All-Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims

Inquiry on British Muslim response to COVID-19

August 2020
APPG on British Muslims

Report on COVID-19: the impact on British Muslim Communities

Submission by Centre for Media Monitoring

30 August 2020
The Centre for Media Monitoring (CfMM) was set up in 2018 by the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB). Our aims are:

i. Create an evidence base on how Islam and Muslims are reported in national print and broadcast media.

ii. Develop insights on potential areas of improvement through evidence-based analyses, reports, and guidelines.

iii. Advocate change through constructive engagement with key stakeholders.

iv. Empower Muslim communities to proactively engage with the media and help change the narrative.

CfMM monitors and analyses thousands of articles and broadcast clips daily. Our monitoring methodology has been developed and approved by leading academics and experts in the field of corpus linguistics. CfMM is recognised as an authority in this field and a valuable resource by all stakeholders, including the media, regulators, politicians, and community organisations.

CfMM works closely with editors and journalists from the national print and broadcast media to highlight inaccuracies, generalisations and misrepresentations of Muslims & Islam in the media as well as promote good practice and increase Religious Literacy. We hold roundtables and “Meet The Media” events between media executives and community organisations. We deliver media skills training, publish evidenced-based reports, sit on advisory boards, and make submissions to inquiries and consultations such as OFCOM’s Thematic Review of Representation and Portrayal on the BBC, the BBC’s Editorial Guidelines Consultation, the Editor’s Code Review, and the Lords Select Committee Inquiry on the Future of Journalism. CfMM was also part of IPSO’s working committee, inputting into developing guidelines for journalists on the reporting of Islam and Muslims.

Throughout the pandemic, alongside its day-to-day work monitoring the portrayal of Muslims in the media, CfMM has been explicitly monitoring the way in which reporting of COVID-19 has implicated and often blamed Muslims for the pandemic.

In writing this submission, we seek to provide evidence to show the myriad of ways the media has negatively portrayed Muslims in its reporting throughout the pandemic, particularly in comparison to other communities and events, and share our expert analysis through our rigorous monitoring work.
I. INTRODUCTION

i. From the outbreak of the pandemic throughout the lockdown period and the easing of lockdown restrictions in the UK, there has been a problematic trend towards attributing blame for the spreading of the virus to minorities, particularly those of East Asian appearance and Muslims. This not only further perpetuates the negative portrayal of Muslims in the media more generally, but feeds into the far-right trend of blaming Muslims explicitly for the spread of the pandemic, which fuels hate crime, prejudice and discrimination.

ii. This submission therefore seeks to showcase the different ways in which the media has negatively portrayed Muslims during the pandemic and how this is different from its reporting of other communities. In this submission, evidence of the negative portrayal is broken down by the following themes:

   i. Usage of imagery of visibly Muslim individuals, when irrelevant to the story, creating a subconscious link between Muslims and the virus.

   ii. Focus on religious identity and sensationalism when reporting on stories related to Muslims during the pandemic, and sensationalist reporting on sensitive issues related to Muslims.

   iii. Apportioning blame to Muslims specifically for the spread of the virus in stark contrast to the reporting of non-Muslims with specific regard to the spread of COVID-19 or breaching regulations.

iii. There have been more issues than can be addressed within the confines of this submission, but the above is a brief overview of some of the more serious issues we have encountered, an explanation of why they are problematic, and a comparison with coverage of similar events involving people of other (or no) faith.

iv. This is by no means an exhaustive submission; however, we feel there is sufficient evidence to show that there are some incidents of irresponsible editorial decisions being made which may adversely impact the UK Muslim communities.

v. Together, these themes that we have seen emerging since March 2020 create the impression that Muslim communities play a unique role in the spread of the virus, that Muslims willfully breach lockdown restrictions and seek to scapegoat Muslim communities.

vi. Though it is outside of the scope of this inquiry, it is important to understand why the way in which the media has so negatively portrayed Muslims throughout the pandemic is problematic and what the impact of this is. For further information, please refer to Appendix A.
2. USE OF IMAGERY

i. CfMM found several instances of images of visible Muslims being used in UK coverage of the pandemic, many of which were seemingly irrelevant to the context of the reporting.

ii. Although in terms of overall coverage these incidences were few, they are problematic as they can create a link in the readers’ minds between Muslims and the spread of the virus. While some may claim that these photos are showing diversity, that does not address the issue of relevance, for example, images of Indonesian women in hijab accompanying a story about cases in London. Other photos depicted visible Muslims appearing to ignore safety advice, which would imply they are ignorant of, or disobeying, the rules, and therefore complicit in spreading the virus.

iii. Many of these images appeared in live news feeds, and so are no longer available on the websites in question. A few examples of questionable image choices are below:

iv. 

CNN, early March 2020, image of mosque in Turkey, report is about California prisons.

BBC News, 21 March 2020, two women in hijab and masks use cordoned-off public seating.


BBC News, 15 April 2020, women in niqab and PPE, story about President Trump defunding the WHO.
BBC News, 20 and 24 March 2020, men praying in mosques. Places of worship officially closed on 23 March, but many mosques had closed the week prior.

ITV News, 22 April 2020, women in hijab with a story about a lack of PPE for pharmacists. ¹

The Guardian, 5 August 2020, Muslim couple at a testing site. ² The article refers to the high rate of BAME infections, so this could be relevant. However, the most at-risk group is black men, ³ and not all Muslims are BAME.

The Times, 12 August, Asian women, one in hijab, in article about “partygoers” spreading virus. 4

BBC, 3 August, woman in hijab being tested, article about vaccine.

BBC News, 18 May 2020 5, and Sky News, 3 August 2020 6, Muslims gathering in a park. The image was from 2018, but this was not noted. Both articles referenced how lockdown would affect Eid celebrations. The stock image used included a well-known London Imam and his family, who approached CfMM for advice after receiving online abuse for apparently breaching lockdown.

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4 https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/tighter-lockdown-feared-in-manchester-area-as-rule-breaches-rise-q7dxw6j
5 https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-52716535
v. From late June until early August, cities in the north of England imposed local lockdowns to curb increasing rates of infection. Leicester was the first (30 June), followed by Blackburn & Darwen and Oldham two weeks later. Greater Manchester imposed restrictions on gatherings in private homes the day before Eid ul-Adha on 31 July.

vi. Although these areas do have comparatively large BAME populations, Muslims and Asians are still a minority, and yet a large number of related news stories feature visibly Muslim people, most especially women in hijab. While these images taken individually are not problematic, when viewed holistically, they may contribute to the narrative linking Muslims with COVID-19. Below are a few examples:

8 http://www.oldhamccg.nhs.uk/About-Us/Our-Population#:~:text=Our%20Population,-Population%20statistics&text=Oldham%20is%20predominantly%20white%20(77.5%25)%20as%20the%20largest%20minorities.&text=Oldham%27s%20population%20currently%20stands%20at,Mid%2DYear%20Estimates%202015).
9 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blackburn_with_Darwen#Demographics
3. FOCUS ON RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND SENSATIONALISM

i. **Tablighi Jamaat**
   
i. During the pandemic, CfMM found several examples of reporting which could be seen to be apportioning blame, by drawing attention to the faith of the people being discussed. This was notable in the coverage of several super spreader gatherings in March 2020, hosted by the Tablighi Jamaat in Malaysia, India and Pakistan. These events were blamed for hundreds of cases, and thousands of people were quarantined.

ii. The coverage of these events was problematic because many articles focused on the Muslim identity of the attendants, and the religious nature of the gathering. In the UK, CfMM noted the following examples:

1. The Times referred to men “dressed in white kurtas and Islamic skull caps,” and called the organisation, “an evangelical Muslim sect.”

2. AFP (via Mail Online) headlined with, “India manhunt after Islamic gathering become virus hotspot,” and quoted the Delhi Health Minister as calling the events, “a grave crime,” which attached criminality to the infections.

3. Reuters (via Mail Online) headlined, “India and Pakistan crack down on Muslim group...”. 

4. The Daily Star referred to the gathering as an “Islamic Tablighi Jamaat gathering”.

iii. In addition, images used often featured mosques and men in traditionally Muslim clothing, such as in the below examples:


![Image 4](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-8171979/India-manhunt-Islamic-gathering-virus-hotspot.html)

![Image 5](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-8171671/India-cracks-Muslim-group-emerging-coronavirus-cluster.html)

![Image 6](https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/world-news/fears-massive-coronavirus-outbreak-after-2181622.html)

![Image 7](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/why-indias-claim-to-be-on-top-of-coronavirus-rings-hollow-n3m9q3hjn)

![Image 8](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-8171979/India-manhunt-Islamic-gathering-virus-hotspot.html)
iv. When compared with coverage of other, similarly dangerous gatherings, there is not as much focus on the religion of those who gathered, even in the case of a church in South Korea which saw over 40 people infected and hundreds more quarantined. Although the articles mention the church, they do not refer to the attendees as Christian throughout the coverage. In fact the woman who is thought to have caused the spread is only referred to as being “South Korean” in reports.

v. In the UK, there have been many events that drew widespread condemnation for breaching social distancing rules, such as crowds gathering on beaches during the heatwave, VE day celebrations and street parties, and celebrity funerals. None of these mentioned the assumed faith or ethnicity of those gathering.

ii. **Mass Graves**

i. On 9 April the Mail Online ran a story headlined, “Mass graves for up to 10 bodies are being dug in Muslim cemetery...”. The Mirror followed on 14 April with, “Coronavirus: Mass graves dug at London cemetery as Muslim community hit by pandemic,” and the Daily Express wrote, “Coronavirus horror exposed as mass graves hastily built - We cannot keep up”.

ii. The cemetery in question, Eternal Gardens, had issued an FAQ on their website which clearly stated that the burial method used was not a “mass grave” as can been seen below, but simply a pre-emptive technique to prepare the ground for several burials in advance.

![Screenshot from Eternal Gardens FAQ on the “Saff” Multi-Burial Method](https://eternalgardens.org.uk/pandemic-response/)

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19 [https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-8187859/Amid-virus-fears-Pakistan-searches-pilgrims-mass-gathering.html](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-8187859/Amid-virus-fears-Pakistan-searches-pilgrims-mass-gathering.html)
25 [https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/coronavirus-mass-graves-dug-london-21861758](https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/coronavirus-mass-graves-dug-london-21861758)
27 [https://eternalgardens.org.uk/pandemic-response/](https://eternalgardens.org.uk/pandemic-response/)
iii. These headlines are sensationalist. The use of the term “mass graves” evokes imagery of war or genocide, and using this term implied that these were pits containing several unidentified bodies. The quote claiming the cemetery could not keep up implied that Muslims would not be able to bury their loved ones in a timely manner, and the undue focus on the Muslim community was misleading, as non-Muslim BAME are also affected, and not all Muslims are from BAME backgrounds.

iv. CfMM wrote to all three media outlets and included this information. The Mirror accepted our complaint and changed their headline to, “Coronavirus: Graves pre-dug at London cemetery as Muslim community hit by pandemic.”

v. The Mail Online did not accept our complaint, so we have escalated it to IPSO. The Express have yet to reply, so we have also filed this with IPSO.

vi. Comparing this coverage with that of makeshift morgues at hospitals and other sites is telling. There is, again, no mention of the faith of the deceased, and somewhat less sensationalist, emotive language used in the reporting.

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31 https://historicgraves.com/blog/miscellanea/defining-mass-grave
34 https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-bristol-53504233
iii. **Headlines and Op-Eds**

i. On 21 August, the Lancashire Telegraph ran a piece by Shuiab Khan, “The fact is only the predominantly Asian wards are in lockdown.” The article itself is a balanced commentary on the local lockdowns and explores some of the reasons why Asians may be disproportionately affected by COVID-19. However, the headline is problematic, as in isolation it can be interpreted as blaming the Asian communities, implying that they have not been taking care, have not been following the rules, etc.

ii. Unfortunately, there are also examples of op-eds which do apportion this blame outright. In one such example, the Telegraph ran a piece by David Green of Civitas, headlined, “Campaigners and twisting BAME Covid data to further their ‘victimhood’ agenda.”

iii. Other misleading headlines implied religious events such as Ramadan and Eid could trigger “spikes” in cases. On 12 April, The Times published a headline, “Experts fear a spike in UK coronavirus cases during Ramadan” followed the next day by “Fears of huge spike in coronavirus because of Ramadan” (Metro), and “Birmingham doctor warns of ‘big spike’ in coronavirus cases during Ramadan,” (Birmingham Mail). These headlines implied that the Muslim community would be gathering in Ramadan despite lockdown regulations, and that medical experts were warning of an inevitable spike as a result.

iv. CfMM contacted the medic who had been quoted, who told us that the headlines misrepresented his comment. After our complaints, The Times amended their headline to read: “Expert fears a spike in UK coronavirus cases if communities gather for Ramadan,” while the Metro changed theirs to, “Fears of spike in Coronavirus during Ramadan.” The Birmingham Mail removed the article entirely.

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36 [https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/expert-fears-a-spike-in-uk-coronavirus-cases-if-communities-gather-for-ramadan-rwrzs7q2r](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/expert-fears-a-spike-in-uk-coronavirus-cases-if-communities-gather-for-ramadan-rwrzs7q2r)

37 [https://metro.co.uk/2020/04/13/fears-huge-spike-coronavirus-ramadan-12550007/](https://metro.co.uk/2020/04/13/fears-huge-spike-coronavirus-ramadan-12550007/)
4. APPORTIONING BLAME TO MUSLIMS

i. On 26 June, The Telegraph ran an article headlined, “Exclusive: Half of UK’s imported Covid-19 infections are from Pakistan.” 38

ii. The Sun and the Mail Online picked up the article the following day, with equally problematic headlines. The Sun ran, “Half of UK imported coronavirus cases ‘originate from Pakistan’ amid calls for tougher checks on ‘high risk countries’,” 39 while Mail Online headlined: “Pakistan was origin of HALF of Britain’s imported coronavirus cases…” 40

iii. The exclusive in The Telegraph quoted a source at Public Health England, citing statistics that were not, at the time publicly available. CfMM enquired with PHE and found that the source quoted only referred to those cases imported since 4 June, a total of 30 cases. This was at a time when Britain was seeing hundreds of community-transmitted infections per day.

iv. After contacting these papers, all three amended their headlines to reflect the facts more accurately. Only The Sun included a footnote in their article to note the change. We are still pursuing our complaint with The Telegraph for the original, deceptive article with IPSO.

39 https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11968577/coronavirus-cases-uk-pakistan/
40 https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8465255/Pakistan-origin-HALF-Britains-imported-coronavirus-cases.html
v. The original headlines were a clear case of information being misrepresented to imply that people from Pakistan were a major cause of infection. In fact, according to Public Health England (PHE) data, the total number of cases was only 30, and the time period looked at was from 4 to 26 June (three weeks). A PHE representative informed us that The Telegraph had initially approached them after receiving data from an unnamed source and asked for confirmation, but they emphasised that the PHE had not singled out Pakistan, and that they too deemed the article is highly misleading and contains inaccuracies.

vi. In contrast, reports that COVID-19 came to the UK on at least 1,300 occasions, and that the majority of imported cases in the early days of the pandemic were from Europe, did not result in any anti-European headlines. Moreover, as CfMM pointed out on Twitter, at that time there had been over 310,000 confirmed cases in the UK, so the 30 imported from Pakistan only accounted for 0.01% of all cases, a tiny number. This headline, even with the correction, is a clear example of sensationalist apportioning of blame where none exists.

41 https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-52993734
42 https://twitter.com/cfmmuk/status/1277920485024686082
5. CONCLUSIONS

i. The media’s primary goal is to accurately inform the public, a role that is all the more important during the worst pandemic in living history. There may be a temptation to lay blame, usually on the most vulnerable in society. This is a trend that must be challenged.

ii. For the public to be accurately informed about Muslims, there needs to be:
   
   i. Holistic reporting, including, for example, Muslim participation in the NHS, positive contributions of Muslims, and how Muslims have disproportionately been affected by the virus;
   
   ii. Appropriate context to ensure false narratives about Muslims are not created through misleading and ideologically driven blame games, where the most vulnerable are targeted.

iii. The position of CfMM is that the media has failed at both levels.

iv. On holistic reporting, whilst there have been commendable reports featuring visibly Muslim people, including the NHS Anniversary photo shoot by Ian Rankin, which featured NHS GP of the Year Farzana Hussain, and those who featured stories of Muslim volunteers supporting the vulnerable during lockdown, these do not come close to reflect the huge contribution of Muslims.

v. Furthermore, we are now seeing the scapegoating of migrants in the media, which appears to be a distraction tactic from failures in dealing with the coronavirus pandemic.

vi. These failures have real-world implications, as covered in the “Impact” section of the Appendix, feeding into an increasing animosity towards Muslim communities, which may translate into abuse or even violence.

vii. There needs to be a real step change across all sections in the media in truly returning to the core goals of accurate and fair reporting, something that should be expected of our nation’s editors.

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44 https://metro.co.uk/2020/04/10/mosque-car-park-opens-temporary-morgue-muslim-coronavirus-victims-12539828/
45 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/may/04/were-ready-if-we-are-needed-east-london-mosque-opens-covid-19-morgue
46 https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/mosque-opens-foodbank-help-others-7431657
APPENDIX: IMPACT OF MEDIA PORTRAYAL

i. Whilst the extent to which we have seen the negative portrayal of Muslims in the press during the pandemic is hugely problematic in and of itself, the real-life impact it has on the lives of Muslims is potentially dangerous.

ii. Research conducted by the University of Cambridge concluded that mainstream media reporting about Muslim communities is contributing to an atmosphere of rising hostility towards Muslims in Britain. Throughout the pandemic, with false and unevidenced accusations of Muslims breaching lockdown restrictions and scaremongering about this leading to a second spike of virus infections, there was a huge trend in conspiracy theories circulating, particularly on social media, attributing blame to Muslims.

iii. A survey carried out between 4 and 11 May by psychologists at the University of Oxford of over 2,500 people found that nearly 20% agreed to some extent with the statement that "Muslims are spreading the virus as an attack on Western values." 49

iv. This theory was then further propagated by Craig Whittaker, Conservative Member of Parliament for Calderdale, when the local lockdown restrictions were announced in parts of northern England on 31st July in time for Eid al-Adha. In an interview with LBC, Whittaker was quoted as saying, “What I have seen in my constituency is that we have areas of our community… that are just not taking the pandemic seriously enough.” When asked if he was referring to Muslims, he replied, “of course”. 51

v. This indicates that such conspiracy theorist views are no longer confined to the fringes, but are becoming increasingly mainstream. Whilst Whittaker’s comments drew widespread criticism, he was not condemned by Conservative colleagues or the party formally, further indicating that this view is potentially shared, or at least not abhorrent enough to be condemned. This is unsurprising when these extreme views appear to be supported by the media, either explicitly in the way in which certain cases to do with Muslims and COVID-19 are reported, but also more subliminally in the way in which the media uses images of Muslims when discussing the pandemic more generally, as discussed in the previous sections of this submission.

vi. This view has been rampant on social media throughout the pandemic, with many accounts being shared accusing Muslims of defying the lockdown rules and sharing videos of crowded mosques. One user on social media tweeted whilst all places of worship were closed that upon contacting his local mosque in Shrewsbury, they confirmed they were still open and accused them of being “super spreaders”. This tweet was then refuted by Shropshire Police, who confirmed that this was not true as no mosque exists in Shrewsbury, and the only prayer facility was fully complaint with government requirement.

51 https://www.lbc.co.uk/radio/presenters/ian-payne/muslim-bame-communities-coronavirus-pandemic/
vii. On another occasion, West Midlands Police were forced to issue a statement rebuking a fake video being shared on social media allegedly showing a large group of worshippers entering and leaving a mosque following prayers. The video, which was shared by Tommy Robinson, the founder and former leader of the English Defense League, was coupled with the claim that worshippers were deliberately defying the restrictions, feeding into the far-right narrative of Muslims willfully ignoring government restrictions. West Midlands Police confirmed that the video was filmed long before the lockdown regulations came into force, and that the mosque featured had followed government regulations fully.  

viii. On Eid al-Adha, Blackburn was subject to local lockdown measures but Eid prayers were still permitted. Nevertheless, a picture was shared on social media from street level of worshippers praying in the outdoor confined of the mosque, in which it appeared as if social distancing measures were not being adhered to. The mosque then shared CCTV footage of the same prayers, which clearly showed worshippers praying in their allocated places, each with their own prayer mat and keeping a distance.

ix. Other mosques, which were closed for prayers but operating as food banks and other key services, reported being confronted by members of the public as a result of this far-right propaganda. Headlines such as those highlighted earlier in this submission may fuel these ideologies, and despite police forces and individual mosques issuing statements rebuking these false claims, it is highly unlikely these clarifications have the same reach as the fake stories, or even nearly as much impact in allaying concerns as the fake stories have in stoking tensions.

x. This, in turn, has real-life consequences for Muslims in terms of hate crime, prejudice and strained community tensions. Whilst the Home Office is yet to publish its full breakdown of hate crime against different groups for the period of the lockdown restrictions, other data available can provide an indication of the state of hate against Muslims. With data showing an increase in hate crime against Muslims, it is likely that the way in which the media has negatively portrayed Muslims has led to negative perceptions of Muslims. This, coupled with the widespread of conspiracy theories across social media, are likely to be significant drivers for this rise.

52 https://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/1862962.eid-prayers-blackburn-viewed-two-different-angles/
53 https://www.iambirmingham.co.uk/2020/03/30/fake-video-social-media-shows-mosque-small-heath-open-coronavirus-lockdown/
54 https://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/18627962.eid-prayers-blackburn-viewed-two-different-angles/
xi. Tell MAMA, the hate crime monitoring group, recorded a 40% increase in online anti-Muslim hate crime during lockdown compared to the same period in 2019, with approximately 150 reports coming in per week. In Leicester, police said there were 208 racially aggravated incidents in July alone, up from 156 in 2019, largely as a result of "neighbourhood disputes or general anti-social behaviour". 55 The group also reported an incident on 18 March, in the infancy of the pandemic, whereby a woman wearing a hijab in south London was spat at in the face and verbally abused using a racial slur. 56

xii. In London, the Mayor’s Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) has detailed the number of incidents of Islamophobic hate crime reported across London boroughs since COVID-19 measures began in March 2020. A steady increase in the number of reported incidents is apparent between March and June 2020, with 59 incidents being reported in March and 88 in June, respectively. June 2020, in which places of worship began to reopen and lockdown measures eased, proves a peak, with 63 incidents being reported in July thereafter.

xiii. This increase in number of reported incidents of Islamophobic hate crime across London comes in spite of the special measures put in place by the UK Government on the 23rd of March 2020, inclusive of but not limited to lockdown measures that saw significant restrictions on movement, and strict social distancing being implemented in the few public spaces accessible to the public. As per the MOPAC hate crime dashboard itself, said measures have had a significant impact on recorded crime, and Islamophobic hate crime across Greater London is still ongoing. 57

xiv. The threat against Muslims is substantive. The threat from the far-right has been prevalent throughout the pandemic, with counter-terrorism police forced to investigate far-right groups accused of trying to use the COVID-19 crisis to stoke Islamophobic sentiment. 58 This is not unique to the pandemic with the fastest-growing terror threat in the UK coming from the far-right, 59 with the UK reporting the highest number of far-right terror attacks and plots in Europe in 2019. The one attack that was carried out was targeting Muslims, with the terrorist shouting: “All Muslims should die… I’m going to murder a Muslim.” 60

xv. Hate crime, discrimination and prejudiced views against Muslims are problematic at the best of times, but during a global pandemic which has seen Muslim communities in Britain have a higher mortality rate than any other faith group and in light of the substantive far-right terror threat, this can prove to be extremely dangerous.

56 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/05/police-investigate-uk-far-right-groups-over-anti-muslim-coronavirus-claims
58 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/05/police-investigate-uk-far-right-groups-over-anti-muslim-coronavirus-claims
59 https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-49753325