Summary of the fourth report on racism, anti-Semitism, and right-wing extremist violence in the Netherlands

Incidents, reports, offenders and settlements in 2014

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1 Incident overview

For the fourth year in a row, we will report on incidents involving anti-Semitism, racism and right-wing extremist violence in the Netherlands. This specific report focuses on the year 2014 and its developments, compared to previous years. The report has been commissioned by the Anne Frank House. The Anne Frank House manages the museum of the same name, and draws worldwide attention to Anne Frank's life story to encourage reflection on the dangers of anti-Semitism, racism and discrimination, and on the importance of liberty, equal rights and democracy. The Anne Frank House aims to provide information and to organise educational events about discrimination and human rights in order to further the proper functioning of an open, pluralist, democratic society.
The report is intended as the groundwork underlying the educational activities of the Anne Frank House. In addition, it serves as the periodical report to the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Union (EU).

The statistics of the incidents retrieved from police databases are provided below. For every category (anti-Semitism, racism, and anti-Semitic and racist abuse), we will list the number of incidents over 2014 and compare these figures to those recorded in previous years. In addition, we will discuss the regional distribution of the incidents, their nature (type of offence), the number of alleged offenders, the number of reports, the number of out-of-court settlements, and the background characteristics of the alleged offenders.

   After PVV politician Geert Wilders asked his supporters whether they wanted 'more or fewer Moroccans' in a speech held after local elections on 19 March 2014, a large number of complaints reports against Wilders were filed with the police. In total, the number of complaints and police reports retrieved from the National Law Enforcement Database (BVH) regarding this case exceeds 3,600. In addition, more than 10,000 complaints were filed on the police website. Since these complaints and reports refer to one specific incident, this incident has been counted only once for the purpose of this report.

1.1 Incidents by category

In all, the search queries yielded a total number of 4,092 incidents that occurred in 2014. Table 1 shows how these incidents were distributed over the categories for the years 2010 − 2014.

Table 1 Incidents by category 2010 − 2014

	2010	2011	2012[2]	2013	2014
Intentional anti-Semitism	19	30	58	61	76
Racism of which Muslim discrimination	1302	1262	2077	2189 35	2764 142
Anti-Semitic verbal abuse	1173	1098	931	872	710

Racist verbal abuse	1440	1433	1352	1346	825
of which verbal abuse against Muslims				115	88
Total[1]	4273	4107	4274	4283	4092

1 Since incidents may be listed under more than one category, the total number of incidents is lower than the sum of the incidents by category.

2 In 2012, we made some changes in our research methods and the way we recorded the results, which influenced the number of incidents retrieved. The first change was an improvement in the search query for anti-Semitism, which probably resulted in an increase in the number of anti-Semitic incidents retrieved. The second change was that discrimination was still listed as a separate category in 2010 and 2011. 468 incidents (2010) and 444 incidents (2011) were listed under 'Discrimination' (not included in table 1). For reasons of substance, these incidents were added to the racist incidents from 2012 onwards. This partially explains the strong increase in the number of racist incidents in 2012, compared to 2011.

Although the total number of incidents seems to have decreased in 2014, there is a significant increase in the number of racist incidents (26%) and a decrease in the number of incidents involving racist verbal abuse (decrease of 39%). In addition, we have noted an increase in the number of incidents involving intentional anti-Semitism (25%) and a further decrease in the number of incidents involving anti-Semitic verbal abuse. Muslim discrimination, as part of racism, has increased substantially, while the number of incidents involving verbal abuse of Muslims (as part of racist verbal abuse) shows a slight decrease.

1.2 Incidents by type

This section deals with the type of incidents (including criminal offences) involving racism, anti-Semitism, racist verbal abuse and anti-Semitic verbal abuse in 2013 and 2014 (see Table 2). We have added a category, 'quarrel', which was inserted but not used in 2013. We believe its added value lies in fact that quarrels are often accompanied by discriminatory remarks. We will start with the explanation required to interpret the figures in Table 2.

The police register all incidents with a tag that describes the offence as specifically and accurately as possible. When labelling the incidents, we use these tags. Usually, every incident logged by the police gets one tag, even though one incident may involve several criminal offences committed by several individuals. As such, the choice of the tag is at the discretion of the police officer involved.[1] As a result, incident tags can only be general indicators of the criminal offences committed in the course of incidents, and do not present the full picture. The incident tags used by the police are linked to Dutch laws, for instance to articles from the Criminal Code, the Civil Code or the Road Traffic Act.

The categories presented in this report have to be viewed separately from the incident tags used by the police. If a native Dutch person, for instance, insults a Dutch person of Polish descent by saying that he is 'a dirty Pole', who 'should find work in his own country', shoves him and threatens to beat him up, the police is most likely to log this incident as a threat (or an insult). These tags correspond with Section 285 or Section 266, sub-section 1, of the Dutch Criminal Code. The threat is racist by nature, which is why it turned up in our query to begin with. The same applies to anti-Semitic

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[1] Although the option to enter more than one incident tag exists, it is rarely used (238 out of 4092 incidents, or 6% in 2014). If multiple tags were used, the F50 incident tag (discrimination) was most commonly used together with F550 (common assault) in the incidents we retrieved.

graffiti on a garden fence. Applying graffiti is an offence (Section 350, sub-section 1, of the Dutch Criminal Code), regardless of the nature of the graffiti.

However, police officers may define a threat, insult or graffiti as discrimination, in one of two ways. They may tag the incident with F50 Discrimination (Sections 137c – 137g and 429quater, Dutch Criminal Code), or alternatively treat it as an offence under general criminal law ('insult', 'threat', 'assault') and add information on the discriminatory nature of the incident, or add F50 as a secondary tag. The Public Prosecution Service[2] has drawn up an Instruction for Discrimination prescribing rules concerning the investigation and prosecution of discrimination.

Table 2 Type of offence (incident tags) 2013-2014

Type of offence	2013		2014	
	number of incidents	%	number of incidents	%
Threat	630	14.7	517	12.6
Insult	596	13.9	465	11.4
Theft	188	4.4	165	4.0
Discrimination	213	5.0	533	13.0
Violence	922	21.5	780	19.1
Events and warning signs	66	1.5	105	2.6
Nuisance	232	5.4	265	6.5
Quarrel	409	9.5	363	8.9
Vandalism (including graffiti)	215	5.0	201	4.9
Possession of weapons	22	0.5	13	0.3
Other offences	790	18.4	685	16.7
Total	4283	100	4092	100

Threat refers to the incidents logged by the police under the incident tag for threats. The same applies to *insult*: these incidents are tagged with the incident tag for insults. The incidents under *theft* may concern robberies or burglaries without violence. *Discrimination* concerns incidents tagged *F50 Discrimination*. This incident tag has been used relatively sparingly so far, but we have noticed a marked increase in its use in 2014. Incidents tagged as *violence* may involve common assault or aggravated assault, as well as incidents registered as violent robberies. *Events* and *warning signs* include incidents that are tagged as rallies, general entries or warning signs. These two incident tags are used by the police to log matters that are of interest, but in which an offence has not (yet) been committed. *Nuisance* usually involves the incident tag for nuisance caused by teenagers, by a confused person, or nuisance from noise. *Quarrel*

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[2]https://www.om.nl/onderwerpen/discriminatie/@86289/aanwijzing/ (website in Dutch).

includes incidents tagged as a dispute between neighbours, domestic disputes and quarrels. *Vandalism* covers incidents from graffiti to vandalism. *Possession of weapons* is relevant to the present report since weapons may be decorated with right-wing extremist or anti-Semitic symbols, such as German weapons from the Second World War with swastikas on them. *Other offences* include all incidents that do not fall into any of the other categories, such as traffic violations, possession of banned substances, or public intoxication.

The consequences of the decrease of verbal abuse incidents is clear, too: since this type of incident is often logged as 'insult' or 'threat', this explains the decrease in the use of the incident tags for insult and threat. The increase in the incidents tagged 'discrimination' is noteworthy, as it can only be explained by an increased use by the police. In itself, this is a positive development, because this incident tag was used sparingly up until now, even in clear cases of discrimination. The use of this tag has more than doubled in 2014.

Types of incidents by category

The types of incidents involving anti-Semitism, racism (including Muslim discrimination), anti-Semitic verbal abuse and racist verbal abuse (including verbal abuse against Muslims) differ (see Table 3). This table only shows the data for 2013 and 2014. First of all, it is striking that the verbal abuse incidents are more often connected with violent incidents: for all three types of verbal abuse incidents, *violence* is the most common tag. With intentional anti-Semitism and racism (including discrimination against Muslims), the *discrimination* tag was most common in 2014. *Violence* is an aspect of 39% (2013) and 35% (2014) of the incidents involving racism, and of 21% (2013) and 30% (2014) of the incidents involving verbal abuse of Muslims. The *discrimination* tag is often linked with intentional anti-Semitism and discrimination against Muslims, both in 2013 and in 2014. The percentage for racism doubles in this period to 17% in 2014. It is interesting to note that *discrimination* is hardly ever combined with anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse. *Threat* is spread more evenly over the categories, with the exception of the verbal abuse against Muslims in 2014, in which 25% of the incidents was registered with the *threat* tag. In 2013, the police tended to log anti-Semitic verbal abuse and verbal abuse of Muslims as *insult*. These percentages, however, were more than halved in 2014.

Table 3 Type of offence (incident tags) by category in 2014, compared with 2013

	Intentional anti-Semitism		Racism		Discrimination against Muslims	
	% 2013 N=61	% 2014 N=76	% 2013 N=2189	% 2014 N=2764	% 2013 N=35	% 2014 N=142
Threat	13%	11%	14%	11%	6%	10%
Insult	5%	11%	11%	10%	17%	11%
Theft	0%	0%	5%	4%	0%	1%
Discrimination	25%	26%	8%	17%	40%	32%
Violence	5%	14%	16%	16%	0%	17%
Events and warning signs	3%	3%	1%	2%	0%	1%

Nuisance	0%	3%	6%	8%	3%	6%
Quarrel	13%	7%	11%	10%	3%	10%
Vandalism (including graffiti)	15%	9%	6%	6%	20%	4%
Possession of weapons	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Other offences	21%	17%	21%	16%	11%	10%

	Anti-Semitic verbal abuse		Racist verbal abuse		Verbal abuse against Muslims	
	% 2013 N=872	% 2014 N=710	% 2013 N=1346	% 2014 N=825	% 2013 N=115	% 2014 N=88
Threat	12%	15%	17%	17%	14%	25%
Insult	32%	15%	8%	14%	22%	10%
Theft	4%	7%	3%	3%	0%	3%
Discrimination	2%	1%	2%	4%	8%	5%
Violence	13%	18%	39%	35%	21%	30%
Events and warning signs	2%	6%	1%	1%	0%	0%
Nuisance	7%	6%	3%	3%	3%	7%
Quarrel	3%	3%	10%	8%	17%	3%
Vandalism (including graffiti)	4%	3%	4%	3%	4%	1%
Possession of weapons	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%
Other offences	21%	26%	12%	11%	12%	15%

The data shown in Table 3 are a first step towards the description of the incidents in chapters 4 to 7.

1.3 Regional distribution of incidents

Looking at anti-Semitic, racist and Muslim discrimination related incidents, we observe that the distribution over the Netherlands is as can be expected. Table 4 reflects the distribution over the ten police regions. These kinds of incidents occur more often in some regions than in others. In the urban regions of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague, the number of incidents for every 1,000 inhabitants is the largest by far. Of the three, Amsterdam is definitely in front position. This is probably due to the fact that the Amsterdam region is more or less restricted to the city itself, whereas the regions of The Hague and Rotterdam include surrounding, relatively rural areas. Although the number of incidents in 2014 is lower, the ratio between the regions is similar to the ratio in 2013. Only in Amsterdam, Midden-Nederland, Zeeland-West-Brabant and Oost-Brabant did the number of incidents in 2014 increase compared to 2013. The decrease in Rotterdam is worth noticing: for every 1,000 inhabitants, the number of incidents dropped by 0.11; no other region reported a similar decrease. These changes are apparent from Table 4, on the regional distribution of the incidents, and Map 1, on the
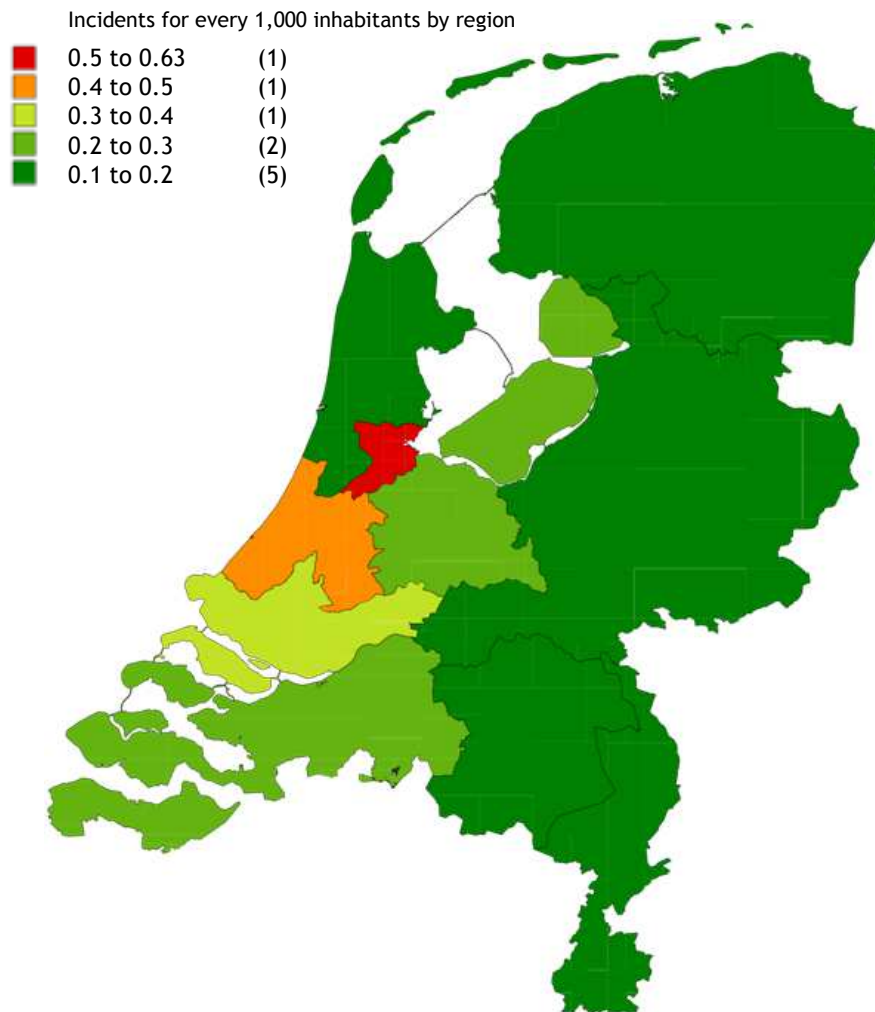
relative number of incidents by region. The relative number of incidents is the number of incidents per region for every 1,000 inhabitants of 12 years and over.

Table 4 Number of anti-Semitic and racist incidents by regional unit 2013-2014

Regional unit	2013	Incidents for every 1,000 inh. 2013	2014	Incidents for every 1,000 inh. 2014
Noord-Nederland	323	0,22	297	0,19
Oost-Nederland	563	0,21	542	0,19
Midden-Nederland	458	0,29	476	0,28
Noord-Holland	305	0,24	250	0,19
Amsterdam	500	0,59	555	0,63
Den Haag	770	0,49	679	0,42
Rotterdam	685	0,45	533	0,34
Zeeland-West-Brabant	245	0,19	320	0,24
Oost-Brabant	238	0,20	241	0,19
Limburg	180	0,18	175	0,18
No known crime location in the Netherlands	16		24	
Total	4283	0,30	4092	0,27

As can be seen from the map, the East and the North of the country are coloured dark-green, illustrating that the relative number of anti-Semitic and racist incidents (for every 1,000 inhabitants) registered in 2014 was lowest in these regions.

Map 1 Anti-Semitic and racist incidents for every 1,000 inhabitants by regional unit in 2014

Incidents for every 1,000 inhabitants by region

|		
0.5 to 0.63	(1)
0.4 to 0.5	(1)
0.3 to 0.4	(1)
0.2 to 0.3	(2)
0.1 to 0.2	(5)

Distribution by municipality

The distribution by municipality is much more even. Once again, the number of incidents for every 1,000 inhabitants aged 12 years and over is depicted. The municipality with the relatively largest number of anti-Semitic and racist incidents in 2014 is Gouda, with 1.2 incidents for every 1,000 aged 12 years and over. The previous year, Gouda came third. First runner up is The Hague (last year top of the list) and second runner up is Amsterdam (last year's number two) with 0.8 and 0.7 incidents for every 1,000 inhabitants respectively. Like last year, Rotterdam and Utrecht are at the top of the list, too, at places 7 and 11 respectively. The municipalities at the top of the list are not all located in the western part of the country. The municipality of Arnhem (province of Gelderland) for instance, is number 8 on the list (number 19 last year), and Leeuwarden (province of Friesland) is number 14 (20 last year). It is noteworthy, however, that the larger municipalities are typically higher up on the list, regardless of their geographical location. This observation is reinforced when we consider the municipalities in which the police did not log any incidents: 64 municipalities in all,

without exception small municipalities. The largest municipalities without incidents are Hof van Twente in the province of Overijssel, and Castricum in the province of Noord-Holland, with around 35,000 inhabitants. 43 out of these 64 municipalities without incidents have fewer than 20,000 inhabitants.

Map 2 Anti-Semitic and racist incidents for every 1,000 inhabitants by municipality in 2014

incidents for every 1,000 inhabitants

- more than 0.4
- 0.3 to 0.4
- 0.2 to 0.3
- 0.1 to 0.2
- 0 to 0.1
- no incidents (64)
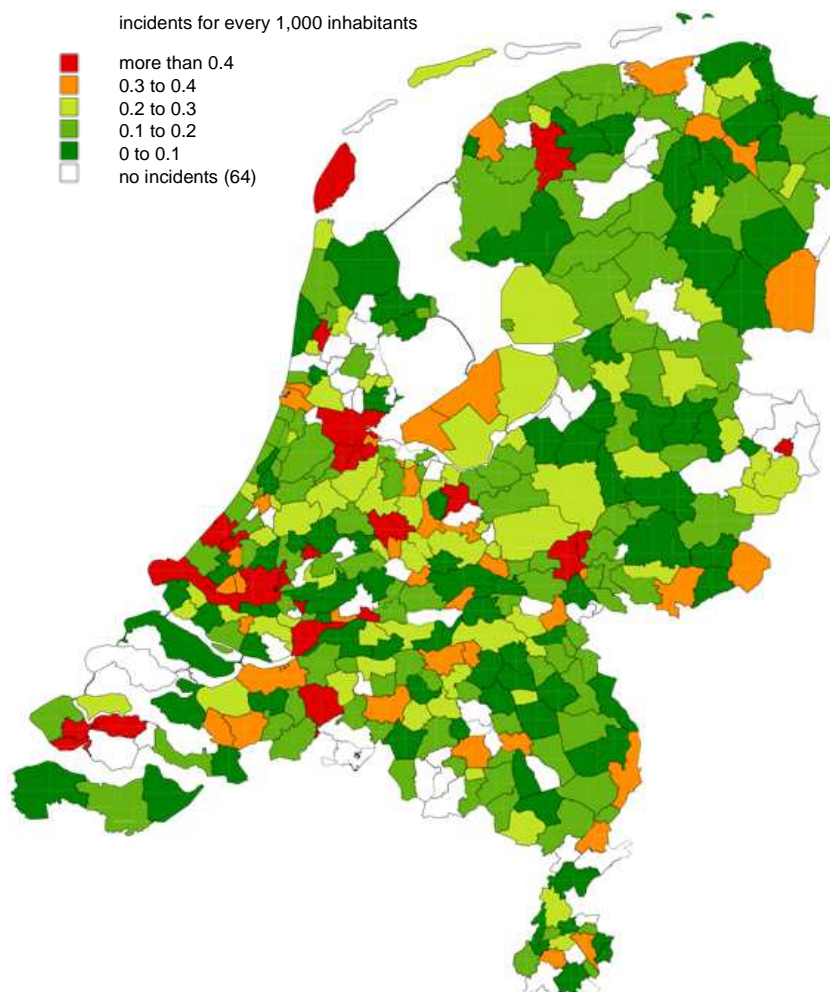
1.4   Characteristics of the alleged offenders

The police entries contain information on the alleged offenders of these incidents as well. This information is discussed in this section. Just like last year, data on the age and sex of the alleged offenders was not available to us, due to privacy regulations. As a result, we will discuss this topic in the same manner as we did last year, incorporating data on the ethnic background of the alleged offenders. We will start by listing the total number of alleged offenders for the various incidents. It is important to realise that more than one offender may be registered for one incident. In 48 percent of the incidents, at least one alleged offender was identified. This percentage is considerably lower than in 2013 and 2012, when alleged offenders were registered in 60 percent of the incidents.

In total, 2,228 alleged offenders were registered in connection with anti-Semitic, racist and Muslim discrimination-related incidents in 2014. This number is lower than the number in previous years. This may be because fewer alleged offenders were registered, and the average number of alleged offenders registered per incident was lower than in previous years. In 2013, 0.7 alleged offenders were identified in every incident, whereas this number dropped to 0.5 alleged offenders per incident in 2014.

This phenomenon was observed in 2013 as well. In Table 5, the developments in the number of alleged offenders identified over time are presented. Additionally, for 2014, the average numbers of alleged offenders for every type of incident are shown, as well as the percentage of incidents with at least one alleged offender.

Table 5 Number of alleged offenders for every category 2010-2014[3]

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Average number of alleged offenders per incident 2014	% incidents with alleged offenders 2014
Intentional anti-Semitism	5	26	15	19	24	0.3	29%
Racism discrimination against Muslims	610	592	1201	1125	1261	0.5	43%
					58	0.4	37%
Anti-Semitic verbal abuse	1257	1108	877	705	485	0.7	57%
Racist verbal abuse					697	0.8	72%
Verbal abuse of Muslims	1735	1551	1403	1115	80	0.9	68%
Total number of alleged offenders	3866	3442	3367	2813	2228	0.5	48%

There is a decrease in the number of registered alleged offenders for all types of incidents (see Table 5). Just like in previous years, the relative number of registered alleged offenders is highest for the verbal abuse incidents. This is caused in part by the fact that police officers are often verbally abused, and are more likely to file a complaint (and a police report) when this happens. The number of incidents involving verbal abuse of Muslims directed at police officers is relatively low: 9%, compared to 20% of the incidents of racist verbal abuse and even 26% of the incidents of anti-Semitic verbal abuse. In 2014, racist verbal abuse took the lead at 72% of incidents for which at least one alleged offender was identified. The relative (and absolute) lowest number of alleged offenders is registered for intentional anti-Semitic incidents, as in previous years.

Origin of the alleged offenders

In 2014, 64% of the alleged offenders was of Dutch origin, 7% was of Turkish origin, close to 9% was of Moroccan origin and 7% of West-European origin. A little under 79% of the entire population is of Dutch origin, 2.4% is of Turkish origin, 2.2% is of Moroccan origin and a little under 6% is of West-European origin. The conclusion must be that people of Turkish and Moroccan origin are clearly overrepresented among the alleged offenders, people of Dutch origin are clearly underrepresented, and people of West-European origin are represented in proportion.

Table 6 Origin of the alleged offenders by type of incident in 2014

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[3] When the numbers of alleged offenders for every type of incidents are added up, the total is higher (2,467) than the number of alleged offenders who have been identified (2,228). This is caused by the fact that some of the incidents came up in search queries for different types of incidents. For instance, part of the incidents of intentional anti-Semitism came up under anti-Semitic verbal abuse as well.

Origin	Intentional anti-Semitism		Racism		Discrimination against Muslims	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
Dutch	16	66.7%	840	66.6%	34	58.6%
Surinam	-	0.0%	20	1.6%	-	
Turkish	4	16.7%	78	6.2%	2	3.4%
Moroccan	-	0.0%	92	7.3%	4	6.9%
Indonesian	-	0.0%	1	0.1%	-	
Asian	3	12.5%	26	2.1%	-	
African	-	0.0%	48	3.8%	8	13.8%
South- and Middle-American	-	0,0%	12	1.0%	1	1.7%
East-European	-	0.0%	39	3.1%	5	8.6%
West-European	1	4.2%	93	7.4%	4	6.9%
Western (other)	-	0.0%	12	1.0%	-	0.0%

| Origin	Anti-Semitic verbal abuse		Racist verbal abuse		Verbal abuse of Muslims	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
Dutch	289	59.6%	433	62.1%	43	53.8%
Surinam	3	0.6%	6	0.9%	2	2.5%
Turkish	29	6.0%	63	9.0%	9	11.3%
Moroccan	57	11.8%	69	9.9%	12	15.0%
Indonesian		0.0%	2	0.3%	1	1.3%
Asian	22	4.5%	15	2.2%	2	2.5%
African	19	3.9%	30	4.3%	3	3.8%
South- and Middle-American	9	1.9%	8	1.1%	2	2.5%
East-European	17	3.5%	17	2.4%	3	3.8%
West-European	34	7.0%	44	6.3%	3	3.8%
Western (other)	6	1.2	9	1.4%	-	0.0%

Table 6 shows that the number of Dutch alleged offenders in verbal abuse incidents is relatively low compared to the overall picture, while the number of Moroccan alleged offenders is relatively high. The other differences by ethnic origin are not significant.

It is worth noting that Table 6 shows that 3 percent of the alleged offenders for incidents involving discrimination against Muslims is of Turkish descent and 7 percent is of Moroccan descent. Eleven percent of the alleged offenders for incidents involving verbal abuse of Muslims is of Turkish descent, and 15 percent is of Moroccan descent. It is unlikely for people of Turkish or Moroccan descent to be suspected of discrimination against Muslims. A similar outcome (with Moroccan and Turkish offenders in anti-Muslim incidents) was reported in the study into Muslim discrimination in Secondary Education (Bouma & Ruig, 2015, p. 26). The authors of this study suspect that discrimination against Muslims is often part of an 'ordinary' quarrel, in which pupils that were the victims of discrimination against Muslims, were at the same time labelled the offenders of the quarrel or fight. The results of the present study, as shown in Table 6, could be explained in this same manner.

1.5 Complaints, police reports and alleged offenders

Cases handled by the police follow a prescribed procedure, as shown in the flow chart below (Figure 1). Once a case has been registered by the police, a police report may or may not be drawn up. Every incident for which a police report has been drawn up, is handled by the Public Prosecution Office or dismissed by the police. The Public Prosecution Office may handle a case in one of four ways: by sending a writ of summons, with a fine/penalty order, a transfer or a decision not to prosecute. If the fine imposed is not paid, the Public Prosecution Office may send out a writ of summons after all. When cases are transferred or joined, the decision not to prosecute, the fine, punishment or writ of summons may still follow in appeal.

Figure 1 Flow chart criminal justice system
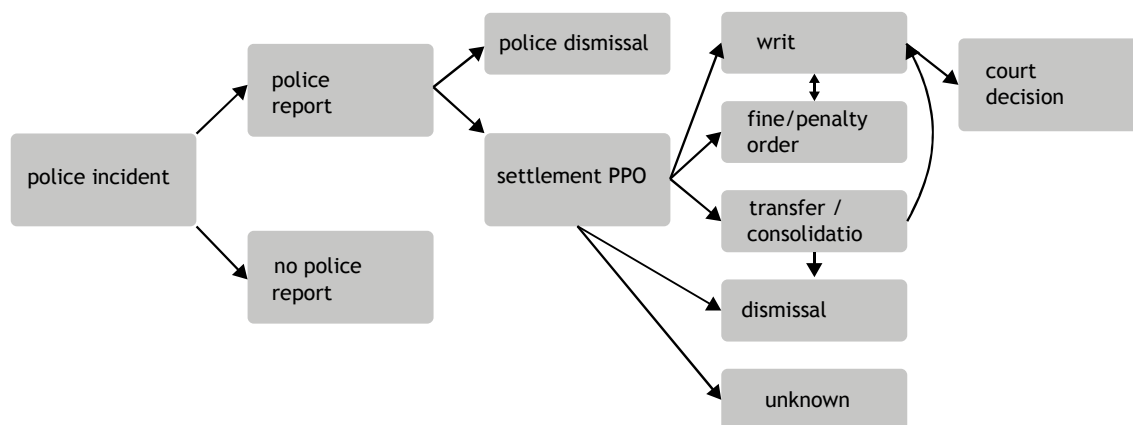
This section deals with the 'police part' of the steps in the procedure for cases filed with the police. For the incidents involving anti-Semitism, racism and discrimination against Muslims we retrieved, we will discuss the number of complaints filed with the police, the number of police reports drawn up and the number of alleged offenders identified. This is made possible by the extensive data made available by the police and the Dutch PPO.

The overall picture of the number of complaints, police reports and alleged offenders in incidents involving anti-Semitism, racism and discrimination against Muslims has remained fairly stable over the years (see Table 7). Most noteworthy is the decrease in the percentage of incidents for which alleged offenders were identified. The number of complaints filed over the years is fairly constant; in 2014, complaints were filed in 59% of the incidents. The relatively highest percentage concerns incidents about which a police-report was drawn up, with a percentage of 65.5 in 2014.

Table 7 Percentages of police reports and complaints filed with the police, and percentages of the registration of alleged offenders involved in anti-Semitic and racist incidents in 2010-2014

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Police reports drawn up	51.0%	50.4%	70.8%	69.3%	65.5%
Complaint filed	56.6%	58.4%	61.7%	59.4%	59.3%
Offenders identified	60.8%	59.0%	58.2%	58.7%	48.4%

Police reports

The statistics for the incidents for which a police report was filed are shown in Table 8. Just like in 2013, most of the police reports were drawn up for incidents of anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse. Although the number of incidents involving anti-Semitic verbal abuse shows a decrease, the percentage of incidents involving racist verbal abuse for which a police report was filed is almost the same. A possible explanation is the fact that these incidents often involve police officers or special investigating officers, and it is relatively easy for them to draw up a police report. Since the incidents involving police officers or special investigating officers have been marked as such this time, we were able to check this explanation: in 90% of the incidents involving verbal abuse of police officers, police reports were filed.

Table 8 Percentage of police reports (PR) drawn up for anti-Semitic and racist incidents in 2010-2014

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
	% with PR	% with PR	% with PR	% with PR	% with PR
Intentional anti-Semitism	36.8%	53.3%	63.6%	63.0%	63.2%
Racism discrimination against Muslims	34.3%	34.3%	62.9%	61.9%	62.6% 62.7%
Anti-Semitic verbal abuse	62.5%	60.6%	78.3%	76.4%	67.0%
Racist verbal abuse verbal abuse of Muslims	59.2%	59.1%	80.2%	79.5%	80.6% 77.3%

Complaints

Table 9 shows the percentage of anti-Semitic and racist incidents that were officially reported to the police from 2010 to 2014. The statistics for 2014 are very similar to those for 2013; there was a slight increase in the police reports filed for all incidents, with the exception of intentional anti-Semitism. The percentage of police reports drawn up for incidents involving intentional anti-Semitism dropped slightly. The number

of complaints was highest, just like in previous years, for incidents involving racist verbal abuse: this occurred in 73% of the cases. The percentage for incidents involving anti-Semitic verbal abuse is also fairly constant over the years: around 50% of the cases. In 2014, complaints were filed after this type of incident in slightly more than half of the number of cases.

Table 9 Percentage of complaints filed with the police after anti-Semitic and racist incidents in 2010-2014

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
	% complaint	% complaint	% complaint	% complaint	% complaint
Intentional anti-Semitism	52.6%	66.7%	60.0%	64.8%	63.2%
Racism discrimination against Muslims	47.5%	49.8%	61.2%	57.6%	58.4% 61.3%
Anti-Semitic verbal abuse	42.2%	47.1%	52.1%	49.8%	51.3%
Racist verbal abuse verbal abuse of Muslims	76.0%	74.5%	71.7%	71.3%	73.5% 71.6%

Alleged offenders

Table 10 shows the changes over the past few years in the percentages of anti-Semitic and racist incidents in which at least one offender was registered. Across the board, with the exception of racist verbal abuse, the percentage of alleged offenders that were registered, dropped in 2014. Particularly with regard to anti-Semitic verbal abuse, we have noticed a sharp decline in the percentage of incidents in which an offender was registered. This percentage was between 72.5% and 76% over the last few years, but dropped to a little under 57% in 2014. The majority of the alleged offenders were identified in racist verbal abuse incidents with percentages of over 70. The percentage of identified offenders suspected of intentional anti-Semitism is under 30 - just like in 2010, for that matter.

The fact that the number of identified alleged offenders is relatively low correlates with the expected detection rate: if no offender has been identified, chances of solving the case are close to zero. As a result, we expect a lower clear-up rate for 2014.

Table 10 Percentage of anti-Semitic and racist incidents in which offenders have been identified 2010-2014

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
	% alleged offender	% alleged offender	% alleged offender	% alleged offender	% alleged offender
Intentional anti-Semitism	26.3%	56.7%	25.5%	33.3%	28.9%
Racism discrimination against Muslims	38.1%	38.2%	46.3%	47.8%	42.6% 36.6%
Anti-Semitic verbal abuse	75.8%	72.5%	74.1%	73.5%	56.8%
Racist verbal abuse verbal abuse of Muslims	74.2%	70.6%	68.4%	69.7%	72.1% 68.2%

1.6 Conclusion

Several remarks can be made about the developments in 2014. The most significant one concerns the large increase in the number of racist incidents retrieved from the BVH in 2014 compared to 2013 (when the increase was also quite substantial), of 26%. This is a continuation of the trend we observed in the period from 2010 to 2013. For the category of intentional anti-Semitism, we have found an increase in the number of incidents of 25% compared to 2013, to a total of 76 incidents. Once again, the numbers show a constant increase over the years.

On the other hand, we have noticed a consistent decrease over the years of the number of incidents involving anti-Semitic verbal abuse (710 incidents in 2014, a decrease of 17%) and racist verbal abuse (825 incidents in 2014, a decrease of 39%). It is noteworthy that the number of incidents tagged 'discrimination' by the police has doubled in 2014. Relatively speaking, this is now the largest category in intentional anti-Semitism, racism and discrimination against Muslims.

In the urban regions of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague, the number of anti-Semitic and racist incidents is higher than in the rest of the Netherlands. These three cities are in the top 10 of municipalities with the highest number of anti-Semitic and racist incidents for every 1,000 inhabitants. The municipality with the highest number for every 1,000 inhabitants is Gouda. There are 64 municipalities without incidents in 2014; these are for the most part smaller municipalities.

After a sharp decline in 2013, the total number of alleged offenders decreased further in 2014. The percentage of incidents in which alleged offenders were registered remained more or less the same, at 59 percent of the incidents. This means that the number of alleged offenders registered per incident was lower in 2014 than in previous years. Relatively speaking, the highest number of alleged offenders was registered on account of incidents in which police officers were verbally abused. In almost 90% of these incidents, the alleged offenders were identified. As a result, the detection rate is highest for this type of incidents.

2.1 Anti-Semitism

Like in 2013, the number of incidents of intentional anti-Semitism rose in 2014, from 61 to 76 incidents. The distribution of these incidents over various police regions was similar to the situation in 2013, with the majority of incidents occurring in Amsterdam. In July and August, the number of incidents of intentional anti-Semitism was remarkably high. This increase may have been caused by the war that flared up over these months between the Israeli army on the one hand, and the Palestinian Hamas movement and Islamic Jihad on the other.

The incidents of intentional anti-Semitism that were registered with the police can be divided into four sub-categories. The first and largest category involves insults and threats against (perceived) Jews. In total, 47 incidents were registered for this category, half of which involved anti-Semitic insults, threats or assaults committed by someone known to the victim, and the other half by someone not known to the victim. The second category consists of 13 cases of anti-Semitic graffiti on (perceived) Jewish locations, such as a synagogue, a Jewish school, or sites with a link to the Second World War. The third category is made up of six provocations by chanting anti-Semitic slogans on Jewish holidays, in synagogues or gatherings and meetings in synagogues, or on 4 or 5 May during memorial services for the Second World War. The incidents registered in this category took place at different times and locations. The fourth category is made up of ten insults of, and threats against Jews on social media. It is remarkable that these incidents all took place in the summer, when the Israeli-Palestinian conflict intensified.

2.2 Racism

For 2014, we retrieved a total of 2,764 racially inspired incidents from the National Law Enforcement Database (BVH). Compared with 2013 (2,189 incidents), this is an increase of over 26 percent. Among these incidents, we found 142 instances of discrimination against Muslims. Compared to the 35 incidents we retrieved in 2013, this is an enormous increase. In addition, the database contained 5 incidents of discrimination against Roma and Sinti. In 2014, the largest number of racially inspired incidents took place in the eastern part of the Netherlands and in The Hague. We studied and analysed a sample of 234 out of 2,764 incidents. Most of these incidents involved racist verbal abuse in the course of another kind of incident (see also paragraph 2.3). Part of the incidents concerned unequal treatment of people from different ethnic or cultural backgrounds, or incidents in which these people felt they had been treated unequally. Furthermore, we came across incidents with racist violence, such as assault – both unilateral and reciprocal. In some incidents, racist intentions played a large role, while they were all but negligible in others.

2.3 Differences in dynamics between anti-Semitic and racist violence

If we compare the dynamics of anti-Semitic and racist incidents, there are several issues that stand out. In anti-Semitic violence, anti-Semitic intentions play a much larger role than racist intentions in racist violence. Racist violence, on the other hand, is more often an escalation within another incident. Anti-Semitic violence does take

place within a political context, for instance in response to pro-Israel remarks, both online and in the public space. This confirms the findings from the research carried out by Van Wonderen et al. (2015) that the events in the Palestine-Israeli conflict may trigger anti-Semitism in the Netherlands. Racist violence does not, or less often, take place within a political context. The violence often flares up in response to a racist remark. It is noteworthy that we did not find incidents of anti-Semitic violence in which the violence was the result of anti-Semitic insults.

Not much can be said about the characteristics of the people responsible for racist violence. These incidents were most varied, and little has been recorded about them in the police registers. We have slightly more information about the offenders committing anti-Semitic violence. It seems likely that anti-Semitic acts against unknown (perceived) Jews are mostly committed by small groups of offenders, motivated by anti-Semitism. When the offenders know the Jewish victim, it often concerns disturbed offenders. Anti-Semitic acts in response to the Palestine-Israeli conflict are often committed by people who feel affinity for the Palestinians.

2.4 Right-wing extremist violence

In 2014, the scope of the classic right-wing extremist formations was stable and estimated at around one hundred active supporters. The relationship between the classic right-wing extremist formations on the one hand, and the new radical right-wing Freedom Party (PVV) shifted in 2014. These different sides of the right-wing extremist spectrum moved closer together, both in themes and in ideology. The classical right-wing extremist formations focused more and more often on Islam and refugees, while the PVV crossed a line when the 'fewer Moroccans' quote of party leader Geert Wilders showed that the 'other' was explicitly defined as ethnical. At the same time, there still is a categorical distinction between classical right-wing extremism and the new radical right-wing PVV. Both sides harbour different opinions about the Jews and Israel, and the PVV is not rooted in classic right-wing extremism.

The number of right-wing extremist rallies was limited to thirteen in 2014, approximately the same as the year before. There was, however, an exceptional situation when large-scale unrest broke out over a number of planned rallies in the Schilderswijk district in The Hague. The mayor appealed successfully to the court for the authority to limit the freedom of movement of these rallies. As it concerned an extraordinary situation, it is too early to consider this the dawn of a more repressive era when it comes to right-wing extremist rallies.

2014 saw an increase in the number of violent incidents with a right-wing extremist background, from seventeen to forty-two. As the numbers are still low, it would be premature to draw far-reaching conclusions from these numbers. It seems, however, justified to note that many of these violent incidents are connected with a number of highly polarised discussions in the Netherlands about Black Pete, Islam, the complaints filed against Geert Wilders, and the confrontations between the Turks and the Kurds.

2.5 Anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse

The downward trend in the number of incidents involving anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse continued in 2014. The racist verbal abuse incidents in particular have decreased

sharply, by almost forty percent compared to 2013. The number of incidents involving anti-Semitic verbal abuse retrieved from the BVH is highest in the province of Zuid-Holland (with regional units The Hague and Rotterdam). It is noteworthy, however, that the difference with the other regional units has become considerably smaller. The incidents of anti-Semitic verbal abuse studied in our sample show that although the incidents have an anti-Semitic connotation, they are often unfocused. That is to say that the majority of the incidents of anti-Semitic verbal abuse do not target Jews. Many policemen are still frequently called '… Jew'. The largest number of racist verbal abuse incidents took place in Rotterdam and in the eastern part of the Netherlands. Other than in previous years, The Hague is no longer one of the regions with the highest number of incidents of racist verbal abuse. Many incidents of racist verbal abuse target officials in the performance of their duties. Compared to 2013, the number of incidents of verbal abuse of Muslims decreased in 2014. Of the incidents of verbal abuse of Muslims, a relatively small percentage focuses on the police: 9% compared with 20% of the incidents of racist verbal abuse in total.

2.6 Justice

Compared with 2013, the number of out-of-court settlements and court judgments dropped in 2014. This may be caused in part by the fact that last year's data were retrieved at a later time, which allowed for more time for cases to be handled by the Public Prosecution Office or the courts. However, the number of cases has decreased to such a degree, that the drop cannot be explained by last year's extended period alone. The ratio of the various categories has remained the same in 2014, as have the penalties and the clauses of the Criminal Code that were applied. The clause on discrimination is still hardly ever used in the incidents discussed above. The Public Prosecution Office has indicated that in 2015 it will also start logging offences under criminal law that show discriminatory aspects. We expect this to improve our understanding of these problems from 2016 onwards.

2.7 Final conclusion

The present report shows that the number of racist and anti-Semitic incidents increased in 2014. There is no clear explanation for the strong increase in the number of racist incidents. One possible explanation could be the hardened political and social climate after the local elections of March 2014. However, the large number of complaints filed against Geert Wilders for alleged racist remarks at an election meeting was not incorporated in this report. The increase in the number of anti-Semitic incidents could possibly be explained by the deepening of the Israeli-Palestine conflict in the summer of 2014. The number of anti-Semitic incidents in the Netherlands was relatively high in that period. Even so, it is not possible to draw any conclusions from this observation because of the small number of incidents.

In direct contrast to the above, we observed a decrease in the number of incidents involving racist and anti-Semitic verbal abuse that is hard to explain. A possible explanation could be that terms of abuse are subject to trends, resulting in the decreased use of certain terms of abuse with anti-Semitic or racist connotations in 2014.

Three other conclusions from this report stand out. First of all, anti-Semitic violence and racist violence have different dynamics. The most significant difference is their motivation: anti-Semitic violence is often motivated by anti-Semitism, whereas racist violence is less often motivated by racism. Secondly, in spite of the continued small scale of the right-wing extremist formations, we would tentatively conclude that right-wing extremist violence seems to be on the increase. Thirdly, the Public Prosecution Office has indicated that in 2015 it intends to start logging offences under criminal law that show discriminatory aspects. We expect this to strongly improve our understanding of the court judgments and the out-of-court settlement of incidents involving discrimination from 2016 onwards.