GENDERED

ANTI–MUSLIM HATRED
AND ISLAMOPHOBIA

TM

Interim Report 2018

For further information please contact Faith Matters
+44 (0) 207 935 5573
info@faith-matters.co.uk

To report a hate crime, please contact Tell MAMA
+44 (0) 800 456 1226
info@tellmamauk.org
www.tellmamauk.org
Twitter: @TellMAMAUK
Facebook: www.facebook.com/tellmamauk

Published 29 November 2018

Get involved and support our work at www.tellmamauk.org

GENDERED ANTI-MUSLIM HATRED AND ISLAMOPHOBIA

INTERIM REPORT
JANUARY - JUNE 2018

TM

29 November 2018

Director's Statement

The rise in hate crimes and specifically anti-Muslim hatred and Islamophobia necessitates our decision to release an interim report rather than only an annual report especially around trends in anti-Muslim hatred and issues of bullying and anti-Muslim discrimination. More needs to be done to ensure the day to day racism that Muslim communities go through is documented and highlighted.

The gendered intersectionality of anti-Muslim and Islamophobic hate incidents are now well documented through our extensive work. Being a woman and being Muslim are markers for some of this gendered Islamophobia and not a single year has gone by since 2012 when we started work, when the majority of victims of street-based hate crimes have not been women. Of equal concern are the rising levels of aggression that are being shown to victims at a street level. This is deeply concerning and possibly indicates that something is changing for the worst.

We saw the worst of society with 'Punish a Muslim Day' and we saw the best in how people were Upstanders and supported one another. That should not take away from the realities of what so many people face and where they still need support. That is why we need to continue raising awareness to ensure that this underreporting is addressed and victims continue to be supported with various services.

As we have led the way in tackling and recording anti-Muslim hatred and providing holistic wrap-around services to victims of anti-Muslim hatred and Islamophobia, we will strive to continue to serve Muslim and other communities in maintaining their safety, security and dignity.

Executive Summary

Between January to June 2018, Tell MAMA recorded a total of 685 reports. Of these reports, 608 were verified as being anti-Muslim in nature and as having occurred in the UK. The majority were street-based ('offline') (65.9%, n=401), meaning that they occurred in-person between a victim and a perpetrator, or include acts of property damage or discrimination. Incidents of an online nature totalled 207, or 34% of verified cases in this reporting period.

Abusive behaviour continues to form the majority of 'offline' incidents by category, accounting for 45.3% (n=182). Many of these are characterised as occurring on a daily basis, suggesting that anti-Muslim incidents for Muslim communities have become normalised.

The rise in reports of discrimination is a trend Tell MAMA has observed since 2015 (detailed further in the report) and demonstrates how discriminatory attitudes and practises hinder the career and educational aspirations of Muslims. Institutional and structural forms of Islamophobia and anti-Muslim hatred are insidious and often unspoken forms of prejudice. An intersectional analysis of discrimination demonstrates how there are ethnic and religious penalties for Muslim women of various backgrounds in the workplace.[1] Muslim men are also held back in the workplace due to racism, Islamophobia, and anti-Muslim prejudice.[2]

The statistics demonstrate the gendered nature of anti-Muslim incidents with over half of victims, where data was available, were Muslim women. The 'normalisation' of anti-Muslim and Islamophobic incidents is also reinforced by the most common locations for these incidents, which are public areas, place of work and household or private property.

By applying a 'differentialist' model of racialisation, which concerns "cultural factors in addition to traditional, physical markers of race and ethnicity"[3] we can understand how the exclusion of Muslims is due to 'essentialised' forms of cultural differences.[4]

---

[1] Ganesh, Bharath, and Iman Abou Atta. " Forgotten Women: The impact of Islamophobia on Muslim women in the United Kingdom." European Network Against Racism (ENAR), 2016. https://www.enar-eu.org/IMG/pdf/forgotten_women_report_united_kingdom_-_final.pdf.

[2] Asthana, Anushka. "Islamophobia Holding Back UK Muslims in Workplace, Study Finds." The Guardian. Last modified June 26, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/society/2017/sep/07/islamophobia-holding-back-uk-muslims-in-workplace-study-finds.

[3] Selod, Saher, and David G. Embrick. "Racialization and Muslims: Situating the Muslim experience in race scholarship." Sociology Compass 7, no. 8 (2013): 644-655.

[4] Balibar, Étienne. "La construction du racisme." Actuel Marx 2 (2005): 11-28.

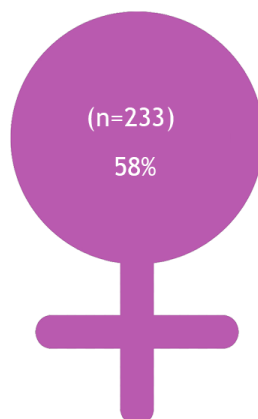## Verified Anti-Muslim Incidents Between January to June 2018

The majority of anti-Muslim incident reports received by Tell MAMA between January to June 2018 were street-based ('offline') (65.9%, n=401), meaning that they occurred in-person between a victim (or property) and a perpetrator.

Tell MAMA received 229 online reports in the first half of 2018 and verified 207 reports. Consistent with previous annual reports, most took place on Twitter (59.9%, n=124), with 49 reports of Islamophobic content having occurred on Facebook (23.6%), and a further 28 reports (13.5%0 taking place on other platforms, out of which a small proportion of reports concerned offensive content on YouTube (1.5%, n=3) and Instagram (0.96%, n=2).

Gendered Islamophobia and anti-Muslim Hatred

Muslim women, where gender data is available, accounts for 58% (n=233) of incidents. The targeting of Muslim women due to their overt religious identity demonstrates how the hijab (headscarf) has become an 'essentialist' way to see "Muslimness", which, in turn, 'others' Muslim women through a process where their Islamic identity is perceived to embody may of the things that are "wrong, problematic and threatening about Islam and Muslims in the West".[5]   Others contend that the visibility of the headscarf reinforces the "age-old stereotypes about Muslim women as meek and submissive" amongst perpetrators.[6]

Verified Offline Anti-Muslim Incidents Jan-Jun 2018 with Female Victims

(n=233)
58%

---

[5] Allen, Chris. "Exploring the Impact of Islamophobia on Visible Muslim Women Victims: A British Case Study." Journal of Muslims in Europe 3, no. 2 (2014): 137-159.

[6] Carland, Susan. "Islamophobia, fear of loss of freedom, and the Muslim woman." Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations 22, no. 4 (2011): 469-473.

The gendered nature of Islamophobia and anti-Muslim hatred is better understood through the framework of intersectionality, a term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, an American legal scholar, in 1989, who argued: "because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated."[7] This concept articulates 'politics of survival for black women' and presents a framework to stop the essentialism of difference.[8] Other academics have taken this framework further, with the hope of broadening the discussion to understand intersectionality, whilst detailing the privilege of being able-bodied in academia whilst facing structural and personal forms of oppression.[9] This is an important reflection and ties into the work of Tell MAMA, and our partnership work on CATCH (Community Alliance to Combat Hate), which means that we receive referrals from partner organisations because Muslims have been targeted for multiple identities – for example, a person can experience hatred, abuse, violence or discrimination because they are disabled and Muslim.

The evidence we have collated since 2012 demonstrates the importance of recognising the intersectionality of Islamophobia, anti-Muslim hatred and misogyny, with Muslim women bearing the brunt of Islamophobia and prejudice

Our research continues to demonstrate how Muslim women of differing ages and ethnicities experiencing a range of incidents including verbal abuse whilst walking down the street, intimidation on public transport and violence committed against individuals within the supposed safety of their homes.

Chakraborti and Zempi detail how they cannot 'take comfort' in explaining it through its randomness. It is exactly because of who they are that it happened and a reason as to why it may happen again.[10] It, therefore, harms them on a deeper, more personal level, and may also spiral out into the wider community as a symbol of what they face as the consequences of being a part of a Muslim community.

---

[7] Crenshaw, Kimberle. "Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics." U. Chi. Legal F. (1989): 139.

[8] Jordan-Zachery, Julia S. "Am I a black woman or a woman who is black? A few thoughts on the meaning of intersectionality." Politics & Gender 3, no. 2 (2007): 254-263.

[9] Ahmed, Sara. Living a feminist life. Duke University Press, 2017.

[10] Chakraborti, Neil, and Irene Zempi. "The veil under attack: Gendered dimensions of Islamophobic victimization." International review of victimology 18, no. 3 (2012): 269-284.

These findings are reinforced by Allen's (2015)[11] research with Tell MAMA that examined Muslim women's experiences of anti-Muslim prejudice and Islamophobia. Allen interviewed 20 women who had all reported incidents to Tell MAMA, 13 of which were characterised as abusive behaviour. The normalisation of the incidents confirms Chakraborti and Zempi's findings, with the women detailing the often-random nature of incidents that means they can occur at any time and in any place.

These examples demonstrate how Muslim women face intersectional anti-Muslim prejudice and misogyny in spaces that are part of everyday interactions and are fundamental to the fulfilment of their daily lives: be it commuting to work, studying, in the workplace, shopping for food, or collecting their children from school. The daily traversing of public spaces that are so mundane to many of us became synonymous with fear associated with the possibility of incidents of hate.

Discrimination and Structural Forms of Islamophobia and Anti-Muslim Hatred

The realities of Islamophobia and anti-Muslim hatred are complex: involving situational abuse, discriminatory practices and behaviours, hate crime, and the structural and institutional barriers which limit the educational and career aspirations of Muslims. Structural prejudice can impact Muslims when dealing with law enforcement, the criminal justice service, or the misapplication of safeguarding policies. There is also a growing body of research which argues that a process of 'securitisation' frames Muslims more broadly as a 'suspect community'.[12][13][14] Tell MAMA does, on occasion, deal with reports where the misuse of safeguarding policies has detrimentally impacted on Muslims.[15]

Such acts of hatred, discrimination, and racism are not the solely the actions of violent bigots who exist on the margins of society – we must instead examine the everyday nature of

---

[11] Allen, C. (2015). 'People hate you because of the way you dress': Understanding the invisible experiences of veiled British Muslim women victims of Islamophobia. *International Review of Victimology*, *21*(3), 287–301.

[12] Awan, I. '"I'm a Muslim not an Extremist:" How the Prevent Strategy has constructed a "Suspect" Community'. Politics & Policy 40, no.6 (2012) pp.1158-85.

[13] Cole, 'Austerity/Immiseration Capitalism and Islamophobia - or Twenty-first-century Multicultural Socialism?' (2014).

[14] Mills et al. 'Extreme Hatred' (2015).

[15] Kerbaj, Richard. "Alert over Muslim Boy's Water Pistol." The Times & The Sunday Times. Last modified February 11, 2018. https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/alert-over-muslim-boys-water-pistol-w0hmmjg6b.

Islamophobia which curtails the agency and mobility of Muslims when they access public transport, go shopping, are at work, or travelling on holiday.

The exhausting, daily process of dealing with low-level prejudice and discrimination can escalate into acts of hostility and violence. Studies have shown that many hate crime incidents form part of a wider process of victimisation from neighbours, work colleagues, peers, and even family members.

Tell MAMA has seen verified reports of discrimination increase by 111.76% in just two years, with 34 verified reports of discrimination in 2015, compared to 72 reports in 2017.
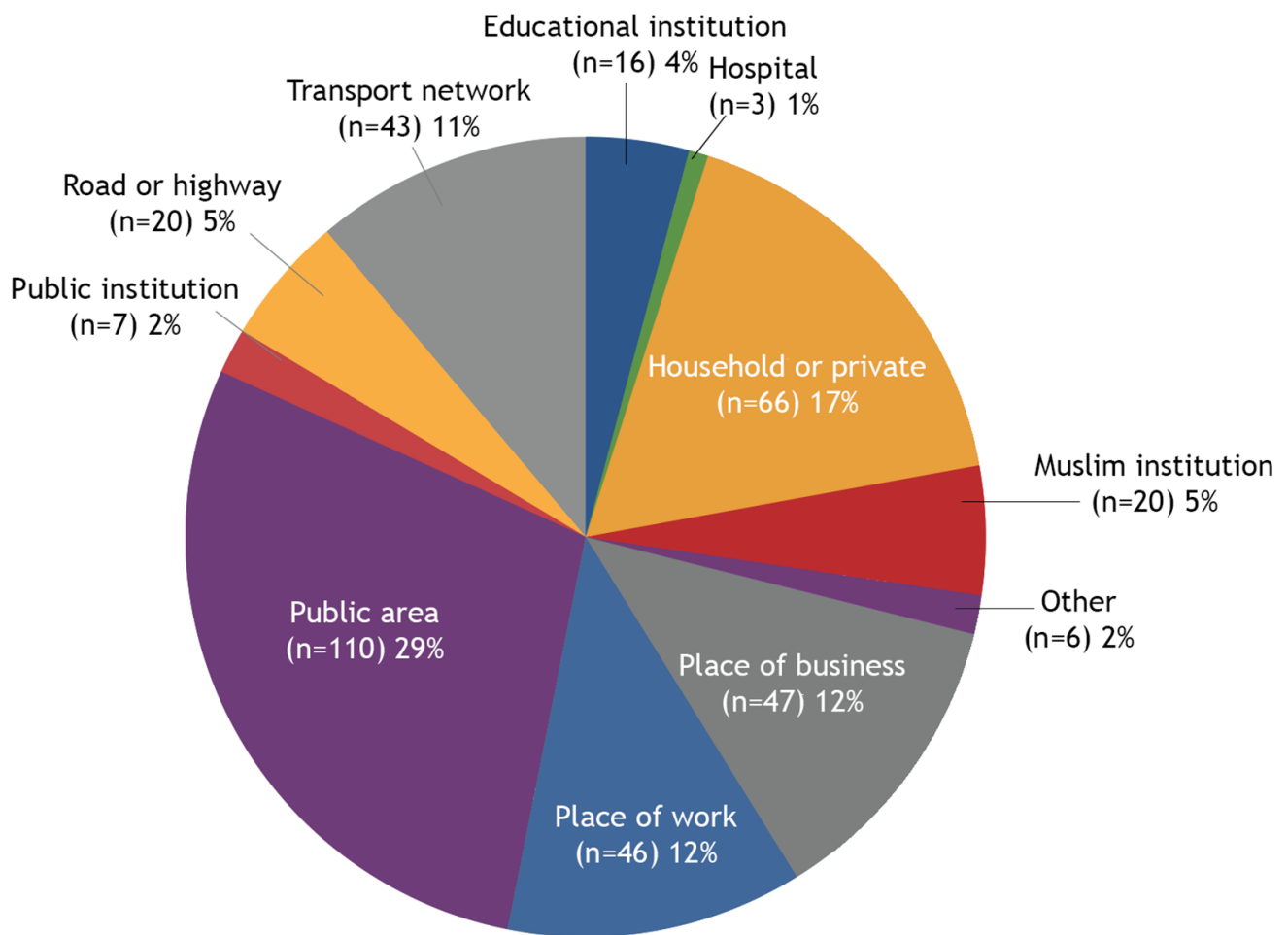
In our 2016 annual report, 'A Constructed Threat: Identity, Intolerance and the Impact of Anti-Muslim Hatred' we warned: "Muslims of all ages are at risk of discrimination in educational institutions, in the workplace, and near their homes when accessing public and private services."

This goes beyond being passed over for roles and often consists of ongoing 'low-level' abuse and mistreatment, including being met with ignorance from those in authoritative and managerial roles when grievances were raised. It extends to having fundamental rights denied in the workplace, which contravene the Equality Act 2010, including the denial of time or facilities to pray in, or facing hostility or harassment for dressing Islamic clothing.
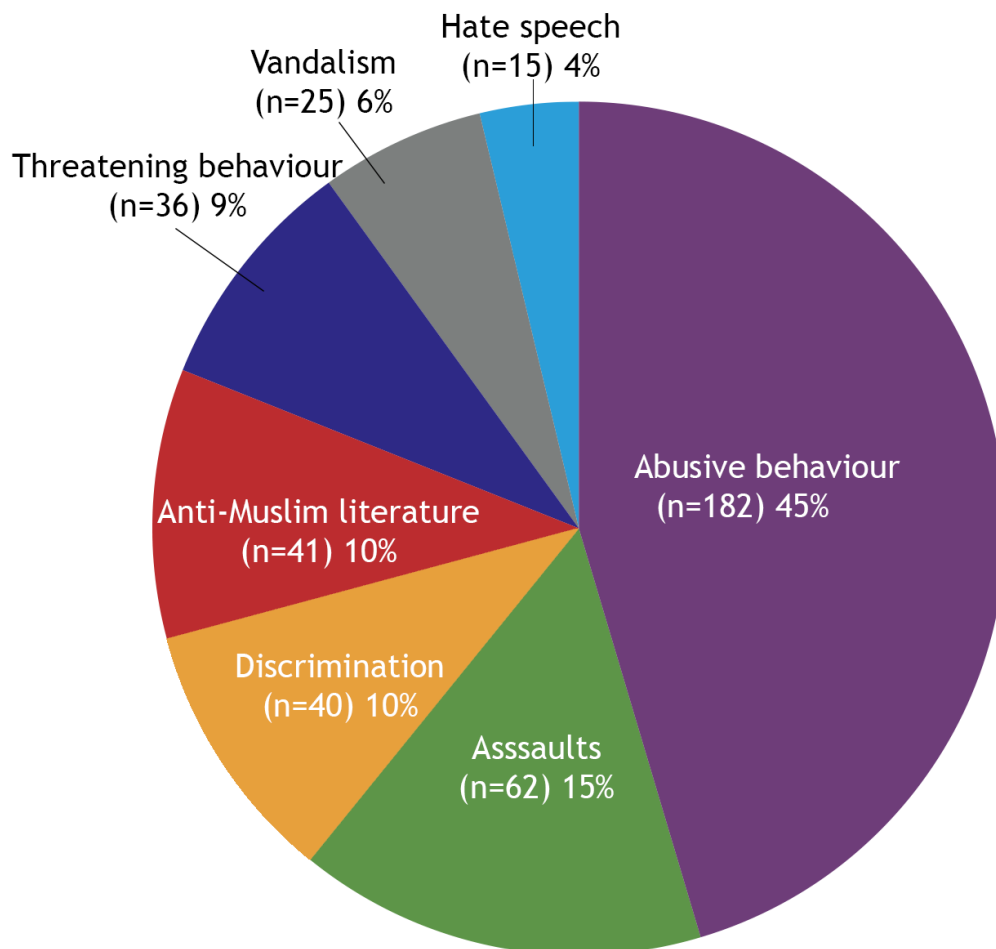
Anti-Muslim Incidents by Category

The most common location of incidents were public areas (27.4%, n=110). The second most common place for incidents to occur was household or private property (16.5%, n=66). The chart below gives a visual representation of where incidents occurred.

Verified Offline Anti-Muslim Incidents Jan-Jun 2018 by Place Category

Educational institution (n=16) 4%
Hospital (n=3) 1%
Transport network (n=43) 11%
Road or highway (n=20) 5%
Public institution (n=7) 2%
Household or private (n=66) 17%
Muslim institution (n=20) 5%
Other (n=6) 2%
Public area (n=110) 29%
Place of business (n=47) 12%
Place of work (n=46) 12%

Consistent with previous reports, many offline incidents were recorded as abusive behaviour with physical assault again being the next most frequently recorded category. The chart below illustrates the breakdown of reported incidents.

Verified Offline Anti-Muslim Incidents Jan-Jun 2018 by Category

Hate speech (n=15) 4%
Vandalism (n=25) 6%
Threatening behaviour (n=36) 9%
Anti-Muslim literature (n=41) 10%
Discrimination (n=40) 10%
Asssaults (n=62) 15%
Abusive behaviour (n=182) 45%

'Punish A Muslim Day'

A notable rise in anti-Muslim literature concerned the terroristic nature of the 'Punish A Muslim Day' campaign, which threatened violence against Muslims on April 3, were sent to the addresses of notable Muslim MPs, mosques, businesses owned by Muslims, and the homes of ordinary Muslims. The choice of date was not random, as David Parnham, 35, who pleaded guilty in October to 15 offences, including soliciting to murder and staging a bomb hoax, idolised the white supremacist terrorist Dylann Roof, whose birthday falls on April 3.[16] Roof is currently on death row after murdering nine black churchgoers in Charleston, North Carolina on 17 June 2015.[17] Tell MAMA was one of the first organisations to connect this campaign to the previous self-styled 'Muslim Slayer' terroristic hate mail campaign which targeted mosques in the UK and the United States between 2016 and 2017, with threatening, white-supremacist infused language, and, on occasion, white powder (which later proved to be non-toxic).[18] Parnham had written an adoring letter to Mr Roof, but crucially for investigators, had left trace DNA and fingerprints on some of the letters, including the letter sent to Roof in prison.[19]

Subsequent iterations of Parnham's campaign promised additional acts of violence, understandably caused great anguish and fear in Muslim communities, as counter-terror police investigated the letters. Teachers, parents, and other concerned members of the public contacted our service for advice and support. It is why Tell MAMA issued specialised safety tips for individuals, young people, and Islamic institutions. Some Muslims changed routines, or altered their plans on April 3, given the personal nature of the threats which, again, targeted the homes, businesses, and places of worship of Muslims. Acts of solidarity also emerged, as positive counter-narratives helped reassure Muslim communities, whether on public transport, on social media, or community events nationwide.

---

[16] "Man Admits 'Punish a Muslim' Offences." BBC News. Last modified October 12, 2018. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-45838506.

[17] "Dylann Roof Sentenced to Death for the Murders of Nine Black Church Members." The Guardian. Last modified November 28, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/10/dylann-roof-sentenced-to-death-charleston-church-shooting.

[18] "Who's Behind the Latest Threatening Hate Mail to Mosques?" TELL MAMA. Last modified July 6, 2017. https://tellmamauk.org/whos-behind-the-latest-threatening-hate-mail-to-mosques/.
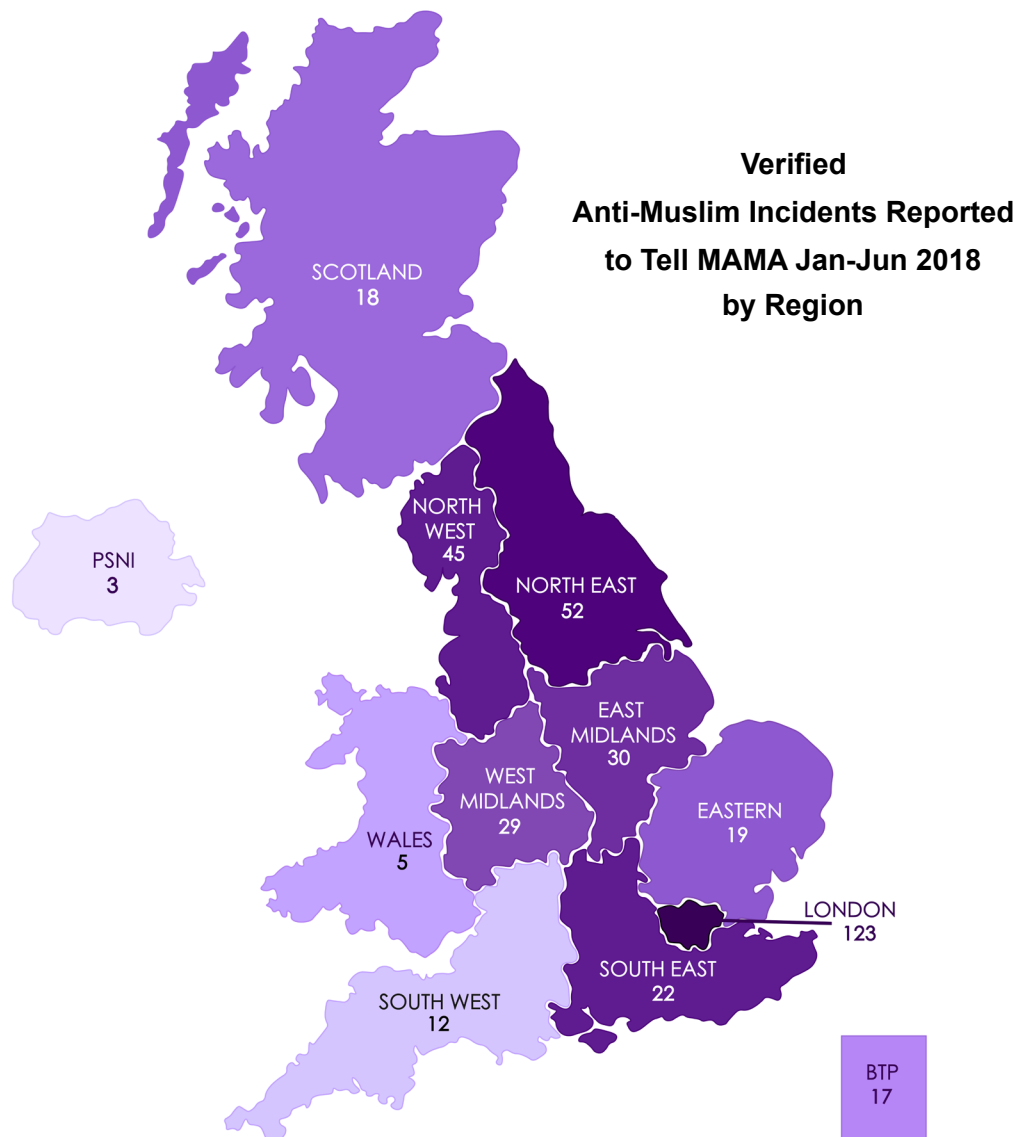
[19] Pennink, Emily, and Danielle Hoe. "Lincoln council worker admits sending 'Punish a Muslim day' letters." Lincolnshire Live. Last modified October 13, 2018. https://www.lincolnshirelive.co.uk/news/lincoln-news/lincoln-council-worker-admits-sending-2104974.

The geography of Anti-Muslim Hatred and Islamophobia

The map below shows the location of reports received by Tell MAMA across the different regions, although there have been some changes in reporting areas (e.g. what is classed as North East here was separated into North East and Yorkshire and Humber in 2017). The British Transport Police (BTP) is a national police force that patrols the railways, and, as such, its reports are not allocated to a specific geographical region.

The largest number of reports came from force areas:
Metropolitan Police (n=123), Greater Manchester Police (n=27), South Yorkshire Police (n=23), West Midlands Police (n=23), Police Scotland (n=18), West Yorkshire Police (n=18), British Transport Police (n=17), Leicestershire Police (n=10), Nottinghamshire Police (n=10), and Essex Police (n=10).

**Verified
Anti-Muslim Incidents Reported
to Tell MAMA Jan-Jun 2018
by Region**

SCOTLAND
18

PSNI
3

NORTH WEST
45

NORTH EAST
52

EAST MIDLANDS
30

WEST MIDLANDS
29

WALES
5

EASTERN
19

LONDON
123

SOUTH EAST
22

SOUTH WEST
12

BTP
17

*Tell MAMA is a confidential supporting service,
14 cases do not have their locations listed on the map as requested by the victims.

Verified Online Incidents

Tell MAMA has continued to collect reports of Islamophobic content and memes on social media and other online platforms since launching in 2012. Our data collection is reliant on members of the public to report content to our service in each reporting year. A clear majority of offensive and Islamophobic content reported to Tell MAMA occurs on social media platforms (e.g. Facebook Twitter, and YouTube). A smaller majority, however, occur on internet message boards, newspaper comment sections, or on alternative social media platforms such as GAB. Due to the small sample size in this dataset, we have grouped incidents reported to our service from Snapchat in the 'Other' category. Some predict that Snapchat will prove more popular than Facebook among 18-24-year-olds[20]. Given the young age demographic of Muslims in England and Wales (relative to other faith groups), and the high number of perpetrators of school age in our 2017 annual report, this area of research will require further work and analysis.

In common with our previous reports, we found that most of the online content reported to Tell MAMA in this reporting period fell under the category of 'Abusive Behaviour' (n=173, 83.57%). As with the 2017 reporting period, the second largest category was anti-Muslim literature, with 26 verified reports.

Given the shorter reporting window relative to previous reports, this online section intends to give a selective, not exhaustive breakdown of the types of online incidents reported to Tell MAMA between 1 January 2018 and 30 June 2018.
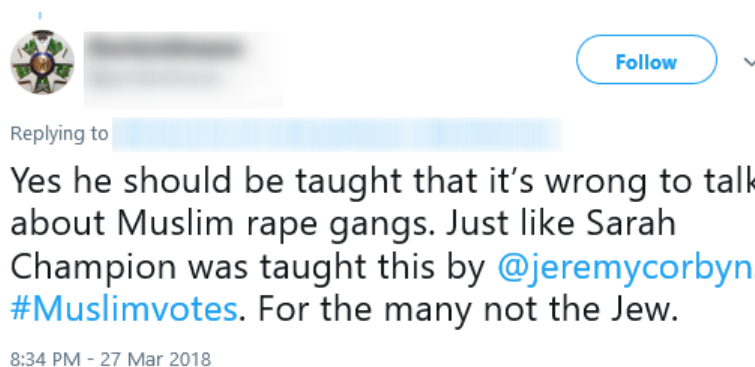
Consistent with previous reports, Islamophobic abuse and content reported to Tell MAMA is not always reactive to changing news cycles or high-profile 'trigger events'. The most ideologically-driven accounts will continue to seek out content, no matter the source, to hold Muslims and vis-a-vie their Islamic faith collectively to blame for criminality, terrorism, and child sexual exploitation. This dataset contains examples of hate speech which call for the destruction of mosques and individuals who speak of 'Muslim rape gangs'. Other examples attack Islam, not the Muslims who practise and believe in this faith, with one offensive tweet referring to Islam as a 'death cult'. Some choice examples will demonstrate how social media companies did remove some content but failed to remove other examples.

We have long-documented how perpetrators often reference mainstream discourse around immigration and terrorism alongside broadly Islamophobic and dehumanising language

---

[20] Rebecca Stewart. "More Young People Will Use Snapchat Than Facebook by the End of 2018." The Drum. Last modified August 27, 2018. https://www.thedrum.com/news/2018/08/27/more-young-people-will-use-snapchat-facebook-the-end-2018.

when targeting victims offline, but this direct targeting can occur online. A clear example of this concerns an Islamophobic tweet by the Leave.EU campaign which suggested that the Labour Party had no interest in combatting antisemitism as it was 'so reliant on the votes of Britain's exploding Muslim population'.[21] The Board of Deputies of British Jews condemned the tweet and called for its deletion, adding: "Some of the best allies we have in the struggle against antisemitism are Muslims, Sadiq Khan, Tell Mama and more. This is not the way to challenge antisemitism."[22] Some accounts went further, by suggesting that a rising Muslim population in Sweden, would, therefore, see an increase in antisemitism. Furthermore, an Islamophobic tweet linked Muslims to child sexual exploitation and rising antisemitism in the UK.

A Facebook user reported to Tell MAMA, who displayed overt far-right views had posted a meme which read 'Keep Calm and Kill Muslims', which parodies the wartime motivational phrase. This meme appeared in a wider Facebook discussion, where other users expressed far-right views, including the initialism 'NFSE', which invokes the infamous English Defence League slogan 'No F*cking Surrender Ever'.

Another far-right account reported to Tell MAMA included an individual who uploaded a series of weapons next to a leaflet for the far-right street-defence and political party Britain First. He captioned the photo, 'How ready are You?'. But upon closer inspection, many of the knives photographed appear to be fake, but in the frame of the photo was an air rifle. This same user had also written in the comments below the post 'F*ck Islam'. The image below illustrates the post.

[21] Perkins, Anne. "MPs Condemn Leave.EU Tweet on Labour Antisemitism." The Guardian. Last modified March 29, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/mar/29/mps-condemn-leaveeu-tweet-on-labour-antisemitism.

[22] Kentish, Benjamin. "'Absolutely Disgusting' Leave.EU Tweet Linking Antisemitism to Muslim Voters Reported to Police." The Independent. Last modified March 29, 2018. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/leave-eu-ukip-antisemitism-muslim-islam-tweet-brexit-jewish-message-police-a8280506.html.

How ready are You?

Visualizza traduzione

Tell MAMA reported the content to South Wales Police and Facebook, and, at the time of writing, the content is no longer available online.

A temporary spike in online reports to Tell MAMA coincided with the terroristic 'Punish A Muslim Day' campaign. Some perpetrators, however, began to speculate that this was a hoax, created by Muslims to garner sympathy. This falsehood undermined the genuine and understandable fears many Muslims felt in the weeks leading up to April 3.

A Muslim teenager was threatened and sent Islamophobic abuse on Snapchat on April 3. The horrific message began: "Look I hate Muslims so much. And I'm so happy that it is Punish a Muslim day tomorrow," adding "I just wanted to be able to express how I feel about Muslims because I just hate how they just walk into the country and take it up."

The message called for Muslims to be 'placed in concentration camps like the Jews'. It disparaged the Prophet, and then went on to boast that as a white person, their actions would not result in punishment or discrimination and that Muslims are not victims since they are all 'terrorists…f***king terrorists'. The message ended: "just get out of my country please stop killing my people we own this world, not you." When the Muslim victim challenged the Islamophobic, the perpetrator replied: "Watch ur backkkk".

Even after the event, a tweet reported to Tell MAMA claimed that Muslims created 'Punish A Muslim Day' to play the 'victim card', and to deflect from 'violent, racist Muslim grooming and rape squads in Telford'. The appeal of conspiracy theories, more broadly, is that they "resist traditional canons of proof because they reduce highly complex phenomena to simple causes."[23] It endures among those committed to political radicalism due to the prevalence of 'stigmatised knowledge' – where claims exist outside of mainstream validation.[24]

The far-right have readily exploited criminal acts of child sexual exploitation to racialise the issue.[25] Furthermore, data on conviction rates for sexual offences (which has not been updated since 2014) shows that 81% (where ethnicity data was available) of people convicted for such offences were white, 7% were black and 9% were Asian.[26] CEOP, the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre, published two major reports on CSE in 2011 and 2013. The over-representation of Asian offenders appears clear, in group-led street grooming and CSE from 2011, but CEOP cautioned that the data collection methods were

---

[23] Barkun, Michael. A culture of conspiracy: Apocalyptic visions in contemporary America. Vol. 15. Univ of California Press, 2013.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Tufail, Waqas. "Rotherham, rochdale, and the racialised threat of the'Muslim Grooming Gang'." International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy 4, no. 3 (2015): 30-43.

[26] "What Do We Know About the Ethnicity of People Involved in Sexual Offences Against Children?" Full Fact. Last modified 2017. https://fullfact.org/crime/what-do-we-know-about-ethnicity-people-involved-sexual-offences-against-children/.

too inconsistent to draw national conclusions, and that "It is likely that the sexual exploitation of victims of a minority ethnic background are under-represented in the data."[27] A report from The Children's Society last year explored the impacts of CSE among South Asian girls in Coventry and Birmingham, which found that "young South Asian women – like many other young people from different backgrounds – are unfortunately targeted for exploitation by those within and outside of their communities. However, their presenting rates are likely to be even lower due to a range of barriers to disclosure and reporting."[28] One such barrier is that South Asian victims of CSE carry an additional trauma beyond the abuse itself, as the burden of silence to protect bodily and family honour puts further strain on their mental health.[29]

Social Media Abuse

A network analysis of social media perpetrators reported to Tell MAMA revealed the influence of high-profile media personalities and political figures who contribute to toxic and discursive communities which allow Islamophobic speech to fester.[30] The popularity of such figures on the far-right, including the ex-EDL leader Tommy Robinson (Stephen Yaxley-Lennon) and Katie Hopkins, given their proximity to mainstream credibility, risks normalising hateful speech about Muslims, and Islam more broadly. The Twitter account of Katie Hopkins (@KTHopkins) appears five times in our interim dataset for 2018. One such tweet, made following a gas explosion in Leicester, attempted to link the incident with terrorism, as Ms Hopkins wrote: "Brother Faisal needs to practise his squat jogs. Correction, need to." She accompanied the tweet with the trending hashtag '#Leicester'. The tweet received widespread condemnation, as did a tweet from the ex-leader of the neo-fascist British National Party, Nick Griffin, who suggested that a 'Jihadi bomb factory might have just gone up!'.[31] Twitter, however, did not remove the offending tweet from Hopkins. The tweet was deleted by Hopkins following a copyright claim against her use of the image in the tweet,

---

[27] "Majority of Grooming Gangs Are Asian, Says Report." Channel 4 News. Last modified June 29, 2011. https://www.channel4.com/news/ceop-warns-against-focus-on-race-after-major-grooming-study.

[28] O'Neill Gutierrez, Dr. Caitlin, and Simran Chawla. The child sexual exploitation of young South Asian women in Birmingham and Coventry. London: The Children's Society, 2017.

[29] Ibid. 34.

[30] Tell MAMA "The geography of anti-Muslim hatred: Tell MAMA annual report 2015." Faith Matters, London. Retrieved on 5th September (2016).

[31] Evans, Sophie, and Jacob Jarvis. "Katie Hopkins and Nick Griffin slammed for 'disgusting' tweets linking horrific Leicester explosion that killed five to terrorism." Mirror Online. Last modified February 25, 2018. https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/katie-hopkins-nick-griffin-slammed-12094709.

according to the Leicestershire Live newspaper.[32] Iain Paisley, the DUP's North Antrim MP, apologised in April after retweeting a comment from Katie Hopkins which linked the holy month of Ramadan with violence.[33] The offending tweet read: "March 2018. London has a higher murder rate than New York... and Ramadan's not yet begun." Iain Paisley then issued an apology and removed the offending retweet.[34] Nor is this the first time that Ms Hopkins has attempted to make such an incendiary link between Ramadan and violence online.[35]

A consistent pattern with Katie Hopkins is her tweets attacking the religious identity of Muslim women, or flippant points which seek to infer that Islam is oppressive to women. Concerning the former, in early January, the hashtag #WhyWeWearBlack drew attention to sexual misconduct and gender inequality in Hollywood, and to demonstrate solidarity with survivors of sexual misconduct before the Golden Globes ceremony.[36] Katie Hopkins, however, used this hashtag to write 'Because Islam represses women', with an image of a group of Muslim women in the niqab (face veil). This same image was used by Hopkins in 2017 when she tweeted about the launch of the iPhone X.[37] A further tweet in this dataset concerns a tweet from Ms Hopkins, where she is photoshopped to appear in a niqab, where she claims she will run for mayor of the London boroughs of Tower Hamlets and Newham. This fictitious tweet perpetuates a paradoxical conspiracy theory about Muslims: that Muslims, 'othered' as foreign entities, seek to exploit the system for welfare; and, yet, Muslims are privileged and protected in a two-tier political system which echoes the conspiracy of 'Eurabia'.[38] In broader terms, our dataset reveals how this conspiracy theory turned the Prime Minister Theresa May into an Islamophobic meme, where she was

[32] Jarvis, Jacob. "Katie Hopkins deletes tweet linking Leicester explosion to terrorism." Leicestershire Live. Last modified March 2, 2018. https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/leicester-news/leicester-explosion-court-manslaughter-charge-1262788.

[33] "DUP's Paisley Retweets Katie Hopkins Ramadan and Murder Rate Post." BelfastTelegraph.co.uk. Last modified April 2, 2018. https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/dups-paisley-retweets-katie-hopkins-ramadan-and-murder-rate-post-36766461.html.

[34] "Paisley Sorry for Retweeting Hopkins Post." BBC News. Last modified April 2, 2018. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-43622706.

[35] Nelson, Sarah C. "Police Investigate Katie Hopkins' Ramadan Tweet In Wake Of London Terror Arrest." HuffPost UK. Last modified April 28, 2017. https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/as-katie-hopkins-brands-muslims-these-sods-in-wake-of-terror-arrest_uk_5902dc56e4b05c39767d6cd9.

[36] Rearick, Lauren. "People on Social Media Are Wearing Black to Support the Protest at the Golden Globes." Teen Vogue. Last modified January 7, 2018. https://www.teenvogue.com/story/whywewearblack-trends-as-response-to-golden-globes-2018-black-dress-protest.

[37] Okey, Regan. "Katie Hopkins Targets Muslim Women with Cutting Burka Jibe." Dailystar.co.uk. Last modified September 14, 2017. https://www.dailystar.co.uk/showbiz/644806/Katie-Hopkins-Twitter-iPhone-X-Muslim-women-backlash.

[38] Kuper, Simon. The End of Eurabia. The Financial Times, September 9, 2011. https://www.ft.com/content/1c825298-d8f7-11e0-aff1-00144feabdc0.

photoshopped in a hijab, echoing similar Islamophobic imagery that targeted German Chancellor Angela Merkel in 2015.[39]

Unlike Katie Hopkins, Tommy Robinson was permanently banned from Twitter in March 2018 following several brief suspensions, for breaching the platform's 'hateful conduct' policies. The platform, however, has remained coy about which tweets resulted in the permanent ban.[40] A supporter of Tommy Robinson appears in this dataset after tweeting: "I love the videos when you punch f*ck out of Muzzies and scum like this." The term 'Muzzie' is a dehumanising example of a far-right inspired language which seeks to dehumanise Muslims, and, in some examples, like the one cited, to encourage or normalise violence towards Muslims. Twitter did remove this content when reported by Tell MAMA. Despite Twitter removing Robinson from their platform, Facebook has granted him a "shielded review". A Dispatches documentary for Channel 4 revealed that the protocol for deleting pages applies if the content has five or more pieces of content which violate the site's Community Standards. Popular pages, like that of Tommy Robinson, which boasts almost one million 'likes' are placed on the second tier of moderation, where in-house Facebook staff make the decisions about acting on abusive content or not, rather than external parties.[41]

Robinson organised a speaking event at Speaker's Corner in Hyde Park, London, on March 18, which was streamed live on the video-sharing platform YouTube. It showed large crowds of supporters, protesters, and police circling Robinson,[42] which generated outrage from his supporters online. In one shocking tweet reported to Tell MAMA, a supporter of Tommy Robinson tweeted: "Enough is enough time to fight fire with fire they want to play without rules fine let's dance back to sh*tholeistan & the dark ages you go muzrat". Twitter did not remove this content despite its call for violence and Islamophobic language.

---

[39] "TV Channel Under Fire over Merkel Image." BBC News. Last modified October 6, 2015. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-34457224.

[40] Rawlinson, Kevin. "Tommy Robinson Permanently Banned by Twitter." The Guardian. Last modified October 3, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/mar/28/tommy-robinson-permanently-banned-twitter-violating-rules-hateful-conduct.

[41] Hern, Alex. "Facebook Protects Far-right Activists Even After Rule Breaches." The Guardian. Last modified July 25, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/jul/17/facebook-protects-far-right-activists-even-after-rule-breaches-dispatches-c4.

[42] Levesley, David. "Founder of Pegida, Lutz Bachmann, Detained and Deported from UK." Inews.co.uk. Last modified March 18, 2018. https://inews.co.uk/news/uk/founder-of-pegida-lutz-bachmann-detained-and-deported-from-uk/.

Replying to

Enough is enough time to fight fire with fire they want to play without rules fine let's dance back to shitholeistan & the dark ages you go muzrat

11:08 PM - 18 Mar 2018

In previous reports, we have called on greater responsibility from newspapers and columnists regarding comment pieces which may cause broad offence but not target individuals. For example, a column piece by Melanie Phillips headlined: "Islamophobia is a fiction to shut down debate" on May 7, 2018, was reported to Tell MAMA by several members of the public, concerned that such rhetoric would further normalise Islamophobic rhetoric and delegitimise how Muslims defined bigotry and discrimination against them.

General Recommendations

As we have previously recommended in our annual report of 2017,[43] preventative measures need to be taken to deal with the frequency of anti-Muslim incidents occurring in busy public spaces. These include public areas such as parks, streets and transport networks. If preventative measures do not currently exist, the appropriate steps need to be taken to ensure they exist.

Perpetrators often target victims who are vulnerable, particularly Muslim women identifiable by their clothing. Members of the public need to be aware of the role they can play in challenging anti-Muslim hate and prejudice by showing support for victims. This can create an environment that demonstrates society's abhorrence of hate and discrimination. The recent advertising campaign by the UK Home Office using the slogan 'It's not just offensive, it's an offence' is a positive step.

Tell MAMA is concerned by the increase in discrimination that is being reported, as this is a strong example of the normalisation of anti-Muslim prejudice. Community groups and other organisations need to engage with employers where such examples are identified in order to effectively counter this and promote strong community values. In our 2017 report, we highlighted the case of a Muslim woman who was bullied by a male colleague who referred to her hijab as a tea towel. Due to the fear of further discrimination, she did not report this incident to her manager. Tell MAMA feels that some employers need to do more to remind their employees (at all levels) of their rights and responsibilities under the Equality Act 2010. Employers should endeavour to foster a climate of religious and cultural acceptance, e.g. through setting up a multi-faith prayer room.

Tell MAMA recently took part in a working group organised by Stella Creasy MP around the recently announced Law Commission review of all hate crime legislation. Many other partner agencies were present as well as individual campaigners. One of the most commonly raised concerns about the way that hate crimes are dealt with in the justice system was that there was no opportunity to record the intersectional nature of so many incidents. The clear gender gap in our data over many years is a strong indicator of this and we look forward to playing an active role in this debate going forward.

Members of the public should not underestimate their role and responsibility in challenging Islamophobia and showing support for victims. If individuals can safely show solidarity with victims during or following an incident, this can create an environment in which abuse and identity-based discrimination are unacceptable.

---

[43] Beyond the Incident. Outcomes for victims of anti-Muslim prejudice, Available from: https://tellmamauk.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Tell-MAMA-Report-2017.pdf

#NO2H8

TM

TellMAMA

Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks

www.tellmamauk.org