

The police counteracting antisemitic hate  
crimes in Finland:  
Comparison with Sweden and Great Britain

Master's thesis  
Faculty of Social Sciences, Business  
and Economics  
Public Administration  
Åbo Akademi University

Jussi Mäkinen (41662)  
Supervisor: Nina Tynkkynen  
Autumn 2020

**ÅBO AKADEMI UNIVERSITY – FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, BUSINESS  
AND ECONOMICS**

Abstract for Master's thesis

Subject: Public Administration	
Author: Jussi Mäkinen	
Title: The police counteracting antisemitic hate crimes in Finland: Comparison with Sweden and Great Britain	
Supervisor: Nina Tynkkynen	
Abstract:	
<p>The aim of this research is to examine what the police in Finland are doing to combat antisemitic hate crimes, compared to Sweden and Great Britain? When the countries' strategies are compared with each other and analysed within a created theoretical frame, it is possible to see what the Finnish police have planned to do and what could be improved compared to Sweden, Great Britain and the theoretical frame. This research was done using public sources, which means that countries' materials come from open sources; the research does not contain information from confidential sources and no interviews were conducted.</p> <p>The first phase of comparison was to create a theoretical frame for comparison. This was done by identifying five key areas for policing antisemitic hate crimes and hate crimes in general from previous research. These key areas are trust, education, initial investigation actions, statistics, and policies. After this phase, five actions were identified that are recommended for police to take concerning each key area according to involved actors. These actions were taken from materials written by both Jewish, and non-Jewish organizations and police organizations. Then four strategic documents were chosen and analysed from each country. The documents were as similar as possible from all three countries containing both local and national strategic levels. Additionally, information from other official sources was taken into the comparison if the information was important in order to gain a more realistic picture of actions taken by the country. Strategic documents were researched by using content analysis concentrating on counteractions by the police.</p> <p>Once the comparison was made, it could be seen that Great Britain had planned to take more actions than Sweden or Finland. Sweden had planned to take more actions than Finland. This means that Finland can improve its effort to combat antisemitic hate crimes and is not yet at the same strategic level as Great Britain and Sweden in this matter. This research did not examine how and whether the actions are truly implemented. Instead, the results are based on the created theoretical frame and the perception that a citizen receives when reading strategic documents and wanting to learn what the police are doing to counteract antisemitic hate crimes. If the police in Finland want to put more effort in combatting antisemitic hate crimes, this research is a useful tool and gives ideas as to what could be done and what Sweden and Great Britain have already planned to do.</p>	
Keywords: Antisemitism, Hate crime, Police, Sweden, Finland, Great Britain	
Date: 5.12.2020	Number of pages: 110

## Table of contents

1	Introduction .....	3
1.1	Aim of the research and research questions .....	7
1.2	Disposition .....	9
2	Review of concepts .....	10
2.1	Radicalization and violent extremism .....	10
2.2	Hate crimes.....	11
2.3	Hate speech.....	12
2.4	Antisemitism .....	13
2.5	How to identify antisemitic hate crime .....	17
3	Research on antisemitic hate crimes.....	19
3.1	Antisemitic hate crimes .....	19
3.2	Policing hate crimes .....	23
3.3	The Big Five.....	29
4	Research method .....	30
4.1	Method and material.....	30
4.2	Reliability, validity, and ethic .....	34
5	Importance of five key areas to policing .....	35
5.1	Trust in the police.....	36
5.1.1	Community’s trust.....	36
5.1.2	Victims trust .....	38
5.1.3	Questions about trust .....	38
5.2	Education.....	39
5.2.1	Understanding hate crimes .....	39
5.2.2	Why understanding is so important.....	41
5.2.3	Questions about education.....	43
5.3	Initial investigation actions .....	44
5.3.1	Investigating possible hate crimes.....	44
5.3.2	Preventing antisemitic crimes.....	46
5.3.3	Questions about initial investigations actions .....	47
5.4	Statistics .....	47
5.4.1	Recording hate incidents .....	48
5.4.2	Benefit of statistics .....	49
5.4.3	Questions about statistics .....	50
5.5	Policies .....	51
5.5.1	Government and the police.....	51
5.5.2	Role of the police .....	52

5.5.3	Questions about policies.....	54
6	Comparison countries.....	54
6.1	Sweden .....	55
6.1.1	Antisemitic hate crimes in Sweden .....	55
6.1.2	Counter measures .....	60
6.2	Finland.....	64
6.2.1	Antisemitic hate crimes in Finland.....	64
6.2.2	Counter measures .....	68
6.3	Great Britain.....	72
6.3.1	Antisemitic hate crimes in Great Britain .....	73
6.3.2	Counter measures .....	78
7	Comparison of countries counteractions .....	83
7.1	Trust .....	84
7.2	Education.....	85
7.3	Initial investigations actions .....	85
7.4	Statistics .....	86
7.5	Policies .....	87
8	Summary and discussion.....	88
9	Summary in Swedish.....	93
	References .....	97

### List of tables

Table 1	Comparison between the number of incidents reported to MPS and CST per month in the years 2003 and 2004	27
Table 2	Involved actors and the examined documents	32
Table 3	Research material	34
Table 4	Overview of documents	54
Table 5	The Police reports of criminal acts with antisemitic motive in Sweden, classified by principal offence, the years 2008-2018	57
Table 6	Antisemitic hate crimes in the light of anti-religious and all hate crimes	58
Table 7	Compilation of types and numbers of antisemitic crime cases reported to the police in Finland	66
Table 8	Total numbers and percentages of anti-religious and antisemitic hate crime reports	66
Table 9	Antisemitic incidents collected by CST January-June 2009-2019	76
Table 10	Comparison concerning trust	84
Table 11	Comparison concerning education	85
Table 12	Comparison concerning initial investigation actions	86
Table 13	Comparison concerning statistics	87
Table 14	Comparison concerning policies	88

## 1 Introduction

After the terror attack in Paris in 2015 the Prime Minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu told all French and European Jews that Israel is their home (Booth & Eglash, 2015). Netanyahu repeated his message to European Jews after the terror attack in Copenhagen in 2015 and added that murderous attacks on Jews in Europe are likely to continue (Keinon, 2015). The European Commission gave an assignment to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) to research the experiences the European Jewish community has in terms of antisemitism. Altogether 16 300 respondents participated in the survey from twelve European Union member states. The member states which were part of the research were: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. In all, 96 percent of European Jews live in these countries. (European commission 2018.) This survey was the most extensive survey of Jewish people ever conducted worldwide (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2.)

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) completed a second survey on Jewish people's experiences with hate crime, discrimination, and antisemitism in the European Union in 2018 (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2). According to the survey, nine out of ten European Jews think that antisemitism has increased during the past five years. Eighty-five percent of European Jews consider that antisemitism is the greatest political or social problem in their home country. Eighty-nine percent of European Jews reported that antisemitism is most problematic on social media and on the Internet. Twenty-eight percent said that they have been harassed at least once in the past year. Seventy-nine percent of European Jews who had been harassed in the past five years did not report this to the police or to any other organization. Thirty-four percent of the respondents avoid visiting Jewish sites or events because they do not feel safe. Thirty-eight percent of European Jews have considered emigrating because they do not feel safe in Europe as Jews. Seventy percent of European Jews consider the efforts done by the member states as ineffective in combatting antisemitism. On 6 December 2018, all European Union member countries adopted unanimously a "Declaration on the fight against Antisemitism and the development of a common security approach to better protect Jewish communities and institutions in Europe" which is an important signal. (European Commission 2018.) However, the obligation to protect European Union citizens lies primarily with the Member States themselves (European commission 2018).

Finland was not a part of the survey done by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), but the subject is valid. In Finland, there are two synagogues which have altogether 1500 members (Helsinki Jewish community website, 2020). The chairman of the Jewish community in Helsinki, Yaron Nadbornik, said that antisemitism has become common in Finland. Antisemitism can be seen by people slandering Jews, raw eggs being thrown into a Jewish schoolyard from neighbouring properties, antisemitic graffiti being painted on the synagogue's walls and pro-Hitler stickers appearing on the cemetery and on the door of a kosher shop. In 2009, the Jewish community budgeted 80 000 euros for safety expenses but in 2017 the sum was already 200 000 euros. (Huttunen 2017.)

After the deadly attack in 2018 on a synagogue in Pittsburgh in the United States, the safety of Jews in Finland awoke concern and Member of the Parliament, Päivi Räsänen demanded actions from the government to secure the safety of the Jewish community and said that Finland is the only Nordic country that does not support the Jewish community regularly financially although they have high security expenses (Orell 2018). On 14 December 2018 Minister of Interior, Kai Mykkänen and Police Director, Petri Knape received a delegation who appealed for the safety of the Jewish community in Helsinki (Heimari 2018). On 27 January 2020, it was 75 years since the -Auschwitz death camp was liberated, and the day was a Memorial Day for the victims of the Holocaust. On that same day, the synagogue in Turku was smeared with red paint. The day before, neo-Nazis had a demonstration in Tampere and burned the flag of Israel during the demonstration. (Koskinen 2020.) The President of the Republic of Finland, Sauli Niinistö demanded determination in the prevention of antisemitism and racism in his speech at the opening of parliament on 4 February 2020 (Kauhanen 2020).

All these signals reveal that this subject is timely and valid in Finland, as well as elsewhere in Europe. The official statistics of antisemitic crimes are low in Finland as can be seen in table 6 on page 58. This raises questions as to whether this phenomenon is new and increasing in Finland, and have these crimes been reported to the police, or have the police not classified these crimes as antisemitic hate crimes? Furthermore, what are the police doing to counteract these crimes, compared to other countries?

## 1.1 Aim of the research and research questions

When hate crimes are studied, information from many fields should be included. This multidisciplinary approach has many benefits and does better justice to the broad subject of hate crimes. (Gerstenfeld 2004, 107-108.) This research focuses on antisemitic hate crimes which is a part of religion-based hate crimes. Combatting antisemitism is a broad subject which would require another type of research, in that case the whole society should be taken into examination including schools and many other actors. Because this research focuses on antisemitic hate crimes, the core authority that is involved in combatting these crimes is the police. That is why the focus will be on police related issues and actions taken by the police.

The aim of this research is to examine how antisemitic hate crimes are counteracted in Finland, compared to Sweden and Great Britain. The research is conducted from a public viewpoint. This means that all the documents and information on counteractions conducted by the police are from open and public sources. Governments should be transparent and clear in how they address antisemitic hate crimes, one way to do this is by sharing action plans with the wider public (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, 24, 26). Police policy should be available to the public so that citizens can understand the practical effects of the police policy (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 69-70). All the information is based on public information and no confidential materials were examined in this research.

The research results reveal from a public point of view what police are doing to counteract antisemitic hate crimes in Sweden, Finland, and Great Britain. This research reveals the current situation on the strategic level by comparing strategic documents and counteractions from these three countries. Sweden is a natural choice for comparison because it is a neighbouring country to Finland and both societies are similar in many ways. A second reason to compare Finland with Sweden is because The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ) assisted Finland in 2009 when Finland started to compile statistics from hate crimes in a broader way including more hate motives (Peutere 2009, 5). BRÅ has been doing this same work in Sweden since 2006 (Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention 2006, 5). Great Britain is a suitable country for comparison because it has emphasized state-led repressive measures by focusing on police and courts in combatting racist violence (Bleich 2007, 160). This creates a valid starting point for the comparison which focuses on the actions of the police. All three countries are members of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) which lays

a common foundation (OSCE website 2020). Five of the reference resources which are used in this research were written by the OSCE. Sweden and Great Britain are also suitable choices for comparison countries because I am able to read the chosen documents in the original written language from both countries.

By comparison, the situation in Finland can be placed in a broader context regarding antisemitic hate crimes and counteractions. The theoretical frame and the comparison of Swedish and British strategies reveal which actions Finland has already conducted and what could be improved. In this present government term, the goal is to create an action plan against racism and discrimination, which contains a separate section for hate crimes and hate speech (Against hate project 2019, 8). This research can be a helpful resource when action plans against antisemitic hate crimes and hate crimes in general are written.

This research will answer the following three questions:

1. What are the key areas that police should put effort into when combatting antisemitic hate crimes?
2. How should the effort be made, according to involved actors, in order to enhance the specific key areas?
3. What are the actions the Finnish police have planned to take and what could be further developed compared to Sweden and Great Britain?

This research can be divided roughly into three phases. In phase one, previous research is examined and from that information I identified five key areas which are important for the police when antisemitic hate crimes and hate crimes in general are counteracted. Phase one gives an answer to the first research question. Phase two gives an answer to the second research question. Recommended actions and information are derived from 12 different materials from ten different organizations including, Jewish organizations, police organizations, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and other organizations. In phase three, the countries' counteractions are compared with the created theoretical frame and with each other. The results reveal which actions Finland has already planned or taken and how much room for further development is left, based on the created theoretical frame. The analysis process is described in Figure 1 below.



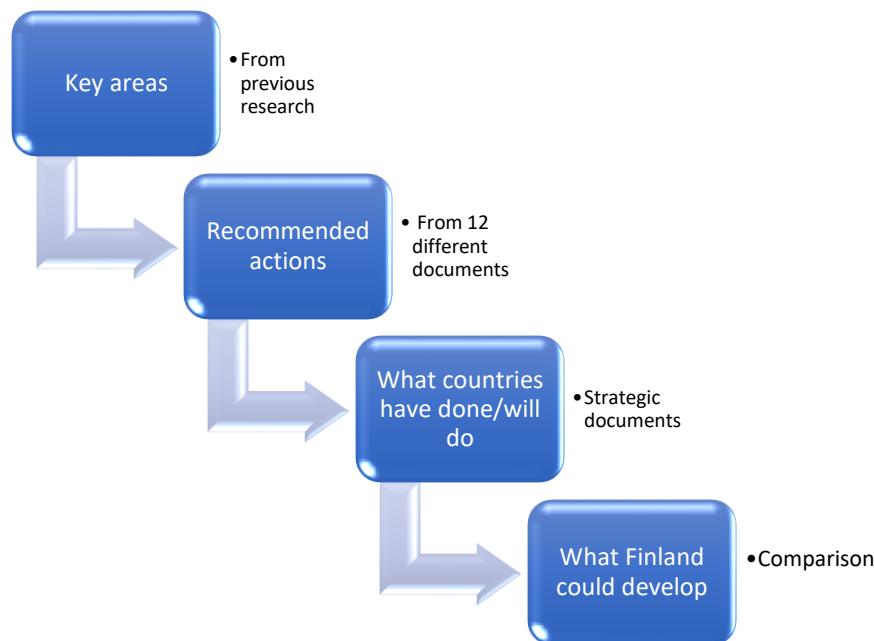


Figure 1 Analysis process

## 1.2 Disposition

This research is compiled in the following way. First, an introduction is presented which clarifies the background of the topic. Second, the aim of the research and the research questions are introduced. Next in Chapter two, key supporting terms such as radicalization, hate crimes, and hate speech are explained. The key term antisemitism is presented in detail as it is the ideological basis for the hate crimes that this research focuses on. The chapter closes by providing instruction for identifying antisemitism as a crime motive.

Chapter three is divided in to two main sections, antisemitic hate crimes and policing hate crimes. Previously conducted notable research and studies are summarized under each. At the end of Chapter three, the five key areas for combatting antisemitic hate crimes are identified and these provide the answer to the first research question and are an instrumental part of the theoretical frame.

The research method and material as well as the reliability, validity, and ethics are presented in Chapter four. In Chapter five, the five previously identified key areas are covered one at a time. Possible police action for each key area are listed and five questions per key area are presented. Reflecting on the same set of 25 questions in total enables a systematic comparison of the

covered countries and the answers to the posed questions will provide insight to the current status for the specific key area in question. As a whole Chapter five gives an answer to the second research question as to how the police could further develop its effort in every key area.

In Chapter six, information about Jewish population and about antisemitism and antisemitic hate crimes in the three comparison countries are presented. The main focus for each country specific section is a walk-through of applied and possible counteractions to hate crimes. The counteractions are compared in Chapter seven with the created theoretical frame in five separate tables. Each table represents one key area and contains the five questions from Chapter five. These tables reveal the current situation in the three countries and enable to evaluate the status in Finland and thus providing an answer to the third research question.

The research results are summarized in Chapter eight and conclusion derived from the data are listed. The discussion focuses on the validity of the selected study compared to real life situation. The final resolution of this study is presented by addressing the three research questions and by providing the concluding answer for each. The final Chapter nine is a Swedish summary of this research.

## 2 Review of concepts

People who are radicalized are in the danger of committing hate crimes. This chapter defines radicalization, violent extremism, hate crimes, hate speech and antisemitism.

### 2.1 Radicalization and violent extremism

Safety is a basic right. If safety becomes uncertain there is no capacity to take care of other basic rights either. The word ‘radicalization’ often appears in public discussion in the context of radical Islamism, but it is a general concept which encompasses the approval of violent methods based on any ideology (Koivunen 2016, 16). Radicalization, extremist movement, and terrorism gain its power from the marginalization development. When, people feel that they have been treated wrongly and unfair they begin to see it as their right to react violently. We must succeed in preventing cruelties. (Paatero 2016, 28, 30.) Radicalization processes can be

ambiguous and complex, but they are not completely random. Even though there is no universal formula for radicalization, as pathways into radicalization differ depending on the location and context, there are patterns that governments should try to understand, especially when planning counter measures. Violent extremism not only threaten people's lives but also polarizes societies, spreads suspicion and hatred, and creates tension between different religions and ethnic groups. (Neumann 2017, 18, 78.)

## 2.2 Hate crimes

'Hate crime' is a recent category that was generated in the USA in the early 1980s. Subsequently, it was transferred into other criminal justice systems. Hate crime has rapidly become a powerful term with strong rhetorical force. The term has been mobilized into the context of initiatives to address violent crimes motivated by hate, particularly racism. Hate crime follows on from the anti-discrimination legislation of the 1970s as a kind of second-generation set of issues. It also reflects the change from the goal of assimilation as a 'race relations' strategy to the politics of difference and recognition. Because there are differences in the hate crime legislation of countries, it is difficult to define what hate crime is. (Ray & Smith 2001, 209, 211.)

The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE) has defined hate crime the following way: a crime that is motivated by bias towards a certain group within society. In order to qualify as a hate crime, the act must meet two criteria. First, the act must be classified as a crime under the criminal code of the legal jurisdiction where it is committed. Secondly, the crime must have been committed with a *bias motivation*. With "bias motivation", it is meant that the offender chose the target of the crime on the basis of *protected characteristics*. "Protected characteristics" is a core or fundamental characteristic that is shared by a group, such as language, ethnicity, race, religion, or sexual orientation. The target of a hate crime can be a person, group of people or a property linked to a group that shares the protected characteristics. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2016, 2.) The motivation for hate crime is connected with a victim's single feature, but the motivation for an extremist crime is connected to a whole ideology (Ministry of Interior 2020 a, 21).

The Criminal Code of Finland has made it possible since 2004 to give a more severe punishment if racist hate has been the motive for the crime or, in other ways, discriminating hate. What is meant with hate crime is unclear, as the reason for the unclarity derives from that there is not one internationally approved definition for hate crime. The Criminal Code of Finland does not define the meaning of the concept. The Criminal Code of Finland does not even contain terms such as “hate”, “racism”, “hate crime” and or “hate speech”. It is difficult to say if hate crimes really have increased, or has the problem rather become recently visible in our society. Racist crimes and hate crimes are often parallel with each other in public discussion. At the same time, racist crimes and hate crimes can be identified with hate speech which easily turns the discussion from racist crimes and hate crimes specifically to discussion about the freedom of speech. (Hyttinen & Tapani 2018, 12, 16, 25.)

Not all crimes that have hate as a motive should be classified as actual hate crimes. Rather, hate crimes should be classified as crimes which are motivated by hate based intolerance. International comparison material also supports this point of view. The primary idea of hate crimes is to provide sharpened criminal judicial protection, especially to minorities. In conclusion, it can be stated that the Criminal Code of Finland enables an effective way in which to intervene with hate crimes. Another matter is, if the police, prosecution service and courts, have the know-how to intervene in discriminating hate. This matter is especially challenging when considering hate speech. (Hyttinen & Tapani 2018, 20-21, 27.)

### 2.3 Hate speech

The English concept “hate speech” has other meanings in an Anglo-American context than hate speech has in Europe. Generally, hate speech can mean verbal or symbolic expressions the purpose of which is to allocate hatred or contempt against certain individuals or population groups. (Henttonen etc. 2015, 15.) There is constant debate on how the criminal judiciary should react to hate speech. The Finnish legislation does not contain the term “hate speech”, which means that one judicial definition is not established. For example, if all the expressions that are motivated by hate would be classified as hate speech, would the hate speech statistic look entirely different compared with a situation where only racist expressions are classified as hate speech. Crime statistics can influence how strongly legislators or the law surveillance

authorities, such as the police, feel the need to react to the problem. (Hyttinen & Tapani 2018, 8-9.)

Because hate speech belongs to the subcategory of hate crimes, hate speech expressions should also be understood as other hate crimes. Hate speech should be racist or, in another way, discriminatory and promote intolerance. The most typical essential elements of an offence of hate speech is agitation against an ethnic group. As the phrasing of the essential elements of an offence shows, fulfilment of an agitation crime requires that the offender's specific goal is to promote hatred and intolerance against a certain population group. Applying the essential elements of an offence in hate speech can mostly be done without a problem. Many hate speech cases are such that applying elements of an offence is indisputably legitimate. (Hyttinen & Tapani 2018, 18, 22, 24, 52-53.)

Besides hate speech discussion and judicial regulation concerning hate speech, nowadays many European societies also regulate how and with what kind of terms should we discuss historical events. This especially concerns crimes which are done by the government machinery or are political in nature. The most radical manifestation of evil in the 1900s is the genocide of Jews which has been under special attention in this context because its denial has been criminalized in many European countries. (Löytömäki 2015, 191.) The Holocaust is presented thoroughly in the next chapter.

## 2.4 Antisemitism

It is known that antisemitism has existed since the times of antiquity (Hanski 2006, 9). Theodor Herzl wrote in 1896 that no-one denies the distress of Jews, in all those countries where there are many Jews they are being persecuted more or less (Herzl 2004, 25). Antisemitism gained new characteristics from the end of 1800 century when politicians and other ideologies began to take advantage of it in order to achieve politic-societal power (Ketola 2020 a). The fact is that antisemitic views have changed astonishing little over the centuries (Bjurwald 2011, 68). Antisemitism has been divided into political, economic, religious, nationalistic, and racial forms. Many conspiracy theories derive from antisemitism. The thought that the rich Jewish elite govern the world from the shadows has been spread for a long time and it especially comes

up during different crises. Claims from Zionist elite have been spread from marginal movements all the way to the language of politicians. (Jääskeläinen 2020.)

Antisemitism is a permanent and latent structure of concepts towards Jews, that manifests at the individual level as attitudes. In culture, it is manifested as myths, ideologies, folklore, and imagery. It also manifests in actions such as discrimination, political movement against Jews or governmental violence. All of this aims to alienate, exile, or wipe out Jews because they are Jewish. At an individual level antisemitic prejudice is a hostile attitude, feeling or a tendency to behave against Jews. Part of the prejudice is a negative stereotype and feelings derived of it can vary from minor disapproval to passionate anger. Behavioural tendencies can vary from joking to an attack. In Sweden's definition of antisemitism, it is separated from other similar prejudices referring to its long history in western civilization and its stigmatized strong belief of Jewish power, moral inferiority, and wickedness. (Liebkind 2020.)

Modern or converted antisemitism stands out from the traditional forms in a way that it appears now in a widely accepted political form. This means the critique of Israel, which is wrapped up in Israel and Middle East conflict related connections. Of course, not all critique against Israel is antisemitic, nor does Israeli politics produce antisemitism itself. Instead, the actions of Israel and the criticism raised by it can activate the existing antisemitic views of Jews. (Liebkind 2020.) In order to understand today's antisemitism, you cannot be tied to history and only look in one direction, only towards the right. Today's antisemitism can also be "progressive" "antiracist" and "racialized". Today's antisemitism in Sweden, as well as in other west European countries, comes from three different directions: From the right, from the left and from the country's Muslim population. Unfortunately, antisemitism has not ceased to be a problem even in the most democratic and progressive of countries. This can be seen in official hate crimes statistics. (Lundgren 2020.)

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) is an intergovernmental organization, that focuses solely on Holocaust-related issues. When antisemitism began to rise again, IHRA decided to take a leading role in combatting antisemitism. Experts in IHRA decided that in order to begin to address the problem of antisemitism, there must first be clarity about what antisemitism is. The goal was to build an international consensus around a working definition of antisemitism. IHRA provided a practical and important tool for its member countries. On 26 May 2016, the following non-legally binding working definition of

antisemitism was adopted: **“Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.”** IHRA has also conducted 11 illustrative examples of antisemitism. Finland has been member of IHRA since 2010 but, according to IHRA websites, Finland is not mentioned in the list of countries which have adopted or endorsed the working definition of antisemitism. (IHRA website, 2020.) In 2019, when Timo Soini worked as a foreign minister, he stated that Finland has accepted the working definition of antisemitism (Soini 2019, 3). The European Parliament called for its member states and the Union institutions and agencies to adopt and apply the IHRA working definition of anti-Semitism on 1 June 2017 in a resolution on combating anti-Semitism (European Parliament 2017).

The academy’s best brains have studied antisemitism, its birth and how it could be beat. Antisemitism has been defined, for example, as a conception of Jews and its hostile manifestations towards Jews, their property, and their religious facilities. No one has been able to develop a counter solution, if we ignore the spiritual dimensions in antisemitism, we cannot completely understand it. It is more than a prejudice, it is a rebel against God’s created order and election. Antisemitism was a conception which was deep in people’s minds in Europe in the lead-up to the Holocaust. The conception’s roots were Christian and had diverse manifestations. (Kokkonen 2014, 118-119.)

The word *Holocaust*, which most languages use to describe the persecution of Jews in Germany, derives from the Greek language in which it has a deeply religious meaning ‘burnt offering’. In the Hebrew language the persecution of Jews is described by a word *shoah*. It is also the Biblical word which means destruction or catastrophe. These religious words were taken into use because that what happened is so shocking and large scale that we simply do not have proper words in our colloquial language to describe what happened. We cannot see the holocaust as a separate or single incident in world’s history. It is, in its own horrible way, a completely logic continuation to the hatred of Jews which had been cherished in Europe for centuries if not thousands of years. The Holocaust was a process, a culmination that would never have been achieved without a beginning. Wickedness achieves its peak because of the first compromise. However, during the first compromises there is a time when citizens, communities and societies can still act. (Kokkonen 2014, 150, 152, 173.)

Holocaust researchers use the so-called triangle of hate (Figure 2) to describe this composition. At the triangle's sturdy bottom is people's attitudes, in this case antisemitic attitudes. Above, in the next area are the first deeds such as antisemitic articles or so called harmless funny jokes said in company. In the middle, is discrimination which is already a more severe situation of which the local government or government needs to be aware of (if it is not the initiative maker). When moving upwards in the narrowing part is violence, present for the first time, but at this stage it is directed against property such as gravestones or synagogues. Only at the top of the triangle can we see violence against people and possible massacres, which in this case was concrete. We can understand two fundamental matters about the triangle. First, the triangle cannot stand flipped upside down or without the sturdy parts' foundation, massacres could never have happened. Secondly, resistance is easiest to be made when the evolution is only at the level of speech. (Kokkonen 2014, 174.)

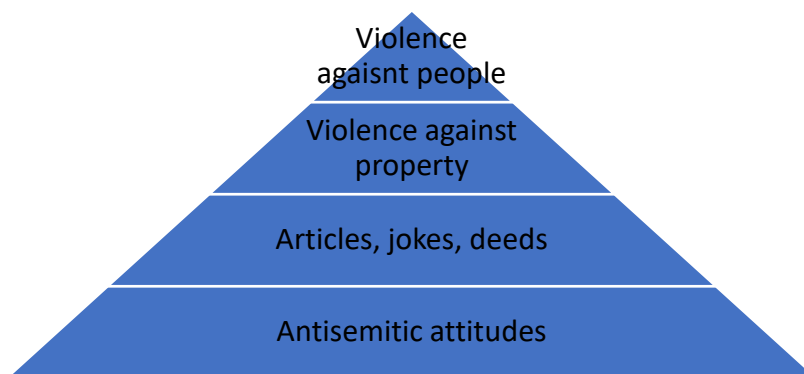


Figure 2 Visualization of hate triangle (compiled by the author, applied from Kokkonen 2014, 174)

If we want to understand the lead-up to the Holocaust and the primary years of the Holocaust in a simple and clear classification of events by their character, we could do the following:

- 1933-1938; Antisemitic propaganda, boycott against Jewish stores, legislation which separated Jews from others in society.
- 1938-1939; Destruction of Jewish synagogues, vandalism, and imprisonments.
- 1939-1941; Jews did not have any rights, transports to the east.
- 1941-1945; Murdering of Jews in destruction camps. (Kokkonen 2014, 175.)

The Holocaust stands alone solely because of the number of victims, which is so huge that it becomes unreal. The Holocaust was unique because all Jews were victims, even those Jews who did not have to go through the Holocaust were meant to be its victims. Not every Jew had



to experience the Holocaust, but the Holocaust was meant to be the destiny of every Jew. The Holocaust is the best-documented massacre in the whole world. Because the Holocaust was the world's largest massacre, its denial is, in many ways, one part of antisemitism and continues the murder. (Kokkonen 2014, 253, 301, 305.)

Nowadays, denial of the Holocaust is one of the most common verbal forms of antisemitism (Ketola 2020 b). The Holocaust is claimed to be a lie, spread in particular by the Jews. This is why the denial of the Holocaust is seen as one form of antisemitism. For those who have witnessed the Holocaust, who have experienced it, the denying of the Holocaust is a new attack against them, and it hurts even more because it is a continuance of the Holocaust. One of the most significant lessons after the Holocaust is the question that, who or what dictates our ethical choices? We are not independent. For the most part our consideration of morals or ethics are based on society's current opinion of it. (Kokkonen 2014, 258, 303-304.)

## 2.5 How to identify antisemitic hate crime

The most common mistake in the investigation of hate crimes is the refusal or failure of law enforcement to identify a criminal act as a hate crime (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2009, 21). In certain countries government agencies co-operate with Jewish communities in checking, sharing, and collecting data on antisemitic hate crimes. This is based on a clear and mutual definition of what constitutes a hate crime. The sharing of government and non-governmental data makes the data more accurate and gives a more complete picture. This model also reveals under-reporting and under-recording. Sharing the data is even more effective if the co-operation between non-governmental actions and government is formalized in a form of protocols or memoranda. When government and non-government experts work together, they can maximize the effective use of collected data to analyse trends and create policies. Sharing data also helps communities to increase their trust towards authorities. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, 42.)

The development of effective police responses are possible when the police can collect reliable data of these crimes. Increased knowledge of hate crimes, victim reporting and hate crime recording will assist to expose the full magnitude of the problem and support policymakers in identify appropriate counter measures. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2019, 3.) The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Office for

Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) has created examples of the questions that help to identify antisemitic hate crimes. Questions are listed below:

- Did the witnesses or victims perceive the incidents to have been motivated by bias toward Jews?
- Were there graffiti, gestures, written statements, or comments that show bias toward Jews? These can include accusations that are typical in antisemitic tropes. For example, blaming Jews for the policies of Israeli government, the claims of Jewish plots to control the world, accusing Jews of killing Jesus or blood libel.
- Did the targeted property have cultural or religious significance? Like a Jewish cemetery, school, a synagogue or was the property private owned by Jews.
- Had the property previously been before target for an antisemitic incident?
- What was the nature of the attack? Was a symbol or object left at the scene, such as the Nazi symbol which can be perceived as being threatening or offensive? Was a religiously significant item, such as a Torah scroll, desecrated?
- What kind of violence was it by its nature? Were symbols targeted which represent Judaism? Was, for example, a kippah (a skullcap) removed from the victim's head?
- Does the offender belong to a hate group which targets Jews? These groups could include different far right or Neo-Nazi groups or other religious groups or groups that advocate intolerance against Jews. Does the offender's criminal record or background reveal that they have carried out similar acts before?
- Could the victim be identified as being visibly Jewish? Was the victim, for example, wearing a kippah, traditional clothing, or Hebrew language inscriptions on their jewellery or clothing?
- Was the victim a human rights defender working under the safety and protection of the Jews or a Jewish community leader?
- Did the offender show that they were blaming the victim for the actions of the State of Israel solely because they were Jewish?
- Did the incident happen on some significant day for either the offender or Jewish communities (e.g. the anniversary of a terror attack, International Holocaust Memorial Day, or a Jewish holiday)?

Is there any clear motive found? A lack of other motives is also one reason to ponder a bias motive. Antisemitic hate crimes should be observed as a separate category of crime and

recorded in a way that allows for a disaggregation by gender. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2019, 3.)

### 3 Research on antisemitic hate crimes

In this section, the information is gathered from previous research focusing on antisemitic hate crimes and policing hate crimes. Regardless of the large increase in religious hate crimes over the past decade relative to all other hate crimes, there is little knowledge about these types of crimes and the factors connected with both reporting to law enforcement and case outcomes (Walfield, Socia & Powers 2017, 148). First, we can notice that relatively little attention has been laid to religion related hate crimes, compared to hate crimes involving race or sexuality (Scheitle & Hansman 2016, 860). Secondly, anti-Jewish crime has received little attention in the scholarly literature on policing hate crime, despite its significance as a specific category of hate crime (Igansky 2007, 232). These matters also highlight the importance of this research.

#### 3.1 Antisemitic hate crimes

While all crimes are an assault upon rights and freedoms, the crimes of violence and intimidation motivated by ideology or systematic hatred represent particularly insidious attacks upon rights and freedom. These crimes are based upon explicit assumptions that some people have fewer rights, or their rights are less important than others. Victims are characterized as a class of less worthy people or indeed more blameworthy than other people. (James 2005, 115.) Hate crimes in general and antisemitic incidents do not occur in a vacuum. These crimes occur in a cultural context, where bigotry and, in some cases, the use of violence as a social resource, are norms that serve as a social basis for the perpetrators' action by determining who is a suitable target. (Iganski, Kielinger & Paterson 2005, 80.)

In an analysis of incidents recorded by the Metropolitan Police service (MPS) during the years 2001-2004 it could be seen that antisemitic hate crime peaks were commonly attributed to international political events, especially conflicts in the Middle East and flare-ups in the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Moreover, as some cases were clearly politically motivated, the majority of cases reported to the MPS in April and May 2002 did not appear to be carried out by offenders who were active in organized or extremist groups. It could be also noted that male victims experience proportionally more incidents containing violence and fewer incidents

containing malicious communications than female victims. Regarding the age of the victims, the age range is fairly evenly distributed across the age groups. The age range of suspects is inclined towards younger age groups. In almost two-thirds of the cases there was a male suspect and a male victim. Incidents recorded by MPS show that antisemitic incidents occur as a part of everyday life rather than through political extremism. (Iganski, Kielinger & Paterson 2005, 1,3, 79.)

In a study “Understanding antisemitic hate crime” the experiences, perceptions and behaviours was studied by age, gender, and religiosity. According to the study, the most important determinant affecting Jewish people’s perceptions and experiences of antisemitism is the level of Orthodoxy. Some distinctions can be seen between males and females and, to a greater extent, different age bands, but the level of religiosity/Orthodoxy shows the largest differences. In many cases, especially where the most Orthodox group stands out, the reason is probably related to the fact that the most religious Orthodox Jews are the easiest identified as Jews in their appearance and behaviour. There is also evidence to suggest that the more Orthodox a person is, the more sensitive they are likely to be towards antisemitism, and the more likely they are to consider something to be antisemitic than other less Orthodox Jews. (Boyd & Graham 2017, 37.)

Regarding age, it is clear that younger Jews are much more likely to experience and witness antisemitic insults, harassment, and physical attacks than older Jews. Younger Jews are also more like to be threatened in person, followed in a threatening way, or attacked online. (Boyd & Graham 2017, 38.) As a result of hate crimes, communities of victims can evolve. Hate crimes against a single person can have negative effects but hate crimes can also create a score of secondary victims. These victims might be family, friends or others who also identify with the same group as the victim. Hate crimes create insecurity and fear among minority communities regardless of whether the crimes are based on skin colour, race, religion, ethnic origin, or sexual orientation. Hate crime victims can also be double victimized. They have to experience the crime and deal with the fact that this crime was not only an attack against their private property or physical person but an attack against the victim’s identity. (Perry 2010, 125.)

Part of the interview process in the study “Understanding antisemitic hate crime” was to ask from expert respondents what could be done to combat antisemitism and encourage the reporting of it. One respondent said that antisemitic hate crime should be seen in a wider context

of hate crime in general- by knocking out the one you reduce the other. This means that context matters. Working to build an environment where any form of racism is seen as a taboo will help to reduce antisemitism. The best way to achieve this is to show success by prosecuting people and publicizing it in the right places to the right people. To the future victims, it is important to show that it is worth reporting and the benefit of reporting is likely to bring a result. As a result, the cost of reporting concerning the time, hassle, and stress of going through court, as well as everything else involved, can be reduced. (Boyd & Graham 2017, 41.)

One respondent also discussed the role of restorative justice, creating possibilities for the offenders to meet and apologize to their victims and learn how the incident has affected them. Experience from restorative justice in hate crimes has been incredibly positive. Prosecutions must also be very carefully managed and communicated, ensuring that no backlash happens as a result, especially in high profile cases but in others too. All of the respondents also referred in some way to the importance of monitoring and researching antisemitism more deeply. Improving methods of how to detect, define and record antisemitism, how to best analyse and to understand the things that are observed is largely seen to be an essential condition to all other policy work. It was striking to Boyd and Graham how little detailed statistical analysis had been done on antisemitic hate crime data. According to Boyd's and Graham's observations, part of what should be improved are research methods employed when incidents are recorded; the variables used, the means by which data are stored and recorded and the sophistication of data analysis. (Boyd & Graham 2017, 42.)

When, combating antisemitism, we can acknowledge that governments have roles and communities have possibilities. These can be classified under four headings:

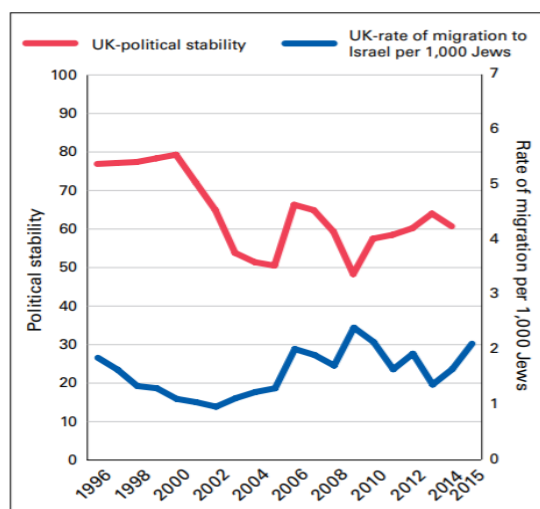
- Commitment to agree legal norms
- Measurement of antisemitism and analysis of data in order to affect international organizations and governments to act
- Development of more formalized and effective relationships with governments
- Education and outreach

European agencies take the threat of rising antisemitism very seriously, but the real commitment of some EU states is lacking. (Whine 2014, 88, 91.)

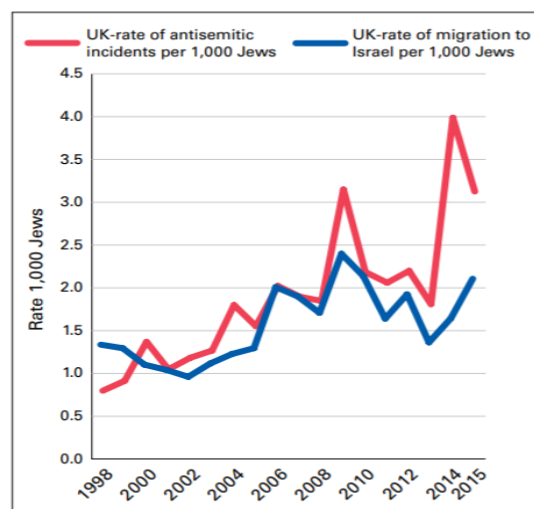
The prime minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu, has welcomed European Jews to Israel as was told at the beginning of the introduction. The immigration to Israel from Europe has been

researched in a study “Are Jews leaving Europe?”. That research is a consequence of growing concern in European Jewish communities about antisemitism and Islamic extremism. The study was designed to explore the extent to which Jews are acting on the basis of this anxiety and uncertainty, is there an exodus of Jews out of Europe? If so, is it because of a raising antisemitism in Europe? The study revealed that there has been an increase in immigration to Israel from Belgium, France and Italy and the recent levels are historically unprecedented or at least very close. Still, when compared with historical mass out-migration we cannot meaningfully speak about ‘exodus’. The study could not find evidence that the reason for this immigration would be antisemitism, but it could not reject it either. When the economies of France and the United Kingdom were accounted for, the current levels of immigration were still unusual. Since the factor cannot attribute to economic factors, the reason must be some other. That factor could be antisemitism because there is positive correlation between immigration and latent levels of antisemitism. The evidence for this is supportive and not confirmatory. See figures 3 and 4 below. (Staetsky 2017 a, 22.)

Panel A. Political stability in the UK vs Jewish migration to Israel



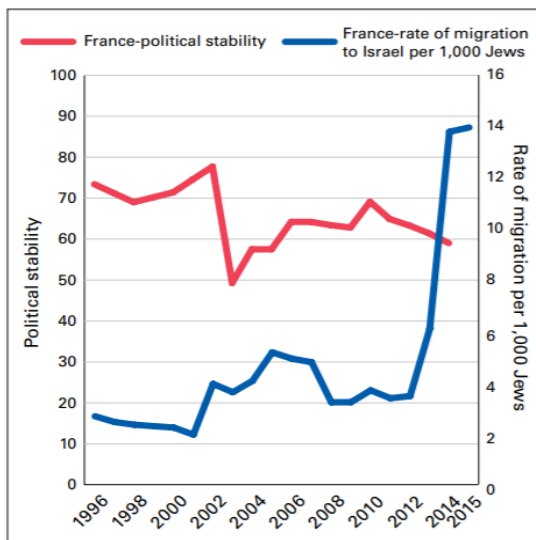
Panel B. Antisemitic incidents in the UK vs Jewish migration to Israel



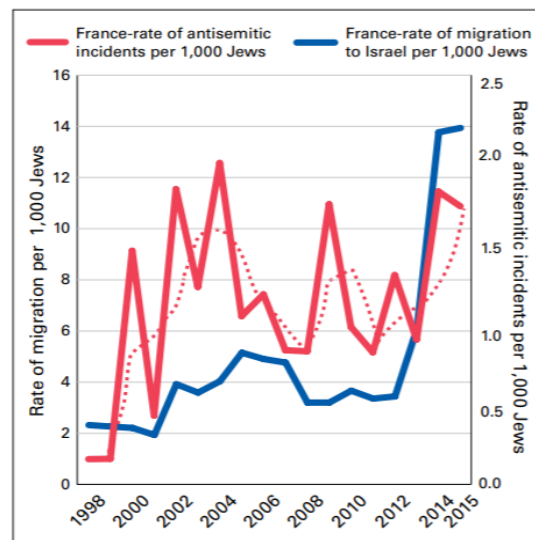
Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Israel; Graham (2011), American Jewish Year Book; Community Security Trust; Jewish Community Security Service; World Bank Group.

Figure 3 Political stability, antisemitism incidents and Jewish migration from the United Kingdom to Israel since the late 1990s (Staetsky 2017 a, 21).

Panel A. Political stability in France vs Jewish migration to Israel



Panel B. Antisemitic incidents in France vs Jewish migration to Israel



Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Israel; Graham (2011), American Jewish Year Book; Community Security Trust; Jewish Community Security Service; World Bank Group. Note: the dotted line marks the smoothed trend in the rate of antisemitic incidents.

Figure 4 Political stability, antisemitism incidents and Jewish migration from France to Israel since the late 1990s (Staetsky 2017 a, 21).

### 3.2 Policing hate crimes

Over the past two decades Britain, Germany, and France have all turned their attention to racist violence and have developed a host of policies in response to the issue. There are similarities between three countries, but there are also many important differences. States have to decide how much they use repressive policies aimed at preserving public order versus instructive policies aimed at promoting tolerance and liberal democratic values. States also have to decide what role the state, compared with civil society, will play in leading the charge against racist violence. Great Britain has chosen to emphasize state-led repressive measures by focusing on the police and courts. Germany has gone the furthest in the direction of civil society–led instructive actions through grass roots grants. France’s policies of socialization and symbolism have accented state-led instructive measures more than other countries. Which of the strategies above is the most effective? (Bleich 2007, 160.)

Because the way in which the three countries measure racist violence differs substantially, it would be meaningless to perform a cross-national comparison. There are several factors that make it complicated to compare statistics even within one country. Focusing on numbers would be a too narrow approach, even if there were no statistical problems. Policies against racist violence are not like policies against standard crime, where the most important measures of

success are figures such as the percentage of cases successfully cleared or homicide rates. Racist violence is a problem of public order, such as standard crime, but, at the same time, it is also a problem of social cohesion. This means that the feelings and thoughts of victim groups and the whole society are very important measures of policy effectiveness. Do targeted groups think that they are respected and included by the state, or do they actually feel vulnerable and isolated? Do a country's citizens feel united, or do they feel more divided by national origin, ethnicity, race, or religion? (Bleich 2007, 160-161.)

Ultimately, the effectiveness of the policy depends on various factors. There are some common approaches to reducing racist violence. For example, stepping up the patrols of sensitive sites and encouraging juries, judges, prosecutors, and the police to handle these crimes toughly. Policies to promote social cohesion come in many sizes and shapes. This is demonstrated in the variety of options pursued by Great Britain, Germany, and France. (Bleich 2007, 162.) Perviousness was found to be the strongest predictor of hate crime policy adoption by police organizations. Environmental conditions like violent crime rates and organizational characteristics like resources and size influence the perviousness. Perviousness operates as a central mediator mechanism through which abstract law is translated into operational policy at the local level of implementation. (Jeness & Gratted 2005, 337.) In addition, many national strategies for security and public safety recognize crime prevention as an essential part of strategies. The concept of crime prevention suggests that victimization and crime are driven by many underlying or causal factors. (Groma 2018, 2.)

The creation of nationally efficient policies depends on learning from other states about the pragmatic steps that different countries can take. At the same time, it depends on responding to domestic actors who express concerns about particular problems and recommend possible solutions. Following this rule of thumb will go a long way towards reducing the influence of racist violence and towards national unity. (Bleich 2007, 162.)

If the police are going to be effective in responding to hate crimes, citizens must be willing and able to trust the police. This means improved relationships between the police and the diverse communities the police serve. Since the 1970s, the police reformers have advocated community policing as a means to achieve this regardless of the community in question. We can learn from the large police departments like those in Edmonton and Toronto, where they have been fortunate to have enough resources and political will to start innovative paths towards



strengthening their ability to respond to, identify and investigate hate crime. However, it seems that other larger departments and most of the smaller ones have not chosen the same path. This emphasizes the importance of national guidelines that should ensure a high standard of care from the police officers. (Perry 2010, 130, 138.) Based on the analysis done in the research “Preventing and combating hate crimes: Modern approach” Jelena Groma suggests that the existence of a carefully verified action plan for combating hate crime supported both by law enforcement agencies, society and government will ensure the high effectiveness of results in a life-long perspective (Groma 2018, 4-5).

Many of those incidents that the Metropolitan Police service has recorded as hate crimes have been classified as ‘low level’ or ‘ordinary’ crime, such as damage to property, theft and name-calling, which all need to be understood in their wider social context. Still, the fact is that the threat of hatred and extraordinary forms of hate crime exist. This has significant implications on policing. In the incidents where there are clearly identifiable, organized, or extremist groups and individuals behind the crimes, intelligence led policing plays an important role in gathering specific intelligence on those offenders and implementing proactive operations to prevent and target their actions. Opportunistic, ‘everyday’ and indirect character presents difficulties to this traditional policing focus. These ‘everyday’ incidents cannot usually be predicted or anticipated because of their nature. This makes it difficult for the police to target and disrupt the activities of many offenders. (Iganski, Kielinger & Paterson 2005, 80.)

In over one-third of recorded incidents, there was no suspect recorded or identified on a crime report. Just under one in ten incidents resulted in a suspect being charged, cautioned or other proceedings taken against them. In policing antisemitic incidents, the police need to focus on the quality of initial investigation in order to increase the possibility of identifying and dealing with the offenders. More weight should also be given to the correct flagging of antisemitic incidents in the initial training that police recruits receive, and this training should be continually strengthened through the proactive supervision of initial investigating officers. (Iganski, Kielinger & Paterson 2005, 4.)

Other elements that are important to the effective progression of the initial investigation are:

- The proper identification of repeated victimization, even if not reported to the police earlier
- Following up leads on suspects and fully detailing actions taken to trace them

- Providing all details on evidence gathering considered and undertaken, as well as on witnesses spoken to

Efficient supervision is the key in reinforcing and ensuring effective initial investigation and providing the essential reassurance for the Jewish community that these cases are being taken seriously in the police. (Iganski, Kielinger & Paterson 2005, 4-5.)

The problem of policing violence born of discrimination and intolerance is that the violence is not always done by easily identified extremist groups, but it is more diffused in the everyday examples of harassment and intimidation and is often done by people who do not share a conscious ideology of the extreme right (James 2005, 104). It is also complicated to classify religion-related hate crimes that might often be intertwined with ethnic, racial and immigrant biases. It is even more complicated because the police agencies tend to classify incidents as having only one single bias motivation. (Scheitle & Hansman 2016, 862.)

It is also well-known that official crime statistics substantially under-represent the true scale of crime because many victims do not report their experience to the police for different reasons (Iganski 2007, 236). This can also be seen in table 1 below, where the number of incidents reported to the Metropolitan Police Service and to Community Security Trust monthly within the years 2003 and 2004 are compared.

Table 1 Comparison between the number of incidents reported to MPS and CST per month in the years 2003 and 2004 (Iganski, Kielinger & Paterson 2005, 65).

Reported month	MPS 2003	CST 2003	MPS 2004	CST 2004
January	25	11	19	11
February	20	11	19	17
March	29	30	39	74
April	37	19	28	45
May	27	16	28	18
June	27	18	23	33
July	24	18	44	32
August	17	12	12	14
September	21	15	30	23
October	35	32	26	19
November	21	21	14	14
December	15	12	12	11
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>311</b>

It would be too optimistic to assume that the official police records could or would provide a full or accurate picture of hate crime. Official information can offer only a partial yet important insight into hate crimes that victims bring to the awareness of the police and to a criminal justice system as a whole. (Kielinger & Paterson 2007, 197.) The interviewed people rarely reported hate crime incidents to the police because they knew that the police would not do anything about incidents (under-policing). Instead, many of interviewed said that the police singled out people as suspects because of their appearance (over-policing). This suggests that, in many cases, structural or institutional racism and racist discussions affect the police work. This means that hate crime legislation will be undermined if those who think that they have been exposed to a hate crime incident do not dare to or think that it is pointless to report to the people who carry out “public policing”. (Wigerfelt B, Wigerfelt A & Kiiskinen 2014, 9.) Legislation is only a tool which needs to be used by someone with enough training, resources, and determination to put it to work (Bunar 2007, 179).

That is why it is really important that the police prioritize the creation of trust towards different minority groups. This can be done by educating the police officers about antidiscrimination

work, hate crime, attitudes connected to minorities and establishing special hate crime units, which are specialized in hate crimes. These procedures must also be a part of a public antidiscrimination policy. (Wigerfelt B, Wigerfelt A & Kiiskinen 2014, 9.) There is some evidence, that hate crime units send a positive message to the communities and hate crimes are taken seriously, which in turn could improve relations between the police and communities. Improved relationships, could in turn, lead to increased hate-crime reporting from the communities. Establishing task forces that coordinate across agencies, including the federal, state and or other local police agencies and prosecutor offices, will make it easier to share the information of violent hate groups and hate crime suspects among and between different departments. (Groma 2018, 4.)

In the research “Policing hate crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, it could be seen that even if the police take bias-motivated crimes seriously, problems continue to arise because of the lack of dedicated hate crime investigation units. This often leads to the police officers ignoring the bias motivation behind a crime. The police officers and members of minority groups have discrepancies in their perceptions. The police are doing their best, in their opinion, but still minority groups mostly think that they are not sufficiently protected. Nor does the police inform the public sufficiently about the bias incidents. The findings revealed that there is not enough communication between the police and hate crime victims and that the police also have an authoritarian attitude towards the media. (Velibor & Slađana 2018, 1079.)

Religious hate crimes are highly unlikely to be reported and cleared, which may have a negative influence on social stability and relations between the police and the public. To fight against hate crimes and increase the reporting and arrest likelihood, the police departments have to improve their police-community relations and their outreach to marginalized groups. In addition, efforts must be made to thoroughly consider all hate crimes, no matter how insignificant the incident may appear to be for the police. (Walfield, Socia & Powers 2017, 166.) In increased hate crime reporting, clear departmental policies and education of all sworn personnel are important factors. Additionally, these appear to have been improved when a hate crime program is an integral part of the department’s community policing program that widely attempts to enhance communication and improve relations with all citizens and transfer the burden to handle the hate crimes on a single police officer. (Martin 1999, 436.)

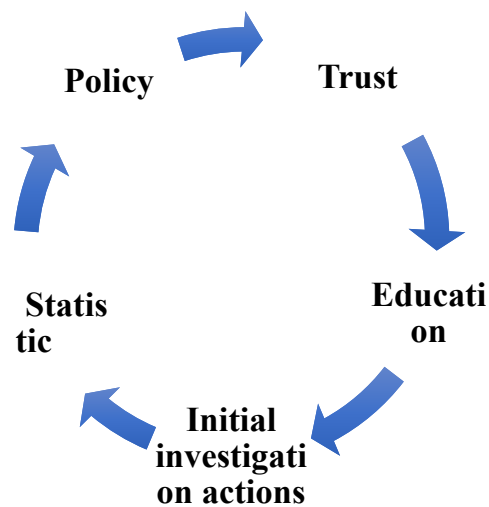
Data show that when the state passed a new legislation and the New York Police Department increased resources for its Hate Crime Task Force, hate crimes in the city decreased dramatically, this is an important lesson for other cities. Part of the success of the NYPD Hate Crime Task Force is clearly rooted in the working philosophy of a dedicated personnel through the years, but there are also tangible factors that enhanced the police department's response. These are:

- Highly placed and well-funded specialized unit with sovereignty over investigations
- Specific investigative and response protocols for all officers mandated in the Patrol Guide through the chain of command
- Specific in-service and academy training
- Efficient intake and data collection methods that assemble incidents from other agencies, districts, and private investigation groups
- Regular contact and notification with other agencies and private groups
- Commanding officer's media accessibility to aid investigations and quench false rumours
- Powerful new legislation that permit significant penalties for bias crime
- The efficient use of detectives to track down perpetrators
- Victim services with many languages (Levin & Amster 2007, 319, 338.)

### 3.3 The Big Five

Based on previous research, I identified five areas which play a significant role in combatting antisemitic hate crimes and hate crimes in general. This categorization is my own and constitutes a theoretical frame for the comparison between Sweden, Finland, and Great Britain. Policing plays a significant role in combatting antisemitic hate crimes in society. If the police are to succeed in preventing and investigating hate crimes, the minorities have to trust them. The police need to work constantly in order to maintain the trust once it is gained. When there is trust, victims are confident in reporting a crime. When the report is written, the police need to be able to define antisemitism and identify it in the crime. To ensure that this happens the police need education and departmental policies. One way to ensure that the police have the required knowledge is to establish specialized hate crime units which investigate these crimes. When victims report, the police classify bias in the right way and initial investigations are conducted properly, the perpetrators are judged, and the statistics will be more accurate. An

increase in statistics will gather attention and allow better research. Further research will deepen the understanding and enable the creation of better tactics for combatting antisemitic hate crimes. When the tactics are written down as actions in a policy document and the actions are implemented, results are achieved. Furthermore, crimes are hindered, understanding grows, perpetrators are judged, and the victims believe that their reports are taken seriously. All of this leads to higher trust which encourages victims to make a report to the police and, thus, the cycle strengthens itself and continues. This cycle is seen in Figure 5 below, which shows the **five key areas for policing: trust, education, initial investigation actions, statistics, and policies.**



*Figure 5 Key areas for the police in a fight against antisemitic hate crimes*

## 4 Research method

This section discusses the research as a part of qualitative research. Next, the analysis method is presented, followed by the opening of the research material. Lastly, the reliability and validity of this research is presented, as well as a section on ethics.

### 4.1 Method and material

This research is a qualitative research. Qualitative analysis consists of two parts: simplifying observations and solving the mystery. From the simplifying of observations, two parts can be separated. First, the material is always seen only from one theoretic perspective. When the material is examined, the focus is attached only to those matters, which are essential regarding research questions and the theoretical frame, although in principle the same research material could be examined from many perspectives. (Alasuutari 2011, 39-40.) In this research, the

perspective is actions conducted by the police to combat against antisemitic hate crimes, explicated through the lenses of the developed theoretical frame. This is the focus when the material is examined, and the observations are simplified in Chapter six and “mystery is solved” in Chapter seven when the countries’ actions are compared according to the created theoretical frame.

The goal is to understand the phenomenon, describe it and give it an interpretation. Analysis is not the last part of the research, but, instead, it is present in all the phases in research and directs, in itself, a research process and a collection of information. (Kananen 2017, 35.) In this research, the gaining of understanding starts from understanding the concepts. The previous research is presented to understand which areas have an important role for the police in combating hate crimes. From the previous research I have identified five key areas that have an important role in combatting antisemitic hate crimes. By doing this it reveals what should be done and what are the key areas for policing. These areas are part of the theoretical framework for the comparison.

How the police should act, according to involved actors, is then examined so that it would be effectual. Information on recommended actions is taken from four types of organizations: Jewish organizations, police organizations, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and from additional organizations. Three materials were examined from every different type of organizations. The materials are listed in table 2 below.

Table 2 Involved actors and the examined documents

<b>Jewish Organizations:</b>	<b>Police organizations:</b>	<b>Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe:</b>	<b>Additional organizations:</b>
Eight-point plan to tackle antisemitism from Canada's B'nai Brith	Hate Crime Operational Guidance from College of Policing in United Kingdom	Understanding Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Addressing the Security Needs of Jewish Communities from the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights	Ensuring justice for hate crime victims: professional perspectives from the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
Action Plan for Combating Antisemitism in Europe from the European Jewish Congress	Thematic Review of Policing Race Hate Crime from the Northern Ireland Policing board	Preventing and responding to hate crimes from the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights	On the fight against antisemitism from the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
A call to action: Combating antisemitism in Europe from the Global Jewish advocacy	Responding to Hate Crimes: A Police Officer's Guide to Investigation and Prevention from the International Association of Chiefs of Police	Training Against Hate Crimes for Law Enforcement (TAHCLE) from the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights	Addressing Hate Crime in Ontario, A Final Report of the Hate Crimes Community Working Group to the Attorney General and the Minister of Community Safety and Correctional Services



Twelve separate materials were examined, which are written by ten different organizations. Information and recommendations from these materials are compiled in Chapter five. Information and recommendations are divided under one of the five key areas according to my opinion. From every key area five questions were created, 25 in total. These questions function as comparison elements and complete the theoretical frame.

Next, the situation in Sweden, Finland, and Great Britain concerning antisemitism and antisemitic hate crimes is presented. After that, the different strategies of the countries are presented focusing on counteractions to tackle hate crime and antisemitic hate crimes. The countries are compared within the created theoretical frame, and the interpretation is given regarding Finland and its combat against antisemitic hate crimes. In this research, there are no hypotheses concerning the countries and their actions. In qualitative research, this means that the researcher has not settled on the prior assumptions of the research object or the results of the research (Eskola & Suoranta 2003, 19).

Nowadays, content analysis is mainly seen as an analysis method for the qualitative material in which qualitative and content meanings of the texts are highlighted (Seitamaa-Hakkarainen 2014). Content analysis is a basic analysis method in qualitative research; it can be a single method or a theoretical frame of an analysis package which should be understood widely. Content analysis can be used to analyse written or oral communication. With content analysis, the collected information material is compressed in a way that it is possible to examine the phenomena and meanings of matters, consequences, and connections. Content analysis can be used to analyse documents of any nature. With content analysis, the goal is to create clear and coherent information from scattered material so that it is possible to carry out interpretations and conclusions. (University of Tampere 2020.)

The documents which are analysed with content analysis are strategic documents from Sweden, Finland, and Great Britain. From the documents of these countries', the information on actions performed by the police is searched and thematically categorised. The documents are presented in table 3 below. On the left side of the table the strategic level of the given document and the actor are presented. On the top of the table, the countries are listed in the same order as they are examined in Chapter six. The documents under each country are presented in the same order as in Chapter six as they are listed in table 3.

Table 3 Research material

Strategic level and actor	Sweden	Finland	Great Britain
	Other resources		
Local Police	Common co-operation agreement between Stockholm city and Stockholm police	Helsinki police department's Performance agreement 2020	Keeping London safe, The Met's Direction: Our Strategy 2018-2025
National Police	Police authority's strategic action plan 2020-2024	The strategy of the Finnish Police 2020–2024	National Policing Hate Crime Strategy
National Government	Swedish government's national plan against racism and same kinds of forms of hostility and hate crime	National Action Plan on Fundamental and Human Rights 2017–2019	Action Against Hate, The UK Government's plan for tackling hate crime – 'two years on
National Government	Swedish Government Office's information of measures to combat antisemitism and increase security	Government answer to a written question of the government's actions against tackling antisemitism	Government action on Antisemitism

No interviews or information from classified documents are used in this research. This is why no research permit was needed. Since there is no classified information in this research, it is easier to handle and preserve it in a way that is required for a responsible research conduct. It would also have been highly unlikely that the police of Sweden or Great Britain would have provided classified information for this research. Because all documents are public and open source documents, the reader has access to the material.

## 4.2 Reliability, validity, and ethic

Reliability means the repeatability of the measurement result. Validity means the research method's ability to precisely measure what was intended. In qualitative research, the reliability

improves when the researcher reports exactly how the research was conducted. It is essential to classify material in the analysis of qualitative material. To the reader, it should be told the roots and motivation for the classification. (Hirsjärvi, Remes & Sajavaara 2016, 231-232.) There is no unanimous instruction for assessing the reliability of qualitative research, the research is assessed as a whole and then its inner cohesion is underlined (Sarajärvi & Tuomi 2013, 140). In the qualitative research the results cannot be generalized because it only applies to the researched object (Kananen 2017, 36).

In this research, the content analysis is used to examine strategic documents from Sweden, Finland, and Great Britain. The focus is on the police and actions taken by the police to combat antisemitic hate crimes and hate crimes in general. The reader is, all the time, instructed how the theoretical frame for comparison is created. In this research, five key areas based on previous research are separated: trust, education, initial investigation actions, statistics, and policies. These key areas are important for policing hate crimes and then five actions to each area are identified. On the basis of the current information from involved actors, these areas and actions are valid elements for comparison and the actions can be expected to be done by the police authorities of the different countries.

Ethical commitment steers a good research. It is the researcher's responsibility to follow the responsible conduct of research and to be honest and sincere regarding their research. (Sarajärvi & Tuomi 2013, 127, 133.) A researcher should consider other researchers' work and achievements by citing their publications properly (Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity 2012, 30). In this research, citing has been done conscientiously. When, the countries are being compared the comparison has been tied to the material so that the material would be the guiding factor in the comparison. With regards to written documents, the hermeneutics or interpretation plays a role but in Chapter six, where counteractions of the countries are presented, the actions are listed so that there would be little room for interpretation.

## 5 Importance of five key areas to policing

This chapter focuses on the five key areas and their importance to the policing of antisemitic hate crimes and hate crimes in general. Previous research gave an answer to what areas the police should focus on. This chapter gives an answer to as how the police should act in these cases. The information and recommendations in this chapter are taken from 12 separate

materials produced by 10 different organizations, including three Jewish organizations. The key areas that could be identified from the covered research are presented in the same order as they are listed in Chapter three. Every key area forms its own headline followed by an introduction chapter in which information from previously covered research is summarized. Each heading is divided into three subheadings. The first two subheadings are formulated based on the content and new information and recommendations from the 12 separate materials. The third section is always a list of questions which are created from all the covered information for that key area. The questions will be part of the theoretical frame used in the comparison.

## 5.1 Trust in the police

From the previous research, it became clear that crime statistics substantially under-represent the true scale of hate crimes because many victims do not report on their experience to the police for different reasons (Iganski 2007, 236). That is why it is really important that the police make it a priority to create trust towards different minority groups (Wigerfelt B, Wigerfelt A & Kiiskinen 2014, 9). It is crucial in the combat against antisemitic hate crimes that victims report their experiences to the police. Without reports from the victims, it is highly unlikely that the situation would improve by itself.

### 5.1.1 Community's trust

Partnership working, i.e. collaboration, is an essential part of the police response in combatting hate crimes. Two key parts in a successful partnership are the expertise of the police staff and the exposure to the victims. Sustainable relationships between minority communities and the police in the act against local hate crimes increase mutual trust. These relationships develop the confidence and dedication of the police to handle local hate crime issues. Working together also develops ongoing dialogue to increase a community's confidence and creates a flow of community intelligence towards the police. Openness and transparency provide a better understanding on the effect that hate crimes have on the community and helps the community to understand the legal requirements and constraints that can hinder police action and prevent successful prosecutions. Additionally, working together helps to achieve a joint ownership of problems and solutions. These provide an opportunity for partners to share in the success of hate crime initiatives, which promotes further collaboration efforts. (College of Policing 2004, 64-65)

Regular consultations between Jewish communities and law-enforcement, particularly at the local level, can guarantee that police strategies are transparent, and the communities are fully informed of the plans and developments. This may also include sharing the relevant threat assessments with Jewish communities. Consultations also assist communities to give feedback and to take part in making government responses for hate crimes more efficient. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, 24)

In Belgium, within Antwerp, the police force is dedicated to a single point of contact (SPOC) operation model. A SPOC is a civil clothed police officer who is appointed for this purpose and is available by phone around the clock. SPOC's responsibility is to enable communication between the uniformed police and with different leaders and institutions of the local Jewish community, and their contact information is widely spread within the community. The SPOC has bi-weekly meetings with the community to coordinate the best usage of police resources for the security of the community and joins in many community's main events to increase the sense of security and reinforce the trust towards the police. The SPOC is also participating in the training of Jewish community volunteers and coordinates regular emergency exercises. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, 33.)

Steps that can be made to ensure proper communication with Jewish communities:

- Consult Jewish communities to monitor tensions to prevent antisemitic violence
- Appoint a Jewish community liaison officer in all the relevant police forces and security services
- Inform the Jewish community of a specific identified threat and the changes in threat level, if applicable
- Have a dialogue with Jewish organizations to ensure that security measures are understandable to the community and that they are aware of their responsibilities
- Establish and update a risk and threat analysis for Jewish facilities and use that as a basis for policing (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, 28-29.)

### 5.1.2 Victims trust

Police officers are usually the first professionals who arrive at a hate crime scene and, in many instances, the police agencies are the only government institutions who are capable of conducting a thorough investigation of hate crimes. The actions and the words of the police officer at the crime scene during the first several minutes can affect a victim's recovery, the investigation's outcome, and people's perception of governmental commitment to address hate crimes. The police officers who recognize a possible hate crime at the scene, interact with more empathy with the victim and conduct the initial actions according to a hate crime investigation. This sends a powerful message that a hate crime is a serious issue. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2009, 27.)

The term "second victimization" is used to describe a situation in which a victim suffers more harm because of incentive or abusive treatment from those who should give support. For example, victims might experience rejection or indifference from the police when reporting an incident or a crime. In these situations, the poor service can add to the distress that is caused by the original crime, instead of helping the victim to overcome the harm caused by the crime. Secondary victimization is based on a victim's perception and does not have to describe what actually happened. It is irrelevant for the victim whether the perception matches with the reality or not. (College of Policing 2004, 10.)

According to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), EU member states must ensure that hate crime victims can report their case to the police without fearing that police officers share the same discriminatory attitudes that the perpetrator had. Member states must adopt whatever measures needed to prevent and eliminate such attitudes from among police officers, also by changing the prevailing police culture. (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016, 59.)

### 5.1.3 Questions about trust

1. Do the police meet the leaders of the local Jewish communities and organizations regularly?
2. Do the police share the risk assessment with local Jewish communities?
3. Do the police involve local Jewish communities and organizations in joint planning?

4. Have the police appointed a liaison officer for Jewish communities?
5. Have the police tried to build trust with the local members of Jewish communities or victims?

## 5.2 Education

The previous research highlighted the importance of education of police officers. More weight should be given to the correct flagging of antisemitic incidents in the initial training given to police recruits and this training should be continually strengthened through the proactive supervision of initial investigating officers (Iganski, Kielinger & Paterson 2005, 4). For example, a specific in-service training, as well as academy training, is underlined in the New York Police Department's Hate Crime Task Force unit's working model (Levin & Amster 2007, 338).

### 5.2.1 Understanding hate crimes

The police service must offer an appropriate level of service to hate crime victims. All police officers and staff must have a clear understanding of what constitutes a hate crime and a hate incident. Personnel must understand the motivation and know which components of a hate crime are monitored and which are not. (College of Policing 2004, 2.) EU member states must ensure that criminal judges, public prosecutors, and all police officers understand the basic concepts of a hate crime, negationism, agitation to hatred and how these are applicable under a national law. They must also be trained to handle hate crime and their victims professionally. The training needs to promote sensitization and awareness of a hate crime phenomena and its influence on victims. The training must also provide skills required to recognize, record, and investigate hate crime incidents. Many professionals believe that failing to specifically define a hate crime, increases the risk that police officers will ignore hate motives. (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016, 8, 10.)

The police need to understand the lifestyles and cultures within the community and know how to address those challenges that the community may present to the police. The best way is to deliver accessible services to the community and to meet the local people and discuss their concerns and needs. The Great Manchester Police found that many Jewish victims suffered crimes during the Jewish festivals and Sabbath. This prevented victims from reporting the

crimes because many religious Jews will not use communication devices or vehicles on these days. In consultation with community leaders, the Great Manchester Police regularly places mobile police stations in the local area in response to the problem. (College of Policing 2004, 36.)

A hate crime is mainly based on ignorance and is motivated by hostility and prejudice, instead of personal gain. All police personnel must be aware of the distinctive needs and vulnerabilities that hate crime victims might have. Hate crime victims must be treated with sensitivity and according to their various needs. A victim's first contact with the police will impact their lasting impression of the police service. Police personnel should be aware of matters such as religion, language and lifestyle or cultural backgrounds which need to be addressed and do their utmost to meet the various needs of each victim. Anyone can be a victim of a hate crime or incident; this includes people who work in the police service. Hate incidents and crimes can be directed towards police personnel when they are carrying out their duties. Events can originate from the public or from colleagues. The police organization's ability to protect its own personnel influences how the public views the police service. If the police organization cannot protect its own staff, the public cannot expect to be protected by the police. The nature of the police work exposes staff and officers to conflict situations which endanger them to hate crimes. (College of Policing 2004, 7, 54, 123.)

The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) recommends that member states offer targeted training to judges, prosecutors, and the police in order to increase knowledge of antisemitic crimes and how these acts can be prosecuted effectively (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance 2004, 6). Training against Hate Crimes for Law Enforcement (TAHCLE) is a program that is designed to enhance the skills of police personnel in recognizing, understanding, and investigating hate crimes. Implementing the TACHLE should enhance the skills of police personnel in responding to and preventing hate crimes, interacting efficiently with victim communities, and building co-operation and public confidence with law enforcement agencies. At the request of the national authorities, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) can provide assistance to the police as an optional component of TACHLE. The Assistance can be given in developing supplementary practical tools for addressing hate crimes, such as reporting forms, standard operating procedures, check lists on bias indicators or other materials that may help the police to



efficiently implement the skills achieved during the training. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2012, 3, 13.)

The working group recommends that: The Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services recommend municipal police service boards to: Confirm that every new police officer appointed to service in Ontario receives training and shows baseline competence before appointment, in the following areas

- Recognition, prevention, investigation, and enforcement of a hate crime
- Historical and other factors that have raised hate manifestations and prejudice against vulnerable communities
- Especially damaging influence of hate crimes and incidents to communities and their members
- Anti-discrimination such as anti-racism as well as other oppressions.

The working group also recommends that The Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services recommend municipal police service boards to confirm that every police officer has plenty of ongoing opportunities within the police service to deepen or refresh their understanding of hate phenomena, hate crimes and victims. (Chair etc. 2006, 58.)

### 5.2.2 Why understanding is so important

By their nature, hate crimes have a great deal of potential to develop into critical incidents. The police forces have on some occasions failed to recognize the risks associated with low-level hate incidents and crimes, until it has later escalated into a serious or a fatal crime. There is a strong connection between repeated victimization and the resulting harm. Therefore, the repeat victims of hate crimes are likely to be some of the most vulnerable victims that police officers confront. (College of Policing 2004, 67, 87.) Hate crimes impact the victim to a greater extent than other crimes and influence the wider community to a greater extent than other types of crimes (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 14).

If the witnesses of a hate crime share the same chosen lifestyle or background as the victim, they are also likely to have experienced similar victim trauma because of their membership in the same depersonalized target group. A witness is likely to be deeply affected if the crime in question was violent or in some understanding other way frightening. Sensitivity are and

essential in order to avoid subjecting the witness to secondary victimization by the police. (College of Policing 2004, 90.)

The hate element is easily overlooked or diminished if the perpetrator is not associated with an extremist group and the police assume that all hate crime perpetrators are extremist. Closer examination is often required. The victim will often sense or know a hate motive, even if it may not be immediately apparent. Victims that do not know what comprises a hate crime cannot make that assessment; they have to rely on the police to identify them. (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 105, 116.)

Therefore, police officers must accept the perception of the person attributing hostility to the incident, but after that pursue the evidence needed in the court. Some police officers have found this way of operation difficult to accept or to understand, describing it as a counterintuitive. The way to operate is fairly simple if properly explained and essential to maintain in order to protect the victims. (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 61.)

Some police officers do not adequately understand the concept of a hate crime and its specific influence on the victims and only limit their investigation into the physical manifestations of the crime, such as bodily injuries, thinking that the motive is not that important. It is also more difficult to prove crime's discriminatory motive than establishing the objective facts. The police organisation is often viewed as lacking the time, staff, or other resources to make the extra effort. The police also tend to think that it is not their job to investigate discriminatory motives, these motives should be established by the prosecution service or judiciary at a later stage in the criminal proceeding and that the police are purely concerned with "fact collecting". (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016, 46.)

Some police officers suggested that hate crime victims receive 'special treatment', which is not merited. They say that a hate crime and their victims are handled more favourably because of their status. This opinion must be addressed with urgency. No favourable treatment is delivered or required but a different treatment is required, one that is need based in order to assist the victim to receive an equal level of service. Equality does not mean that every person is treated in the same way. Instead, it means that every person has equal access to services, but the services are tailored to meet the needs of an individual. An obvious example is a wheelchair

user who needs a special assistance to access services in another way as people who are not restricted in their mobility. It would not be suggested that different treatment should not be provided to meet those requirements. (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 11,15.)

The evolution of the definition of a hate crime is important because it shows the progression of understanding and experience of hate crimes and incidents and offers a more realistic explanation of what motivates these incidents and crimes. This is more than academic pedantry and must be remembered by the police personnel who continue to think that hate is a too difficult emotion to prove or question the legitimacy of treating a hate crime differently. Hate crime and incidents deny the human value and victim's individuality and attack against the principle that every individual is equally protected by a law. (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 14.)

Victims should autonomously decide whether to report to the police and pursue access to criminal proceedings or not. However, victims should be allowed to take the decision based on wide information, professional advice, and trustworthy assistance. Many hate crime victims will only seek criminal proceedings if they feel confident that they can evaluate the consequences if they report to the police. Most experts indicated that victims are unwilling to report to the police because of the fear, shame, or guilt that they feel. This makes it especially stressful for victims to speak up. The ultimate goal is not that all victims report to the police but making sure that all victims are offered a genuine possibility to do so. (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016, 13, 29, 40.)

### 5.2.3 Questions about education

6. Have the police recruits received an education of hate crime during their initial training?
7. Do the police officers' have possibilities to receive more education on hate crimes during their career?
8. Have the police implemented the TACHLE?
9. Has education handled a victim's role more deeply?
10. Have the Jewish customs and traditions been dealt with separately in the education?

### 5.3 Initial investigation actions

The previous research highlighted the importance of initial investigation actions. An efficient supervision is the key in reinforcing and ensuring an effective initial investigation and providing the essential reassurance for the Jewish community that these cases are being taken seriously by the police (Iganski, Kielinger & Paterson 2005, 4-5). In the New York Police Department's Hate Crime Task Force unit's working model, specific response and investigative protocols for all officers are mandated in the Patrol Guide throughout the department's chain of command (Levin & Amster 2007, 338)

#### 5.3.1 Investigating possible hate crimes

Police officers may recognize a hate incident even when others or the victim does not. Some people use this as an evidence to argue that the police are becoming a 'thought police' which is trying to control what people believe or think, instead of what people do. The police reject this view, but it is still important that the police officers do not overreact to non-criminal incidents. (College of Policing 2004, 62.) Communicating with the media must also be taken sensitively and carefully. Police must, for example, avoid denying the hate element in a crime too quickly before all the evidence is collected and evaluated. Communities and victims might think that their investigation is already doomed to fail, and the police have not done its work fairly or fully. Also, a too early attribution of hate motivation in the media can cause unrealistically high expectations which will be followed with suspicion or disappointment if the case does not proceed to court with the expected basis. Additionally, the police must make sure that they do not communicate with a media party and the public in a way that risks members of minority groups of continuing hate or prejudice. (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 122.)

When the police receive a notification of a possible hate crime, the police personnel should in all cases:

- collect the available information reassuringly and sensitively and record first account accurately
- evaluate the required response based on any identified risks to the victim, including the presence of the perpetrator at the scene and injuries
- initiate appropriate interventions to minimize or remove identified risks, for example, providing advice to the victim and arrange officers to come to the scene immediately

- sensitively start to research the victim's background, suspect, and locations on all available databases, for example, crime reporting and intelligence systems and pass the information to the officers who are coming to the scene.

This information may include previous information that could identify repeat victimization, the description or possible location of the suspect(s) and witnesses, crime's negative influence on the victim and officer safety. (College of Policing 2004, 54.)

The first-time police learn of an incident is not necessarily the first time that the victim has been offended. Victims might have been too frightened to report earlier or have not realized that the abuse they have suffered is actually a crime. Hate crime victims often suffer personal trauma from such incidents which can have a destructive influence on their own life and on the lives of their friends, family, and community. Any reluctance to report is not, in itself, proof of a failure to cooperate (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 73). It is important that investigators understand the devastation that a hate crime can create. An efficient, victim-focused investigation, which is followed by the prosecution of the suspected, will help to increase trust in the police's ability to tackle this kind of crime and in the criminal justice system. (College of Policing 2004, 86.)

Hate crime victims reminded that the incidence of repeat victimization is higher than in most other crimes. Victims know that they have been targeted because of who they are and, therefore, feel the risk of a future attack. That is why the victim feels unprotected if the police do not tell if the suspect has been identified, has the suspect been arrested, remanded in custody, or bailed and what other steps will be taken. It is a necessity that victims are kept informed of the progress despite a lack of progress in their case. Police should keep in touch with them, whilst reassuring and giving support and protection if so needed. (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 81.)

After the police have taken the immediate actions, the police officers should:

- Whenever practical to assign only one officer to interview the victim(s) to minimize the trauma
- Whenever possible to protect the victim's anonymity
- Explain to witnesses and to the victim the expected sequence of events, including the possibility of media coverage and further contact with investigators
- Refer the victim to their community's support services and if possible, provide a written resource list

- Explain to the victim how to contact the police department to get more information on the case
- Report to the supervisor on duty of the suspected hate crime
- Direct media representatives to a public information officer or to a supervisor on duty
- Document the incident thoroughly in the department's report forms, quoting the exact words of the offender and noting particular hate crime indicators
- Give assistance to the investigator to make other required reports under federal or state guidelines and laws. (International Association of Chiefs of Police 2001.)

Police officers wearing a body video while responding to hate crimes and incidents should create a positive outcome rate in hate crimes as it allows the account of a compelling and contemporaneous victim to be recorded. In domestic violence cases, the body video has produced more prosecutions with early guilty pleas. It is expected that the use of body worn video will guarantee that all evidence is captured at the scene and the material will be available to police supervisors and prosecutors. This hopefully leads to the hate element being noticed even if it might have been overlooked by the officer responding to the report. (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 90.)

### 5.3.2 Preventing antisemitic crimes

It is important that the police are conscious of the tensions that occur in society and that they work to prevent hostility escalating to crimes (College of Policing 2004, 32). Police should work with the local Jewish community and their security personnel recommending and helping to implement preventive security measures which are proper to the assessed threat level. For example, ensuring that; community buildings, such as synagogues, offices or schools, are searched before use, Jewish synagogues and schools have a visible and external security present during use, the community security and police stay alert for suspicious activities, objects and individuals in the surroundings of the community buildings. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, 29.)

Non-governmental organizations (NGO) can advocate for police agencies to develop clear or enhanced written policies on how and when to record hate crimes. NGO can also offer advice on procedures that will beat hindrances that prevent victims from coming forward. NGO can monitor police performance and report to authorities if police officers violate official policies.

By this way NGO can provide a safeguard and encourage better police practices. In case there happens to be a serious violation of legal norms or police procedures, NGO can approach authorities with a complaint, publicize the problem or initiate a legal procedure on behalf of the victim. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2009, 29.)

During special moments, such as Jewish holidays, governments could provide an extra protection and other suitable security and safety measures, including crowd and traffic management. After an attack, politicians and government officials can increase police protection and patrols to send a reassurance message to the communities. They can reach out to the Jewish community in order to consult them on what kinds of initiatives could be taken after the attack to prevent attacks in the future. Consultations should not only concern leaders but also other community members so that women and youth are also consulted. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, 35, 43.)

### 5.3.3 Questions about initial investigations actions

11. Do the police have a clear written procedure about what should be done at the hate crime scene?
12. Do the police have a clear method on how to intervene in a repeat victimization?
13. Do the police have a custom of directing or presenting organizations that provide help and support to the victim?
14. Have the police mentioned the role of non-governmental organizations?
15. Have the Jewish holidays or conflicts in the Middle East been noticed by providing extra police service?

## 5.4 Statistics

The previous research highlighted the importance of hate crime statistics. It was striking to some researchers how little detailed statistical analysis had been carried out with antisemitic hate crime data. Improving the methods of detecting, defining, and recording antisemitism, as well as analysing and understanding the things that are observed in a best way, is largely seen as an essential condition to all other policy work. (Boyd & Graham 2017, 42.) In the New York Police Department's Hate Crime Task Force unit's working model, efficient intake and data

collection methods that assemble incidents from other agencies, districts, and private investigation groups are highlighted (Levin & Amster 2007, 338).

#### 5.4.1 Recording hate incidents

The police are often the first responder to crimes and generally play the most significant role in ensuring that hate crimes are recorded and classified as such. The police make the initial decision on how to record a crime and whether to include anti-Semitism as a potential bias motivation. Law-enforcement officers should take the victim's perception into account when recording hate crimes. If the victim perceives a crime to be motivated by anti-Semitism, then this perceived bias motivation should be recorded and be part the investigation. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, 37, 40.)

A victim's or another person's perception is the defining factor in making a decision whether an incident is a hate incident and should be recorded as such. The victim does not have to prove evidence for their perception or justify it and the police personnel should not directly challenge that perception. Evidence of the hostility is not compulsory for a crime or incident to be recorded as a hate crime or hate incident. Incidents and crimes must be correctly recorded if the police want to achieve the goal of decreasing under-reporting and enhance understanding about the character of hate crimes. The alleged actions of the offender must be criminal under normal crime recording guidelines. If it is so, the victim's or the other person's perception will determine if the crime is recorded as a hate crime. If no recordable crime can be identified based on facts, but the victim perceived the act as a hate crime, the circumstances should be recorded as a non-crime hate incident instead of a hate crime. (College of Policing 2004, 5.)

There is a difference between the information required to record (simple perception) and the evidence needed for prosecution. All that is needed for the offence to be recorded and investigated as a hate crime or incident is the victim's or any other person's perception that the offence was motivated or demonstrated by hostility. However, when an enhanced sentence is sought, the prosecution must be able to show a demonstration or motivation. (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 61.)

European Jewish Communities are increasing their own monitoring efforts, including incidents such as online antisemitic writings which may not be recorded by the police. Well-established



community security organizations in the United Kingdom and in France provide a model on how to gather this information. They are in close co-operation with the intelligence services and police, which is something that others should imitate. (Global Jewish Advocacy 2018.) According to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, EU member states should consider improving their efforts to reach out proactively to hate crime victims and urge them to make a report. This includes introducing online reporting methods and establishing specialized police units. EU member states are strongly encouraged to consider permitting public interest actions (*actio popularis*) to authorize third parties to initiate proceedings against hate crime perpetrators on the victims' behalf or by their support in cases where no individual victim can be identified. In such cases, a group is targeted or an abstract category and, not necessarily, an individual. This arrangement would disburden the victims' responsibility of reporting to the police. (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016, 8-9.)

#### 5.4.2 Benefit of statistics

Police agencies and officers meet significant hindrances to the recording and monitoring of hate crimes. The police might suffer from the absence of procedures and policies for recording the hate crimes and evidence of bias motivation. Reporting from the local level to regional or national offices might be lacking. When hate crimes are viewed as a non-important and a non-serious issue in the country or region, this might lead to that the police are not recording and reporting of these crimes. A lack of training might lead to that the police have not the needed abilities to identify and investigate hate crimes. Some police agencies might believe that it has negative consequences if others realize the seriousness of the hate crime situation. Police might as well share the same prejudices as the perpetrator, which can lead to a failure in reporting hate crimes from police personnel. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2009, 27-28.)

The quality of information gathered by the police is essential in the development of long-term policies and the government's preventive actions. That is why it is extremely important to build the capacity of law-enforcement agencies to identify and record hate crimes. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, 37.) According to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, The EU member states should make sure that when they are adopting measures to encourage or enable victims to report a hate crime to the police that the

effect of the measure is evaluated in a solid and methodologically sound manner (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016, 52).

The police can have a deep effect upon the views and attitudes of a public and state by recording hate crimes and incidents and using the legislation. Additionally, the police are often, or at least should be, the first point of contact to the victim and that is why the police response must be adequately targeted and informed to encounter the victim's needs. (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 46.) It is obvious that most tragedies are preceded by intensifying criminality where the victim has suffered from the actions of the perpetrator. This is the most compelling reason why the police must choose a more proactive and positive response to receiving, recording, and responding to minor criminal acts, especially when there is a repeat perpetrator or victim. (College of Policing 2004, 18.)

There are many steps that governments can make to protect Jewish schools, synagogues, cemeteries, and other sites, like the Holocaust memorials. Police protection can be provided to the sites that might be targets of antisemitic attacks including less obvious targets, such as restaurants and kosher markets. Patrolling can be done regularly in these sites. By using the available hate crime statistics to identify "hot spots", this may lead to the more concentrated use of police patrols. Making use of the available hate crime data to identify crime patterns and "hot spots" for attacks can ensure a communication flow with the Jewish communities on security issues. Civil society groups that are committed to monitor antisemitism can also be important interlocutors for governments to identify potential threats and challenges. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, 28-29, 34.)

#### 5.4.3 Questions about statistics

16. Do the police collect information about antisemitic hate incidents which are not classified as crimes?
17. Do the police have co-operation with Jewish organizations regarding statistics on antisemitic hate incidents and crimes?
18. Do the police use hate crime data to identify "hot spots"?
19. Has the role of third parties been considered as one who could report to the police on the behalf of victims when no individual victim can be identified?
20. Is the importance of research taken up regarding hate crime data?

## 5.5 Policies

The previous research also raised the importance of policies. National guidelines should ensure a high standard of care from officers (Perry 2010, 138). Policies against racist violence are not like policies against standard crime, where the most important measures of success are figures. (Bleich 2007, 161.) Many national strategies also recognize crime prevention as an essential part of strategies. Perviousness was found to be the strongest predictor of hate crime policy adoption by police organizations. (Groma 2018, 2). Ultimately, the effectiveness of the policy depends on various different factors (Bleich 2007, 162).

### 5.5.1 Government and the police

Most European governments have recognized the vulnerabilities of their Jewish communities, whereas a smaller number of governments are doing active measures to address the security need (Global Jewish Advocacy 2018). Governments can perform a range of measures to address the antisemitism. Governments can, for example, prevent attacks and evaluate risks by improving co-operation between the Jewish community and law-enforcement through transparency, formal lines of communication and shared planning and action. They can also improve the protection of Jewish sites and communities by providing financial support and targeted police patrols. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, X.)

The EU member states should adopt specific strategies for combatting antisemitism or form precise and concrete steps and objectives on combatting antisemitism as a part of a country's national action plans against racism. These strategies should contain a solid definition with a broad understanding about antisemitism. All of the EU member states should adopt the IHRA Working Definition and use it as a reference tool to better understand all the appearances of contemporary antisemitism. These strategies should also rely on the data collection to support the assessment of plans, receive enough political support on a local and national levels and be developed in co-operation with the local Jewish organizations and communities. (European Jewish Congress, 2019.)

Governments should be transparent and plain about how they aim to address antisemitic hate crimes and antisemitism. One way of making the government's efforts transparent is sharing the relevant status reports and actions plans with the wider public and affected communities.

Another component of transparency is making the hate crime data easily available and in accessible formats. It is urgent for governmental authorities at all levels to recognize the problem. Whereas the front-line police officers are likely to be the first respondents to antisemitic offences, yet an efficient holistic response also requires the actions of political leaders and civil servants. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, 24, 26.)

When, creating policing strategies, a government official can also consult civil society organizations and local Jewish communities about specific context which can trigger antisemitic offences, without determining that such offences can only happen in these mentioned contexts (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, 29). The performance committee noted that the flow charts made by the Northern Ireland Police Service to illustrate applied processes were too difficult and complicated to follow. Police officers who are well-trained in the procedures may understand the flow charts, but it is unlikely that members of the public would understand what can expected from the police officers. The procedure is meant to be implemented for the benefit of the members of public. The performance committee reminded the Police Service of Northern Ireland that the police policy is not only for the benefit of police officers, but must be available to the public so that citizens could understand the practical effect of the police policy. (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 69-70.)

Not a single one long-term hate crime decreasing strategy can succeed without a significant educational element. The working group recommends that: The Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services recommends municipal police service boards in Ontario to make sure that police officers have ongoing opportunities to refresh and deepen their understanding about hate crimes and victims and ensure that this training is developed in consultation with the affected communities and anti-discrimination experts, as well as that appropriate assess mechanisms are in place. The working group also recommends exploring the mechanisms to make sure that personnel maintain their competence regarding hate crimes. (Chair etc. 2006, 3, 58.)

### 5.5.2 Role of the police

Police can reinforce the message that hate crimes will be investigated determinedly by doing the work carefully and efficiently and this way enabling the likelihood of a prosperous

prosecution (International Association of Chiefs of Police 2001). Police will benefit from a targeted and focused engagement strategy in all respects and from working together with the community groups and partners (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 80).

One way of moving closer to victims and encouraging them to report is to establish specialized police units. The units should be instituted in every major city (B'nai Brith Canada, 2017). These units can enhance co-operation between the police and non-governmental organizations that support a certain category of hate crime victims and, in general, enhance the victim's confidence that they will be acknowledged and understood if they want to report a hate crime. One of the most common ways for the police services to reach out to hate crime victims is to appoint liaison or contact officers who are specifically appointed to establishing links and communication flows to the groups or persons who are at risk. The majority of experts consider the establishment of specialized units or officers as a way of improving the police response to hate crimes. (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016, 41-42.)

Hate speech is increasingly found on the Internet, where hate groups survive and spread online. Often the agitation to hate crimes is found online, which is why the police also needs to be online. (Northern Ireland Policing board 2017, 59.) Multiple forms of social media and the Internet have allowed the universal and instant distribution of antisemitism and secular and religious extremism. The Global Jewish Advocacy has urged social media companies to monitor their internet cite and delete antisemitic postings. They have also called the Internet service providers to rule out raw hate speech. Unfortunately, limited success has been recognized when only relying on the self-regulation of these companies. (Global Jewish Advocacy 2018.)

After an attack, the government officials and political representatives can issue a social media or press statement condemning the antisemitic attack to reassure the Jewish community (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, 43). Police officers can also encourage the media to emphasize community successes in responding to and preventing hate incidents and crimes. Media can be engaged as a partner in restoring victimized communities and in preventing the hate motivated crimes and incidents. (International Association of Chiefs of Police 2001.)

### 5.5.3 Questions about policies

21. Has crime prevention been lifted up separately?
22. Has the IHRA working definition for antisemitism been adopted?
23. Are hate crime statistics and the hate crime strategy easily available for the public?
24. Have special hate crime police units been established?
25. Has the online world been noticed?

## 6 Comparison countries

In this chapter, the comparison countries are presented. First, Sweden is presented, then Finland and lastly Great Britain. The presentation starts by telling the amount of Jewish population in that country. Then information about antisemitism and antisemitic hate crimes in that country is presented. Finally, the counteractions of the countries against antisemitic hate crimes are presented. The presentation is connected to police authorities and their role in this combat. From every country is chosen a local police strategy, in this research the local level is represented by the country's capital city. The next strategic level is the national police strategy, if the police have a separate national hate crime strategy it is presented and if not, a general strategy is presented. Then the government's national hate crime strategy is presented, followed by the government's action against antisemitism. Additional relevant information is written under other resources. The presentation of counteractions begins with the information from other resources, strategic documents are presented in a way that is shown in table 3 below. If the country does not have these four mentioned strategies or action plans, has the current strategic level been replaced with another document which is as close to the original purpose as possible? By this way, the actions of every country are covered widely which creates the ground for comparison performed in Chapter eight.

Table 4 Overview of documents

Strategic level	Actor
Local (capital city)	Police
National (hate crime/general)	Police
National (hate crime)	Government
National (antisemitism)	Government

In this research, the hate crime statistics of all the countries are presented, however statistics are not compared with each other, they are only presented in order to show whether the numbers are growing or decreasing. The countries have different ways of collecting and classifying the information which makes the comparison between hate crime statistics difficult. There are several factors that make it complicated to compare hate crime statistics, even within one country (Bleich 2007, 160-161).

## 6.1 Sweden

Sweden does not register people based on their ethnicity. That is why the number of Jews in Sweden can only be guessed at. The official council of Swedish Jewish communities estimates that there are 20 000 Jews in Sweden, according to the definition of Jewish law. Of these 20 000 Jews, around 6000 are members of the Jewish congregation in Sweden. (The official council of Swedish Jewish communities, 2020.) The main Jewish communities are in Stockholm, Malmö, and Gothenburg (European Jewish Congress website 2020).

### 6.1.1 Antisemitic hate crimes in Sweden

In the report “Different Antisemitism, Perceptions and experiences of antisemitism among Jews in Sweden and across Europe” it was noted that 60 % of the respondents avoid all the time/frequently carrying, wearing, or displaying things in public that might help people to identify them as a Jew. This was the highest percent in the data which includes respondents from eight European countries. France had the second highest number with 51%. Swedish respondents also had the highest percent in avoiding visiting Jewish sites or events because they did not feel safe there as a Jew or on the way there, 3.8 % replied all the time and 7.9 % replied frequently. (Dencik & Marosi 2017, 15-16.)

The Swedish data indicate that Swedish Jews not only think that they belong to their country of residence more than Jews do in any of the other investigated countries, but that the Swedish Jews also avoid showing their Jewish identity in public more than Jews do in any other investigated country. On the other hand, Sweden had the lowest percent (4 %) in classic antisemitism. The second lowest percent was the United Kingdom with 8 %. With classic antisemitism it is meant stereotypes which include a clear racist component, as well as an element of conspiracy thinking. When it comes to criticizing core Jewish practices which might

be perceived as antisemitism, Sweden the highest percent (84 %). The second highest percent was Germany (81 %). (Dencik & Marosi 2017, 17, 29.)

What could explain why the Jews in Sweden, with the lowest level of classic antisemitism, express the highest level of fear and avoidance behaviour regarding showing their Jewish identity in public? Two factors seem to be in operation here. The Swedish Jews, as well as many other inhabitants in Sweden, are rather indifferent regarding religious symbols and practices. Without a few individual exceptions there are no openly orthodox Jews in Sweden in terms of their dress code etc. Sweden is a very secularized country, and the manifestations and symbols of religious belonging are not part of daily life in Sweden. Another significant factor in this context is that the public criticism of Israel is almost ubiquitous. People and groups who are prone to Israel-derived antisemitism might find certain tacit understanding (however misinterpreted) or even the legitimization of their attacks on this ubiquity. This might at least be the fear of many Jews. The offenders of Israel-derived antisemitic attacks might experience that they are partly understood by the statements of the political power holder Ilmar Reepalu. Israel-derived antisemitic attitudes tend to manifest themselves in threats and violence to a much greater degree than other forms of antisemitism. Visiting a synagogue or carrying things that reveal Jewish identity is not that important to most Jews in Sweden. If doing so might trigger attacks based on anger and hostility towards Israel, it might be understandable why Jews in Sweden tend to avoid showing their Jewishness publicly. (Dencik & Marosi 2017, 30.)



Table 5 Police reports of criminal acts with an antisemitic motive in Sweden, classified by principal offence, the years 2008-2018

	Violent crime	Unlawful threat and non-sexual molestation	Defamation	Criminal damage/ graffiti	Agitation against a population group	Other crimes	Total
2008	17	63	17	21	37	4	159
2009	20	90	20	36	75	9	250
2010	15	63	20	22	34	7	161
2011	14	77	14	31	54	4	194
2012	14	87	10	27	79	4	221*
2013	4	61	20	12	93	2	193**
2014	12	80	26	54	92	2	267^
2015	8	127	16	14	102	10	277
2016	10	90	10	18	50	4	182
2018	6	95	22	22	125	6	278

\*From 2012 and onward, the number is estimated based on sample research

\*\*The total sum of crimes with an antisemitic motive is 192, however BRÅ reports 193 crimes. As the numbers have been extrapolated based on a sample cases, the total sum of categories may slightly differ from the total sum because of the rounding error.

^The total sum of types of crimes with an antisemitic motive is 266. BRÅ reports a total of 267.

Note: in 2017, no hate crime report was made

Source: BRÅ hate crime reports 2008-2018, FRA Antisemitism-Overview of data available in the European Union 2008–2018

Table 6 Antisemitic hate crimes in the light of anti-religious and all hate crimes

	Total number of crimes with anti-religious motive	Total number of antisemitic hate crimes	Percent of antisemitic hate crimes within anti-religious motive	Percent of antisemitic hate crimes within all hate crimes
2008	602	159	26 %	3 %
2009	591	250	42 %	4 %
2010	552	161	29 %	3 %
2011	651	194	30 %	4 %
2012	785	221*	28 %	4 %
2013	841	193**	23 %	4 %
2014	1248	267^	21 %	4 %
2015	1554	277	18 %	4 %
2016	1177	182	16 %	3 %
2018	1392	278	20 %	4 %

\*From 2012 and onward, the number is estimated based on sample research

\*\*The total sum of crimes with an antisemitic motive is 192, however BRÅ reports 193 crimes. As the numbers have been extrapolated based on a sample cases, the total sum of categories may slightly differ from the total sum because of the rounding error.

^The total sum of types of crimes with an antisemitic motive is 266. BRÅ reports a total of 267.

Note: in 2017, no hate crime report was made

Source: BRÅ hate crime reports 2008-2018,

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ) has also written a separate report on antisemitic hate crimes in Sweden. The Interview material shows that people who are open with their Jewish identity or have public positions are more likely to face antisemitism because they are easily identified as Jews. There are no differences between the sexes, both male and female, as well as boys and girls, are exposed to antisemitic slander, threat, and violence. However, material shows that sometimes antisemitic sayings can have a gender related content. Women are being especially exposed to sexualized threats, they are being slandered as “Jew whore” or are threatened with rape. (Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention 2019, 7.)

BRÅ's different materials show that usually in antisemitic hate crimes the perpetrators are men, but at the same time the crimes are committed by both sexes with a wide age band. Antisemitism is found in different stratum and run through religions, secular groups, politic positions, and ideologies. Antisemitism occurs from right to left in the political environment. Antisemitism is also an ideological ground for a radical nationalism and violent jihadism. Radical nationalistic environment stands out most obviously from the material, nevertheless many people who work with the safety of the Jewish Congregation and organizations think that violent jihadism creates the greatest threat against Jewish institutions. (Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention 2019, 7-8.)

Interview material shows that conspiracy theories and antisemitic images, for example of Jewish power, occur in wide stratum. In spite of the perpetrators' age, sex, or group membership, the same kind of antisemitic language occurs. This language contains so called modern or politic antisemitism which has its ground in a race ideology, as well as so called neo-antisemitism which contains antisemitic expressions that derive from the conflict between Israel and Palestine. So called "weekday antisemitism", which means ironic comments and insulting stereotyping of Jews in everyday situations, also occurs. (Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention 2019, 9.)

Because antisemitic language occurs in a wide stratum, should society make more clear protests against it according to the interview material. Interviewed people said that their trust has decreased towards police, judiciary as a whole, politicians and to the immediate environment because they have not made a clear protest against the experienced normalizing of antisemitic language. School and police were especially mentioned that they have to act more powerful. Many said that there is no point in making a crime report because so few antisemitic hate crimes lead to sentencing. Many who have reported to police, do it only to improve the hate crime statistics in Sweden. Many Jewish churches and organizations feel uncertainty that the police will be there in the case of an emergency. Even if communication between the police and Jewish organizations in many ways appears to be good, still, in the end, the Jewish organizations believe that they have to take care of the security. People who work in a Jewish Congregation believe that the police do not provide a clear threat assessment and that the Swedish police takes less responsibility of the security of the Jewish organizations than the police in other European countries. (Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention 2019, 11–12.)

### 6.1.2 Counter measures

When trying to find what the Swedish government and police are doing to combat against antisemitic hate crimes and hate crimes in general, these sources should have vital importance: Common co-operation agreement between Stockholm city and Stockholm police, the Police authority's strategic action plan 2020-2024, the Swedish government's national plan against racism and same kinds of forms of hostility and hate crime, the Swedish Government Office's information of measures to combat antisemitism and increase security. Information from the listed documents is presented in the same order as they are mentioned. Information from other relevant sources are presented first.

#### **Other sources:**

Already in 2002, a new and ambitious educational program has been launched at the National Police Academy. This program is for police officers on combating hate crimes and promoting cultural diversity within the police organization. The basic education in the Police Academy contains two years' full-time theoretical studies and 6 months' field work. The hate crime course lasts five weeks. These full-time weeks comprise lectures on ethnic diversity, integration, migration, hate crime issues generally, special legislation, seminars on attitudes and prejudice, as well as practical training on how to secure the evidence at the crime scene and taking care of victims. (Bunar 2017, 175-176.) Sweden has adopted or endorsed the IHRA's working definition of antisemitism on 27 January 2018 and 21 January 2020 (IHRA website 2020).

Only a few European Union member states have legislation or binding internal instructions explicitly requiring the police to observe and register discriminatory motives when recording criminal offences. Sweden is one of these countries. (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016, 46.) In 2008, a field was established into the Rational Reporting Routine which is a police computer system for registering reports. The person who registers a report must decide whether the crime could be a suspected hate crime or not and mark it in the field. (Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention 2012, 11.) In 2012, the police authority has established a hate crime telephone, this increases the victim's possibilities to report if the person will not make a report through the traditional ways. The police wish to receive more reports of hate

crimes, and the telephone is answered by the hate crime group. (The National Police Board Sweden 2013, 18.)

### **Common co-operation agreement between Stockholm city and Stockholm police:**

The Common co-operation agreement between Stockholm city and Stockholm police (Övergripande samverkansöverenskommelse mellan Stockholms stad och Polisregion Stockholm) was written in 2019 (Swedish police authority's website 2019). In the agreement, one of the prioritized co-operation areas is the particularly exposed and vulnerable crime victims, which includes hate crime victims and, in this context, religion, as well as ethnicity, are mentioned (Common co-operation agreement between Stockholm city and Stockholm police 2019, 7).

### **Police authority's strategic action plan 2020-2024:**

In the Swedish police authority's strategic action plan 2020-2024, hate, as a possible motivation for a crime, will be considered and hate crime investigations will be of better quality. Education will be arranged concerning particularly exposed victims, but in this document religion or ethnicity motivated hate crime victims are not included in the list. In the document, the education and education during the career is mentioned to ensure that the police are competent to future challenges, but the document does not reveal any specific details about the education. (Swedish police 2019, 12 14 23.)

### **Swedish government's national plan against racism and the same kinds of forms of hostility and hate crime:**

Throughout history, the Jewish minority in Sweden and in other countries has experienced wide discrimination and persecution. Over recent years, the experiences of exposure to threat and hate have increased among the Jews in Sweden. This might even cause people to move away from their hometowns. The Swedish government has listed five strategic areas:

- More information, education, and research
- Better coordination and follow-up
- Civil society; increased support and engrossed dialogue
- Reinforced prevention work on the Internet

- More active judiciary (Sweden's government 2016, 25,)

Education on different forms of racism and hostility and hate crimes will be given, for example, to police personnel. Memorial days are also mentioned in the strategy, during these days it is possible to deepen the conversation on how Sweden is able to move forward from those attitudes and perceptions that today enables racism. The need for research into deeper understanding, consequences for victims, as well as to understand the real situation in the society regarding hostility and racism, is mentioned. Methods are evolved and spread in order to prevent people from joining violent extreme groups. (Sweden's government 2016, 29-31.)

It is possible that one authority will take care of the monitoring of racism and hostility in Sweden which would clarify the development in this area to the parliament and government by the reporting of improvements and deficiencies. There is also a need to reinforce the ability to prevent, resist and handle crisis caused by racism and extremism. Sweden has a restrictive perspective to data collection and statistics concerning minority groups. The government will listen continually to Jewish representants on minority issue politics, as well as discussions on antisemitism. It is possible for non-profit associations and foundations which are not governmental or municipal to get financial support for activities against antisemitism. Religious communities can also receive financial support for the security of religious facilities. (Sweden's government 2016, 33, 35.)

Three hate crime groups are working in big cities, whereupon these groups will also work with victim's support, education, collaboration and other security and trust building measures. In addition, other regions have to be able to handle these cases. The police are going to develop a crime prevention work which contains, for example, increased communication and contact with the exposed groups. A consultation group at the national level is already established. The consultation is designed for the people who represent the groups which are exposed to hate crimes. Co-operation with exposed groups happens at a regional and local level with municipalities and associations, for example, through local co-operation agreements and citizen promises. The police authority will reinforce its capacity to collect evidence in IT-related crimes, as well as arrange internal and external education concerning hate crimes. The police have to report to the government and present the effects the taken actions have had or are going to have and how they are going to develop the work against hate crimes. The prosecution

service, police and Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention continues to develop a common definition of hate crime. (Sweden's government 2016, 38-40, 42.)

**Swedish Government Office's information of measures to combat antisemitism and increase security:**

The Swedish government has already made measures to combat antisemitism and increase security. This part lists measures that concern security authorities:

- The Swedish police authority has been educated by Living History Forum in co-operation with National Agency for Education.
- The Swedish police authority has raised its goals regarding hate crimes. A national contact point for hate crimes is now established. Democracy and anti-hate crime groups are in Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmö. When necessary the Swedish police authority can increase its surveillance and take other security actions to protect Jewish interests.
- The Swedish police authority has been instructed by the Swedish government to continue measures against racism, hate crime and other crimes that threaten democracy in Sweden. This assignment includes disseminating and producing information, for example through different types of educational materials. In this assignment, the Police authority needs to work together with relevant actors, including government agencies and civil society organizations.
- The Swedish government has established the Swedish Centre for Preventing Violent Extremism at the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention to improve long-termism and strengthen efforts at national, regional, and local levels.
- The Swedish Defence Research Agency has been analysing violent extremist propaganda in digital environments since 2016. The knowledge of the propaganda that spreads by the white power movement has increased because of the analyses.
- The Swedish government has appointed a parliamentary committee to ponder a specific criminal liability for participation in a racist organization and a prohibition of racist organizations.
- The final report should be presented on 28 February 2021.
- The Swedish government consults regularly with the Jewish organizations, for example concerning the Sweden's national minority policy.

Sweden is a member of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) (Swedish government website 2019.)

## 6.2 Finland

In Finland, there are two Jewish synagogues which have altogether 1500 members (Helsinki Jewish church website, 2020). In addition, there are over one hundred Israelites and Russian Jews who live in different parts of Finland, but only some of them are connected to the Jewish congregation (Kantor 2012, 82). Paula Junttila stated in 2013 that there are 1700 Jews living in Finland (Junttila 2013, 198). The communities of Turku and Helsinki are part of the Central Council of Jewish Communities in Finland, which is a consultative organization which handles matters regarding Jews in Finland. Approximately 400 Finnish Jews have immigrated to Israel since 1948. (European Jewish Congress website 2020.)

### 6.2.1 Antisemitic hate crimes in Finland

The Finnish Jews did not have to go through the Holocaust, partly because the Finnish authorities refused to surrender Finnish Jews to the Germans. When Himmler demanded that the Finnish Jews needed to be given to the Germans, Prime Minister Rangell is told to have said that the Finnish Jews are loyal citizens and decent people whose sons fought in the Finnish army like other Finns. (European Jewish Congress website 2020.) Antisemitism is included in the newest report *Violent Extremism in Finland*. The previous report “*Violent Extremism in Finland – situation overview 1/2018, Threat assessment of violent extremism in Finland in 2017 and trends, Women and children in radical Islamist terrorist organizations under special review*” did not contain a section of antisemitism.

Antisemitism combines several forms of extremism with political and religious motives. In Finland there are only a few openly antisemitic far-right groups out of which the most clearly antisemitic is PVL (Nordic Resistance Movement). Anti-Jewish action has manifested, for example, as property crimes and propaganda in the proximity of a Jewish synagogue and the embassy of Israel. In Autumn 2019, the police of Helsinki carried out an analysis of the occurrence of antisemitism in the social media during the years 2017-2019. The main examined public platform was Twitter. Although the conversations could be evaluated, including the antisemitic tone, a severe or immediate danger or targeted threat of violence could not be



identified based on the sampling. Publications did not fulfil the essential elements of an offence, which is why no crime reports were written about the publications. Most of the writers in the publications used a pseudonym and only a few used their own name. (Ministry of Interior 2020 b, 32.)

According to the Special Eurobarometer 484 in Finland, 2 % believe that antisemitism is a very important problem, 15 % considers it to be a fairly important problem, 52 % think it is not really a problem, 24 % believe it is not a problem at all and 7 % do not know. Out of the Finnish respondents 32 % think that antisemitism has increased over the past five years in Finland, 49 % believe that it has stayed the same. Regarding the Holocaust, 19 % think that denying the genocide of the Jews is a problem in Finland, whereas 70 % consider the opposite. Antisemitism on the Internet, including online social networks, is considered to be a problem by 25 % of the respondents, 56 % think that this is not a problem in Finland. Of the respondents, 12 % believe that antisemitic graffiti or vandalizing of Jewish buildings or institutions is a problem, whereas 75 % think that this is not a problem in Finland. Of the respondents, 15 % think that the expressions of hostility and threats towards Jewish people in the street or other public places are a problem in Finland, 75 % believe this is not a problem. Concerning physical attacks on Jews, 12 % consider this to be a problem, whereas 79 % believe that this is not a problem in Finland. Of the respondents, 55 % think that conflicts in the Middle East affect how the Finnish Jews are perceived by other Finnish people, 39 % think that it does not have an influence. (European Commission 2019, 8, 12, 17-18, 19-20, 22, 44.)

Table 7 Compilation of types and numbers of antisemitic crime cases reported to the police in Finland

	Verbal insult, threat, harassment	Physical assault (unilateral)	Physical assault (mutual)	Property crime	Crime after verbal provocation	Discrimination	Homicide	Total
2009	4	3	1	1	1	0	n.a.	10
2010	2	1	0	1	0	0	n.a.	4
2011	0	4	0	2	0	0	n.a.	6
2012	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	8
2013	6	1	1	3	0	0	0	11
2014	4	1	0	1	1	0	0	7
2015	5	2	0	1	0	0	0	8
2016	6	1	0	3	0	0	0	10
2017	6	1	0	2	0	0	0	9
2018	15	2	0	4	0	0	0	21

Note: n.a. not available

Source: Hate crime reports 2009-2018 from Police University College of Finland

Table 8 Total numbers and percentages of anti-religious and antisemitic hate crime reports

	Total number of crime reports with anti-religious motive	Percent of anti-religious hate crime reports within all hate crime reports	Total number of antisemitic hate crime reports	Percent of antisemitic hate crime reports within anti- religious hate crime reports	Percent of antisemitic hate crime reports within all hate crime reports
2009	83	8 %	10	12 %	1 %
2010	52	6 %	4	8 %	0 %*
2011	61	7 %	6	10 %	1 %
2012	45	6 %	8	18 %	1 %
2013	73	9 %	11	15 %	1 %
2014	67	8 %	7	10 %	1 %
2015	133	11 %	8	6 %	1 %
2016	149	14 %	10	7 %	1 %
2017	235	20 %	9	4 %	1 %
2018	155	17 %	21	14 %	2 %

\*All the percentages in the table are rounded to the nearest whole number

Source: Hate crime reports 2009-2018 from Police University College of Finland

While antisemitism has not been a major problem in Finland, there have been a number of single incidents that have increased concern. These include daubed swastikas, desecration of Jewish cemeteries and threatening calls to members of the Jewish community. (European Jewish Congress website 2020.) More research is needed on the differences in victimizations survey and police reported data for understanding and increasing the reporting behaviour of minorities (Sahramäki, Niemi & Kääriäinen 2014, 78.)

Most people (70 %) who had suffered hate speech or interference for being a part of a religious minority did not report it. The most common reason for this was that the victim believed that no one would or could do anything about the matter. Around a third were afraid of negative consequences of reporting or thought that the interference or hate speech was not serious enough that they should have considered reporting. One third of the victims also said that they did not make a report because they did not know where to report. Only 26 % of the victims reported the incident for some instance. Jewish respondents highlighted that antisemitism and especially Magneettimedia as antisemitic media was underlined in the answers. Some also highlighted the fear of interference or hate speech from Muslims. (Korhonen, Jauhola, Oosi & Huttunen 2016, 95, 102-103.) It seems obvious that information on the definition of a hate crime and practical help, as well as support to make a crime report, should be more available (Rikosuhripäivytys & USKOT-foorumi ry 2018, 25).

Interviews carried out by FRA – European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights on three categories of professionals with knowledge and experience in hate crime were interviewed in each member state. The categories were police officers, public prosecutors and judges from criminal courts, and experts working for victim support services or civil society actors with a human rights remit. The semi-structured interviews focused on three key questions. 1) Experts' views, based on their professional experience, on the gravity of the problem 2) Victims reporting their victimisation to the police 3) Experts' views on the role of police and of the criminal justice system. The aim of these selected questions was to identify shortcomings and to highlight improvement opportunities. Based on the results from Finland it can be stated that interviewed professionals and support service providers in Finland have expressed a doubt to the effectiveness of the referral mechanism, implying that the police do not necessarily refer

victims to the support services. Interviewees from victim support services in Finland highlighted the advantages of specialization and underlined the importance of pooling expertise and contacts with non-governmental organizations, as well as the support service organizations. They also stated that the establishment of special units already sends a signal that police take hate crimes seriously. Experts in Finland believe that conditions for properly implementing a coherent anti-hate crime policy are not in place, even if the police leadership is committed to this approach. In particular, they underlined the fact that no training modules in this issue are implemented. (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016, 39, 48, 50.) A need for more accurate definitions and guidelines for handling hate crimes within the criminal justice processes in Finland is prominent. When perpetrators verifiably used racist language, prosecutors did not demand heavier sentences. The reason for this is a lack of experience and competencies to handle these kinds of cases. (Peutere & Kääriäinen 2010, 278.)

### 6.2.2 Counter measures

At the local level, the most appropriate document is Helsinki police department's Performance agreement 2020. At the national level, the newest strategy of the police is examined. Finland does not have a national hate crime strategy, but instead is examined the National Action Plan on Fundamental and Human Rights 2017–2019. Regarding antisemitism, there is a government answer to a written question of the government's actions for tackling antisemitism done by a member of parliament which is examined. All the other important information from other public sources is written under the section "other sources". First, the other information from other resources is presented and then the listed documents are presented in the same order as they are mentioned here.

#### **Other resources:**

Since 2011, the police have had an instruction for classifying hate crimes in a crime report system. Regardless of the instruction, the police use classifying only in a small part of hate crimes. To make classifying easier, the instruction should be transformed into general instruction to identify hate crimes. The identification should be based on indicators and the classifying should be automatic based on the indicators. Information about the phases of a legal process is increased and the possibility to follow a victim's own case with electronic devices is

developed. Procedures for mediation in hate crime cases and the possibility to combine mediation with support services are to be sorted out. The obligation of web platforms to tackle hate speech is increased by the means of legal regulation and co-operation. (Against hate project 2019, 23–24.)

Establishing the VIPU hate speech group had a significant impact and it is important to make sure that the needed resources for that work are permanent. In this present government period, an action plan against racism and discrimination will be sketched out. It will contain a separate section for hate crimes and hate speech. Into the Council of State will be established a so-called focal point, which will coordinate systematically and reflectively the use and collection of information, as well as the information exchange between professionals. The resource need for hate crime and hate speech work will be evaluated and guaranteed that there are enough permanent resources for coordination and establishment in the different areas of governance in the future. It must be ensured that there are enough resources in the whole criminal process chain. (Against hate project 2019, 9.) With preventive actions on the internet, the police are not trying to narrow the freedom of speech, instead the police try to also maintain public law and order on social media (Finnish police 2016, 17.)

The civil society's resources against hate crimes and hate speech will be guaranteed by having a dialogue with the essential national finance providers and increasing information on the European Union's finance possibilities. Increasing diversity within the police and in other authorities to reflect the diversity in society would make them more easily approachable. Also, the appointing of contact officers would support the approachability. Police chiefs and Commanding officers have received the TACHLE education. In addition, police officers from every department have received instructor education and together almost 1000 police officers have received the education. Education will be needed in the future as well and it must be ensured that the TACHLE education will continue over the coming years. Part of the education that is given to the police, prosecutors and judges must contain an identifying of prejudices. (Against hate project 2019, 9, 12, 13–14.)

Information about different support services is collected and service providers are encouraged to point out the possibility to discuss experienced hate speech and hate crimes. There is also a need for targeted material and communication directed towards hate crime victims. The media's understanding about the mechanism of hate crimes will be increased by the education and

research. The information in the annual hate crime report written by the police could be implemented more actively to core authorities and organizations. Then the increased information would provide the dialogue of a hate crime situation at the local and regional level, in some areas there are quite many hate crimes in proportion to the population. Especially in these regions it is important to implement and analyse information. In order to prevent hate crimes, it is important to know how relationships between the population groups evolve locally (Ministry of Interior 2019, 33). Actions carried out by the police to prevent and investigate hate crimes could be followed more intensively for a certain period of time in order to gain information on the effectiveness of actions and educations. (Against hate project 2019, 14, 17–18, 19.)

It must be secured that authorities utilize information collected by the civil society and notices the victims need for support. It should be also researched why the victims do not end up in the support services. Reasons and factors behind a hate speech and crimes must be researched, as well as the perpetrator's international connections. Different criminal political means to intervene with hate crimes and hate speech are being examined. The establishing of special groups or appointing police officers should be considered in every police department with a focus on tackling hate speech and crimes. It should be ensured that in different situations it is clear which authority writes a crime report when hate speech occurs in different contexts. (Against hate project 2019, 19, 21, 23.)

On the website of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) is a compendium which is a living document where practices for combatting hate crimes are listed from across the European Union. Currently, 30 practices are mentioned and out of these 30 one is from Finland; Suspected hate crimes reported to the police in Finland each year. The national database of Finland is investigated by researchers every year to identify suspected hate crimes. (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights website 2020.)

### **Performance agreement 2020, Helsinki police department:**

Analysis and intelligence actions are developed to be in line with ATI-regulation. The police will work in close co-operation with organizations that offer help and support for crime victims. Also, crime suspects will be directed to help and support organizations in order to prevent

recidivism. Special attention will be directed to the security of suburbs and areas which are challenging concerning the service level, as well as to areas that are sparsely populated. The objects for special preventive action are chosen by the support of intelligence analysis. (Helsinki police department 2019, 1,3.)

**The strategy of Finnish Police 2020–2024:**

Surveillance on the street and on the Internet will be done systematically and preventively. The police will intervene in crimes and disorder at an early stage. Resources will be used flexibly, whilst more weight will be given to prevention. Intelligence will be intensified, and analysis will be part of anticipation. The initial and pre-handling actions in a crime process are reinforced and resources are freed into prioritized investigation sets. The police support an equal society and are in contact with minority groups proactively to tackle inequality. The police will produce up-to-date and analysed information about the operating environment, among other things, to support political decision-making and for social debate. (Strategy of police 2020-2024, 8, 11, 17.)

**National Action Plan on Fundamental and Human Rights 2017–2019:**

The government underlines the meaning of successful integration, non-discrimination in work life and intervention in hate crime and hate speech, as well as the need for good ethnic relationships. Concerning hate crimes, the motive is not always identified and investigated. A report will be made about how revealing and investigating hate crimes can be made efficiently and what kind of support will be needed in the form of research and information in order to develop activities. The needs of development that arise from the report will be established. The good practices to direct the victims of hate crimes to services that were created in the GoodPractice+-project and in other possible follow-up projects will be established. Intervention in criminal hate speech on the Internet and elsewhere will be intensified. The TACHLE education for the identifying and investigation of hate crimes, developed by OSCE, will be arranged in the police administration. (Government network of contact persons for fundamental and human rights 2017, 23,70, 75.)

### **Government actions against antisemitism:**

The government will work actively to strengthen the tackling of antisemitism in Finland, European Union and internationally. According to the hate speech group VIPU from the Helsinki police department, antisemitic hate speech has increased on the Internet since last autumn. The VIPU group is a national group that investigates hate speech on the Internet and when the speech is criminal, it will end up in a pretrial investigation and at a prosecutor. Denying the Holocaust might fulfil an agitation crime in Finland. In a way, all crimes can be classified as hate crimes if the motive is a right one. In 2016, the “National Action Plan For The Prevention Of Violent Radicalisation And Extremism” was accepted, this plan tries to secure the support for hate crime victims and communities and that the police reveal and investigate hate crimes more intensively. The police have intensified its actions to identify hate crimes over the past few years. (Soini 2019, 1-2.)

The Ministry of Interior and the police have regular and close co-operation with the Jewish community in Helsinki concerning the tackling of antisemitism and the Jewish community’s security threats. The Ministry of Interior arranged in 2016, in co-operation with the OSCE:s Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), a seminar to develop a security co-operation with the Jewish community and authorities. In the event, a practical guide Understanding Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Addressing the Security Needs of Jewish Communities was handled in order to identify antisemitism and increase the security of the Jewish community. In 2019, the government budget contained 300 000 euros financing for improving and maintaining the security of a Jewish synagogue and congregation centre. (Soini 2019, 2.)

### **6.3 Great Britain**

There are approximately 300 000 Jews in the United Kingdom; England is home to Europe’s second largest Jewish population and the fifth largest in the whole world. Most Jews in the United Kingdom live in England, around the Greater London area and in the surrounding areas live approximately 200 000 Jews. (European Jewish Congress website 2020.) In Scotland, there are over 6000 Jews, in Wales 2000 and in Northern Ireland a few hundred. The Jewish Policy Research estimates that there are 284 000 Jews in England and Wales (The Board of Deputies



of British Jews website 2020). In 2016, there were 454 synagogues across the United Kingdom, which was the highest number in recorded history (Boyd & Mashiah 2017, 2).

### 6.3.1 Antisemitic hate crimes in Great Britain

In Great Britain, the levels of antisemitism are among the lowest in the world. British Jews are religious and an ethnic group which is seen positively by the majority of the British population; about 70 % of the British population have a favourable opinion of Jews and they do not possess any antisemitic views or ideas. (Staetsky 2017 b, 66.) Most Jews feel a strong sense of belonging to the United Kingdom. The Jews are divided in their thoughts about antisemitism in the United Kingdom; approximately half think it is at least “a fairly big problem”, whereas an almost identical half think it is at the worst “not a very big problem”. (Boyd & Staetsky 2014, 35.)

In Great Britain, an unambiguous and well-defined antisemitism is distinctly in a minority position. On average 3.6 % of the general population in Great Britain have attitudes of that kind with such intensity that would qualify as antisemitic, when expressed in range it is approximately 2-5 % of the population. The numerical assessment of 2-5 % is based on those respondents who openly admitted having an unfavourable opinion of Jews or/and endorsed a remarkable number of views that most Jews consider to be antisemitic. About 1 % of the people think that religiously or politically motivated violence towards Jews is often justified in defence of their religious or political beliefs, 3 % believe that is sometimes justified. About 25 % of the British population may express some degree of negativity towards the Jews or/and endorse one or two attitudes that most of the Jews are likely to perceive antisemitic. The most antisemitic group consist of the far-right, in this group 14 % hold the hard-core antisemitic attitudes and 52 % hold at least one antisemitic attitude. (Staetsky 2017 b, 63-64.)

Anxieties among the Jews about widespread antisemitism become more instantly understandable when 30 % of the population is potentially holding upsetting or uncomfortable views from a Jewish perspective, the probability of encountering such a view is one in three. About 13 % of Muslims have hard-core antisemitic attitudes, which is 3.5 times higher than in the general population (3.6 %). Of Muslims, 56 % hold at least one antisemitic attitude, which is almost twice as high in comparison with the general population (30 %). The generality of antisemitism among Muslims varies in some way with the degree of religiosity. Those Muslims

that identify themselves as non-religious or non-practicing approach the same level as the general population on antisemitism. (Staetsky 2017 b, 64.)

Anti-Israel attitudes occur more than antisemitic attitudes. Of the population, 56 % have at least one anti-Israel attitude and about 9 % (9-12 range) have strong anti-Israel attitudes. Among Muslims, anti-Israel attitudes are higher; 75 % of Muslims have at least one anti-Israel attitude and 35 % have strong anti-Israel attitudes. Anti-Israel attitudes are not as a rule antisemitic. Only 6 % of Jew responders would consider non-Jews to be “definitely” antisemitic if they criticized Israel and two-thirds would consider them to be probably or definitely not antisemitic (Boyd & Staetsky 2014, 35). Antisemitism and anti-Israel attitudes exist together and separately. Of the British population, 32 % have at least one anti-Israel attitude but no antisemitic attitudes, 6 % have at least one antisemitic attitude and no anti-Israel attitudes and 24 % have both of these attitudes. (Staetsky 2017 b, 65-66.)

The conflict between Israel and Arabs clearly affects how safe Jews feel in the United Kingdom though varying degrees, but only one in ten said that it has no impact on their feeling of safety. Almost half of the Jewish respondents think that a non-Jew drawing anything parallel between the way Israel treat Palestinians and how Nazis treated Jews is definitely antisemitic, additionally a third feel that it is probably antisemitic. Almost 80 % of the respondents said that they have felt blamed, at least occasionally, by non-Jews for the actions of the Israeli government solely because of their Jewishness. (Boyd & Staetsky 2014, 35.)

Circumcising baby boys (brit milah) and the means of killing animals for meat that follow the strict standards of Jewish law (shechita) have become controversial issues in parts of Europe. Both actions are permitted under the British law and viewed by Jews in Great Britain as fundamental both to the contemporary Jewish life and to Jewish law. Over 80 % of the Jewish respondents would consider the ban of brit milah to be a problem and two-thirds would feel the same way about the ban of shechita. It is highly likely that any move towards banning these customs would generally be perceived as an attack against Jewish life. (Boyd & Staetsky 2014, 35.)

Antisemitism is seen as a combination of race hate crimes where the hostility is directed towards Jewish communities or people and religious hate crime is directed against Judaism. The courts of the United Kingdom have accepted the Jewish people as an ethnic group. Therefore, victims

may perceive crimes directed toward the Jewish people as either religious or racist hate crimes, even when the victim is secular or does not have connections with Israel. When a recordable crime is committed, and the victim perceives it to be motivated wholly or partially by an antisemitic hostility, an antisemitic hate crime taken place. The Jewish people may report such crimes religiously or racially motivated. (College of Policing 2004, 35.) In the United Kingdom, any reported crime that is believed to be hate motivated by the victim, witness, or police officer, must be recorded, and investigated as a possible hate crime (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2009 21). Prioritizing the witness's and victim's perceptions in hate crime definitions is not a universal practice in policing (Woods 2011, 129).

In 2016, the Home Office began collecting information from the police about the victim's perceived religion in religious hate crimes, this became mandatory in 2017/18. The police forces in England and Wales have sent data on the victims' perceived religion in religious hate crimes. Only the Metropolitan Police and Lancashire did not send data. Additionally, the Home Office data do not record hate crimes in the Northern Ireland. (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) 2019, 86.) In 2017/18, there were 672 hate crimes against Jews, that is 12 % of all the recorded religious hate crimes in England and Wales (Home Office 2018, 36). In 2018/19, there were 1326 hate crimes against Jews, that is 18 % of all the recorded religious hate crimes in England and Wales (Home Office 2019, 17). The Community Security Trust has also collected data on hate incidents against Jews across the United Kingdom and has organized incidents into different types as can be seen in the table 8 below. The number of recorded incidents only cover the period from January to June in the given year.

Table 9 Antisemitic incidents collected by CST January-June 2009-2019

	Extreme violence	Assault	Damage and Desecration	Threats	Abusive Behaviour	Literature	Total
2009	2	77	64	34	408	44	629
2010	0	45	47	19	211	3	325
2011	0	42	35	15	197	5	294
2012	2	34	29	20	223	4	312
2013	0	29	20	18	154	2	223
2014	0	22	27	19	238	4	310
2015	2	45	36	39	374	5	501
2016	0	45	32	48	473	10	608
2017	0	80	54	58	582	12	786
2018	0	62	44	56	616	32	810
2019	0	85	38	49	710	10	892

Source: CST, Antisemitic Incidents, January–June 2019, (15)

Antisemitism can be found in different arenas and in many forms. British Jews believe that antisemitism in media and online are the most problematic forms. Respondents said that vandalism and violence are rather rare, but harassment is more common, one in five had experienced harassment during the past twelve months and the same amount had experienced discrimination in some way. It is striking to note that a very small percent had experienced discrimination in some way from a private landlord, local doctor, healthcare professional, a court system or from police. (Boyd & Staetsky 2014, 35-36.) In Great Britain, the police have an official requirement to collect data on all the hate incidents reported to them, regardless whether the incidents form a criminal offence or not (Kielinger & Paterson 2007, 198).

The Orthodox or Haredi Jews are proportionately more likely to experience antisemitism in the United Kingdom than non-orthodox Jews, younger Jews are more likely to be victims of physical assault or harassment than older Jews and men more likely than women. Approximately one-third of the respondents are worried that they or someone close to them will become a victim of an antisemitic verbal attack or harassment. About one in five is worried of physical assault. One half avoids carrying or wearing a distinctive Jewish item at least

occasionally because of the fear of their safety. From another half, a great deal may never display their Jewishness in any way. While a few avoid Jewish events or sites because of the fear over safety, and most have not considered migration because of unsafety, the proportion of those who do not fit into these categories is round about one in five. (Boyd & Staetsky 2014, 36.)

Reporting levels vary between different incidents, harassment cases are least likely to be reported, seven out of ten cases are never reported to an appropriate organization or authority. Physical violence and vandalism are reported marginally better, yet still 57 % of physical violence and 46 % of vandalism cases are unrecorded. Antisemitism is repeatedly connected to circumstances in Israel in many respects. The Jews in Great Britain believe that they have been held responsible for the military or political decisions of the Israeli government and the tensions there increase the number of incidents in Great Britain. A hostile criticism of Israel is often experienced as antisemitism and is particularly hurtful when it includes calls for boycotts, sanctions, divestment, or accusations of ethnic cleansing. In a way, this explains the finding that the perpetrators of antisemitic incidents are most likely to be identified with a “Muslim extremist” or “left wing political” view, where these types of opinions are the most common. (Boyd & Staetsky 2014, 36-37.) There is much debate about the relationship between antisemitic and anti-Israel views on the political left. Much more work needs to be done in order to understand the nature of this relationship and the extent as to when it does or does not threaten the Jewish life in the United Kingdom. (Boyd & Staetsky 2015, 29.)

The Jews in the United Kingdom generally experience less antisemitism and are worried to a lesser extent about it, compared with other Jewish populations in Europe. Evidence indicates that most British Jews feel fully integrated into the British society and discrimination against Jews can be seen as largely a thing of the past. At the same time, most of the Jews believe that antisemitism has increased over recent years. The increase is seen particularly online, in media, academia and in the certain political contexts. All of this signifies that antisemitism occurs much more commonly as part of the general atmosphere than in physical violence. (Boyd & Staetsky 2014, 37.)

### 6.3.2 Counter measures

Concerning the counteractions of Great Britain against antisemitic hate crimes and hate crimes in general, these documents have important roles. At the local level, the document Keeping London safe, The Met's Direction: Our Strategy 2018-2025 is examined. From the police, the document National Policing Hate Crime Strategy is included. At the government level, there are two documents which are part of this research: Government action on Antisemitism and Action Against Hate The UK Government's plan for tackling hate crime – 'two years on'. Additional material is collected under other resources. First, information from other resources is presented and after that documents are presented in the same order as they are mentioned here.

#### **Other resources:**

Since the bomb attacks that happened in London in 2005, faith-hate and hate crimes, as well as other incidents, have become a focus area of the government and police in the United Kingdom (Kielinger & Paterson 2007, 196). The government of the United Kingdom and the police have established close and cooperative approaches in combatting antisemitism by working closely with Community Security Trust (CST). In 2016, the CTS and National Police Chief's Council signed an Information Sharing Agreement to share data on antisemitic crimes and incidents. The CST is also part of the Cross-Government Working Group on Anti-Semitism. The group brings together representatives of relevant government departments and Jewish organizations and manages the government grant that finances guards at Jewish schools. The police and CST share security threat assessments and work together by establishing joint patrols, training exercises, holding regular consultations, and investigating antisemitic hate crimes. (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2017, 28.)

In order to make sure that interventions and resources are allocated to those who are most likely to be influenced by hate crime, the local partners must know where those individuals and communities are located. Analysing hate crime data and mapping hate crime 'hotspots' can help the police and partner agencies to understand communities better and drive local plans to prevent crime from happening and decrease the risk of repeated victims. The Metropolitan Police Service will develop a hate crime hotspot map to help all the agencies to target resources towards most endangered individuals and communities. The Mayor's Office for Policing And

Crime (MOPAC) will challenge how well police resources are divided into those hotspots. (Mayor's Office for Policing And Crime 2014, 27, 32.)

The MOPAC will make sure that the repeated and persistently targeted victims of hate crime receive an improved response. This means early identification and detailed requirement evaluation through the MOPAC commissioned referral service. The Metropolitan Police Service will work together with local partners to develop local engagement plans that identify and offer support, advice, and reassurance to those communities that are the most likely to be influenced by hate crime. The MOPAC will work with the Ministry of Justice to introduce a web-based Victim's Portal that encounters the advice and information needs of hate crime victims in London. Together with Local Authorities, the MOPAC will work to support the implementation of the Community Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conference (MARAC) or similar processes in every borough for ensuring the efficient information sharing and protection of high-risk hate crime victims. (Mayor's Office for Policing And Crime 2014, 27-28, 30.)

Possibilities to report a hate crime in a simple and direct way through smartphones and other handhold devices must be embraced. The Mayor's Office for Policing And Crime (MOPAC) will develop a smartphone crime reporting app and pilot use of the app for hate crime reporting. The MOPAC will work with the third-party sector to scope and develop a pan-London third party telephone reporting mechanism to supplement current local mechanism. The Metropolitan Police Service will work with third sector organizations to build consistent processes for the third-party reporting to the police. The Metropolitan Police Service will appoint trained Hate Crime liaison officers in every borough of London. (Mayor's Office for Policing And Crime 2014, 22-23, 34.)

The MOPAC will make sure that the Metropolitan Police Service integrates online hate crime into a wider strategy and to an approach to tackle cyber-crime. By doing this the victims of online hate crime are offered equal protection from victimization and increases the likelihood of reporting it. This will also enhance the production of a better intelligence picture to target resources and reduce victimization concerning online hate crimes. For those victims who wish to pursue a criminal justice outcome, the needed support should be provided but it must also be ensured that the victims are aware of outcomes that might not require a full journey through the criminal justice system, such as Restorative justice. (Mayor's Office for Policing And Crime 2014, 32, 38.)

The Metropolitan Police Service will work with the College of Policing to make sure that all front-line officers are sufficiently trained and equipped to identify hate crime when it happens and to make sure efficient recording, charging and proceeding against hate crime perpetrators (Mayor's Office for Policing And Crime 2014, 37). The United Kingdom has adopted or endorsed, on 12 December 2016, the IHRA's working definition of antisemitism (IHRA website 2020). This working definition is employed in the training of police cadets (Global Jewish advocacy 2018).

On the website of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) is a compendium which is a living document where practices for combating hate crimes are listed from across the European Union. Currently, 30 practices are mentioned and out of these 30 four are from the United Kingdom. These four practices are Facing the Facts-make hate crime visible, Information sharing agreement, MOPAC Hate Crime Dashboard, and True Vision- the police owned web resource for hate crime. Facing Facts trains civil society organizations to record hate crimes and enhances them to build their advocacy's capacity for affecting local and national agencies. The information sharing agreement is done between the police and the community based non-governmental organization Community Security Trust. The MOPAC Hate Crime Dashboard builds community trust by offering transparency concerning the responses of criminal justice agencies and on the levels of hate crime. The True Vision website offers a library of resources on hate crime, while providing a secure online reporting service for registering incidents, including anonymously. (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights website 2020.)

### **Keeping London Safe, The Met's Direction: Our Strategy 2018-2025:**

Since 2011, reported hate crimes cases have more than doubled in London. In the context of limited resources, the Metropolitan Police (Met or MPS) needs to concentrate on elements that will make a difference to the public safety and to concentrate on tackling things that people care about. In order to do so, the Met will assess the main risks to Londoners against vulnerability, harm, and threat. Led by this approach the Met will focus on violent crime and will tackle it with purpose and long-term solutions. This focus will include protecting vulnerable people from predatory behaviour, domestic violence, sexual offending, hate crime, knife and gun crime and terrorism. (Metropolitan police 2018, 20.)



**National Policing Hate Crime Strategy:**

The Police Service is committed to decreasing the harm caused by hate crimes, boosting the victim's confidence and working with partners to identify and prosecute perpetrators. In order to achieve this goal, the Hate Crime Strategy will support the police service to:

- built the confidence and trust of groups and individuals affected by hate crime
- decrease under-reporting of hate crime
- decrease the total incidence of hate crime
- decrease the impact of hate crime through high-quality victim support
- bring perpetrators to justice
- advance community cohesion
- offer a service that balances a person's right to be free from targeted abuses and with the freedom of expression (College of Policing 2014, 3.)

The police will enhance their understanding about the extent of hate crime and be more able to address and identify local needs by improving data collection, adopting common definitions, and having an effective community engagement and intelligence. The National Policing Lead will develop the brand of True Vision in order to offer tools for the police and partners to enhance communication with victims, especially with those from the isolated sections of communities. This will contain confidence-building material and communication strategies that can be adopted locally to meet the specific needs of a community. The National Policing Lead will offer guidance to operational staff to improve the service given to victims and witnesses in order to protect them from hate crime. (College of Policing 2014, 4.)

The National Policing Lead has worked with national partners to provide shared tools, to agree on common definitions and assure the consistency of guidance. With "partners" it is meant people from local criminal justice agencies, non-governmental organizations, victim groups and community safety partnerships. Work with national and local partners will enhance the service provided to victims. The National Policing Lead will commission an analysis of training needs to complement the present occupational standard products and will work together with the College of Policing to integrate the needed learning into current training programs for all personnel. (College of Policing 2014, 5.)

## **Action Against Hate, The UK Government's plan for tackling hate crime – 'two years on':**

The United Kingdom has been identified as one of the global leaders in responding to hate crime, they also work to share their experience and findings with other countries including training and expert support in implementation and support in recovery periods. The UK's hate crime strategy was originally published in 2016 with the focus on five themes:

- preventing hate crimes by challenging beliefs and attitudes
- hate crime response within communities
- growth in hate crime reporting
- enhancing support for the victims of hate crime
- increase the understanding about hate crime (Her Majesty's Government 2018, 4,19.)

The National Police Chiefs' council is delivering hate crime training for police call handlers with support from the Home Office and College of Policing, the new package is developed with the Facing All The Facts -partnership. The College of Policing is also developing new learning products to all police forces: National Vulnerability Learning Program, Professionalizing Investigations Program 1 and 2. Hate crimes are included in both programs. Also, opportunities will be identified to support additional police training that is tailored to the needs of the specific hate crime victims, for example, different forms of religious hate crime. The purpose is also to reflect good practice from local packages that some forces have already developed. Work with the European Commission to expand the number of signatories to the Code of Conduct on countering illegal hate speech will continue. (Her Majesty's Government 2018, 14-15.)

There are various barriers to report a hate crime and work has been directed to specific communities to build confidence, increase awareness, and improve accessibility. The True Vision-reporting platform is meant to be improved by publishing successful prosecutions and guidance and projects that increase awareness of what hate crime is and what the victim should do. It is important that local agencies, especially the police, are well-located to direct hate crime victims to appropriate support services. Steps are taken to review and assess the coverage and awareness of services that offer support to hate crime victims. Further victimization is prevented by Her Majesty's Prisons & Probation service through the robust management and rehabilitation of perpetrators. Since 2016, academic research has been supported. The evidence base is built through commissioned surveys and through statistical data from the police and

Crown Prosecutions Service, the police have to disaggregate their data by faith. (Her Majesty's Government 2018, 16,18-19.)

### **Government action on Antisemitism:**

The Cross-Government Working Group on Antisemitism joins together civil servants across the Whitehall and members of the three major Jewish community organizations. The group meets quarterly and has taken forward much of the work to address antisemitism. A request has been done to look at how arrests and charges can be openly communicated and published by the police forces in order to provide reassurance for local communities that criminal acts will be prosecuted. There are regular data sharing meetings between the police and Community Security Trust in a national and local level. The Jewish communal organization Community Security Trust continues to work closely with the Metropolitan Police. (Department for Communities and Local Government 2014, 6, 8, 11, 36.)

## **7 Comparison of countries counteractions**

In order to visualize the comparison between Sweden, Finland and Great Britain, the tables are created from each key area for policing antisemitic hate crimes. The key areas are in the same order as they are in the section “the Big five”. Questions concerning each key area are also in the same order as they are in Chapter five. The questions are repeated above each table. The number on the left side of the table refers to questions above which is marked with the same number. The countries are listed on the table in the same order as they are presented in Chapter six. Under each table is written more about the found differences to open up the situation more regarding specific action. On the tables, the questions are only answered by using “Yes” or “No”. This keeps the tables in a more readable format and gives an understanding if that country has written clearly about that action on their strategies or actions plans. The answers “yes” or “no” do not always reflect the whole reality, but are based on the perception that arises from the content of the strategy and actions plan. The answer merely reflects the picture that a reader understands about the documents.

## 7.1 Trust

1. Do the police meet the leaders of the local Jewish communities and organizations regularly?
2. Do the police share risk assessment with local Jewish communities?
3. Do the police involve local Jewish communities and organizations in joint planning?
4. Have the police appointed a liaison officer for Jewish communities?
5. Have the police tried to build a trust to local members of Jewish communities or victims?

Table 10 Comparison concerning trust

Trust	Sweden	Finland	Great Britain
1.	Yes	Yes	Yes
2.	No	Yes	Yes
3.	Yes	No	Yes
4.	No	No	Yes
5.	Yes	Yes	Yes

The police of all the countries meet Jewish organizations regularly and the police have tried to build trust in local members of Jewish communities (questions 1 and 5). Great Britain has considered all the actions concerning trust. Question 2 is especially important for Sweden, because the people who work in Jewish churches think that the Swedish police do not provide a clear threat assessment and take less responsibility of the security of the Jewish organizations than police in other countries (Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention 2019, 11–12). It would be a good idea for the Swedish police to highlight their role in the strategies, right now it is unclear if Swedish police share their risk assessment with the local Jewish communities (question 2). In the strategies of Finland, it was unclear if Finland has appointed a liaison officer for Jewish communities and whether the Jews are involved in the planning that the police do (questions 3 and 4). Even though the police of Finland have tried to build trust in the local Jewish people, it is something worth continuing, because in Finland there is a need for practical help and support in making a crime report of a hate crime (Rikosuhripäivytys & USKOT-foorumi ry 2018, 25).

## 7.2 Education

6. Have the police recruits received an education of hate crime during the initial training?
7. Do the police officers' have possibilities to receive more education on hate crimes during their careers?
8. Have the police implemented the TACHLE?
9. Has education handled a victim's role more deeply?
10. Have the Jewish customs and traditions been dealt with separately in the education?

Table 11 Comparison concerning education

Education	Sweden	Finland	Great Britain
6.	Yes	No	Yes
7.	Yes	No	Yes
8.	No	Yes	No
9.	Yes	Yes	Yes
10.	No	Yes	No

Questions 6 and 7 are important to Finland because no training modules in hate crimes are implemented (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016, 39, 48, 59). This is an area in which the police in Finland can improve its efforts. It seems that the education that is given to the police includes the victim's role in these crimes (question 9). It would be important to deal with Jewish customs and traditions in the education given to Swedish police (question 10), as well as highlight it in the strategy because Sweden had the highest percent in research concerning the criticizing of core Jewish practices (Dencik & Marosi 2017, 17, 29). Great Britain might have dealt with Jewish customs and traditions in the education given to police and TACHLE might have also been implemented, but it was not written down in the examined strategies.

## 7.3 Initial investigations actions

11. Do the police have a clear written procedure about what should be in done at the hate crime scene?
12. Do the police have a clear method on how to intervene in a repeat victimization?
13. Do the police have a custom of directing or presenting organizations that provide help and support to the victim?
14. Have the police mentioned the role of non-governmental organizations?

15. Have the Jewish holidays or conflicts in the Middle East been noticed by providing an extra police service?

Table 12 Comparison concerning initial investigation actions

Initial investigation actions	Sweden	Finland	Great Britain
11.	No	No	No
12.	No	No	Yes
13.	Yes	Yes	Yes
14.	Yes	Yes	Yes
15.	Yes	No	No

None of the countries highlighted that the police have a separate clear written procedure about actions that should be done at a hate crime scene (question 11), it is the only questions in the whole comparison where all countries have “no” as an answer. Part of the NYPD Hate Crime Task Forces success was a specific investigative and response protocols for all officers (Levin & Amster 2007, 319, 338). That is why it would be good to have these protocols. Great Britain was the only location that highlighted the risk of repeated victimization and had a model on how to prevent it (question 12). All of the countries had a custom of directing victims to support services (question 13). There has been a doubt if the Finnish police do the same. (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016, 39, 48, 59). That is why it would be good to highlight it. The police authorities of all the countries also mentioned the role of non-governmental organizations and their willingness to cooperate. Great Britain had not highlighted that the police will provide an extra service during the Jewish holidays and conflicts in the Middle East. That is something that would be good to highlight because conflict between Israel and Arabs clearly affects how safe Jews feel in the United Kingdom (Boyd & Staetsky 2014, 35). Finland could also consider providing an extra service on certain occasions.

#### 7.4 Statistics

16. Do the police collect information about antisemitic hate incidents which are not classified as crimes?
17. Do the police have a co-operation with Jewish organizations regarding statistics on antisemitic hate incidents and crimes?
18. Do the police use a hate crime data to identify “hot spots”?

19. Has the role of third parties been considered as one who could report to the police on the behalf of victims when no individual victim can be identified?

20. Is the importance of research taken up regarding a hate crime data?

Table 13 Comparison concerning statistics

Statistics	Sweden	Finland	Great Britain
16.	No	No	Yes
17.	No	No	Yes
18.	No	No	Yes
19.	No	No	Yes
20.	Yes	Yes	Yes

Great Britain is the only location which collects information about hate incidents that are not classified as crimes and co-operate with Jewish organizations on statistics. Of course, there are many more Jews in Great Britain than in Sweden and Finland, which might also have an effect. The police authorities of all the countries highlighted analysis and intelligence, but the term “hot spot” was only used by Great Britain. Only Great Britain had given the opportunity to third parties to represent a group of people in a criminal process. All the countries acknowledged the importance of research concerning hate crimes. In Finland, more research is needed on the differences between the victimization survey and the police reported data (Sahramäki, Niemi & Kääriäinen 2014, 78). Finland and Sweden had a large number of “no” answers in this section, so maybe it would be a good idea to ponder implementing these actions in the future.

## 7.5 Policies

21. Has crime prevention been lifted up separately?

22. Has the IHRA working definition for antisemitism been adopted?

23. Are hate crime statistics and the hate crime strategy easily available to the public?

24. Have special hate crime police units been established?

25. Has the online world been noticed?

Table 14 Comparison concerning policies

Policies	Sweden	Finland	Great Britain
21.	Yes	Yes	Yes
22.	Yes	Yes	Yes
23.	Yes	Yes	Yes
24.	Yes	No	No
25.	Yes	Yes	Yes

All of the countries have lifted up crime prevention and its importance. Likewise, all of the countries have adopted the IHRA working definition of antisemitism and all had the hate crime statistics easily available for the public, although Sweden and Finland had a more understandable and detailed report than Great Britain. Sweden highlighted their hate crime special units, whereas Great Britain did not mention those units. Finland has the VIPU group, because it mainly handles hate speech which is why it is considered as a real special unit for hate crimes, but can be seen as a beginning. The establishing of special units sends a signal that the police takes hate crimes seriously (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016, 39, 48, 59). This is something to ponder for Finland. The online world was included in every countries' strategy.

## 8 Summary and discussion

Finland is committed to protecting all its citizens, including the Jewish minority. When discussing hate crimes, it should be understood that when tackling some hate crime category, it also reduces other hate crimes (Boyd & Graham 2017, 41). In order to understand antisemitic hate crimes, antisemitism needs to be defined. One way is to adopt the IHRA working definition of antisemitism. This definition has been adopted by many countries and is recommended by the European Parliament. The IHRA working definition of antisemitism is: "Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities." (IHRA website, 2020.) In the light of this definition and as a summary of this research it can be concluded that antisemitism is a problem in Finland though a statistically low phenomenon.



In order to ensure the statistics represent the reality, the police need to be able to identify antisemitism as a motive in a crime. Because perpetrators are not usually part of extremist groups, their motives need to be investigated thoroughly. As antisemitic hate crimes have become a part of everyday life, the police should be able to recognize antisemitism in a crime very accurately. This highlights the importance of initial investigation actions and education for law enforcement. Police should ask questions during an interrogation that reveal the hidden antisemitic attitudes that the perpetrator might have. These attitudes can manifest themselves in conspiracy theories, offences against Jewish religious sites and facilities, offences during conflicts in the Middle East, as well as offences against Jews who wear Jewish symbols. When these signals can be identified it would be appropriate to consider classifying a crime as an antisemitic hate crime.

During this research, the original research material scope was adjusted. This research was planned to examine countries strategic documents from public sources to understand what the police are doing in Finland to combat antisemitic hate crimes in comparison to Sweden and Great Britain. In addition to the listed strategic documents (table 3), the scope was adjusted to include other official documents. The reason for this was that some documents contained a great deal of information about a country's counteractions. This adjustment was needed so that a more comprehensive and realistic picture of countries counteractions could have been achieved. Due to this decision, it was more difficult to outline the research material. This research did not examine which counteractions were implemented and how those were applied, but instead examined if the countries had planned to implement those actions that were named in the theoretical frame. That is why it was an acceptable and needed adjustment to include the additional research material.

The three research questions were successfully formulated to provide understanding and insight into the counteractions on antisemitic hate crimes. By first understanding what the impactful focus areas of the police should be and then providing insight into how these could be addressed. Systematic evaluation within the theoretical frame of the listed counteractions in Sweden, Finland and Great Britain enables a comparison which reveals the current status in Finland. This new information can be utilized to implement the missing counteractions recommend in this research for the police to improve the combat against antisemitic hate crimes.

The first research question: What are the key areas that police should put effort into when combatting antisemitic hate crimes? To answer this question, five key areas were identified from previous research. These five areas are: trust, education, initial investigation actions, statistics, and policies. Improving on any of the key areas will improve the outcome but these are linked together and should be applied together. When people trust the police, they feel confident to report a crime. And when the police are properly educated in hate crimes, they can define antisemitism and identify it in a crime. This ensures that the police are aware of a possible hate crime motive and from the beginning carry out the correct initial investigation actions properly. All this will lead to increased and more accurate statistical hate crime data and this will further enable more specific research. The research results deepen the understanding of hate crimes, which enables better policies to counteract hate crimes and leads to better results. This in turn creates more trust in the police and the positive cycle strengthens itself and continues to improve over time.

The second research question: How should the effort be made, according to involved actors, in order to enhance the specific key areas? From Jewish and non-Jewish organizations' documents, five actions per each area could be identified that should enhance the police's effort within the key area. These actions are summarized below under each key area.

- Trust toward the police can be built by meeting the leaders of local Jewish communities and organizations regularly. The police should also try to build trust with local members of Jewish communities and victims, as well as appoint liaison officers to Jewish communities. They should also involve local Jewish communities and organizations to have joint planning as well as share risk assessments with the local Jewish community.
- Concerning education, police recruits could be given education regarding hate crimes and the possibilities to receive education during one's career should be ensured. Police units can implement the TACHLE education package. The victim's role should be highlighted in the education given to the police. The education should also contain information about Jewish traditions and customs.
- Regarding initial investigation actions, the police could have a written procedure that would outline what should be done at a hate crime scene. The police could also have a clear method as to how to intervene to prevent victimization repetition. The police

should direct the victim to available support and help services. The role of non-governmental organizations should be clear to the police. Jewish holidays and conflicts in the Middle East should be noticed in police work by providing extra protection.

- In the area of statistics, police could also gather information about antisemitic hate incidents which are not classified as crimes. Police can have co-operation with Jewish organizations on the statistics of hate crimes and hate incidents. Statistics should be used for analysing and identifying hot spots. A third party could be given authority to make a report of hate crimes to police when no single victim can be identified. The importance of research should be understood within the police.
- When creating a policy for the police, the crime prevention and the online world could be highlighted. The IHRA working definition of antisemitism could be taken as a base for the police. Police policy and statistics should be easily available to wider public. The police could also establish special units in order to improve their effort.

The third research question: What are the actions that the Finnish police have planned to take and what could be further developed, compared to Sweden and Great Britain? Sweden has 15 “yes” answers and 10 “no” answers out of 25 recommended actions. Finland has 13 “yes” and 12 “no” answers on the tables. Great Britain has 21 “yes” and 4 “no” answers. When the result is examined it must be remembered that a country might already have made the action in the past and that is why it is not written in the newest document or even if a country has planned to make the action it still might be unwritten in the documents or the country has written the action in the strategic documents but has not carried out the implementation. As these limitations are outside of the scope of the theoretical frame, the result and research are valid. The comparison revealed that Finland’s police have not planned to make as many actions as Sweden and Great Britain. Finland’s police could significantly improve its counteractions against antisemitic hate crimes by adding the 12 missing recommend actions to its strategies.

From a public viewpoint, it seems that the police of Finland have planned to meet the leaders of the local Jewish community and organizations regularly, share risk assessments with local Jewish communities and build trust in local members of the Jewish community or hate crime victims. In order to build more trust, the Finland’s police could appoint a liaison officer to the Jewish community and involve local Jewish communities and organizations to joint planning.

The police of Finland have implemented TACHLE, the victim's role has been included in education and Jewish customs and traditions have been covered. More education could be given to police recruits as well as more opportunities to receive education during their careers. The police have a custom of directing victims or presenting organizations to victims that provide support and help. The police have also mentioned the non-governmental organizations in their strategies. The Finnish police lacks written instructions about what should be done at the hate crime scene and a clear method on how to intervene to repeat victimization. Extra service has not been considered on Jewish holidays or during conflicts in the Middle East.

The importance of research has been noted, but the police do not collect information about antisemitic incidents which are not classified as crimes, neither do the police co-operate with Jewish organizations to collect their statistics or data of hate crime incidents and crimes. Nor do the police mention that they are trying to identify hot spots concerning antisemitic hate crimes from the collected data. Also, it was mentioned that the third parties could make a report to the police when no individual victim can be identified which might increase hate crime statistics. Crime prevention and the online world are mentioned and IHRA working definition is accepted by Finland. Hate crime statistics are easily available to the public, but Finland is lacking an official hate crime strategy. Also, special hate crime units have not yet been established and only one special group concerning hate speech is operating.

As a final conclusion, if the police succeed in identifying an antisemitic motive in a crime, the number of antisemitic hate crimes will probably increase, which will hopefully increase the victim's will to report crimes. At first, we should expect a rise in official statistics. After a while, if the policy works and is implemented correctly, the numbers should go down. It would be good to arrange more education for the authorities who work with pretrial investigation. When the initial investigation is conducted properly, it is easier for the prosecutor to proceed to court. When a prosecutor has a steady ground for the case, it leads to a sentence which begins to form judicial custom. Victims receive justice and future victims gain trust that their case will be taken seriously. It also sends a signal to the whole society that antisemitic conduct is not accepted in Finland.

At the same time statistics will be more accurate and reveal the reality on the streets. Crimes should be classified with a right bias, which is not always that easy, especially if you need to choose only one motive. Religion-related hate crimes might often be intertwined with ethnic,

racial and immigrant bias (Scheitle & Hansman 2016, 862). That is also one reason why education is always a good choice.

To reflect on the validity of this research, it might have been possible to identify more key areas and actions, but the research would then have been enormous, and the aim of the research would have been different. The aim of this research was achieved with these identified five key areas and 25 recommended actions. On the basis of the current information from the involved actors, these areas and actions are valid elements for comparison between the countries and the actions can be expected to be done by the police authorities in the different countries. The Finnish police or government do not have a separate strategy for hate crimes, let alone for antisemitic hate crimes. This is understandable because the official statistics are fairly low. On the other hand, now is the right time to act when the numbers are low, and we are located at the steady part of the hate triangle (Figure 2). We should have learned from genocides that by protecting ethnic minorities, we are protecting all people.

According to the Old Testament, the Jewish nation made a covenant with God and was also the nation into which the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was born into (Holy Bible, 97, 1274). Throughout the times the Jewish have been persecuted, suffered genocide, and still even today face the threat of antisemitic hate crimes. Finland is a Christian country, and it should be our pride and privilege to protect the Jews. Let us keep Jews safe in Finland!

## 9 Summary in Swedish

### **Polisen bekämpar antisemitiska hatbrott i Finland:**

#### **En jämförelse mellan Sverige och Storbritannien**

Europeiska kommissionen gav ett uppdrag åt EU:s byrå för grundläggande rättigheter att genomföra en undersökning om den judiska befolkningens upplevelser av antisemitism. Totalt deltog 16 300 judar från tolv olika EU:s medlemsstater i den undersökningen. De undersökta länderna var; Österrike, Belgien, Danmark, Frankrike, Tyskland, Ungern, Italien, Nederländerna, Polen, Spanien, Sverige och Storbritannien, över 96 % av Europas judar bor i dessa länder. Enligt undersökningen upplever nio av tio Europas judar att antisemitismen har ökat under de senaste fem åren. Den 6 december 2018 antog alla Europeiska unionens

medlemsstater enhälligt ” Rådets förklaring om kampen mot antisemitism och om utarbetande av en gemensam säkerhetsstrategi för att bättre skydda judiska gemenskaper och institutioner i Europa” som är en viktig signal. Ansvar för att skydda Europeiska unionens medborgare ligger huvudsakligen på medlemsstaterna, vilket också gäller Finland. (Europeiska kommissionen 2018.) Även i Finland har antisemitismen ökat och det har blivit vardagligt (Huttunen 2017).

Min pro gradu-avhandling tar avstamp i undersökningens resultat och rådets förklaring. Syftet med min avhandling är att undersöka hur antisemitiska hatbrott är bekämpade i Finland, Sverige och Storbritannien samt kartlägga hur finska polisen kan förbättra sina insatser. När ländernas motåtgärder jämförs med varandra och med teoriramen som skapas i arbetet syns det vilka åtgärder den finska polisen har planerat vidta och vad som kan förbättras i förhållande till andra länder och teoriramen (se figur 1). Forskningen utförs ur ett offentligt perspektiv. Detta betyder att alla dokument och information om polisens motåtgärder är från offentliga källor, inga intervjuer gjordes och ingen information från hemligstämplade handlingar finns med. I avhandlingen söks svar på tre forskningsfrågor:

1. Vilka är de nyckelområden som polisen borde inrikta resurser på när de bekämpar antisemitiska hatbrott?
2. Hurdana åtgärder borde polisen vidta för att förbättra insats inom ett nyckelområde enligt involverade aktörer?
3. Vilka åtgärder har finska polisen redan planerat att vidta och vad kunde vidare utvecklas jämfört med Sverige och Storbritannien?

För att kunna förstå mera om ämnet och innehållet av de olika begrepp som används i avhandlingen presenteras de centrala begreppen. I kapitel 2 presenteras kort radikaliserings och våldsamt extremism, hatbrott, hatprat och antisemitismen samt hur antisemitismen identifieras i ett brott. Därefter skapas en teoriram för jämförelsen av teorin med ländernas åtgärder.

Första fasen i jämförelsen är att skapa en teoriram. Den teoriram som skapas utgår från tidigare forskning i kapitel 4 genom att identifiera fem nyckelområden för polisen när de bekämpar antisemitiska hatbrott och hatbrott överlag. De fem nyckelområdena är förtroende, utbildning, preliminära undersökningsåtgärder, statistik och policy. De fem nyckelområdena ger svar på första forskningsfrågan och varje nyckelområde presenteras som en egen tabell i jämförelsen.

Andra fasen består av rekommenderade åtgärder. I kapitel 6 undersöks vilka åtgärder polisen borde vidta för att förbättra de fem områdena som påverkar i kampen mot antisemitiska hatbrott. Information om rekommenderade åtgärder är från olika dokument som är skrivna av judiska organisationer, polisorganisationer, Organisationen för säkerhet och samarbete i Europa (OSSE) och från ytterligare organisationer. Totalt undersöktes tolv olika dokument från tio olika organisationer (se tabell 4). Information och rekommenderade åtgärder placerades under varje nyckelområde. Därefter skapades fem frågor för varje område på basis av den informationen som fanns i de dokumenten. Totalt skapades 25 frågor som innehåller de centrala åtgärder. De frågorna ingår i jämförelsen och ländernas strategiska dokument och åtgärder kommer att jämföras med de skapade frågorna. Andra fasen ger svar på andra forskningsfrågan.

Sedan undersökes Sverige, Finland och Storbritannien var för sig. Inledningsvis presenteras hur många judar finns det i landet och information om antisemitism samt antisemitiska hatbrott. Efter det presenteras de valda strategierna som ingår i jämförelsen. Från de strategierna lyfts fram åtgärder som behandlar polisen och polisens arbete mot hatbrott. Från varje land valdes fyra strategier som undersöktes med hjälp av innehållsanalys. De strategierna som valdes motsvarar i idealfall polisens lokala strategi för huvudstaden, polisens nationella hatbrottstrategi, regeringens nationella hatbrottstrategi och regeringens nationella antisemitismstrategi. Bara Storbritannien hade alla de fyra nämnda strategierna. Från andra länder valdes motsvarande strategier eller dokument som är på samma strategiska nivå (se tabell 3). Ytterligare togs det med andra dokument från varje land som innehöll relevant information om de planerade eller vidtagna motåtgärderna av polisen mot antisemitiska hatbrott och hatbrott. Detta är nödvändigt för att få en mera realistisk bild av de motåtgärderna som är redan planerade eller implementerade.

Jämförelsen görs i fem tabeller (10–14). Den första tabellen handlar om förtroende och har fem frågor om rekommenderade åtgärder. På liknande sätt behandlas alla nyckelområden med frågor från andra fasen. På basis av information som hittades från landets strategier är svar på frågan *ja* eller *nej*. Svaret baserar sig på min uppfattning om de strategierna. Det kan hända att landet redan har vidtagit en åtgärd tidigare eller planerar att vidta en men har inte skrivit ner det i undersökta strategier, då syns det inte i resultatet. Detta måste man komma ihåg när man ser på det resultatet och drar slutsatser. Av de 25 frågor har Sverige 15 ja-svar och 10 nej-svar. Finland har 13 ja-svar och 12-nej svar. Storbritannien har 21 ja-svar och 4 nej-svar. Detta

resultat visar att Finland har planerat att vidta färre åtgärder än Sverige och Storbritannien. Finlands bekämpande av antisemitiska hatbrott och hatbrott överlag är inte strategisk på samma nivå som i Sverige och Storbritannien.

Enligt de undersökta strategierna har finska polisen planerat att träffa ledare av judiska samfund och organisationer regelbundet, dela hotbilder med de lokala judiska samfunden och öka förtroende med medlemmar i den lokala samfunden. Finska polis skulle kunna utnämna en kontaktperson för de judiska samfunden och organisationerna samt ha mera gemensam planering med dem för att kunna öka förtroende. Utbildningspaket TACHLE är implementerat vid finska polisen och hatbrotts- offrets roll och judiska traditioner har behandlats inom polisen. Mera utbildning skulle kunna ges åt polisaspiranter och mera möjligheter att utbilda sig i hatbrottsärenden under karriären. Polisen brukar dirigera hatbrottsoffer till stödtjänster eller presentera hjälpande organisationer. Polisen har också nämnt icke-statliga organisationers roll. Finska polisen har varken en skriftlig praxis om nödvändiga åtgärder på hatbrottsplats eller en tydlig ingripande metod för människor som faller offer för hatbrott upprepade gånger. Extra service under judiska helgdagar eller under konflikter i Mellanöstern har inte övervägts.

Undersökningens betydelse har noterats men finska polisen samlar inte information om hatincidenter som inte är brott. Judiska organisationer och polisen har inte samarbete kring statistik om hatbrott och hatincidenter. Det står ingenstans att polisen försöker identifiera brottstäta områden av antisemitiska hatbrott. Det nämndes inte heller om tredje parter har möjlighet att göra en brottsanmälan när inget enskilt offer kan identifieras. Brottsförebyggande och internet har nämnts samt att Finland har accepterat den internationella alliansen till minne av förintelsens (IHRA) arbetsdefinition av antisemitism. Hatbrottsstatistik är lätt tillgängligt för allmänheten men varken den finska staten eller polisen har ännu en skild hatbrottsstrategi. Speciella hatbrottsenheter har inte ännu inrättats, bara en speciell grupp som fungerar i Helsingfors och fokuserar på hatprat. Genom att implementera de åtgärder som Finland inte ännu har vidtagit kan finska polisen förbättra sina insatser i bekämpningen av antisemitiska hatbrott och hatbrott överlag. Detta resultat ger svar på den tredje forskningsfrågan.

Sammanfattningsvis kan konstateras att de studerade länderna hade alla vidtagit åtgärder som är relevanta enligt teoriramen. Finland har vidtagit mindre åtgärder än Sverige eller Storbritannien men arbetet har påbörjats. I Bibeln står det att judiska folket ingick i förbund



med Gud samt att vår frälsare och Herre Jesus Kristus föddes bland den judiska nationen (Heliga Bibeln, 97, 1274). Låt oss skydda judar i Finland!

**References:**

Against hate project 2019, Against hate -hankkeen suosituksia viharikosten ja vihapuheen vastaiseen työhön,  
<https://yhdenvertaisuus.fi/against-hate>

Alasuutari, Pertti, Laadullinen tutkimus 2.0, 2011, 4 uudistettu painos, Riika, Vastapaino

Bjurwald, Lisa, 2011, Euroopan häpeä, Rasistien voittokulku, Original: Europas skam: Rasister på frammarsch, Tallinna, Art House

Bleich, Erik, 2007, Hate Crime Policy in Western Europe: Responding to Racist Violence in Britain, Germany, and France. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51(2), 149–165.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764207306047>

Booth, William & Eglash, Ruth, 2015, After Paris attacks, Israel vows to welcome European Jews seeking to immigrate, *Washington Post* 11.1.2015. Referred 3.2.2020  
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\\_east/](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/)

Boyd, Jonathan & Graham, David, 2017, Understanding Antisemitic Hate Crime: Do the Experiences, Perceptions and Behaviors of Jews Vary by Gender, Age and Religiosity? Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe,  
<https://www.osce.org/odihr/320021>

Boyd, Jonathan & Mashiah, Casale Donatella, 2017, Synagogue membership in the United Kingdom in 2016, Institute for Jewish Policy Research, *jpr/report*,  
[https://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/Synagogue\\_membership\\_in\\_the\\_United\\_Kingdom\\_in\\_2016.pdf](https://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/Synagogue_membership_in_the_United_Kingdom_in_2016.pdf)

Boyd, Jonathan & Staetsky, Daniel L, 2015, Could it happen here? What existing data tell us about contemporary antisemitism in the UK, Institute for Jewish Policy Research, *jpr/policy debate*,

[https://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR.2015.Policy\\_Debate\\_\\_Contemporary\\_Antisemitism.pdf](https://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR.2015.Policy_Debate__Contemporary_Antisemitism.pdf)

Boyd, Jonathan & Staetsky, Daniel L, 2014, Exceptional Case? Perceptions and experiences of antisemitism among Jews in the United Kingdom, Institute for Jewish Policy Research

jpr/report,

[https://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/Perceptions\\_and\\_experiences\\_of\\_antisemitism\\_among\\_Jews\\_in\\_UK.pdf](https://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/Perceptions_and_experiences_of_antisemitism_among_Jews_in_UK.pdf)

Bunar, Nihad, 2007, Hate Crimes Against Immigrants in Sweden and Community Responses. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51(2), 166–181,

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764207306049>

B'nai Brith Canada, 2017, B'nai Brith's Eight-point plan to tackle antisemitism, Audit of antisemitic incidents 2017, referred 18.5.2020

[https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/bnaibrithcanada/pages/2484/attachments/original/1524579971/Eight\\_Point\\_Plan\\_to\\_Tackle\\_Antisemitism\\_-\\_Audit\\_2017.pdf](https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/bnaibrithcanada/pages/2484/attachments/original/1524579971/Eight_Point_Plan_to_Tackle_Antisemitism_-_Audit_2017.pdf)

Chair, Karen R Mock, Chen, Marie, Elliott, Germaine, Farber, Bernie M, Khouri, Raja, Qamar, Ijaz A, Shakir, Uzma, , Shulman Howard, Stewart, Anne-Marie & Tallim, Jane, 2006, Addressing Hate Crime in Ontario, Final Report of the Hate Crimes Community Working Group to the Attorney General and the Minister of Community Safety and Correctional Services,

[https://www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/english/about/pubs/hatecrimes/HCCWG\\_full.pdf](https://www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/english/about/pubs/hatecrimes/HCCWG_full.pdf)

Common co-operation agreement between Stockholm city and Stockholm police, 2019, Övergripande samverkansöverenskommelse mellan Stockholms stad och Polisregion Stockholm,

<https://polisen.se/aktuellt/nyheter/2019/oktober/polisen-och-stockholms-stad-gor-gemensam-sak-for-tryggheten/>

College of Policing, 2004, Hate Crime Operational Guidance,

[https://www.report-it.org.uk/files/hate\\_crime\\_operational\\_guidance.pdf](https://www.report-it.org.uk/files/hate_crime_operational_guidance.pdf)

College of Policing, 2014, National Policing Hate Crime Strategy,

[https://www.report-it.org.uk/files/national\\_policing\\_hate\\_crime\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.report-it.org.uk/files/national_policing_hate_crime_strategy.pdf)

Dencik Lars & Marosi Karl, 2017, Different Antisemitisms, Perceptions and experiences of antisemitism among Jews in Sweden and across Europe, Institute for Jewish Policy Research (jpr) report,

[https://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR\\_2017.\\_Different\\_Antisemitisms\\_in\\_Sweden\\_and\\_across\\_Europe.pdf](https://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR_2017._Different_Antisemitisms_in_Sweden_and_across_Europe.pdf)

Department for Communities and Local Government, 2014, Government Action on Antisemitism,

[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/390904/Government\\_Action\\_on\\_Antisemitism\\_final\\_24\\_Dec.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/390904/Government_Action_on_Antisemitism_final_24_Dec.pdf)

Eskola, Jari & Suoranta, Juha, 2003, Johdatus laadulliseen tutkimukseen, 6.painos, Jyväskylä, Vastapaino

European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), 2004, On the fight against antisemitism, ECRI General policy recommendation no.9.

<https://rm.coe.int/ecri-general-policy-recommendation-no-9-on-the-fight-against-antisemit/16808b5ac8>

European commission, 2018, Commission presents its response to Antisemitism and a survey showing Antisemitism is on the rise in the EU, press release 10.12.2018, Referred 3.2.2020.

[https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP\\_18\\_6724](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_18_6724)

European Commission, 2019, Special Eurobarometer 484, Perceptions of antisemitism, report,

[https://data.europa.eu/euodp/en/data/dataset/S2220\\_90\\_4\\_484\\_ENG](https://data.europa.eu/euodp/en/data/dataset/S2220_90_4_484_ENG)

European Jewish Congress (EJC), 2019, Action Plan for Combating Antisemitism in Europe, 26.3.2020, referred 18.5.2020

<https://eurojewcong.org/ejc-in-action/statements/jewish-organisations-announce-joint-action-plan-for-combating-antisemitism-in-europe/>

European Jewish Congress website (EJC), 2020, referred 29.5.2020.

<https://eurojewcong.org/>

European Parliament, 2017, European Parliament resolution of 1 June 2017 on combating anti-Semitism, ‘

[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2017-0243\\_EN.html](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2017-0243_EN.html)

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), 2019, Antisemitism, Overview of data available in the European Union 2008–2018,

[https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-antisemitism-overview-2008-2018\\_en.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-antisemitism-overview-2008-2018_en.pdf)

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), 2016, Ensuring justice for hate crime victims: professional perspectives,

[https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-2016-justice-hate\\_crime-victims\\_en.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2016-justice-hate_crime-victims_en.pdf)

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), 2019, Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU summary, referred 21.1.2020,

[https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-2018-experiences-and-perceptions-of-antisemitism-survey-summary\\_en.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2018-experiences-and-perceptions-of-antisemitism-survey-summary_en.pdf)

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) website, 2020, referred 19.6.2020,

<https://fra.europa.eu/en/theme/hate-crime/compendium-practices?>

Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity, 2012, The responsible conduct of research,

[https://tenk.fi/sites/tenk.fi/files/HTK\\_ohje\\_2012.pdf](https://tenk.fi/sites/tenk.fi/files/HTK_ohje_2012.pdf)

Finnish police 2016, Vihapuheidien ja -rikosten torjuntaan liittyvän Toimintasuunnitelman valmistelua koskevan työryhmän loppuraportti,

[https://www.poliisi.fi/instancedata/prime\\_product\\_julkaisu/intermin/embeds/poliisiwwwstructure/55559\\_53788\\_Vihapuheidien\\_tehostettu\\_torjunta\\_raportti.pdf](https://www.poliisi.fi/instancedata/prime_product_julkaisu/intermin/embeds/poliisiwwwstructure/55559_53788_Vihapuheidien_tehostettu_torjunta_raportti.pdf)

Gerstenfeld, Phyllis. B, 2004, Teaching a General Education Course on Hate Crimes: Challenges and Solutions. *Journal of Hate Studies*, 3(1), 107–112. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.33972/jhs.23>

Global Jewish advocacy (AJC), 2018, A call to action: Combating antisemitism in Europe, referred 13.5.2020. <https://www.ajc.org/calltoaction/combatingantisemitism>

Government network of contact persons for fundamental and human rights, 2017, National Action Plan on Fundamental and Human Rights 2017–2019, Publication of the Ministry of Justice 9/2017, <http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/handle/10024/79277>

Groma, Jelena 2018, Preventing and combating hate crimes: Modern approach, SHS Web Conf. Volume 51, 2018, 6th International Interdisciplinary Scientific Conference SOCIETY. HEALTH. WELFARE (Part II), Article Number, 01009, p. 5 <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/20185101009>

Hanski, Jari, 2006, *Juutalaisviha Suomessa 1918–1944*, Jyväskylä, Ajatus kirjat

Heimari, Tiinamariia, 2018, Sisäministerille esitettiin vetoamus Helsingin juutalaisen seurakunnan turvallisuuden puolesta, *Seurakuntalainen* 18.12.2018, Referred 6.2.2020, <https://www.seurakuntalainen.fi/>

Helsinki Jewish community website 2020, referred 20.1.2020, <https://www.jchelsinki.fi/>

Helsinki police department, 2019, Performance agreement 2020, [https://www.poliisi.fi/tietoa\\_poliisista/vuosittaiset\\_tulossopimukset](https://www.poliisi.fi/tietoa_poliisista/vuosittaiset_tulossopimukset)

Henttonen, Sini, Kivinen, Tero, Rasila, Tapio, Sammalmaa, Johanna & Vihavainen, Jonna, 2015, *Vihapuhe Suomessa*, Toim. Neuvonen, Riku, Porvoo, Edita.

Her Majesty's Government, 2018, Action Against Hate, The UK Government's plan for tackling hate crime – 'two years on',

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/hate-crime-action-plan-2016>

Herzl, Theodor, 2004, Juutalaisten valtio, 3.painos, German original: Der Judenstaat, Saarijärvi, Shalom kustannus oy

Home Office, 2018, Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2017/18, Statistical Bulletin 20/18, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/748598/hate-crime-1718-hosb2018.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/748598/hate-crime-1718-hosb2018.pdf)

Hirsjärvi, Sirkka, Remes, Pirkko & Sajavaara, Paula, 2016, Tutkija ja kirjoita, 21 painos, Porvoo, Tammi

Holy Bible, New King James version, China, Holman

Home Office, 2019, Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2018/19, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/839172/hate-crime-1819-hosb2419.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/839172/hate-crime-1819-hosb2419.pdf)

Huttunen, Juhani, 2017, Herjoja, kananmunia ja Hitler-tarroja – Helsingin juutalainen seurakunta kerää varoja kattaakseen turvatoimien kulut, Kirkko ja kaupunki 16.11.2017, Referred 4.2.2020, <https://www.kirkkojakaupunki.fi/>

Hyttinen, Tatu & Tapani, Jussi, 2018, Rikoksen ja rangaistuksen äärellä, Helsinki, Helsingin yliopiston oikeustieteellisen tiedekunnan julkaisuja

Iganski, Paul, Kielinger, Vicky & Paterson, Susan, 2005, Hate crimes against London's Jews: An analysis of incidents recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service 2001-2004, Institute for Jewish Policy Research, <https://archive.jpr.org.uk/download?id=1480>

Iganski, Paul, 2007, Too Few Jews to Count? Police Monitoring of Hate Crime Against Jews in the United Kingdom, *American Behavioral Scientist* October 2007, Vol.51(2), pp.232-245  
International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), 2001, *Responding to Hate Crimes: A Police Officer's Guide to Investigation and Prevention*, referred 11.5.2020,  
<https://www.theiacp.org/resources/responding-to-hate-crimes-a-police-officers-guide-to-investigation-and-prevention>

International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), 2001, *Responding to Hate Crimes: A Police Officer's Guide to Investigation and Prevention*,  
<https://www.theiacp.org/resources/responding-to-hate-crimes-a-police-officers-guide-to-investigation-and-prevention>

International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance website (IHRA), 2020, Referred 31.3.2020.  
[www.holocaustremembrance.com](http://www.holocaustremembrance.com)

James, Steve, 2005, The Policing of Right-Wing Violence in Australia1, *Police Practice and Research*, Vol. 6, No. 2, May 2005, pp. 103–119  
<https://doi-org.ezproxy.vasa.abo.fi/10.1080/15614260500121088>

Jeness, Valerie & Grattet, Ryken, 2005, The law-in-between: The effects of organizational perviousness on the policing of hate crime, *Social Problems*, 52(3), 337-359.  
<https://heinonline-org.ezproxy.vasa.abo.fi>

Junttila, Paula 2013, *Euroopan erilaiset kasvot*, Kirjassa: *Euroopan juutalaisten kutsu*, Toim: Junttila, Paula, Keuruu, Aikamedia

Jääskeläinen, Petri, 2020, Onko kaiken takana juutalainen? – Salaliittoteorioilla jäsenetään maailmaa, *Teema* 2020/1: Antisemitismi, Referred 6.3.2020,  
<https://teologia.fi/2020/01/onko-kaiken-takana-juutalainen-salaliittoteorioilla-jasennetaan-maailmaa/>

Kananen, Jorma, 2017, *Laadullinen tutkimus pro graduna ja opinnäytetyönä*, Jyväskylän ammattikorkeakoulun julkaisusarja, Jyväskylä, JAMK.FI

Kantor, Dan, 2012, Kirjassa: Suomen kansalliset vähemmistöt, Kulttuurien ja kielten rikkautta, 2. uudistettu painos, Toim. Daher, Okan, Hannikainen, Lauri & Heikinheimo, Karoliina, Keuruu, Minority rights group Finland

Kauhanen, Anna-Liina, 2020, Presidentti Niinistö varoitti rasismien ja juutalais-vastaisuuden noususta: ”Ei ihmis-luonto muutamassa suku-polvessa ole muuttunut vihalle immuuniksi”, Helsingin Sanomat 5.2.2020, Referred 6.2.2020,  
<https://www.hs.fi/politiikka/>

Keinon, Herb, 2015, Netanyahu to European Jews: Terror attacks in Europe will continue, Israel is your home, The Jerusalem post 15.2.2015, Referred 3.2.2020.  
<https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/>

Ketola, Mikko, 2020 a, Antisemitismi eilen, tänään, huomenna, Teema 2020/1: Antisemitismi, Referred 6.3.2020,  
<https://teologia.fi/2020/01/antisemitismi-eilen-tanaan-huomenna/>

Ketola, Mikko, 2020 b, Holokaustin kiistäminen on antisemitismia, Teema 2020/1: Antisemitismi, Referred 6.3.2020,  
<https://teologia.fi/2020/01/holokaustin-kiistaminen-on-antisemitismia/>

Kielinger, Vicky & Paterson, Susan, 2007, Policing Hate Crime in London. American Behavioral Scientist, 51(2), 196–204.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764207306051>

Kokkonen, Susanna, 2014, Matka Holokaustiin, Juutalaisviha Raamatun ja historian valossa, Keuruu, Aikamedia

Korhonen, Nita, Jauhola, Laura, Oosi, Olli & Huttunen, Hannu-Pekka (Owal Group Ab), 2016, ”I often find myself thinking how I should be or where I shouldn’t go” – Survey on hate speech and harassment and their influence on different minority groups, Ministry of Justice, Finland, Publications 7/2016,  
<http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/handle/10024/76633>



Koskinen, Anu Leena, 2020, Uusnatsit polttivat Israelin lipun Tampereella: Poliisi selvittää tapahtumia, YLE 28.1.2020, referred 6.2.2020,  
<https://yle.fi/>

Levin, Brian & Amster, Sara-Ellen, 2007, Making Hate History: Hate Crime and Policing in America's Most Diverse City. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51(2), 319–348.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764207306062>

Liebkind, Karmela, 2020, Onko antisemitismi muuntautuva virus? *Teema* 2020/1: Antisemitismi, referred 6.3.2020,  
<https://teologia.fi/2020/01/onko-antisemitismi-muuntautuva-virus/>

Lundgren, Svante, 2020, Antisemitismens många ansikten, *Teema* 2020/1: Antisemitismi, referred 6.3.2020,  
<https://teologia.fi/2020/01/antisemitismens-manga-ansikten/>

Löytömäki, Stiina, 2015, Euroopan ihmisoikeustuomioistuin ja historiadiskurssi, Kirjassa: *Vihapuhe Suomessa*, Toim. Neuvonen, Riku, Porvoo, Edita.

Martin, Susan E, 1999, Police and the Production of Hate Crimes: Continuity and Change in One Jurisdiction. *Police Quarterly*, 2(4), 417–437.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/109861119900200402>

Mayor's Office for Policing And Crime, 2014, , A HATE CRIME REDUCTION STRATEGY FOR LONDON 2014-2017  
[https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/mopac\\_hate\\_crime\\_reduction\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/mopac_hate_crime_reduction_strategy.pdf)

Ministry of Interior, 2019, Finland's Strategy on Preventive Police Work 2019–2023, Publications of the Ministry of the Interior 2019:3,  
[https://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/161300/SM\\_3\\_19\\_ENSKA.pdf](https://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/161300/SM_3_19_ENSKA.pdf)

Ministry of Interior, 2020 a, National Action Plan For The Prevention Of Violent Radicalisation And Extremism 2019–2023, Government resolution 19 December 2019, Publications of the Ministry of the Interior 2020:1,  
[http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/162073/SM\\_2020\\_1.pdf](http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/162073/SM_2020_1.pdf)

Ministry of Interior, 2020 b, Violent extremism in Finland – situation overview 2020 Assessment on the status and trends of violent extremism in Finland in 2019, Publications of the Ministry of the Interior 2020:8,  
[http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/162174/SM\\_\\_2020\\_08.pdf](http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/162174/SM__2020_08.pdf)

Neumann, Peter R, 2017, Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalisation that Lead to Terrorism: Ideas, Recommendations, and Good Practices from the OSCE Region, Report by OSCE Chairperson in Office’s Special Representative on Countering Radicalisation and Violent Extremism International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), King’s College London,  
<https://www.osce.org/chairmanship/346841>

Northern Ireland Policing board, 2017, Thematic Review of Policing Race Hate Crime,  
<https://www.nipolicingboard.org.uk/sites/nipb/files/media-files/race-hate-crime-thematic-review.PDF>

Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), 2009, Preventing and responding to hate crimes, A resource guide for NGOs in the OSCE region, OSCE,  
<https://www.osce.org/odihhr/39821>

Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), 2012, Training Against Hate Crimes for Law Enforcement (TAHCLE), Programme Description, OSCE,  
<https://www.osce.org/odihhr/tahcle?>

Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), 2016, ODIHR’s Efforts to Counter Hate Crime, OSCE,  
<https://www.osce.org/odihhr/68668>

Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), 2017, Understanding Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Addressing the Security Needs of Jewish Communities, A Practical Guide, OSCE,  
<https://www.osce.org/odihr/317166>

Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), 2019, Anti-semitic hate crimes, Hate Crime Factsheets, OSCE,  
<https://www.osce.org/odihr/430859>

Orell, Jussi, 2018, Päivi Räsänen vaatinut Suomen juutalaisten turvallisuuden takaamista – "Terrori-isku on äärimmäinen uhka, jota vastaan seurakunta joutuu varautumaan", Satakunnan kansa 28.10.2018, Referred 6.2.2020,  
<https://www.satakunnankansa.fi/>

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) website, 2020, referred 18.5.2020,  
<https://www.osce.org>

Paatero, Mikko, 2016, Sisäisen turvallisuus horjuu, Juva, Docendo

Perry, Barbara, 2010, Policing hate crime in a Multicultural society, observations from Canada, International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice, Volume 38, Issue 3, November 2010, pages 120-140  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijlcrj.2010.10.004>

Peutere, Laura, 2009, Poliisin tietoon tullut viharikollisuus Suomessa 2008, Poliisiammattikorkeakoulun raportteja 85/2009,  
[https://www.theseus.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/87098/Raportteja\\_85\\_viharik.pdf](https://www.theseus.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/87098/Raportteja_85_viharik.pdf)

Peutere, Laura., & Kääriäinen, Juha, 2010, Racist Crimes in the Finnish Criminal Justice System – Analysis of Cases Reported to the Police in Helsinki in 2006. European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law & Criminal Justice, 18(3), 261–279.  
<https://doi-org.ezproxy.vasa.abo.fi/10.1163/157181710X12767720266003>

Ray, Larry & Smith, David, 2001, Racist offenders and the politics of 'hate crime'. *Law and Critique*, 12(3), 203-221. doi:

<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.vasa.abo.fi/10.1023/A:1013744505799>

Rikosuhripäivytys & USKOT-foorumi ry, 2018, Uhrien Kokemuksia viharikoksista Suomessa Vuosina 2014–2018,

<https://www.riku.fi/raportti-viharikoksista-epaluottamus-poliisin-toimintaan-nakyy-vastauksissa/>

Sahramäki, Iina, Niemi, Jenni & Kääriäinen, Juha, 2014, Racist Crime Reported to the Police in Finland: Comparison of Register-Based Data and Victimization Survey. *European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law & Criminal Justice*, 22(1), 59–78.

<https://doi-org.ezproxy.vasa.abo.fi/10.1163/15718174-22012039>

Sarajärvi, Anneli & Tuomi, Jouni, 2013, Laadullinen tutkimus ja sisällönanalyysi, 11 uudistettu laitos, Vantaa, Tammi

Scheitle, Christopher P & Hansmann, Michelle, 2016, Religion-Related Hate Crimes: Data, Trends, and Limitations: RELIGION-RELATED HATE CRIMES, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 12/2016, Vol.55(4), pp.859-873

<https://doi-org.ezproxy.vasa.abo.fi/10.1111/jssr.12299>

Seitamaa-Hakkarainen, Piritta, 2014, Kvalitatiivinen sisällönanalyysi, referred 24.6.2020

<https://metodix.fi/2014/05/19/seitamaa-hakkarainen-kvalitatiivinen-sisallon-analyysi/>

Soini, Timo, 2019, Vastaus kirjalliseen kysymykseen antisemitismin torjunnasta, Vastaus kirjalliseen kysymykseen KKV 646/2018 vp.

[https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/vaski/Kysymys/Documents/KKV\\_646+2018.pdf](https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/vaski/Kysymys/Documents/KKV_646+2018.pdf)

Staetsky, Daniel L, 2017 a, Are Jews leaving Europe? Institute for Jewish Policy Research, jpr/ report,

[https://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR.2017.Are\\_Jews\\_leaving\\_Europe.pdf](https://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR.2017.Are_Jews_leaving_Europe.pdf)

Staetsky, Daniel L, 2017 b, Antisemitism in contemporary Great Britain, A study of attitudes towards Jews and Israel, Institute for Jewish Policy Research jpr/report, [https://jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR.2017.Antisemitism\\_in\\_contemporary\\_Great\\_Britain.pdf](https://jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR.2017.Antisemitism_in_contemporary_Great_Britain.pdf)

Strategy of police 2020-2024, Finland, [https://www.poliisi.fi/instancedata/prime\\_product\\_julkaisu/intermin/embeds/poliisiwwwstructure/89088\\_POL\\_strategia\\_versio\\_FI\\_300320.pdf?22c19cecbdd7d788](https://www.poliisi.fi/instancedata/prime_product_julkaisu/intermin/embeds/poliisiwwwstructure/89088_POL_strategia_versio_FI_300320.pdf?22c19cecbdd7d788)

Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ), 2019, Antisemitiska hatbrott, Rapport 2019:4, , [https://www.bra.se/download/18.62c6cfa2166eca5d70e19304/1582204075595/2019\\_4\\_Antisemitiska\\_hatbrott.pdf](https://www.bra.se/download/18.62c6cfa2166eca5d70e19304/1582204075595/2019_4_Antisemitiska_hatbrott.pdf)

Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ), 2012, Hate crime 2011 Statistics on police reported offences with an identified hate crime motive A summary of report no. 2012:7, [https://www.bra.se/download/18.1ff479c3135e8540b29800020067/2012\\_Hate\\_crime\\_2011\\_summary.pdf](https://www.bra.se/download/18.1ff479c3135e8540b29800020067/2012_Hate_crime_2011_summary.pdf)

Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ), 2006, Hatbrott 2005, Webbrapport 2006:3 [https://www.bra.se/download/18.cba82f7130f475a2f1800010613/1371914726360/2006\\_hatbrott\\_2005.pdf](https://www.bra.se/download/18.cba82f7130f475a2f1800010613/1371914726360/2006_hatbrott_2005.pdf)

Swedish police 2019, Polismyndighetens strategiska verksamhetsplan 2020–2024, <https://polisen.se/om-polisen/uppdrag-och-mal/>

Swedish police authority's website 2019, referred 20.5.2020, <https://polisen.se/aktuellt/nyheter/2019/oktober/polisen-och-stockholms-stad-gor-gemensam-sak-for-tryggheten/>

Swedish government, 2016, Nationell plan mot rasism, liknande former av fientlighet och hatbrott, <https://www.regeringen.se/4aee39/contentassets/0be1b45cd781476494e91d92824deb4d/nationell-plan-mot-rasism-liknande-former-av-fientlighet-och-hatbrott>

Swedish governments office, 2019, Measures to combat antisemitism and increase security, <https://www.government.se/government-policy/democracy-and-human-rights/measures-to-combat-antisemitism-and-increase-security/>

The Board of Deputies of British Jews website, 2020, referred 26.5.2020, <https://www.bod.org.uk/jewish-facts-info/jews-in-numbers/>

The National Police Board Sweden (Rikspolisstyrelsen), 2013, Inspektion av polismyndigheternas förmåga att upptäcka och utreda hatbrott, Tillsynsrapport 2013:4, <https://docplayer.se/2692483-Inspektion-av-polismyndigheternas-och-utreda-hatbrott.html>

The official council of Swedish Jewish communities, 2020, referred 6.4.2020 <http://www.judiskacentralradet.se/>

Velibor Lalić & Slađana Đurić (2018) Policing hate crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Policing and Society*, 28:9, 1065-1083, DOI: 10.1080/10439463.2017.1281275 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.vasa.abo.fi/10.1080/10439463.2017.1281275>

Walfield, Scott M, Socia, Kelly M, & Powers, Ráchael A, 2017, Religious motivated hate crimes: Reporting to law enforcement and case outcomes. *American Journal of Criminal Justice* : AJCJ, 42(1), 148-169. doi: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.vasa.abo.fi/10.1007/s12103-016-9349-3>

Whine, Michael, 2014, Combating Antisemitism in Europe, *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 8:1, 81-94, DOI: <https://doi-org.ezproxy.vasa.abo.fi/10.1080/23739770.2014.11446629>

Wigerfelt, Berit, Wigerfelt, Anders S & Kiiskinen, Jenny, 2014. When Colour Matters: Policing and Hate Crime. *Social Inclusion*, 2(1), doi: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.vasa.abo.fi/10.17645/si.v2i1.31>

University of Tampere, 2020, Tiedon analysointi, referred 24.6.2020, <https://www.tut.fi/verne/tutkimusmenetelmat/tiedon-analysointi/>