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Tell MAMA Reporting 2013/14 Anti-Muslim Overview, Analysis and 'Cumulative Extremism'

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Teesside University, July 2014

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Executive Summary

- 1. Introduction**
- 2. Tell MAMA: Methodology and Data Collection**
- 3. Hate Crimes: National Trends and Police Data**
- 4. Tell MAMA reporting 1 May 2013 – 28 February 2014**
- 5. ‘Cumulative extremism’ and the ‘spike’ in post-Woolwich incidents**
- 6. Conclusions**

Appendices

Executive Summary

- The Centre for Fascist, Anti-fascist and Post-fascist Studies at Teesside University analysed anti-Muslim incidents recorded by Faith Matters' Tell MAMA project over 2013/14.
- There were 734 self-reported cases between 1 May 2013 and 28 February 2014; of these, there were 599 incidents of online abuse and 135 offline attacks, combining for an average of more than 2 cases per day.
- Of the 18% of offline anti-Muslim attacks recorded by Tell MAMA; 23 cases involved assault and another 13 cases involved extreme violence.
- Estimated age of perpetrators was between 10 and 30 in 60% of offline attacks.
- Two-fifths of all anti-Muslim incidents recorded by Tell MAMA reported a link to far-right groups (e.g. BNP, EDL, etc.); including 45% of online abuse.
- In the wake of Drummer Lee Rigby's brutal murder, reported incidents to Tell MAMA skyrocketed – there were nearly four times more online and offline reports (373%) in the week after 22 May 2013 than in the week beforehand.
- Underreporting remains a challenge in analysing crime data, especially for hate crimes. Tell MAMA's data revealed that nearly 5 of 6 victims of all anti-Muslim incidents (online and offline) did not go to the police. Only 3% of victims of an offline attack (4 total) went to both Tell MAMA and the police.
- Nonetheless, while recent police and government figures show that hate crime incidents are generally falling, including religiously-motivated attacks, those against Muslims in England and Wales appear to have significantly increased during this reporting period.
- Unlike most incidents of hate crime overwhelmingly involving both male perpetrators and victims, offline victims reporting to Tell MAMA were predominately female (54%), and often were wearing items of clothing associated with Islam.
- The average daily number of all reported incidents to Tell MAMA increased six-fold between 22 and 29 May 2013. The week following the Woolwich attack accounted for 17% of all incidents, both online and offline, reported to Tell MAMA between May 2013 and February 2014.
- Specific incidents over this week of 'cumulative extremism' extended from heightened online abuse (from 28 to 97 reports) and online threats (from 4 to 15 reports) to rises street-based assaults (from 2 to 5 reports) and extreme violence (from 0 to 5 reports).
- In the three months after Lee Rigby's attack, Tell MAMA recorded 34 anti-Muslim attacks on property, notably mosques – ranging from graffiti to arson.

1. Introduction

1.1 This report was independently compiled by Teesside University's Centre for Fascist, Anti-fascist and Post-fascist Studies (CFAPS) on a paid consultancy basis. The Centre was launched in July 2013 with the remit to carry out research and consultancy on manifestations of the radical right and its violent opposition, historically as well as contemporary. As such, the Centre's remit extends to analysis of hate crimes and expressions of racial/religious prejudice, including anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim incidents. With respect to the latter, accompanying the launch of CFAPS was the release of the first in a series of studies dedicated to examining data collected by the Tell MAMA (Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks) project.

1.2 CFAPS's June 2013 report was entitled "Anti-Muslim Hate Crime and the Far-Right". It identified some working practices by Tell MAMA, examined 584 self-reported anti-Muslim incidents in the UK to the end of April 2013, and addressed key themes arising from the quantitative dataset. The wider context of anti-Muslim hate crime in the UK was provided, as was an introductory overview of Tell MAMA's working methods. More specifically, also treated were discernable trends arising from Tell MAMA's dataset: the high incidence of far-right participation in anti-Muslim incidents (56%); the frequently gendered nature of self-reported incidents (80% of offline victims were females wearing visibly-Muslim clothing, and 78% of alleged perpetrators offline were male); as well as the strong proportion of online abuse reported to Tell MAMA (74% of all incidents).¹

1.3 This interim report builds upon CFAPS's previous analysis in two ways. First, it deepens the review of Tell MAMA's working practices, highlighting improvements in data collection and monitoring.² Secondly, in turn, this data covers, and indeed reinforces, the often-reported spike in anti-Muslim incidents following the appalling murder of Drummer Lee Rigby by Islamist terrorists in Woolwich on 22 May 2013. In approaching this case study of what has been identified as 'cumulative extremism' – whereby one expression of extremism is instrumentalised and used as justification by another, opposed one – recent academic and third sector studies of this phenomenon are consulted herein, in addition to several important studies on the wider context of Muslims in Britain.³

¹ See Nigel Copsey, Janet Dack, Mark Littler and Matthew Feldman, "Anti-Muslim Hate Crime and the Far-Right", p.27; online at: www.tees.ac.uk/docs/DocRepo/Research/Copsey_report3.pdf (all websites last accessed 24 June 2014).

² For a brief overview of these materials, see Fiyaz Mughal, "Trends in anti-Muslim hatred", online at: www.conservativehome.com/platform/2014/06/fiyaz-mughal-trends-in-anti-muslim-hatred.html.

³ For a periodic overviews from the last 20 years see, for example, Philip Lewis, *Islamic Britain: Religion, Politics and Identity among British Muslims* (I.B. Tauris, London: 1994); Danièle Joly, *Britannia's Crescent: Making a Places for Muslims in British Society*, ch. I (Ashgate, Aldershot: 1995); S. Sayyid, "Muslims in Britain: Socio-Economic Position", in Mohammad Siddique Seddon, Dilwar Hussain and Nadeem Malik, *British Muslims: Loyalty and Belonging* (The Islamic Foundation, Markfield: 2003); Ceri Peach, "Muslims in the UK", and Muhammad Anwar, "Muslims in Britain: Issues, Policy and Practice", in Tahir Abbas, *Muslim Britain: Communities Under Pressure* (Zed Books, London: 2005); Nasar Meer, "Negotiating faith and politics: the emergence of Muslim consciousness in Britain", in Waqar U. Ahmad and Ziauddin Sardar, *Muslims in Britain: Making Social and Political Space* (Routledge, London: 2012); and most recently, Eren Tatari and Renat Shaykhutdinov, "Muslim and Minority Politics in Britain", in the *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 34/1 (2014).

1.4 Accordingly, the present report examines the period immediately following the close of the previous reporting period; namely, that between 1 May 2013 and 28 February 2014. During these ten-months, 734 anti-Muslim incidents were recorded by caseworkers with Tell MAMA. In the following analysis, this figure will be broken down graphically and surveyed, while a final section examines the role of ‘cumulative extremism’ in the context of week following Drummer Rigby’s murder. Beforehand, however, initial accounting of improvements to Tell MAMA’s data collection precedes these two sections, as does a section discussing governmental and police reporting on hate crimes in 2013/14.

1.5 The aims of the present report are as follows:

- Provide a survey of Tell MAMA’s methodology and data collection;
- Analysis of 10-month Tell MAMA dataset in light of official statistics on anti-Muslim attacks in 2013/14;
- Examine spike in anti-Muslim incidents in the wake of Drummer Rigby brutal murder through the lens of ‘cumulative extremism’.

2. Tell MAMA: Methodology and Data Collection

2.1 Tell MAMA was established in February 2012 via the interfaith charity, Faith Matters, directed by Fiyaz Mughal OBE. It acts as a victim support and advocacy service, in addition to recording anti-Muslim incidents through the self-reporting of

victims. Reported anti-Muslim incidents are made through a variety of online mechanisms (ranging from social media to the website www.tellmamauk.org) as well as by Freephone (0800 456 1226).

2.2 Anti-Muslim incidents are then verified by a central team of trained caseworkers based in London, who are thus described on Tell MAMA's homepage:

Our caseworkers will be able to assist you in a number of ways, including (i) providing a "listening ear", (ii) signposting, (iii) casework and referrals to mainstream partners like Victim Support or Neighbourhood Watch and (iv) working with you to collect evidence that can be used by the police in possible prosecutions. We also have a range of solicitors that provide pro-bono advice that you may be able to access through the project if you have suffered an anti-Muslim incident.

As is further emphasised in Appendix A, a number of improvements have been undertaken by Tell MAMA in the past year in order to enhance the robustness of their data. These improvements drew upon recommendations from stakeholders in the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG) and the Community Security Trust (CST), whose three decades of experience in recording anti-Semitic incidents for Britain's Jewish community has continued to provide a model for Tell MAMA staff.⁴ Given the inherent limitations on self-reporting data – where the victim's perception of events is the key driver in the collation of incidents – substantial attention was paid to improving collection methods and data coding.

2.3 Once reports have been logged by caseworkers and independently verified as an anti-Muslim incident by a senior member of Tell MAMA staff, coding is then undertaken by Tell MAMA recording software in order to facilitate data categorisation. Here, enhanced criteria for data collection extend to clearly differentiating – on standardised reporting forms used by all Tell MAMA caseworkers – between a witness and an alleged victim, with the latter defined as a 'man, woman or young person who is the person targeted for anti-Muslim hate.' This step helped in filtering out negative statements about Islam (which are not hate crimes, but forms of protected expression) while retaining specifically targeted anti-Muslim incidents. Additional improvements in data coding include the removal of all 'scraped' data (that is, non-self-reported) from newspapers, online sources and other third parties; the flagging of repeat reporting to minimise double counting; as well as the sub-coding of attacks (such as that for online abuse, now including 'drop-down' boxes for types of anti-Muslim literature; or for threats against Muslims divided into life-threatening and non-life-threatening).

2.4 Withstanding the necessary caveats of self-reported data⁵ – now minimised as

⁴ The CST's "Antisemitic Incidents Report 2013" showed an 18% decline in verified reports; online at: www.thecst.org.uk/docs/Incidents%20Report%202013.pdf; see also www.jta.org/2014/02/06/news-opinion/world/report-anti-semitic-incidents-fall-in-britain.

⁵ These have been widely discussed; for readily available examples, see Delroy L. Paulhus and Simine Vazire, "The Self-Report Method", online at: www.neuron4.psych.ubc.ca/~dpaulhus/research/SDR/downloads/CHAPTERS/2008%20Handbook%20Research%20Methods/paulhus-vazire%2007%20chap.pdf; and Chris Barker, Nancy Pistrang, Robert Elliott, "Self-Report Methods", online at: www.wiley.com/legacy/wileychi/barker/supp/excerpt.pdf. See also Kris Christmann and Kevin Wong, "Hate crime victims and hate crime reporting: some impertinent questions", in Neil Chakraborti and Jon Garland, eds., *Hate Crime: Impact, Causes, and Responses* (Sage, London: 2009).

far as possible by the tightening of data collection processes – the data collected by Tell MAMA is reliable. Once reports are externally verified as anti-Muslim incidents – whether a screenshot for online abuse; interviewing of a witness to an attack, or a smashed mosque attack reported by phone – Tell MAMA caseworkers then divide reported data into online and offline categories. These are then sub-divided into online ‘abuse’, ‘anti-Muslim literature’ and ‘threat’; and for offline incidents, ‘property damage’, ‘assault’, ‘threat’, ‘extreme violence’ and ‘anti-Muslim literature’. These categories are employed in the ensuing data analysis, alongside a clear distinction between offline ‘attacks’ and online ‘abuse’.

2.5 While it remains the case that online abuse does not pose the imminent threat that may be encountered in personal, street-based attacks – it has often been observed that victims can simply switch off the computer to avoid harassment – this should not delegitimise reports of online abuse. Online threats against person, family or property can be very frightening and negatively impact upon an individual’s well-being. This can extend to the posting of personal information (address, phone number, even details of loved ones), or threats to graduate from online harassment to offline stalking. Incitement to racial or religious hatred or violence is illegal in Britain – whether offline or online – and has been defined by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) as ‘any crime or incident where the perpetrator’s prejudice against an identifiable group of people is a factor in determining who is victimised’. This was recently commended as a ‘broad and inclusive definition’ that removes ‘the discretionary element from the police in determining what is and what is not a racist incident’.⁶ In fine, the victim’s perception is fundamental in identifying hate crimes.

2.6 Hate crime, including online abuse or incitement, has recently been prioritised by a governmental hate crime action plan entitled “Challenge It, Report It, Stop It”.⁷ In particular, this May 2014 report highlighted the rise of online hate crime – clearly driven in part by increasing internet use across 21st century Britain – and pledged to work with Internet Service Providers and hosts in order to remove ‘material that is illegal or where it breaches their wider terms and conditions for acceptable use.’ Also notable are 2014 prosecution guidelines set out by the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), which specifically covers social media. Alongside ‘Disability hate crime’ and ‘Extremism and hate crime’, a key focus announced by this action plan is taking ‘Anti-Muslim hate’:

Findings from the combined Crime Survey for England and Wales in 2011/12 and 2012/13 estimated that there are on average around 70,000 religious hate crimes each year. Analysis of religiously motivated hate crime and racially motivated hate crime by religion shows that Muslim adults were more likely to be a victim of both these crimes than other adults. Our work to tackle anti-Muslim hatred is now more important than ever before, and we remain committed to working with communities

⁶ Cited in Nathan Hall, *Hate Crime*, 2nd edition (Routledge, London: 2013), pp.5-6. See also Tarlach McGonagle, “The Council of Europe against online hate speech: Conundrums and Challenges”, Nov. 2013 expert paper for the Council of Europe, online at: www.hub.coe.int/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=62fab806-724e-435a-b7a5-153ce2b57c18&groupId=10227; The authors are grateful to Dr Archie Henderson for his assistance with this information.

⁷ HM Government, “Challenge It, Report It, Stop It: Delivering the Government’s Hate Crime Action Plan”, May 2014, online at: www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/307624/HateCrimeActionPlanProgressReport.pdf.

to ensure these issues are tackled effectively.⁸

2.7 Anti-Muslim prejudice was first introduced as the concept “Islamophobia” by the UK’s Runnymede Trust in 1997, referring to ‘unfair discrimination against Muslim individuals and communities, and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream political and social affairs’.⁹ A follow-up report in 2004 ‘concluded that Islamophobia was a pervasive feature of British society and characterized media reporting on Muslims and Islam as biased and unfair.’¹⁰ Yet this definition has been criticized for ‘essentialising Muslims’ and ‘subjecting Islam to processes of reductionism’.¹¹ Correspondingly, many commentators today prefer the term ‘anti-Muslim prejudice’ to denote a kind of ‘cultural racism and racialization’.¹² This is because anti-Muslim sentiment is typically not a “phobic” expression of fear so much as hostility or hatred; and secondly, to be considered a hate crime these views need to be expressed toward, or about, specific Muslim individuals rather than about the Islam. For these reasons, Tell MAMA understands anti-Muslim prejudice through the serviceable shorthand of ‘hatred or outward hostility towards Muslims’ as perceived by a victim.¹³ Tell MAMA unpacks a further four characteristics, made available via both hyperlink and ‘app’ on their homepage:

- Associating Muslims *collectively* to terrorism, extremism, terrorist attacks and murder.
- Promoting rhetoric that states that social, political, economic and spiritual rights for Muslims should be less than members of other faith communities. This also includes stating that Muslims should be *collectively punished* by a reduction of their civil rights and liberties, as though they bear the burden due to the actions of a handful of individuals from Muslim communities.
- Associating Muslims to terms that portray them as being *dangerous, untruthful, deceitful, devious* and *untrustworthy*, through to the association with organisms that cause death, decay and disease.
- Linking Muslims with the *take-over* of the United Kingdom or a *global take-over* and to the ‘*infiltration*’ of institutions with a view to meeting these ‘hidden’ objectives.

⁸ “Challenge It, Report It, Stop It”, p.9.

⁹ See Derek McGhee, *The End of Multiculturalism? Terrorism, Integration and Human Rights* (Open University Press, Maidenhead: 2009), pp.32-33.

¹⁰ See John L. Esposito, “Introduction”, in *Islamophobia: The Challenge of Pluralism in the 21st Century*, eds. John L. Esposito and Ibrahim Kalin, (Oxford University Press, Oxford: 2011), xii-xiii.

¹¹ Chris Allen, *Islamophobia* (Ashgate, Farnham: 2010), p.194. Allen’s expansive definition of Islamophobia is presented on p.190. See also Fred Halliday, “Islamophobia reconsidered”, in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22/5 (1998).

¹² See Nasar Meed and Tariq Madood, “Refutations of racism in the ‘Muslim question’”, in *Anti-Muslim Prejudice: Past and Present* ed. Maleiha Malik (Routledge, London: 2010), pp.135.

¹³ Tell MAMA, “Working definition of anti-Muslim prejudice”; online at: www.tellmamauk.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/press/antimuslimhatred.pdf. The key term ‘hostility’ remains debated, and has been the subject of an important recent article by Mark Austin Walters on the ‘penalty enhancements’ for hate crime; see his “Conceptualizing ‘Hostility’ for Hate Crime Law: Minding the Minutiae when Interpreting Section 28 (a)(1) of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998”, in the *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 34/1 (2014), 51. See also the recent roundtable discussion by Sindre Bangstad, Oddbjørn Leirvik and John R. Bowen, “‘Anthropologists are talking’: About Islam, Muslims and the law in Contemporary Europe”, in *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* 79/1 (2014).

This understanding will be applied across ensuing three sections, covering both official figures and qualitative analysis Tell MAMA's data collection.

3. Hate Crimes: National Trends and Police Data

3.1 According to government figures, broadly speaking, national hate crime is falling – despite an estimated 278,000 incidents in 2012/3 (see Appendix B for an overview of 2012/13 hate crime figures). For example, in November 2013 the Ministry of Justice highlighted that reported racist incidents in England and Wales from 2011/12 are down on the previous year by 7.6% (to 47,678), and 18.4% lower than 2007/8. Likewise, the police recorded 30,234 ‘racially or religiously aggravated offences’ in England and Wales for the year commencing 1 April 2012, representing a 20.5% fall from 2008/9, and 2.1% down on 2011/12.¹⁴ Also during 2012/13, 12,306 cases were referred to the CPS for prosecution over the same year, with 8,891 charged (a 16.7% and 1.2% decline on the previous year, respectively).¹⁵

3.2 A final set of metrics underscores this general trend in England and Wales; namely, when the various strands of hate crime are disaggregated into five categories: race, religion, sexual orientation, disability and transgender. Here too, racial hate crime dropped 0.4% to 35,885 offences in 2012/13, as did religious hate crime, down 3% to 1,573 offences.¹⁶ For England and Wales overall, hate crime victims comprised 0.1% of the adult population, while hate crimes accounted for 1% of all recorded crime in 2012/13 – of which an estimated 70,000 incidents were religiously motivated hate crime (34,000 against persons and 36,000 household crimes’).¹⁷

3.3 Yet the latter report also indicates that a ‘case assessment report’ was prepared for the “Anti-Muslim Hatred Working Group”, finding that nearly two-thirds ‘involved an element of anti-Muslim sentiment’.¹⁸ Similarly, *An Overview of Hate Crime in England and Wales* reveals that, in 2011/12 and 2012/13, ‘Muslim adults were the most likely to be a victim of religiously motivated hate crime.’¹⁹ Sounding a more ominous note on anti-Muslim prejudice in the UK, *The Guardian* recently highlighted NatCen’s British Social Attitudes survey, which featured self-report data collated over the past thirty years. It found that 30% of people in Britain described themselves as having ‘some prejudice’ in 2013 – albeit this figure falls significantly when the response is ‘very prejudiced.’²⁰ While Britain remains largely a diverse and tolerant place, *The Guardian* warned that ‘growing hostility to immigrants and widespread Islamophobia are setting community relations back 20 years.’²¹

¹⁴ Ministry of Justice, *Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System 2012*, Nov. 2013; online at: www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/269399/Race-and-cjs-2012.pdf; a breakdown is given for all 43 police forces on, pp.33-36.

¹⁵ Crown Prosecution Service, *Hate Crimes and Crimes against Older People Report 2012-2013*, Jan. 2014; online at: www.cps.gov.uk/publications/docs/cps_hate_crime_report_2013.pdf, p.4.

¹⁶ Home Office, Office for National Statistics and the Ministry of Justice, *An Overview of Hate Crime in England and Wales*, Dec. 2013, online at: www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/266358/hate-crime-2013.pdf. Disaggregated hate crime figures showed an increase in both disability and transgender hate crimes (from 1,757 to 1,841; and from 309 to 361, respectively), p.19.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.25.

¹⁸ The figure given by the CPS is 62%, *ibid.*, pp.12.

¹⁹ *An Overview of Hate Crime in England and Wales*, p.23.

²⁰ ‘To get to the findings that have made headlines today, we grouped those who describe themselves as ‘a little’ and ‘very’ prejudiced into a single category (‘some prejudice’); only 4% of people claimed to be ‘very prejudiced’ in 2011; see Matthew Taylor and Hugh Muir, “Racism on the Rise in Britain”, *The Guardian*; online at: www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/may/27/-sp-racism-on-rise-in-britain.

²¹ *Ibid.*

3.4 Several sets of data likewise point toward recent increases in specific types of religious hate crime in recent months. The Metropolitan Police – who record about 20% of total hate crime in England and Wales over a given year – are one of two British police forces currently providing a detailed breakdown for differing types of London-based hate crime (which is, of course, not geographically representative of England and Wales). For example, the Met found an 8% increase in hate crime offences (to a total of 9,918) in the ‘12 months to May 14’; of these, homophobic hate crime rose 7% on the preceding twelve months (to 1,185 incidents), while anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim hate crime offences rose by 30% (to 206 and 523 respectively) across all 32 reporting boroughs.²²

3.5 In London, 20% of these offences (totaling 105) took place during May 2013; that is, the same month that Drummer Lee Rigby was hacked to death in Woolwich by the jihadi Islamists Michael Adebolajo and Michael Adebowale.²³ The horrific nature of this terrorist act – involving meat cleavers as well as a blood-stained admission of guilt to cameras following the murderous attack – was shocking and deplorable all right-thinking people. Yet for some, inductively tarring all Muslims with the brush of ‘extremism’ or ‘terrorism’ was one of the consequences of 22 May 2013.

3.6 Such anti-Muslim prejudice surely drove the ‘sharp rise’ in anti-Muslim hate crime incidents registered in the following weeks. In fact, these cases were already reflected in Home Office figures by the end of 2013. Amongst others, for instance, *The Independent* highlighted a ‘large number of forces across the country reported a particular surge in the number of anti-Muslim hate crimes’, while the ‘Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) has previously said over five days after Fusilier Rigby was murdered 71 anti-Muslim incidents were reported to its national community tension team.’²⁴ According to Newham Borough Commander DCS Simon Letchford, an eight-fold increase in anti-Muslim hate crime took ‘place in London, up from the usual rate of a single daily incident [... although] the number may be more widespread than figures suggest as a result of under-reporting.’²⁵ While the ‘cumulative extremism’ surrounding the murder of Lee Rigby will be discussed in the final section, and the continued problem of under-reporting touched upon presently, it bears noting that this ‘surge’ in anti-Muslim hate crime was evident across London – but also beyond it.²⁶

3.7 Thus Greater Manchester Police, which also disaggregates hate crime data into five strands, found a 23% increase in hate crimes between the months of April and May 2013 (to 408), and another 5% increase between May and June 2013 (to 431) for all hate crimes and incidents. The figure remained much higher than the average of 359 attacks across all strands until September 2013. This mid-year spike applied both

²² Metropolitan Police, *Crime Figures*; online at: www.met.police.uk/crimefigures/#.

²³ *Ibid*; Metropolitan figures for May 2014 found a 53% decrease in attacks when compared with the spike in May 2013.

²⁴ Tomas Jivanda, “Islamophobia: Surge revealed in anti-Muslim hate crimes”, *The Independent*, 27 Dec. 2013; online at: www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/islamophobia-surge-revealed-in-antimuslim-hate-crimes-9026873.html.

²⁵ Tariq Tahir, “Sharp rise in attacks on Muslims in the wake of Lee Rigby murder, senior police officer says”, *Metro*, 10 June 2013; online at: www.metro.co.uk/2013/06/10/sharp-rise-in-attacks-on-muslims-in-the-wake-of-lee-rigby-murder-senior-police-officer-says-3835209/.

²⁶ See Appendix C; the authors are grateful to Leah Owen for her assistance with this information.

to race hate offences (which are sometimes conflated with religious attacks in respect of Jewish, Muslim and BAME groups) – witnessing 23% and 8% rises monthly in May and June 2013 for 336 and 366 attacks, respectively – and to religious hate, which increased from 31 recorded cases in April to 47 in May and 34 in June, before returning to the monthly average of 25 religious hate offences in July 2013.²⁷ The West Midlands, recorded a hate crime rise of 12% from 2518 in 2012 to 2869 in 2013.²⁸ During this period, according to Home Office figures obtained by *The Birmingham Mail*, religious hate crime jumped 63% (to 82 offences) in the West-Midlands alone, which ‘could be just the tip of the iceberg because of a general perception that the authorities are either powerless, or unwilling, to act on complaints.’²⁹

3.8 Unlike the national picture, several police forces recorded notable rises in hate crime – particularly religious hate crime – over 2013. This includes a large spike in anti-Muslim offences in the weeks following 22 May 2013, ostensibly in response to the savage murder in Woolwich that day. Incidents ranged from online abuse and racially aggravated public order offences to three bombs planted at Midlands mosques by the white supremacist Pavlo Lapshyn between 21 June and 12 July 2013; a more recent case similarly found Ian Forman guilty of ‘lone-wolf’ terrorist offences after targeting mosques around Merseyside in the fortnight after Drummer Rigby’s murder.³⁰ According to internal data compiled by Tell MAMA, moreover there were 34 mosque attacks in the three months after 22 May (18 were reported to Tell MAMA in the preceding 13 months; see Appendix D). Offences ranged from graffiti and smashed windows at British mosques to 9 cases of arson and 7 instances of break-ins and/or violence against worshippers. This bears out the assessment by the Institute for Race Relations, derived from its revealing collation of media reports:

In the aftermath of the murder of soldier Lee Rigby in May, the harassment of Muslims continues. Several mosques and Islamic cultural centres have been targeted in attacks, some of which have been attributed to the far Right, and in the most high-profile cases buildings have been firebombed. For the time being, such attacks are in the news. Normally, they are something the mainstream media ignores.³¹

4. Tell MAMA reporting 1 May 2013 – 28 February 2014

²⁷ Greater Manchester Police, *Greater Manchester Police Hate Crime and Hate Incident Data 01/04/13 to 31/03/14*, Apr. 2014; online at:

[www.gmp.police.uk/content/WebAttachments/BBBFE386F63D92CE80257CD60034C0AF/\\$File/GMP%20Hate%20Crime%20and%20Incidents%20April%202013%20to%20March%202014.pdf](http://www.gmp.police.uk/content/WebAttachments/BBBFE386F63D92CE80257CD60034C0AF/$File/GMP%20Hate%20Crime%20and%20Incidents%20April%202013%20to%20March%202014.pdf).

²⁸ West Midlands Police, *Equality, Diversity and Human Rights Information*, Jan. 2014; online at: www.west-midlands.police.uk/docs/advice-centre/foi/EDHR-information-2013-04.pdf.

²⁹ Fionnuala Bourke, “Religious hate crimes rise 60 per cent in two years”, 22 Dec. 2013; online at: www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/local-news/religious-hate-crimes-rise-60-6438132.

³⁰ See for example, “Black Country mosque bomber wanted to start race war”, Express & Star, 22 Oct. 2013; online at: www.expressandstar.com/news/2013/10/22/pavlo-lapshyn-ukrainian-student-in-90-day-race-hate-campaign-targeting-black-country-mosques/, and John Siddle, ‘Evil Terrorist who wanted to bomb Mersey mosques plays computer game in Nazi outfit, Liverpool Echo, 1 May 2014; online at www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/ian-forman-nazi-terrorist-who-7060005.

³¹ John Burnett, “Spotlight on Racial Violence: May- June 2013”, 20 Jun. 2013, *Institute for Race Relations*; online at: www.irr.org.uk/news/spotlight-on-racial-violence-may-june-2013/. See also *ibid.*, “Spotlight on Racial Violence: July-December 2013”, 12 Dec. 2013; online at: www.irr.org.uk/news/spotlight-on-racial-violence-may-june-2013/, as well as weekly reports compiled by Bob Pitt at *Islamophobia Watch*; online at: www.islamophobiawatch.co.uk/category/weekly-summary/page/5/.

4.1 Between 1 May 2013 and 28 February 2014, Tell MAMA recorded and externally verified 734 anti-Muslim incidents. This ten-month period represented a notable increase on the 584 cases analysed in CFAPS’s initial study on this self-reported collection of raw data. The 2013/14 figures are broken down by month here:

	Total	Online	Offline
May '13	223	185	38
June '13	131	96	35
July '13	74	61	13
Aug '13	58	46	12
Sep '13	47	36	11
Oct '13	36	31	5
Nov '13	41	30	11
Dec '13	38	33	5
Jan '14	58	54	4
Feb '14	28	27	1

In contrast to findings presented in “Anti-Muslim Hate Crime and the Far-Right”, the number of reported links to the far-right (e.g. the National Front, British National Party or the ‘new far-right’ defence leagues like the EDL or ‘Infidels’) fell substantially, from 56% in 2012/13 to 40% in 2013/14.³² This may result from fewer ‘guesstimates’ about perpetrator affiliation (especially offline – without hash-tags and screenshots – it can be difficult to know for sure if an attacker is a supporter or member of Britain’s far-right); as noted above, changes in data collection may also have some effect – in this instance, caseworkers are now given a ‘drop-down bar’ to record specific far-right movements in order to remove all ‘open response’ questions. Again, as with all self-reported data reporting and collection caveats always apply, and results should be read in conjunction with other statistics – both self-reported and otherwise. In short, the breakdown of cases presented herein must be regarded as indicative, not conclusive.

4.2 Another complicating factor raised by CFAPS in June 2013 is that of under-reporting, meaning that, with anti-Muslim incidents no less than other strands of hate crime, the ‘majority of victims will suffer in silence.’³³ Lower reporting rates can reflect a number of considerations: victims not recording repeat occurrences; fear of victimisation; or simply ‘because the victim believed that the police would not or could not do much about it’. One report on hate crime found that only 40% ‘came to the attention of police’; moreover, government estimates for 2012/13 in England and Wales are that only 15% of hate incidents are officially recorded.³⁴ This lower figure is in keeping with a 2009 all-party government report, which noted that reporting

³² “Anti-Muslim Hate Crime and the Far-Right”, p.27.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp.8.

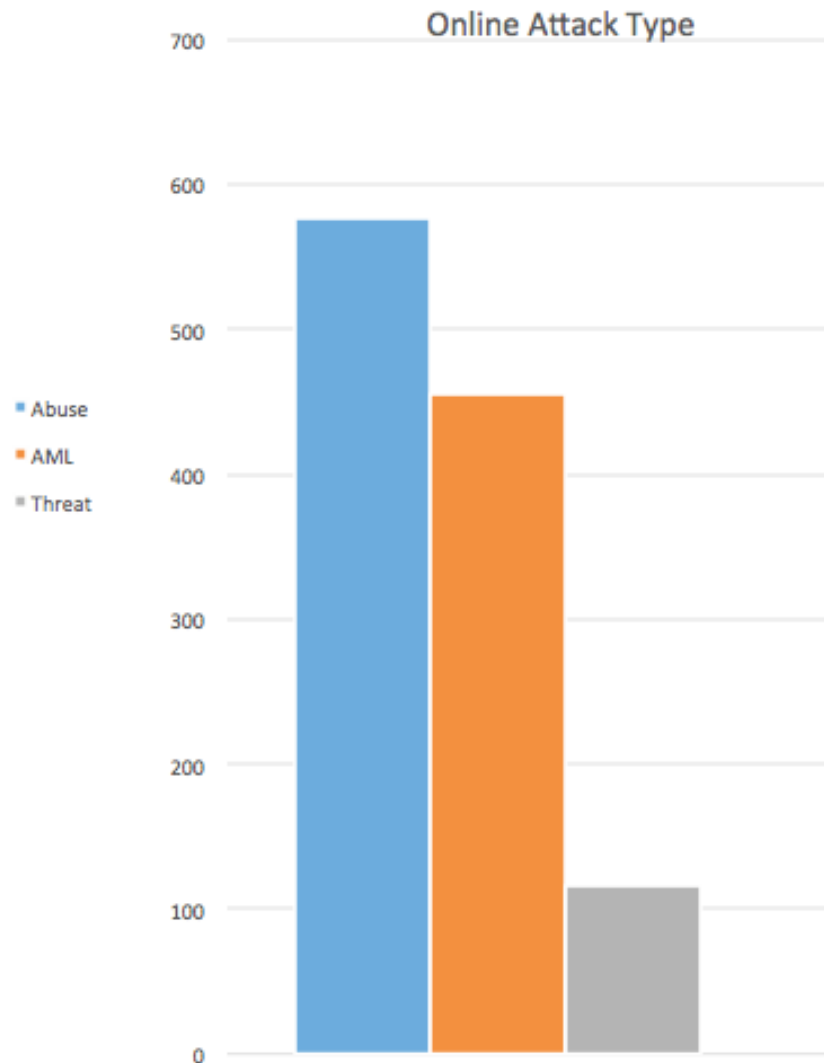
³⁴ *An Overview of Hate Crime in England and Wales*, p.6; see also Appendix B.

rates for LGB people were 23%; and 17% for both individuals with learning disabilities and for Roma and Sinti travellers.³⁵

4.3 The latter figure for reported hate crimes is in keeping with that identified by Tell MAMA for anti-Muslim incidents over 2013/14: only 17% of offline attacks or online abuse were reported to police in the ten-month period surveyed here (127 total). Furthermore, only 3% of offline anti-Muslim attacks were also reported to the police (4 total). While this suggests that police and even Tell MAMA figures may be the tip of a much larger iceberg, it is likely that the latter enjoys greater levels of trust amongst the Muslim community in Britain. Tell MAMA may also have benefitted from increased visibility of, detail in, and/or dissemination of information about self-reporting mechanisms for anti-Muslim incidents between 2012 and 2014. (By contrast, Britain's Jewish community has been running a self-reporting facility via the CST for 10 times longer than Tell MAMA; this longevity doubtless contributes to higher levels of trust and reporting rates amongst Jews in Britain, a population roughly one-tenth the number of Muslims in Britain). For these reasons, Tell MAMA's dataset can be approached with both methodological caution and statistical confidence: like all self-reported data, incidents disaggregated and analysed below should be regarded as representative within limits rather than definitive all themselves.

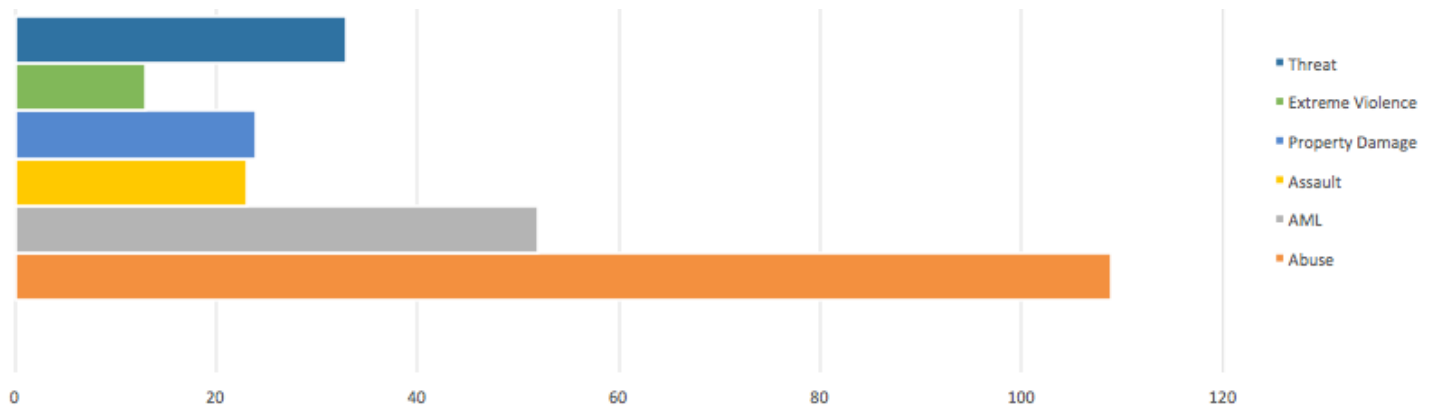
4.3 Online abuse accounted for 82% of cases, with the vast majority – extending to 577 of 599 instances – registering anti-Muslim abuse. The following chart of raw data disaggregates online incidents by, respectively, abuse (96%); the dissemination/targeting of anti-Muslim literature (76%); and threats (19% of incidents; with multiple incidents counted twice):

³⁵ See HM Government, *Hate Crime – The Cross-Government Action Plan*, Sept. 2009, online at: www.galyic.org.uk/docs/hatecrime.pdf, p.10.



Here, nearly half of the cases (45%) identified an online link to the far-right subsequently verified by Tell MAMA caseworkers – whether through recognisable slogans (e.g. ‘NFSE’, or ‘No F*cking Surrender Ever’ for the EDL); hyperlinks or hash-tags affiliated to far-right groups; or avatars and reproduced far-right phrases (such as the infamous ‘14 words’ of neo-Nazism: ‘We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children’). As highlighted in CFAPS’s previous report, it likely that Britain’s small number of far-right activists is responsible for a disproportionate amount of online hate-incidents targeting Muslims based in Britain.

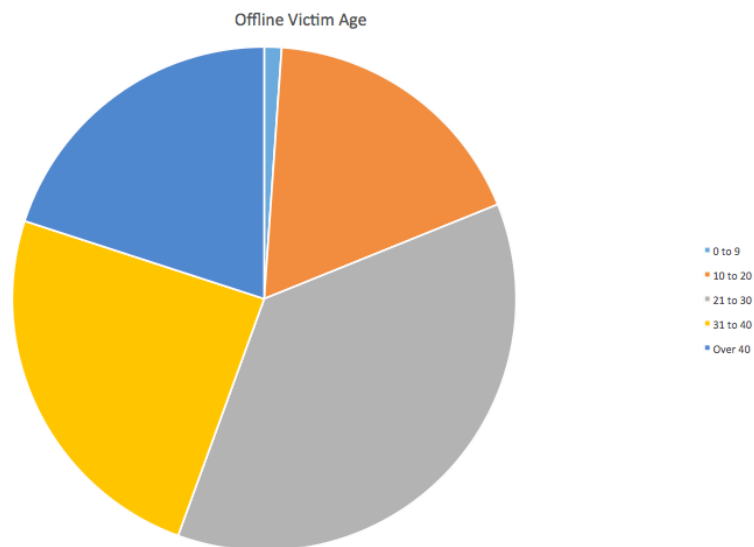
4.4 The remaining 135 offline attacks were similarly broken down after being double-checked and confirmed; in this case, by abuse (80%); anti-Muslim literature (39%); assault (17%); property damage (18%); extreme violence (10%); and threat (24%; again, with some attacks involving multiple categories of offence):



Number of offline attacks disaggregated by incident type

While the majority of incidents were non-violent, 23 cases of assault and 13 instances of extreme violence are striking numbers for these ten months (for example, the CST recorded 0 self-reported cases of extreme violence in 2013; and 2 in both 2011 and 2012).³⁶

4.5 Where offline information about the perpetrator was provided, the predominance of youth is notable, with 60% of self-reported incidents estimating that perpetrators were aged between 10 and 30 years; in contrast, only 24% of alleged perpetrators were over the age of 30.



Another demographic trend in the Tell MAMA dataset reveals that only 20% of putative attackers were female. These figures are broadly in keeping with CPS statistics on racial and religiously-motivated hate in 2012/13:

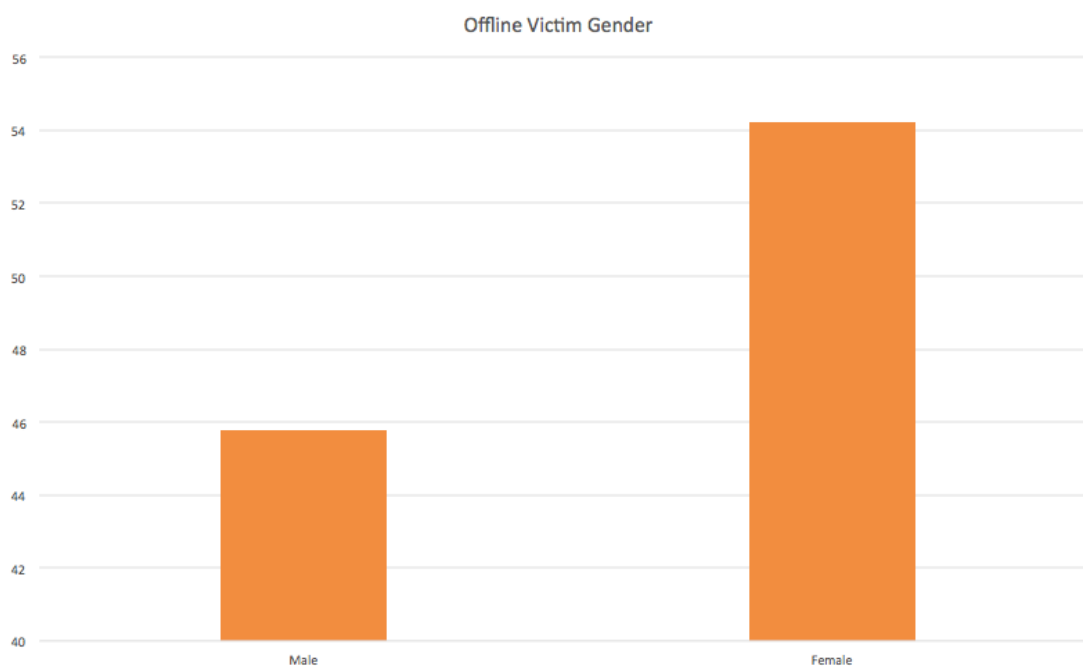
Defendants in racist and religiously motivated hate crimes are mostly men (83.4%) and White British (71.6%). 58.0% were aged 25-59 and a further 27.0% were aged between 18-24. The proportion of both 10-13 year olds and 14-17 year olds defendants continues to decline from 2.6% and 20.2% respectively in 2007/08 to 1.3% and 10.3% last year.

³⁶ The CST recorded 69 violent anti-Semitic incidents in 2013, with none extending to ‘extreme violence’, see the “Antisemitic Incidents Report 2013”, p.3.

Victims are mostly men (58.2%) and 25.5% are women. The proportion of victims for whom we have identified gender has continued to improve since 2007/08 when it stood at 44.0%, whereas last year, the figure had increased to 83.7%.

In 2012/13, 399 cases involving religiously aggravated hostility were prosecuted with a 77.2% conviction rate.³⁷

4.6 Yet the disaggregated gender of victims flies in the face of wider hate crimes trends. Usually, as above, both perpetrators and victims of hate crime are male.³⁸ As with the initial report on Tell MAMA figures by CFAPS last year, however, where the victim's gender is recorded (and not in mixed groups; extending to 87% of offline incidents), the majority of self-report victims are female – accounting for 54% of 117 offline victims between 1 May 2013 and 28 February 2014.³⁹



Once more, caveats bear noting: this striking figure might indicate a greater willingness by female victims to report anti-Muslim attacks on the one hand; or on the other, Muslim women may be considered to be more ‘visibly’ Muslim (such as in wearing the hijab or an abaya).⁴⁰ In fact, nearly a quarter of victims (24%) described themselves as wearing ‘Islamic’ clothing at the time of attacks reported in this 10-month data cycle. Given the long-held consensus that most hate crimes are situational

³⁷ *Hate crime and crimes against older people report 2012-2013*, pp.17-18.

³⁸ See, for example, Barbara Perry, “Gendered Islamophobia: hate crime against Muslim Women”, in *Social Identities* 20/1 (2014), p.74-75. For Jewish victims of hate crime, the CST’s 2013 annual report found that women accounted for 24% of self-reported cases; that is, in 62 of the 263 incidents where the victim’s gender was recorded and not part of a mixed group; see the “Antisemitic Incidents Report 2013”, p.19.

³⁹ This figure was 58% of victims in the preceding reporting period, “Anti-Muslim Hate Crime and the Far-Right”, p.18.

⁴⁰ For important qualitative analyses on Muslim women’s experience of hate crime in Britain, see Chris Allen, Arshad Isakjee and Özlem Ögtem Young, “‘Maybe we are hated’: The experience and impact of anti-Muslim hate on British Muslim women”, Nov. 2013; online at www.tellmama.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/maybewearehated.pdf.

– or ‘opportunistic’ in specific contexts – these are plausible hypotheses. Yet they do not sufficiently explain the far higher incidents of – often religiously-dressed – female victims of anti-Muslim hate crime. Conceived in conjunction with data on perpetrators cited above, Tell MAMA’s data accordingly underscores that predominately young white men are most frequently identified as alleged perpetrators of ‘Islamophobic’ hate crimes against Muslim women. This finding is both unusual and cause for some concern.

5. ‘Cumulative extremism’ and the ‘spike’ in post-Woolwich incidents

5.1 Most striking of all, however, was the increase in religious hate crime incidents – both online abuse and offline attacks – witnessed after Drummer Rigby’s savage murder. Seemingly unrepentant Islamist attackers with literal blood on their hands; shocking images and statements caught by camera-phone; and a cowardly attack on an unsuspecting, off-duty soldier, all mark out the murder of Lee Rigby as an outrageous act of terrorism.⁴¹ In turn, this may well have been the ‘trigger’ for surging anti-Muslim incidents after 22 May 2013 (again, official data is not typically broken down to specifically religious hate crime perpetrated against Muslims; an important consideration in the insight provided by this self-reporting dataset).

5.2 As noted in Section 3 above, incidents recorded by police in London, Greater Manchester and the West Midlands all reveal a significant spike over the ensuing weeks and months. This is in keeping with Tell MAMA’s data, and may be seen to strengthen its credibility. Incidents ranged from online incitements to hatred and violence to mosque attacks – themselves ranging from graffiti to arson attacks – and, according to Tell MAMA, five instances of extreme violence. Despite claims of an ‘Islamophobia industry’ making claims ‘not really supported by the evidence’, Tell MAMA data demonstrates that an anti-Muslim backlash did indeed take place after 22 May 2013.⁴²

5.3 A relevant concept gaining traction in policy and academic analysis is that of ‘cumulative extremism’ – first coined in 2006 with reference to Bradford race riots in 2001 and the aftermath of the 7/7 terrorist bombings in July 2005 – whereby ‘one form of extremism can feed off and magnify other forms’, or elsewhere, as ‘intertwined extremes from opposing illiberal camps seek to radicalize otherwise liberal-democratic populaces’.⁴³ To date, emphasis has focused upon far-right reactions to jihadi Islamist violence – or indeed vice-versa, in the case of Islamists targeting an EDL demonstration in Dewsbury on 30 June 2013 – even if commentators on this subject have all stressed the need for further research into what has been variously dubbed ideological ‘spirals of violence’, ‘tit-for-tat radicalisation’ or ‘connectivity between extremisms’.⁴⁴ Sporadic evidence has suggested that this was the case following terrorist several attacks, including July 2005 assertions of an “escalation of backlash attacks against Muslims since 7/7”.⁴⁵ In policy terms, moreover, a recent *Demos* study even suggests that

⁴¹ Following the Woolwich attack, the government commissioned a task force to examine counter-terrorist strategy; see HM Government, *Tackling Extremism in the UK: Report from the Prime Ministers Task Force on Tackling Radicalisation and Extremism*, Dec. 2013; online at: www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/263181/ETF_FINAL.pdf.

⁴² For example, see, Andrew Gilligan, “The truth about the ‘wave of attacks on Muslims’ after Woolwich murder”, *The Telegraph*, 1 Jun. 2013; online at: www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/10093568/The-truth-about-the-wave-of-attacks-on-Muslims-after-Woolwich-murder.html.

⁴³ Quoted in Roger Eatwell, “Community Cohesion and Cumulative Extremism in Contemporary Britain”, in *The Political Quarterly* 77/2 (Apr.-Jun. 2006), p.205; and Matthew Feldman, “The Radical Right, Anti-Muslim Politics, and Cumulative Extremism”, *Fair Observer*, 31 Oct. 2012; online at: www.fairobserver.com/region/europe/radical-right-anti-muslim-politics-and-cumulative-extremism/.

⁴⁴ Graham Macklin and Joel Busher, “Interpreting ‘Cumulative Extremism’: Six Proposals for Enhancing Conceptual Clarity”, *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26/4 (2014), p.565.

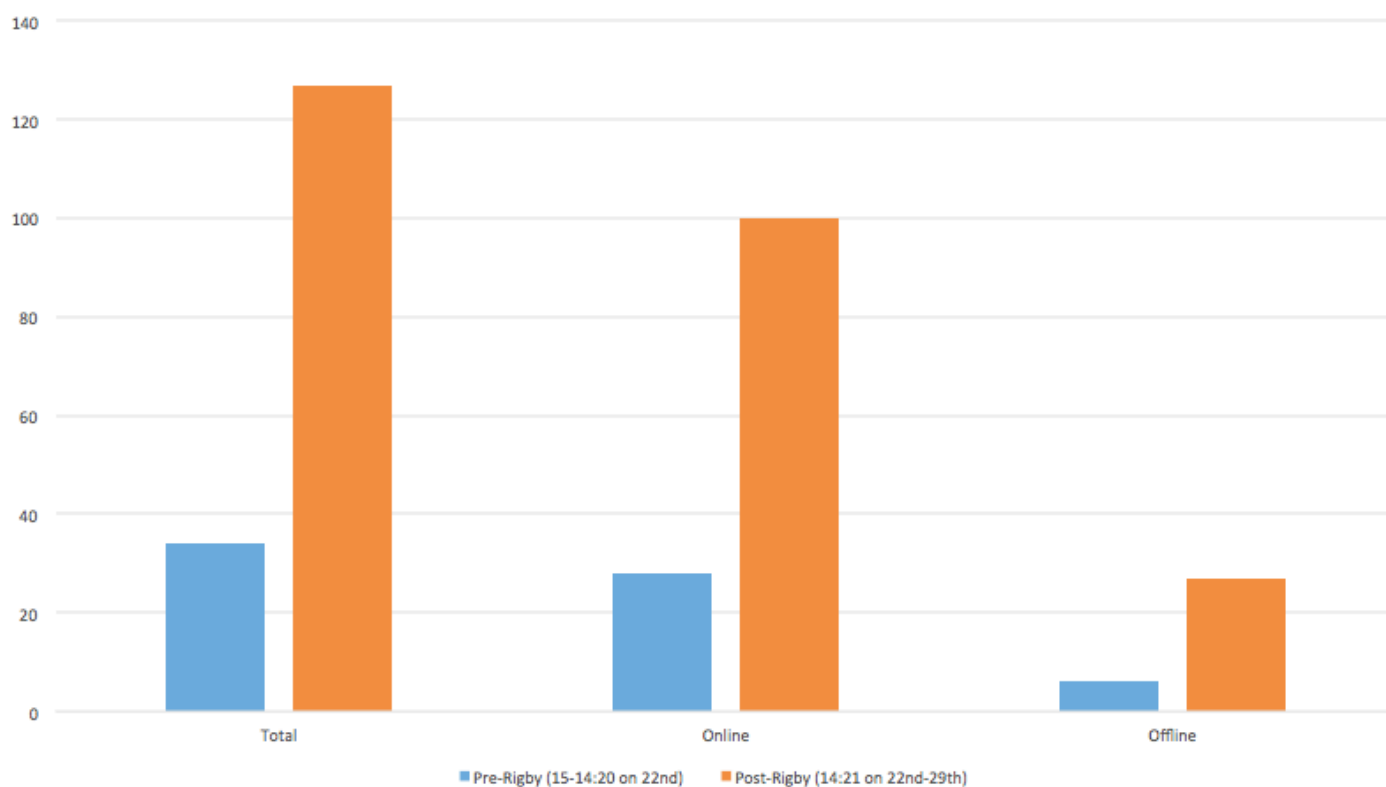
⁴⁵ Massoud Shadjareh, Islamic Human Rights Commission chairman, cited in “Hate crimes rise after UK bombs”, *BBC News*, 28 Jul. 2005; online at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4723339.stm>.

we can expect to see, following a terrorist attack, an increase in ‘revenge’ attacks for a short period. In the aftermath of an Islamist act, police and counter-terrorism officials should step up monitoring of far right forums and groups (and vice-versa). However, this does not necessarily mean a general and sustained uptick of violent attacks in society. Moreover, research suggests that it will fall back to the same level as before an attack (which it did post-7/7) rather than sparking a self-sustaining cumulative process.⁴⁶

5.4 Tell MAMA’s data and research empirically supports the notion of ‘cumulative extremism’ in the aftermath of Lee Rigby’s murder. Yet even without this interpretative framework, there can be little doubt that Britain experienced a concerning spasm of anti-Muslim incidents in the week following the 22 May Woolwich attack. When compared with the week immediately beforehand, there was a 373% increase in reports of anti-Muslim incidents to Tell MAMA. In fact, nearly a fifth of all self-reported incidents analysed over the ten-month period 1 May 2013 to 28 February 2014 took place in the week following Lee Rigby’s murder (127 total between 14:21 on 22 and 29 May 2013, as opposed to 34 reported victims in the preceding week). Put another way, the average *monthly* figure of 73 cases over the reporting period May 2013-February 2014 reporting period – itself inflated on account of the post-Woolwich spike in anti-Muslim attacks – rose by 174% in the space of a *week*.

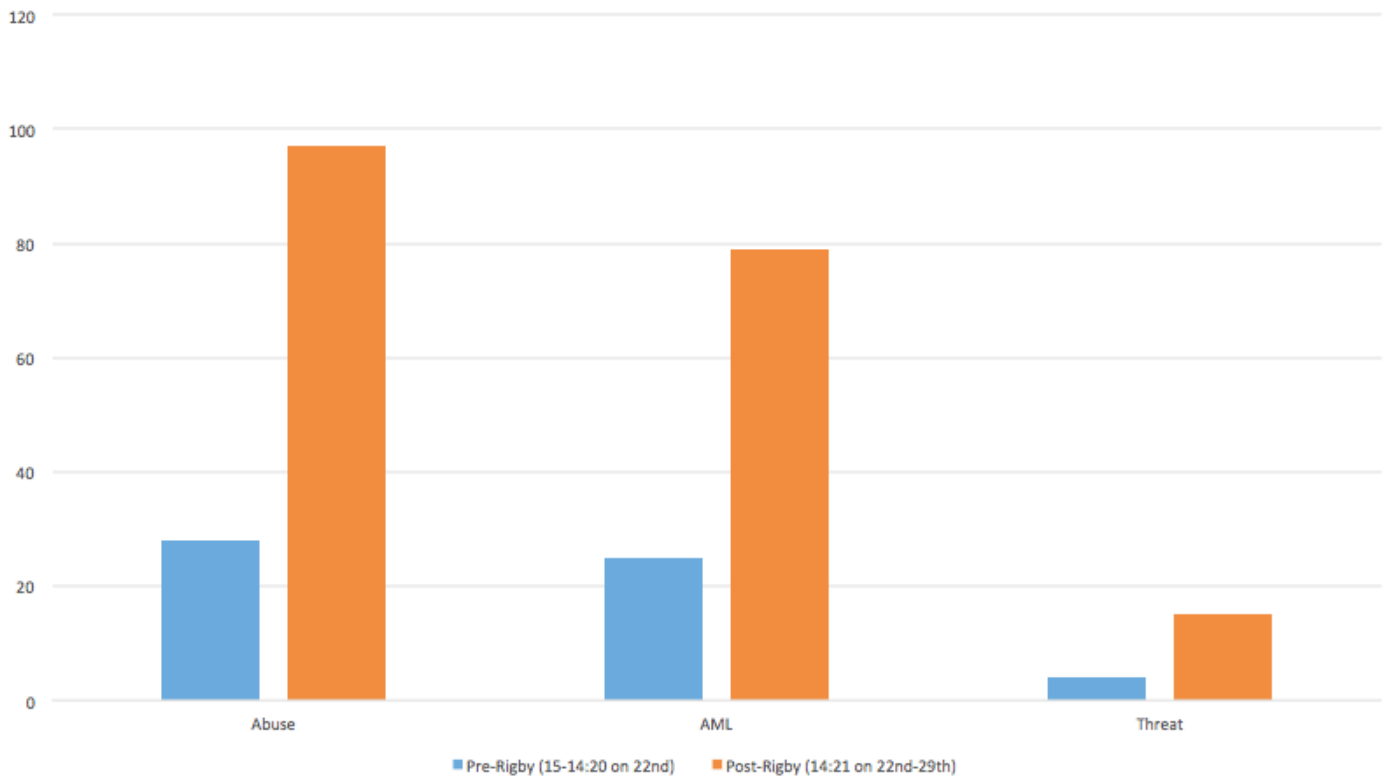
⁴⁶ Jamie Bartlett and Jonathan Birdwell, “Cumulative Radicalisation between the Far-Right and Islamist Groups in the UK: A Review of Evidence”, *Demos*, 5 Nov. 2013; online at: www.demos.co.uk/files/Demos%20-%20Cumulative%20Radicalisation%20-%205%20Nov%202013.pdf, pp.8-9.

Pre and Post-Rigby Attack Comparison



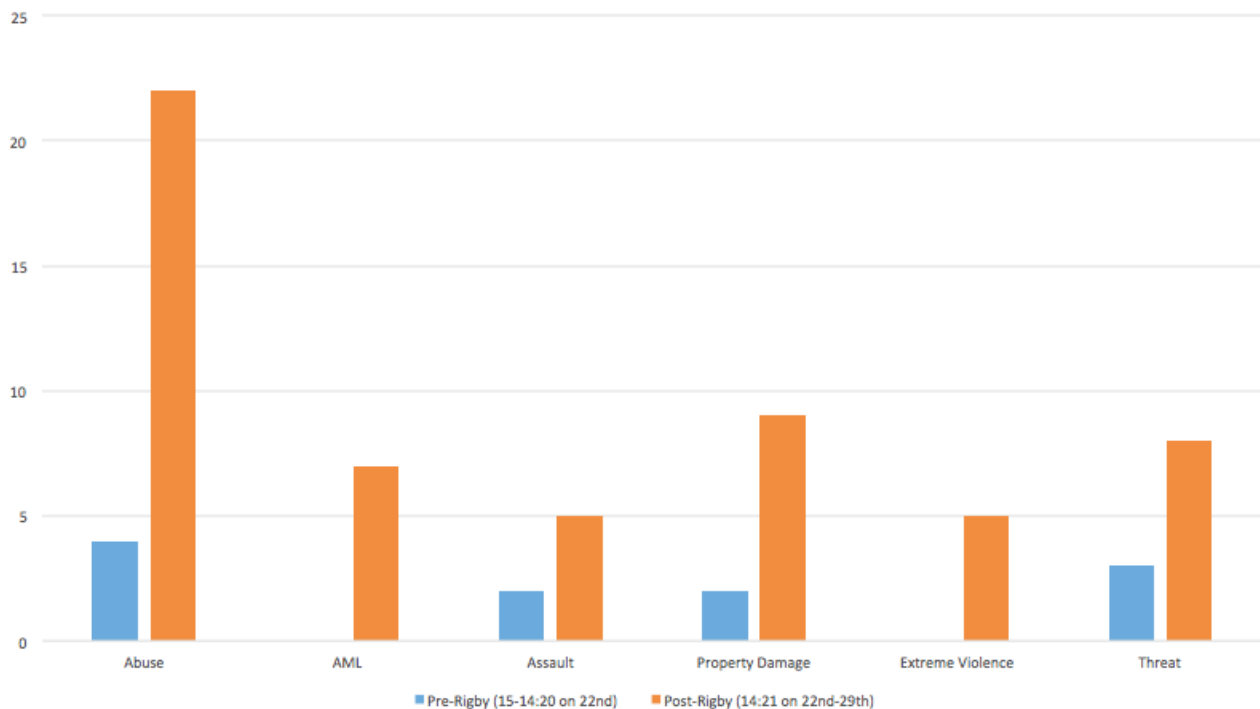
5.5 Tell MAMA’s figures are similarly revealing when disaggregated into online abuse and offline attacks, again comparing the week before and after the Islamist murder in Woolwich. When presented in this way, the online categories “Abuse”; “Anti-Muslim literature”; and “Threat” all increased more than threefold in the week between 22 and 29 May 2013. In terms of online threats made to an individual (or their family), this number rose from 4 to 15 in the week of 15 to 22 May, while online abuse rose to 97 self-reported cases (with multiple incidents again separately counted).

Pre and Post-Rigby Comparison (Online)



The number of offline attacks in the week after Lee Rigby’s murder also rose sharply. As noted above, Tell MAMA recorded 5 incidents of extreme violence, as opposed to 0 in the previous week. Likewise, self-reported occurrences of (usually street-based) abuse rose from 4 to 22 cases; while reports assault rose from 2 to 5. In keeping with the more general rise in mosque attacks persisting into summer 2013, instances of anti-Muslim property damage rose from 2 in the week commencing 15 May 2013, to 9 recorded for the following week.

Pre and Post-Rigby Comparison (Offline Attacks)



5.6 Tell MAMA self-reported cases for May 2013 therefore indicate – especially when read in conjunction with other datasets cited above – that Muslims in Britain were at decidedly increased risk of public attack and, in particular, online abuse, for their faith in the days and even weeks following Drummer Rigby’s murder. Over the longer term, anti-Muslim incidents recorded between 1 May 2013 and 28 February 2014 remained higher than this reporting period’s ‘baseline’ monthly average of 73 cases per month – just over 2 incidents per day – until August 2013 (see the table in Section 4.1). Indeed, insofar as ‘cumulative extremism’ may extend beyond immediate, kneejerk racial or religious hate crime in the wake of an extremist attack, it bears noting, finally, that far-right movements continue in attempts to instrumentalise Lee Rigby’s murder. Thus, then-EDL leaders Stephen Yaxley-Lennon and Kevin Carroll were arrested in late June 2013 for attempting a charity march in Woolwich ‘via the East London Mosque’; while later, at the start of murder trial in November 2013, the BNP staged a demonstration outside the courthouse demanding the re-institution of the death penalty. Still more recently, the newly-launched Britain First party – led by ex-BNP communications director Paul Golding – ‘tried to get the words “Remember Lee Rigby” printed as their slogan on the ballot paper for the [May 2014] European elections – and nearly succeeded, until the Rigby family personally objected.’⁴⁷ This should not be surprising, for anti-Muslim hate crime in Britain has become a populist staple in the far-right’s armory this century. What is more troubling, and certainly calls for further research, is the potential diffusion of anti-Muslim prejudice into mainstream discourse in Britain.

⁴⁷ See, respectively, Tariq Tahir, “EDL leader Tommy Robinson bailed after being arrested on Lee Rigby march”, *Metro*, 30 Jan. 2013; online at: <http://metro.co.uk/2013/06/30/edl-leader-tommy-robinson-bailed-after-being-arrested-on-lee-rigby-march-3862395/>; Jessica Elgot, “BNP Calls For Return Of Death Penalty Outside Lee Rigby Murder Trial”, *The Huffington Post UK*, 18 Nov. 2013; online at: www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2013/11/18/bnp-death-penalty_n_4294708.html; and Gavin Haynes, “Say Hello to Britain’s New Militant Far-Right Street Team”, *Vice*, 20 Jun. 2014; online at: www.vice.com/en_uk/read/say-hello-to-britains-new-far-right-street-team.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Taken as a whole, hate crime has been falling in Britain in recent years. Yet a closer look reveals that certain strands of hate crime – including homophobic hate crime and anti-Muslim hate incidents – have in fact been rising. There is clearly a greater need to disaggregate data collection on religious hate crime attacks, at both national and police force levels. However, various indicators suggest that anti-Muslim hate crimes notably rose in Britain between 1 May 2013 and February 2014.

6.2 In examining Tell MAMA's increasingly robust collection of self-report data by anti-Muslim victims, this interim report presents several findings that starkly contrast with wider trends. The first of these is that the majority of victims are female; another is the increase in extreme violence and mosque attacks. Other findings point toward a strong element of far-right involvement in attacks, as well as the persistent problem of under-reporting – both to the police and to third-party support services like Tell MAMA. Most striking of all, however, was the steep rise in all type of anti-Muslim incident in the week following the savage killing of Lee Rigby. Almost a fifth of all cases recorded in this ten-month survey period were reported in the week following Drummer Rigby 22 May 2013 murder. Verified incidents to Tell MAMA rose by nearly 400% on the previous week, and included significantly elevated levels of extreme violence, physical assault and abuse of various kinds. As reported nationally, there were also attempted arson attacks against mosques, as well as several bombing attempts (most notably by the murderer of Mohammed Saleem, the neo-Nazi Pavlo Lapshyn. Throughout spring 2014, there were heightened levels of both online and offline incidents reported to Tell MAMA. At this time, many people in Britain felt frightened and victimised.

6.3 The troubling backlash against Muslim communities in the aftermath of Woolwich poses several considerations. Supporting victims, and encouraging them to come forward to report a hate crime, remains the highest priority. Alongside addressing under-reporting, authorities should be encouraged to disaggregate hate crimes by strand, and to take seriously the increased incidence of anti-Muslim religious hate crime. Finally, more research is needed on 'cumulative extremism'. This report has found the concept useful in approaching the surge in anti-Muslim attacks at the end of May 2013, even if it is too early to make conclusions given the limited resources available on the topic. What can be said, in conclusion, is that Muslims remain amongst the most likely minority group in Britain to be targeted for a hate crime. 'Trigger' events like the murder of Drummer Rigby clearly magnify the possibility of far-right groups and others victimising Muslims simply for who they are and what they believe. While Britain remains a place of inclusion, stubbornly high figures of anti-Muslim incidents also remain, and demand attention from policymakers and all people of goodwill in Britain alike.

Appendix A: Tell MAMA Data Collection and Analysis Methodology

Data Collection

Tell MAMA is a self-report data set, and therefore relies on the proactive efforts of victims to register new cases. Initial reports can be made by either phone, Twitter or Facebook, with detailed information collected by caseworkers in follow-up interviews over phone or email.

Following the publication of CFAPS's 2013 report, "Anti-Muslim Hate Crime and the Far Right", changes have been made to Faith Matters' internal case validation processes, giving rise to significant improvements in the overall robustness of the data. A comprehensive review of recording practices led to significant changes in coding, validation and oversight, with the result that greater confidence – albeit subject to the standard caveats made in respect of self-report data sets – may now be placed in the validity of the data.

For example, it is now the case that caseworkers must receive secondary validation – for example, via a hard-copy of an offensive letter, link to online content, or an additional witness in the case of offline violence –if they are to record an anti-Muslim incident, with cases lacking this extra proof excluded from the data.

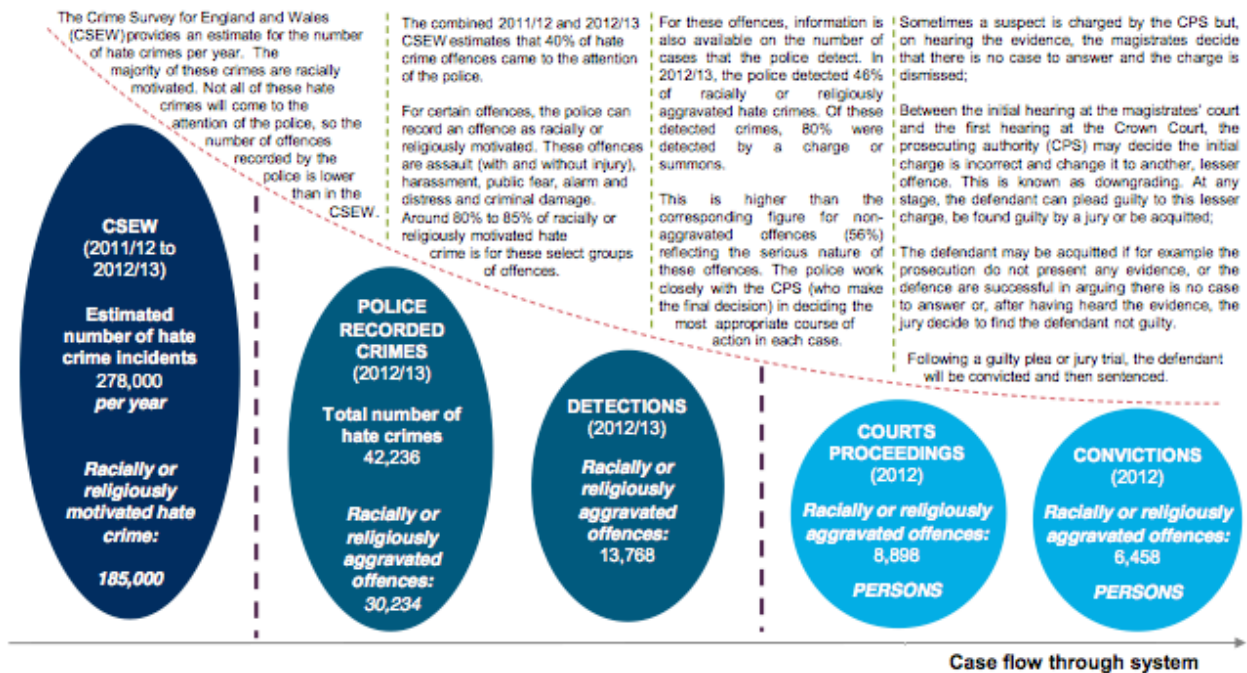
Additionally, current practice has also adopted an enhanced standard in respect of victim identification, requiring a clear and direct link between the incident and the reporter. It is no longer the case that incidents targeting Muslims in general (for example, in negative press reports or social media commentary addressed to a general audience) are included in the data set.

Revisions have also been made to case coding practices, with reports now added using a rigorous and unambiguous set of criteria mirroring current police practice. Secondary checks on the robustness of this process have also been introduced, with a weekly random selection of cases second checked by a senior member of the Faith Matters team. Any anomalies or conspicuous failures to meet the criteria outlined above are excluded, triggering a full audit of the preceding week of reports.

Data Analysis

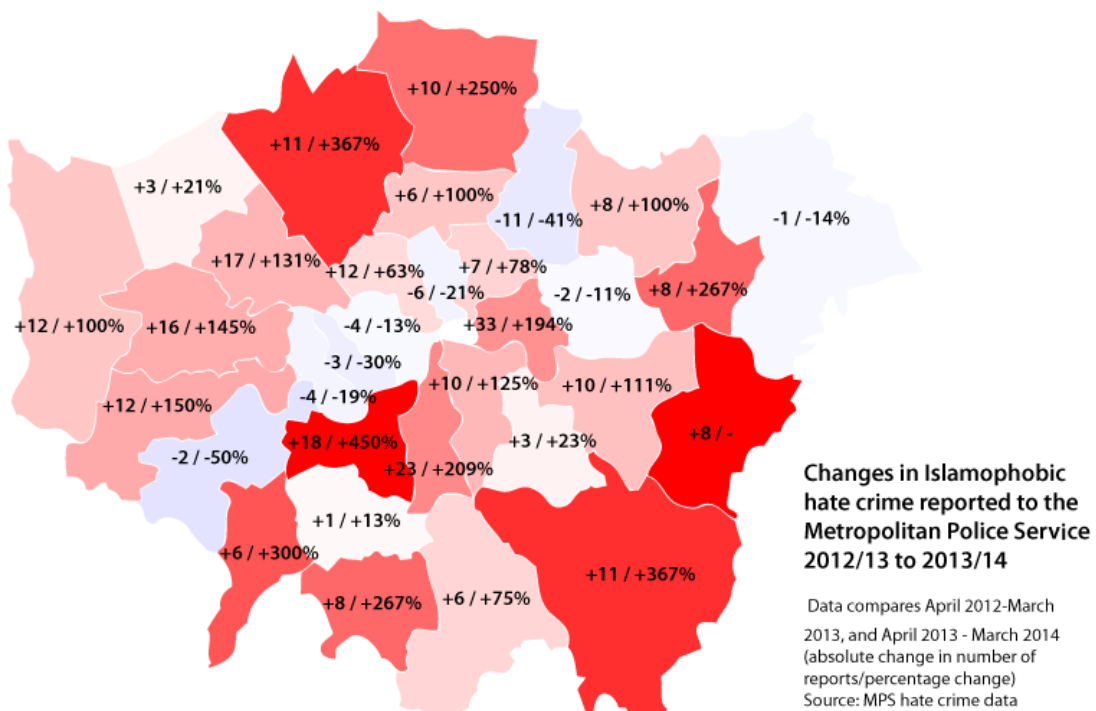
The data comprised 734 cases (599 online, 135 offline) collected between May 2013-February 2014 inclusive. As in previous reports, analysis used SPSS to present simple descriptive statistics, offering raw, percentage and average occurrence levels for all variables analysed. Enquiry focussed on the Woolwich attacks split around 2pm on the 22nd May 2013, with all comparisons using averages calculated over the 7 days immediately preceding and immediately following this point. Where variables had high levels of missing data, all cases were included in analysis, resulting in totals of less than 100% of the sample.

Appendix B: Hate Crimes in England and Wales, 2012/13

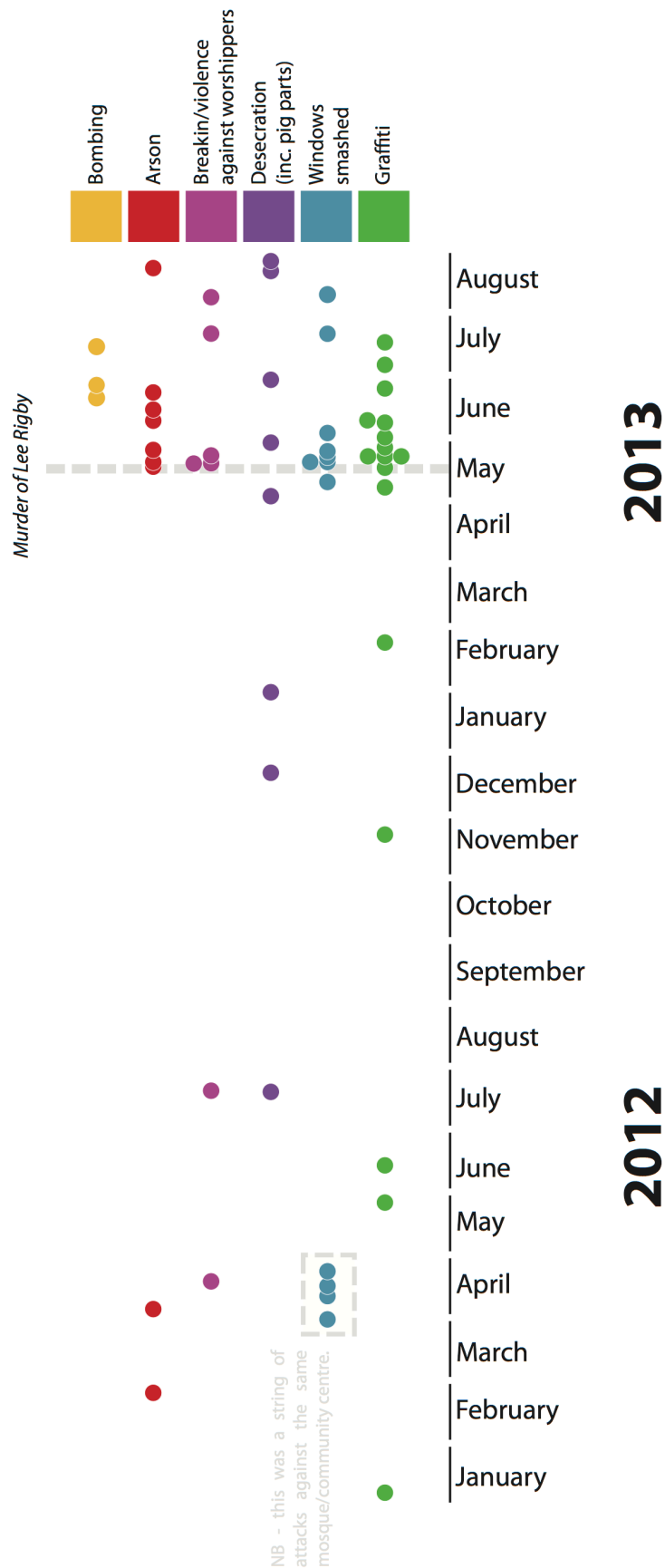



Source: Home Office, Office for National Statistics and Ministry of Justice, *An Overview of Hate Crime in England and Wales*, Dec. 2013, online at: www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/266358/hate-crime-2013.pdf, p.8.

Appendix C: Tell MAMA graphed rise in anti-Muslim incidents recorded by police in London between Apr. 2012-Mar. 2013 and Apr. 2013-March 2014



Appendix D: Mosque attacks, as reported to Tell MAMA caseworkers between January 1 and August 31, 2013





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