have existed for a long time, others are much more recently established,

REPORTERS

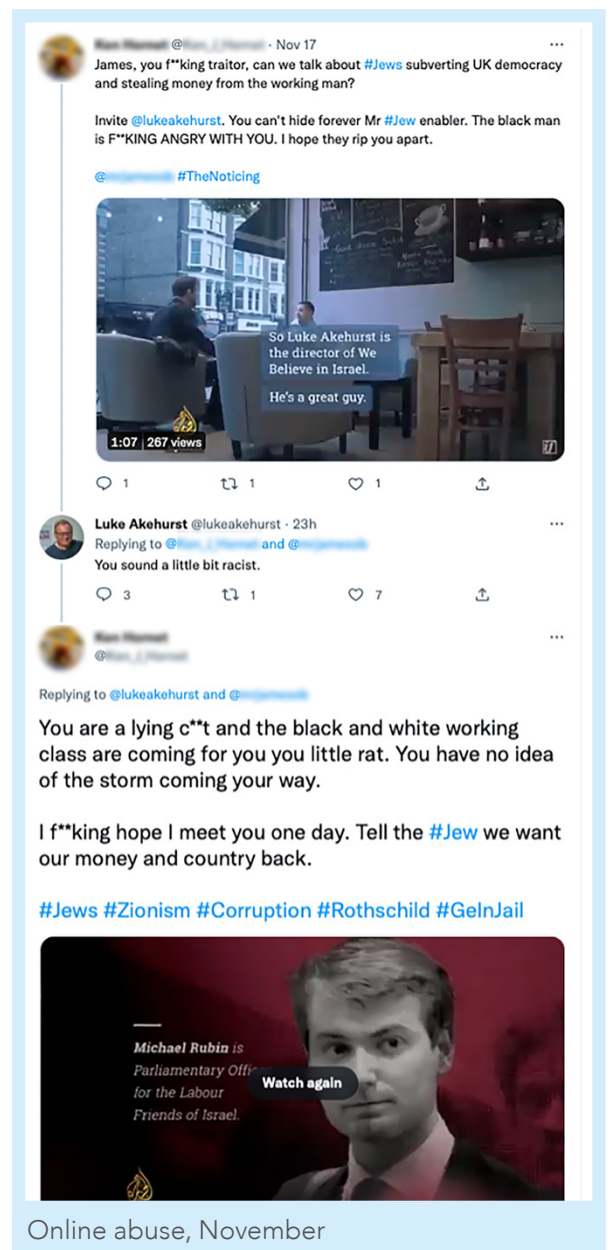


and it is thanks to the work invested in making and maintaining these relationships that the police are able to contribute so much to CST's understanding of where and how anti-Jewish hate is expressed in the UK.

In 2022, 352 of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST were reported by the victim, while 285 were reported by a witness to the antisemitism, whether exhibited in a public space or online. In 94 cases, a friend, relative or support provider related details of the incident, accounting for 6% of all incidents reported to CST. This matches the percentage recorded in 2021, which was a sharp increase from 2020, when 3% of that year's 1,684 total were reported from this source. It is a reflection of how the proportional increase in anti-Jewish hate targeting minors, which rose during the flare-up in hostilities between Israel and Hamas in 2021, persisted in 2022, with parents often reporting on behalf of the children concerned.

CST staff reported 139 occurrences of antisemitism, which includes online abuse directed at or tagging CST social media accounts, rising from 117 such incidents in 2021. Forty-two antisemitic incidents were reported by security guards at Jewish premises, and an additional 32 came to CST's attention through CST volunteers. Seven incidents were recorded from media reports, five from partners who work to combat non-antisemitic hate crime, while one report was made by Manchester Shomrim.

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



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INFORMATION COLLECTION AND SUSPICIOUS BEHAVIOUR

One of the most important jobs CST does is to record and analyse incidents of potential hostile reconnaissance, categorised by CST as Information Collection and Suspicious Behaviour around Jewish locations. Although these potential incidents are not included in CST's antisemitic incident statistics, they still form a vital part of CST's work as they relate directly to the security of the Jewish community. The recent tragic history of antisemitic terrorism against Jewish communities and at Jewish schools, synagogues, shops, museums and other buildings in Colleyville, Pittsburgh, Halle, San Diego, Copenhagen, Paris, Brussels, Toulouse, Kansas City, Mumbai and elsewhere attests to the importance of this work. Jewish communities have long been the targets of terrorists of different and varied political and religious motivations. Since the late 1960s, there have been over 400 terrorist attacks, attempted attacks and foiled terrorist plots against Diaspora Jewish communities and Israeli targets outside Israel. In the UK, several terrorist plots involving the aspiration to attack the Jewish community came to trial or were publicised via the media in recent years. It is well known that terrorist actors often collect information about their targets before launching an attack: identifying and preventing the gathering of this kind of information is an integral part of CST's work in protecting the UK Jewish community from terrorism. To be effective in keeping the public safe, CST relies on information from the public as well as CST's own volunteers and from commercial guards, and CST encourages the Jewish community to report any suspicious activity to CST, as well as to the police.

CST works closely with the police to gather, record and investigate incidents of information collection and suspicious behaviour. CST does this to keep the Jewish community safe and allow it to carry on as normal. Cases of

potential Information Collection and Suspicious Behaviour are not included in CST's antisemitic incident statistics, as the motivation for many of them is not possible to determine and many may have innocent explanations. The vague and uncertain nature of many of these incidents means that they are easier to analyse if the two categories are combined, rather than treated separately. Taken together, there were 235 such incidents reported to CST in 2022, compared to the 277 incidents of this type reported to CST in 2021. Of the 235 incidents of potential information collection and suspicious behaviour reported to CST in 2022, 140 involved the photography or videoing of Jewish buildings, while in 57 cases suspicious people tried to gain entry to or information about 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.

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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, 2011–2022

Category	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Extreme Violence	2	2	0	1	4	0	0	2	1	3	3	1
Assault	93	67	69	80	83	109	149	124	158	97	174	136
Damage & Desecration	64	53	49	81	65	81	93	79	88	74	82	74
Threats	30	39	38	91	79	107	98	108	99	85	143	101
Abusive Behaviour	413	477	374	899	717	1,059	1,065	1,334	1,449	1,413	1849	1331
Literature	7	12	5	30	12	19	15	43	18	12	10	9
TOTAL	609	650	535	1,182	960	1,375	1,420	1,690	1,813	1,684	2,261	1,652

Antisemitic incident figures by month, 2011–2022

Month	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
January	45	39	33	53	109	81	155	110	119	188	95	135
February	54	52	38	43	88	69	135	120	182	142	119	128
March	49	75	23	39	83	82	111	120	171	119	132	125
April	45	48	44	58	75	105	143	153	147	109	154	135
May	58	44	48	51	60	140	121	182	150	138	661	173
June	43	54	37	66	86	131	125	134	142	179	210	126
July	43	59	59	317	87	131	113	133	167	181	177	165
August	37	42	48	229	72	123	114	158	144	134	139	146
September	73	60	54	105	76	118	113	156	119	128	151	111
October	52	60	67	87	61	112	110	146	131	140	167	148
November	53	83	40	78	79	135	94	146	152	136	135	137
December	57	34	44	56	84	148	86	132	189	90	121	123
TOTAL	609	650	535	1,182	960	1,375	1,420	1,690	1,813	1,684	2,261	1,652

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Antisemitic incident figures, full breakdown, 2022

Month	Category	Extreme Violence	Assault	Damage and Desecration	Threats	Abusive Behaviour	Literature	MONTH TOTAL
January		0	13	8	8	105	1	135
February		0	10	5	9	104	0	128
March		0	15	7	7	96	0	125
April		0	10	2	6	115	2	135
May		0	14	3	10	145	1	173
June		0	13	5	12	96	0	126
July		0	13	3	12	137	0	165
August		0	10	10	8	117	1	146
September		1	8	6	7	87	2	111
October		0	13	7	7	120	1	148
November		0	11	9	8	108	1	137
December		0	6	9	7	101	0	123
CATEGORY TOTAL		1	136	74	101	1,331	9	1,652

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CST'S MISSION

- **Promote good relations** between British Jews and the rest of British society by working towards the elimination of racism, and antisemitism in particular.
- **Represent British Jews** on issues of racism, antisemitism, extremism, policing and security.
- **Facilitate Jewish life** by protecting Jews from the dangers of antisemitism, and antisemitic terrorism in particular.
- **Help those who are victims** of antisemitic hatred, harassment or bias.
- **Promote research** into racism, antisemitism and extremism; and to use this research for the benefit of both the Jewish community and society in general.
- **Speak responsibly** at all times, without exaggeration or political favour, on antisemitism and associated issues.



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www.cst.org.uk

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