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Introduction

The post Second World War recognition of a multicultural Britain that includes an increasing number of ethnic and racial minorities has not always acknowledged the importance of religion for individuals, their membership of religious groups and the identities of religious groups (Meer and Modood, 2009). These religious groups are not homogeneous, but are diverse and the historical and contemporary adaptations to life in Britain can be complex. This requires an informed understanding of the religious groups, their position in society and their continued development in society. This understanding is situated within the context of the contrast between the right to private and public expression of religion and the aspirations for a plural, but secular society (Sikka, 2010; Allievi, 2012). Further, this is situated within a world affected by the impact of what has been described as ‘Islamic terrorism’ which has led to an invidious, negative stereotyping of Muslims in Britain and in many parts of the world (Meer and Modood, 2009). A similar process has occurred for Jewish communities as Jews in Britain, and other parts of the world, have been held accountable or targeted as a result of events in the Middle East.

In the last few years there has been a rise in reported levels of Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in Scotland. This has been a source of great concern for the Jewish and Muslim communities in Scotland and appears to contradict perceptions of an inclusive and welcoming multicultural Scottish society (Kidd and Jamieson, 2011). This chapter seeks to understand these increases in discrimination from a number of different perspectives. First, the overall religious landscape of Scotland will be examined and this will demonstrate that while adherence to religion is waning, especially Christian religion, the religious minorities are growing or remaining stable. Second, there will be a concise overview of the history of the Jewish and Muslim communities in Scotland. Third, there is a detailed exploration of the rise in Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in Scotland and the relation of this dual rise to events outwith Scotland. This section will discuss the impact of the dual rise on the lives of Jews and Muslims in Scotland and their perception of their contemporary position and safety in Scotland. The next section will highlight a recurring narrative that Scotland has been a safer place for Jews and Muslims than England and Wales. This narrative will be analysed and critiqued and some of the historical evidence concerning Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia will be discussed. This will be followed by a close focus on a greater knowledge and understanding of the different aspects of the position of contemporary Jews and Muslims within Scottish society, using Koenig’s (2015) four claims for recognition. There will then be a brief discussion of the implications of the infringements of the human rights of the Jewish and Muslim communities. The final two sections will discuss communication and education and
emphasise the need for authentic dialogue and present some concluding remarks.

The Religious Landscape of Scotland

The census data of 2001 and 2011 demonstrates a rise in non-adherence in religion in Scotland from 33.3% non-adherence in the population in 2001 (27.8% no religion and 5.5% religion not stated) to 43.7% non-adherence in 2011 (36.7% no religion and 7.0% religion not stated) (National Records of Scotland, 2013). Much of the decline is due to a 10% decrease in the largest Christian denomination of the Church of Scotland. The second largest Christian denomination, Roman Catholic remained stable at 15.9%. The total percentage for all denominations of Christianity is 53.8% and Christianity remains the dominant form of religion. All of the minority religions (Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and other religion) constitute very small percentages of the population but all recorded increases except the Jews who remained stable: Buddhist (0.1% to 0.2%); Hindu (0.1% to 0.3%); Jewish (0.1%); Muslim (0.8% to 1.4%) and Sikh (0.1% to 0.2%).

This chapter will focus on two minority religions: the Jews and Muslims. These have been chosen because the Muslims are the largest minority religious group in Scotland, and the Jews have had a significant impact on Scottish life and culture. They are also the two religious groups that are specifically identified, other than Roman Catholic and Protestant, in the reporting of religiously aggravated crimes in Scotland (Cavanagh and Morgan, 2011; Davidson, 2016). Further, parallels can easily be drawn between Jews and Muslims in Scotland and in the rest of the UK and Europe. The next section provides very concise histories of the two religious groups in Scotland.

The Jewish and Muslim Communities in Scotland

The first records of a Jewish community date from an early community in Edinburgh in 1816 (Phillips, 1979). The Jewish community in Glasgow, established in 1823, was to become the largest and most influential community in Scotland (Collins, 1993). The Glasgow Jewish community was enlarged in the 1880s by the arrival of Eastern European migrants (Collins, 2008). There was another, smaller, influx of Jews from Germany in the 1930s, fleeing from National Socialism (Grenville, 2010). The small Muslim communities in Scotland were enhanced by the arrival of Indian students in the late 19th century and early 20th centuries and by migrants from India in the 1920s. The numbers grew significantly in the 1950s as Indian
workers were recruited for unskilled and semi-skilled work, especially in the cities. As has been stated, the Census data from 2001 and 2011 indicates that the Muslim population of Scotland grew from 42,600 in 2001 (0.84% of the Scottish population) to 77,000 in 2011 (1.4%) (National Records of Scotland, 2013). Just under a half of the Muslims in Scotland (32,117) live in Glasgow constituting 5.4% of the population of the city (Glasgow City Council, 2013).

The rise in reported levels of Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in Scotland

In the twenty-first century, there has been a rise in reported levels of incidences of Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in Scotland and a greater public awareness of these social problems. The rise of reported levels of Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in Scotland can be partly understood within recent trends in the UK, across Europe and in other parts of the world (Bayrakli and Hafez, 2016). Some of the more serious and concerted manifestations that have occurred in Europe are responses to terrorist attacks and events in the Middle East (Iganski and Kosmin, 2003). These disturbing trends in discrimination are being monitored by the European Parliament and the European Commission (European Parliament Working Group on Anti-Semitism, 2016). This has prompted the European Commission to appoint two coordinators to help combat Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia (European Commission, 2015). This rise in reported crimes in Scotland also has to be understood within the context of the introduction of national figures for religiously aggravated crimes in Scotland in the last ten years and the increasing amount of detail concerning these crimes that has been reported in the public forum since 2011 (Cavanagh and Morgan, 2011). These figures have been dominated by the crimes committed against Roman Catholics and Protestants and the historical, and well-known, sectarian divisions between Protestants and Catholics, until recently, have attracted much of the focus of the public and academic discussions on religiously aggravated crimes (The Scottish Government, 2015).

There has been a very troubling rise in the number of crimes committed against Muslims (from 12% or below of all religiously aggravated crimes from 2012-2015 to 23% in 2015-2016) (Davidson, 2016). The crimes against Jews have been between 2% and 4% of all crimes for the same period, but are highly significant as the Jewish population is so small in Scotland. Interestingly, the collation of the figures for the religion of those targeted for religiously aggravated crimes is an assessment of the researcher that is based on the description and details of the crime. There are no figures for any of the other minority religions unless they have been categorised under the headings of Unknown or Other, both of which record either zero percent of all crimes or very low percentages (Davidson, 2016).

There are a number of key events that have been the catalysts for the rise in Anti-Semitism in Scotland in the twenty-first century. In 2006 there was a reaction to the Lebanon War in various parts of the world, including Australia, New Zealand and many parts of Europe (World Jewish Congress, 2006).
There was a sharp rise in incidents in the UK during the thirty-three days of the war in July and August 2006 (132 incidents) (Moss, 2006). In Scotland, in late July the ground outside the synagogue in Garnethill, Glasgow was defaced with the word ‘Hizbollah’. This caused considerable outrage as the Garnethill synagogue is a grand Cathedral style synagogue that was opened in 1879 and is the oldest purpose built synagogue in Scotland (Collins, 1987; Kadish, 2015). There was another sharp rise in the UK in July 2014 connected to the conflict in Gaza. In Scotland this led to heightened anxiety in Jewish communities about the increase in Anti-Semitism (Scottish Council of Jewish Communities, 2015). The impact of the rise in 2014 can be discerned in the contrast between two connected projects and subsequent publications produced in 2013 and 2016: Being Jewish in Scotland and What’s Changed about Being Jewish in Scotland? (Frank et al., 2013, 2016). Frank et al. (2013) highlighted contemporary challenges for Jews living in Scotland: decline in the Jewish population; challenges in maintaining a Jewish lifestyle and geographical isolation for some Jews. There were some anxieties about Anti-Semitism but many expressed the view that their experience of living in Scotland was ‘largely positive’ (McKinney, 2016a). Frank et al. (2016) reported some significant changes. In the original report some Jews were cautious about revealing their Jewish identity; in the second report Jews were more likely to conceal their identities and any visible signs that could identify them as Jewish (for example, the Star of David and the Mezuzah). Jews felt insecure and vulnerable and were concerned about the use of social media as a conduit for anti-Semitism (Frank et al., 2016). There was a general feeling that living in Scotland had become more problematic for Jews (McKinney, 2016a).

Similar to the contemporary situation of the Jews in Scotland, there has been a sharp rise in discrimination against Muslims and many of the prominent incidences are connected to events external to Scotland. The reaction to 9/11 in Scotland may not have been as pronounced as it was in England, but Muslims in Scotland felt an increase in hostility and discrimination (Hussain and Miller, 2006; Kidd and Jamieson, 2011). This was also experienced after the terrorist attack on Glasgow airport in June 2007 and after 7/7 (McKinney, 2016b). However, the after effects of the Paris attack on Friday 13 November 2015 probably had the biggest impact on Scottish Muslims. There was a sharp increase in hate crimes against Muslims (or people perceived to be Muslims) and damage to Muslim property being reported to the Police (McKinney et. al., 2016). The Strathclyde University Muslim Students Association received death threats. There was an arson attack on a Mosque in the Bishopbriggs area and offensive graffiti sprayed on a Mosque in Cumbernauld. There was a spate of social media abuse directed at Humza Yousaf, a Scottish Muslim MSP, and women in Muslim dress stated that they now feel intimidated when walking in the streets of Glasgow. This last example can be contrasted with previous evidence that revealed that some Muslim women stated that Muslim dress attracted ‘unpleasant attention and occasionally discrimination’ (Kidd and Jamieson, 2011).

Is Scotland a safer place for Jews and Muslims than England and Wales?
There are a number of recurring historical narratives about the position of religious minorities in Scotland and Scottish society, especially the Jewish and Muslim communities. One of the narratives is the idea that Scotland is a safer place for religious minorities compared to England and Wales. This is reflected in the literature on the Jewish and Muslim communities and some recent research into the perspectives of young people from ethnic and religious minorities on security and nationalism. A number of Jewish and Muslim academics and writers and research studies have argued that Scotland and Scottish society are more tolerant towards their communities (Collins, 2008, Abrams, 2009, Maan, 1992, 2008, Kidd and Jamieson, 2011, Botterrill et al., 2016).

There are a number of possible reasons for holding this view. First, the overall numbers of Jews and Muslims in Scotland are relatively low when compared to England and Wales (there are 263,000 Jews and 2.7 million Muslims, 0.5% and 4.8% of the overall population respectively) and they may not be perceived to pose the same potential threat to national identity (Office for National Statistics, 2012). Second, according to some Jewish sources, the Jews were historically respected as religious people, ‘people of the book’. The Jews often created their own employment and, historically, especially in the early years of their arrival in Scotland, seldom drew on public social welfare (Abrams, 2009; Collins, 1990). Third, drawing from analysis of the census results of 2011, the Muslims in Scotland, overall, appear to have enjoyed greater socio-economic success than their counterparts in England and Wales (Elshayyal, 2016). The figure for Muslims in Scotland who have never worked is 15.9%, which is much higher than the national average of 3.1% but can also be compared with England and Wales where around a fifth of Muslims have never worked. There is a greater proportion of Muslims in the higher professions in Scotland than in England and Wales, though the figure for the Muslims in Scotland is lower than the Scottish national average. The figures for the Muslim prison population provide the most striking contrast: the Scottish Muslim prison population is 1.8% (slightly higher than the Muslim population of 1.4%), the Muslim population for England and Wales is 13% (considerably higher than the Muslim population of 4.8%). It has to be noted that it can be problematic to draw comparisons between Scotland and England and Wales and it is important that these comparisons, while based on the experiences of security and social mobility in Scotland of the two minorities, are not associated with the rhetoric of anti-English prejudice that exists in some parts of Scottish society.

A deeper analysis, however, is required to provide some local historical background to the (apparently) recent rise in Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in the relative safety of Scottish society. There may be a certain amount of conscious or unconscious denial about the full extent of historical Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia and some incidents that have not been stressed, have been under reported, or have even been ‘forgotten’ (McKinney, 2016c). There are a number of useful examples. At the onset of World War II there was discrimination against the newly arrived German Jews and vandalism of Jewish shops and properties (Kolmel, 1987, Braber, 2007). There were anti-
Jewish riots in the Gorbals, in Glasgow, after the murder of two British servicemen in Palestine in 1947 (Kushner, 1996). Frank et al. (2013), while not wishing to exaggerate the problem, provide examples of experiences of anti-Semitism in public spaces, workplaces, schools and universities. The vast majority of Muslims in Scotland are Asian or of Asian descent, though they may define themselves in terms of multiple identities such as Asian Scottish or Asian British (Elshayyal, 2016; Bond, 2016). This means they can be susceptible to double discrimination where they can be discriminated against because of their religious dress or the colour of their skin, or both (Kidd and Jamieson, 2011). There has been strong opposition to the construction of new Mosques in more affluent areas of the Greater Glasgow Area (McKinney et al., 2016).

**Knowledge and understanding of the Jewish and Muslim Communities in Scotland**

It is questionable if there is a sufficiently nuanced knowledge and understanding of the historical and contemporary positions of the Jewish and Muslim communities in the public space in Scotland, a nuanced knowledge and understanding that is arguably absent in the rest of Britain and other parts of Europe (Allievi, 2012). Koenig (2015) provides some useful lenses, *the four claims for recognition*, that I have adapted and use for a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the contemporary claims for a position in society by these two communities and the impact of Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia on these claims. The four claims for recognition are (1) claims for recognition of difference; (2) claims for more autonomy in public spheres; (3) claims for tolerance and (4) call for greater recognition for equal participation in organisation of the state (McKinney et al., 2016).

The first claim for recognition refers to distinctive dress and other symbols of religious affiliation. This can be celebrated as part of diversity in a multicultural, multi-faith society. At a practical level it can mean the recognition of some religious needs by Public Services, such as the availability of kosher food in hospitals for Jews (Frank et al. 2013). It can also mean that there is a freedom to wear religious dress or religious symbols in public spaces. In some parts of the world this can be perceived to be a challenge to the secular character of the state (e.g. the banning of the public display of the Muslim headscarf and other religious symbols in France) (Sikka, 2010). In recent years, the claim for recognition of difference has proved, at times, to be the visible means by which members of the Jewish and Muslim communities can be identified as the *other* and exposed to verbal abuse and intimidation. This has occurred in the concrete examples of the intimidation of women in Muslim dress in Glasgow and Jews concealing visible signs of Judaism. In the case of the women in Muslim dress being intimidated this creates a serious dilemma. The wearing of the Hijab for some of these women can be based on a conscious decision rooted in complex reasons of preserving Muslim female identity and modesty but it also allows them to access the public space (Siraj, 2011).
The second form of recognition refers to more autonomy in public spaces, including the adaptation of existing buildings or the construction of new buildings for religious purposes. The construction of the two purpose-built, and quite striking, buildings, the synagogue in Garnethill and the Mosque in the Gorbals created highly visible symbols of the presence of the two minorities in the city. The attacks on the synagogue in late July 2006 and the Mosque in late 2015 are equally highly visible symbols as they attack the physical presence of the two minorities in the public space in the city of Glasgow. This second form of recognition can also refer to the funding or partial funding of faith schools for religious minorities. There is one Jewish state-funded primary school in East Renfrewshire and there have been various sets of discussions about the possibility of a state-funded Muslim school. The vast majority of the state-funded faith schools in Scotland are Roman Catholic and their continued existence has, at times, been contested on the grounds that they are divisive, that they indoctrinate or inhibit rational autonomy and the rights of children or that they are connected to sectarianism (McKinney and Conroy, 2015). The existence of the state-funded Jewish school is very seldom contested and this school does not tend to feature in these debates. There has been a recurring debate about the viability of the creation of a state-funded Muslim school in Glasgow (Hepburn, 2016). The debate frequently stalls and the current heightened levels of Islamophobia and the attacks on Muslim places of worship may create anxieties that a Muslim school would be an identifiable and accessible target.

The third form of recognition refers to a level of tolerance that may lead to a reconfiguration of national identity, for example, the recognition of new religious holidays in the national calendar, or accommodations that allow Jews and Muslims to observe religious holidays. There is a certain amount of accommodation for Jews and Muslims to observe religious events and holidays in Scotland, but there remain challenges for members of these two communities. Frank et al. (2013) provide examples of helpful changes in schedules at universities to allow Jewish students to observe religious holidays. Interfaith groups recommend that Jewish and Muslim children are allowed to observe religious festivals which may include authorized absences from school (Edinburgh Interfaith Association, 2015). There are some schools in the Greater Glasgow Area that accommodate special assemblies led by members of the Jewish community for the Jewish children in the school (McKinney, 2004). Schools are encouraged to recognize the demands of Ramadan and many schools provide rest rooms for Muslim children during this month and provide guidance for school staff about the implications for Muslim children and young people who are fasting during the school day. There are some counter examples including disapproval of children being absent from school to observe Rosh Hashanah.

The fourth form of recognition refers to a call for greater recognition for equal participation in the organisation of the state. There is a rich history of Jewish and, more recently, Muslim engagement in public service, political activism and cultural life in Scotland (Collins, 2008, Maan, 2008). The Jewish communities of Glasgow and Edinburgh have produced some eminent politicians, including Sir Myer Gilpin (first Jewish Lord Provost of Glasgow,
Scotland’s Muslims have produced the first Muslim Councillor (Bashir Maan, 1970) and the first Muslim Member of Parliament (Mohammed Sarwar, 1997) in Great Britain (Bonino, 2016). These are, of course, members of the political elite and while this level of civic engagement is to be commended, there are issues around wider participation by members of the Jewish and Muslim communities. There is a need for a greater participation by Muslim women and young people in Scottish civic society. Elshayyal (2016) reports that the Muslim population has the lowest rate of voter registration for any religion. Frank et al., (2016) call for Jewish communities to foster greater links and communication in their local areas.

**Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia and violation of Human Rights**

The association between Jews and Muslims in Scotland with acts of terrorism and with actions in the Middle East is highly problematic and raises some serious questions about the protection of their human rights. Human Rights have, of course, been contested in recent years and there has been a move to the possible introduction of a new Bill of Rights in the UK (O’Cinneide, 2012). It is interesting to note that the document, *Is Scotland Fairer?*, produced by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2015) devotes very little attention to Islamophobia and Anti-Semitism and simply states that there are gaps in the evidence about Islamophobia and Anti-Semitism in Scotland. This may be explained by the core quantitative data for the report being drawn from 2008-2013 and the later publication of more robust evidence about Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. It nevertheless remains useful to explore the ways in which Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in Scotland can be interpreted as violations of human rights.

The exposure to verbal abuse and intimidation and the attacks on religious buildings infringe the freedoms that have been expressed in European Human Rights Legislation. These freedoms were recognized in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948), subsequent declarations (United Nations General Assembly, 1981, 1992) and in the European Convention on Human Rights, article 9 (European Court of Human Rights, 2002).

Any unwelcome and hostile advances towards Jews and Muslims in the public sphere is an infringement of the 1992 declaration:

> Persons belonging to minorities have the right to participate effectively in cultural, religious, social, economic and public life (United Nations General Assembly, 1992, article 2, 2.).

The attacks on the buildings used for religious purposes are attacks on some of the major sites where the two minorities exercise their freedom to assemble for worship or other religious purposes. The 1992 declaration states clearly that persons belonging to minorities:
... have the right to profess and practice their own religion...in private and in public, freely and without interference or any form of discrimination (United Nations General Assembly, 1992, article 2, 1.).

As has been seen above, the violations of human rights that have arguably been taking place in Scotland have had a direct impact on the Jewish and Muslim communities being able to sustain the four claims for recognition in a consistent manner.

Communication, Education and Dialogue

The Jewish and Muslim communities in Scotland have experienced heightened levels of Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in the last few years. This chapter has demonstrated that Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia are not new phenomena to Scotland and that these heightened levels are directly related to events extraneous to Scotland. This has led to anxiety within the Jewish and Muslim communities about their position in Scotland and their personal and collective safety in public spaces. Frank et. al. (2016) provide a series of detailed points for action. These are focused on greater clarity about the distinction between local Jews and actions that are committed in Israel, further nuanced in that some Jews may support Israel and Zionism but not the policies and actions of the Israeli government. There are further points for action that relate to religious festivals, an increase in the quantity and quality of education about Judaism (and other religions) and support for Jewish students. There are clear calls for greater education and dialogue. First, there is a need to organise meetings to discuss the Middle East in an open manner and in a safe environment. Second, there should be ‘more and better education about Judaism’ in schools. This should be extended to other religions. Third, there is a need for more interfaith dialogue. Similarly, Kidd and Jamieson (2011) demonstrates that many of the participants in the research expressed concerns about the negative stereotyping of Islam that demonstrates a lack of understanding about Islam and the need for more education about their religion. Participants in this research strongly expressed the importance of teaching young people about different religions to engender deeper knowledge and understanding. They also advocated that the history of migration to Britain should be taught and the contribution of the migrant communities to society and culture.

At the heart of these calls for greater understanding and education is the need for more dialogue. These dialogues cannot be restricted to interfaith dialogues but include a broader range of participants. These dialogues need to overcome the barriers of stereotyping, labels and categorisation that can inhibit the establishment and progress of dialogue (Keating, 2007). This will involve a growing appreciation of the multiplicity of the ways in which people can identify themselves, for example, as Scottish Jews or Scottish Muslims or as British Jews or British Muslims. This further involves understanding of the diversity within the Jewish and Muslim communities whether this is in terms of denomination or ethnicity, for example: Orthodox and Reform Jews and Asian Muslims and Somali Muslims. Those who participate in dialogues, if they are to be engaged in authentic dialogues, must avoid any tendency to
ethnocentrism that promotes the ideas of cultural or national superiority (Peters, 2012) They should be willing to listen to and understand each other’s views, consider alternate viewpoints and be open to changing and modifying their own point of view (Kazepides, 2012; Grigoriev et al., 2017).

Schools play a major role in the education about religion, religious and cultural diversity and in the high profile initiatives to combat all forms of religious discrimination: sectarianism; Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. Despite religion being a part of the core curriculum in all Scottish schools and the opportunities to discuss religion in other subject areas such as Social Studies, teachers can still lack confidence in discussing issues such as religious intolerance (Arshad and Moskal, 2016). Other challenges remain at the level of the engagement between Jewish and Muslim children and other young people. While it may not be widespread, some Jewish children in schools where they constitute a small minority conceal their Jewish identities. There can be confusion in the conflation of ethnic and religious identities within the pupil population. There is evidence of misrecognition and repeated misrecognition where children or young people are judged to be Muslim because of their skin colour but are in fact Sikh, Hindu or Christian. This habitual association between skin colour and membership of a particular religious group can prevent a deeper understanding of the diversity of ethnic origins within the Muslim population and within the other religious groups. Some Muslim children and young people have expressed anxieties about being stereotyped and associated with terrorism (Kidd and Jamieson, 2011).

**Concluding Remarks**

This chapter has examined the recent rise in Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in Scotland, contextualizing this rise within the history of the Jewish and Muslim communities and local responses to external events. The chapter has further examined the rise as a series of violations of human rights that inhibit the four claims for recognition. The chapter has argued for greater levels of communication, education and authentic dialogue for adults and for school children. This has the potential to generate a greater understanding of the links between cultural and religious identity and, within this process, lenses such as the four claims for recognition can be used to enable a deeper awareness of the position of members of the Jewish and Muslim communities in Scottish society and an appreciation of the richness of multicultural diversity in Scotland that includes a recognition of the key role of religious diversity.

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