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Defining Hate

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Contents:

Abstract.

This study explores how a sample of British Muslims in contemporary society experience and define "hate" and "hate crime". The research was conducted in Northwest England utilising a qualitative phenomenological methodological approach. Semi-structured interviews were conducted within two community centres, where British Muslims volunteered as participants for the study. The participants were encouraged to freely articulate their experiences and to address the main objective of the research – to define hate.

The findings showed that there was a distinct gap between formal or legal definitions of "hate" and the everyday notion of how hate was conceived and experienced by the sample population of Muslims in this study. As British Muslims, the participants also raised the growing concern of Islamophobia and the impact it had on their lives, with some defining hate and hate crime through this phenomenon.

This study adds to the growing literature on hate crime and primarily addresses the lived experiences of British Muslims in contemporary society. It is hoped that this study will provide a future framework for those studying and working within the area of hate related crime by addressing the importance of victimology and lived experiences when dealing with the complex issue of hate.

<u>Acknowledgements.</u>

Introduction.

The term "hate crime" was coined in the mid 1980's owing to an increase in crimes motivated by race, gender and sexual orientation (Jacobs and Potter 1998) and to complicate the matter further, hate crime can also be classed as bias crime, which is a relatively new term that has been introduced (Perry 2009). Although hate crime is now increasingly becoming a distinct category of crime, the ambiguity with regards to its definition is still pertinent. The term hate, as discussed above, remains a misnomer both for academics and increasingly for ordinary people.

The ambiguity of the term "hate" causes a number of problems. Firstly, people find it increasingly difficult to differentiate between common experiences between prejudice, discrimination and racism and the data analysis from this study indicates the blurring of boundaries between these concepts. Hate, it appears, then remains a disconnected entity which is rarely referred to and, as this research shows, there is uncertainty as to how and when this term should be implemented, if at all. Furthermore, by changing the term to "bias" or "bias crime" would complicate the matter further, since the term "hate" holds deleterious connotations compared to the somewhat passive term, "bias". Secondly, it could be argued that prejudice and discrimination contain elements of bias *and* hate, but, this research aims to highlight that the perpetrator's "hateful" behaviour is vastly different to that of prejudice, discrimination, racism and indeed bias.

Looking at the perpetrator's behaviour, it is evident that only the victim can ascertain whether it is pernicious or innocuous at the time of the incident. This research also proposes that a second or even a third party cannot be in a position to interpret the incident any different to how the victim perceived it. Hate, therefore, or more accurately, the perception of hate, is a purely subjective phenomenon. The participant's accounts in this study also showed that individuals interpreted the situations as they had experienced them and there were rare accounts in which an individual would discuss the experience with a second or third party to corroborate what had actually occurred. Moreover, some of the participants shared experiences with others either to warn, advise or empathise. This sharing of experiences created a bond between the victims and these experiences were then shared with third parties and used as a warning to others, in particular the younger generations. From

the author's own experiences, participants who enlisted to take part in the interviews often mentioned that the author should consider interviewing a member of the participant's family or friend as they had experienced similar or worse incidents. In other words there was a *need* to share experiences and these experiences were far from confidential, but were in fact common. It is, however, unclear whether these experiences would be shared with others who were perceived as "outsiders".

Therefore, this research is based primarily on the very premise that to understand race hate crime from a criminological point of view, it is also necessary to explore the issue from the subjective positions of the victims. This includes how it is experienced by the victims and, in some cases, those connected to the victims. In essence, a large number of books have been compiled on Hate Crime *per se*, but these texts have been written by experts investigating the issue objectively, with little emphasis on the *experience* of the crime itself. This research attempts to explore the living experiences of people inflicted by hate crime and thus provide a more informed understanding of it, which if left unchallenged, has a pernicious effect conducive (in the extreme) to genocide.

In particular, this thesis is concerned about the lived experiences of British Asian Muslims and their experiences of hate and whether living in contemporary British society affects their lives, their aspirations and their day to day living. The research investigates the experiences of adults over the age of 18 highlighting, primarily, their experiences and interpretation of hate and it is through this lens that the research aims to provide a "working" definition of hate. The research will also aim to show that the lived, working definitions of hate may in fact be different to the academic definitions employed by Agencies to address hate related incidents.

Notably, the thesis gives credence to the perception of hate. In other words, it aims to explore how British Muslims perceive hate in contemporary British society and this adds to the narrative and description of hate as it is experienced. It is no surprise, therefore, that the participants may opt to discuss their experiences of racism, discrimination and prejudice as components of hate and this research highlights that these experiences are integral to the overall description of hate.

The term "hate" itself is problematic, especially when it is used in conjunction with the term "crime" giving the impression that the offender has some "hatred" towards

the victim, when in fact hatred may not be the integral issue. Leading writers, such as Paul Iganski, deal with this issue (Ainsworth et.al. 2014) positing that offenders are not necessarily motivated by subjugating their victim and in most cases, they themselves are unaware of the impact they have on the lives of their victims. This, therefore, complicates the manner in which "hate" is actually interpreted. It also follows that the interpretation of hate may in fact be different to how hate is experienced and this thesis attempts to explore this facet. What we consider as "hatred" may in fact be guised as discrimination, racism or even victimisation and how hatred is perceived objectively may be different to how it is perceived subjectively, in other words, how it is perceived by the victim.

Hence, the key issue here is defining "hate". Arguably, the term is a misnomer and if this is the case, then there are at least two definitions. The first definition is that provided by academia, which is useful in terms of policy, and the second is the one that is provided to us by lived experiences. In other words, it is the manner in which everyday people, in everyday life, experience this phenomenon. The aim of this thesis, therefore, is to explore these experiences with a view to eliciting an everyday, working experience of hate. While a great amount of research has been conducted on hate and hate crime, there remains a dearth of information with regards *how* hate is experienced on an everyday basis and by trying to explore these experiences; it may become easier to understand the phenomenon as it appears in modern society and use the findings to create a working definition.

This victim centred approach was also dealt with by Perry (2012) who gave credence to using a subjective lens when exploring the experiences of hate related crime. This thesis aims to go one step further by allowing participants to vocalise their experiences and make sense of hate and hate related incidences. Thus, a phenomenological methodology will allow participants to share experiences which they regarded as being relevant and paramount. Understandably, there are some misgivings about using such an approach, especially in terms of bias, but the project lends itself to utilising phenomenology (as discussed in the methodology below). The interviewer shares the same ethnic and religious background to the participants and this creates a catalyst for the participants to explore and impart with their experiences.

What is *Hate* ?

The primary aim of this research is to find a working definition of hate through the everyday experiences of ordinary people. The research also aims to allow a voice for British Asian Muslims living in the northwest of England and to explore their experiences in contemporary British society. Sport appears to be a popular pastime for most British Asian Muslims in this part of the country and this, therefore, is a good starting point.

John Barnes, the footballer of Jamaican descent who played for England and Liverpool in the 1980's, asserted quite clearly in an interview, that to understand racism it is important to understand "race" (Sky News 08.01.2012). Barnes was commenting on the recent racist incidents in English football which witnessed white English Premier League footballers inflicting "perceived" racist abuse against their black counterparts. His comments came after yet another incident which involved Liverpool fans shouting racist abuse at the black Oldham player, Tom Adeyemi, who was visibly upset at the mistreatment he received and close to tears.

Barnes was further probed in the interview with regards to Adeyemi's reaction to the abuse and he implied, quite rightly, that racist comments can be interpreted differently by different people. In other words, a reaction to a racist comment is purely a subjective matter. Adeyemi may have reacted to the abuse because it had a certain profound effect on him, whereas Barnes recalled reacting to abuse from opposing fans differently. Throughout his early career, Barnes faced abuse ranging from monkey chants to bananas being thrown at him, but for him it was imperative not to react because he would not be, "…disenfranchised because of the colour of my skin and made to feel inferior." (Sky News 08.01.2012). Furthermore, Barnes reiterated the need to understand that people reacted to racism subjectively, taking into account the circumstances that they may find themselves in and that their individual reaction is not necessarily wrong.

For renowned professionals, such as John Barnes, sport generally emulates society and in order to resolve the problem of racism, society would need to change. This further poses important questions on racism and asks whether modern societies have a general acceptance of racist insults in sport. One could argue that the

comments made by Sepp Blatter, the President of the governing body of football – FIFA, that racist insults are just "part" of the game and players should shake hands at the end of the match and "move on" (Mail Online, 16.11.2011) , vindicate the recognition that expressions of racist insults on a football pitch are an intrinsic component of the game. However, this further perpetuates the issue because we now have two conflicting views on racist insults in football; one group of professionals who feel that these insults are deprecating and another who infers the need to dispense with trivial expressions.

To complicate matters further, it is evident that these racist incidents, albeit in the context of football, are in fact a disagreement not only between the perpetrator and the victim, but in fact between two communities comprising of different racial characteristics each having its own *subjective* view on the issue.

To elaborate further, Luis Suarez the white Liverpool footballer who was found guilty of racist assertions against Patrice Evra, the black Manchester United player, faced an eight match ban for his misdemeanours. Yet the Liverpool team affronted T-shirts worn during training proclaiming their allegiance to Suarez, even though the perpetrator was charged and found guilty. Arguably, therefore, the discourse of race and *racism* is much more inherent as opposed to merely incidental.

Some abuse is launched by opposing football supporters and threatens to bring the game into disrepute. To name but a few, one of the most influential examples would be that of Samuel Eto'o, a football player of African descent, who having been threatened and abused by opposing fans decided to walk out of an ongoing match only to be persuaded to return by fellow players. Eto'o claimed to have suffered a barrage of racist abuse from opposing Spanish fans during his career with Barcelona Football Club and took a personal stand by refusing to allow his children to watch him play at football stadiums (Kassimeris 2007) for fear of subjecting his family to the same kind of abuse he had to encounter. Therefore, using Samuel Eto'o as an example again substantiates the fact that racism is not only incidental but a concept which has to be examined as a social process. Football fans cannot be considered as reacting to isolated incidents when their form of abuse is repeated on a regular basis. Accordingly, their inherent beliefs of a player of different racial characteristics is finding vent in an anomalous violent manner. In essence, a social process must

be present which establishes this form of racism and which allows football to become a platform for the release of anti-social behaviour (Black et al 2001). Which leads to the point that *race* is a social construct.

Returning to the eloquence of John Barnes, he observed the need to understand the concept of race as a social construct thus, "…a Chinese person is white, but is not classified as white" (Sky News 08.01.2012) highlights society's need to categorise people into races, a practice dating back to European colonialism (Eze 1997, Hannaford 1996) but the roots of which can be attributed to the Enlightenment period (Malik 1996). This need to categorise leads to the very misconduct Barnes is talking about. Thus, categorising of people into races leads to the false assumption that people actually belong to distinct races (Phillips 2007) which, in turn, perpetuates the misguided belief that one "race" may in fact be better than another.

It would obviously be incorrect to assume that racism occurs mainly in football (Carrington and McDonald 2001), as it would be equally wrong to conclude that white Europeans are generally the perpetrators. Race and racism, as social constructs, can be seen in other less publicised sports such as cricket where "sledging" between opposing players could include aberrations with a racial overtone (Williams 2001). Cricket fans have also been accused of racist slogans and Australians have been labelled as generally intolerant (Cricket Next CNN-IBN 2007). Indian supporters have also been blamed for alleged racism following an incident when 4 supporters were detained after an Australian fan reported monkey gestures and chants against Andrew Symonds, the Australian all-rounder during a game in Mumbai (Cricket Next CNN-IBN 2007).

The contemporary examples listed above highlight the need to understand the issue of racism as a process (Miles and Brown 1989, Dwyer and Bressey 2008), as opposed to an isolated incident which would create an abstract view of the problem. For the purposes of this study, it is important to find a "demarcation" between offensive and merely disagreeable conduct, between latent and manifest behaviour and between prejudice and *hate.*

It would be incorrect to imply that hate crime is always motivated by *hate.* In fact the term "hate crime" is a misnomer since most offences loosely listed under hate crime are motivated by *prejudice* (Samaha 2005*,* Anderson and Sloan 2009, Sherry 2010). Theoretically, therefore, "hate crime" is difficult to conceptualise and becomes increasingly problematic when it is perceived from the viewpoint of the victim(s). For instance, the general consensus on the racism in football incidents discussed above may be that they have an element of prejudice attached to them, but they may not in fact be classed as race "hate crime".

Using subjectivity as a starting point, what one victim might label as hate crime, another may perceive it differently. One could argue that the football incidents discussed above are in fact motivated by prejudice which is a key component of hate crime and they should, therefore, fit into the hate crime spectrum. However, an obvious counter argument would draw attention to the fact that the incidents are devoid of any form of criminal conduct for them to be labelled as hate *crime* per se*.* Whether shouting racist abuse or gesticulating counts as criminal conduct is debatable; however, technically, if the victim fears immediate, unlawful violence as a result of this behaviour, it could be labelled as assault under the Offences Against the Person Act 1861. This leads to the determination that the football incidents may have had a criminal conduct attached to them, provided that the victim perceived it as threatening behaviour.

Academic Definitions of Hate

Hall (2013) provides a contemporary overview of hate crime specifically within the context of British society. The author provides a strategic approach, to what he considers, is an increasing problem by considering the role of the police and criminal justice system in addition to the role of the community in general. However, importantly, Hall asserts that hate crime as an academic issue in the context of Britain is relatively new and unexplored and, similar to this study, he proposes to cover this and enhance the knowledge of this complex phenomena.

In conceptualising hate crime, Hall resorts to obtaining an academic definition by making reference to leading authors such as Perry (2009) Gerstenfeld (2004) and Craig (2002). This study differs from Hall in that the definitions of hate and hate crime are obtained from lived experiences as opposed to academic references, which are pertinent and relevant but do not explore the experiences of this complex issue. Also, notably, as other writers do, Hall is concerned with hate crime *per se*, and this study attempts to highlight that hate has to be explored and contextualised first before it can become a precursor to hate crime as a concept. Moreover Hall defines prejudice and discrimination and posits that these issues are a foundation to hatred. The key criticism here is that the author falls short of recognising that prejudice and discrimination are in fact types of hate, as this study asserts, McGhee (2005). Again, Hall reaches for academic definitions of these concepts without paying recognition to experiences of ordinary people in everyday lives.

Chakraborti and Garland's (2009) insightful overview of hate has been used as an important reference in this study primarily because the authors use case studies to conceptualise aspects of hate crime. However, this text is generic in context and the authors cover areas of race hate, religious hate, homophobic hate crimes, gender and transgender hate crimes as well as the expressions of hate. The text also falls short in defining hate by exploring the issue through victimology. The authors include an interesting chapter on the perpetrators of hate crime and touch on the issue of victim – perpetrator relationship but fail to assess the experiences of hate.

Notably, the history of hate crime itself is best explored by Perry (2009),Hall (2013) and Ehrlich (2009), amongst others. These authors trace key case studies ranging from the Ku Klux Klan to the rise of the far right. Hall (2013), in particular, focuses on the UK and provides a good overview of far right groups in Western Europe. These texts, therefore, are valuable in that they provide an overview of hate crimes and the legislation that is in place to control them. Additionally, Marks (1996) looks at hate from the perspective of extreme right wing group and provides an historical analysis of how hate has evolved in America from the infamous Ku Klux Klan to neo-Nazi organisations. Moreover, while providing graphic accounts of case studies, Marks also attempts to define the term hate and relies upon academic definitions to fill the void. The text, therefore, is useful as it provides an insight to the belief system of right-wing groups and what actually motivates them, but it can be argued that the text may also be considered as outdated since it fails to take into account the new form of race hate which is less overt and (arguably) more organised.

A more comprehensive text on the history of hate is Blamires (2006) "World Fascism: A Historical Encyclopaedia". While Blamires admits that there is a lot of coverage on the third Reich and Italian fascism; there is, nevertheless, a dearth of research on global fascism and this is the gap he is addressing. Notably, the text is preoccupied with fascism as a political movement and not necessarily hate, but it provides an excellent basis which underlines some of the causes of hate within far right groups such as, ultra-nationalism and xenophobia.

Iganski's (2008) important text is a key reference in this study, since he also acknowledges that in order to define or conceptualise hate crime, a victim-centred approach is necessary and his text, "Hate Crime and the City" provides this analysis. While Iganski's text is generic, this particular study differs from Iganski in that it focusses primarily on British Muslim experiences and their definition of hate through their lived experiences.

What is Prejudice?

If the recurring theme within hate crime is *prejudice* (Chakraborti and Garland 2009) it is then necessary to define this concept as part of the social process which underpins the crime. Social psychologists have attempted to define prejudice, thus Allport suggests:

Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he is a member of that group. (Allport 1954, p10).

Allport (1954) takes this definition further by proposing that there is a subtle difference between ordinary pre-judgements and actual *prejudice*. While everyone may display some pre-judgements, they can be reversed when exposed to new information or knowledge. However, if this process is irreversible in light of contradictory information, it leads to prejudice.

While Allport concludes that another characteristic of prejudice is its ability to resist knowledge or even evidence that contradicts the prejudicial belief, Ehrlich (1973) finds that a prejudice is "an *attitude* toward a group of people" (Ehrlich 1973:p8), that is, prejudice being a negative attitude and further,

[prejudices are] an interrelated set of propositions...organised around cognitive, behavioural and affective dimensions (Ehrlich 1973:p4).

Furthermore, these "set of propositions" for Milner (1983) are,

Irrational, unjust or intolerant dispositions towards other groups and are accompanied by stereotyping (Milner 1983:p5).

Aboud (1988) echoes this by adding that a prejudice is,

An organised predisposition to respond in an unfavourable manner toward people from an ethnic group (Aboud 1988:p5).

Both Milner and Aboud refer to "dispositions" and "predispositions", which may imply that these set of beliefs or "attitudes" are now entrenched within the person's identity or even personality. Moreover, both Ehrlich and Aboud introduce a prejudice as an "organised" proposition which could imply that prejudicial beliefs are formed and

reinforced through a prolonged social process in which contradictory evidence and knowledge has been dismissed.

Interestingly, Milner makes a reference to stereotyping as an integral part of the prejudicial belief, which supports Holloway's (2009) definition that prejudices assimilate cognitive, affective and behavioural elements. Thus, thoughts and stereotypes provide the cognitive element, which then lead to feelings- the affective element and then the behaviour- the behavioural element. For Holloway this is general causality which relates to the execution of a prejudice, which can equally work the other way, hence, prejudiced feelings can lead to stereotypes which then serve to justify those feelings.

Furthermore, while Allport's text is considered as an important study, (see for example, Hewstone *et. al* 2000:p485, Nicholas 2008:p257) some argue that it may be outdated (Dovidio et. al. 2005). Allport ascribes prejudices as "inflexible", a view that is archaic since prejudicial beliefs can be dynamic and reactive to the position of a group in the social hierarchy (Eagly and Dickman 2005). With the advent of globalisation in the modern world, Allport's views can appear somewhat irrelevant.

However, Allport's differentiation between pre-judgements and prejudice is important mainly because these are the elements which many people may experience and encounter on a daily basis. The issue for the person on the receiving end of a prejudicial belief is to establish whether what has been said or implied is in fact based on a prejudicial judgement and not merely a pre-judgement. Thus, to revisit the Suarez-Evra incident, *only* Patrice Evra is in a position to make that distinction. Taking the circumstances and the preceding altercation into account, only Evra can make an informed judgement. Therefore, while academic definitions help in deconstructing prejudice, they generally fall short of emphasising the importance of victimology and lived experiences, especially when race and/or religion is an issue.

Lived experiences are decisive for authors like Essed (1991), whose important study created a *practical* model for application in everyday situations. She believes that a recipient formulates a judgement of whether a situation is prejudicial by consciously or even subconsciously applying a two-part test. Firstly, the recipient will use his or her "general knowledge". This is primarily knowledge of incidents which involved prejudice, discrimination, racism or even hate. These incidents could have been

directly experienced by the recipient and easily recalled, or incidents which have been "informed", such as recollections or reports from peers, friends and family members. The second test, which Essed labels as "situational knowledge", allows the recipient to question whether the behaviour of the perpetrator is within the socially shared conventional norms of the situation in question (see also Mellor et.al. 2001, for a detailed discussion on the application of Essed's model).

Notably, Essed identified the need to use such a subjectively accentuated model in response to the dynamic nature of prejudice and racism. Mellor et. al. (2000) also argue that the nature of prejudice has changed over time to a point where it has become "ambiguous", less overt and more indistinct. Certain words or phrases, therefore, may not carry the same pernicious implications as they did a decade or so ago. For instance, for most young people of South Asian descent, the "p word" is used to identify a person from a Pakistan and they may be oblivious to the fact that the term was used in a derogatory way some twenty years ago.

In essence, therefore, if a young person was confronted with abuse in which the "p word" was used, he/she may lack the "general knowledge" to decipher whether the word was used in a disparaging manner. In comparison, however, an older person who may have lived through the prominence of the right wing British National Front decades of the 1970's and 1980's, may easily translate the word for the malevolent meaning it actually holds. This very ambiguity, therefore, makes it increasingly difficult to establish whether prejudice has occurred and, it appears, that the greater the "general knowledge" the easier it is to distinguish between a prejudgment or a mere statement and a prejudiced vitriol.

Prejudice is also best explored by referring to the recent case of Dharun Ravi who was convicted in a webcam spying incident on 21 May 2012. Ravi, a former Rudgers University student was charged and convicted of using a webcam on a computer to spy on his roommate's sexual encounter. He deceptively captured his roommate, Tyler Clementi with his homosexual lover, and shared the images with fellow students. It was alleged that Clementi committed suicide as a result of this breach of privacy.

Ravi was charged with invasion of privacy, bias intimidation, and witness and evidence tampering. Judge Berman, presiding, added,

[Ravi] was not convicted of a hate crime. He was convicted of a bias crime, and there's a difference.

I do not believe he hated Tyler Clementi. He had no reason to. But I do believe that he acted out of colossal insensitivity. (Reuters.com May 2012).

Tyler Clementi's family believed that Ravi was "arrogant and mean-spirited" (ABC News 21 May 2012) and surreptitiously used his computer skills to monitor the websites that his victim frequented to finally assimilate that Clementi was in fact gay. With this new intelligence, it was alleged that Ravi was determined to embarrass his victim further and contrived to use the computer webcam to catch him, "making out with a dude" (Reuters.com 21 May 2012). During Clementi's encounter, Ravi tweeted that he had caught Clementi with his gay lover. His subsequent tweets boasted the plans to repeat the intrusions again and to publicise the findings.

Notably, the initial viewing on the webcam lasted only a few seconds and was disconnected by the perpetrator and his friend when the victim and his gay lover started kissing. The advertising of a second viewing, however, did not stand well with the jury who found Ravi guilty, allowing the judge to pass a 30 day prison sentence.

Some commentators believed that Ravi was subjected unfairly to hate crime legislation when the offence was not one of hate crime (see for instance, The Guardian 21 May 2012) and that a change in the law was necessary to avoid future cases being dealt with in a similar manner.

For our purposes, Ravi was charged with, amongst other things, *bias intimidation* and the judge when passing the sentence explained that this was different to *hate.* The ambiguity of these definitions and, indeed, the decision was highlighted by a number of tabloids who also questioned the validity of the sentence. Bias intimidation falls loosely into the hate crime spectrum, but according to the decision, the crime was not acrimonious enough to warrant it the appropriate label.

Returning to the judge's dictum, Judge Berman mentioned that Ravi acted out of "colossal insensitivity". Many people would agree that this was a reasonable conclusion to make as Ravi's actions were deceptive, crude and even immoral. But were Ravi's actions malevolent enough to fall into the hate crime spectrum? Again, this is down to a subjective interpretation. Although it was difficult to find a causal link between the perpetrator's actions and the suicide of the victim, some would certainly agree that if the basic rules of causation were satisfied, Ravi's actions could be seen as the cause and effect of the victim's suicide which make Ravi culpable enough to sanction him with a label of "hate".

Salient in this case is the process through which the perpetrator amassed reproaching information about his victim. The prosecution argued that Ravi's intention was to ridicule Clementi and surreptitiously set about collecting information. One could argue that this was, in effect, tacit evidence of his intention to cause "harm" to his victim and by following a particular method to collate information, Ravi was incriminated further. An incident which contains an element of *bias*, therefore, requires some form of structure or method and, as discussed above, these incidents are not abstracts but part of a wider social process. Ravi's actions, it can be argued, may have had some form of structure to them and, therefore, it is questionable whether he acted for the purposes of sheer adolescent ridicule or he really wanted to highlight something about the victim that he disliked.

The case of Dharun Ravi raises many issues, such as, the violation of privacy, intimidation, overt marginalisation and bullying (in this instance, *cyber* bullying). However, for our purposes of defining prejudice, it is difficult to place the offence in a definite spectrum of hate crime or even its many derivatives. As a comparison, this case study is devoid of any "ill will" for it to be rendered in the same bracket as the case of Ravi. Ravi's actions were criminally culpable and deemed to have had an

antipathy towards homosexuals which equates with the fact that he was evidently *prejudiced* towards gay people. However, this is not the same category of prejudice that was blatant in the television programmes, which leads to the point that there are different stratifications of prejudice. This example, it can be argued, played on reinforcing socially accepted stereotypes – a process which the media tends to effectuate rather well (Raney and Bryant 2006 p565, Kamalipour and Carilli 1998 p165) and one which is unlikely to cause real "harm". Evidently, people were *offended* by the nature of the programming and its *insensitivity* but this is not the same *colossal* insensitivity which Judge Berman highlighted in the Ravi case.

 "Prejudice" is enveloped by ambiguity and, in turn, can be given a limited definition (Crandall and Warner 2005). It is also evident from the case studies above that a conduct can become "insensitive" if it crosses predefined social and cultural norms. Much of the confusion arises because of the lack of understanding and appreciation of theses norms. For western societies, for instance, issues of anti-homosexual behaviour is regarded as offensive, whereas in South East Asia homosexuality is anathema (Nag 1996, Howson 2001) and most people may be indifferent to jibes, comments and behaviour amounting to anti-gay rhetoric. The case of Ravi, therefore, may have had a different conclusion if it was conducted in another part of the world and Ravi's actions may not have been categorised as insensitive or biased.

These different social and cultural norms account for the different stratifications in prejudice. What may, therefore, be an insensitive conduct to one group may not be to another. However, even though we have these different "levels" of prejudice, conduct which is prejudicial will *always* be offensive and, if it is offensive it is likely to be insensitive. It can be further concluded that there may be different levels of insensitivity, the case of Ravi points to colossal insensitivity which demonstrates a complete lack of empathy with the victim. However, most people encounter comments which may be deemed as insensitive and the context in which it is said is a pre-cursor in deciding whether the comments are in relation to prejudice. Ravi is an important example because it exposes the dichotomy in people's conclusions. Sympathisers of the victims were highlighting the need for Ravi to be tried under American Hate Crime Legislation, while some sympathisers (mainly from the gay

community) felt that the case could not be considered as hate. Some commentators supported the case for bullying, while others demonstrated for a change in the Hate Crime Legislation to exclude perpetrators like Ravi falling into the Hate Crime ambit.

Academic Definitions of Prejudice and Discrimination

While Allport (1954) covers discrimination in some depth, the main criticism remains that this study may now be out dated since the nature of prejudice and discrimination has changed to a more subtle, covert form which Allport could not have predicted. Moreover, authors such as, Pettigrew (1980) identifies the complexities in defining what prejudice actually is and asserts that there are different levels or strands of prejudice ranging from those that have minimal effect to those that are generally malicious in nature. While Pettigrew generally recognises institutional racism as one of the new forms of prejudice, there is very little reference to how this form of prejudice affects the victim.

Other authors, as with hate crime, are more preoccupied with behaviour and beliefs of the offender. Thus, Swim and Stangor (1998) take the view that to understand prejudice we must focus on the offender's views and prejudicial beliefs. The authors also posit the importance of studying the target's perspectives as well, in order to get a generic definition, which underlines the validity of victimology and which this study aims to assert. Notably also, Swim and Stangor reserve a chapter on stereotypes and stereotypical threats and the effect they have on victims of prejudice. A caveat of this study is to show the effects of prejudice and stereotypes on self-efficacy of the victims (see above). Thus, Swim and Stangor justify considering prejudice in terms of self-efficacy and discrimination in order to define the overall concept of hate.

A recent text by Whitley and Kite (2010), considers the psychology of prejudice and discrimination by looking at the psychological effects on a victim subjected to prejudicial and discriminatory acts. This text is a broad reference which traces the effects on children, gender and sexual orientation as opposed to specifically race and religious prejudice and discrimination. However, with Whitley and Kite, similar to Swim and Stangor, asserted the importance of studying stereotyping and social categorisation as an integral part of research into prejudice and discrimination. It would also be fair to surmise that since this study takes into consideration the effects of prejudice and discrimination on the victim, the research ventures into the broader, albeit fundamental, aspects of psychology. Thus, Eysenck (2012) provides a good reference as does Fulcher (2005) and Webb (2008).

Breen's (2006) important text covers prejudice and discrimination in detail as she sets out to explain what it is like to be on the receiving end of stereotypes, prejudice and discriminatory actions. While Breen uses case studies to provide an overview of experiencing religious and racial prejudice, the excerpts are focused upon motivating the reader to consider the actual effects of prejudice and discrimination. However, what is important is that Breen also realises that we can best understand prejudice and discrimination if we consider what the real life experiences are and it is through this that we can create strategies to tackle the issues effectively. In addition to Breen, Swim et.al. (1998) also posit the importance of studying lived experiences in their article, "Experiencing Everyday Prejudice and Discrimination".

With regards to discrimination a number of texts cover this vast subject area and, again, most tend to deal with the legislation that attempts to curb the practice. Furthermore, discrimination in the workplace tends to be the slant towards which most of these texts lean. Hunter's (1992) text, "Indirect Discrimination in the Workplace" was used as a reference in this study as it provided an insight into this modern form of discrimination. However, most texts concentrate on the subjects ranging from gender discrimination in the workplace to age discrimination.

Discrimination against British Muslims is mainly covered by Abbas (2007) with contributions from Ameli (2004). Ameli concentrates mainly on what contemporary British Muslims expect from the government to protect their rights, while providing a generic definition of what discrimination means. Ameli also provides a pattern of discrimination and posits that discrimination as a broad issue can be classified as either subjective or objective. In other words, as this study asserts, it is valid to study discrimination from the viewpoint of the victim to ascertain subjective experiences of verbal abuse, threats, aggression, inequality and exclusion. Therefore, Ameli's interesting study, which is mainly quantitative in methodology utilising a structured interview technique, provides excerpts of what British Muslims have experienced throughout Britain, without concentrating on one particular area. This, therefore, provides snippets of experiences and is devoid of the rich data needed to carry out an effective study.

Stereotypes and Prejudice.

Characteristically, stereotypes are social constructs and they originate in every society because they are an integral part of its culture. Inevitably, they harbour negative traits and marginalise certain groups, in turn reinforcing group and individual subordination. It is these "negative traits" and, in particular, the notion of subordination that can adversely affect self – esteem and, in turn, the ability to fully integrate into society.

Stereotypes are defined as "a belief that associates a group of people with certain traits," (Brehm, et.al.1999 p 62). This belief, however, is usually wrong and thus poses problems. For instance, "stereotype threats" are regarded as a possible cause of academic failure because the student fears that his behaviour will confirm an existing stereotype of a group to which he identifies. Therefore, if a male student believes that boys generally under perform in mathematics, it may be possible that his performance in mathematics is hindered. Furthermore, Steele and Aronson (1995) found that when a student is subjected to a stereotype of a "fixed biological characteristic", such as gender or race prior to a test, his performance will be affected. . Furthermore, stereotype threats are largely concerned with the effect of a "fixed biological characteristic" immediately before a given test. The theory also relies on making the biological characteristic salient prior to the test. While this serves to highlight how academic performance can be hindered by a stereotype threat, the theory does not explore the repercussions of "generalised stereotypes" which we are subjected to on a daily basis.

Before exploring generalised stereotypes it is worth noting the effects of "stereotype threats" to understand how they affect people in everyday situations. Therefore, taking the same academic performance as an example, if a student presupposes that he is generally weaker in a given academic subject, it follows that he will underperform in that subject. Additionally, the teacher may also (albeit inadvertently) add to this presupposition by "accepting" that the student is generally weaker and thus fail to challenge him effectively. This self-fulfilling prophecy serves to further isolate the student who goes onto believe and "accept" his perceived view of under

achieving.   This phenomenon is also referred to as the "Rosenthal/Jacobson effect" (Rosenthal, Robert and Jacobson 1992), or more commonly, the "Pygmalion effect". Conversely, a student can also exceed his performance on the basis that he is expected to do so and in this situation, the student is reflecting the expectations of his superior.   It can be further argued that self-identity plays a crucial role in determining a student's academic achievement.   In line with this is the concept of self-efficacy – the belief that one can achieve a particular task (Bandura 2003). While certain factors such as, experience and social persuasions (encouragements/discouragements) can affect self-efficacy, it is unclear whether repeated, general stereotypes also have this effect.

Some contemporary stereotypes are overt in nature, while others are disguised and it is the latter that may adversely affect individuals because they are difficult to challenge.   Furthermore, the question is whether these "disguised" or "generalised" stereotypes have any effect on everyday life.   The obvious implication is that if academic performance may be adversely affected because of the very nature of stereotypes, it leads to the argument that generalised stereotypes may have an equally debilitating effect on everyday life.

Media stereotypes, in particular, are unavoidable because the very nature of news, advertising and entertainment requires a wide audience to understand and assimilate information as quickly as possible.   Arguably, the media "needs" stereotypes to allow its audience to make a quick, common judgement of a particular group, whether by race, class, gender or sexual orientation (Kirsh 2010) .   However, with the ever growing need to convey messages rapidly, stereotypes have become problematic.   They now have the tendency to project assumptions about particular groups of people into reality, they have the ability to prolong inequality and social prejudice and, sometimes, they can be used to justify the position of those in power. Most importantly, however, the groups that are being stereotyped have little or no control about how they are represented and ultimately stigmatised (Enteman 2011).

The hybridised nature of stereotypes, therefore, makes this area of study complex and challenging. In effect we are dealing with stereotypes that can have a positive effect and those that have negative effects. Amongst the negative stereotypes a

further division occurs – those that affect self-esteem and self-efficacy and those that lead to prejudice, subordination and marginalisation.

Stereotypes, Self - Esteem and Self - Efficacy.

This difficult and complex topic is best explored through the medium of sport, in particular football which is popular amongst British Muslim males. Zesh Rehman, to date, has been the only British Asian footballer to have played in the English Premier League. In his interview with the Daily Mail, Rehman felt that, "racism is not the obstacle for Asians in the game, it is more the stereotypes". That is, stereotypes about being too short, lazy, the "wrong" build, the "wrong" diet and not being able to play in all weathers were having a restrictive and negative effect Rehman further recalls,

They would always tell me to take up cricket instead of football, I was told directly to my face by an FA coach that I would not make it because I had the wrong diet, was scared of the weather and that I liked cricket more than football. (Zesh Rehman, Mail Online 30th March 2011)

Coaches such as Simon Taylor who, together with the FA Kick It Out initiative and the Asian Media Group launched the "Chelsea: Search for and Asian Soccer Star", are aware of the under representation of Asian footballers and the need for these footballers to play "outside of their comfort zones" (Mail Online 30th March 2011) away from community football leagues into more recognised leagues.

During observations at coaching sessions of mainly British Indian Muslim football players of a local community league, aged between 18-25, one player commented,

There aren't many Asians in the Premiership or the Championship because we are simply not good enough. By that I mean we don't have the ability. You can't be just good; you have to be exceptionally talented. Also, many of the Muslim lads don't have the commitment, they don't put the hours in. They have to go to the mosque or do something else and they don't find the time. The argument that we have the wrong height or build is just not relevant now, it would have been relevant 15 years ago but it's just not true anymore. You've also got to remember that there is a lot of racism when you start playing in other leagues, that's probably another reason why we don't play in other leagues. Pressure from parents is another reason, there's no support. (Unstructured interview 14th June 2012).

Another player, aged 18, remarked,

Maybe it's our problem we don't have players at that level. Some of the good Asian players have a proper attitude, they're stuck up and arrogant and they're not team players and they don't have a respectful manner, that's probably why they can't break into the other leagues. My father was happy for me to become a footballer, but as Muslims it's difficult for us. We don't drink, or party like some of the professional footballers so it's going to be hard for us to fit in. I'm just happy now playing in this league, with people that I've grown up with. (Unstructured interview 14th June 2012).

The situation becomes even more importunate when we get an insight into the beliefs of people involved in coaching or teaching sports. The following statement was made by a white, middle-aged football coach,

It's all about genetics. Some people are better at some things than others. I don't think that Asian's are genetically built to play football. They make great cricketers, but they don't have the structure, the frame to play competitive football. It's like black athletes who make great 100 metres runners which white athletes can't do, or South Africans who are built to play rugby.   (Unstructured interview with a "Sunday League" football coach/manager 17th June 2012).

Writers such as Burdsey (2007), therefore, argue that due to the exclusion of British Asians from mainstream football, they are unable to challenge both racial and cultural stereotypes. For Burdsey, the exclusion is so profound that some Asians have segregated themselves from predominantly white football leagues to play in all-Asian leagues. This forced segregation, Burdsey found, was mainly due to racist abuse, unfair treatment or even physical violence.

Asians are less likely to be interested in football is untrue and misleading. Football is played much more than any other sport in the UK by Asian participants of all generations, but the breakthrough into competitive and recognised leagues is elusive because of the effects of stereotypes and prejudice. Some British Asian players feel that they do in fact lack the ability to participate in the more recognised leagues and this is the very backlash of perpetuating stereotypes or what Rosenthal and Jacobson (1992) referred to as the "pygmalion effect", the self-fulfilling prophecy that they may only be good at football to a certain standard.

Such statements as, "you can't be just good; you have to be exceptionally talented" underlines the effect on self-efficacy, that is, players from this ethnic group are questioning their own ability to perform at the higher level. There is a sense of resignation that they cannot and will not be able to perform as professional footballers and some of the language as well as nonverbal communication used were, evidently, self-defeatist. In addition to this was the player's underlying belief that they were generally good competitors when they played in their own Asian leagues. Within their own homogenous groups they excelled, were physically audacious when making tackles and were vocal on the pitch when things did not go according to plan (field notes, 14th June 2012). When it was pointed out that they had the capabilities to compete in other leagues, some players became reticent, pointing out that some Asian players may look good here but these same players pulled out of physically demanding tackles when playing against their white counterparts and could not give a valid explanation why (field notes, 14th June 2012). Writers such as Steele (2010) commented on a similar phenomenon when he observed a class of predominantly African American students in an educational setting. Steele found the students dominated the class, "worked vigorously and were apt to say impressive things" (Steele 2010 p87). In these situations, therefore, individuals that share the same characteristics tend to excel or even find the need to challenge and compete. Furthermore, there may also be a certain appeal and a sense of belonging when playing for a team that shares the same biological and cultural characteristics (Bradbury 2010). The players not only form a team but they form a "structure" through which they are able to express their religion, identity and culture. However, by doing so there is an added danger of further isolating themselves from the mainstream leagues.

Note also, from the interviews, the discourse about some players having an "attitude" especially when those players are aware that they are considerably better than the others. Hence, within the "homogenous" group itself, there is disunity between those that are considered to be adept and those that are not. These players are categorised as non "team players" or players that have adopted a performative identity, an identity which can now assimilate into the indigenous culture. This phenomenon must not be confused with another form of identity which some British Asians derogatorily refer to as "coconuts", in which the host assumes the role of the

indigenous identity and consciously disengages from his/her ethnic roots, hence the term coconut – brown on the outside but white on the inside (Gunning 2010, Eckstein *et.al.* 2005). While this form of cultural syncretism is generally frowned upon, there has been a dearth of research questioning this form of status-anxiety or "status-envy" amongst homogenous British Asian groups. Asians who are seen to be successful are subtly marginalised from within, probably because they have achieved what has been perceived as elusive to the majority, that is, achieving the status of an accomplished white person. This, in effect, is a stereotype in itself, that the ultimate success can only be measured by the standards of a white western majority (Howell 1998, Frankenburg 1993). Other comments are also worth noting. For the 18 year old player it was important to keep his Muslim identity and not having to drink or party was imperative in retaining his "Muslimness". Burdsey's (2010) study on Muslims in first-class cricket found similar concerns, that is, the desire to retain one's Muslim identity pitched against the passion for Cricket.

A similar correlation can be found with employed British Asians. Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1990) found, through their interviews, that British Asians were compelled to impress their employers (especially white employers) and worked harder for fear of losing their jobs even in an economic climate less conducive to redundancies. There is also a sense of being objectified as "the other" (Carrington and McDonald 2001) for both British Asians and other BME groups who find themselves, unquestionably, occupied with menial work or work that no other employee wants to do. This can also extend into shift work where minority groups find themselves working on the less popular and difficult shifts such as night and evening shifts. This was indeed the case with first generation immigrants (Herbert 2008) and may not be equally salient amongst the third and fourth generation of British Asians today. The first generation may have also carried with them remnants of stereotypes from the old Empire of Asians being "unreliable" and "lazy" (Quraishi 2005, Mahmud 1999) and hence, the requirement to work harder and prove otherwise.

However, contemporary British Asians do experience status anxiety in many different forms. There is a conscious or sometimes a subliminal awareness of being labelled as the "other" and hence, the obligation to dress appropriately or even to speak

English while disguising local and regional accents and dialects. In essence, there is a need to dispel the stereotypes of food, clothing and accent in the hope of assimilating within the host culture.

It is also worth mentioning here that British Asian identity in itself is complex because it takes an inconspicuous stance in wider British society (Bagguley and Hussain 2008, Najmi and Srikanth 2002, Williams 2001) and is sometimes denominated as a generic "Black" status. This may affect affiliation and self-conciousness and, thus, the existence of ethnocentric categorizations, such as, British Indian, British Pakistani and British Bangladeshi, which reflects the heterogeneous nature of their identity (Karner 2011, Ali et.al 2007, p347, Barker 2008, p258, Murphy and Wai-chew 2008, p122, Burdsey 2007, p10, Hussain 2005, p19).

Where does this leave us in terms of defining hate? Evidently, the stereotypes discussed above are not harmful *per se* but they do affect self-efficacy, self-esteem and identity. However, negative, generalised stereotypes also serve the purpose of marginalisation, their characteristics segregate individuals and groups and can be equally used by homogenous groups to create disunity and division from within. Common features of racism includes not just marginalisation but subordination and exclusion and this is achieved by categorising groups and individuals as the "other" (Herbert 2008) and stereotypes, therefore, work to expose these differences.

Ghuman's (1995) important work is useful as a guideline at this point. Ghuman interviewed first generation teachers from South East Asia to explore their experiences. One excerpt is useful here as an exposition of the effects of stereotypes,

A TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language) (male) spoke eloquently:

There were times when I disliked myself for being inadequate in English. Despite my best efforts I could not change my accent. I stopped talking in Punjabi. I started disliking everything Indian. Our dress, food, marriage system, politics and religion appeared flawed to me. I shunned the company of Indian people. I tried to make friends with the whites. I tried to become what now a days is called a "coconut" – black/brown from the outside and

white from within. I feel ashamed of myself now. It was a period of serious crisis in my life. (Ghuman 1995, p21).

Case study 3 also included the views of one of the football coaches whose comments indicate a discursively limiting inference of Asian footballers. It would be unfair to assume that this a commonly held belief, but nevertheless it is a belief which may be ingrained and affect the manner in which British Asian footballers are assessed at the grassroots level.   These comments also expose the white hegemonic structure of the sport (Alleyne 2011) and omit the experiential subjection to discrimination and exclusion of British Asian football players. To use Ghuman (1995) as a reference again, we can see a similar situation in the workplace, where the assessment and supervision of British Asian employees is inappropriately fastidious. Ghuman quotes a female white Head Teacher,

With Asian teachers it is the language: When I receive an application from an Asian teacher, I ring him/her up, ask a supplementary question. If I can't understand, I don't ask for references. Also many of them make elementary mistakes: head a letter incorrectly, do not sign off, or fill the rubric incorrectly. Then there are the usual; a few grammatical and spelling mistakes. (Ghuman 1995, p19).

It can be argued that the (perceived) incorrect use of the English language amongst British Asians was a stereotype some 10-15 years ago. It appears that with the 3rd and even 4th generation British Asians, language, including heavily accented English, is no longer a profound characteristic.   Over time, therefore, the British Asian diaspora has been able to dispel this particular stereotype, possibly due to the success in businesses (Ali et. al. 2008, see page 211, for a discussion of successful businesses and the stereotypes that this success may have caused), wider take up of education and proficiency in white collar employment. Examples of stereotypes are discussed in detail within the data analysis section (below).

As discussed above, hate and hate crime is a social process which involves a particular context, a definitive structure and an agency (Chakraborti and Garland 2009 Jenness and Broad 1997) as opposed to an abstract crime and prejudice and stereotypes used in a particular manner serve that very process.   The in depth discussion above illustrates how individuals see themselves and their place in a

wider society. The process of hate, therefore, can begin when an individual or group sees "the other" as disparate and disconnected from the main society. It has to be noted here, that prejudice and stereotypes on *their own* do not necessarily lead to hate, rather, these are a substantial piece of a wider process. Prejudices and prejudgments are constructed around stereotypes (Eckermann et.al. 2006, Dovidio 2005, Nelson 2009, Macrae et.al. 1996) and when we begin to deconstruct "hate" and try to find a working definition for it, stereotypes can be viewed as the "building blocks" of that process. To clarify, therefore, most stereotypes will only work to affect a person's self-esteem and self-efficacy, but when stereotypes become part of a "process" they become "extreme" and excessively negative in nature and, at this point, an individual or group can perceive itself as a *victim*. This is best exposed when we examine the effects on a homogenous group, sharing the same common characteristics.

Stereotypes, Subordination and Marginalisation.

For general comedy to work it must, invariably, rely on the use of stereotypes (Wagg 1998). Stereotypes, which are ubiquitous in nature, provide a "snap-shot" of the subject and the audience need to link onto this snap-shot quickly in order to understand the comedy. Good comedians are able to deliberately use common, overt, stereotypes within a controlled "play-frame" context (Berger 1997), allowing them to remain inside a temporal putative boundary. For instance, the British comedy series, *Little Britain*, tends to rely heavily on overt stereotypes, which include stereotypes of women, men, homosexuals, transvestites and ethnic minority groups, amongst others. The comedy, however, cleverly uses these stereotypes to create the humour by remaining within the "play-frame" context. Arguably, *Little Britain* maintains its success partly because it uses "clips" as a series of different scenarios, so a group of the audience may become the subject of ridicule for a short period of time and then the attention shifts to another social group, creating the effect that we are "laughing at each other". Most stand-up comedians also use this multifarious approach and tend to use a wide range of scenarios to create the same effect.

This theory, therefore, can be used to explain why certain examples of comedy have crossed the "play-frame" boundary and (for some) transgressed into insults. Programmes and comedy which rely on lampooning as their linchpin tend to run the risk of being perceived as offensive. Ashton Kutcher is another contemporary example. Kutcher, an American actor screened an advertisement for "Popchips" which involved him playing a number of characters looking for love and romance. One of the characters involved Raj, an Indian film director, which Kutcher played using an Indian accent and a painted brown face. This caused offence to some sections of American society and the advertisement was finally pulled by the advertising company because of its perceived "inherently racist" content (Larkin, The Guardian online, 3rd May 2012).

Hasan Minhaj, a comedian of South Asian descent found the advertisement offensive and issued a strong riposte underlining that stereotypes have the effect of "holding us (South Asians) back" (The Hollywood Gossip, 9th May 2012) from mainstream American society and designating South Asian people into "small boxes"

(ibid) and further, society will begin to see South Asian people as "docile …fixing computers" (Minhaj, The Hollywood Gossip, 9th May 2012).

The first caveat from this case study is the manner in which recipients contextualise the stereotypes. Minhaj sees it as exclusionary, an attempt to marginalise and further denigrate a minority group. Most articles following the Kutcher incident, emphasised the actor painting his face brown without further exploring its ramifications. Minhaj, however, implicitly linked the act of painting a white face brown to that of minstrelsy, a dated parody which ridiculed African American slaves (discussed below). Others also took offence at the act of painting one's face to represent another race. Writer, Anil Dash, rebuked:

Naturally, a bunch of us (initially mostly Indian diaspora members whom I follow on Twitter) started complaining about it, and a number of like-minded allies also registered their offense as well. I can't imagine I have to explain this to anyone in 2012, but if you find yourself putting brown makeup on a white person in 2012 so they can do a bad 'funny' accent in order to sell potato chips, you are on the wrong course. Make some different decisions. (Larkin, The Guardian online, 3rd May 2012).

It could be further argued, that Minhaj like others of the same ethnic background, could have also picked up on the semantics of the advertisement. Thus, Raj, a Bollywood director who has been involved in some "172 films" is a stereotype referencing lack of attention to detail – an offshoot of "complacency".

Making sure that comedy does not transgress into offence is very difficult. It appears that, inevitably, one social group will always be affected by "structured" comedy or humour. *Little Britain*, for instance, was criticised for its parody of white working class people in Britain. Portrayal of class, therefore, relies on significant identifiers such as dress, living space by using the connotation of "council estate" (Edwards et.al. 2012), large families and manual labour. These negative stereotypes then provide the viewer with a portrayal of a despised, "parasitic" under-class. This type of protracted stereotype, therefore, has the pejorative effect of excluding a social group from mainstream society.

The risqué nature of comedy is well documented. Alexie Sayle, comedian, resorted to "alternative comedy" and once advanced,

The important thing about racism is oppression. I won't do stuff about Irish or women or blacks or Pakistanis, because they are oppressed and I don't want to make that oppression any greater. (Quoted in Ross 1998, p101).

The putative boundaries of humour can be easily transgressed when the teller of the jokes relies solely upon ridiculing one social group. Comedians such as Bernard Manning and Jim Davidson employed racist stereotypes to elicit humour in the British pubs and clubs of the 1980's and pointed out that they could not be classed as racists since they were only "telling jokes". However, in the employer's liability case of, *Burton v De Vere's Hotels* Ltd. (1997), two young women of Black, Caribbean descent were employed as casual waitresses at a hotel in Derby. They worked during an evening shift to cater for a substantial number of men belonging to an organisation. The guest speaker for the event was Bernard Manning, a comedian, notorious for racist and sexist humour. During his performance he made the two women the butt of his jokes. Manning proceeded by making jokes about black men and their sexual organs, used the "n-word" on a number of occasions and phrases which were considered both racist and sexist such as, "darkies were good at giving blow jobs". Manning then proceeded to incite the audience against the two employees, creating an atmosphere which encouraged behaviour amounting to harassment. The employees alleged that members of the audience began to make sexual and racist remarks, while one member tried to put his arms around one of the employees.

The two women argued that their employers should have protected them against this type of racist and sexist behaviour. The question was whether the employers could be vicariously liable for the actions of a third party and it was decided, in this case, that the employers were aware of the predictability of Manning's humour and, thus, should have done more to protect the waitresses.

The Burton case shows that racist and sexist comedy has a malevolent effect of ostracising a particular social group when negative stereotypes are used. Manning

used commonly accepted social stereotypes to coerce the audience and this case, therefore, illustrates that when negative stereotypes are used in a pernicious context they can escalate into harassment and *hateful* behaviour.

<u>Discrimination</u>

<u>Race and Slavery</u>

Malik (1996) argues that the social construction of race stems from the Enlightenment period in the 18th century. Thus, the Enlightenment period was important in that it established the modern discourse of race as well is creating racial ideologies. Furthermore writers such as Mosse (1978) argue that Europe during the 18th century was the birthplace of modern racism and this is also echoed by Goldberg (1993) who posits that the classificatory definition of race based on scientific, anthropological and biological ideology also finds its roots in this period. Notably, the pre-Enlightenment world upheld a "static social order in which man's relationship to God was fixed" (Malik 1996 p43) and thus the world was ordered to the will and knowledge of God. Therefore categories, divisions, inequalities and differences were a significant part of mediaeval thought. Natural order, in effect, was preordained. Kings, peasants and slaves had what Malik (1996) refers to as an, "allotted place" (Malik, 1996, p43).

Arguably, this became a foundation for the propagation of prejudices and prejudice, as well as superstitions, were used to describe and make sense of the unknown. In this unprogressive, isolated feudal European Society other races were unknown and different. Malik aptly quotes the 19th century writer, Sir Thomas Herbert who summed up the pre-Enlightenment view of Africans:

Their language is rather apishly, rather than articulately founded, with whom it is thought they have unnatural mixture...Having a voice 'twixt humans and beast, makes the supposition that they have beastly copulation. So as considering the resemblance they bear with baboons, their speech rather agreeing with beasts than men. (Malik 1996 p 43-44).

Solomos and Back (1996) note that the emergence of the ideas of races can be traced back to the Enlightenment period. Thus, the basic idea was that humans are divided into distinctive groups and this, therefore, shaped the political and scientific discourse of the time. Where the Enlightenment period, in essence, plays an integral part in the development of race theory, the impact of slavery, colonisation, exploitation and imperialism in the 15th century and 16th century is seen as a

significant part in the formation and development of racial discourse and that race and racial discourse in the US and Britain stems from the experiences of slavery and imperialism. For instance, the idea that Africans are perceived to be inferior in the hierarchical order of humans, stems from the experiences of slavery.

There is a discrepancy with regards to the period of antiquity. While records of "dark" or "blackskinned" (Solomos and Back 1996, p33) people were found amongst Egyptian and ancient mediaeval societies, it is a point of contention whether these terms were used in a derogatory manner or were simply incidental (Snowden 1983, Bernal 1987, Thompson 1989).

Empirical, biological and anthropological analysis of different racial groups was evidenced in the 18th century. For instance, Pieter Camper anatomised and measured facial angles of people from different racial groups to categorise them on the basis of stature and beauty (Solomos and Back 1996). This was followed up by studies attribute it to Franz Joseph Gall who exacted cranial measurements of members of different races in order to classify them according to intelligence. Others followed suit and a German theologian Johann Kaspar Lavater went as far as suggesting that physical appearance was a determinant of moral and intellectual ability.

These writings, therefore, formulised race and asserted that races can be categorised into different physical, biological and psychological categories. Solomos and Back (1996) suggest that during this period there was an "obsession with measurement and statistics which generated a conception of race founded upon the idea of difference and inequality" (Solomos and Back 1996 p34). A divergence of ideas during this period challenged the Monogenism school of thought which propagated theological framework that all beings irrespective of colour were descendants of Adam. Polygenism, therefore, posited that people of different races had innate characteristics which were finite. Thus, a European settled in Africa would always present his characteristics despite the change in environment.

Biddis (1979) notes that the latter part of the 18th century defined race in different terms,

Before 1800 race was used generally as a rough synonym for 'lineage'. But over the first half of the 19th century 'race' (and its equivalents in a number of other European languages) assumed an additional sense that seemed, initially, tighter and more scientific. This usage was evident, at its simplest, in the growing conviction that there were a finite number of basic types, each embodying a package of fixed physical and mental traits whose permanence couldo only be eroded by mixture with other stocks. (Biddis, 1979 p11).

There has been a great deal of research on slavery as an institution in itself and most writers see slavery as a consequence of racism not the cause (Williams 1944). It must also be noted that there was a need to justify slavery as an institution, primarily on the basis of religion but also on economic and social factors (Blackburn 1988). For instance Cox (1970) discussed the exploitation and denigration of some groups as inferior, in order to use these groups for economic purposes. He, therefore, argued that these messages were propagated widely by the exploitative class to stigmatise certain groups as inferior. Furthermore, slavery as a historical event shows that attitude to race and skin colour changed fundamentally from the 16th century up to the late 18th century. Race, therefore, was perceived through economic domination, European expansionism and changing scientific, political and cultural ideology (Jordan 1968, Wolf 1982). Arguably, slavery as an institution, shaped the way in which Europeans began to see Africans and in particular skin colour (Patterson 1982, Lovejoy 1983). Within slavery and its successor indentured labour divisions became evident. Some slaves and labourers were considered more hard-working than others and Europeans developed a system of acknowledging which slaves were more trustworthy and reliable. Indentured labourers, provide a good example here. South East Asia experienced a distinct categorisation of indentured labourers representing clear examples of how racial stereotypes were deployed by plantation owners to manipulate recruitment from India and China (Quraishi 2005).

Solomos and Back (1996) also note that the images of slaves were not fixed but changed as socio-political ideologies changed during the period. The general perception of slaves, therefore, were that of commodities which in turn labelled ordinary slaves as property and were treated as such, bought and sold by masters through simple economic transactions (Walvin 1992).

Harriet Ann Jacobs' personal accounts of slavery in her memoirs, Incidents in the life of a Slave Girl, also highlights the commodification of slaves as property and the struggle of ordinary African American slaves to attain freedom from their masters. However, to be a free slave, Jacobs notes, was not the same as being completely free. Thus slaves were mostly seen as property belonging to an owner. Jacobs' memoirs are also useful to explore how Europeans perceived the African race. The African was in need of reformation, he had to be controlled and domesticated through brutal punishments and he had to be aware that his position in society was a Divine imposition and not a man made one.

Taking Jacobs' writing into consideration-the discourse on race was dependent upon colour. However, putting this into context, Malik (1996) rightly points out that the discourse on race during this period was influenced by writers working in colonies and studying "savage people" (Malik 1996 p92). These writings, therefore, were devoid of any humanistic approach and thus led to more emphasis on colour. Imperialism and colonialism also influenced racial discourse (Mannoni 1964) and developed images of the Other. These images were mainly based on stereotypes but also relied upon the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised (Pratt 1992). Solomos and Back (1996) note that, even though images of Africa and Africans were tailored and manipulated since the 18th century, imperialism and colonisation,therefore, "... Helped to invent new images and to institutionalise specific forms of class, gender and racial relations." (Solomos and Back 1996 p46). These images shaped ideas about race especially during the Victorian period (Bolt 1971) and formed a key part in racial discourse, politics, society and the British empire in relation to Africa and India. However, the Victorians did not have any personal contact with the colonised people they assumed responsibility for, but relied upon sources and information from the media to formulate their opinions (Sharpe 1993, Dirks 1992).

Furthermore Solomos and Back (1996) emphasise that the Victorians provided a colonial view of race, but this view, they argue, was not fixed and unchanging. What this created, however, was a scrutiny of cultural differences and this became another medium through which racial discourse could now be debated. For instance, the writings of Franz Boas in the early 1900s emphasised the importance of cultural difference, replacing theories of scientific differences but his theory largely redefined racial discourse and enlisted scientific racism albeit in a different guise (Malik 1996, Koutokidis et.al. 2012, Rich 1990, Tilley 2011).

The early pseudo-scientific conceptions and distortions about race highlighted above directly influenced Nazi racial policies. In turn, arguably, contemporary racism has been influenced, to a certain extent by fascism and Nazism (Burleigh and Wippirmann 1991) and the term racism itself is related to the implementation and rise of Nazi political and racial ideology. Nazism is also directly linked to anti-Semitism which is in turn linked with the isolation, marginalisation and hatred of Jews. However, arguably, with anti-Semitism there is a form of intersectionality since anti-Semitism for the Nazis was not just about the hatred of Jews on the basis of religion but also the hatred of Jews on the basis of their race.

Moreover, Erickson (2007) notes that demonising requires interplay between what is moral and what is immoral. The demonised will always be regarded as the delinquent who acts against the moral fabric of society. Also demonisation occurs during periods of uncertainty and, again, the treatment of Jews during World War II in Nazi Germany is a good example of a moral panic in which the majority created a scapegoat for the purposes of pointing out the deficiencies during an uncertain and ambiguous time for the country.

Arguably, then, demonisation involves the symbolisation of evil. Islamophobia represents that a particular religion has evil motives. This, in effect, is media representation seen in coverage of stories ranging from suicide bombers, gang based crimes, to the recent cases on paedophile rings. Muslim men, according to the media are an embodiment of evil, who are often visually represented by the media as lacking humanity thus, drooping eyes or mugshots imply drug abuse and these images are dressed as close-ups with darkened backgrounds to stress the evil and menace.

An influx of migrant workers into Europe, altered the mode of racial discourse further still and from the 1970s onwards, Europe witnessed a rise in right-wing politics which was vociferous, intimidating and violent. British Asian migrant workers, for example, experienced firsthand racism by extreme right wing groups such as the National Front and lived with the reality they had never experienced before. In fact Modood and Berthould (1997) refer to the experiences of racial discrimination as a "commonly experienced problem by those whom white people thought of as coloured or black" (Modood and Berthould 1997, p294).

The perceived influx of migrant workers was seen as a threat to the host country both economically and politically. It was no surprise, therefore, that ghettoisation was common where British Asians preferred to live in areas dominated by residents sharing their cultural and racial background. This was not only economical (since housing in these areas were cheaper) but fundamentally safer and secure for families who had very little experience of British life and culture. In northern towns in East Lancashire (where this study has been undertaken) some of these areas still retain the archaic remnants of 1970s Britain in which third and even fourth generation of British Asians choose to remain. It is not clear why this trend has continued but could be due to cultural and familial bonds since British Asians tend to live within extended family units (Modood and Berthould 1997).

The immigrant communities were successful in adapting to a new environment and shaped culture and identity based on changing environmental pressures. (Young 1990, Hall 1988, Modood and Berthould 1997). Moreover, Modood and Berthould posit that ethnic identity amongst British Asians was "politicised" (Modood and Berthould 1997 p 290) and took on a more assertive nature towards the end of the 1980s. This assertiveness was a front against,

Feelings of not being respected or is lacking access to public space... Counterposing positive images against traditional or dominant stereotypes (Modood and Berthould 1997 p 290).

There was also need to project identities to challenge and enforce public acknowledgement, resource distribution and political representation (Gilroy 1987). What this period, therefore, arguably witnessed was the destabilising of the violent nature and politics of the far right movements, attempting instead to bring them more

in line with liberal politics and hence the creation of parties such as the BNP who aim to share the same platform as other mainstream political parties.

The experiences of racism also changed for most British Asians and all that finance gradually gave way to covert forms of racism, (Marchand and Parpart 2003) but this does not mean that race and religious hate crimes became non-existent. Since the case of Stephen Lawrence, hate crimes continued to shape the lives of many British Asians. However, institutional racism continues to thwart the lives of many non-white citizens in Britain (Jackson 2004) and this is more profound in areas of education and employment.

The Independent, Wednesday 27th of February 2013, for instance, noted that ethnic minorities missed out on Oxford University places and were half as likely to be overlooked for places on competitive courses compared to their white counterparts. For some critics this was blatant "institutional bias" (The Independent Wednesday 27th February 2013 p19) which targeted non-white applicants even though their grades were just as good if not better than white applicants. Additionally, the Parekh Report includes a similar case of institutional bias,

 Voices: Working in the NHS:

Black employees should feel lucky if they reach the status of ward or service managers as not many make it beyond that. Even then there is a price attached. Why white manages feel that their rights to manage are well earned, black managers are made to feel privileged when reaching that position. For many, the only way to grow into the job is through undying loyalty to those who pull the strings. Of course, that means distancing themselves from any blackness and be seen to be tough on people of the same racial background so as to show that racial affinity is not going to get in their way. Black managers who go against the grain are grounded and their heads will be the first to roll when a financial crisis arises. Frankly, it scares the hell out of me to see how divided we are among ourselves. (From a paper submitted to the Commission, The Parekh Report 2000 p 190).

Muslims, Stereotypes and Islamophobia.

Patton (in Flood et.al. 2012) explains the effects of negative media representations on Muslims. Through her comparative research in the UK and Australia aptly titled, "People Think Our Lives are Dark", she found that the othering of Muslims was mainly through the media and political discourse and her project was aimed at defining Muslim identity in response to this process of othering, through photography as a medium of visual representation. Having interviewed her subjects and encouraged them to provide self-portraits, she found that the majority used bright or illuminating light to address the issue of enlightenment and counter-address the issue of darkness. Her subjects explained that the media had portrayed them as an integral issue of "war against terror" and this had, metaphorically, cast them in an indelible darkness.

As an issue of victimology, Patton's work clearly identifies that Muslim women, in particular, experience a sense of otherness, a segregation which ultimately condemns them to a point that they cannot function within mainstream society. Another reason for this otherness is the reliance on stereotypes of Muslims in western media. Patton analysed a drawing created by one of her subjects which she entitled, "life beneath the burqa" (Patton, in Flood et.al. 2012, p73), in which the artist colourfully depicted flowers blooming on the ground underneath and around the wearer of the burqa. For Patton, this was a challenge to the stereotypical view of women in burqas, visually exemplifying the liberating feeling some women experience wearing veils and burqas which cover the whole body. The lived experiences of Muslim women in veils, therefore, is different to the perceptions of (especially) western societies, in that the veil is metonymically representative of Islam *and* female oppression within a patriarchal framework.

Racialization is not just a phenotypical issue, but is much broader and incorporates culture and religion (Sinno 2009) through which the process of othering occurs. Colonialism and colonisation, for instance "fixed" the identities of natives on phenotypical lines as well as culture and religion (Quraishi 2005), but the process of othering is also possible in societies which has a broader and diverse linguistic,

religious and cultural context. Chadha and Kavoori (2008), for example, illustrate the process of othering of Muslims in Indian cinema through exoticism,marginalisation and demonisation. Chadha and Kavoori argue that the 1950's were witnesses to films portraying Muslims as the "exotic other", descendants of Persian rulers who spoke "persianised" Urdu and ruled over subjects with distinct religious and ethnic diversity. Films such as *Mughal-e-Azam*, *Taj mahal*, *Humayun* and *Pukar* belong to a genre of romanticism and exoticism which saw Muslims and Muslim culture as somehow different to mainstream Indian society, even though Indian Muslims trace their progeny to ancient India. Chadha and Kavoori subsequently identified a radical shift in terms of representation of Muslims in Indian cinema. In the 1970's and 1980's characterisation of Muslims in mainstream cinema was a rarity and Muslim actors were cast in very limiting and subordinate roles in comparison to the majority Hindu community who retained the main or leading roles. For Chadha and Kavoori, therefore, this was the process of marginalisation, which saw Muslims as merely implicit in the main narrative and sometimes tokenistic. During this marginalisation period the stereotypes of Muslims became prominent, thus Chadha and Kavoori add,

Indeed not only were substantial roles for Muslim characters few and far between during this period (1970's and 1980's), even these characters were defined in deeply stereotypical terms, marked by certain outward signifiers or what Umberto Eco has called "explicit codes" such as names, appearance, mannerisms as well as religious practises…that constituted the only basis for the construction of their "Muslim identity" within the context of Hindi films. (Chadha and Kavoori 2008, pp139-140).

According to the authors, the final shift to "demonization" occurred in the 1990's where Muslims took up more substantial roles but the pattern of representation had not just "shifted" but "altered" (Chadha and Kavoori 2008, p140). This alteration meant that Muslims played a key part in the narrative but occupied negative roles. Thus increasingly, they were seen as criminals, small time crooks, corrupt police officers and aggressors with a hatred for India or the "motherland". The stereotypes that we witnessed in the 1970's and the 1980's which were derogatory but benign had transformed into malignant generalisations in the wake of terrorism and "war against terror". This is further vindicated by Sethi (2002) who comments on ultranationalism in Indian cinema and posits,

It is perhaps ironic that the silver screen, which seems at the moment obsessed by the theme of terrorism (invariably of the Islamic variety), is swamped by Muslim characters like never before. These…films establish the "war against terror" as a dharamyudh or holy war. (Sethi 2002).

This is, therefore, another example of how the media propagates the "us" and "them" distinction.   It also appears that the process of demonization can be initiated, maintained and perpetuated by a dominant media infrastructure. Moreover, Chadha and Kavoori identify a *process* which starts of as benign and becomes progressively *hateful* and hostile. Therefore, the question is whether demonization as a stage in the continuum is hate per se or whether it is a stage prior to hate. It is further questionable whether it would be fair to surmise that Indian cinema has a general *hatred* towards Muslims because it "demonizes" Muslim characters.   A common sense view indicates that this is probably a discordant and an unfair generalisation.

In essence if we analyse the process further, demonization is a stage which goes beyond mere stereotypical and phenotypical representation. It is a stage which asserts a *dislike* to a group or an individual by apportioning blame squarely with the "outsider" or "out" group. The distinction between "us" and "them" is far clearer. The "other" is not only different but culpable and a threat to the normative values of a dominant society.

The BBC sitcom, *Citizen Khan* (2012), has also attracted a criticism from mainly Muslim viewers for its negative, parodial representation of Muslim families.   The Daily Mail (29th August 2012), for example, captioned,

Syed Arshadeem, of the Union of Muslim Organisations of UK and Ireland, said it was important to strike a balance between good comedy and the feelings of the community, but that 'a large proportion of Muslims will be unamused by the negative stereotypes because it leads to misrepresentation'. One viewer said the programme had 'ridiculed' and 'insulted' Islam, adding it had been a 'mocking show'. (The Daily Mail 29th August 2012, by Saira Khan).

Saira Khan's interesting article has a different slant to many of the criticisms attributed to this sitcom. She believes that the perpetuation of religious stereotypes that this programme enlists are harmless and British Muslims should have the ability to laugh at themselves,

The best nationality based jokes are firmly rooted in cultural and, often, religious stereotypes. This is the basis of the best Jewish jokes. It has to be said that these are difficult times for British Muslims, even without the ill-informed prejudice that links our community to Islamist terrorists. There is also the problem in some old mill towns of the North where groups of British Muslim men have been grooming vulnerable white girls for sex. In the same northern towns, concern has been growing about the rising cost to the NHS of looking after the children of so many first-cousin marriages, who often suffer from birth defects and other health problems. And in Chester earlier this month, a married British Muslim couple were sentenced to life imprisonment for murdering the teenage daughter they believed had become too Westernised. That's why Citizen Khan, the first sitcom to be centred on British Muslim family life, is so important. Yes, it deals in stereotypes. But that is because they do exist in real life. Crucially, if we British Muslims can't laugh at ourselves, with all our cultural tics and traits, and also allow the rest of Britain to laugh at us, too, there's a real danger that our community will end up ostracised and isolated. (The Daily Mail 29th August 2012, by Saira Khan).

In the Data Analysis chapter, the views of British Muslims is also included which correlate with the views of Saira Khan.

Nooruddean Choudry, on the other hand, in the *Guardian* composed his concerns about the Euro 2012 football competition, in June 2012:

For a start, as a British Muslim, I am unsettled by the sight of England supporters dressed as Christian knights and jovially waving Crusader shields at the European championships in Poland and Ukraine. Footage of last night's cagey opener with France was interspersed with close-ups of young men dressed in the armour of Knights Templar hordes. There's an irony in the fact that images of Polish supporters chanting antisemitic slogans and giving Nazi salutes have been met with such deserved outrage, but to brandish a sword and recall the brutal and bloody invasion of Muslim lands is portrayed as harmless banter. (Euro 2012: I want to be an England fan and a Muslim. Why's that so hard? Nooruddean Choudry. The Guardian Tuesday 12th June 2012).

Not surprisingly, this journalistic piece received a significant amount of comments from readers and most of the writer's arguments were rejected with derision.

The media, therefore, creates a moral panic which relies heavily upon incessantly reinforcing negative stereotypes. For instance, the 9/11 and 7/7 incidents increased Islamophobia and violent fanatical Asian men were now classed as fundamentalist suicide bombers (Kundnani 2001). Notably, following the 9/11 incident local Americans began a spate of unwarranted attacks upon innocent people who vaguely resembled Muslims. Sikhs were, therefore, subjected to physical violence in some American cities because their turbans and beards were mistaken as attire worn by Muslim fundamentalists (Massey and Tatla 2012).

The Runnymede Trust (2004) provided a definition of Islamophobia which was a fear of Muslims which was unfounded and hostile. Bravo Lopez (2010) also provides a similar definition as a fear of or prejudice against the religion of Islam and the media tends to intersectionalise race and religion. Similarly, other writers such as Meyer (in Morgan and Poynting 2012) take this further and posit that this is akin to demonisation, which requires the creation of folk devils. For Meyer, therefore, the media focuses upon individuals or groups who pose a major threat to society. These folk devils are portrayed in a negative stereotypical manner and Are devoid of any positive characteristics thus becoming the enemy or becoming demonised.

Meyer (in Morgan and Poynting 2012) uses the example of Abu Hamza, imam at a mosque in London, as a classic example of a folk devil portrayed by the media as evil with extreme tendency tendencies,

...an archetype of the Muslim terrorist the folk devil at the heart of moral panics about dangerous islam... The media construction of folk devils works most basically on the level of Lexis, i.e., the choice of words. The Sun continuously uses adjectives and nouns in denoting and connoting evil to describe Abu Hamza. He is constantly referred to as "evil" "vile" "menacing" or "wicked". (Meyer in Morgan and poynting 2012 page 182).

The complexity of the British Asian identity was discussed above. However, a British Asian *Muslim* label creates further antagonism to an already hybridised identity. Questions of "British Asian" identity are much more relevant now then what they

have been two or three decades ago. The 1980's, in particular, grappled with the notion of "race" in which people were conscious of an obvious *difference* between the different racial groups in Britain and were marred by the ideology of the "skin head" movement. The 1990's, however, posed further questions of "integration" and "assimilation". Subtle differences such as dress, language and food were now at the forefront of racial discourse.   Two decades on, British Asian identity has been "shaped" and influenced by events that have occurred since the 1960's and yet struggles to be understood and recognised by the wider British society.

This hybridised British Asian identity (Godiwala 2003) has found itself a subject of research a few times, but its *effect* has not been fully investigated. Culture, from a sociological point of view, plays an important part in linking an individual's sense of self to society. This "sense of self" is referred to as *identity*. Identity and culture, therefore, co-exist and it may not be possible to have one without the other. Writers such as Kidd (2002) suggest that identity allows individuals to rationalise who they are and how similar or different they are to others. However, identity can be shaped through experiences and events. For instance, the identity of an individual would have been different in the 18th and 19th century compared to an individual's identity today.   The 18th and 19th centuries were dominated by industrialisation and urbanisation and identity was formed around work and, to a greater extent, class structure. Marxists would argue that class struggle and the inequality of wealth dominated the lives of people in that era, leading to cultural conformity and value consensus. Conversely, modern society allows individuals a great deal of *choice*, thus denouncing conformity. More importantly, this choice allows individuals to be different from one another and, consequently, there is a tendency to come into conflict. Baumann (2007) suggests that postmodernism allows individuals to pick and choose the identity they want. These choices can differ, not just individually, but on a daily basis. The analogy is that of a shopping mall where, as an individual, a person can *choose* an identity from a wide array of choices on offer. Sociologists view this as the "pick and mix" culture prevalent today.

It appears that Baumann's theory may not be applicable since the hybridised identity, characteristic of British Asians, involves certain constraints, such as language, dress

and religion. For Baumann's theory to work, an individual should be able to break free from such constraints. Arguably, the generation of British Asian's brought up in the 1980's, for instance, would have had more constraints, demands and pressures compared to contemporary British Asians. However, some aspects of the British Asian identity and culture still mirrors that of three decades ago, more strongly in areas of religion and dress.

The Observer (10 June 2007) posed the question, "What does it mean to be British?" (an article which was written mainly to question the effects of the 7/7 London underground bombings). It reported,

An official inquiry after Oldham (riots)… spoke of the danger of a 'creeping segregation' in British society (The Observer, 10 June 2007, p19).

This *segregation* is all too common in social policy areas, in particular, education. Evidently, in colleges (especially in the north of England) a *sub culture* exists and British Asian young people are an integral part of this sub culture.

Further education in colleges and sixth form institutions caters for students between the ages of 16 – 19. During these years a sense of self has already been formulated, but a sense of *belonging* becomes paramount. There is a need to behave in a particular manner, to dress and even to talk in a particular manner. Consequently, in the college classrooms and the canteens two different cultures tend to emerge and a clear division of British white and British Asian groups are evident. Arguably, this form of "self-induced" segregation is partly because people tend to gravitate towards others that have something visibly common to them. However, there may be another sociological explanation for this behaviour, possibly uncertainty, lack of trust or simple misunderstanding between the two cultures. It can be assumed, therefore, that young people have already realised, albeit inadvertently, that British society is made up of different cultures, norms and beliefs. Their behaviour in educational establishments vindicates this and in addition to this realisation is the sense of difference (Hall 1998).

In Britain, "British Asian identity" is largely misunderstood. Furthermore, British Asians, in particular students, have been under-researched . Bhatti (1999), for instance, identified,

…for several reasons the generation of British Asians in the late 1980's and early 1990's is a generation worthy of serious study. In terms of ethnography, Asian children are an under-researched community. (1999 p2).

Furthermore, Bhatti also notes, "Asian children are poised at the intersection of ethnically and socially diverse cultures…" (1999 p1) when giving her reasons for conducting the study. There is as, Bhatti puts it, a need to balance their lives between home and school (1999 p1) and this balance is often precarious.

However, Bhatti's subject of research was first generation British Asian children, whose parents had opted for Britain for mainly economic reasons, leaving countries in South East Asia and East Africa. Since Bhatti's research, British society has changed dramatically. Social policy, for instance, has shifted to include "equal opportunities" and replaced thereafter to include ambiguous terms such as "multiculturalism" and "diversity". Second and third generation Asians are visibly more confident and this is evidenced by the fact that some Asians have managed to succeed economically. Bearing in mind that the measure of success for most Asians today is still economic, since the very reason for moving into Britain forty years ago was for economic purposes.

Since the 9/11 and 7/7 terrorist incidents, the concept of British Asian identity was once again scrutinised and questions such as "What does it mean to be British?" posted by broad sheet newspapers (The Observer 10 June 2007) supports this proposition. Inevitably, British Asian Muslims were largely affected; although it is unclear to what extent they have been affected.

In practical everyday experience, though, what does this mean? Do British Muslims feel demonised? Do they feel that they are classed as immoral? Most of the participants discussed the difficulties they faced and this is included in the Data Analysis chapter (below).

<u>Demonisation</u>

Some writers juxtapose "marginalisation" and "demonization" when in fact, as this research aims to show, there is a fine distinction between the two. Demonization is the tendency to blame unwanted circumstances or events on external factors (Alon and Omer 2006) and/or an attempt to rid something from society which is deemed to be different. To illustrate, Jones (2011) in his study of the demonization of the working class looked at how middle and upper classes perceived lower working class people. The phrase "chav" therefore, identifies with dislike and hatred for the working class which was seen to be holding back British society. Through his research Jones noted some of the views of middle class business men about working class "chavs",

They tend to live in England but would probably pronounce it "Engerland". They have trouble articulating themselves and have little ability to spell or write. They love their pit bulls as well as their blades. And would happily "shank" you if you accidentally brush past them or look at them in the wrong way. They tend to breed by the age of fifteen…If they are not institutionalised by the age of twenty-one they are considered pillars of strength or get "much respect" for being lucky. (Jones 2011, p4).

The above excerpt is useful to analyse because when we look at the semantics it talks about a group which is despised. The speaker uses terminology which clearly defines the group, hence, they have "little ability", they "love their blades", they tend to "breed" and the implication that they are "institutionalised". If we surmise that hatred uses terminology to clearly define a group as "the other" it is evident that in this excerpt, the speaker has *hatred* towards working class people.

Notably, the term "demonization" has religious connotations and its roots can be traced to the concept of religious demonic narrative (Alon and Omer 2006) hence, the good versus the evil. In ideological terms, this is defined as a section of society such as the middle class, or a superior race in opposition to another section of society who is responsible for the destruction or misfortune of that society. Thus we have a clearly defined "enemy" which has undergone the process of marginalisation to become vilified and then demonised. However, for demonization to occur it requires a substantial, structured "mechanism". Hence, the reason why the portrayal of Indian Muslims in Indian cinema (see above) is difficult to class as demonization

per se or hatred *per se*, because it lacks "substance", "structure" and a clear process or "mechanism". This mechanism would take the form of socio-political propaganda which requires substantial public support; it would rely on reaffirmed stereotypes and prejudice, constructive, persistent discrimination and overt marginalisation. Thus, the negative portrayal of Indian Muslims in Indian cinema is devoid of this mechanism. However, Chadha and Kavoori (2008) raise a valid point that by juxtaposing a group or an individual with extremism is in fact a process of demonization, but this research aims to show that demonization requires a more stringent, methodical approach which has and maintains considerable support, as opposed to an ad hoc process and, therefore, the treatment of Indian Muslims falls squarely into the marginalisation category.

Closely followed by this is objectification and dehumanisation which is a process that categorises people or individuals as objects and this in turn clearly defines the demarcation of "us" from "them" (Berlet and Lyons 2000). A striking example would be the treatment of Jews in Nazi Germany. Jews were considered as the "other" not only because of their religion but also on racial grounds (Bartov and Mack 2001) and perceived by the Nazis as a national and international threat who maintained global economic control and a conspiracy to destroy Germany and the German people (Gordon and Wilkinson 2009). This common "enemy" was then singled out and objectified, hence "Judenhauser" (Jew-house), "Judenstern" (Jew-star) and the forced marking of Jews with the yellow Star of David, which then began to distance German society from the "enemy". This deliberate process of dehumanising made it easier to legitimise and legislate against the Jews and motivate Germans as complicit actors to the pogrom.

Adeney and Sharma (2007) remind us that *"the Jew"* was a social construct which objectified the individual as an expendable body or a "culturally manufactured trope" (Adeney and Sharma 2007, p133). By reducing the person to a *body* it became easier to legitimate its material use and destruction and an object or a body could not claim any rights or liberties. Dehumanization, therefore, is a form of "moral exclusion" as Kaufmann et.al. (2011) reinstate by quoting an excerpt from an interview with an SS Officer who was stationed at a Nazi concentration camp in World War II,

"Considering that you were going to kill them all…what was the point of the humiliation, the cruelties?" The writer asks Stangl, imprisoned for life at a Dusseldorf gaol, and he replies: "To condition those who were to be the material executors of the operation. To make it possible for them to do what they were doing". In other words; before dying the victim must be degraded, so that the murderer will be less burdened by guilt (Kaufmann et.al. 2011 p51).

Dehumanization, therefore, renders the perpetrator impunity. The process of dehumanization not only excludes an individual or a group but identifies it as *radically* different. In essence, *dehumanization*, albeit a separate process, is closely related to the process of *demonization* (Herz and Molnar 2012, Provost and Akhavan 2011). While some academics compound demonization and dehumanization as one of the same process, there is, however, a difference between the two. Hence, in terms of our definition of hate, these two processes are part of the continuum which leads to hate.

There has been a great deal of coverage on Islamophobia as a means of scapegoating individuals or groups perceived to be supporting terrorism. Morgan and Poynting's (2012) important collection of articles on global Islamophobia and moral panic shows how the concept of fear of Muslims has changed since 9/11and 7/7 and how the media operates to reinforce negative stereotypes of (in particular) Muslim men. Moreover, importantly, Morgan and Poynting (2012) attempt to show how the globally accepted phrase "terrorist" has mostly become synonymous with Islam , even when violent actions committed by non-Muslims can also equate to terrorism.

When it became apparent that Muslims were not involved and that, in reality, it was a right- wing nationalist with extremely anti-Muslim, strident anti-Muslim as part of his world view, the word "terrorism" almost completely disappeared from establishment media discourse. Instead, he began to be referred to as a "madman" or an "extremist". It really underscores, for me, the fact that this word "terrorism", that plays such a central role in our political discourse and our law, really has no objective meaning. It's come to mean nothing more than Muslims who engage in violence. (Greenwald in Morgan and pointing 2012).

Greenwald (in Morgan and Poynting 2012), therefore, tries to expose the double standards the author believes exists within western media which results in moral panic. This concept of moral panic is well researched and covered by a series of contemporary authors who aim to explain the disillusionment and discontent moral panic causes amongst Muslims in the West. Massey and Tatla (2012), for example focus on the media representation of Muslims during and after the Bradford riots and the process through which moral panic is created and disseminated using Cohen's (1972) theory of moral panic and directives. This process is also the focus of Noble (2012) and Meyer (2012), the latter, in particular, referring to how The Sun newspaper covered in the case of Abu Hamza al-Masri.

Furthermore, what these authors also cover are the important processes of hate, albeit not the main focus of their studies. For instance, Massey and Tatla (2012) comment at the lengths about the process of stigmatising which they believe results in increased Islamophobia. While Bonn (in Morgan and Poynting 2012) covers the social construction of Iraqi folk devils again referring to Cohen's model to show how through concern, hostility, consensus, disproportionality and volatility, Muslims become classed as folk devils and a collective focus of hate. He also refers to this process loosely as "elite engineered" moral panic (Bonn in Morgan and Poynting 2012,p82).

Another caveat, which is important to note at this stage, it is Cohen's (1972) important work explaining the five sets of social actors involved in the process of moral panic which include, folk devils, rule and law enforcers, the media, politicians and the public. This process of moral panic, therefore, is useful since it explains how the complex process of hate takes shape and how a majority can be cajoled into following socially constructed representations.

Wider anxieties of Islam and Muslims is well defined in the academic research by Al-Natour and Morgan (in Morgan and Poynting 2012) who explored Islamaphobia at a local level and investigated the impact of the development of a local Islamic school in Camden, a majority European town, in south west Sydney, Australia. The report described the opposition by local opponents who saw the proposal as Muslim encroachment of a historically based Anglo-Australian community. This article is

important in that it provides the views of local opponents, that is, the lived experiences of people who had a deep-rooted (albeit unsubstantiated) fear of violent Islamic fundamentalism. An excerpt is worth quoting here as it provides a "lived" fear of terrorism,

Sure we are racist if you call it racist not accepting a community that also happens to bear, and they've got terrorists amongst them, okay? We can't say they haven't, they have! If we let them in here, they want to be here because they can go and hide in all the country little farmhouses expert! (Al-Natour and Morgan, in Morgan and Poynting 2012 p103).

Furthermore, the authors quoted an account from the local press which reported a community meeting,

(A politician) first declared he was neither racist nor bigoted and resolved to do all in his power to stop the infiltration of Muslims. The school, he said, would deliver "culture shock as a means of social engineering". The final speaker presented a rather hysterical denunciation. When a questioner suggested all Muslims were not fanatics, he insisted Islamic teaching dictates that Muslims will never live in harmony with us. All in all, the forum turned out to be an indoctrination session designed to reinforce prejudice against Muslims, bizarrely interspersed with enthusiastic audience renditions of Christmas carols and our national anthem. (Al-Natour and Morgan, in Morgan and Poynting 2012 p104-105).

The authors further identify the incident had a potential to reach demonisation since the community meetings were aggressive, finger-pointing and created folk devils. This heightened anxiety led local people to become convinced that they were under threat and the development of the school would lead to other Muslims entering the area and leading to unprecedented problems. The authors further caught another anxious interviewee,

Muslims are not welcome here or anywhere else in Australia. This would be a sad day for Camden if the school was allowed to be built in our community. They have blatantly stated time and time again that they do not want to have anything to do with our culture or our way of life. All other nationalities and cultures which have come to this country has helped to build this wonderful country to what it is today. They have no respect for western ways and their ultimate goal is to force their beliefs upon us by whatever means possible. If the school goes ahead, the next thing will be mosques followed by riots and who knows what else.

I have nothing against the Muslim culture, but Camden cannot logistically tolerate this invasion. My family and I lived peacefully in the Canterbury Bankstown district 15 years until the 1980s. After large numbers of Middle Eastern Muslims had moved into Campsie Bellmore and surrounding areas major crime escalated to an alarming degree. These hoons had no respect for women, police or anyone else. I remembered an occasion when they sprayed (a) police station during a night of drive by shootings in the area. A crime epidemic will erupt if this proposal is approved and there will be grave consequences.(Al-Natour and Morgan, in Morgan and Poynting 2012 p109).

In effect, Al-Natour and Morgan, underline the importance of lived experiences when researching hate such as the Islamophobia. The rich amount of quotes above, explored deep seated fear of Muslims, a view that cannot easily be captured using just academic research. This study, therefore, aims to provide a similar in depth insight but from the perspective of those demonised or the folk devils themselves. McGhee (2005) who also tries to define hate rightly points that types of hatred such as prejudice (discussed in detail above) which can be strong and requires censure (for instance prejudice at work) but can also be innocuous such as preference to short people over tall people (McGhee 2005). McGee also argues that there are different strands or levels of prejudice and sometimes prejudice can be determined more as a subjective process as opposed to a consensus objective view.

The process of dehumanization involves a profound and aggressive dominance of one group over another. The dominance can be racial or pathological, cultural and economic (Ratele and Duncan 2007). In terms of victimology, therefore, the oppressed individual or group tends to internalise the stereotypes and understand and even define themselves by the objectifying knowledge and discourse used by the dominant group. Objectification, ultimately leads to categorisation. Hence, a homosexual male maybe categorised as a *gay man*, a Black female as a *Black woman* and a South Asian male as an *Asian man*. In contrast the dominant group retains the privilege, thus a white man or woman in a dominant white culture will be categorised as a *person*. In reality, the categorised groups are always seen in the terms of their *difference*, that is, how they differ from societal norms of that dominant culture (Ratele and Duncan 2007).

Dehumanization and *objectification* are interrelated. Therefore, to dehumanise is also to objectify. In the example above*, the Jew*, a social construct, was dehumanised as being subhuman *and* objectified, or even "animalised", as a body with materialistic commodity. In terms of praxis, therefore, the body was "utilised" for economic gain, hence the extraction of gold teeth, the use of human hair to make cloth, skin to make soap and lampshades and bones to be used as fertilizers (Rosenburg 1992, Ramen 2000, Spector 2005).

Dehumanization, therefore, provides a mechanism for destruction and rationalises the destruction of the Other. It is also a process that symbolically removes the Other (Charny 1999) from putative boundaries of group classification and removes the privileges the Other has of being treated as human beings. Dehumanization, in effect, can ultimately lead to genocide in which process the aggressor rationalises his behaviour. In terms of deconstructing *hate*, dehumanization is a process that relies heavily upon appealing to the ingroup to *hate* the outgroup (Pilisuk and Rountree 2008). This process permits the ingroup to label the Other as a cause of societal ills, misfortune, violence and economic deprivation. Ultimately, the process relies upon *desensitisation* by repeating and replaying negative images and stereotypes of the Other. In our continuum of hate, therefore, dehumanization reaches the apex and touches the boundaries of hate and we can thus conclude that to dehumanize is to hate. The issue is whether dehumanization precedes hate or vice versa.

Islamophobia could be construed as a contemporary form of cultural racism (Aslan 2009) which marginalises and excludes Muslims. The phrase "Islamophobia" is a recent one which was introduced possibly in the 1990s as a consequence of the emergence of a centuries-old conflict between Christianity and Islam. The emergence itself came at a time when the Cold War dissipated and Muslim minorities were perceived to be more visible and assertive in European society.

However, what must be clarified is that Islamophobia, which refers to the hatred of Muslims (the Runnymede Trust 2004), rarely manifests itself in the form of volatile action. It is, therefore, a belief, and an acceptance of misinformation which exposes itself in everyday life, such as in education and employment (Allen 2010). This then raises the concerns that this form of covert prejudice affects the lives of Muslims in

the form of segregated education, lack of opportunities, lack of promotion and a disregard for talent and skill. The effects of Islamophobia, as with other forms of racism, would inevitably result in feelings of isolation, humiliation (Yang 2000) and high expectancy of failure which affects achievement at school (Allport 1954). This then affects career aspirations and promotion, which may cause the victim to retreat and rely upon alcohol and drugs. During the study, a participant recounted the effects of racism and prejudice upon a relative of his and this is again dealt with fully in the Data Analysis chapter.

The participant went on to suggest that racism has an adverse effect on some people, which is also mirrored by academics such as Chin (2004), Johnson (2008) and Contrada and Baum (2011), who also suggest that prejudice and racism have psychological effects. Moreover, Yang (2000) references Goodman (1964),

For instance, a black child hated his skin colour so intensely that she vigorously lathered her arms and face with soap in an effort to wash away the dirt. (Yang 2000, p 159).

Johnson's (2008) study is worth mentioning here. The author conducted a research at an American university campus of students who felt that they experienced racism. Johnson recounts their experiences,

They also expressed how exhausting it was to deal with racism on a day-to-day basis and it often caused them to feel stress and anxiety. (Johnson, 2008, P1 to 3).

Johnson goes on to suggest that African-Americans demonstrated self-defeating behaviour which affected their studies, even to the point that some students believed that they could not access academic support.

In terms of Islamophobia, specifically, Rahman (2007), through his research of Bangladeshi families in the US post 9/11, found the effects of Islamophobia in many cases. For most families it was a matter of waiting to see what would happen. In other words there was a sense of resignation of the natural outcome to the 9/11 incident and as Muslims they would have to resign to their fate. Rahman also found reluctance among some participants to actually talk about Islamophobia and the effect it had on their lives.

It is, however, Rahman's first finding that is important for the purposes of this study. Rahman points out a sense of helplessness and this was found in the excerpts of this study which is dealt with fully in the Data Analysis chapter.

Like hate, Islamophobia can also be construed as a misnomer (Hopkins and Gail 2009), since the fundamental basis of Islam phobia is more about suspicion, fear or worry about an individual or group (Richardson 2004). Arguably, other emotions are also inherent and attributable to Islamophobia such as, hatred and hostility and to complicated the issue further it is unclear whether the hatred is actually against Muslims or Islam per se. It is further unclear whether the hate manifests as a result of animosity and even anxiety towards a different culture, religion or civilisation and whether the anxiety is a result of orthodox practices which is perceived to affect the way of life of the host community (Esposito and Kalin 2011).

Amongst the many different reasons for the hatred of Muslims, the perceived reluctance to integrate seems to be paramount. Hate groups, in particular, vocalise their frustration at not being able to understand why (they believe) Muslims do not integrate into the host community. The Channel 4 documentary, "Proud and Prejudiced" televised an EDL leader's views about Muslims in British society while he was driving through Luton,

Let's talk about the Burka. It's like you've got is just everywhere. Everywhere. They've got no place in modern society, burkhas. The burkha is just to complete… (he gestures to the camera aggressively) that to integration, that to Britain. (While driving he points out to the interviewer) this area here, I used to come down to this area with my mum when I was younger. We used to go shopping. This area now is, literally, just a complete Muslim area. It's got 19 mosques all within a stone's throw. And there are plans for another six.

Interviewer: So driving through this area do you feel unwelcome here?

EDL leader: Oh yeah, I'm completely unwelcome here, yeah. If I was walking the streets, I'd get battered. If I try to walk from one end to the other I wouldn't get out. 'Cause they get on their phones so quickly. (He points to a Muslim man walking on the pavement).

That one there, yes he is the leader.

The Muslim calls are to the EDL leader, who stops his car. An altercation takes place between the two.

EDL leader: What?

Muslim leader: Why don't you come here and speak to me yeah?

EDL leader: What have I got to talk to you about?

The Muslim leader walks up to the car,

Muslim Leader: You've got a lot to say about Islam and that in it? So why don't you say it now?
He leans aggressively into the car.

EDL leader: What do you want me to say? It's a sh** ideology. It's got no place. Shariah law's got no place in this country.

Muslim leader: Yeah what have you got? Go on tell me what do you stand for?

EDL leader: I stand for integration bruv I don't stand for paedophilic fu**ing practices.

Muslim leader: Yeah? What do you stand for? Come on tell me, racism, hatred.

EDL leader: How is it racism? How's it racist to oppose a fascist ideology?

Muslim leader: What are you, you're racist…

EDL leader: How am I racist?

Muslim leader: You hate Asians, yeah?

The EDL leader starts to drive away slowly while the Muslim leader tries to keep up on foot.

Muslim leader: Why are you running away for?

EDL leader: 'Cause I know what you're like bruv. You'll have about 100 of you here in a minute.

At this point the Muslim leader slaps the EDL leader hard in the face and walks off.

EDL leader: You fu**ing little chief!

He turns to the interviewer in the passenger seat.

EDL leader: You see? That is… that is Islam. The thing is you get out of his car, they'll be everywhere, watch. Watch. Watch how many of them now turn up, watch. That is what they like you see? Now you understand, in it?

He asks the interviewer,
…do you think that man (Muslim leader) is usually a nice, tolerant person? Do you think that he is bringing his children up to be tolerant towards our children? No. He's telling them we've got the Devil in us etc. etc. we're all gonna burn in hell fire. So when we say we're living amongst Islamist, fanatical Shari driven scum, who wish to completely destroy this nation…you just met one of them. (Proud and Prejudiced. Channel 4, televised 27th of February 2012).

This Channel 4 documentary provides others with an excerpt of real life experiences. Also, one could argue, that the presence of interviewers and cameras will have in some way adulterated the situation. Nevertheless, the altercation provides us with some evidence of how life might be like in con temporary Luton, South East England. Moreover, what is evident is the fear, hate and anxiety on the part of the EDL, a far – right group and a group of Muslims perceived as extremists. It is evident that both groups misunderstood each other and the aim of the documentary, it appears, was to highlight two extreme groups and how they went about conducting their activities.

However, Reyhana Patel, a British Muslim writer and researcher for the Huffington Post (29 February 2012), suggested that the documentary portrayed an inaccurate impression of extremism. On the one hand a group of Muslims who call themselves, Muslims Against Crusades (MAC) which barely amount to 100 supporters, but hold extreme views, were compared and contrasted to the EDL which has a massive

following, a structure and equally extreme views. For Patel, therefore, the documentary did not cover the view of Muslims who condemned the actions of the MAC and the views of the English who equally condemned the activities of the EDL. Furthermore, an important organisation, Unite Against Fascism, was also overlooked. This group condemns any form of extremism and could have provided a better insight into life in Luton, which was marred as segregated and fanatical.

Academic Coverage of Islamophobia

Notably, Kunst et al (2013) aim to show how Islamophobia is perceived and how Muslims adapt to this phenomenon to minimise the psychological effects of persistent negative exposure. The authors also validate that the media in the West is an effective, indiscriminate disseminator of negative portrayals of Muslims within European countries. Interestingly, the authors found that British Pakistanis perceived a lesser degree of Islamophobia compared to Arabs in France and Turks in Germany. In other words, discrimination experienced by British Pakistanis was substantially different to the Muslims in France and Germany. This important study, therefore, tells is that prejudice and discrimination vary from society to society and, according to Kunst et.al.,, French and German Muslims may experience prejudice, discrimination, racism and hate in a different way compared to Muslims in the UK. This is fundamentally important because the authors vindicate that different experiences have to be taken into account to explain how hate may be experienced.

Mythen (2012) also identifies the difficulties faced by British Pakistanis, in particular, those who have to negotiate their identities in an environment where institutional scrutiny has increased. Mythen's qualitative study tends to focus primarily on British Pakistani Muslims living in the North West of England. This study, however, differs in that it does not differentiate between different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, rather it aims to explore the experiences of British Muslims within East Lancashire. The author is also more concerned about the resilience of identity in a pressurised environment, as opposed to investigating the experiences of British Muslims. However, Mythen remains a good reference which vindicates a quantitative approach.

Mythen et al (2009) again used a qualitative study to explore the experiences of young British Muslims (in particular British Pakistani Muslims) against the backdrop of increased security, surveillance and scrutiny following 7/7. The authors believed that Muslim minority groups were subjected to pervasive scrutiny in the UK since the 7/7 events and faced difficulties in the face of increasing counter-terrorism legislation. The authors saw this as a form of victimisation which affected the everyday lives of young Muslims in Britain and by giving a voice to this group of people, they were able to provide an in-depth study of experiences. This reference, therefore, serves a key purpose in that it justifies the use of everyday accounts of people to define the concept, in this case victimisation.

Kuhle (2011) studied Muslims in Denmark and discussed the importance of interviewing Muslims in everyday life. His use of focus groups emphasised the need to understand Muslims in Europe as everyday people in non-– organisational settings, some as non-– practising and others as devout and highly practising. Kuhle also notes the discussions arising from focus groups and recounts Muslims discussing the problems of terrorism and how difficult a concept it was to define. What the author, therefore, is showing is that through every day conversations we can ascertain how individuals or groups perceive the world around them and how they fit into this complex society. Kuhle's work, therefore, provides a refreshing account of life in Denmark and notably, as this study shows, it was imperative for the author to focus his research in one area in Denmark (Aarhus) in order to obtain rich data.

As seen above, Muslims are mainly researched in light of their representation in the media. Richardson's (2009) work also follows this trend, but views journalistic media reporting as one of victimising Muslim minority groups and charts how Muslims have come to be seen following the war on terror agenda. Similar to other studies though, Richardson's work is not concerned with how media representation affects the daily lives of Muslims, but it is important in that it provides us with an insight into how contemporary journalism views social, ethnic and religious sameness/diversity.
Conversely, Yasmin Moll (2007) shows how the British Muslim identity has been shaped and altered as a result of 7/7 and how it attempts to find space and assert itself. Moll's work is important in this study as it highlights the complex nature of

British Muslim identity in contemporary Britain and how British Muslims attempt to balance Islamic values with British or Western ideals. Moll's work, therefore, indicates that there may be a difference of opinion as to how individuals subjectively view prejudice, discrimination and hate and owing to this complexity, individuals may react differently to similar circumstances. However, it has to be noted that Moll is more concerned about social construction of identity, but her work provides a good basis and may help in analysing data with regards to the experiences of British Muslims.

It is also worth mentioning at this point the study conducted by Johnston and Lordan (2012) which postulates the effects of discrimination and victimisation on the health of the victims. Similar to this study, the authors felt that researching the Muslim community with regards to discrimination is valid since the community has undergone changes in their representation following 9/11 and the war on terror agenda. Johnston and Lordan posit that anti-Muslim rhetoric increased after 2001 and there has been only one key study which considered the health impacts of discrimination against Muslims. The authors quote Lauderdale (2006) was found in that there was a low birth weight of babies belonging to mothers of Arab or Muslim names in comparison to other minorities in America post 9/11 and Lauderdale concluded that discrimination and experiences of it may have affected this anomaly. Another exception quoted by Johnston and Lordan was the study by Shields and Wailoo (2002) and found that unhappiness amongst South Asian and black Caribbean men was associated with the constant fear of living with racial harassment. Johnston and Lordan based their research on the effects on Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims and assert that stress-related illnesses amongst these minorities were particularly high. Also, importantly, the authors find that members of these communities tend to be insular, rarely mixing with members of other ethnic and racial groups and these affected issues such as finding employment and socialising. In essence, Johnston and Lordan raised important points for this study which helps the researcher make sense of the data collected through interviewing these groups. The only discrepancy appears to be the omission of Indian Muslims from this study and it remains unclear as to why the authors may have deliberately overlooked this group.

Allen (2010) covered Islamophobia in some depth, and it is a useful text which covers the history of the phenomenon in some detail. Allen identifies the roots of Islamophobia embedded in the crusade period where the religion was viewed sceptically and promoted as folklore or a fantastical myth. This is followed by an interesting chapter covering the Rushdie affair and the emergence of the "clash of civilisations debate" (Alan, 2010, p 37). Allen also notes that that the Iranian Revolution had a significant impact on the Western media and restarted the "otherisation" process of Muslims, with the Fatwa delivered by Ayatollah Khomeini viewed by many Western academics as an attack on Western values and freedom of expression. Allen, therefore, helps in conceptualising Islamophobia and provides a valuable resource for researchers. The author also noted, in his academic research for the National Organisation of Muslim police, that the CBM I report (1997) (Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia: a challenge for us all, quoted in Allen 2010) was the formal recognition of the existence of Islamophobia in public and political spaces. Moreover, the author posits that a decade and a half later Islamophobia is still in existence hence,

The rise of Islamophobia and anti-Muslim hate crime is morally abhorrent and needs to be countered... Yet to date, these communities (Muslims) and Islam more broadly, are often the subject of misunderstanding and vilification. Portrayals of their religion and identity still often seem to focus on terrorism, intolerance and issues such as the veil. While such portrayals are unjust and empirically untrue, they still appear to academically, politically and popularly inform perceptions of Islam in Britain and Europe. (The CBM I report page 7 quoted in Allen 2010, page 4).

Allen's report highlights empirical evidence which suggests that barriers to full participation and integration for British Muslims exists in education, employment and criminal justice. The overall result of this affected British Muslims in the socio-economic context, hence a disproportionate level of unemployment, below average GCSE results and higher rate of illnesses. In addition to this, Ansari (2004) acknowledges the otherness of Muslims in Britain especially during the 1980s following the Honeyford affair, the Satanic verses controversy and the Gulf War in the late 1980s. These incidents, according to Ansari, together with the assertion of British nationalism by far right groups such as the National Front, contributed to the

exclusion of Muslims from the fundamental notions of Britishness. However, Ansari notes that Muslims in Britain confronted the establishment notion of otherness during the 1980s, hence creating a British Muslim identity. This identity shaped the way in which British Muslims lived their lives, for instance, the choice of living in close-knit Muslim communities or living as part of an extended family. Ansari's work, therefore, has an important presence in this research since it provides an explanation of how British Muslim participants may perceive themselves. It may also provide an explanation as to why these participants choose to live and work in certain geographical areas and this information is significant when analysing data and drawing up conclusions.

Louise Archer's (2003) work, "Race, Masculinity and Schooling" is also another reference which supports the basis of this research. She posits that Muslim boys in Britain have been the centre of attention with regards to contemporary social and educational debates. They have been linked with global terrorism, fundamentalism, rioting, low levels of educational achievements and employment and an increased level of exclusion. Notably, Archer uses the lived experiences of her subjects to explain how they identify themselves, how they perceive and experience racism, education, employment and how they see their position in the wider British society.

The notion and importance of British Muslim identity is also captured in Ford's article in The New Statesman "Knee-jerk Islamophobia: Why Trevor Kavanagh is wrong about British Muslims" (21 January 2013) in which he poses, Do Muslims identify with Britain? Are they proud of British democracy and institutions? Are they integrated into British political and social life? Yes, yes and yes (Ford, 21 January 2013 The New Statesman, p12).

Ford finds that British Muslims have more attachment to British culture and institutions than any other group and this scaremongering highlights the conscious exclusion employed by the media and political institutions which, invariably, affects the lives of British Muslims. In effect, Ford takes offence to Kavanagh's journalistic ploy which he believes is laden with evidence free stereotypes and unfairly dismisses British Muslims as hostile and uncompromising. Ford's article, therefore, posits an obsession with British Muslim identity. In other words, are they Muslims

first or British first? Indeed this is what provoked Kavanagh, a journalist with The Sun, to complete his tirade entitled, "Muslim Leaders Must Rebrand Religion for 21st century Britain" (November 20, 2012). For the purposes of this research, Ford and Kavanagh highlight the dilemma posed by the British Muslim identity and what it means to non-Muslims. This, almost inevitably, will affect how British Muslims see themselves and how this self-perception affects the way they live.

Peter Oborne in The Telegraph (January 20, 2011) also highlights the common misconception that British Muslims are not discriminated against and that they have themselves to blame for all their ills and they have difficulties assimilating and playing a full role in British mainstream society. Oborne goes onto conclude that racist violence against Muslims in Britain has also increased,

British Muslims get spat at, abused, insulted and physically attacked. Vandalism and Mosque burnings are common and often unrecorded. One of the most troubling things about this racist violence and abuse is that it is legitimised and made respectable by so much of the daily conversation which takes place in the media. (Peter Oborne, The Telegraph, January 20, 2011).

Bari, in the Huffington Post, provides another view on the issue of segregation and isolationism amongst British Muslims in his article in the Huffington Post (17 December 2012) entitled, "Census 2011: Muslims are not to be Feared". Bari suggests that Muslims themselves need to integrate because isolationism is against the spirit of Islam, which propagates integrating actively within the host community and not ghettoising for fear of losing the religion. While Bari holds acceptable, liberal views, he overlooks that certain experiences such as racism, forces people to practice isolationism even though they may have the intent to fully integrate. Therefore, while Bari asserts that Muslims have to take more responsibility to limit anti-Muslim sentiments, Birrell (2012) in the Evening Standard suggests that the issue of segregation is not always a choice hence,

Integration is hindered, however, when prejudice is so prevalent it is not just the hate spewed out by far right groups. A little noticed section of the Levenson report said

Muslims were targets of systematic press hostility. [Biirrell (2012) "We Have Nothing to Fear from our Muslim Citizens", Evening Standard 11th December 2012.

Bunzl (2007) also considers Islamophobia as a social construct which feeds upon isolationism and segregation. The author views discrimination against Muslims as a new phenomenon which challenges a unified Europe. In contrast, the author posits, anti-Semitism – even though it still exists – has run its historical course since its culmination in the late 19th century as a social construct designed to police an ethnically pure nation and Islamophobia, therefore, is a new threat which not only challenges but is perceived to threaten and destroy a way of life.

This threat to the European (and indeed Western) way of life was a focus for Anders Breivik – a self-confessed anti-Muslim activist who planted a bomb in Oslo killing eight people for the purpose of saving Europe from "Muslimization" (Ali et.al 2011, p 11). Breivik's 1500 page manifesto charts his obsession with tracking radical Islam, which he saw as subverting Western culture. Moreover, Ali et al (2011) highlight that Breivik's manifesto resonates with a number of far right groups which share his views of the perceived rising Islamic conspiracy to destroy European Western values. This misinformation, Ali et al argue, is disseminated widely amongst like-minded groups and serves to radicalise individuals like Breivik. Notably, Breivik's manifesto was collated using the references and ideologies of contemporary writers and,

…Based on Breivik's sheer number of citations and references to the writings of these individuals, it is clear that he read and relied on the hateful, anti-Muslim ideology of a number of men and women detailed in his report and a select handful of scholars and activists who work together to create and promote misinformation about Muslims. (Ali et al 2011).

Ali et al, therefore, propose an existence of a network of hate which incorporates individuals and organisations that work to propagate a perceived Islamic threat, thus adding to the wider Islamophobia network. The authors go further and posit that certain individuals and groups are prepared to fund this rhetoric in the hope of eradicating Islamic ideology from the West. The rhetoric is craftily constructed so that

it fits in with current political debates such as immigration, unemployment and the rise of criminal activities – the recent being sexual offences committed by Muslim men.

Abbas (2007), therefore, as a result of the growing hate towards Muslims, categorises them as a community under pressure. Islamophobia is the new form of discrimination and South Asian Muslims in Britain have been caught up in this malaise which ultimately affects the way they live their lives. They seem to possess a "bipolar" (Abbas 2007, p50) identity and are either terrorists sharing the views of a small number of extremists, or apologists who defend Islam promoting its peaceful values. There is no doubt then that Muslims live in a climate of fear (Abbas 2007, Allen 2005) which will affect the way they live their lives. This research, in part, intends to investigate to what extent Muslims lives may or may not be affected.

Esposito and Kalin (2011)further suggest that Islamophobia is not a phenomenon that has simply taken place as a result of 9/11, it has deep seated roots based in history and is a culmination of the increase in Muslim migrants in the 2oth Century, the Iranian revolution and the hijackings in the 1970's and 1980's. This, therefore, sheds a different light on hate per se. It allows us to look at hate not as an abstract but a part of a larger process and this is the premise by which this research is based. Moreover, writers such as Deepa Kumar (2012) also point to history as a source of Islamophobia. For Kumar, images of Islam and Muslims have been around for centuries and these images have, effectively, created a picture of the mystical Other. In fact, as Kumar asserts, the negative images of Muslims can also be traced back to colonisation and the discourse of Islam and Muslims was a way to legitimise this expansionist ideology. These images were then a platform from which the recent image of the terrorist was based. Arguably, Kumar discusses the importance of the crusade in the 11th Century and whether this event shaped the vilification of the religion of Islam. In effect, Christianity may have played a large part in this vilification by mobilising crusades to fight a common enemy.

The effects of Islamophobia are evident in contemporary society. Khan-Ibarra (2012) notes a spread of hate has gripped America as a result of 9/11 and hate threatens to islolate and marginalise American Muslims. Khan-Ibarra considers the difficulties of raising a brown Muslim baby in contemporary society as she debates

whether her child could have an equal upbringing as well as opportunities in the new America. Notably, these concerns are also highlighted by the participants who took part in this research (discussed below) and some question whether Europe will provide a safe haven for their children or for the upcoming generations.

Morey and Yaqin (2011) consider the dangers of stereotyping Muslims and assert that the images portrayed by the media are far from the reality. Hence, like this study, Morey and Yaqin found a gap in academic research which overlooked what Muslims actually experienced post 9/11. While these authors concentrated on the general Muslim diaspora, this particular study was more concerned about British Muslims and their experience in England. However, Morey and Yaqin also echo the difficulties that stereotypes cause on everyday life when Muslims become the central feature of the media and are branded as the Other. It is worth noting that the participants in this study often voiced this concern of Muslim representation and this discussed in more detail in the subsequent data analysis chapter. It is worth noting that Revell (2012) also comments on the representation of Islam as a religion. Her interesting study, "Islam and Education", explored the manner in which text books at school portrayed Islam and even though the study is aimed at Religious Education teachers, it poses the question whether there is a connection between the portrayal of Islam and the identity and self-image of Muslim students. Arguably, this was not Revell's aim of her study but this a gap that has not been fully explored and this study aims to shed some light on this particular issue.

Methodology.

By ascribing an investigative research method with no preconceived hypothesis, it is envisaged that this approach would generate a theory from the phenomenon that would explain how and why subjects within the substantive area of study interpret hate and hate crime and discover how the subjects addressed their concerns and how they tried to resolve it. The aim, therefore, is to obtain a theory which is truly "grounded" in the data and interpreted from the rigorous analysis of this data.

The project emphasises the lived experiences of its subjects or the actualities of the real world (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and relies on analysing the data devoid of any preconceived ideas. This process of inductive reasoning will allow inferences to be drawn from observations or the collection of facts via semi structured interviews.

While it can be argued that the "grounded theory" has its drawbacks (Allan, 2003), the key strength of the approach allows the researcher to look at the data in a more open-minded manner (Denscombe, 2003) allowing the researcher to approach the topic without any fixed or rigid set of ideas. Critically, it can be argued that it would be almost impossible to approach any topic without a set of ideas, but the grounded theory approach does not advocate that the researcher views the topic with a completely "blank" mind (Denscombe, 2003), but rather he is more involved in "discovering" the topic as opposed to testing whether certain theories do or do not work (Schrieber and Stern, 2001). For the purposes of this research, therefore, the author's biography is not being "used" to elicit a definition of hate from the subjects, but rather it acts as a "catalyst" to encourage the subjects to impart their experiences, knowing that what they are saying will be taken seriously and will not be judged.

This leads to the notion that a phenomenological approach to this research would be appropriate. Phenomenology relies on subjectivity as opposed to objectivity and, for the purposes of this research; it will focus on the life experiences of the subjects. The "phenomenon" of discrimination and/or hate that may/may not have been experienced by the subject(s) is real; it is not an abstract, but something that may have been experienced as a matter of course through everyday life. It may be just one incident or it may be a series of events, but it will be a *real* and substantial event if the subject makes reference to it. Indeed, the subject may not regard an incident

as hate or discriminatory and this is also *real* provided the subject imparts that experience.

The strength of this research is *subjectivity*. The semi-structured interview will allow for a natural recollection of events, giving time and space for the subject to discuss what he/she feels is relevant and, more importantly, to recollect what he/she feels is a substantial incident (a copy of the questionnaire and the consent form is included at the end of this chapter). The phenomenological approach, therefore, concentrates on eliciting human experience which is "raw" and "pure". It allows the subject to describe the incidents emotively, giving the researcher a clear picture of the phenomenon as it is "seen" in real everyday situations. Also the main objective of this research is trying to ascertain an understanding of hate as opposed to generalising cause to effect. Thus, through this type of qualitative research, the researcher is concerned with how participants make meaning out of their experiences (Schein, 1985). As a comparison, therefore, Essed (1991) found that people made meaning out of their experiences in different ways. For instance, a person may identify discrimination if he had experienced it before or even if he had been recollected by friends or family. In essence, there is a reference to thought processes, cognition and emotions. Hallcom's (2007) research, for instance, made reference to emotions and cognition in her phenomenological study of the learning processes in organisations. There is, therefore, an element of psychology involved in this research since it attempts make sense of cognition and behaviour, which further vindicates a phenomenological approach (Creswell 2007).

On a broader issue of anger, aggression and violence, Eatough et al (2008) also used a qualitative phenomenological basis for their study of anger and anger related aggression in the lives of women. The approach was inductive and (similar to the research undertaken here) it attempted to capture the richness and complexity of the lived experiences of five women through semi-structured interviews. Note that in Eatough's work, the emphasis was also on the subjective experience of the women and how they came to terms with what they had experienced.

Husserl (1970) and Heidegger (1962) attach a fundamental importance to the "life-world" (Husserl 1970). In other words, there is an importance to analysing everyday routine and *how* people manage to get through everyday life. Seymour (1999) for

instance, analysed how people came to terms with the death of a loved one, Morley (1998) was concerned with the process of daydreaming, Kugelmann (1999) investigated how people coped and lived through chronic pain and Alapack (1991) wrote about the experiences of adolescent love.

The key point here is that routine, for phenomenological purposes, cannot be dismissed as trivial or merely inconsequential (Denscombe 2003) because routine explains how people experience their lives. For the benefit of this study, hate or the components of hate may or may not be routinely experienced by people, but if it is then the phenomenological approach allows the researcher to investigate how a person deals with the situation. Conversely, hate may not be experienced at all in which case other components such as discrimination or marginalisation may take a stronger root. This, however, is still valid because in trying to identify and define hate we may reach a conclusion where in fact no such element is an issue in everyday life and it may transpire that something else is more apparent. Indeed this is a presupposition on the part of the researcher, but it in no way creates a bias towards the research. As mentioned above, the researcher within a phenomenological approach cannot approach a topic with a completely "blank mind" but is more akin to "discover" and create a theory through the experiences of others.

Denscombe (2003) highlights a key component of phenomenology,

The phenomenologist's task, in the first instance, is not to interpret the experiences of those concerned, not to analyse them or repackage them in some form. The task is to present the experiences in a way that is *faithful to the original.* This entails the ability to see things through the eyes of the others, to understand things in the way that they understand things and to provide a description of matters that adequately portrays how the group in question experiences the situation. (Denscobme, 2003 pp98-99).

At this juncture it is also worth noting the "relationship" between the researcher and that of the participant. Denscombe (2003) attaches the importance of being able to "see things through the eyes of the others", in other words, having a sense of empathy. As mentioned above, it is hoped that the researcher's biography acts as a catalyst in allowing the participants to impart their experiences. The researcher will be in a position to empathise with the participants having experienced the components of hate such as discrimination and marginalisation and this in turn will

help the participants disclose information which they otherwise may not do. Wolf's (1991) study (amongst others) is a good example of participant-observation research where the researcher conducted his observations of the phenomenon of outlaw biker clubs by becoming a biker himself and trying to see things "through the eyes" of his participants. The main caveat here is the fact that Wolf felt it necessary to have some experience of the lives of the bikers before conducting his phenomenological research, which further vindicates the approach in this case; that is to have experienced some of the components of hate in order to fully understand and appreciate the experiences of the participants, as Denscombe (2003) puts it, "to understand things in the way that they understand things" (p99). Moreover, Patton (1990) underlines the importance of first-hand experience which enables the researcher to be open to ideas and deduce what is significant. Being open to ideas, therefore, is being able to *discover* the different ways in which people see the same phenomenon. Indeed, humanist and feminist researchers would question whether it is possible to conduct a research without preconceptions (Lester 1999), however, there are strengths in making the researcher visible and ensuring that he is not detached from the subject, but has empathy, knowledge and understanding of the subject area.

Lived experiences were equally important to Vydelingum (2001) who looked at the experiences of South Asian patients receiving acute care in an English Hospital. Vydelingum applied a Heideggerian hermeneutics approach to explore the views of patients and carers and was able to identify five key themes, such as feelings of satisfaction with the care, feelings of dissatisfaction and "fitting-in" strategies employed by the respondents who felt a sense of "difference". What was important about this phenomenological case study was again the emphasis on lived experiences. Vydelingum was able to offer important insights on how patients of South Asian descent perceive acute care and, in turn, this questioned the provisions offered to patients of South Asian heritage. Moreover, Vydelingum's work raises important questions as to how patients from different cultural or religious backgrounds perceive and interpret their acute care and whether the notion of acute care is inclusive. Notably, Vydelingum's work employed a semi-structured interview process to compliment the phenomenological approach.

75

Another equally important work was conducted by Friedman et al (2005) which was a phenomenological study of Jewish identity in which the authors coded a number of themes ranging from, a desire to increase religiosity to feelings of marginalisation and awareness of discrimination. Friedman et al, therefore, demonstrate the viability of employing a phenomenological approach when conducting a study on race and religion. Again, the importance of a semi-structured interview process comprising of 10 participants formed the basis of their findings. Similarly, Siddique (1990) conducted a phenomenological case study of racial differences in Singapore in which respondents from Chinese, Malay and Indian backgrounds described how they made sense of their own identity in a heterogeneous society.

An important part of this research is to dispel assumptions and conventions of hate and hate crime by paying particular importance to subjectivity, personal knowledge, gaining an insight into a person's motivations and actions and personal interpretation of an event. This is important in deciding whether similar events are/are not interpreted in a similar way. Returning to the important work of Essed (1991), the author believed that there was a similarity in the manner in which mainly African American people interpreted discrimination which allowed her to conclude that a person followed a "process" to decide whether the situation he confronted was in fact discriminatory. Hence, the question is whether or not such process exists to explain how British Muslims interpret similar situations *and*, if this process exists, whether it will bring us closer to defining hate through close analysis and interpretation of the respondents' accounts and experiences.

Moustakas (1994) also attached an importance to the concept of experience and behaviour as part of a qualitative research. For Moustakas, experience and behaviour were "inseparable" (Moerer and Creswell 2004) but also an integrated part of the subject. Thus, for this research, the integral part of the subject would be what he has experienced and *how* he imparts that recollection. This is, in effect, the transcendental phenomenology that Moustakas (1994) advocated which sets aside prejudgements and uses a systematic method to analyse the data.

<u>Epoche</u>

Epoche or a need to refrain from judgement is a Greek term. This is, therefore, part of phenomenology because it requires the researcher to see the subject and his experience as a "new" event. Moustakas (1994) notes that in order to complete the interview the researcher must engage with the epoche and only then can he truly see the phenomenon which lies within the "brackets". However, this process is reflective and intuitive. Through reflection and intuition the researcher can set aside the prejudgements and concentrate on the "meaning" of the experience that is imparted (Conklin, 2005). In essence, this is where the world is seen anew and "for the first time" and it, therefore, displaces "scientific knowledge" which is based on prejudgements and hypothesis (Denscombe, 2003). Moreover, Kellenberger (1995) also expounds on this new-found realisation,

…a kind of blindness is lifted and we see the significance of facts that have long been familiar to us. They are not a matter of gathering new facts; they are a matter of seeing the significance of old facts…they are a matter of seeing the significance of the already-familiar as evidence. (Kellenberger, 1995, p58).

Kellenberger, therefore, makes an important point and clears the distortion of impartiality. Transcendental phenomenology does not assume that the researcher sees an event without prior knowledge, but rather gathers new facts about an event which is "already-familiar". In effect, this methodology allows the researcher to have experienced hate, discrimination or even marginalisation and still view the phenomenon as anew through the process of epoche.

Conklin (2005) provides further justification,

…one is available to receive the world in its own form, on its own conditions, liberated from the burden of deciding or discerning, only accepting. The epoche creates a clearing in the researcher and the world of the phenomenon to show up, possibly different than usual. (Conklin 2005, p8).

The idea of epoche is to ensure that no scientific knowledge, common sense or personal prejudgements enter during the phenomenological research. Husserl, therefore, felt that the epoche was a process by which these could be excluded and bracketed so that they remained inactive during the research. While Husserl's

process is open to criticism (Overgaard 2004) it nevertheless provides an avenue of research which acknowledges the use of one's own experiences to examine the experiences of others. Notably, Ihde (2007) is also aware of the difficulties of practically implementing the epoch process, but accedes that as a process which emphasises on description as opposed to explanation, it is in fact quiet effective.

The epoche, therefore, provides a "reductive" process through which there is a deliberate suspension of prejudgements. It delineates "natural life" which is consumed by prejudices and assumptions and prefers instead to accept the "transcendental life" which Husserl believed contained the pure language, the pure thoughts and the pure experiences (Rayment-Pickard 2003).

Oden's (2008) work is relevant at this point. Her research explored the effects of performance based monitoring systems on students with disabilities. As a teacher herself she realised that it would be impossible to detach herself completely from the research and the researched, but the epoche process was utilised to overcome this. Her disciplined research overcame this obstacle by presenting an "open discussion" (Oden 2006, p96) of her own preconceptions in a constructive narrative style and by directly acknowledging her own prejudgements she was able to "bracket" these and "consciously set aside her own beliefs and values, which represented a moral commitment to an honest report of findings" (Oden 2008, p97). Writers such as Bochner and Ellis (2002) refer to this as reflective experience which ties in with ethical practice and this form of reflection allows the reader to understand and appreciate that some prejudgements are inevitable but can be set aside to produce an impartial set of data and analysis.

In effect, Oden was able to draw upon her own experiences in order to construct a meaningful and disciplined research. Hence she notes,

As I travelled from the general education classroom to the world of special education, as a teacher, diagnostician, school psychologist, and later as a Director, I have seen first hand what happens when expectations for students are lowered and relationships are not fostered. (Oden 2008, p 97).

An important part of Oden's study was to explore how performance based monitoring systems influenced key actors within schools such as Principals, Special Teachers

and Directors. However having held these positions herself, she had to consciously bracket her history as a Teacher and a Director but drawn upon her experience of working with Special teachers and Directors to help complete a meaningful research.

For purposes of my research, therefore, my experiences of discrimination, for example, would help and not distort the data. As Oden found, by having an insight into the subject area she was able to provide meaningful insights into the world of "special education" for children with disabilities. Oden also noted a familiarity to the national performance monitoring systems which helped with the background of the work. Likewise, as a British Muslim, it would not be difficult to bracket my history and draw upon some of my relevant experiences to create an environment conducive to imparting experiences which would otherwise be difficult to elicit. A relevant example is useful here. During an interview with a British Muslim Male, aged 40 the respondent explained an incident in the workplace he described as "slightly heated" between himself and a white co-worker. He went on to explain that his co-worker, "looked at me in that way and I knew what he was thinking…do you understand what I am getting at?" At which point I was able to draw upon my experiences and realised exactly what he was describing. These nuances and semantics may have been difficult to understand had it been imparted to someone who may not have experienced the same level of discrimination. Notably, my role as a researcher allowed me to describe what had been said as it was said and the fact that I had insight to what he was saying did not distort or adulterate what was described, in fact it helped to continue the flow of the conversation without the need to define the experience any further.

Katz (1987) also noted that the purpose of epoche was not to "ignore" one's own prejudices, prejudgements or views, but rather to become aware of them and suspend them so that they do not interfere with the research or the phenomenon. Furthermore, Adams (2009) conducted research to try and identify strategies and techniques to increase the literacy of students in high school. She found that she had to put aside her own experiences to enable her to complete the process of phenomenological reduction. Adams is used here as an example to show that she too approached her research with prior experience of the subject area, hence,

as in most situations, one's beliefs are shaped by one's personal experiences. I come to this study as a struggling reader. Hence, my personal experiences in the public education system are the foundation for the heuristic influence in this case study. (Adams 2009, p98-99).

My research, therefore, requires me to suspend my experiences so that I may become the "catalyst" which encourages the participant to impart his experiences. Furthermore, following the method illustrated by Katz (1987), my position in the research would be to ignore my prejudgements and views but be equally aware of them. This may seem contradictory (and, indeed, this is one of the main criticisms of this approach) but it provides a foundation or grounding on which the participants can be encouraged to describe their experiences.

Noesis and Noema.

In following Husserl's (1931) approach to phenomenology, it is necessary to consider the noesis and the noema. Husserl defines the noesis as the concealed and hidden meanings that the subject imparts and the phenomenological approach attempts to expose these meanings. In direct relation to this is the noema which Ihde (1977) differentiates explicitly,

... noema is *that* which is experienced, the what of experience, the object-correlate. Noesis is the way in which the what is experienced, the experiencing or act of experiencing, the subject-correlate. (Ihde1977, p. 43 in Conklin 2005).

The phenomenological approach, therefore, requires perception followed by continual reflection on the experience and as the experience becomes recounted there emerges an additional exposure of the phenomenon and during this integration of the noesis and the noema we arrive at the understanding of the experience (Moustakas 1994, Levinas 2000, Conklin 2005).

In this study, therefore, the noema is held to be the experience as told and recounted upon reflection by the participant. Whereas the noesis is the interpretation of this experience exacted by the researcher. Conklin (2005) explains this further,

The noesis, however, is the turning of the participants' interpretation of their experience as captured in their telling, and the reception of that experience in the meaning making apparati of the researcher. How the stories are apprehended and

understood in the perceptual, conceptual and interpretive analysis corresponds to the noetic.(Conklin, 2005 p6).

In order to draw this experience and promote the all-important reflective practice on the part of the participant, a semi-structured interview approach would provide a better option (discussed below). Furthermore, in order to stay true to the narratives of the participants, it was felt necessary to use as much of the dialogue as was possible in order to capture the authenticity and essence of what was conveyed (see the chapter below on Data Analysis). This would also provide the reader with rich primary data from which an informed conclusion could be made.

Adopting a phenomenological approach requires an awareness of the differences of opinion, or the different "types" of phenomenology. The two main types of this approach take their roots from the European tradition and the North American tradition respectively (Gerrish and Lacey, 2010). In essence, the difference between the two is subtle. The European tradition relies on "transcendental phenomenology" which traces back to the founding father of phenomenology, Edmund Husserl (1970) and approaches the study of human experience by paying emphasis on the underlying or fundamental aspects of the experience. Husserl (1970) also discussed the importance of "bracketing" all assumptions that the phenomenologist might have and instead open up to the ideas and details presented to him by the experiences of the participant (Turner 2009). Additionally, the works of Jean-Paul Sartre (in Priest 2002) such as "existential phenomenology" and Martin Heidegger's (1967) "hermeneutic phenomenology" also take their roots from the European tradition where the research relies on investigating and exploring the "essence" of human experience (Denscombe 2003).

Bracketing is a process in which the phenomenon becomes available. The phenomenologist attempts to see the "Lebenswelt" or the world as lived by the participant. Husserl coined the phrase "Lebenswelt" to differentiate or "bracket" the hypothetical world "created" by scientific research from that of the lived world experienced by people on a day to day basis. The "Lebenswelt", therefore, is dependent upon *experience* and the phenomenological approach underlines the notion that our experiences are *not* a direct reflection of the things out there in the

world, but rather the things out there are a function of what we experience (Conklin 2005). Furthermore, bracketing helps the researcher to dispel "natural attitude" or bias found in everyday knowledge (Moustakas 1994) and instead create a transcendental attitude in which the world becomes a phenomenon, or as Conklin (2005) suggests, "reducing" the world to its "pure phenomenon" (Conklin 2005, p10). This process, in turn, allows the researcher to see the "Lebenswelt" anew, with an open mind as if he is seeing the phenomenon for the first time and Husserl (1970) notes that the researcher is devoid of the external, hypothetical knowledge created by science and instead becomes an independent actor. Arguably, this is the stage which creates conflict. It appears almost contradictory that the researcher is required to be impartial yet is allowed to have certain preconceptions, but the bracketing stage makes the researcher aware of the need to think before judging, to clear any biases before making a conclusion and, ultimately, to rely on intuition or the "inner voice" (Moustakas 1994). Conklin (2005) notes the difficulties posed by this stage because our consciousness, cognition and the way we see the world is perpetually "tailored" by external agencies and events and yet we are required to detach from this all-encompassing and powerful force. It follows logically, therefore, that if the researcher is relying on his intuition, it is this intuition or inner voice that he is looking out for when interviewing the participants.

It can be argued, therefore, that the European tradition is based upon discovering the meaning of everyday life and how respondents make sense of their experiences. Thus, in this research the researcher is interested in the experience of hate and the many components of hate and, in particular, the research will focus on the essential features of that experience. Hence, how did the respondent feel when the event occurred? (If applicable) How did he come to realise that what he was experiencing was hate? What was it about the incident that made him feel that something was wrong? These are just some of the features the researcher will try and identify without purposefully slanting the interview in order to answer the questions. Additionally, the approach allows the researcher to identify the integral components of hate as seen and experienced by the everyday people in everyday life. The interview, therefore, is not concerned with the causes of hate, but rather with the experience of it. The causes of hate are an important element in this work but will be dealt with on a theoretical level to provide the context. Notably, the individual

experiences of hate would be important in that they may help to identify a broader *definition* of hate and, it is hoped, that the rigorous analysis employed in phenomenological research, may help to highlight common experiences (if any).

Describing the Experiences

Describing the experiences of the participants is probably one of the most important aspects of phenomenological research. The researcher's role is to provide the authentic description and remain true and faithful to the original recount as far as possible. Indeed this is one of the main benefits of adopting a phenomenological approach since it supports the notion that experiences are described in depth to reach the core essence of what has been experienced.

The role of the researcher, therefore, is not one of editor listing or methodically sorting out thoughts and ideas imparted by the participants, rather it is one of describing the experience as it has been imparted, whether that amounts to repetition or irrationality. It is proposing and understanding that society and the social world is devoid of rationality and method. Notably, Denscombe (2005) vindicates why this approach is well suited to the study undertaken by myself,

Phenomenological descriptions are not concerned with *what* is happening so much as how the events get interpreted by those involved. (Denscombe, 2005 p101).

Thus, for purposes of this study, I am concerned with how events or circumstances are interpreted by participants as hate. Furthermore, *why* is the event important to the participant? *How* did the participant conclude (if at all) that what he experienced was hate and did he make the conclusion at the time of the event or on reflection?

Moreover, the description of experiences requires the researcher to suspend common-sense assumptions if he feels that they will tarnish or affect the interpretations. To reiterate, phenomenology accepts that researchers may have certain assumptions (Willig 2012) and beliefs but the methodology allows them to become aware of these and suspend them because phenomenologists see the social world as existing through the experiences and interpretations of others (Denscombe 2005). Schutz (1962) discusses the values of bracketing assumptions

and allowing the researcher to see things as a stranger, someone who is new to the experience. Denscombe (2005) points out that this ensures that the researcher is able to highlight certain experiences which are overlooked in everyday life because they are mundane or even routine and this where (arguably) some of the most original or unique events may be experienced.

<u>Phenomenological Study of Hate Crime.</u>

Research in hate crime has attracted a phenomenological approach owing to its emphasis on lived experiences and its reflective practice. Ford's (2007) research, for instance, looked at the phenomenological study of the lived experiences of four Black gay men by employing a self-reflective practice to explain their experiences of homophobia and their place in mainstream society. As mentioned above, this research on the experiences of hate also relies heavily upon self-reflection and how participants defined the circumstances they encountered. Notably, Ford also reiterates the importance of having some experience of the phenomenon himself,

In order to explore, collect, examine and analyse the personal narratives and reflections of this particular culture of men, I must become immersed as a participant-observer in their lives. Therefore, exploring the lived experiences of Black gay men with an undergraduate degree…maybe understood best by conducting phenomenological research within the qualitative paradigm. (Ford 2007 p.22).

Similarly, Eddy's (2008) work was also based on phenomenology when he conducted a research to improve the life in a University campus for gay men while also considering the topic of homophobia. Moreover, in his research, Eddy commented on the difficulties gay men faced while studying at University and for this he had to draw upon his own experiences. His experiences, therefore, were vital for his studies, but were not allowed to affect the findings or influence the interviews. Furthermore, Eddy emphasised the importance of "interpretation through reflection" (Eddy 2008, p143) and that phenomenological interpretation of interviews in a textual format relies upon reflective practices.

Hadreas (2007) further vindicates a phenomenological methodology for researching hate, since hate crosses, "personal, interpersonal, social and cultural interrelations"

Hadreas, 2007, p5). The very essence of the complexity of hate, therefore, necessitates a method which examines and analyses real life experiences. Through this methodology, Hadreas was also able to pose questions about the true nature of hatred and enquire whether "sexual, ethnic and religious prejudicial discrimination deserve(d) to be included within violent group hatred" (Hadreas 2007, p91).

Fitzpatrick and Kazer (2012) also acknowledge that complex issues such as hate crime require a qualitative approach and underline that recent researches on hate crime take a phenomenological approach. The writers quote Willis (2008) as an example of the use of phenomenology to discover meanings in the experiences of hate crime amongst adult gay men and the aftermath of physical and psychological abuse. Additionally, Hemphill (2008) also opted for a phenomenological approach when investigating racist hate crime as an issue in school violence. The writer, in this case, was concerned about school violence and the impact it had on the work of teachers and his work was generally revolving around the perceived increase in school violence in America.

Social order or making sense of the world is well documented in Slattery's (2003) work. Here Slattery tells us that phenomenology allows us to go "back to basics and to discover the very essence of man's Life World" (Slattery 2003, p166). He further explains that the Life World denotes our daily lives and how we interact with each other and make sense of what we do. Strong experiences like hate, for instance, are typifications which build up our knowledge of events and circumstances and it requires "open-mindedness" (Slattery 2003, p167) with an emphasis on subjectivity to elicit and interpret those experiences.

Oppression, discrimination and hate were issues explored by Ahluwalia and Pelletiere (2010) when they applied a qualitative phenomenological methodology in their study of five Indian American Sikh men post 9/11. Again, a semi-structured interview was favoured to elicit an understanding of the experiences of these men. Amongst verbal abuse and physical harm, the writers found issues relating to appearance and dress and the participants reported being "mistaken" for being Muslim and Arab. The themes that emerged from this research were also interesting. Misidentification as anti-American, discrimination, oppression, hate and

identity were key issues that emerged through phenomenological interpretation of the data.

Similarly, McLuckie et al. (2009) conducted an interesting study on cyber abuse which considered issues of oppression, victimisation, aggression, bullying, threats and hate. The authors considered that a phenomenological approach was most appropriate because they were trying to ascertain the true meaning or essence of the posts that children and youth uploaded on the internet. Guided by phenomenological methods of data collection and analysis, the authors were able to sift, sort and code the information. A sound reference to bracketing was also highlighted to indicate that the authors were able to set aside their own prejudgements and prejudices by employing peer debriefing sessions to ensure that each post was not categorised according to their own judgements or knowledge of previous research. This research, in effect, is an important format for the study undertaken here because it provides a method of bracketing similar to the one employed in this case. McLuckie et al. not only acknowledge the difficulties of setting aside prejudgements but they also go as far as removing any link or knowledge that a researcher may have acquired through studying the works by authors on a similar topic, thus allowing the researcher to see the phenomenon for the first time.

Azmat et al. (2011) also worked within a qualitative paradigm but favoured the use of a focus group to encourage participants to impart and discuss their experiences of race hate violence against Indian students in Australia. A focus group approach, although valid, creates some difficulties as the authors themselves recognised. In particular, some members of the group may not be too forthcoming with the responses and some may in fact dominate the group. Issues of confidentiality and privacy could also hinder the responses and the researcher may not always get a true picture of the experience. The authors, however, found ways to address these issues, but a more appropriate approach suited to the research undertaken here is the use of semi-structured interviews on a one-one basis as opposed to employing a focus group arrangement. This, it is envisaged, would provide time and space for the respondent to discuss experiences in a quasi-formal setting and allow them to review and reflect on their experiences in a confidential environment.

Azmat et al. (2011) is also used here to substantiate the need to encourage respondents to explain their experiences. In Azmat's work, the respondents gave detailed accounts of the violence they had experienced as students, how they perceived that violence and why *they* thought they had experienced the attacks. Some of the respondents in the study pointed to race hate as in issue in everyday Australian life, while others did not mention hate as a theme, for them the attacks were opportunistic in nature and media sensationalism exaggerated the cases. These findings are important as reflective points for the purposes of this research because they underline the complexity of hate and hate crime. During the period of 2009-2011 there was an unexplained increase of violent physical attacks against Indian postgraduate and undergraduate students in some of Australia's largest cities (Azmat et al. 2011) and Azmat's work highlights that the victims do not all necessarily blame this violence on hate itself. In other words, for some, an increase in violent physical attacks on the same type of victim amounts to hate while for other victims, from the same background, hate was not an appropriate description and racism did not always qualify as a key theme.

As mentioned above, this study is concerned with the experiences and perceptions of hate as experienced by British Muslims. This particular group is best suited to the research since it has come under scrutiny post 9/11 and 7/7(Fekete 2009, Williamson and Khiabany 2010, Rabasa 2004). Notably, Mythen et.al. (2009) demonstrates the ant-Muslim sentiments and hostilities prevalent in contemporary British popular press and Islam is often seen as,

. . . connected to the problems of violent crime, 'honour killings', drugs, illegal immigration and fraudulent

welfare claims. This perceived 'riskiness' operates mundanely as a threat to the 'fabric' of predominantly white British culture through transgression of school dress codes or refusal to neglect traditional forms of worship, and profanely through religious extremism and radicalization. In media and political circles . . . dominant discourses have invariably defined British Muslims en bloc as a risky, suspect population, raising the intensity of scrutiny on Muslims in general and potentially exacerbating the degree of public suspicion directed towards young male Muslims. (Mythen et al. 2009 p5).

Indeed the dominant discourse with regards to Muslims is more to do with their perceived anti-British, anti-West and extremist views (Fekete 2009, Cronin 2009, Treadwell and Garland 2011).

It is also worth mentioning, therefore, that "Islamophobia" is an issue that may be raised by the participants in this research since the study is conducted exclusively on their experiences as British Muslims. There has been a great deal of research conducted on the causes of Islamophobia (Kumar 2012) but there has been a dearth of research on the experiences of it as a phenomenon. Frost (2008) for instance, asserts that since Muslims are aligned with negative stereotypes, they have become the Other and thus attract vilification from mainstream society, especially white working class men who see themselves marginalised due to social and economic factors. Frost also sees this group of perpetrators as attempting to reassert racial hierarchy and thus resort to physical violence and violent behaviour and the author uses Perry's (2003) model of economic power and position (or rather the lack of it) and "hegenomic whiteness" as a basis for her methodology. Frost (2008), therefore, is used as a key reference here because she makes an important point, in that Islamophobia is prominent within white working class people and this may impact on the research since the study is based within Lancashire's working class towns. Again, as a researcher, this is a point to be aware of and an issue to "bracket" during the stages of interviewing and data analysis.

Racist violence against Muslims was explored by Treadwell and Garland (2011) who conducted a study of three young, white, working class men who were involved in the English Defence League. Like Frost (2008), therefore, Treadwell and Garland also identified strong anti-Muslim feelings amongst white, working class men who internalised feelings of social and economic deprivation and manifested them through violent behaviour.

The importance of using Treadwell and Garland here is to show how difficult it was for the researchers to ascertain the reasons or motivation for aggressive, violent, behaviour. The interviews were, in essence, semi-structured which allowed the respondents to discuss issues they felt were relevant. The following extract from Treadwell and Garland exposes the complexities, difficulties and challenges researchers face when studying hate as an emotion *and* as criminal behaviour,

For example, Robbie described how, away from the EDL on the streets of his home town, he had participated in an attack on what he described as 'a pyjama-wearing Paki kid' of about 20 when he and two friends (who were also present during the interview and verified Robbie's version of events) encountered their victim in the street after a drinking session. Initially, the account of the assault gave little insight into the motivation:

Robbie: There were three of us and we got this Paki, and I got him to the floor, just pulled him and he went down like this [gestures, uses his hands to cover his face and makes a shocked expression] and then I just kicked him in the face as hard as I could. The first time I tried it just glanced off his head, but then I tried again and my shin hit him square in the face, and it properly hurt my shin like, then the others had a go, we left him looking in a right state. I nearly felt bad, then I just thought 'Fuck him and all his kind'.
Interviewer: What started it?
Robbie: I guess I was pissed, but really, he was a Paki Muslim youth, he just deserved it. (Treadwell and Garland 2011, p 626.).

Through the use of semi-structured questioning, therefore, the authors were able to identify some of the motives behind Robbie's actions. Robbie was able to disclose his disaffection with Asian men who had violently attacked him at school and he felt that being a member of the EDL allowed him to deal with that experience.

Anti-Muslim sentiments and Islamophobia, therefore, are key issues in this study which may affect the participants because of the perceived increase in media coverage of anti-Muslim hostility. Lambert and Githens-Mazer (2010), for instance found a link between anti-Muslim hate crimes and media discourse and felt that the continued and consistent negative reporting of Muslims in British society could increase hate crime.

The authors conducted a research on Anti-Muslim hate crime and found that offences ranged from criminal damage to property such as Mosques and Community Centres to offences against the person, such as common assault against women wearing hijabs and niqabs. Lambert and Githens-Mazer further posited that,

Muslims in the UK face a specific threat of violence and intimidation from politically motivated attackers and from gangs and individuals who are not aligned to extremist nationalism. (Lambert and Githens-Mazer 2010, p33).

Other findings also included first hand reports on, the increase of hate crime against women, against Mosques, increase in street violence, increase in intimidation by organisations such as the EDL and BNP which led to anxiety and fear amongst Muslim communities in certain parts of the country and a general under-reporting of anti-Muslim hate crimes.

The study implemented by Guru (2012) further vindicates the methodology and approach this research is undertaking. Guru used an exploratory method to highlight the experiences of Muslim women and their children whose husbands or partners had been incarcerated as part of an anti-terrorist initiative deployed in West Midlands, UK. The author's aim was to describe the experiences of these women and realised that even though she herself was non-Muslim, her South Asian heritage would be an asset that would help her strengthen the relationship and trust between herself and her participants. She recalls,

Being a non-white woman (albeit non-Muslim) with shared experiences of racism helped to gain direct access to participants; a male researcher may have found this to be extremely difficult. However, in other ways, given the lack of trust and fear of strangers, a demonstration of one's political affinity, empathy and understanding of the experiences of Muslim communities was even more significant in helping to establish trust and enabling participants to narrate their experiences without fear of being negatively portrayed or judged and of being labelled 'terrorists'. (Guru 2012,p 1158).

Similarly, Ahmad (2006) also used her biography to interview and explore the perceptions and opinions of British Muslims on the news coverage of September 11. She recounts that her position as a British Muslim researcher known widely in the Muslim community allowed her to recruit a diverse range of participants and she was able to facilitate "honest and frank discussions" (Ahmad 2006, p965) on the topic. Ahmad was also able to utilise certain Muslim organisations which helped her to implement the project. Therefore, in light of the studies conducted by Guru and Ahmad, it is evident that the researcher's biography has a number of key advantages. This study will also utilise the researcher's biography to facilitate and encourage discussions and make use of Community Centres as places to meet and conduct private interviews.

<u>Grounded Theory.</u>

The grounded theory approach is used in this research because its main purpose is to provide a descriptive account of the phenomenon. The approach is further useful because it enables the researcher to link the explanations and descriptions given by participants to the lived world or the real world. Furthermore, this linking of explanations to practical everyday situations helps the researcher to understand how the participants perceived a set of circumstances, what it meant to them and how and why they made the summations that they did.

In effect, the aim here is not to test a particular theory but rather to generate a theory grounded in the information and data gathered (Glaser and Strauss 1967). For this to occur the researcher should be engaged with fieldwork and undertake data collection in the field (Denscombe 2005). The data generated is not just amassed but systematically analysed to identify key themes through which theories are generated. Glaser and Strauss elaborate on this by pointing out that,

Generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research. (Glaser and Strauss 1967, p6).

For the purposes of this research, the grounded theory is useful because it enables the researcher initially to gather the data through the interviewing process and then systematically analyse it to ascertain key themes. Note also, the recollections and recounts provided by the participants may indeed be random, irrational or even bizarre, but the systematic approach advocated here does not mean that the researcher will try and find some order or method in this, but instead try and link the data to everyday life and situations by questioning how and why the participants perceived the situation in the manner that they did and ultimately how they arrived at their conclusion. It is worth noting Essed again at this point to provide an illustration. Essed did not approach her participants who experienced discrimination with preconceived ideas but through systematic analysis found that her subjects made conclusions about their circumstances through past experiences, intuition and advise given by peers. In other words she was able to generate a theory grounded in the data that she had gathered and it is envisaged that this research will follow a similar route.

91

Suspending preconceived ideas and assumptions is also encouraged by the grounded theory model and this creates a link between the phenomenology methodology and grounded theory, justifying that these approaches are best suited for this research. Glaser and Strauss purport to use an open-minded approach and state,

To be sure, one goes out and studies an area with a particular…perspective, and with a focus, a general question or problem in mind. But the researcher can (and we believe should) also study an area without any preconceived theory that dictates, prior to the research, "relevancies" in concepts and hypotheses. (Glaser and Strauss 1967, p33).

Denscombe (2005) elaborates this further and advises that an open mind is not necessarily a blank mind, rather it is informed and aware of other knowledge or theories that might apply, "but does not approach the analysis of data using preordained ways of seeing things" (Denscombe 2005, p112). In effect the mind is closed to previous knowledge and data and aims to see the phenomenon in a new light or for the first time.

Glaser and Strauss also emphasise "pragmatism" as opposed to the abstract. In essence, the theories generated must have some practical relevance. Locke (2001) elaborates this further,

Grounded theory acknowledges its pragmatist philosophical heritage in insisting that a good theory is one that will be practically useful in the course of daily events, not only to the social scientists, but also to laymen.   In a sense, a test of a good theory is whether or not it works "on the ground". (Locke 2001, p59).

McPhail (2005) is a good example here. In investigating "Prosecutorial Perspectives on Gender Bias Hate Crimes", McPhail used the grounded theory to show that prosecutors of criminal offences were reluctant to categorise violence against women as hate crime. She was subsequently able to conclude that her findings had implications on the manner in which prosecutors conducted their cases: that they perceived violence against women as issues of power and control instead of hate, prosecutors found gender bias hate crime confusing and difficult and prosecutors were ill informed in this area of law.

Likewise it is hoped that this research will add to the growing number of literature on criminology and in particular victimology. It is envisaged that the findings will explain how British Muslims see themselves in the wider society thus having implications for sociologists; how they come to define hate and what their experiences of hate are, whether it is an everyday occurrence or whether they are isolated incidents and this, it is hoped, will add to the socio-legal and criminology disciplines.

Another important grounded theory case study was employed by Strobl (2005) which looked at strategies to prevent hate crime and used two East German towns as a basis for their investigation. They were able to conclude with practical preventative methods that local communities could implement to help them address issues of hate crime. What was also prevalent in Strobl's work was the emphasis on "constant comparison" (Strobl 2005, p636). The authors compared the strategies between the two towns and they were able to identify the differences and explain them, thus allowing for better strategies to be implemented. It is also envisaged that this research will follow the "constant comparison" model, so that differences or similarities in experiences can be identified and explained. Constant comparative models allow the researcher to remain within the boundaries of the research (Cohen et.al. 2007, Oktay 2012), to remain grounded to events that occur in everyday life to ensure that if any theory is developed, it has been done through the data itself and, finally, constant comparison allows for the development of "concepts" (Oktay 2012, p15) by making similarities and differences among individual cases more apparent.

Getting Access to the Participants.

By securing permission to use two local community centres, it became possible for me to introduce my project to an audience of British Muslims. The vice-chair of the community group was approached in the first instance and the nature, intention and aim of the project was fully disclosed to him. Following this the vice-chair organised several group discussions with people he felt would be interested in the project. Through these discussions a number of potential participants accepted the invitation to take part in the study. Out of these, the first 20 participants were selected, 10 males and 10 females. The only requirement for the selection procedure was that the participants had been over the age of 18 partly to eradicate the complication of

obtaining parental and guardian consent. This process, therefore, ensured impartiality and I could in no way have anticipated who would accept the invitations and I could not have purposely picked out candidates who I felt were "suitable" for the study. Moreover, taking the research by Fairley et.al.(2007) into consideration, my approach is vindicated. In Fairley's project, the researchers approached the Sydney Olympic Volunteer social club to identify 32 participants who would be willing to participate in their project to ascertain what motivates volunteers to offer their services in the Olympic Games. As with my approach, the researchers fully disclosed the intention of the project and the researchers were subsequently invited to attend the volunteer's group meetings which then led to the successful implementation of the project.

This therefore raises the issue of "gatekeepers" and brings us onto considering the merits of ethnography. Since this is an "overt" research it diminishes some of the ethical issues connecting with covert exploratory research but questions whether the research maintains a natural environment. In other words, knowing that this research is exploring hate crime, would the respondent's contributions be truly natural? However, not all ethnographers work in a covert fashion (Denscombe 2005) and, therefore, some degree of openness is inevitable.

Gaining access to the necessary fieldwork and the participants involves negotiating with gatekeepers who can not only grant permission to use a particular venue but, importantly, help to identify participants who will be suitable to the study. Having acquired permission and access, the gatekeepers will play a continuing role and thus have an influence on the research which will be noted during the analysis stage. This research involves interviews which will take place over a period of time and, thus, requires continual negotiations with gatekeepers who will determine permission to use the premises and grant access to the participants. This, therefore, is also partly an ethical issue which will be dealt with below.

Note also that the intentions of the project had to be disclosed to the gatekeepers who, understandably, had concerns about how the study may affect the organisation and the institution. Issues of confidentiality were also discussed to reassure the gatekeepers that the work of the organisation would not be compromised in any way.

Disclosure of the project, therefore, to gain permission to the premises and access to the participants was inevitable.

In terms of methodology, "access" does not only include finding a way to open up and enter the world of the participants; in this research it was more about being trusted, creating relationships and gaining insider knowledge and insights. Therefore, the interaction between the gatekeepers and the researcher and the subsequent relationship was fundamentally important. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) reaffirm this importance,

Seeking the permission of gatekeepers…is often an unavoidable first step in gaining access to the data. Furthermore, the relationships established with such people can have important consequences for the subsequent course of the research. (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, p72).

One of the purposes of ethnographic research is to provide detailed accounts of events or cultures. The description, in other words, has to be true to the original account given by the participant and this, therefore, links closely with phenomenology as a method. Hammersley (1990) also provides this overview,

Ethnography is directed towards producing what are referred to as 'theoretical','analytical', or 'thick' descriptions (whether of societies, small communities, organisations, spatial locations or social worlds). These descriptions must remain close to the concrete reality of particular events but at the same time reveal general features of human social life. (Hammersley 1990, p598).

Moreover, given the complexity of hate crimes, writers such as Bowling (1993) concur that research in this area is suited to an ethnographic approach when looking at victimization and victimology (as this study does) as well as offenders and offending. Bowling also states that research in hate crime should chart information of race, class, community and possibly age to provide a holistic account of the incidents and experiences.

An example of this is Ray et.al. (cited in Webster 2007) who used an ethnographic approach to study racist violence in deprived areas in Greater Manchester. Their research concentrated on a particular community (as advocated by Bowling) to determine why working class white communities harboured resentment against

South Asian communities in Greater Manchester. Their findings showed that general resentment was experienced owing to the perceived special deals (Ray et.al. cited in Webster 2007) that South Asian communities attracted from Government agencies to renovate their properties, start up new businesses or regenerate their neighbourhoods. This, therefore, was seen as unfair and resulted in incidents of verbal abuse, harassment, criminal damage and violent hate crime.

A copy of the questionnaire used for the unstructured interviews as well as the consent form is included in the following pages. As discussed in detail above, the prime objective was to allow the participants to describe and explore their own experiences and to provide their own definition of hate through these experiences.

Defining Hate – Research.
Semi-Structured Interview Format & Contemporaneous Notes

Date of Interview_____ Place of Interview_____ Interview Number_____
Respondent has read project brief and has signed consent forms?_____

1. What is your age?

2. Where are you from or where did you grow up?

3. Are you a British National? If not, what is your nationality?

4. What is your ethnic origin?

☐ White English

☐ White Scottish

☐ White Welsh

☐ White Irish

☐ White Other

☐ Mixed White and Black Carribean

☐ Mixed White and Black African

☐ White and Asian

☐ Other mixed background

☐ Indian

☐ Pakistani

☐ Bangladeshi

☐ Other Asian background

☐ Black Caribbean

☐ Black African

☐ Other Black background

☐ Chinese

☐ Other ethnic group

5. Are you married, single, divorced? Do you have any children?

6. What is your occupation? If looking for work, what type of work?

7. What qualifications do you have? GCSEs. AS Levels, A, Levels, Key Skills. HND. Btec, Diplomas. Degree(s). postgraduate or professional qualifications

8. Where do you usually reside? Own home, with parents, or extended family?

9. Do you own your own house/flat apartment? (either mortgaged or not)

○ Yes

○ No

10. Would you say you belong to a particular branch of Islam such as Sunni or Shia?

11. Do you belong to any religious organisation or group, e.g. Tablighi Jamaat?

12. I want to ask you about your experiences. Can you describe any situation(s) you may have experienced which you regarded as prejudice? Describe what the situation was. The time, place, who it involved. This situation may have happened to you first hand, or it may have happened to someone you know and you were informed of it.

13. Going back to the situation you described above. How did you feel at the time?

14. I want to ask you about your experiences again. Can you describe any situation(s) you may have experienced which you regarded as discrimination? Describe what the situation was. The time, place, who it involved. This situation may have happened to you first hand, or it may have happened to someone you know and you were informed of it.

15. Again, how did you feel at the time you experienced this or when you were informed of this?

16. I want to ask you about your experiences again. Can you describe any situation(s) you may have experienced which you regarded as hate? Describe what the situation was. The time, place, who it involved. This situation may have happened to you first hand, or it may have happened to someone you know and you were informed of it.

17. Again, how did you feel at the time you experienced this or when you were informed of this?

18. This last experience you (may) have described is important. With respect to this experience. Can you define the term "hate" in your own words? Think about why you classed this experience as hate and not the other two above.

19. You (may) have described three separate situations above. If you were to "grade" these experiences how would you do it? Start with the least serious moving up to the most serious.

20. Do you think you have experienced racism, race/religious hatred or hate crime? Again try and describe what you (may) have experienced.

21. Do you think that people identify you by your ethnicity or by your religion or neither?

22. Can you recall any incidents which involved race discrimination and religious discrimination? Which of these incidents was more serious and why?
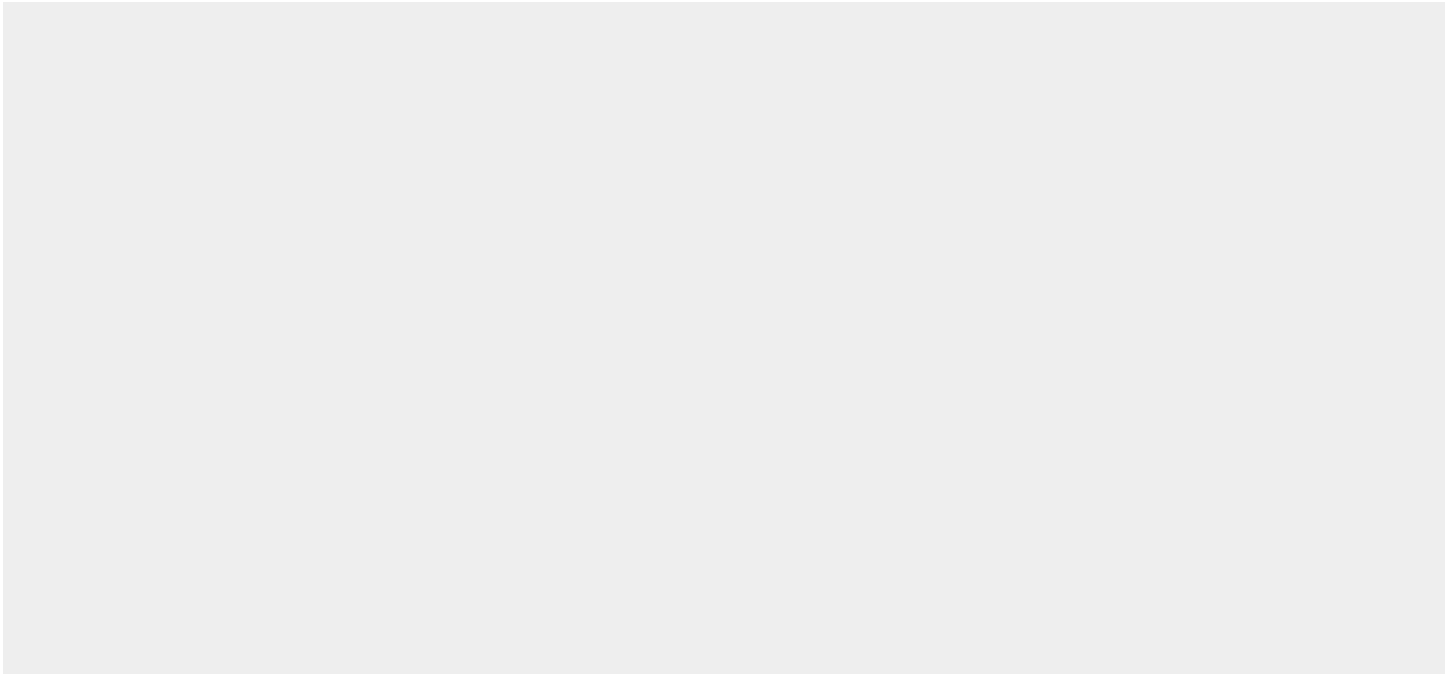
23. Is there anything else that you want to include in this interview, that you believe is important?
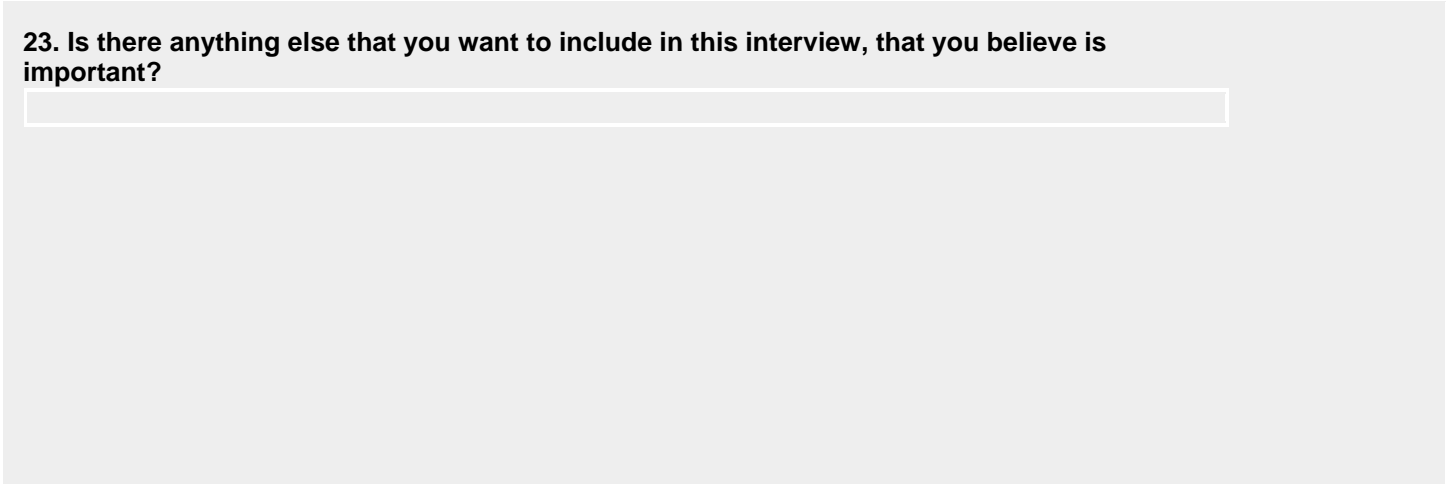
THANKS FOR YOUR TIME.

University of Salford

Consent Form:

Defining Hate

I am conducting research on Hate and Hate Crime. I am investigating how British Asian Muslims experience everyday life, whether they experience racism, discrimination or difficulties in finding assistance from organisations.

If you decide to take part you will be interviewed by the researcher about your life experiences. The interviews will be audio-recorded with your consent. If you do not wish to be audio recorded the researcher will make notes of the interview which will be shown to you at the end. You will have an opportunity to read what questions will be asked of you before the interview is conducted.

The interview will be confidential and your name will not be revealed to any third party providing you do not divulge any information which reveals participation in a criminal offence or preparation for undertaking a criminal offence. The data will be anonymous in the final report. No personal data will be linked to quotes or audio extracts used.

If you take part in this project your experiences may assist policy makers in identifying and dealing with hate crime more effectively Taking part in this project is entirely up to you, and no one will hold it against you if you decide not to do it. If you do take part, you may stop at any time without penalty. In addition, you may ask to have your data withdrawn from the study after the research has been conducted.

If you want to know more about this research project, please contact me at:

Mr Altaf Baghdadi BA(Hons), PGCE
University of Salford,
The Crescent, Salford, Greater Manchester
M5 4WT , U.K.,
a.baghdadi@salford.ac.uk
This project has been approved by the Ethics Committee at The University of Salford. Upon request you will get a copy of this consent form.

Sincerely,
Mr Altaf Baghdadi.

B. Consent Statement

I agree to take part in this project. I know what I will have to do and that I can stop at any time.

_____   _____
Signature   **Date**

C. Interview Notes Consent

I have refused audio recording of the interview but consent to note taking of the interview. I have read these notes and confirm they are an accurate record of the interview and consent to them being used in this study.

_____   _____
Signature   **Date**

D. Audio Recording Consent Addition

I agree to audio recording at _____ on _____.

_____   _____
Signature   **Date**

I have been told that I have the right to hear the audio record before they are used. I have decided that I:

_____ want to hear the record

_____ do not want to hear the record

Sign below if you do not want to hear the recording. If you want to hear the recording, you will be asked to sign after hearing them. Altaf Baghdadi and other researchers approved by The University of Salford may use the recording made of me. The original recordings or copies or transcripts may be used for (tick all that apply)

_____ this research project

_____ academic lectures

_____ presentation at professional meetings

_____ _____ _____

Signature   **Date**   **Address**

Data Analysis

<u>Prejudice and Discrimination.</u>

Working definitions of prejudice and discrimination are also difficult to decipher. The data shows quite clearly that the interviewees understood that what was happening to them was wrong all inappropriate, but most interviewees struggled to differentiate between the two. Notably, even academics would also find it difficult to define the two concepts separately, but the agreed definition appears to be that discrimination generally hinders the victim in achieving something, whether that is promotion at workplace or receiving a service from a public institution. Whereas prejudice is innocuous in the sense that there is generally no end result. It is a culmination of beliefs that a person holds about another, but the most important aspect of prejudice is that the victim is aware that something is wrong or that someone holds these beliefs. This is often silent or covert and Adnan, a 40-year-old teacher working in a large comprehensive school, explains this rather well,

… It's like you know what he is looking at. I mean my line manager… I never got on with him because he was such a difficult guy. I caught him a few times in the staff room, he would sit adjacent to me and he would eye me up… Look at me from head to toe. I knew what he was looking at. I knew he wasn't looking at my shirt or the colour of my shoes. He was looking at the texture of my hair, my ear, the colour of my skin. It wasn't right, but I knew this. You have to be in that situation to understand. I know if I told others they would have laughed it off. But I knew what was happening. It just felt wrong. My instinct told me that it was wrong. Something was amiss. The situation was wrong.

Others define statements made by perpetrators as prejudice. These statements are usually in the form of innuendos and Anisa, a trainee lawyer, recalls,

Um, err, we were doing, um, what... We were watching an assessment video of this girl who... We were watching two videos of a good grade in advocacy and a bad grade in advocacy.
Um, und they... When we were watching the good one, believe it or not, it was, um, a Chinese Asian girl, she had an accent and there was, um, a Pakistani or Indian girl who she was, um, advocating against, right? And she had an accent as well so, one of the guys in our course, um, he mimicked her accent, um, and said, you know, kind of, saying that's why

she got the grade she did because of her accent and, regardless, it's just one of those things that I don't, I know I don't sound like him so...It was, it was obvious, you know, he was making a dig out of the fact that she's got a funny accent, that Asian girl's got a funny accent, so, it's obviously, it's done, it's done in way where he didn't say it directly to me. But it's offensive to me because, obviously, I know I don't speak like him and he's an Oxford, Oxford graduate so...It just wasn't... Everyone laughed it off and you just, kind off, don't say anything. I think that's the... There's, it's tricky ground, you know, when you're studying with these people and you've got to work you just... There are situations that if it's completely bang out of order, so if someone said something against my religion I would...I would respond immediately, I would definitely say something. That's one thing that I'll never tolerate but things like that I see them as just cheap digs, there's no point stooping to their level really.

Again, from a subjective point of view, Anisa felt that what she experienced was prejudice in the form of innuendos. She went on to suggest that the statements had little effect on her, but it made her aware of the attitudes and beliefs of a fellow student whom she had to work with.

The innocuous nature of prejudice is also reported by Sabrina, who tries to define what she has experienced,

…Yeah…Yeah, I mean, I get that. I mean, a couple of times I've been into town and... like, I did get into an argument with somebody once, and maybe I pushed in front of her or whatever, by accident. And... and she... you know, so I got into an argument with her. She said, oh, just go back to your own country. And, you know, so I've had that a couple of times where they've said to me, yeah, go back to your own country. Just verbal stuff.
Um, I don't know. I mean, how I'd take that... I wouldn't... I wouldn't be too fussed about that, to be quite honest. Um, because you get that all the time, don't you? Ah, you know, you curry-munchers, or stuff like that. And that doesn't affect me. That-that's not... I think hate crime is more religious... more to do with religion, because, you know, even though... even though my background, you know, is Pakistani, that doesn't mean anything to me because I'm here. Whereas my religion, regardless of where I am, will mean something to me.

It appears that some interviewees struggle to define experiences of everyday prejudice. Sabrina, for instance, uses the phrase "ignorance" to explain her

experience, whereas in the next interviewee, Amira uses the phrase "you know what I'm trying to say?" This is probably because, as a British Muslim interviewer, she assumed the interviewer would have an understanding or empathy about her experience. This point is interesting since it raises the question whether the definitions of prejudice, discrimination and hate would be less refined if the interviewer had been of a different ethnic group and/or a different religion. Nevertheless, Amira captures an everyday experience that she believes was at odds with what people would normally experience,

Umm, I think, like [unclear] today actually. I went to get ice cream, and there's marshmallows. And obviously, generally marshmallows have gelatine in them so you can't eat them .Umm, but I don't like marshmallows anyway. So, uh, the guy behind the counter... a general, white, normal person...saying the marshmallows are halal. Like, yeah, I don't want them. Yeah, but they're halal. You can have them. Right, yeah, but I don't like marshmallows. Why is he trying to give marshmallows when I don't like them? All right, I'm just telling you they're halal. Okay, that's fine (She laughs). So, like, I think he just, like, generalised off my whole... I felt... the fact that I didn't want marshmallows just because they're halal, but I just... I don't like marshmallows. You know what I'm trying to say?

And now you must take them because they're halal... I don't want them. But I think he was just generalising the fact that... oh, because a lot of people don't eat the marshmallows because they're not halal, but that... just because they're not halal doesn't mean I like them, and everybody... every Muslim now is going to eat these halal marshmallows because he tells me they're halal now.

Alcohol appears to be an issue which permeates within the narratives of most of the interviewees and the non-consumption of alcohol is perceived as a factor that contributes to their exclusion. One of the participants, Anisa, aged 26, talks about the perceived problems that British Muslims face with issues regarding alcohol,

But, like, um, you know it's offensive to you because of your ethnicity or your background because, say it's to do with drinking, you don't drink and it's just like a, a dig at you, like, oh yeah, that's what we do but you don't do that. You know it's discrimination, um, but if they'd done it in a subtle way, as in... Some might see it as in it's a direct brush to you but when it's

laughed off it's done, kind of, in an indirect way but you know when it's, you know when it's discrimination.

Other examples include, Mariam, aged 29, a bank clerk, who felt that as an orthodox Muslim she would avoid anything that was related to alcohol,

I won't even go near a pub, 'cause there is alcohol served and I feel uncomfortable. There have been so many Christmas parties I have missed because of this (she laughs). It doesn't go down well, you know, with the others in the office 'cause they think I'm being awkward, and I'm not but you can sense they're talking about you behind your back.

Mariam's perceived exclusion is also echoed by Shoeb, aged 36, who raised the issue of alcohol amongst Muslims with his employees at the comprehensive school where he has worked for over 15 years,

I told them that it might be best to organise the Christmas do's at locations other than pubs. Maybe restaurants that serve halal food and those that want to drink alcohol can visit pubs after the meal. This would be best 'cause everyone is included, no one is excluded, you know. I mean we talk about inclusivity don't we? Equality and all that… well where is it?

Interviewer: Were your views taken on board?

Respondent: Well, you know, they listened but I don't really think they were interested. It seemed to me that we (Muslims) were the outsiders and we had to fit into their culture. We had to integrate, but integration is a two-way thing. I don't know, maybe I'm wrong; (he shrugs his shoulders).

It also appears that some interviewers perceived comments about alcohol as either direct statements or indirect statements. For instance Rafiq, aged 37, recounted events where alcohol was specifically mentioned and felt that his aversion to alcohol led to his exclusion,

…so I stopped going out, and used to say oh, umm, I can't make it, this night out, and they soon tried to get, they soon started to get the hint that this guy doesn't want to come. And err, so then thinking back to it, that maybe they didn't like me ordering my vegetarian food, maybe they didn't like me not having any alcohol, maybe they didn't like, it was an

embarrassment, for them, that I used to speak to the waiters and waitresses, err, about preparing my food in a vegetarian manner, and with no alcohol or anything. Sorry, I realised this after the socialising stopped, and I was stopped, err, I was, yeah I was stopped call, being called for the jobs of my colleagues.

In comparison, Anisa refers to alcohol as a statement made to her indirectly,

Yeah. That… that we can just work out a situation and we can see this isn't right. It's not something that's said outright, but you know what it's about.

Furthermore, Ilyas, a 40-year-old civil servant, also perceives the consumption of alcohol as a means to be accepted. Through his working life he noticed that British Muslims who were successful within their professions were often willing to openly accept Western values,

They go drinking with 'em and that. That's why it's easier for them to get in with 'em. I couldn't do that because as a Muslim it's not allowed for me. That's why, for me, it was always going to be difficult

Asma, a 34-year-old housewife, also recalls,

I used to work for the council as a cleaner and we used to go out for meals sometimes on special events. I felt awkward most of the time, you know, I felt like they weren't happy that I didn't socialise as much. My husband didn't like me going to these outings 'cause like me, he didn't like being around alcohol. I hardly ate anything because sometimes the fish and chips were cooked in beer batter, you know. So I just had a salad, this didn't go down well with my colleagues. It was just awkward, you know?

In a wider context the link between socialising and exclusion is also prevalent in the lives of many British Muslims. The Asian image, community newspaper, July 2013, reported the experiences of a Muslim cricket team (Deane and Derby Cricket club) in Bolton which was refused admission into the mainstream Bolton and District Cricket Association despite the fact that the Deane and Derby Cricket club has been established since 1967 and has its own ground. The newspaper reported,

A spokesman for Deane and Derby said, " I am not sure what we have done wrong… In the 1980's the club was refused entry on several occasions… It seems decisions have been made with the intention to exclude some clubs and it's just not cricket."

Deane and Derby officials suspect the decision is based on the fact that they do not have " bar facilities" as dealing, handling and the consumption of alcohol is not permitted within Islam.

In essence, therefore, British Muslims feel that their refusal to consume, deal or handle alcohol is used as a reason to exclude them from mainstream society. For some this exclusion is uncomfortable and detrimental and they will attempt to redress the balance. Asma and again noted that she,

Would make home-made Pakistani and Indian food often to take to work and share it with my colleagues to show them that we too have a culture where we eat together, but we just don't to alcohol. But we can still enjoy each other's company without having to drink. The other Asian colleagues didn't like me doing this and thought that I was trying to get in their good books, you know? But I wanted to socialise, you know? 'Cause I think it's important because I wanted to work in the place.

Excerpts from lived experiences of Muslims also highlight the feeling of being "marginalised". Victims are either fully aware of the fact that they are marginalised or have a general understanding that they are classed as "outsiders" but lack the vocabulary to articulate it. For instance, Zafar, a British Pakistani Muslim, talked about his experiences at work as a self-employed Media Technician,

In my work I depend on others to give me references or to pick me to be part of their team. So a cameraman may get a job, so he'll call me to work with him as a sound technician and it works like that. This group of Technicians meet up often and they started to meet up at pubs. I told them as a Muslim I didn't drink alcohol and it started from there. I went to a few meetings but didn't feel like I was wanted. They told me to buy them "rounds" and sometimes I did and sometimes I didn't. I was asked stupid questions like why I didn't drink. My phone then stopped ringing and I stopped getting regular work…no one wanted to work with me. If I drank alcohol I think I would have made it big. But I didn't fit in as a Muslim. (Unstructured Interview 20th July 2012).

During the interviews conducted for this research it was interesting to note that *Citizen Khan* (2012) was a contemporary (as discussed above), topical issue and some interviewees felt it necessary to voice their concerns about their lived

experiences as British Muslims by making reference to this programme. Fatima, a 23 year old British Muslim student felt that the comedy,

Was unfair…they (non-Muslims) will begin to think that this is how we live. But in real life we don't live like this. Our religion is important to us, so when the programme showed a girl who had a lot of make-up on quickly put on a hijab (headscarf) and started reading the Koran because her father had walked in, was wrong. It's offensive and the programme doesn't tell us about the benefits of reading the Koran or wearing a hijab. (Unstructured Interview 20th July 2012).

Yasmeen, a 24 year old trainee teacher, had similar concerns,

It (the programme) wasn't all that funny. The main actor, Mr Khan in the programme, is a Muslim himself so he should have known better really. Making fun out of culture is fine, we all do that. Comedies like *Goodness, Gracious Me* were funny because it was about culture and we as Asians can relate to this as a whole group. The main actors in *Goodness, Gracious Me* were Sikh, but they didn't make fun out of their religion did they? It was just having a dig at us (Muslims). It's about how far someone can push the boundaries and its all negative stuff. (Unstructured Interview 20th July 2012).

Of further importance is the fact that both Fatima and Yasmeen spoke about the programme as an example of marginalisation and exclusion. Both interviewees felt that this was a contemporary example of exclusion which, to some extent, affected the way in which they lived.

In reality, therefore, Saira Khan's comments in the Daily Mail (as discussed above) were on the one hand refreshing and interesting but far from informed and conclusive. The lived experiences of many British Muslims indicate a general fear of being ostracised and, in turn, this having a detrimental effect on their ability to find jobs, better housing and education for their children. In this light, Khan's comments are somewhat cursory and they lack the appreciation that most Muslims will find programmes like *Citizen Khan* as perpetuating ill-informed stereotypes, which, in themselves, will affect the ability of British Muslims to find suitable jobs, housing and education. Khan, in her article, also points out that the Irish, Welsh and Scottish have also been the butt of parodies, but fails to recognise that these groups are empowered and can withstand the stereotypes attributed to them.

In comparison, Adam, a British Indian Muslim working as teacher in a secondary school has an "awareness" of marginalisation,

I know what's going on when I'm not part of meetings. When meetings have gone on but I've not been informed. When I question it I'm told that they are just informal meetings and that I, myself, need to make more of an effort to be a "team player"…whatever that means.

There were times when timetables for the next academic year have been drawn up but I've not been consulted, so I end up with a timetable that has had little or no input from me. Its then up to me to chase it up and rectify it if it's wrong. It's obvious but subtle if you know what I mean. I know they're excluding me, but there's very little I can do about it. There are seven of us in that department, mixture of men and women and I am the only Muslim. I tend not to socialise with them because I just don't get on with them on a social level. Professionally we must get on. While it's hard being excluded most of the time, I know how to live with it. I have developed my own strategies. Some people might think that I'm the problem, I don't know and to be honest I don't care. (Unstructured Interview 20th July 2012).

Adam's recount of his experiences show an awareness of being "excluded" and this is probably why he is able to formulate unique strategies to "live with it". However, what is important is the fact that both subjects indicate the cause of their exclusion to that of their faith as opposed to their race.

Self –Efficacy

Writers such as Chin (2004) and Contrada and Baum (2011) have written extensively on the effects of prejudice and discrimination and racism. For purposes of this research it was interesting to note that self-efficacy was an issue for some interviewees and a number of them commented on feeling of being over scrutinised, while others were left with feeling that they were not good enough. It was not surprising, therefore, that issues of self-efficacy was discussed within the context of employment. Waqar, a 35-year-old established teacher at a primary school, offered an insight into his experiences,

… My speciality being mathematics, over the years I have taught learners of different abilities. This time around because I had taught to learners of lower abilities for two consecutive years, I proposed to the line manager that I wanted to teach high ability learners… I was really surprised with the reply. I was told that as a department we had to play to our strengths and my strength was dealing with lower ability learners. Higher ability learners needed a different approach because the end of year results depended on what this group achieved.

I was a little taken aback, but I didn't raise a challenge, I let it go because a departmental meeting was due in a couple of day's time. At the meeting I raised the issue again and I found myself almost heckled by the four people I worked with (he smiles). It was as if they had been primed by the line manager. All of them including the line manager persuaded me to carry on teaching low ability learners.

These things play on your mind and the next day I had a look at my overall achievements and results for the past five years and found that my performance was better with high ability learners compared to all the other colleagues in my Department… Can you believe that? (He pauses).

Interviewer: How did that make you feel?

Respondent: Outraged! What do you mean? Am… I went to the line manager, walked into his room and told him as it was. Lower ability students required a lot of attention and the administration involved was onerous…and so this is why they didn't want to teach at that level. Oh he didn't like that, did he? He started shouting and all sorts. He didn't like the challenge. He thought I would just accept it. "Well it's my decision" he said, "I have decided you're better where you are. Maybe next year you might be ready for it." What the hell! (He laughs). I am not ready even though I have I have more experience than my other colleagues?

Interviewer: How did you make sense of this?

Respondent: Look. He had it in his head that as an Asian male I didn't have the ability to teach at a higher level. You see I ended up teaching lower levels for the next three years after that and you start believing that this is where my skills like. You end up defeated. I left the following year and now I am teaching at a bigger school, more opportunities, more

teaching at higher level and…and you know, I found that maybe, just maybe (he smiles) I am actually better at teaching higher ability learners.

Interviewer: Well people can also look at what you have experienced it and term is as collective bullying

Respondent: Well look there are many different ways of looking at this. For instance you might say that it is collective bullying but I know that this is against me, reason being is that it's happened before so when things have happened before you put 2 and 2 together and you know that it's all to do about you and what you've been doing, you know. There were other situations as well. So for example, I was with the whole team marking exam papers and the line manager made out that I didn't have enough papers to mark so he said to the person who was giving out the papers to mark he said, in front of me, to make sure that Waqar had enough to do as well. Now you know that, you know it's getting at you there was no reason for him to believe that I wasn't pulling my weight but it's is a kind of a roundabout way of saying that you're not doing enough… and that kind of stuff gets to you after a while.

Interviewer: How do these incidents affect your ability?

Respondent: Well there have been other cases as well where I have been given a certain task but these are always the tasks that nobody else wants to do… like the mundane tasks the paperwork …sometimes the manager tries to pull a fast one on you … you know sometimes the manager will try to give you more students…err…so for example if the average class size is 20, suddenly you find that you've got 27 and then when you question it they tell you that classes have been organised according to the level of ability of the students that you are teaching. So you look around and all the other teacher have 15 students in a class and you find that you've got 27 odd…and the excuse is…oh you are good at teaching this particular level or this particular module. And you realise that this has all been worked out before hand, its all been constructed, if you like…so there's nothing more you can do about that… so it feels like you are one that is picking up all the students that no-one wants to teach and teaching all the modules no-one wants to teach…and the funny thing is when you challenge it, they make out that *you* (he points to himself) are the one that's being awkward. You're never challenged in being given the responsible tasks… the tasks such analysing and crunching data… the tasks such as interpreting data…umm… writing reports at the end of the year with regards to performance of the student cohort…these are delegated to other staff and you are left with mundane tasks… making sure that the photocopies or the resources are up to date, making sure that the resources

are there and making sure that all the rooms are tidy and clean because of health and safety. You are never given the key jobs …the tasks that will propel you onto the next stage you're never given that. It just makes you believe that you're just cornered and there's nothing more you can do in that particular job… even though you've got so much experience you can't use that experience any more.

There was a time when I took the initiative once at the end of the academic year and having taken the initiative I decided to analyse the data myself and started writing reports… I thought this would be really good, this will help me gain more experience and when I did the report I took it to the line manager. And he didn't look too pleased to be honest with you. And the comments I got were things like, "oh well we do this is as a collective thing as a departmental thing but thanks anyway" . So a few days down the line and most of what I had written wasn't used anyway…and it deflates you so these kind of things put you down and and it's more about putting you down its more about him trying to tell you in a in a roundabout way that, you know,   these jobs are really too responsible these jobs and too difficult for the likes of you. They make out that the jobs carry a sense of responsibility, which you don't have.

There were other times when for instance you in a meeting…somebody does something special within the Department and its announced so for example… someone did something in marketing the courses which was extremely successful and the line manages made the announcement in front of everyone and said, for example, that this person, so and so has done this and it has helped us… I did one of those things once and I stayed late after work to prepare the Department for a parents evening…umm. And I did all the legwork basically. Getting the chairs out and stuff and organising everything right down to the refreshments … it took me a few days to do this… it was quite onerous. And having done this, in my own time, you…and most of the members of the group were very appreciative of what I had done. So in the following am team meeting we had the line manager, and this is a funny thing to be honest , said thanks to the member of staff who helped out with the organising of the parents evening. I can't understand why he didn't mention me by name… I can't understand why…I spent so much time doing this…and see these things make you wonder why.   At the end of the meeting the line manager pulled me aside and said, "oh thanks for helping out with the organising" as a kind of a gesture, you know.

There is also an awareness of the effects of discrimination and prejudice. For instance, Adnan pointed out that discrimination in the workplace has a pernicious effect on the victim,

117

I went into this shop once …umm,,, which was a large store that sells electrical goods like computers… I went in there to buy an external hard drive for a computer I wasn't really sure what I was buying so when I walked in I started looking around and called one of the attendants who came over. He was a young lad, 23, 24-year-old Asian… with beard so I knew he was a Muslim and I saw his name tag as well which had a Muslim. He then started explaining to me the different types of hard drives that you can get what we used… for example, you know, if you are using it for saving photos or using it for saving work documents or things like that. He really gave a very good description of the different products and offers…err.. and explained the stuff really well and it made me feel that he really knew what he was talking about even at that age. And then all of a sudden, midway of having this conversation…umm… mid conversation, this bloke walks along, the middle-aged white bloke who I could see was a supervisor, stood like… within earshot of the conversation. It was really unnerving … strange but awkward. At first I didn't realise why he was there and the attendant carried on explaining stuff to me, he pretended to ignore the supervisor…umm.. but now while was explaining things to me he was stuttering, he was nervous…umm.. he was… he couldn't make eye contact anymore… this supervisor actually made him very nervous… this supervisor stood there watching him really put him under pressure. I then realised that this young lad was actually being tested on how he dealt with a customer, how he spoke, what he said and everything that goes with it.

But you couldn't help notice that there was something wrong about this, there was no encouragement given by the supervisor, he was not given help, and basically he was just watching like a hawk. He didn't make any notes…umm.. he looked at him and then he looked at me and I was listening to stuff being said …umm…and to be honest with you, it was really difficult for me as well as a customer…it was really awkward for me as a customer. At that point I realised what really was happening and I stopped the conversation myself and then told the supervisor to log that this was going well… this lad has been really helpful…he had given me a lot of information…umm.. if you put him under pressure so that's why the reasons why…he was stuttering and so I think you know what you're doing is probably wrong, so these were wrong tactics to use and maybe you should think about testing… testing in a different way and that this is wrong testing under pressure in front of others as well as in front of customers .

Interviewer: How did you make sense of all this?

Respondent: Umm… difficult really. And no, it's difficult because I knew what was happening… I knew this lad was being checked, he was being over checked and then put under pressure for no reason…umm… and nobody could perform under that kind of

pressure especially a 23-year-old … honestly this kid this lad was really good , this type of testing was not needed…how can you test like that? It's not real life is it? In real life you're not going to have a supervisor watching you talking to every customer every day.

Adam, a 47 year-old, learning support tutor for dyslexic students provided an interesting insight into the behaviour of Asian employees in the workplace,

I have had a number of different jobs over my working career. The jobs that I have worked in included working with people from different backgrounds…and I have worked out and realised such behaviour of managers and workers which is really fascinating. For instance, some workers know that they are in a certain position. By that I mean some workers realise where they are up on the hierarchy. So you see some workers have a particular body language or talk very passively. Some managers are very authoritarian, some manages are bullying, and very rarely you get some managers who are approachable and easy to get along with. I've noticed that with Asian workers… Asians when they talk to people in charge, especially if it's a key person in charge… their body language and the way they speak changes considerably. They become very passive. They are over polite. And the system has caused this. And Asians have very rarely any kind of ambition to progress. At best I worked in supermarkets where at best Asians won't have an ambition to become supervisors   . Never ambitions to become store managers. Never ambitions to go high enough. And when you find that they have reached the goal of becoming a supervisor it's normally in a very awkward and difficult circumstances. So for example you may get an Asian supervisor in a supermarket but he's supervising the nightshift. So it's unusual to find an Asian supervisor supervising in peak hours. And you wonder why this is it maybe because people don't believe that Asians are good enough to supervising the peak hours, that they don't have the skills to manage properly, that they don't have the skills to go and juggle conflicting duties… work under pressure. And what is really interesting to me was how they can make Asian workers pigeonholed themselves into being workers into the shelf fillers into working only on night shifts and…because they felt that's as far as they could go, and no further. Yes I also came across Asians who had a lot of ambition and had self-belief…they believed that they could go much further and these were the ones that broke away from working for others. These were the ones who in the end became self-employed, and these people became very good at what they did. Maybe I don't know, maybe this is why Asians are, businessmen this is why they are entrepreneurs because they are probably tired and sick of the system that they have been in and a lack of opportunities that they have had so what's best then to create opportunities for yourself and work for yourself and not answer to anyone else. So my career has taken me into different areas…and I've also worked within hospitals where

some of the doctors were mainly working on night shift …especially doctors from abroad and they had some of these doctors working on weekends and maybe I'm wrong …maybe they did have a rota system… I don't know but every time I worked on the night shift …I saw mainly Asian doctors on these nightshift and you wonder why this is… and some of these doctors were really talented and should go on to become consultants but again I don't know if that's… that's the case again this not many but somebody's content to do what they did in this state. So I don't know what it is but I think out there is a strict…umm… in my opinion there is a strict hierarchical kind of structure and …err,, some people just accept and go to find their own slot within the structure normally it's at the lower levels… some people find that structure… some people walkway from a structure altogether and do something completely different. If I was 15 -20 years younger with the knowledge and experience that I have now, I probably would have done something myself and would be much easier for me to be my own boss to be self-employed to not to not be scrutinised not to be spoken to and undermined as they often been doing in my working career.

Self-efficacy is a concept that is difficult to define and most of the participants that did touch on the issue were asked to explain how they felt. Thus, they were able to express the emotion better. For instance, Amira explained,

I think because... as Asians, or, like... we just think, oh, we're... because we're in the minority we're not as superior to the majority which are not Asian. Umm… so, uh, we always put ourselves lower than what the... uh, the majority is. Umm… I had an occasion where this elderly lady said to me, can you speak English? I was like, I am speaking English. And then she went to the other girl who was on the till, who was white. She was, oh, I'd rather speak to her. I was like, hold on a second, I was speaking English to you.

Interviewer: What did your job involve?

Respondent: I used to sell beds.

Interviewer: Right, okay.

Respondent: A sales consultant selling beds. And, um, elderly lady... I would say she is between 70 to 80? So, already got quite bad hearing. So I was talking quite loud and slow, to, like, obviously be able to communicate with her. And after my whole sales speech, she said, can you speak English? I was like, what? I just looked at her like, are you being

serious? I have been speaking English. And then she said, oh, is it okay if I go and speak to him, or can you call him over? And the him was actually my manager, who is white. Um, I think he was 60s, so, okay, maybe she related to him a little bit more than she did to me, but the fact that she didn't just say, oh, [unclear] actually said, can you speak English? Well, why did she think I was going to speak a different language to her? Do you know what I mean?

I-I-I was actually quite embarrassed, like, oh my god, am I not speaking properly? I doubted myself. And I thought, no, I speak perfectly good English, thank you.

However, some stereotypes are still pertinent and attract an equally captious form of scrutiny which in turn affects self-efficacy. The experience of Imran, a British Pakistani Muslim male teacher exposes this practice,

When I was training to be a teacher I didn't get the support I needed. The Head of the Department, a white male, didn't support me. He could have told me to observe his lessons for a week to show me the ropes and then left me on my own, I would have felt better. I made many mistakes but they were pointed out to me always. I had to work much harder compared to others because I knew I had to prove myself, whereas they (white trainee teachers) don't (sic) have to work as hard.

The Head didn't help me at all; he didn't tell me the way to go forward. He knew I was going to fall and I think he did it deliberately, it's the colour thing. I experienced the same thing at my second placement as well. I was mentored by a white teacher who was a part timer. I explained my concerns to my university tutor that she was a part timer and I wanted a full timer and I didn't get on with her so she would fail me. In the end she did fail me. I had to then pay £500 for another placement to pass the course. I told the university mentor a couple of times that it wasn't working; I told her at the beginning that it wasn't working so she had the time to turn it around and find me another placement.

I just think there is more politics in the north (of England). We go out to work, be professional but they have an image of us, local images of Asian men hanging out on street corners, driving fast cars. So at my placement they thought this is another one of those Asian guys, let him sort himself out, let him develop himself.

Imran's experience underlines his awareness of race and the stereotypes attached to this social construct. It is also clear that, in this case, prejudice or biased

behaviour could have been a product of these stereotypes. Bearing in mind that Imran is a newly qualified teacher, his experience is similar to what would have been experienced some three decades ago (Ali et.al. 2008).

Adil, a British Indian Muslim male teacher, shares a different experience of exclusion,

This is an experience I come across often. Asian students themselves who question my teaching. Some Asians still believe that as an Asian male I really don't know what I'm doing, that I'm not good at my job. This is a stereotype, isn't it? That we're not professionals. I had one Asian female student, who was so convinced I was teaching the wrong material that she went behind my back to a white colleague to make sure that she had the correct notes. It's like she was getting a second opinion. There was no need for it. This then affects your credibility, your colleagues then begin to think the same. Even though you always get the results there's always a question mark about your capabilities.

Other types of employment also seem to show a similar brand of exclusion. It appears that where public interaction is required the stereotypes of Asians and the manner in which they conduct their work become salient. Adam, a British Indian male who works for a local authority advising on Housing and Council Tax Benefits recalls,

I've been giving advice for many years. One middle-aged Asian man asked for advice on housing benefit and I told him he was entitled to a certain amount, did all the calculations for him and everything. It wasn't as if I fobbed him off. At the end of the interview he left. About 15 minutes later he came back into the office, but I was interviewing someone else, so he went over to my colleague, a white lady, who was sitting next to me and I could hear him telling her that he had spoken to me earlier but thought the information I gave was wrong. He asked her exactly the same question. I noticed he was more friendlier, more talkative with her than he was with me. My colleague gave exactly the same advice and did exactly the same calculations. He said thank you to her and left.

I've seen Asian clients come into the office and when they see me at the reception, they ask to see one of my other colleagues. I know what's going on. They think I'm stupid and won't be able to figure it out. (Unstructured Interview 17th July 2012).

Adil's and Adam's experiences are clear examples of exclusion or segregation from within their groups or "in group bias". Both felt that they were required to justify their actions, not only to their superiors but even customers/clients from their own homogenous groups (field notes dates). Entrenched stereotypes, therefore, work to subordinate individuals and groups to the point where members of that group feel that they are different and, in fact, subordinate.

One particular interviewee attempted to cover these questions. Anwar, 47, working as a primary school teaching assistant described his role and experiences with a depth of insight- possibly owing to his life experiences.

Respondent: if you look at it we British Asian Muslims are living in tolerance.

Interviewer: what do you mean?

Respondent: well I'm working at the school and they (white people) are tolerating me (he emphasises the word tolerating). They are working with me because they have to. This is not the same as treating me equally. I am an Asian male and Muslim and I am being tolerated (he again emphasises the word tolerated). I am, therefore, living and working in toleration and I know this is wrong, but I cannot do anything about it. The only thing I can do is be aware of it. I know what they are thinking when they look at me, or when I need time on a Friday afternoon to attend Friday Congregational praise. They can't help it but point out that it will have to be taken as my lunch break (he laughs). There is no need to point that out. I am not expecting you to give me free time, I will work for my time, there is a lack of trust, do you know what I mean? You can tell -or I can tell they don't trust me. I asked myself why? I am not a convict or I haven't cheated my employees-so it can only be that I am Asian and Muslim.

It appears from Anwar's statement that he is referring to intersectionality. He believes that type of discrimination he suffers is about his race and religion and that he is seen as both an Asian male and a Muslim. For Anwar, therefore, his religion is it part of his identity and race and religion are interrelated. However, when asked how he would describe himself he classed himself as a British Muslim and his race did not form part of his description on enquiring, Anwar explains,

You can see that I'm Asian. What difference does it make? When I apply for a job my name and colour gives it away I can understand why some Asians changed their names. You know, make it more English sounding

Interviewer: Do you mean Anglicise the name?

Respondent: Yeah that's it, some do that so they can get jobs. It's difficult, having to change who you are so you can get accepted. And even then I wonder if they get properly accepted.

In terms of hate, therefore, Islamophobia is experienced in different ways by different people. For instance, the above extract shows that Anwar's experiences, in his own words, were subtle. His discrimination affected his working life in a silent, covert fashion which had a cumulative effect. Other interviews (see below) exemplified the same theme with participants complaining about the lack of opportunities and unfair practices.

One respondent was particularly assertive when his ability to carry out a particular task was blatantly questioned by his line manager. Ikram, who describes himself as a 45-year-old British Indian Muslim, worked for the social services in a care home for autistic children,

…Yeah… and I, I would have been one or two people that, that are... I mean, one of them, I won't mention names, but she's in her early 30s, I think, very early 30s, and she looks down on everyone, whether you're black or white, or whatever; ah, it's her rule or way or no way, and she once said something to me, and I said, well, I protected you from that boy who would have beat the hell out of you. If it wasn't for me, ah, and you said I didn't hold him properly, which I did, because I held him the same way as my colleague did, which I know he did right, he would have beat you up; he would have smashed your face. You know he would have, because these autistic kids are really powerful, and, and I'm not the smallest or the biggest person, but, but I think I'm fairly strong, and Neil is fairly strong, and we were struggling. And then we had two other people holding this young kid. And I said he has a habit of head butting people and smacking people in the face. I mean, if it wasn't for me, ah, you know, he would have... he would have smashed your face, and said, I'll tell you what, why don't I tell management that I did something wrong. She says, oh, no, no; she said I'm not going to grass you. I said, no, no, I'm going to grass myself up because I did nothing wrong; you're in the wrong for saying what you're saying. I said, but if you honestly think I

did something wrong, tell them, because Neil would be in trouble because Neil did the right thing, and so did I. I said, but if you have something against me, which I think you do, please be direct because you seem to be nitpicking constantly about me and my colleagues, and you've already said all the people at this house are useless, you know, working here. But you just come from another place; we didn't like you – we honestly didn't like her; they wanted her out – and you've come here and you've complained about all of us.

This was... I said, so I don't know what your issue is, but she was, ah... thing is, she was nasty to all my colleagues, and some of them have said similar thing. So if you don't like this house, and you think all these children that we work with are not very nice, then leave, because these kids, to us, are amazing people. Ah, I said I've been hit by them, but it's not their fault, you know; I've just been at the wrong place at the wrong time when... so be it.

You see…it was anger that I've protected her and she was stabbing me in the back, ah, because she... she doesn't like working with these kids, but yet she's still in this place, ah, and I think that's wrong. If you don't like the children, yeah, please leave, because working with these youngsters, ah, you know, it gives you an insight into a lot more of what life's really about; you know, how lucky we are. Ah, only if you have an open mind.

Furthermore, apart from age, Ikram also mentioned that he could vocalises emotion better because,

… You see.are., but this time I had been made permanent… I had a better footing… I could say things back because it was much harder for them to get rid of me.

In comparison Imtiaz, 37, recalled,

My manager at the time was a woman in her early 30s who was awkward most of the time. I have always had to explain stuff to her, like. You know, why I did something, how I did it. But, like, she always question things I did.

I worked at the local council for…err… a number of years as a housing benefit adviser to the public. At that time I was married and also had a young family. The one incident that really comes to mind is when I was relatively new to the job but I did know my stuff…err.. I was advising a customer about his rights to claim housing benefit. In that room there were six or seven other customers present as well. I remember I got a little mixed up I think with some of the calculations I had to do so I did the right thing and I asked for a second opinion so I went to the manager and asked her to check what I had done. And she wasn't very helpful she

came back with me to the room where the customers were and she felt that she had to make it public for some reason. So in front of everyone she like really scalded me…she ahd a real go at me…really shouted at me in front of the others… where does all this her information come from? She was asking…. how did you get this figure? How did you get to this calculation? What information have you given to this gentleman? And all sorts and it was really embarrassing really…err.. really put me down and there wasn't any need for that to be honest with you. I think a good manager would have…err… protected me in some way…err… and if I did make a mistake which I don't think I did, then there was an opportunity to talk to me after everyone had left. You know so that that… that was one incident which really came to mind and after that and I was very wary of this… this manager. I kept my distance from her…err…in turn it did affect me in the long run…umm… and I felt…that… that my stay at the council would really be as long as I wanted it to be but because of this…. I think I realised from that one situation and that things would become a little bit difficult for me. And all so you know why I discussed this with friends and family this one incident and sometimes I feel that I should have said a few things like maybe I should have… but I do know I had the family to think about and permanent job and young family to think about and a mortgage to pay…err… so there was no way out…because I was afraid that I would lose my job and if I lost my job I had nothing so the best thing was to keep myself to myself and move on with it. But looking back on it now you know…maybe I should have said a few things back, maybe I should've pulled her aside and…err… and told her the way she dealt with me was wrong…umm…and in all the way she talked to me was wrong. And… and I do think it's because I was Asian and I think that… that's the main reason…the incident was really… really embarrassing and I could feel myself going red in the face. And then…to know what gets me now is how I honestly don't think I did anything wrong and I think I did the right thing to double check my calculations and a good manager I think ,would have said that was the right thing to do, you know?

It appears, therefore, that prolonged and consistent criticisms affect the way in which people behave. Moreover, it is evident from the interviews above that some participants began to believe that they actually were not good enough to complete a given task, apply from for a promotion or even take on additional responsibilities. Arguably, this negative thinking becomes ingrained and over time the victim ends up typecast which are the beginnings of stereotype threats.

Another important point is that in some organisations it is tactical to ensure that a worker who may be very capable of executing menial labour is not promoted; otherwise he would be difficult to replace. Therefore, while some corporate

behaviour is tactical, it is not necessarily motivated by prejudice or discrimination. Indeed other more extreme behaviour is attributed to bullying strategies and harassment. For instance, Ikram's excerpt could be construed as bullying, even though the participant himself does not use bullying as a phrase to explain his experience. Furthermore, the issue of prejudice and discrimination arises when the victim feels that the event is an attack on him, on a more personal level (Essed 2004), be it race, religion or gender.

Notably, three male participants highlighted that the incidence they experienced occurred throughout their working lives which made them believe that their race (or even religion) was a key factor. Iqbal, a 49-year-old who describes himself as a British Asian local government employee, reached this very conclusion owing to his experiences,

It's good to let the younger generation know about the experiences that we had in the 70s and 80s. I shared this with my own children and talk to them about the dangers of extreme groups like BNP, all the others like EDL and tell them… in old things…umm like how important it is to vote and not miss your fault because if these parties came to power it would be really difficult for the rest of us so we have to be very careful. It's not so much about day-to-day living how worried about people who are prejudiced that happens everywhere. It's more about this hate thing… you know hate can be violent it can lead to violence… we see the news in places like Germany in Europe where some of these right-wing groups have been very powerful and very violent people and it could be a matter of time before it comes here. Let's hope not but it could be a matter of time. So it's about telling not just my children but other youngsters about the dangers of this kind of behaviour and to tell them about what they need to do. I even tell them about making sure that they've got good qualifications so if ever they needed to move to another country then they could... Maybe gone to the Middle East. Maybe go back home to Pakistan or India. Maybe go to Africa or China. Where there are a lot of jobs going. Because the future is uncertain not just for us but I'm sure for a lot of people in a lot of countries things are getting tighter with the crash, the economic crash so things are getting much more difficult for everyone things are getting tighter and because of that the people are getting much more frustrated because…err…that… there's not many jobs going so… they need to do… you need a scapegoat they need to point fingers and that's the reason why it gets very… very difficult so there are Asians who… really made it in this country but you can see some other people get very jealous of this. So I advise my children to be wary of this, to work hard to save up and know that sooner or later if

something does happen I'm not saying it's going to happen but if it does then you are prepared for it and you can take your family elsewhere.

It can be argued that Iqbal may share a sense of paranoia with other people of his age group, but the other participants in this research did not show this level of uncertainty. However, the salient theme of violence is still pertinent in Iqbal's account, Iqbal, like others believe hate is a conducive factor to violence and it is this type of hatred that he warns his children about. This participant also tells us that some people may actually in live in fear, or that their lives maybe affected by a perceived sense of threat of violence. While it is not within the remit of this research, it would, however, be interesting to see how Iqbal's life has been affected by this perceived threat. He pointed out that he too lived within a predominantly Asian area and had never considered the possibility of moving out to another area. It was, nevertheless, unclear whether the fear of violence and uncertainty was the prime reason for residing within the same area. Moreover, it could arguably be concluded that the fear of hate and hatred from a group of people may affect how some people plan their lives, it may affect how they raise their children and how the see their role in the wider society.

Age, therefore, is a salient theme throughout the study. The older the participants, it seems, the higher the number of discriminatory incidence they have experienced. Moreover, these experiences shaped the views of these participants, who were readily able to define an articulate what they had experienced often using phrases such as discrimination, prejudice and harassment. It is also clear that the older participants were able to make sense of their experiences by expressing them as issues relating to discrimination and prejudice.

Together with issues of self-efficacy, some participants referred to stereotypes. Notably, though, the phrase stereotype was really used, but it was evident that this is what they had experienced. Maqsood, is a good example to use at this point,

For about a year I taught briefly at a local college and there was this one incident (laughs). I am again… I was working as a learning support assistant and the incident was that about

four students who were Asians… were suspected of carrying drugs…umm… so while I was in a class two security guards were called in, both of them were similar age to me the white men and they picked out the four students that were there and started checking them…err…checking the coat pockets… checking the bags etc… and then the shock is… is and then…. they told me to stand up…err… and started checking me for drugs! (he exclaims) and went through my pockets, my bags and I told them that I was a member of staff and showed them my ID….but they were adamant that they wanted to check me as well…erm… because they suspected that I could be carrying drugs as well…I couldn't make sense of this…at the time…like… I was well p*ssed off… and this type random checking was out of order. I had a quick look around the class and there were four Asian students and I was the fifth one. ...for me that rings alarm bells! (he laughs).

There was also evidence that Celtic efficacy improved after some participants became aware of discrimination or prejudice (Fortune 2008). However, this was also age-dependent and the older participants tended to create opportunities to better themselves. Two examples are worth noting here; firstly, show aired realised that he had to become self-employed to ensure that he had,

… Another source of income… So I… Started doing electrical work… Small jobs… Like… And then took the official registration exams, you know. I started to get more jobs, short contracts and that.

Interviewer: Why did you decide on the change of career?

Respondent: I wouldn't say it was a change of career, I carried on working as a teaching ex-assistant, but reduce my hours. I… I couldn't trust the school management any more and I realised I had to do something else.

Interviewer: So are you happy with what you have done?

Respondent: Oh yeah. Probably the best enough done, you know. I wasn't going sit there and fall apart, like. I wanted to move on. I take my son with me to small jobs I have so he can learn the basics of electrical engineering. Given the chance... an option. He might find himself in the same situation as me one day. I don't know.

Secondly, it but, the 49-year-old local government employee, made a similar adjustment,

… I started a market stall first, selling children's clothing. I then expanded two years later and opened a store in a busy area. Then I left local government altogether. I found I was doing well in my business. My wife… wife left a job as well… Things are good. I don't have to report to anyone now… Apart from the wife! (He laughs)… No regrets mate.

It is unclear whether the discrimination suffered by show aired and Iqbal was so great that they were forced to venture into business as self-employed individuals. Both participants however, in intimated that the incidence had a positive effect in that they became convinced that self-employment was a safer option for them. Braun (2004), in this study, also noted that the awareness of prejudice and discrimination made the victims more resilient and positively affected self-efficacy. Hafsa's account is worth introducing here. She describes herself as a 25-year-old British Bangladeshi, law graduate who believes she experienced discrimination first hand,

… I studied the legal practice course to become solicitor. In the final year I became ill and went through the correct procedure of telling my tutor and completing the mitigating circumstances forms… But… I sat the exams at the end. I failed one, just one module by something like three marks and I appealed, because it meant I failed the whole course… It was like £8000 down the drain. I appealed, but they wouldn't change it, they wouldn't let me pass or go through.

Interview: How did you reach the conclusion that this was discrimination or prejudice?

Respondent: Well over the one year I studied there I had so many problems with the tutor… I just knew he didn't like me… As a person, as Asian, as Muslim. I knew it. It's difficult to explain. I knew he had an issue with my hijab. I can't prove anything, but I just knew it was that. So I can't be a solicitor, I have to spend £10000 again and do the whole course. I don't have the money. I decided then that I will go to Dubai and teach English for a couple of years and maybe make some money, then maybe try again. I did the teaching English as a foreign language course and got through. So I'll be doing that for now.

Indeed prejudice discrimination and racism do not always produce resilience in most individuals. The participants interviewed in this study talked about the frustration that they suffered, some talked about the loss of self-esteem, despondency and anger. Notably, in most cases, there was a sense of resignation with phrases such as "well,

what can you do?",", It's something you have to accept?", "It's part and parcel of being Asian" and "it was obvious I wasn't going to make it here".

Interestingly, only a handful of participants, mainly male, showed a sense of resilience to better themselves and move on either into other employment or consider self-employment as an option or as Iqbal put it,

(Self-employment) is a way of getting out of this endless cycle of racism…

Another caveat is the fact that resilience and entrepreneurship was evident mainly in professional participants, that is, those were graduates and worked as civil servants, teachers or lawyers. It seems that resilience was not evident in blue collar workers, probably because they felt unable to alter their social status and, not surprisingly, resignation and despondency appear to be higher in this group. As an overview, therefore, five respondents spoke positively about their future, four of whom were male, and nine respondents expressed a sense of resignation to this situation, six of whom were female.

Moving on from self-efficacy, it is worth noting whether all participant as it had experienced prejudice discrimination or racism. Aisha, a 40-year-old accountant made a point that,

I've not experienced any of that, to be honest. I've been fortunate 'cause I've worked under Asian managers all my life. I don't know what it's like to work for a white boss, whether male or female…err… So I'm not in a position to say much. I've been fairly treated that's all I can say.

Yeah you know, out and about I've come across a white guy maybe once who called me a p*ki bitch (she laughs)… That's when I was driving… I didn't indicate when turning and he just lost it! See I've never experienced that stuff… It was like a joke to me that… I laughed it off.

<u>Defining Hate.</u>

As mentioned above age is a recurrent theme within this particular research and it is also evident that participants who were over the age of 40 stressed the point of discrimination and racism and how they experienced it with the participant, in particular, comparing the experience of racism in the 1980s to contemporary racism. It is not entirely clear why these participants felt that they had to share the experiences of violent racism of the 1980s. A possible reason would have been to stress the hardships they experienced; but what is also interesting is that only one participant aged over 40 described the racism of 1980s Britain in such detail and defined it as hate crime. Whereas the others did not link hatred to this type and form of racism.

Age, therefore, is a salient theme when defining prejudice, discrimination and racism. It seems that the older the participants the more refined the descriptions became. For instance Ikram tells us,

[Laughing] we were only young. I think being, what was termed freshies, I think that was a bonus, yeah, because we'd come from India; we had nothing, so we had to stand up for what we had. Ah, it's a shame, a lot of these, today's so-called hard idiots don't realise how actually... how hard it actually was for our parents and for us, because our parents went away or did the housework and we were out on the street, going to school, ah, and if you walked away, you were lucky.

Yusuf 46, a self-employed joiner shares a similar experience,

… Then we had no choice… We had to look after each other. These skinheads were ruthless, you know… I remember walking back from school with other Asian lads… We all stayed …stayed as a group… Safety in numbers thing and that… We got jumped on from behind by three or four skinheads and there were big lads…we were only 14 or 15 years old and there were… about seven of us. Three run-off and four of us were cornered, I remember just diving to the floor and I pretended to cry. I got a few kicks in the head, but I pretended to cry. They then turned on my friend… He got the brunt of it. They kept kicking him while he was down and singing a song by madness… You know… Baggy trousers… Have you heard that? I remember the lyrics to it (he sings)"… oh what fun we had, but did it really turn out bad?" They changed the lyrics, they changed it to (he sings again) "…oh what fun we had,

kicking p*kis is head!" That was their anthem… They kick me in the head and now they kicked my friend in the head. (He imitates the kicking). But my friend stood up and hit back, he wouldn't be beaten. He was just a short-lad, but hard. I was ashamed of myself… I was like hiding under my coat… they beat him badly and we had to help him walk home… No mobile phones in the 1980s, we couldn't call for help. Our dads couldn't afford cars so they couldn't come to help us… we had to deal with it, as young as we were. I'd like to see some of these youngsters now, deal with it, they wouldn't have a clue!

So then we started hanging out in big gangs, walked home in big gangs and promised each other that we would look out for each other, you know. It was like a pact thing… Forget telling teachers 'cause nothing was going to be done. (Pause).   Look, here we were street kids, we look after each other, whether you are Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi whatever, we knew we were in it together. I have lived in this area all my life and went to school with some of the lads here, interview them as well, each one of them has a story to tell. Once I was walking into town to catch a bus, I was on my own. These two skinheads, a bit older than me, maybe 18 or 20, walking the opposite way. One of them mumbled something and spat in my face! I can remember the hate in his face. When he did it, it was like he hated who I was. You know? This was like raw racism. The skinheads were a different breed. You know, you get EDL and them others BNP. Don't get me wrong, these are nasty people, but the skinheads, National Front lot had no scruples there were no laws for them they did whatever whenever.

The term hate is a misnomer (as discussed above) and even though there are a number of agreed academic definitions for this concept, the point of this research was to ascertain whether the ley person could define the concept or be able to confidently identify it if he/she was to ever experience it. Out of the 20 respondents who took part in this research, the definitions given by the majority was more divergent than the formal legal or academic definitions. Furthermore, there was a blurring between prejudice, discrimination and hate, often interlinking the three concepts. Maqsood, for instance, is a good first example,

Respondent: I don't know really. I mean I know what it is but it's difficult to define it. So I can't really say I experienced it. I don't know… yes someone can hate someone else but hate is such a strong term to use.

Interviewer: What you mean?

Respondent: The… well for someone to hate someone there must be something else. And it's hard really I mean…like… like someone has to….often actually beat someone up if they hated someone I think. I'm not sure but for me to that is what hate is.

Interview: So in other words there must be some form of violence attached to it

Respondent: Yes… yes that's right so for someone to hate someone there must be some violent …otherwise it can't really be hate can it?

Maqsood's account sets the recurring theme, which is the evidence of violence. In other words, most of the respondents connected violence with hatred and implied that hate could not exist if violence was not present.   In other words, one of the ways in which the participants defined "hatred" was to associate it firmly with violence. Ikram, tries to define hate by explaining that because he had suffered so much abuse at the hands of a group of managers he began to hate *them*,

Respondent: I, I... maybe jealousy; I, I know it sounds really, really strange, but lot of people got on with each other. I mean, seriously, there were really good, good with each other. So they were probably thinking, oh, I'm jealous because no one... they're not trying to be friends with me. I'm not just on about myself but the... a lot of the people working at this supermarket were like very good, close friends, but no one... they were excluded, these idiots.

I mean, to be honest, if that had been the case, I know I would have dealt with it a different way. Ah, it might not have been the right way, you know; that, that's just... because I did tell this guy in the end, I said, you know, you've been nothing but a nasty, nasty... I said, but if it was outside, you'd never ever, ever, ever talk to me this way, ever, because I never talk to you this way, ever, because it's not right. Said I was brought up this way; I said, I don't care how you were brought up. Ah, I said, A, I'm a lot older than you, err, and, B, you're nothing but a, but a bleep. So, well, I was brought... I said, well, your parents were wrong. Ah, I said, yeah, they were brought with you no [unclear], but it's not my problem. I said, but I could get you sacked any time I want, any time.

I hear it's like that with a lot of people, ah I think if they made threats, that... then I would have gone into the hate, because hate's a big word; I know it's something small, [unclear], but it's a really, really big subject, but I don't think it had gone into that. But I think, with me it had because I hated working with them.

Interviewer: So *you* hate?
Respondent: I hated them.

I hated them with a vengeance. It was... I don't even thought they were around [?] because didn't even know better; they were saying... ah…But it was me that hated them.

Interviewer: So how did you come to that hate process then?

Respondent: It was over months and months of constant digging at me, digging at me, ah...

Ah, the management backed them up. Oh, yeah, yeah. And then getting rid of my job and giving it to someone else who, in return, ah, wasn't a very likeable person, but he was one of them. But he got the same treatment off them in the end, you know, which, which I knew was going to happen because this other guy who took mine was useless. And, I mean, absolutely.

In comparison, Ashraf takes a different stance when defining hate,

Respondent: I don't know if this is going off topic or not, whether it answers your question but I think the way the people act in this way is just down to the media portrayal of ethnic minorities.

Interviewer: Right, okay, so that's how they're portrayed and that's why they act in that way?

Respondent: Yes, that's why people act this way. If they're told a certain thing about a certain group of people and they will act, respond, in a certain way to the [unclear]

Interviewer: So how would you, from experiences, how would you define, you know, whether somebody hated somebody? Whether there was hatred involved – what would it take for it to be hatred?

Respondent: Err, negative comments and pre-judging. It's not violence; it's just unnecessary comments and thoughts.

Yusuf, also defines hate in terms of violent physical action and he appears confident with this definition,

All you can say… people of my generation experienced hate first hand. Having lived in the 1980s. You experienced it like me… I experienced that physical violence and …you could see the hate in the faces of the skin heads… for me it was hate… right? It can't be anything else it was hate… hatred towards you because you were of different colour of a different religion. Nowadays I think it's more about the Muslim people… they hate you for being Muslim, it's more about the fact that you are a Muslim, so EDL, BNP hate Muslims you can see that it's obvious that they go on about it all the time to go on about it they keep talking about Muslims this and that Muslims that. They are putting in Shari law… Muslims are making things difficult, or Muslims are taking over our jobs… Muslims are paedophiles. You can see that the way they are expressing these things you can see that they don't really like Muslims that they really hate Muslims…not only here in Britain but alos… Muslims in Europe because I have friends in France and Germany and they will talk about the same thing that that things are getting difficult for them. So yes, then this is hate, this is hatred and this is a bad type of hatred which leads to other things. I don't know… in World War II and the Germans hated the Jews and… let them…umm… killing the Jews… this is how it starts, this kind of hatred is how it starts and then it escalates into something else, something really horrible terrible so you know if you've got to… you've got to look at this in a different way. So for me this is hate so it is a strong word is hate you have, to have something stronger for it to be hate its usually violent stuff… people of similar age would have experienced the same thing and they will probably tell you the same thing if you asked that they experienced hate like that so now…so now I deal with these people especially EDL people in a different way I don't trust them…don't deal with them and I don't want anything to do with because I know they can turn whenever they fancied…they can turn in a second. I tell my children that to keep away from these kind of people because these people hate you that they're violent and aggressive and you don't want to deal with people like that. And all in all you can say people of my generation experienced hate first hand.

Notably there is and age issue present in the analysis, those participants aged 40 plus linked hate with violence, whereas those below the age did not. Taking Ikram's

account again, it is evident that he struggles to find a clear definition of hate and hate crime; instead he resorts to examples to provide a definition,

Respondent: That Martin Lawrence case... oh, sorry, Stephen Lawrence case a good few years back. I mean, that was an out and out racist attack, ah, and for the police to back them, the murderers, who they knew were guilty...

Yeah, ah, and there have been many, many other cases, you know, where... that young Asian, Indian guy who got shot – they caught the murderer but they let him go for a while. Ah, Salford. Yeah, and then they did... then they caught him again and he, he was, ah, he was taunting the police, saying, what are you going to do. I mean, obviously he killed him because he was brown. Yeah. Ah, and, and we grew up in an era where Paki bashing was, was a known.

Ikram shares a sense of nostalgia with the other participants of his age group. What is also important is how this group perceives hate as a phenomenon which will inevitably worsen for the coming generations. This will obviously have an impact on the way this group live their lives and how they share this knowledge with the younger generation, including their children. Iqbal, a 49-year-old accountant vindicates this further,

Interviewer: So in your opinion do you think that hate has to be accompanied by violence?

Respondent: No, not really, in my case there was no sense of violent action...Do you know what I mean? There were incidents in the past which were aggressive. But there wasn't any kind of violence involved. That could have been because we were in a formal setting. It could have been because he was the manager and obviously being violent…umm..he would be in trouble. So it's a difficult one… but I don't think you need violence in situations where there is hate. I can tell you that this man hated me and my religion or hated my religion and a part of me but there was no violence involved so somebody can hate someone else but it doesn't happen have to be aggressive or should I say violent? You can hate someone but you don't have to be violent about it. So it's like saying that a person… I don't know if I'm making sense here. But in no… it's a person who hates you doesn't have to beat you up first for you to know that person hates you. Because of the way he acts towards you and what he says,

tells you that that person hates you. But I could tell that this person hated me not just because of this one incident but because of many other incidences in the past.

Interviewer: What if this was the only instance so, in other words, this applying for leave to celebrate Eid was the only incident would you still class that is hate?

Respondent: Yes I would. Because of what was said. The way he was talking to me. The way he was acting towards me. It was aggressive stuff. The language was aggressive, the mannerisms were aggressive, Granted there was no punches being thrown but it was aggressive stuff and from that even if this was a one-off incident I would still say definitely that this was an incident of hate because he hated my religion and he hated Muslims because of the way he talked about Muslims… so saying things like, "you f***ing Muslims you get everything… I want to be a Muslim… can I convert? is there a leaflet or something?" You know these types of languages and words are used are aggressive and make you think that he doesn't really care about Muslims or he doesn't like Muslims.

While some participants suggest that hate involves some form of violent action, others, albeit a minority, disagree and underline the fact that not all situations will involve violence and aggressive behaviour on its own appears to be sufficient. However, as Iqbal tries to explain, the situation itself requires certain constituents for it to be construed as hate or hate related. This is, however, where the problem arises. The situation depends on individual interpretations and subjectivity, again, appears to be the salient theme.   Iqbal interpreted his situation upon past experiences and reached, what he believed was, a reasonable conclusion. Moreover, this interpretation becomes diluted when it is reported to a second or third person and leaves the victim frustrated and upset. Furthermore, if the second or third person has had a similar experience only then would the victim find some form of empathy, this could explain the recurrence of phrases such as, "do you know what I mean?", "you understand what I'm saying don't you?" and "you know what I'm getting at…". This research asserts that these phrases should not be interpreted as common colloquial parlance, instead they are phrases which aim to bring the listener into an experience which the orator believes can only be experienced by someone with a common background.

Issues of discrimination and racism were described in detail mainly by male participants and they, therefore, differ from their female counterparts. As discussed above, men were more likely to attribute their experiences to discrimination and racism as opposed to prejudice. The females on the other hand, felt that their experiences were mainly as a result of ignorance and benign prejudice. Shokat, a 36 year old college lecturer who identifies himself as British Indian discussed in detail issues that were seen as racist or discriminatory,

Yeah, definitely, I've experienced stuff in the workplace. Because, uh, I work in the public services department.So a lot of the staff are all ex-military, or they've been in the army, or been in the police.So when you get... I know there's been, uh, instances where... because obviously I'm a tutor, so a lot of students come and see me if they're having issues…and… uh, a couple have students have come up to me and said, um, you know, some of the staff... they find them... that they're discriminating against Muslims. And whenever they use examples in the class to describe something, they might say something like, uh, well, al-Qaeda in the Middle East, um, they won't let women drive, or something like that. Yeah? So a lot of students have said, yeah, some of the staff can be discriminating, and I might think that might be to do with the fact that they've actually been in the military…Because the army is based probably on white British people. You don't really get many Asian people in the... in the army. So yeah, I'd say... I'd say it's... I wouldn't say it's within staff members, but definitely some students on public services do feel that the staff can be discriminating against... especially Muslims.

Shokat provides another insight which is unique and which has not been duplicated by other participants. Having discussed discrimination as an issue, he goes onto discuss racism,

Um, I think that... I think... yeah, definitely, in the workplace. But the funny thing is, the lady that was being... well, she wasn't... I don't know what... I don't know how you could put it. It was a student, um, that used racist language against me. Now that lad who used racist language against me happened to be Pakistani. So when he went in to the programme leader...
When he went to the programme leader... and she's African, she... well, she's not black African, she's Asian African. And she goes, well, I don't think he was being racist, because...Because he's Asian, and you're Asian. But he'd actually called me a black so-and-so, yeah? So I said... so I turned round and said to her, well, how can you say that, because

I'm a lot darker than him? She goes, yeah, but I think, because he's Asian, you're Asian, I don't think he was actually being racist. So I don't know. I think in the work... in... I think it's... there's a very fine line, maybe, and people get a little bit nervous about the whole racism thing. When... you know, if there is any racism at work, sometimes they try to brush it under the carpet. So nobody likes to talk about it.

People... it's like... they don't like to talk about it, and they'd rather just get on with it. You know, and brush... and play it all down, like, no, it's not actually what you think.   Yeah, this-this-this was one of those incidences. This-this recently happened, where I felt like my colleagues, my managers... nobody spoke to me about it. You know, there was no... there was absolutely no support from my colleagues.

Interviewer: Okay.

Respondent: The only support I got was from the director of public services and sport, because I told him about the situation... what happened, and I told him that, you know, it... this can't be right. I said, how come the lad who said it is getting all the support from managers and staff, but for me there's nobody that's even spoken to me about it. It was only when I took the matter to HR... that's when people started talking to me about the situation.

Interviewer: What did he call you?

Respondent: He called me a black c**t. Yeah. But what they were saying is, uh, because he's a... it was a little bit... well, I don't know. Maybe... I think... I... my personal opinion is, he used it as an excuse. He... he... he was basically a skills for life student. So he's got a few issues, in terms of...he's low... lower ability, yeah? And what they were saying, when they rang his house... when the tutor rang his house and said what had happened, his dad turned round and said, well, he's had a change in medication, and since he's had that medication, um, you know, he's been off the rails, really. So they went off that.

Then they held a meeting, um... I don't know whether he brought... they asked him to bring the evidence in to say that he'd had a change of medication. I don't know whether he did or not, but the whole process was... for me...I think he was being racist yeah?

That term... the term used... had he have just called me a c**t, I'd been okay with it. But the fact that he knew what he was saying and... what he was saying, because he said black... he obviously knew what he was saying. But... so it's definitely in the workplace, definitely, but people just don't like talking about it. They don't want... it's brushed under the carpet.

Well, yeah, if you don't like being at work. This... this went on for four weeks. So... because when you don't have the support from your colleagues, and, you know, the people... the

people that you think that you trust... the people that you, you know, you get on with at work...

And no... nobody's talking about it, or nobody's... that woman another teacher who said oh, I don't think he was being racist because you're Asian and he's Asian.You know, she's-she's not in a position to tell me whether I should be offended or not. It's not up to her to say that. It's how I felt. If I'm offended, I'm offended. So this is... I don't know. Sometimes I think... I don't know. I don't... maybe it's an Asian thing. Sometimes maybe we expect Asian people to, I don't know, take your side in... in instances like that, but you know what I'm getting at.

There are important points drawn up by Shokat's account. Firstly, Shokat emphasises the fact that he was offended and when another Asian teacher told him that this was not racism because the comments were made by an Asian, Shokat took offence to this. He highlights the subjective nature of discrimination and racism, in other words, how the victim feels and if the victim believes that racism had taken place, another third party cannot discount the experience. Subjectivity, therefore, as this research indicates, is the key to understanding racism and hatred.

Another salient point raised by Shokat is the issue of "intra-group" racism. Shokat identifies himself as an Asian with a darker complexion and, for him, it was offensive that another Asian (in this case a Pakistani student) commented on Shokat's colour of skin. Intra group discrimination within South Asian communities is not a new phenomenon and many have commented on caste discrimination as well as discrimination through class, gender and religious belief (Hall 2010, Gill and Thiara 2009).

A key point also, in Shokat's account is the reluctance to discuss racism as an issue or as an incident. He seems frustrated that no one from the management structure talked to him about what he experienced and how he felt, for Shokat these issues were brushed aside and avoided. Writers such as Warren (2001), Walden (2004) and Bergner (2008), amongst others, also discuss the somewhat taboo subject of racism and the reluctance of public authorities as well as people in authority to deal with the issues as a real incident. It appears from Shokat's accounts that the experiences were construed by others as mistaken or misunderstood even though they were not on the scene or within earshot of what had actually occurred.

Conclusion

To summarise this study it is worth noting the key findings from each chapter. Chakraborti and Garland (2009) address the issue that prejudice is a recurring theme within hate crime. Thus, in order to understand hate, it is necessary to understand prejudice. As discussed above, Allport's (1954) useful distinction of prejudice highlights the subtle differences between pre-judgements and prejudice. Pre-judgements are reversible in light of new knowledge, whereas prejudice is regarded as irreversible (Allport 1954). It will be noted from the data analysis section above that the participants in this study implied and described the experience of prejudice and not pre-judgements. One female participant referred to a sense of ignorance on the part of the offender and implied a reliance of stereotypes about Muslims, but this description was not repeated by other participants. It appears, therefore, that a "lived" definition of hate contains an element of prejudice - an irreversible belief about another religion or race.

The chapter on prejudice above also highlights the different levels of prejudice that is evident.. In essence, the participants also indirectly subscribed to this and commented on prejudice which was deleterious as well as prejudice which was superficial. From this it can be argued, therefore, that British Asian Muslims experienced hate in the form of deleterious prejudice which affected the way in which they lived their lives. Male participants, in particular, stressed the reasons for leaving employment owing to this prejudice, a hatred they describe as affecting their ambitions and job prospects. It will also be recalled, from the data analysis chapter above, that a recurring theme amongst British Asian Muslim males was the need to explore self-employment as a way of living because mainstream employment was perceived prejudicial to them because of being Asian and Muslim.

The chapter on prejudiced also refers to bullying and harassment as a form of hatred referring to the case of Dharun Ravi (May 2012) in which a perceived homophobic roommate harassed his fellow student owing to his homosexuality. This is an important juncture since male participants in this study explicitly and impliedly referred to bullying has a form of hatred. Hence, hatred for British Asian Muslims can also take the guise of harassment and bullying. Bullying was perceived by these

victims as a direct result of being Muslim and Asian, since some incidents contained references made by the offender about the victim's religion.

Along with prejudice, the effects of stereotypes are also covered in the following chapter. Stereotypes are unavoidable and can be either overt in nature or disguised and this study asserts that it is the latter which British Asian Muslim participants highlighted. Some participants pointed out the negative effects of the media and the coverage of Muslims as aggressive and disjointed from mainstream society. Interestingly, the accounts concentrated on stereotypes of Muslims, that is religion, as opposed to race or culture. Moreover, some participants commented at lengths with regards to issues of integration or perceived non-integration which the media often perpetuated. These participants felt that they were scapegoats for being disconnected from mainstream society and the problems or paranoia this created. In fact these participants voiced their own concerns about not being accepted and classed as British which made them and others like them, insular and rooted to homogenous communities. Thus, their friends, family and employment revolved exclusively around and within these communities with little or no connection with mainstream society. It was also implied in the interviews that this segregation was not self-imposed but more as a result of perceived threats.

It appears that hatred is experienced as prejudice and discrimination and the participants in this study did not define hate as a separate entity, instead they felt that prejudice and discrimination were forms of hatred. This is best explained when religion was an integral part of the prejudice where the participants described this as hatred towards Islam. Notably, there is a fine line here. The participants struggled to explain whether the hatred was actually directed at them or directed at the religion of Islam. It is also worth pointing out that male participants implied that this form of hatred was directed both at themselves and their religion as well. In comparison, female participants were of the opinion that the religion was the target and not them as individuals.

This gender difference with regards to experience is also pertinent when the participants were asked how they would define hate. Evidently, female participants

were more articulate and connected hate to other issues such as homophobia, religion, race, bullying and harassment. Thus, it could be argued therefore, that every day experiences and definition of hate revolve around religion for British Asian Muslim females and religion and race for British Asian Muslim males. Hence, where female participants assessed their experiences of hate mainly as harassment, the male participants linked the definition of hate as violent. In other words, hate cannot occur without violence and violence and hatred are synonymous.

The chapter on discrimination concentrates on the social construct of race and racism which posits that the interpretation of race and skin colour changed fundamentally from the 16th century up to the late 18th century. Race, therefore, was an integral issue in discourses surrounding European expansionism and cultural ideology. This gave way to slavery and stereotypes of "savage people" (Malik 1996 p 92) which were tailored and manipulated by writers who worked in colonies. These writings, therefore, where the only accounts that citizens in Imperial Europe accepted as the truth about foreign, alien cultures. Thus, this gave way to the eugenics movement which was manipulated and advanced by Nazi political and racial ideology (Proctor 1988). But history tells us, therefore, that race and racism has promoted certain images or stereotypes ranging from the simpleton found working in the cotton fields in antebellum America to the untrustworthy, conniving Jew. These images, it can be argued, have become hardened and formed the basis of discrimination we see today.

The participants in this study pointed out this form of discrimination on a number of occasions and examples range from the male, Asian Muslim teacher who was deliberately kept away from high ability students on the basis that he may not be good enough to rise to the challenge; to the female Asian Muslim trainee lawyer who was classed as unsuitable for the job because of her strong Asian accent. Moreover, what is important to address here is the awareness that British Asian Muslims have in contemporary society that these forms of discrimination exist and even though they maybe covert in nature, this minority group realises the different forms this type of discrimination may take.

The chapter on Muslims, stereotypes and Islamophobia is an integral part of this thesis. Like hate, Islamophobia is a misnomer since the phenomena is more about suspicion about an individual Muslim or a group of Muslims. There is also a further complication with regards to whether Islamophobia has initiated the hatred of Muslims, the religion of Islam per se or, in fact, both. This research found, through unstructured interviews, that British Asian Muslims are aware that the hatred of Muslims stems from the perceived reluctance to integrate with the host community and hate groups often vocalised this frustration. However, this research aims to highlight that some Muslims feel that they have integrated but it is the host community that actually rejects them.

This chapter further explored the psychological effects on victims of Islamophobia and the data analysis echoed a correlation between the experiences of Islamophobia and the anxiety and despondency it leaves behind. Furthermore, the role of the media in perpetuating negative images of Muslims and Islam was explored both as an academic study in the chapter and as detailed accounts of every day experiences in the data analysis chapter.

The term "hate crime", therefore, was coined in the mid 1980's owing to an increase in crimes motivated by race, gender and sexual orientation (Jacobs and Potter 1998) and to complicate the matter further, hate crime can also be classed as bias crime, which is a relatively new term that has been introduced (Perry 2009). Although hate crime is now increasingly becoming a distinct category of crime, the ambiguity with regards to its definition is still pertinent. The term hate, as discussed above, remains a misnomer both for academics and increasingly for ordinary people.

The ambiguity of the term "hate" causes a number of problems. Firstly, ordinary people find it increasingly difficult to differentiate between common experiences between prejudice, discrimination and racism and the data analysis from this research indicates the blurring of boundaries between these concepts. Hate, it appears, then remains a disconnected entity which is rarely referred to and, as this research shows, there is uncertainty as to how and when this term should be implemented, if at all. Furthermore, by changing the term to "bias" or "bias crime" would complicate the matter further, since the term "hate" holds deleterious

connotations compared to the somewhat passive term, "bias". Secondly, it could be argued that prejudice and discrimination contain elements of bias *and* hate, but, this research aims to highlight that the perpetrator's "hateful" behaviour is vastly different to that of prejudice, discrimination, racism and indeed bias.

This study proposes that participants conflate the issues of prejudice, discrimination and hate and this interpretation is vastly different to legal or academic definitions of hate crime. An important finding is that male participants, in particular, interlinked violence with hate. In other words, these participants proposed that for hate to exist, violence had to be an important ingredient. This is in contrast to legal definitions of assault or racially aggravated assault, for instance, which are satisfied by the threat of violence as opposed to the commission of violence.

This complex way of articulating hate is echoed by female participants who also conflate issues of prejudice, discrimination and hate. The main caveat here is the fact that the interpretations differ somewhat in comparison to the male participants. Violence for some of the female participants was not a prerequisite for hate crime. In essence some of the female participants discussed wider issues of hate crime such as, bullying, cyber bullying and marginalisation. This raises an important issue and it could be interpreted that some Muslim women in Britain experience prejudice and discrimination as well as hate somewhat differently compared to their male counterparts. Another important point is the reaffirmation that males are usually on the receiving end of racial and religious discrimination (Essed 1991) and, in particular, violent hate crime.

Looking at the perpetrator's behaviour, it is evident that only the victim can ascertain whether it is pernicious or innocuous at the time of the incident. This research also proposes that a second or even a third party cannot be in a position to interpret the incident any different to how the victim perceived it. Hate, therefore, or the perception of hate, is a purely subjective phenomenon. The participant's accounts during the data analysis stage also showed that individuals interpreted the situations as they had experienced them and there were rare accounts in which an individual would discuss the experience with a second or third party to corroborate what had actually occurred. Moreover, some of the participants shared experiences with others either to warn, advise or empathise. This sharing of experiences created a

bond between the victims and these experiences were then shared with third parties and used as a warning to others, in particular the younger generations. From the author's own experiences, participants who enlisted to take part in the interviews often mentioned that the author should consider interviewing a member of the participant's family or friend as they had experienced similar or worse incidents. In other words there was a *need* to share experiences and these experiences were far from confidential, but were in fact common. It is, however, unclear whether these experiences would be shared with others who were perceived as "outsiders".

The study by McGhee (2005) provides an explanation as to why some participants described their experiences in terms of prejudice and discrimination. To reiterate, McGhee (2005) posits that prejudice, discrimination and hate are composed of different levels ranging from the innocuous to the deleterious. This explains why some participants in the current study sought to describe some of their experiences as insubstantial, while other expositions were regarded as life changing. Male participants in particular discussed their experiences in the late 1970's and early 1980's with vivid recollection, often describing the violence they suffered at the hands of active far-right groups, such as the National Front. Moreover, McGhee further suggests that prejudice and discrimination are components of hate and the complex manner in which some of the participants articulated their experiences echoes this.

Another important finding is the issue of intersectionality. By virtue of belonging to South Asian ethnicity and being Muslim, the participants experienced a confluence of racial and religious discrimination. The female participants, for example, discussed the effect of physical identifiers such as the hijab (the head scarf), while some male participants explained the negative repercussions of having grown a beard. This study, therefore, provides a valid lens through which the phenotypes associated with being British and Muslim can be explored.

This finding raises the issue of intersectionality on a wider scale and questions the effect of sub dividing religions and races. Indeed, it could be argued that for political purposes intersectionality and subdivisions are necessary to function as a society and that dividing people on the basis of religion and race may help to identify discrepancies in education, health and resource allocation, but this study shows that

it may also create difficulties in how people negotiate their identities and how they live their lives on a daily basis.

This study also explored the important issue of self-efficacy. The narratives of the participants included the effect modern racism had on how they perceived their position in society. Indeed, self-efficacy as a phenomenon has been studied before and its existence has been noted throughout history. Gandhi, for instance, noted that he was refused entry to dine in a hotel designated for white Europeans because the Black American owner felt that an Indian dining in his hotel would jeopardise future business with white Europeans (Mishra, 2007). Arguably, Gandhi experienced this in 1890's South Africa, while working as a lawyer in Pretoria and noted how this incident had affected him emotionally, but this notion of feeling that one is of less importance or one is not good enough has been equally discussed by modern writers such as, Frierson and Tate (2011) and Constantine and Sue (2006), the latter in particular commenting on the effects of racism on one's self esteem. Notably, self-efficacy has been studied in depth as an offshoot of racism particularly in American society and particularly amongst African-American students who did not perform well academically owing to the phenomenon known as stereotype threats.

This study considered the participant's exposition of self-efficacy. Male participants in particular articulated a sense of resignation often accepting that there was very little they could do if they had been overlooked for promotion, or a male Asian, Muslim teacher explained that even Asian students felt that a white teacher was considerably better than an Asian male teacher and thus he explained that enrolment for his classes was disproportionate to the classes run by his white counterparts.

However, what this study shows and the void it covers is having this knowledge of racism and self-efficacy. Male participants who were generally aware of their experiences went on to start other careers which were successful and were keen to share their experiences with the younger generations to encourage a different way of approaching and dealing with prejudice. This is in line with findings by authors such as Constantine and Sue (2006), for instance, who also argue that awareness of prejudice and racism made it easier for African American students to excel both academically and socially. Self-efficacy, therefore, is still a relatively under studied

phenomenon and the current study explains that this void has to be explored further both from a sociological and psychological point of view.

This study, therefore, contributes to the growing literature on hate crime, but explores the phenomenon from the definitions provided by British Muslims. As discussed above, a number of important texts provide a comprehensive coverage of hate crime such as, Iganski (2008) and Perry (2004), but there has been less academic exploration of British Muslims and their definitions and experiences of hate crime in contemporary society.

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