Second report on racism, anti-Semitism, and right-wing extremist violence in the Netherlands

Incidents, reports, offenders and settlements in 2012

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1   Introduction

The Anne Frank Stichting manages the Anne Frank House and draws the world's attention to the story of her life, inviting people to reflect on the dangers of anti-Semitism, racism and discrimination, and the significance of liberty, equal rights and democracy. The Stichting aims to provide information and educational activities on discrimination and human rights in order to promote the proper functioning of an open, diverse and democratic society.

This report provides statistics on anti-Semitism, racism and right-wing extremist violence in the Netherlands in 2012. In addition, we present the trend developments over the period between 2010 and 2012. The report is intended, among other things, to support the educational activities of the Anne Frank Stichting. In addition, it serves as a periodical report to the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Union (EU).

From 2004 to 2010, the Anne Frank Stichting published its annual Racism & Extremism Monitor in cooperation with Leiden University. For 2010 and 2011, the Verwey-Jonker Instituut, commissioned by the Anne Frank Stichting, took a different approach to the data collection and reporting of anti-Semitic and racist incidents, and right-wing extremist violence. As a result, the figures mentioned in this report are based on data provided by the Dutch police authorities (collected in the National Law Enforcement Database (*Basis Voorziening Handhaving,* BVH)) and the Public Prosecution Service (collected by the Research and Documentation Centre (*Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek- en Documentatiecentrum (WODC)*) in OMDATA). For the larger part, this approach is a continuation of the approach used in the 2010 and 2011 reports. For content-related reasons, however, some alterations have been made. These alterations are explained in sections 1.1 and 2.1.

The data from the police files are based on police reports, complaints filed with the police, and on personal observations made by the police. As the willingness to report incidents of a discriminatory nature is limited (Andriessen & Fernee, 2012), it is important to put the picture emerging from the police data in perspective. In this report, we have done so by comparing these data with data from other reports on anti-Semitism and racism, such as the reports drawn up by the Dutch Centre for Information and Documentation on Israel (CIDI), the Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the

Internet (MDI) and the data logged by the regional Anti-Discrimination Services (*Anti-discriminatievoorzieningen*, ADVs).[1] For the chapter on right-wing extremist formations and right-wing extremist violence, other data sources have been used in addition to the police data. The data collection methods are discussed in more detail in chapter 2.

1.1 Structure of the report

This report consists of seven chapters. Chapter 2 provides the justification of the research approach and methodology: definitions, methods of data collection, and an account of the choices made in analysing and presenting the figures on anti-Semitism, racism, and right-wing extremist violence in the Netherlands in 2012.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the incidents. Based on this overall picture, the motives are elaborated upon: anti-Semitism in chapter 4, racist incidents in chapter 5, right-wing extremist formations and right-wing extremist violence in chapter 6, and anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse in chapter 7. For every issue, a comparison is made to the situation in 2010 and 2011.

This report differs in some respects from the 2010 and 2011 reports. The most significant change is the fact that the chapter on discrimination has been deleted, and that the discriminatory incidents have been integrated in the contributions on anti-Semitism and racism. The discussion of anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse is presented in a separate chapter, and is no longer part of the chapters on anti-Semitism and racism. In addition, the present report places more emphasis on the context and substance of the incidents than the reports on the figures related to the incidents that occurred in 2010 and 2011. These decisions are explained in section 2.1. Insults and offensive remarks are often part of racist and anti-Semitic incidents and right-wing extremist violence. In describing these incidents, quoting these utterances throughout the report will unfortunately be inevitable.

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1   The two national sector organisations of the regional Anti-discrimination Services, i.e. the National Sector Organisation of Anti-Discrimination Centres (LBS) and the Association of Anti-Discrimination Services Netherlands (SAN), were invited to share their data for the purpose of this report. Eight out of the 25 regional Anti-discrimination Services did supply data. These are the Anti-Discrimination Services from the following regions: Gooi en Vechtstreek, Gelderland-Zuid, Noordoost-Gelderland, Gelderland-Midden, Zeeland, Zaanstreek-Waterland, Limburg and Midden (Utrecht and surrounding areas).

2   Research justification

This chapter deals with the data collection from the National Law Enforcement Database (BVH) of the Dutch police force and from other resources. The correct interpretation of these data requires an insight into the definitions of anti-Semitism, racism, and right-wing extremist violence (section 2.1). Next, the justification for our data collection and some choices made in the process, are discussed (section 2.2).

2.1   The categories discussed in this report

In order to describe our research method and provide figures on the occurrence of anti-Semitic, racist and right-wing extremist violence, we need to clarify these categories. How do we define anti-Semitism? And racism? And what is right-wing extremist violence? The answers to these questions and a justification of the choices made are given below. Section 2.2 goes on to describe the collection, processing and presentation of the data in this report.

Anti-Semitism

This report adopts the definition used by the Dutch Centre for Information and Documentation on Israel (CIDI). This institute defines anti-Semitism as follows: treating Jews differently from other people, and in particular acting in a hostile manner towards Jews based on prejudice (CIDI, 2013:2). This means that incidents or violence may be regarded as anti-Semitic when the people targeted are perceived to have a Jewish background, and the objects targeted are thought to have a Jewish background, such as monuments, cemeteries, schools or synagogues, and when there are reasons to believe that the offenders were aware of this Jewish background. An example of this type of incident is daubing synagogues with swastikas, or insulting people with an outward appearance that is considered to be Jewish or outward features that may be identified as Jewish. The behaviour described above is referred to as *intentional anti-Semitism* (cf. Tierolf, Hermens, Drost & Van der Vost, 2013; Tierolf, Hermens, Drost & Mein, 2013).

In addition to intentional anti-Semitism, expressions of anti-Semitism may also occur when no people or objects with a Jewish background are involved

(Tierolf et al., 2013a; Tierolf et al., 2013b; CIDI, 2013). In this category, we include anti-Semitic insults that are not directed against Jews. These are, in short, insults using the word 'Jew' as a term of abuse. This is called anti-Semitic verbal abuse and is discussed in a separate chapter. Other incidents, such as daubing swastikas in public places, are mentioned but not elaborated upon.

Racism

Racism is 'every type of distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, skin colour, descent, or national or ethnic background which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms' (Article 1 ICERD[2]). In short, racist incidents are incidents in which people are the victim of a racially motivated criminal offence.

This report deals with various types of racist incidents, including racist violence, discriminatory treatment and racist verbal abuse. *Racist violence* involves violence, such as threats or assaults motivated by racism or in response to a racist insult (cf. Bol & Wiersma, 1997). In contrast to anti-Semitic verbal abuse, which is primarily directed at non-Jews, *racist verbal abuse* is usually directed at a person from a different ethnic background or of a different skin colour. These people, including public servants in their official capacity, are called, for instance '... *black'* or '... *foreigner'*. The incidents may be limited to verbal abuse, but in some cases these racist insults are coupled with racist violence (Tierolf et al., 2013a).

Right-wing extremist groups and right-wing extremist violence

Right-wing extremist groups and right-wing extremist violence are discussed separately in this report. Right-wing extremist groups are groups with *'a more or less explicit ideology that is characterised by (versions of) a positive orientation to 'sameness', (versions of) aversion to 'otherness' and to political adversaries, and by a predilection for authoritarianism.'* (Moors, 2009). Right-wing extremist violence is violence that is based not only on racism or politics, but in all likelihood also on underlying right-wing extremism. An example of an incident in which there was reason to believe that it concerned right-wing extremist violence, is the case of a Somalian woman who was threatened at knife-point by a young man with known right-wing extremist sympathies.

Other terminology

This report contains terminology that is used in police reports and in the data from the Public Prosecution Service. For the sake of clarity, Appendix 1 provides a description of these terms. The records of the Anti-Discrimination

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2   International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD).

Services and other reports on anti-Semitism, racism and right-wing extremist violence use similar terminology.

Report structure

The structure of this report differs from the structure of the 2010 and 2011 report on anti-Semitism, racism, right-wing extremist violence and discrimination in various respects. Below, we will briefly outline which incidents are discussed in which chapter. We will also discuss the changes compared to the 2010 and 2011 report.

The chapter on anti-Semitism (Chapter 4) focuses on intentional anti-Semitism. The incidents described give an impression of what anti-Semitism in the Netherlands entails. Anti-Semitic verbal abuse is discussed in chapter 7.

In chapter 5, we provide an outline of various types of racist incidents. We zoom in on the nature of these incidents and discuss three types of racist incidents: racist violence, discriminatory treatment (or perceived discriminatory treatment) that is racially motivated, and racist graffiti. Racist verbal abuse is discussed in chapter 7.

Chapter 6 discusses right-wing extremist groups and right-wing extremist violence in 2012. This chapter was contributed by Willem Wagenaar from the Anne Frank Stichting, and its set-up is similar to the 2010 and 2011 report.

Compared to the 2010 and 2011 report, the most significant change is the fact that discrimination is not discussed in a separate chapter. The primary reason for this decision is the fact that these discriminatory incidents all concern discrimination on the grounds of race, religion or both. These incidents are incorporated in chapters 4 and 5, which deal with anti-Semitic and racist incidents respectively. Chapter 7 gives an overview of anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse in 2012, compared to the situation in 2010 and 2011.

2.2   *Data collection methods*

In this section, we will set out our data collection methods. We will start by discussing the manner in which the data were retrieved from the police files. The limitations of these data and our data collection methods are discussed as well. Secondly, we will describe which additional data have been collected.

Collection of police data

Before describing our data collection methods, we need to briefly discuss the manner in which the Dutch police log incidents. 25 Police regions[3] and the Netherlands Police Agency have been using the National Law Enforcement Database (BVH) since 2008. This is a digital incident registration system, used

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3   Up to and including 2011, the Royal Marechaussee (the 26th police region) used the BPS to log incidents, which is an older police system that is still being used.

by police officers to log incidents, take down statements and draw up criminal files. The BVH is a product of the vtsPN (service for the cooperation within the Netherlands' Police Force).

Every year, police officers log over three million incidents in the BVH. Everything that comes to the attention of the police may constitute an incident: from criminal offences such as theft and assault, to traffic violations, suspect situations, sightings of suspicious persons and the transfer of files to other police forces. Incidents are logged in response to police reports, complaints and telephone calls from civilians, and to observations made by police officers.

The police creates an entry for every incident, in which all information on the incident is filed, ranging from a description of the incident, formal complaints, witness statements, data on alleged offenders, persons involved and victims, police reports, etcetera. The information in the entry is the most reliable resource for recovering the background of incidents.

Systematic and computerised search for relevant incidents

In order to obtain data on anti-Semitic and racist incidents and incidents of right-wing extremist violence recorded in the BVH, we have searched the system in a systematic and computerised way. This means that the text of the entries has been searched for specific combinations of words (search queries), combined with fixed data fields in the BVH. For the sake of clarity, we have included a number of examples in the textbox below. A specific search query was used for every category. These queries are discussed in Appendix 2.

Explanation search queries

In order to retrieve racist incidents, we looked for entries including terms such as 'racist' or 'racism'. When looking for racist verbal abuse, we searched for insults such as the Dutch equivalents of *'dirty black'* (*'vuile zwarte'*), *'fucking foreigner'* (*'klote buitenlander'*) or *'foreign scum'* (*'kanker allochtoon'*). In order to find incidents of intentional anti-Semitism, we combined these search terms into a search query. For example: 'swastik* AND jew*' ('hakenkr* AND jood*').[4]

We received data files with the information relevant to this report for the incidents retrieved through the search queries. For every incident, the type (assault, verbal abuse, theft, vandalism, etcetera), the police region, the

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4   By adding *'AND Jew*'* this search query will retrieve incidents for which the entries have the word swastika in one spot and the word Jew or Jewish in another. This prevents contamination from entries about swastikas scratched in park benches, and focuses on swastikas daubed on the homes of Jews or on places with a Jewish background, such as Jewish cemeteries or synagogues

formal complaint(s), police report and data on the alleged offenders, victims and other people involved, are known. After carrying out a numerical analysis, the authors of this report studied the contents of the entries for about a quarter of the incidents retrieved at the offices of the National Police Agency.

Limitations of the police data

The figures quoted in this report give an indication of the anti-Semitic, racist or right-wing extremist incidents retrieved from the BVH through our search queries. The limitations are twofold. First of all, only part of this type of incidents is known to the police. Generally speaking, the victims are reluctant to report these incidents (Andriessen & Fernee, 2012). That is why we set these numbers off against the figures on anti-Semitism and racism based on notifications to bodies other than the police (see the next section for an explanation of these data).

The second limitation is that some relevant incidents may have escaped our search queries.[5] This could happen if the police used other words in creating the entry than the ones we looked for.[6] On the other hand, our search terms for anti-Semitism, racism and right-wing extremist violence turned up incidents without an anti-Semitic, racist or right-wing extremist background. Based on a sample of 1,200 mutations we studied, we estimate this to be the case in approximately ten per cent of the incidents.[7]

The primary purpose of the sample was to give an idea of several types of incidents for which such background information was considered relevant. As a result, the sample was taken from a number of specific incidents, such as verbal abuse and assault.

As it was a representative sample, it is not possible to extrapolate the incidents that turned out not to be motivated by racism or anti-Semitism, to the total number of incidents found. For purposes of reliability of the data and in order to avoid ambiguity of the data, we have opted to include all incidents retrieved in the report, even though we are aware that some of these incidents were not motivated by anti-Semitism or racism.

Additional data on anti-Semitism, racism and right-wing extremism

In addition to the BVH, there are other resources on anti-Semitism and racism in the Netherlands. These resources are used to qualify the picture that emerges from the BVH, and that is based on reports and complaints filed with the police and on observations from police officers.

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5   See Tierolf et al. (2013) for further explanation.

6   The only way to prevent our missing relevant incidents is by studying all 3 million entries that are registered in the BVH every year. This cannot be done. This risk has been limited by using a large number of search terms, and by including search terms that were spelled incorrectly.

7   This could have been prevented if we had personally assessed the more than 5,000 entries retrieved by us. The investment of time this would have required was beyond the scope of this project.

The first secondary data sources are the public reports on anti-Semitism and racist incidents. These are the annual reports of the Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet (MDI), and the *2012 Anti-Semitic Incidents in the Netherlands Monitor* ('*Monitor antisemitische incidenten in Nederland 2012*') drawn up by the Centre on Information and Documentation on Israel (CIDI). In its annual report, the MDI discusses complaints about discrimination on the internet that were filed with them via email. The *Anti-Semitic Incidents in the Netherlands Monitor* drawn up by the CIDI contains the anti-Semitic incidents that were reported to the CIDI or to one of the two larger Anti-Discrimination Services (ADVs), those in the Amsterdam and Rotterdam regions.

In addition, the data of regional Anti-Discrimination Services were consulted. They log discrimination notifications that are submitted to them. Up to and including 2011, these reports were analysed and described every year (Kik, Schaap, Silversmith & Schriemer, 2012). This practice was discontinued in 2012. For the purpose of this report, we requested the data on the notifications from the regional Anti-Discrimination Services. Eight out of the 25 Anti-Discrimination Services cooperated. The reports filed with these Services regarding discrimination based on race and anti-Semitism are discussed and compared to the picture that emerges from the police data for these regions. In addition, we have used data provided by the Kafka research group and from public sources. In order to collect data on right-wing extremist groups and right-wing extremist violence, we used several secondary data resources in addition to the police data. If we had focused on the police data alone, we might have presented too narrow a view.[8] Behind the scenes, it is often easier to discover the real identity or the true convictions of right-wing extremist groups than from public records and news reports. For this reason, we made sure we were kept up-to-date regarding less accessible information on right-wing extremist groups through our network. Our sources included professional observers of right-wing extremists, messages posted on social media, and observations made during demonstrations and other events. In this way, we are able to provide an adequate, if not complete, picture of the current situation with regard to right-wing extremist groups in the Netherlands.

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8   Extremist groups are naturally inclined to keep their distance and to be suspicious of society in general. They reject its social order, and, in turn, have much to fear from society in terms of rejection and repression. In addition, right-wing extremist groups are faced with the 'adaptation dilemma' (Van Donselaar, 1991). As the ideas of right-wing extremists are often not accepted in mainstream society and may even amount to a criminal offence (as in the case of discrimination), they are often unable to vent their ideas in public. This leads to a dilemma for right-wing extremists groups: how far can they take their message, while on the one hand distinguishing themselves from other parties and relating to their (potential) following, without, on the other, coming into conflict with the criminal justice system?

3   *Overall picture of the incidents*

As an introduction to chapters 4 to 6, which present data regarding the
different types of incidents and descriptions of a number of concrete inci-
dents, we will provide an overall picture of the incidents retrieved from police
databases. For every category, we will list the number of incidents in 2012,
and we will compare these numbers to those of 2010 and 2011. In addition, we
will look into the regional distribution of the incidents, the nature of the
incidents (type of offence), the number of alleged offenders, the number of
complaints filed, the number of out-of-court settlements offered by the Public
Prosecution Service, and the background characteristics of the alleged
offenders.

3.1   *Incidents per category*

In all, the search queries yielded a total number of 4,274 incidents over the
last year (2012), which are described in further detail in this chapter. Table 1
shows how these incidents were distributed over the categories over the last
three years.[9] This table 1 is based on the categories used in 2010 and 2011:
discrimination incidents are listed separately. Table 2 shows the incidents for
each of the motives under the new categories. According to this set-up,
discrimination incidents are listed either under anti-Semitic or under racist
incidents. Because of the specific nature of incidents of right-wing extremist
violence, these numbers were not included in this table.

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9   In 2010 and 2011, we used a separate category for discrimination. For 2012, discriminatory incidents
based on race were added to the racist incidents, and the incidents of anti-Semitic discrimination
were added to the anti-Semitic incidents.

Table 1 Incidents per category in 2012, compared with 2010 and 2011

	2010	2011	2012
Intentional anti-Semitism	19	30	58
Racism	1302	1262	1671
Discrimination	468	444	568
Anti-Semitic verbal abuse	1173	1098	931
Racist verbal abuse	1440	1433	1352
Total[*]	4273	4107	4274

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

The figures show an increase in the number of intentional anti-Semitic incidents as well as an increase in the number of racist incidents. The number of incidents involving anti-Semitic or racist verbal abuse decreased slightly.

The increase in the number of intentional anti-Semitic incidents may be explained by improvements in the search query. By using varied and more specific search terms than in the 2010 and 2011 report, we were able to better identify intentional anti-Semitic incidents, which decreased the chances of overlooking such incidents.[10]

We do not have a straightforward explanation for the increase in the number of racist incidents. The most likely explanation is that the number of racist incidents actually went up. An alternative explanation might be that the police prioritised racist incidents, which would have made police officers more likely to log this type of incidents.[11] However, upon enquiry this turned out not to be the case.

As discrimination is insufficiently specific when compared to racism and anti-Semitism, the 2012 discrimination incidents were added to these motives. That is to say that the 478 incidents that turned up with the search query for discrimination based on race were added to 1,671 incidents that turned up with the search query for racism. These results were adjusted removing 72 double entries (see Appendix 2)[12] Table 2 shows the distribution of the incidents over the categories as defined in this report.

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10 These improvements were made following the data collection experience gained in the 2010 and 2011 report and in the Poldis report, during which we were able to deepen our understanding of discrimination based on anti-Semitism (see Tierolf, Hermens, Drost & Van der Vos, 2013).

11 The 2012 Poldis report showed a marked increase in the number of discriminatory incidents based on sexual preference registered by the police in a specific region. This increase could be explained by the Pink in Blue campaign, which addressed the discrimination of homosexuals.

12 The remaining discriminatory incidents concerned discrimination based on anti-Semitism. These incidents had already been retrieved through the anti-Semitism search queries (see Appendix 2).

Table 2 Incident by category in 2012[13]

	2012
Intentional anti-Semitism	58
Racism	2077
Anti-Semitic verbal abuse	931
Racist verbal abuse	1352

It is not possible to show the categorisation of table 2 for 2010 and 2011, as it is unclear which part of the discriminatory incidents in those years pertained to discrimination based on race, and which part involved discrimination based on anti-Semitism; even so, we know for certain that the majority of the incidents involved discrimination based on race.

3.2   Incidents categorised per type and motive

The categories presented in this report have to be viewed separately from the incident tags used by the police. If person A, Dutch by birth, insults a Polish Dutchman by saying that he is 'a dirty Pole', who 'should look for work in his own country', shoves him and threatens to beat him up, the threat (or verbal abuse) is a criminal offence. It is a racist threat to be precise, which is why it turns up in our query. The same applies to graffiti. Applying graffiti is an offence, regardless of the nature of the graffiti.

Police officers may, however, define a threat or assault as discrimination. The Public Prosecution Service has drawn up an Instruction for Discrimination that prescribes rules concerning the investigation and prosecution of discrimination. According to one of these rules, incidents logged as discrimination by the police may incur heavier penalties.[14]

This section deals with the types of incidents involving racism and anti-Semitism, or racist and anti-Semitic verbal abuse in 2012 (see Table 3). The racist or anti-Semitic nature may have little to do with the offence committed, for instance if a person suspected of theft calls the police officer a '*fucking Jew*' ('*kutjood*') when he is arrested. In our records, this is logged as an anti-Semitic insult, but with the police (and in Table 3), such an incident would be registered as theft.

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13 Incidents retrieved by means of the 'discrimination' search query, subdivided into intentional anti-Semitism and racism.

14 http://www.om.nl/organisatie/beleidsregels/overzicht/discriminatie/@155214/aanwijzing/ (n Dutch)

Table 3 Type of offence (incident tags) in 2012, compared to 2010 and 2011

Type of offence	2010		2011		2012	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Threat	588	13.8	550	13.4	665	15.6
Insult	1190	27.8	1223	29.8	1248	29.2
Theft	98	2.3	110	2.7	135	3.2
Discrimination	318	7.4	268	6.5	211	4.9
Violence	995	23.3	1011	24.6	1063	24.9
Activities and warning signs	72	1.7	63	1.5	72	1.7
Nuisance	176	4.1	159	3.9	193	4.5
Vandalism (including graffiti)	337	7.8	263	6.5	263	6.2
Possession of weapons	50	1.2	40	1.0	8	0.2
Other offences	449	10.5	420	10.2	413	9.7
Unknown	0	0	0	0	3	0.0
Total	4273	100.0	4107	100,0	4274	100.0

In order to classify the incidents, we stick to the incident tags used in the BVH. *Threat* concerns incidents logged by the police under the incident tag for threaths. The same applies to *insult*: these incidents are tagged with the insult incident tag. The incidents under *theft* may concern robberies or burglaries without violence.

Discrimination concerns incidents tagged *F50 Discrimination*. This incident tag is used relatively sparingly, as many incidents that are discriminatory will be registered as other offences, such as threats or insults (see, among others, Tierolf et al., 2013b).

Incidents tagged as *violence* may concern common assault or aggravated assault, as well as incidents registered as violent robberies. *Activities and warning signs* include incidents that are tagged as rallies, general entries or warning signs. The police logs matters that are of interest but in which an offence has not (yet) been committed under these two incident tags.

Nuisance usually involves the incident tag for nuisance caused by teenagers. *Vandalism* covers incidents from graffiti to vandalism. *Possession of weapons* is relevant to this report since weapons may be decorated with right-wing extremist or anti-Semitic signs, such as German weapons from the Second World War with swastikas. *Other offences* includes all incidents that do not fall into any of the other categories.

Table 4 Type of offence (incident tags) by category in 2012, compared with 2010 and 2011

	Intentional anti-Semitism			Racism		
	% 2010	% 2011	% 2012 (n=58)	% 2010	% 2011	% 2012 (n=2077)
Threat	5%	13%	9%	13%	13%	15%
Insult	32%	20%	9%	33%	35%	29%
Theft	0%	3%	2%	2%	3%	4%
Discrimination (F50)	16%	30%	53%	5%	5%	8%
Violence	5%	7%	6%	11%	14%	20%
Activities and warning signs	0%	0%	4%	3%	2%	2%
Other offences	5%	13%	4%	10%	10%	9%
Nuisance	5%	3%	2%	7%	6%	6%
Vandalism (including graffiti)	32%	7%	13%	14%	11%	8%
Possession of weapons	0%	3%	0%	2%	1%	0%

	Anti-Semitic verbal abuse			Racist verbal abuse		
	% 2010	% 2011	% 2012 (n=931)	% 2010	% 2011	% 2012 (n=1352)
Threat	12%	14%	13%	19%	16%	20%
Insult	39%	42%	42%	17%	19%	20%
Theft	3%	2%	2%	2%	3%	3%
Discrimination (F50)	1%	1%	1%	4%	3%	2%
Violence	14%	15%	16%	41%	42%	40%
Activities and warning signs	2%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%
Other offences	16%	15%	15%	8%	7%	7%
Nuisance	5%	5%	6%	1%	2%	2%
Vandalism (including graffiti)	5%	4%	4%	6%	5%	5%
Possession of weapons	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	0%

Table 4 illustrates that the nature of the incidents differs for every category (intentional anti-Semitism, racism, anti-Semitic verbal abuse and racist verbal abuse). First of all, the police seem more ready to tag anti-Semitic incidents with the *Discrimination F50* incident tag than other incidents. We conclude that in incidents involving intentional anti-Semitism, the focus is on this anti-Semitism. This is not the case with anti-Semitic verbal abuse. In these

cases, their anti-Semitic nature is usually second to another incident. In 42 per cent of the cases, this concerns an insult, for instance in the case of the tram driver who is called a '*dirty asshole, fucking Jew*!' ('*vuile klootzak, kankerjood!*') In this case, the insult is at the centre of the offence, and the victim is insulted among other things by an anti-Semitic slur. (The victim, incidentally, was not a Jew.)

Judging by the police logs, racism and racial slurs are more often secondary than primary offences: with racism, eight per cent of the incidents were logged by the police as discrimination and two per cent were logged as racist verbal abuse. The question is, however, whether this represents the actual situation, or whether is it just hard to determine for police officers whether an incident should be classified as discrimination: when in doubt, they may opt for a different incident tag than *F50 discrimination*. The majority of racist incidents and racist verbal abuse found in the BVH are coupled with threats, violence (common or aggravated assault) and insults.

The data in table 4 are a first step towards describing the dynamics of incidents involving anti-Semitism and racism. The chapters on the different incident categories will deal with the subject in more detail.

3.3   *Regional distribution of incidents*

Table 5 shows the regional distribution of the incidents. Subsequently, Map 1 shows the relative number of incidents: the number of incidents for every 1,000 inhabitants of 12 years and older by region.

Table 5 Number of incidents by police region in 2012, compared with 2010 and 2011

Police region	2010	2011	2012
01 Groningen	47	106	110
02 Friesland	112	79	84
03 Drenthe	72	52	91
04 IJsselland	74	77	78
05 Twente	96	94	112
06 Noord- and Oost-Gelderland	138	160	149
07 Gelderland-Midden	113	107	120
08 Gelderland-Zuid	107	81	83
09 Utrecht	281	284	321
10 Noord-Holland-Noord	126	127	139
11 Zaanstreek-Waterland	79	104	67
12 Kennemerland	119	104	124
13 Amsterdam-Amstelland	535	517	477
14 Gooi en Vechtstreek	26	37	37

Police region	2010	2011	2012
15 Haaglanden	500	480	525
16 Hollands-Midden	251	241	245
17 Rotterdam-Rijnmond	705	588	542
18 Zuid-Holland-Zuid	129	101	123
19 Zeeland	66	82	78
20 Midden- and West-Brabant	195	182	217
21 Brabant-Noord	105	100	106
22 Brabant-Zuidoost	137	122	149
23 Limburg-Noord	94	95	90
24 Limburg-Zuid	75	67	83
25 Flevoland	85	117	108
No known crime location in the Netherlands	6	3	16
Total	4273	4107	4274

As in 2010 and 2011, for some of the 4274 incidents, there is no information as to the location where the offence was committed. In 2012, this applied to sixteen incidents. One of these incidents was an offence committed in Germany; the location of the remaining fifteen incidents is unknown.

As in previous years, the regional differences with regard to the number of incidents are large. Over the years, however, the picture is fairly constant. Only in the Rotterdam Rijnmond region did the decrease that started in 2011, continue in 2012, be it less prominently. The decrease of the total number of anti-Semitic and racist incidents and right-wing extremist violent incidents was primarily caused by the decrease of anti-Semitic incidents in the region. We will explore this phenomenon in the chapters that describe the various types of incidents.

The majority of the incidents under the categories of this report took place in the metropolitan regions of Amsterdam Amstelland, Rotterdam Rijnmond and Haaglanden (The Hague). When we look at the number of incidents for every 1,000 inhabitants (of 12 years and over), we can see that this number was decidedly higher in the three metropolitan regions than in the other regions (see Map 1). In the other regions, the number of racist and anti-Semitic incidents for every thousand inhabitants was markedly lower, with the Hollands-Midden region somewhere in the middle. The Limburg-Zuid and Friesland regions report the fewest incidents for every thousand inhabitants.

Map 1 Total number of incidents for every thousand inhabitants by police region

Total incidents for every 1000 inhabitants

- 0,6   tot 0,72   (2)
- 0,48 tot 0,6   (1)
- 0,36 tot 0,48   (2)
- 0,24 tot 0,36   (14)
- 0,12 tot 0,24   (6)
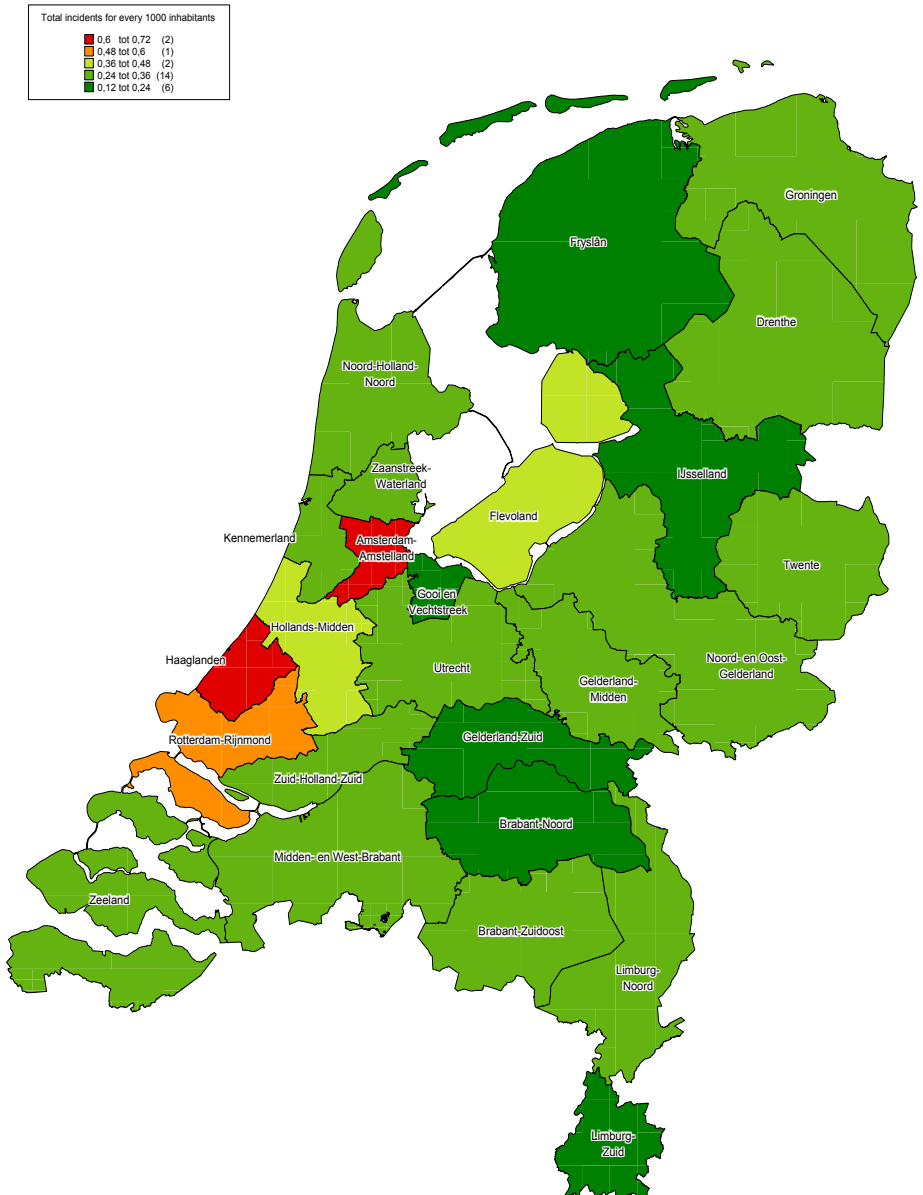
3.4   Characteristics of the alleged offenders

The police entries contain information on the alleged offenders of these incidents. This information is discussed in this section. We will start by showing the total number of offenders (and alleged offenders) per category. Several offenders may have been involved in one incident. For 42 per cent of the incidents there are no known offenders.

In all, 3,367 alleged offenders are known. This means that an average of 0.8 offenders was involved in every incident. Table 6 provides information on the number of offenders for every category in 2010, 2011 and 2012, as well as the average number of offenders for every incident by category in 2012.

Table 6 Number of alleged offenders for every category in 2010-2012

	2010	2011	2012	On average in 2012
Intentional anti-Semitism	5	26	15	0.3
Racism	610	592	1201	0.6
Anti-Semitic verbal abuse	1257	1108	877	0.9
Racist verbal abuse	1735	1551	1403	1.0

The decrease in the number of alleged offenders in incidents involving intentional anti-Semitism in 2012 compared with 2011 is surprising, as we found an increase in incidents in 2012. Apparently, the percentage of cases solved in 2012 was lower (probably coincidentally) than in 2011. In proportion to the number of anti-Semitic incidents, the number of alleged offenders was approximately the same in 2012 and in 2010. The increase in the number of alleged offenders in racism incidents is caused by an increase in the number of incidents and by adding the discriminatory incidents based on race to this number. The decrease in the number of alleged offenders of anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse can be explained by the decrease in the number of this type of incidents retrieved.

Mean age and sex of the alleged offenders
The mean age of the alleged offenders was 28.4 years old (see Table 7). This is a slightly, albeit significantly, higher average age than in 2010 and 2011. Other than that, no significant differences can be discerned compared with 2010 and 2011. As in previous years, verbal abuse seems to be carried out by younger rather than by older people.

The major difference in the average age of the alleged offenders in incidents concerning intentional anti-Semitism can be explained by the small number of alleged offenders. Six out of fifteen alleged offenders were aged

50 or above, which strongly raised the average age compared with previous years.

Table 7 Mean age of alleged offenders in incidents by category 2010-2012

	2010	2011	2012
	Age in years	Age in years	Age in years
Intentional anti-Semitism	34.2	31.7	50.5
Racism	30.6	30.4	31.9
Anti-Semitic verbal abuse	23.1	24.7	24.5
Racist verbal abuse	27.1	27.3	27.7
Total	26.2	27.1	28.4

If we study the ages of the alleged offenders a little closer, the picture remains the same. In spite of the wide age distribution (the oldest suspect is 83 years old), the larger part of the group is relatively young: almost 35% of the alleged offenders are between 15 and 21 years old.

Men are traditionally overrepresented in crime statistics. The same pattern applies to the categories discussed here. In 2012, 11.5% of the alleged offenders in the incidents retrieved by us were women; in 2011 this number was 12.4%. This difference is not significant. We do, however, find significant differences between the percentages of women in the various themes.

Table 8 Percentage of female alleged offenders for every theme

	2010	2011	2012
	% female	% female	% female
Intentional anti-Semitism	0%	15.4 %	40.0%
Racism	15.4%	15.0%	12.6%
Anti-Semitic verbal abuse	8.6%	8.4%	8.9%
Racist verbal abuse	12.0%	14.1%	11.6%
Total	11.1%	12.4%	11.5%

3.5 Police reports, alleged offenders, complaints and out-of-court settlements

Cases handled by the police follow a prescribed route, as shown in the flow chart below (Figure 1). This is how cases are handled legally. In the same chart (Figure 1), the numbers of incidents for the categories discussed in this report are listed.

This flow chart may require some clarification. In the boxes 'police report' and 'out-of-court settlement PPS', an additional number is given between brackets. The first figure shows the number of entries for which a police report was drawn up or in which the case was settled out-of-court with the Public Prosecution Service (PPS). The number between brackets indicates the total number of police reports drawn up or cases settled by the PPS, for the number of entries mentioned. These numbers differ because of a number of reasons: police reports may have been drawn up for more than one alleged offender per incident. If cases are settled out of court by the Public Prosecution Service, the offender may initially be fined. If the fine is not paid, the writ may yet follow. When cases are transferred or joined, the case may yet be dismissed or the suspect may be fined, punished or summoned in the second instance.

Figure 1 Flow chart criminal justice system
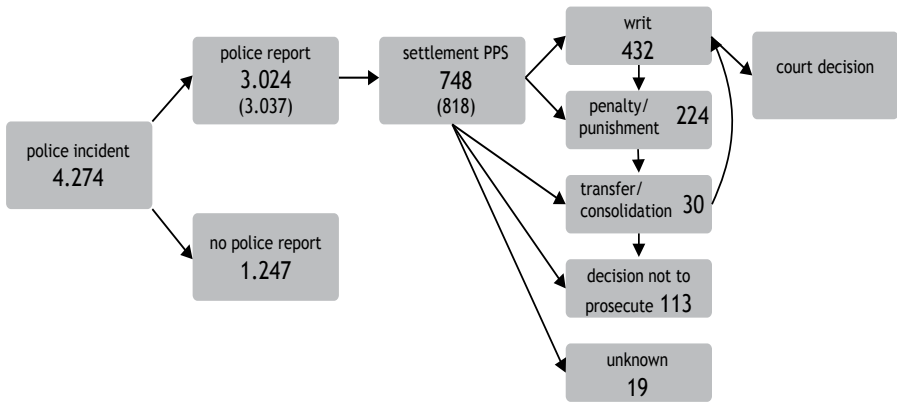
Thanks to the extensive data on incidents logged by the police and the Public Prosecution Service, it is possible to calculate the percentage of incidents in which police reports were drawn up, to calculate the percentage of incidents in which alleged offenders were logged, and the percentage of incidents in which reports were filed by the victims. By linking the police data to the PPS data, it is possible to calculate the percentage of cases settled out of court on the initiative of the PPS.[15]

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15 In 2012, it turned out that this linking process was not executed properly in the previous years, as a result of which the number of PPS settlements linked to police incidents was too high. This was caused by the fact that the PPS data were not differentiated according to region. As a result, incidents were sometimes linked to settlements arranged in other regions. For this reason, we will not compare these data with the data on the incidents from 2010 and 2011.

Table 9 provides the data on police reports, on complaints filed by victims, and on alleged offenders. In 2012, offenders were identified in over 58 per cent of the incidents retrieved, which is approximately the same percentage as in 2010 and 2011. In 2012, out-of-court settlements were offered by the PPS in 17.5 per cent of the incidents mentioned here. In comparison with 2010 and 2011, more police reports were drawn up in 2012 and more official complaints were filed by the victims (just under 75% and 62% respectively) in the incidents retrieved by us.

Table 9 Percentage of police reports, complaints filed with the police, and alleged offenders

	2010	2011	2012
Police reports drawn up	51.0%	50.4%	70.8%
Complaints filed with the police	56.6%	58.4%	61.7%
Offenders identified	60.8%	59.0%	58.2%

If we look specifically at the police reports, we can also identify how many police reports were drawn up for each type of incident, sub-divided by theme. This is shown in Table 10. For 2012, we have included the percentage of incidents that was settled out of court by the Public Prosecution Service. As you will see, compared to 2010 and 2011, police reports were drawn up in a larger percentage of the incidents.

Table 10 Percentage of police reports (PR) and out-of-court settlements instigated by the Public Prosecution Service, categorised by theme.

	2010	2011	2012	2012
	% PR	% PR	% PR	% PPS settlement
Intentional anti-Semitism	36.8%	53.3%	63.6%	1.8%
Racism	34.3%	34.3%	62.9%	12,7%
Anti-Semitic verbal abuse	62.5%	60.6%	78.3%	27.6%
Racist verbal abuse	59.2%	59.1%	80.2%	18.6%

The differences between the various categories have decreased, compared to previous years. In cases of anti-Semitic verbal abuse and racist verbal abuse, police reports were drawn up in 8 cases out of 10. Compared to previous years, incidents categorised as racism showed the greatest increase in the percentage of incidents in which a police report was drawn up. The percentage of out-of-court settlements instigated by the Public Prosecution Service was relatively small.

Table 11 shows the percentage of incidents that were officially reported to the police, categorised by theme. As in 2010 and 2011, the highest percentage of complaints dealt with racist verbal abuse incidents (in 2012, complaints were filed in nearly 72% of the incidents logged). In cases involving intentional anti-Semitism, anti-Semitic verbal abuse and racist incidents, official state-ments were filed with the police in over half of the incidents logged. We have noticed an increase in the percentage of incidents involving racism and anti-Semitic verbal abuse that are reported to the police, and a decrease in statements concerning racist verbal abuse and intentional anti-Semitism.

Table 11 Percentage of complaints filed with the police per category

	2010 % complaint	2011 % complaint	2012 % complaint
Intentional anti-Semitism	52.6%	66.7%	60.0%
Racism	47.5%	49.8%	61.2%
Anti-Semitic verbal abuse	42.2%	47.1%	52.1%
Racist verbal abuse	76.0%	74.5%	71.7%

Table 12 shows the development over the last few years of the percentage of incidents in which the offenders were identified. The development over the years seems fairly stable with most categories. The biggest fluctuations are noticeable under intentional anti-Semitism; however, this can be explained by the low number of incidents. We notice a relatively large increase in the number of alleged offenders of racist incidents. The number of alleged offenders implies the expected detection rate: if no alleged offender has been noted for an offence, the chances of solving the case are close to zero. If a suspect has been identified, there is at least a fair chance that the case may be solved.

Table 12 Percentage of alleged offenders per category

	2010 % suspect	2011 % suspect	2012 % suspect
Intentional anti-Semitism	26,3%	56,7%	25,5%
Racism	38,1%	38,2%	46,3%
Anti-Semitic verbal abuse	75,8%	72,5%	74,1%
Racist verbal abuse	74,2%	70,6%	68,4%

3.6   *Conclusion*

In this chapter, we have painted an overall picture of the incidents we retrieved. Some findings stand out. First of all, the number of racist incidents retrieved from the National Law Enforcement Database increased strongly, from an estimated 1,700[16] in 2011 to 2,077 in 2012. The number of incidents of intentional anti-Semitism retrieved from the National Law Enforcement Database increased to 58 incidents. This is the result of an adaptation in the search procedure for this type of incidents. The number of anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse incidents decreased in comparison to previous years.

If we zoom in on the number of identified offenders, we can see that the expected detection rate is lowest for incidents involving intentional anti-Semitism and racism. The expected detection rate is higher for anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse, as the nature of the incidents allows the victims to identify the offender. In addition, reports filed by police officers form a large part of the anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents. Apparently, police officers are often insulted with anti-Semitic slurs and they tend to log these incidents in the registration system.

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16   These numbers include the number of incidents of discrimination based on race, which were registered separately in 2011. The number for 2011 is an estimate.

4   Anti-Semitism

This chapter presents data related to anti-Semitic incidents in the
Netherlands in 2012. The incidents described are incidents in which Jews
were treated differently from other people, and in which people acted in a
hostile manner towards them, based on prejudice.

The chapter begins with an overview of the data related to intentional
anti-Semitic incidents and anti-Semitic verbal abuse. We put these data in
perspective by quoting data from other sources. Subsequently, we will focus
on intentional anti-Semitic incidents: incidents that can reasonably be
determined to involve anti-Semitism against persons or objects with a Jewish
background.

4.1   Anti-Semitic incidents in 2012

We retrieved 58 incidents from 2012 from the BHV in which intentional anti-
Semitism was an issue. 931 Anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents were logged
(see Table 13).

Table 13 Anti-Semitic incidents 2010 - 2012

	2010	2011	2012
Intentional anti-Semitism	19	30	58
Anti-Semitic verbal abuse	1173	1098	931

In its annual publication Anti-Semitic Incidents in *the Netherlands Monitor*
(CIDI, 2013), the CIDI registers complaints concerning anti-Semitic incidents.
Compared to the total number of complaints regarding anti-Semitism filed
with the CIDI in 2012, i.e. 114, the number of 58 incidents involving intentional
anti-Semitism logged in the BVH is low. A large part of the incidents is inclu-
ded in both registers. There are several explanations for the difference. First
of all, filing a report or an official complaint with the police may be a bigger
step than filing a complaint with the CIDI. Secondly, 41 incidents were repor-
ted to the CIDI via the internet. With the police, this type of report is rare.
Finally, it seems that the CIDI sometimes categorises anti-Jewish graffiti
(which are frequent, see section 4.2 on Graffiti and vandalism) slightly

differently. It is also relevant that not all of the 58 incidents reported to the police were filed with the CIDI. The number of incidents filed with the CIDI is practically the same as the number of anti-Semitic incidents reported to the CIDI in 2011 (113).

The Anti-Discrimination Services from the eight regions that sent us their data have information on eleven anti-Semitic incidents in total (including both verbal abuse and intentional anti-Semitism). We would categorise the anti-Semitic incidents reported by the Anti-Discrimination Services as intentional anti-Semitism, as these instances of verbal abuse, violence or discrimination were directed at Jews. To our knowledge, the Anti-Discrimination Services do not register incidents of anti-Semitic verbal abuse directed at non-Jews. In the BHV, we found 144 of such incidents in the eight regions involved.

Increase in intentional anti-Semitism

The increase in the number of incidents involving intentional anti-Semitism may be explained by improvements in the search queries (see section 3.1). This has decreased the chance that incidents are overlooked. In 2012, thirty out of 58 incidents involving intentional anti-Semitism were logged in the Amsterdam-Amstelland region. Other regions listing more than one such incident in the BHV are Utrecht (6), Noord-Holland North (4), Haaglanden (4) and Rotterdam-Rijnmond (2). In twelve police regions, one incident involving intentional anti-Semitism was logged, and in nine other regions no incidents of intentional anti-Semitism were logged in 2012. Table 14 shows the number of incidents retrieved from the BVH by police region.

Table 14 Number of incidents of intentional anti-Semitism in 2012 by police region

Number of incidents		Number of incidents	
01 Groningen	1	14 Gooi en Vechtstreek	0
02 Friesland	1	15 Haaglanden	4
03 Drenthe	1	16 Hollands-Midden	0
04 IJsselland	1	17 Rotterdam-Rijnmond	3
05 Twente	1	18 Zuid-Holland-Zuid	1
06 Noord- and Oost-Gelderland	1	19 Zeeland	1
07 Gelderland-Midden	0	20 Midden- and West-Brabant	0
08 Gelderland-Zuid	0	21 Brabant-Noord	1
09 Utrecht	6	22 Brabant-Zuidoost	1
10 Noord-Holland-Noord	4	23 Limburg-Noord	0
11 Zaanstreek-Waterland	0	24 Limburg-Zuid	1
12 Kennemerland	0	25 Flevoland	0
13 Amsterdam-Amstelland	30	KLPD	0
		Total	58

4.2   Describing incidents involving intentional anti-Semitism

This section deals with the contents of intentional anti-Semitic incidents. In cases involving intentional anti-Semitism, anti-Semitism is the motive of the offender. This means that the insults, threats, graffiti and other incidents clearly have an anti-Semitic motive.

Analysis of the entries of the 58 incidents of intentional anti-Semitism indicates that these incidents can generally be categorised into three types of intentional anti-Semitism: (1) *insult, threat or assault against Jews,* in which it has been ascertained that the offender was aware of the Jewish background of the victim, and in which this background was the reason for the offence committed, (2) daubing or scratching anti-Semitic symbols or slogans on Jewish locations, such as a synagogues or Jewish schools, or on locations with a link to the Second World War, and (3) the chanting of anti-Semitic slogans and/or provocations on Jewish holidays, in the neighbourhood of (meetings in) synagogues or on 4 or 5 May during memorial services for the Second World War. This may also involve perceived Jewish targets. Below, we will illustrate the dynamics and nature of these three types of intentional anti-Semitism in the Netherlands.

Insults, threats and assaults

35 out of 58 incidents of intentional anti-Semitism involved insults and threats aimed at Jews and assaults on Jews. This category can be subdivided into three categories. The first subcategory consists of incidents targeting people (either known to the suspect or not) whose perceived Jewish background is visible or known. The second subcategory consists of incidents insulting the entire Jewish people, often referring to the Second World War. The third subcategory consists of incidents targeting Jewish organisations or hotels, cafés and restaurants.

Incidents targeting people with a perceived or known Jewish background

In about two thirds out of 35 incidents, offender and victim did not know each other; however, the perceived Jewish identity of the victim was obvious. In a number of entries, we read that a remark made by a person from a perceived Jewish background may have provoked anti-Semitic verbal abuse or threats. One example describes an incident that took place in a swimming pool. A Jewish woman remarked upon children splashing water around. The mothers of these children responded in a hostile manner, and told her, among other things '*So typical of Jews. We are going to finish you off...*' ('*Wat een joden- streek. We gaan je kapot maken...*'). Another incident took place in a waiting room. A man with a perceived Jewish background asked two women to lower their voices. In response, he was told: '*Mind your own business, dirty fucking Jew.*' ('*Waar bemoei jij je mee vuile kutjood.*')

Usually, however, anti-Semitic insults or threats are not prompted by anything other than the Jewish appearance of the victims. A Jewish man wearing a yarmulka, for instance, was called a *'scum Jew'* (*'rotjood'*) by a man unknown to the victim. The only assault motivated by anti-Semitism did not have a distinct cause. A man wearing a Jewish prayer rug and a yarmulka was called a *'fucking Jew'* (*'kutjood'*) and was beaten and kicked.

Sometimes, anti-Semitic insults or threats are directed at people whose Jewish background is known to the offender. This often concerns neighbours. There was this instance of a Jewish man who complained to his neighbours about the noise. In response, they abused him, calling him, among other things, a *'bloody Jew'* (*'schijtjood'*). After the man had reported the abuse to the police, the offender said during questioning that he did not dislike Jews, but was just angry about the noise complaint. We read about incidents during which Jews received anti-Semitic verbal abuse from their neighbours, out of the blue, such as *'fucking Jew'* (*'kutjood'*) or *'bloody Jew'* (*'schijtjood'*), or by e-mail, provoked by a business dispute between two colleagues, one of which is Jewish: *'I love Hitler, people like you should be dead. Dirty fucking Jew. All honour to John Galliano.'* Another example of such an incident concerned a lawyer from a Jewish background, who was addressed as *'fucking Jew'* (*'kut-jood'*) by his client when they had a disagreement. The lawyer filed a complaint with the police.

Insults against the Jewish people

Incidents in which the Jewish people as a whole are insulted, often contain references to the Second World War. Take, for example, this incident involving a Jewish girl (18 years old) and her driving instructor. As soon as the driving instructor learned about the Jewish background of the girl, he started making insulting remarks. He denied the Holocaust and said things such as: *'The Jews called it upon themselves. Hitler was a smart guy...'* Another incident involved two former colleagues, one of whom was Jewish. Yet another example is provided by the remark made during a neighbours' quarrel in which Jews were involved: *'Our chimney is the same as the one in Auschwitz... All Jews should be sent to the gas chambers.'*

Insults or threats against the Jewish people as a whole are made on the internet as well, for instance via social media or message boards. In 2012, the Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet (MDI) received 285 notifications to this effect, 177 of which were considered criminal (MDI, 2012). One hundred of these remarks involved denial of the Holocaust. The MDI reported 18 cases to the Public Prosecution Service. It is, however, unclear whether these incidents came to the attention of the police via this route. If the police responded correctly, we will have retrieved them through our search query for anti-Semitic verbal abuse.

The BVH provided six instances of anti-Semitic insults against the Jewish people as a whole that we defined as intentional anti-Semitism. These cases involved posts on Twitter or Facebook inciting hatred, such as *'all Jews must die'* or *'I hate Jews'*. We also found some messages posted on message boards in which the Holocaust was denied. It is unclear who posted these messages, as the offenders always used aliases instead of their real names. These aliases often displayed anti-Semitic sentiments as well.

Jewish organisations and restaurants, cafés or hotels

Next to the anti-Semitic insults and threats against Jewish people, Jewish organisations are common targets of this type of insults and threats as well. Last year, for instance, a Jewish restaurant received a telephone call in which the caller said to an employee of the restaurant: *'All Jews to the gas chambers. If you are a Jew, you must die. I'm going to set fire to your restaurant.'*

Graffiti and vandalism

Twenty of the incidents of intentional anti-Semitism retrieved by us involved graffiti or vandalism that was clearly motivated by anti-Semitism. The homes of Jews were daubed with graffiti (12 times), a house with Jewish occupants was set on fire, seven cases of graffiti / vandalism at Jewish locations were reported: synagogues (twice), Jewish monuments (twice), a Jewish primary school, vandalism against Jewish stores and graffiti on a building accommodating a Jewish organisation. Table 15 offers an overview of the targets of anti-Semitic graffiti and vandalism.

Table 15 Targets of anti-Semitic graffiti and vandalism

Jewish homes (one case of arson)	13
Synagogues	2
Jewish monuments	2
Jewish primary schools	1
Jewish stores	1
Other Jewish organisations	1
Total	20

Whenever the homes of Jews or families were daubed with swastikas and/or insulting texts, this commonly involved a swastika daubed on the front door of the house, as happened to people with a Jewish surname. One time, not only had the front door been daubed with a swastika, but so had the car. On one occasion, the home of a Jewish family was covered with swastikas and subsequently set on fire.

In 2012, the BVH yielded two instances of graffiti and vandalism against a synagogue. During the Commemoration of the Dead on the fourth of May, the

windows of a synagogue were smashed, and Hamas stickers were put on the windows and the entrance door of another synagogue. Jewish monuments were daubed with swastikas in two incidents. In another incident, a swastika was drawn on the window of a Jewish primary school. Tensions in the Middle East were quoted as a cause for the vandalism against Jewish stores. It is well-known that tensions in the Middle East often result in anti-Semitic incidents in the Netherlands (cf. Wolf, Berger, & De Ruig, 2013). In 2012, however, there were no specific events that might have provoked these incidents.

The *2012 Anti-Semitic Incidents Monitor* of the CIDI lists graffiti on Jewish targets. It also lists some cases of anti-Semitic graffiti on seemingly random targets, such as a bottle bank, a tunnel or a bus shelter. We do not file this type of incidents under intentional anti-Semitism. It is, however, interesting to find out how often they occur and whether they are on the increase or on the decrease. We used a separate search query and found 1,368 instances of random anti-Semitic graffiti and scratching (swastikas) in 2012, usually on walls or benches in public places. For 2011, we found 1,558 of such instances.

Chanting of anti-Semitic slogans and provocative behaviour

The BVH yields three incidents of provocative anti-Semitic behaviour for 2012. One time, a man made the Nazi salute in front of a Jewish museum. In another incident, two persons with various clearly visible anti-Semitic tattoos paraded the Dam in Amsterdam, just hours before the Commemoration of the Dead. Police officers deemed it provocative behaviour and logged it in the BVH.

The third incident is worth discussing here as well. It involved a man walking through a shopping centre carrying a sign with the text '*Boycot Israel, free Palestina*.' In itself, this is an opinion that someone is allowed to have. After all, it is an opinion about a political conflict. The person carrying the sign, however, made anti-Semitic insults as well. Asked by a passer-by what he would do if this passer-by were to be Jewish, he called him a '*fucking Jew*'. According to the entry, the man carrying the sign felt provoked by passers-by on account of his message, which they did not seem to share.

4.3   *Alleged offenders of intentional anti-Semitism*

For 58 cases of intentional anti-Semitism, there are fifteen known offenders, nine men and six women. In 2012, the alleged offenders were on average 50.5 years old (see Table 16). Thirteen incidents yielded one known offender, one incident yielded two alleged offenders. The six offenders who were 55 years or older were therefore not involved together in one or two incidents.

Table 16 Characteristics of the persons suspected of intentional anti-Semitism from 2010 to 2012

Background characteristics alleged offenders	2010	2010 percentage	2011	2011 percentage	2012	2012 percentage
Female	0	0%	4	15%	6	40%
Male	5	100%	22	85%	9	60%
0-14 yrs	0	0%	1	4%	1	7%
15-19 yrs	2	40%	11	42%	0	0%
20-24 yrs	1	20%	2	8%	1	7%
25-29 yrs	0	0%	2	8%	0	0%
30-34 yrs	0	0%	2	8%	0	0%
35-39 yrs	1	20%	0	0%	2	13%
40-44 yrs	0	0%	0	0%	2	13%
45-49 yrs	0	0%	3	12%	2	13%
50-54 yrs	0	0%	1	4%	1	7%
aged 55 and above	1	20%	4	15%	6	40%
Average age	34.2		31.7		50.5	

The fact that data on the alleged offenders are available in only one out of four incidents implies that the detection rate for intentional anti-Semitism is probably low. One possible explanation is the fact that this type of incidents is usually carried out in relative anonymity. Graffiti and vandalism against Jewish homes or buildings, for instance, often take place when there are no other people around or when the offender is not clearly visible. And although the person insulting or assaulting people with a perceived Jewish background is visible, he/she is usually unknown to the victim, and so remains unknown.

4.4   Conclusion

The number of incidents involving intentional anti-Semitism – treating Jews differently from other people, particularly displaying a hostile attitude towards Jews based on prejudice (CIDI, 2013:2) – has risen from 19 to 58 incidents between 2010 and 2012. The question is whether this increase in the number of incidents involving intentional anti-Semitism is an actual increase. Firstly, our search method for retrieving this specific type of incidents has improved in certain areas, which makes it easier to find more incidents.[17] Secondly, the CIDI and the MDI do not mention a significant

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17   See chapter 2 and 4 for more information.

increase in anti-Semitism (CIDI, 2013; MDI, 2013). The CIDI reported on 113 anti-Semitic incidents in 2011 and on 114 incidents in 2012

The incidents involving intentional anti-Semitism logged in police databases can be divided into three categories. The first category involves insults and threats made against Jews, in cases in which the offender was clearly aware of the Jewish background of the victim (35 incidents). The second category includes applying graffiti or scratching anti-Semitic symbols or slogans on Jewish locations, such as synagogues or Jewish schools, or on locations linked to the Second World War (twenty incidents). The third category involves the chanting of anti-Semitic slogans and/or provocations during Jewish holidays, around synagogues, meetings in synagogues or memorial services for the Second World War on the fourth or fifth of May (three incidents).

5   Racism

In this chapter, we present data related to the number of racist incidents in 2012. These incidents involve some sort of distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, skin colour, descent, or national or ethnic background which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the human rights and fundamental freedoms.

   This chapter starts out with a general overview of the racist incidents retrieved from the BVH for the year 2012. We compare this overview with other data on racism for 2012 from eight Anti-Discrimination Services and the Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet MDI. Next, both numerical and descriptive information of the incidents will be presented, with special attention being paid to racist violence. While the numerical data are based on the incident tags, the descriptive information comprises an analysis of a random sample of racist incidents. Finally, we pay attention to the background – age and sex – of the offenders involved in these incidents.

5.1   Racist incidents in 2012

We retrieved 2,077 racist incidents from the BVH for 2012 (see Table 17). This number does not include the incidents of racist verbal abuse discussed in chapter 7. Compared with 2010 (1,302 incidents) and 2011 (1,261 incidents), this is a substantial increase. The increase in the number of racist incidents, compared to previous years, can be explained in part by the fact that the incidents retrieved by means of the query for 'discrimination based on race' were added to the racist incidents. This was not the case in 2010 and 2011 (see section 3.1). Nonetheless, even if we discount these 478 incidents, the total number of racist incidents increased by more than 400 incidents to 1,671 incidents.

Table 17 Racist incidents 2010-2012

Year	2010	2011	2012
Number of incidents	1302	1262	2077

Increase in the number of racist incidents logged

We do not have a straightforward explanation for the increase in the number of racist incidents. If the police had taken new initiatives to fight racism in 2012, as they did with regard to discrimination based on sexual orientation, that might have explained the increase. The campaign 'Pink in Blue' ('*Roze in Blauw*') led to an increase in the number of discriminatory incidents reported to and logged by the police (Tierolf et al., 2013b). Upon inquiry, however, it transpired that the police had not paid special attention to the registration of racism in 2012.

Another possible explanation is a *de facto* increase in the number of racist incidents. Comparisons with other data, however, reflect a different picture. The Public Prosecution Service reports that the number of discriminatory offences in which the discrimination was based on race, decreased from 104 offences in 2011 to 62 in 2012 (LECD, 2013). The number of reports of racism on the internet decreased as well, from 656 in 2009 to 472 in 2012 (MDI, 2013). On the other hand, the regional Anti-Discrimination Services have been reporting increases in complaints of racial discrimination for years (Coenders et al., 2012).[18]

The police data do not reflect major regional differences regarding the increase in the number of incidents. With the exception of Hollands-Midden and Zaanstreek-Waterland, the number of racist incidents reported increased in all regions, even if we discount the incidents retrieved by means of the search query for discrimination based on race (see Table 18). Our conclusion is that the increase is not a result of the fact that certain regions paid more attention to racism either.

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18   Data available up to and including 2011.

*Table 18 Number of racist incidents by police region in 2010-2012*

Police region	2010	2011	2012 (excluding discrimination based on race)	2012 (including discrimination based on race)
01 Friesland	50	37	44	53
02 Groningen	13	41	48	63
03 Drenthe	17	17	34	44
04 IJsselland	20	24	34	41
05 Twente	27	31	49	56
06 Noord- and Oost-Gelderland	44	45	47	80
07 Gelderland-Midden	35	30	40	56
08 Gelderland-Zuid	37	28	44	57
09 Utrecht	106	107	143	173
10 Noord-Holland-Noord	41	43	49	61
11 Zaanstreek-Waterland	40	46	31	32
12 Kennemerland	25	22	44	51
13 Amsterdam-Amstelland	174	147	203	283
14 Gooi en Vechtstreek	4	11	15	17
15 Haaglanden	75	88	144	175
16 Hollands-Midden	61	61	57	82
17 Rotterdam-Rijnmond	145	131	170	204
18 Zuid-Holland-Zuid	31	23	33	38
19 Zeeland	27	32	36	39
20 Midden- and West-Brabant	74	78	101	126
21 Brabant-Noord	30	28	43	53
22 Brabant-Zuidoost	58	48	65	75
23 Limburg-Noord	43	29	42	51
24 Limburg-Zuid	50	36	52	55
25 Flevoland	38	43	57	63
KLPD	22	35	46	49
Royal Marechaussee	15	1	-	-
Total	1302	1262	1671	2077

Racist incidents divided by region for every thousand inhabitants

In order to put the distribution of these 2,077 racist incidents over the police regions into perspective, Map 2 shows the relative number of racist incidents for every police region. The relative number refers to the number of incidents for every 1,000 inhabitants aged 12 or above for every region.

In the Amsterdam-Amstelland region, the number of incidents retrieved from the BVH for every 1,000 inhabitants is higher than in the other regions. The relative lowest number of incidents of this type is found in the regions of Zuid-Holland Zuid and Gooi en Vechtstreek.

Map 2 Racist incidents in 2012 for every 1000 inhabitants by police region

racist incidents for every 1000 inhabitants
- 0,33 tot 0,4 (1)
- 0,27 tot 0,33 (0)
- 0,21 tot 0,27 (3)
- 0,15 tot 0,21 (4)
- 0,09 tot 0,15 (17)
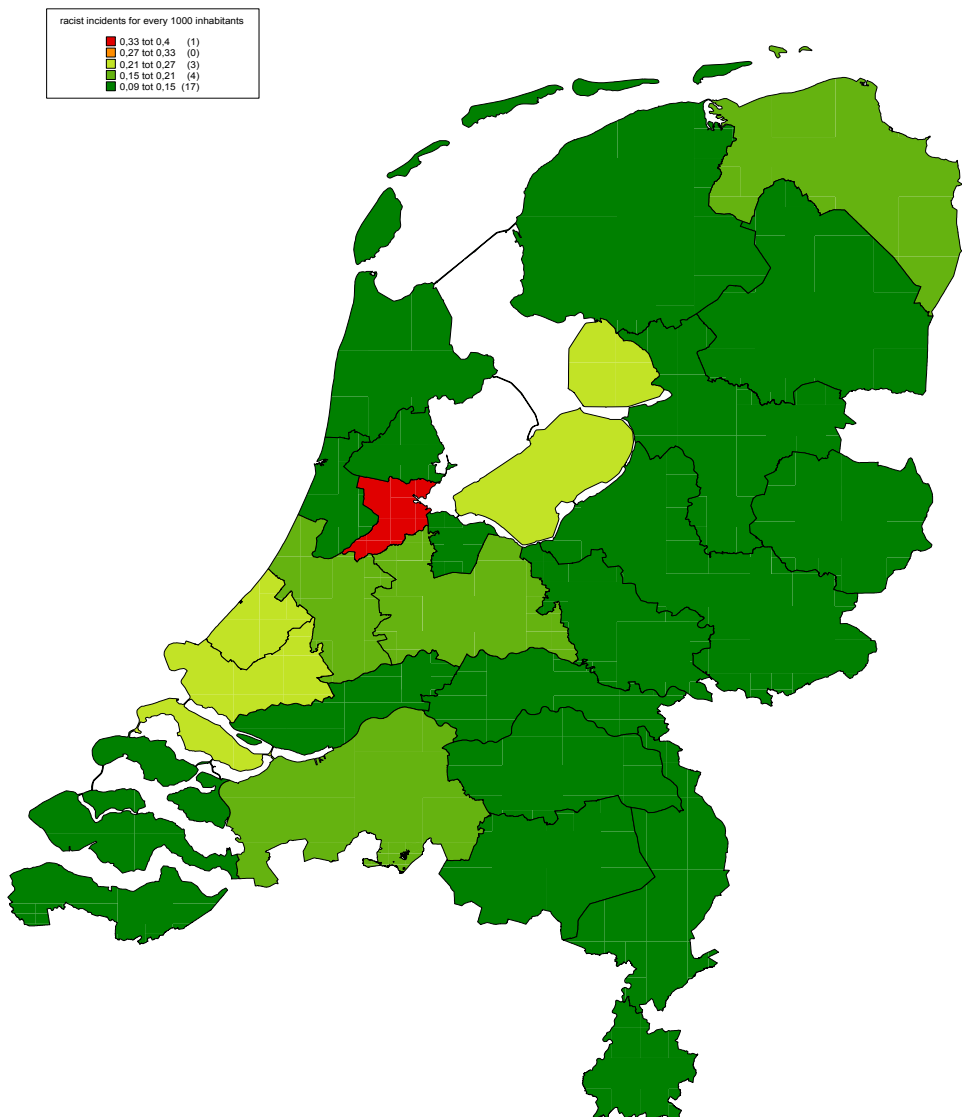
5.2 Describing racist incidents

In this section, we will provide more detailed information on the racist incidents. The incident tags commonly used in racist incidents are insult (29% of the incidents), violence (20% of the incidents) and threat (15%). This matches the data for 2010 and 2011 (see Table 19).

Table 19 Type of offence (incident tags) within the category of racist incidents 2010-2012

	2010 Number	%	2011 Number	%	2012 Number	%
Insults	429	33%	436	35%	598	29%
Violence	148	11%	171	14%	423	20%
Threats	170	13%	164	13%	300	15%
Other offences	128	10%	125	10%	183	9%
Nuisance	93	7%	72	6%	115	6%
Discrimination	68	5%	57	5%	165	8%
Theft	30	2%	43	3%	78	4%
Activities and warning signs	33	3%	30	2%	48	2%
Vandalism (including graffiti)	181	14%	148	12%	164	8%
Possession of weapons	22	2%	16	1%	2	0%
Unknown	-	-	-	-	1	0%
Total	1302		1262		2077	

Based on the information recorded in the individual entries we studied a random sample of 204 racist incidents[19] in more detail in order to get a clearer picture of these racist incidents.

We used three categories to sub-divide the incidents from the sample: racist violence, unequal treatment based on racist motives (or perceived unequal treatment), and daubing of racist texts. We will discuss the content of these incidents in the following sections.

Racist violence
In this report, we have adopted the definition of racist violence used in the 2010 *Racism & Extremism Monitor*. It reads as follows:

> *'Behaviour in which one party <u>wilfully</u> harms another party, or threatens to do such harm, and in which this behaviour is mainly directed at physical damage to objects and/or persons (...) <u>in which the victims or targets are chosen on the basis of their ethnic, racial, ethnic-religious, cultural or national origin</u>.'*
> *(Wagenaar & Van Donselaar, 2010:16)*

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19 See chapter 2 and appendix 2 for a discussion of this sample.

The underlined passages define the racist nature of the violence. When, for instance, racist slogans are daubed on a mosque, the motive for the graffiti can reasonably be expected to be racist. When the same slogans, however, are daubed on the wall of a public primary school, it is unclear whether the motive was racist. We have labelled the latter 'unfocused racism'.

31 per cent of the 204 incidents in the sample involved racist violence.[20] Within this category, we have seen a large variety of incidents. Some of these are targeted violent incidents, or incidents in which the victims were targeted because of their racial, ethnic, national or cultural background. This applies, for instance, to the incident that took place on New Year's Eve. A drunk native Dutch woman rang the doorbell of a Turkish family in the same neighbourhood, called them '*fucking Turks*' ('*klote Turken*') and went on to seriously assault the Turkish woman, who had to go to the hospital as a result. Another example deals with the burglary of a Moroccan home. Nothing was stolen, but various items in the house were destroyed, and swastikas had been daubed on the walls. A third incident involved the assault of four young ethnically non-Dutch men in a club. The offenders were approximately thirty local youngsters who had been making racist remarks against the victims before the assault.

A number of the targeted racist violence incidents involved arson. We have data on two cases of arson in the homes of people with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds respectively. In addition, we know of at least a few incidents in which Polish cars were set on fire. The cars had been daubed with racist slogans and symbols.

The incidents included threats, assaults and fights following racist remarks. In one incident in a store, a white native Dutch man shouted racist remarks to a dark-skinned woman: *'Blackie, you just shut up. Go home, the lot of you!'* ('*Zwartje, je moet je bek houden. Jullie moeten allemaal weg!*'). This resulted in a fight between several people. In another incident, a fight occurred when an employee felt he had been dismissed on racist grounds.

Racist violence can take place between individuals, but 2012 saw racist violence between groups of people as well. Such an incident occurred when a group of boys with an ethnic Dutch background made racist remarks to a group of boys with an ethnically non-Dutch background during a game of soccer in a soccer cage in a public place.

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20 If we were to compare the share of racist violence incidents in the sample to the total number of incidents, this would mean that 665 out of 2,077 racist incidents involved racist violence. However, because of the random nature of the sample, this is an unreliable estimate. The numbers cannot be compared to the data from 2010 and 2011, since the percentage of incidents involving racist violence is not known for these years.

Unequal treatment or perceived unequal treatment

This section describes incidents in which people were treated unequally because of their skin colour or because of their cultural, national or ethnic origin. We will include incidents in which the victims were convinced they had been treated unequally.

Over one third of the incidents in our sample of 204 incidents involved unequal treatment or perceived unequal treatment of one of the persons involved. Examples include incidents of young people with ethnically non-Dutch backgrounds who were denied access to a club. An unusual example from police databases was a complaint of discrimination filed with the police regarding an op-ed in a newspaper. According to the article, criminal offenders are prone to lying because of their cultural background.

In some cases, it is not clear whether the incident really involved unequal treatment or was a (in part) perceived as such by the victim. Two similar incidents with completely different dynamics will illustrate this point. In one incident, a drunk young man of Turkish descent was refused access to a club. He considered the treatment to be racist, while it might not be unreasonable to wonder whether he was denied access because of the fact that he was drunk. In another incident, the racist motive was much clearer. The bouncer of a club told three boys of Moroccan descent why they were denied access: *'My boss is a racist. He doesn't want Moroccans in the club.'*

Unequal treatment is an issue on the shop floor, in schools and when granting or denying access to particular services. These incidents are usually not reported to the police. We found only a few cases in our sample. People who face discrimination on the shop floor are more likely to report this to the regional Anti-Discrimination Services or to the Netherlands Human Rights Institution. In 2012, 27 requests were made to the latter institution to assess cases of possible racism within the employment relationship (Netherlands Human Rights Institution, 2013). 439 Reports were filed with the Anti-Discrimination Services in 2011 (Coenders et al., 2012). Unfortunately, we are unable to deduce the work-related discrimination grounds (sexual orientation, sex, race, religion, age or disability) from the data provided by the eight Anti-Discrimination Services; we do not know which percentage of these cases from 2012 involved discrimination based on race.

Discrimination against Muslims and Roma/Sinti

154 Of the incidents retrieved from police databases pertained to discrimination against Muslims. The nature of these incidents is the same as with discrimination based on race. In one of the incidents, a native Dutchman threatened his Somalian neighbour for wearing a headscarf. He wanted her to move because she was Muslim, and told her that if she would not do so, he would kill her. In another incident, a Turkish employee was insulted by a colleague who said: '*Fucking Muslim, you fucking people, all Muslims are*

terrorists.' ('*Kutmoslim, kutvolk, alle moslims zijn terroristen.*') In 2012, 196 complaints of discrimination against Muslims on the internet were filed with the Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet (MDI), 93 of which were punishable, according to the MDI (MDI, 2013).

Another specific group that is regularly confronted with discrimination is the group of Roma/Sinti. In 2012, fifteen complaints of discrimination against Roma/Sinti on the internet were filed with the MDI. Compared with 2010, this is an increase of five incidents. Another ten cases of discrimination against Roma/Sinti were retrieved from police records.

Racist graffiti and other incidents
In addition to the violent incidents and unequal treatment (real or perceived) described above, the sample also included racist graffiti. In addition, we found some instances of racism that did not involve persons of ethnic Dutch descent.

The sample contained eight incidents of racist graffiti. These were daubed on random walls rather than on the homes of people with an ethnically non-Dutch background or on places associated with ethnic minorities. The motive for the graffiti is often unclear, as the offenders are unknown. And even when the offender is known, the motive for the graffiti often remains unknown.

In addition to racist incidents with victims of an ethnically non-Dutch background and offenders who are of ethnic Dutch descent, some racist incidents takes place between groups of Dutch residents with ethnically non-Dutch backgrounds. A Surinam family, for example, was threatened after the mother had announced that her children would not be allowed to marry Turks, Moroccans or Antilleans. In another incident, a Turkish woman deliberately bumped into a Surinam or Antillean woman and started abusing her, saying things like '*that was your fault, you black so-and-so*' ('*het is jouw schuld, ja, zwarte*'). Finally, we have information on an incident in which a homeless man with Latvian nationality insulted a homeless man from Cameroon. He said: '*I'm from Europe, you're from Africa, why are you here!*' ('*Ik kom uit Europa, jij uit Afrika, wat moet je hier!*')

Some ethnic Dutch distinguish between different groups of persons of a non-Dutch ethnic background. We read an incident in which a man who had had a conflict with a Moroccan boy told the police: '*I'm not a racist: I have an Antillean wife. But I'm through with those Moroccans.*' ('*Ik ben geen racist, want ik heb een Antilliaanse vrouw. Maar Marokkanen ben ik helemaal klaar mee.*')

Discrimination against persons of ethnic Dutch descent is a relatively unknown phenomenon. We did not find any examples of this type of incident in the BHV. Other sources show that it does occur, albeit very rare compared to the discrimination against persons with an ethnically non-Dutch

background. In 2009, for instance, three per cent of the persons of ethnic Dutch descent sometimes felt discriminated against on the basis of race, compared with one half of the Moroccan and one third of the Surinam population in the Netherlands (Boog, Dinsbach, Van Donselaar and Rodrigues, 2010). In 2012, 33 reports of discrimination on the internet based on race were filed with the MDI by persons of ethnic Dutch descent (MDI, 2013).

5.3 Alleged offenders

In 2012, the mean age of the alleged offenders in racist incidents retrieved from the BHV was 31.9. This number is slightly higher than in 2011. Just as in 2010 and 2011, there were more male than female offenders involved in racist incidents (see Table 20).

Table 20 Background characteristics of alleged offenders in racist incidents 2010-2012

Background characteristics suspects	2010	Percentage 2010	2011	Percentage 2011	2012	Percentage 2012
Male	516	85%	503	85%	1050	87%
Female	94	15%	98	15%	151	13%
0-14 yrs	54	9%	35	6%	82	7%
15-19 yrs	124	21%	129	22%	185	16%
20-24 yrs	76	13%	84	14%	182	15%
25-29 yrs	70	12%	78	13%	165	14%
30-34 yrs	53	9%	60	10%	112	10%
35-39 yrs	58	10%	51	9%	106	9%
40-44 yrs	61	10%	54	9%	120	10%
45-49 yrs	40	7%	31	5%	83	7%
50-54 yrs	24	4%	30	5%	64	5%
aged 55 or above	40	7%	35	6%	86	7%
Average age	30.6		30.4		31.9	

5.4 Conclusion

We have noticed a clear increase in the number of racist incidents reported to the police over 2012. Racist incidents were by far the most frequent in the Amsterdam-Amstelland region.

The most commonly used police incident tags in these incidents were insult, violence and threat. In refining the description based on the incidents

read, we mainly encountered racist violence, unequal treatment, insults and graffiti.

Racism typically occurs between the native Dutch population and persons from another ethnic background (both Dutch and non-Dutch), with ethnic Dutch persons making racist remarks or acting in a racist manner towards others (including police officers from different ethnic backgrounds). In only a few cases did persons with an ethnically Dutch background feel racially discriminated against. We have noticed a sharp increase in the number of alleged offenders in racist incidents, which has doubled in comparison with 2010 and 2011.

6   Right-wing extremist groups and right-wing extremist violence

(Willem Wagenaar)

In this chapter, we will look at the changes in the right-wing extremist scene in 2012. This study was carried out in a longitudinal context, viewing the developments in the researched period within the framework of the developments over the longer term.

We will pay attention to issues regarding the definition of the concept of 'right-wing extremism'. We will then go on to provide an overview of the developments within the Dutch right-wing extremist groups in 2012. We will study organisational developments, violent and non-violent activities, and the various types of response to this phenomenon. Finally, we will come to a conclusion, summarising the current state of affairs.

6.1   Framework: scope and definition

In order to discuss the phenomenon of right-wing extremism in the Netherlands, we first need to define the concept of 'right-wing extremism'. What does it take for a group to be considered right-wing extremist?

This issue has been discussed for decades - primarily in academia, less so in society. Along with the political success of Pim Fortuyn and Geert Wilders, the situation in the Netherlands changed and the debate gained momentum. One of the issues under discussion was whether these groups should be considered 'right-wing extremist' or not. This discussion was significant in defining the distinctive characteristics of right-wing extremism compared to other political directions.

What criteria apply in determining whether a group can be qualified as right-wing extremist, based on which definitions? The Racism & Extremism Monitor project came up with an operational standard to gauge right-wing extremist levels (Van Donselaar & Rodrigues, 2002, pp. 59-88; Van Donselaar & Rodrigues, 2008, pp. 169-198). This standard was subsequently used by Van Dorselaar in a report on polarisation and radicalisation in the Netherlands (Moors, 2009). This was an attempt to come up with solid criteria to determine the right-wing extremist level of a group. These criteria were the

starting point for the definition of right-wing extremism used in the report. We have adopted this definition for the present report:

Right-wing extremist/ right-wing radical groups share a more or less distinct ideology based on (variations of) an orientation towards 'sameness', (variations of) aversions to the 'otherness' of political adversaries, and by a proclivity to authoritarianism.

Since right-wing extremist groups tend to provoke social antagonism as they come out in the open, which may in turn lead to conflict and potentially to repression, the leaders of these groups are inclined to conceal their ideology (or part thereof) or to refrain from mentioning part of their ideology. Since the ideology of a group may not always be clearly defined in every respect, social genealogy (having its roots in one or more right-wing extremist groups) and a certain social magnet function (being attractive to other radical right-wing extremists) may serve as additional indicators.

This definition did not put an end to the debate – on the contrary. We needed a tool to distinguish modern right-wing extremist parties, which focus on issues such as Muslims and immigration, from old-school neo-Nazis, whose ideology is based on racialism and anti-Semitism. To this end, Van Donselaar made the distinction between 'classic right-wing extremism' – usually neo-Nazis – and 'modern right-wing radicalism' for modern right-wing extremist groups, such as the PVV (Moors, 2009, p. 15-16). We have adopted this distinction and will focus primarily on classic right-wing extremist groups in this chapter.

6.2 Classic right-wing extremist groups

In the section below, we will address all classic right-wing extremist organisations that were active in the Netherlands in 2012. We distinguish between identitarian groups, which emphasise their Dutch identity, and neo-Nazis, who focus on the old ideals of the Third Reich. The section concludes with a reasoned estimate of the size of the following of these groups.

Identitarian groups

Identitarian groups are characterised by their primary focus on Dutch-speaking territory and on the 'sameness' of the Dutch people. Examples include the 'Heel-Nederlandse actiegroep' Voorpost ('All-Dutch action group Outpost') and the new splinter group Zwart Front ('Black Front').

Voorpost has been working towards the unification of Dutch-speaking regions in the Netherlands, Belgium and France since the seventies. This endeavour is coupled with a right-wing extremist ideology. In the period under investigation, Voorpost came out with small-scale actions that were meant to provoke and to invite media attention. For instance, they protested during the

unveiling of a statue for Nelson Mandela, using slogans, banners and smoke bombs. At one point, Voorpost activists closed off a refugee protest encampment with a chain lock.

After a number of years with a constant following and a well-functioning network of activists united through so-called '*stamtafels*' (monthly regional meetings for regulars), Voorpost's potential decreased in 2012. The number of activists dropped, several '*stamtafels*' were discontinued and by the end of the year, a large group of activists branched off. This group continued as an independent unit under the name of 'Identitair Verzet' ('Identitarian Resistance').

By the end of 2012, a new identitarian group was established by a young male in the Nijmegen region: 'Zwart Front' ('Black Front', the name refers to a pre-WW2 Dutch fascist organisation). The members of this group, who are in their teens and twenties, are inspired by a number of pre-war, fascist philosophers. During the investigation period, this group was mostly active on the internet.

Anti-Jihadists

In its most recent annual report, the Dutch General Information and Security Service AIVD (AIVD, 2013) mentioned 'anti-Islamic' activism for the first time. This category refers to groups of activists whose main focus, for some years now, has been their rejection of Muslims in society and their opposition to left-wing politics. As such, these activists have become a new area of interest for the Security Service, which must be interpreted within the context of the attack and mass murder committed by the Norwegian Anders Breivik in 2011 and the attempt made by a young Breivik supporter to place a bomb in the Polish parliament in November 2012.

What these international events mean for the situation in the Netherlands is hard to say. The Dutch Security Service believes that the threat from this quarter is not acute at the moment. At the same time, investigators, critics and sympathisers of these anti-Islamic activists alike have identified the striking similarities between the ideas of these anti-Jihadists and those of Anders Breivik. People from various strata have come to the conclusion that there are hardly any ideological differences, and that the only distinction that can be made is that Breivik actually carried out his terrorist attack, and they did not.

Neo-Nazi groups

The primary goal of Neo-Nazi groups is the reinstatement of the 'Greater German Reich', in the tradition of the Third Reich from the 1933-1945 period.

The Nederlandse Volks-Unie (NVU) is the only neo-Nazi political party in the Netherlands that participates in elections. From its foundation in 1971, the NVU has led a tempestuous existence. It has, however, never managed to move from the fringes of politics into the mainstream. The party was openly neo-Nazist until the beginning of the new millennium, but has changed its

strategy since then. After several encounters with the criminal justice system, the present chairman is intent on staying within the limits of the law. In its contacts with the outside world, the party does not mention its neo-Nazi orientation. The NVU labels itself an 'folk nationalist' group, but behind the scenes its orientation is still neo-Nazist.[21]

Ever since the NVU succeeded in securing the right to demonstrate in 2001 through the administrative courts, the party has been focusing mainly on the organisation of demonstrations. We noticed that the scope of these events has dropped sharply over the investigation period in comparison with previous years. These days, NVU demonstrations do not draw more than about two dozen supporters. This is a consequence of a falling-out between the NVU leadership and various other neo-Nazi groups (see the following section), as a result of which the NVU is incapable of mobilising people from outside its own organisation. The only relevant elections held in 2012 were the elections for parliament. Neither the NVU nor any other classic right-wing extremist group participated in these elections.

Neo-Nazi action groups
In addition to the NVU, there are various other neo-Nazi action groups. These groups are often extremist and potentially violent, but at the same time limited in size. Other than the NVU, they do not have electoral plans.

Blood & Honour is a neo-Nazi group of English origin that focuses primarily on right-wing extremist skinheads. This organisation was founded in the eighties, and divisions have been erected in many western countries, for instance in the Netherlands. Both internationally and nationally, Blood & Honour is characterised by a fragmented organisation that is often divided against itself.

A number of divisions are active in the Netherlands: Noordland, Zuidland, Oostland and Westland. They mainly organise social meetings such as barbecues, film nights, outings to concerts and pub nights. Small groups of Blood & Honour members periodically participate in neo-Nazi demonstrations in Germany. They also attend neo-Nazi rock concerts in various European countries. Blood & Honour groups often organise right-wing extremist rock concerts, although these were not staged in the Netherlands during the investigation period. There was one Dutch right-wing extremist activist who lent his support to foreign organisers of neo-Nazi concerts. For instance, on two occasions he arranged a Dutch concert venue for a right-wing extremist German band, the concerts of which had been prohibited in Germany.

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21   See, for example, a number of videos on the NVU website showing speeches by party leader
     Kusters. He calls upon his following to free Germany from the Zionist and liberals who have taken
     over the country, and to occupy Poland in order to restore Greater Germany. See http://www.nvu.
     info/videos.html (18.1.2013).

In addition to these Blood & Honour divisions, two other splinter divisions are active in the Netherlands: Combat 18 and Ulfhednar. Both groups still existed in 2012, but displayed hardly any publicly visible activities.

Other neo-Nazi action groups that are active in Netherlands include Autonoom Nationaal Socialistisch Nederland (ANS), Nationale Socialistische Aktie (NSA), Antikapitalistisch Netwerk (ACN/AKN), Netwerk Nationale Socialisten (NNS) and Nationale Sozialisten Niederlande (NSN). What these groups have in common is their limited size: they have only a few members. All of these groups were closely linked with the NVU in the recent past, but these ties were severed in early 2012, mainly as a result of personal feuds.

These organisations are very similar, ideologically speaking. As in many radical groups, however, minor disagreements can have major consequences. The ACN/AKN and NNS share an anti-Semitic and Nazi tradition, however, both emphasise the interests of 'the working class'. As a result, they frequently participate in left-wing demonstrations. The other organisations emphasise the classic right-wing extremist issues. In practice, these groups mainly attend foreign neo-Nazi demonstrations.

Right-wing extremist supporters
The membership figures or numbers of supporters of right-wing extremist groups are unknown. These organisations do not publish their membership data and we do not have any other way to collect this type of information. Based on the numbers of visible activists, however, we can come up with a reasoned estimate of the number of active members, that is, the number of members or supporters who participate in public actions or other activities of an organisation.

In 2012, we noticed that the number of right-wing extremist activists stabilised after several years during which the numbers of supporters had decreased steadily. The composition of the membership has changed slightly over the years. During the first decade of this century, right-wing extremist organisations benefited from an increase in members from 'gabber' circles[22]. At the time, 'gabbers' or 'Lonsdale youth'[23] belonged to a popular movement in which nationalist sentiments were popular. For part of these young people, a switch-over to right-wing extremist groups came easy or even natural (Donselaar, 2005). Around 2007, the movement fell out of fashion, and this source of young activists dried up. Because of a shortage of new members and as others have pulled out, a comparatively large part of these right-wing extremist groups consist of people who have been

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22 Translator's note: While to most, 'gabber house' is a form of techno music that gained wide popularity in the Netherlands in the nineties, the music subculture attracted a number of young people with racist ideologies.

23 Translator's note: In the Netherlands, Lonsdale wear was primarily popular with young people with racist ideas; the brand was thus associated with the far right, and 'Lonsdale jongere' became a term used to refer to young people with racist ideas.

active for a longer or even very long time. As a result, the average age has risen considerably over the last few years. The popular image of right-wing extremist groups in which mostly young people are active under the guidance of a couple of old faithfuls needs to be readjusted. Many of these groups nowadays consist of just the old faithfuls without a young following.

This following is distributed more or less evenly over the Netherlands, although there are some regional concentrations. This often involves groups of friends who have become involved in a group. The NVU, for instance, is relatively strong in Oost-Gelderland, where its party leadership lives. Voorpost has a strong following in the Rijnmond region, and Blood & Honour has a slightly larger following around Alkmaar and Winschoten.

Table 21 Estimated numbers of active members of right-wing extremist groups

	2010	2011	2012
Voorpost and its sister organisations	60	15	15
NVU	30	20	25
Blood & Honour network	50	50	40
Other neo-Nazis (ACN/AKN – NSN – ANS – NSA – NNS - NSN)	15	5	15
Zwart Front	-	-	5
TOTAL	155	90	100

6.3 Right-wing extremist activities

Right-wing extremist events in the public domain can be divided into violent and non-violent activities and other phenomena. Non-violent activities include rallies and demonstrations, public protest meetings or for instance distributing pamphlets in the street. Examples of violent phenomena include assault, vandalism and threats. In between is a grey area of activities and types of conduct that are harder to classify, such as flyposting, graffiti, verbal abuse or carrying insulting and punishable slogans or symbols. For the purpose of this report, we use clearly defined categories of violence: targeted graffiti, threats, bomb threats, confrontations, vandalism, arson, assaults, bombings and homicide. All right-wing extremist activities that cannot be classified under these categories are called 'non-violent activities'.

Non-violent activities
The best-known type of non-violent political activity is the demonstration. In this section, we focus on this type of activity alone.

Compared to previous decades, right-wing extremist marches and rallies hardly ever face formal bans or other restrictions from the authorities. Once in a while they are confronted with anti-fascist counterdemonstrations, but even these are on the decrease. The same applies to the number of right-wing extremist demonstrations, for that matter. In 2012, only five demonstrations were staged, the lowest number since 2002.

It is noteworthy that the size of these demonstrations has become quite small. Some right-wing extremist demonstrations in 2011 counted around hundred participants, but this number dropped to an average of twenty participants in 2012.

Table 22 Number of right-wing extremist demonstrations in the Netherlands (2007-2012)

2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
12	29	31	19	12	5

Groups of Dutch right-wing extremists participated in these demonstrations in the Netherlands, and attended right-wing extremist demonstrations abroad as well. In Germany, these were mostly national-socialist demonstrations. German participation has been remarkably stable and remarkably high for years, especially in comparison to the Netherlands. Whenever Dutch right-wing extremists attend German demonstrations, they form but a small minority. It often involves demonstrations with hundreds to several thousands of protesters, among whom a mere handful of Dutch participants. Interviews with former right-wing extremists have taught us that participation in these demonstrations largely serves two purposes. On the one hand, it is a way to establish an international network. On the other, demonstrations in Germany are popular with Dutch protesters because of the large number of participants, and because of the often violent confrontations with the police and with their political adversaries. In 2012, Dutch groups again participated in a number of demonstrations in Germany (see Table 23).

Table 23 Number of German demonstrations visited by Dutch right-wing extremists (2006-2012)

2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
7	6	9	14	13	10	16

Right-wing extremist demonstrations are attended in other countries beside Germany. However, this happens less frequently and less consistently than with the demonstrations in Germany, which is why an annual comparison is less relevant. In 2012, Dutch right-wing extremists attended four demonstrations in Flanders, and one in France, Hungary and Poland each.

6.4 *Right-wing extremist violence*

In chapter 2 of this report, readers will find information on the methods used to collect the data for this report. In this chapter, we want to look specifically into violence that is motivated by right-wing extremism. In compiling this overview, we used data from various sources. A major part of the data was retrieved from police databases. In addition, we used data from the Kafka research group and our own data, collected from public sources. Finally, we have searched publications from other institutions, such as the annual reports of the CIDI, MDI and LECD, and have used the relevant data. We then compared the data from all these sources and removed any duplications. We handled the process of selection, qualification and coding ourselves; this was not done by the data suppliers.

We define right-wing extremist violence as violence that is not only racially or politically motivated (because it is directed against foreigners or left-wing politicians, for instance), but that gives reason to suspect that the offender was (or offenders were) motivated by right-wing extremism. We have to add that in most cases, the offenders' exact motivation remains unknown. This may either be because the offenders themselves are unknown, because they deny involvement or because they deny having a political motive. As a result, we will often have to infer from the context whether the incident was motivated by right-wing extremism. There are various methods to gauge the level of right-wing extremism of an incident. We focused on content-related clues. Whenever we were in doubt, we did not include the incident.

We ended up with thirteen violent incidents that were motivated by right-wing extremist ideas over 2012. In table 24, this number has been subdivided into various categories of violence and compared to the data on previous years.

Table 24 Racist and right-wing extremist violence by category 2008-2012

Category	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Targeted graffiti*	-	-	1	3	1
Threats	-	-	10	8	8
Bomb scares	-	-	0	0	0
Confrontations	-	-	6	3	2
Vandalism	-	-	5	0	1
Arson	-	-	0	1	0
Assaults	-	-	9	3	2
Bombings	-	-	0	0	0
Homicides	-	-	0	0	0
Total	(54)	(34)	31	18	13

* In order to distinguish between the frequently occurring yet untargeted graffiti, and graffiti targeted at specific persons or objects, we only included the so-called targeted graffiti. This includes graffiti that was daubed in locations relevant to its message: a swastika on a synagogue, a racist slur on a mosque or the front door of a non-native family, for instance.

What strikes us most in reviewing this table, is that the decrease in the number of incidents, which has been apparent since 2008, continued in 2012. We have not looked into the cause of this decrease. In previous years, we supposed that there might be a connection with the simultaneous decrease in the active following of right-wing extremist groups. As we have noticed that the active following of right-wing extremist groups has stabilised in 2012, this hypothesis can be rejected. We have, however, noticed that the same number of active followers of right-wing extremist organisations has been redistributed over a larger number of organisations, which show increasing hostility towards each other. A possible explanation might be that this fragmentation has decreased the striking power of the movement as a whole. This could explain both the decrease in the number of violent incidents and in the number of demonstrations.

Another topic that stands out is that eight out of the thirteen incidents were threats. Half of these were threats made against critics of the PVV or of Geert Wilders. In the summer of 2012, one of the offenders was convicted. He had made threats against a Groen Links Member of Parliament on the internet, after this MP had criticised the PVV. The court sentenced him to 120 hours of community service.

6.5   Government response

Government action in response to right-wing extremism can be subdivided into three categories: administrative, criminal and corrective. For the purposes of this report, the term 'administrative response' is taken to mean a response by the authorities of a formal, restrictive or repressive nature. Such a response might include preventative bans on right-wing extremist activities or the issuing of emergency orders. Criminal legal action is taken in the event of violation of particular articles regarding discrimination as set out in the Dutch Criminal Code, or in the event of an offence under general criminal law that was motivated by right-wing extremism. The corrective response pertains to those initiatives that are intended to counter right-wing extremism in non-repressive ways. This primarily involves educational projects and projects devised to prevent individual radicalisation or to 'de-radicalise' radicals.

Administrative response
The preventative ban on right-wing extremist meetings or demonstrations is a complicated matter, which even proves impossible in most cases. The constitutional right of assembly and of demonstration comes with an exhaustive list of grounds for banning such gatherings. These do not include the option of a preventative prohibition order for content-related reasons (because of the message to be propagated). In the past, such a preventative prohibition order was sometimes justified by claiming the activity would pose a serious threat to the public order. Right-wing extremist activists would invite so much antagonism that clashes between protesting adversaries and right-wing extremist activists might lead to uncontrollable infringements of public order. Since 2001, every attempt to ban demonstrations based on this argument has been set aside by the administrative courts. The right of demonstration of right-wing extremist groups is a given and is seldom affected by a prohibition order. Once in a while, however, local authorities still try to intervene.

    In 2012, the attempt made by a mayor to ban a meeting was set aside. The local authorities had been warned by the Dutch Security Service of possible confrontations during a celebratory meeting of Blood & Honour. The mayor issued an emergency order to prohibit the meeting and the participants were instructed to disperse. Participants who refused to leave were arrested. One of the arrested persons opposed his arrest and was subsequently prosecuted. The court, however, acquitted him. The issuance of the emergency order was deemed too severe a response to the social meeting.

Criminal action

There are three situations in which the criminal justice system has to deal with right-wing extremists. First of all, when right-wing extremists violate the anti-discrimination articles of the Criminal Code. Secondly, when they commit offences under the general criminal law with a political or racist motive. And thirdly, in response to violations of the law outside of a political context, for instance shoplifting. It goes without saying that we will not go into this last category in this chapter.

Most of the relevant criminal cases in 2012 dealt with right-wing extremist symbolism. In 2011, the Court of Appeal in The Hague ruled in a landmark case that a combination of factors (in this case right-wing extremist symbols on the jacket of a right-wing extremist heading for a right-wing extremist meeting) may in a particular context constitute punishable racist group defamation. In a somewhat similar case, a right-wing extremist was acquitted by the Court of Appeal in The Hague. He had been arrested for displaying a Celtic Cross on his clothes during a right-wing extremist demonstration. The Court concluded that the 'intent' required for defamation was lacking from this case. Although further explanations were not given in the verdict, it is possible that the number of symbols displayed made the difference.

Another case of symbolism involved a shop owner who offered replicas of German officers' knifes with swastikas for sale. Such cases have been judged very differently over the years. If such merchandise is handled prudently and not sold in a political, but only in a historical or collectors' context, these cases are usually dismissed or end in an acquittal. In this case, however, the court ruled differently. The court held that it involved a criminal defamation of the Jewish people and sentenced the shop owner to a 500 euro fine.

In another criminal case, involving the importer of replica knifes with swastikas and SS signs, the verdict read differently. The knives did not warrant further prosecution and the Public Prosecution Service (PPS) dismissed the case. The PPS refused, however, to return the knives, as the knives displayed a punishable defamation. The Arnhem Court of Appeal held that the PPS had lawfully confiscated the knives. The goods were not returned to the importer.

After the number of incidents had gone down for years, the number of right-wing extremists prosecuted on account of discriminatory offences rose slightly in 2012: from 3 to 4 per cent. However, this may well have been caused by the criminal case against four participants in a NVU demonstration (LECD, 2013).

Table 25 – Inflow of discriminatory offences: right-wing extremist offenders in percentages

Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Percentage	10%	8%	6%	3%	4%

Source: LECD (2013)

Corrective response

In response to the serious social unrest after the murder of Muslim critic and movie maker Theo van Gogh in 2004, the government came up with its *Polarisation and Radicalisation Action Plan (2007-2011)*. This plan aimed to decentralise the identification of and approach to radicalisation and polarisation. Local authorities (on a municipal level) were made principally responsible for carrying out this policy. The Action Plan was financed for five years. In spite of the positive evaluation of a number of projects (one of which focused on right-wing extremist radicalisation), as far as we can tell, all projects focusing on a corrective response to right-wing extremism were discontinued after this five-year period.

The Netherlands Human Rights Institution

In a recent development, a number of right-wing extremists appealed to the Netherlands Human Rights Institution (College voor Rechten van de mens, CRM). Citizens may file complaints with this Institution against discriminatory treatment. This discrimination may be based on grounds such as ethnicity or sexual preference, but people may also ask the Institution for an opinion on unequal treatment based on political preference. Such a request was submitted by a couple of right-wing extremists during the investigation period.

A well-known right-wing extremist, for instance, had been denied membership of a labour union because of his membership of two right-wing extremist groups. The Equal Treatment Commission (Commissie Gelijke Behandeling, CGB, part of the CRM) considered this to be unjustified: it was an unlawful distinction. Another known right-wing extremist was turned down when he applied for a job, with explicit reference to his political preferences. Once more, the CGB held this to be an unlawful distinction. A third man had made a speech during a neo-Nazi NVU rally, and this had been uploaded to the internet. He worked as a cleaner in a school and was harassed by students on account of these political activities. His employer transferred him to another location. Since the employer motivated the transfer by referring to the man's political preference, the CRM considered this transfer to be unlawful as well.

6.6   Conclusion

Based on the quantitative data on right-wing extremist groups in the Netherlands in 2012, we may conclude that in the course of this period the classic right-wing extremist groups reached an all-time low, both in size and in strength. In 2012, the active following of these groups stayed at the same low level as it had in 2011, after a continuous decrease over the years. However, this following became more fragmented. Moreover, the groups did not cooperate as much as they used to do before. The number of non-violent

and violent activities also decreased further. These findings are in line with the Dutch Security Service's observation that the threat posed by right-wing extremist groups is 'slight and has almost completely disappeared' (AIVD, 2013).

The government response to right-wing extremist manifestations seems to indicate a waning interest as well. Right-wing extremist manifestations often do not warrant an administrative response, other than to curb potential public order problems. We have no information on current corrective projects. The criminal justice system seems to focus mainly on whether or not to prohibit right-wing extremist symbols. This reluctance to prosecute seems connected to the decrease in the scope of the classic right-wing extremist issues.

7   *Anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse*

In this chapter, we will discuss incidents involving anti-Semitic verbal abuse (section 7.1) or racist verbal abuse (section 7.2). For both types of incidents, we will present the absolute and relative numbers (number of incidents for every 1000 inhabitants of 12 years and older) by region. We will then proceed to discuss the nature of the incidents. The account will be based on an analysis of a sample of incidents, using the incident tags. Finally, we will describe the offenders in both types of cases.

7.1   *Anti-Semitic verbal abuse*

Table 26 underlines that the number of anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents retrieved from the BVH for 2012 shows a slight decrease compared to 2011. This number had already decreased between 2010 and 2011. The decrease over these years is largely due to the sharp decline in anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents in the Rotterdam-Rijnmond region. We do not have a straightforward explanation for this decrease.

The CIDI also log anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents. They report a decrease as well, from 28 incidents in 2011 to 14 incidents in 2012 (CIDI, 2013). The number of anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents reported by the CIDI is much lower than the number of incidents retrieved from the BVH. This can be explained by the fact that we have included anti-Semitic verbal abuse against non-Jews in this section. The anti-Semitic verbal abuse against Jews is described in chapter 4.
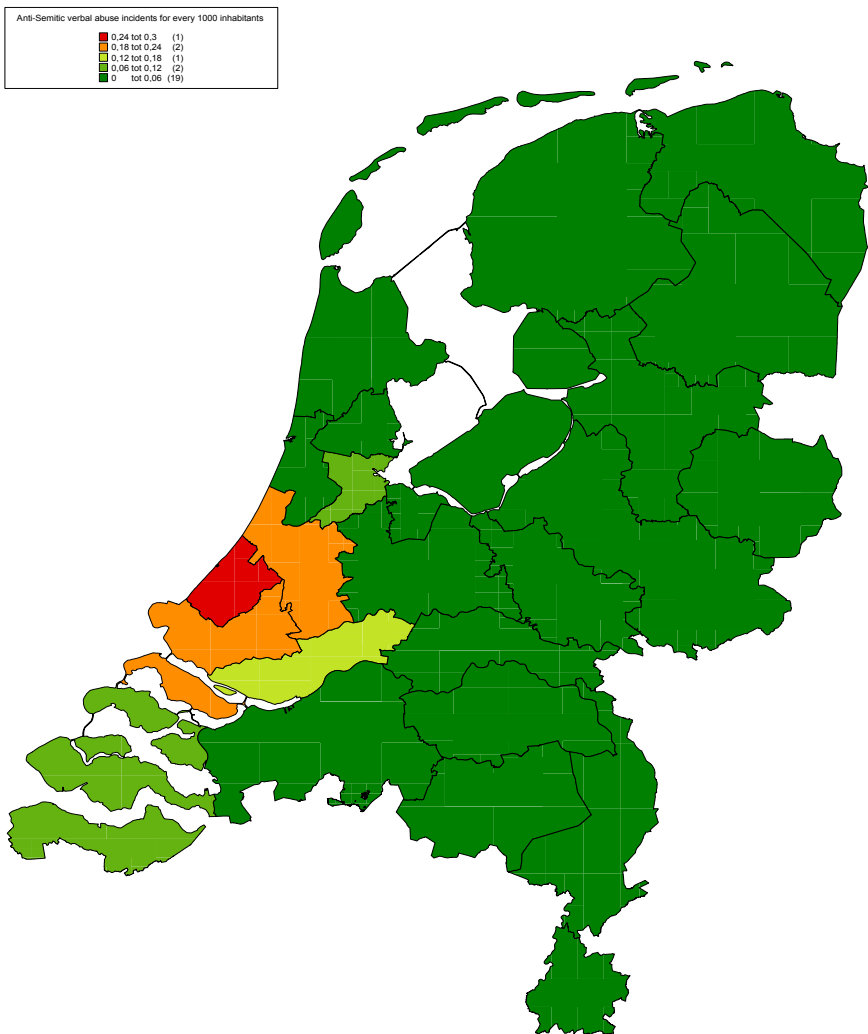
Table 26 Number of anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents by police region 2010-2012

Police region	2010	2011	2012
01 Groningen	12	22	13
02 Friesland	21	9	12
03 Drenthe	22	8	11
04 IJsselland	13	4	4
05 Twente	0	10	4
06 Noord- and Oost-Gelderland	16	22	21
07 Gelderland-Midden	16	14	13
08 Gelderland-Zuid	13	10	5
09 Utrecht	41	58	49
10 Noord-Holland-Noord	18	27	26
11 Zaanstreek-Waterland	9	13	8
12 Kennemerland	27	27	21
13 Amsterdam-Amstelland	61	87	55
14 Gooi en Vechtstreek	5	8	9
15 Haaglanden	282	253	220
16 Hollands-Midden	105	87	101
17 Rotterdam-Rijnmond	327	256	196
18 Zuid-Holland-Zuid	47	40	57
19 Zeeland	15	23	16
20 Midden- and West-Brabant	39	25	18
21 Brabant-Noord	19	10	14
22 Brabant-Zuidoost	17	17	17
23 Limburg-Noord	10	12	12
24 Limburg-Zuid	2	12	11
25 Flevoland	13	23	8
KLPD	17	21	10
Royal Marechaussee	6	0	-
Total	1173	1098	931

Based on these data, we may conclude that the number of anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents retrieved from the BVH is the highest for Zuid-Holland (Rotterdam-Rijnmond, Haaglanden, also including Hollands-Midden and Zuid-Holland-Zuid). This matches the overall picture from 2010 and 2011. Even if we adjust the figures on the basis of several factors, it is highest in these regions (see Map 3). A possible explanation is the fact that slurs such as *'dirty Jew'*

('*vuile jood*') or 'fucking Jew' ('*kankerjood*') have become standard expressions among certain groups in these regions under the influence of soccer-related (verbal) violence. The normalisation of this type of slurs in the context of soccer is apparent from the fact that teachers in secondary schools report the occurrence of anti-Semitic slurs in a soccer-related context at least once a year. Compared to anti-Semitic slurs in other contexts, teachers are less alarmed by this particular type (Wolf, Berger & De Ruig, 2013). If we limit the comparison to the number of inhabitants of 12 years and older, anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents were least common in the IJsselland and Twente regions, according to the BHV.

Map 3 Anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents 2012 for every 1000 inhabitants by police region

Nature of anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents

Table 27 lists the nature of anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents, based on the incident tags logged by the police. In 2012, the overall picture was similar to that of 2010 and 2011. Over four out of ten incidents were logged by the police under the incident tag of insult. About 15 per cent was logged as violent incidents and another 15 per cent as threats.

Table 27 Distribution of anti-Semitic verbal abuse over various types of incidents 2010-2012

Type of incident (based on police incident tags)	2010	Percentage 2010	2011	Percentage 2011	2012	Percentage 2012
Insult	463	40%	462	42%	395	42%
Violence	165	14%	163	15%	146	16%
Threat	145	12%	151	14%	122	13%
Discrimination (F50)	14	1%	12	1%	7	1%
Nuisance	59	5%	55	5%	52	6%
Theft	34	3%	25	2%	17	2%
Activities and warning signs	24	2%	19	2%	16	2%
Vandalism	68	6%	41	4%	38	4%
Possession of weapons	10	1%	8	1%	2	0%
Other	191	16%	162	15%	136	15%
Total	1173		1098		931	

In 2012, the police logged only seven anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents with the discrimination incident tag. We deduce that the majority of the anti-Semitic verbal abuse is not directed against people with a Jewish background, but rather used as 'ordinary' verbal abuse. The words '*fucking Jew*' ('*kankerjood*') or '*fucking Jews*' ('*kankerjoden*') are most common.

The fact that by far the most of the anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents are not directed against Jews, is confirmed by a further analysis of a sample of the incidents. 72 Per cent of the incidents pertain to insults against public servants, including police officers. A possible explanation is the fact that police officers log all insults made against them with an anti-Semitic connotation, while civilians do not report these insults to the police. Another explanation might be that anti-Semitic insults are often used against police officers.

The immediate cause of verbal abuse differs, according to the entries in the BVH. Anti-Semitic verbal abuse occurs during arrests, locking up, or interrogations. Sometimes they are directed towards an officer or officers who merely walk by. In one of the police entries, for instance, we read about a man who opposed his arrest after violating a by-law, and who called two police officers '*dirty fucking Jews*' ('*vuile kankerjoden*'). In another incident,

two police officers walked by a group of (drunk) young people. Out of the blue, the police officers were called '*fucking Jews and fucking gays*' ('*kankerjoden en kankerhomo's*').

Alleged offenders in anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents
People who are guilty of anti-Semitic verbal abuse are usually men and rarely women (see Table 28). Furthermore, the average age of the offenders is low compared to the average age of the offenders in other types of incidents: barely 25 years old, compared to 30 years old in other types of incidents. Around two thirds of the anti-Semitic verbal abuse incidents were committed by adults, and one third by teenagers. The teenagers usually committed the offence within the framework of a group.

Table 28 Background characteristics offenders of anti-Semitic verbal abuse 2010-2012

Background characteristics offenders	2010	Percentage 2010	2011	Percentage 2011	2012	Percentage 2012
Male	1149	91%	1015	92%	799	91%
Female	108	9%	93	8%	78	9%
0-14 yrs	101	8%	45	4%	43	5%
15-19 yrs	473	38%	355	32%	310	36%
20-24 yrs	312	25%	287	26%	185	21%
25-29 yrs	127	10%	159	14%	124	14%
30-34 yrs	75	6%	87	8%	79	9%
35-39 yrs	71	6%	63	6%	55	6%
40-44 yrs	45	4%	51	5%	37	4%
45-49 yrs	24	2%	28	3%	23	3%
50-54 yrs	12	1%	17	2%	10	1%
Aged 55 and above	11	1%	12	1%	7	1%
Average age	23.1		24.7		24.5	

7.2 Racist verbal abuse

Racist verbal abuse is taken to include verbal abuse directed against a person with a different skin colour, nationality or culture. In section 7.1 we noticed that anti-Semitic verbal abuse is usually directed against non-Jews. The situation is different with racist verbal abuse. This involves verbal abuse directed against someone because of his or her race, skin colour, descent, and national or ethnic background. In one incident, an employee of a small

Turkish restaurant was called a '*fucking Turk*' ('*kankerturk*'). In another incident involving racist verbal abuse, a group of boys called a Surinam resident a '*nigger... fucking wog*' ('*nigger... kankerzwarte*').

In all, we retrieved 1,352 incidents of racist verbal abuse from the BVH for 2012. The distribution over the regions is shown in Table 29. The number of racist verbal abuse incidents increased only slightly compared to 2010 and 2011.

Table 29 Racist verbal abuse incidents (including verbal abuse directed against Muslims) by police region 2010-2012

Police region	2010	2011	2012
01 Friesland	24	21	22
02 Groningen	19	29	32
03 Drenthe	22	28	35
04 IJsselland	31	40	30
05 Twente	56	42	57
06 Noord- and Oost-Gelderland	48	65	49
07 Gelderland-Midden	44	50	49
08 Gelderland-Zuid	50	40	28
09 Utrecht	93	101	95
10 Noord-Holland-Noord	52	48	59
11 Zaanstreek-Waterland	26	36	31
12 Kennemerland	43	43	54
13 Amsterdam-Amstelland	190	170	135
14 Gooi en Vechtstreek	11	17	13
15 Haaglanden	131	122	127
16 Hollands-Midden	66	76	69
17 Rotterdam-Rijnmond	205	179	144
18 Zuid-Holland-Zuid	44	30	29
19 Zeeland	18	22	27
20 Midden- and West-Brabant	72	64	74
21 Brabant-Noord	44	50	36
22 Brabant-Zuidoost	53	40	60
23 Limburg-Noord	34	42	32
24 Limburg-Zuid	19	13	16
25 Flevoland	31	44	38
KLPD	11	20	11
Royal Marechaussee	3	1	-
Total	1440	1433	1352

The Anti-Discrimination Services received reports of racist verbal abuse as well. In the eight regions we had access to, this pertained to approximately 336 incidents. In the BVH, we found 340 incidents for the same eight regions. This is not to say that both selections contained the same incidents. A large part of the incidents was logged either by an Anti-Discrimination Service or by the police.

Based on the entries in the BVH, racist verbal abuse is especially common in the metropolitan regions of Amsterdam-Amstelland, Haaglanden, Rotterdam-Rijnmond and Utrecht. If we limit the comparison to the number of inhabitants of 12 years and older, the picture is much more balanced. Comparatively speaking, according to the BVH, most of the racist verbal abuse incidents take place in the three metropolitan regions, however, the difference with the other regions is much smaller for this category. The distribution is shown in Map 4.

The difference with other incidents, such as racism or anti-Semitic verbal abuse, is large: in rural areas, these are much less frequent than racist verbal abuse incidents. Racist verbal abuse incidents are least frequent in the regions of Friesland and Limburg-Zuid.

Map 4 Racist verbal abuse incidents 2012 for every 1000 inhabitants by police region

Racist verbal abuse incidents for every 1000 inhabitants
- 0,15 tot 0,2 (3)
- 0,12 tot 0,15 (6)
- 0,09 tot 0,12 (7)
- 0,06 tot 0,09 (7)
- 0,03 tot 0,06 (2)
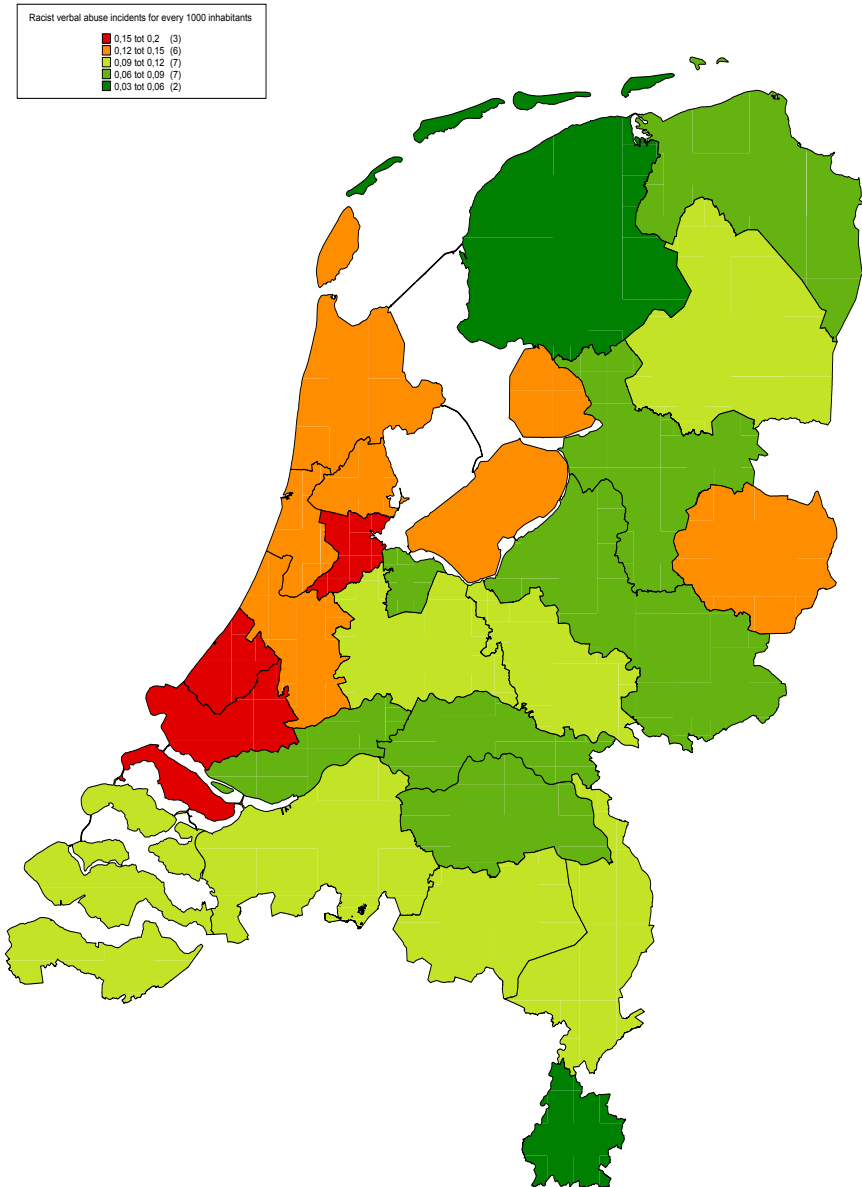
Nature of the racist verbal abuse incidents

Twenty per cent of the racist verbal abuse incidents we retrieved, had been logged as insults by the police. Forty per cent had been logged as violent incidents, such as common or aggravated assault or robbery. Apparently, these violent incidents are often coupled with racist remarks. The same applies to threats: 20 per cent of the racist verbal abuse can be found under the incidents tagged as threats.

Table 30 Distribution of racist verbal abuse incidents over various types of incidents 2010-2012

Type of incident (based on the police incident tags)	2010	Percentage 2010	2011	Percentage 2011	2012	Percentage 2012
Violence	593	41%	608	42%	544	40%
Insults	247	17%	277	19%	276	20%
Threats	273	19%	227	16%	266	20%
Other incidents	111	8%	118	8%	96	7%
Discrimination (F50)	57	4%	48	3%	33	2%
Theft	33	2%	39	3%	39	3%
Nuisance	18	1%	26	2%	26	2%
Possession of weapons	16	1%	12	1%	4	0%
Activities and warning signs	13	1%	11	1%	7	1%
Vandalism	79	5%	67	5%	61	5%
Total	1440		1433		1352	

As in anti-Semitic verbal abuse, incidents involving racist verbal abuse are rarely logged under the discrimination tag (2%). This is remarkable since most racist verbal abuse is directed against someone from a different racial, cultural or ethnic background.

An example of a racist insult retrieved from the BVH is an incident in which a car followed a Turkish girl on her bike. The driver yelled that he hated 'fucking Turks'. In another incident, teenagers called Surinam residents '*nigger… fucking black…*'. Some people talk to police officers in a racist manner. In one such incident, someone said: '*Fucking foreigners, fucking Moroccans, I'm going to kill those bastards. There's a couple of fucking foreigners living at number 12.*'

In 38 out of the 1,352 incidents of racist verbal abuse, the abuse was directed against Muslims. We will present two examples. The first involves someone telling an Iraqi supermarket owner that he should go back to his own country and

that he was a '*fucking Muslim*'. The second incident took place at a
sports club. After an incident, one of the sports clubs involved received
several hate mails. According to a handwritten letter, all members of
the club should die: '*We are going to kill all fucking Muslims in the
Netherlands and we are going to start with your fucking soccer club.*'

Alleged offenders in racist verbal abuse incidents

Table 31 provides the background characteristics of the offenders in racist
verbal abuse incidents known to the police. In comparison with previous
years, the number of racist verbal abuse incidents that were logged, de-
creased, and so it makes sense that the number of registered offenders for
2012 is lower as well. The average age was just under 28 years and in 88 per
cent of the cases, the offender was male.

Table 31 Background characteristics offenders in racist verbal abuse incidents 2010-2011

Background characteristics offenders	2010	Percentage 2010	2011	Percentage 2011	2012	Percentage 2012
Female	209	12%	219	14%	163	12%
Male	1526	88%	1332	86%	1240	88%
0-14 yrs	147	9%	116	8%	97	7%
15-19 yrs	478	28%	439	28%	337	24%
20-24 yrs	306	18%	311	20%	302	22%
25-29 yrs	193	11%	153	10%	177	13%
30-34 yrs	159	9%	117	8%	109	8%
35-39 yrs	117	7%	117	8%	100	7%
40-44 yrs	133	8%	111	7%	102	7%
45-49 yrs	95	6%	74	5%	95	7%
50-54 yrs	45	3%	48	3%	38	3%
aged 55 and above	49	3%	60	4%	39	3%
Average age	27.1		27.3		27.7	

7.3   Conclusion

In 2012, both anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse decreased slightly compared
to previous years. The decrease, however, was only marginal. We have observed
a significant difference in the regional distribution of anti-Semitic verbal abuse
and racist verbal abuse. Anti-Semitic verbal abuse is concentrated in the
Haaglanden, Rotterdam-Rijnmond and Hollands-Midden regions. The

explanation for the concentration in these regions may well be the fact that part of the population has accepted anti-Semitic verbal abuse as a result of the (verbal) violence related to soccer (cf. Wolf, Berger & De Ruig, 2013).

It is noteworthy that anti-Semitic verbal abuse is relatively rare in the Amsterdam-Amstelland region, since the other types of incidents are overrepresented in this region (as in the other two metropolitan regions). This type of incidents is relatively rare in the centre, north, east and south of the country. Racist verbal abuse is relatively common in the three metropolitan regions, yet it is distributed more evenly over the country than the other types of incidents.

Anti-Semitic verbal abuse is commonly combined with insults, and more seldom with violence or threats. Racist verbal abuse is usually combined with violence, and also with insults and threats. As might be expected, the larger part (89%) of the offenders in this type of incidents is male.

8   In conclusion

In this report, we have provided figures related to the numbers of anti-Semitic, racist and right-wing extremist incidents in the Netherlands in 2012. In this final chapter, we will summarise the overall picture that emerges from these data.

The data in this report are based on the incidents logged by the police in the National Law Enforcement Database BVH. This has allowed us to retrieve cross-regional information on these incidents. The data provide insight into the incidents that were reported to the police by citizens, or that were logged by the police based on their own observations. It is a known fact, however, that for various reasons only a small part of the anti-Semitic and racist incidents and right-wing extremist violence incidents are reported to the police or registered elsewhere (Andriessen & Fernee, 2012). The picture emerging from the BVH is therefore contrasted with data from other sources, such as the Dutch Centre for Information and Documentation on Israel (CIDI), the Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet (MDI) and the data logged by eight regional Anti-Discrimination Services (ADVs). In order to provide information on right-wing extremist groups and right-wing extremist violence, we also consulted newspaper articles, our personal networks and various other sources.

Compared to last year, we were able to improve our methods of retrieving incidents from the BVH in several areas. In addition, we increased our sample of incidents, to improve our interpretation and the comparison to other data.

Anti-Semitism
In this report, we have made a distinction between two types of anti-Semitism: intentional anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic verbal abuse. The number of incidents of intentional anti-Semitism - treating Jews differently from other people, and in particular acting in a hostile manner towards Jews based on prejudice (CIDI, 2013:2) – retrieved from the BVH increased over the last few years from 19 in 2010 to 30 in 2011, up to 58 in 2012.

It is unclear whether the increase in the number of intentional anti-Semitic incidents is an actual increase. First of all, our search methods for this specific type of incidents were improved in several areas, which allowed us to retrieve more incidents. Secondly, the CIDI and the MDI have not reported an increase in the occurrence of intentional anti-Semitism or on anti-Semitism on

the internet (CIDI, 2013; MDI, 2013). The CIDI logged 113 incidents of intentional anti-Semitism in 2011 and 114 in 2012. There is some overlap between both reports, while some incidents occur in only one or the other.

Based on the descriptions in the BVH, anti-Semitic verbal abuse has decreased over the last few years. We have observed that for some time now, anti-Semitic verbal abuse directed against random people (non-Jews) seems to be concentrated in the regions of Zuid-Holland. A possible explanation might be that anti-Semitic verbal abuse, frequent in the context of soccer, has penetrated into other settings (cf. Wolf, Berger & De Ruig, 2013).

The incidents of intentional anti-Semitism we retrieved from police databases can be subdivided into three categories. The first category deals with insults and threats against Jews, when the offender was definitely aware of the Jewish background of the victim (35 incidents). The second category covers daubing graffiti or scratching anti-Semitic symbols or slogans on Jewish locations, such as synagogues or Jewish schools, or locations that refer to the Second World War (20 incidents). The third category deals with the chanting of anti-Semitic slogans and/or provocations during Jewish holidays, around synagogues, meetings in synagogues, or on 4 or 5 May during memorial services for the Second World War (three incidents).

Racism

The racist incidents discussed in chapter 5 are incidents in which people fell victim to a criminal offence that was motivated by racism. This could be a threat, an assault, or quarrel between neighbours, but it could also be a case of unequal treatment, such as being denied access to a place that is generally accessible to the public. Racist verbal abuse was covered in another chapter. In addition to racist verbal abuse, the incidents retrieved from the BVH could be subdivided into racist violence, unequal treatment or perceived unequal treatment, and daubing racist slogans.

In the report on racist incidents in 2010 and 2011 (Tierolf et al., 2013a), discrimination based on race was discussed in a separate chapter. As discrimination is one of the ways in which racism is expressed, just like threats against or assault of people based on their race, the colour of their skin, descent, or national or ethnic background (cf. Tierolf et al., 2013b), we have not adopted this distinction for this 2012 report. This approach has seriously increased the number of incidents motivated by racism, from 1,262 in 2011 to 2,077 in 2012. Nevertheless, we would also have found a significant increase if the two had not been merged, up to 1,671 incidents in 2012.

There is no obvious explanation for the increase in the number of racist incidents in the BVH. We looked into the possibility that the police might have paid more attention to racism in 2012 than in previous years, but this was not the case. This might mean that there was an actual increase in the number of

racist incidents, but this increase is not reflected in other sources. The next few years will hopefully shed some light on this issue.

Right-wing extremist groups and right-wing extremist violence

Based on our data, the classic right-wing extremist groups reached an all-time low in the investigation period, both in size and in strength. Although the active following of these groups remained at the same (low) level in 2012, this following fragmented even further. Various small groups did not co-operate as much as before. As the General Intelligence & Security Service of the Netherlands AIVD reported in 2013 (AIVD, 2013), the number of violent and non-violent activities decreased as well.

The government response to manifestations of right-wing extremism is waning too. The administrative response to right-wing extremist activities is limited to preventing potential public order trouble. The criminal justice system restricts itself to questions of whether or not to forbid right-wing extremist symbols. The reluctance to act otherwise seems to be linked to the decrease in the scope of right-wing extremism.

Anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse

According to the BVH, the number of anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse incidents has decreased. The decrease of anti-Semitic verbal abuse is most marked in the Rotterdam-Rijnmond region. We assume that this is the result of the special approach adopted in Rotterdam over the last few years.

A major difference between anti-Semitic and racist verbal abuse is the fact that anti-Semitic verbal abuse is often not directed against Jews: the victims are usually random people who are called 'Jews'. Racist verbal abuse, on the other hand, is almost always directed against people from a different ethnic background. Racist verbal abuse is often an aspect of another incident, such as a traffic accident or neighbourhood quarrel.

If we compare the reports on racist verbal abuse filed with the eight Anti-Discrimination Services that supplied their data to the number of racist verbal abuse incidents retrieved from the BVH, it is noteworthy that the number of occurrences of racist verbal abuse in both databases is practically the same, i.e. over 300 for these regions. It is unclear how much overlap there is between the two sources.

Metropolitan issues

If we look at the regional distribution, it is noteworthy that most incidents, compared to the number of inhabitants of 12 years and older, take place in the three metropolitan regions (Amsterdam-Amstelland, Rotterdam-Rijnmond and Haaglanden (The Hague)). Yet we have noted some significant differences between the incidents occurring in these regions. Racism, for instance, is by far the most dominant in the Amsterdam Amstelland region. Racist verbal abuse is distributed more evenly over the three metropolitan regions. The

number of incidents involving anti-Semitic verbal abuse is disproportionately high in Haaglanden and Rotterdam-Rijnmond, whereas this type of verbal abuse is a relatively seldom occurrence in Amsterdam-Amstelland.

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Appendices

I Definitions of the terminology used

Incident – An event in which the police is involved. This may vary from a more serious offence to a relatively minor offence, a traffic accident, an emergency call, a demonstration or rally, Queen's Day, etcetera.

Entry – The digital registration of everything pertaining to a certain incident, such as a description of the event, the persons involved, alleged offender(s), complaints filed, witness statements, interrogations, and all police reports that have been drawn up for the event.

Incident tag – The tag tagged to every incident by the police. This tag identifies the type of incident. There are hundreds of incident tags describing what took place. This may involve more serious offences (such as 'threat' or 'robbery' or 'vandalism against a building'), minor offences (such as 'speeding offence rvv90'), or events in which the police is always involved (for instance 'traffic accident with only material damage' or 'escorting a rally').
- Violence
- Insult
- Threat
- Graffiti
- Discrimination
- Theft
- Nuisance
- Possession of weapons
- Activities and warning signs
- Vandalism

Police report – A police report is an official account drawn up by the police. This account contains several important facts. In the police report, the police officer writes down all facts that he/she has observed in person. This may include statements he/she heard from the alleged offender(s) or witness(es). Every statement made by alleged offenders or witnesses is written down in the police report.

Alleged offender – Someone who is reasonably suspected of committing a particular offence.

Official complaint – Filing a report with the police regarding an offence (crime or minor offence). Legally speaking, an official complaint serves as a request to the Public Prosecutor to prosecute the offender(s).

PPS Settlement– The Public Prosecution Service has several options in handling cases that are reported by means of official complaints. Below, we will describe the options discussed in this report.

Decision not to prosecute – When the PPS decides not to proceed with a case against an alleged offender, this is called a decision not to prosecute.

Out-of-court settlement – By paying a certain amount, proposed by the Public Prosecutor, someone suspected of committing a minor offence may prevent having to appear before the court.

Penalty order – The Public Prosecution Service is competent to impose certain punishments and measures without court intervention. This is an option for minor offences or offences punishable by a maximum prison sentence of not more than six years.

Writ of summons – When the decision not to prosecute, out-of-court settlement or penalty order are out of the question, the case goes to court. The Public Prosecution Service makes sure that the defendant receives a writ of summons: an official document in writing in which the Public Prosecutor summons the defendant to appear on a set date before the court. The writ describes the offence or offences with which the defendant is charged by the Public Prosecutor.

Joinder – The PPS may decide to join cases before prosecution; this is an administrative act.

Transfer – The transfer of proceedings to a Public Prosecutor in another district; this, too, is an administrative act.

II Specific search queries and interpretation by category

We searched for *anti-Semitic* incidents by using various combinations of search queries (see also Tierolf & Drost, 2013). The two most important search queries are combinations of the search queries for intentional anti-Semitic incidents and anti-Semitic discrimination. These two yielded a file of 212 incidents in total. 51 Of these incidents involved intentional anti-Semitism. The other incidents were removed, mainly because they did not involve intentional anti-Semitism, as in the case of verbal abuse using the word 'Jew' as a term of abuse.[24] Some of the other incidents that were removed were not anti-Semitic, but only involved Jewish offenders.

In addition, we found four incidents of intentional anti-Semitism in studying the sample of right-wing extremist incidents and three incidents among the discriminatory incidents that were supplied by the police within the framework of the Poldis report.

The incidents discussed in chapter 5 on *racism* were found by using two separate search queries: one for racist incidents and one for discriminatory incidents involving discrimination based on race. Using these search queries, we found 1,659 and 478 incidents respectively. 72 Of these incidents were found both with the search query for racism and with the search query for racial discrimination. To the total of 2,065 incidents, twelve racist violent incidents were added that were found while studying the sample of right-wing extremist violence incidents. This brings the total to 2,077 racist incidents.

One of the specific objectives of this report is to provide insight into racist violence. To do so, we studied a sample of the entries that were found using the search queries for racism and discrimination; the sample was drawn from incidents with a tag referring to violence. This involved 1,694 incidents in all, of which a random sample of 192 incidents was taken and studied. The remaining 383 incidents that were tagged with other incident tags have not been included in the sample. The incident tags and accompanying incident that were studied are shown in the table below.

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24   These were also found using the search query for anti-Semitic verbal abuse.

Table 32 Sample based on incident tags

Incident tag	Number of racsist incidents	Number in sample
F51 Insult	170	25
F530 Threat	255	22
F550 Common assault	258	22
C40 Vandalism of other objects	105	10
A50 Shoplifting	16	4
F551 Aggravated assault	22	6
E35 Report nuisance youth	26	6
E12 Neighbours' quarrel (without follow-up)	54	5
E40 Settling other complaints + J30 General entry	136	6
Subtotal	906	106
Retrieved with 'search discrimination based on race'	788	86
Total	1694	192

A specific search query was used to retrieve *right-wing extremist violence incidents* from the BVH. This query yielded a total of 1,108 incidents. As right-wing extremist violence is a specific incident – violence involving a reasoned suspicion of an underlying right-wing extremist motivation, in addition to racist or political grounds – only a few of these incidents are relevant to this report. For the larger part, these are incidents in which people were called fascists, or in which people suspected of theft had a right-wing extremist past or tattoos of right-wing extremist symbols. Based on the nature of the incidents – the incident tags – the BVH entries of 504 out of 1,108 incidents that came up when searching for the right-wing extremist violence incident tag, were studied. Table 33 below provides an overview of the incident tags of which a sample was studied, and of the incident tags of which all incidents were studied.

Table 33 Right-wing extremist incidents studied by incident tag

Incident tags right-wing extremism, a 10 per cent sample was studied	C10 Car vandalism C40 Vandalism of other objects C50 Vandalism/ hooliganism J30 General entry
Incident tags right-wing extremism, all incidents were studied	B70 Street robbery B95 Other types of robbery C20 Vandalism of public transport E00 EVENT ESCORT E01 RALLY ESCORT E02 DEMONSTRATION ESCORT E04 OBJECT SURVEILLANCE E11 FIGHT (WITHOUT CONSEQUENCES) E16 ARGUMENT (WITHOUT CONSEQUENCES) E16 ARGUMENT (WITHOUT FOLLOW-UP) E35 REPORT NUISANCE YOUTH F10 OTHER PUBLIC ORDER OFFENCES F11 VANDALISM AND VIOLENCE AGAINST OBJECTS F12 VANDALISM AND VIOLENCE AGAINST PEOPLE F13 ARSON F15 UNLAWFUL ENTRY F16 BREACH OF THE PEACE F18 NON-COMPLIANCE WITH ORDER F50 DISCRIMINATION F530 THREAT F532 HOSTAGE-TAKING / KIDNAPPING F540 HOMICIDE/MURDER F542 OTHER CRIMES AGAINST LIFE F550 COMMON ASSAULT F551 AGGRAVATED ASSAULT F70 POSSESSION OF FIREARMS J12 SUSPECT SITUATION

Incidents involving *racist verbal abuse* and *anti-Semitic verbal abuse* have been retrieved by means of two specific search queries. These turned up 1,390 incidents of racist verbal abuse and 931 incidents of anti-Semitic verbal abuse. The search queries yielded clean results, and an additional selection was not required. We have, however, studied a sample of thirty incidents of racist verbal abuse and of thirty incidents of anti-Semitic verbal abuse to be able to provide a deeper insight into the substance and context of the incidents.

Credits

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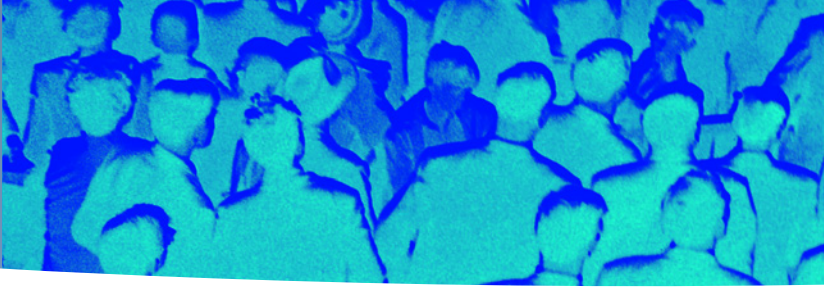
The second report on Racism, anti-Semitism and right-wing extremist violence in the Netherlands picks up where the first left off. For 2012, the same categories were investigated, however, a refined search method allowed us to retrieve more data. By comparing the categories with our data from previous years, we have been able to show the developments over time. The quantitative data on right-wing extremist groups in the Netherlands have taught us that the classic right-wing extremist groups reached an all-time low in 2012, both in size and in strength.

Various types of incidents have been illustrated with examples from the police practice. Incidents take place all over the Netherlands; our regional data show how different incidents were distributed over various regions. The characteristics of alleged offenders, police reports and the out-of-court settlement offered by the Public Prosecution Service are discussed for every category in the paragraph on the judicial treatment of cases.