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Islamophobia
in Australia - II
(2016-2017)

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Acknowledgements

Glossary

Incident

An event or occurrence of an Islamophobic nature that is a either physical or online event or occurrence characterised as Islamophobia/Islamophobic, including physical attacks, assault, damage to property, offensive graffiti, non-verbal harassment, intimidation and online threats.

Islamophobia/ Islamophobic

Islamophobia is a form of racism that includes various forms of violence, violations, discrimination and subordination that occur across multiple sites in response to the problematisation of Muslim identity (Sayyid 2014).

Online Islamophobia

Online Islamophobia is defined as Islamophobic prejudice that targets a victim in order to provoke, cause hostility and promote intolerance through means of harassment, stalking abuse, incitement, threatening behaviour, bullying and intimidation of person or persons via all platforms of social media (Zempi and Awan 2016, p.6).

Offline Cases

Incidents reported to the Register that take place outside of cyberspace, in the physical world, including physical attacks and assaults, damage to property and threats received in the mail.

Perpetrator

A person who abuses, attacks, harasses, intimidates and/or insults another individual on the grounds of that person's actual or perceived Islamic faith.

Proxy Proxies

Acquaintances of the victim who submit incident reports to the Register on their behalf.

Reporter

A person who submits an incident report to the Register.

Witness

A person who witnesses an Islamophobic incident.

Victim

A person who is subject to abuse, attack, harassment, intimidation and/or insults on the grounds of their actual or perceived Islamic faith irrespective of whether they identify as a Muslim.

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Executive Summary

This report offers a multi-faceted analysis of verified incidents reported to the Islamophobia Register Australia by victims, proxies and witnesses in the two-year period of 2016-2017. It is a continuation of the first Islamophobia in Australia Report published in 2017, which was widely cited and formed a consensus that Islamophobia is an uncontested phenomenon in Australia (see the impact of the first report in Appendix II). While there are multiple definitions of Islamophobia, this report adopted the definition that refined the scope of Islamophobia to instances such as the perpetration of verbal and physical anti-Muslim abuse together with denigration of Muslim identity. Salman Sayyid's definition of Islamophobia helped to classify physical (offline) cases such as "violence, violations, discrimination and subordination" in the physical world (Sayyid 2014). Zempi and Awan's definition was used to assess online modes of anti-Muslim hostility and intolerance such as "harassment, stalking abuse, incitement, threatening behaviour, bullying and intimidation" in the cyber world (Zempi and Awan 2016, p.6). All verified authentic incidents that fit these definitions were qualified for inclusion in the present report's analysis.

Of the 551 incidents reported to the Islamophobia Register Australia for the two-year period, 349 incidents were verified and included in the report. The large chunk of discarded incidents included deliberate fake reporting by some Islamophobes, who aimed to undermine the Register's authentic data. Some cases were also omitted because verification was not possible. After the data was cleaned and coded, SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) descriptive analysis was employed to quantify the findings. In addition, datamining techniques were used to discover some meaningful patterns and predict future possibilities.

Overall Comparisons of the First and Second Report and their Implications

In the first report, 243 incidents were reported in a 16-month period, while in the second 349 incidents are reported within 24 months. The number of reports within the same period are comparable and shows Islamophobia in Australia is a continuous phenomenon. Lack of any legal consequence to minimise vilification of Muslims as individuals or a community contributes to continuing victimisation of Muslims on the basis of their religion.

The number of incidents in the two reports combined disclose only the tip of an iceberg as under-reporting of hate crimes and related incidents is an ongoing problem worldwide. This is especially the

Reported cases

Unreported cases
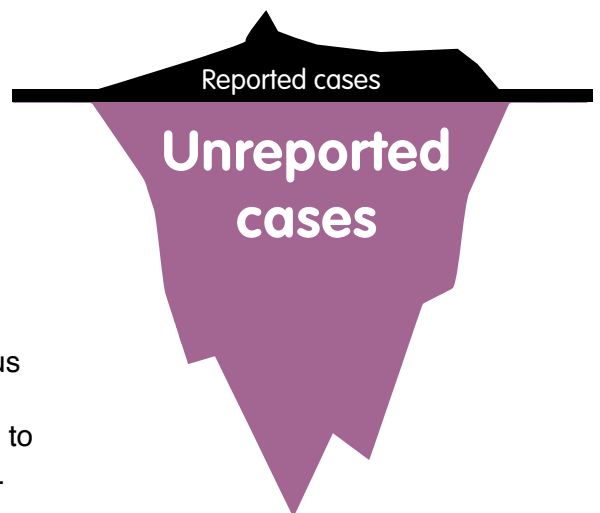
case where continuous anti-Muslim sentiment in political and media discourse becomes normalised, desensitising the public and discouraging victims to report.

The stability in the number of incidents reported to the Register across the years indicates its third-party report collecting capacity with no claim to represent the real number of incidents occurring across Australia. The high level of incidents and lack of significant fluctuations in data indicate some consistent features of Islamophobia in the Australian context.

In comparison to the first report, more offline cases were reported (58% in comparison to 42% in the previous report) and victim reporters were relatively more active in the present report (37% in comparison to 25% in the previous report). The number of female reporters slightly dropped (from 65% to 54%, in online reporting) and non-Muslim fellow Australians continued to consist one-quarter of the Register's reporter population.

Gender disparity was in force in offline and online cases for the present and previous report. Mostly women were victims (72% in the present and 71% in the previous report) while perpetrators were largely men (71% in the present and 70% in the previous report). Where ethnicity was identified, perpetrators were predominantly reported to be white Anglo-Celtic. Likewise, the percentage of incidents reported to police was similar in both reports (29% in the present report and 33% in the previous report) and the ratio of offline to online incidents reported to police was 3 to 1.

Insults targeting Muslims' religious appearance and religion was the highest in both reports, with a slight increase from 61% to 67% in the present report.

The levels of severity are coded according to the physical damage caused. Although the majority of incidents out of 202 cases (where physical damage was present) remained at the verbal level (60%), the rate of damage to property (11%) and severe attacks on the person requiring hospital treatment slightly increased (5%) in the present report.

When the cases are separately analysed as physical cases categorised as 'offline' and cases within the internet and social media platforms as 'online' incidents, different dynamics appear.

72%

72% of the victims are women in both the online and offline cases, while perpetrators are largely men (71%)

Islamophobia in the Physical (Offline) World

People

More victims started to take action in reporting their victimisation
in the physical world with an increase from 35% to 54%.

The intricate intersections of sexism, racism and xenophobia with
Islamophobia were in force. Following the previous report's trend, most
victims (72%) were women whereas most perpetrators (73%) were
men. Of the 47 cases where perpetrators were ethnically identified
79% were reported to be from Anglo-Celtic background. Victims were
mostly younger, with age concentrated (72%) in the 20-39 bracket
whereas perpetrators were mostly older with age concentrated (49%)
in the 40-49 bracket. Of the known and applicable cases, female (85%)
and male (70%) lone victims were targeted by solo perpetrators.

Vulnerable people, mostly women and children, were easy targets for
perpetrators. Of the 113 female victims, 96% were wearing a headscarf
(hijab), 57% were unaccompanied (in contrast to 6% unaccompanied
males) and 11% were with their children at the time of the incident.

14% of the cases involved children alone or accompanied. The impact
of harassment was mostly expressed by such vulnerable victims (88%,
29/33). Women in some cases projected multiple vulnerabilities, such
as being identifiably Muslim with their hijab, travelling unaccompanied,
pregnant and accompanying younger children at the same time.

Importantly, since the Register caters for adult reporters, children's
cases are underreported. Yet, the reported case types were sufficient to
shed light on the concentric circles of Islamophobia in children's lives.
Experiences of Islamophobia start for children in pre-school years, when
they were accompanied by their identifiably Muslim parents and continue
in school years through multiple perpetrators in the school environment,
such as school peers, teachers, school administration, other students'
parents or other adults targeting Muslim students on the way to
school. Sometimes not only individual students, but an entire school
community was threatened through vandalism. For instance, a petrol
bomb placed in a car outside of an Islamic school in Perth horrified not
only the school, but also triggered deep fear in parents (Case 53-16).

Incidents

Of the 202 offline cases, 72% of them were interpersonal, while the
remaining (28%) were not directed at individuals, but generically at
all Muslims – such as graffiti and stickers. Generic cases were still
destructive and toxic since many of them were publicly threatening
Muslims and inciting violence. A graffiti reading "*kill all sand niggers*"

ISLAMOPHOBIA

● OFFLINE ISLAMOPHOBIA ●

on a suburban Sydney train (Case 109-16) was desensitising the public about extreme anti-Muslim hate to the level of wanting to kill/exterminate Muslims. Of the publicly available 23 anti-Muslim stickers reported, 70% of them were designed and spread by white supremacist groups.

Half of the cases by type was hate speech, while one-quarter consisted of vandalism and physical attacks. Structural Islamophobia through discrimination was uncaptured as reflected in the minimal number of cases at work (2%), at school (2%) and at governmental offices or by authorities (2%). Due to employment security concerns and the power unbalance in such structural Islamophobia cases, victims arguably avoided lodging discrimination complaints against a company, school or government office to a third-party reporting platform. Ironically, concealing Islamophobic experiences has become a means of protecting oneself from more adverse effects of disclosure.
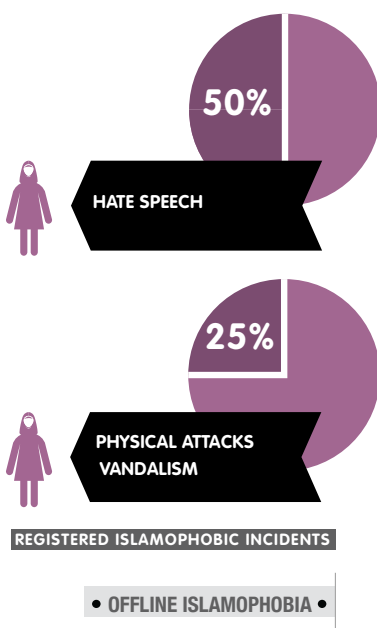
Locations

The distribution of incidents reported to the Register in New South Wales and Victoria was in proportion with the Muslim population in these states. Incident reports from Queensland, however, broke this pattern by coming third in incident reporting (Queensland is fifth in Muslim population).

More culturally diverse suburbs experienced significant number of Islamophobic incidents (44%) following a similar pattern to that noted in the previous report. More interestingly, xenophobic insults were found more commonly in more culturally diverse suburbs (35%, 7/26) compared to non-multicultural areas (25%, 24/96).

Intolerance towards Muslims in culturally diverse suburbs raises new concerns as to the degree and possibility of Muslims being accepted and accommodated as part of the multicultural landscape in Australia.

Contrary to expectation, the majority of reported incidents (60%) occurred in guarded or patrolled areas, where police officers, security guards, track-work personnel, and other workers or officials were in force, or surveillance cameras deployed. The increasing harassment in guarded places since the previous report (30%) is an alarming security problem.

50%

HATE SPEECH

25%

PHYSICAL ATTACKS
VANDALISM

REGISTERED ISLAMOPHOBIC INCIDENTS

• OFFLINE ISLAMOPHOBIA •

It is a question for further research whether this ineffective security against attacks on Muslims arises from a cultural climate that is normalising Islamophobia.

When the location type of the incident is categorised as hotspots, more than half of the incidents (52%) of incidents were found to take place in commonly frequented places. Among them, shopping centres were the most popular anti-Muslim harassment hotspots (25%).

Evidently, the presence of security guards and cameras in shopping centres did not effectively deter perpetrators, nor did the presence of other people prevent perpetrators from publicly harassing Muslims. This public perpetration with impunity of harassment, vilification and other acts of Islamophobia arguably promotes public desensitisation to anti-Muslim hate, tacitly granting permission for it.

Third Parties

Of the 202 cases, bystanders were present in 14% of the cases while in almost half of the cases (49%), surrounding people passed by paying no attention to the incident.

This attitude apparently led to accommodation of anti-Muslim harassment and further heartened public perpetration of attacks on Muslims in guarded (30%) and commonly frequented hotspots

60%

60% of Islamophobic incidents reported occurred in guarded or patrolled areas

● OFFLINE ISLAMOPHOBIA ●
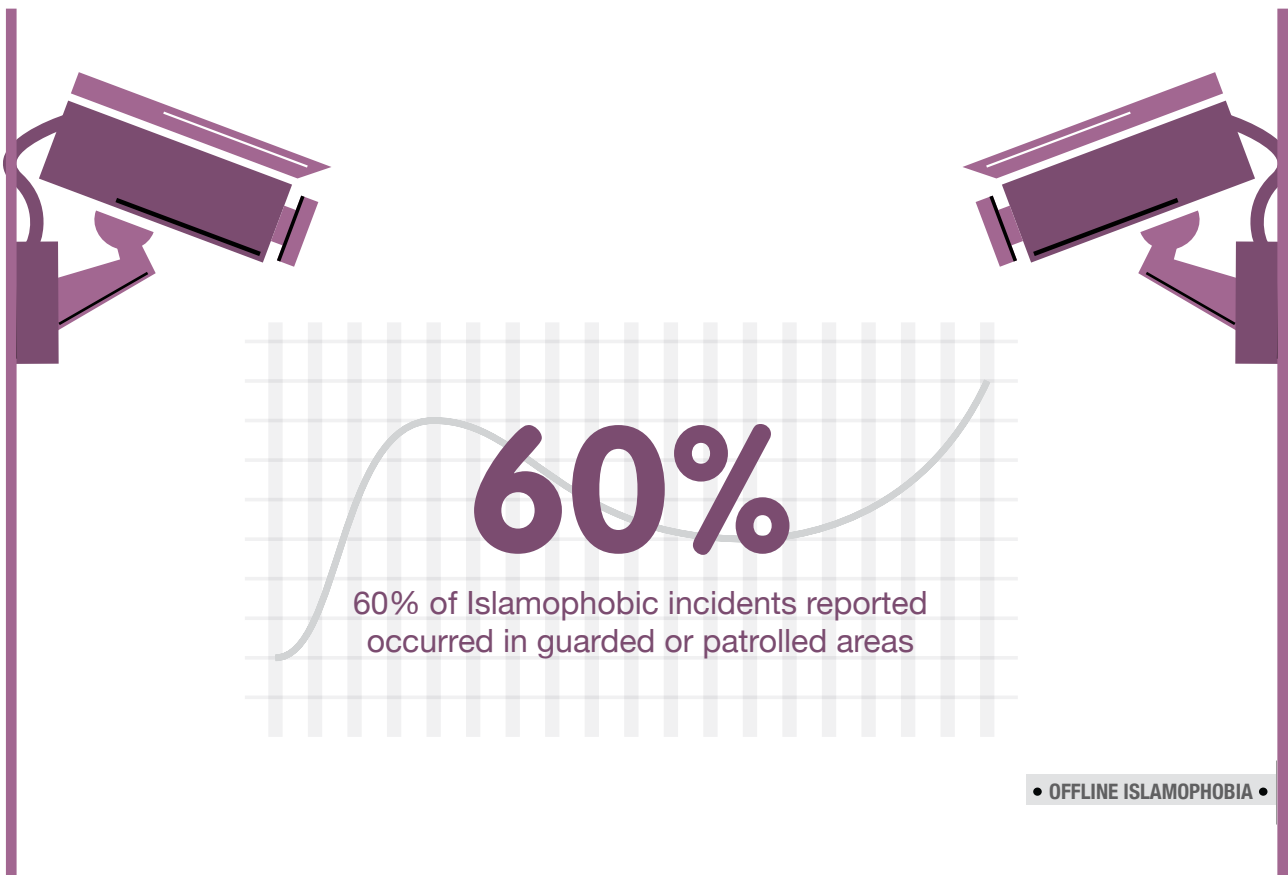
(52%). Regardless of the 14% bystander involvement and 49% inattention by passers-by, 41% of offline incidents were from witness reporters. This suggests the majority of the surrounding people did not ignore the case, but did not intervene. This may have been because they did not know how to do so without putting themselves in danger.

Police attended only half of the 22% incidents reported to them. Reporting physical incidents to police increased from 16% to 22% since the previous report. The victim stories note some positive experiences with police response. Timely and supportive responses from third parties, including police, security, managers or bystanders, were instrumental in alleviating the shock and trauma the victim was going through. In the absence of third-party support, victims expressed disappointment and distress.

The content of insults was scrutinised to understand perpetrators' source of hate and motivation for abuse. The most dominant hate discourse concentrated on Muslims' visibility and religious appearance (45%). Association with terrorism (9%) and believing Muslims are killing/harming (3%) were less frequent motivations to express hate and abuse of Muslims in the physical (offline) world.

50%

POLICE

Police attended only **half** of the 22% incidents reported to them.

22%
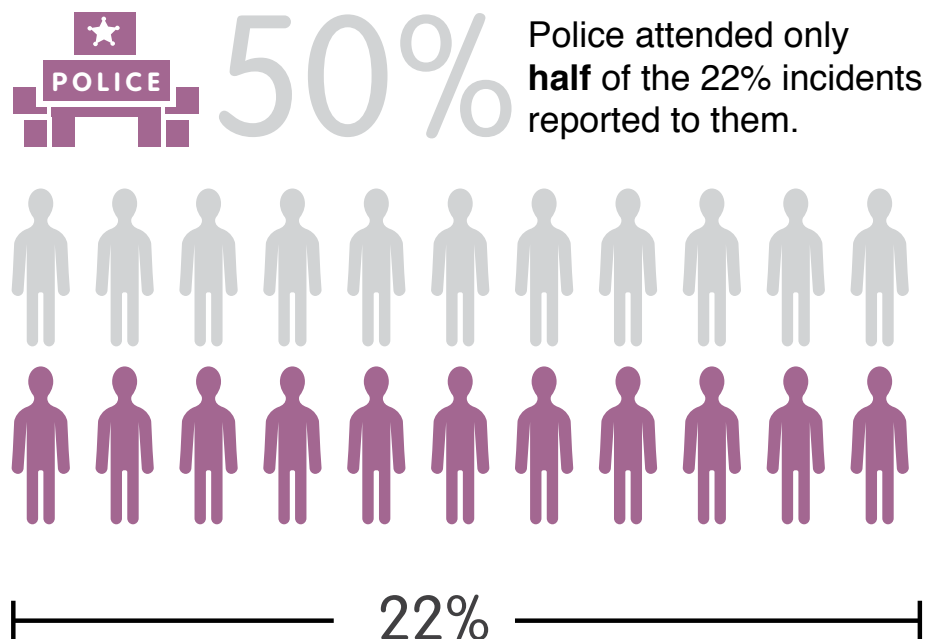
Ordinary citizens occupied in their daily routines received death threats for no reason but being Muslim. Of the reported 202 offline cases 11% included death threats. This opens a wider debate about what being Muslim means to the abusers, how the backdrop of being Muslim is publicly crafted and takes form in the perpetrators' psyche.

The intensity of hate rhetoric in physical cases was another concern. Following the violent extremism scales, the level of hate is scaled as fury, contempt, dehumanising, disgust and wanting to kill/harm. This hierarchy of hate illustrated how wanting to harm can be justified without feeling guilt due to prior preliminary feelings like dehumanising and disgust. It is concerning that in the rhetoric of physical insults, dehumanising came as the second most common feeling (19%) followed by disgust (10%) and wanting to harm/kill (9%).

Apparently, physical (face to face) settings were not deterrent to expressing extreme levels of hate. The most commonly reported response to all types of physical cases was worry (29%). While the most common victim age group (30-39) expressed worry, the younger second-most common victim age group (20-29) expressed being scared. In the face of harassment, some victims reported some physical reactions like crying and shaking and longer term impacts like unforgettable painful memories (PTSD), changing daily routines and removing headscarves.

Islamophobia in the Cyber (Online) World

Online Islamophobia is of concern, given its easy reproduction of anti-Muslim hate, intimidation and abuse, especially fuelled in social media debates along with its widespread and long-lasting distribution. Based on the analysis of 147 verified online incidents reported to the Register, the most common online platform reproducing and spreading Islamophobia was Facebook (63%). This finding is consistent with the online hate literature. Islamophobia Register Australia's Facebook page was conversely a popular channel for reporting online cases to the Register (82%).

Of the 147 online cases, 82% were reported by witnesses; 65% of the reporters were Muslims. Online male reporters significantly increased from 31% to 58% since the previous report while online female reporters declined from 69% to 42% in the present report. Demographics of the online victims and perpetrators were mostly driven from their public profiles. Accordingly, the gender disparity was in force but relatively thinned in the virtual space as 61% of the victims were women while 72% of the perpetrators were men. Following the general trend, victims were mostly young adults (53%) while perpetrators were middle aged adults (34%).

80% of the cases were generically about Muslims (i.e. anti-Muslim literature), whereas 20% was targeting individuals. Unlike physical third parties, there was a strong online community reacting to the perpetrator's posts with emojis, comments and shares in social media.

The online hate was circulated using diverse tactics. In addition to spreading everyday Islamophobic rhetoric (48%), 147 reported cases revealed specific tactics to maintain anti-Muslim hate on social media through political far-right campaigns (10%), boycotting and boycotting campaigns via Facebook pages (10%), harassment and intimidation (9%) by sending personal messages to the victims, memes (8%), attacking the Register page (8%) and circulating anti-Muslim petitioning campaigns (2%). Online cases reported to the police significantly dropped from 17% to 7% since the previous report. The easy dismissal of online anti-Muslim hate incidents due to the lack of legal protections most likely influences this trend. The Register is not aware of a single prosecution despite the numerous examples, which have been made known to police.

The content of insults does not change much online. Insults targeting Muslims' visibility and religious appearance dominated the hate rhetoric (63%) followed by xenophobia (33%).

Spreading Islamophobic Hate
(147 Cases)

HATE
HATE
HATE

48%

Everyday Islamophobia Rhetoric

Personal messages memes

Harrasment intimidation

Political far-right campaigns

Anti-Muslim petition campaigns

Boycotting campaigns via FB

Attacking the Register page

#?*

8%

9%

10%

2%

10%

8%
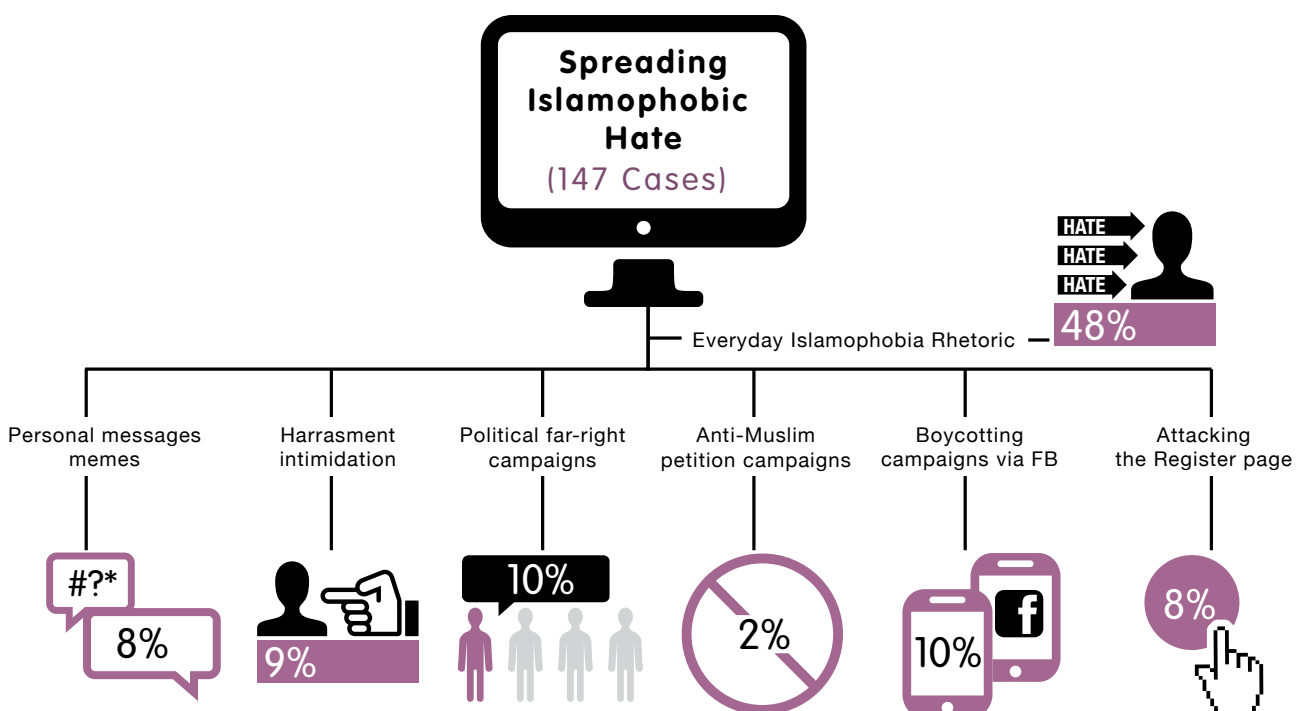
Following the previous report's trend, the most severe level of hate, i.e. wanting to kill/harm Muslims, was the most dominant rhetoric, consisting of the one-quarter of the entire online cases.

Posting of the most severe death threats like massacring, mass murdering, shooting every single Muslim and burning them alive while killing their children was not coincidental, but in tandem with the significant terrorist attacks overseas. Extreme Islamophobes and far-right extremists opportunistically used such occasions to publicly advertise their desire to exterminate all Muslims. Some of them went further by creating public profiles holding real guns. It is concerning that such perpetrators could avoid any consequences for advocating mass killing of Muslims and remain on social media simply by opening new accounts with moderate profile photos

Online-Offline Comparison

Muslim women with their headwear were the prime targets of offline Islamophobia; accordingly, women were more active in reporting offline cases (62%). In contrast, men were more active in reporting online cases (57%). As in the previous report, one-quarter of the incident reporters were non-Muslims who were more active in reporting online cases (35%) when compared to reporting offline cases (15%). The number of incidents reported to police was three times higher than online incident reporting to the police (22% in contrast to 7%). This was consistent with the previous report (24% in contrast to 9%).

Presumption that Muslims kill/harm was proportionally 9.6 times higher in online cases (29% in comparison to 3%). A presumed association of Muslims with terrorism (28% compared with 9% offline cases) and death threats were also much higher in online cases (17% in contrast to 11% offline cases).

Being online or offline did not deter perpetrators' higher levels of hate as there was no meaningful and distinctive distribution between online and offline hate levels.

Nevertheless, offline incident reporters, most of whom were victims, (75%) were more expressive of their emotional state when compared to online reporters, most of whom were witness reporters (25%). Worried/upset was the most common response, occurring in 29% offline and 16% online. Being scared was expressed almost seven times more (13% in contrast to 2%), while feeling disappointed was expressed more than five times as much as offline. Likewise, expression of long term impact was six times higher in offline cases (13% in contrast to 2%).

ONLINE ISLAMOPHOBIA

OFFLINE ISLAMOPHOBIA

Non-Muslim
Incident reporters

35% ----------------------------- **15%**

Number of incidents
reported to Police

7% ----------------------------- **22%**   3 times higher

Insults targeting Muslim's
religion and religious
appearance

63% ----------------------------- **45%**

Xenophobic insults

33% ----------------------------- **19%**

Foul language

25% ----------------------------- **24%**

Presumption that
Muslims kill/harm

9.6 times higher   **29%** ----------------------------- **3%**

Presumed association of
Muslims with terrorism

28% ----------------------------- **9%**

Death threats

17% ----------------------------- **11%**

Online-Offline Islamophobia Comparison

Online-offline Interaction

There is a strong association between the real and cyber worlds. It was evidenced in the Christchurch terrorist Brenton Tarrant's world of hate, which grew in shopping centres by seeing crowded Muslim families with children and was exacerbated through the online far-right extremist literature and interactions. Offline and online worked hand in hand as the Christchurch massacres were broadcast in real time online, while leaving a terrorist manifesto behind readily available to worldwide internet users.
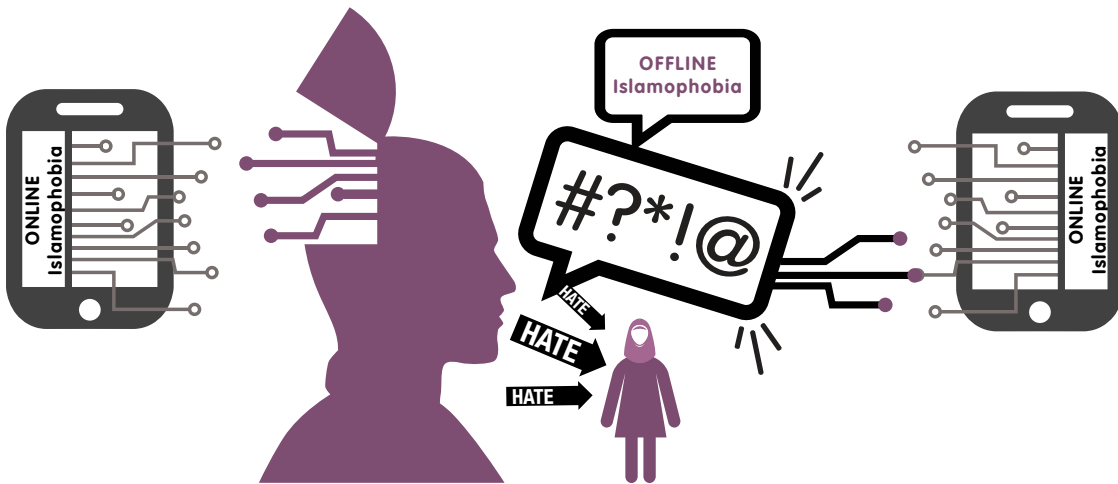
The intersection between offline and online was evidenced in the incidents reported to the Register. For instance, some physical abuses were taken to social media platforms by perpetrators to hearten their like-minded folks for similar abusive behaviours while seeking approval and appreciation in their hate circles. Similar posts were circulated by victims with the intention of cautioning Muslims against similar harassment. In either case, offline vilifications were widely circulated to a broader online audience. In addition, online platforms were also used to effectively organise and mobilise hate groups and anti-Muslim individuals to take action in the physical (real) world. Advertising anti-Muslim protests online, recruiting new members and circulating petitioning campaigns were some of them.

Conclusions and Key Recommendations

> This report, in conjunction with the first report released in 2017, conclusively shows that Islamophobia in Australia exists and operates in particular ways in the Australian context.

> As a result of Islamophobic attitudes Muslims, especially vulnerable women and their children, are suffering from abuse and physical harm.

> If unchecked, Islamophobia in rare but destructive cases can lead to tragic outcomes (as demonstrated in Christchurch). This report serves as a call to Australian society as a whole, and to the Australian government, to overcome complacency and to actively address the dangers of religious-based vilification.

> There needs to be official acknowledgement of the fact Islamophobia exists and continuously destructs everyday Muslim Australians' lives.

> In addition, target communities should be encouraged and accommodated to comfortably report their Islamophobia experiences to the relevant official agencies. Reporting to the Islamophobia Register Australia by victims, proxies and witnesses is similarly essential. The more reporting is done the better the diagnosis and prognosis of the issue.

> The damaging loud minority perceives the silence of majority as approval to publicly attack Muslims. This was captured in the majority of physical incidents occurring in guarded and most-frequented places like shopping centres. Consequently, improving third party attitude is essential in countering hate incidents in society.

> Ambivalent third party attitudes can be resolved through training the public, not in generic terms (like bullying or hate, multiculturalism), but specifically focusing on anti-Muslim hate and acceptance of Muslims as part of Australia's multicultural legacy. This type of education should be prioritised especially in educational institutions, which were found to be the second popular harassment hotspot (10%) after shopping centres.

> While it is critical for mainstream society to understand the underlying dangers of religious-based vilification, positive action from the highest echelons of power is required to safeguard dignity, equality and safety of every citizen and minority group, including Muslim Australians.

> The non-coincidental timing of inciting extreme hate and incitement to violence on social media suggests intense monitoring and strategic moves by counter-terrorism organisations are needed after terrorist attacks overseas and controversial debates in Australia that put Muslims on the spot.

> There is dire need for community activism and collaboration to counter Islamophobia, best exemplified in the recent submission on the draft Religious Discrimination Bill by 150 Muslim organisations,including the Islamophobia Register.

> The Muslim community, interfaith groups and civil society organisations should see addressing Islamophobia as a shared vision and raise funds to support ongoing research on Islamophobia, as such research is time consuming and costly. Islamophobia is not a 'Muslim' problem and requires national engagement if Australia is to maintain social cohesion and live up to its multicultural legacy.

Introduction

Islamophobia within the Hate Crime Framework

Islamophobia and Hate Crime

Gail Mason[1] and Nicole Asquith[2]

When four Muslim women wearing hijab were assaulted in the inner city of Sydney in 2017, the New South Wales Police later made a public statement describing the assaults as 'bias-motivated crime' (NSW Police Force 2017). This official response is significant. It is one of the few times police have publicly described an Islamophobic attack as bias crime. It is also significant because it prompts us to think about what the concept of bias crime, or hate crime, has to offer the fight against Islamophobia.

> This report by the Islamophobia Register documents the growing problem of Islamophobia in Australia. Thinking about Islamophobic incidents as hate crimes provides a powerful tool in tackling anti-Muslim attitudes in Australia today.

Hate Crime

Hate crime, also called bias crime, is used to describe criminal and sub-criminal incidents motivated by bias or hatred towards a group of people. Victims are targeted because of their religion, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability, gender or other characteristic (Asquith 2015; Mason 2019). Not all hate crimes are a breach of criminal law (Thorneycroft and Asquith 2015). However, the term is commonly used to capture sub-criminal incidents, such as hate speech, that pave the way for more aggressive or physically harmful behaviour. These incidents are the tip of the iceberg.

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[2]Associate Professor of Policing & Criminal Justice, School of Social Sciences & Psychology, Western Sydney University.

Framing Islamophobic incidents as a form of hate crime helps strengthen our understanding and response to Islamophobia. It identifies the links between criminal and sub-criminal victimisation. It connects these to broader patterns of prejudice, such as racism and xenophobia.

Continuum of Islamophobia

Australians are largely supportive of cultural diversity. However, recent national surveys show some groups attract a substantial and growing degree of negativity. The group that attracts the most negative attitudes is Muslim Australians (Kamp et al. 2017; Markus 2018).

Islamophobia occurs on a continuum (Noble 2009). As Chapter 1 of this report outlines, incidents documented by the Islamophobia Register include:

> Acts of discrimination or bullying, such as at school or work

> Verbal insults, posters, graffiti or targeting a Muslim woman wearing a hijab

> Physical attacks involving brutal violence

These incidents often occur in hotspots such as shops, schools, public buildings, public transport, carparks and so on. Significantly, Chapter 2 of the report shows many instances of Islamophobic hate speech occur online, including comments calling for civil war, holocaust and mass killing of Muslims. Hate speech can be understood as the initial stage of hate crime. It can have a devastating impact because:

> Victims experience hate speech as part of a continuum of disrespect and discrimination

> Hate speech normalises negative attitudes, sending the message that anti-Muslim sentiment is acceptable (Jakubowicz et al. 2017)

> Hate speech provides support to the far-right, who use social media to disseminate lies, prejudice and hatred against the Muslim community

Australians are largely supportive of cultural diversity. However, recent national surveys show some groups attract a substantial and growing degree of negativity. The group that attracts the most negative attitudes is Muslim Australians (Kamp et al. 2017; Markus 2018)

> Hate speech is closely linked to severe forms of violent extremism (Cohen-Almagor 2018), such as the massacre of Muslim New Zealanders in Christchurch on 15 March 2019

Data collected by the Islamophobia Register shows anti-Muslim hate incidents are also associated with other characteristics that make people vulnerable, such as gender, age and race:

> Muslim women continue to be the main targets of offline Islamophobia (78%), bearing the brunt of public antipathy, including insulting and misogynistic remarks (Hussein 2019)

> Children may be targeted or present when these incidents occur, forcing their parents to make a difficult choice about how best to respond

> Insults associated with religion are much more common than insults associated with terrorism

Islamophobia is a form of 'anti-Muslim racism'

Perpetrators of hate crime target their victims to reinforce the fiction they are superior, normal or natural while their victims are inferior, abnormal or dangerous (Perry 2001)

Commonalities between Islamophobia and Other Forms of Hatred

Islamophobia is a form of 'anti-Muslim racism' (Runnymede 2018). This means Islamophobia has much in common with other forms of racism and prejudice. Muslims are currently the 'No 1' scapegoat in many Western countries (see for example Norton 2013). There are ebbs and flows as to the groups who are vulnerable to hostility and hatred in Australia. For example:

> In the 1980-1990s, anti-Asian hostility was at a peak (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1991), leading to the rise of racist political parties such as One Nation

> Data on antisemitism shows this form of hate crime changes with political events in Israel and the Middle East (Executive Council of Australian Jewry 2018)

> There was a resurgence of abuse towards the lesbian, gay, bi, trans, intersex (LGBTI) community surrounding the 2017 survey on the legalisation of same-sex marriage (Verrelli et al. 2019)

> Indigenous Australians have been subject to dispossession and brutality since colonisation and continue to experience over-criminalisation (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1991)

> Although disablist hate crime has received less public recognition, self-report data shows victimisation based on disability is widespread (Thorneycroft & Asquith 2015)

These different forms of hate crime share common causes and effects.

Perpetrators of hate crime target their victims to reinforce the fiction they are superior, normal or natural while their victims are inferior, abnormal or dangerous (Perry 2001).

> The social media platforms of some of the most prominent far-right or 'alt right' groups active in Australia express hatred towards multiple groups, including Muslims, Jews and LGBTI people (Nathan 2018)

> Vulnerability to hate crime is closely linked to visibility. For Muslims, wearing religious clothing or speaking in a language other than English in public can make them feel unsafe and prompt them to change their behaviour or appearance to avoid victimisation (Poynting et al. 2004)

> Victims of hate crime are more likely than victims of similar non-hate crimes to experience their victimisation as 'very serious' and report being 'frightened' or 'very upset' (Garofalo 1997)

> Victims of hate crime experience higher and more long-lasting levels of depression and anxiety than their non-hate crime peers (Herek et al. 1997).

Islamophobia and Hate Crime Data

Most responsibility for monitoring and recording hate crime in Australia has fallen to volunteer organisations like the Islamophobia Register. However, there is now a small and important body of data from police agencies that backs up the findings of this report. It also puts these findings in the context of hate crime in Australia.

A recent study of hate (bias) crime data recorded by the New South Wales Police Force found crimes or sub-criminal incidents motivated (or suspected to be motivated) by religious bias were the largest category of recorded hate crime in NSW (Mason 2019).[3]

The figure on the right shows, out of 1,050 bias crime cases reported to the NSW Police Force between July 2013 and June 2016:

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[3]The New South Wales Police Force refers to hate crime as bias crime. They define bias crime as crime that is: 'motivated, in whole or in part, by an offender's bias against an individual's or group's actual or perceived: race, religion, ethnic/national origin, sex/gender, gender identity, age, disability status, sexual orientation or homelessness status' (Mason and Moran 2019).

Most responsibility for monitoring and recording hate crime in Australia has fallen to volunteer organisations like the Islamophobia Register. However, there is now a small and important body of data from police agencies that backs up the findings of this report. It also puts these findings in the context of hate crime in Australia

Online Islamophobia is prolific and the most common platform for such abuse is Facebook

> Religion was the dominant motivation for bias crimes

> Religious bias was closely followed by racial/ethnic bias

> Together, cases motivated by religious or racial/ethnic bias made up the vast majority of all hate crime reported to the police in NSW

NSW POLICE FORCE: Cases of Bias Motivation by Percentage JULY 2013 - JUNE 2016

Category	Value
Multiple Motivations	5
Political	
Disability	1
Age	
Gender Identity	14
Religion	44
Race/ Ethnicity	36

50
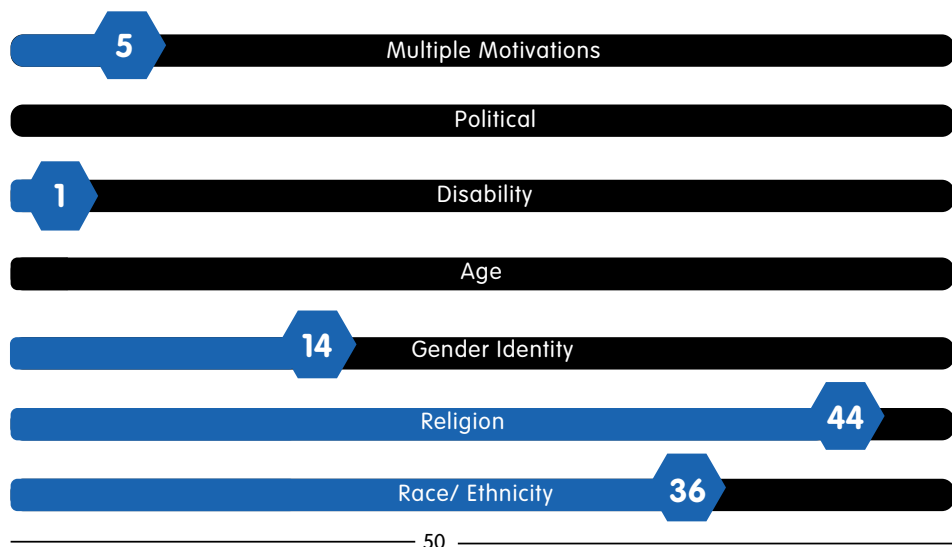
This same study found the most common victims who are targeted for religious hate crime are Muslim (73%), followed by Jewish (14%) and Christian (10%), as shown in the figure below (Mason 2019).

NSW POLICE FORCE: Victim Religion in Cases of Religious Bias by percentage
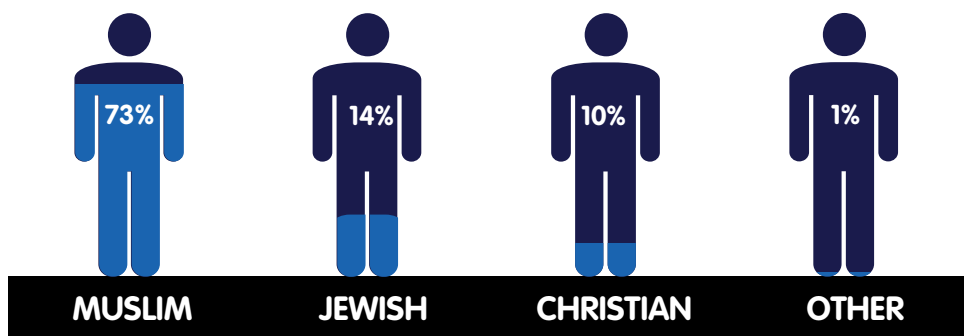
MUSLIM	JEWISH	CHRISTIAN	OTHER
73%	14%	10%	1%

Muslims are clearly the largest group of victims reporting religious hate crime to the NSW Police Force. However, some caution must be used when comparing this to other religious groups, particularly Jews, given the Muslim population in Australia is larger than the Jewish population.[4] Nonetheless, during these three years, there was an increase of approximately 20% in religious-motivated cases against Muslim victims. This may reflect an increase in Islamophobia as well as greater preparedness on the part of the Muslim community to report incidents to the police.

Online Forms of Islamophobia

While data from the NSW Police Force includes online abuse, most online experiences of Islamophobia are never reported to the police or any other government agency (Jakubowicz et al. 2017). This makes the work of the Islamophobia Register all the more important.

As Chapter 3 shows, online Islamophobia is prolific and the most common platform for such abuse is Facebook. This is consistent with research on Australians' experiences of other forms of online racism (Jakubowicz et al. 2017). Tackling the online expression of Islamophobia is complex because:

> The internet provides novel opportunities for Islamophobia to flourish

> The volume of material and speed of its dissemination to a wide audience means isolated events can have global effects

> Anonymity and the lack of regulation allow perpetrators to circumvent traditional laws

Social media platforms such as Facebook have internal guidelines regarding content and Community Standards that reject hate crime and hate speech. Nonetheless, their processes for deciding what should be allowed and enforcing these standards continually fail to provide a safe and respectful environment (Mason and Czapski 2017).

Although far-right organisations exploit the internet to promote their hate messages, they are not the only ones that create this climate of unsafety for Muslim Australians. Politicians, such as former Federal Senator Fraser Anning, have used their public image and privilege to promote Islamophobia in parliament and on social media platforms such as Facebook (Baker 2019).

Muslims are clearly the largest group of victims reporting religious hate crime to the NSW Police Force.

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[4] According to the 2016 national census, 2.6% of Australians identify with Islam and 0.4% identify with Judaism (ABS 2017).

The Dark Figure of Hate Crime: Under-Reporting of Islamophobia

As with other forms of hate crime, online and offline experiences of Islamophobic hate crime are under-reported. This is known as the 'dark figure' of hate crime (Thorneycroft and Asquith 2015). This latest report from the Islamophobia Register shows a decline in online Islamophobic hate crime cases reported to police, from 17% to 7%. This growing gap in online anti-Muslim hate reporting is significant and suggests people may be demotivated to report, knowing they will be told nothing can be done.

There are other reasons why hate crime is not reported (McDevitt et al. 2003; Thorneycroft and Asquith 2015). For example:

> Did the victim understand that a hate crime was committed?

> Did the victim inform the police that bias or hatred was a motivating factor?

> Did police acknowledge and successfully record bias as a motivating factor in the crime?

Like the Jewish and LGBTI communities, the Muslim community has had to shoulder the burden for throwing light on this 'dark figure' of hate crime. The Islamophobia Register has stepped into the gap to provide the Muslim community with an accessible, safe and reliable system for reporting hate crime and sub-crime. As a volunteer organisation, however, its capacity to do more than record and report on Islamophobic hate crime is limited. Government funding is essential if this crucial work is to continue.

International best practice suggests reporting, recording and monitoring Islamophobic hate crime can be improved by third party mechanisms that allow victims to report all forms of hate crime through an online portal (examples include True Vision, Hate: Report It Wales and Stop Hate UK). This approach enables:

> Victims to have the option for their report to be forwarded to the police for further action

As with other forms of
hate crime,
online and offline experiences of Islamophobic hate crime are under-reported

There is little information in Australia on hate crime offenders or their motivations

> The portal to provide a nationwide system for gathering and monitoring consistent hate crime data, even if victims choose not to forward their complaint to the police

> Comparisons to be made between different forms of hate crime

Consistent and comprehensive hate crime data is long overdue in Australia. Formal partnerships between the Islamophobia Register, human rights agencies (responsible for breaches of civil law) and law enforcement agencies (responsible for breaches of criminal law) would assist in developing a model capable of collating and comparing hate crime data across multiple categorises of victimisation.

Victim Support and Offender Rehabilitation

In Australia, victims of hate crime generally have access to a range of support mechanisms provided by government agencies, including counselling, financial assistance to cover immediate costs and compensation for trauma (Victims Services 2019). Currently, this support is not targeted to the unique characteristics of hate crime victimisation.

International research suggests offenders tend to be young males, including adults, mostly from 'white' or majority ethnic groups, unemployed or in poorly paid and insecure jobs (Iganski et al. 2011a). In Australia, there are no rehabilitation programs geared towards these hate crime offenders (Iganski et al. 2011b).

Some solutions to address these gaps include:

> Restorative justice approaches that bring together offenders, victims, criminal justice agents and the wider community to repair the harm, without always resorting to punitive measures such as imprisonment (Walters 2014)

> Advocacy services that work with hate crime victims to assist in practical matters such as reporting to police as well as therapeutic counselling and safety planning. Examples include Safe Horizon in New York and Victim Support in England and Wales

> Dedicated programs for hate crime offenders to address the motivations for racist or xenophobic violence by building pro-social attitudes and behaviours. These programs are often directed towards offenders linked to far-right extremism. Examples include EXIT in Sweden and ADAPT in England. Research shows the Swedish program is particularly successful (Iganski et al. 2011b)

Consistent and comprehensive hate crime data is long overdue in Australia. Formal partnerships between the Islamophobia Register, human rights agencies (responsible for breaches of civil law) and law enforcement agencies (responsible for breaches of criminal law) would assist in developing a model capable of collating and comparing hate crime data across multiple categorises of victimisation

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The Way Forward

The evidence suggests Islamophobic crimes and incidents constitute one of the largest categories of hate crime in Australia.

As this report demonstrates, not just Muslims are victims of Islamophobia. Non-Muslims also report being targets of Islamophobic rants and abuse.

This is a problem that should not be borne by Muslims alone. All Australian citizens share responsibility to find a solution. Australia's approach to monitoring and combatting Islamophobia must improve.

To do this we need solid evidence about what works best in the Australian context, drawing on lessons learnt from international experience. The development of an exploratory or pilot partnership between the Muslim community, law enforcement and human rights agencies would provide invaluable evidence about where the gaps lie and how best to record and monitor Islamophobia in Australia.

By developing a best practice framework, such a project would enhance our capacity to collate consistent and comprehensive data on all forms of hate crime across Australia. Such evidence is essential for the development and implementation of effective victim support and prevention strategies.

CHAPTER 1:

Background of the Data

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The data analysed in this report is sourced from the Australia-based Islamophobic incidents reported to the Islamophobia Register Australia ("the Register") by victims, proxies and witnesses. The Register is a non-profit organisation established by Mariam Veiszadeh in late 2014 to provide the public with a platform to report Islamophobia experiences.

Islamophobia is generally considered to be "anti-Muslim racism" (Runnymede Trust 2017) and was recently defined by the Muslim Council of Britain (representing over 500 Islamic organisations and mosques) as "rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness." While highlighting the fact that racism is embedded in Islamophobia, the definition also underlines the nuance between the right to critique a belief system and hiding behind criticisms to target Muslims (Muslim Council of Britain 2019).

In reporting on incidents, all cases have been verified as genuine and classifiable as Islamophobic. For 'offline' cases, we assess the nature of the incident as Islamophobic using Salman Sayyid's definition:

> *Islamophobia is a form of racism that includes various forms of violence, violations, discrimination and subordination that occur across multiple sites in response to the problematisation of Muslim identity (Sayyid, 2014).*

Online cases are assessed according to Zempi and Awan's definition:

> *Online Islamophobia is defined as Islamophobic prejudice that targets a victim in order to provoke, cause hostility and promote intolerance through means of harassment, stalking abuse, incitement, threatening behaviour, bullying and intimidation of person or persons via all platforms of social media (Zempi and Awan 2016, p.6).*

The first Islamophobia in Australia report analysed 243 verified incidents that occurred from September 2014 to December 2015 (15 months); the present report analyses 349 verified incidents that occurred from January 2016 to December 2017 (24 months).

ISLAMOPHOBIA REGISTER AUSTRALIA

The Register is a non-profit organisation established by Mariam Veiszadeh in late 2014 to provide the public with a platform to report Islamophobia experiences

All data is generated from voluntarily reported Islamophobic incidents submitted confidentially through the Register's Facebook page and/or website. Thus, the project is reporter-driven rather than a researcher-designed data collection. The global problem of under-reporting Islamophobic hate crimes and incidents is well-established (Iner et al. 2017; Atta et al. 2018; Perry and Poynting 2006; Larsson and Stjernhol 2016; Alimahomed-Wilson 2017). The Register's case workers' experience also confirms this. The victim reporters mentioned multiple unreported experiences when approached by the Register's case workers for verification purposes. Hence, we present only the tip of the iceberg in this report.

Impact of the First Report

The analysis of reported incidents offers a window into the manifestation of Islamophobia in Australia. While they cannot be statistically representative, they are strongly indicative of a pattern and scope of Islamophobia incidents that extends across Australia. It is essential to gain deeper understanding of the features and effects of Islamophobia through analysis of the real life experiences of targets, proxies and bystanders.

The first Islamophobia report was the first of its kind and helped bridge a unique gap in terms of research in this under-resourced area. The report was covered by mass media on a national and international scale and announced on international platforms such as the Bridge Initiative of Georgetown University. The state and federal parliaments mentioned the first report, while community leaders from diverse faiths expressed their concerns about the report findings and reached out to their communities to raise awareness (Pearson 2017; Father Riley 2017). The impact of the first report is detailed in Appendix II. The impact is still evident as the report findings are quoted whenever Islamophobia in the Australian context is addressed.

Method

The current report, analysing the 2016-17 incidents, largely follows the previous report with some additions in methodology. Although the cases reported in this analysis may not represent incidents occurring across Australia in general, they remain a critical and valuable source for understanding manifestations of Islamophobia in the Australian context. Quantitative data analysis tool SPPS is used for descriptive analysis and cross-tabulation. Data mining explored associations between

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different variables using a decision forest algorithm to further explore specific relationships such as the type of emotional and/or physical responses victims disclosed in relation to the insult types. This analysis provided some patterns and enabled predictability and complemented SPPS findings. This kind of data mining is used here for the first time anywhere in the world as a tool for analysing Islamophobia. (See Appendix I for details of the data mining method.) SPPS analysis is indicated in the text with percentages (%) while data mining is indicated by including the exact numbers in parenthesis.

Examples to usage of SPPS and data mining together:

> While analysing the content of insults based on uttered words at the time of harassment, SPSS findings disclosed the sexist nature of the foul language, which was mostly directed at women. Meanwhile, data mining methods identified an interesting pattern with the usage of foul language: no religious insult or mention of religion was present when foul language is used. The simultaneous lack of mention of religion and use of foul language as a repetitive pattern leads to predictions on the nature of the hate rhetoric.

⚠️

Incidents reported to the Register have been diligently reviewed and 202 out of 551 cases were discarded due to fake reporting by Islamophobes or lack of verification and/or sufficient evidence for Islamophobia

Comparisons between offline (i.e. physical world) and online incidents as well as the previous and current report are made proportionally using percentages. Numbers are also given when needed to contextualise proportions.

Incidents reported to the Register have been diligently reviewed and 202 out of 551 cases were discarded due to fake reporting by Islamophobes or lack of verification and/or sufficient evidence for Islamophobia. Verification of incident processes are explained in Appendix I.

The analysis of the Register data consists of three chapters. The first focuses on real life incidents occurring in physical locations and are called offline incidents. The next focuses on online cases which occur in cyberspace. Both chapters include comparisons with the previous report where possible. The last chapter provides a comparison between offline and online incidents to explore their unique and similar characteristics.

CHAPTER 2:

Offline (Physical) Cases
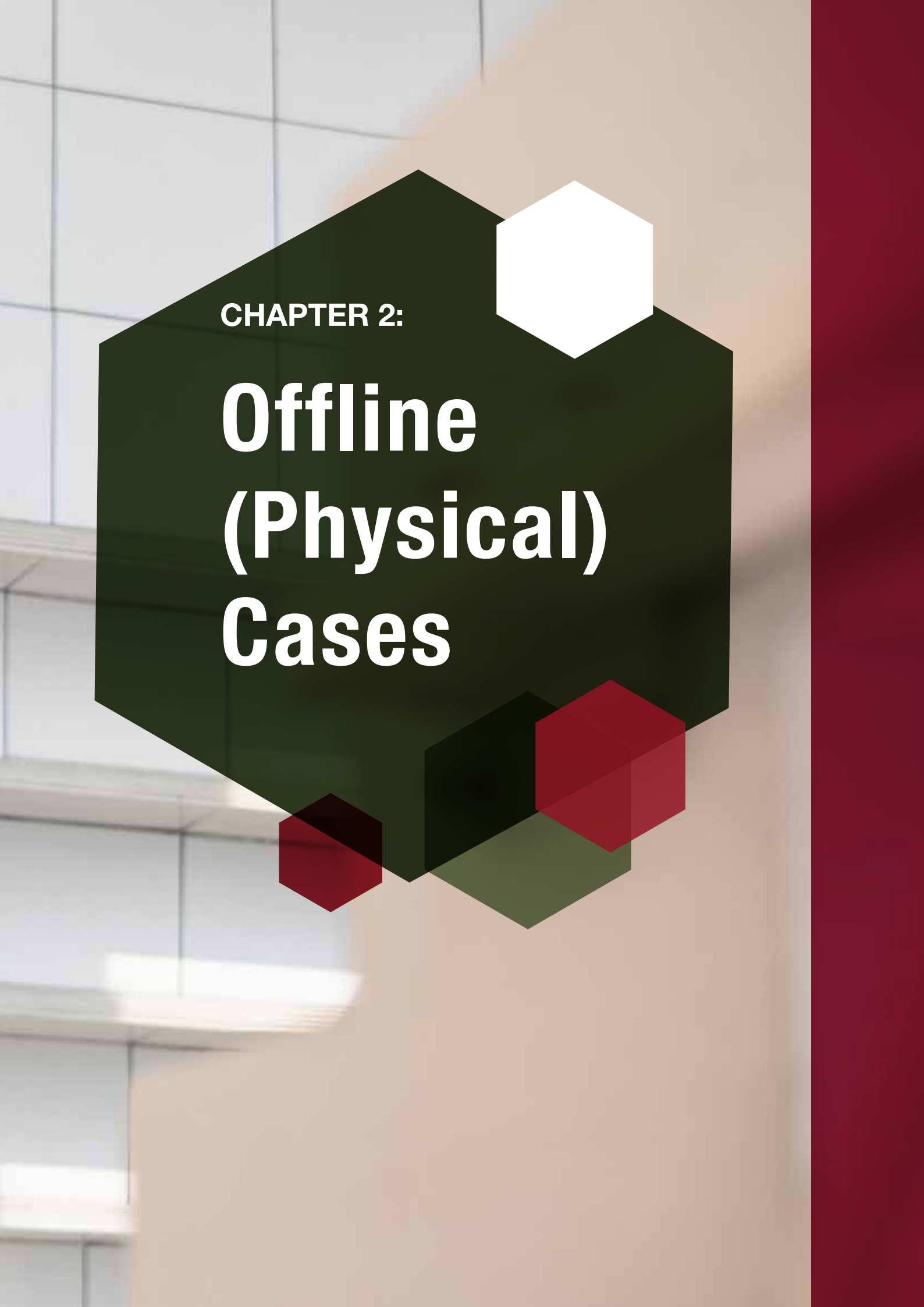
Demographics

1.1. Reporters: Victims, Proxies and Witnesses

Of the 202 offline cases, 54% were reported by victims, 41% by witnesses and 5% by proxies; that is, someone reporting the incident on behalf of the victim. Most of the interpersonal insults were reported by victims (71%, n=103/145). Witnesses were more likely to report incidents, including physical harassment (48%, n=13/27) compared to verbal insults (35%, n=47/133), which are less visible to passers-by.

When compared to the offline cases in the previous report (n=132), incidents reported by victims increased from 35% to 54% of all cases, while those reported by proxies dropped from 19% to 5%. Proxies in the present report were mostly parents of school children and, in a few cases, the children of elderly (and probably non-English speaking) targets. The proportion of witness reporters remained similar in both reports.The proportions in offline reporters' gender were similar to the previous report.

When compared to the offline cases in the previous report (n=132), incidents reported by victims increased from 35% to 54% of all cases, while those reported by proxies dropped from 19% to 5%

Incident Reporters (%)
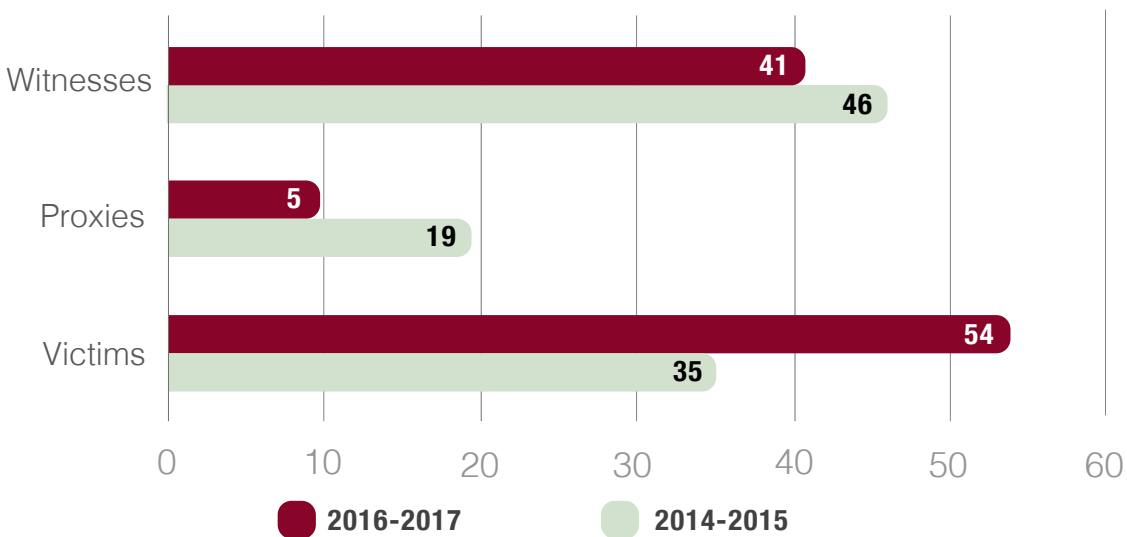
Legend: ● 2016-2017   ● 2014-2015

Witnesses: 41 (2016-2017), 46 (2014-2015)
Proxies: 5 (2016-2017), 19 (2014-2015)
Victims: 54 (2016-2017), 35 (2014-2015)

Reports by non-Muslim reporters were significant in terms of acknowledging that Islamophobia was not a problem to be borne by Muslims' alone, but a whole of Australia problem and all citizens share the responsibility to deal with this social ill

1.1.1. Religion of Reporters: Muslim or Non-Muslim

Of the 202 offline cases, approximately 15% of the reporters were identified as non-Muslims. For example, after stating she is "*not a Muslim,*" one reporter described an "*awful journey*" with an Islamophobic taxi driver.

> *I am not a Muslim so I am not sure this is the right place to report this, but yesterday our cab driver subjected me and my fellow passenger to a bigoted tirade against Muslims for the entire journey, and then against us personally when we called him out for his disgusting behaviour … It was a truly awful journey, he just wouldn't stop talking/yelling even when we asked him to stop being awful. ... My friend and I were physically shaking when we got out of the cab.* (Case 170-17)[5]

The passengers reported the driver to his employer, but the reporter informed the Register "*… I am yet to hear back from them about the incident.*"

In another case, a non-Muslim teacher received a death threat at a campsite for caring about her Muslim hijabi students.

> *… A man came up to me (I am Aussie) and yelled a death threat in my face because I was friendly with my [hijabi] students, saying this was a Christian country and they were not welcome here. I quietly gathered the students and moved away from the area without saying anything back.* (Case 224-16)

The teacher reported this incident to the campsite management and police.

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[5]The original wording provided by the reporter is used unless the meaning was unclear; minor spelling errors have been corrected.

Reports by non-Muslim reporters were significant in terms of acknowledging that Islamophobia was not a problem to be borne by Muslims' alone, but a whole of Australia problem and all citizens share the responsibility to deal with this social ill.

1.2. Perpetrators and Victims

1.2.1. Gender of the Victim and Perpetrator

Where gender was applicable and known for victims (n=157), most victims were females (72%) whereas of the known 143 perpetrators, most perpetrators were males (73%).

Offline victims were predominantly women (72%) as per in the previous report (68%). In contrast, 73% of perpetrators were male in consistent with the previous report (74% male).

Female perpetrators mostly targeted females alone (62%, n=23/37). However female perpetrators' harassment of male-female mixed groups (3%, 1/37) and harassment of only males was rare (11%, n=4/37).

1.2.2. Age of Victim and Perpetrator

The age and ethnicity of the victims and perpetrators were unknown unless they were explicitly stated by the reporter. According to the available data, victims' ages were concentrated on the young and those in mid-adulthood (aged 20-39), whereas perpetrators' ages were concentrated on late adulthood (aged 40-49w). Where there was more than one victim or perpetrator, the age range varied widely.

Where gender was applicable and known for victims (n=157), most victims were females (72%) Whereas of the known 143 perpetrators, most perpetrators were males (73%)

Age of Victim and Perpetrator (%)
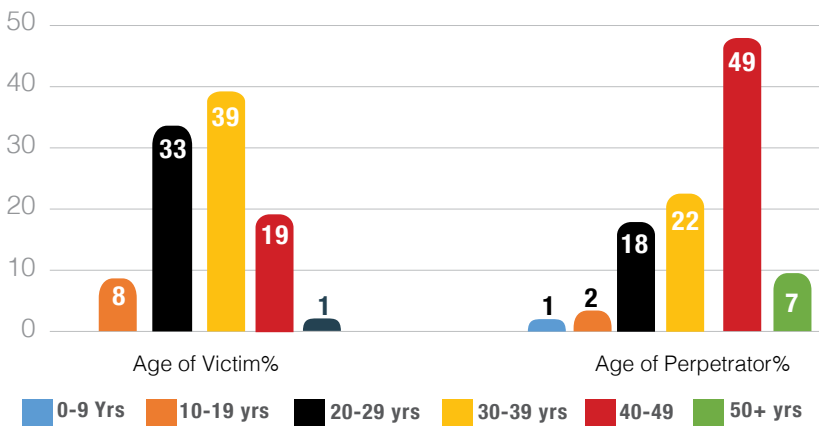
Legend: 0-9 Yrs | 10-19 yrs | 20-29 yrs | 30-39 yrs | 40-49 | 50+ yrs

Some cases in the data illustrated teenage children were ashamed of their parents' abuse of Muslim individuals.

When a mother in her 50s attacked a Muslim woman in a shopping centre, the perpetrator's teenage daughter interfered and told her mother to "*Stop it!*" The incident was reported by the non-Muslim mother of the harassed hijabi woman, who apparently converted to Islam and wore a hijab later in life:

> *As we walked down the ramp behind us were two older women and a female teen. Ignorantly the younger of the older women (30s/40s a washed out and faded purple colour in her mid-length hair) started with "Go back to your own country where you come from" then continued with "Aussie , Aussie , Aussie - Oi Oi Oi" … Tricky if you are born and bred here and later reverted. The purple haired woman wasn't worthy of a conversation to remedy her flawed assumptions … Saying nothing. **Only the teen girl with these older women demonstrated any decency - she said "stop it mum" – I think it was embarrassment but I appreciated her attempt to modify her mother's toxic behaviours.*** (Case 193-16)

In another shopping centre case, the perpetrator was with his son. The son, disapproving of the father's harassment, was apologetic and tried to stop his father. According to the reporter, "*The son was a non-racist apologetic person who did try and tell his dad to stop but his father didn't listen.*" The father went further and threatened the target by saying "*I should put a bullet in your head*" (Case 221-16).

In one case, a mother cautioned her teenage son about the presence of terrorists and harassed a Muslim woman wearing a hijab at a Big W store. The son seemingly did not respond to the mother's abusive comment and kept silent (Case 103-17).

Some cases in the data illustrated teenage children were ashamed of their parents' abuse of Muslim individuals

1.2.3. Ethnicity of the Victim and Perpetrator

Reporting ethnicity was not recorded in most cases and of the known cases (n=47), 79% of the perpetrators were perceived to be Anglo-Celtic. The perceived Anglo-Celtic ethnicity of the perpetrator dropped 21% when compared to the previous report. Further identification of ethnicity is required to draw any reliable conclusions.

Most of the time, the victim's ethnicity was not indicated and, even where stated, the wide variation in ethnicity made it hard to quantify.

1.2.4.   Social Relationship between the Victim and Perpetrator

Of the 202 cases, only in 2% of the reports the perpetrator and victim have a work relationship and in another 5% of the cases, a social relationship existed between the perpetrator and victim.

1.3. Vulnerable Victims

Vulnerability seemed to be a selection factor for perpetrators, as they tended to prey on victims who appeared helpless or fragile. Children under the age of 18, women with children, pregnant women and elderly individuals were examples of vulnerable targets.

Of the 202 cases, 33% were unaccompanied women. Of the 113 female victims, 96% were wearing Islamic headwear (hijab) while 57% were unaccompanied at the time of the incident

0f the 202 cases, 14% of the incidents involved children. Targeted children were either with mothers (11%), with both parents (1%) or alone (2%).

The appearance of a male figure next to the female changed the perpetrator's attitude towards the target in some situations. In one case, a Muslim woman was harassed by a male perpetrator when she was alone at an airport. When the victim's husband found the perpetrator and confronted him, the perpetrator was speechless (Case 36-17). In another case, although the perpetrator threatened to "drive" their car over the female target, he was "*taken back*" seeing the target's husband, who approached and confronted him: "*I thought he was actually going to run me over, so I froze in shock … He thought I was on my own, so thought I was an easy target; however, when he saw my husband, he was taken aback*" (Case 152-17).

Two-thirds of the perpetrators targeting vulnerable victims were males, whereas one-third were female.

Of the 113 female victims, 96% were wearing Islamic headwear (hijab) while 57% were unaccompanied at the time of the incident

The appearance of a male figure next to the female changed the perpetrator's attitude towards the target in some situations

Two-thirds of the perpetrators targeting vulnerable victims were males, whereas one-third were female

Vulnerable victims were likely to experience and express more impact and incidents involving children as targets or targets' relatives were more impactful

The incidents faced by vulnerable victims were mostly reported to the Register by victims (75%, n=27/36) rather than proxies or witnesses. Also, most of the incidents targeting vulnerable individuals took place in public places like shops (33%, n=12/36), streets (17%, n=6/36) and public transport (14%, n=5/36); the publicness of these attacks did not appear to have been a disincentive.

Vulnerable victims were likely to experience and express more impact and incidents involving children as targets or targets' relatives were more impactful. 88% (n=29/33) of vulnerable victims expressed negative emotions and 85% of these cases (n=28/33) involved children. The most common feeling was being worried (58%, n=19/33). Some 30% (n=10/33) cases, all of which involved children, mentioned long-term consequences at the time of reporting.

Multiple vulnerabilities increased the target's fear level. For instance, a female child, unaccompanied by her parents, alone and harassed by a male perpetrator, felt "*terrorised*":

> *Today I was at Palm Beach and my parents parked the car in the car park, so I started to pray next to where my parents parked the car, when a stranger approached me while I was praying and said "Get your own country" as well as other things which I cannot remember but a lady there said something to him and he replied back to her "I don't care". I felt terrorised, harassed and scared by this man just because of my faith.* (Case 145-16)

Case Study: Anti-Muslim Abuse of Children in the School Environment

Anti-Muslim racism often appeared at schools as bullying of Muslim children based on their religion.

Most of the cases falling under the "*children targeted, unaccompanied*" category occurred at school or in school surroundings.Sometimes the perpetrator was not another student, but an adult working with children, such as a teacher, principal or sports coach.

1.3.1. Normalisation of Anti-Muslim Bullying at School

Some reporters highlighted the frequency of anti-Muslim harassment at school, which pointed to normalising of Islamophobic culture at school and acceptance of that culture by the administration.

> *I have been bullied physically and mentally since the start of year 7 and was brutally attacked during class and called f... Muslim terrorist, landing me in hospital and the perpetrator arrested and released shortly after under the Young Offenders Act. Many complaints were made to the school principal but not much was done about it.* (Case 92-17)

A target's first reaction to Islamophobic harassment as an adult was denial, which she felt related to her high school years, when she was frequently abused by her school peers:

> *I have worn the hijab since I was in high school where I was 13 years old. It has always been like that as in high school you*

Sometimes the perpetrator was not another student, but an adult working with children, such as a teacher, principal or sports coach

always get called names and shouted at, you kinda just get desensitised to it as you try to ignore it and sometimes you even deny it (like it didn't happen). You try to surpass and believe that it didn't happen and that was my initial reaction when this incident happened. I tried to deny that it even happened and it took me a couple of hours after talking to friends, I realised that he violated my USB and put content on it that is Islamophobic. (Follow up talk with the victim of Case 212-16)

Covering up peer bullying based on one's religion leads to internalisation of anti-Muslim hate

Supressing Islamophobic experiences was a coping mechanism for some victims. The victim explained denial as a coping mechanism, since she was left without any guidance, tools or support about how to deal with anti-Muslim bullying at school.

I think you don't get taught about how to deal with it from a young age so I think that was my nature. Whenever I got teased or swore at, no one really showed me how to deal with it whether to speak back or fight back whatever so I kinda just ignored it. I think it was just my coping mechanism. (Follow up talk with the victim of Case 212-16)

Covering up peer bullying based on one's religion leads to internalisation of anti-Muslim hate.

1.3.2. Adult Perpetrators

Muslim children were sometimes targeted by teachers. Anti-Muslim bias from the school administration was an obstacle to acknowledging, documenting and addressing Islamophobic bullying at schools. A teenager complained about being bullied by the head teacher:

I was called an illegal immigrant by the head of the senior school of the school that I attend. After telling my parents and the school the perpetrator was not punished and still claimed he was not racist or Islamophobic. (Case 144-16)

Despite not directly abusing Muslim children, biased teachers did not take such complaints into consideration, thereby helping spread the bullying of Muslim children at schools.

> *Just wanting some advice on what to do! My 12 year old daughter is being harassed at high school for being a Muslim … She is not a Muslim, but her father is … I've told the school coordinator but she wasn't concerned!* (Case 105-16)

Supressing Islamophobic experiences was a coping mechanism for some victims

The victim recalled her high school years' experience of being bullied, "*mainly by boys*" at her school, by the other students on her way home from school and even by adults "*calling out names randomly from their cars*" (Follow up talk with the victim of Case 212-16). Islamophobic insults of Muslim children by adults was also observed on the soccer ground:

> *The X team manager approached the player and said that A….. were playing rough. The referee responded that it was a 50/50 tackle and that there was not anything wrong with the play. She then pointed at the A….. number three player again and said loudly enough for all the players on the field to hear – "F…ing Muslims" and walked off. It was after this disgraceful, vilifying and racist comment was made that the referee instantly called off the game. This unprovoked and unacceptable remark should not have been said, let alone heard by 9 year olds, leaving players from both sides shocked, worried and confused.* (Case 134-17)

In a few cases, the parents or Muslim teachers were targeted by other parents in the school environment. One teacher was asked to take off her headscarf by a few parents: "*At parent teacher interviews a parent told me to take off my scarf and other similar rhetorics for five minutes or so*" (Case 147-17).

In another case, during student pick-up, one male parent commented offensively on another parent's face veil:

> *… My daughter's best friend's father, not knowing I'm Muslim,*
>
> *loudly proclaimed that she [the niqabi parent] shouldn't dress*
>
> *like that because it "scares people." He was shocked when I*
>
> *turned to him, identified myself as a Muslim, and told him that*
>
> *he doesn't have the right to tell women what they can and can't*
>
> *wear. I then burst into tears and walked away.* (Case 225-16)

Apparently, social pressure was in force not only for Muslim children, but was also in evidence for Muslim parents.

The reporter of the above case stated she hid her Muslim identity and took off her hijab when picking up her child from school to protect her daughter from anti-Muslim harassment.

1.3.3. Terrorism/Terrorist Assaults Directed at Muslim Children at School

Normalisation of anti-Muslim hate among adults in public, political and media discourse and the blurred lines between ordinary Muslims and terrorists was evident in bullying narratives at schools. One Muslim student's name was scribbled on toilet doors as being a terrorist:

> *My daughter found graffiti about her in the girls' toilets at*
>
> *school … again ... calling her a sl..ty terrorist another added*
>
> *to it saying I agree she blows things up. Her friends scribbled*
>
> *over it and wrote "if u knew her u wouldn't say that about*
>
> *her." The school said they will paint over it again but can't do*
>
> *anything as its unknown who did it. We can't cause a fuss*
>
> *as it's a small country town and we don't need backlash.*
>
> *We're in G…, she is 14 and does wear hijab.* (Case 71-16)

Normalisation of anti-Muslim hate among adults in public, political and media discourse and the blurred lines between ordinary Muslims and terrorists was evident in bullying narratives at schools

A Muslim female student was associated with ISIL by a boy in her biology class (Case 111-17) and another Muslim female student was targeted by a group of senior schoolboys, linking ISIL beheadings to being Muslim and offending Muslim girls on the bus:

> *A group of boys (seniors) in school uniform started harassing her by throwing a plastic snake at her whilst loudly yelling "Allah Akbar". They then cut the head of the snake off and threw it at an elderly woman on the bus.* (Case 137-17)

Committing violent acts to offend a lone Muslim girl by associating her religion with violence was ironic. Another point was the lack of social pressure on youth while targeting Muslims. Some youth were found to publicly yell death threats at Muslims while still in their school uniforms. Students from a prestigious Sydney high school loudly commented on "*kill[ing] Muslims in Ramadan when they are at their weakest*" (Case 100-16)*.*

When the case was reported to the school by the reporter, the school did not respond, after which the reporter publicised the case in an online article and faced a smear campaign by the school community. The reporter became a target, receiving abusive phone calls, social media posts and emails, including abundant racist comments and hidden threats like losing his job.

> *I said [i.e. emailed to the Principal], "You've got a cultural problem at your school. Send the memo out, do something, just at the very least tell them to stop because it's not looking good." … He didn't get back to me, but everything stopped. In that email, I think I wrote, "Look, I want all this to stop. If it doesn't stop, this is harassment and this is actually illegal*

Some youth were found to publicly yell death threats at Muslims while still in their school uniforms

using a service to threaten, menace and harass" and I pointed

out the law … I had to go to my media union and get advice.

I said, "Look, these people are doing pranks on me. It's one of

the highest fee-taking schools in all of Australia. This shouldn't

be on." (Follow up talk with the reporter of Case 100-16)

Double standards go unchallenged. Denial of the case reportedly appeared in another form by interpreting it as "*just a joke*" by "*just kids.*" The reporter stated the story's reception would have changed dramatically if it had been Muslim children talking about killing Christians at Christmas:

Double standards
go unchallenged

Well, you'd report on it if a group of 16-year-old Lebanese

kids in Adidas on the train said this about your school and

they're going to kill all white people during Christmas because

you're fat and drunk or something … You'd be scared.

You'd run right to the police. Your parents heard that on a

train, like a group of four or six Lebanese kids, Turkish kids

and look stereotypically scary, if your parents heard that,

you heard that, you're telling me you're not going to be

scared? (Follow up talk with the reporter of Case 100-16)

While some children were called terrorists for being ordinary Muslims, children who publicly expressed extreme hatred for Muslims were excused as jokers and strongly backed by their community as students from a decent private school.

This harassment and violence while attacking Muslims as terrorists in schools was ironic. On one hand, Muslim children were called terrorists based on their religion, while on the other hand they were harassed and terrorised with extreme hatred for being Muslim. For instance, to offend Muslims, a pig's head was thrown at the front of an Islamic school in Brisbane (Case 66-17). In another case, a car was loaded with a petrol bomb and left in front of an Islamic school (Case 53-16). The following images were sent to the Register by a scared parent.

This is my children's school and now I don't

know if I should send them to school tomorrow.

I wouldn't be surprised if the mainstream

media does not cover this. Very sad

times we are living in. (Case 53-16)

(Case 53-16)

(Case 53-16)

Another parent was concerned about the physical harassment of her daughter due to being Muslim:

My husband is worried what will happen

next as she was attacked by a 14 year old

girl yesterday (deep fingernail marks on

daughter's lower arm). (Case 105-16)

Anti-Muslim bullying at schools was brought to the Register's attention. There appeared to be a lack of proper investigation of cases of Islamophobia in schools or significant tangible sanctions. Some biased teachers, principals and school environments fed the anti-Muslim bullying culture.

The popular public narrative equating ordinary Muslims with terrorist criminals prejudices not only adults, but also children's perceptions of Muslims as (potential) terrorists.

1.3.4. Children Exposed to Islamophobia While Accompanied by Their Parents

Muslim children were exposed to Islamophobia at a pre-school age as well, especially while with their mothers.

1.3.4.1. Pre-school children's awareness of harassment

Pre-school children were able to identify and ask about the harassment directed at them and their parents. For instance, a three-year old informed her mother that the perpetrator aggressively video-recorded her as well as her mother:

> *I was walking to put the trolley back at the shopping centre when a car came speeding towards me, then started beeping at me. I thought he was actually going to run me over, so I froze in shock … He then said to my husband "she shouldn't be walking in the middle of the road ... you people come here and blow us up" and then I tried to take a photo of him … he took his camera out and started a video, flashing it in my face (my 3 year old said he filmed her too but I am not sure if he did).* (Case 152-17)

This was significant as it showed young children's awareness of their surroundings. Some children were very cognisant of the hostility, as evidenced by their questions to their mothers. For instance, upon seeing a political placard (see below) 8 and 11 year old children started asking lots of questions of their mothers, such as "*Why does everyone hate us?*" (Case 50-16).

In another case, a Muslim mother with three sons (7, 4 and 2 years old) was first stared at, later approached and told that her Islamic clothing was offending the perpetrator. The target's children realised the situation was abnormal because of their mother's and the surrounding people's responses.

Muslim children were exposed to Islamophobia at a pre-school age as well, especially while with their mothers

The presence of children was not a deterrent for many perpetrators

I was really upset and crying and my kids were in shock (my 4 yr old is autistic and keeps asking why the lady was talking to me and why we came home with no food) … We moved to the centre management because we were gathering quite the crowd, which felt uncomfortable and my kids were getting upset... (Case 226-16)

The odd and unexpected hatred was questioned by two young children (3 and 5 years old). They were scared and asked their mother why the old man was screaming at her:

I was standing with my two small children outside Bakers Delight waiting for my cousin so we could get a coffee. An elderly Anglo male was walking towards me and screaming at me "take that bloody disguise off and become an Australian because quite frankly we are sick of it." I have been abused before and I just laugh because they are obviously uneducated bigots but then my kids were freaking out and asking me why that man was yelling at me and what was he saying about Australia. (Case 201-16)

The presence of children was not a deterrent for many perpetrators. In one case, when censured for his harassment in front of a child, the perpetrator stated the baby would not understand it (Case 91-17).

1.3.4.2. Mothers' resistant and firm response in the presence of their children

Sometimes the mothers who were harassed in front of their family resisted the perpetrator. For instance, although harassment was not new to one victim, seeing her daughter's anxiety, she decided to give her children a lesson about how to defend oneself.

> *… [I] Ignored him. And he just kept walking. But when my daughter reacted to it and she had real panic in her face. Mum, what did that man say? What's happening to Australia? So she got quite frightened that something's happening to Australia. So she was quite worried. This is the country that she's born in. What's happening to Australia, mum? What's happening to Australia? What's going on?*
> *And my daughter has anxiety issues and at that time she was really struggling at fitting in at school and just a little bit of bullying and things like that and then I looked at her and I'm thinking I'm teaching to defend herself. I have to say something to this guy so she can see that I'm standing up for myself … I was in a bit of a panic then when I saw my daughter was getting quite upset.*

The target called her cousin to accompany her children while she dealt with the perpetrator. Her intention was not to turn it into a "*big scene*," but to ask why he disclosed his hatred in front of children:

> *I just want to ask him why he felt the need to say that to me while I'm standing with two children.*

Although it happened two years ago, the incident was still alive and strongly affecting the victim, who explained the details with tears in her eyes. In a follow up conversation, the target also reported the memory after two years is still alive in her children's minds:

> *My daughter remembers every detail. My son, because he hears my daughter talking about it, so it's still in his memory and he'll say what was that man saying? Remember when the man told you off for being Muslim? That's what my daughter tells me.* (Follow up talk with the reporter of Case 201-16)

Although it happened two years ago, the incident was still alive and strongly affecting the victim, who explained the details with tears in her eyes

Mothers sometimes confronted perpetrators for the benefit of their children. Another mother was called "*an idiot*" at her local Woolworths grocery in front of her child and told to "*get out of this country*." Although the target was "*shocked*," she confronted the perpetrator in the presence of a child:

> *… I stood my ground. I told her I was born in Australia, she responded with "I wish you weren't and you wouldn't be here if it was up to me." I am never one to retaliate, but I thought to myself if I don't do something every other Muslim woman in niqab will face this too. I spoke in a louder and firmer voice saying "How dare you come up to me and abuse me in front of my child." I told her that I feel sorry for people like her and her kids and that it's because of parents like her hatred is spread. At this time, a Muslim male and Muslim female came rushing to me. I was in tears and was very shaken. They stood up for me and I demanded to see a manager.* (Case 121-17)

Another woman contacted the police in the presence of her daughter although she had ignored similar previous incidents when she was alone.

> *I'm 8.5 months pregnant and had my 7 year old daughter with me – which is what prompted my contacting the police. This has happened quite a few times over the last few years and this is the first time I've contacted the authorities.* (Case 159-16)

Mothers sometimes confronted perpetrators for the benefit of their children

1.3.4.3. Mothers ignoring harassment in the presence of their children

In contrast, some parents chose not to make the situation a big deal in front of their children to avoid making deep imprints in the children's psyche. For instance, a mother quickly left the location of an Islamophobic offence to prevent her daughter from witnessing anti-Muslim hate, which she found difficult to explain to a child:

> *A white old male saying, "why don't you Muslims f...g go back to your own countries" at 9:32am at Auburn Station today to me and my 6 year old daughter. I had to leave the spot instantly as I did not want my young child to experience such an incident. It was not that I did not have anything in response to say to him but it was the point that no one has the right to insult or humiliate someone on the basis of who they are and how they look like. It's not the first time I have experienced this hateful attitude towards us, with my scarf on my head I have frequently witnessed hateful comments but this time with my daughter by my side I was totally dismayed.* **How do I explain to a little child the harshest realities of religious and cultural discrimination Muslims are facing throughout the world?** (Case 187-16)

Likewise, the victim, as a lawyer and Australian revert Muslim, intended to be a good role model by keeping her manners and responding to the harassment politely in front of her two young children.

> *My two sons, aged 15 months and 4 years, and I (currently visibly pregnant) were waiting for the lift on the platform at the station. An older, well dressed gentleman with a suitcase came and joined us and he appeared agitated by the length of time the lift was taking. He began muttering about how I was too stupid to press the button and started pressing it repeatedly. When the lift came,*

some parents chose not to make the situation a big deal in front of their children to avoid making deep imprints in the children's psyche

he pushed ahead of me and began complaining to two ladies, already inside, about how slow it was. He then looked directly at me (even though there was also another woman in the lift with a pram) and said "they shouldn't even let these prams in here. They take up far too much space!" I frowned at him (the sole purpose of the lifts is for people with prams and wheelchairs!). He then added "and they should have a separate lift for these creatures with scarves on their heads." Since my children were with me, I gestured at them and said something along the lines of "that's really not very polite." As we exited the lift, he screamed at me "get out of here! We don't want your kind here!" (Case 187-16)

When the perpetrator said "*these creatures*" with hijab should have their own lifts, the victim laughed, finding this segregation idea "*an outrageous throwback.*" When the perpetrator swore, the victim was "*riled up*" by his foul language in front of her children.

Knowing that her elder son was quite aware of everything, the victim decided not to call the police or ask the attendants' help at the train station, but tried to disregard the situation:

Everybody was just looking. My response was maybe I should go out and report it, but my eldest son, as I said, is a very clever boy and very aware. Some children wouldn't even really be conscious … but my eldest son, he's very, very conscious of what's going on, he's very emotional, and he's also very aware of the context of things, he understands things in a way that some children wouldn't, in a very adult way, so he

> Some mothers wanted to be a good role model by keeping their manners and responding to the harassment politely in front of their children

*knew exactly what was going on and he was very upset by it.
That upset me, because he's clever enough to know what are bad
words and be conscious of that, he was clever enough to know
that this man was screaming at me, not just screaming generally,
and clever enough or emotionally mature enough to feel quite
threatened by it. So, that really upset me I think the most. Then I
thought maybe I'll go and report it, but I just wanted to get them
out of there.* (Follow up talk with the victim of Case 187-16)

Many targets were significantly disturbed by the harassment when it occurred in front of their children

Like the victim of Case 187-16, many other targets were significantly disturbed by harassment when it occurred in front of their children. A mother travelling with a school choir from Melbourne to Adelaide for a performance was shocked to see a man with a fake gun pretending to shoot at the bus filled with school children as it passed by:

*Our bus had several covered women in hijabs, one of them
being myself. We stopped at a traffic light just opposite the
Nutella Palooza and there was a pub/hotel at those traffic lights.
One of the patrons (male) was sitting looking out onto the road.
He began spraying our bus with his imaginary machine gun.
Probably drunk out of his brains but unsettling at the same
time we had 12 kids on the bus with us, two young covered
girls amongst them. Not a pleasant experience … The man
was middle aged and wearing a white t-shirt as he was inside
at a bar table looking out so we saw him through the glass
window there were two others sitting with him he got up and
made the gesture of machine gunning our bus.* (Case 90-16)

The impact of the incident on the victim two years later was still evident. While addressing her concerns for her daughters in an Islamophobic climate, the victim's sobbing stopped the conversation (Follow up talk

with the victim of Case 90-16). Publicly shooting the target with an imaginary/fake gun was recorded in two other cases in different suburbs of Sydney (Case 37-16 and 185-16).

Publicly scaring or threatening Muslim children and their parents appeared in other forms as well. In one case, a hijabi mother was physically hit by a car while the teenage daughter was verbally abused:

> *Hijabi mother and daughter were crossing the road when a man accelerated and hit the mother, who pushed her daughter out of harm's way. He then reversed and accelerated into her again, and she rolled on the car and fell onto the floor. He then got out and began swearing and hurling racist slurs and threatening the 17 year old girl, who was in shock.* (Case 143-17)

In one case, the perpetrator recklessly stated death threats at young children in front of their father on public transport:

> *That guy asked us whether we are Muslims as he saw my wife was wearing hijab (my wife is an Aussie converted to Islam while we were in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia). He not only abused us, but also went into my little children's (aged 10, 8, 7 and 5) face and said he love to kill them all. My kids got scared and started crying. I cannot forget that journey for my entire life as I was sitting helplessly and watching him abuse myself, my wife and children.* (Case 150-16)

Publicly shooting the target with an imaginary/fake gun was recorded in two other cases in different suburbs of Sydney (Case 37-16 and 185-16)

Watching the harassment of his children "*helplessly*" left a lifelong impact on the father, who is expected to be the family guardian in most cultures.

The impact on the children was not known since the incident was reported to the Register by an adult. This gap needs to be filled with another study exploring how children are affected by Islamophobia.

Perpetrators' perception of Muslim children should similarly be the subject of further research since most cases involving children showed perpetrators were not reluctant to attack targets including or accompanied by children. The presence of Muslim children in some cases intensified the perpetrators' aversion.

Unlike ordinary mothers with children in prams, who generally receive assistance while travelling or shopping, Muslim mothers with children in prams were seen as a threat and source of discomfort. One woman with a pram was assumed to be a terrorist bomber by a saleswoman at a store (Case 164-16); carrying her 5 month-old son did not help a Muslim mother from being called a terrorist (Case 102-17); an unaccompanied woman with her baby in a pram could not escape from being tripped up in addition to being racially abused (Case 31-17); and a woman walking with a pram was scared by a passer-by making a shooting gesture with his hand (Case 203-16). If not frightening, comments were insulting, such as addressing the baby in the pram as a dog (Case 207-16) and calling the mother of a Muslim child "*a fat cow*" after a playground dispute between the Muslim mother's and her own child (Case 75-16).

The level of hatred did not diminish with the involvement of children and sometimes intensified it

Unlike ordinary mothers with children in prams, who generally receive assistance while travelling or shopping, Muslim mothers with children in prams were seen as a threat and source of discomfort

2. Incidents

2.1. Generic and Interpersonal Incidents

Interpersonal incidents were those directed by individual perpetrators to targets in person at a physical location. If a perpetrator shouted at a Muslim woman saying all Muslims are terrorists, it would be coded as an interpersonal incident since the target was harassed by the perpetrator in person. If the same statement was written on a sticker and displayed publicly, it was coded as a generic incident since it was directed to no one in particular.

Interpersonal incidents were those directed by individual perpetrators to targets in person at a physical location

However, if that sticker was put on the mailbox of a Muslim neighbour, it would become an interpersonal incident since the victim was individually targeted.

In this regard, of the 202 cases, 72% of offline incidents were interpersonal, while 28% of them were generic. The proportions of generic and interpersonal incidents did not change significantly since the previous report.

Comparison of Generic and Interpersonal (%)

Interpersonal   **72%**

28%   Generic

202 Cases
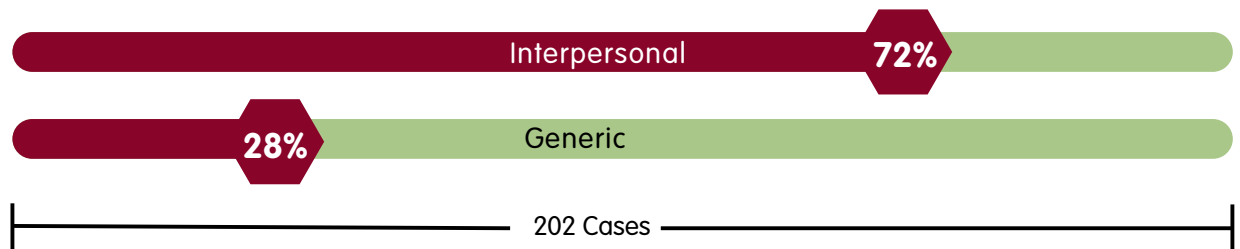
2.1.1. Graffiti

This was found on the bypass/intersection of Reservoir Road and McManus Street in Queensland. (Case 27-17)

Graffiti was found on a suburban Sydney train that states "*kill all sand niggers.*" (Case 109-16)

Graffiti found on a public bus. The graffiti reads "*Shoot all Muslim Cowards dog's poop all on M...*" (Case 73-16)

This graffiti found in a suburb in Queensland states "*Kill Muslims, Allah must be stopped ...*" (Case 23-17)

A man complained when people parked outside his house. The car was found spray painted with Islamophobic and xenophobic content. In fact, the car owner was a Christian Greek. (Case 4-16)

The prevalence and normalisation of anti-Muslim hatred in news media and dominant political discourse was seen reproduced in written materials (n=23)

2.1.2. Banners, Pamphlets and Graffiti

The prevalence and normalisation of anti-Muslim hatred in news media and dominant political discourse was seen reproduced in written materials (n=23), 70% of which was designed and spread through white supremacist groups such as Combat 18, United Patriots Front and Aussie Nationalists, anti-Islamist organisations like Q Society, and far-right political parties such as Australian Liberty Alliance and One Nation.
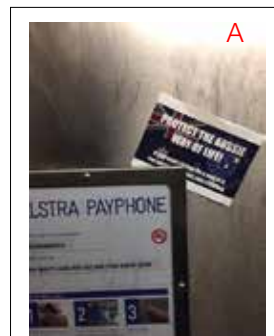
(A) Protect the Aussie way of life

(B) Stop the Islamic Invasion

(C) Nationalist against Islamic association: Ban Islam (Case 20-17)

Anti-Muslim stickers, especially by Combat 18, which is a neo-Nazi group, were widespread as they were reported to the Register by different reporters across multiple suburbs throughout 2016 and 2017. Below are a few examples.

(Case 3-16)

(Case 27-16)

(Case 28-16)

(Case 138-17)

"Newcastle area is getting attacked by Right Wing Resistance flyers and stickers, even the … TV channel has noticed!" (Case 20-17)

Contamination of public spaces with such stickers was resisted by some citizens, who are "*not Muslim but don't agree with the message and hate they are hoping to spread*" (Case 138-17). One reporter outlined how they observed members of the public voluntarily taking time to remove these stickers over the past year(Case 138-17), with another reporter describing one person "*walking up and down the street to remove 'stop halal' stickers*" (Case 151-16).

Australian Liberty Alliance's anti-Muslim posters did not remain regional as they were viewed and reported across different states across Australia.

Personal anecdotes within the reports disclosed Muslim reporters' disappointment at their children's sense of being unwanted in Australia upon encountering this type of material

Seen in Adelaide. (Case 47-16)

Seen in Brisbane by a mother with two young children. (Case 50-16)

Seen in central Queensland. (Case 107-16)

This bilingual sticker was seemingly posted by an Arabic speaking Islamophobe: It states *"Islam is a lie, the Prophet Muhammad is a C...l and the Qur'an is P...n." Next to that is the Australian map with the Australian flag photo stretched in it written Australian. Underneath it has the word Kaffir (disbeliever) written in Arabic. Then written in English using Arabic letters is states, "Go f..k yourself."* (Case 13-16)

In addition to organisations, some individuals also spread anti-Muslim sentiments via bumper stickers or placards.

Although being general and not seemingly targeting a specific individual, generic offline cases appearing as graffiti and written material displayed in public places were still harmful in undermining Muslims' sense of safety, fuelling hatred and violence against Muslims and normalising anti-Muslim racism.

Personal anecdotes within the reports disclosed Muslim reporters' disappointment at their children's sense of being unwanted in Australia upon encountering this type of material.

One mother was concerned that her daughter who found the pamphlet in the mailbox "*is internalising this rhetoric as matter of fact and normal.*" The mother's concern intensified thinking about her street, suburb and all the people who received the same pamphlet (Case 163-16). Non-Muslim citizens' discomfort was evident, as the public display of anti-Muslim hate mobilised them to remove stickers and report them to the Register and police.

2.2. Incident Types

Of the 202 offline cases, the majority consisted of hate speech (50%), while physical assault, graffiti and vandalism remained around 12%, almost similar to findings in the previous report. Overall, for male and female victims, verbal incidents were the most common type of offline incidents.

Incident Types (%)

Incident Type	%
Hate speech	50
Graffiti/vandalism	12
Physical assult	12
Written materials	11
Non-verbal intimidation	5
Verbal threats	3
Workplace discrimination	2
Discrimination by authorities	2
Other	1
Bullying school	2
Unknown	0.5
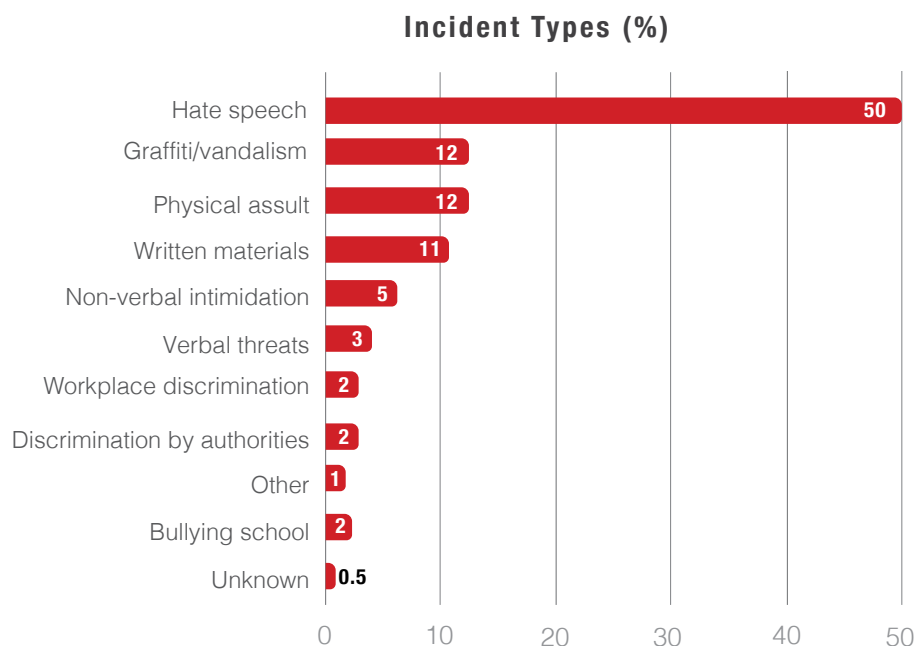
Gender Dynamics

Females were more likely to be victims of physical assaults (16% of 113 females in contrast to 6% of 33 males). Likewise, females experienced more verbal assaults and threats than males (64% of 113 females in comparison to 52% of 33 males).

Case Study:
Workplace Discrimination

The following discussion refers to incidents where the victim was harassed or discriminated against at a workplace or in a work setting. Workplace experiences of anti-Muslim racism seemed to be among the least reported racism categories since reporting an in-house matter to an outside body is deemed inappropriate by employers, involving risk factors such as receiving a warning or losing one's job. In addition, reporting workplace discrimination without any foreseeable end-result may not sufficiently motivate and mobilise people to report workplace discrimination. Accordingly, although verbally sharing their workplace experience, some victims declined to report them to the Register when asked by the Register's case workers. As a result, under-reporting of workplace discrimination was acknowledged. However, when offline cases were reviewed independently from strict workplace coding criteria, work-related discrimination can be categorised as:

1. **Employer discriminating against employee**

2. **Client discriminating against an employee**

3. **Employee discriminating against a client**

4. **Discrimination among colleagues within the workplace**

Although verbally sharing their workplace experience, some victims declined to report them to the Register when asked by the Register's case workers

Employer discriminating against employee

Although discrimination in a workplace requires thorough investigation, the Register can only assess if the reported incident contains Islamophobic elements. Therefore, some employment discrimination reports fell under perceived but not proven discrimination, especially if dispute evidence was unavailable or missing.

Knowing her potentially lower chance of employment, a Muslim female applicant went to the interview without her hijab and started wearing the hijab after securing her employment. The employer was not happy with the hijab, stating he would have not hired her if he had known that she wears a headscarf.

> *An employer said directly that he wouldn't have hired me had I been wearing a hijab in the picture I sent of myself in the application. I had decided to wear a hijab on the day because I felt like it and he asked me if I had to be wearing it. He insisted that I shouldn't have worn it because it's not how I applied for the job and then said he wouldn't have hired me if I "looked like that."* (Case 168-17)

Some workplace racism fell into a grey area in terms of prosecution unless indisputable evidence could be presented.

Some reported cases indicated it was noteworthy to investigate the accusation, especially if they were directed at officials such as the police (Case 90-17) and Australian Defence Force (Case 66-16).

Client discriminating against an employee

Among the reported cases, this type of discrimination was seen in service-providing jobs. Seeing a Muslim doctor, one patient complained "*how a Muslim got on the premises of this Christian organisation*" and added "*we don't want their sort here.*" She refused to see the Muslim doctor (Case 184-16).

A reporter from Newcastle (Case 141-16) provided some insights into the discrimination against doctors by local patients in her hometown, a small isolated town with a population of 40,000 in NSW.

Some workplace racism fell into a grey area in terms of prosecution unless indisputable evidence could be presented

> *My mum is a nurse at the same hospital. She used to work in surgical for a while and a lot of the surgeons and doctors and specialists wear scarves. She has herself heard old men say, "That's not touching me. That's not my doctor. Get me another doctor." Apparently they're getting used to it now because a lot of the GPs that are coming are foreign, Indians, but you do hear on the street, "We can't have any Aussie doctors any more but you can't say anything because of political correctness."*
> (Follow up talk with the reporter of Case 141-16*)*

"We can't have any Aussie doctors any more but you can't say anything because of political correctness." (Case 141-16)

Professionals like doctors are relatively lucky as they are in a "*superior*" position and most face no more reaction than a sense of discontent from their patients.

Another type of discrimination by customers appeared in the abuse of halal certifiers. Hate mail and calls including death threats directed at the certifiers became popular among anti-halal campaigners in 2014-15 in Australia. Dr Muhammad Khan, CEO of Halal Australia Pty Ltd, reported to the Register that he received abusive hate calls, emails and letters swearing at him, the prophet and the religion in general (Case 93-17).

Some of the hate letters received by Dr Khan in 2017. The perpetrators seemed to confuse Dr Khan with Mohamed El-Mouelhy, another Australian halal certifier like Dr Khan.

In the follow up talk with Dr Khan, he observed the frequency of abuse peaked in 2014 and 2015. However, he still receives hate emails and even death threats (Case 93-17).

In addition to professionals and business owners, clients were racist towards Muslims in blue collar jobs. In one report, a naval soldier expressed a sense of distrust when he found out his taxi driver was Muslim (Case 94-17).

When discrimination was directed to an employee by a customer at a business, where customer satisfaction comes first, harassment is sometimes neglected by the supervisor. One worker, who was an Australian revert who had worn a hijab for two years, was humiliated by an elderly customer while working at an international fast food chain store. The conversation with the customer developed as follows:

> *Him: Are you Muslim?*
>
> *Me: Yes, I am (smiling)*
>
> *Him: Have you been circumcised?*
>
> *Me: (outraged) No!*
>
> *Him: (leaning toward me) Well, you will be!*
>
> (Case 176-17)

This incident, where the reporter was left alone with an extremely rude customer who was being loudly intimidating in front of other customers, was reported as humiliating:

> *I felt that they're all looking at me and are they wondering the same thing as he is? It was embarrassing and it was intimidating and it was just enraging.* (Follow up talk with the victim of Case 176-17)

When the customer "*backed off,*" the manager asked the target if she needed "*a moment to compose*" herself and advised her to call for the manager next time. When the customer came back a few minutes later, the manager served him with a smiling face. This disheartened the victim as she felt unsupported.

When discrimination was directed to an employee by a customer at a business, where customer satisfaction comes first, harassment is sometimes neglected by the supervisor

Customer satisfaction was mixed with tolerating racist comments and harassment, which caused deep fear and pain for the reporter and made her wary of her customers:

> *I was actually a bit afraid to go to work the next day. I was more frightened and wary of having to serve people because I started looking at people and worrying if they were going to abuse me the same way. It wasn't an incident that I wanted to go through again. It took me a long time, several weeks, to start to calm down and realise that this person wasn't going to come back, that he wasn't going to come into the store again.* (Follow up talk with the victim of Case 176-17)

As documented in this reporter's and many other victims' stories, a racist attack can leave a long-term impact; therefore, targets' post-incident state should be studied in detail to develop strategies for improving their rehabilitation and wellbeing.

Employee discriminating against a client

Sometimes clients are attacked by staff members. In a medical centre, a Muslim woman reported discrimination due to her face veil (niqab):

> *Today I had to go to the local doctor at Coburg to get a medical certificate for the flu. The doctor treated me with a very harsh manner and mocked my niqab. There was no female doctor available, so I decided to see the male doctor as there is no physical examination required. After I entered the room, he asked me to close the door. I politely requested, "Do you mind if the door is left open?" He immediately*

A racist attack can leave a long-term impact; therefore, targets' post-incident state should be studied in detail to develop strategies for improving their rehabilitation and wellbeing

replied in a loud harsh and offensive manner, "Why? Am I

doing something wrong to you? Just because you are wearing

this (he made a hand gesture referring to my niqab), it doesn't

mean that you are the only one who believes in God. I also

believe in God. If you don't trust me, then get out of here. And

don't come here anymore." Since I was already unwell from

flu, I chose not to argue with him. I then lodged a complaint

at the medical centre reception to let them know that maybe

he needs training on professional mannerism. (Case 41-17)

Until cultural literacy and sensitivity training are in place for professionals working with multicultural groups, these kinds of incidents could continue. Cultural literacy packages should be offered to a broad range of professions, including the retail industry such as cashiers and store managers, as most interpersonal anti-Muslim incidents occur in shopping centres. For instance, in Case 123-17, a cashier started to rant about halal and the Lindt Café siege while a Muslim customer (who was not identifiably Muslim) was purchasing a Cadbury chocolate. The reporter's concern was about the cashier's prejudiced comments to customers in a work environment:

… She can freely spout her hate-filled incitements at her

place of employment for all to hear. What would her reaction

be to a hijabi sister? This was especially upsetting in this

month and not acceptable. I don't want to advertise my

name or involvement, just to warn people as noone wants

to cop abuse, especially while fasting! (Case 123-17)

In some reports, service providers directed their Islamophobic attitude towards customers. Taxi drivers, most of whom were from migrant backgrounds, expressed prejudice about Islam and Muslims coupled with intimidating questions and comments. Such attitudes became a source of discomfort for Muslim and non-Muslim customers (Case 141-16 and Case 170-17).

Until cultural literacy and sensitivity training are in place for professionals working with multicultural groups, these kinds of incidents could continue

My taxi driver whom I had had an incident with before about three months ago (who works for Newcastle Taxi) which I did not report was my driver again. I was quiet and did not make conversation as my trip was five minutes long. The driver who was Hispanic asked me "Where are you from? You don't have any accent," to which I replied "I'm Aussie". He said "but you wear a scarf." He was visibly disgusted by this and before handing my card back to me, he asked me "Were you born Muslim?" to which I replied "no." At this point I could feel the animosity and I was scared and just wanted my card back and to get out of the car. He asked "Why are you a MUSLIM, why did you convert?" (Follow up talk with the victim of Case 141-16)

> "Can I just pay and leave the taxi, please?" He goes, "But why are you Muslim?" He was really angry, he was getting into my personal space. He was a huge man.
> (Case 141-16)

In a follow up conversation, the victim gave details of the incident and how she was scared:

… He was really angry and he was yelling, "Why are you Muslim?" I was like, "Because I am. Can you let me out of the taxi, please?" I had my card, and then I gave him my card. I didn't have any cash. He held my card and he wouldn't do it through the tap. I said, "Can I just pay and leave the taxi, please?" He goes, "But why are you Muslim?" He was really angry, he was getting into my personal space. He was a huge man. I'm just like I'm in a locked car, he's got my card, he's got my name, he knows where I live. I'm panicking. What do I do? I'm just Muslim 'cause I

*am, just let me out. Then I just grabbed it off him and I'm like,
"Unlock the doors." He unlocked the doors and then I knew
that he knew where I lived, he knew my name, he knew that I
was a convert.* (Follow up talk with the victim of Case 141-16)

The victim had many incidents with the same driver and,
although she requested another driver in her later calls,
she found the same taxi driver in her driveway and became
anxious. She eventually reported the driver to the police for
stalking her (follow up talk with the victim of Case 141-16).

Reporting the driver most of the time did not result in action to stop
drivers' racist attitudes to customers, but sometimes resulted in
"*not pairing*" the complaining customer with that driver again:

*I got an Uber from Bellevue and was going to North Sydney.
The Uber driver kept saying to me that Arabs live in ghettos.
Never to take a cab because Arabs are rapists. That Muslims
are violent and the Quran is a manual on how to be violent.
I complained to Uber a few times and Uber sent me an
email after the second time complaining that they won't
pair me with him again. They did not offer me a refund for
a ride with a verbally abusive driver.* (Case 118-17)

Customer complaints about racist employees should mobilise
employers, managers and supervisors to train their staff to have
unbiased attitudes rather than superficially addressing the issue by
separating the complaining customer from the racist employee.

Although the abused customers and clients reported the incidents
to the store managers or completed a complaint form, few of them
returned to the customers and took action to resolve it. For instance,
when a contractor calling a customer's hijabi wife "*ninja*" at a TK
Maxx Store, management ended the contract with the perpetrator
(Case 135-17), or when a saleswoman at Myers indicated a

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hijabi customer might be carrying a bomb in her pram, management apologised to the customer and assured them the matter would be escalated (Case 164-16).

Discrimination by colleagues within the workplace

In work relationships, there was sometimes intimidation of Muslims by another colleague. Non-verbal incidents (Case 179-16) were difficult to investigate but require inspection. One instance of collegial discrimination was illustrated in the following case, where a revert hijabi nurse was first intimidated and then physically harassed by her colleagues:

> *I walked into work, two co-workers – a male and female – approached me and were harassing me about my hair. After a while, I said look I can't show you, I'm not going to do that, but look at my eyebrows and that will give you a good enough idea. A second woman came into the vicinity, said "It's just hair," and grabbed my head with one hand and pulled back my scarf as I stood there shocked trying to hold it down. This happened with three staff on and in front of patients. They laughed and all walked off.* (Case 141-17)

In the follow-up conversation with the victim, she informed the Register that her colleague apologised to her the next day. The hijab was a matter of dispute in another professional context. A hijabi food safety auditor went to a halal manufacturing company but was told to take off her scarf prior to entering the premises. The auditor chose to leave the premises (Case 109-17). Discrimination against wearing a hijab in a halal manufacturing company was noteworthy for two reasons. First, wearing a hair net and covering hair is a necessity in accordance with factory food safety measures; therefore, requiring the removal of the headscarf was an irrational demand. Second, anti-Muslim racism in a halal certified manufacturing business creates doubts about how halal certification procedures would be handled by a racist worker.

Discrimination against wearing a hijab in a halal manufacturing company was noteworthy since wearing a hair net and covering hair is a neccessity in accordance with factory food safety measures
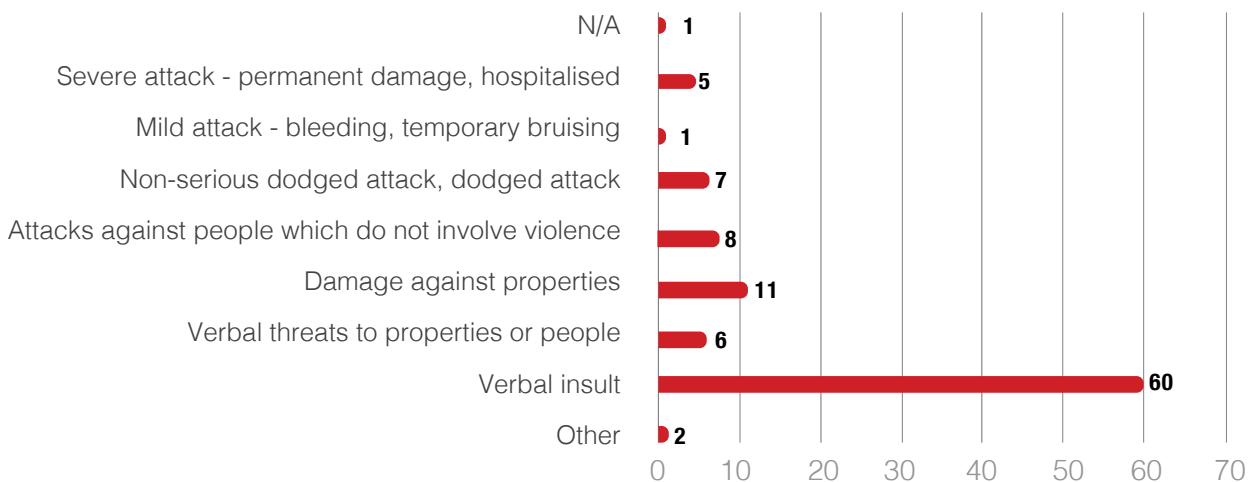
2.3. Physical Severity Levels

While the incident type gives further information about the nature of the incident, incident scale gives information about the levels of damage that can be externally assessed.

The severity levels of all incidents were categorised by first listing general severity levels, then these were refined by examining reported incidents case-by-case and grouping them. The severity level was assessed according to physical damage. When there was only verbal hate, it was categorised at level 1 (the least severe); indication of physical damage without action (i.e. death threats) was categorised at level 2. Property damage at level 3 and the remainder was assessed according to perpetrator's physical proximity to the victim via intimidation such as making a shooting gesture or spitting (level 4). The highest severity levels were assessed according to the physical damage to the victim from poking or stabbing actions (level 5), bruising and slight bleeding (level 6), and hospitalisation of the target (level 7).

> ⚠️
>
> The rate of damage to property (11%) and severe attacks requiring hospital treatment (5%) were alarming

Severity Physical (%)

Category	Value
N/A	1
Severe attack - permanent damage, hospitalised	5
Mild attack - bleeding, temporary bruising	1
Non-serious dodged attack, dodged attack	7
Attacks against people which do not involve violence	8
Damage against properties	11
Verbal threats to properties or people	6
Verbal insult	60
Other	2

Of the 202 cases, the majority of incidents remained at the verbal level (60%), but the rate of damage to property (11%) and severe attacks requiring hospital treatment (5%) were alarming.

When compared to the previous report, cases with hate speech (level 1) increased from 40% to 60%. Meanwhile, cases involving serious physical damage (level 7) increased from 2% to 5%. Proportions of cases involving death threats, harassment or mild physical damage decreased.

<♀

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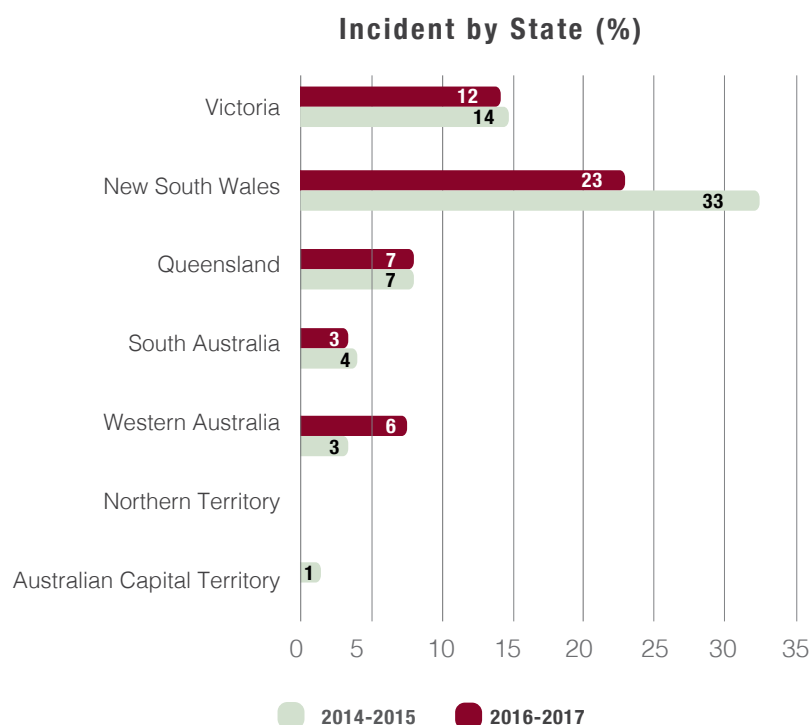
Gender Dynamics

Abuse of women went beyond verbal hate in 31% of cases. When males were abusing males, 86% of cases were verbal while 9% of cases included physical harm). However, when males were abusing females, 66% of cases were verbal, while 13% of cases included physical harm.

3. Location

3.1. Report Distribution by State

The data also identified the distribution of Islamophobic attacks across the states. Of the 202 cases, the Register, which is based in Sydney, received the most incident reports from NSW (23%) followed by Victoria (12%), Queensland (7%) and Western Australia (6%).

The distribution of incident reports is in proportion with the Muslim population in New South Wales and Victoria. However, incident reports from Queensland break this pattern by coming third in reporting regardless of the lower Muslim population (0.1%) according to the 2016 ABS census data. The incident reports from Western Australia increased three-fold when compared to the previous report findings.

Incident by State (%)

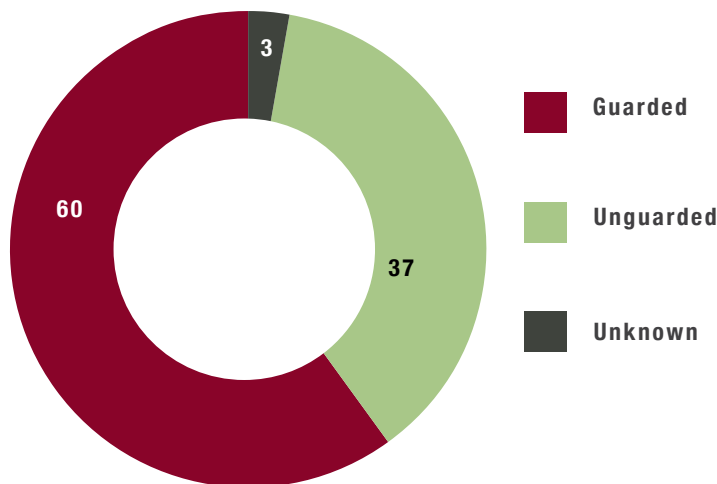| State	2014-2015	2016-2017
Victoria	14	12
New South Wales	33	23
Queensland	7	7
South Australia	4	3
Western Australia	3	6
Northern Territory		
Australian Capital Territory	1	

○ 2014-2015   ● 2016-2017

When compared to the previous report, the proportion of reported cases by state remained similar for Queensland, increased from 3% to 6% in Western Australia, decreased from 14% to 12% in Victoria and decreased from 33% to 23% in New South Wales.

The Register's receipt of reports of far-right groups' and political parties' activities, pamphlets and stickers from Western Australia in 2016-17 may indicate increasing activities of Islamophobic groups in these states. Another factor may be the increasing publicity of the Register, where the first Islamophobia Report was launched with high attendance from the public.

3.2. Guarded/Unguarded areas

Locations are categorised depending on their safety. Areas identified as 'guarded' are known to have people in proximity most hours of the day, such as police officers, security, trackwork personnel, surveillance cameras and other workers or officials. Unguarded areas include less secure places such as parks, roads, alleyways and playgrounds.

Contrary to expectations, of the known 196 cases, targets faced Islamophobic harassment in guarded areas (60%, n=122) more than unguarded areas (37%, n=74)

Guarded/Unguarded (%)

- Guarded
- Unguarded
- Unknown

Contrary to the expectations, of the known 196 cases, targets faced Islamophobic harassment in guarded areas (60%, n=122) more than unguarded areas (37%, n=74).
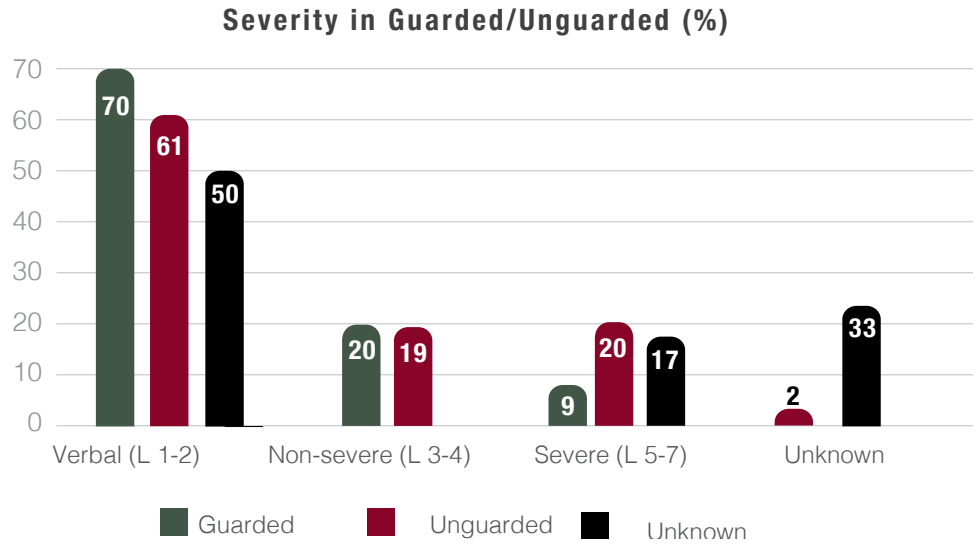
The findings highlighted the unpredictability of location while demonstrating perpetrators' recklessness, who do not abstain from harassment in the presence of security guards or surveillance cameras. This also raised questions about guards' efficiency in deterring and handling Islamophobic attacks.

3.2.1. Severity in Guarded/Unguarded Places

Of the 196 cases, 20% of incidents occurring in unguarded areas were severe.

Severity in Guarded/Unguarded (%)

	Verbal (L 1-2)	Non-severe (L 3-4)	Severe (L 5-7)	Unknown
Guarded	70	20	9	2
Unguarded	61	19	20	
Unknown	50		17	33

Guarded   Unguarded   Unknown

3.2.2. Interpersonal/Generic vs Guarded/Unguarded

Higher proportions of verbal abuse that occurred in the guarded areas were mostly personal. This questions the presence of safety in guarded places as well as the effectiveness of security guards.

Guarded/Unguarded (%)

	Personal	Generic
Guarded	66	46
Unguarded	33	46
Unknown	1	9

Guarded   Unguarded   Unknown
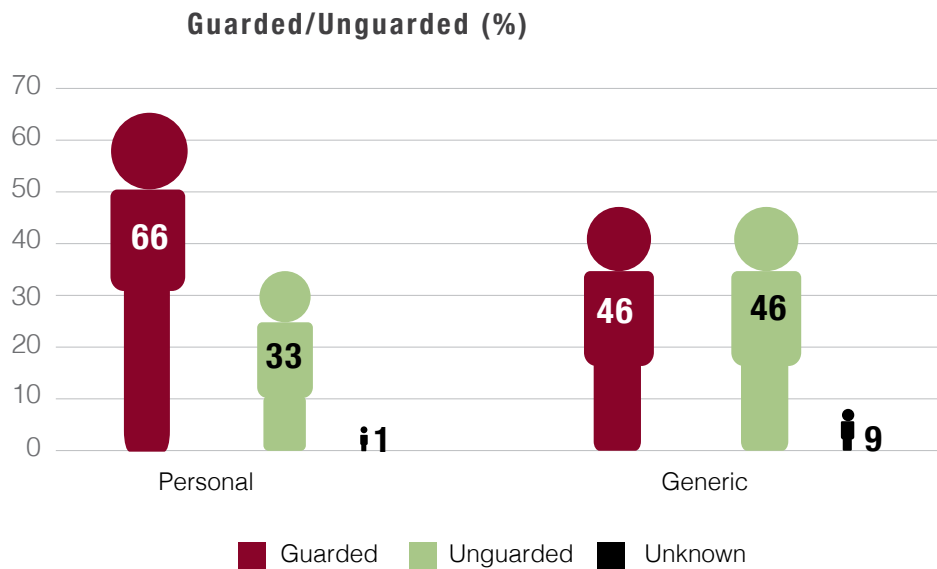
Generic cases in offline contexts were mostly graffiti and written materials such as pamphlets, stickers and placards.

3.3. Harassment Hotspots

Hotspots were categorised independently from whether they were guarded or unguarded to demonstrate the frequency of Islamophobic incidents in the most frequented locations for everyday routines.
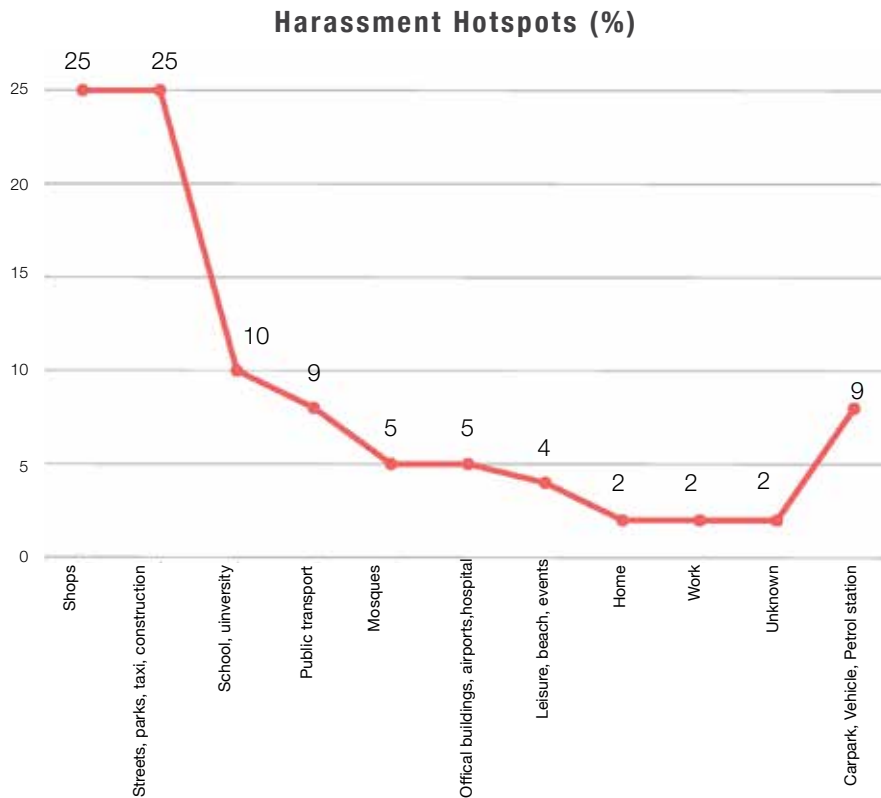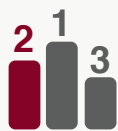
Harassment Hotspots (%)

Shops and shopping centres had the highest proportion of Islamophobic incidents, regardless of the surveillance in such spaces

Of the 202 incidents, more than half of the incidents (52%) took place in commonly frequented places such as shops (25%), schools and univerisites (10%), on public transport (8%), official buildings, airports, hospitals (5%), events and leisure centres (4%). It is concerning that the high frequency of such harassment may lead to the normalisation of Islamophobia. These findings also invite a discussion about the prevalence of anti-Muslim racism across Australian society, including educational institutions.

Following the same trend identified in the first report but increasing further from 17% to 25% , shops and shopping centres had the highest proportion of Islamophobic incidents, regardless of the surveillance in such spaces. The incidents occurred among crowds where people from all walks of life were present and perpetrators were confident enough to publicly harass the victims and assert their racial dominance. Shops and shopping centres had the highest proportion of Islamophobic incidents, regardless of the surveillance in such spaces. Educational settings were

Educational settings were the second-most frequent harassment It is concerning that racism is frequent in schools that seek to nurture and provide safety and connections to all young people

the second-most frequent harassment spots. It is concerning that racism is frequent in schools that seek to nurture and provide safety and connections to all young people.

The below incident was reported by a revert Muslim university student who felt humiliated at the student centre watching a admin staff member's mocking attitude of 'hijabi' Muslims:

> *I saw a female staff member who was wearing a scarf around her neck begin to take off her scarf and put it over her head and face as though she was trying to mimic niqab-like attire (I was wearing a hijab which didn't cover my face). She then proceeded to dance around in front of her colleagues, all of them laughing at her and waving a piece of her scarf on and off her face. I was standing watching this in complete shock.* (Case 116-17)

The reporter felt obliged to express to office staff how she was hurt by the staff member's attitude at the back of the office. The staff at the front desk went inside and informed the supervisor about the issue, upon which the supervisor came out and informed the reporter the offender "*was sorry*" knowing that "*she was wrong.*"The victim accepted the apology by the third person but felt this approach minimised the racism to which she was subjected:

> *I left without saying another word and once I was outside the building I broke down, I was crying and I felt disrespected, unsafe and mistreated at my own university.* (Case 116-17)

People commuting in vehicles are no more secure than those on public transport.

A significant hotspot consisted places associated with private transport (11%) such as personal and private taxis (5%), carparks and petrol stations (6%).

Incidents can occur in a range of specialised and public places such as official buildings (5%) and mosques (5%). Muslim Australian citizens' experience with racism in official buildings should be addressed by government authorities.

Incidents in Hotspots Generic vs Interperonal

The generic incidents (i.e. written material and graffiti), which together constituted the second largest category among incident types (see the incident types section for offline cases), were mainly reported to be displayed on streets (42%, n=16/38). Most of the hate stickers and banners by far-right groups contributed to publicising anti-Muslim hate while that of right-wing parties contributed to the normalisation of Islamophobia as displayed in the swastika, One Nation and anti-Muslim hate graffiti together on a vandalised car (Case 163-17).

A higher proportion of insults occurring in shops were interpersonal. The safety of shops and effectiveness of centre management, store managers and bystanders need to be critiqued as perpetrators did not feel any social pressure while harassing Muslim individuals. Exposure of people from all walks of life including children and youth to harassment of Muslim individuals was a concern since it would lead to public desensitisation of harassment and tacitly grant permission to engage in such hate.

All reported verbal attacks that happened at work were interpersonal. Nevertheless, despite being interpersonal, they were neither escalated nor resolved.
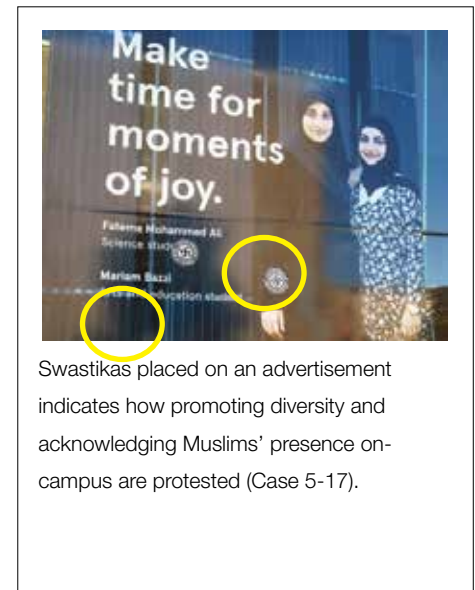
Gender Dynamics

Women are targeted in public spaces; men are targeted in official buildings. Among the listed hotspots accommodated 202 incidents, gender was relevant only in relation to street incidents (22% female targets in proportionally compared to 3% male targets). Women were the sole victims in incidents that occurred at beaches and hospitals (5%), while men were the sole victims in incidents that occurred in official buildings (9%).

Swastikas placed on an advertisement indicates how promoting diversity and acknowledging Muslims' presence on-campus are protested (Case 5-17).

A higher proportion of insults occurring in shops were interpersonal

3.4. Multiculturally Diverse and Less-diverse Locations

This section identifies whether there was a trend between reduced multicultural diversity and the occurrence of Islamophobic incidents. The ethno-religious context of the locations of Islamophobic incidents can provide this insight (based on information from Small Multiples 2014, Calligeros 2015 and SBS).

Less/More Multicultural

44%   56%

More multicultural

Less multicultural
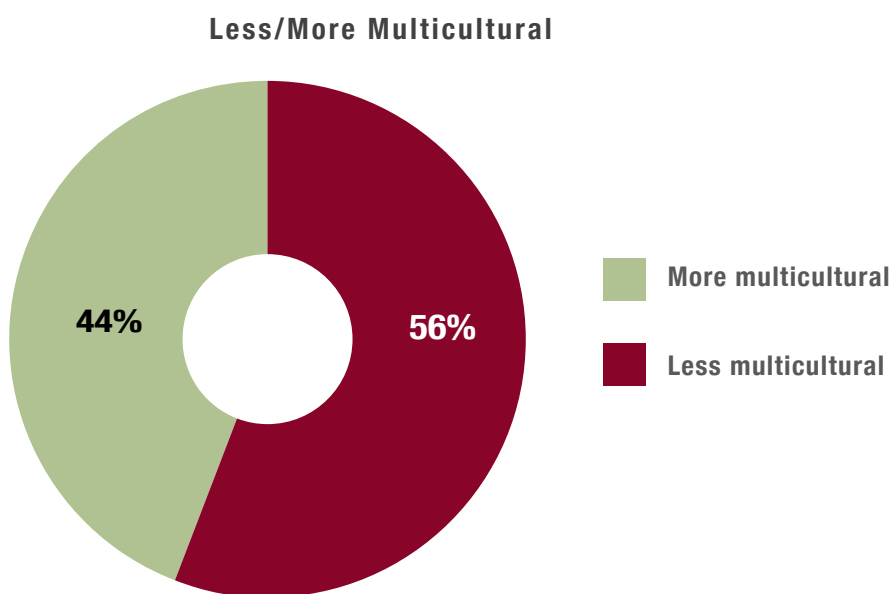
Foul language was used in hotspots located in multicultural suburbs

According to the categorisation adopted from the previous report (Iner 2017, p.53), when unknown and non-applicable categories were excluded, of the 157 cases, there seemed to be no difference between the number of incidents occurring in multiculturally less and more diverse locations. When compared to the previous report, there was a slight increase in the number of incidents in multiculturally less diverse suburbs (increase from 52% to 56%) and a slight decrease in multiculturally more diverse suburbs (decrease from 48% to 44%).

Foul language was used in hotspots located in multicultural suburbs. When the content of insults in hotspots was investigated by considering the level of multiculturalism in suburbs, it was found that foul language was more likely to be involved in racist attacks in carparks, official buildings, public transport, vehicles, mosques, construction or petrol stations within multicultural areas (71%, n=12/17) in comparison to the same places in non-multicultural suburbs (46%, n=12/26).

Incidents in multicultural areas were more likely to include xenophobic content (35%, n=26/74) compared to non-multicultural areas (25%, n=24/96).

Comparing less multiculturally diverse suburbs with more multiculturally diverse suburbs illustrated that Islamophobia commonly existed even in multicultural suburbs. Apperently, some people exposed to multiculturalism in their daily life still remain intolerant of Muslims.

Multicultural areas and harassment hotspots showed more tendency to xenophobia (35%)

Gender Dynamics

Of the 113 female and 33 male victims, women were targeted in less multiculturally diverse (51% in contrast to 46%) and men were targeted in more multiculturally diverse suburbs (46% in contrast to 36% female targets). In both areas, most of the women were wearing the hijab. No relationship was observed between a female or male target's religious attire and the incident location's level of multiculturalism.

4. Social Context

This section identifies the social context and setting of Islamophobic attacks by investigating the presence, role and response of the people accompanying the victim or perpetrator as well as third parties at the scene such as police officers, security guards, store managers and bystanders.

4.1. Company of the Victim or Target

For both genders, victims were more likely to be insulted while alone. When unknown and non-applicable cases are discarded, of the 92 female victims, 85% of them were alone when targeted by solo perpetrators. This number increased to 92% when multiple perpetrators were included in targeting unaccompanied female victims. Of the 23 male victims, 70% of them were alone when attacked by solo perpetrators. Sexism appeared to be a factor in target selection as lone perpetrators harassing multiple victims mostly chose women groups (67%, n=6/9). The social context of harassment was similar to the findings of the first report about social context.

4.2. Third Parties

A third party was considered anyone except those in the company of the victim or perpetrator. Unlike bystanders, members of the public who did not pay attention to the incident were categorised as passers-by. Others passing by were counted when their number was indicated by the reporter.

Of the 202 cases (10% of which were unknown or inapplicable), bystanders were present in 14% of the cases while almost half of the cases (49%) included people passing by but paying no attention to the incident. This was concerning since publicly abuse of Muslims on the basis of their religion was accommodated by the surrounding crowd.
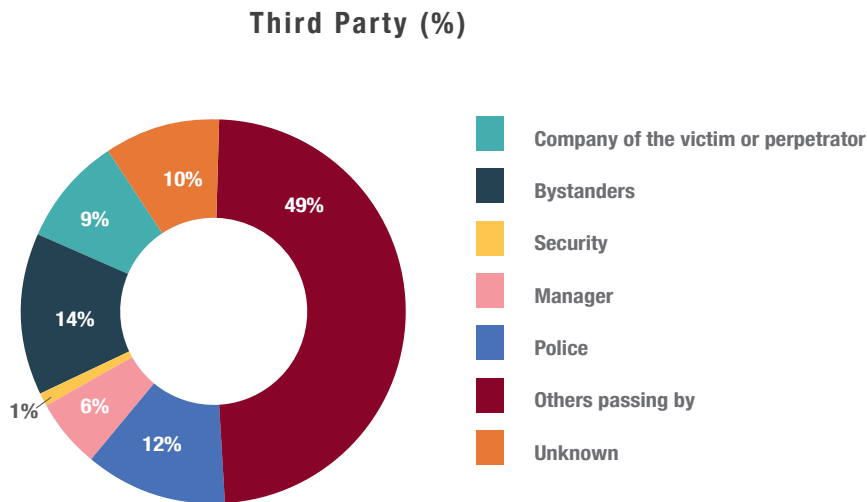
92%

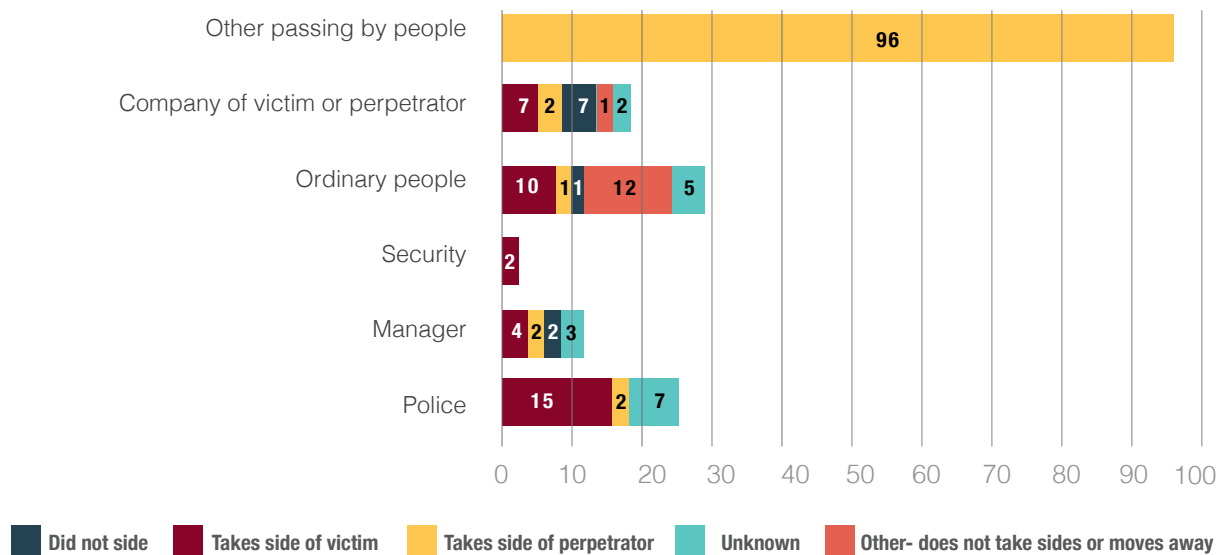92% of female victims were targeted alone both by solo and multiple perpetrators

Public abuse of Muslims on the basis of their religion was accommodated by the surrounding crowd

Third Party (%)

- Company of the victim or perpetrator
- Bystanders
- Security
- Manager
- Police
- Others passing by
- Unknown

4.3 Third Party Responses

This refers to how third parties intervened and responded to the incident. Of the 202 cases, only in 3 cases did the third parties side with the perpetrator whereas victims found some support from the police, managers and security guards to some extent (19%). Yet, the dominant attitude by the public was indifference.

Third Party Response (numbers)

Legend: Did not side | Takes side of victim | Takes side of perpetrator | Unknown | Other- does not take sides or moves away

Police (63%, n=15/20) and security sided with the victim while bystanders tended to take no action.

However, bystanders were more likely to interfere and take the victim's side when the attack was severe (71%, n=10 /14), compared to cases where the attack was non-severe (46%, n=6/13) or verbal (52%, n=22/42).

In one case, the food safety auditor was not allowed into a factory until removing her scarf. When the auditor insisted, the worker came back with the manager's confirmation she was not allowed to enter wearing her headscarf (Case 109-17).

The other case involved harassment by a truck driver. Although the truck driver dropped a burning cigarette on the target's car, made a rude gesture and verbally abused her, his manager defended him when the target made a complaint call:

> *When I made a complaint to the owner of Crane Hire (I got the number plate down), he claims his driver was "FEARING FOR LIFE" because I was driving recklessly at peak hour at the speed of 50km/h in front of a traffic*

Although siding with the perpetrator was rare, it existed in the data (3%)

light. He also said I apparently kept driving and cutting in front

of him and "HE FELT HE WAS IN DANGER". (Case 115-17)

The manager's excuses were apparently baseless as the reporter stated driving recklessly at 50km/h during peak hour when all three lanes were blocked was impossible. "*The owner refused to apologise, saying the driver did what he did rightfully so because he felt 'threatened*" (Case 115-17). With this response, there was apparently no place for the victim to escalate the issue for fair judgement and resolution.

4.3.1   Reluctance to Side with the Victim
Sometimes, despite taking the victim's side, bystanders did not want to risk interfering in the incident. In such cases, bystanders usually expressed their support by reporting the incident to the police, security or the Register. The example below illustrates a Muslim male bystander's reluctance to interfere after seeing a perpetrator tripping a hijabi woman with a toddler:

… Alhamdulillah she didn't fall but she was looking back at the

guy in terror … and no one did anything. I was about to react

as I saw the whole thing, but I re-thought about how he's twice

my height and how the lady was still safe so I just walked off

but wow never seen like this before wow!! (Case 31-17)

In another case, the store manager avoided stopping the hate speech of a customer to a Muslim customer. Upon the victim's questioning of the manager's indifference, the manager approached the target and told her "*how unfortunate he can't control the opinions of people*" (Case 121-17).

When addressing racism is equated with ignoring it, the problem persists. The victim's gentle push to the manager was a good example of mobilising reluctant bystanders to take the side of justice.

4.3.2   Police Response
Of the 202 cases (24% of which is unknown), only 22% of the incidents reported to the police and the police were present in almost half of the incidents (12%) reported to the police.

When compared to the previous report, cases that were reported to the police increased from 16% to 22%.

Bystanders usually expressed their support by reporting the incident to the police, security or the Register

The police mostly took the victim's side and, in some cases, the perpetrator received a penalty. However, the handling of the issue by the police varied.

Attentive Police Response

This included following the regular reporting procedure and documentation as well as being responsive to the reporters. When they were not neglected but listened to, the reporters appreciated the police being "*helpful*" and "*supportive*" (Case 224-16 and Case 221-16). When reporting a thrown pig head, one reporter found the police's response and attention to the case was "*outstanding*" (Case 146-17).

In a few cases, reporting bore fruit and the perpetrators were charged. For instance, a mother of four in her 30s from a Muslim populated suburb in Sydney realised a woman was staring at her, shaking her head and muttering. She forced the Muslim woman to "*take off*" her face veil and provoked bystanders to "*help her out*" against the victim whose clothing she found "unacceptable." Terrified by the perpetrator's aggressiveness, the niqabi woman recorded the perpetrator and gave the footage to the police, upon which the 60-year-old female perpetrator was arrested and charged with behaving in an offensive manner in a public place. The target expressed her gratitude for the support of members of the public and police (Case 35-17).

Feeling supported by authorities was important for the victim's wellbeing, especially vulnerable victims like pregnant women and mothers with young children. A pregnant woman who was verbally abused in a shopping centre carpark recorded the perpetrator's plate number and went to her local police station.

> *He [the perpetrator] followed me there and tried to deny what he'd done but the police took it very seriously and charged him with being a public nuisance and for assault (verbal).* (Case 159-16)

Unlike many other vulnerable victims, who felt helpless and expressed disappointment especially when they felt left alone in crowds, the support the above reporter received from the police seemingly helped her to cope better with the incident.

When compared to the previous report, cases that were reported to the police increased from 16% to 22%

Police officers who explained why they could not place some cases under a crime category were the most helpful for the reporter in understanding the usefulness of reporting to the police, even if an immediate outcome was not ensured. Upon receiving the CCTV footage of the verbal harasser at a shopping centre, the police officer informed the target about the reporting function:

> *He [the officer at the police station] said that it's not a police report but if other incidents are reported about this person then there is more chance of getting her behaviour on police record and sorting her out. He gave me the number of the multicultural liaison in Dandenong and a printout regarding civil actions but these require one to identify the perpetrator.* (Case 224-16)

This example highlights how important it is to handle a non-criminal incident while talking to a highly traumatised target.

In addition to improving front desk officers' communication skills with reporters, police liaison officers play an important role in training the community about what to report, how to report and how to ensure reporting is considered by the police. These important steps hearten victims and bystanders, encouraging them to report hate crimes and incidents.

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Inattentive Police Response

Police response was an important determining factor in reporting subsequent incidents. Reporters who felt they were not taken seriously, presented with excuses not to record the report or faced with an inattentive attitude or unsatisfying service were disheartened by these experiences.

For instance, an individual who resided in the same neighbourhood as a few Muslim families found pig heads in the middle of a street and reported it to the police. Since nothing came of her report, she requested the help of the Register (Case 201-16).

In another case, the victim reported the perpetrator to the police and tracked him, waiting until the police arrived, who initially explained they were busy. Not getting the required help, the victim had to call her father to come and defend her. The father was also abused by the perpetrator. When the police arrived, they did not show much interest, according to her report:

[I] was trying to get a picture of him on my phone but my stupid phone update wouldn't let me unlock my phone anymore. I memorised the bus number and rego and told the police when they finally arrived 10 minutes after he got in the bus. They didn't seem too concerned about the whole incident. (Case 201-16)

This incident left a deep impression on the victim's psyche. When approached by the Register's case workers, she stated she finally felt heard, explaining her gratitude in tears.

In a significant case, a hijabi woman was physically assaulted with a beer bottle and her hijab pulled off. She called the police but was disappointed to find "*they were busy.*" The police's disinterest only angered the traumatised target and worsened the situation (Case 223-16). The severity of the case affected the victim's daily routine as she felt "*rattled and shocked*" and started **"***seriously thinking of moving***"** into her parents' house for a while. More importantly, after the case was taken to court a few months after the incident, a witness mentioned in court she heard the offender saying he would kill the victim next time he saw her (Case 60-17).

This anecdote invites discussion about how deterrence can be achieved through legal enforcement to prevent Islamophobic physical harassment and ensure the safety of Australian Muslim citizens at all stages: before the incident via preventative measures; during the incident via effective handling of the case; and after the incident by protecting the target from the wrath of the penalised perpetrator.

In one case, the victim felt disempowered when she reported the racial abuse she faced but was told by the police that it was freedom of speech. The victim was not given much attention by the police as being called a terrorist and accused of bombing the grocery store were an outcome of "freedom of speech"; therefore, the police declined to intervene (Case 74-16). In the follow up talk with the victim, she also mentioned the police explained to her that if she had responded in one way, she would have been arrested by the police:

This incident left a deep impression on the victim's psyche. When approached by the Register's case workers, she stated she finally felt heard, explaining her gratitude in tears

"If you told them that you will chop their heads off, we would arrest you". That's what they told me. That was actually shocking, because they are supposed to be law enforcement, but they are not. (Case 74-16)

The police response appeared to the reporter as an example of the double standard shown to Muslim and non-Muslim verbal attackers and disappointed the victim seeking police support and protection.

Women targets receive more attention by members of the public, police and managers.

The victim felt disempowered when she reported the racial abuse she faced but was told by the police that it was freedom of speech (Case 74-16)

Gender Dynamics
Third parties were more likely to take victims' side when the victims were females (53%, n=24/45) compared to the cases when the victims were males (42%, n=5/12). As well, third parties were more likely to take the victims' side when the perpetrators were females (68%, n=13/19) compared to cases when the perpetrators were males (43%, n=16/37).

4.4. Positive Action and Outcome

Of the 202 cases, 12% cases resulted in a reported positive action. Positive action refers to action taken to stop or disapprove of the hostility directed at Muslims. Positive emails to the Register and positive expressions about Muslims can fall into this category (12%).

When compared to the previous report, cases that included or resulted in positive action increased from 7% to 12%.

4.4.1   Officials' Support of Victims
Following the shopping centre attack in Perth, where the victim's headscarf was ripped off and her back injured when a bottle was thrown, the office of the federal member for the region contacted the Register and asked for the victim's contact details in order to reach her and show his "*full support*":

… if she (the target) was comfortable, Josh would like the opportunity to communicate with her … These kinds of acts have no place in our community, and as a local representative, Josh would like the woman to know she has his full support. (Case 93-16)

Of the 202 cases, 12% of cases resulted in a reported positive action

When compared to the previous report, cases that included or resulted in positive action increased from 7% to 12%

Similar support was shown by university authorities in Perth, who denounced the provocations of the United Patriots Federation's front member. Curtin University Student Guild stated it is "committed to ensuring that our campus is a safe and inclusive environment" and it does "not believe that [the UPF's] idiotic message resonates with any students" (Ismailjee 2015).

Likewise, University of Western Australia's Vice Chancellor stated the "*deplorable act … does not represent the values of racial harmony and cultural diversity*" to which the university strives (quoted in Case 80-16). Public statements such as these are regarded by victims as support and understanding of their experience.

4.4.2 Islamophobia Register's Support of Victims

The Register provided advocacy service to reporters and brought public attention to the attacks by convincing victims of the need for media presence to publicise their unfortunate experiences through mainstream and social media. For instance, the beer bottle throwing incident at a shopping centre in Perth was taken to court with the advocacy work of the Islamophobia Register Australia (Case 60-17) and this heartened other Muslim women who were fearful of facing similar incidents. This outcome was appreciated by their non-Muslim counterparts as well: "*Good on her for refusing to allow the 'man' to get away with this!*"(Case 73-17).

4.4.3 Bystanders' Support of Victims

Some bystanders sided with the victims and took action to defend the victim against the perpetrator.

A witness to an incident reported, while one male was aggressively verbally abusing a niqabi Muslim woman at a train station, two bystanders confronted the perpetrator:

> *One man forthrightly verbally confronted the offender, putting himself physically close to the offender. Another woman supported him verbally and I asked station staff to help. The two station staff responded quickly, I guess ...* (Case 147-16)

Even children at a school defended their Muslim friend whose name was scribbled on a toilet door as being a terrorist: "*Her friends scribbled over it and wrote if u knew her u wouldn't say that about her*" (Case 71-16)*.*

Attentive bystanders inspired one another to help the harassed Muslim woman with three young children. The victim's firm and loud response to the abuser attracted the surrounding people's attention and provoked them to offer help:

> *An Indian man (with wife and child) stepped in to ask if all was ok. I said I wasn't ok and that this woman was harassing me. He was able to get her to move on and others came from Coles and passers-by came over to see if we were ok.* (Case 224-16)

The support the victim received from the surrounding people disheartened the perpetrator and she quickly left. The support continued, increasing to the extent that her children were also taken care of:

> *Someone called security and they walked with me to briefly look for her but she had ducked into a shop or something. I was really upset and crying and my kids were in shock ... Everyone was looking at us and the woman from Donut King came over and offered a seat, a cup of tea and some drinks for my kids. Security moved us to the management office soon after that*

Attentive bystanders inspired one another to help the harassed Muslim woman with three young children

Timely and supportive responses from bystanders were instrumental in alleviating the shock and trauma the target was going through

but not before a sister who I happened to sit next to said she had removed her hijab and abaya because she was tired of being harassed … Another beautiful lady gave me a much-needed hug and some kind words only someone who knows discrimination could share and another wanted to buy my kids donuts. The staff in the management were very kind and gave my children colouring in and offered me water 100 times and offered to do my shopping alhamdulillah. They sent in an undercover security guard (also a brother) who sat with my kids till my husband came. (Case 224-16)

This case was an example of the ripple effect in planting and spreading a good culture of caring for the victim. A few people's attentive behaviours mobilised the surrounding people to collectively assist the target. Such timely and supportive responses from bystanders were instrumental in alleviating the target's shock and trauma.

Bystanders' attentive responses were in force in generic incidents such as removing a pig's head left in the middle of a street (Case 67-17) and removing anti-Muslim stickers on poles along streets (Case 138-17 and Case 151-16).
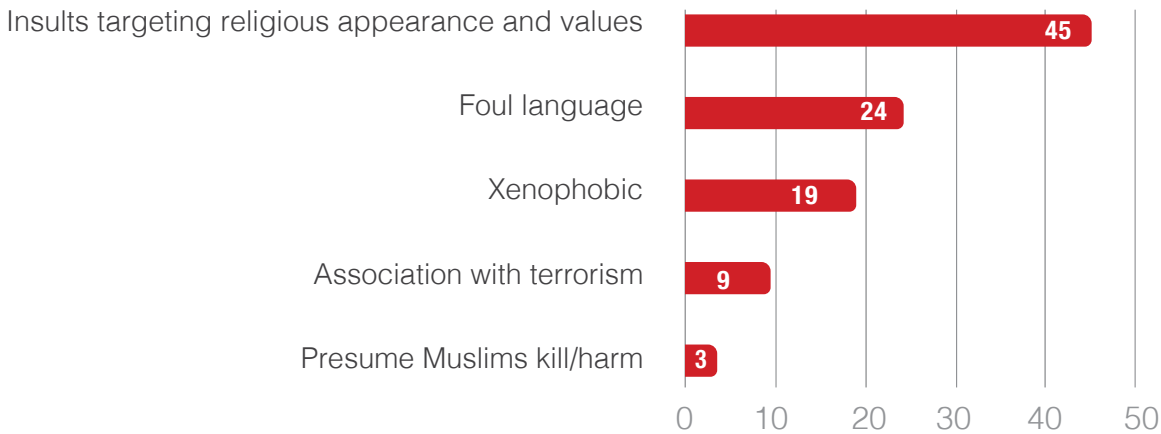
5. Content of Insults

Except for non-verbal intimidation offline, all types and levels of face to face (offline) harassment included verbal attack. This section analyses the verbal component of offline incidents and investigates which types of harassment were used under which circumstances.

The insult content was divided into five sub-categories according to the wording perpetrators directed at the targets.

5.1. Insult Types

The most common form of insult was one targeting the Muslim religion and visible religiosity. To put it differently, Muslims' visibility and signs of association with Islam was sufficient to express hate and take hateful action against Muslims. Of the 202 incidents, association with terrorism (9%) and finding Muslims killing (3%) were relatively minimal reason to express hate and take hateful act against Muslims.

Content of Insults (%)

| Category	Value
Insults targeting religious appearance and values	45
Foul language	24
Xenophobic	19
Association with terrorism	9
Presume Muslims kill/harm	3

Of the 202 incidents, insults targeting people's religious appearance and values (45%) were the most common type of assault. This signifies that following Islam/being Muslim is sufficient to draw hatred and abuse from some members of the public.

The second common attack type in 202 cases included insults via foul language (24%). Foul language was also used when no additional person (apart from the perpetrator and victim) was involved and no reference was made to religion (63%, n=17/27 such cases). Xenophobic insults came third in rank (19%). When compared to the previous report, insults targeting people's religious appearance and values increased from 36% to 45%, while insults involving foul language remained the same at 24%.

Of the 202 incidents, insults targeting people's religion and religious appearance (45%) were the most common type of assault. This signifies that following Islam/being Muslim is sufficient to draw hatred and abuse from some members of the public
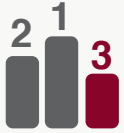
Xenophobic insults
came third in rank
(19%)

Gender Dynamics

While male victims were more likely to be associated with terrorism (6% higher), female victims were more likely to be subject to the presumption that Muslims harm/kill others (5% higher). In all offline cases, "*presume Muslims kill*" content was directed solely at female victims.
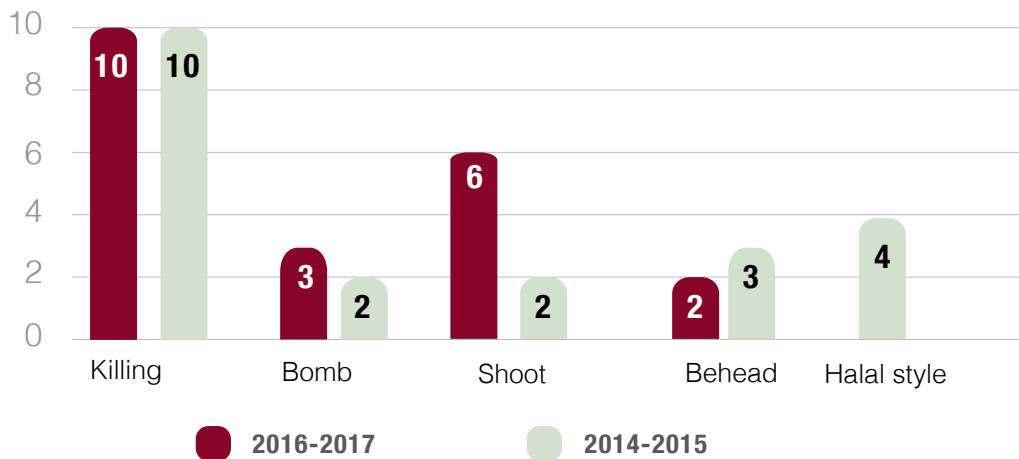
5.2. Death Threats

Death threats were used in reported anti-Muslim offline insults. When compared to the previous report, a decrease from 24% to 11% was observed in offline death threats. Changes between this report and the last report include a lower proportion of killing threats though there were more threats of bombing and shooting. Halal slaughtering was a common death threat only in the first report, when the anti-halal (media, marketing, news, political) campaigns were at their peak.

Death threats were mostly directed at male targets (12% in comparison to 4% female targets)

Death Threat Types Offline (%)

Killing: 2016-2017 = 10, 2014-2015 = 10
Bomb: 2016-2017 = 3, 2014-2015 = 2
Shoot: 2016-2017 = 6, 2014-2015 = 2
Behead: 2016-2017 = 2, 2014-2015 = 3
Halal style: 2014-2015 = 4

● 2016-2017   ● 2014-2015

6. Severity of Hate Rhetoric

The intensity of hate speech can be conveyed to the victim through the power of the expression directed at the target at the time of harassment. This section includes all offline incidents in which the words disclosed the intensity of the negative feelings. Although images can be as powerful as words, analysis of these is beyond the scope of this section. Following the previous report, the intensity of negative emotions was assessed according to the literature on the psychology of radicalisation and violent extremism (Iner 2017, p.66).

Severity of Hate rhetoric
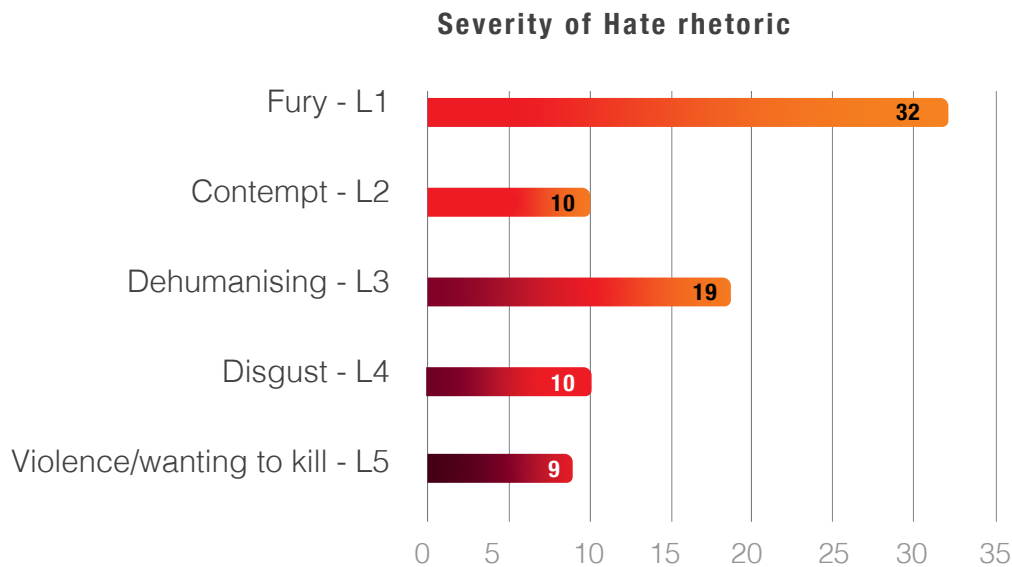
The levels of hate are scaled as per the coding manual based on a review of studies on the psychology of violent extremism (Kooment and Pligt 2016; Matsumoto et al. 2012; Broekhuis 2016). Each severity level builds from the previous one.

Fury is the first step of hate, which indicates a strong level of annoyance, displeasure or hostility by the perpetrator.

Contempt is a feeling of disdain towards a person or thing they perceive beneath one's dignity and unworthy of respect.

It is followed by **dehumanising victims**, which deprives a human of any positive human qualities and sees them as sub-humans. Dehumanising a victim leads to and is very much mixed with disgust, which is a feeling of revulsion aroused by something unpleasant or offensive. Dehumanising and **disgust** legitimise extreme levels of hatred and lead to wanting to remove.

Violence/wanting to kill is an outcome of wanting to remove and this level of hate is considers the possibility of harming, killing and even massacring (as suggested in the extreme Islamophobic discourse of hate). These feelings directed at victims do not arouse any guilt in perpetrators since dehumanising Muslims and seeing them as lower than animals only causes repulsion and justifies wanting to remove them by force.

It is evident in some examples that dehumanising and disgust led to physical harassment without any sense of remorse. For instance, two sisters were physically harassed right after being called "*filthy animal*" by a female from "Right Wing Resistance."

> *She [told us] we [are] not welcome, go home, we are*
>
> *filthy animals. Then pushed past bad, my sister fell over*
>
> *… Laughs and pulls sister's hijab off and throws on*
>
> *road, laughs yelling Muslim scum?* (C167-16-17)

Statistical analysis indicated incidents including death threats were more likely to include physical harming (38%, n=8/21) as opposed to cases where death threats were not involved (10%, n=19/181). For instance, a Muslim woman filling her car with petrol was accused of being slow by the perpetrator and not only verbally threatened but a packet was thrown at her back:

> *When I said there are other available pumps, he got angrier,*
>
> *drove closer, threw a packet of something at me which hit*
>
> *my back, pulled his head out, made a gun shape to his*
>
> *head and yelled "I'm going to shoot you in the head, I've got*
>
> *your registration number, I'm going to find you and shoot*
>
> *you in the head" and then drove off.* (Case 185-16)

In another case, the victim was pushed three times by an old man in the CBD:

[He] then proceeded to push me at least three times and

told me he wanted to kill me. Even though he was testing

my patience, I ignored him and moved on. (Case 168-16)

Statistical analysis indicated incidents including death threats were more likely to include physical harming (38%, n=8/21) as opposed to cases where death threats were not involved (10%, n=19/181)

The gradual growth of hate, which may evolve into expressions of a desire to harm and physical harassment, is concerning for the security and wellbeing of Muslim Australian citizens. To prevent potential targets from the consequences of dehumanisation and disgust, proactive measures should be taken. Timely intervention for curbing hate before it leads to extremism is also essential.

The severity of hate rhetoric was highest when the content included foul language (51%, n=19/37), presume Muslims kill (49%, n=20/41) or associating Muslims with terrorism (43%, n=18/42).

It is alarming that the construction of Muslims as terrorists in political and media discourse appears to increase the level of hatred to the extent that infuriated perpetrators feel justified in expressing their desire for killing Muslims.
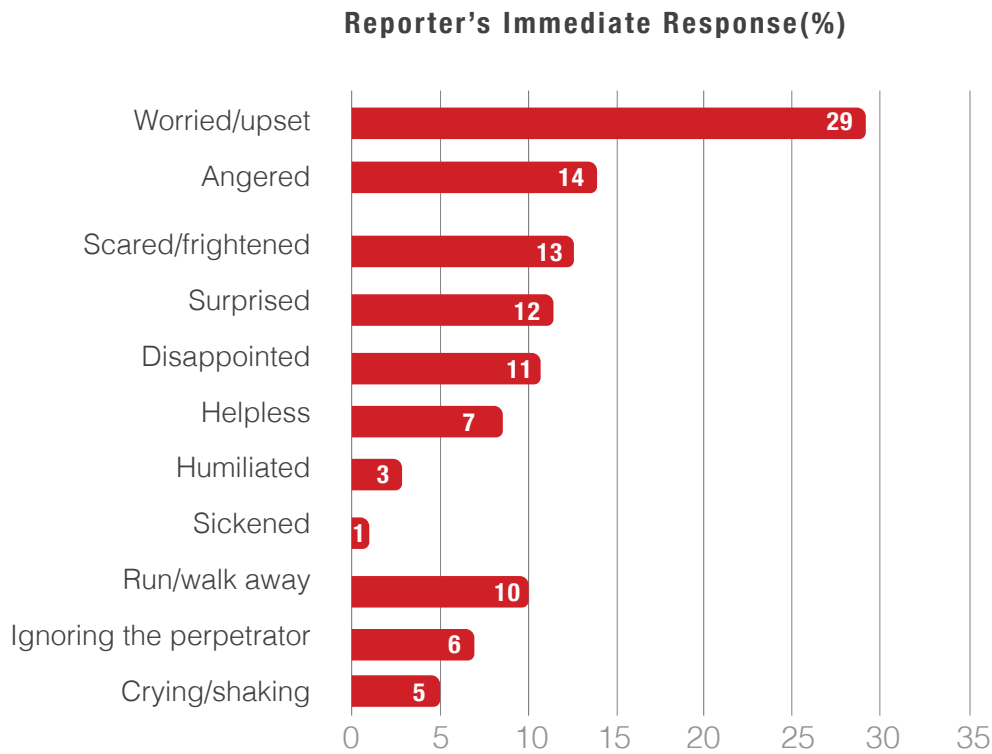
> It is alarming that the construction of Muslims as terrorists in political and media discourse appears to increase the level of hatred to the extent that infuriated perpetrators feel justified in expressing their desire for killing Muslims

7. Response, Reaction and Impact

7.1. Expressions of Emotions by Reporters

Reporters consist of victims, their proxies and witnesses. Emotions expressed or indicated at the time of reporting are additional information. Sometimes multiple emotions were expressed in one case. Those emotions were expressed by the victims or their proxies, who happened to be parents, partners or other close family members. Witnesses either described the victims' responses or expressed their own feelings at the time of reporting. Muslim witnesses reporting a generic anti-Muslim hate case can be interpreted as victims since they were personally affected and expressed their emotions as well. For instance, seeing an anti-Muslim hate sticker on the back of a car while driving her children to their first day at school, a mother stated their "*excited mood turned to disappointment*" (Case 11-16).

On very first day of school this year I was driving to drop the kids to school giving them their pep talks to study hard, be responsible, etc. ... and as we stopped at traffic lights, this is the car we stopped behind. Our excited mood turned to disappointment ... (Case 11-16)

Reporter's Immediate Response(%)

Response	Value
Worried/upset	29
Angered	14
Scared/frightened	13
Surprised	12
Disappointed	11
Helpless	7
Humiliated	3
Sickened	1
Run/walk away	10
Ignoring the perpetrator	6
Crying/shaking	5

Feelings, reactions and responses are multi-faceted and can be expressed in various forms. After going through 202 offline cases, the following method was adopted in grouping feelings:

> Synonyms to show the range of feelings that can be expressed as one emotion

> Context where a feeling is described without necessarily giving the exact word or synonym

> Use of capitals or exclamation marks to show anger or helplessness

> Use of negative or foul language or sarcasm

> Wording that indicates the person is offended

Some incidents were recorded multiple times if many emotions were stated, such as being scared of the perpetrator and disappointed with bystanders' indifference. A cross-coding exercise by three persons was initially performed to ensure accurate and consistent coding for this section.

Being **worried/upset** involved a lack of strong emotions like annoyance or anxiety. For instance, one woman exposed to hate speech just walked away while feeling "*upset*" (Case 130-16).

Anger was classified as a displeased feeling varying from dissatisfaction to intense annoyance. For instance, a young woman was "*really angry*" for being verbally harassed in front of her "*frail mother*" and "*baby*" (Case 55-16).

Being **scared/frightened** was always disclosed via a physical reaction. For instance, two sisters who were scared to face the perpetrator again changed their direction (Case 167-16).

Being **surprised** was considered a means of disclosing one's confusion and unexpectedness. For instance, being shouted at as "*Terrorists!*" while crossing the street made one target "*unsure of how to react to it because it happened so quickly at the middle of the road*" (Case 132-16).

Disappointment occurred when expectations were not met or when goodwill and trust was shaken. For instance, a xenophobic woman's wish for strict immigration laws was "*Outrageous!*" for the victim, finding her outdated anti-immigrant attitude irrelevant for today (Case 127-17).

Victims sometimes felt **helpless**, especially when they did not know how to handle the hate and felt weak. For instance, a mother's helplessness was apparent when her daughter was constantly being bullied but not taken seriously by the school (Case 105-16).

Feeling **humiliated** was often the case when the target was dehumanised or belittled before peers or other people. For instance, a mother being insulted in front of her children was described by another adult as "*humiliating*" (Case 87-16).

Feeling **sickened** was considered a form of frustration with the intensity or frequency of the insult. For instance, a victim was sickened by a biased customer persistently asking humiliating questions (Case 176-17).

When violence was involved, negative emotions were more likely to be expressed (67%, n=18/27). In cases when younger victims were involved, reporters were more likely to express negative emotions. In the majority of cases including children between 10 and 19 years old,

emotional response was included (88%, n=7/8). The possibility of including emotional responses dropped in cases as the victims' age increased. The strongest emotional response was worry for the 30-39 age group followed by being scared by the 20-29 age group.

Expression of emotions was in force especially when the insult was related to presuming Muslims kill (83%, n=10/12) or associated with terrorism (61%, n=17/28).

Age and Emotional Response of Reporter (Numbers)
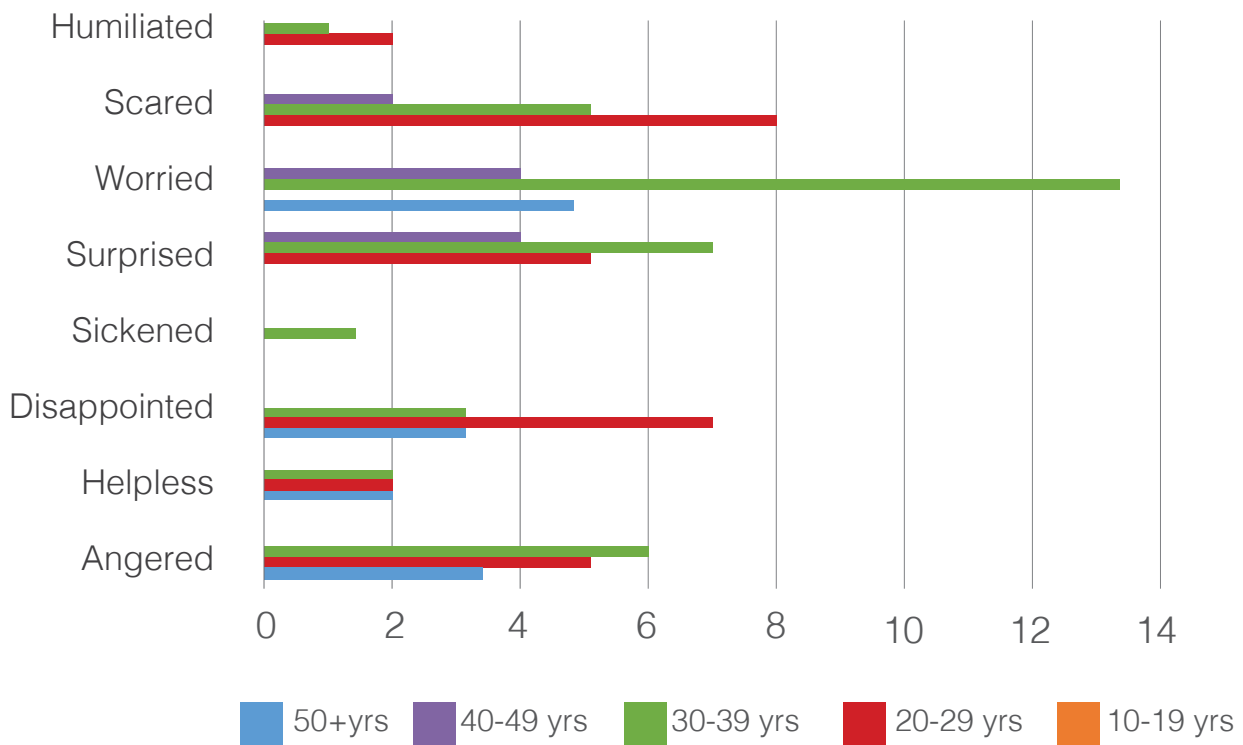
Expression of emotions was in force especially when the insult was related to presuming Muslims kill (83%, n=10/12) or associated with terrorism (61%, n=17/28)

Gender Dynamics

Female victims were more likely to express negative emotions (62%, n=69/112) compared to male victims (52%, n=17/33). Gender of the perpetrator did not seem to affect the victims' expression of emotions. However, negative emotions were more likely to be expressed when the perpetrator was from a non-Anglo-Celtic background (63%, n=5/8) compared to those from an Anglo-Celtic background (42%, n=5/12). This could be due to unpredictability of an assault by an ethnically minority group member.

7.2. Physical Reaction

Physical reactions were only known through direct descriptions included in the reports. One common reaction was to run/walk away. Although this was common among unaccompanied female perpetrators, male figures sometimes showed a similar response to avoid conflict when their wives or family members were publicly harassed. For instance, when a man at a train station started to harass his wife, she moved away with her husband "*towards the exit for safety*" (Case 159-17). Likewise, many targets pretended to ignore the perpetrator for safety reasons. Two hijabi women pretended to ignore a group of perpetrators who "*would become violent*" otherwise (Case 188-16). Crying and/or shaking was the most intense physical reaction by the victim to harassment. In one case, it was not the harshness but subtleness of the harassment that made the victim feel 'crazy':

… These perpetrators know what they're doing. They know the loopholes and the legislation and are careful with the choice of words when terrorising you. They know how to make you fear leaving your house to go grocery shopping. They know how to normalise this poor treatment for your children. For me this is my fifth verbal incident, others include

> *being followed and needing to seek refuge in a cafe only to*
>
> *be followed in, and it's just the straw the broke the camel's*
>
> *back. It's 11 hours later and I am still shaking.* (Case 226-16)

When compared to the previous report, similar victim emotions such as anger, sadness and disappointment are in force. In addition, physical reactions such as crying and shaking are reported in the present report, indicating the intensity of incidents to victims.

Gender Dynamics

Female reporters' expression of feelings in response to interpersonal cases were slightly higher (10%) whereas male reporters' expression of feelings in response to generic cases (where all Muslims are addressed—mostly via written material/ graffiti) were significantly higher (17% in comparison to 7%).

7.3. Expressed Long-term Consequences/Impact

The long-term consequences were mostly unreported and declared only in 13% of 202 cases, mostly through the expression of negative emotions (n=24/108 compared to no expression of negative emotions n=2/94). When helplessness was expressed, long-term impact was included (64%, n= 9/14). From analysis of the available data, long-term consequences were grouped in four categories.

When helplessness
was expressed,
long-term impact
was included
(64%, n= 9/14)

7.3.1. Disappointment with Australia (Being Negatively Affected by Increasing Islamophobia)

One Australian directly witnessed the harassment of her revert daughter and granddaughter, expressing her expectation for Australia to be better than it is today:

> *[After giving the incident details] Australia should*
>
> *be better than this.* (Case 193-16)

Another Muslim revert, who experienced *"discrimination and racism on almost a daily basis,"* expressed her shame at her Australian community:

I am a revert to Islam Alhamdulillah [thanks to God] and I have been wearing the hijab for around a year, and since then I have faced discrimination and racism on almost a daily basis. I am very ashamed of my Australian community and how they are treating their fellow Australian Muslims and the Muslim community. (Case 116-17)

Another Muslim woman wearing the hijab felt disappointed for today's Australia under the influence of some far-right parties' political rhetoric:

I'm so sick of the situation politicians have started. Even the police said I couldn't do anything because it's "freedom of speech". This is the Australia we live in now. (Case 74-16)

7.3.2 Long-term Emotional Effect

Long-term effects can appear as emotional impact or change in one's choices, behaviours or daily routines. Vulnerable people were more likely to express the emotional effects of an unpleasant Islamophobic incident.

While 88% (n=29/33) of vulnerable victims expressed immediate negative emotions (worry was the most commonly expressed emotion – 58%), in 30% of cases (n=10/33), all of which included children, long-term consequences were expressed. Apparently, children's presence had harmful effects on parents. The emotional impact for a father appeared as an unforgettable painful memory.

… He not only abused us, he also went into my little children's (aged 10, 8, 7 and 5) face and said he would love to kill them all. My kids got

Long-term effects can appear as emotional impact or change in one's choices, behaviours or daily routines. Vulnerable people were more likely to express the emotional effects of an unpleasant Islamophobic incident

> *scared and started crying. I cannot forget that journey for*
>
> *my entire life as I was sitting helplessly and watching him*
>
> *abuse myself, my wife and children.* (Case 150-16)

The emotional impact of the anti-Muslim rhetoric fuelled by far-right political parties worried a mother when her 10-year old daughter asked, '*'Why do people hate Muslims?*" but more importantly "*internalising this rhetoric as matter of fact and normal*" (Case 163-16).

7.3.3. Change of Daily Routines; Limitation of Options

One's choices of where to go, how to travel and which way to act can be shaped according to one's experiences of Islamophobia. For instance, one victim was "*scared to use*" a particular taxi service (Case 141-16). Another victim always needed to change her route when going to work:

> *I work at the office opposite Circular Quay. Yesterday I saw*
>
> *a junkie (old man), he saw me and started shouting at me*
>
> *with all those verbal abuse stuff which I don't recall and he*
>
> *followed me but since he could not walk fast I got rid of*
>
> *him. Now I see him today in front of the station and I am*
>
> *really scared because I had to somehow change my route*
>
> *to get to the office. This is my daily route.* (Case 96-16)

Fear traumatised some victims and affected their daily lives

Comparatively less than the previous report, yet concerning, was the extent to which fear traumatised some victims and affected their daily lives:

> *I had just finished eating at X Kababs and as I was*
>
> *leaving a group of young Australian men called me a*
>
> *"rag head" and a "sand nigger" and told me to "go*
>
> *back to where you came from". I was so upset that I ran*
>
> *home crying. I've been afraid to go out since this incident*
>
> *and it has made me depressed.* (Case 126-17)

7.3.4. Removing Scarf

Not mentioned deliberately but stated incidentally in some cases was that harassment and discrimination led hijabi women to take off their scarves.

When a woman with three young children was abused at a shopping centre due to her Islamic clothing, a lady in a singlet sitting next to the victim explained she had to remove her hijab due to harassment:

> *Security moved us to the management office soon after that but not before a sister who I happened to sit next to me said she removed her hijab and abaya because she was tired of being harassed. I didn't know she was a sister till she said that, SubhanAllah, she was dressed in a singlet.* (Case 226-16)

Another woman opted to remove her scarf when picking up her daughter from school as she did not want her child to be identified as a Muslim and bullied (Case 225-16), while another woman removed her scarf when she went to a job interview (Case 168-17).

Relying on the follow-up interviews with the victims, the impact section will be extended and analysed in detail in a separate qualitative research project.

One woman opted to remove her scarf when picking up her daughter from school as she did not want her child to be identified as a Muslim and bullied (Case 225-16)
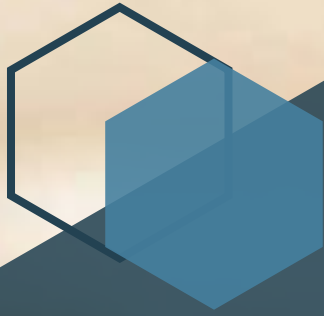
Online Incidents

Online Islamophobia is widespread. Although retrieval of numerous Islamophobia cases on social media is possible by using analysis tools, this report relies only on cases reported to the Register by victims, proxies and witnesses. Accordingly, this report analyses 147 verified online cases reported to the Register in 2016-2017.

1.1. Social Context and Online Platforms

The social context of online cases is made up of Australian internet users. As of 2018, 88% of Australians are active internet users. The average number of accessible internet devices per household increased from 5.8 to 6.2 in 2016-17 (ABS 2018).

The fertile platform for cultivating and spreading anti-Muslim hate is popular social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube, which are deliberately used by far-right groups and individual Islamophobes to disseminate anti-Muslim hate worldwide. In addition, reiteration through replying, liking and sharing anti-Muslim posts increases and normalises the online hate culture.

Considering the widespread internet culture in Australian households, especially those with children and youth, the online hate cultu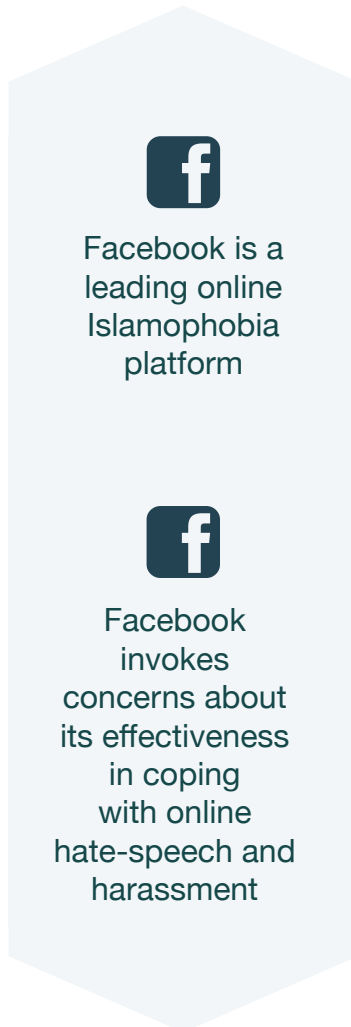re becomes increasingly concerning. In 2016-17, the highest proportion of internet users (98%) were youth aged 15 to 17 years and social networking was ranked one of the three most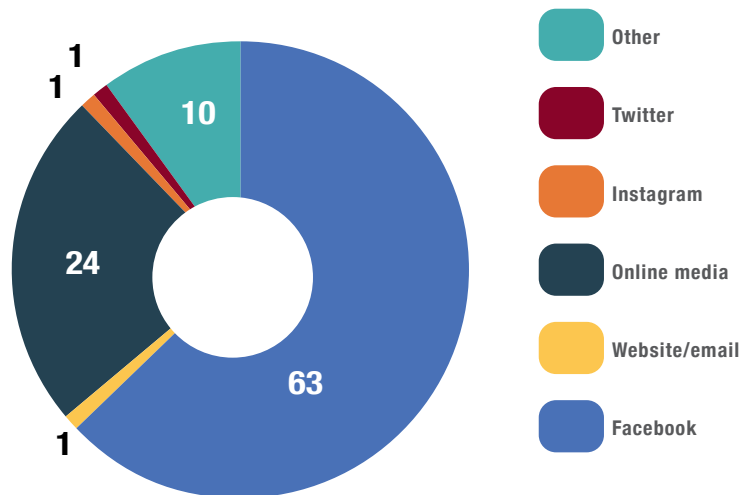 popular online activities, with an increase in popularity (ABS 2018). Households with children aged 15 and under have an average of 7.8 devices in contrast to households with no children (5.4 devices). According to research conducted among 2,448 Australian children aged 12-17 by the Office of the eSafety Commissioner and the Department of Education and Training, a high proportion of youth encounter inappropriate or hateful content online. 53% of the surveyed children were targets or witnesses of anti-Muslim hate. Anti-Muslim hate was the most dominant hate type to be exposed online

(https://www.esafety.gov.au/about-the-office/research-library/online-hate-infographic).

1.2. Online Hate Platforms

As documented in national and international reports, Facebook is a leading online Islamophobia platform (Obeler 2014 and TellMAMA reports since 2011). In 147 online cases reported to the Register, the majority (63%) of online Islamophobia (excluding 30 cases that target directly the Islamophobia Register Facebook page) occurred through Facebook.

In 2016-17, the highest proportion of internet users (98%) were youth aged 15 to 17 years and social networking was ranked one of the three most popular online activities, with an increase in popularity

53%

53% of the surveyed children were targets or witnesses of anti-Muslim hate. Anti-Muslim hate was the most dominant hate type to be exposed online

The second highest group of reports (24%) consisted of reports of news channels, blogs and websites.

Facebook is a leading online Islamophobia platform

Facebook invokes concerns about its effectiveness in coping with online hate-speech and harassment

Online Platforms (%)

Legend:
- Other
- Twitter
- Instagram
- Online media
- Website/email
- Facebook

Regardless of the popularity of Twitter and Instagram, Islamophobic incidents occurring in these platforms could not be captured sufficiently due to the lack of Twitter and Instagram reporting channels to the Register. Other (10%) included TV and radio episodes aired and stored online and reported to the Register with snapshots.

As the most common Islamophobia platform (63%), Facebook invokes concerns about its effectiveness in coping with online hate-speech and harassment. Facebook defines hate speech as a "direct attack on people" based on a person's characteristics, including "religious affiliation." Facebook elaborates on these attacks being dehumanising, violent or visual speech (Tier 1) or appearing as statements of inferiority, such as expressions of contempt, disgust and foul language (Tier 2). After defining its scope, Facebook denies accommodating either type of hate speech (Facebook Community Standards: https://www.facebook.com/communitystandards/hate_speech).

Nevertheless, Facebook cannot effectively avoid being a hate platform. Ineffectiveness and slow removal of perpetrating pages was complained about by a reporter:

"*…According to Facebook they are watching [for violations of] community guidelines and I cannot get the false pages removed. These are his pages that I know of…*" (Case 108-17).

Some pages were found to continue operating despite multiple complaints:

> *This needs to be looked into as reporting it by a few*
>
> *people has done nothing. … It is the wallpaper and is of*
>
> *severed heads. FB does nothing … I've also had a few*
>
> *friends report it and nothing is done.* (Case 61-16)

A reporter found removing hate pages impossible as they reappear again under different names immediately after they are shut down:

> *Every time they get banned and start up another*
>
> *group/page, I'll report it.* (Case 1-17)

Unless the trolls are totally banned from Facebook, they will continue to actively spread hate on Facebook, as mentioned by one reporter:

> *I have reported him several times, Facebook has thankfully*
>
> *removed some photos but he continues to post these*
>
> *types of pictures (not a solution).* (Case 117-16)

Facebook's condemnation of hate, measures to handle online hate and acknowledgement for the need to educate the public (Facebook, Submission to Department of Communication's Enhancing Online Safety for Children Report 2014) have not changed Facebook being the most popular hate-disseminating avenue.

Ineffectiveness in handling hate is a concern since there are 2.01 billion active users in the world and 15 million monthly active users in Australia today (Vivid Social) and they are exposed to daily public displays of hate against Muslims.

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2. Demographics

2.1. Reporters: Victims, Proxies and Witnesses

Online cases consisting of 147 reports are mostly reported by witnesses (82%) in contrast to victims (14%) and proxies (3%). Reporting was found to be a duty for some reporters as seen in the following example:

> *I'm not sure what you guys do with all this, but at least I now have somewhere to send it.* (Case 116-16)
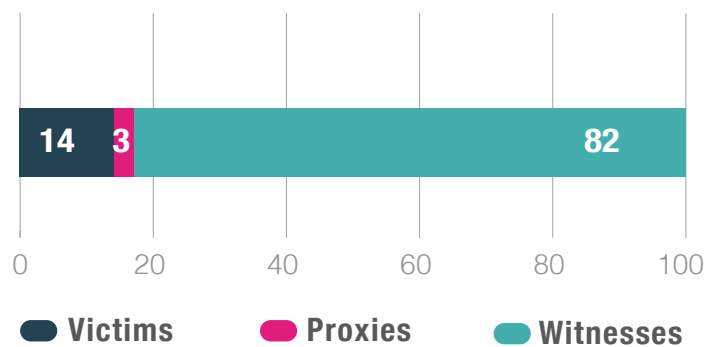
Reporters (%)

Witness reporters, especially Muslim ones (65%), can be counted as targets of online Islamophobia. Consequently, many of them raised their concerns and how much they were affected by anti-Muslim online hate (see the impact section for details).

In some cases, upon posting their pro-Muslim comments, witnesses have become direct targets. For instance, a Muslim internet user began to be intimidated personally after commenting on a movie:

> *… Another posting person began slanging me in private messages calling me vile names linked directly to my hijab and Islam calling me a male hating "traitor" to my race and a disgrace to Australia and I should*

In some cases, upon posting their pro-Muslim comments, witnesses have become direct targets

be bested and pissed on. He then attempted to hack my FB account but it notified me via my phone. Five attempts were made. Then when that failed, he created several pages using my profile picture and my name but listing them in such a way that I cannot call them imposter profiles. (Case 108-17)

2.1.1. Gender of Reporters

Demographic information such as gender and Muslim/non-Muslim affiliation were identified according to gender identification by the reporter or social media user's profile. However, it is possible some online profiles do not represent the user's real profile.

Male online incident reporters (58%) were higher than their female counterparts (42%) while reporting 147 cases. Since the previous report, there was a significant increase in the number of male online reporters (from 31% to 58%) and a decrease in the number of female reporters (from 69% to 42%). The absence of a female face on the Register's Facebook in Mariam Veiszadeh, director of the Islamophobia Register, during that time might have been a factor in the decrease of female online reporters.
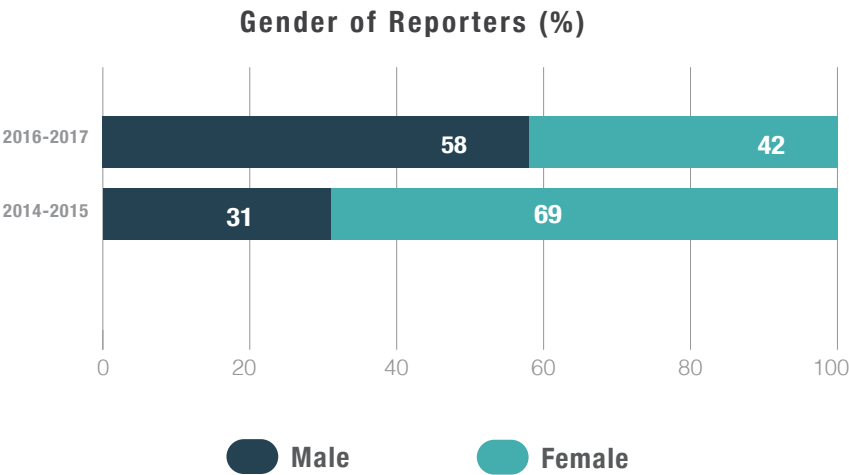
Gender of Reporters (%)

	Male	Female
2016-2017	58	42
2014-2015	31	69

● **Male**　　● **Female**

2.1.2. Religion of Reporters: Muslim or Non-Muslim

Similar to the previous report, non-Muslim online reporters amounted to around 35%. Despite being non-Muslim, some witnesses were also harassed by Islamophobes for publicly showing empathy and understanding towards Australian Muslims. The following message was sent to the Facebook inbox of the victim because of her Muslim-friendly comments on social media (Case 68-17).

Since the previous report, there was a significant increase in the number of male online reporters (from 31% to 58%) and a decrease in the number of female reporters (from 69% to 42%)

35%

Similar to the previous report, non-Muslim online reporters amounted to around 35%
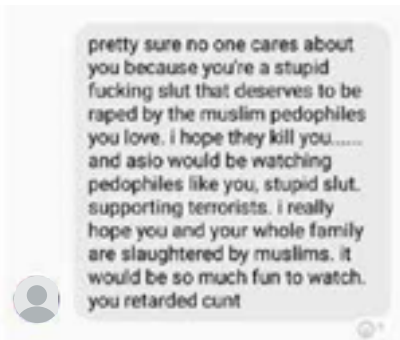
Reading two non-Muslim women's pro-Muslim posts, A… J…. expressed his anger by cursing them:

> *I hope ISIS gets you, oh wait you love them anyway … haha scums.* (Case 103-16)

Another non-Muslim reporter was targeted for retweeting an Age article supporting Yassmin Abdel-Magied. The reporter, who became the victim of hate, found it "depressing" and a limitation to her freedom of expression:

> *If you retweet a Melbourne Age [article] in support of an intelligent young Muslim woman you can be subjected to cyber bullying. This is depressing.* (Case 113-17)
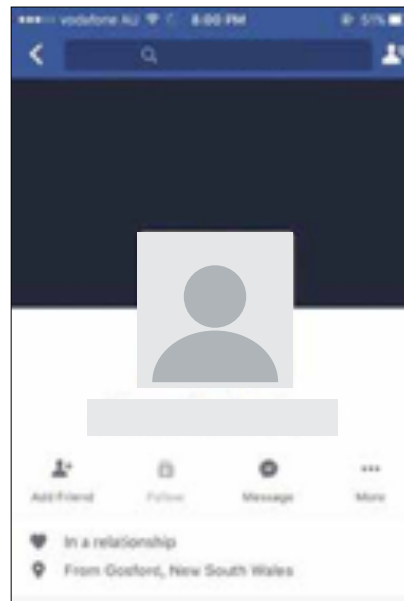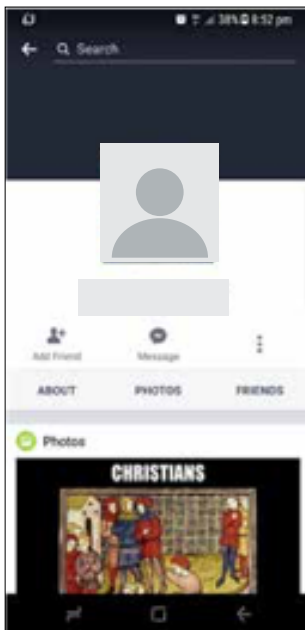
2.2. Perpetrators and Victims

2.2.1. Gender of the Victim and Perpetrator

The gender dynamics are quite distinct regardless of the limited data. Similar to the offline and previous report's gender pattern, of the identifiable 90 cases, most victims were female (61%) whereas most perpetrators were male (72%)

When compared to the previous report, female victims' number dropped from 65% to 61% in the present report whereas male perpetrators' number increased from 61% to 72%.
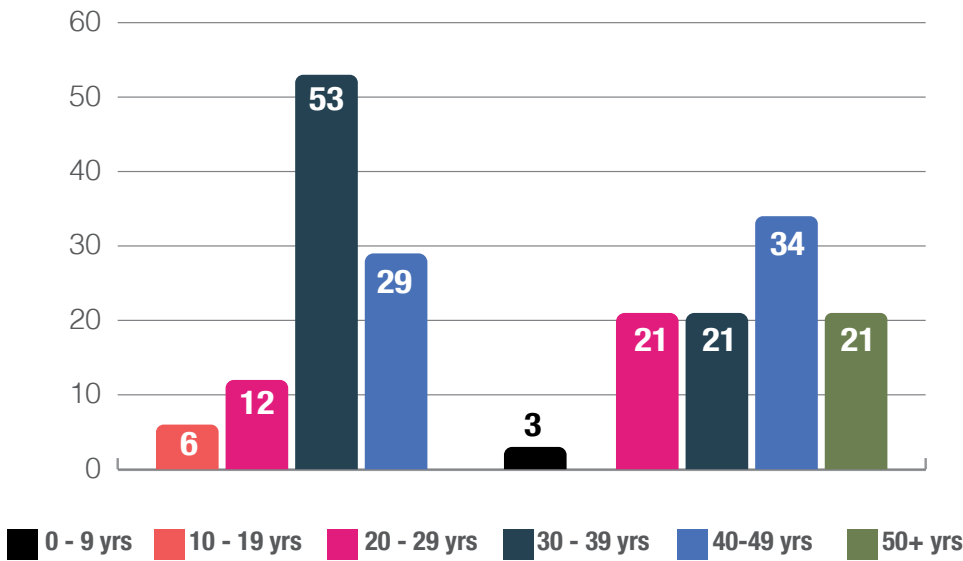
2.2.2. Age of Victim and Perpetrator

Victim and perpetrator details were recorded based on the information provided in reports. This information was particularly limited for online cases. Another factor was that online cases were largely generic and based on anti-Muslim literature.

Subsequently, only around 20% of perpetrators' and victims' age details were known in 147 online cases. According to the available data (when non-applicable and unknown cases were excluded) of the 17 online cases, victims' age was mostly concentrated in middle age, i.e. 30-49years (82%). In contrast, perpetrator age was consistently spread across the age ranges.

The gender dynamics are quite distinct regardless of the limited data. Similar to the offline and previous report's gender pattern, of the identifiable 90 cases, most victims were female (61%) whereas most perpetrators were male (72%)

Age of Victim and Perpetrator(%)

| ■ 0 - 9 yrs | ■ 10 - 19 yrs | ■ 20 - 29 yrs | ■ 30 - 39 yrs | ■ 40-49 yrs | ■ 50+ yrs |

2.2.3. Ethnicity of the Victim and Perpetrator

Ethnicity of victim and perpetrator was additional information that captured the background of those involved in Islamophobic incidents. Of the 147 online cases (73% unknown, 20% not applicable), 5% of victims were of Arabic background and 1% of European ethnicity.

From the known perpetrators (82% unknown), 17% were Anglo-Celtic whereas 1% were identified as non-Anglo-Celtic. This was not far from the previous report, which recorded 15% Anglo-Celtic perpetrators.

3. Incidents

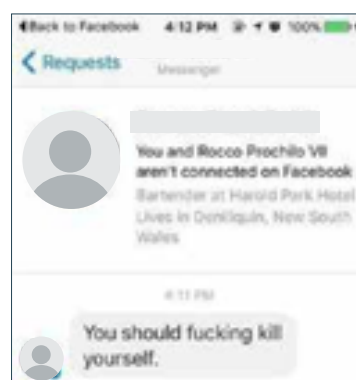## 3.1. Incident Reporting Platforms

Many reporters opted to submit their incident reports via social media by sending a private direct message to the Register's Facebook page. Of the 147 online incidents, 82% were reported via Facebook and 18% were reported via the Register website and email.

The reports were divided into two categories by type. Source types were reported without addressing a specific post, incident or issue. Most of the reports (83%) were source types. They were usually Islamophobic literature, links, pages, channels or social groups. The incident category referring to a specific comment, post or statement within which an issue develops and becomes the reason for reporting, consisted 14% of the reports.

3.2. Generic/Interpersonal

Muslims were targeted without focusing on an individual in generic cases whereas individuals were harassed in interpersonal cases in online platforms.

Following almost a similar pattern to that of the previous report, of the 147 cases, 80% of the incidents were generic whereas 20% were interpersonal. Yet, generic cases, especially those including visual supplements and extreme hatred, were still destructive for some viewers. For instance, one reporter found ongoing anti-Muslim hate posts from one perpetrator "*disgusting*" (Case 117-16). Online interpersonal cases varied from verbal hate to intimidation through private messaging of the Muslim targets. For instance, one victim found a private message from a stranger stating "*You should f…ing kill yourself.*"

Of the 147 online incidents, 82% were reported via Facebook and 18% were reported via the Register website and email

Online intimidation included sending death threats to targets and their families (Case 142-16), "hacking", "tracking", "stalking and spying on" the targets online (Case 142-16). Ongoing hate emails and posts to Muslim individuals were also a means of online intimidation

Online intimidation included sending death threats to targets and their families (Case 142-16), "hacking", "tracking", "stalking and spying on" the targets online (Case 142-16). Ongoing hate emails and posts to Muslim individuals were also a means of online intimidation. One Muslim woman reported receiving 17 hate emails from one individual (Case 162-16). Despite reporting the case to the police, no investigation was conducted; instead, the police suggested the victim block the perpetrator's emails (Case 162-16).
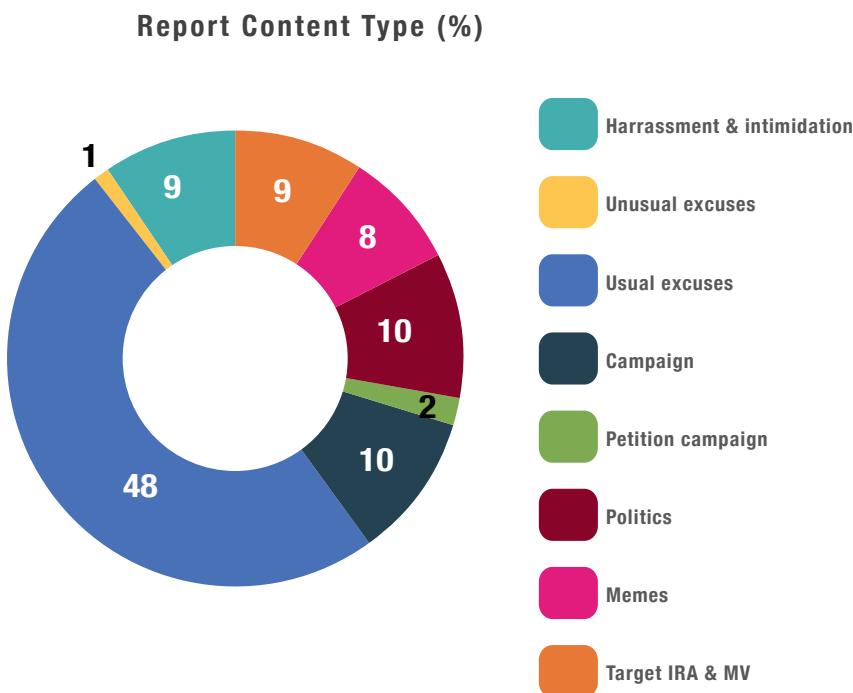
Some cases went beyond intimidation and became frightening for the targets and their families. A Muslim teenager had a quarrel with far-right interlocutors. They attacked the reporter's son by publicising him as "*an extremist Nazi Muslim*" attacking Jews and ex-Muslims. The father was so concerned about the possible consequences of this accusation that he contacted the police and sought help from the Register (Case 35-16).

4. Report Content Types

Content type was coded in the data to identify online harassment tactics. Of the 147 cases, the most common type of harassment was to spread anti-Muslim hate with cliché rhetoric such as equating Muslims with terrorists and harassing their religious appearance (48%). The other categories are listed below to provide some insight about types of online harassment.

Report Content Type (%)

Legend:
- Harrassment & intimidation
- Unusual excuses
- Usual excuses
- Campaign
- Petition campaign
- Politics
- Memes
- Target IRA & MV

Values shown: 9, 9, 8, 10, 2, 10, 48, 1

Online intimidation included sending death threats to targets and their families (Case 142-16), "hacking", "tracking", "stalking and spying on" the targets online (Case 142-16). Ongoing hate emails and posts to Muslim individuals were also a means of online intimidation

Political parties have major influence on social media. Not only do they spread hate from their own political pages but encourage their followers in expressing anti-Muslim hate. In so doing, divisionist politicians contributed to not only normalising but also reinforcing Islamophobic incidents in the public sphere in Australia

4.1. Organised Political Campaigns

Organised far-right political campaigns/politicians constituted 10% of 147 cases reported to the Register. Inherently, Islamophobic speeches portraying Muslims negatively were endorsed and/or presented by politicians.

Political parties have major influence on social media. Not only do they spread hate from their own political pages but encourage their followers in expressing anti-Muslim hate. In so doing, divisionist politicians contributed to not only normalising but also reinforcing Islamophobic incidents in the public sphere in Australia.

In one example, a senator from Victoria was reported to the Register for "*publicly attacking Prophet Mohammad with lies and allegations*" (Case 21-16). The reporter urged the senator to either support her allegations or publicly announce she was wrong. The reporter was surprised with "*the publicly [announced] lies*" and the support the senator received from her political party (Case 21-16).

Sometimes the perpetrator's political affiliation with anti-Muslim political parties was made explicit by the reporter (Case 68-17).

4.2. Boycotting and Buycotting Campaigns

Such organisational activities constituted 10% of 147 online cases. Facebook pages were established to boycott something or be organised around an anti-Muslim cause such as protesting the Bendigo mosque (Case 110-17), deporting the Grand Mufti of Australia (Case 53-17) and staying away from halal certified products (Case 133-16).

Buycotting included selling or encouraging to buy anti-Muslim products, such as a Facebook page selling non-halal t-shirts (Case 44-17) and a web page selling Muslim-hating material, potentially linked to far right extremist movements (Case 144-17).

4.3. Harassment and Intimidation

Harassment and intimidation of individuals constituted 9% of 147 online cases. Online intimidation can include trolling, constantly emailing, sending victims personal messages on facebook, using the victim's profile for Islamophobic purposes, threatening to kill the victim as well as hacking and tracking the victim. In the case below, a Muslim woman's screenshot was made the object of anti-Muslim hate rhetoric.

> *One of my friends on Facebook told me that someone on her Facebook*
>
> *page took a screenshot of my profile and posted it on her wall stating*
>
> *"Muslim??" I have a screenshot and the person who did this. Please, is*
>
> *there anything that can be done to close her page down? (Case 60-16)*

Like many other cases, social media users do not know what to do in cases where their privacy is breached and frequently seek help and guidance from the Register.

4.4. Targeting the Register and its Founder

Online targeting of the Register and its founder Mariam Veiszadeh, which was counted only when reported by a third party, constituted 8% of 147 online cases. Although it received floods of hate emails/posts and fake reports, they were not counted to avoid self-reporting. For instance, the following campaign to shut down the Islamophobia Register page was brought to the attention of the Register by a reporter, who was surfing anti-Muslim hate pages with a fake account (Case 34-17).

"Hi guys, spotted this just now. I'm in the group under a fake name. Anonymous please. It's in the infidel brotherhood of Australia 3 closed group." (Case 34-17)

(Case 33-16)

4.5. Memes

Memes constituted 8% of 147 online cases. They are the new form of propagation as they reach millions in an instant with a very short yet impactful message, such as derogatory images of Prophet Muhammad and Muslims (Case 33-16).

4.6. Petition Campaigns

Petition campaigns constituted 2% of 147 online cases. Online petitioning platforms have been used to organise internet users around a particular Islamophobic project or demand. Although there are many Islamophobic petitions, the Register counted only those brought to its attention via third party reporting. One report (Case 17-17) addressed a petition against building Islamic schools, which received 5,589 supporters and eventually led to refusal of the school (https://www.change.org/p/council-penrithcity-nsw-gov-au-say-no-to-proposed-islamic-college-in-penrith). The petition and signatories' reasons for supporting this petition were Islamophobic in content.

Another reported petition campaign was a call for the ABC to publicly condemn and fire Yassmin Abdel-Magied over her explanation of Sharia in her argument with ex-Senator Jacqui Lambie (Case 9-17). This petition accumulated 48,627 signatures.

4.7. Unusual Pretexts

Unusual pretexts constituted 1% of 147 online cases. Such cases displayed how anti-Muslim rage can be displayed through surprisingly original pretexts.

Yassmin Abdel-Magied arguing with Jacqui Lambie on Q&A (aired on 13 February 2017).

Such cases made some Muslims think it is impossible to avoid anti-Muslim hatred. For instance, a video about a Muslim couple tasting durian for the first time received a hateful Islamophobic comment, expressing a wish for the couple to be killed with the knife they were using to cut the fruit. The targeted couple's response was disappointment: "*Even on YouTube videos, me and the wife aren't safe*" (Case 80-17).

Most of the unusual pretexts to attack Muslims appeared due to Muslim women's Islamic appearance with headscarves. Because of their headscarves, some Muslim women were individually targeted and intimidated online. For instance, one hijabi principal lawyer's photo along with her contact number and email were circulated with sarcastic, sexist and humiliating comments added.

In another post, the closure of a hardware store was associated with the employment of a hijabi Muslim woman (Case 22-17). The public annoyance of Muslim women's appearance with the hijab was equated to public urination:
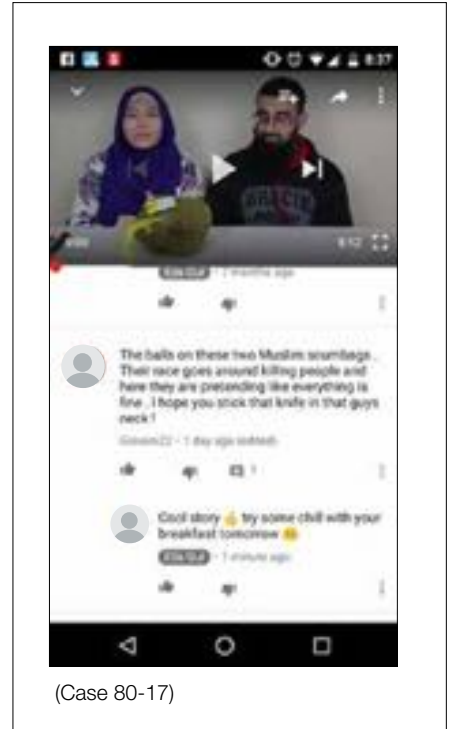

(Case 80-17)

> *No matter what that thing is, we find it annoying. Same*
>
> *with speeding down the street in a hotted up car,*
>
> *wearing a hijab or urinating in public.* (Case 29-17)

After publicly justifying harassment of Muslim women, the perpetrator added: "*If you don't want us to be annoyed, then don't do things in public to annoy us.*" (Case 29-17

5. Social Context

5.1. Third Parties

Online incidents did not occur classically between a victim and perpetrator in the presence or absence of third parties such as bystanders and passers-by. However, there was a strong online community, who reacted to the perpetrator's posts. Emojis of likes, hearts, and laughs, sad, angry, and surprised as well as comments and shares indicated the presence and active participation of third parties in online anti-Muslim hate incidents. However, it was

In another post, the closure of a hardware store was associated with the employment of a hijabi Muslim woman (Case 22-17).

difficult to interpret the meaning behind emojis as they do not clearly indicate if they were posted in reaction to the post's content or the perpetrator's action.

The highest number of reactions (1.5K) among the reported Facebook posts were about the famous young Muslim girl who took a smiling selfie with a group of anti-Muslim protestors. The photo captured an unusual moment and the post generated diverse reactions and responses ranging from praise for the smiling Muslim girl to praise for the anti-Muslim protestors and their smiling faces (Case 44-16).

Another popular post in which a man advised women to go out on the streets naked so they can differentiate between Muslims and non-Muslims received 102,613 shares on Facebook (Case 6-17). According to the reporter "*it's an oldie*" but still a popular post.

No matter what that thing is, we find it annoying. Same with speeding down the street in a hotted up car, wearing a hijab or urinating in public. (Case 29-17)

(Case 44-16)

5.2. Third Party Responses

Third party responses were not coded like offline ones due to the inapplicability of circumstances. Nevertheless, third party involvement, where a third party is drawn into the dispute by one of the parties, can sometimes be observed on social media. For instance, following the degrading comments of a motor company employer, the case was taken by the reporter to the company due to company's brand being associated with degrading comments on Muslims. The company stated it was not their "*business*" to tell people "*what opinions they can and cannot [have] outside of workplace.*" They, nevertheless, informed the reporter they were "*having conversations*" with the perpetrator due to their brand being publicly used by the perpetrator (Case 39-17). Unsatisfied with the result, the reporter decided to publicly boycott the motor company because they were seen as "*supporting bigots*" (Case 39-17).

5.2.1. Reporting to Police/Police Responses

Of the 147 online cases, one quarter of which were at the level of wanting to harm/kill (for details see the Severity of Hate Rhetoric section), only 7% of online incidents were reported to the police. Cases taken to the police were always intimidating in nature and police always stated nothing could be done about it.

Death threats with location details, some of which were reported to the police, were found to be more intimidating and threatening. For instance, a post on the Bendigo Stop the Mosque Facebook page, which received likes, was reported to the police:

> *We have to kill all Muslims before any more innocents*
>
> *are killed. They are not human, even animals don't*
>
> *behave this way. Maybe put a bounty on their*
>
> *heads?"* 31 likes. 7 hours ago. (Case 165-17)

In another case, a mosque's page was hacked (Case 191-16) and replaced with an anarchy symbol and statements. Because the reporter "*was not associated with the mosque,*" his report was not taken seriously by the police.

The growing gap in online anti-Muslim hate reporting is significant and the reporters' demotivation to report can be observed in their dissatisfaction with an outcome.

(Case 39-17)

When compared
to the previous
Islamophobia report,
cases reported to the
police dropped from
17% to 7%

5.2.2. Australian and NSW Law Enforcement to Curb Hate Crimes

Religious vilifications and discriminations are legally in limbo since religion is not mentioned along with "the race, colour or national or ethnic origin of the person or group' under section 18C in the Racial Discrimination Act 1975 (Cth).

Vilification against a religious group is only unlawful under anti-discrimination laws in Queensland, ACT, Tasmania and Victoria. It is up to the victim to lodge a complaint, and typically, it will not involve police. There are criminal offences of serious vilification in Queensland and Victoria, but it appears the Victorian one has been used once, and the Queensland offence, never, despite numerous instances becoming public knowledge. This is widely thought to be a result of poor awareness within police of this law, and the necessity of the police to finalise cases quickly through charging lower level offences.

Section 93Z of the NSW criminal code s93Z (passed on 20 June 2018) is indisputably a significant attempt in curbing anti-Muslim hate crimes since it provides for a maximum three-year jail sentence upon inciting or threatening violence based on race, religion, sexuality or various other grounds. The law is similarly applicable to any form of online communication falling under inciting or threatening violence. The success of this law enforcement in implementation and reducing hate crimes will be better assessed in the long run. The pressing need at this juncture is education of the community as well as the police about the application of the offence. This law responds to incitement to violence, but not incitement to hatred, which can be quite intense sometimes.

The Western Australia law (s 77 of the Criminal Code 1913) is regarded as an effective benchmark because it has led to a prosecution, however; it applies only to incitement of racial harassment and animosity, which does not include religious groups.

Online versions of religious vilification receive less legal attention than 'offline' harassment, while leaving the targets helpless in their search for justice. The Register receives regular reports in which reporters disclose their lack of knowledge about how to handle the online harassment.

Although Commonwealth Laws criminalise cyber harassment, it is not effectively implemented in practice.

The Commonwealth Criminal Code 1995 provides for an offence of 'using a carriage service to menace, harass or cause offence' and 'using a carriage service to make a threat'. This would include Facebook and online harassment of frequent emails, offensive images and comments. However, it applies to individuals, rather than a group of people identified by their religion.

Regardless of the set fines and three-year imprisonment as the maximum penalty, online Islamophobic harassment of Muslim individuals have not been taken seriously from a policing point of view.
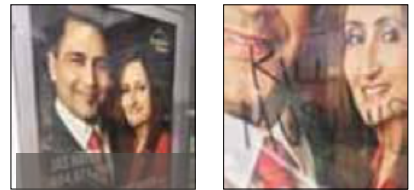
The lack of national law on religious vilification and adequately resourced bias crime units within police, means that most of this crime, whether targeted at groups or individuals, goes unchecked and unpunished. This erodes community confidence, leading to very low reporting rates. While it would not be possible to investigate all incidents, the failure to act at all 'green lights' this behaviour to the community. This has implications for extremism. Research has shown that the organisation of far right extremism tends to be more disparate and involve more 'lone actors', who are very active on social media forums, but less likely to be intercepted in other ways (Jones 2019).

In response, the reporter praised this action: "*Thank God we are not all ignorant!*" (Case 86-17)

5.2.3.   Positive Action

The number of responses to hate inciting posts is beyond counting since reply, share and react facilities provide countless options, including positive responses. However, positive actions are rare due to the limited opportunities of showing non-verbal response in online settings. Sometimes, positive actions are performed in real life but later taken to social media. This sometimes generated an exchange of comments on social media platforms. For instance, an attentive citizen took action to remove anti-Muslim graffiti on a bus stop and took photos of his action to social media, stating "*I'm not one to let that kind of thing slide, so I pulled over and cleaned it off. We can all do something, even a small thing, to combat racism*" (Case 86-17).

6. Content of Insults

Content of insults was coded according to the type of insult involved. Of the 147 incidents, 63% targeted the Muslim religion and 33% were xenophobic targeting ethnicity. An association with terrorism was contained in 29% and a presumption that Muslims kill in 28%. Foul language was identified in 25% of cases online. Insults targeting Muslims' religious appearance or values were the highest proportion, as in the previous report.
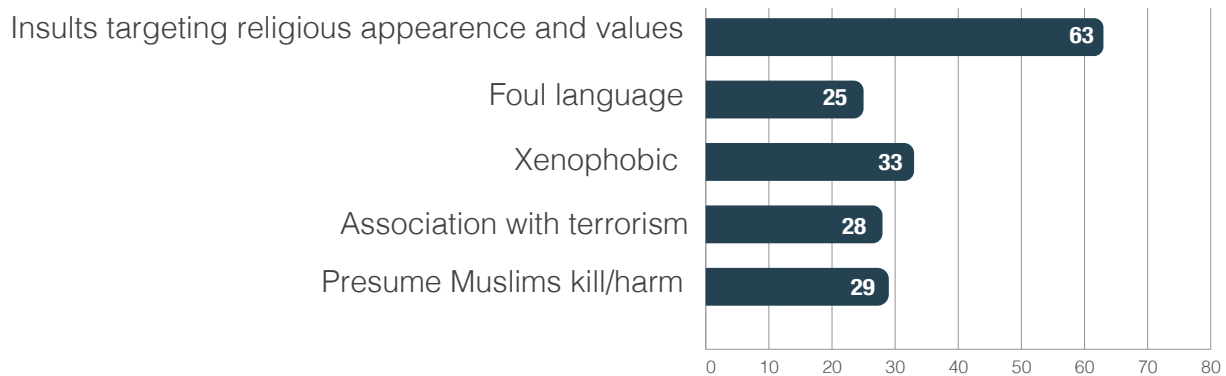
63%

Of the 147 incidents, 63% targeted the Muslims' religious appearence and values

Content of Insults (%)

Insults targeting religious appearence and values	63
Foul language	25
Xenophobic	33
Association with terrorism	28
Presume Muslims kill/harm	29

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80

6.1. Content of Insults by Type

6.1.1. Insults Targeting Muslims' Religious Values and Religious Outlook

Insults targeting religion/religious outlook (63%) were almost double all other categories. This included language that attacked Muslims with regards to the Qur'an, halal, Islamic dress, Islamic teachings and principles. Vilification can be distinguished from religious criticism. The former stirs hatred and revulsion towards people; the latter stirs discussion and debate about ideas.

One Nation's policy on Islam was quoted by another reporter and found to be "*disgusting*" due to the level of demonisation of Muslims by an Australian political leader in the public space:
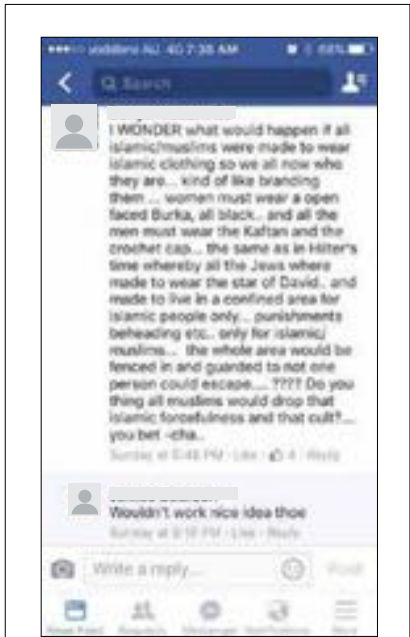
One Nation's policy on Islam was quoted by another reporter and found to be "*disgusting*"

> … *Unfortunately, there are some who have come to our country with the goal of changing our way of life, taking away our freedom and terrorising those who want to live in a peaceful society. Those migrants are the extremist Muslims who are devout to the teachings of Islam and its leaders. All may not follow the teachings of the Qur'an, but if jihad is called (applying*

any methods, including threats, deceit and ISIS-style warfare, to

establish Islam as the dominant power, completely endorsed by

Allah and Mohammed) where do their loyalties lie? (Case 40-16)

One Nation suggests that following the Qur'an is synonymous with terrorism and domination, and implies that seemingly peaceful Muslims must not follow the Qur'an. It then implies that one day a 'jihad is called' and all Muslims will activate their violence. This is comparable to extremist ideologies such as the Great Replacement Theory, followed by the Christchurch terrorist, and also echoed in the platform of former Senator Fraser Anning. The purpose of this communicationis to stir hatred and revulsion towards Muslims, not to stir debate about ideas.

Unsurprisingly, insults targeting religion and religious identity/values/practices of Muslims were picked up by public end-users and popularised as the most common hate rhetoric in both offline and online cases. The most contentious arguments were around women's hijab and Islamic clothing (including Islamic swimsuit burqini, Case 34-16).

Image posted on Facebook of Muslims at the Entrance on vacation in the water with post stating, "*Fucking Muslims… Your in Australia, so wear a normal pair of swimmers or even better fuck off back to your own country...*" (Case 34-16)

Pointing out Pauline Hanson, the leader of One Nation party, who publicly discriminates against Muslims while denigrating their religious values, the reporter asks "*Is this even legal?*" (Case 52-16)

The perpetrator in her post suggested to make Muslims wear Islamic clothes so they can all be identified and placed into a concentration camp (Case 72-16). Another perpetrator in another Facebook post suggested placing refugees and immigrants into concentration camps (Case 118-16). The intensity of hatred directed at Muslims with the mention of Nazi extermination methods discloses the far-right extremist targeting of Muslims

The examples to the right display that being Muslim was sufficient reason to hate one person to the level of wanting to kill.

Anti-Muslim haters confidently incited violence against Muslims in their worship places. One perpetrator was very well-known to the public due to his anti-Muslim online rhetoric:

> *I was listening on my CB radio on the public repeater channel 03 (100km range) and heard P… G… from 1/17 S Street … (everyone knows his address) say that he wants "to fire bomb the mosque at Arundel with all the mozzies trapped in it." This hate speech is very common from this person. His Facebook page "P… D…" shows him giving rude gestures to Muslims https://www.facebook.com...* (Case 161-16)

6.1.2. Xenophobic Content

Xenophobic insults (33%) appeared as racist, discriminative and non-inclusive insults targeting Muslims. Political discourse shapes and raises xenophobic sentiment. For instance, one reporter asked if Kirralie Smith was "Australia's Donald Trump" due to her "*anti-Muslim policy on migration (and) refusing to grant Muslims from certain Muslim countries a visa of residency for ten years*" (Case 41-16).

The repercussions of such sentiments among Islamophobes were evident in the comments on placing refugees and immigrants in concentration camps (Case 118-16) and publicly promoting Muslim bans in Australia, claiming 99% of Muslims were against the West and Australia (Case 173-16). Intolerance to Muslims' existence in Australia was recapped in a comment posted online during Channel 7s live coverage of the London attacks, which read "*to round them all up like the Jews*" (Case 47-17).

Political discourse shapes and raises xenophobic sentiment. For instance, one reporter asked if Kirralie Smith was "Australia's Donald Trump" due to her "*anti-Muslim policy on migration (and) refusing to grant Muslims from certain Muslim countries a visa of residency for ten years*" (Case 41-16)
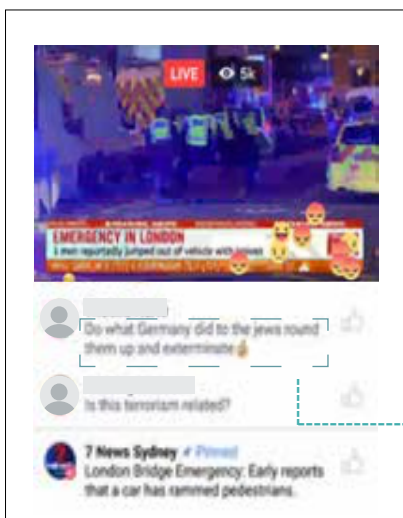
6.1.3.   Association with Terrorism

Association with terrorism (28%), by calling Muslims terrorists or associating them with mass killing and beheadings, blurred the lines between ordinary Muslims and terrorists. For instance, the entire religion was equated to being suicide bombers (Case 86-16) and this was found "disgusting" by the reporter. Likewise, all Muslims were frequently addressed as terrorists, as captured in the post to the left (Case 12-16).

6.1.4.   Presume Muslims Kill/Harm

Presume Muslims kill/harm (29%) refers to insults capturing the belief that Muslims kill, hurt and attack society, making them enemies in the sight of the perpetrator. For example, one perpetrator saw Muslims as a deadly threat and evil:

> *Our women will be stoned, our girls butchered. This is why we are so intent on fighting this evil. An evil that betrays the love and laws of God.* (Case 110-17)

6.1.5.   Foul Language

Foul language (25%) refers to cases that involve illicit and foul language. Foul language was embedded in to the Islamophobic comments in an article, for example: "*Feed the prick to feral pigs*"... "*just shoot the maggot*"... "*Put it in with the prison population and KILL THE F… MUSLIM SCUM*"… "*That c… is not Australian. Send the f… back to where he or his parents come from*" (Case 120-16). The reporter noted "*the comments are pretty scary*" (Case 120-16).
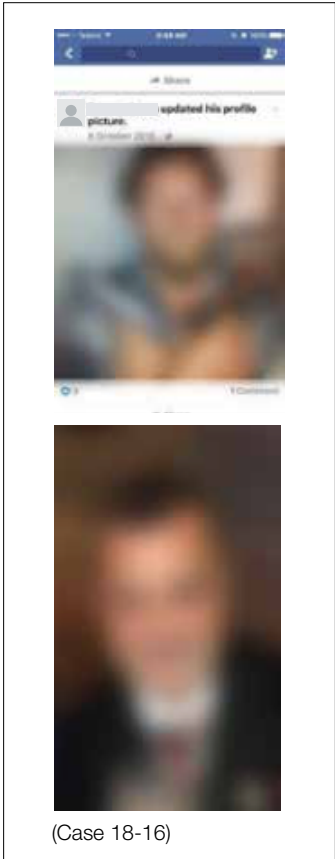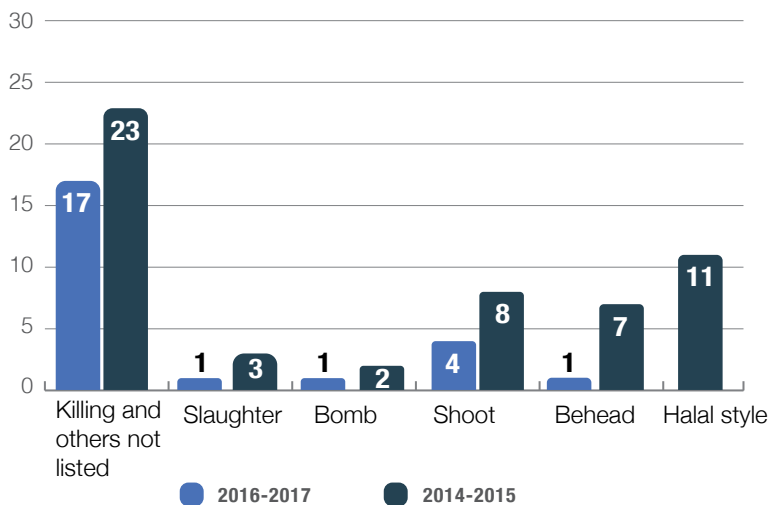
6.2. Death Threats

Compared to the previous report, there were fewer reported threats to kill in any form. Threats to kill were predominantly made online.

Of the 24 online cases involving death threats, 70% mentioned "killing". However, words such as "slaughter", "behead" and "slit throat" were only used in one or two cases. This is of interest because slitting the throat, halal slaughtering and beheading were frequently mentioned in the data from 2014-15 when anti-halal campaigns and beheadings by ISIS preoccupied the public.

6.2.1.   Timing of the Death Threats

Reporting dates of the deadliest threats to the Register are found to be in tandem with international attacks undertaken by individual

Anti-Muslim haters confidently incited violence against Muslims in their worship places

Death Threat Types (%)

(Case 18-16)

A dead Muslim is a good
Muslim. (Case 18-16)

criminals or organisational terrorist groups like ISIS. Although such deadly attacks in different Western countries cannot justify the extreme level of hate for ordinary Muslims in Australia, this non-coincidental pattern may be able to assist in identifying far-right and Islamophobic extremists in such critical times.

The following section gives examples of the deadliest threats online – the desire for mass killing of Muslims and inciting violence. It is important to note that no legal enforcement, measures or monitoring have taken place and most of the perpetrators still have Facebook accounts. If their accounts were withheld by Facebook, they would quickly open another account. Some of them went through visual transformations to survive in the Facebook world. For instance, one extremist holding guns in his hands and making death threats to Muslims from his Facebook page swapped his profile picture with a clean shaved photo without any gun. This surface level change apparently did not mean any real change to his attitude but made it harder to identify him and his dangerous ideas at first sight.

Although the reporter believed "*This guy must be reported to the police*" (Case 18-16), no legal action or enforcement was taken to stop his public incitation of violence.

The post on the left was posted on 25 March 2016, three days after three coordinated suicide bombings by ISIS in Belgium. The ISIS attacks caused 32 deaths and 300 injuries. The bombings were the deadliest act of terrorism in Belgium's history.

6.2.2. Timing of Mass Murder Threats

Posts calling for or threatening the mass murdering of Muslims were quite blunt and unprecedented. The lack of any consequence for such level of death threats by the perpetrators can be a reason for this.
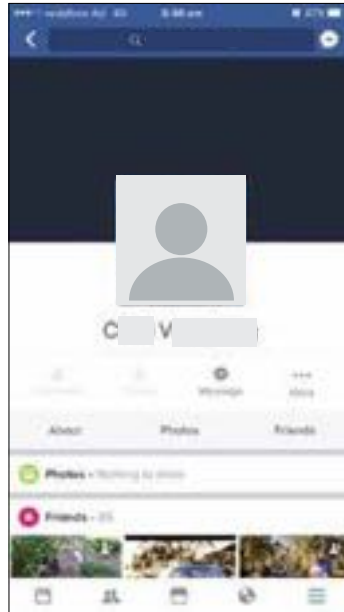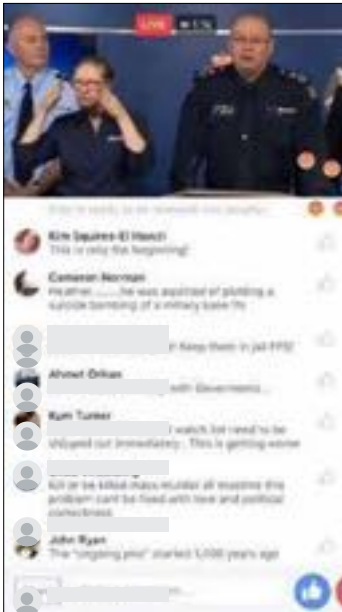
C… V… suggested to "*mass murder all Muslims [as] this problem can't be fixed with love and political correctness*" in his post (Case 45-17), posted three days after the London Bridge attack. On 3 June 2017, a van was deliberately driven into pedestrians on London Bridge allegedly by ISIS terrorists, who stabbed people in and around restaurants and pubs. Consequently, eight people were killed and 48 were injured.

A young extremist named L… G… posted messages supporting the mass murder of Muslims (Case 136-17) on 20 June 2017, when a terrorist bomb caused a small explosion without any casualties at Brussels Central Station. This post was also two weeks after the London Bridge attack.

Another extremist Islamophobe posted on the Bendigo Stop the Mosque Facebook the following:

> "*We have to kill all Muslims before any more innocents are killed. They are not human; even animals don't behave this way, maybe put a bounty on their heads?*" (Case 165-17)

The following post stated "*there is no assimilation but death…*" and continued with death threats to Muslims (Case 19-17). This was posted on 25 March 2016, three days after the ISIS bombings in Brussels, Belgium.
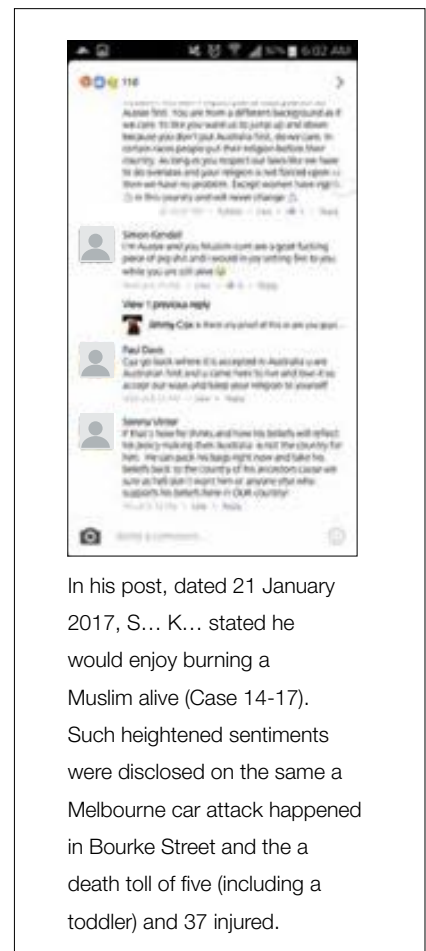
In his post, dated 21 January 2017, S… K… stated he would enjoy burning a Muslim alive (Case 14-17). Such heightened sentiments were disclosed on the same a Melbourne car attack happened in Bourke Street and the a death toll of five (including a toddler) and 37 injured.

The post to "shoot every god dam Muslim in Australia" (Case 99-16) was posted on 31 December. On the same day, a gunman killed 39 and injured 69 people by opening fire at a New Year's Eve celebration in a nightclub in Istanbul, Turkey.

Another post on the same day saw killing Muslims as a duty and patriotism, and the perpetrator made an oath to kill Muslims (Case 88-16).

Although the people killed in the New Year celebration in Turkey were Muslims, the Islamophobic extremist reacted in his post to the attack as combat between Muslims and non-Muslims. (Case 99-16A)
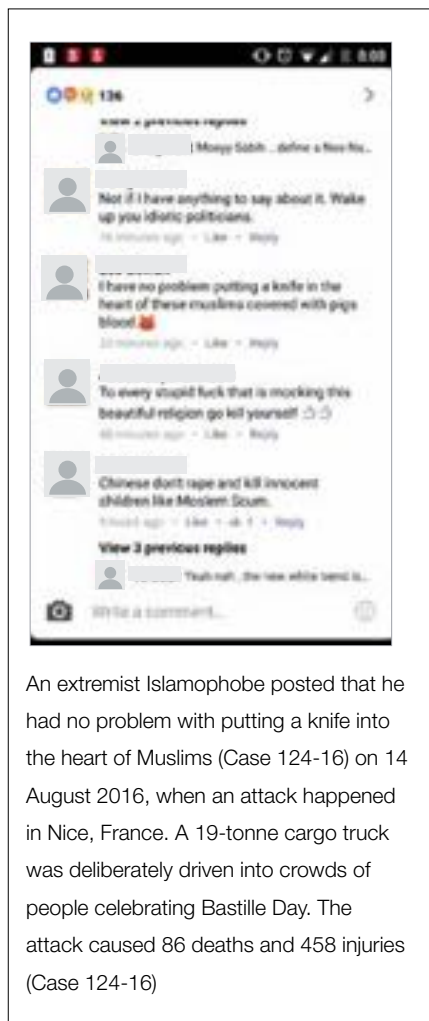
The following lines revealed this Bendigo mosque protestor apparently reacted to the truck attack in Manhattan in October 2017, which caused eight deaths and 11 injuries.

Case 99-16B

An extremist Islamophobe posted that he had no problem with putting a knife into the heart of Muslims (Case 124-16) on 14 August 2016, when an attack happened in Nice, France. A 19-tonne cargo truck was deliberately driven into crowds of people celebrating Bastille Day. The attack caused 86 deaths and 458 injuries (Case 124-16)
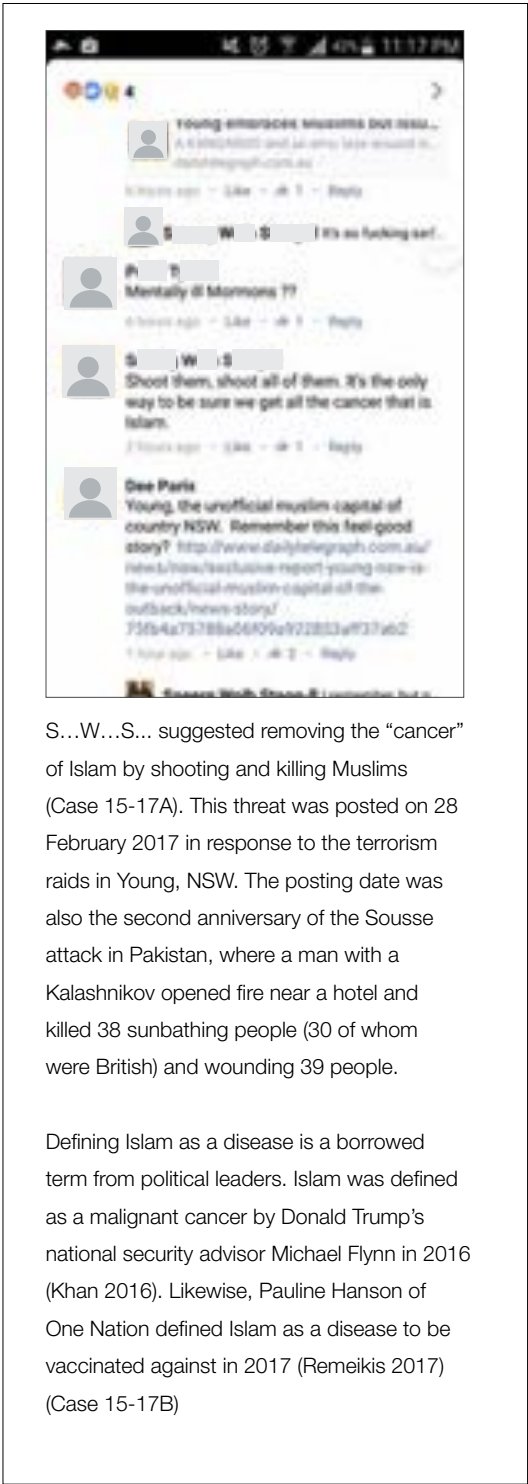

Some extremists targeted Lakemba Mosque to start anarchy two days after the truck attack in Berlin, where a truck smashed into a crowded Christmas market in central Berlin, killing 12 and injuring 49 people. The page also called far-right extremists "patriots" and proposed to take the "weak Australian government"'s role by removing Islam and so called *"home grown terrorists"* (Case 95-16)

(Case 15-17A)

These furious death threats targeting
Muslim families and children
were uttered a few days after the
Manchester Arena bomb attack
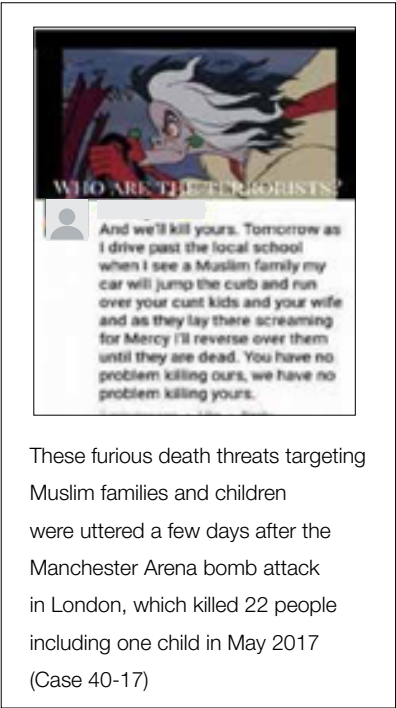in London, which killed 22 people
including one child in May 2017
(Case 40-17)

S…W…S... suggested removing the "cancer"
of Islam by shooting and killing Muslims
(Case 15-17A). This threat was posted on 28
February 2017 in response to the terrorism
raids in Young, NSW. The posting date was
also the second anniversary of the Sousse
attack in Pakistan, where a man with a
Kalashnikov opened fire near a hotel and
killed 38 sunbathing people (30 of whom
were British) and wounding 39 people.

Defining Islam as a disease is a borrowed
term from political leaders. Islam was defined
as a malignant cancer by Donald Trump's
national security advisor Michael Flynn in 2016
(Khan 2016). Likewise, Pauline Hanson of
One Nation defined Islam as a disease to be
vaccinated against in 2017 (Remeikis 2017)
(Case 15-17B)

Inciting violence and mass murder succeeded to the level
of desiring extermination of Muslim families, especially children.
The reporters of such posts always expressed their
concerns, finding them "frightening" (Case 40-17).

Gender Dynamics

Gender dynamics were evident in the content of insults. Where the perpetrators' genders were known, 80% of death threats were uttered by males (n=16/20 cases). Sexist tendencies were also observed in the perpetrator's choice of insult based on the victim's gender. Female victims tended to receive insults targeting religious appearance and values (78%, n=7/9) and foul language insulting their honour and dignity (75%, n=3/4 cases).
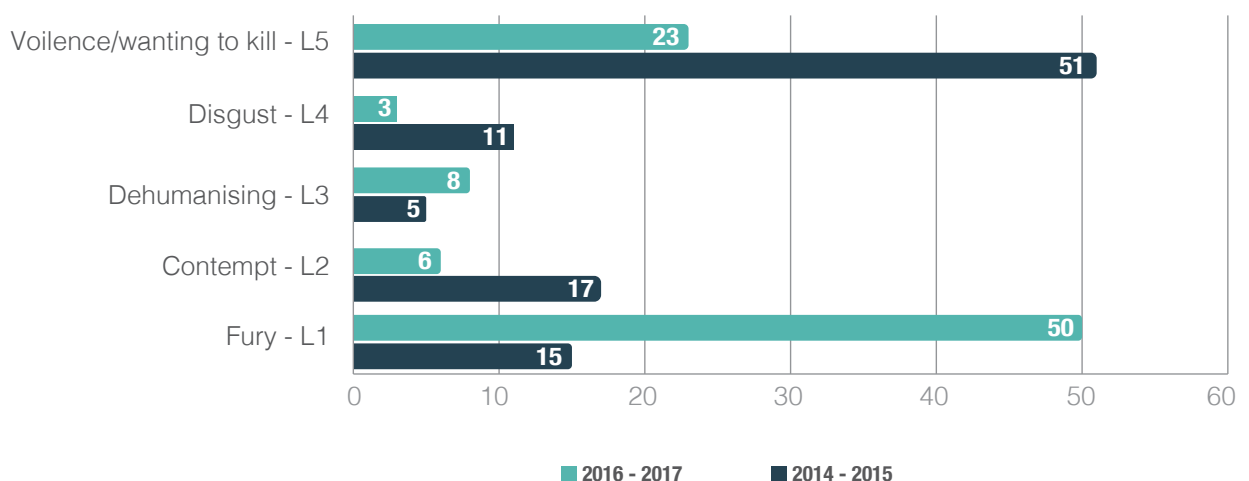
7. Severity of Hate Rhetoric

While more than half of cases were at Level 5 intensity in the previous report, this dropped to half in the present report

Severity of hate rhetoric online captures the intensity and level of Islamophobic hate towards Muslims. The intensity of emotion was difficult to assume, but assessed by relying only on direct words captured in the narratives. Nevertheless, most of the emotion was not translated into words and went unrecorded in the data.

Of the 147 online cases, fury (50%) was the predominant hateful feeling of the perpetrator followed by wanting to kill (23%). While more than half of cases were at Level 5 intensity in the previous report, this dropped to half in the present report.

Severity of Hate Rhetoric (%)

Level	2016 - 2017	2014 - 2015
Voilence/wanting to kill - L5	23	51
Disgust - L4	3	11
Dehumanising - L3	8	5
Contempt - L2	6	17
Fury - L1	50	15

■ 2016 - 2017   ■ 2014 - 2015

Fury (Level 1)

Fury (50%) is a strong feeling of annoyance, displeasure or hostility by the perpetrator. An example is this statement from Facebook: "I've read quite a lot of the koran and it makes me sick. How many times does the prophet command his followers to kill the infidels. That's not a religion as far as I can see" (Case 24-17).
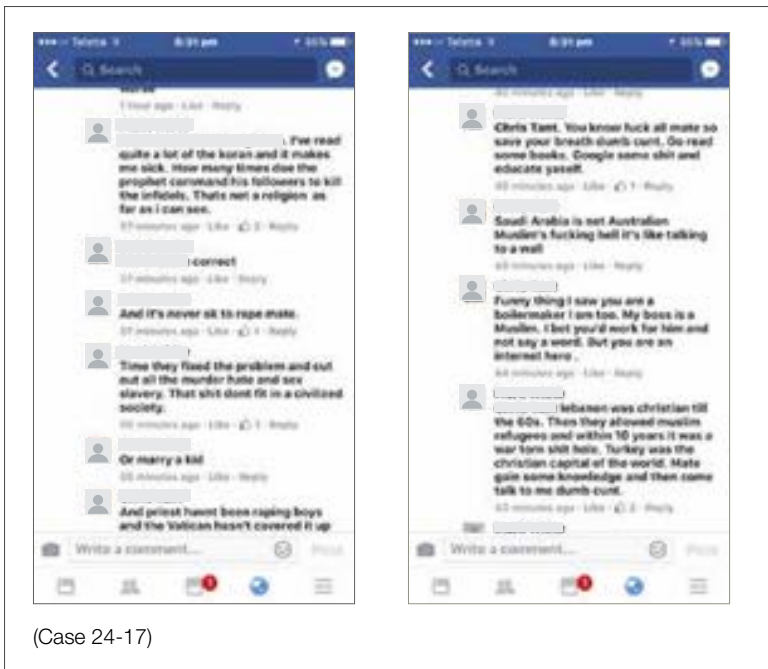
(Case 24-17)

Contempt (Level 2)

Contempt (6%) is defined as disdaining and seeing one unworthy of dignity. This appears mostly in perceiving the target (and their religion, culture or country of origin) as inferior. An example shown below includes: "Don't trust a Muslim, they are trained in tiquia to deceive you. They will take every cent you have and leave you with nothing the filthy swine."

(Case 111-16)

Dehumanising (Level 3)

Dehumanising (8%) is an expression in which the target is seen as sub-human. An example included below includes this statement:

> *"…Kill them all the maggots"* (Case 46-17)

(Case 46-17)

Disgust (Level 4)

In most cases dehumanising results in disgust (3%), a strong disapproval of one's existence. A comment under the ALA Party advocated against the Islamisationof Australia by I… B…

> *Just read the comments, reckon some of you limp d…s*
>
> *are gunna change your minds when some mad goat*
>
> *lover has a rusty knife in your throat!!!"* (Case 228-16)

what a croc of bullshit - ramadam is bloodshed and worshipping a pedophile endorsing god who chose a pedophile, rapist, murderer as his bitch so go put some pork on the fork - time is a ticking for you around the world
Reply · Unhide · June 6 at 12:30am
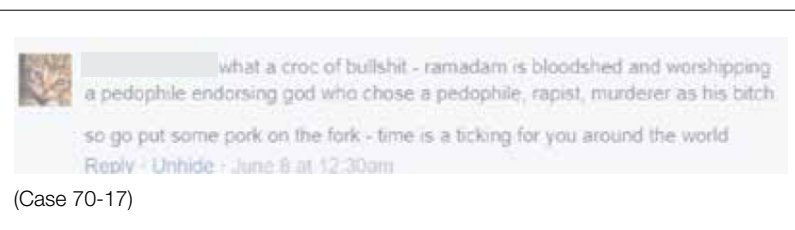
(Case 70-17)

Violence/wanting to kill (Level 5)

One step further is wanting to kill (23%), where a
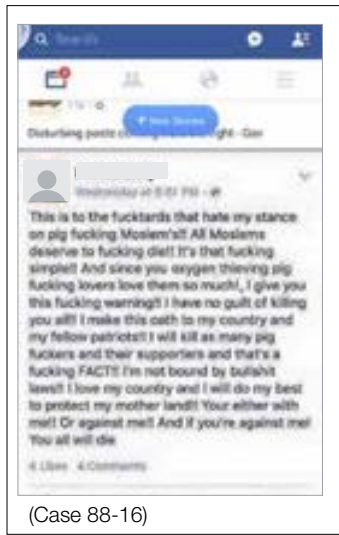desire to harm the victim is expressed such as:
"*all Muslims deserve to f…g die*" (Case 16-17).

(Case 16-17)

(Case 88-16)

The above posts put massacring Muslims into the framework
of patriotism and a duty to protect one's country and how
such devastating threats are blatantly and publicly circulated.
Dehumanising Muslims and the sense of disgust fed the
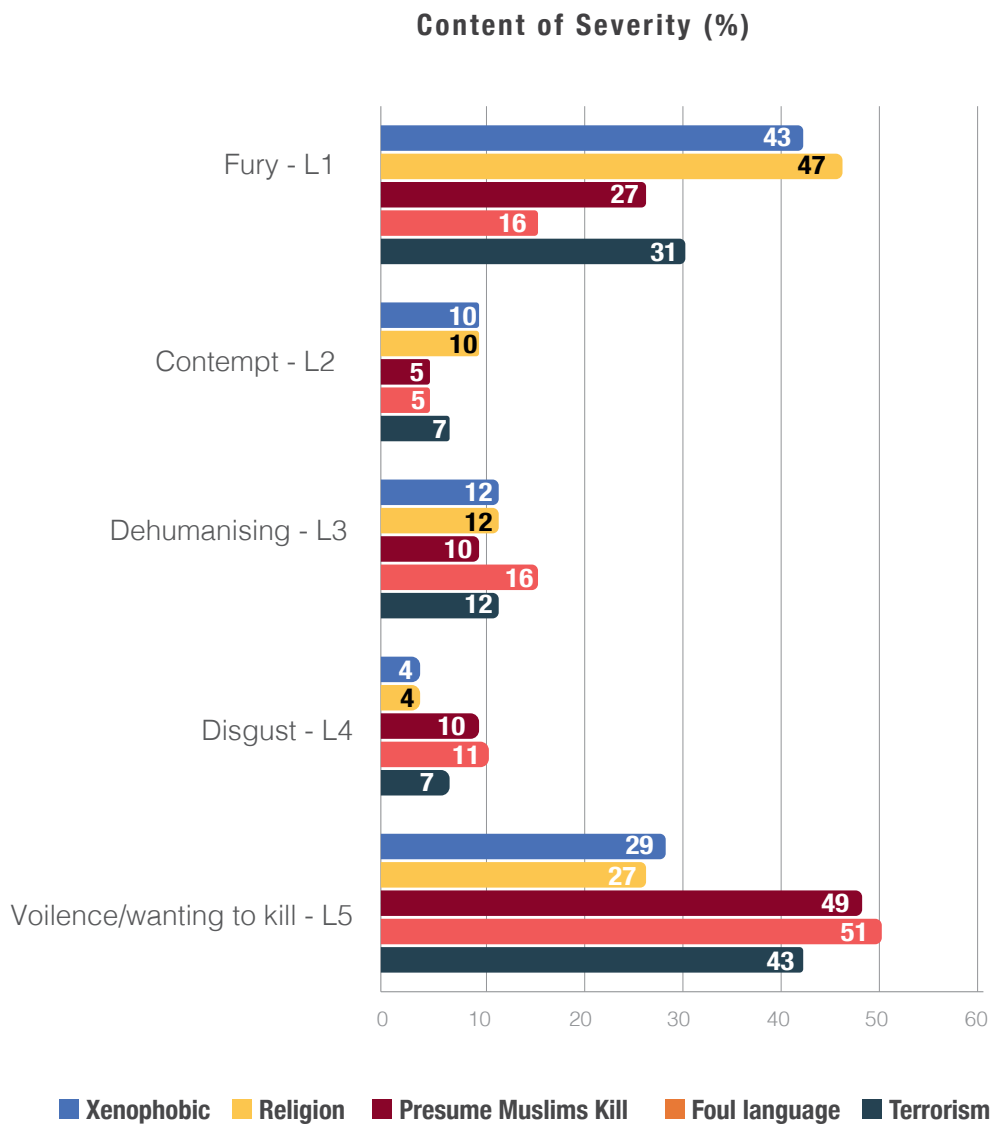desire to kill Muslims without any sense of guilt.

(Case 18-17)

Killing was eventually moralised by portraying Muslims as
disgusting, dangerous and inhumane. "*Kill them all and let God
sort them out*" was a comment in response to Ayan Hirsi's comment
on Islamic schools indoctrinating children in extremism (Case 18-17).

(Case 18-17)

Content of Severity (%)

Content	Xenophobic	Religion	Presume Muslims Kill	Foul language	Terrorism
Fury - L1	43	47	27	16	31
Contempt - L2	10	10	5	5	7
Dehumanising - L3	12	12	10	16	12
Disgust - L4	4	4	10	11	7
Voilence/wanting to kill - L5	29	27	49	51	43

■ **Xenophobic**　■ **Religion**　■ **Presume Muslims Kill**　■ **Foul language**　■ **Terrorism**

Content vs Severity

The content of insults was analysed to explore which can lead to a heightened sense of hate, ranging from fury (level 1) to wanting to kill/harm Muslims (Level 5). It was found the severity was highest (Level 5) when content included foul language (51%, n=19/37), presume Muslims kill/harm (49%, n= 20/41) or associated with terrorism (43%, n=18/42). Seeing victims only as Muslims or followers of Islam generated "wanting to kill" them in 27% (n=25/92) of cases.

8. Response, Reaction and Impact

Emotional responses portrayed the reporters' feelings, i.e. victims, witnesses and proxies. However, Muslim witnesses' responses to online hate could be counted as victim emotions since the majority of online cases were generic and by default applicable to every Muslim online spectator.

Although not asked in the report form, one-third of reporters expressed their emotions while reporting incidents. Sometimes one report included multiple emotions; accordingly, the Register coded more than once for each emotion. The following cases were examples of coded emotions:

Angered: [In response to a post stating] "*Muslim immigrants are entering Australia on fake claims,*" the reporter used an emoji "*This makes me so angry* 😡" (Case 33-17)

Helpless: *Hi. I need some help, don't know who to ask but my son has come under attack on FB.* (Case 35-16)

Disappointed: *If a person in her position [for a Victoria Senator] is willing to go public with lies, I wonder what sort of political party would support lies.* (Case 21-16)

Sickened: *So, public servants can't "like" posts criticising politicians, but senators can post garbage like this hating on people in our communities????* (Case 74-17) *Equating the entire religion with suicide bombers – disgusting.* (Case 86-16)

Surprised: *It's absurd to be abused on our own pages for being Muslim.* (Case 12-16)

Worried: *I'd like to report a page which sadly has many followers.* (Case 53-17)

Scared: *Not sure where this person is from but what she wrote was frightening.* (Case 40-17)

Online reporters did not express humiliation. Of the 147 cases, worry and upset (16%) were the most common feelings followed by anger (13%) and surprise (10%).
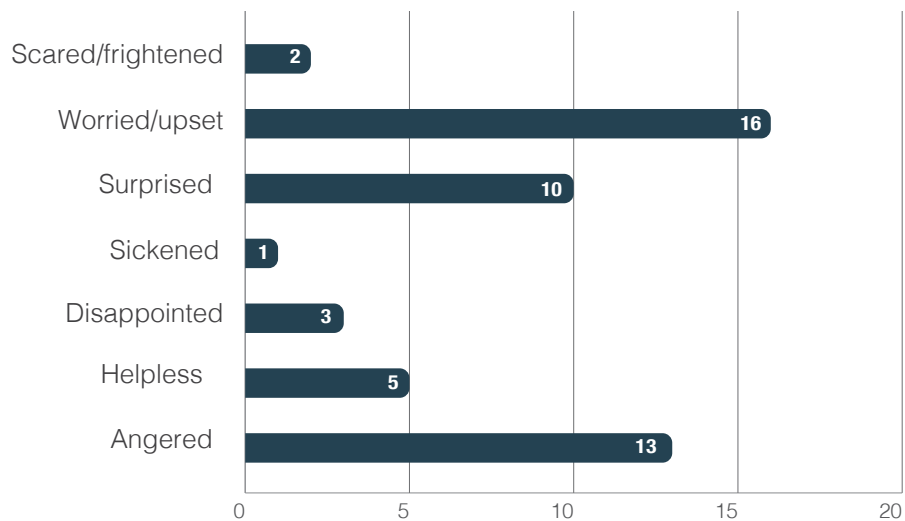
The extreme level of hate persecuting Muslims in online platforms requires serious attention as no one knows when, how and in which circumstances the fine line between real and virtual could be crossed by an Islamophobe

The growth of hate crimes and harmful ideologies repeatedly confirmed the close relationship between online and offline worlds. Individuals are recruited and radicalised in the virtual world and turned into criminals and terrorists and criminals in the real world

Reporter's Immediate Response (%)

Response	Value
Scared/frightened	2
Worried/upset	16
Surprised	10
Sickened	1
Disappointed	3
Helpless	5
Angered	13

Unlike the face to face (offline) cases, physical responses were absent in online reporting, partly because physical responses like running or walking away and ignoring the perpetrator, crying or shaking were not applicable to the online nature of the cases. The relative scarcity of interpersonal cases targeting and intimidating individuals online can be another reason for the dearth of physical shock reactions.

Gender Dynamics
Female reporters were more likely to express negative emotions (47%, n=29/62) than male reporters (24%, n=20/84).

9. Online-Offline Interaction

In this chapter physical (offline) and online Islamophobic incidents are compared to identify similarities and differences. Despite the differentiation of the two

types of Islamophobia, which was captured in tables with breakdowns, there are quite strong connections. Offline and online Islamophobia incidents intersect and feed each other, making a more widespread and powerful impact when linked.

The strict differentiation between online and offline cases is an illusion as people persecuting Muslims online are as real and part of everyday life as offline perpetrators. A person publicly calling everyone to mass murder Muslims or expressing their joy at the idea of burning every single Muslim (Case 14-17) lives and interacts with members of public in everyday life. More frightening is that they live with Muslims in the same city and even the same neighbourhood and may even interact with them on occasion. It can be distressing for online victims to not know their perpetrators and if they interact with them in daily life.

The extreme level of hate persecuting Muslims in online platforms requires serious attention as no one knows when, how and in which circumstances the fine line between real and virtual could be crossed by an Islamophobe. For instance, the Christchurch terrorist Brenton Tarrant grew his hate by looking at Muslim families with multiple children from a distance at shopping centres. We still do not know and cannot track to what extent and how frequently the terrorist Tarrant revealed his anti-Muslim hate offline and online. What we know from Tarrant's manifesto is that Muslims' existence in real life extremely annoyed him, while online anti-Muslim literature and platforms eased and quickened his radicalisation. Offline and online platforms working hand in hand not only made him a cold-blooded terrorist, but helped him effectively spread his horror worldwide. Terrorist Brenton livestreamed his massacre and ensured his manifesto was also available online to worldwide internet users.

The growth of hate crimes and harmful ideologies repeatedly confirmed the close relationship between online and offline worlds. Individuals are recruited and radicalised in the virtual world and some of them turned into criminals and terrorists and criminals in the real world. The aim of this chapter is not to discuss potential real crimes behind virtual death threats, but to highlight the close interaction between the online and offline worlds in reinforcing hate and hateful acts.

Online abusers are real and some of them are so well-known they were reported to the Register by different reporters. Some of the Islamophobes are even known in the community in real life. For instance, one reporter mentioned she recognised one extreme Islamophobe when she heard him commenting on Muslims on a radio program. The reporter stated everyone knows his name, address and Facebook, where he expresses extreme levels of hatred, such as wanting "*to fire bomb the mosque at Arundel with all the mozzies*

The reporter stated everyone knows his name, address and Facebook, where he expresses extreme levels of hatred, such as wanting "*to fire bomb the mosque at Arundel with all the mozzies trapped in it*" (Case 161-16)

The growth of hate crimes and harmful ideologies repeatedly confirmed the close relationship between online and offline worlds

(Case 23-16)

In addition to individual anti-Muslim abuses, orchestrated actions by anti-Muslim groups, organisations and political parties were also circulated in online platforms to achieve greater publicity

trapped in it" (Case 161-16). What is interesting is, while this perpetrator with his extreme hate was easily identifiable to the public, he was not identified or restricted for his hate speech and activities by the police or Facebook.

9.1. Offline becoming Online

Some abuses in real life were taken to online platforms and circulated in cyber space. Such posts by perpetrators aimed to strengthen group identity, approval and appreciation of the perpetrators by online group members and helped make their public harassment of Muslims visible to a wider audience. Meanwhile, similar posts by victims aimed to caution the Muslim community and protect other Muslims from similar experiences. Quick and easy access to countless internet users made online platforms effective tools for perpetrators and victims to circulate and publicise their real life (offline) Islamophobic experiences.

9.1.1. Perpetrators' Use of Online–Offline Platforms

Anti-Muslim groups broadcast and organised their offline anti-Muslim activities, such as anti-mosque rallies via social media (Case 127-16). Sometimes an offline case becomes an online case through online circulation. For instance, a butcher from the south coast of NSW put up an anti-Muslim hate sign in his shop. A picture of the sign was circulated online widely (Case 23-16).

In addition to individual anti-Muslim abuses, orchestrated actions by anti-Muslim groups, organisations and political parties were also circulated in online platforms to achieve greater publicity.

Another way of using online platforms was to sell anti-Muslim clothes, patches and rings online. While clothing and accessories deepen the divide and hate, they were worn mostly at anti-Muslim rallies. For instance, a Perth-based website selling "*blatantly racist/Islamophobic material*" *such as the 'Australian Infidel' were found by the reporter to be* "*vicious*" (Case 144-17). Facebook pages also advertised such stores and materials (Case 44-17).

Another incident starting offline and turning into an online case displayed how they are interconnected and can be effectively used to accelerate the level and intensity of harassment. A witness reporter disclosed in an online article

that a few students from a private selective school loudly uttered in a café that Ramadan is the best season to kill Muslims since they cannot resist when hungry. The reporter faced online backlash from the students and graduates and found himself becoming a victim: "*I too have now become the victim of these Daddy Boy Jock Bro trolls. Some of them called my mobile and have left stupid messages, plenty have harassed me on my Facebook page*" (Case 101-16).

Further, one of the perpetrators put up a fake labourer job advertisement on Gumtree, noting availability was possible only during late hours. The perpetrators with this advertisement intended their target to be annoyed with constant calls at late hours (Case 101-16).

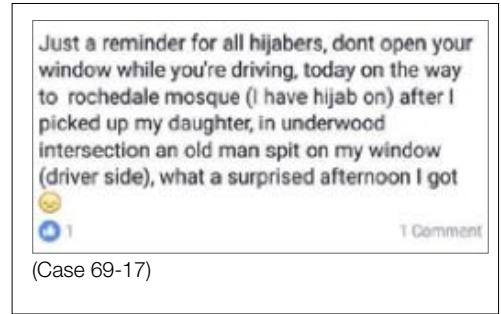### 9.1.2. Victims' Use of Online–Offline Platforms

Sometimes, Muslims shared their real life Islamophobic experiences on online platforms to alert other Muslims. Muslims were asked to take preventative measures and protect themselves, especially in places where incidents occurred. Giving details of the location and perpetrator, such victims voluntarily did community policing.

People also shared their Islamophobic real life experiences without a reporting or alerting purpose. Sometimes, publicising the store and brand name in the narration aimed to alert them to their Islamophobic attitude. The below example gave the brand name and store location to make them identifiable to the public.

Photos and videos of attack moments were also circulated online among Muslim community members. A video of a female victim of far-right groups was circulated among the Muslim community. The reporter found "*the violent language*" being used "*quite alarming*" (Case 78-16).

9.2. Online becoming Offline

Online platforms and their readily available facilities were used by perpetrators to organise and mobilise other Islamophobes to take action in physical/real life. Reports were made of advertising anti-Muslim protests online, recruiting new members and organising individual perpetrators across Australia around a cause such as petitioning campaigns or regional rallies.

Just a reminder for all hijabers, dont open your window while you're driving, today on the way to rochedale mosque (I have hijab on) after I picked up my daughter, in underwood intersection an old man spit on my window (driver side), what a surprised afternoon I got

1   1 Comment

(Case 69-17)

(Case 83-16)

Online platforms and their readily available facilities were used by perpetrators to organise and mobilise other Islamophobes to take action in physical/real life

Some online cases had potential to become offline as posts gave a sense of realness by calling on the public to target actual places and directing them to addresses

The petition website change.org was used to organise Islamophobes while providing them with a platform to express their hatred. Some of the petitions reported to the Register included one against opening an Islamic school in Perth's CBD (Case 17-17) and a ban on selling the Qur'an in Australia (Case 28-17). One of the most popular petitions was the call to the ABC to fire Yassmin Abdel-Magied following her pro-Sharia law comments and dispute with Jacqui Lambie (Case 19-17). This petition attracted 48,472 signatures and extensively listed the signatories' Islamophobic sentiments.

Some online cases had potential to become offline as posts gave a sense of realness by calling on the public to target actual places and directing them to addresses. Anti-mosque campaigns and posts were always examples of this. For instance, one far-right group posted on their Facebook page that "*Lakemba Mosque is the first target*" (Case 95-16).

In another case, a local Sydney mosque's website was hacked and the anarchy symbol was replaced with a statement: "*Nobody can give you freedom nobody can give you equality or justice. If you are a man you take it*" (Case 191-16).

# Comparison of Offline and Online Cases

1. Demographics

Comparisons are based on proportions of 147 online and 202 offline cases, as percentages. Witnesses made up 82% of online incident reporters whereas most offline incident reporters were victims (54%). This was expected as online incidents are mostly generic and readily available to countless internet users.

Reporters (%)

Category	Offline	Online
Witnesses	46	82
Proxies	5	3
Victims	54	14
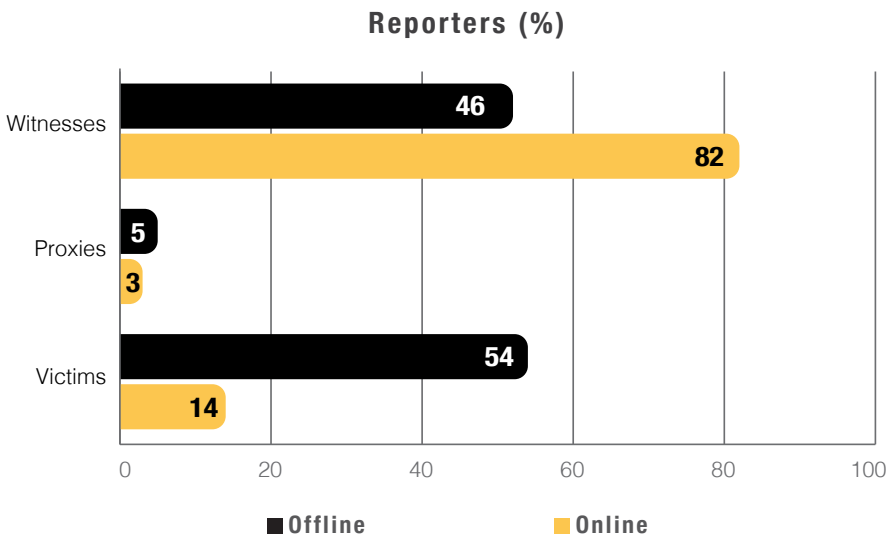
■ **Offline** ■ **Online**

The proportion of female reporters was higher among offline cases (62% in contrast to 42% online reporters). Muslim women were targeted more in physical life possibly because they are more vulnerable and more identifiable as Muslim by their headwear in the real world.

Of those that could be identified, online reporters were mostly male (57%) whereas offline reporters were mostly female (62%). More female reporting of offline cases was due to Muslim women being the prime targets of offline Islamophobia with their headwear.
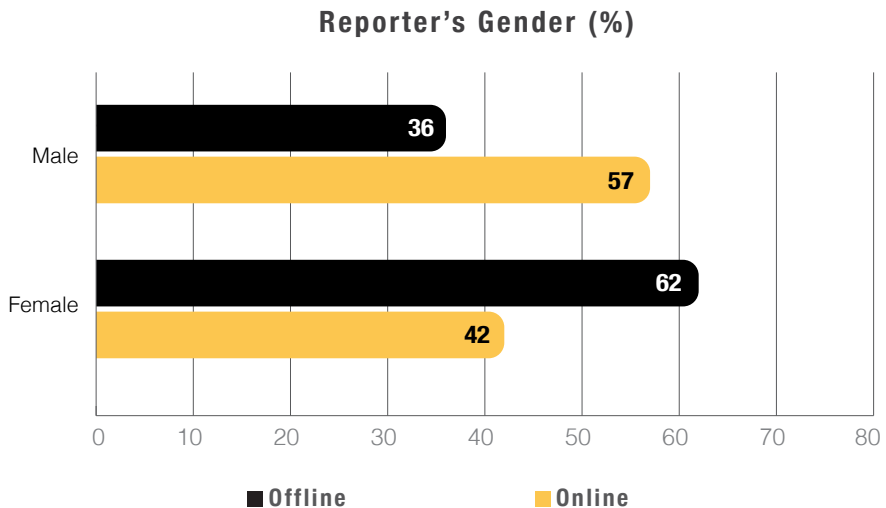
Reporter's Gender (%)

Category	Offline	Online
Male	36	57
Female	62	42

■ **Offline** ■ **Online**

Of those that could be identified, online reporters were mostly male (57%) whereas offline reporters were mostly female (62%)

Non-Muslim incident reporters were more active in online incident reporting (35%) when compared to reporting offline cases (15%) offline

Non-Muslim incident reporters were more active in online incident reporting (35%) when compared to reporting offline cases (15%) offline.
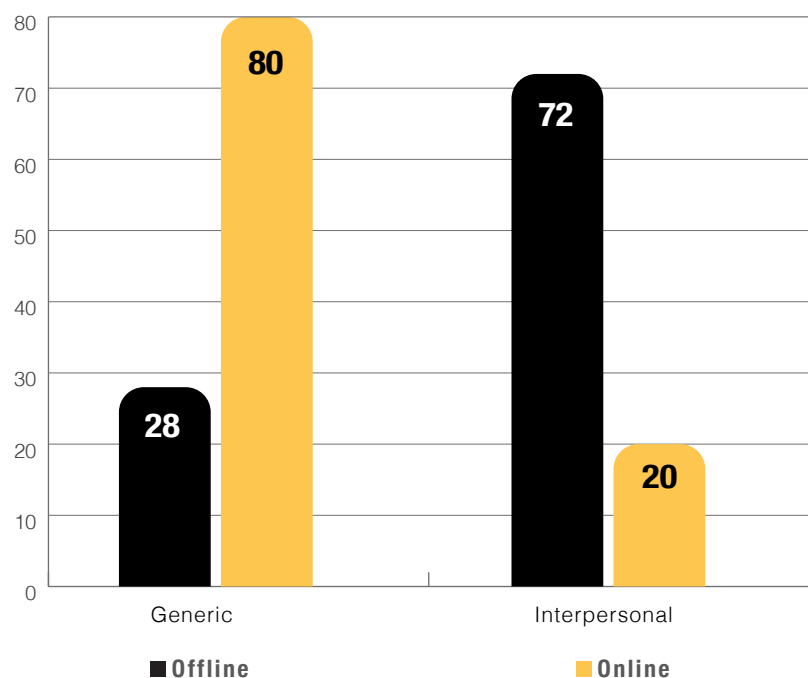
2. Incidents

Reported online cases were more likely to be generic (80%), while offline cases were more likely to be interpersonal (72%). Anti-Muslim hate literature and resources, including memes, petitions and other campaigns, were part of the online generic cases.

Reported online cases were more likely to be generic (80%), while offline cases were more likely to be interpersonal (72%)

Generic and Interpersonal (%)

- Offline
- Online

3. Social Context:

Third Parties

Only 7% of online cases were reported to the police in contrast to 22% of offline cases reported to the police. In other words, although minimal (22%), offline case reporting was three times higher than online incident reporting to the police.

Reporting to Police (%)

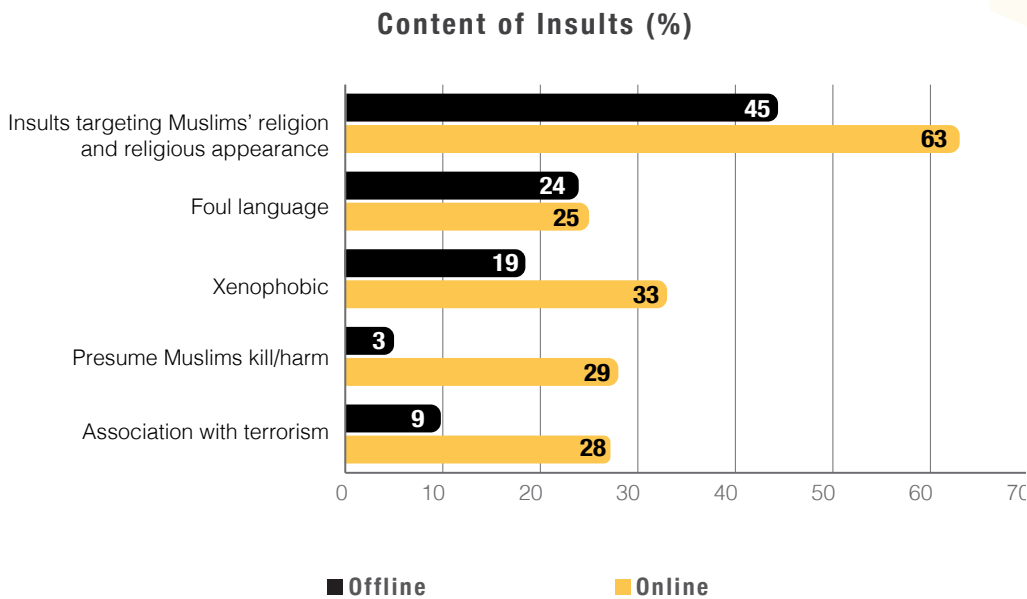|	
Offline	22
Online	7
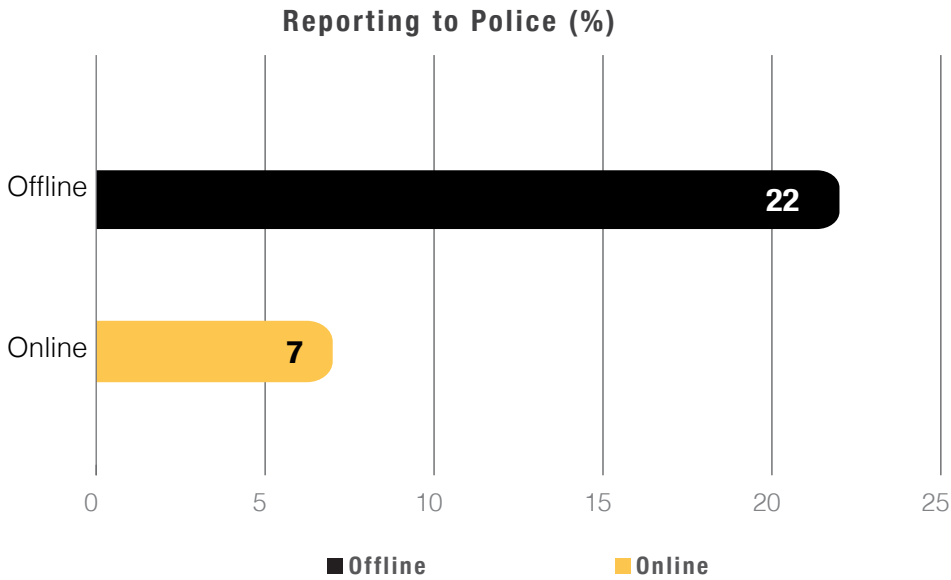
■ Offline ■ Online

3x

Although minimal (22%), offline case reporting was three times higher than online incident reporting to the police

9x

Presume Muslims kill/harm was proportionally almost six times higher in online cases (29% in comparison to 3%)

4. Content of Insults

Content of insults was coded according to repeated criteria relating to the Muslim religion or ethnicity, use of foul language and presumptions that Muslims are associated with terrorism and wish to harm or kill others.

Content of Insults (%)

	Offline	Online
Insults targeting Muslims' religion and religious appearance	45	63
Foul language	24	25
Xenophobic	19	33
Presume Muslims kill/harm	3	29
Association with terrorism	9	28

■ Offline ■ Online

Presume Muslims kill/harm was proportionally 9.6 times higher in online cases (29% in comparison to 3%). A presumed association of Muslims with terrorism was also much higher in online cases (28% compared with 9%). Death threats were evident in 17% (n=58) of cases overall and more likely to be made online.
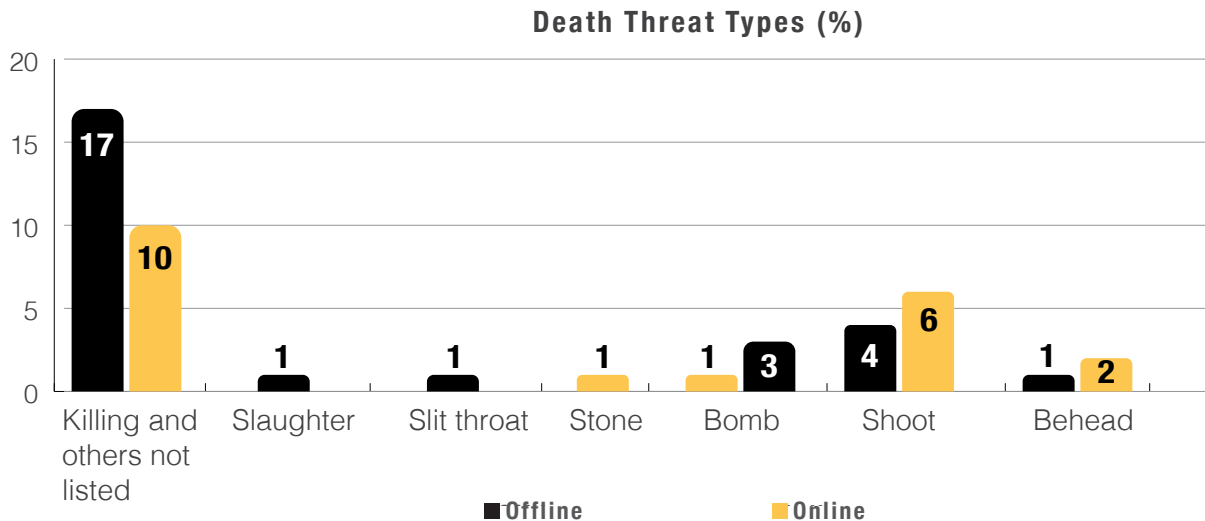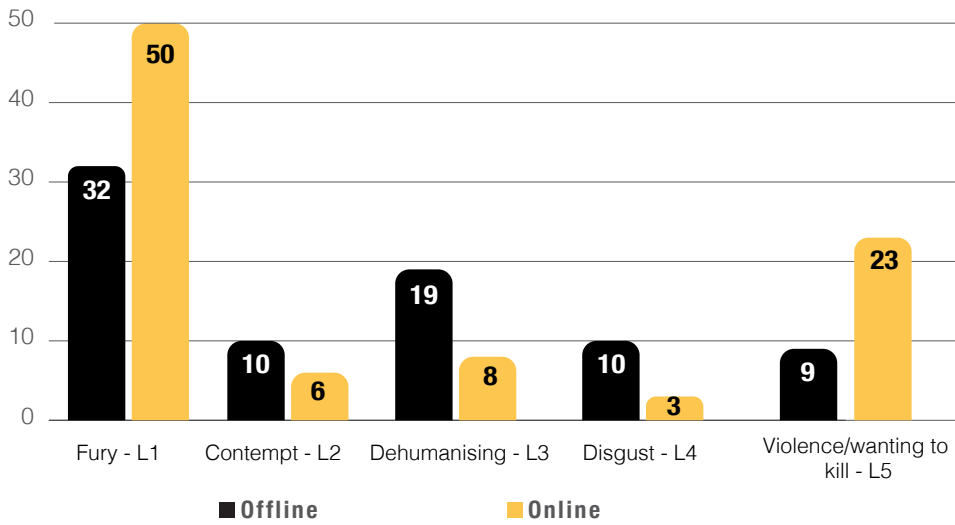
Death Threat Types (%)

Death threats were more common in online cases (25% in contrast to 11% of offline cases). Likewise, killing in general was mentioned more commonly online (17% in contrast to 11% offline). Bombing threats, all of which were directed at covered Muslim women, were made in 3% of cases offline in contrast to 1% online. Muslim women's religious clothing worn for modesty was accused of being used to hide a bomb underneath.

5. Severity of Hate Rhetoric

Being online or offline was not a deterrent to expression of hate as there was no meaningful and distinctive distribution between online and offline hate levels. The least and most severe levels of hate fury and wanting to kill were dominant in online hate rhetoric (fury 50% in contrast to 32% offline and wanting to kill 23% in contrast to 9% offline). The remaining severity levels of hatred (i.e. Level 2-4) were observed mostly in offline cases.

Severity of Hate Rhetoric (%)

	Offline	Online
Fury - L1	32	50
Contempt - L2	10	6
Dehumanising - L3	19	8
Disgust - L4	10	3
Violence/wanting to kill - L5	9	23

■ **Offline**   ■ **Online**

6. Response, Reaction and Impact

A total of 74 online emotional responses and 223 offline responses were coded based on analysis of the wording. The majority of responses (75%) occurred in offline reports. Worried/upset was the most common response, occurring in 29% offline and 16% online.

Being scared was expressed almost seven times as much in offline cases (13% in contrast to 2%), while feeling worried was almost doubled in offline cases (29% in contrast to 16%). Disappointment was more than five times higher in offline cases. No crying or shaking was recorded in online cases.

Higher proportions of disappointment, worry and the last four categories were evident among offline cases while anger (14% offline and 13% online), helplessness (7% compared to 5% online) and feeling sickened or surprised were fairly even for online and offline.

Only 2% of all online cases resulted in declaring long term impacts compared to 13% of all offline cases. This means impact was less likely to be declared for attacks online.
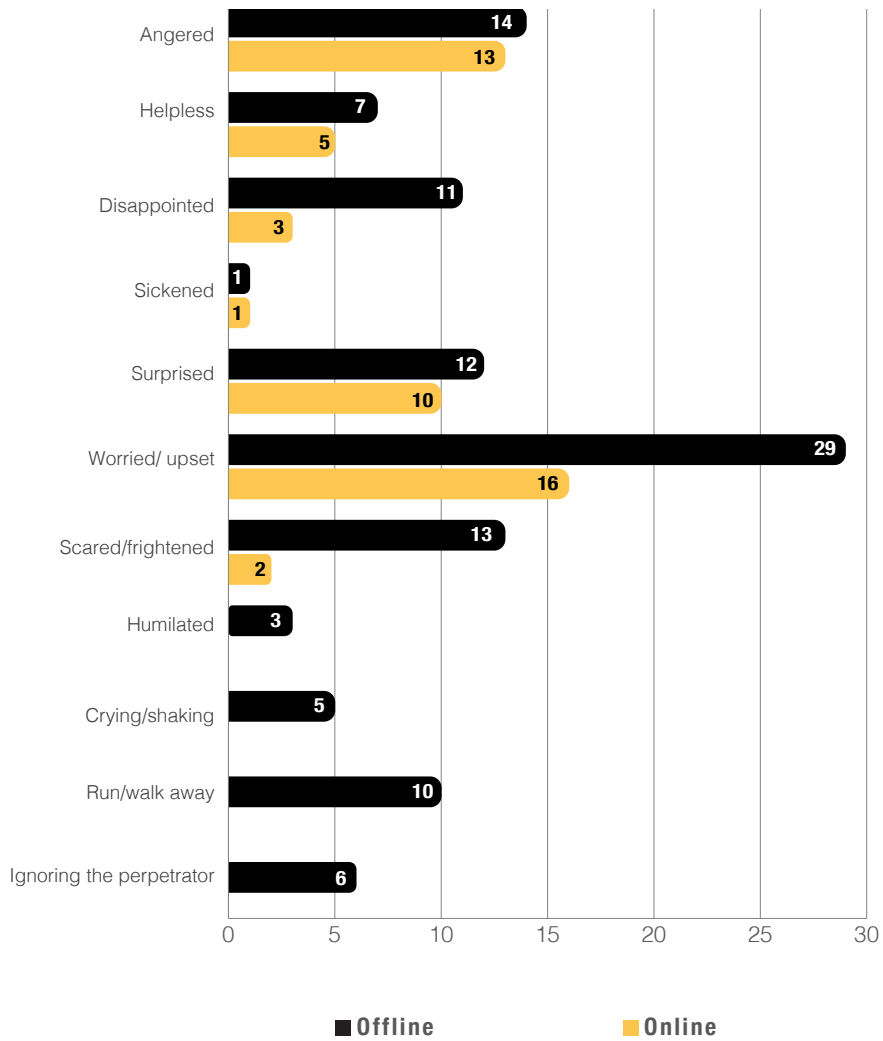
Being online or offline was not a deterrent to expression of hate as there was no meaningful and distinctive distribution between online and offline hate levels

An association with hate groups was more visible in online incidents

Reporter's Immediate Response (%)

	Offline	Online
Angered	14	13
Helpless	7	5
Disappointed	11	3
Sickened	1	1
Surprised	12	10
Worried/ upset	29	16
Scared/frightened	13	2
Humilated	3	
Crying/shaking	5	
Run/walk away	10	
Ignoring the perpetrator	6	

■ Offline   ■ Online

An association with hate groups was more visible in online incidents. In 66 reported cases there was evidence of association with hate groups; 27% were online cases and 13% offline. Hate groups tended to disseminate written materials offline and commit hate-speech and intimidation online.

Association with Hate Groups (%)
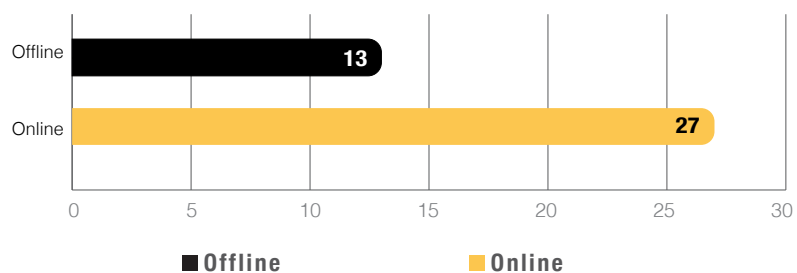
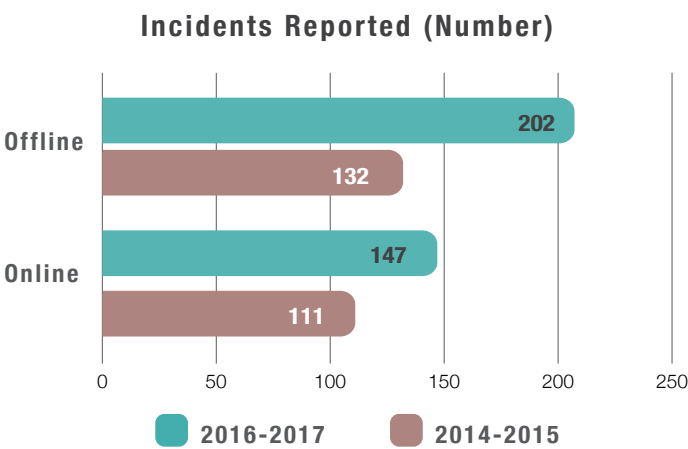|	%
Offline	13
Online	27

■ Offline   ■ Online

Comparison of First and Second Islamophobia Reports

The comparisons in this report are based on proportions and limited to areas where data entry and analysis have remained the same in each report. Some changes were made to coding in the second report to reduce redundant categories.

In the first report, 243 incidents were reported in 18 months and in the second report 349 incidents were reported within 24 months. More offline incidents were reported to in the second report (58% in comparison to 46% online cases) whereas more online cases were reported in the first report (54% in comparison to 42% offline cases).

Incidents Reported (Number)

Offline	202 (2016-2017)
	132 (2014-2015)
Online	147 (2016-2017)
	111 (2014-2015)

0   50   100   150   200   250

● 2016-2017   ● 2014-2015

1. Demographics

1.1. Reporters: Victims, Proxies and Witnesses

In comparison to the previous report, more victims took action to report Islamophobic incidents and that slightly reduced proxy and witness reporting.

Reporters

	Victims	Proxies	Witnesses
2016-2017	37	4	58
2014-2015	24	12	65

0   20   40   60   80   100

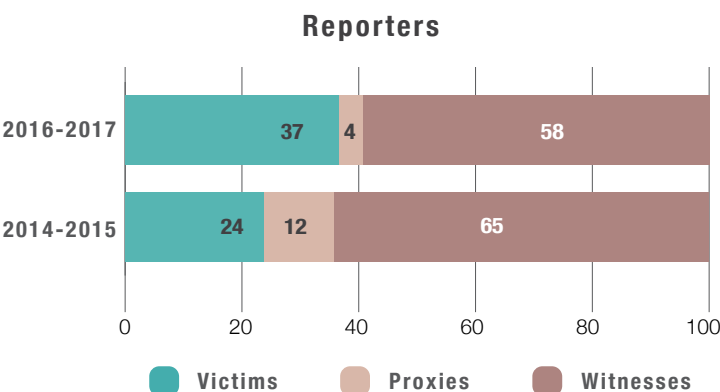● Victims   ● Proxies   ● Witnesses

Consistent with the previous report, almost one-fourth of the reporters were non-Muslim and they mostly reported online cases (two times higher than offline reporting – 35% in comparison to 15%)
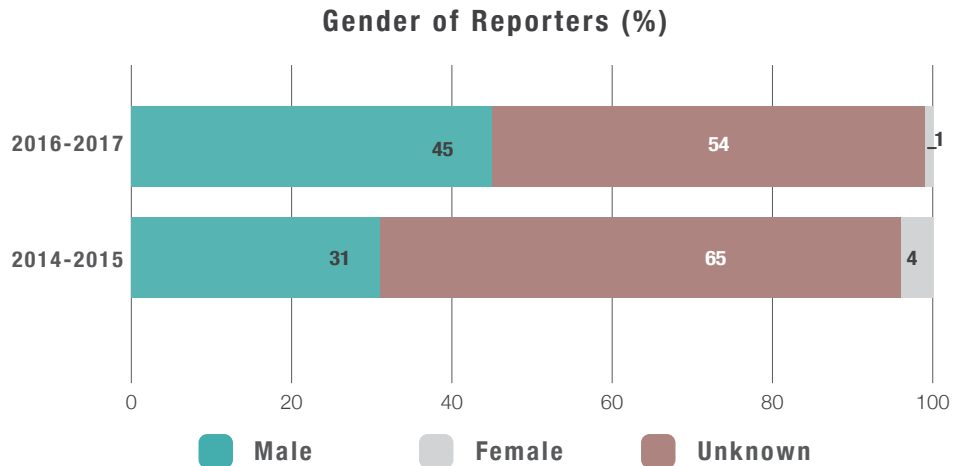
In comparison to the previous report, more victims took action to report Islamophobic incidents and that slightly reduced proxy and witness reporting

1.1.1. Gender of Reporters

In comparison to the previous report, there were fewer reports by females (54% compared to 65% males) and more reports by males (45% compared to 31% females).

Gender of Reporters (%)
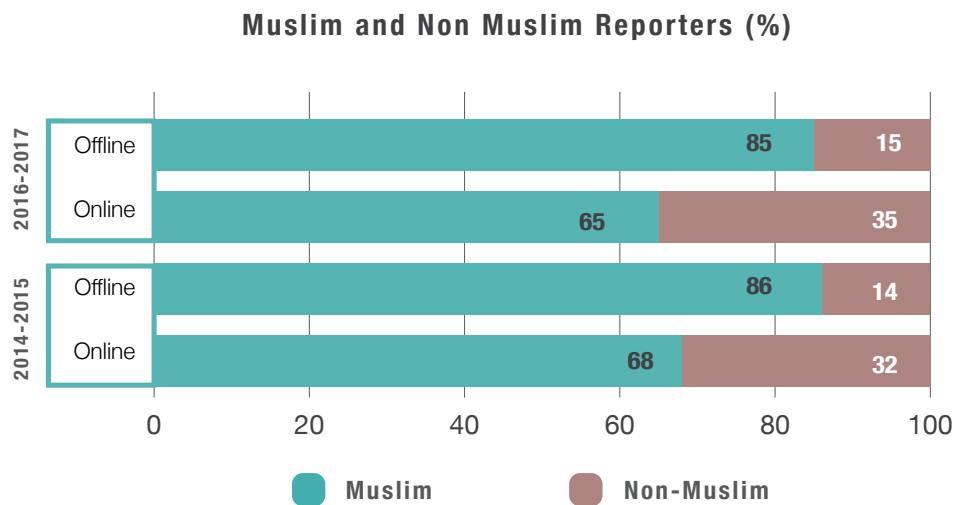

1/4

Consistent with the previous report, almost one-fourth of the reporters were non-Muslim

1.1.2. Religion of Reporters: Muslim or Non-Muslim

Consistent with the previous report, almost one-fourth of the reporters were non-Muslim and they mostly reported online cases (two times higher than offline reporting – 35% in comparison to 15%).

Muslim and Non Muslim Reporters (%)

1.2. Perpetrators and Victims

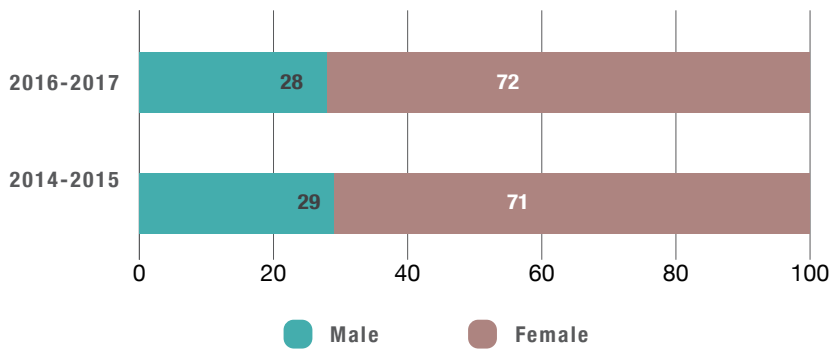### 1.2.1.   Gender of the Victim and Perpetrator

Gender of victim was known in 60% of cases in 2016-2017 and 55% in 2014-2015. Where gender of victims is known, proportions were very similar to the previous report with a slight increase in male victims and a decrease in incidents including both genders.

Victim and perpetrator genders were proportionally very similar to the previous report. Excluding unknown cases, women were victims and men were perpetrators

Victim Gender (%)

	Male	Female
2016-2017	28	72
2014-2015	29	71

● Male   ● Female

Perpetrator Gender (%)

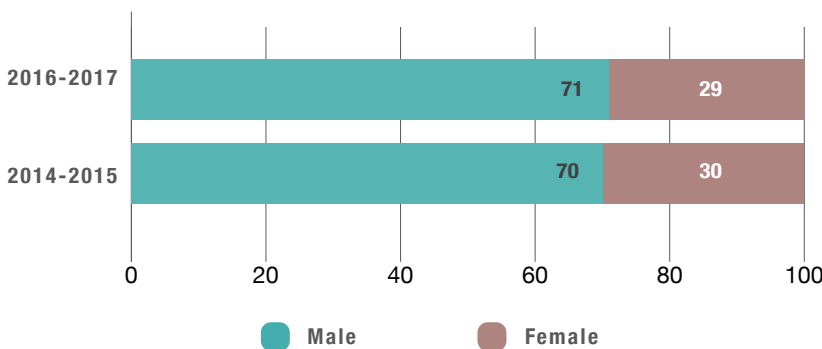|	Male	Female
2016-2017	71	29
2014-2015	70	30

● Male   ● Female

Where gender of victims is known, proportions were very similar to the previous report with a slight increase in male victims and a decrease in incidents including both genders
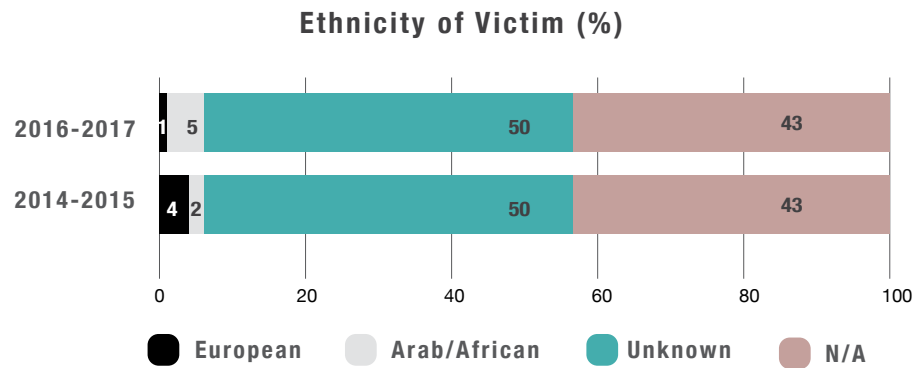
Where ethnicity of perpetrators was identified it was predominantly Anglo-Celtic

1.2.2.   Age of Victim and Perpetrator

Ages of victims and perpetrators were not reported in a large proportion of cases. According to the available data, however, it was evident victims were younger and perpetrators were older. While the age of perpetrators was concentrated in the 40-49 age range

(49%) for this report, the majority of victims appeared to be in the 20-39 age range (72%). In the previous report, victims were predominantly in the 20-39 age range (55%) and perpetrators were across a broader range of ages.
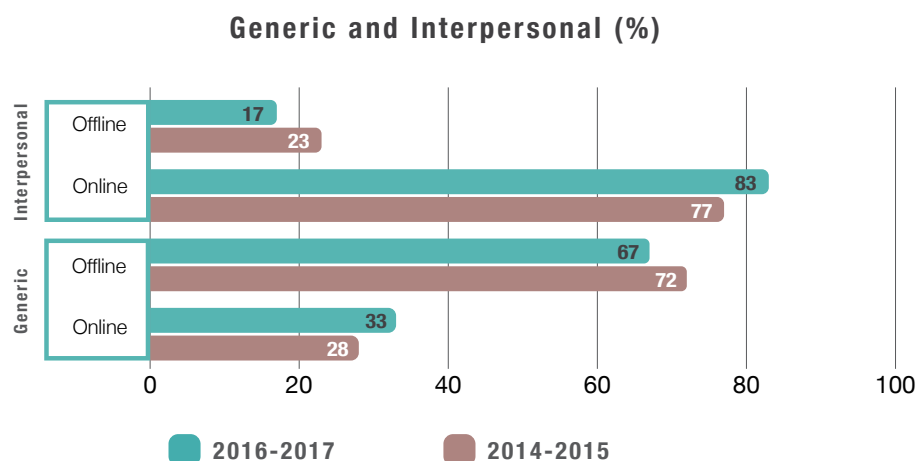
Ethnicity of Victim (%)

2016-2017	1 5	50	43
2014-2015	4 2	50	43

0   20   40   60   80   100

■ **European**   ■ **Arab/African**   ■ **Unknown**   ■ **N/A**

The ethnicity of perpetrators was identified in more cases than victim ethnicity; however, it was still a small proportion. 11% of the perpetrators were identified as Anglo-Celtic (in comparison to 20% in the previous report) and 3% non-Anglo-Celtic.

2. Incidents

The majority of victims appeared to be in the 20-39 age range (72%)

Generic assaults were uttered at all Muslims and not directed at particular individuals, whereas interpersonal insults were directed at actual persons. Similar to the previous report, the proportional distribution of generic and interpersonal cases for online and offline as well as the total number of cases was similar.

Generic and Interpersonal (%)

Interpersonal	Offline	17 / 23
	Online	83 / 77
Generic	Offline	67 / 72
	Online	33 / 28

0   20   40   60   80   100

● **2016-2017**   ● **2014-2015**

3. Third Parties:
Reporting to Police

The number of incidents reported to police was higher for offline incidents when compared to online cases (22% in contrast to 7%). This was consistent with the previous report (24% in contrast to 9%).

Reporting to Police (%)

	Offline	Online	Unreported
2016-2017	22	7	71
2014-2015	24	9	67
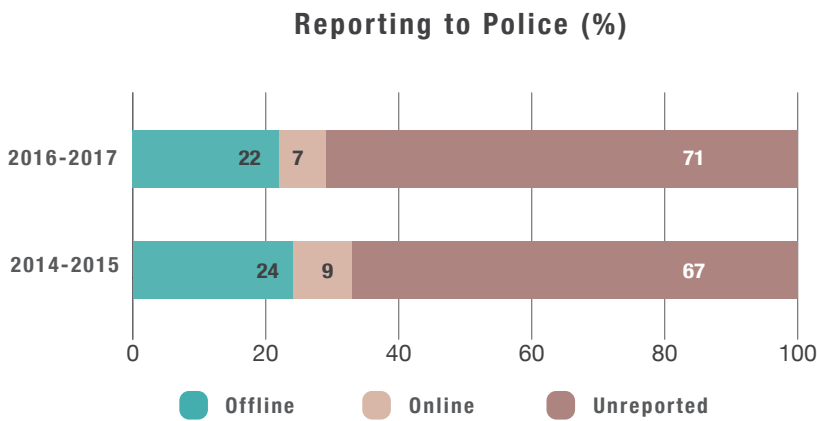
The number of incidents reported to police was higher for offline incidents when compared to online cases (22% in contrast to 7%). This was consistent with the previous report (24% in contrast to 9%)

4. Content of Insults

Insults targeting religious appearance and religion were consistently high with a slight increase from 61% to 67% in the present report. Due to refinements to coding for other types of insult, it was not possible to compare all categories with the previous report.

When compared to the previous report, fewer death threats were reported in this report (16% of cases in contrast to 33%). However, many death threats were made online and some death threats like halal style killing and slaughtering were not as popular in the 2016-2017 data.

Death Threat Types (%)
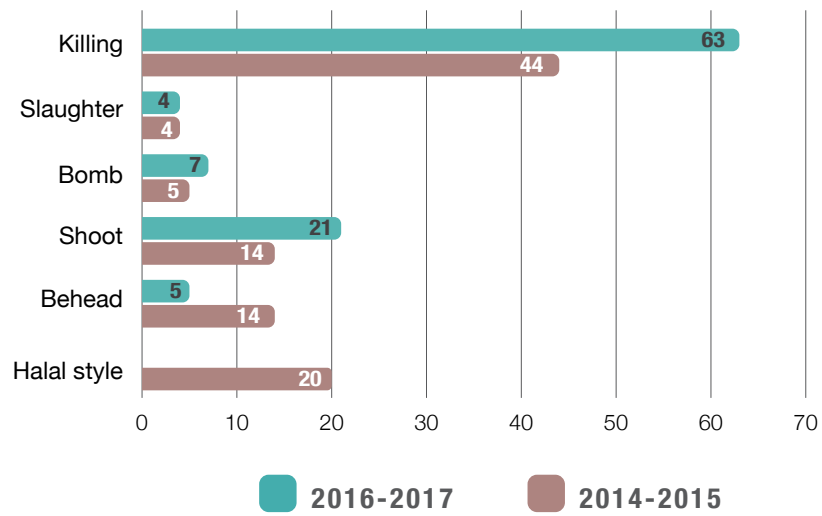
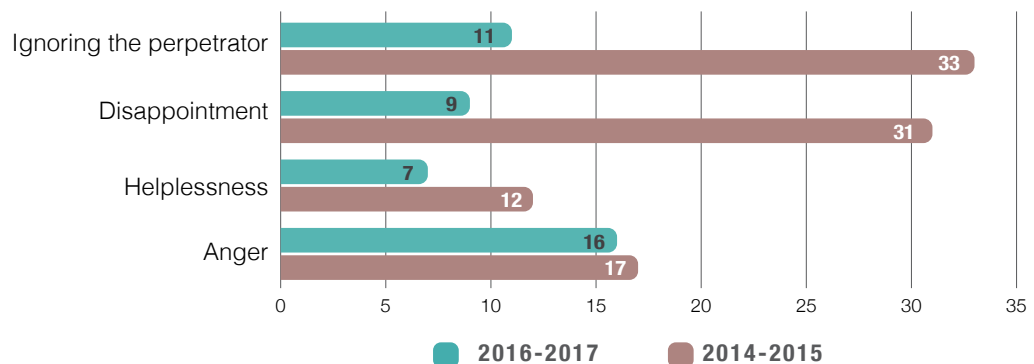|	2016-2017	2014-2015
Killing	63	44
Slaughter	4	4
Bomb	7	5
Shoot	21	14
Behead	5	14
Halal style		20

2016-2017 **2014-2015**

The most prevalent response evident in both reporting periods was anger with similar proportions (16% and 17%)

5. Response, Reaction and Impact

The most prevalent response evident in both reporting periods was anger with similar proportions of 16% and 17%. Ignoring the perpetrator was reported much less for the current report (11% compared to 33% from the last report) as was disappointment (9% compared to 31%). Additional categories were used in 2016-2017 to code responses. Accordingly, worried/upset in the present report was the most common response at 28% followed by anger and surprise.

Reporter's Responses (%)

	2016-2017	2014-2015
Ignoring the perpetrator	11	33
Disappointment	9	31
Helplessness	7	12
Anger	16	17

2016-2017 **2014-2015**

Data Collation Registration and Analysis Methods and Procedures

Data Analysis Tools and Methods: SPSS and Data Mining

To conduct quantitative analysis, univariate and bivariate descriptive statistics were obtained using SPSS. Due to the high dimensionality of the dataset, more complex associations between different variables were explored using a decision forest algorithm, Forest by Penalising Attributes (Forest PA) (Adnan and Islam 2017). It builds an ensemble of individual decision trees where it aims to make each tree of the forest/ensemble very different from others but still having high classification accuracy. With a diverse but accurate set of individual trees, Forest PA aims to increase the classification accuracy of the forest as a whole that can also discover hidden knowledge from the underlying dataset more effectively due to the diversity of the trees. Each tree is likely to discover different knowledge from others. Unlike Random Forest, Forest PA uses the full suite of variables every time it builds a tree but changes the weight distribution on the variables every time it builds a new tree depending on the previously built trees in order to make them diverse. The reason for using Forest PA in this project was to identify large contrasts among different groups of individuals involved in the incidences. The analysis was carried out using Weka (v. 3.8) (Frank, Hall and Witten 2016).

Data Registration Protocol

The registration protocol ensured the authenticity and accuracy of the data. Measures include:

> Reports were accorded with the definitions of Islamophobia and other terms listed in the glossary section (see page III)

> Incidents were counted if reported by targets, proxies or witnesses.

> Although the Register is a frequent target of Islamophobic attacks, self-reporting was avoided and cases attacking the Register were discarded in the statistical analysis to avoid inflating the numbers

> The authenticity of the data was examined (procedure is explained below)

> Where possible, essential data missing from the report was retrieved by contacting the reporter

> After verifying and cleaning the data, coding was undertaken, following inductive and deductive methods

> In the four cases where the report mentioned another Islamophobic incident in relation to the reported one, they were counted as separate cases in the data analysis

> Duplicated reports of the same case were discarded (five cases)

Confirmation and Verification Process

To ensure data reliability, every case was meticulously scrutinised to discard instances with insufficient information for verification and rule out any likelihood of fabrication: 202 insufficiently reported cases were discarded through this process.

Confirmation processes included:

> Sending emails for affirmation by the reporters. If a response was not received, a second email or call was made to the reporter. Invalid emails ('bouncing') or incorrect phone numbers (false or answered by a different person) led to the report being discarded

> If confirmation details were missing, extra measures were applied and scrutinised. Where photographs, news articles, videos and other evidence clearly showed the Islamophobic incident, it was counted as authentic

> Reports with genuine URLs were deemed authentic

Other excluded cases involved:

> Cases not evidently Islamophobic or where crucial details were missing (14 cases). For example, one report stated merely that the victim was 'offered pork'

> Cases that occurred earlier than 2016 (21 cases)

> Cases that occurred abroad (6 cases)

> Hate cases directed at the Register (30 cases)

> Cases identified as fake or that failed to pass the confirmation process (131 cases)

> Fake reports were mostly self-evident due to false or exaggerated email addresses like 'fuckislam@pig.com.au' or 'ihatemuslims@hotmail.com' and phone numbers like '(666) 666-6666'

> The narrative in fake reports also tended to include extreme exaggeration, erroneous details and/or foul language

Appendix II

Women who are alone and wearing Islamic headwear were the most likely to be targets of attacks

The report found that men were mostly perpetrators (68.5%) and women (67.7%) were mostly victims

Impact Report for the First Islamophobia in Australia Report*

Research conducted by the Centre for Islamic Studies and Civilisation, Charles Sturt University and the Islamophobia Register of Australia has revealed women who are alone and wearing Islamic headwear were the most likely to be targets of attacks.

A study released by Charles Sturt University on Monday analysed 243 verified reports to the online Islamophobia Register of Australia from September 2014 to December 2015.

The report found of 130 cases where the victim's gender was reported, women were targets in 88, men in 27 and both genders in 15. Dr Iner said it showed hostility toward Muslims went beyond apprehensions of violence, even as reports of Islamophobia tended to peak after terrorist attacks such as the Lindt Café siege.

I have been working as a researcher on the Islamophobic incidents reported to the Islamophobia Register Australia since its inception. Now that effort has come to fruition with a comprehensive report. The report is co-authored with the field expert academics to tackle institutional and individual Islamophobia that is manifested within the socio-political and everyday landscape of Australia.

The report found that men were mostly perpetrators (68.5%) and women (67.7%) were mostly victims. Women and children in particular bear the brunt of Islamophobia. 79.6% of women were wearing the hijab. Even if the number of children is counted as one per incident (31.5%; n=27), when it is summed up with the number of

* All text is taken from media coverage.

victims under 18 years of age in the collated data (42%; n=36), children's direct and indirect exposure to Islamophobia reaches 47.7% (n=63 out of 132) within the range of offline cases.

The Islamophobia in Australia report, which surveyed 243 incidents involving physical, verbal and online attacks, found in cases where the gender of the victim was known, 67.7 per cent were female. Nearly three-quarters of abusers were male.

The report was able to document the profoundly destructive impact of such incidents through the testimony of the victims themselves, but what is transpiring in the emotional world of children remains a question for us.

Unsurprisingly, the targets of everyday Islamophobia were ordinary Muslims, and the hatred directed at them stemmed from the very existence and visibility of Muslims and Islam rather than the fear of terrorism. The report's analysis of the content of insults found that terrorism is mentioned minimally (11%) in contrast to the visibility of Muslims themselves.

The report, billed as the first of its kind in Australia, was a collaboration between several universities, the Islamic Sciences and Research Academy of Australia, and the Diversity Council Australia. The report found 79.6 per cent of women abused were wearing a head covering, and more than 30 per cent were accompanied by their children. A comprehensive 100 page report on Islamophobia in Australia covering the period of 2014-2016 was launched on Monday 10 July in Melbourne and on Tuesday 11 July in Sydney.

Some of the key highlights of the report included:

> Australian Muslim women who ventured out on their own were almost three times more likely to face harassment of an Islamophobic nature

> More than half of the female victims had their children with them at the time of the reported incident

> Most reported physical assaults occurred in NSW (60%) and Victoria (26.7%)

> 48% of offline attacks occurred in crowded spaces that were frequented daily – shopping centres, train stations and mosque surroundings were the most common

> Nobody intervened in 75% of the reported incidents

Report finds clear relationship between Islamic terrorist attacks and increases in Islamophobic incidents

A 2017 report into Islamophobia in Australia by Charles Sturt University concluded there was a disturbing amount of the practice at institutional and personal levels in Australia

Islamophobia: Casey Coffee with a Muslim event aims to promote tolerance

'Not wanted here': New report details first-hand experiences of Islamophobic attacks

Islamophobia Still Raising its Ugly Head in Australia – The Conversation

Australia's Muslims being demonised, leader says

MEDIA STATEMENT

RADIO COVERAGE

ABC Radio news (Sydney) Interview at 9.25am, 10.7.17

ABC Radio news (Sydney) Interview at 9.44am, 10.7.17

ABC Radio news (Sydney) Interview at 10.44am, 10.7.17

ABC Radio (Brisbane) (breakfast program)

Interview at 7.37am on 10.7.17

ABC Radio (Melbourne)

Interview at 8.48am on 10.7.17

Dr Derya Iner, a Senior Lecturer at Charles Sturt University, said: *"The report documents and analyses the present manifestations of Islamophobia in Australia both at an institutional and individual level and provides authentic and vigorous data by quoting from the victims, their proxies and witnesses"*

The simplest definition of Islamophobia is the special form of racism revealing *"indiscriminate negative attitudes or emotions directed at Islam and Muslims"*

The report was formally launched by Lisa Annese, CEO of Diversity Council Australia. The audience was welcomed by Dr Mehmet Ozalp from ISRA while Randa Abdel-Fattah, writer and researcher introduced the report to those present at the launch.

About the Report

The report was compiled in partnership with Islamic Sciences & Research Academy of Australia (ISRA), the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalization, Deakin University, the University of Western Australia, Diversity Council of Australia and Just Media Advocacy and was critically analysed by field-expert academics ranging from disciplines of sociology and theology to political sciences and criminology.

The report captures and critically analyses 243 verified incidents reported to the Islamophobia Register Australia between September 2014 and December 2015.The report findings signify the circumstances under which anti-Muslim hate incidents exist, operate and affect Australian Muslims and illustrate specific characteristics of Islamophobia operate and affect Australian Muslims and illustrate specific characteristics of Islamophobia

The six key findings of the report included:

> Women, especially those with Islamic head covering (79.6% of the female victims), have been the main targets of Islamophobia and more than 30% of the female victims had their children with them at the time of the reported incident

> 98% of perpetrators were identified as ethnically Anglo-Celtic, as indicated by the reporter and the typical perpetrator tended to be male

> Most reported physical assaults (Offline incidents) occurred in NSW (60%) and VIC (26.7%)

> 48% of offline attacks occurred in crowded spaces that were frequented daily – shopping centres, train stations and mosque surroundings were the most common

> Non-Muslims constituted about 25% of the witness reporters and nobody intervened in 75% of the reported incidents

> The report captures and critically analyses with a rigorous and transparent methodology, 243 verified incidents reported to the Islamophobia Register Australia between September 2014 and December 2015

An Islamophobic incident is any act comprising of abusive hatred, vilification and violence inflicted on Muslims going about their daily lives.

The report verified incidents by contacting people involved and checking facts and analysed and classified them as online or offline, levels of severity, where and how they happened, the vulnerability of victims, nature of the abuse, and its impact on victims.

Acquiring data on Islamophobic incidents has been notoriously difficult, as Muslims are generally averse to reporting and there were no safe avenues to turn to until the Islamophobia Register of Australia was established in 2014.

In the first two weeks of the register, 33 incidents were reported. It is safe to assume that the 243 reports are only the tip of the iceberg. Charles Sturt University's Associate Professor Mehmet Ozalp examined the 243 cases and made some confronting finds.

Assoc Prof Ozalp's analysis found about 80 per cent of verified anti-Islam attacks were inflicted on Muslim women and about 75 per cent of the attacks were inflicted by Anglo men.

Assoc Prof Ozalp wrote in The Conversation that, while there was a spike in attacks after terrorist-related events, mostly, the attacks were fuelled by the tightly held belief among many Australians that Muslims simply do not belong in Australia.
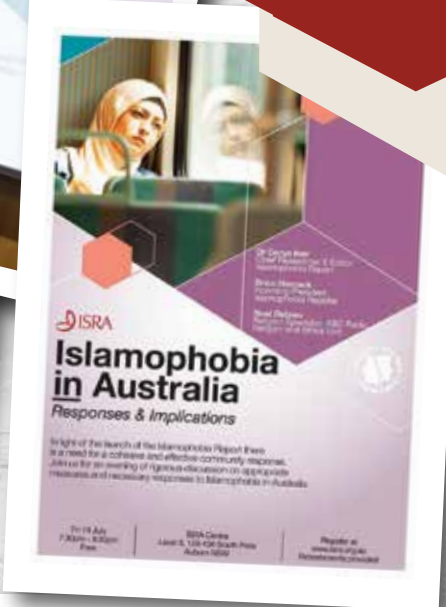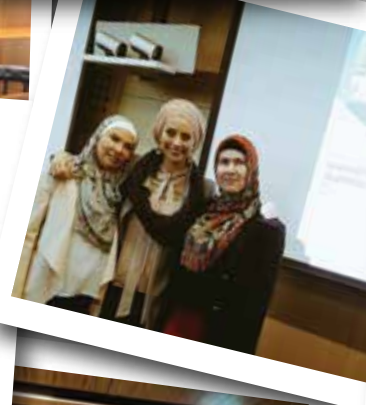
Professor Mehmet Ozalp examined the 243 cases and said "*the report will highlight a social problem that cannot be ignored or downplayed any longer*".

⚠️

Professor Mehmet Ozalp examined the 243 cases and said "*The report will highlight a social problem that cannot be ignored or downplayed any longer*"

MELBOURNE LAUNCH

SYDNEY LAUNCH

PERTH LAUNCH

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