

HATE
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**CONSERVATIVE PARTY INQUIRY
ON ALL FORMS OF RACISM
INCLUDING ISLAMOPHOBIA**

HOPE NOT HATE SUBMISSION OF EVIDENCE



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INTRODUCTION

HOPE not hate is Britain's leading anti-fascist organisation, challenging hatred and leveraging hope. Whilst the organisation mainly focuses on defeating the far right at the ballot box, on the streets and online, HOPE not hate recognises the need to tackle the root causes of this hatred.

In recent years, HOPE not hate has tracked, highlighted and campaigned against the poison of hatred impacting on the mainstream, particularly in debates on immigration. This is also true for the growing threat of hate encroaching in, and emanating out of mainstream political parties in the UK, bringing differing forms of hatred to millions.

To this end, HOPE not hate has produced the following submission to the Conservative Party Inquiry into Islamophobia and all forms of racism.

The submission will cover:

- An analysis of the Conservative Party's disciplinary processes and how improvements to those would improve the procedural issue, and aid the attempts to fix the cultural issue of Islamophobia and anti-Muslim prejudice within the Conservative Party.
- A report on polling conducted of Conservative members, showing the widespread nature of negative attitudes towards Muslims and other discriminatory views.
- Case studies of Conservative councillors, MPs and activists who have been subject to complaints but either faced no disciplinary action or were allowed back in after a short suspension.

57% Conservative members who had a negative attitude towards Muslims, with 21% registering a very negative attitude.

66% Conservative Party members who voted for Boris Johnson in the leadership election and believe that "there are no go areas in Britain where Sharia law dominates and non-Muslims cannot enter".

YouGov poll of 1,213 Conservative Party members, July 2020

“ This lot should be rounded up and put on a boat home ”

Comment posted by Conservative Party member, April 2019

“ they [Muslims] are simply outbreeding us and within 30 years this will be a Muslim led country with sharia laws ”

Comment posted by Conservative Party member, Twitter

A DISCIPLINARY PROCESS FIT FOR 2020

HOPE NOT HATE believes that the disciplinary processes of the Conservative Party¹ are failing to deal with, and remedy, discriminatory behaviour towards numerous Muslims members. It is time for the Conservative Party to adopt a fully independent disciplinary process, free from any control from the Party leadership.

That is not to suggest that having and enacting clear and transparent disciplinary processes is easy, especially due to the constraints on capacity. However, it is incumbent upon the Conservative Party to show their willingness to attempt to improve their processes in good faith and allocate adequate investment to solve the issue.

While the Conservative Party has a clear and detailed Code of Conduct on the party's website for Party representatives and a similar version for all members in Part XII of the Constitution of the Conservative Party², this process is flawed for a number of reasons.

Role of the Party Chairman

Firstly, modern disciplinary processes in political parties for party representatives should not be ultimately controlled, and decided by, the Party Chairman. This allows for what could be a rigorous process to be interfered with by political influence, convenience and bias. The Party Chairman is undoubtedly likely to have conflicts of interest that play a factor in the severity of the punishment given for those found guilty and on the length of time it takes for an investigation to be completed.

Who is a Party representative?

Any incident of Islamophobia or other discriminatory behaviour does not belong in the Conservative Party. Every member of the Party should be held to the same standard and have a singular disciplinary process that they are subject to. This is particularly true to say

in the age of social media, and with increased participation from Party members in the Conservative Party, it is no longer relevant to hold a distinction between Conservative Party representatives and members.

Independence of the Ethics & Integrity Committee

Thirdly, whilst the Ethics and Integrity Committee has two independent members in the form of two Queen's counsel, the Committee is still subordinate to the Party leadership by the inclusion of two senior Conservative representatives. This allows the process to be interfered with by conflicts of interest by senior Party officials who can apply pressure to manage the process to elicit the result deemed best for the Party image.

Definition of 'Disrepute'

Moreover, the Constitution of the Conservative Party has only one rule for members to break; bringing the Conservative Party into disrepute. The term 'bringing the party into disrepute' is vague and not sufficient to adequately ensure a political party can remove racists, homophobes and misogynists from their ranks. The term is loose enough that the Committee can deem pretty much any political opponent to the leadership as 'bringing the party into disrepute' whilst absolving responsibility from those who would be politically inconvenient to discipline.

The Code of Conduct for Party representatives goes into greater detail on how a representative can fall foul of the code by bullying, abusing, victimising, harassing or unlawfully discriminating against others. This should be replicated for the Party's constitution if the Conservative Party wants to make clear that it doesn't want racists as members.

Finally, whilst the importance of due process and anonymity for complainants is paramount, the opaque process of suspensions and other results of disciplinary processes currently adds

to the view that the Conservative Party does have a systemic issue with Islamophobia.

As the case studies in the second section of this report outline, on multiple occasions the Conservative Party has either taken no action or limited action against members who fall foul of the standards that should be expected of a member of the Conservative Party. When limited action is taken, such as a short suspension, our case studies outline numerous examples of members who have committed similar offences after their suspension was lifted.

It is also clear from the evidence collated that the complaints and disciplinary process is subject to flexibility if there is media interest in the case. The system cannot be seen to deliver on the Conservative Party's duty to act fairly if it investigates cases quicker, more thoroughly and delivers harsher punishments if the case is brought to the attention of the media than other complaints made.

Thus it is the contention of HOPE not hate that there must be a review into the disciplinary processes of the Conservative Party and a full independent investigation into their effectiveness at preventing discrimination.

HOPE NOT HATE CALLS FOR:

- An independent complaints and disciplinary procedure for the Conservative Party.
- An open and transparent system for suspending members subject to investigations, ensuring a due process and support and clarity for complainants.
- A programme of training for members on Islamophobia, anti-Muslim prejudice and understanding British Muslims. This programme should include opportunities for all members to learn, compulsory training for MPs and other leaders and a system for requiring those disciplined to partake in it.
- The leadership of the Conservative Party to make greater efforts to promote a more positive image of Muslims to members and the wider public and call out anti-Muslim prejudice wherever it is found.

HOPE NOT HATE'S OFFER:

HOPE not hate wants to support those that wish to address the procedural and cultural issues of Islamophobia within the Conservative Party. We want to meet with senior figures in the Conservative Party to offer our support to identify those members expressing anti-Muslim and other extremist views and develop initiatives to address the wider concern of anti-Muslim attitudes amongst the membership.

THE CULTURAL PROBLEM OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

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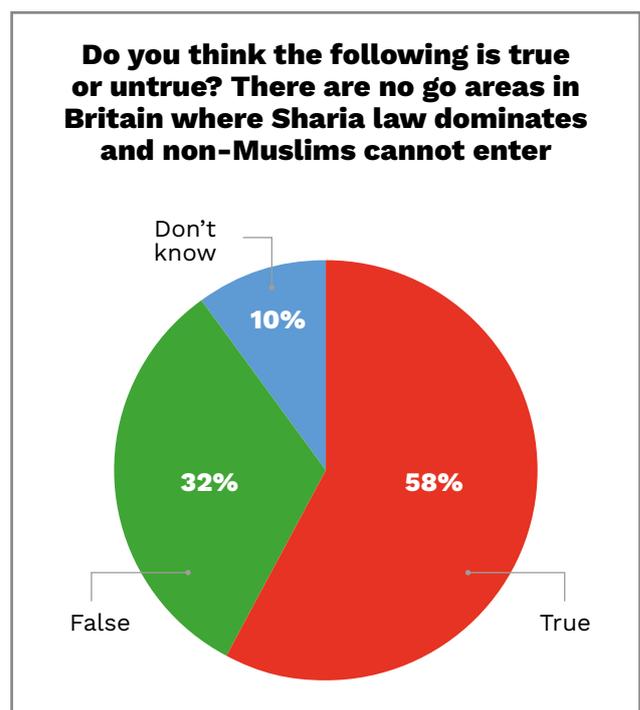
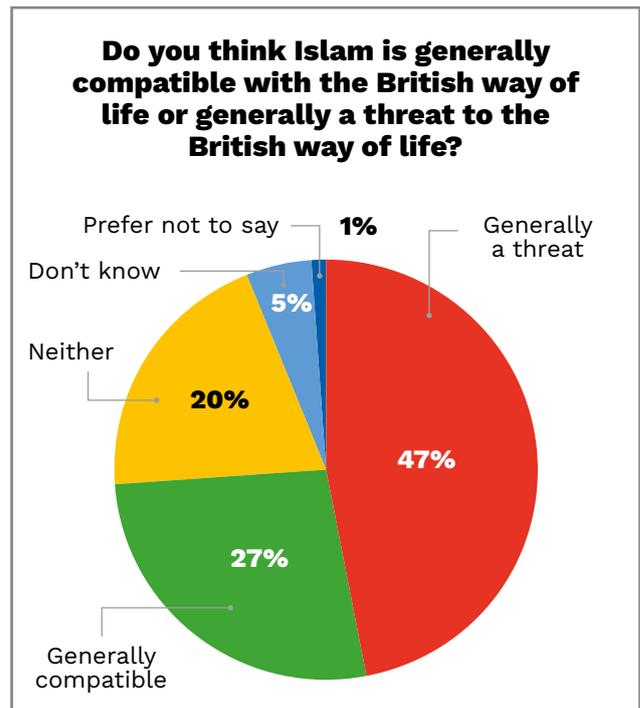
There continues to be widespread suspicion, prejudice and hostility towards Muslims amongst Conservative Party members and an almost total denial that the party has an Islamophobia problem, according to a poll of 1,213 party members carried out by YouGov for HOPE not hate between 13th-16th July 2020. The poll was conducted by the widely respected YouGov firm, set up by Conservative MP Nadim Zahawi in 2000, whose polling of Conservative Party members is gold standard and has been cited, or praised for their accuracy, by The Times³, The Telegraph⁴ and Conservative Home⁵.

CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARDS MUSLIMS AND ISLAM

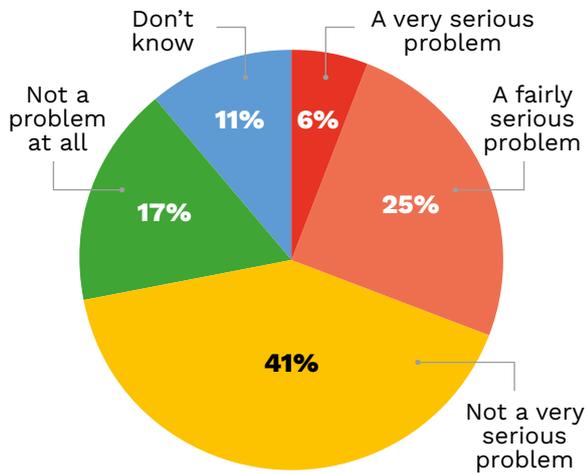
This poll found that **57%** of Conservative Party members had a negative attitude towards Muslims (rating 50 or below) when asked to rate their feeling towards religious minorities on a scale of 0 - 100 (with 0 being most negative and 100 most positive). **21%** of members registered a very negative attitude (rating 20 or below). This compared with only **3%** that registered very negative attitudes towards either Jews, Sikhs and Hindus.

Almost half of Conservative Party members (**47%**) believe that Islam is “a threat to the British way of life”, while **58%** believed that “there are no go areas in Britain where Sharia law dominates and non-Muslims cannot enter”. This figure rose to **66%** of those who backed Boris Johnson in the 2019 leadership election.

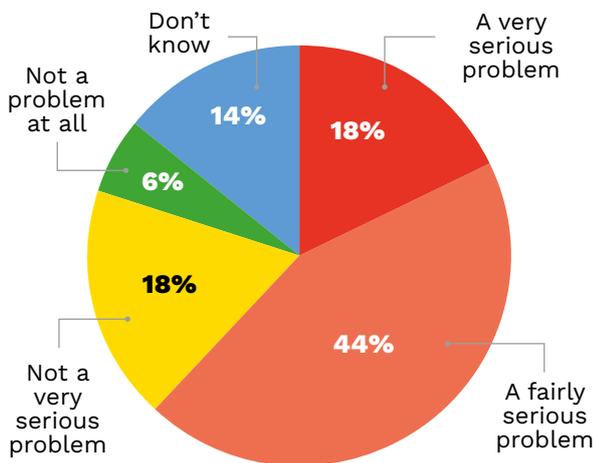
Over a third of Tory members thought that Islamist terrorists reflect a widespread hostility to Britain amongst the Muslim community, compared to **53%** who thought it was wrong to blame all Muslims for the actions of a violent minority. Opinion was evenly divided amongst Johnson supporters, with **44%** believing the former statement and **46%** the latter.



How serious a problem, if at all, do you think discrimination is for Muslims in Britain? [Tory party members]



How serious a problem, if at all, do you think discrimination is for Muslims in Britain? [General public]



When those that did feel Islam was a threat were asked to choose two reasons why (from a given list of talking points commonly found within anti-Islam rhetoric), **50%** agreed with the statement ‘Islam breeds intolerance for free speech and calls for violent actions against those who mock, criticise or depict the religion in ways they believe are offensive’, **41%** felt ‘Muslims don’t want to integrate’ and **41%** agreed that ‘Islam promotes discrimination of and the physical abuse of women, for example the grooming of white British girls’, **24%** that Muslim populations are growing at a rate many times faster than non-Muslim and will replace white British people.

Respondents were also able to answer ‘Other’, with 4% thus specifying their own reasons, which included: “All of the above.”, “Cruel & barbaric halal not appropriate in British society.”, “Islam seeks to replace British culture with its own.” And “Not compatible with British society and never has been.”

CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARDS DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MUSLIMS

Almost twice as many party members (**58%** v **31%**) believed that there is little or no discrimination against Muslims in Britain today. The gap widens to **67%** v **26%** amongst those who backed Johnson’s leadership bid. Only 6% thought that discrimination against Muslims was a serious problem, with this figure dropping to just **3%** amongst Johnson supporters.

This figure is also out of kilter with the views of people who voted Conservative in 2019. When we asked the general public in our August Focaldata poll if they considered Islamophobia in Britain to be a problem, **14%** of those who voted Conservative said it was a big problem, **32%** said it was a moderate problem and **30%** said a small problem. In total, **76%** of those that voted Conservative in 2019 thought there were problems with Islamophobia in Britain in some form.

CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS ATTITUDES FAR WORSE THAN THE GENERAL PUBLIC

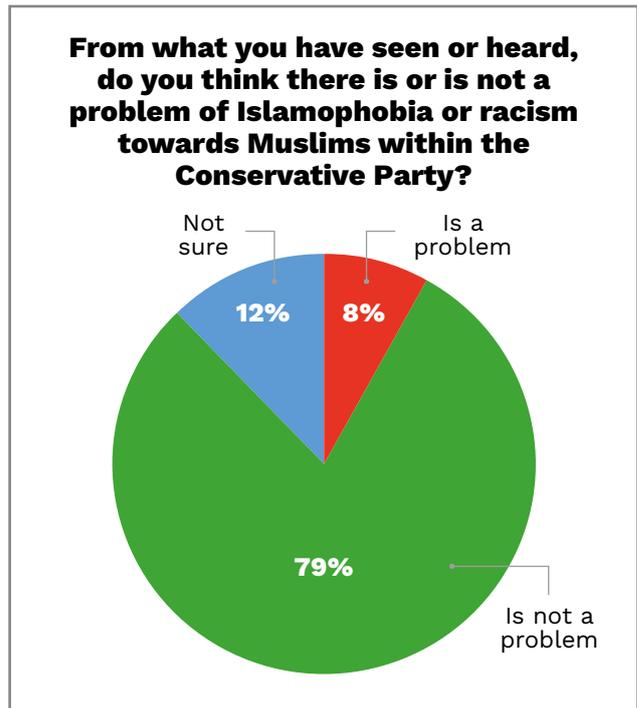
The attitudes of Tory members were far worse than the public at large. When YouGov asked the same questions as the Conservative member survey in a national poll, they found quite different, though still deeply worrying, results. Just under a third of the general public (**30%**) thought Islam was a threat to the British way of life (compared to **47%** of Tory members), while **37%** of the public thought that there were no go areas where

non-Muslims could not enter (compared to **58%** of Tory members). Conservative members were more than doubly as likely to think that Islamist terrorists reflect a widespread hostility to Britain amongst the Muslim community than in the national YouGov poll.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ISLAMOPHOBIA WITHIN THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

Conservative Party members refuse to believe that their party has a problem with Islamophobia, with **79%** believing that there is no problem and just **9%** thinking there is. Among Johnson supporters this grew to **86%** and fell to **4%** respectively.

Only one in six party members (**17%**) felt that the Conservative Party should be doing more to combat Islamophobia and other racism within the party, compared to **74%** who believed that the party was already doing all it reasonably can. Johnson supporters split **8%** and **85%** respectively.



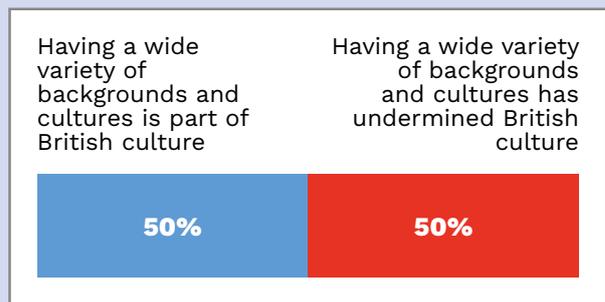
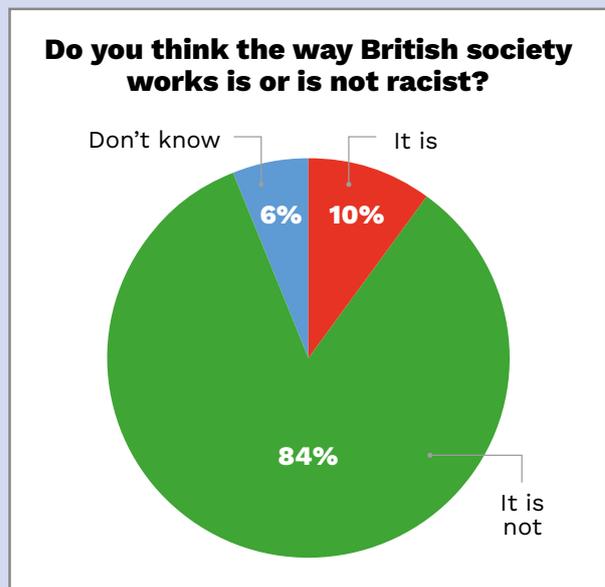
ATTITUDES TO IMMIGRATION, MULTICULTURALISM AND RACE

Conservative Party members also hold negative attitudes to immigration and multiculturalism more generally.

Only **10%** of party members think that British society is racist, with **84%** disagreeing. This rises to **89%** of those who backed Johnson in the leadership election, with just **7%** believing that it is racist. Members are evenly split as to whether having a wide variety of backgrounds and cultures is now part of British culture or whether it undermines British culture. This contrasts with our August Focaldata poll, which found that **70%** believing that multiculturalism was part of British culture and just **30%** believing it undermined it.

Asked whether multiculturalism has had a positive effect on the British economy, half of party members (**51%**) agree, with **30%** believing it has had a negative effect and the remainder unsure. Asked about the effect on British culture, **56%** think it has been negative, with just **36%** believing it has been positive.

Just over half of Tory members (**55%**) think that “on the whole, immigration into Britain has been a good thing for the country”,



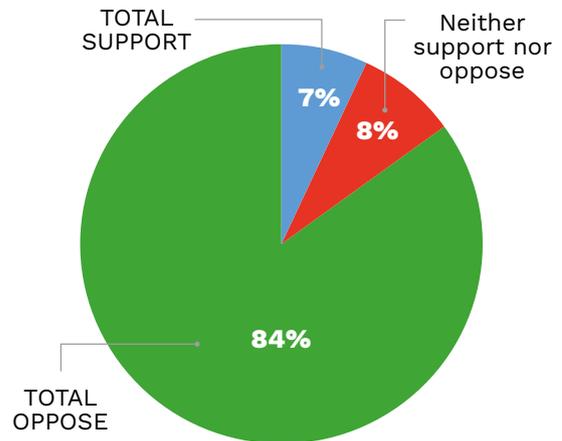
but this is still some way off the **69%** of the general public who think the same.

Tory members hold very strong views on British history and the recent Black Lives Matter protests. Only **7%** support the removal of statues of historical figures with links to slavery from British towns and cities, and of these, only **2%** support it strongly. By contrast, **84%** oppose the removal of statues, with **66%** strongly opposing it.

Amongst society as a whole, **51%** of people, in a poll of 2,010 people conducted by Focaldata for HOPE not hate in mid-June, believed that statues of slave traders should be removed from public squares and put in museums. Just a quarter of people (**26%**) disagreed.

Four in five party members (**82%**) think that white people are unfairly made to feel guilty for slavery, rising to **87%** of Johnson supporters and **97%** of members in Scotland.

To what extent would you support or oppose the removal of all statues of historical figures with links to slavery from British towns and cities?



There was very little difference in attitudes between genders, age groups or social class. However, the attitudes of young members and women were quite different from society at large. Young people are far more worried about Islamophobia and the discrimination Muslim face than older people, while men have more negative views than women in our national poll.

Attitudes amongst Tory members in most regions were fairly similar, though those in Scotland had more negative views to Muslims than most.

This poll confirms a previous poll HOPE not hate conducted of Tory members last year and helps explain the strong racist and anti-Muslim comments made by so many Conservative councillors and even MPs and the complete failure of the party to take action.

The polling also reminds us that tinkering with the party's disciplinary processes will not really solve the problem, rather, what is required is a wholesale educational programme to tackle anti-Muslim perceptions and portray Muslims in a more positive light. And just as the case with Labour and its antisemitism problem, this requires true leadership – as well as the tightening of rules – and has to start at the

top of the party. This is especially important as those members who voted for Boris Johnson in last year's leadership election have substantially more negative views than those who back Jeremy Hunt.

CASE STUDIES

RACISM IS RIFE IN THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY, AND THE COMPLAINTS PROCEDURE IS NOT FIT TO TACKLE IT.

ON 26 NOVEMBER 2019, the Prime Minister denied claims that the Conservative Party's complaints process was ineffectual, saying *"What we do in the Tory party is when anybody is guilty of any kind of prejudice or discrimination against another group then they're out first bounce"*.

This unusual turn of phrase is somewhat open to interpretation, but it was widely taken as meaning that the Conservative Party would expel members who were guilty of prejudice or discrimination, and that a single instance of such behaviour would be enough to merit such an action.

Yet there is considerable evidence to show that Mr Johnson was wrong in this claim, whether or not he was aware of it. This dossier compiles 40 examples of cases where prejudiced and discriminatory actions by Conservative Party officials, activists and members have resulted in either short term suspensions or no action at all.

It is important to stress that these case studies are far from an exhaustive list. We were only able to include such cases as were reported in the media or otherwise brought to our attention; it is impossible to know how many similar cases go unreported.

This latter point is important: despite claims from senior Conservative officials that the party's disciplinary processes are 'transparent', the party is perhaps unique among mainstream UK political parties in its reticence to divulge details of its disciplinary processes.

Conservative Party officials frequently cite confidentiality as an obstacle to revealing details of suspensions and disciplinary outcomes, but they do so inconsistently and without clear evidence of how GDPR or other requirements would affect their ability to do so.

The party has used this defence to justify their refusal to divulge even the broadest details of the party's processes, such in April 2019 when then-Party Chair Brandon Lewis told the BBC he could not reveal either the total number of complaints or the total number of members expelled due to "confidentiality", despite it being clear that he could do so without revealing any personal details.

This refusal to discuss the initiation and outcomes of the complaints process often makes it difficult to ascertain what actions have been taken. In numerous cases, local councillors are readmitted to the party and Conservative council groups with no announcement or explanation of what measures have been taken to address their behaviour. This is despite former party Chairman Brandon Lewis describing it as *"shocking news"* when it was revealed that Labour had readmitted councillors in a similar fashion.⁶

Sometimes it is stated that the offending party has apologised and taken a diversity course, but it is unclear why someone guilty of anti-Muslim prejudice would be expected to apologise privately to the Conservative Party rather than publicly to their constituents or fellow members. Furthermore, the nature of the diversity course undertaken is unclear.

These examples reveal an opaque disciplinary process which time and again appears to result in party members who have expressed discriminatory and prejudiced views being welcomed back into the party. In doing so, the party displays disregard for the rights of minority groups both within the party and the population at large.

1. Felix Aubel, Carmarthenshire:

Mr Aubel, a Conservative Party activist and 2016 candidate for the Welsh Assembly⁷, sparked condemnation, including from the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Community Security Trust,⁸ for a tweet in which he appeared to call for “*Christian Europe*” to replicate the Spanish Inquisition and and which referred to migrants as “*a foreign army*”:



A spokesman for the Welsh Conservative Party distanced the party from Mr Aubel’s comment, saying “*Felix Aubel’s opinions are entirely his own and are in no way representative of the views of the Welsh Conservatives. We cannot condone the use of this kind of language.*”

Yet it appears that Mr Aubel remains an active and prominent member of his local party. He has recently appeared in photos with Andrew Davies AM at the Carmarthen East Conservatives Christmas party,⁹ and campaigned in the 2019 General Election alongside Havard Hughes, the Conservative candidate for Carmarthen East & Dinefwr.¹⁰

2. Martin Oddy, Leeds

Party activist Martin Oddy was suspended by the Conservative Party after it was revealed in March 2019 that he had made a joke about the Christchurch massacre in New Zealand. Responding to an article about the massacre posted in the ‘True Blue Tory’ Facebook group, Mr Oddy wrote “*Shoe sale in New Zealand*”, referring to the Muslim practise of removing shoes before entering a mosque¹¹.

It is unclear exactly how long Mr Oddy was suspended for, but the Guardian reported in December 2019 that Mr Oddy was “*back in the party and back helping the Conservatives again*”, having completed an “*online diversity course.*”¹²

Yet Mr Oddy continued to post offensive material about Muslims in the same Facebook group throughout 2019, subsequent to the

reporting of his original comment. On June 7th, Mr Oddy posted the following comment about the Peterborough by-election:



[Source](#)

On 23rd August, he made the following comment on an article about a Muslim family living in the UK, and ‘liked’ the comment by Rebecca D’amato



[Source](#)

3. Cllr John Raper, Ryedale

John Raper was exposed as having posted a large number of Islamophobic, homophobic and racist posts on his Facebook page in 2015, for which he refused to apologise¹³. Despite this receiving attention in the local media, Mr Raper does not appear to have been suspended, and he remained a Conservative councillor until his eventual resignation from the party on an unrelated disciplinary matter two years later¹⁴.

In the years after the original posts were revealed, Cllr Raper continued to leave Islamophobic comments on the Facebook posts of the local MP, Kevin Hollinrake. It is unknown whether Mr Hollinrake saw fit to report Cllr Raper for these comments, but

clearly indicates that no action was taken to remedy his use of social media:



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(Said in support of Trump's proposed Muslim ban)

4. Paul Glover, Dewsbury

On 17th May 2019, Paul Glover's name was submitted to Conservative Party HQ as part of a dossier compiled by ITV News containing over 100 cases of Islamophobia by Conservative Party members¹⁷. Social media posts contained within the dossier saw him refer to Muslims as an "infestation", and said that "they [Muslims] are simply outbreeding us and within 30 years this will be a Muslim led country with sharia laws" the UK. Mr Glover was later named in the Muslim Council of Britain's submission to the EHRC preliminary fact-finding into Islamophobia in the Conservative Party.¹⁸

Yet it appears that no action was taken against Mr Glover. On 12th July he posted a photo of his ballot paper for the Conservative leadership election, proving that he remained a member of the party,¹⁹ and in December he posted a photo of himself campaigning alongside Mark Eastwood, the Conservative Party candidate for Dewsbury:



20

5. Cllr Bob Frost, Dover

A particularly egregious example of the Conservative Party's tolerance towards bigotry is that of Bob Frost, a councillor from Dover who was suspended on three separate occasions between 2011 and 2018, when he eventually resigned from the party. He was first suspended for a post in which he made reference to "bunnies of the woodland variety, rather than jungle" in relation to the 2011 riots and was a clear reference to the racial slur 'jungle bunny' used to denigrate black people²¹.

Some time after that, he was reinstated again but was suspended again in 2015 after tweeting that he'd told a Big Issue seller to "F*** off back to Romania"²². Yet again, Cllr Frost was reinstated to the party and continued in until his third and final suspension, when he resigned after being suspended for making jokes about buying slaves and of abortion clinics in Liverpool being used to reduce crime.²³

Yet even these incidents do not represent a fraction of Mr Frost's offensive social media output. A search of his Twitter feed shows that he was posting deeply Islamophobic and racist tweets constantly throughout this period:



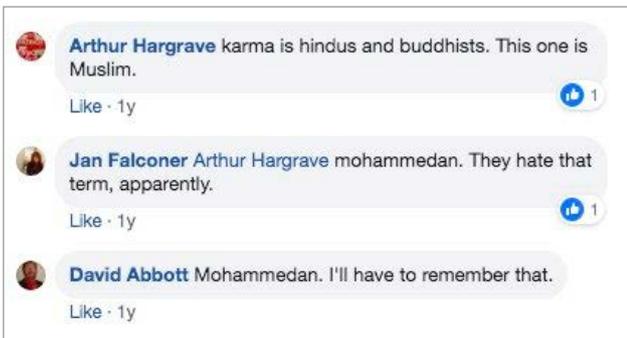
When approached by reporters after each of these suspensions, Cllr Frost was defiant and defended his actions, so it seems inexplicable that the party continued to reinstate him without any signs of willingness to rectify his behaviour.

6. Cllr David Abbott, Houghton Regis

On 1st March 2019, it was revealed that David Abbott, who was sitting as an independent Councillor but standing in the May local elections as a Conservative, was a moderator of a Facebook group, the ‘Boris Johnson: Supporters’ Group’, that contained large amounts of racist and anti-Muslim posts.²⁴ In an interview with his local paper, Abbott blamed Facebook for not filtering comments, claimed that the racist posts did not reflect his views and said he had stepped down from moderating the group.

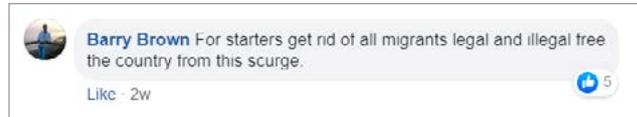
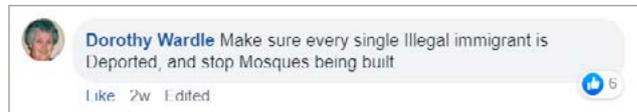
However, in April 2019, Cllr Abbott was himself revealed as having written a number of Islamophobic posts in the ‘Jacob Rees-Mogg: Supporters Group’, a similar Facebook group that he continued to moderate.²⁵ Abbott had written statements such as *“Moslems are commanded to do everything in their power, including killing, to rid the world of every person who does not follow Islam”*, and spoke of the *“infiltration requirements of Mohammedanism”* and suggested that Muslims had a tactic of *“breeding for Islam”*.

Mr Abbot’s intense dislike of Muslims even extended to adopting the term ‘Mohammedan’ specifically because he was informed that Muslims dislike the term:²⁶

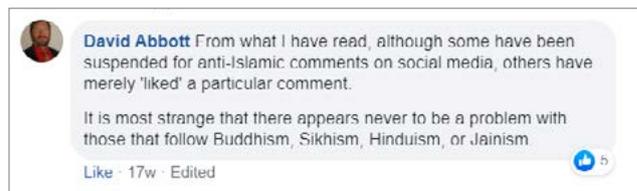


Despite the negative coverage, Abbott was reelected in the May 2019 elections, and some time after that was reinstated to the party and allowed to sit with the Conservative group on the council.²⁷ Both he and the party declined to comment on the reinstatement.

Yet Cllr Abbott continues to moderate the group, and while he appears to have removed his most egregious comments, the group is still filled with racist and violent hate speech. For example, all of the comments below appeared in a single thread that Abbott had himself commented on and must therefore have been aware of:



Cllr Abbott has himself made comments in the group that suggest his views are still far from being reformed by whatever diversity training he has apparently undertaken. In this comment from September, he appears to make sarcastic reference to the Conservative Party’s actions against Islamophobia:²⁸



7. Collin Raine, Bishop Auckland

On 6th November 2019, Helen Goodman MP wrote to Brandon Lewis to inform him that a Conservative Party member and former candidate had been organising protests outside her constituency office alongside far-right groups such as For Britain, the English Defence League, North East Infidels and a local group, ‘Bishop Auckland Against Islam’.²⁹ Three weeks later, Brandon Lewis wrote back to inform her that Mr Raine was *“not a member of our party”*.

The local party chairman told the Huffington Post that although they had spoken to Mr Raine about his views, he was not subject to any formal disciplinary proceedings and had simply allowed his membership to expire.

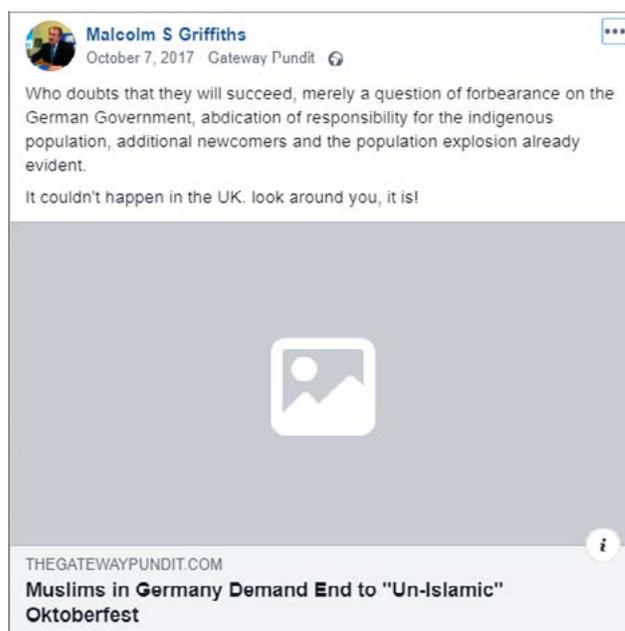
In Mr Raine’s own telling of events, he had written to announce his resignation from the party on the 12th of December, and appeared to believe that he would be able to return to the party at some point:³⁰



Only after the story broke in the Huffington Post was Raine formally expelled from the party, which prevented any possibility of return. Yet HOPE not hate discovered a photo in February 2020 that showed Raine in close conversation with newly elected MP Dehenna Davison at public events with numerous Conservative Party activists in attendance despite her having been warned at least twice previously about his track record³¹. This suggests that Raine's expulsion had not severed his relationship with the Bishop Auckland Conservative Party as might have been hoped.

8. Cllr Malcolm Griffiths, Redcar and Cleveland

In November 2019, Redcar and Cleveland councillor Malcom Griffiths was suspended after a Guardian investigation showed his anti-Muslim activity on social media,³² including quoting from an article by a leader of the anti-Muslim group Pegida Denmark that called Muslims “*inbred*” and liking comments that suggested Muslims should “*go home*”.



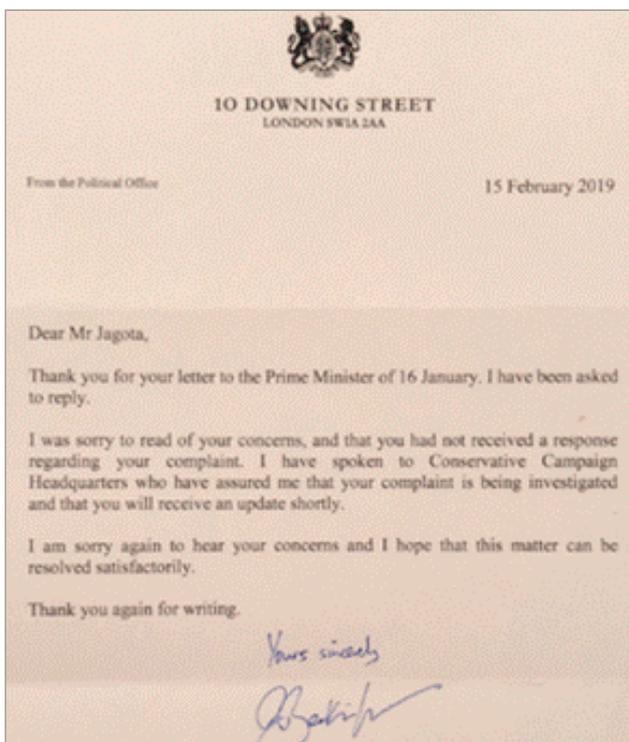
As of July 2020, all of Griffiths' offensive posts and articles remained on his Facebook profile, yet he continues to be listed as a Conservative councillor on the Redcar and Cleveland council website.³³

9. Jeff Millburn, South Tyneside

One of the most shocking cases of inaction by the Conservative Party is that of Jeff Milburn, a district councillor representing Cleadon and East Boldon in South Tyneside. In September 2018, Mr Milburn was accused of making a racist comment directed towards Mr Ajay Jagota, at that time the Chairman of South Shields Conservative Party, when the two attended a party function. In reference to a proposed merger of two local parties, Mr Milburn is alleged to have said “*I'm not working for that Muslim c***!*” in reference to Mr Jagota. This was said within earshot of Mr Jagota and another local party chairman, Mr Gerard Leake, both of whom reported it to the regional party office shortly after³⁴ but neither man received any form of reply.

A week later, at the Conservative Party conference in Birmingham, Mr Jagota had the opportunity to raise the issue in person with Brandon Lewis, then Conservative Party Chairman, who asked his deputy chief of staff, Toby Wilmer, to follow it up. Mr Jagota emailed both men about his complaint on three occasions, eventually receiving a cursory reply from the complaints department, promising that they would soon be in touch to hear his version of events. There was no further communication from them, despite Mr Jagota writing again to Mr Lewis.

Eventually, on January 6th 2019, both Mr Jagota and Mr Leake resigned from their posts in the party in protest at this complete failure to take action, writing to both Mr Lewis and the Prime Minister to express their dismay. This drastic action - or perhaps the potential for embarrassment that it represented - prompted a written apology from an adviser to Mrs May,³⁵ who wrote to Mr Jagota claiming that he had spoken to the complaints department and that he would 'shortly' receive an update. That update never came, and Mr Jagota never received any further updates from Conservative Party headquarters.



Apology letter sent to Mr Jagota after months of inaction³⁶.

Unbeknownst to Mr Jagota, a separate complaint regarding a racist incident from Mr Milburn had been lodged with South Tyneside Council by Ms Emma Lewell-Buck, Labour MP for South Shields, just two weeks prior to his

own. Ms Lewell-Buck alleged that she heard Mr Milburn make a racist comment regarding Kenyan runners at the Great North Run, which they had both attended on 9th September 2018.³⁷ Despite lodging her complaint the very next day, Ms Lewell-Buck heard nothing further on the subject, and on February 25th she went public with a call for his resignation. It appears to have been a combination of these two stories that eventually forced the Conservative Party to take action against Mr Milburn on March 1st.

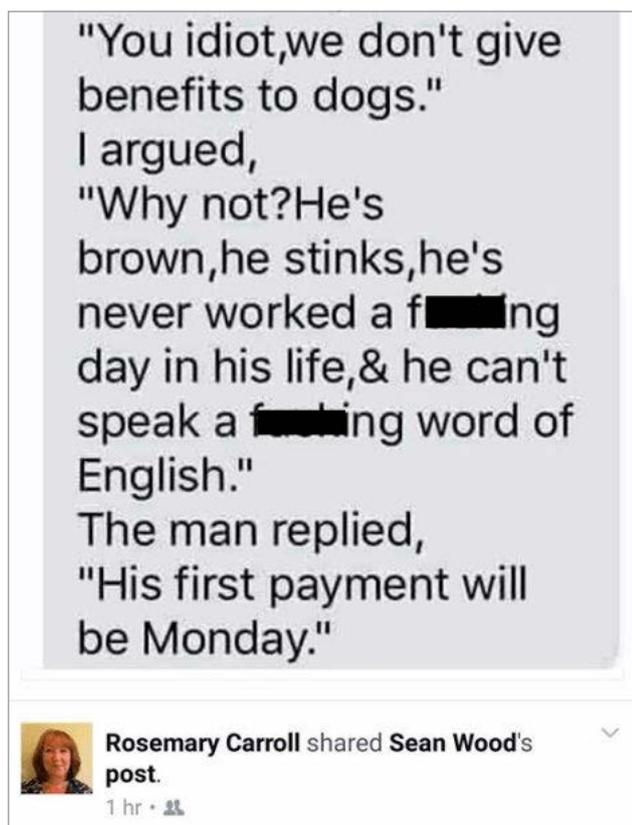
10. Cllr Mike Payne, Calderdale

Fellow Calderdale councillor Mike Payne was suspended from the party in April 2018 after it emerged that he had shared an article on both Twitter and Facebook with the headline “*France Slashed Benefits to Muslim Parasites by 83%.*” TellMama identified a number of other problematic tweets and Facebook posts, including a video from anti-Muslim activist Brigitte Gabriel that called moderate Muslims “*irrelevant*” and ended with a demand to “*throw political correctness in the garbage where it belongs.*”³⁸ When confronted over the issue, Payne denied any wrongdoing and even pretended that his sharing of the post was intended as a condemnation of the French government³⁹.

Despite the evidence and total lack of contrition, Payne was readmitted to the party within a few months, and even held the position of chairman of the Halifax Conservative Party in March of 2019.⁴⁰

11. Rosemary Carroll, Pendle

Pendle Borough Councillor Rosemary Carroll was suspended in 2017 after sharing a post on Facebook which compared an Asian person to a dog, with the line “he’s brown, he stinks, he’s never worked a f***ing day in his life and he doesn’t speak a word of English”. Carroll remained suspended for almost a year, during which time she sat on the council as an independent.



However, after the local elections of 2018, it emerged that Carroll had been quietly readmitted to the party, which handed it control of Pendle Borough Council with a majority of one. Despite then-Business Secretary Greg Clarke saying that Carroll might face a further investigation, she remains a Conservative councillor and no further details of the terms of her readmission were released⁴¹.

12. Jeff Potts, Solihull

In one of the most extreme cases we’ve seen, Cllr Jeff Potts of Solihull retweeted a slew of far-right comments such as “Deport and repatriate all Muslims from the UK” and “You’ve clearly not experienced the Pakistani hospitality, having a daughter raped by men who think she’s ‘white trash’”⁴²



Cllr Potts, who sat on Solihull Council’s Religious Education Advisory Board, was suspended in September 2017 but was readmitted to the party in November of 2018 and rejoined the Conservative Party group on the council in May. As with Rosemary Carroll, his rejoining the Conservative group gave the party a one-seat majority on the council, which again opens the party up to the accusation that disciplinary matters are subverted for political expediency.⁴³

As with other examples, Potts was dismissive when confronted with the allegations, telling the Birmingham Mail that he didn’t agree with them, and described it as a ‘free speech situation’. He later issued a public apology, which was largely defensive and utterly failed to address the extremity of the views he’d retweeted. Given this response, and the fact that some offensive tweets were still live on his account as late as May 15th 2019,⁴⁴ it is baffling that the party felt Potts was sufficiently remorseful to allow him back into both the party and council group.

13. Chris Joannides

Cllr Joannides, former councillor in Enfield, was suspended for a facebook post that likened people who wear the burka to bags of rubbish. Joannides' response was to reject the allegations as a "smear" and refer to the posts in question as "blokish banter."⁴⁵



Joannides was deselected as a councillor in the local elections and suspended from the party for a year. Yet despite his dismissive attitude, Joannides later became the chairman of the Tottenham Conservative Party and campaigned alongside local candidate James Newhall in the 2019 General Election.⁴⁶

14. Andrew Bowles

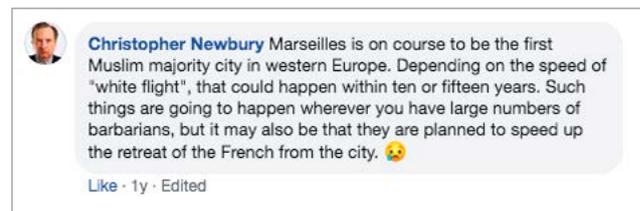
Prior to losing his seat in the 2019 local elections, Andrew Bowles was the leader of Swale Borough Council for over sixteen years. Bowles was suspended for just two weeks in 2018 after it emerged that he had retweeted a post in support of the English Defence League founder Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, AKA Tommy Robinson, which described him as a "patriot".

Cllr Bowles claimed at the time that he did not know much about Robinson and was merely supporting the right to free speech, but our research shows that he had also retweeted and liked at least two other tweets in support of Robinson, including one from the far-right former UKIP leader Gerard Batten.

15. Cllr Christopher Newbury

Wiltshire County Councillor Christopher Newbury was suspended by the party in November 2018 for making a number of extreme and alarmist social media posts about Muslims, including calling them "barbarians" and promoting a conspiracy theory that

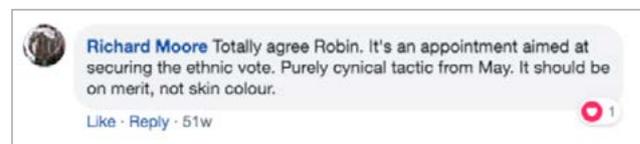
"white flight" from Marseilles might be part of a deliberate strategy to replace the white population with Muslims. He even defended the extreme anti-Muslim Pegida movement in Germany. These comments were made in a Facebook group run by Gregory Lauder-Frost, who is notorious for promoting the deportation of non-whites from the UK. HOPE not hate has also revealed that Cllr Newbury had 'liked' a post in 2016 that called for Muslim migrants to be "eliminated" by use of machine guns.



As of September 2020, Cllr Newbury was still listed as Conservative on Wiltshire Council's website, suggesting that Newbury has been readmitted to the party. Cllr Newbury has removed the offending comments, but has continued to 'like' posts on Gregory Lauder-Frost's profile, suggesting that they remain friends.

16. Cllr Robin Popley

In April of 2019, the Guardian reported that Robin Popley, a candidate in the upcoming local elections, had been suspended for offensive activity on Facebook, such as calling Enoch Powell "the greatest Prime Minister we never had" and 'liking' comments that disparaged the appointment of Sajid Javid as a "virtue signalling exercise" aimed at "securing the ethnic vote", as well as one criticising Prince Harry's engagement to Meghan Markle on the basis of her being of mixed race⁴⁷.



Comment 'love reacted' by Robin Popley

Despite his suspension, Popley won his seat on Charnwood Borough Council, was reinstated to the party shortly afterwards and sits on the Conservative group on the council.⁴⁸

17. Mick Murphy, Ashfield

In June 2018, Councillor Mick Murphy of Ashfield was suspended for sharing a Facebook post that compared women who wear the burka to bags of rubbish, as well as posts from far-right pages Britain First and ‘Pegida Supporters’. It then emerged that a local paper, the Hucknall Dispatch, had approached then-councillor Ben Bradley, now MP for Mansfield, about Cllr Murphy’s offensive social media posts back in 2016. Rather than reporting the incident, Bradley instead chose to berate the journalist, calling them “childish backstabbers” and praising Murphy as “a fantastic local Councillor because he is honest, he says what he thinks”.⁴⁹

In March 2019, Buzzfeed reported that Cllr Murphy had been reinstated to the party, but that he was still posting objectionable content to his Facebook page.⁵⁰

18. Cllr William Coleshill

William Coleshill was suspended from the Conservative Party in 2018 after he directed a racist comment towards a Labour Councillor, Susan Erbil. During a debate on immigration, Cllr Coleshill asked “When the Erbil family entered this country, did they bring a classroom with them?”⁵¹

Cllr Coleshill was suspended from the party, but appears to have been reinstated, with both his Facebook page and Twitter profile listing him as a Conservative Party councillor.

19. Cllr David Dean, Merton

Merton Councillor and former London Assembly candidate David Dean was suspended from the Conservative Party in May 2016 due to comments he made whilst campaigning on behalf of Zac Goldsmith. Dean allegedly told a voter that “as a white man, [Sadiq Khan] would treat him like dirt” and that “he’d be a pariah in his own town”. Dean did not deny having made the comments, but dismissed them as “a bit of banter” that had been “taken out of context”.

In January 2017, a party spokesperson apparently announced that Cllr Dean had been expelled from the party, yet just three months later he was back in the party and on Merton Council’s Conservative group, suggesting that he had successfully appealed the decision. Conservative Party HQ refused to comment on his reinstatement.⁵²

20. Cllr Antony Mullen

In 2018, Sunderland council candidate Antony Mullen was suspended from the party immediately prior to the local elections for comments describing Dianne Abbott as a “filthy, bulbous pig”, among other offensive comments.⁵³ Mullen inexplicably claimed that his comments had been “wildly construed to give an unfavourable impression” Despite his suspension, Mullen was elected in May and then immediately reinstated to the party. In June 2020, it was announced that Mullen would serve as the leader of the Conservative group in Sunderland.⁵⁴

21. Peter Lamb

Crawley councillor Peter Lamb was suspended by the party after it emerged that he had made anti-Muslim comments on Twitter, such as “Islam like alcoholism [sic]. The first step to recovery is admit you have a problem” and “The Muslim Council of Great Britain!!! When did the UK become a Muslim Country?”



Yet Mr Lamb was not only readmitted to the party, but also allowed to stand for the Conservatives in two subsequent local elections, and only prevented from standing again in 2019 when Baroness Warsi raised his comments publicly in March of last year, causing him to resign from the party.⁵⁵

A party spokesperson told the media that Mr Lamb’s readmission had come after he had apologised for his comments. Yet all of the offensive comments from 2015/2016, along with a substantial number added since his resignation from the party, are still live on his Twitter feed and can still be accessed today.⁵⁶

22. Cllr Margaret Bassett, Solihull

In 2017, the head of Solihull Council Bob Sleight announced that Margaret Bassett had been suspended for offensive comments she'd made online about Muslims and migrants. One of the offensive comments was a retweet of English Defence League-founder Tommy Robinson which he said "*Defiant London Mayor proclaims we will not be defeated! World starts to wonder – who does he mean by we?*" It later emerged that Cllr Bassett had not in fact been suspended,⁵⁷ and that she was continuing to serve in her role whilst under investigation.

23. Ray Bray

In 2017, Kirkburton Parish councillor Ray Bray was suspended after he was found to have tweeted a number of deeply Islamic statements including that "*Lab was responsible for muzzie rapists*" and "*Honour killings, wife beatings, and FGM along with terrorism are part and parcel of [Sadiq Khan's] faith*", and called for a boycott of Muslim-owned businesses.⁵⁸



Mr Bray initially claimed that he could not remember making the posts, and then went on to claim that his account had been hacked and that Twitter was helping him deal with the issue, although the similarity of writing style and the fact that the offensive tweets were spread over a long time period make this explanation highly unlikely.

It is not clear how long Cllr Bray's suspension lasted for, but he was reported as having been reelected to Kirkburton Parish Council as a Conservative in 2019.⁵⁹

24. Smith Benson

In 2010, Pendle Councillor Smith Benson admitted to saying that "*the problem with Colne is that there are too many takeaways and too many Pakis, that's why people don't come to Colne*" at a council meeting. He apologised for the remarks, but was defended by the Conservative leader of Pendle Tony Beckett, who said he had "*spoken without malice*" and that he "*and that he did not realise it would cause offence*".

Despite calls for his resignation from other council members, Cllr Benson not only continued in his post but in was put forward to serve as Mayor by the Conservative group in Pendle in 2013⁶⁰.

25. Anjana Patel

On 26th March 2019, Harrow councillor Anjana Patel sent a series of Islamophobic tweets to Malala Yousufzai in which she demanded to know what the young education activist would do about the kidnapping of two Hindu girls in India, despite Yousufzai herself having suffered at the hands of extremists and having no obvious means of helping the situation.



The party apparently undertook an investigation into the tweets, no details of which have been made public, and Patel deleted her Twitter account.⁶¹ Yet just a few months later Patel was selected to stand as the Conservative candidate in Brent North in GE2019.

26. Sally-Ann Hart MP

Shortly before the 2019 General Election, the Conservative Party launched two separate investigations into social media posts from their candidate for Hastings and Rye, Sally-Ann Hart, which were alleged to be antisemitic and Islamophobic.⁶² No update has been provided on the investigations as of July 2020.

Yet it appears that the party might have been aware of Hart’s antipathy to Muslims from at least 2017. In a comment from a closed Facebook group for Conservative Party members, a long-time party activist alleged that he had reported Hart for saying “*extremely unpleasant things about immigrants from Muslim countries*” as he canvassed for her in North West Durham during her unsuccessful candidacy in the 2017 General Election.



27. Jeremy Wilks

In April 2019, Conservative Party member Jeremy Wilks was reported to CCHQ by BuzzFeed News for comments that described Muslims as “*muzz rats*” and “*sub human scum*” and said “*This lot should be rounded up and put on a boat home*”.

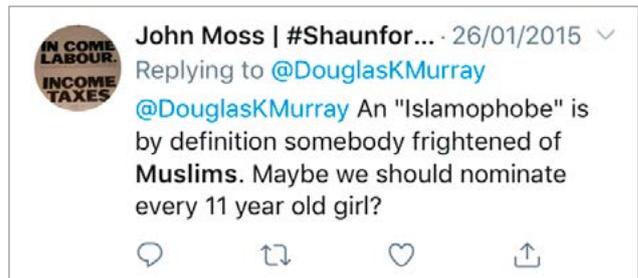


The party refused to comment on specific cases, but insisted that they had “*acted swiftly, suspending members and launching immediate investigations*” in other cases brought to their attention.

Yet in October, more than six months after he’d been reported to the Party, Wilks was still claiming to be a member and posted to his Facebook the text of an email that he had received from the party and which referred to him as a member.

28. Cllr John Moss

In May 2019, BuzzFeed News reported John Moss, a councillor in Chingford and close ally of Iain Duncan Smith MP, to the party in reference to tweets he’d posted in which he suggested that “*every 11 year old girl*” is frightened of Muslims, as well as tweets directed at prominent Muslims in which he demanded that they denounce the Qur’an.⁶³



Despite this clear cut case of anti-Muslim prejudice, the party refused to suspend Moss whilst investigating his comment. Three weeks later, Moss apologised and announced that he had been suspended, but appeared to reveal that he had already been informed that the suspension would last only one month.⁶⁴ Moss remains a Conservative councillor and helped to coordinate Iain Duncan Smith’s reelection campaign in Chingford.



Cllr Moss campaigning with Duncan Smith, December 2019

29. Linden Kemkaran

On December 5th 2019, Labour MP Naz Shah tweeted a criticism of Bradford East PPC Linden Kemkaran for having promoted the trope of ‘No go areas’ in Bradford. Apparently in response to this, Kemkaran then liked and retweeted a number of anti-Muslim tweets, including one that said “*Muslims always play the race card*” and have a “*nasty culture*” and another that called Shah a “*Pakideshi*” who promotes a “*doggy-do-do Muslim narrative*”.⁶⁵



One of the tweets retweeted by Kemkaran.

Naz Shah made an official complaint to Conservative HQ, but it appears that no action was taken. Kemkaran does not appear to have made any apology, was not suspended prior to the election and continued to tweet about her attendance of Conservative Party events throughout 2020.

30. Gary Walker

In May 2017, it was reported that former council candidate and Gosport party activist Gary Walker had shared a meme on Facebook that said “*Every time a jihadist commits an act of terrorism in a Western country, all Western countries should bulldoze one mosque. Share if you agree*”.⁶⁶

When asked about Mr Walker’s actions by the Portsmouth News, local association chairman George McAleese said that it was “*not right*” and that he would be having a “*quiet word*” with Mr Walker. Cllr Graham Burgess, then the deputy leader of Gosport borough council, was reported to have said that “*everyone has their own views*” but assured the reporter that McAleese would “*have a word*” with Walker.

Walker remains an active member of the Gosport Conservative party, and is listed as an association officer on the group’s website.⁶⁷

31. Karl McCartney

In late November 2019, HOPE not hate revealed that former Lincoln MP Karl McCartney, who was hoping to win back his old seat in the upcoming election, had retweeted a number of inflammatory posts from far right figures such as Stephen Yaxley-Lennon AKA Tommy Robinson, and Katie Hopkins. These included a link to a letter Lennon had written in which he declared that he would “*sacrifice [his] life tomorrow if it would end the Islamic takeover of our beautiful land*”, one from Katie Hopkins that promoted the a far right conspiracy about a plot to destroy western society, saying: 1) *undermine the family unit & societal norms. Say men are now women* 2) *change the fabric of a country with migrants, remove sense of place or belonging...*” and another from the far-right Voice of Europe platform that claimed Guy Verhofstadt was “*representing the interests of Soros*”, echoing antisemitic tropes about Jewish influence over politicians.

Bizarrely, he even retweeted a tweet from far-right figure Gavin McInnes, founder of the Proud Boys, who said that “*Tommy Robinson is in jail because he dared report on Muslim pedophiles. The gov’t has made it illegal to report this*”; a serious and unfounded accusation against the Conservative government that he had served as an MP for from 2010 - 2017 and would rejoin later that month.

McCartney said that he “*apologised unreservedly*” for the retweets, but also stated that he did not “*endorse the tweets or the accounts behind them*”, offering no explanation for why he had retweeted them in the first place. McCartney did not face suspension or any publicly confirmed investigation for these actions.

32. Cllr Danny Scott

Blackpool councillor Danny Scott was suspended by the party in November 2019⁶⁸ after Facebook posts emerged in which he declared that “*Muslims have been terrorising anyone who isn’t Muslim for 1000 years*” and that “*it is their quest to turn the world Muslim. They keep telling us but we aren’t listening*”.

Despite this, Cllr Scott continues to be listed as a Conservative on Blackpool Council’s website, and it is not clear what the findings were of the complaints process.⁶⁹

33. Cllr Nick Colbert

In November 2019, South Somerset district councillor Nick Colbert was suspended after it emerged that he had posted anti-Muslim comments on Twitter such as the false claim that Mayor Sadiq Khan was “*a Muslim who believes in sex segregation and says we have to get used to Muslim terrorist attacks*” and that the decision to remove adverts perceived as misogynistic from the Tube network was “*a Muslim thing*”.

Colbert has not removed the tweets in question, and other tweets such as a retweeted message that described Islamophobia as a “*deliberate political construct*” that described “*concern over attempts to impose an alien culture & alien values in the UK.*” Despite this, Colbert appears to remain a Conservative Councillor and remains listed on the South Somerset website as the deputy leader of the opposition.⁷⁰

34. Cllr Nick Coultish

In May 2019, BuzzFeed News reported that East Riding councillor Nick Coultish had posted tweets that said “*There are two forces killing our people and our citizens: Islam and political correctness*” and that the UK would “*stand against the tide of Islam*”.⁷¹



The party refused to suspend Coultish and he remains a Conservative councillor.⁷²

35. Frank Warby

In 2018, St Edmundsbury Borough Councillor Frank Warby was condemned for undisclosed comments and views made by Cllr Warby on his Facebook account for which the council expressed their “*extreme disappointment*”. The Council’s standards committee did not feel able to take action against Warby because it was not clear that his comments were made in his role as councillor.⁷³ It is unclear what the nature of the comments were, or if any action was taken against him by his local party.

Cllr Warby remained as a Conservative councillor but went on to resign from both his council role and local party in June 2020 after fresh allegations of racism on social media emerged in relation to the Black Lives Matter protests.⁷⁴

36. Cllr Steve Vickers

In April 2020, HOPE not hate included Cllr Steve Vickers in a dossier of councillors who had made anti-Muslim comments on social media. After the Nice terror attacks, Cllr Vickers claimed that Sadiq Khan “*and his brethren*” were “*part of the problem*”. He went on to inquire as to whether an Islamic school in Nottinghamshire - entirely unconnected to the events - would be making a statement on the attacks, but also said that such a statement would be “*too little too late*”.⁷⁵

Vickers was suspended but later not only readmitted to the Conservative group on the council but promoted to chairman of the Health and Wellbeing board of Nottinghamshire County Council, despite angry protests from fellow councillors. The Leader of the council defended the decision by saying he had made comments ‘in the heat of the moment’, and explaining that he had made a private apology⁷⁶. No explanation was given as to why the apology was made privately, or why his apology should not have been directed to Sadiq Khan, the Islamic school he smeared and the wider Muslim community.

37. Bob Blackman MP

There have been multiple allegations of Islamophobic behaviour by Bob Blackman MP over many years, most recently in June 2020 when it was revealed that he had sent a video message to a conference that also featured anti-Muslim activists Katie Hopkins and David Vance. Blackman has previously retweeted ex-English Defence Leader Tommy Robinson and hosted anti-Muslim activist Tapan Gosh at Parliament, despite his history of virulently Islamophobic rhetoric such as calling for the UN to restrict Muslim birth rates.

Despite this pattern of problematic behaviour, Blackman does not appear to have been investigated by the party or faced any disciplinary measures.

38. Karl Lewis

Powys County Councillor Karl Lewis was also included in this year's State of Hate dossier for comments that included celebrating the idea that "all the immigrants are shitting themselves" after Donald Trump's election win, which made it "another brilliant political night". He also posted a video titled "Sweden is being raped to death by Muslim migrants".⁷⁷



Despite this, Lewis remains a Conservative councillor for Llandinam and it is unclear what investigation or disciplinary procedures he faced, if any.⁷⁸

39. Judith Clementson

Winchester City councillor Judith Clementson uses the anonymous Twitter handle @Clem205 to post dozens of deeply Islamophobic conspiracy theories about a "dangerous Muslim agenda for world domination".⁷⁹



When the story was picked up by local press almost four months later, leader of the council's Conservative group Caroline Horrill stated that Clementson had been suspended pending an investigation, but did not say when this suspension had occurred, and was "therefore not currently a member of the Conservative councillor group."

Yet a council spokesperson stated that the council "had not been notified that Cllr Clementson is no longer a member of the Conservative Group", and she continued to be listed as such on the council website at that time.⁸⁰

40. Ryan Houghton

In November 2019, Aberdeen Councillor and Conservative PPC for Aberdeen North Ryan Houghton was suspended by the party ahead of the upcoming General Election for comments that included saying of the Holocaust that he found that "some of the events [were] fabricated, and exegarated [sic] in some cases", as well as suggesting that Muslims would "keep having big families, and eventually it's going to be Eurabia, and the war will be won".⁸¹

The party moved quickly to distance themselves from Houghton, saying that "The comments contained in these blogs are unacceptable and Mr Houghton has been suspended as a member of the Scottish Conservative party as a result. The party has also withdrawn its support for his candidacy in Aberdeen North."

Yet Houghton was readmitted to the party in June 2020 and continues to serve as a Conservative councillor, a decision that was condemned by both the Scottish Council Of Jewish Communities and the Muslim Council of Britain.⁸²

COMMENT FROM MOHAMMED AMIN MBE

FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE CONSERVATIVE MUSLIM FORUM

ON 4 JUNE 2018, the Conservative Muslim Forum sent Conservative Party Leader Theresa May an open letter, signed by me as Chairman, supporting calls by the Muslim Council of Britain, Baroness Warsi, and Lord Sheikh for the Party to hold an independent inquiry into Islamophobia (generally understood to mean anti-Muslim hatred and anti-Muslim prejudice) within the Party. It is still available on the CMF's website.

I subsequently had many communications with then-Party Chairman Brandon Lewis, and others within the Party, including complainants, and the media. I also wrote two articles on Conservative Home: "The toxification of politics threatens us all" explaining the problem, and "How the Conservative Party should fix its Muslim problem" which contained recommended improvements to the complaints process.

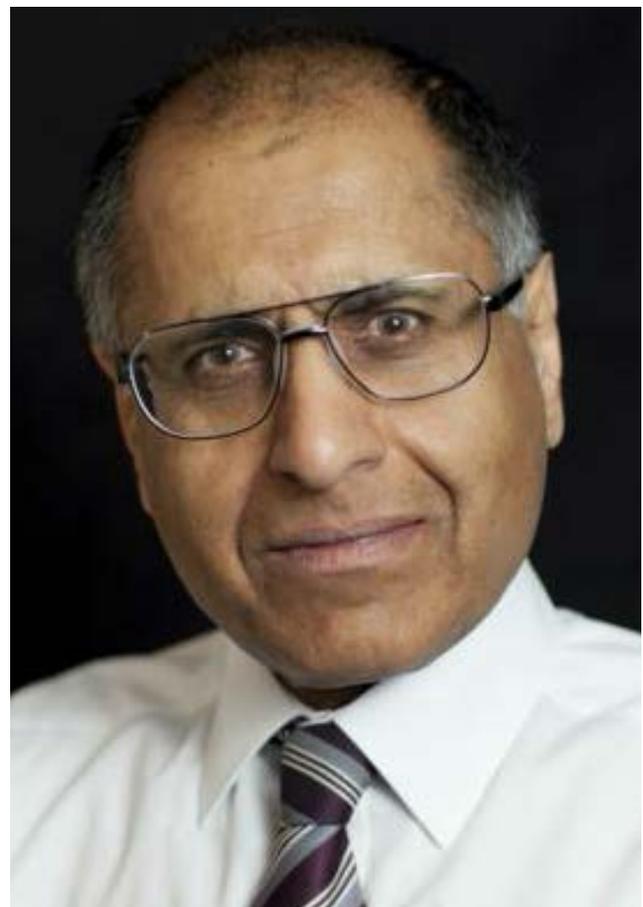
This process left me feeling let down by the Party I joined many years ago.

My experiences from June 2018 to July 2019 (when I left the Conservative Party) led me to conclude that although the Party's leadership was sincere in wanting an inclusive Party, its unwillingness to be transparent made it impossible to have any confidence that the disciplinary process was applied fairly. Too often, electoral considerations appeared to take priority.

Furthermore, the Party's leadership was utterly unwilling to even begin to think about the most fundamental issue, namely to address the question "What is it about the Conservative Party that leads anti-Muslim bigots to believe that they have a natural home within it?"

I welcome this submission to the Party's inquiry from HOPE not hate. It includes some shocking findings, but alas nothing that especially surprises me. The Conservative Party will not be trusted by British Muslims unless and until it heeds the calls to rid itself of Islamophobic members, and to create processes, and a culture, to ensure it

is welcoming to Muslims, and to all ethnic minority groups.



METHODOLOGY

CONSERVATIVE PARTY MEMBER POLL:

Total sample size was 1,213 adults. Fieldwork was undertaken between 13th - 16th July 2020 by YouGov. The survey was carried out online. The figures have been weighted and are representative of all GB adults (aged 18+).

GENERAL SURVEY (WHICH WE USED FOR COMPARISONS):

Total sample size was 1,658 adults. Fieldwork was undertaken between 17th - 18th July 2020 by YouGov. The survey was carried out online. The figures have been weighted and are representative of all GB adults (aged 18+).

NATIONAL SURVEY (WHICH WE USED FOR COMPARISONS)

Total sample size was 2,010 adults. Fieldwork was undertaken between 7th - 11th August 2020 by Focalddata. The survey was carried out online.

The figures have been weighted and are representative of all GB adults (aged 18+).

NATIONAL SURVEY (WHICH WE USED FOR COMPARISONS)

Total sample size was 2,104 adults. Fieldwork was undertaken between 17th - 18th June 2020 by Focalddata. The survey was carried out online.

The figures have been weighted and are representative of all GB adults (aged 18+).

METHODOLOGY:

This survey has been conducted using an online interview administered members of the YouGov Plc GB panel of 185,000+ individuals who have agreed to take part in surveys. An email was sent to panellists selected at random from the base sample according to the sample definition, inviting them to take part in the survey and providing a link to the survey. (The sample definition could be "GB adult population" or a subset such as "GB adult females"). YouGov Plc normally achieves a response rate of between 35% and 50% to surveys however this does vary dependent upon the subject matter, complexity and length of the questionnaire. The responding sample is weighted to the profile of the sample definition to provide a representative reporting sample. The profile is normally derived from census data or, if not available from the census, from industry accepted data.

ENDNOTES

- 1 <https://www.conservatives.com/code-of-conduct>
- 2 https://www.politicalpartydb.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/UK_CONSERVATIVE_PARTY_CONSTITUTION_2009.pdf
- 3 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/mrp-election-poll-boris-johnson-heads-for-big-majority-qrqsq9f7r>
- 4 <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/06/09/people-laughed-yougov-called-election-right-did/>
- 5 <https://www.conservativehome.com/thetorydiary/2018/07/yougov-once-again-echoes-the-conhome-panel-on-may-and-tory-leadership.html>
- 6 <https://twitter.com/BrandonLewis/status/979607515435585536>
- 7 <https://whocanivotefor.co.uk/person/8086/felix-aubel>
- 8 <https://www.dailypost.co.uk/news/north-wales-news/welsh-tory-brexiteer-condemned-party-12751483>
- 9 <https://twitter.com/AndrewRTDavies/status/1203040112982077440>
- 10 <https://www.facebook.com/felix.aubel/posts/1799836780148670>
- 11 <https://www.theredroar.com/2019/03/tory-groups-respond-to-christchurch-massacre-with-sick-jokes-and-conspiracy-theories/>
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- 18 https://mcb.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/201905-Complaint-to-the-EHRC-about-Islamophobia-in-the-Conservative-Party_website.pdf P19, item 78
- 19 <https://www.facebook.com/rockwoodgardencentre.paul/posts/1370023323163198>
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- 21 www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2027390/Tory-councillor-Bob-Frost-suspended-racist-Facebook-jungle-bunnies-riots-remarks
- 22 <https://www.kentonline.co.uk/deal/news/councillor-tells-big-issue-seller-37516/>
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