Report on the Findings of the Leeds Anti-Muslim Hatred Survey 2020

Produced for:

Leeds Hate Crime Strategic Board, 2021 and Leeds City Council

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Executive Summary

1. Background to the Report

A range of surveys, including work by Hope Not Hate, the Runnymede Trust, British Future, and the BBC have repeatedly shown the critical, emerging challenge that anti-Muslim views present to UK social relations. In recent years, Leeds City Council has led and supported a range of campaigns and strategic actions to tackle hate crime in the City, including the Deputy Leader and Executive Member for Communities Councillor Debra Coupar's signing of a pledge on behalf of the Leeds Hate Crime Strategic Board to "increase understanding of the negative attitudes many Muslims face". Despite these attempts, West Yorkshire Police data shows a rising trend locally, with 261 reports of crimes of an anti-Muslim nature in Leeds in 2019, compared to just 23 in 2013.

Leeds City Council appointed the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, based at Coventry University, to analyse the findings of this online survey exploring Anti-Muslim Hatred in Leeds. The survey was made available to the public from 09/03/2020 and was kept open for two months. This report presents the key findings, analysis and recommendations from that 2020 survey.

2. The Muslim Population of Leeds and the Leeds Anti-Muslim Hatred Survey 2020

The Muslim population of Leeds was recorded as 40.8K at the last Census 2011, or 5.4% of the Leeds population in 2011. Whilst responses to this survey come from a cross-section of the Leeds community, the there is a specific focus on understanding the experiences and views of Muslims in Leeds. This means that 1 in every 20 citizens, at least, is the direct subject focus of this survey and given the unequal spread of the Muslim population group, this would apply more acutely in some parts of the city, where the local Muslim population is known to exceed 19%.

The 24-question survey attracted 2,129 completed responses (and 650 partial responses). Of the completed responses, 221 (10.4%) identified as Muslim, "no religion" accounted for the largest group (43.5%), Christians accounted for a third of all respondents (35.8%).

3. Key Findings

3.1. Familiarity with the term Anti-Muslim Hatred and confidence in explaining

65% of non-Muslims and 82% of Muslims were either moderately or very familiar with the term. Over 6% of Muslims said they were not at all familiar or slightly familiar with the term, and over 16% of Non-Muslims said the same. Nearly twice the number of Muslims respondents (64.3%) compared to Non-Muslims (32.8%) were "very" familiar. 40.3% of Muslim respondents and 15.7% of Non-Muslims said they were "very confident" in explaining what anti-Muslim hatred meant to some else.

3.2. Level of Concern

Three quarters of Muslim responded said they were "very" concerned, contrasting sharply with a little over one quarter of Non-Muslims stating the same level of concern. 79.1% of Non-Muslims said they were concerned more than "slightly" (93.4% of Muslims said the same), but this leaves 7.1% of non-Muslims who were "not at all" concerned (0.9% of Muslims) and 13.8% being "slightly" concerned (2.7% of Muslims).

3.3. Experience in Leeds

Three quarters of Muslim respondents (74.6%) said they had experienced or witnessed anti-Muslim hatred, in comparison to 29.4% of Non-Muslims. Of the Muslim respondents, 88.4% had been victims of hatred themselves, one in three saying "frequently", and 95.5% had witnessed such hatred towards someone else, with over half saying this was "frequently". 33.7% of Muslim and 18% of Non-Muslim respondents had reported an incident they witnessed to a relevant body.

Both Muslim and Non-Muslim respondents judged Leeds to fare better (have less anti-Muslim hatred) than the UK. Close to half of Muslim respondents (49.3%) disagreed they were "currently treated as equal citizens in Leeds"; only 5% strongly agreed.

3.4. Locating Anti-Muslim Hatred

When asked about the spaces where they had seen or experienced anti-Muslim hatred there were some similarities - the media and social media received the highest responses. 85-86% of Muslim

respondents cited both the media and social media, while Non-Muslims cited 66.6% (media) and 58.6% (social media). Also featuring strongly for both cohorts was "everyday conversations", (Non-Muslims: 51.3% and Muslims: 47.2%).

There were some clear differences in scores. 62.96% of Muslim respondents cited politics and government (Non-Muslims: 29.6%), 61.6% cited physical assault (Non-Muslims: 19.4%), 44% cited schools and education (Non-Muslims: 10.4%), 38.4% cited employment practices (Non-Muslims: 4.9%), 32% cited vandalism of property (Non-Muslims: 12%), 24.5% cited management practices at work (Non-Muslims: 2.1%), and 21.3% cited accessing vital services (Non-Muslims: 4.5%).

4.5. Work Culture in Leeds City Council
At least 15% of respondents were potentially associated with the Council (gauged by email address). Of these respondents 53 identified as Muslim respondents. Of the remaining 268 Non-Muslim respondents, 105 (39%) were not confident in explaining anti-Muslim hatred to another and 82 (31%) were less than moderately concerned about anti-Muslim hatred. By contrast, only 5 Muslims (below 10%) with the same email domain were less than moderately concerned and three quarters of the Muslim respondents were "very concerned" about anti-Muslim hatred.

4.6. Taking Action Against Anti-Muslim Hatred
When asked about why anti-Muslim hatred had seen an increase in recent years respondents mentioned media (26%) and terrorism (16%) as the top two factors. Ignorance and government policy / politics were joint-third place with 10% of responses.

Of those who reported incidents of anti-Muslim hatred, the most common cited destination of reporting was the police. 38 out of 53 incidents were reported to the police, followed by 24 incidents being reported to family and friends.

Respondents were asked what they felt were the 3 most important agencies in the fight against anti-Muslim hatred. The Government and the media scored highly across all respondents, as did the police. Non-Muslim respondents however cited communities, the education sector and community leaders noticeably higher than Muslim respondents. Muslim respondents cited faith groups and Leeds City Council noticeably higher than Non-Muslim respondents.

When asked about ways in which anti-Muslim hatred can be tackled, the respondents (as a whole) strongly highlighted better education and cohesion integration activities as the two most-preferred suggestions, each scoring 26%.The media (10%) was third.

4.7. Towards a Leeds Definition
When respondents were asked to select words that they would like to see included in a local definition of anti-Muslim hatred, the response shows a significant amount of synergy and common ground (across the whole sample). The definitions adopted by Bradford Council and Barnet Council seemed more in tune with a potential definition for Leeds than the one proposed by the APPG on British Muslims. Furthermore, our suggestion would be to define the term Anti-Muslim Prejudice as opposed to Islamophobia or Anti-Muslim Hatred.

4.8. Female Voices
Muslim female respondents were noticeably younger in age than their male equivalent. 12.8% of Muslim females were under 25 years (compared to 5.6% of Muslim males), and less than 5% of females were 55+ (compared to 14.4% of males). Female respondents were also more ethnically diverse compared to their male equivalents.

4.9. Younger Adult Muslims
The number of respondents under 25 is not sufficient for statistical significance in this survey, but the 16 to 24 population group should be the subject of further focussed field research.

5. Potential limitations of the data
While the dataset represents a valuable amount of information and a high rate of response, there are some limitations, including:

5.1. Under-representation of younger and female voices
86 respondents (39%) identified as female and Muslim, compared to 135 male Muslim respondents. By contrast, non-Muslim respondents were 53% female. Less than a quarter of all Muslim respondents were below the age of 35, and only 18 respondents (8%) were under 25. The Census 2011 showed that 68.5% of Muslims in Leeds were under 35, and 48.4% were under 25%.

5.2. Religious / ethnic diversity
73% of Muslim respondents were Pakistani/Kashmiri and this may not reflect the needs or concerns of Muslims from other backgrounds. Moreover, the number of Muslim respondents in the survey who were ethnically Arab (5), African (4) or Caribbean (1) would be too small to draw rigorous analysis.

5.3. Margins of error
Margins of error are inevitable in all surveys as they rely on how people interpret and respond (emotionally and actually) to questions. In this study, the main impact of error margins would be upon the comparative summary responses between Muslims and Non-Muslims as well as on some of the audience cohorts being very small in number.

5.4. Online and Covid19
This was an online survey and a portion of it ran during Covid19 Pandemic conditions. This has likely created sub-optimal conditions for gathering data of this nature and challenges for some in completion.

5.5. Framing
The survey frames the theme of its enquiry as anti-Muslim "hatred". Hatred can be perceived as harder than terms such as "prejudice" or "discrimination", setting a higher threshold.

6. Discussion and Summary
The survey was successful in attracting 2,129 completed responses during a period when UK society was facing and responding to the initial, chaotic conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic. The investment in a survey of this kind is demonstrative of the Council's current and future commitment to understanding and managing issues of extremism, hate crime and social relations and should be recognised as an important and rare step in the practice of local authorities in this arena.

At the broadest point, the analysis finds evidence of a pervasive, damaging and multi-layered social problem which is likely hampering the opportunities, participation and wellbeing of a great number of citizens in Leeds, ultimately corroding social relations in the city. The headline figures from this are:

1. three-quarters of Muslims in Leeds are very concerned about anti-Muslim hatred, rising to nearly 90% being either very or moderately concerned;
2. three-quarters of Muslim respondents have experienced or witnessed anti-Muslim hatred; and
3. more than 1 in 3 Muslim respondents are frequently the victim of anti-Muslim hatred in Leeds.
4. Despite the high prevalence, 67% of Muslims did not report incidents of anti-Muslim hatred to a relevant authority.
5. Nearly half of Muslim respondents believe that Muslims are not treated as equal citizens
6. Respondents were clear that anti-Muslim hatred is present throughout many facets of life in Leeds (and beyond).
7. Anti-Muslim hatred appears to be manifested in experiences of public and community services such as schools, NHS, housing, income support services, sporting activities and community events.
8. Leeds City Council which has a dual role in this context: first as a central and accountable body in the governance of diversity issues in Leeds and second as an employer and an institution which, as with all local authorities, is part of the 'structure' of life in the city.
    - 39% of non-Muslim respondents connected to the Council were not confident in explaining anti-Muslim hatred.
    - 31% of non-Muslim respondents connected to the Council were less than moderately concerned about anti-Muslim hatred compared with the three-quarters of Muslim respondents related to the council that were very concerned.

- half of the Muslim respondents with an @leeds.gov.uk email address had seen or experienced anti-Muslim hatred specifically in "employment practices" or in "management practices at work".

7. Recommendations

1. **Raising awareness and understanding** around the seriousness and scale of anti-Muslim prejudice in Leeds
   a. Adopt a clear and common-sense, flag in the ground, 'Leeds' definition of anti-Muslim prejudice (and use that as the future framework for action).
   b. Positive stories, personal stories, real-life examples. But doing this in a way that brings people together rather than pushes communities apart further (use of language, narratives that find what is in common).
   c. Don't isolate Muslims as a special case but deal with this through existing hate crime strategies alongside concern for other communities / aspects of life.
   d. Foster a nuanced and long-term response (rather than short, sharp action) to challenge anti-Muslim prejudice. This will require conversations with stakeholders as well as within the Council.

2. **Training and educating front line (and other) staff**, in an inter-agency way
   a. To enable people to identify and tackle hate crime against Muslims
   b. Understanding Muslim diversity, culture and demographics for outreach work. (Evidence shows that the most impactful method of training is dialogical and experiential learning approaches. If done incorrectly, there is a risk of making things worse.)

3. **Investigate under-reporting and improve reporting**
   a. Better publicise reporting mechanisms
   b. Engage in community awareness around reporting
   c. Enhance confidence in reporting by educating around the consequences of not reporting and showing how cases can be dealt with when a report is made

4. **Prevent hate crime** through collective work to tackle prejudice in all communities, enhance understanding between people, in a way that brings residents together and builds shared ideas, aspirations and hope around Leeds as the uniting factor. Think about the **perceived credibility** of statutory agencies within this work and the potential increased role for grassroots organisations.

5. **Strengthen understanding, depth and nuance around the issues and the data**
   a. **We don't have enough depth…**Qualitative research to supplement the existing quantitative data – e.g. focus groups to drill deeper and test finding with stakeholders.
   b. **We don't know enough about linked issues…** Probe potentially 'hidden' sectors – field research to look at specific cohorts that may have been missed here and areas where intersectional concerns may have been omitted – e.g. race, disability, sexual orientation.
   c. **We don't know enough about gender and youth…** Enhance the number of female participants in the research and also capture younger voices (under 16 and under 25 samples).
   d. **More detailed look within the Council…** Qualitative research to supplement, interrogate and clarify existing data from the survey.

6. **Reframe the focus from 'Anti-Muslim Hatred' to 'Anti-Muslim Prejudice'** in order to tackle matters upstream as well as allow citizens to engage with the subject in more relatable terms and in synergy with existing paradigms around equality, discrimination and racism.

1. Background to the Report

There has been a pronounced debate in recent years around the definition of 'Islamophobia' preceding, but in part sparked by, the APPG on British Muslims who proposed in November 2018 that: "Islamophobia is rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness".[1] While some organisations such as the Muslim Council of Britain have endorsed this definition, others have been critical saying that the term 'Muslimness' is vague and thus open to misinterpretation and that not all anti-Muslim prejudice is necessarily rooted in racism (for example prejudice against Muslim converts). Despite the debates around a definition, there is growing evidence that anti-Muslim prejudice is a significant problem in society. A range of surveys, including work by Hope Not Hate, the Runnymede Trust, British Future, and the BBC have repeatedly shown the emerging challenge that anti-Muslim views present.

According to the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, West Yorkshire Police data shows that there were 261 reports of crimes of an anti-Muslim nature in Leeds in 2019 (compared to just 23 in 2013)[2]. Leeds City Council has supported campaigns to tackle hate crimes in the City and have partnered with organisations such as the Shantona Women's and Family Centre in their 'Say No to Islamophobia' campaign. Councillor Debra Coupar, Deputy Leader and Executive Member for Communities, signed a pledge on behalf of the Leeds Hate Crime Strategic Board to "increase understanding of the negative attitudes many Muslims face."[3]

In the Annual Governance Statement of Leeds City Council 2019, the Council affirmed its commitment to "be open and engage with local communities". Under Tackling Inequalities, the Council stated: "3.33: Our Religion or Belief Hub held a Women and Faith event looking at the role and experiences of women in faith communities and how they contribute to community leadership, social policy and cohesion amongst other areas and how we can work more closely to support women from these communities... We continue our efforts to combat all forms of religious discrimination including Islamophobia through our work with Safer Leeds and partnerships with Communities, the Third Sector and Faith Organisations in the City."

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[1] https://static1.squarespace.com/static/599c3d2febbd1a90cffdd8a9/t/5bfd1ea3352f531a6170ceee/1543315109493/Islamophobia+Defined.pdf

[2] https://www.yorkshireeveningpost.co.uk/news/crime/shocking-statistics-reveal-1000-surge-islamophobic-hate-crime-leeds-484279

[3] https://news.leeds.gov.uk/news/leeds-pledges-to-beat-islamophobia

Leeds City Council appointed the [Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations](#)[4], based at Coventry University, to analyse the findings of this online survey exploring Anti-Muslim Hatred. The survey was made available to the public from 09/03/2020 and was kept open for two months (in response to the Covid-19 pandemic, the UK went into lockdown from 23/03/2020, the effects of which on the research are discussed later in this report). The survey explored public familiarity with anti-Muslim hatred or prejudice, experiences, witnessing and actions taken as a result of these, in Leeds. This report sets out key findings and some recommendations based for future policy and practice.

2. Muslim Population of Leeds

The estimated population of Leeds was 793.1K in 2019. The Muslim population of Leeds was recorded as 40.8K at the last Census 2011, or 5.4% of the Leeds population in 2011[5]. Whilst responses to this survey come from a cross-section of the Leeds community, the there is a specific focus on understanding the experiences and views of Muslims in Leeds. This means that 1 in every 20 citizens, at least, is the direct subject focus of this survey and given the unequal spread of the Muslim population group, this would apply more acutely in some parts of the city, where the local Muslim population is known to exceed 19% (see Figure 1). At the time of writing this report, work is in progress by the Office for National Statistics for the next Census, which will take place on 21 March 2021. Most data in this census will be collected digitally, and it is anticipated that essential data for Leeds populations will be available much sooner than previous decades. The findings of this survey are therefore timely in their application of the comprehensive primary data the Census 2021 will provide, allowing for further policy research and measures in identified areas.

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[4] The Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations is an international applied research centre based within Coventry University's **Institute for Peace, Security and Social Justice**. Dilwar Hussain and Tom Fisher are both Assistant Professors within the Institute and experienced policy analysts, trainers, research consultants and advisors to governments on a range of issues including faith in society, anti-Muslim prejudice, extremism and social relations generally. The Centre's website can be found on this link: https://www.coventry.ac.uk/research/areas-of-research/trust-peace-social-relations/

[5] The Census 2011 question on religion was a voluntary question and 50.7K persons did not answer the question in Leeds.
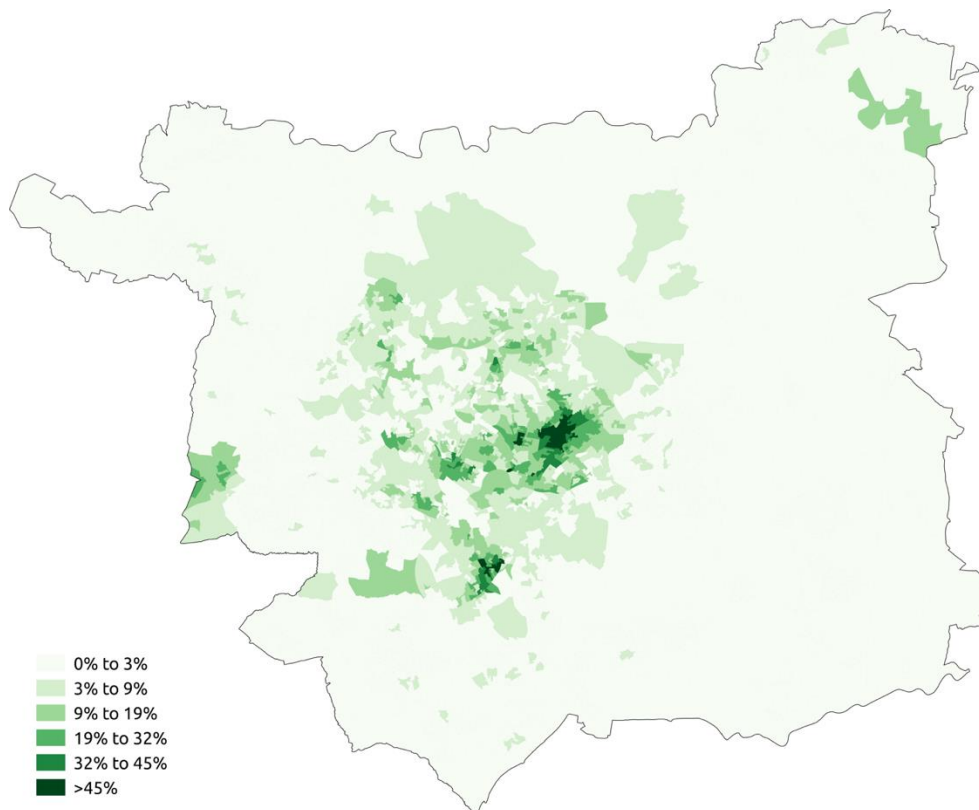
Figure 1: Muslim population density of Leeds, Census 2011[6]. © Skate Tier

3. The Survey

The 24-question survey developed and administered by a team at Leeds City Council (see Appendix 2 for the text of the survey) attracted 2,129 completed responses (and 650 partial responses). Of the completed responses, 221 (10.4%) identified as Muslim. Summary data comparing Muslim and Non-Muslim responses were extracted and analysed, together with the depth of individual responses for a closer analysis and cross comparison. When measured by the religion of respondents, "no religion" accounted for the largest group (43.5%) and together with a further 7.2% ("prefer not to say/ other religion"), this meant that over half the respondents (50.7%) do not identify with any particular named religion. Of those who did, Christians (of non-specified denominations) accounted for a third of all respondents (35.8%), and Hindu respondents accounted for the lowest number of respondents (N=8). A chart showing the make-up of survey respondents and a table of the Leeds population by religion are below:

[6] SkateTier - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=42124768

What is your religion?

Prefer not to say 3.7%
Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish, Sikh 3.0%
Other 3.5%
Skipped Question 0.5%
Muslim 10.4%
Christian (all) 35.7%
No religion 43.3%
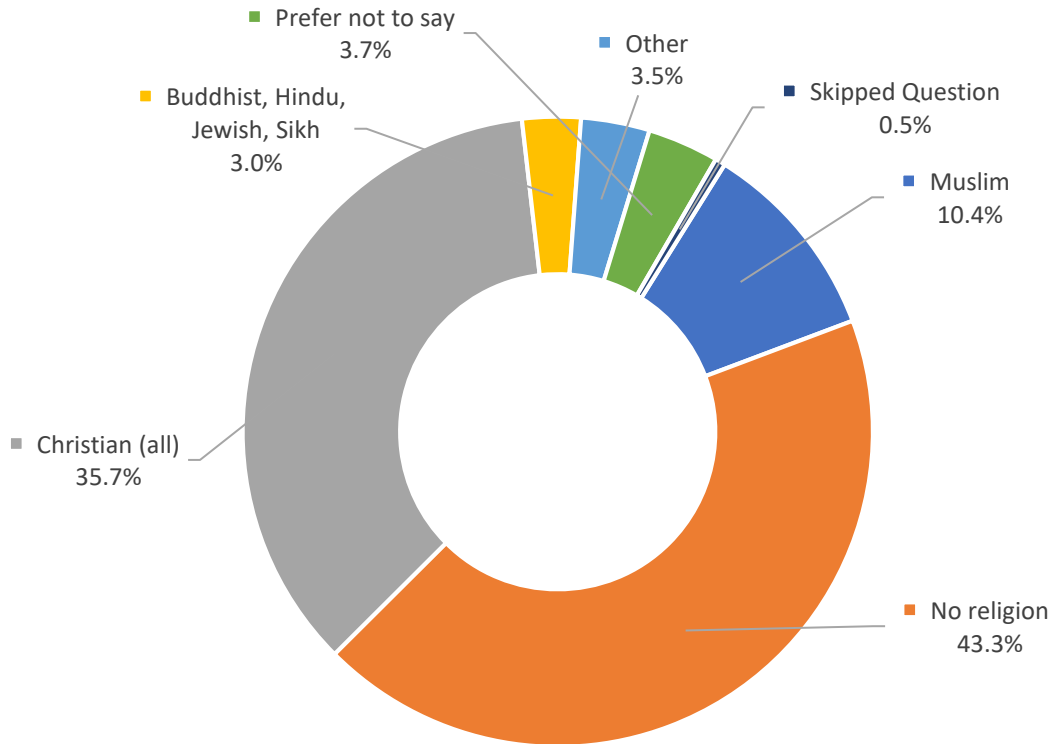
Population of Leeds by Religion – Census 2011								
Christian	Buddhist	Hindu	Jewish	Muslim	Sikh	Other religion	No religion	Religion not stated
419.7K	2.8K	7.0K	6.8K	40.8K	8.9K	2.4	212.2K	50.7K
55.9%	0.4%	0.9%	0.9%	5.4%	1.2%	0.3%	28.2%	6.7%
Source: ONS Table LC2107EW								

As the figures above demonstrate, the survey was successful in attracting participants from a wide range of different religions and no religion which, for the most part, is in line with the 2011 census data. Crucially for the survey's subject matter, the proportion of Muslim respondents was nearly twice as high as the percentage of Muslims in the general population of Leeds (although new 2021 census data will likely show a growth in the Muslim population in Leeds alongside other demographic shifts taking place in the last 10 years). As a result, the analysis below will likely have a good degree of validity in relation to the representation of the views of Muslims in Leeds, and of those from other groups, too.

4. Key Findings

The findings from the survey are presented and discussed below, with some analysis at each stage. Further analysis is then found in Section 6.

4.1. Familiarity with the term and confidence in explaining

Familiarity with the term "anti Muslim hatred"

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %
■ Not at all	1.8	4.4
■ Slightly	4.5	11.7
■ Somewhat	11.3	19.0
■ Moderately	18.1	32.2
■ Very	64.3	32.8
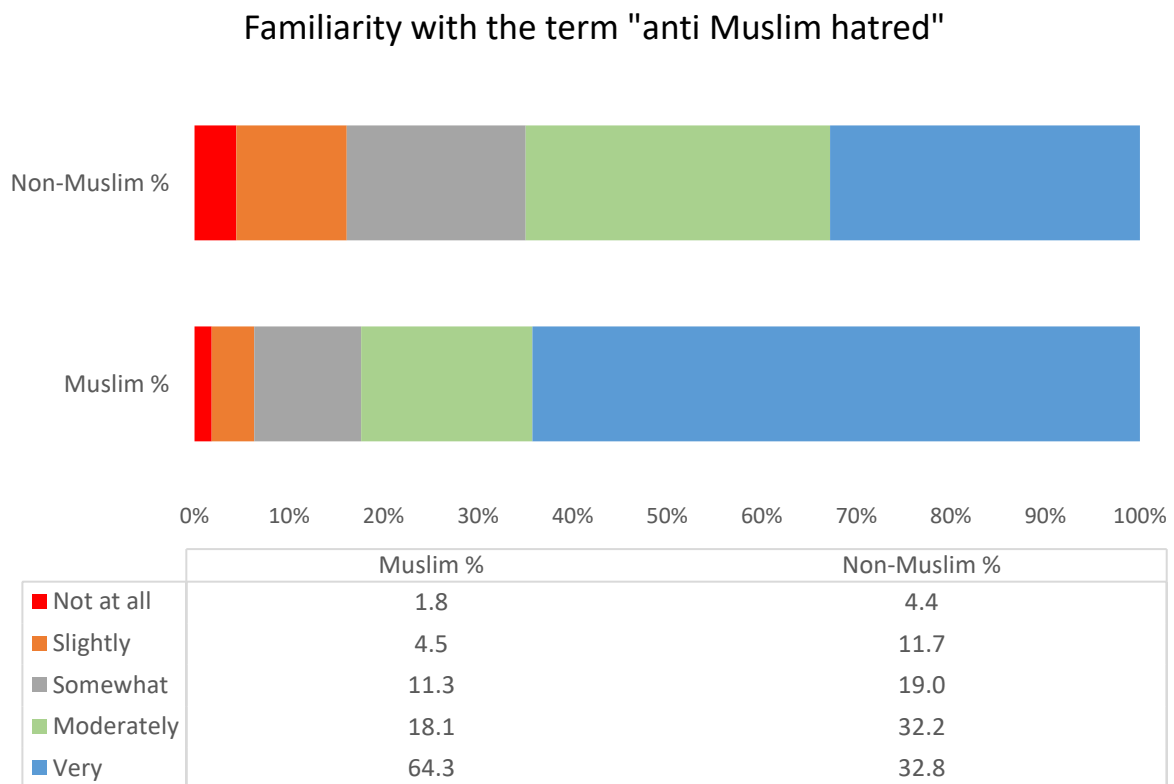
Not all respondents were familiar with the term "anti-Muslim Hatred", though 65% of non-Muslims and 82% of Muslims were either moderately or very familiar. Naming this contemporary social challenge, let alone exploring it, has become an area for lobbying and counter arguments, all of which may well have influenced community responses. Over 6% of Muslims said they were not at all familiar or slightly

"I was walking through Roundhay Park with my then young children and was shouted at by a man to remove my headscarf, as I live in Britain."

familiar with the term, and over 16% of Non-Muslims said the same. There were wide differences in those who were "very" familiar, with nearly twice the number of Muslims respondents (64.3%) compared to Non-Muslims (32.8%).

Confidence explaining what "anti Muslim hatred" means

		Muslim %	Non-Muslim %
■	Not at all	5.9	7.6
■	Slightly	8.6	17.9
■	Somewhat	18.1	23.2
■	Moderately	27.2	35.6
■	Very	40.3	15.7
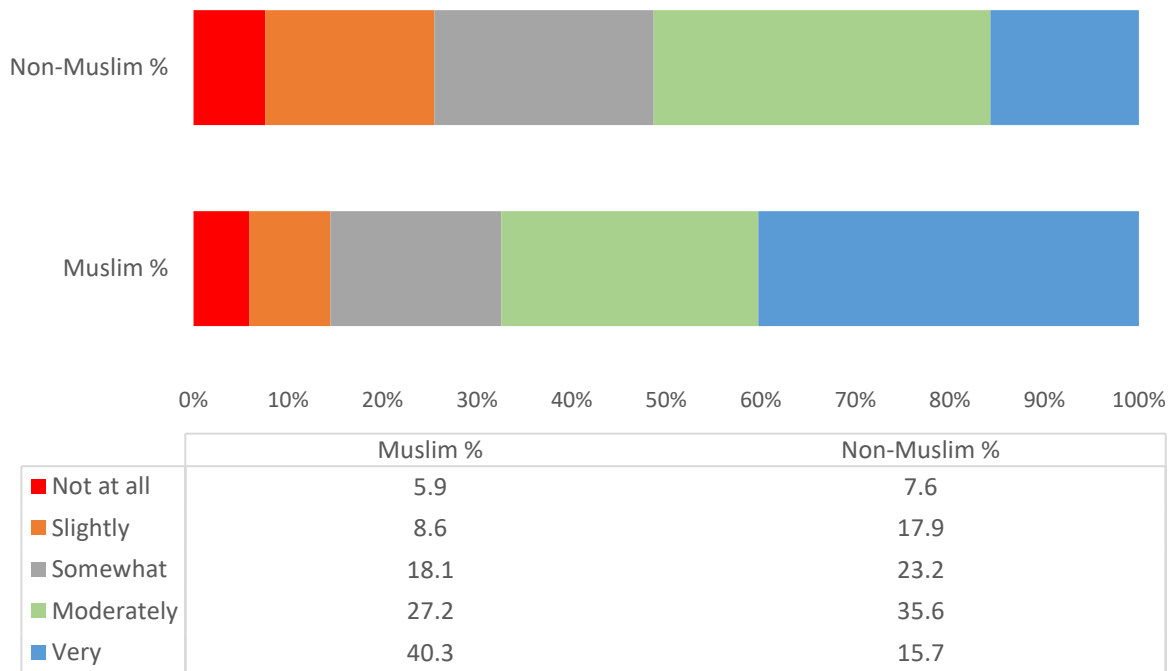
As shown above, the challenges with specificity were borne out further when exploring the level of confidence in explaining what anti-Muslim hatred meant to some else. 40.3% of Muslim respondents and 15.7% of Non-Muslims said they were "very confident" in this regard.

4.2. Level of Concern

How concerned are you about "anti Muslim hatred" ?

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %
■ Not at all	0.9	7.1
■ Slightly	2.7	13.8
■ Somewhat	6.9	24.7
■ Moderately	15.5	26.6
■ Very	74.0	27.8
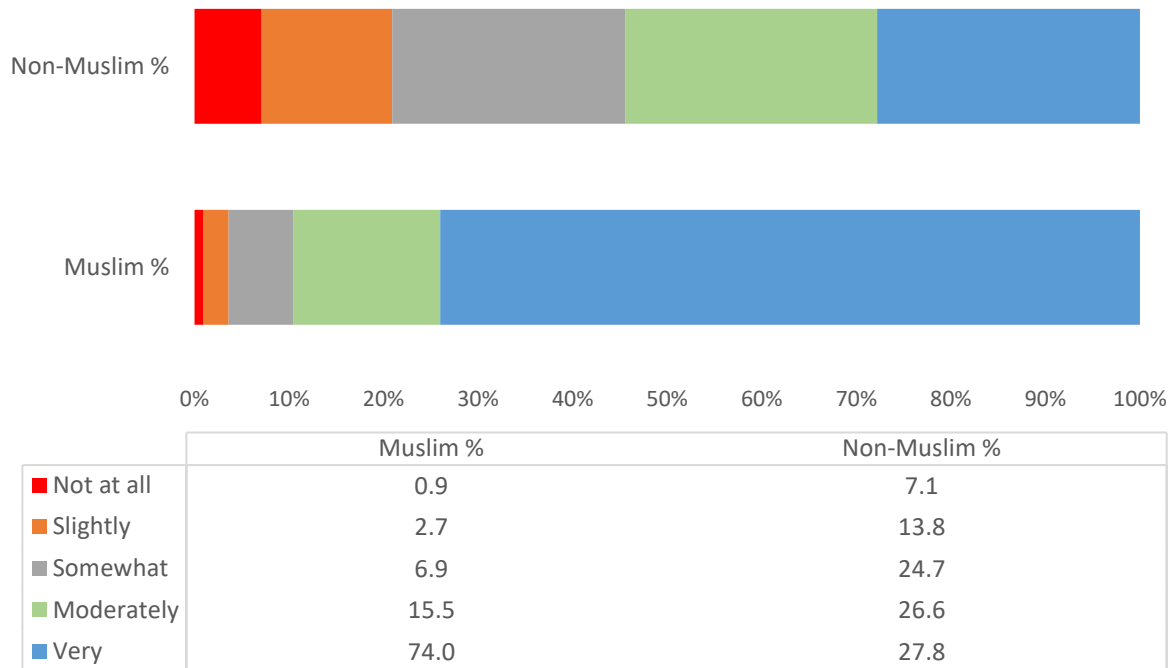
How concerned were respondents about anti-Muslim hatred? Three quarters of Muslim responded said they were "very" concerned, contrasting sharply with a little over one quarter of Non-Muslims stating the same level of concern. These differences are understandable in themselves, given the target impact of this hate. 79.1% of Non-Muslims said they were concerned more than "slightly" (93.4% of Muslims said the same), but this leaves 7.1% who were "not at all" concerned (0.9% of Muslims) and 13.8% being "slightly" concerned (2.7% of

"I was afraid of any repercussions. I did not feel strong enough to confront the individual. I was not sure how to report it. I had my daughter with me and I didn't want any trouble."

Muslims). Further analysis showed a relationship with having a total lack of concern and showing no responsive action to challenge hatred. 78 (61%) of the 128 respondents not at all concerned had seen anti-Muslim hatred (11 in some form of an assault), but only 1 respondent had reported any incident to any relevant authority – none from the 78 opted to write a reason for not reporting what they had seen in the survey. This inaction can be contrasted with 18% of all Non-Muslims who reported an incident they had seen.

Of the 128 respondents who are not at all concerned, 60.1% agreed that Muslims are currently treated as equal citizens in Leeds, compared to 41.1% of all Non-Muslims, or

27.8% of Non-Muslims for whom anti-Muslim hatred is "very" concerning. These correlations show the relationship between levels of concern and approaches to incidents of hate.

4.3. Experience in Leeds

Have you ever experienced or witnessed anti-Muslim hatred in Leeds?
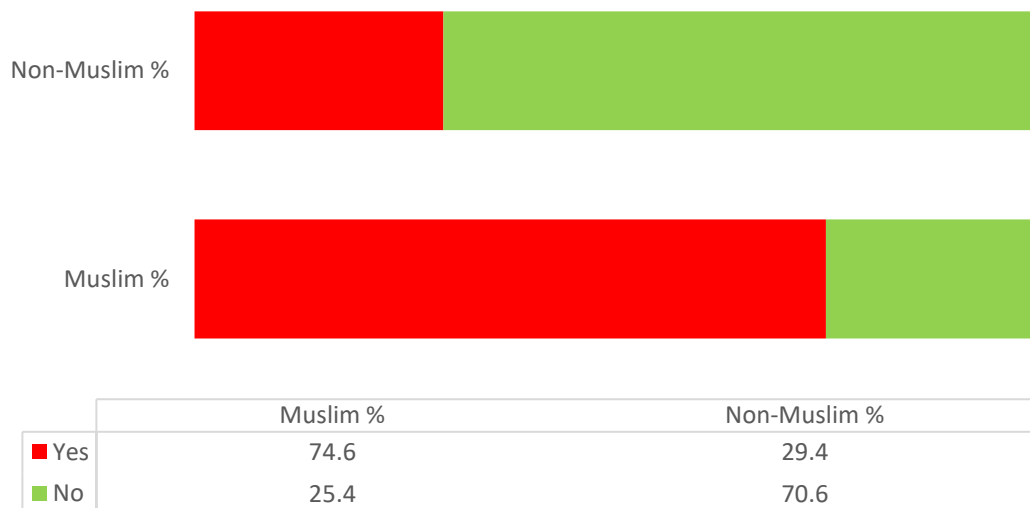
	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %
■ Yes	74.6	29.4
■ No	25.4	70.6

Three quarters of Muslim respondents (74.6%) said they had experienced or witnessed anti-Muslim hatred, in comparison to 29.4% of Non-Muslims. The question did not qualify this by time period. Of the Muslim respondents, 88.4% had been victims of hatred themselves, one in three saying "frequently",

"(I was) called a Paki and witnessed others being called this. Also heard frequently being told 'Go back to your country'."

and 95.5% had witnessed such hatred towards someone else, with over half saying this was "frequently". Only 30% of Non-Muslims responded to this question but of those who did, 93.9% had also witnessed such hatred towards someone else, the majority of responses stating this to be "rare". 33.7% of Muslim and 18% of Non-Muslim respondents had reported an incident they witnessed to a relevant body. There was a direct correlation between how serious a concern anti-Muslim hate was thought to be, and subsequent actions taken by witnesses, although these figures do not take into account the seriousness of individual deeds witnessed.

The extent of anti-Muslim hatred existing in Leeds
Scaled %s from 0 = "Not at all" to 10 = "Very much so"

Scale	Muslims %	Non-Muslims %
0	1.4	1.1
1	2.3	3.3
2	2.3	6.2
3	5.9	9.8
4	6.8	7.9
5	7.7	17.5
6	14.1	16.1
7	21.4	16.8
8	15.0	12.6
9	4.5	3.3
10	18.6	5.2

■ Muslims % ■ Non-Muslims %
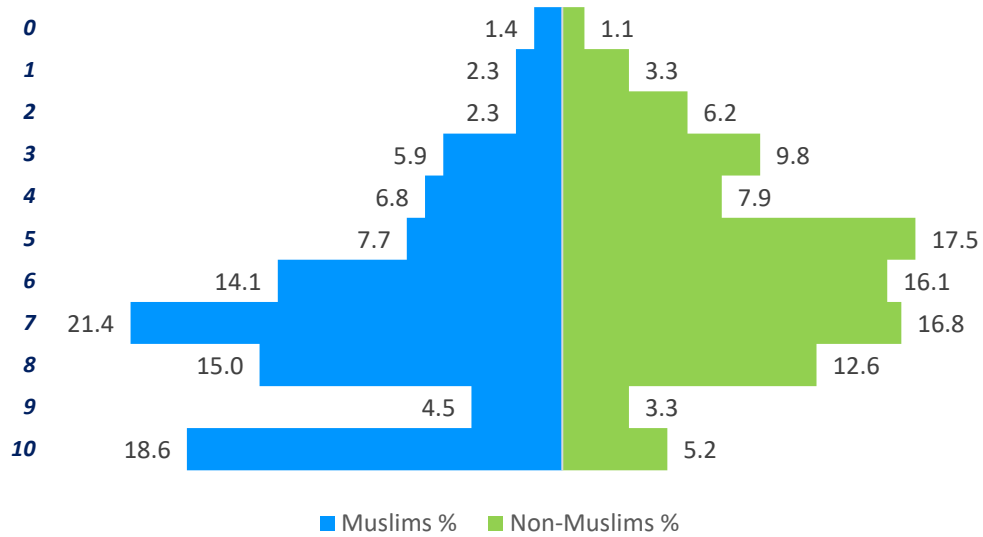
The extent of anti-Muslim hatred existing in the UK
Scaled %s from 0 = "Not at all" to 10 = "Very much so"

Scale	Muslims %	Non-Muslims %
0	0.5	0.7
1		1.8
2	1.4	3.9
3	1.8	7.3
4	4.5	6.5
5	5.0	13.0
6	5.4	12.7
7	14.0	20.5
8	24.9	18.0
9	10.4	6.0
10	32.1	9.6

■ Muslims % ■ Non-Muslims %
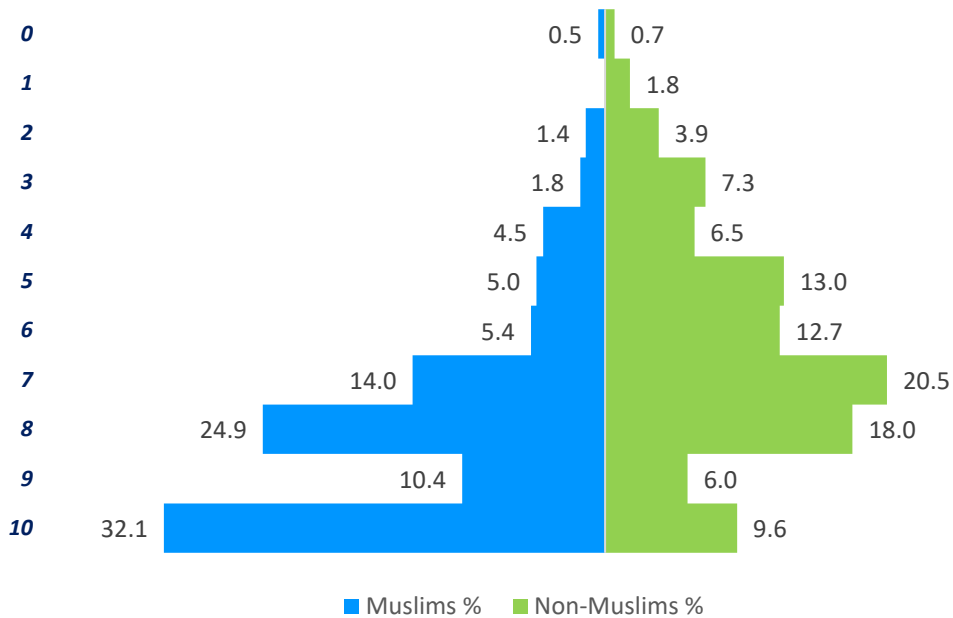
I am Muslim and have been the victim
of anti-Muslim hatred in Leeds
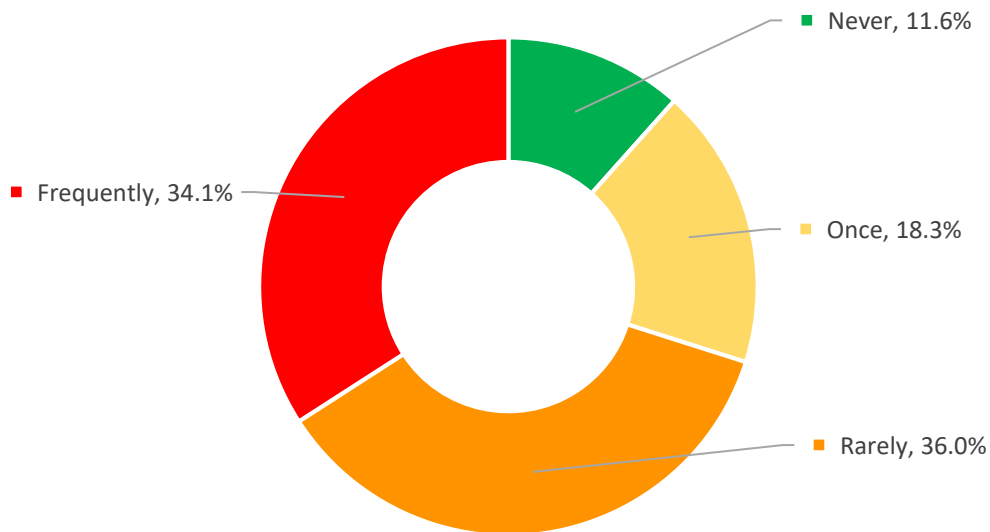
Never, 11.6%

Frequently, 34.1%

Once, 18.3%

Rarely, 36.0%

Both Muslim and Non-Muslim respondents judged Leeds to fare better (have less anti-Muslim hatred) than the UK. 42.5% of Muslims registered a score of 9 or 10 for the UK on a ten-point sliding scale where 10 indicated anti-Muslim hatred

"Divisive groups such as the EDL are helping to fuel the debate in a nasty direction."

exists "very much so", and a parallel score of 23.1% for Leeds. This still represents nearly a quarter of respondents registering maximum scores, however. Non-Muslim respondents scored 15.6% for the UK and 8.5% for Leeds. Whilst 28.3% of Non-Muslims registered a score below 5 (where a score of 0 means hatred exists "not at all"), 18.7% of Muslims registered the same. These scores perhaps allude to the role of the national situation (perceived or actual) in influencing local impressions. Local experiences have a real impact upon the lived reality of people, even in what a community may regard as a hostile climate. A sense of it not being as bad as *that* over *here* brings opportunities for gaps to be closed in how people feel. More data would be required to make a more detailed argument but one line of logic from these findings is that anti-Muslim hatred in Leeds has become normalised: people believe that the prevalence in Leeds is significantly lower than the national picture and are thereby more accepting of it as a phenomenon because it's perceived to be worse in other places. This could perhaps mean people are less likely to act, report or raise concerns. This would need further examination but appears an initially-logical conclusion to the authors.

"Muslims are currently treated as equal citizens in Leeds"

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %
Strongly disagree	14.9	2.5
Disagree	34.4	19.0
Neither	30.3	37.4
Agree	15.4	31.6
Strongly agree	5.0	9.5
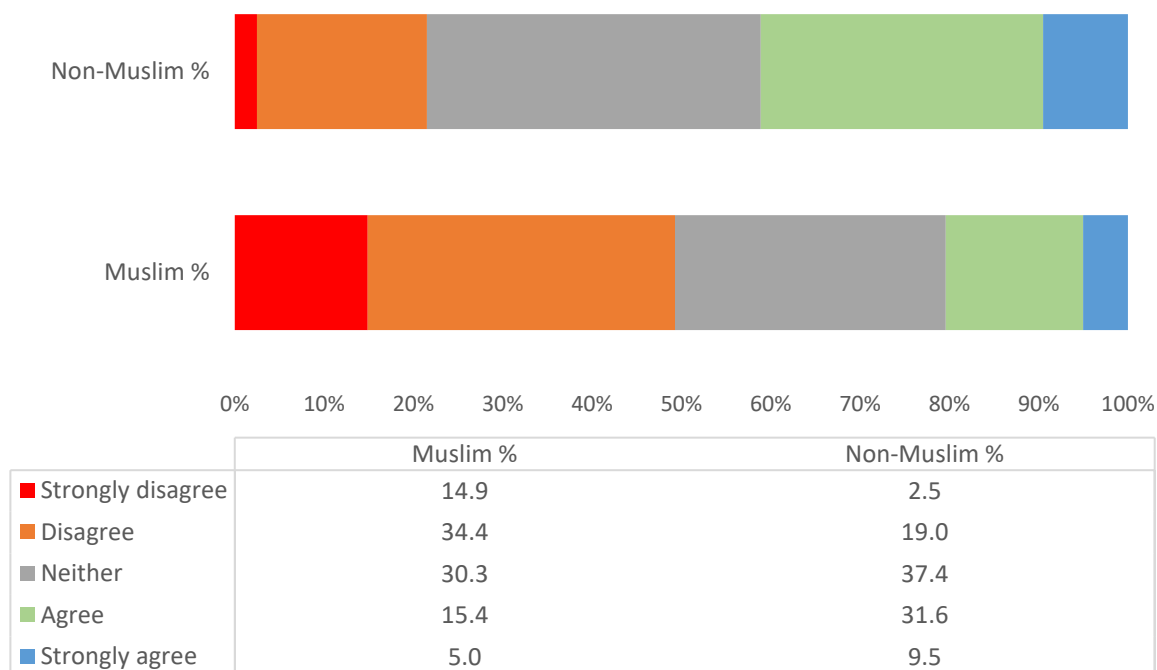
Measures of equality are central in exercises of social wellbeing, and responses here require critical attention. Close to half of Muslim respondents (49.3%) disagreed they were "currently treated as equal citizens in Leeds"; only 5% strongly agreed. 21.5% of Non-Muslims also disagreed, over one in five respondents. Three-quarters of the Non-Muslims who disagreed (or strongly disagreed) that Muslims were treated equally in Leeds also had higher levels concerns about anti-Muslim hatred. 36.8% of Non-Muslims who had witnessed anti-Muslim in Leeds also disagreed about equal treatment. These findings make evident the relationships between visible forms of hatred (in whatever way they are manifested) and views on equality in policy measures and opportunities.

"It is not just Muslims the Jewish community are also facing increasing attacks."

4.4. Locating Anti-Muslim Hatred

Where anti-Muslim hatred has been seen or experienced (% responses)

Location	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %
Media	85.7	66.6
Social Media	85.2	58.6
Politics / Government	63.0	29.6
Employment practices	38.4	4.9
Management practices at work	24.6	2.1
Verbal assault	61.6	19.4
Physical assault	21.8	4.1
Vandalism of property	32.0	12.0
Everyday conversations	47.2	51.3
Schools / Education	44.0	10.4
Sports / Community events	32.9	19.7
Accessing services (NHS, housing, income suport etc.)	21.3	4.6

■ Muslim %   ■ Non-Muslim %

Respondents were asked about the forums or spaces where they had seen or experienced anti-Muslim hatred (respondents were asked to cite all spaces that applied with no limits to their responses). Trends across Muslim and Non-Muslim responses presented broadly similar patterns on some scores, with notable differences in intensity.

"Media has a big role to play. People believe everything without any evidence."

The media and social media received the highest responses. 85-86% of Muslim respondents cited both the media and social media, whereas Non-Muslims cited 66.6% (media) and 58.6% (social media). Featuring strongly in both records was "everyday conversations", which were cited a little more strongly by Non-Muslims (NM) (51.3%) than Muslims (47.2%).

There were some clear differences in scores. 62.96% of Muslim respondents cited politics and government (Non-Muslims: 29.6%), 61.6% cited physical assault[7] (Non-Muslims: 19.4%), 44% cited schools and education (Non-Muslims: 10.4%), 38.4% cited employment practices (Non-Muslims: 4.9%), 32% cited vandalism of property (Non-Muslims: 12%), 24.5% cited management practices at work (Non-Muslims: 2.1%), and 21.3% cited accessing vital services (Non-Muslims: 4.5%).

These scores contrast sharply and perhaps point to a differential in lived experiences. The sharpest contrasts can be noted in areas such as the workplace and accessing vital services. Given the respondents are more middle aged than youth and young adults, these findings point to worrying levels of differences in perceptions of fairness held by Muslims. When these experiences are processed as an extension of anti-Muslim prejudices, they can resonate deeply held fears and feelings of an 'othering' or isolation within society.

4.5. Work Culture in Leeds City Council

Assessing the internal culture of local authorities is important in any earnest enquiry into tacking social challenges, particularly when the local authority is tasked with a central role in tackling anti-Muslim hatred within their boundaries. Do the findings reveal anything of the internal culture within Leeds Council and offices associated with it? Of those who completed the optional final question (641), which asked for an email, 321 (50%) supplied emails that ended with the @leeds.gov.uk domain. This means that at least 15%, and likely a much higher percentage of all respondents, were potentially associated with the Council.

Of these respondents related to the Council, 53 identified as Muslim respondents. Of the remaining 268 Non-Muslim respondents, 105 (39%) were not confident in explaining anti-Muslim hatred to another and 82 (31%) were less than moderately concerned about anti-Muslim hatred.

"I have several "friends" who work within the council, and I have been blocked from their social media pages, so they can post Islamophobia propaganda on their social media."

By contrast, only 5 Muslims (below 10%) with the same email domain were less than moderately concerned and three quarters of the Muslim respondents here were "very concerned" about anti-Muslim hatred.

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[7] The authors would recommend removing 'physical assault' and 'verbal assault' as options if this question is used in future surveys and would propose using a separate question on the nature of hate incidents to ask about these factors.

Of the 268 Non-Muslim respondents, the majority (246 respondents) had witnessed some form of anti-Muslim hatred, and at least one quarter of this group said they were less than "moderately" concerned about anti-Muslim hatred. What action, if any, was taken? 3 respondents (or 4%) reported what they witnessed, against 25 (or 14%) of the same group who were moderately or very concerned about what they witnessed. These differences do not of course specify the nature of what was witnessed.

112 Non-Muslim respondents of this same group (2 in 5) had witnessed anti-Muslim hatred within Leeds itself. From which group, a lower 22 respondents (8.2%) were less than moderately concerned about anti-Muslim hatred; 2 said they were "not at all concerned" about it, whereas 65 (58%) were "very concerned". The data again shows a correlation between the level of concern and action taken. 3 of the 22 reported what they witnessed, against 19 who were very concerned, and, no action was taken by those who were not at all concerned. 16 Non-Muslims of this group, along with half of the Muslim respondents using the same criteria (@leeds.gov.uk), had seen or experienced anti-Muslim hatred specifically in "employment practices" or in "management practices at work" in Leeds.

These figures do not include those who did not supply their (work) emails of course. The findings point to a direct relationship between awareness of the issue, concern, and responsive action taken. No doubt the nature and frequency of hatred would also have a bearing upon attitudes, and more exploration is needed in this area.

4.6. Taking Action Against Anti-Muslim Hatred

When asked about why anti-Muslim hatred had seen an increase in recent years respondents mentioned media (26%) and terrorism (16%) as the top two factors. Ignorance and government policy / politics were joint-third place with 10% of responses.

What factors might be contributing to the increase in anti-Muslim hatred?

Media (including social media)	26%
Terrorism / extremist Ideology	16%
Ignorance / lack of education	10%
Politicians / Government (inc. government policy)	10%
Brexit	8%
Far Right commentators and propaganda	5%

Lack of integration	5%
Racism	3%
CSE / grooming cases	4%
Fake news	2%
Austerity (e.g. cuts to policing, NHS, frontline services)	2%
An increase in reporting	1%
Miscellaneous	8%

Of those who reported incidents of anti-Muslim hatred, the most common cited destination of reporting was the police. 38 out of 53 incidents were reported to the police, followed by 24 incidents being reported to family and friends. Thus, friends and family

"Educate staff in the council so that they recognise all Muslims are not the same."

account for nearly half of the incidents reported, representing the importance of people having someone they can share an incident of hate they experienced with. These figures also point to many individuals who deal with incidents alone, in one way or another. Given that 56 Muslims said they were frequently a victim, many are evidently suffering in silence, or not acknowledging the need to share incidents. These incidents can impact one's wellbeing, outlook, confidence or engagement, and should be considered in initiatives that reach out to people who may be affected (sometimes unknowingly) by different forms of trauma.

Understandably, these questions were largely omitted by 95% of Non-Muslim Respondents but of those who responded, 42.1% reported incidents to the police. 20% reported incidents to a local council and 12.6% to a community or faith centre (only 5.7% of Muslims did this). Non-Muslims evidently place greater trust in community organisations than Muslims in this regard.

"Islam has many cultures, Arabs, Africans, English converts, Asian such as Chinese, from Indonesia. We are not just one culture."

Respondents were asked what they felt were the 3 most important agencies in the fight against anti-Muslim hatred. The Government and the media scored highly across all respondents, as did the police. Non-Muslim respondents however cited communities, the education sector and community leaders noticeably higher than Muslim

respondents. Muslim respondents cited faith groups and Leeds City Council noticeably higher than Non-Muslim respondents. These show important areas of commonality and

differences concerning the agency for change, and how the will or capacity for such agency may be understood. These may be areas for further investigation in focus groups.

The 3 most important agencies in the fight against anti-Muslim hatred

Agency	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %
Government	58.8	41.8
Media	52.0	51.4
Police	39.4	31.5
Communities	37.1	45.1
Leeds City Council	29.9	22.8
Faith groups	28.5	15.4
Education sector	24.4	40.0
Community leaders	14.5	22.8

■ Muslim %   ■ Non-Muslim %
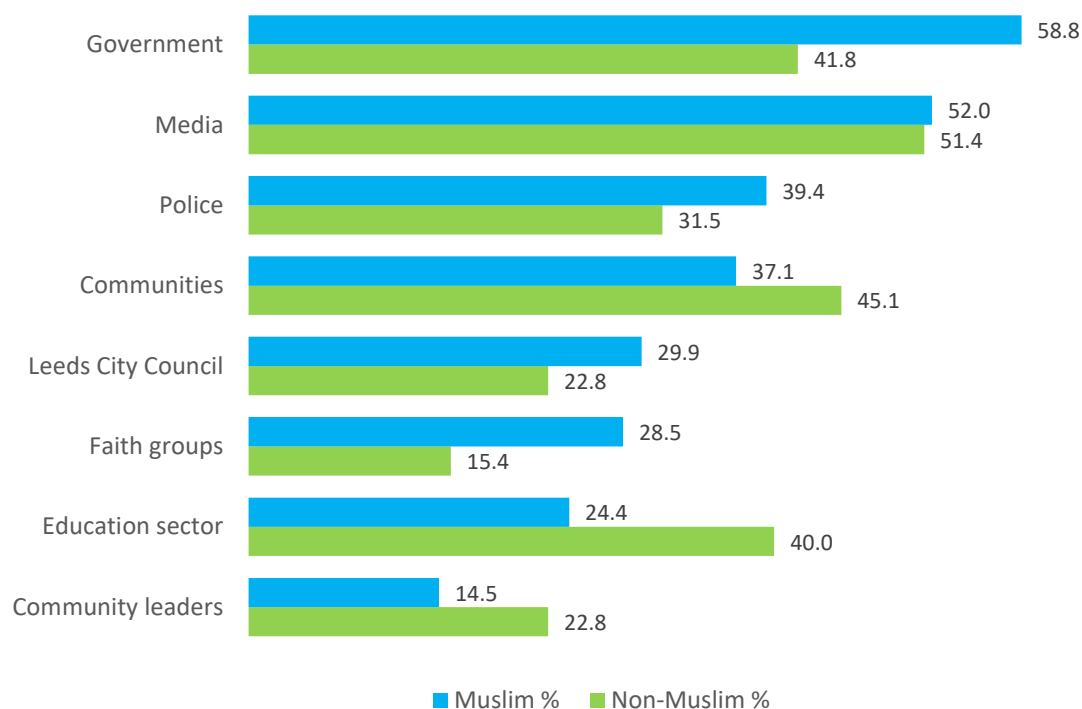
When asked about ways in which anti-Muslim hatred can be tackled, the respondents answered as below, strongly highlighting better education and cohesion integration activities as the two most-preferred suggestions, each scoring 26%.The media (10%) was third.

What ways can you think of to tackle anti-Muslim hatred in Leeds?

Better Education	26%
Community Cohesion / Integration activities	26%
Through the media	10%
Muslims responsibility	7%
Through stronger legislation/ policies	5%
Stronger government / LA response	4%
Through social media	3%
Increased / better Policing	3%

Improved opportunities (e.g. jobs)	2%
Improve confidence in reporting	2%
Address the Far Right	0%
Miscellaneous	10%

Residents also made suggestions including comments such as:

- *"Definition of Islamophobia passed through the council; greater work with the police in recording hate crimes..."*

- *"Education on Islam."*

- *"More awareness around the city."*

- *"Police can take the cases more seriously."*

- *"Promote positive images of Muslims. Do not allow far right groups to march in the city."*

4.7. Towards a Leeds Definition

Respondents were asked to select any words that they would like to see included in a local definition of anti-Muslim hatred. The word cloud and table below show the responses, with the size of words denoting their frequency in the data (i.e. bigger words = used more by respondents).

Word	Total %	Muslim %	Total rank	Muslim rank
Discrimination	16.0	14.9	1	1
Prejudice	15.5	12.2	2	3
Equality	13.6	10.2	3	5
Racism	12.2	12.1	4	4
Hatred	10.6	13.8	5	2
Fear	10.0	9.8	6	6
Faith	8.5	9.8	7	7
Violence	6.4	8.1	8	8
Sentiment	2.7	4.0	9	9
Muslimness	1.5	3.1	10	10

The response shows a significant amount of synergy and common ground:
- The No 1 response is the same for both Muslim and overall respondents.
- The first 5 responses are the same words, but *not* in the same order for the two cohorts.
- 6-10 are the same *and* the same order.
- Discrimination, prejudice, equality, racism and hatred were amongst the most favoured words, Muslimness was the least favoured.

This shows some agreement, but also an important malalignment with the APPG on British Muslims, who defined Islamophobia as, *"rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness."*

More locally, Bradford Council has used the definition:

"Islamophobia is a direct or indirect act(s) of hatred and discrimination against people (individuals or groups) of Islamic faith on grounds of their belief and practice…"

This type of approach seems to be easier to understand, convey and avoids the ambiguous term 'Muslimness'. Similarly, Barnet Council adopted this definition:

"Anti-Muslim prejudice, also known as islamophobia, is a perception of Muslims, often expressed as a dislike or hatred towards an individual, a group or their property, institutions and facilities for possessing the perceived characteristics of a Muslim. The prejudice is often rooted in racism, and can be manifested in many

ways, including but not limited to abusive behaviour, threats of violence, damage and desecration of property, assault and extreme violence."

As the organisation that popularised the term Islamophobia, it may be useful to look at the way the Runnymede Trust has defined the term Islamophobia for further background:

Runnymede Trust, 1997:
> *"An outlook or world-view involving an unfounded dread and dislike of Muslims, which results in practices of exclusion and discrimination."*

Runnymede Trust, 2017:
> *"Islamophobia is any distinction, exclusion, or restriction towards, or preference against, Muslims (or those perceived to be Muslims) that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life".*

Our suggestion, as shown in the recommendations, would be to define the term Anti-Muslim Prejudice and use that as a vehicle for progressing this work (as opposed to Islamophobia or Anti-Muslim Hatred). This is because efforts to tackle hate crime and build a safer and stronger society should be focused and consolidated around the inclusion and protection of people, i.e. citizens of Muslim background or heritage, including addressing discrimination and misinformation in addition to hatred rather than be side-tracked into debates around the protection of a religion, i.e. Islam, which is a set of beliefs and ideas and can be legitimately debated and discussed.

4.8. Female Voices

Muslim female respondents were noticeably younger in age than their male equivalent. 12.8% of Muslim females were under 25 years (compared to 5.6% of Muslim males), and less than 5% of females were 55+ (compared to 14.4% of males). Female respondents were also more ethnically diverse compared to their male equivalents, with a Pakistani ethnicity accounting for a little over half of respondents (54%). The Muslim female responses therefore provide a younger and slightly more diverse picture of the topics.

"My daughter changed her surname because her job applications were being rejected even though she was a graduate. Her white friends with less qualifications were shortlisted."

86% were moderately or very concerned about the hatred (1 respondent "not at all" concerned). Although 59.3% said they were "very" familiar with the term (1 respondent was "not at all familiar"), a 33.7% would be "very" confident in explaining what it means to another person. This trend is reflected generally across the survey findings, where confidence levels in explaining drop considerably. The level of confidence drops 43% for Muslim female respondents against a drop of 33% for Muslim males on an equivalent measure.

84.7% of Muslim female respondents had seen or experienced some form of anti-Muslim hatred, and for one in three this was experienced in employment practices or management practices at work (in addition to other forms). Over half (56.5%) had experienced a verbal assault, and 49.4% found anti-Muslim hatred in everyday conversations. The highest scores went separately to the media and social media (85% each), which is mirrored in terms of rank across other measures.
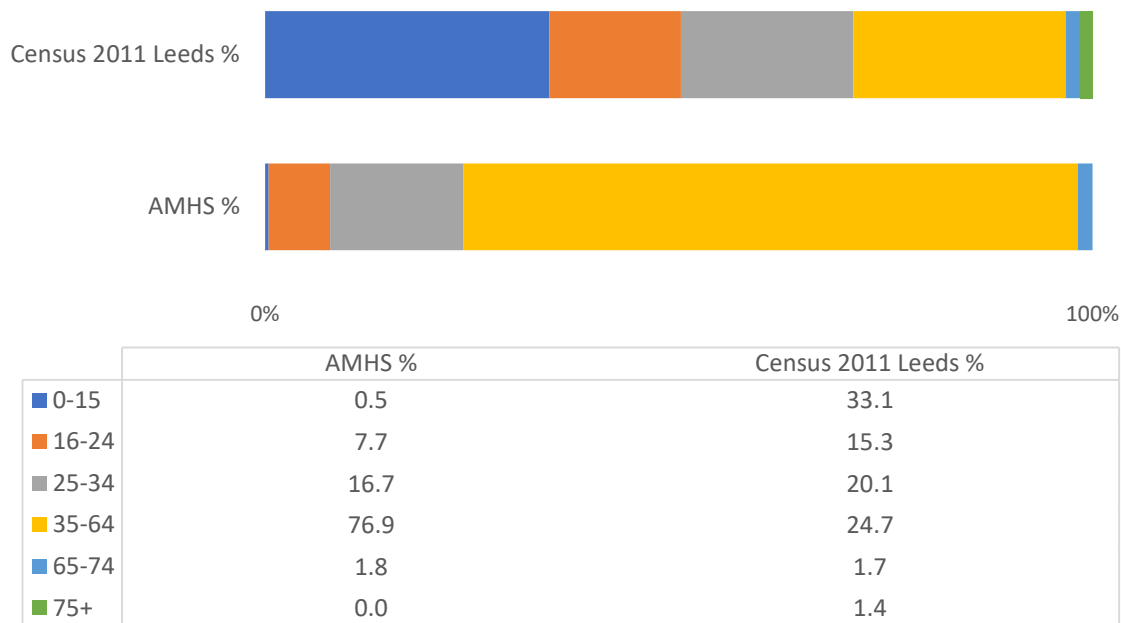
Within Leeds, 74.1% of Muslim females said they had experienced or witnessed hatred, and over one in three (36.5%) had "frequently" been a victim of hatred. 95% said they had witnessed hatred towards someone else, of which over half (58.3%) said this was frequently. Many comments pointed to the visibility of Muslim women, usually referring to the headscarf, as a trigger for hate.

More than half of Muslim females (59.7%) did not report any incidents to any authority. Of those respondents who said they did, 66.7% reported an incident to the police. The place Muslim women least reported to was a faith or community centre – only 2 respondents said they did. However, dissatisfaction levels were high: 54.2% were very dissatisfied/dissatisfied with how their report was dealt with. One in five did report a level of very satisfied/satisfied for the same measure.

One in four Muslim females (24.5%) think that Muslims are currently being treated as equal citizens in Leeds, a score better than Muslim males (20.4%) but significantly lower than the Non-Muslim score (41.1%) of the same measure. Addressing agencies to fight anti-Muslim Hatred, 59.3% of respondents gave the Government the highest score, followed by the media (51.2%). Comparing responses with those of Non-Muslim, Muslim females gave greater importance to faith groups (27.9%) over community leaders (13.9%), whereas Non-Muslims scored faith groups (15.3%) lower than community leaders (22.8%). See Appendix 1 for some of the comments from female Muslim respondents.

4.9. Younger Adult Muslims

Age bands % - survey Muslim respondents compared to Leeds Muslim population (Census 2011)

	AMHS %	Census 2011 Leeds %
■ 0-15	0.5	33.1
■ 16-24	7.7	15.3
■ 25-34	16.7	20.1
■ 35-64	76.9	24.7
■ 65-74	1.8	1.7
■ 75+	0.0	1.4

This section provides a comparative analysis of responses for Muslims under 35 (<35) against Muslims over 35 (35+). The number of respondents under 25 is not sufficient for statistical significance in this survey, but the 16 to 24 population group should be the subject of further focussed field research.

"Terrorism and extremism (have fuelled Islamophobia)"

Muslim respondents <35 were, on the whole, less familiar with the term anti-Muslim hatred, with 53.4 "very" familiar against 73.7% of Muslims 35+. 29.6% were "very" confident explaining the term to someone else (53.4% for 35+). 57.4% of respondents <35 were "very" and 24.1% were "moderately" concerned (80.7% of 35+ were very concerned).

86.6% had seen or experienced anti-Muslim hatred in the media, and the same proportion applied to social media. Politics and government, and verbal assault both scored 63.5%, both everyday conversations and schools/educations scored 51.9%. These were roughly the same experiences reported by 35+, although the <35 group reported higher incidences of physical assaults (36.5% v 11.6%).

One third of <35s said they were "frequently" victims of anti-Muslim hatred (the same as 35+s), and all but 2 had witnessed hatred against others, 56.1% said this was witnessed frequently. 39% of incidents witnessed were reported to an authority, 86.7% reported it to the police and 13.3% to the Tell Mama project. 1 respondent said they reported it to a faith or community centre, and 2 to the MEND project. 53.7% of respondents <35 disagreed that Muslims are currently treated as equal citizens in Leeds (43.2% for 35+); 3 respondents strongly agreed.

The <35 Muslim responses show a similar pattern to the 35+ responses, at times showing the extent of the challenge in the number of physical assaults witnessed and despondency in feeling equal. Although these findings blend into the core adult responses by virtue of the bulk of these respondents being in their early 30s and late 20s the value of a deeper exploration of young adults below 25 would be of real worth. Identifying and addressing barriers to feeling equal and safe are vital in any serious policy strategy seeking to tackle inequalities and build stronger and safer communities.

5. Potential limitations of the data

While the dataset represents a valuable amount of information and a high rate of response, there are some limitations, including:

5.1. Under-representation of younger and female voices

86 respondents (39%) identified as female and Muslim, compared to 135 male Muslim respondents. This is important as anecdotal evidence repeatedly shows visible Muslim women to be at the highest risk of anti-Muslim attacks. By contrast, non-Muslim respondents were 53% female. Similar proportions in both cases (3%) chose not to identify as male or female. Furthermore, two-thirds of female respondents who provided an email used one ending with @leeds.gov.uk. Exploring responses outside of civic organisations is certainly worthy of more focussed efforts, perhaps through a qualitative method (focus groups, interviews).

Less than a quarter of all Muslim respondents were below the age of 35, and only 18 respondents (8%) were under 25. This represents a mismatch with the age profile of the Muslim population, which is the youngest for a population group when measured by religion.

The Census 2011 showed that 68.5% of Muslims in Leeds were under 35, and 48.4% were under 25%. Nearly half of the emails provided from this group ended in @leeds.gov.uk.

5.2. Religious / ethnic diversity

Internal differences within religion are particularly important in a major English city such as Leeds. For the purpose of brevity, there is no such sociological reality as a (singular) "Muslim community", and analysis based upon the dominance of a particular ethnicity (73% of respondents were Pakistani/Kashmiri) may not reflect the needs or concerns of Muslims from other backgrounds. Even where the study is about hatred towards "Muslims", experiences and responses can differ. This is also true of more familiar social characteristics such as gender, race or socio-economic class, where experiences and issues will have important difference across diverse sub-groups within the Muslim population.

Moreover, the number of Muslim respondents in the survey who were ethnically Arab (5), African (4) or Caribbean (1) would be too small to draw rigorous analysis. Whilst these small numbers can be explained, in part, by the low proportion of their Leeds population count, these population groups are significant in number and can easily become hidden groups within a survey such as this. These relatively smaller population groups would ideally be the focus of qualitative research methods such as interviews and focus groups to explore experiences and concerns further. The potential intersectionality of race, religion and gender, for example, in anti-Muslim prejudice could make for interesting analysis.

5.3. Margins of error

Margins of error are inevitable in all surveys as they rely on how people interpret and respond (emotionally and actually) to questions. In this study, the main impact of error margins would be upon the comparative summary responses between Muslims and Non-Muslims. For the purpose of these comparisons, "prefer not to say" responses to religious identity are not included, nor are 11 respondents who skipped the question of religious identity included. 75 respondents identified as "other" have been included within the Non-Muslim count. Further examination, based on response wording, found that at least 5 respondents *could* be recognised as Muslims in the "other" stated religions. They have had to be counted as not Muslims on the main data run because of their self-declaration. Evidently, then, a small proportion of Muslims respondents identified as 'other' (perhaps sometimes for dissenting reasons concerning the "Muslim" label). Accordingly, differences in measurements between Muslim and Non-Muslim responses should be viewed with this in mind.

5.4. Online and Covid19

As mentioned above this was an online survey and a portion of it ran during Covid19 Pandemic conditions. This has likely created sub-optimal conditions for gathering data of this nature and challenges for some in completion. From discussions with those administering the survey, it is likely that more community outreach would have been undertaken which would have both increased the respondent size and increased responses from targeted groups such as young people, women, Muslims and ethnic minority groups.

5.5. Framing

The survey frames the theme of its enquiry as anti-Muslim "hatred". Hatred is a specific term that resonates strongly with images of assault and aggressive views; it is perceived as harder than terms such as "prejudice", "discrimination" or "attitudes" that may have produced different responses for some, affecting the overall counts. This higher threshold of "hatred" is worthy of consideration and should be borne in mind when assessing or comparing summary responses. For example, a respondent may be more familiar with anti-Muslim "prejudice", and may have answered questions on familiarity or experiences differently.

In addition, the questions on experiences are not limited to time and therefore can extend to a lifetime experience. This is significant when considering the age of Muslim respondents in particular, the majority of whom would be second-generation of Pakistani ethnicity. Incidents of hatred reported in this survey could have been experienced 3, 13 or 30 years ago. The time and frequency of personal experiences will have an impact on answers to questions concerning the current state of affairs in Leeds, or questions measuring responsive action, such as reporting hate.

6. Discussion and Summary

Whilst, as with all surveys, there are a range of limitations associated with the data collected, the survey on anti-Muslim hatred conducted by Leeds City Council in 2020 was successful in attracting 2,129 completed responses (and 650 partial responses) during a period when UK society was facing and responding to the initial, chaotic conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic. The investment in a survey of this kind is demonstrative of the Council's current and future commitment to understanding and managing issues of extremism, hate crime and social relations and should be recognised as an important and rare step in the practice of local authorities in this arena. The survey results provide a critical evidence base for future policy, practice and research in Leeds, providing one of the clearest and most advanced pieces of local, place-based data collection on anti-Muslim prejudice and hatred in the UK to date.

An important test of validity in survey data can be found in the representativeness of the participant sampling. For this survey, religion, faith and belief are clearly an important factor in this regard. Responses to the survey split by participant religion align well with the data on the Leeds population overall, with an important over-representation of Muslim respondents. This allows the authors to draw meaningful analysis and conclusions on the extent, nature and experiences of anti-Muslim hatred in Leeds in 2020.

At the broadest point, the analysis finds evidence of a **pervasive, damaging and multi-layered social problem** which is likely hampering the opportunities, participation and wellbeing of great number of citizens in Leeds, ultimately corroding social relations in the city. The statistical analysis presented above shows well the scale of the issue. The headline figures from this are:

9. three-quarters of Muslims in Leeds are <u>very concerned</u> about anti-Muslim hatred, rising to nearly 90% being either very or moderately concerned;
10. three-quarters of Muslim respondents <u>have experienced or witnessed</u> anti-Muslim hatred; and
11. more than 1 in 3 Muslim respondents are <u>frequently</u> the victim of anti-Muslim hatred in Leeds.

If the data underpinning this is even somewhat representative, and there is no reason to believe it is not, this equates to **anti-Muslim hatred significantly affecting the lives of the**

majority of Muslim citizens in Leeds, a phenomena so widespread it is also notably witnessed by nearly one-third of non-Muslims.

Moreover, these findings sit alongside clear evidence from the survey of broader experiences and/or perceptions of inequality from the Muslim population in Leeds. **Nearly half of Muslim respondents believe that Muslims are not treated as equal citizens**, and nearly 1 in 3 non-Muslim respondents also feel this way. These results mean that the individual and acutely tangible experiences of hatred in Leeds sit within a broader social picture of structural inequality and systemic discrimination for Muslims, a link which is well-tested in the academic literature (see for example: Equality and Human Rights Commission 2016[8]). This finding in particular points to a highly complex issue with links to various forms of inequality, national and global shifts and socio-cultural attitudes. As a result, one conclusion of this report is in the need for Leeds City Council to **reconsider the usefulness of the term anti-Muslim <u>hatred</u>** which, whilst effective in interrogating the more tangible and quantifiable manifestations of discrimination against Muslims in Leeds (including but not limited to reported hate crime), may not appropriately cover the critical link to collective socio-cultural bias, racism and hostility based on people's actual or perceived faith or cultural background. The term anti-Muslim <u>prejudice</u> as a potential replacement may well be broad enough to cover tangible acts of hatred whilst also cemented further in the minds and logic of policy influencers and practitioners the inherent link between structural and systemic issues and their more palpable and measurable expressions.

With the introduction of terms such as 'structural inequality' and 'structural discrimination' comes the need to focus on institutions and systems which comprise those societal structures. The data above shows two findings in this regard. Firstly, respondents were clear that anti-Muslim hatred is present throughout many facets of life in Leeds (and beyond). For anyone working in the field of social relations over the last decade, a predictable result is that the media, social media and politics are seen as having a significant role in promoting and promulgating anti-Muslim hatred (and other forms of prejudice). Perhaps more startlingly, though, the results indicate that the issue is significant in working life – possibly in employment practices as well as in everyday conversations in the workplace, pointing to a threat that is not just of background concern for Muslim citizens in Leeds but an unavoidable, expected and perhaps even normalised product of daily life.

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[8] https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/sites/default/files/research-report-102-causes-and-motivations-of-hate-crime.pdf

Secondly, anti-Muslim hatred appears to be manifested in experiences of public and community services such as schools, NHS, housing, income support services, sporting activities and community events. This report places particular emphasis on Leeds City Council which has a dual role in this context: first as a central and accountable body in the governance of diversity issues in Leeds and second as an employer and an institution which, as with all local authorities, is part of the 'structure' of life in the city. Employees (or those with a @leeds.gov.uk email address, of which most are likely employees) of Leeds City Council make up at least 15% of the respondents, and likely a much higher percentage. The findings from this group show:

- 39% of non-Muslim respondents connected to the Council were <u>not confident</u> in explaining anti-Muslim hatred, pointing to an issues of awareness and understanding of the issue;
- 31% of non-Muslim respondents connected to the Council were <u>less than moderately concerned</u> about anti-Muslim hatred compared with the three-quarters of Muslim respondents related to the council that were very concerned, pointing to a clear difference in concerns and experiences between Muslim and non-Muslim staff members; and
- half of the Muslim respondents with an @leeds.gov.uk email address had seen or experienced anti-Muslim hatred specifically in "employment practices" or in "management practices at work".

Whilst this analysis is based on a smaller dataset than the overall Leeds picture, there is still a significant number of data points from which to draw findings. The results show a difficult picture for employees of the Council, both in relation to a lack of concern and awareness for non-Muslim colleagues of an issue which appears widespread in the City and, most worryingly, **a large proportion of Muslim Council staff members (or those connected) experiencing anti-Muslim hatred at work**. It was not the original intention of the survey to investigate the experiences of Leeds City Council staff per se and much more data is needed to be able to draw firm conclusions on this but the early indications from this data show a likely need for concern and action within the Council in relation to its own teams, culture and workplaces.

Recent social movement[9] research shows the critical role of institutional credibility in the rise and prevalence of extremism and ultimately the need for local public institutions to build and retain their own credibility through public trust if they are to be effective in preventing extremism in their areas. More research would allow the unpicking of this issue further but from the data available it appears that action to address likely internal issues within the culture of Leeds City Council would be dutiful. One suggestion, explored further in the recommendations below, is to consider expanding outreach and social interventions in collaboration with community-based and grassroots organisations in tackling the issue, not just because of the local capabilities and agility of these groups but, in light of these findings, because of the levels of trust and credibility which these organisations have earned at the neighbourhood level and sustainability of work which could flow as a result.

A further concerning finding is in the lack of reporting of anti-Muslim hatred from those who witness or experience it. Despite the high prevalence, **67% of Muslims did not report incidents of anti-Muslim hatred to a relevant authority.** The reality of legislation and law enforcement practice in the UK is such that strategic action against a particular type of crime is at least partly based in response to evidence of that crime's prevalence in society: high levels of documented crime logically (in theory, at least) lead to policy influence, legislative shifts where necessary, funding and local action (e.g. in community policy efforts). For change to happen in this field, the structures designed to protect citizens from hate need to have reliable data to inform their actions and this would appear to be lacking for the issue of anti-Muslim hatred in Leeds, with a significant number of incidents going unreported. Crucially, and building on the previous points, there is a well-evidenced link in this data between those who show little concern for anti-Muslim hatred and those who do not report, pointing to an opportunity for improving awareness and understanding of the issue within both the Leeds City Council staff and the wider population as a means by which to increase reporting.

Policy and practice on the issue of anti-Muslim prejudice and Islamophobia appears frequently and justifiably preoccupied with the choice of terms and their definition. The recent APPG efforts to bring its own definition have brought these discussions to the fore and, at the time of writing, there are ongoing discussions within Leeds City Council and other local authorities as to how to respond to this definition. The debate underscores the importance of framing language within this field. The data from this survey shows some

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[9] Busher, Harris and Macklin (2018) 'Chicken suits and other aspects of situated credibility contests: explaining local trajectories of anti-minority activism' https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2018.1530978

agreement but also pronounced malalignment between the APPG definition of Islamophobia and the views of Leeds citizens on defining anti-Muslim hatred. The final section of this report contains recommendations for proposed next steps in this area but overall the report concludes that any hesitancy of leaders within Leeds City Council to adopt the APPG definition wholesale appears vindicated by this data, showing that **the population of Leeds may be better served by a local definition**.

In developing this and other next steps in tackling anti-Muslim hatred, Leeds City Council should also consider the repeated references in the qualitative data from the survey to the **links between anti-Muslim hatred and other forms of prejudice**, with a particular focus on the need to consider anti-Semitism as part of a wider response to tackling prejudice and extremism in the city. This was a theme within the data and is also a pressing concern nationally and a key theme emerging in the popular and academic literature on racism and prejudice in Europe (see for example: Baddiel 2021[10], Hafez 2016[11] Hedges 2021[12]). In extant policy terms, anti-Muslim hatred as pictured in the survey data links to extremist attitudes and behaviour, violent and non-, connecting readily to counter extremism and preventing violent extremism (counter terrorism) and community safety agendas.

As the data very clearly shows, it is also intrinsically connected to structural issues of inequality, inclusion, gender, age and opportunity within a neoliberal economic environment (Broeckerhoff, 2021[13]) as well as the international political milieu of increasingly-mainstreamed xenophobia. Whilst it is accepted that immediate action from the local authority and partners against anti-Muslim hatred in Leeds would appear an attractive proposition, any interventions need to be situated within a **strategic, multi-partner and community-based response which is well-formulated and focuses on dealing with surface-level threats <u>and</u> the structural issues beneath them.**

In summary, thanks to the investment of Leeds City Council, this report has been able to shed light on a substantial and unchecked problem in Leeds. The data from the 2020 anti-Muslim hatred survey shows a clear picture of inequality, discrimination and fear for Muslim citizens in the city. The issue is under-reported by those experiencing hate and is connected to a multitude of wider issues. Immediate concerns are that of definition and terminology, the

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[10] Baddiel, D., 2021. Jews Don't Count. Haper Collins, UK.

[11] Hafez, F. (2016). Comparing anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: The state of the field. *ISJ*, *3*, 2.

[12] Hedges, P. (2021). *Religious Hatred: Prejudice, Islamophobia and Antisemitism in Global Context*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

[13] Broeckerhoff, A. (Forthcoming) '*Social relations and consumption salience: A critical study contextualising belonging and exclusion in neoliberal political economy*'. Coventry University.

question of credibility and trust for statutory bodies and the need for further research in the lived experience of prejudice locally. Critically, any reactive rushing to immediate action should, in the authors' views, be exercised with caution. This survey has provided a strong assessment of anti-Muslim hatred, but, assessment is best followed by a phase of interrogating the problem and formulating responses: there should be an element of sense-making through which the Council's longer-term response can be logically thought through and can benefit from empirical evidence, academic models and considerations from practice in other fields (e.g. anti-racism). Policy responses in social relations fields are fraught with the unintended consequences of piecemeal interventions (e.g. Kang, et al. 2016[14]): an issue of this size and complexity requires a strategic and considered approach. A number of recommendations in this vein are provided below.

7. Recommendations

The following recommendations are made based on the findings of the report and, in some cases, the authors' experiences of academic and policy work in this field.

1. **Raising awareness and understanding** around the seriousness and scale of anti-Muslim prejudice in Leeds
    a. Adopt a clear and common-sense, flag in the ground, 'Leeds' definition of anti-Muslim prejudice (and use that as the future framework for action).
    b. Positive stories, personal stories, real-life examples. But doing this in a way that brings people together rather than pushes communities apart further (use of language, narratives that find what is in common).
    c. Don't isolate Muslims as a special case but deal with this through existing hate crime strategies alongside concern for other communities / aspects of life.
    d. Foster a nuanced and long-term response (rather than short, sharp action) to challenge anti-Muslim prejudice. This will require conversations with stakeholders as well as within the Council.

2. **Training and educating front line (and other) staff**, in an inter-agency way
    e. To enable people to identify and tackle hate crime against Muslims
    f. Understanding Muslim diversity, culture and demographics for outreach work.
(Evidence shows that the most impactful method of training is dialogical and experiential learning approaches. If done incorrectly, there is a risk of making things worse.)

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[14] Kang, S., DeCelles, K., Tilcsik, A., and Jun, S. (2016) *'The Unintended Consequences of Diversity Statements'* https://hbr.org/2016/03/the-unintended-consequences-of-diversity-statements

3. Investigate under-reporting and improve reporting

    g. Better publicise reporting mechanisms

    h. Engage in community awareness around reporting

    i. Enhance confidence in reporting by educating around the consequences of not reporting and showing how cases can be dealt with when a report is made

4. Prevent hate crime through collective work to tackle prejudice in all communities, enhance understanding between people, in a way that brings residents together and builds shared ideas, aspirations and hope around Leeds as the uniting factor. Think about the **perceived credibility** of statutory agencies within this work and the potential increased role for grassroots organisations.

5. Strengthen understanding, depth and nuance around the issues and the data

    j. **We don't have enough depth…**Qualitative research to supplement the existing quantitative data – e.g. focus groups to drill deeper and test finding with stakeholders.

    k. **We don't know enough about linked issues…** Probe potentially 'hidden' sectors – field research to look at specific cohorts that may have been missed here and areas where intersectional concerns may have been omitted – e.g. race, disability, sexual orientation.

    l. **We don't know enough about gender and youth…** Enhance the number of female participants in the research and also capture younger voices (under 16 and under 25 samples).

    m. **More detailed look within the Council…** Qualitative research to supplement, interrogate and clarify existing data from the survey.

6. Reframe the focus from 'Anti-Muslim Hatred' to 'Anti-Muslim Prejudice' in order to tackle matters upstream as well as allow citizens to engage with the subject in more relatable terms and in synergy with existing paradigms around equality, discrimination and racism.

8. Appendices

8.1. Appendix 1: Selected Comments by Female Muslim Respondents

On experiences in Leeds:

- *I was walking through Roundhay Park with my then young children and was shouted at by a man to remove my headscarf, as I live in Britain.*

- *I have several ""friends"" who work within the council, and I have been blocked from their social media pages, so they can post Islamophobia propaganda on their social media.*

- *Had two hate crimes... one in [the] city centre and one in Seacroft.*

- *Islamophobic racial terms yelled whilst walking in the city centre - especially on an evening (mainly Friday/Saturday nights).*

- *Being called a Paki and witnessed others being called this. Also heard frequently being told 'Go back to your country'.*

- *I was in McDonalds and a Muslim girl who was wearing a Hijab was verbally abused by someone for wearing one so I stepped in and stuck up for her and the woman physically assaulted me.*

On reasons for not reporting:

- *Already reported.*

- *Thick skin.*

- *Fear, hate the thought of being judged.*

- *There was insufficient information to supply in order for the accuser to be identified.*

- *I was afraid of any repercussions. I did not feel strong enough to confront the individual. I was not sure how to report it. I had my daughter with me and I didn't want any trouble.*

- *Not sufficient basis. Nothing can come from reporting this as it's not seen as important and no one has time for us. Police are too busy.*

On being equal citizens in Leeds:

- *I was asked by a council manager if I believed in killing people in the name of my God!*

- *In my experience Leeds is similar to the natural picture, neither worse nor better. Though I do feel safe in Leeds.*

- *Great to see this information being gathered as many people like me let them go without them being recorded. On the whole Leeds is a great city where Muslims enjoy a lot support and acknowledgement from the local communities and authorities… I hope you have Muslim representation on-board supporting and directing this project.*

- *Muslim communities are often in socio economically challenged areas and if they appear "Muslim" through dress / appearance are often patronised.*

- *My daughter changed her surname because her job applications were being rejected even though she was a graduate. Her white friends with less qualifications were shortlisted.*

On rising hatred nationally:
- *Media, immigration, austerity, cuts to NHS including frontline such as GPs, A&E departments. Cuts to Police forces. Are all then blamed on migrants, especially Muslims, who they perceive are to blame by the majority.*

- *Government, poverty.*

- *Media has a big role to play. People believe everything without any evidence. The current government from the PM to MP's is full of individuals endorsing and using Muslims as legitimate targets for abuse and discrimination. World politics in particular the refugee crisis is increasing hatred towards Muslims.*

- *Divisive groups such as the EDL are helping to fuel the debate in a nasty direction.*

- *It is not just Muslims the Jewish community are also facing increasing attacks.*

- *Fear.*

- *Terrorism and extremism.*

- *The media bias - where a crime is committed by a non-Muslim it is viewed as a crime but when the criminal processes to follow Islam - Islam and Muslims are blamed.*

On ways to tackle anti-Muslim hatred in Leeds:

- *Promote positive images of Muslims. Do not allow far right groups to march in the city.*

- *Educate staff in the council so that they recognise all Muslims are not the same.*

- *I think if we had more positive religious role models and not ones we sometimes see with long beards and shouting at the top of their voices. I have noticed even when Leeds interviews people for look north or calendar news they always go the Pakistani community. Islam has many cultures, Arabs, Africans, English converts, Asian such as Chinese, from Indonesia. We are not just one culture.*

- *I think more open dialogue with Muslims to encourage integration especially with Muslim women. More mother and toddler faith groups, more mandatory integration with school kids.*

- *Definition of Islamophobia passed through the council; greater work with the police in recording hate crimes when Islamophobic accurately.*

- *Politicians need to be reprimanded for saying derogatory comments about groups.*

- *All agencies / religious groups working together - if something comes up on media talk about it - rather than hiding behind it.*

- *Muslims bring so much to the country but first they are humans, then they chose a religion so to be judged wrongly when they are also professionals is a joke.*

- *Having a zero tolerance approach to anti-Muslim rhetoric.*

- *Education on Islam.*

- *More awareness around the city.*

- *Police can take the cases more seriously.*

8.2. Appendix 2: Anti-Muslim Hatred Survey

Q1. Please confirm...

I give my consent for my personal information to be used as described in the privacy notice.

Q2. To what extent are you familiar with the term anti-Muslim hatred?

Q3. To what extent would you be confident in explaining what the term 'anti-Muslim hatred' means to someone else?

Q4. How concerned are you about anti-Muslim hatred?

Q5. Have you seen or experienced anti-Muslim hatred in any of the following? (Please select all that apply)

Q6. Have you ever experienced or witnessed anti-Muslim hatred in Leeds?

Q7. How often have you experienced or witnessed anti-Muslim hatred in Leeds?

	Never	Once	Rarely	Frequently
I have been the victim of anti-Muslim hatred				
I have witnessed anti-Muslim hatred towards someone else				

Please can you tell us more:

Q8. Have you reported any incidents of anti-Muslim hatred to a relevant authority/body?

Q9. What were your reasons for not reporting?

Q10. Thinking about the last time you reported an incident of anti-Muslim hatred, who did you report it to? (Please select all that apply)

Q11. How satisfied were you with how your report was dealt with?

Q12. To what extent do you think the issue of anti-Muslim hatred exists in the UK? (On a scale of 0-10: with 0 being 'Not at all' and 10 being 'Very much so')

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all												**Very much so**

Q13. To what extent do you think the issue of anti-Muslim hatred exists in Leeds? (On a scale of 0-10: with 0 being 'Not at all' and 10 being 'Very much so')

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all												**Very much so**

Q14. How much do you agree or disagree with the statement: 'Muslims are currently treated as equal citizens in Leeds.' ?

Comments:

Q15. Anti-Muslim hatred has risen in recent times and recent Home Office statistics show 47% of religious hate crime offences were targeted against Muslim people. From your experience, what factors might be contributing to this increase?

Q16. Which do you think are the 3 most important groups or agencies in the fight against anti-Muslim hatred? (Please select 3 only)

Q17. What ways can you think of to tackle anti-Muslim hatred in Leeds?

Q18. Leeds City Council is currently considering a local definition of anti-Muslim hatred. Which of the following words or phrases would you most like to see included in this? (please select all that apply)

Prejudice
Discrimination
Fear
Violence
Racism
Faith
Hatred
Equality

About you

Q19. What best describes your gender?

Q20. How old are you?

About you

Q21. What is your religion?

Q22. What is your ethnic group?

Contact details

Q23. Name:

Q24. Email address: