

Islamophobia: Psychological Correlates and Impact on Young Muslim Identity Development

Hina Dadabhoy

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Thesis declaration Form

I confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Overview

This thesis explores the experiences of Muslim people living in the Western world. Part 1 is a systematic review of the literature examining the impact of Islamophobia on Muslim people in Western countries. Findings suggest high rates of Islamophobia, often operationalised as 'religious discrimination'. Islamophobia was found to operate at multiple levels including work place discrimination, profiling at airports, feeling part of a 'suspect community', negative media stereotyping and street level harassment. Several effects such as an increase in symptoms of depression or anxiety were reported, as were feelings of unsafety. Some positive coping responses such as reaching out to others were also noted.

Part 2 is an empirical study exploring identity development in young Muslims in Britain. Qualitative interviews were used to find out how participants construct their identity and define themselves. Both the benefits and challenges of identifying as a Muslim were explored. Participants were asked about experiences of Islamophobia and how they cope with or resist these adverse experiences. Participants expressed a strong and integral identity as Muslims unrelated to religious practice. Consistent with the literature review, Islamophobia was reported to operate in multiple contexts and had profound influences on the participants sense of self. A need for community, belonging and finding tactical ways to respond to Islamophobia were also identified.

Part 3 is a critical appraisal reflecting on the experience of conducting the empirical paper and ethical challenges that arose. It focuses primarily on the challenges experienced being a Muslim researcher examining Islamophobia.

Impact Statement

At the very least I hope that this research makes a strong case for the existence of Islamophobia and the multiple levels at which it operates. The authors of the European Islamophobia Report (Bayrakli & Hafez, 2017) note that despite the objective rise in and threat of Islamophobia across Europe, many intellectuals and politicians deny its existence or the validity of the concept. One of the most common arguments against acknowledging Islamophobia is that 'Islam is not a race' and hence cannot be a legitimate form of racism. Another, is that criticism of religion is part of freedom of speech (Weich, 2018). These arguments provide a diversion from the lived experiences of racism, discrimination, and exclusion faced by Muslims living in the Western world. I hope that the findings from both the literature review and the empirical paper highlight the widespread existence of Islamophobia and its impact on the lives and well-being of Muslim people. I believe the data also highlights the intersectional nature of Islamophobia, in that those that are already socially disadvantaged suffer more, another fact often ignored by academics and politicians when discussing Islamophobia.

Young Muslims are frequently the subject of scrutiny and policy from the State. I believe that through offering them an experience of sharing their narratives with a researcher, and through the dissemination of this research they may feel a greater sense of empowerment. This research will be disseminated both within academia and publications or media more readily accessed by the young people who participated. I believe that this will provide a source of affirmation to young Muslims' lived experiences as well as challenge the dominant, often polarising and damaging discourses about young Muslims in Britain. Challenging discourses which serve to

polarise communities is key to promoting greater social cohesion and more equal societies.

With better recognition of the experiences and psychological impacts of Islamophobia beyond statistics and figures I hope that this research can influence psychological services to better support Muslim people. Within the profession, a greater acknowledgement of Islamophobia in terms of how it affects people and the ways in which it manifests is essential. For clinical psychologists working with Muslim people, just as Prevent training is mandatory, training to understand Islamophobia and how to support those who have experienced it should too be mandatory. Most importantly, there can be a tendency within psychology to focus on the individual. Both the literature review and the empirical paper highlight the strengths of community and relationships as being reparative and healing. It is essential that within psychology there be a greater recognition of this and I hope that the research that follows coherently demonstrates this need.

Another way in which this research may positively impact the lives of young Muslims and promote social cohesion in general could be through changes within educational institutions. It is my hope and strong recommendation that within educational institutions, policies to tackle Islamophobia may be developed in discussion with Muslim students. Just as Prevent policies to 'safeguard' young people from being radicalised are mandatory within educational settings, it is equally, if not more important to be safeguarding young people from the effects of Islamophobia. As part of this policy, it would be important to facilitate conversations and discussion about Islamophobia with all students, as well as have facilitated safe spaces for Muslim students. This is in accordance with findings from the empirical paper which

emphasised the need for solidarity and community by young Muslims. In university settings, safe spaces should go beyond Islamic Societies which are student run and serve a particular function, but would be part of a wider institutional strategy to hear young people's experiences of Islamophobia and provide a supportive function.

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Part 1: Literature Review

The impact of Islamophobia on Muslim people:

A systematic review of the literature

Abstract

Aims

This systematic review sought to find out the psychological, emotional, behavioural and relational impact of Islamophobia on Muslim adults.

Method

PsycINFO, Medline and Scopus were systematically searched to find all papers. Papers were subject to inclusion and exclusion criteria. Eleven papers were included in the review.

Results

Many different experiences of Islamophobia were reported. Verbal abuse was the most frequently reported form of Islamophobia. Significant relationships were identified between increased psychological symptoms and experiences of Islamophobia. Individual factors such as gender, marital status and employment status as well as contextual factors such as migrant status influenced the relationship between experiences of Islamophobia and symptoms of distress. Prayer and reaching out to others were identified as strategies for coping with experiences of Islamophobia.

Conclusion

Islamophobia exists in multiple contexts affecting Muslim people in many ways. It includes street-level harassment, workplace discrimination, and securitisation, which contributes to feelings of unsafety. Islamophobia has greater consequences for those that are already socially disadvantaged. For some Muslims, the scrutiny and hostility experienced contributes to a strengthening of religious identity.

1.0 Introduction

Muslim people have had a presence in Britain for centuries, with each generation experiencing different challenges (Nielsen, 1995). For Muslims in Britain today, 9/11 and 7/7 were key turning points, pushing them into the spotlight of government policy and media scrutiny. These events saw Muslims in the UK and globally become the focus of policies specifically related to terrorism (Terrorism Acts 2000, 2006; Counter-Terrorism Act 2008; and Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015). One example of the undue scrutiny placed on Muslims is the Prevent duty which became mandatory from July 2015 and has attracted significant controversy. Under the Prevent duty, teachers, doctors, and public sector workers including clinical psychologists are mandated by the government to prevent individuals from being drawn into both violent and non-violent acts of extremism (Department of Education, 2015). While some have argued that this Act is a safeguarding measure, a number of professions including psychiatrists have questioned its ethics (Summerfield, 2016). The Independent Reviewer of Terrorism, David Anderson QC (2016) reported that the policy has disproportionately affected Muslims, despite claims that the policy equally targets far right extremism. The policy has also been deemed counterproductive and contravening the basic rights of young Muslims according to the Open Society Justice Initiative (OSJI, 2016).

The scrutiny and othering of Muslims extends beyond Britain. In the United States, there has been the introduction of controversial policies such as the 'Muslim ban' under Trump. In Europe, there has been a normalisation of far-right discourses in politics with extreme right wing parties gaining momentum in Germany, Austria,

Italy and Hungary (Bayrakli & Hafez, 2017). It is within this context that we have seen an increase in acts of violence towards Muslims in the UK (Bayrakli & Hafez, 2017), including the terror attack on Finsbury Park Mosque as well as numerous accounts of stabbings and hijab pullings directed towards individuals. In the absence of a legal term to define the prejudice and discrimination that Muslims experience, the term Islamophobia has become a common way to capture the phenomena.

1.1 Defining Islamophobia

The original definition by the Runnymede Trust (1997) referred to Islamophobia as: “unfounded hostility towards Islam, unfair discrimination against Muslim individuals and communities, and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream political and social affairs” (p.1). In their updated report (Runnymede Trust, 2017), they define Islamophobia as ‘anti-Muslim racism’. They elaborate on this further by using the UN definition of racism and define Islamophobia as:

Any distinction, exclusion, or restriction towards, or preference against, Muslims (or those perceived to be Muslims) that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life. (p.6).

For the purposes of this review, when the term Islamophobia is used it will refer to the definition provided by the Runnymede Trust (2017).

1.2. The Rise in and Consequences of Islamophobia

Islamophobia operates across multiple levels, including macro-level prejudice, social exclusion of Muslims in society, and hate crimes, defined as “any criminal offence which is perceived, by the victim or any other person, to be

motivated by hostility or prejudice towards someone based on a personal characteristic” (Home Office, 2016, pg. 2), to micro-aggressions such as jokes about bombs and terrorism (Husain & Howard, 2017). Research suggests a sharp increase in hate crimes against Muslims in Britain following the Brexit vote (Littler & Feldman, 2015). The charity Tell MAMA (Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks) recorded 141 attacks against Muslims following the Manchester bombing (Tell MAMA, 2016). After the London Bridge attack, there was again a sharp increase (Runnymede Trust, 2017). In a recent report examining the experiences of young Muslims in Britain, 61% reported either a personal experience of Islamophobia or knowing someone who had experienced it (Jawaab, 2018).

As well as discriminatory policies and hate crimes, negative views towards Muslims are commonplace in Europe. According to the Pew Research Center’s Global Attitudes project (Pew Research Center, 2008), 52% of Spanish respondents and 50% of German respondents rated Muslims unfavourably. In the US and UK 25% of respondents held unfavourable views. These views can also be seen in the rise of extreme right-wing political movements across Europe such as Pegida and Britain First which have at times mobilised up to 25,000 people for their rallies (Runnymede Trust, 2017).

With increasingly polarised communities and rising anti-Muslim sentiment, as psychologists it is imperative to consider the implications and consequences of Islamophobia. While other marginalised groups such as Hindus and Sikhs are often racialised as Muslims because of the colour of their skin, for the purposes of this review there will be a focus on the impact of Islamophobia on Muslim people only. Firstly, because they are more likely to experience it but also as there is a greater

body of research examining their responses to Islamophobia.

There is a broad spectrum of psychological research exploring the impact of Islamophobia on Muslims, with some examining its relation to symptoms of psychological distress (Abu-Ras & Suarez, 2009; Hodge, Zidan & Hussain, 2016). Other research has focused on in-depth exploration of its impact on individuals' self-concept (Allen, 2014; Hargreaves, 2016). Such studies have noted various behavioural changes following being the victim of a hate crime such as concealment of Muslim identity, or becoming more withdrawn and isolated. They also note some of the ways in which people cope with experiences of Islamophobia and how individuals and communities remain resilient despite adverse experiences.

As well as studies investigating direct experiences of Islamophobia, there is some literature addressing the impact of a broader context of anti-Muslim sentiment for Muslims. Cherney and Murphy (2016) studied the impact of belonging to a 'suspect community' (Hillyard, 1993) on Australian Muslims. Similar studies examining the impact of securitisation i.e. the framing of Muslims as other and dangerous, have been conducted in the UK (Bonino, 2015). These studies have highlighted the different ways in which Muslims cope with being labelled as 'suspects' and how negative interactions with the police and security officers at airports, impact identity and feelings of belonging.

To date there are systematic reviews of the literature regarding pathways associated with 'radicalisation' and 'extremism' (McGilloway, Ghosh, & Bui, 2015), as well as reviews considering the impact of 9/11 and the war on terror on children and young adults mental health (Rousseau, Jamil, Bhui, & Boudjarane, 2013). The latter considered the literature for both majority and minority children and young people

in North America. The review had a broad focus on acts of terror as well as the socio-political changes that occurred in North America following 9/11. To date there has not been a systematic review of the literature on consequences of Islamophobia for Muslim adults.

1.3 Research Question

The objective of this review was to systematically review the scientific literature examining the psychological, emotional, behavioural and relational impact of Islamophobia on Muslim adults. Specifically, the following questions were addressed:

1. What are the rates of Islamophobia reported by Muslim people?
2. What are some of the psychological and behavioural responses (e.g. symptoms of distress) associated with being a victim of Islamophobia?
3. What are some of the protective factors reported in relation to maintaining psychological wellbeing in the context of Islamophobia?
4. How does Islamophobia impact Muslim people's identity or sense of self?

2.0 Methods

2.1 Inclusion criteria

Studies had to meet the following criteria:

- (1) Target population of Muslim people over the age of 16 in the general population
- (2) The article examined the experience of Islamophobia, discrimination, prejudice or hate crimes
- (3) The article assessed psychological impact, distress, wellbeing or identity
- (4) The study used a quantitative research design
- (5) The study was published in a peer-reviewed journal
- (6) The study was reported in English.

Studies meeting these criteria were then reviewed for relevance before being subjected to formal quality checks. This review encompassed peer reviewed literature published up to December 2017.

2.2 Search strategy

Three research databases were used: PsycINFO, Scopus and Medline. The searches identified 825 papers. Duplicate articles were removed and of the remaining studies, titles and abstracts were screened according to the inclusion criteria (See Figure 1). 11 studies met inclusion criteria and were then quality assessed. The main reasons for exclusion were: (1) primary focus of study is sociological or political, e.g. nationalisation or racialisation; (2) broad focus on Muslim mental health in general; (3) focus on understanding the phenomenon of Islamophobia as opposed to its consequences.

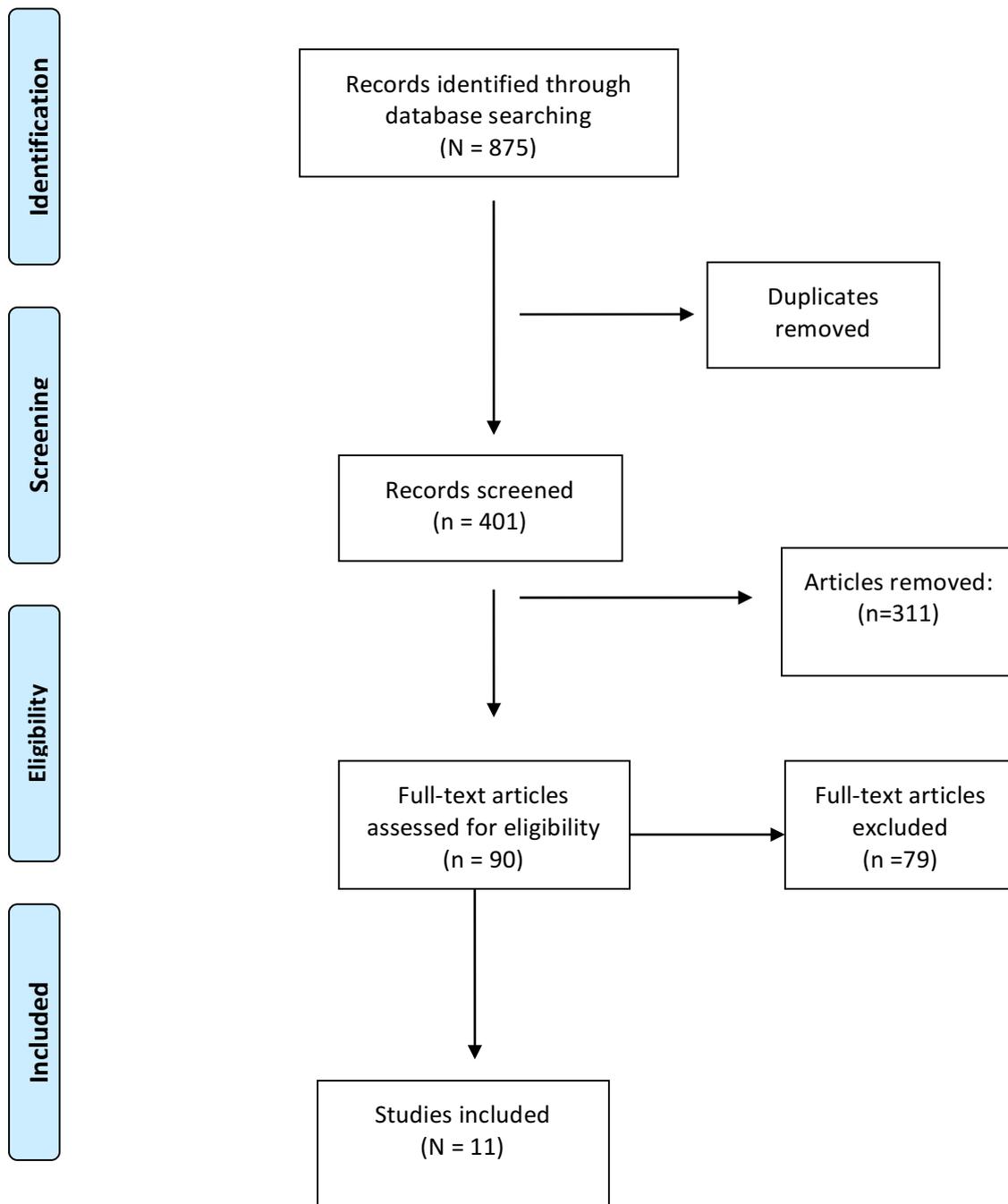


Figure 1: PRISMA Flowchart for Identifying Papers

Phenomenon	Search Term	
Islamophobia	'Islamophob*' 'hate crime*' 'prejudic*' 'anti-Muslim*' 'religious discriminat*' 'racis*' 'Islam*' 'Muslim*'	OR
	AND	
Outcome	'distress*' 'wellbeing*' 'identi*' 'experien*' 'impact*' 'psychologic*' 'victim*'	OR

Figure 2: Search Terms

2.3. Quality and relevance assessment

For quality checks, The Standard Quality Assessment Criteria for Evaluating Primary Research Papers (Kmet, Lee & Cook, 2004) was used. This is a scoring system devised to evaluate the quality of studies for inclusion in systematic reviews. It was developed by drawing upon existing published tools for assessing observational and experimental studies using abstracts (Cho & Bero, 1994; Timmer, Sutherland & Hilsden, 2003). Questions five to nine of the assessment were not relevant for the purposes of this review as they referred to interventions and so were removed from the quality checking process (See Appendix A for full breakdown of questions). Table 1 contains a breakdown of the individual scores for each paper in each category.

3.0 Results

For each of the papers the following information was extracted: population and setting, sample, methods, and findings. These have been reported in Table 2. Throughout this section, the findings have been organised to relate to the specific research questions. Firstly, the different types and reported rates of discrimination experienced by Muslim people are reported (summarised in Table 3). The psychological correlates of experiencing discrimination or hate crimes are then reported, followed by protective factors and other aspects of psychological well-being, as well as the impact on individual and collective self-esteem. Finally, broader impacts on identity and issues such as politicisation are outlined.

The studies included in this review all used the same design of single or multi group surveys, with one using cross-sectional survey data (two groups at two time points). Five of the studies were from the United States, two from Canada, one each from Australia, New Zealand and the UK, and one incorporates data from three Western European countries.

Table 1: Quality Checks

2 = Yes, 1 = Partial, 0 = No

Study Number	Question or Objective	Study design evident and appropriate?	Method of subject group selection or input variables described and appropriate?	Subject (and comparison group, if applicable) characteristics sufficiently described?	Outcome measure defined?	Sample size	Analytic methods described and appropriate?	Variance?	Control for confound?	Results reported in sufficient detail?	Conclusions supported by results?	Total Scores
Abu-Raiya, Pargament & Mahoney, 2011	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	17
Abu-Ras & Suarez, 2009	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	0	2	2	17
Ali, Yamada, & Mahmood, 2015	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	0	1	2	17
Every & Perry, 2014	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	0	2	2	18
Fleischmann, Phalet & Klein, 2011	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	20
Hassan, Rouseau & Moreau, 2013	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	19
Hodge, Zidan & Hussain, 2016	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	0	1	1	15
Jasperse, Ward & Jose, 2011	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	20
Khan, 2014	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	15
Rouseau et al., 2011	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	21
Sheridan, 2006	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	0	2	2	16
Total Scores	21	19	19	16	18	20	22	17	7	18	20	

Table 2: Summary of included studies and key findings

<i>Study</i>	<i>Sample N</i>	<i>Design & Measures</i>	<i>Area studied</i>	<i>Findings</i>
Abu-Raiya, Pargament & Mahoney 2011 USA	138 American Muslim men and women	Single group survey	Religious coping	High levels of negative interpersonal events reported. Religious coping, and 'reaching out to others' most common coping strategies. Both related to post-traumatic growth. Isolation related to higher feelings of depression and anger.
Abu-Ras & Suarez 2009 USA	102 New York Muslim men and women	Single group survey	PTSD symptoms	Majority reported negative experiences post 9/11 however these did not predict PTSD symptoms. Feelings of unsafety predicted symptoms. Some gender differences in experiences and symptoms expressed.
Ali, Yamada & Mahmood 2015 USA	129 American Muslim women	Single group survey	Job satisfaction	No significant differences in religious discrimination experiences between hijab wearing women vs non-hijab wearing. Job satisfaction predicted by experiences of discrimination, religiosity and social class.
Every & Perry 2014 Australia	49 Australian Muslim men and women	Single group survey	Self esteem	Exposure to perceived discrimination influences self-esteem. Interpersonal discrimination is negatively related and systemic is positively related to self-esteem.
Fleischmann, Phalet & Klein 2011 Belgium, Germany, Netherlands.	1543 Second generation Turkish and Moroccan Muslim men and women	Multi group survey	'Politicisation'	Most participants reported some discrimination. Experiencing more hostility or personal discrimination related to stronger religious identification but less likely to support 'political Islam'.
Hassan, Rousseau & Moreau 2013 Canada	432 Haitian and Arab immigrant men and women	Group survey	Anxiety and Depression	Haitians reported more experiences of discrimination than Muslims or non-Muslim Arabs. Gender, marital status, experiences of discrimination, higher levels of Collective Self Esteem

				(CSE) and religiosity were significantly related to anxiety and depression symptoms. CSE buffers the negative effects of discrimination on psychological distress.
Hodge, Zidan & Hussain 2016 USA	269 American Muslim men and women	Single group survey	Spirituality/ Religiosity and Depression	Being called offensive names significantly associated with higher levels of depression. Education level, marital status and daily prayer all may be protective factors.
Jasperse, Ward & Jose 2012 New Zealand	153 New Zealand Muslim women	Single group survey	Identity and life satisfaction	Visibility i.e. wearing a hijab associated with greater discrimination but also serving a protective function. Associated with higher life satisfaction and fewer symptoms of distress.
Khan 2014 USA	72 American Muslim research assistants	Single group survey	Emotional responses	Perceptions of stigma related to Muslim identity significantly related to feelings of shame, threat, paranoia and the need to prove Americanness.
Rousseau, Hassan, Moreau, & Thombs 2011 Canada	1216 Haitian and Arab immigrant men and women	Cross-sectional group survey	Psychological distress	Perceived discrimination significantly increased between 1998 and 2007. Discrimination was significantly associated with psychological distress for Muslim Arabs in 2007 but not for non-Muslim Arabs in 2007 OR for both Muslim and non-Muslim Arabs in 1998. Employment plays a protective role.
Sheridan 2006 UK	222 British Muslim men and women	Single group survey	Psychological distress	Overall increase in discrimination post 9/11. Higher psychological distress scores significantly associated with reporting a specific incident of being a victim and with visibility.

Table 3: Rates of Discrimination

<i>Study</i>	<i>Sample N</i>	<i>Measure of Discrimination</i>	<i>Rates of Discrimination</i>
Abu-Raiya, Pargament & Mahoney 2011 USA	138	Negative Events and Their Stressfulness measure (Abu-Raiya et al., 2011).	86% report hearing anti-Muslim comments. 68% report having special security checks at airport.
Abu-Ras & Suarez 2009 USA	102	1. Perception of discrimination after 9/11. 2. Losing employment because of 9/11.	97% report moderate to extreme experiences.
Ali, Yamada & Mahmood 2015 USA	129	Workplace Prejudice/Discrimination Inventory (WPDI) (James Lovato & Cropanzano, 1994).	M= 44.54, SD=22.36 (Possible scores from 0 to 112).
Every & Perry 2014 Australia	49	Modified Perceived Religious Discrimination scale (Rippy & Newman, 2006; 2008).	M= 38.88, SD = 20.87 (Possible scores from 0-108).
Fleischmann, Phalet & Klein 2011 Belgium, Germany, Netherlands.	1543	1. Hostility or unfair treatment due to background. 2. Hostility or unfair treatment due to religion 3. Offensive words	Data collected from 13 groups. 1. M = 1.76-2.33 2. M=1.26 – 1.76 3. M = 1.41 – 2.25 (Possible scores from 1-5)
Hassan, Rousseau & Moreau 2013 Canada	432	Perceived discrimination scale (Noh et al., 1999).	40% report an experience of perceived discrimination
Hodge, Zidan & Hussain 2016 USA	269	Four items measuring discriminatory behaviour.	55% report being singled out at airports. 37% report being called offensive names.
Jasperse, Ward & Jose 2012 New Zealand	153	Perceived discrimination scale – adapted version (Noh & Kaspar, 2003).	M= 1.97, SD=0.90 (Maximum mean score of 5).
Khan 2014 USA	72	Muslim Perceptions of Stigma (MPOS)	74% report feeling threatened 74% report being treated with greater suspicion.
Rousseau et al 2011 Canada	1216	Perceived discrimination scale (Noh et al., 1999).	40% report experience of perceived discrimination
Sheridan 2006 UK	222	1. Implicit racism and religious discrimination 2. General discriminatory experiences (direct experience of observation of racism)	83% increase in implicit racism 76% increase in general discrimination

3.1. Experiences of Discrimination

In the literature, Islamophobia was most commonly operationalised as discrimination, with some studies using standardised measures such as the Perceived Discrimination Scale (Noh et al., 1999), the Perceived Religious Discrimination Scale (PRDS; Rippey & Newman, 2008), or the Workplace Prejudice/Discrimination Inventory (WPDI) (James, Lovato & Cropanzano, 1994). The remaining studies used measures of discrimination developed by the authors.

3.1.1 Verbal Abuse

Verbal abuse was the most commonly reported experience of Islamophobia in the literature. It includes targeted abuse directed towards an individual as well as generally hearing anti-Muslim comments, with results indicating the latter to be more frequent. In UK (Sheridan, 2006) and US samples (Abu-Raiya et al., 2011) 83% and 86% of participants reported hearing offensive jokes or anti-Muslim comments, respectively. In a European sample, almost all participants reported an experience of hearing offensive words (Fleischmann, Phalet & Klein, 2011). Direct experiences of verbal abuse were less common, with rates varying from 37% (Hodge et al., 2006) to 55% (Abu-Raiya et al., 2011) in US samples.

3.1.2 Physical Assault

Physical assault was another commonly measured experience of Islamophobia. Sheridan (2006) reported that 20% of their sample had experienced being the primary victim of a specific incident, however it is unclear whether this referred to physical or verbal assault. Abu-Ras & Suarez (2009) reported that 17% of their sample had experienced a hate crime in the form of either a verbal or physical assault and 15% also reported injury to family members or friends.

3.1.3 Threatened and Threatening

Another manifestation of Islamophobia identified in the literature is the paradoxical experience of being treated as a threat, while also feeling threatened and fearful. Khan (2014) reported that 74% of the sample experienced feeling as if they were being treated with greater suspicion following 9/11. This was commonly reported at airports in US samples, with 68% of respondents (Abu-Raiya et al., 2011) and 55% (Hodge et al., 2006) respectively, experiencing being singled out at airports and subjected to additional security checks. Another context where Muslims reported being profiled or stereotyped was in the media. Sheridan (2006) reported that three quarters of the sample experienced seeing negative media stereotypes post 9/11.

In terms of feeling threatened, Abu-Ras & Suarez (2009) reported 13% of the sample fearing for their safety in public. In contrast, Khan (2014) reported that 74% felt more threatened because of their religious or ethnic background. The difference between these rates may relate to the difference in sample as well as questions used. This will be discussed further in section 3.1.6 below.

3.1.4 Workplace discrimination

As well as different forms of Islamophobia, it was also reported in different contexts, including the workplace. In a US sample (Abu-Ras & Suarez, 2009), 15% of participants reported a job loss following 9/11 due to Islamophobic discrimination. Interestingly, this appeared to be a gendered experience with more men (11% of sample) reporting job loss than women (4% of sample). It is however, unclear whether employment rates were the same for men and women pre-9/11. Conversely, more women (86% of sample) reported hate crimes than men (55% of

sample). Women also reported greater reluctance to leave home following 9/11, with 78% feeling more reluctant compared to 26% of men.

Women's experiences of Islamophobia in the workplace were measured by Ali, Yamada and Mahmood (2015) using the WPDI. They reported a mean score of 44.5 (maximum score of 112) indicating moderately low levels of workplace discrimination. Interestingly, no significant differences between hijab or non-hijab wearing women were reported. This contrasted with Jasperse et al's (2012) finding that visibility increased rates of discrimination amongst Muslim women. Possible reasons for this discrepancy will be discussed in Section 3.1.6 below.

3.1.5 Discrimination over time

Only one study included data on rates of discrimination pre-9/11. In Rousseau et al.'s (2011) cross-sectional study, discrimination rates between 1998 and 2007 increased for Muslims in Canada from 28% to 40%. This increase in discrimination was also evident in non-Muslim groups. Haitian participants reported an increase from 31% to 54% indicating a general increase in discrimination towards all marginalised groups. In another Canadian sample (Hassan, Rousseau & Moreau, 2013), 40% of the Muslim sample reported an experience of discrimination.

3.1.6 Measurement

Studies using standardised measures such as the Perceived Discrimination scale or the PRDS reported generally low mean rates of discrimination and did not include a breakdown of the types of experiences most commonly reported by participants (see Table 3) (Every & Perry, 2014; Jasperse, Ward & Jose, 2012). The Perceived Discrimination Scale (Noh et al., 1999) is an eight-item scale that was developed in Canada. It is used to measure rates of seven different types of racial or

religious discrimination, with the eighth question referring to whether family members have been discriminated against. It asks participants whether they have been, 1) hit or handled roughly, (2) insulted or called names, (3) treated rudely, (4) treated unfairly, (5) threatened, (6) refused services in a store or restaurant or subjected to delays in services, and (7) excluded or ignored. Each item receives a score from 1 (never) to 5 (all the time). The scale is reported to have good internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = 0.85). The PRDS (Rippy & Newman, 2008) is a 33-item scale and each item receives a score from 1 (never) to 5 (very frequently). The internal consistency is high (Cronbach's alpha = 0.92). The WPDI (James, Lovato & Cropanzano, 1994) is a 16-item measure developed to assess both global and specific experiences of discrimination in the workplace based on race/ethnicity. The scale has been reported to have good internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = 0.93).

The lower mean rates of discrimination could be due to the measures not being validated or developed with the specific intention of detecting Islamophobia specifically. Alternatively, it could reflect the fact that many of the standardised measures are lengthier than measures used in other studies. Thus, while certain experiences are more common such as hearing offensive names or being stopped at airports, other experiences such as being physically assaulted or having a visa denied are less common and when averaged out, indicate lower overall levels of discrimination.

Another salient difference between the studies will be the samples, and the respective cultural and national contexts from which participants have been recruited. For example, Abu-Ras & Suarez (2009) conducted their study in New York and only recruited and held interviews at mosques. In addition, all their female

participants reported wearing hijab. Thus, it is possible that the participants were more 'visibly Muslim' and hence more vulnerable to discrimination. Another study (Khan, 2014) also used a very specific sample, with all participants being research assistants. Thus, both studies are unlikely to be representative of the breadth of Muslim experiences. Finally, as noted by Fleischmann et al. (2011), other contextual factors such as socio-economic status will have an influence on perceptions of discrimination. They reported that higher levels of discrimination were perceived by individuals who were more highly educated and who lived in poorer neighbourhoods indicating the influence of social context on experiences of discrimination.

3.2. Discrimination and Distress

Many studies attempted to identify the relationship between experiences of discrimination and distress. Distress was operationalised in terms of symptoms of anxiety, depression and in one study as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms (Abu-Ras & Suarez, 2009). Several studies indicated a significant relationship between perceived discrimination and higher levels of psychological distress (Rousseau et al., 2011) or being a victim of a specific incident and higher levels of distress (Sheridan, 2006). However, further examination of the literature demonstrated that there was not necessarily a linear relationship between discrimination and distress. For example, Abu-Ras and Suarez (2009) reported that experiences of discrimination in themselves were not predictors of PTSD symptoms, however 'feeling unsafe' was a significant predictor accounting for 31% of the variance. Describing oneself as a highly visible Muslim (Sheridan, 2006) or having experienced persecution in one's country of origin (Rousseau et al., 2006) were also associated with significantly higher distress symptoms. Finally, Hodge et al (2016)

reported that certain types of discrimination such as being called offensive names and being singled out by law enforcement officials were significantly related to higher levels of depression.

Moderators and Buffers

As well as factors which exacerbate distress, the literature identified several factors which are related to lower levels of psychological distress, or as buffering against the negative effects of discrimination. Jasperse et al's (2012) study which focused on the experiences of Muslim women in New Zealand reported that engaging in Islamic practices such as prayer, attending mosque or reading the Qur'an were found to buffer the negative impact of discrimination. Conversely, those reporting weaker psychological identification as a Muslim (defined as pride, and belongingness) were less likely to experience psychological symptoms related to perceived discrimination. Thus, engaging in Islamic practice and identification as a Muslim had different relationships with psychological symptoms.

Hodge et al. (2016) reported similar findings. In this sample, daily prayer was significantly related to lower levels of clinically significant depression symptoms, however mosque attendance had no such relationship. Additionally, demographic factors such as being married, being male, and having a university degree were all significantly associated with lower likelihood of depressive symptoms in the context of experiencing discrimination. Sheridan (2006) also reported that being married, and being employed were significantly related to lower GHQ-12 scores.¹ Rousseau et al

¹ The GHQ-12 is a mental health screening tool with scores of 4-12 indicating the presence of common mental disorders (Papassotiropoulous & Heun, 1999).

(2011) reported employment and being male as protective factors against distress symptoms.

3.3 Discrimination and psychological well-being

Psychological well-being can refer to either the absence of psycho-pathology, or the presence of other markers of well-being. In the literature, positive indicators of psychological well-being have been operationalised as life satisfaction (Jasperse et al., 2012), and job satisfaction (Ali et al., 2015).

Satisfaction

In a sample of Muslim women in New Zealand, Jasperse et al. (2012) identified that greater visibility as a Muslim woman, as well as being older and having a higher level of education were all predictive of greater life satisfaction. Overall, the group demonstrated a moderately high level of life satisfaction with a mean score of 3.68² on a five-item scale developed by Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin (1985). Interestingly, discrimination was not found to have a significant relationship with life satisfaction. However, in a US sample of Muslim women (Ali et al., 2015) a significant relationship between higher perceptions of workplace discrimination and lower levels of job satisfaction were reported. The difference between the study findings is likely due to the different contexts, as well as the fact that the latter study is investigating a more specific type of discrimination and satisfaction. Ali et al. (2015) further reported that being of a lower social class, and identifying as more 'religiously adherent' to Islam were all predictive of lower levels of job satisfaction. This could be indicative of Muslims experiencing greater discrimination accessing certain types of

² 3.68 was considered as moderately high in relation to a score of 3.31 which is deemed to be 'gold-standard' according to Cummins (1995).

employment and thus having less satisfying jobs. It could also suggest that those of a higher socioeconomic status and who are less 'religiously adherent' may have higher levels of job satisfaction in the US. this can be understood as part of a wider body of literature which notes that the psychosocial environment at work including levels of control and support relate to employee wellbeing and sense of satisfaction (North, Syme, Feeney, Shiply & Marmot, 1996).

Adaptation

Another facet of wellbeing identified in the literature is psychological adaptation (Abu-Raiya et al., 2011; Hodge et al., 2016), including post-traumatic growth. Abu-Ras and Suarez (2009) reported that despite high levels of perceived discrimination, most of the sample reported a positive increase in their religious beliefs (100%), coping skills (91.2%), self-esteem (76.4%) and self-confidence (83.3%) indicating positive change following traumatic events. In another US sample (Abu-Raiya et al., 2011), methods of coping and their relationship to post-traumatic growth were examined. 'Positive Religious Coping' meaning having faith in God and contentedness with one's religion were positively correlated with post-traumatic growth, as was the coping style of 'Reaching Out'. Regression analyses indicated that 'positive religious coping' remained predictive of greater posttraumatic growth even after controlling for effects of 'reaching out'. In contrast, both the coping style 'Isolation' and 'Negative Religious Coping' (i.e. feeling punished by God, having religious doubts and feelings discontent with Islam) were related to higher levels of depression symptoms and angry feelings. After controlling for the effect of isolation, negative religious coping remained predictive of depression symptoms.

3.4. Discrimination and self-concept

Several studies have also considered the relationship between experiences of discrimination and individuals' sense of self. Aspects of self-concept measured include individual self-esteem, collective self-esteem and religious identification, or political identification. The literature demonstrates that different types of discrimination may have differing effects on people's sense of self (Every & Perry, 2014; Fleischmann et al., 2011), and that self-esteem and identity can also influence how discrimination is perceived and made sense of (Hassan et al., 2013). In a sample of Arab Australian Muslims (Every & Perry, 2014) a significant relationship was reported between experiences of religious discrimination and self-esteem. Interpersonal prejudice was found to relate to lower self-esteem in individuals. However, institutional prejudice was related to increases in self-esteem.

Fleischmann et al. (2011) also noted the differential effect of discrimination on individuals, exploring the different effects discrimination can have on religious and political identification. In their study of European Muslims, they noted that personal experiences of discrimination positively related to taking political action i.e. protesting or voicing discontent but made people less likely to support a political role of Islam. There was no such relationship identified between discrimination and 'support for political Islam'. The study identified that religious identification was related positively to supporting a political role of Islam. It is important to note that the questions used to measure 'support for political Islam' did not refer to affiliation with Islamist political parties or Shariah law but instead included questions such as 'Islam should be represented in politics and society, along with other religious and viewpoints' and 'Muslim women should cover their heads when outside the house'.

Interestingly, one's sense of affiliation or religious identity can buffer against experiences of discrimination. In a Canadian sample (Hassan et al., 2013), individuals who experienced higher levels of discrimination and reported higher levels of collective self-esteem also reported lower levels of distress symptoms. As with other studies, being female, being single and reporting higher levels of discrimination were all correlated with higher anxiety and depression symptoms. This contradicts the findings of Jasperse et al. (2011) who reported that stronger psychological identification as a Muslim was related to a higher risk of negative consequences of discrimination. This difference could be due to the former study measuring social group belonging, and the latter referring more to individual sense of identity.

4.0 Discussion

4.1 Summary of Findings

The studies reviewed demonstrated several ways in which Islamophobia has been experienced by Muslim people since 9/11. They also revealed the multiple contexts in which Islamophobia manifests, from street-level interactions, to borders and the workplace. Interpersonal experiences such as verbal harassment or hearing anti-Muslim comments were found to be most prevalent, followed by experiences of being profiled or singled out at borders. Loss of employment and experiences of physical assault or hate crimes were less frequent but still substantial. As well as identifying different experiences of Islamophobia and their prevalence, the literature highlighted several different effects of Islamophobia, including symptoms of depression and anxiety, feeling unsafe, as well as more positive outcomes such as an increase in religious beliefs and capacity to cope with adversity. It was also evident

from the literature that the relationship between experiencing Islamophobia and its implications was influenced by many contextual factors.

Interpersonal vs. Group Based

Firstly, the type of discrimination experienced influenced outcomes, with interpersonal discrimination, or being the victim of a specific incident found to be predictive of higher levels of symptomology. In contrast, experiencing group based Islamophobia or institutional prejudice that was generally targeted at Muslims, was found to be associated with higher levels of self-esteem. This is consistent with other literature examining the relationship between discrimination and self-esteem in minority groups. Research with African immigrants in Belgium (Bourgignon et al., 2006) and Latino/Latina adolescents in the US (Armenta & Hunt, 2009) also noted that perceived group discrimination was related to higher self-esteem whereas personal discrimination was related to lower self-esteem. This has been explained by the Rejection-Identification model (Branscombe et al., 1999) which suggests that to preserve psychological well-being, in response to discrimination or rejection by dominant or more powerful groups in society, individuals make a conscious effort to maintain feelings of belonging and pride with their stigmatised group.

This idea has also been considered within liberation psychology, where it is suggested that stigmatised identities can be reclaimed or transformed through participation in dialogue and activity with others belonging to that minority group (Byrne et al., 2016). It is argued that this process offers a way of collectively resisting stigma and oppression, and allowing for stigmatised identities to become a source of liberation. Notably in the UK, there has been great development in the arts with an increase in Muslim focused events and collectives, including zine producers such as

Khidr Collective and community group, Makrooh. This year has also seen the first cultural and literary event dedicated to Muslim communities in the UK titled 'MFest'. Thus, at least in the UK there seems to be a trend towards reclaiming identities and celebrating Muslim culture as a way of counteracting the general trend of Islamophobia (Hamid, 2017).

Social Inequalities and Intersectionality

Another important finding from the studies was how different social constructs or demographic factors influenced people's experiences of discrimination and related to better or worse outcomes. There was a consistent finding that Muslim women were more likely to report psychological distress. One possible reason for this could be that Muslim women, and especially veiled Muslim women disproportionately experience Islamophobia and are more frequently subject to hate crimes. According to Tell MAMA, 56% of victims of Islamophobia were women, with 80% of the women stating that they were 'visibly identifiable' as Muslim (Tell MAMA, 2016). This is consistent with other reports in Europe identifying visibly Muslim women as most likely targets for street-level Islamophobia (Runnymede, 2017). Internationally the increased vulnerability of visible Muslim women has also been noted (Bayrakli & Hafez, 2017).

However, there is a complex relationship between visibility as a Muslim woman and impact of Islamophobia. Jasperse et al., (2011) also note the protective function of wearing hijab, with wearing hijab being related to greater life satisfaction in their sample. Other studies also report that for some Muslim women wearing a hijab is a means of preserving ties with the wider Muslim community, and a symbol

of resistance against discrimination giving them a sense of power and control (Droogsma, 2007).

As well as gendered experiences of Islamophobia, the literature showed that those who were single, female, had lower education levels and/or lower paying jobs, as well as those who had experienced persecution in their country of origin were more likely to report higher levels of psychological distress in the context of Islamophobia. This highlights the difference in experiences of migrants and refugees as compared to people born in their country of residence as another important intersection to consider.

The finding that social context has an influence on people's experiences of Islamophobia was also noted by Fleischmann et al. (2011), who reported that higher levels of discrimination were perceived in individuals who were more highly educated and lived in poorer neighbourhoods, indicating that a lack of social mobility may exacerbate individual experiences of Islamophobia. Alternatively, it could be indicative of the difficulties experienced by highly qualified migrants and refugees whose qualifications are then not recognised in their new country of residence.

The concept of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) can be used to explain why women, individuals who are either unemployed or living in more deprived neighbourhoods and those who have prior experiences of trauma may have worse outcomes when faced with Islamophobia. Crenshaw (1989) emphasises how different forms of oppression are inter-connected and shape each other. Thus, being a woman, being Muslim and being from a poorer background would mean belonging to several marginalised groups, and having multiple interconnected strands of oppression affecting one individual. This idea has also been referred to in the

literature as 'triple jeopardy' (Hamdani, 2005, p.6), which is the idea that the majority of Muslim women in Western countries are also women of colour and belong to a religious minority, thus are disadvantaged on three fronts.

This emphasis on how other social inequalities interact with Islamophobia has also been taken up by the Runnymede Foundation (2017). In their report, they list 10 recommendations for tackling Islamophobia. Their third recommendation encourages the British government to 'reintroduce a target to reduce child poverty and develop a wider anti-poverty strategy' (Runnymede Foundation, 2017, pg. 2). They note that over half of Bangladeshi and Pakistani children live in poverty (DWP, 2017) and that rates of poverty among Muslims are much higher than average (Heath & Li, 2015). They further argue that preventing poverty reduces inequalities later in life, and emphasise the importance of economic integration as central to a more equal society.

Growth from Adversity

A final theme from the literature was the finding that coping with or resisting adverse experiences of Islamophobia were also opportunities for personal development. In particular, the use of religious coping, such as individual worship and prayer appeared to serve a protective function. This is a well-established finding with several reviews demonstrating the protective function of higher levels of religious involvement. Levin (2010) and Koenig (2009) note in their reviews that there is considerable evidence to suggest that religious life has a significant relationship with mental health. Koenig (2009) notes that in the majority of well conducted studies, religiosity is positively related with several indicators of psychological well-being and lower levels of psychopathology.

4.2 Limitations

There are of course several limitations to this review. One of the methodological limitations of many of the studies reviewed is the types of measures used. Several studies did not use standardised measures to capture experiences of Islamophobia, or the outcomes of it. Often brief measures with very few items were used. This in part reflects an absence of measures specifically designed to measure Islamophobia. Some of the studies attempted to circumvent this issue by developing their own measures in collaboration with Muslim participants (Jasperse et al., 2014). While such measures may be more valid and representative of Muslim experiences, comparison across samples is more challenging.

Further limitations of the literature are the samples from which participants were recruited. Some studies only recruited from and collected data at mosques (Abu-Ras & Suarez, 2009) or Islamic cultural centres (Hodge et al., 2011; Jasperse et al., 2014). This method of sampling is likely to present a significant barrier in obtaining samples that represent the diversity and heterogeneity of Muslim people. Amer and Bagasra (2013) note that one of the drawbacks of these types of convenience samples drawn from places of worship is that samples can be skewed to only consist of those who identify with having stronger ethnic identity or higher levels of religiosity. This can be excluding to Muslim people who still culturally identify as Muslim but are less engaged with collective religious practice. Additionally, all the studies were conducted in English, (or French in Canadian samples; Hassan et al., 2013; Rousseau et al., 2011) thus excluding non-English/French speaking participants.

Another way in which the heterogeneity of Muslim people is overlooked in the literature is the absence of enquiring about participants' religious affiliation (e.g.

Sunni, Shia, etc.) and whether they were born into the religion or converted. These are likely to influence experiences of discrimination and how they are responded to. For example, certain groups of Muslims such as Ismaili Shi'as are more likely to experience prejudice from other Muslim groups and have been subject to physical attack by other Muslim denominations. This experience of being a minority within a minority may influence how experiences of discrimination from non-Muslims are perceived and made sense of. The consequences of these sampling limitations are twofold. First, they have implications for the generalisability of the data. Secondly, they perpetuate an idea of a single Muslim identity.

Finally, all the literature reviewed focuses primarily on a post 9/11 rise in Islamophobia. Since 9/11 there have been numerous events which have contributed to the evolution of Islamophobia and how it manifests. In the Western world, Brexit and the election of Trump as President of the US have had a profound impact on the experience of Muslims. Thus, some of the studies reviewed may be a little outdated and not as representative of the nature and presentation of Islamophobia that Muslims currently experience. At the time of writing, there are more current studies that were published after literature searching was conducted, referring to the impact of President Trump being elected (Abu-Ras, Suarez, & Abu-Bader, 2018; Samari, Alcala & Sharif, 2018). These studies reflect a more updated view of the impact of Islamophobia on Muslim Americans in relation to health outcomes and feelings of safety.

4.3 Clinical Implications

The limitations notwithstanding, there are important clinical implications to be drawn from the literature. It is evident that Islamophobia is a serious problem that

can negatively impact people's mental health and well-being. Women and people belonging to other socially disadvantaged groups are most likely to be affected. This suggests a need for greater resources for these groups. While the Runnymede Foundation (2017) recommend tackling child poverty as a way of addressing inequality, it also seems fundamental to provide more resources for Muslim women. The evidence demonstrates that they are both most frequently targeted and report higher symptomatology, however there appears to be a dearth of resources for them. While a Muslim Women's Network exists and an adjunct helpline within the third sector, there appears to be an absence of resource or attention paid to the experience of Muslim women within statutory services. Instead Muslim women become targets for political campaigns promoting 'integration' or 'women's emancipation... from regressive cultural practices' (Casey, 2016, p.). Many Muslim groups expressed their disappointment with the Casey Review (2016) noting that while they welcomed a report on integration, the report focused excessively on Muslim 'self-segregation' and failed to acknowledge the racism and xenophobia they face. Others noted that the report failed to acknowledge the impact of government cuts (Chada, 2016).

Thus, when thinking about how to support Muslim women, or Muslim people in general it will be imperative to consult them about their experiences and the resources they think would be most helpful and important. It is also important not to promote a narrative of Muslims as victims. The literature has shown that despite the current climate of Islamophobia, that reaching out to others and engaging with other Muslims can promote a sense of solidarity and community. This in turn promotes

psychological well-being. Thus, creative outlets for promoting Muslim identity and discussing Muslim experiences will be key.

4.4 Future Research

Finally, there is still a great deal to be understood about the effects of Islamophobia. A broader representation of Muslim experiences of Islamophobia is important, both in terms of religiosity and ethnic differences but also generational differences. There is an entire generation of young people that will have grown up in a post 9/11 world. It would be interesting to consider their experiences as compared to some of the experiences documented in the reviewed literature.

As well as consequences of Islamophobia, more research investigating how people cope and find ways to maintain their sense of identity will be important. This may include personal characteristics as well as helpful interventions. Some examples of this type of research include a study by Carter (2010) investigating how Muslim American couples find ways of coping in the face of religious discrimination or Leet-Otley (2012) who explored the strength of Somali youth. This area of research is essential both for understanding how to overcome the consequences of Islamophobia, but also in promoting a more balanced narrative of Muslims.

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Part 2: Empirical Paper

Identity Development in Young British Muslims

Abstract

Aims

This study explored how young Muslims in Britain construct their identity, the different influences on it and how they define themselves. It also investigated experiences of Islamophobia and how young people have found ways to cope and resist.

Methods

Twelve young people aged 18-25 took part in semi-structured interviews. A narrative approach was taken to exploring their identities and experiences. Interviews were analysed using thematic analysis.

Results

Participants expressed a strong connection with their Muslim identity unrelated to religious practice. They spoke about Islam having a positive influence on their wellbeing and providing a sense of community. All participants spoke about experiences of Islamophobia and finding ways of responding to and resisting these negative experiences, such as concealment, being unapologetic or being an ambassador of Islam.

Conclusions

Young Muslim identity was expressed as being constant and integral, but also dynamic and evolving over time. It was influenced by developmental experiences in childhood including transitions as well as frequent experiences of othering and Islamophobia. A need for belonging and affirmation was conveyed.

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Islam in Britain

Following 9/11 and 7/7, Islam and Muslims in Britain have been placed under scrutiny for their beliefs, with the religion being problematised (Jerome & Clemitshaw, 2009), and Muslim people blamed for 'self-segregation' (Cantle Report, 2001). The British government has taken several measures to address what they believe to be threats to Britain's values and security. This has included several counter-terrorism measures but also 'softer' measures such as the promotion of 'British values'. In this context, Islam is frequently depicted as a threat to and at times incompatible with 'British values' (Jawad & Benn, 2003; Osler, 2011). This has left many Muslim people feeling as if they must choose between identifying as British or Muslim (Abbas, 2005).

Recent estimates suggest that there are approximately 3 million Muslims in the UK, accounting for approximately 4.8% of the population (Office of National Statistics, 2011). The Muslim population in Britain is highly diverse, with 68% from South Asian backgrounds, 10% from Black ethnic groups, 8% from White ethnic groups, and 6% from Arab backgrounds. Muslims in Britain are also young with a median age of 25 compared to 40 in the general population and 33% of the Muslim population aged 15 or under (Muslim Council of Britain, 2015).

1.2. Young, Muslim, and British

Having a youthful Muslim presence presents several opportunities. It can be advantageous for a nation to have a young and able workforce which can contribute to the economy. It can also allow for significant contribution to the arts and other creative outlets (Hamid, 2017). However, for young Muslims in Britain there are

several challenges. A recent report by the Social Mobility Commission (2017) noted that despite doing well in education, young Muslims encounter significant discrimination at university and in the workplace placing them at considerable economic disadvantage. The discrepancy between educational attainment and successful employment appears to be even greater for Muslim women. In the report, participants described a strong work ethic and desire to succeed in education and beyond but felt that there were multiple points of discrimination which hindered progress.

A further challenge to young Muslims in Britain has been the increasing scrutiny of their identities and loyalties. In the wake of 9/11 and 7/7, many legislative measures were put into place which some argue has led to Muslims becoming the new 'suspect community' (Pantazis & Pemberton, 2009), a term first developed by Hillyard (1993) referring to the treatment of Irish people during the 1970s and 80s. In both contexts, the suspect communities have found themselves on the receiving end of special legislative measures giving extraordinary power to the state and police in an attempt to prevent terrorist attacks. Despite claims that these measures target all forms of 'extremism' including Far Right groups and individuals, the powers of the Terrorism Acts 2000, 2006, Counter-Terrorism Act 2008, and the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015, have all disproportionately impacted young Muslims in Britain (Coppock & McGovern, 2014; Hickman et al., 2011). These include being significantly more likely to be stopped and searched (Medina Ariza, 2013) as well as being far more likely to be referred for 'de-radicalisation' programmes (Open Society Justice Initiative, 2016).

Pantazis and Pemberton (2009) argue that legislative measures such as these and political discourses around the 'war on terror' have contributed to a narrative of Muslims as the 'enemy within' (Fekete, 2004). The impact of belonging to a 'suspect community' or being viewed as 'vulnerable' to radicalisation and in need of safeguarding (Coppock & McGovern, 2014) remain under-investigated within the literature. Thus, there appears to be a disconnect with young Muslims frequently the subject of media and policy scrutiny (Mythen, 2012) but rarely given the opportunity to express how they view themselves within empirical work.

1.3. Young Muslim perspectives on the 'War on Terror'

Within the fields of sociology and ethno-racial studies there has been investigation of young Muslim perspectives in relation to the 'war on terror' and Islamophobia. A consistent finding from this literature has been reports from Muslim respondents that they often feel they are being viewed as threatening and dangerous. Mythen, Walklate, and Khan (2012) refer to this as a process called *risk subjectification*, meaning that many Muslim men feel they are defined by their sharing some of the characteristics of a 'typical terrorist'. A common response to these experiences can be self-surveillance, or concealment. Mythen et al. (2012); reported concealment of Muslim identity through changes to attire or physical appearance, as well as censorship of political and religious views in public spheres. Concealment and self-censorship have also been reported in studies examining the impact of Islamophobia (Sirin & Fine, 2007; Zempi & Chakraborti, 2014). These studies report Muslim women removing their headscarves and Muslim men wearing Western attire instead of their traditional clothes as a way of being 'less visible'.

As well as being treated with suspicion, many Muslim men from working class backgrounds report feeling rejected by British society via interpersonal interactions or discriminatory experiences (Gest, 2015). DeHanas (2013) also reported that for British Bangladeshis there is a keen sense of anti-Muslim prejudice being prevalent even if not experiencing it directly. This can contribute to a strengthening of Muslim identity, as well as a sense that perhaps their British and Muslim identities are in conflict.

1.4. Caught Between or Hybridity?

The polarising narrative that British and Muslim identities are incompatible is just one of the many narratives around young British Muslim identity. The notion of polarised aspects of identity has been prevalent for decades in research examining ethnic identity development among second generation young people in Western countries. Watson (1977) and Anwar (1998) refer to this as being 'caught between' cultures and refer to youth as having an 'identity crisis' due to being torn between their parents' cultural and religious norms and the 'Western' perspectives experienced at school and in dominant society.

Identity researchers postulate that this crisis is resolved by either rejecting the religious and cultural ideals of one's parents and adopting a more Western identity (assimilation) or resisting the 'host' culture and identifying more strongly with one's own in-group. This phenomenon of second or third generation young people strengthening their ethnic or religious identification in the face of discrimination from the 'host' or dominant group has been referred to as the rejection-identification model (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999).

Researchers have investigated the rejection-identification model (Branscombe et al., 1999) and the rejection-disidentification model (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind & Solheim, 2009) with Muslim participants in many Western countries. The disidentification model postulates that individuals reduce their national identity or affiliation with the 'host' or nation state in response to discrimination or stigma. Kunst, Tajamal, Sam & Ulleberg (2011) examined the influence of different types of religious stigma on national identity in two European samples. They noted differences between Muslim youth in Norway and in Germany, reporting that the former were more affiliated with their national identity than the latter. They highlighted that there were many differences between the two groups culturally and contextually and that the effects of religious discrimination on individual national identity must be understood in context.

An alternative narrative to that of being 'caught between' is the concept of 'hybridity'. This narrative posits that instead of discrete polarised identities that conflict with one another, second generation youth have more fluid identities that hold both their parents' ethnic and religious values as well as Western ideas. Early identity research in South London (Back, 1996) and Southall (Baumann, 1996) noted the multiple influences on identity for young people of various ethnic backgrounds reporting that self-identifications are fluid, and situational. More recently research with young Muslims in America reports similar findings. Sheikh (2007) reported that many participants spoke about 'taking the best from both worlds'. In another American study, Sirin and Fine (2007) wrote about 'hyphenated selves' to conceptualise the experience of many Muslim girls who describe themselves as transnational or belonging to many places.

Similarly, in Europe, Gest (2015) referred to 'reluctant pluralists' in his study of identity with British Bangladeshi and Spanish Moroccan men. He describes a form of hybridity or multiplicity whereby participants strive to be authentic to all aspects of their identity and shift from one aspect of their identity to another depending on the context. In this study, participants expressed fluidly switching while also maintaining strength in all aspects of their identity, hence the term 'reluctant pluralist'. Another study of British Bangladeshi identity referred to the concept of 'elastic Orthodoxy' as a form of hybrid identity (DeHanas, 2013) described as a way of being flexible with one's identity depending on the context.

1.5. Current Study

Given the diversity of the Muslim population, the literature examining young Muslim identity has tended to focus on a specific group within the Muslim community, e.g. British Pakistanis in the north-west of England (Mythen, 2012; Mythen, Walklate & Khan, 2012); British Bangladeshis in the East End of London (DeHanas 2013; Gest, 2015), and British South Asian women (Dwyer, 2010). While this is a useful approach for understanding the nuances specific to each group, it misses out on representing the breadth of Muslim experiences. Given the frequent representation of Muslims as a monolithic group (Sian, Law & Sayyid, 2012) it seems pertinent to explore the heterogeneity of young Muslim experiences and perspectives in Britain. For that purpose, the broad term 'British Muslim' is used in this study. While some argue that it is a reductionist term (Samad, 1998), in this study it has been used for its perceived expansiveness in that it captures Muslims from a range of ethnic, linguistic and denominational backgrounds who are also British nationals.

As well as a focus on specific groups, there has been a tendency in the literature towards categorisation of young Muslims (Fleischmann, Phalet & Klein, 2011). The categorisation of Muslims and other people of colour (POC) by White Europeans is grounded in imperialist discourse and can be found as early as the Crusades (Jivraj 2016; Kumar, 2012). Given this historical context, this research sought to avoid perpetuating such narratives and categorisation. The study was conducted with principles from liberation psychology (Martin-Baro, 1994) and decolonising methodologies (Swadener & Mutua, 2008) in mind. These approaches emphasise the importance of deconstructing dominant narratives, and supporting the development of positive self-definition of marginalised groups. It was also grounded in ideas from community and cultural psychology which promote the use of narrative storytelling as a key decolonising method (Bruner, 1986, 1990). These methodologies emphasise the importance of countering dominant narratives by elevating and thickening out other narratives. There is also a sense that such narratives can be key sources of community empowerment (Rappaport, 2000; Thomas & Rappaport, 1996). Therefore, careful measures were taken to avoid colluding with polarising narratives around being a British Muslim, perpetuating a narrative of Muslims as victims.

1.6 Research Aims

This study aimed to explore how young Muslim people born and raised in Britain construct their identity, meaning how they define different aspects of themselves. It aimed to explore all aspects of their identity and the various influences on their self-concept. It also aimed to explore individual and community strengths, as well as perceived advantages of belonging to the Muslim community.

The research questions addressed in this study were:

1. How do young Muslims in Britain construct and define their identity?
2. What do they feel are the benefits and challenges (if any) to being a British Muslim?
3. What are the ways in which they cope with and manage any difficulties or challenges?

2.0 Method

2.1. Design

The current study used semi-structured interviews with young British Muslims in community settings (Appendix B). The interviews began by broadly asking participants about the different aspects of their identity. This aimed to give participants control of their own narrative and allow them to reflect on the multiple aspects of their identity and how they came to be. The main part of the interview explored the different influences on their Muslim identity, and how their identity may have changed over time. The interview also included questions about experiences of Islamophobia to capture how these experiences might impact upon individuals. Finally, participants were asked about how they have coped with these experiences and other difficulties in their life to get a sense of supportive strategies and spaces that may already be in place, and how to better inform services.

2.2 Recruitment

Advertisements providing information about the study (Appendix C) and inviting participants to volunteer in the study were distributed widely on social media including WhatsApp, Facebook and Instagram. The advertisement was posted in different social media groups to ensure that a broad cross-section of young (16-25) Muslim people was recruited including a range of ethnicities and denominations. Printed versions of the advertisement were also distributed in various community settings including university campus libraries, prayer rooms and at young Muslim 'open mic' nights. The study was also advertised by word of mouth to youth centres in East London working with young Bangladeshi men and young Turkish people, as well as in West London working with young Black men.

Once participants made contact they were provided with further information (Appendix D) and asked basic demographic details (age, gender and ethnicity). This information was collected from interested participants to ensure that a diverse and representative sample of participants was recruited that reflects the heterogeneity of young Muslims in Britain.

2.3. Participants

In total, 29 individuals contacted the researcher to get further information about the study. Of these, 22 volunteered to participate. Two volunteers who were booked in for interviews were lost due to 'a potentially adverse outcome' from an early interview and a temporary pause on interviewing and ban on recruitment by UCL (See Critical Appraisal). Three volunteers were not offered an interview due to being outside of the UK (one from France and two from Pakistan). Finally, five volunteers were not offered an interview due to already having several participants who were South Asian and female. This is in line with ideas in qualitative research that participants are actively selected according to 'purposive' or 'theoretical' sampling, in order to best answer the research question (Merkens, 2004). The aim was to recruit equal numbers of male and female participants, and to recruit from a number of ethnic backgrounds and religious denominations.

Twelve participants were interviewed. Table 1 gives a breakdown of demographics. No participants under 18 were recruited and the sample was predominantly South Asian despite great efforts to recruit Muslims from a number of communities. The sample was also highly educated with all participants either in higher education or having already completed it. Participants were paid £10 in

Amazon vouchers for volunteering their time. Efforts were made to meet participants at locations convenient to them.

Table 1: Participant Demographics

Participant	Gender	Age	Ethnic Background	Religious Denomination	Profession
1	F	25	Indian/Pakistani	Sunni	Teaching Assistant
2	M	20	Bangladeshi	Sunni	Student
3	F	21	Pakistani	Non- denomination	Student & Barmaid
4	F	25	Indian	Sunni	Pharmacist
5	F	18	Pakistani	Sunni	Student & Youth worker
6	F	18	Bangladeshi	Sunni	Student
7	M	23	Scottish Pakistani	Sufi	Engineer
8	M	18	Pakistani	Sunni	Student
9	M	23	Palestinian	Non- denomination	Unemployed
10	M	23	Indian/Pakistani	Sunni	Student & Retail Assistant
11	F	22	Kurdish	Non- denomination	Student & Theatre Assistant
12	M	20	Mauritian	Sunni	Student

2.4. Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval to carry out this research was granted by University College London (Appendix E). Verbal and written consent was obtained from all participants, with clear explanations about right to withdraw and complaints procedures provided (Appendix F). All transcripts were anonymised and stored securely.

2.5 Analysis

The interviews were analysed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis differs from other methods of qualitative analysis in that it is not bound to any particular epistemology.

The process of analysis first involved transcribing interviews verbatim. Following transcription, the author began actively reading the transcripts repeatedly, a process referred to as 'immersion' (Braun & Clarke, 2006) in an attempt to become familiar with the data. During this period, initial ideas and notes were recorded, given that thematic analysis is a recursive process that requires frequent revisiting of ideas (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Following immersion, initial codes were generated, which involved organising the data into meaningful groups (Tuckett, 2005). Coding was done manually, with the full data set being paid attention to (see Appendix G for example). Interesting aspects of the data that related to the research question and formed the basis of repeated patterns were identified.

Once all the data had been coded and collated, thematic maps were developed for each individual transcript to help identify relationships between codes in order to generate themes (see Appendix H). Once initial themes had been identified, they were reviewed at the level of the coded data extracts, to ensure that extracts formed a coherent pattern. Following this, the themes were reviewed at the

level of the entire data set. This was to ensure the themes meaningfully captured the essence of the data and that any data that had been missed in earlier stages could be included. The final stage included naming the themes. This process included a detailed analysis of each theme to develop the narrative. Through identifying the narrative of the individual theme and how it related to the other themes in terms of answering the research questions, the themes were finalised. This process also included ensuring that there was not too much overlap between themes.

2.6. Credibility Checks

To maintain credibility and trustworthiness of results an 'audit trail' of the different stages of analysis was made available to the research supervisors to confirm 'credible' and 'trustworthy' data (Smith, 2003). Other strategies including peer and member review and use of rich contextualised descriptions in the write-up of results were included to remain in line with credibility requirements. A brief summary of themes was also shared with participants and they were asked to offer any comments or feedback if they wished to (Appendix I). Of the 12 participants, three provided feedback sharing that they felt the summary was an accurate reflection of their words.

2.7. Researcher Background

I am a British South Asian Muslim woman from a middle-class background. As such, I could relate with many of the experiences shared by the participants in this study. I was also aware of my relative privilege as a 'professional' conducting this research as part of my doctoral thesis in Clinical Psychology at a prestigious university, and as a non-hijab wearing, (therefore non-identifiable) light brown Muslim woman.

2.8. Bracketing

It is inevitable that a researcher's own theoretical positions and experiences will impact on how data is selected, edited and interpreted (Fischer, 2009; Willig, 2013). Thus, it was important to attempt 'bracketing' (Fischer 2009; Gearing, 2004) of some of my own personal experiences where possible to avoid projecting my own beliefs and biases on to participants or the material (Berger, 2015). As a starting point, reflexivity was key (Bradbury-Jones, 2007; Pillow, 2003). This referred to maintaining a reflective and curious stance throughout and acknowledging my own biases. Various strategies were employed to allow for self-inquiry and maintain rigorous reflexivity. Throughout the project there was close supervision. I would routinely bring interview transcripts to discuss both my interview style as well as interview content with my supervisors all of whom are from white non-Muslim backgrounds. During these meetings, it was important to be open to the possibility of participants having divergent experiences to my own. This helped to identify potential blind spots as well as to consider how to adopt a more 'not-knowing' position. A reflective log was also kept throughout the project and following interviews with participants I would document my initial responses and feelings towards the material. Finally, peer review of the material was used to help identify potential biases or blind spots.

3.0 Results

Six central themes and various subthemes were identified in relation to the three research questions as outlined in Table 2. Themes are presented below in a narrative form, with quotations used throughout to illustrate content.

Table 2: Summary of Themes

Theme	Subthemes
'I always knew I was Muslim'	Unrelated to religious practice
Realisation of Difference	From unquestioning to chosen identity
	Through Transitions
	'Us & Them' from policy and media
'No homogenised box'	
Islamophobia	Scrutinised and Stereotyped
	Harassed
	Silenced and Excluded
Defences against Islamophobia	Concealment
	Unapologetically Muslim
	Ambassador
Islam nourishing the individual and the collective	Self-care and personal development
	Belonging and Affirmation

3.1. *'I always knew I was Muslim'*

This captures the centrality of Muslim identity expressed by participants.

a) **Unrelated to religious practice.**

The constancy of their Muslim identity and how this was unrelated to the practice of their religion in terms of ritual prayer was expressed by all participants.

'I always knew I was Muslim, so I didn't have a really conscious thing to think...

it was always kind of just there.' (P4)

'I've always identified as Muslim but I've had a fluctuation in terms of how

practicing I am, quote unquote whatever that means.' (P11)

b) From unquestioning to chosen

This refers to the developmental process of Muslim identity initially being a part of themselves that was unquestioned before moving towards a chosen identity that they decided in adolescence or early adulthood. There were frequent references to formative experiences in childhood with most participants sharing the significant influence of early memories and practices with their families.

'I think Muslim, from childhood I guess. Religious things like Eid, Ramadan, prayer, I guess it was always there.' (P8)

'I guess it's just because we were raised as Muslim and we did go to Madrasah. We went to Mosque for Jummah and for Eid and we, everyone in the house fasts and stuff. So the small stuff was always there.' (P10)

Several participants spoke about feeling a need to 'choose' the religion for themselves. Part of the process of choosing entailed developing an understanding of religion independent from their parents' teachings. Thus, while participants always felt Muslim, their relationship with their faith changed over time.

'I feel it was a bit like I didn't choose... When you're in that situation, you are Muslim. No one questions anything. So, when you take yourself away from it, you can ask yourself questions like "Is this real, do I believe in this?' (P5).

Others spoke about feeling as if their parents' version of Islam lacked something and needing to seek a version of Islam more in line with their own spiritual and religious needs.

'If I was to say my mum and dad are very...not to say it's bad or anything, but it's very, I saw the lack of the spiritual side. I mean they pray and everything,

and no one's perfect or anything but ... when I came down here I got more in touch with Sufi [spiritual/mystical Islam] tariqah [order]'. (P7)

3.2. Realisation of Difference

Participants commonly spoke about experiences of feeling different and 'other' at various points in their lives. This referred both to their Muslim identity and their ethnic identity, with several participants mentioning their skin colour and indicating how religious and ethnic identities often become intertwined. These experiences often prompted a strong feeling of conflict and led participants to question their own identity. For some participants, transitioning from one context to another brought about experiences of being othered, for others they attributed it to 'Us & Them' narratives from media and policy.

a) Transitions

The impact of rites of passages such as starting university, entering the workplace or changing schools often brought about realisations of 'difference' for participants. For the majority of participants, entering less diverse spaces prompted internal conflict and a reevaluation of previously secure and stable identities.

'At university, it changed a lot more. In that I felt more conflicted. Because I moved out of London to Brighton, which is a lot more White if you want. So, I feel British in myself but when I was out with people, you sort of feel your skin color a lot more.' (P10)

'I think I have become more aware of being Muslim since I started work a few months ago... Especially being in a very white dominated environment.' (P7)

For a few moving to spaces of greater diversity made them feel more aware of difference.

'I think where it's so diverse in secondary school and everyone's more vocal...then you realise, ok actually there's differences, there's different cultures, people are from different places, and that you're all not seen as one if that makes sense, because you're made to feel that way. So, in primary school, you never feel that.'(P1)

b) 'Us & Them' in media and policy

Almost all participants mentioned the impact of having identities imposed on them by the media or policy and how this made them aware of others' perceptions of them. These perceptions often differed from their own self-concept. They spoke about how this identity was imposed not based on their faith or practice but rather visible markers such as their skin colour or name.

'As a post 9/11, West, East thing...If you're just culturally Muslim that's enough...So, the fact that my dad's family are not religious at all doesn't, they haven't been affected any differently so yeah that's what I mean by an 'us and them.'(P11)

Participants reflected feeling surprised by others' perceptions of them and how their ability to self-define was taken away by others imposing labels.

'7/7, yeah...I probably wasn't aware of it at the time but yeah that was when I realised oh I'm like one of those, I'm brown and my parents speak Arabic...After 7/7 I think I got lumped together with like all the other Muslims in Britain, regardless of whether I thought of myself as Muslim or not that's just how people perceived me.' (P9)

Others spoke of the polarising discourses in British media regarding the apparent incompatibility of being British and Muslim and its impact on their identity.

'Negative pieces about like how you can't be British and Muslim at the same time and actually it made me think, I just realised everything that I know is to be both so what, why would that be problem?' (P4)

3.3 'There's no homogenised box'

All participants expressed having multiple aspects of themselves with frequent references to national, ethnic, and gender identities. The majority of participants also spoke about sexuality and class. These multi-layered identities could leave participants with a sense of not fitting into any 'box'.

'I think it's a bit different for me because I'm Scottish, and Muslim Pakistani and now living in London and so I'm coming to terms with all this and just accepting the fact that there's no homogenised box'. (P7)

They spoke of different aspects of their identity coming to the fore depending on their surroundings. For some this was a conscious decision of attempting to find commonality with peers.

'If I was with friends who aren't British, I wouldn't feel less British it's just...I would look for things that you share rather than things that are different.' (P4)

Most commented on the fluidity of the different aspects of their identity and that they would move between these different identities fluidly and comfortably depending on the situation.

'I think that I have lots of different identities, when I go to Palestine I'm one person, when I'm here I'm another, when I'm with my Muslim friends I join in on the Muslim banter but I'm not, I'm very fluid... you play it up a bit in some settings, you play it down in others.' (P9)

'When I'm with family, for example in a wedding or something like that, I feel more, I feel more Asian and Muslim at the same time. Whereas if I'm with friends from university or something, it's sort of the British takes precedent.'

(P10)

3.4. Islamophobia

All participants could recall at least one experience of being discriminated against based on their religious identity. Where participants were not 'visibly' Muslim for example non-Hijab wearing women or men without a beard there was a tendency for the discrimination to be racialised. Experiences of Islamophobia also tended to be gendered, with male participants more likely to be stopped and searched than women.

a) Scrutinised and Stereotyped

Two male participants described being stopped and searched as minors. They spoke about it feeling surreal and unjust but not realising the magnitude of it at the time. It was their first experiences of feeling viewed by the State as suspects and criminals.

'I think I was 14 or 15 and we were just walking around not doing anything threatening or nothing and we got stopped by the police and they wanted to search us under the Terrorism Act, whatever. At that point, you feel really strange. Especially being on Oxford Street, like these people being around and we were just kids and they had just stopped there in the middle of the street in front of everyone, just patting us down. And that was the first time I felt my skin color for real.' (P10)

'The first time I got stopped and searched, I was probably about 14 or 15...I was literally about 30 metres away from my house and I got stopped. They checked and there was nothing. They saw nothing but they put me on a database to watch out for...I was only what 14 and they said that I'll be on the police database for about 3 years if I've done anything dodgy within those 3 years they will use it as evidence against me.' (P2)

Male and female participants described being searched at airports as routine and something that they have come to expect due to its frequency. They described feelings of humiliation at being singled out.

'Every single time I've gotten on a plane I've had stops and searches...Even when I'm with friends I'll be the one who will be moved apart and my friends would be allowed to go forward and just have to wait for me. So at first I felt like you know it can't be an actual profile thing, but you do feel it when you're there. I think I've experienced it enough times now to feel it.' (P12)

Another participant spoke of the aggressive nature of the searching and the lack of privacy leaving her feeling exposed and ashamed.

'It was in New York I got searched in the gate...they took me inside the gate and went through all my stuff, everyone's staring at me obviously what's this girl trying to do, one of my electronics was dead, they had to bring it back to life, I don't know what for, the woman was searching me super aggressively, like I wasn't strip searched but she was literally lifting my clothes up and there were guys there and I just felt so uncomfortable and then they were just like ok it's fine you can sit down now. And I'm like ok so now I'm just supposed to sit in this gate and pretend nothing happened?' (P11)

A more implicit level of being scrutinised and stereotyped described was uncomfortable stares and the experience of being viewed with suspicion on public transport.

'Obviously there has been a lot of attacks that's related to terrorists...and I know a lot of people do have some aggressive thoughts and they're quite strong and they believe that every single [Muslim] person is like that. So, I believe that's why some people probably do stare on the train.' (P6)

b) Targeted and Harassed

Several types of harassment and verbal abuse were shared. Some participants described experiences of being name called and targeted by people in positions of authority such as teachers. Participants spoke of the feelings of unease and questioning one's self that arose as a result of such experiences

'My form tutor she was leaving ...and as a leaving present she said I'll try to get everything for you within a budget and she suggested she'll get me an alarm clock which is shaped as a bomb, and I was like [intake of breath] is this, is this banter? Cos everyone's laughing but like there's a line.' (P2)

Others spoke about having their beliefs belittled and mocked by classmates and how this was distressing and challenging.

'My friends said 'you're gonna die if you eat pork or something?' Because they didn't understand why we don't eat it. And I remember they used to always make jokes. Saying "how come you can't eat it?" "you're not gonna die". I think that was probably something that was quite difficult growing up.' (P5)

For those not 'visibly' Muslim, harassment was racialised and expressed strong anti-immigration sentiment. One participant spoke about feeling hurt and angry at being told they don't belong in Britain.

'I was walking on the street...and I was wearing shalwar kameez, Asian clothes, and somebody across the street shouted out 'Oh go back to your country, you silly Paki'... it hurt because you have no right to say that because I grew up here, my entire life I was brought up here, born here, so it's like you don't know my background and you don't know my history.' (P3)

c) Silenced and Excluded

This captures the macro-level Islamophobia experienced by participants. Most participants spoke about being unable to speak up against racism or discrimination.

'At that time, I used to brush it off. If you made a big deal out of it, it was just a bit I don't know. Racism in my area was just a bit, the white person always won. There was probably about two Asians against the whole class.' (P5)

Others expressed feeling invalidated and dismissed when they attempted to share their experiences of Islamophobia with professionals such as academic tutors or therapists. They spoke about feeling unheard and made to feel as if they were the ones that had the problem.

*'To be honest interactions with academics have been grim and just having, being gaslighted [psychologically manipulated and invalidated] the f*** out of, being told 'are you sure that's how that interaction went? Maybe he meant x, y, z thing' or them being like yeah yeah we hear you and then not doing anything about it. With mental health stuff, so I had CBT a while ago and very*

similar things happened and I felt like I was being gaslighted a lot when I was talking about race.’ (P11)

Another participant spoke of feeling excluded from wider society by something as ‘small’ as a meal deal.

‘Just small things, they annoy me... It’s like Sainsbury’s the meal deal sandwiches they’re all part of the meal deal apart from the halal ones. So, you feel slightly discriminated in that sense like that £2 sandwich could have easily been part of the meal deal, but you know you gotta pay a bit extra cos you eat Halal.’ (P2)

3.5. Defences against Islamophobia

Just as all participants reported experiences of Islamophobia, all also identified tactics for responding to and protecting themselves from further discrimination. Participants did not restrict themselves to using only one of these tactics and would fluidly employ a different tactic according to the situation.

a) Concealment

Most participants spoke about concealing aspects of their identity to protect themselves from discrimination either at street level or when seeking employment. Multiple examples were given of changing body language or filtering speech with one participant describing how he changes his gait and visibility when feeling threatened following an experience of being verbally harassed outside a pub.

‘Maybe I’m a bit more cautious about where I’m walking. Like for example, if I’m walking down the street by myself and there are a large group of people outside the pub drinking, I’m not gonna cross the road, but sort of like you close your body off a bit more? Like hands in the pockets, hunched shoulders,

put my headphones on and just sort of walk past, whereas previously I just walk normally, like however I wanted to walk.' (P10)

Others spoke of explicitly concealing their religious or ethnic identity to improve their chances of successful employment.

'For applications and stuff towards the end I started filling N/A, I didn't disclose my ethnicity or my religious beliefs as well cos I thought they were a hindrance, they were preventing me from getting second interviews so I think at the start I didn't think it was a thing but towards the end because I was getting rejected and stuff I just stopped ticking the boxes saying that I'm Pakistani, I'm Muslim.'(P7)

b) Unapologetically Muslim

In contrast to the tactic of concealment, almost half of participants spoke about adopting an assertive tactic of being unapologetically Muslim and refusing to hide their religious identity. Participants using this tactic expressed wanting to be true to themselves. One of the ways this was described was by asserting one's identity before others could impose one on them.

'I'm very, I want my white friends to know that I'm not hiding behind anything, that this is who I am, this is where I come from and I'm not gonna have to apologise to you for anything, I don't have to apologise for anything any bad Muslim has ever done just because I have a Muslim sounding name.' (P9)

Others spoke of becoming defensive of Islam and of their identity in response to the biased portrayal of Muslims and the increased targeting of Muslims.

'It's more seeing hate crimes being done to others that's affected me, it's made me feel psychologically like I said, I'm always on a defence... you kind of

almost have this defence mechanism up, you always have the need, like me I always have the need to explain to everybody, that ok this is where I am from, and ok we're normal and ok the media have portrayed everything really bad.'

(P1)

One participant also spoke of the pressure from his friends and family to conceal his Muslim identity but his refusal to do so as he wanted to be true to himself.

'My parents, my family, even some friends at times have been, 'why don't you just shave your beard?' cos that's probably the reason why you're getting profiled, but I always say well I'm not going to change who I am for you know for other people. This is who I am so I'm not gonna do it.' (P12)

c) Ambassador

A final tactic expressed was being an ambassador of Islam. The majority of participants spoke of feeling a need to show a more 'human' or positive face to Islam in an attempt to combat the dehumanising narratives around Muslims.

'I want to show that there are people out there who are good, Muslims who are good... So, when traveling out and about, I like to make a good impression. To show that I am normal. I can hold the door for the odd person to walk through. I can pick something up if you dropped it and give it to you.' (P6)

Others wanted to highlight the positive side of the religion to others, again to counter the dominant negative discourse around Islam.

'If I'm not in Muslim spaces I'll constantly talk about being Muslim or talk about my upbringing or not in a sense of dawah [inviting people to Islam] but just trying to enforce how positive an effect Islam has had on me growing up.'

(P11)

3.6. Islam Nourishing the Individual and the Collective

Islam as a religion or being Muslim was spoken of highly by all participants. Despite the challenges of Islamophobia, all participants spoke of Islam either providing them with individual benefits such as providing guidance and a sense of peace, or of the collective benefits of being Muslim. The importance of solidarity and a need for community as a way of coping with the challenges of being Muslim was expressed by all participants.

a) Self-care and Personal Development

With regards to individual benefits of Islam, most participants spoke about the positive impact of prayer on their life. For some the benefits were more practical and referred to the sense of boundaries and discipline Islam provides for them which have been pivotal to their self-growth and development in all aspects of their life.

'I used to mess around a lot when I was a kid and you know following Islam is giving me, like praying 5 times a day is giving me structure to work around and stuff and you know ever since then it's got me from, it's got me to where I am now I'd say.' (P5)

Others spoke about prayer as providing an opportunity for self-reflection and a way to look after themselves.

'That's why I feel like prayers is quite good recently, that's your time to actually you can sit down and think your day through. To just sit down and contemplate. How your day has been and to think about what has happened. I don't know it just gives you a refresher, a refreshing session to just think.'
(P5)

For some prayer and belief in God was spoken about as providing a sense of reassurance, calm and constant support.

'One really nice part of it is, I feel like there is some sort of support there in my head in the sense that God's always there to guide me. You know if things are going wrong or I need some advice or some help, I know that's always there.'

(P12)

Others spoke about an internal sense of peace and contentment.

'For me, Islam is about peace, it's about having inner peace.' (P1)

'Even though I don't really pray that often, when I do, I feel a lot more serene and calm.' (P11)

b) Belonging and Affirmation

All participants expressed a need to find spaces of belonging, understanding and affirmation. They all spoke of needing to connect and relate with others who had similar experiences to them and could relate to being marginalised or feeling 'different'. This need to connect could be met both offline and online, with several participants speaking about the importance of social media in providing a space to feel understood. One participant spoke about social media platforms such as Instagram and Facebook as a place to feel there are others 'like you' out there.

'I think without it, I guess you would feel a bit different. You wouldn't know other people have the same issues, things you can relate to. But then you see it on social media and it has 1000 likes or something like that and then it's like lots of people relate to that same thing and so maybe it's not just you, it's part of this whole culture.' (P8)

The role of social media in help seeking and feeling supported by other Muslims was also highlighted.

'Nowadays YouTube has replaced quite a lot of people cos you know if you want advice there's probably someone that made a video about it.' (P2)

Offline, several participants spoke of the importance of seeking out similar people both to serve a protective function against being discriminated, but also to have a network of people who could understand them and have common ground with. Finding similar people was not restricted to formalised spaces such as mosques or Islamic societies but referred more generally to choosing people who are more like them. By choosing people more like themselves they were less likely to experience feelings of difference and Islamophobia.

'Day to day I don't necessarily experience those things anymore because I'm hanging out with people that aren't gonna say those things to me. Or going to places where I'm not going to meet people that might say things like that to me. I'm doing a degree with people that are going to be quite sensitive about these things. So yeah I think you learn to protect yourself.' (P9)

They were also more likely to feel understood and less alone with their difficulties.

'Just having as much of a support network as possible, people that are likely to experience overlapping situations.' (P11)

Seeking out the company of other Muslims also served a social function with participants expressing that it was easier to socialise with people who already 'understood the boundaries'.

'When making friends, I do feel like it's so much easier when someone else is Muslim. It gives you a common base, common ground... They enjoy the same

things you do. And there's the same boundaries as well. So that's quite good to make Muslim friends, and they're sometimes a good influence.' (P5).

4.0 Discussion

4.1 Summary of Findings

The findings demonstrate how young Muslims in Britain negotiate their self-identity and find ways to cope with predominantly negative narratives about Muslims. Despite or perhaps because of their experiences of being othered, profiled and excluded, there appeared to be a strong sense of connection to their Muslim identity. They also spoke about Islam as having a positive influence on their life on both an individual and a collective level. Several participants spoke of Islam as providing a way of self-care and self-development. They also referred to feelings of affirmation and belonging when with other Muslims or like-minded people. Seeking out Muslim spaces or people 'like them' appeared to be both protective and insulating from further negative experiences but also a place to process difficult experiences and be true to themselves.

As well as the constancy of Muslim identity, religious identity was found to be fluid and evolving over time. Several developmental influences including childhood experiences, transitions and the impact of Islamophobia were mentioned by participants. Finally, the participants all spoke about having multi-layered identities and feeling that different aspects of their identity may come to the fore depending on their social context.

Pride in Religious Identity

Muslim identity being a central and integral aspect of one's identity regardless of religious practice has been reported in previous studies. British Bangladeshis in East London spoke of Islam in superlative terms and placed 'being Muslim' as the primary self-identification irrespective of their practice of religious obligations

(DeHanas, 2013). Similarly, in a study with young Muslims in Greater Manchester, Islam was the most important form of identification, with religion reported as giving a positive sense of identity (Thomas & Sanderson, 2011). These findings are echoed in other research exploring young Muslims' sense of belonging and identity in Britain (Mirza, Senthilkumaran, & Ja'far, 2007; Roy, 2004). Similar trends are also reported in European samples with young Muslims reporting Islam as being very meaningful and important in their lives (Haddad & Smith, 2001; Phalet & Gungor, 2004).

In the US, Naber (2005) wrote of a similar finding where many second-generation Muslim Americans prioritised their Muslim identity, labelling themselves as 'Muslim First, Arab Second'. Participants spoke of their Muslim identity as being a source of empowerment in relation to certain cultural values that they experienced as limiting, a finding also reported by De Hanas (2013). In these studies, participants favoured a de-cultured Islamic identity where they prioritised religious teachings above cultural or ethnic norms as a way of flexibly challenging entrenched ideas about masculinity, femininity and most commonly marriage. The same was true for some participants in the present study, who reported greater empowerment from practicing a de-cultured Islam. However, not all participants in this sample spoke of their Muslim identity being first. Some described a very strong connection to their ethnic identity and cultural heritage, once again emphasising the heterogeneity of Muslim experiences and identities. Thus, the strong connection that young Muslims expressed with Islam cannot fully be explained by a desire to distance themselves from their ethnic or cultural origins.

Reclaiming Stigmatised Identities

All the participants spoke about experiencing Islamophobia as well as concurrent experiences of racism, sexism and classism, highlighting the intersectional nature of Islamophobia. Not only did they speak of their personal experiences of Islamophobia, but several mentioned experiences of parents being attacked or hearing about attacks on other Muslims in the media. Many mentioned hearing about hijab pulling's or assaults on public transport which contributed to feelings of unsafety, especially for hijab wearing participants. This also contributed to a sense of Islamophobia as a shared experience, or a collective wound (Volkas, 2009).

In instances where marginalised communities experience increasing levels of group discrimination, there can be a tendency towards stronger feelings of belonging and pride with the in-group, sometimes referred to as the rejection-identification hypothesis (Branscombe et al., 1999). According to social identity theory, it has been documented that where group differences become salient, as in the case of Islamophobia where one's Muslim identity becomes politicised and highlighted by the dominant group, there are often in-group biases in an attempt to foster positive identity (Mullen, Brown & Smith, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). It has been argued that this process of favouring and strengthening in-group identity occurs so that marginalised groups can maintain and enhance positive self-esteem (Hoggs & Abrams, 1988, 1990). Another way this can be understood is that strengthening one's identity and relying on aspects of one's marginalised identity as resources for coping and resisting allows for transforming a previously stigmatised identity into a source of empowerment (Byrne et al., 2016; Foucault, 1985).

Unapologetically Muslim

In a report interviewing young Muslims aged 18-30, many described uneasy feelings about their sense of Britishness and expressed feeling rejected or unwanted by dominant British society (Jawaab, 2018). The participants of the present study also described feeling excluded, mocked and judged by the dominant group. A strong preference for Muslim identity has been reported as a way of providing solidarity in the face of increasingly overt Islamophobia (Thomas & Sanderson, 2011). By strongly identifying with their faith it allows young Muslims to express a sense of defiance in the face of prejudice. This has also been referred to as being 'unapologetically Muslim', a tactic or response that many participants in the current study expressed. Being 'unapologetically Muslim' appears to have been borne out of Muslim people's frustrations at having their religion and identity defined by Muslim extremists or far right extremists (Sarsour, 2017).

Being unapologetic has also been encouraged in the Black community with calls for being 'unapologetically Black' (Young, 2016). These movements encourage people who have historically been oppressed to give their marginalised identity a positive association. This was evidenced in the present study by how positively participants spoke about Islam in terms of its capacity to nourish, and protect themselves. It was demonstrated in how they turned to their Muslim peers and the Muslim community for a sense of belonging. A report titled 'Unapologetically Muslim' championing the narratives of Muslim women in Indonesia, the US and the UK highlighted the strong need felt by young Muslims to tell their own narrative, rather than continuously responding defensively to the various myths and misleading ideas about Muslim women and Muslim identity (Dutta, 2018). This extensive report bore

many similarities to the findings of this study in that it emphasised the heterogeneity of Muslim experiences, and that there is no singular Muslim identity, rather a plethora of identities and narratives. It also referenced 'Generation M' (Janmohamed, 2016) a term used to refer to a cohort of Muslim millennials who are reclaiming Western consumerism unapologetically and creatively in a way that does not compromise their values.

The Power of the Collective

As well as reclaiming their identity, participants spoke of both internal and external gains from being Muslim. On an individual level, they spoke about Islam bringing them a sense of peace, reassurance and for some, important boundaries preventing them from being influenced by anti-social peers. Externally, participants spoke about being Muslim as providing 'instant communities' and feeling a sense of affirmation and belonging when amongst other Muslims, regardless of their level of practice or their ethnic background. Within psychology, there has been considerable research investigating the personal benefits of religion, with reviews concluding that religious practice is related to positive psychological wellbeing (Koenig, 2009; Levin, 2010). There has perhaps been less attention paid to the collective benefit of belonging to a faith group.

Perhaps in a time where loyalties are under scrutiny and young Muslims are increasingly being questioned about their British identity, there is an additional need for spaces of belonging. Seeking out spaces of belonging serves both a protective function in that it protects from negative experiences of Islamophobia, but it also provides young Muslims with strength and a reminder of their worth, again echoing the literature from social identity theory. An interesting finding from this study was

the role of social media in providing 'online' communities. Research has shown that social media can provide opportunities for community engagement, expanding one's social connections and fostering individual identity (Boyd, 2008; Ito, Horst, & Bittani, 2008).

As well as taking benefit for themselves from being of a community, there was also a sense from participants that being part of a community provided a way to give back or to be charitable. British Muslims are estimated to donate £100 million during Ramadan (The Charity Commission, 2016). There are also several grassroots organisations such as the Ramadan Tent Project (RTP) and Rumi's Cave which provide a place of community but also foster social cohesion by promoting meals to all those in need on a daily basis, as well as encouraging people of all (or no) faith to break bread together. Following the Grenfell fire in 2017, it was noted that various faith communities, and especially the local Muslim community via Al-Manaar mosque contributed significantly in providing shelter, basic necessities and co-ordinating donations. Thus, the sense of community extends beyond protecting one's self-esteem to reaching out and supporting others. The importance of charity and social justice are principles rooted in Islamic teachings, with one of the five pillars, *zakat*, mandating all Muslims earning over a certain amount to donate 2.5% of their wealth to those in need.

Concealment and Stigma

While all participants expressed a need for community and belonging, it is important to note however, that not all participants adopted an 'unapologetic' identity. For practical reasons, many also spoke about concealing aspects of their minority status, whether that was their Muslim identity or their visibility as a person

of colour in an attempt to protect themselves from further Islamophobia. Concealment as a response to Islamophobia has been well documented (Sirin & Fine, 2007; Zempi & Chakraborti, 2014). It has also been reported by other marginalised groups who experience stigma and discrimination such as people living with HIV (Frost, Parsons & Nanin, 2007). Concealment can be used tactically to promote social mobility as some of the participants mentioned, but also comes with interpersonal and individual costs if over-used. It can impact on psychological well-being and lead to social isolation or disengagement from society (Awan & Zempi, 2015). It has also been related to a reduced likelihood of help-seeking behaviour in African American cohorts (Masuda, Anderson & Edmonds, 2012).

Developmental Processes

As well as being constant and integral, young Muslim identity was expressed as being dynamic, and developing over time. All participants spoke about their religious identity evolving, with there being a shift from an early unquestioning identity to one which they negotiated and chose for themselves. As all the participants were born in to Muslim homes, in their early life being Muslim was conveyed as something part of their routine and requiring little thought. As they grew older and entered adolescence, participants began questioning their identity. This is consistent with identity theory, where becoming more introspective and reflecting on one's values and beliefs during adolescence is part of a 'typical' developmental process (Erikson, 1994). In a study of identity development in young Muslim Americans, Peek (2005) outlined a process whereby young Muslims initially described themselves as having an 'ascribed' identity that they had inherited from their parents and took for granted. Following a process of introspection, the young people would

then reach a point of declaring a 'chosen' identity as a Muslim despite and often in response to a collective threat.

The process outlined by Peek (2005) appears to capture the experiences of the participants from this study. Many spoke of needing to question their faith, or finding a version of Islam that resonated for them, independent from their parents' teachings. The move from early Muslim identity which was acquired from parents to a more adult religious identity was in part influenced by 'typical' developmental rites of passage such as moving from primary school to secondary school, starting university or entering the workforce. These were referred to as key turning points for self-reflection on identity. Participants spoke about how these transitions prompted a realisation of difference. These experiences of feeling different often prompted introspection and questioning of one's 'ascribed' or previously stable and unquestioned identity. Within identity theory, rites of passage are key points in one's development relating to questioning one's identity or behaviour (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Peek, 2005). What differentiates the experiences of young Muslims from other typically developing adolescents however is the undue scrutiny and hostility they are exposed to during their formative years. In addition, the idea of a 'chosen' identity perhaps indicates a level of finality or an end point which contrasts with findings from this research where although being Muslim was constant, there was a fluidity and dynamism expressed. This challenges the idea that identity development is unidirectional and a linear process instead suggesting it is more of a dynamic process.

Multiple and Fluid

Finally, all participants spoke about the different aspects of their identity. While their religious identity was very important to them, it was not their only

identity. Some spoke about the importance of their ethnic identity, others their national identity or gender identity as central to their self-concept. This again highlights the diversity and homogeneity of Muslims, in contrast to the frequent media representation of Muslims as being a homogenous group (Sian, Law & Sayyid, 2012). It also relates to earlier literature around plural identities and fluid self-identification (Back, 1996; Baumann, 1996).

4.2. Limitations

One of the key limitations of this project is the sample used. This study relied on a highly-educated sample of young people who volunteered to participate in the project. All participants had already obtained or were working towards completing a degree in a reputable university. This is not representative of all young Muslims in Britain today. It was also a London-centric sample given that the project was conducted in London and face to face interviews were used. While it is common for smaller scale projects to focus on one geographical area, the inclusion of Skype interviews and participants across the UK would have provided a more representative voice of young Muslims in Britain.

Additionally, despite great efforts to recruit a diverse sample that included a range of young Muslims, the sample was predominantly South Asian. While most Muslims in Britain are South Asian and Sunni, a number of ethnic groups and religious denominations were not captured. Attempts were made to recruit groups that are marginalised within the mainstream Muslim community such as Black Muslims and Shi'a Muslims but there were few volunteers expressing interest from either of these groups. It is possible that to recruit groups who are a 'minority within a minority'

recruiting via a gatekeeper or known community member would have been more successful.

4.3. Clinical Implications

A critical implication of this study is that it highlights the existence of Islamophobia and its psychological impacts on young people. Despite numerous reports evidencing a rise in Islamophobia (Bayrakli & Hafez, 2017; Runnymede Trust, 2017), there remains a dearth of knowledge, awareness and sadly, interest within psychology to engage with how this issue impacts individuals and communities. This research demonstrates that Islamophobia is part of young Muslim people's daily life and for clinical psychologists working with young Muslims it is imperative that they educate themselves on this issue. Scrutinising and holding Muslim clients under suspicion under the guise of safeguarding is mandated under Prevent training which all NHS professionals are required to attend. It seems appropriate given the findings from this research that psychologists and clinicians are also mandated to attend training on Islamophobia. Often the way in which Islamophobia affects individuals and how they choose to respond to it can be mistaken for 'signs of radicalisation'. For example, changes to behaviour, or 'concealment' are considered to be signs that an individual could be radicalised (DoE, 2015). However, these changes could equally be related to experiencing an Islamophobic attack or other distressing experiences. As such, a nuanced understanding of what Islamophobia is, how it manifests from the micro to the macro level and how it may appear within therapeutic contexts is key if clinical psychologists are committed to delivering services to Muslim people.

As a profession, clinical psychology has historically struggled to engage with religion in the therapeutic encounter (Inayat, 2005). The findings from this study

demonstrate the importance of Islam in young people's lives and the high esteem with which they hold their faith. It would be a great tragedy if they felt unable to express the ways in which their religion has benefitted them and provided a sense of peace or security. Thus, it is important that psychologists reflect on their own beliefs about religion and Islam, as it is likely that unconscious biases will impact on their ability to engage with the issue.

Further to this, the need for a collective focus was very clearly demonstrated in this study. There can be a tendency within psychology to focus on the individual, with therapeutic interventions within the NHS primarily offering 1-1 therapy. The need for affirmation and belonging and the frequent expression from participants of needing a 'support network' highlights the need for community work. There are already excellent grassroots initiatives such as 'The Delicate Mind' who organise workshops and facilitate conversations about mental health within their local community. Given the emphasis on community and solidarity, it is essential that psychologists collaborate with existing community initiatives and meet with young Muslims to co-produce more appropriate services. Even within a context of austerity measures, there are cost benefits to providing group services alongside community organisations.

4.4. Further Research

Hearing the voices and experiences of young Muslim people and how they cope within a climate of Islamophobia is essential. To build on the existing research, a similar project using participatory action research methodology would be recommended. By using a bottom-up approach to develop and conduct research with a diverse group of young people would be helpful on multiple levels. Given the

findings from this study about empowerment, community and a need to challenge the predominantly negative depictions of Muslims, it would be empowering to include young people and have them at the forefront of future research so that any results and findings can be more meaningful. Having a diverse research team could also help in accessing marginalised Muslim groups such as LGBTQ Muslims, Shi'a Muslims and Black Muslims.

Intergenerational research is also recommended, both for learning about how different generations cope with Islamophobia and have found ways to sustain themselves at different points in time, but also as the process of conducting the research could in itself be therapeutic. It would also be of interest to conduct research examining the positive benefits of engaging with community groups be they offline or online. Speaking to people to understand the impact that engagement with community groups has on their sense of self and wellbeing would be important. Finally, with regards to the long-term impacts of growing up in an Islamophobic world, a large-scale longitudinal study tracking the development of young Muslims and speaking to them at various points would be of great benefit in understanding the human impact of Islamophobia and how it shapes people's self-concept over time.

4.5. Conclusion

The findings from this study highlight the influence of socio-political events on identity development. They also provide a powerful counter-narrative to existing ideas about the apparent incompatibility of being British and Muslim, and emphasise the empowering and nourishing qualities that Islam and being Muslim brings to young Muslims living in Britain today. Sadly, experiences of Islamophobia and feeling

othered were reported by all participants and emphasise a need for Islamophobia to be taken seriously within all sections of society. Clinical psychologists have much to offer in terms of their capacity to promoting a fairer, more equal and just society for all. Tackling Islamophobia within and outside of psychology are of paramount importance in achieving that aim.

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Part 3: Critical Appraisal

Introduction

This critical appraisal reflects on the process of conducting the empirical study and literature review. I will focus primarily on the challenges of being a Muslim researcher examining Islamophobia. I have chosen this focus given the parallel process that occurred where the topic under study mirrored my own experiences, including an extreme scenario that followed an 'adverse event'.

Empirical Study

Designing the Study

The empirical study was an independently developed thesis project. I had initially intended to study young Muslim perspectives on the controversial counter-terrorism policy Prevent (DoE, 2015). This policy mandates educators and healthcare professionals to report and refer students or patients for 'de-radicalisation' programmes if there are fears that the person may be at risk of being 'radicalised'. Thus, it seemed important to consider what implications this may have on the uptake of psychological services by Muslim people and the ability for patients/clients to be honest and open with their therapists or teachers about their religious beliefs.

Having drafted my initial proposal, I felt that it would be too challenging, too political and perhaps too dangerous to proceed with exploring such a topic. Muslim researchers exploring counter-terrorism have themselves been accused of being terrorist sympathisers (Ramesh & Halliday, 2015). There are also frequent reports of young Muslims being referred to Prevent for mentioning eco-terrorism in a demonstration of extra-curricular knowledge (in stark contrast to the treatment of their non-Muslim peers), or for drawing and mispronouncing the word cucumber in nursery (Open Society Justice Initiative, 2016). In such a climate of fear and paranoia

it felt unsafe as a Muslim researcher to proceed with such a project. I wondered whether perhaps I could be putting myself at risk of harm by exploring such a topic. I was also mindful that I might struggle with recruiting participants to discuss such a topic as they may feel cautious or suspicious as to how the material would be used. Recruiting under 18's would also be a challenge, as I was aware that parental assent would be required and parents may hesitate to allow their children to partake in a potentially risky project.

It was a difficult decision to make as I felt it was important to elevate the voices of young people and hear what they thought about Prevent. Coming from a position where I saw my research as a form of activism I also felt a sense of responsibility to conduct meaningful research that could bring about social change. However, perhaps due to fear of being persecuted or bringing harm to others, I ultimately decided to study what felt to be a safer and more frequently researched topic within clinical psychology.

Thus, a second thesis proposal was drafted intending to study identity development in young Muslims. Given the climate of Islamophobia, polarising discourses around 'British values' and divisive depictions of Muslims in the media (Sian, Law & Sayiid, 2012) I felt that it was important to learn more about how such influences are impacting on the development of young Muslims in Britain. The growing literature around belonging to a 'suspect community' (Hillyard, 1993; Pantazis & Pemberton, 2009) and the lack of attention to the developmental impact of such influences seemed pertinent to explore. Thus, the current empirical study was arrived at.

Insider Research

As discussed in the Methods section, given my personal background, this research could be classed as 'insider' research. Holding the position of 'insider' had many advantages as well as potential challenges. Given my own experiences of negotiating multiple minority identities, as well as experiencing challenges such as racist comments or micro-aggressions I was easily able to relate and empathise with participants. Or as Berger (2015, p.233) describes it, I began the research with 'a head start in knowing about the topic, and understanding nuanced reactions of participants'. This was also I believe advantageous to participants. Amer and Bagasra (2013) noted in their review that a significant barrier to recruiting Muslim research participants can be feelings of fear and suspicion about the intent and purpose of research projects. Being a Muslim woman myself would likely have allowed participants to be less suspicious and fearful, allowing them to be more open about their experiences. It is likely that participants felt a certain level of relatability. This was evident with many asking me questions about my own experiences or assuming I had similar experiences to them. This process while advantageous in allowing for open dialogue also presented challenges. There was a danger that I could make assumptions of knowing what participants meant when they used certain terms, or of over-identification.

When conducting insider research there is a danger of the researcher projecting their own beliefs and biases onto the data (Berger, 2015). The ways in which these challenges were managed in relation to conducting valid and ethical research have been described within the Methods section. However, what was not discussed are the potential impacts on and the dangers to researchers who are

involved in insider research, as well as how these challenges can be managed. One of the dangers of insider research is of course the emotional toll interviews can take on researchers. Again, the role of reflexivity, and keeping a journal as well as talking about my experiences in supervision were essential in managing the emotional demands of the project. At times, I felt angry at the injustices that I felt on behalf of participants, especially those who had been stopped and searched as minors, with no guardians present. I felt sadness at just how frequent experiences of discrimination and othering were, and most of all how dehumanised a lot of the participants felt. Being of the same faith as my participants meant I felt the collective pain of being a Muslim person in an Islamophobic world and listening to the interviews undoubtedly had an impact on me. As well as being painful to hear, it reminded me of why I set out to conduct this research to begin with and gave me greater encouragement to do right by the participants.

The potentially adverse handling of a 'potentially adverse outcome'

One of the most challenging and emotionally demanding experiences of this research project came from a seemingly minor error that went unnoticed by supervisors and the UCL Ethics committee during the planning stages of this project. In my original Consent Form for participants I had forgotten to include a 'limits to confidentiality' section. While the inclusion of a limits to confidentiality clause is standard practice, given the project involved a non-clinical population and was exploring the seemingly uncontroversial topic of identity, it seemed to have been missed by all responsible (myself included) for maintaining the ethical standards of this project. The Consent Form along with all other documents related to this project were approved by UCL Ethics with no amendments suggested. This error would likely

have gone unnoticed had a participant not disclosed in an interview that a sibling had travelled to Syria three years earlier. What followed this disclosure was a series of confusing, anxiety provoking and intensely pressurising events culminating with me being accused by UCL and the Police of withholding information in contravention of the Terrorism Act 2000.

Ethical Dilemma

Given the lack of a limits to confidentiality disclaimer in the original Consent Form I felt posed with an ethical dilemma. It was unclear to me if the participant's disclosure warranted further action as she had spoken in vague terms and had not mentioned the reason why her brother had gone to Syria. However, I was aware of the context of Britons travelling to regions of conflict in Syria to engage in fighting for/against 'ISIS/Daesh'. I was also mindful that any breach of confidentiality would be challenging given we had not forewarned her. In the first instance, I shared the disclosure with my research supervisors so that we could seek further advice. UCL's internal advice from the Prevent team initially suggested no action was required, given that safeguarding policies covered students and research participants but not siblings. However, they rapidly changed their advice and began insisting that I disclose the participant's name and contact details to them and the local Prevent team.

This filled me with a deep sense of discomfort and anxiety. In the absence of a policy, I wondered how UCL could have come to such a decision. I was also concerned about the lack of consideration given to the participant's wellbeing and how a breach in confidentiality would impact her and her family. She had shared quite movingly in our interview about the devastating loss her family had experienced

and that she had not seen her brother in three years. She described how shocked her family had been at his departure and how this experience had left her searching for answers. As a researcher and the person who had face to face contact with her I felt a sense of duty and responsibility to protect her and to ensure that due process was being followed. Given the ethical greyness of the issue and the opaqueness of UCL Prevent's decision making process I decided to seek my own legal counsel from a firm renowned for their work upholding civil rights and liberties.

#StudentsnotSuspects

In the weeks that followed, I found myself experiencing the very phenomena I had set out to study. At various points I felt profiled, dismissed and isolated. I sought legal counsel to understand whether the participant's disclosure met any threshold whereby I would be legally required to share this information with the authorities. UCL adopted a different approach, seeking counsel internally, holding discussions with the Provost, the Police and Camden and Islington Prevent team. While I was still waiting for deliberation from my legal counsel, I was informed by UCL that I must immediately disclose the participants details or be in contravention of the Terrorism Act (2000). I received multiple calls and emails in the space of 24 hours informing me of this directive, with UCL members of the research team advising me to follow UCL's and the Police's orders. In contrast, my solicitors advised me not to disclose any information until we had received a final decision from the barristers.

The isolation and intense acute pressure I experienced while I tried to come to a decision and reconcile the conflicting messages I was receiving cannot be underestimated. I was warned that I could be at risk of my home being searched without warrants given that SO15 (Counter-Terrorism Command of the Metropolitan

Police) were now involved. As well as the genuine fear of being charged under the Terrorism Act, being a UCL student I also worried about the implications of refusing to follow their directives. As a third-year trainee, I feared the possibility of being forced to abandon my thesis, or worse, my training cut short.

Despite these anxieties, I felt compelled to continue seeking a just outcome. I felt a sense of duty and responsibility to my participant and to ethical practice and so decided to follow my gut and wait for the lawyer's final decision. Taking this decision did not come without consequence, as it left me positioned as a troublemaker, 'withholding of material information' and viewed with suspicion, an experience many of the participants in the empirical study spoke about.

I was ultimately informed by my lawyers that I did not have to disclose any of the participant's details as the information that I held did not meet thresholds for the Terrorism Act (2000). This however was not enough to absolve me, as the police were still requesting the participant details, albeit not always through legal means. In their zeal to obtain the participants details, they had failed to follow due process, which would involve completing a Production Order (a request to a judge). Instead they had been calling members of the research team at all hours on their mobile phones demonstrating a complete disregard for the law. On receiving instruction from my lawyers, the police completed a Production Order and I was called to a hearing at the Old Bailey. It is a great testament to my legal counsel that within 24 hours, they proceeded to obtain excellent representation from a QC and began arranging for the inclusion of expert witnesses. The list of supporters grew to such lengths that my solicitors requested a longer hearing. Just as we were prepared to present our case

to the state, within 48 hours of submitting the Production Order, the Police withdrew it, drawing the entire ordeal to an anti-climactic yet victorious close.

Silenced and Dismissed

The most painful experience was the indifference and dismissal of my experiences by UCL Legal. In their letter responding to claims that I had been put under undue pressure and should be supported unequivocally, they responded defensively, denying any wrongdoing and stating that they were a neutral party, with any further developments being a matter between myself and the Metropolitan Police. This left me feeling invalidated and unsupported by an institution which I had felt connected to and studied at for many years. Unfortunately, being invalidated and having experiences of discrimination dismissed is one that people belonging to marginalised groups experience routinely (Pallotta-Chiarolli & Rajkhowa, 2017). Especially regarding experiences of Islamophobia, there are frequent reports of victim blaming, gaslighting (manipulating information in order to invalidate the victims experience and maintain power) and outright denial of its existence (Janmohamed, 2018).

What can we learn from all of this?

A simple yet crude learning point would of course be the importance of including limits to confidentiality clauses on consent forms, an amendment that I now understand has been made for all DClinPsy ethics applications. However, even with the inclusion of such a clause it is evident from the decision that was finally made that no disclosure to any bodies was required. What seems significant to consider is how the event escalated to such a point, as well as the absence of protocol on an institutional level and the absence of a thorough and thoughtful risk assessment by

those closest to the research. At no point did UCL as an institution, or the research team or department conduct a risk assessment evaluating the risks and benefits of disclosing any information. If it is true that preventing terror is like any other form of safeguarding, as is frequently espoused by Prevent, then the same type of risk assessment that takes place for safeguarding disclosures should have taken place.

Most concerning was the lack of regard given to the participant and the dangers of disclosing. Throughout the entire process, priority was given to protecting the institution, with constant mentions of UCL's duty to report to the state being mentioned in correspondence. This was in stark contrast to how little, if at all, was mentioned about UCL's duty to their research participant or their student. It remains unknown whether the institution has considered their actions or contemplated changing any of their policy with regards to Prevent or 'terror'. The decision by the Police to withdraw their request and the position of my legal counsel that I had no information of 'material assistance' was at no point acknowledged by UCL, nor was an apology offered for their gross misunderstanding of the situation. It is of grave concern that other than changes to confidentiality forms there have been no other consequences from this very serious incident.

Holding my ground

I was incredibly fortunate to receive the pro-bono support of Birnberg Pierce and even more fortunate to have come across their firm when reading an article about Prevent in Khidr Collective (a zine developed by young Muslims) a few days before this entire process unfolded. It is important for future trainees and researchers to be brave enough to ask questions of those in positions of authority and be willing to seek out legal counsel from appropriate services when necessary. It

is also important to bear in mind that the police and other agents of the state may not always act within the law and be willing to challenge this.

Not being afraid to ask for help was a big part of how I was able to keep going during a very challenging time. Thanks to supportive and flexible supervisors I was able to work to a reduced caseload and was also encouraged to take some much needed time off, which the course also accommodated for. I was surrounded by supportive family, most notably my husband and sister who encouraged me that I was doing the right thing. However, I was equally met with genuine fear and concern when I spoke to other Muslim people about the situation I was in. I stood firm in my conviction because I felt a sense of duty and responsibility not just to my participant but to the Muslim community. I had intended to conduct a study to help and support my community, not to further be complicit with dubious counter-terror strategies that serve to polarise and divide communities. Despite the strength of my conviction, it was a balancing act with regards to how far I was willing to go in challenging UCL directives and the state. Being able to reflect and consider my emotional resources and capacity to continue were crucial, with personal therapy being one of many spaces for this.

While I would encourage other psychologists and researchers to hold their ground, to know their rights, to seek legal counsel and to surround themselves with supportive voices, I cannot underestimate the personal toll that holding one's ground and defying powerful institutions and the state can take on an individual. As well as encouraging individuals to take a stand, it is of the utmost importance that greater responsibility is taken by institutions to protect Muslim academics, students and participants, so that individuals are not left fending for themselves.

The power of labels

The process of conducting this research provoked much reflection and re-evaluation of my own ideas about labels and identity. On starting the research, I had intended to study identity development in 'British Muslims'. As mentioned this was borne out of the polarising discourses questioning whether people can be 'British' and 'Muslim'. As the research developed and I began meeting with participants as well as reading more broadly, I began realising some of the limitations of the term. Some participants mentioned that they felt it promoted greater divisions within the Muslim community, separating out those who are British born from those who are not, perhaps implying that those who are British born are more acceptable. Others spoke little about their British identity, unable to quite pin down what it means to them personally to be British. In a large-scale grassroots project with young Muslims aged 18-30, again there was a sense that the term was divisive and at risk of further marginalising refugees and asylum seekers who do not hold British citizenship (Jawaab, 2018). In Jawaab's (2018) study some of the young people identified as British citizens as their national identity, others expressed confusion over what it means to be British and some rejected a sense of Britishness beyond their passports due to feeling that Britishness was becoming associated with increasing nationalism and whiteness post Brexit. The report notes that the label homogenises the Muslim community and places limits on how Muslims in Britain choose to identify themselves.

Reflecting on Jawaab's report led me to wonder whether the recruitment drive for 'British Muslims' may have prevented certain young people from volunteering for the present study. I wondered whether I had contributed to further

marginalising the voices of some young Muslims who live in Britain. I also noticed the difference between how Jawaab had recruited participants and my advert. They had used vibrant youthful flyers which were not affiliated with an academic institution but instead an open call to talk and think about grassroots ways of tackling Islamophobia. Perhaps by using a formal flyer with UCL logos and a UCL email address, I had made myself less accessible or approachable to some young people which could explain the highly-educated sample this study relied upon.

As mentioned in the discussion, there was also limited interest from minority Muslim groups such as Black Muslims or Shi'a Muslims despite repeated attempts to advertise and recruit. It made me think about power and privilege even within the Muslim community, and that my being South Asian and Sunni, thus a majority group, precluded me from thinking in a nuanced way about how best to recruit from more marginalised Muslim groups. Perhaps with more time or thought, engaging face to face with these groups and building links with community groups or recruiting via a gatekeeper would have contributed to a more diverse sample.

Literature Review

Dangers of focusing on the individual

The data in the literature review all used quantitative measures to operationalise a phenomenon which is structural in nature and embedded in institutions. Such research is important as it highlights the individual and personal costs of increasing Islamophobia. This data is useful in that it can be used to argue for the existence of Islamophobia and subsequently programmes for supporting victims of Islamophobia as well as the development of strategies to tackle Islamophobia. However, an excessive focus on individual costs can contribute to a narrative that

Islamophobia is something done to individuals by individuals. Such an approach can also fail to capture the impact of others being affected by Islamophobic attacks, or the impact of hearing about attacks in the media, something which many of the participants in the empirical study referred to. Focusing on the individual in quantifiable ways also rarely consider the impact of policy and institutionalised forms of Islamophobia such as social mobility or more broadly the ‘hostile environment’ that currently prevails in Britain. As a result, quantifying Islamophobia in this way can detract from the fact that Islamophobia in Britain is part of a wider issue of structural racism.

Recently, deep seated Islamophobia in public bodies such as the Tory Party have been highlighted with comments from the UN Special Rapporteur requesting the UK Government to ‘assess the situation of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance in the United Kingdom’ and referring to Prevent as ‘inherently flawed’ (UNHCR, 2018). Such assessments point to the structural nature of Islamophobia and emphasise a need for interventions at institutional levels.

Polemic vs. Pragmatism

Being a Muslim researcher and coming from a decolonial perspective often meant having to question how ‘polemic’ to be when writing the literature review. It required frequently having to consider how it would be received by those without my lived experiences. This at times was a frustrating and anxiety provoking experience as I felt that I was being required to filter myself and modify my writing in order to make it more acceptable. This felt uncomfortable as while I appreciated that the thesis is an academic piece of work and must be balanced and well-referenced, I was writing about a topic that was deeply personal and fundamentally unjust.

This led to much deliberation and thought about how I could best highlight injustice and promote change. I realised that ultimately, an academic thesis required a level of pragmatism in that by submitting this thesis, and achieving the prestigious title of a Doctor of Clinical Psychology I would be opening more doors to making change. I realised that the thesis could be a more restrained and balanced piece of work which ultimately leads to greater opportunity for social change and activism given the privilege and access a professional title provides. Thus, I attempted to maintain balance throughout the thesis as far as possible, knowing that in the critical appraisal and in my non-academic writing I could address the issues more candidly. Again, this process appeared to parallel the experiences of participants in the empirical paper who spoke about being unapologetic in some scenarios and concealing themselves in other settings.

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Appendix A. The Standard Quality Assessment Criteria for Evaluating Primary Research Papers Checklist for Quantitative Papers

Criteria	YES (2)	PARTIAL (1)	NO (0)	N/A
1	Question / objective sufficiently described?			
2	Study design evident and appropriate?			
3	Method of subject/comparison group selection or source of information/input variables described and appropriate?			
4	Subject (and comparison group, if applicable) characteristics sufficiently described?			
5	If interventional and random allocation was possible, was it described?			
6	If interventional and blinding of investigators was possible, was it reported?			
7	If interventional and blinding of subjects was possible, was it reported?			
8	Outcome and (if applicable) exposure measure(s) well defined and robust to measurement / misclassification bias? Means of assessment reported?			
9	Sample size appropriate?			
10	Analytic methods described/justified and appropriate?			
11	Some estimate of variance is reported for the main results?			
12	Controlled for confounding?			
13	Results reported in sufficient detail?			
14	Conclusions supported by the results?			

Appendix B. Interview Schedule

Introduction

Thank you for meeting with me today and taking the time to talk about identity. Today's interview aims to explore the different aspects of your identity and how you view yourself. I will ask you questions about your experiences as a British Muslim.

I will be audio recording the session to ensure that I capture all of your points, and the information will be stored confidentially. I would like to remind you of the limits to confidentiality, meaning that if you share information that suggests you or somebody else might be at risk of harm then I may be required to share that information with the relevant authorities. If at any point you would like to stop the interview you are free to do so, and we can pause the interview. If you would like to withdraw from the study completely at any point during or after this interview, let me know and your recording will be deleted.

Do you have any questions before we start?

Tracing development of identity

- Tell me about the different aspects of your identity/how do you see yourself? How do you identify?
- What led to you thinking of yourself in this way?
- When did you first start thinking of yourself as a British Muslim? (Do you think of yourself as a British Muslim – if not how would you define yourself?)
(Any examples or experiences that come to mind?)
- Has that changed in any way over time? If so – how?
- What does it mean to you to be a British Muslim?
- How does being a woman/man inform your identity?
- What do you think has been the biggest influence on the different aspects of your identity? (can you give any examples of that?)
- What values/ are the things that are most important to you? Where have these values come from? What has influenced them?
- How might your values differ from that of your parents? Your grandparents? What might they say?

Different Identities

- Does your identity differ in different situations e.g. school vs home? If so – how? Do you find that you might behave or feel different depending on your surroundings?
- Do you think there are certain benefits to being British Muslim? (If so – what are the benefits that come to mind?)
- Do you think there are certain challenges to being British Muslim? (what do you mean...can you tell me some more...) might want to move these earlier to make it link in with other questions about being BM?
- How have you overcome these challenges?
- In the face of these difficulties what do you find has kept you going? Makes it easier for you to feel positively about your identity as a British Muslim?

Experiences of Islamophobia

- Have you ever felt in some way singled out or alienated because of your identity? (e.g. microaggressions/ bullying/ remarks made in workplace or school environment?)
- Do you think you have ever been racially profiled e.g. stop and search
- Have you ever been the victim of a hate crime? (online or offline)
- How have these experiences impacted you – any changes in your mood, behaviour? Have others noticed any change, give examples

Distress and Help Seeking

- How do you cope with difficulties in your life? What helps (ask for examples)

Referring back to some of the challenges you mentioned/any experiences of Islamophobia...

- Who might you turn to/talk about regarding these challenges/difficulties?
- Have you ever sought any professional help for any of these difficulties? Do you think you would seek professional help e.g. going to some sort of counsellor or therapist, life coach?
- Would you talk maybe to a religious leader, a teacher/lecturer, healthcare professional?
- If not – why not? Is there anything that would make it easier to seek help from these kinds of services?

Are there any areas that it might have been helpful for me to have been asked about? Any questions that I should ask other interviewees

Seeking Participants

For a study exploring identity development in
young British Muslims

£10 compensation

The study will involve meeting a researcher for an individual interview which will last up to one hour. The interview will ask about different aspects of your identity, including benefits and challenges.

You are invited to participate if you:

- Self identify as British Muslim
- Are aged between 16-25
- Are fluent in English

Please note that not all participants who volunteer will be selected for interview. This is to ensure a balance of participants from different age groups, genders and settings.

Your participation in the study is entirely voluntary.

For more information or to volunteer for this study, please contact the researcher: h.dadabhoy@ucl.ac.uk

Appendix D. Participant Information Sheet.



Participant INFORMATION SHEET

Exploring identity development in young British Muslims

V 1.4 02.11.17

You are invited to take part in this research study being conducted at University College London. This information sheet is designed to give you more information about the study and to tell you about your role as a participant.

What is the study about?

This study aims to explore how young British Muslims develop their identity and how your identity has changed over time. We are recruiting young people from a number of different settings including colleges, community centres, religious centres, social media, sports centres and universities. This research will help us understand some of the benefits and advantages of growing up 'British Muslim' as well as some of the challenges.

What will happen if I take part?

Following your consent, you will be contacted by phone or email to invite you to be interviewed. The interview will be arranged at a mutually convenient time and place for the participant and researcher, and should take no longer than 60 minutes. The interview will be audio-recorded and then transcribed (written up).

What will I be asked to talk about in the interview?

During the interview with the researcher, you will be asked some questions about your British Muslim identity. You will also be asked about experiences you may have had growing up as well as more recent examples. You will also be asked about how you cope with difficulties.

What will happen to my data?

The information will be analysed to find common themes. The contents of the discussion with the researcher will be anonymised before the results are reported. The results may be written up and published in an academic journal, but you will remain anonymous and unidentifiable.

Will my data be kept confidential?

The data collected as part of this study will remain confidential and will only be viewed by the researchers. You will not be able to be identified in any publications.

Limits to confidentiality

Please note that confidentiality will be maintained as far as it is possible, unless during our conversation I hear anything which makes me worried that someone might be in danger of harm, I might have to inform relevant agencies of this. If this was the case we would inform you of any decisions that might limit your confidentiality.



What if I want to withdraw from the study?

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and you are free to withdraw yourself or your data from the study at any time, without the need to give a reason. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not feel like answering, and are free to stop the interview at any time.

Who can I ask if I have more questions?

The researcher is happy to answer any questions about the study at any time.

What happens if there is a problem?

If you wish to complain or have any concerns about any aspect of the way you were approached or treated during participation, UCL complaint mechanisms are available to you. Please ask if you would like more information on this.

In the unlikely event that you are harmed by taking part in this study, compensation may be available to you. For more details of this you can contact Dr Kat Alcock who is supervising this project and is based at the address provided above.

Who has reviewed this study?

This study has been approved by the UCL ethics committee. All data will be collected and stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998; raw data from this study will be destroyed in December 2019.

What are the contact details of the researcher?

Name: Hina Dadabhoy, Trainee Clinical Psychologist
Email: h.dadabhoy@ucl.ac.uk
Address: UCL, Department of Clinical, Health and Educational Psychology, 1-19 Torrington Place, WC1E 7HB.

Alternatively, if a problem arises, you can speak to the research supervisor Dr Katherine Alcock at University College London by email: k.alcock@ucl.ac.uk

Appendix E. Ethical Approval from UCL.

UCL RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
ACADEMIC SERVICES



14th July 2017

Dr Katherine Alcock
Research Department of Clinical, Educational and Health Psychology
UCL

Dear Dr Alcock

Notification of Ethical Approval

Re: Ethics Application 11215/001: Exploring identity development in young British Muslims

I am pleased to confirm in my capacity as interim Chair of the UCL Research Ethics Committee (REC) that your study has been approved by the UCL REC until **30th September 2018**.

Approval is subject to the following conditions:

Notification of Amendments to the Research

You must seek Chair's approval for proposed amendments (to include extensions to the duration of the project) to the research for which this approval has been given. Ethical approval is specific to this project and must not be treated as applicable to research of a similar nature. Each research project is reviewed separately and if there are significant changes to the research protocol you should seek confirmation of continued ethical approval by completing the 'Amendment Approval Request Form':

<http://ethics.grad.ucl.ac.uk/responsibilities.php>

Adverse Event Reporting – Serious and Non-Serious

It is your responsibility to report to the Committee any unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risks to participants or others. The Ethics Committee should be notified of all serious adverse events via the Ethics Committee Administrator (ethics@ucl.ac.uk) immediately the incident occurs. Where the adverse incident is unexpected and serious, the Chair or Vice-Chair will decide whether the study should be terminated pending the opinion of an independent expert. For non-serious adverse events the Chair or Vice-Chair of the Ethics Committee should again be notified via the Ethics Committee Administrator within ten days of the incident occurring and provide a full written report that should include any amendments to the participant information sheet and study protocol. The Chair or Vice-Chair will confirm that the incident is non-serious and report to the Committee at the next meeting. The final view of the Committee will be communicated to you.

Final Report

At the end of the data collection element of your research we ask that you submit a very brief report (1-2 paragraphs will suffice) which includes in particular issues relating to the ethical implications of the research i.e. issues obtaining consent, participants withdrawing from the research, confidentiality, protection of participants from physical and mental harm etc.

Academic Services, 1-19 Torrington Place (9th Floor),
University College London
Tel: +44 (0)20 3108 8216
Email: ethics@ucl.ac.uk
<http://ethics.grad.ucl.ac.uk/>

With best wishes for the research.

Yours sincerely



Professor Michael Heinrich
Interim Chair, UCL Research Ethics Committee

Cc: Hina Dadabhoy

Appendix F. Consent Form for Participants



|

Participant Identification Number:

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Exploring identity development in young British Muslims

Name of Researcher: Hina Dadabhoy

Please initial all boxes

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated **02.11.17, Version 1.4** for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that if I decide at any time that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw immediately.

3. I understand that relevant sections of the data collected during the study may be looked at by individuals from the research team at University College London. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data.

4. I understand that the discussion will be audio-recorded for transcription and analysis and that the original recording will be destroyed once this is done.

5. I understand that transcripts will be anonymous, with ID numbers

6. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix G. Example of Coding

Dismissing jokes when younger
 288 ok for them to be saying all that kind of stuff as a joke. But now if they said it to me
 289 now, I'd probably say something back. But I remember growing up it was quite
 290 [pauses 5 seconds]
 291 I: What kind of jokes?
 As an adult feeling angry, taking it seriously

Terrorist jokes at school
 292 P: It was mostly terrorist jokes. Mostly. I remember people always used to make
 293 jokes about 9/11. We watched it in R.E, and I remember everyone used to make
 294 jokes all the time. At that time I used to just find it funny. But if I think about it now,
 brushing off as a child - assuming it was OK

Realization as an adult
 295 if someone ever said that to me now I would probably start arguing with them. Or
 296 debating about it. At that time, I used to brush it off. I don't know. If you made a big
 297 deal out of it, it was just a bit I don't know [pause 2 seconds]. Racism in my area was
 298 just a bit, the white person always won. There was probably about two Asians
 299 against the whole class.
 feeling outnumbered

unable to comment
 300 I: Were those jokes general or were they specifically targeted at you?
 301 P: What do you mean general?
 302 I: So I mean if you're watching a video and they're making a terrorist joke, would it
 303 be at you?
 304 P: I remember everyone used to turn around as soon as the 9/11, I remember they
 305 played the 9/11 video. Sometimes. And everyone used to turn around to me like
 306 that's your dad doing that. And those kinds of jokes. At the time I used to think it was
 307 funny. But now if anyone ever said it to me, I'd have to say, "oh how are you making
 308 that joke?"
 309 I: Do you remember how it made you feel at that time?
 310 P: I don't remember. At that time I didn't think of it like that. I used to think it was
 311 funny. That's why it was really weird. If anyone said that to me now I'd just be like,
 didn't realize its meaning

singled out
 305 played the 9/11 video. Sometimes. And everyone used to turn around to me like
 306 that's your dad doing that. And those kinds of jokes. At the time I used to think it was
 307 funny. But now if anyone ever said it to me, I'd have to say, "oh how are you making
 308 that joke?"
 309 I: Do you remember how it made you feel at that time?
 310 P: I don't remember. At that time I didn't think of it like that. I used to think it was
 311 funny. That's why it was really weird. If anyone said that to me now I'd just be like,
 didn't realize its meaning

used to go along w/ it
 310 P: I don't remember. At that time I didn't think of it like that. I used to think it was
 311 funny. That's why it was really weird. If anyone said that to me now I'd just be like,
 didn't realize its meaning

Appendix H. Example of Identifying Themes

Int 12 How does he construct his identity?

Caught Between

Very different identity
to parents.
Unable to be true self w/ parents/
extended family

Two selves - acting

neither here nor there / lack of belonging

muslim identity integral part of self

not good
enough/
not proud
enough

pride in
religious identity
but tendency to minimize/downplay

Having doubts/
questions about
faith

Feeling a sense of kinship but also feeling
judged / fearing ostracised

Appendix I. Cover Letter for Participant Summary

Dear

Back indate..... we met for a research interview regarding your experiences as a British Muslim. You may remember me mentioning at the time that I would write to you with a summary of what we spoke about. Attached to this email is that summary, reflecting what I understood to be the most important points.

It would be helpful if you would let me know how accurate you feel the summary is and if there is anything that I have missed which you feel was important to you at this time.

It is of course entirely up to you if you want to respond or not. If you would like to, please respond to the questions below via email. If you would like to discuss anything further do let me know via email so we can arrange a time to talk on the phone.

Either way I would like to take this opportunity to thank you once again for giving up your time to be involved in the project.

Best Wishes, Hina

1. How accurately do you feel the summary reflects the main things you said in our conversation?
2. Is there anything that I have missed out?
3. Is there anything you would like to add?
4. Any other comments about the summary, the interview or the research generally