Exploring responses of the police and support services to Islamophobia

by

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Abstract

Since the terror attacks in New York on September 11th 2001, there has been much interest in exploring the rise in hostility towards Muslims globally. Statistics on hate crime prove that those most targeted are women, however knowledge of the ways in which their reports are handled by the police, and the extent to which they are helped by support services has been scant. Accordingly, this thesis aims to address such deficiencies by synthesising the testimonies of three groups: victims of hate crime; advocates and activists; and police officers and policy professionals. Juxtaposing these voices facilitates an exploration of when, where, why and how there is *divergence* or *convergence* in the understandings and experiences of institutional responses to Islamophobia.

The empirical material explores three key ideas. Firstly, the theory of speech acts/performativity casts a light on the disconnection between institutional policies and actions. Hence, there is an urgent need to invest in external scrutiny groups and minority ethnic women's services. Secondly, the lens of geotrauma – which brings together spatial, post-colonial and embodied dimensions of hurt – explores how institutional routines can protract the pain of Islamophobia. Thus, geotrauma-informed approaches ought to be embedded in institutional activities. Thirdly, the framework of attunement and embodied emotions elucidates the deep listening and care-full labour that informal networks (like family/friends) and specialist advocates/activists provide for Muslim women in the aftermath of Islamophobia. Such forms of relationality need to be enacted by institutions if criminal and civil justice outcomes for Muslim women are to be increased.

In loving memory of my talented, selfless, affectionate, fearless and joyful matriarchs

Urmi (1947-2022)
An NHS doctor for over 30 years, with specialisms in endocrinology, anaesthetics, obstetrics, emergency medicine and general medicine

Jo (1944-2022)
A homemaker, jewellery designer and investor

You are infinitely missed every second of the day

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Within academia, I would like to convey my utmost gratitude to Jessica who oversaw not only my PhD, but also my BSc and MSc projects. Without your expertise, care, generosity and meticulousness, I would not have pursued a career as a researcher! Of course, the supervisory double act would have been incomplete without Phil who imparted honest and valuable feedback on countless drafts of chapters throughout the lifespan of this thesis. Little did I know how smooth the viva would be and it was a pleasure to be examined by Peter and Natasha – two kind but fair scholars.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Aim of thesis

The goal of this thesis is to explore some of the barriers to justice amongst Muslim women who have experienced hate crime, by concentrating on the responses of two institutions: the police and support services. Methodologically, this thesis synthesises the voices of three groups: victims of hate crime; advocates and activists; and police officers and policy professionals. There are three key aims. Firstly, I utilise the theory of speech acts to explore the ways police officers, policy professionals, advocates and activists talk about their policies and practices and how such speech acts are experienced by victims. In doing so, I highlight an urgent need to invest in external scrutiny groups and minority ethnic women's services. Secondly, I employ the lens of geotrauma - which brings together spatial, post-colonial and embodied dimensions of hurt – to examine how institutional routines can protract the pain of Islamophobia, which consequently resides in, extends beyond and shapes the body. Hence, there is a vital need to embed geotrauma-informed approaches in institutional activities. Thirdly, I embrace the framework of attunement and embodied emotions to elucidate the deep listening and care-full labour that informal networks (like family/friends) and advocates/activists provide for Muslim women in the aftermath of Islamophobia. Such forms of relationality need to be enacted by institutions if criminal and civil justice outcomes[1] for Muslim women are to be increased.

1.2. Structure of chapter

In this chapter I sketch the rising incidence of hate crime against Muslims, consider some driving forces and discuss the specific problem of gendered Islamophobia, by drawing on evidence from Western countries. I then confine my discussion to the UK to describe the evolution of state responses and contemplate the landscape of support services, including their emergence and (specialist) practices. Across these two sections, I outline how injustice

[1] As this thesis examines the police response to hate crime, I mostly refer to the pursuit of criminal justice which involves prosecuting anyone who breaks the law; if found guilty, the defendant can be fined, given a community sentence or imprisoned. In contrast, civil justice pertains to the resolution of non-criminal disputes between individuals or corporate bodies (Northern Ireland Direct, n.d.), for example through compensation or an injunction (Courts and Tribunals Judiciary, n.d.).

is characterised by failing state mechanisms, but also suggest a need to explore the circumstances affecting how support services operate. I focus on providers that assist victims of Islamophobia, (hate) crime, gendered violence and racial injustice (including those that are minority ethnic-led or generic/mainstream, i.e. 'White'). Forms of advocacy can be especially important when Muslim women struggle to be heard and represented across academia, politics and the media, which I contextualise. Finally I tease out some gaps in existing knowledge across the social sciences and outline how these can be addressed by my research (which I situate in the realm of social and political geography). If alternative responses to hate crime remain unexplored, Muslim women's trauma of Islamophobia will continue to be protracted by the police and support services and they will keep facing injustice.

1.3. Context of project

1.3.1. Rising hatred against Muslims: hate crime in Western countries

The majority of current hate crime legislation in the UK can be dated back to the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 and the MacPherson inquiry (1999) that followed, which found the police to be institutionally racist (Giannasi, 2015, p. 105). The report proposed 70 recommendations, including perception-based recording, responding to non-crimes and addressing under-reporting. Over the years, there has been recognition of the targeting of identities beyond ethnicity, encapsulated by the term hate crime. This is defined as "a criminal offence… perceived, by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by hostility or prejudice based on a person's race, religion, sexual orientation, transgender identity or disability" (Hambly et al., 2018, p. 3). Indeed, whilst the Crime and Disorder Act (1998) introduced 4 types of offences that could be racially aggravated ('assault', 'criminal damage', 'public order' and 'harassment'), the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act (2001) added religiously aggravated equivalents (Giannasi, 2015, p. 112) subsequent to 'revenge' attacks on Muslims that were sparked by 9/11 (Allen and Nielsen, 2002). "These have higher maximum penalties" (Sentencing Council, n.d.-a) and new legislation in the form of Section 145 of the Criminal Justice Act (2003) has permitted an "increase in sentences for [any offence with] racial or religious aggravation".

In spite of such legal measures, hate crimes aimed at (perceived) Muslims continue, and there are often spikes following terrorism that has been committed by Islamic extremists.

Notwithstanding variations in the scale of datasets as well as recording practices, statistics from the police show these spikes to be 30% following the 7/7 bombings in London (Hanes and Machin, 2014), 40% after the stabbing on London Bridge and nearby vehicle-ramming (Mayor of London, 2017) and 100% in the aftermath of the terror attack in Manchester Arena (Hopkins, 2017). Hate crime towards Muslims is one manifestation of Islamophobia, which is defined as:

> "Prejudice, aversion, hostility, or hatred towards Muslims and encompasses any distinction, exclusion, restriction, discrimination, or preference against 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" (Ingham-Barrow, 2018, p. 1).

Divisive events like Brexit and the presidency of Trump have also led to spikes in hate crimes against Muslims (MEND, 2017). Tell MAMA (Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks), an NGO which does as its name states, recorded a 475% rise following the EU referendum on 23rd June 2016; there were 12 cases during the week commencing 17th June, however there were 69 cases during the week commencing 24th June (Abou-Atta, 2017, p. 7). In the US, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) recorded a 584% increase in anti-Muslim hate crimes over 24 months. During the year that Trump was elected in 2016, there were 260 attacks, but when Obama was president in 2014, there were 38 attacks (Saylor et al., 2017, p. 6). Brexit and the presidency of Trump occurred as politicians crafted a strong anti-immigration sentiment, and mediatisation condensed their campaigns to a small number of slogans (Wodak, 2015). In the UK, UKIP misused an image capturing thousands of refugees in Slovenia who were seeking safety from war and persecution in 2015. The text 'Breaking Point' was superimposed on the photograph to depict brown-skinned and black-haired immigrants attempting to cross the UK's borders (Safdar, 2016). In the US, Trump continually painted an exaggerated account of America losing battles to foreigners who are 'threats' (Anderson, 2017). In the arena of geopolitics, he affirmed that Saudi Arabia and Russia are the largest oil producers. With respect to the economy, he reiterated that companies are relocating their manufacturing to China and Mexico due to cheaper costs (Trump, 2015). Across the domain of security, he proclaimed that "the [US] immigration system… fails to properly vet" (Johnson and Hauslohner, 2017). Indeed Trump signed an

executive order forbidding all refugees and nationals of 7 Muslim countries from entering the US (Saylor et al., 2017), until the country's representatives could "figure out what is going on" (Trump, 2016).

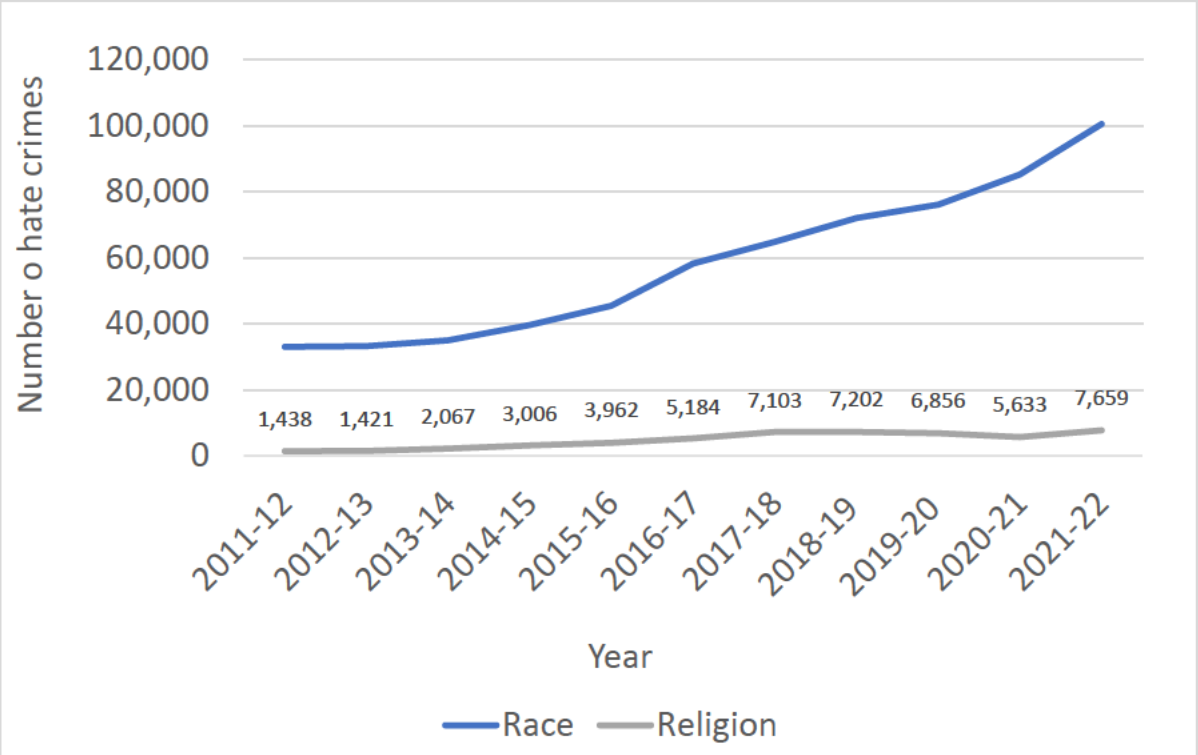
As can be seen then, the ideology of 'White nationalism' has become key to mainstream politics in the West (de Orellana, 2018), even though it was formerly situated within a 'thuggish' minority (Allen, 2011) (in the UK, this is the British National Party (BNP) and English Defence League (EDL)). It is therefore important to consider the connections between 'White nationalism', racism, Islamophobia and hate crime, all of which are connected. 'White nationalist' groups typically scapegoat minority ethnic people for unemployment, low income and a lack of opportunities, but they can also be seen to represent a broader reaction against cultural changes that seem to be "'eroding' the basic values and customs of Western societies". These cultural changes refer to ethnic composition (non-White), the introduction of different languages (non-English), the accommodation of different religions (non-Christian) and antithetical lifestyles (non-Western) (Norris and Inglehart, 2019, p. 47). 'White nationalism' is typically mobilised by populism which makes "political claims that oppose ostensibly '…elites'" (Pazzanese, 2017) who are judged to be arrogant, mistaken, immoral and unable to understand "the people" (a homogenous group which is typically the majority in a country) (Norris and Inglehart, 2019, p. 4). Populism is characterised by anti-politics - a "negative feeling" towards traditional institutions of democracy (Clarke, 2016, p. 4).

For many social scientists, post-9/11, racism and Islamophobia have become part of the entire political landscape (rather than confined to certain 'White nationalist' and populist parties), for instance through counter-extremism measures (Isakjee, 2013), counter-terror laws (Ahmed, 2004; Kapoor, 2018) and immigration quotas (Goodfellow, 2019). Indeed, former Prime Minister David Cameron claimed that "immigration is a constant drain on public services" (Swinford, 2013). According to critics of these sentiments, if it is implied that:

> "There is just enough land to support one tribe and another tribe tries to claim it, survival becomes a zero-sum struggle. Under perceptions of threat, people tend to close ranks behind a strong leader, forming a united front against outsiders" (Norris and Inglehart, 2019, p. 70).

Perception of threat is a potent contributory factor in some types of offending when it comes to hate crime, although thrill-seeking is additionally reported as a major driver (McDevitt et al., 2002). The role of communications must also be highlighted in all of this as perpetrators cite content from the media (Chakraborti, 2018; Allen, 2020). Coverage mostly depicts Muslims as a threat - in relation to terrorism - and as a problem - in terms of gendered pathological cultural practices such as sexism, forced marriages, honour killings, and female genital mutilation (Moore et al., 2008; Khan, 2010). Thus, politics in general, as well as mediatisation, have enabled certain behaviours and attitudes which once belonged to a few, to find their way into everyday spaces that are reshaping the 'background' of everyday life. This is further evidenced by police recorded data which indicates a trend of rising racial hate crime and to a lesser extent, religious hate crime[2] (see figure 1). There is a consistent targeting of Muslims (see figure 2) and the consequences for women seem to be greater.

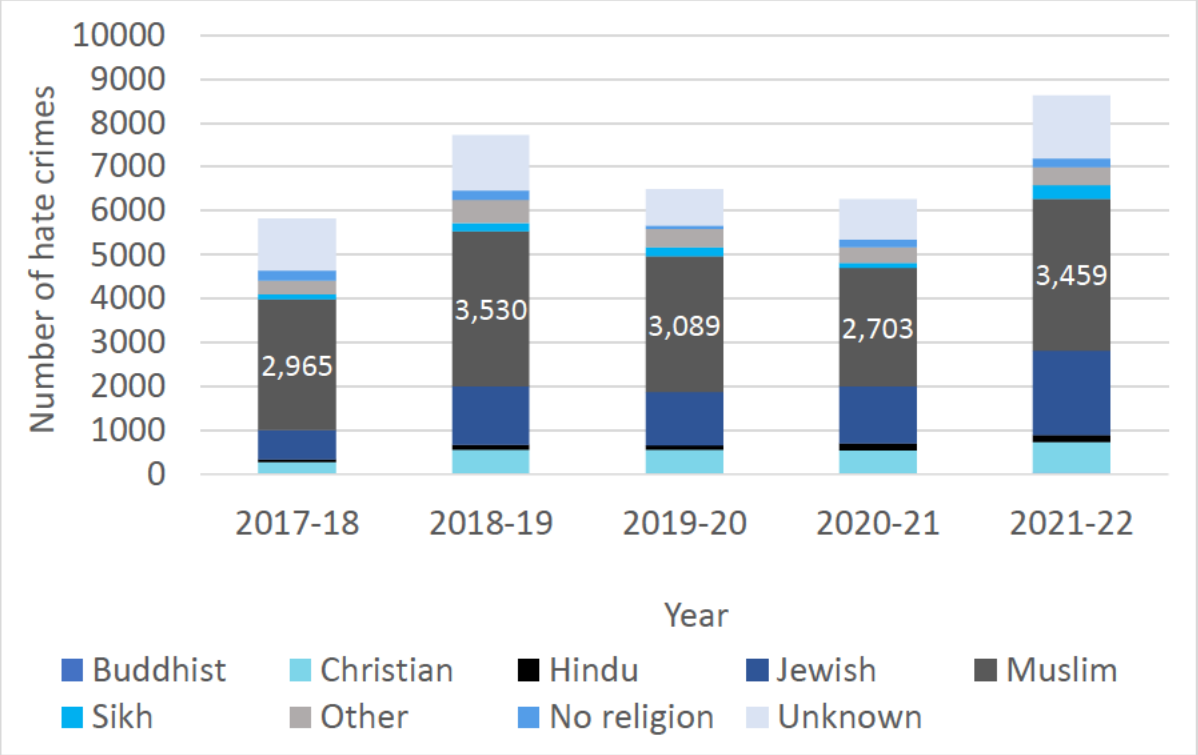
Figure 1: Police recorded data on racial and religious hate crimes 2011-2022



Source: Chart has been constructed by the author using statistics on police recorded hate crime (Home Office, 2022a)[3].

[2] There was a noticeable dip in religious hate crime during the Covid-19 pandemic (2020-2021).
[3] Figures do not include Greater Manchester Police (GMP) owing to problems with its supply of 2019-2020 data subsequent to the installation of new IT systems.

Figure 2: Police recorded data on hate crimes against different religions 2017-2022



Source: Chart has been constructed by the author using statistics on police recorded hate crime (Home Office, 2018a, 2019a, 2020, 2021, 2022a)[4].

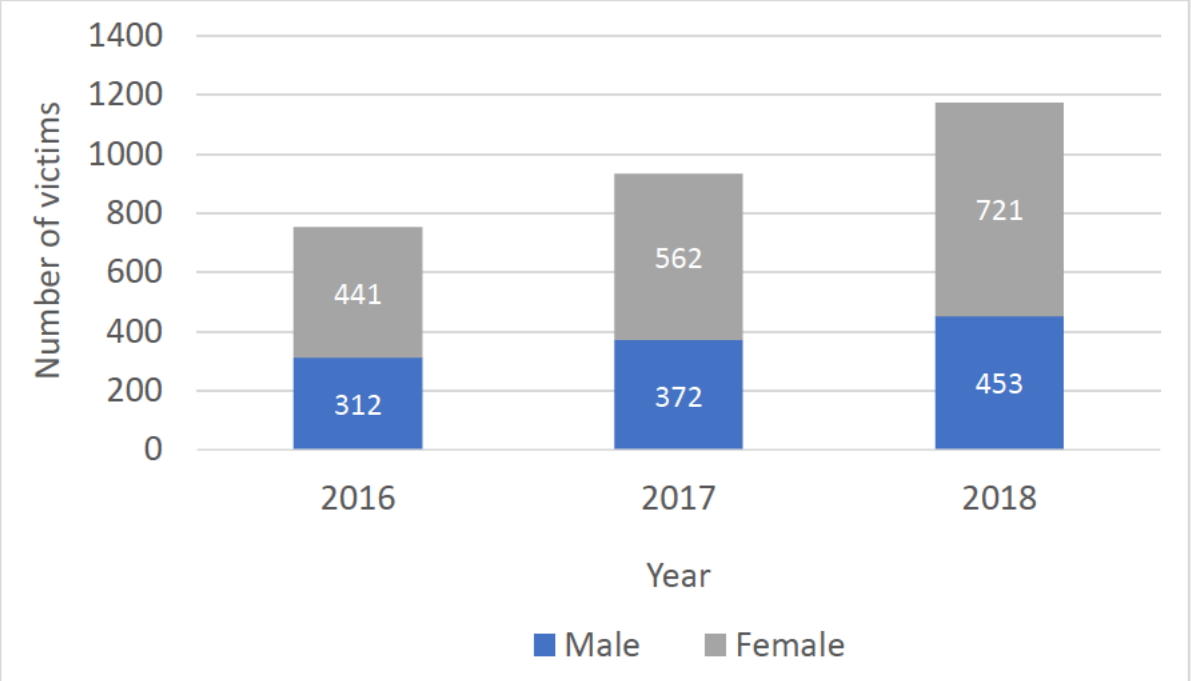
1.3.2. The problem of gendered Islamophobia

Support services like Tell MAMA (2018a) have highlighted the gendered nature of Islamophobia since 2012, whereby women are mostly targeted (see figure 3) because their dress (i.e. hijab and niqab) marks them out as visibly Muslim. This is likely due to the fact that "veiled Muslim women become the symbol of Islam and Muslims, so the individualities and particularities are reduced and duly essentialised within that same symbol" (Allen, 2015, p. 300). Indeed in the West, the veiled Muslim woman is perceived to embody: a barrier to gender equality (Laborde, 2008), communication and integration (Straw, 2006; Leader, 2006); radicalisation/terrorism (Zempi, 2020); and sexualisation (Pierpoint, 2018). Gendered

[4] For 2021-2022, Metropolitan Police data for perceived religion is being examined. For 2019-2020 and 2020-2021, Nottinghamshire did not submit data on perceived religion. For 2017-2018, data from the Metropolitan and Lancashire police forces has been excluded (the reason for which, has not been stated). More than one religion has been recorded as being targeted in some offences, thus for each year, the sum of the proportions do not amount to 100%.

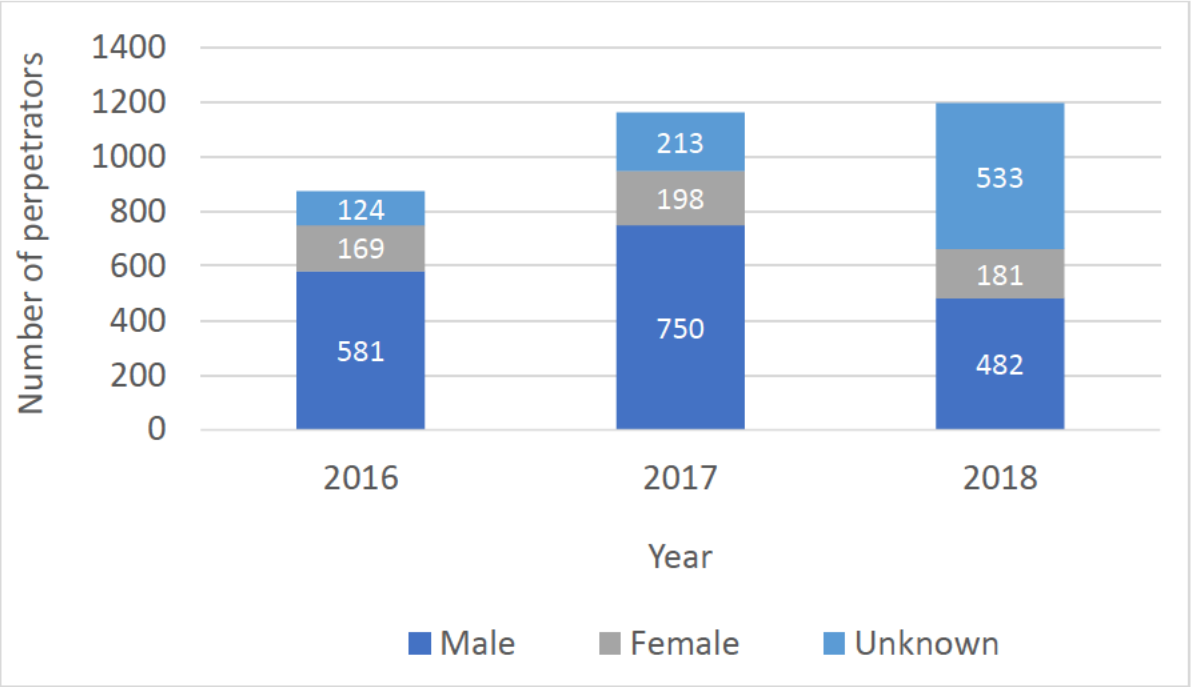
Islamophobia can be seen as a result of intersectionality which emerged from Black feminism (Hopkins, 2019). Whilst Crenshaw (1989, p. 149) initially used the term to refer to "the combined effects of practices which discriminate on the basis of race, and on the basis of sex", there needs to be consideration of it here in relation to the blend of religious, racial and gendered identities. Muslims related to the colonial past of the Western country they inhabit are mostly targets of hate crime (Najib and Hopkins, 2020) (in the UK 60% of victims are South Asian (Ganesh et al., 2016, p. 35)) and women feel forced to ignore hostility (Zempi, 2020), because the perpetrators are typically (White) men (see figure 4), who are perceived to be comparatively stronger. However figure 4 suggests that information on the identity of perpetrators is not being collected consistently. Studies have also captured the entanglement of Islamophobia, misogyny and racism by spotlighting demands to undress (Mason-Bish and Zempi, 2019), which evoke "the mysterious... woman of the "Orient" (Bullock and Jafri, 2000, p. 35). Ahmad (2019, p. 45) expresses intersectionality in the lives of Muslim women by renaming Islamophobia as "Islamophobic gender-based violence".

Figure 3: Gender of victim of Islamophobic hate crime 2016-2018 (where known)



Source: Chart has been constructed by the author using statistics from Tell MAMA (Abou-Atta et al., 2017; 2018; 2019). Data has been derived from descriptions made by those who have reported Islamophobia to Tell MAMA (mostly victims).

Figure 4: Gender of perpetrator of Islamophobic hate crime 2016-2018 (where known)



Source: Chart has been constructed by the author using statistics from Tell MAMA (Abou-Atta et al., 2017; 2018; 2019). Data has been derived from descriptions made by those who have reported Islamophobia to Tell MAMA (mostly victims).

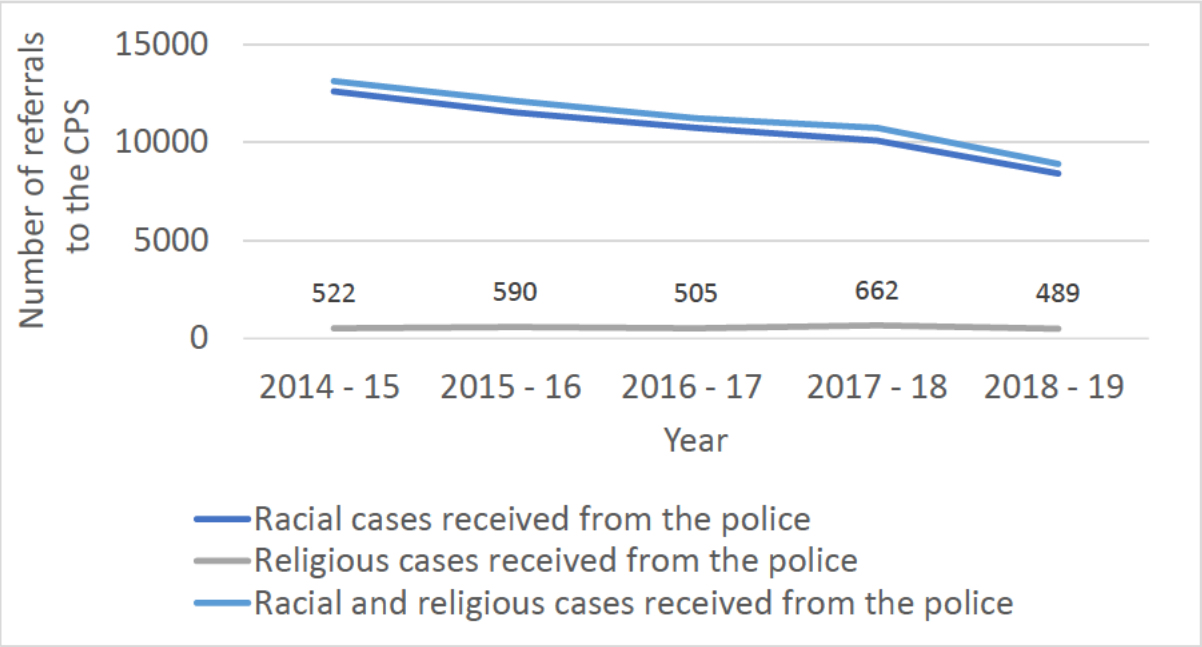
The impacts of Islamophobia on women are manifold, with daily life, family and belonging in British society all being affected (Allen, 2015). In other European countries, new laws which disproportionately affect women have come into effect since 2011; Belgium, France, Austria and the Netherlands have banned the niqab and burqa in public spaces (BBC, 2018). The marginalisation and compromised safety of Muslim women have not only evinced the evolution of racism, but also impel us to reappraise how we grapple with tensions between race, religion, gender, space and power (Itaoui, 2017). It is unlikely that Islamophobia will die down anytime soon, and so we must learn to understand how it is made public, felt, lived, endured and how it is resisted/manipulated. There is a need to consider how best to support and achieve justice for 'victims' without stripping them of any agency. This is because the label 'victim' may connote 'weakness' (Fohring, 2018), but it also gives one the right to demand restitution (United Nations, 1985) through recognition.

1.3.3. Failing state mechanisms

In parallel to rising hate crimes, the state has increased its mechanisms for tackling the phenomenon. There has been an investigation into the initial police response to hate crime and how this can be improved (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire Rescue Services, 2018). Funding has been distributed to projects designed to challenge prejudice at the local level (Home Office, 2018b). Third-party reporting centres have proliferated (Home Office, 2016). As already mentioned earlier in this chapter, aggravated offences and enhanced sentencing have been incorporated into legislation (Home Office, 2016). This list is by no means exhaustive but evidence suggests that these measures are by and large ineffective. Estimates from the Crime Survey for England and Wales suggest that around half (51%) of hate crime victims were "very or fairly satisfied" with how the police handled incidents, a lower proportion than for victims of all offences (69%) (Home Office, 2018a, p. 7). Researchers have shown that there are "disconnects between the rhetoric of state interventions and the 'real-life' experiences of victims" (Hardy and Chakraborti, 2017a, p. 8). Accordingly a number of failures have been identified (Chakraborti, 2017). "A failure to dismantle barriers to reporting" (p. 392). "A failure to prioritise engagement with diverse communities" (p. 395). "A failure to deliver meaningful criminal justice interventions" (p. 397). For example, victims can find it arduous to grasp the complex and alien terminology used (i.e. in legislation), perceive delays in receiving information/updates and feel they are interacting with aggressive frontline workers. There is also a need for "evidential proof" "that a crime was motivated by 'hostility'", which means that reports may not be referred to the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) (Williams and Tregidga, 2013, p. 16).

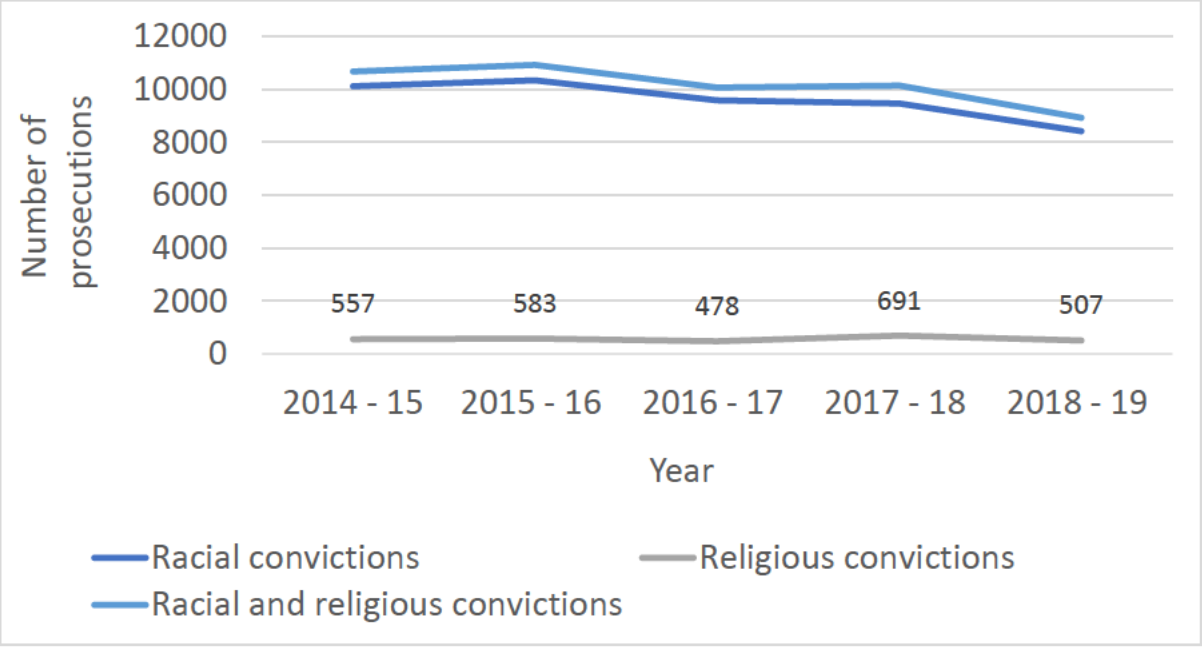
It may not be surprising then, that the overall number of cases sent to the CPS by the police for a charging decision has decreased over time for racially and religiously aggravated hate crime (combined) and racially aggravated hate crime, whilst referrals for religiously aggravated hate crime have stayed fairly similar (see figure 5). Similar patterns can be discerned for completed prosecutions (see figure 6) (CPS, n.d.). It is not possible to break down data from the CPS any further to show the injustice of Muslims or Muslim women specifically as there is no requirement in law to do this.

Figure 5: 'Pre-charge receipt' of cases – the number of suspects referred to the CPS by the police for a charging decision 2014-2019



Source: Chart has been constructed by the author using CPS 2014-2019 data tables.

Figure 6: Hate crime prosecutions 2014-2019



Source: Chart has been constructed by the author using CPS 2014-2019 data tables.

Such trends are worrying, given that activities of the police and CPS (2019, p. 8) are crucial to the "delivery of the government's security and justice strategies". Furthermore, the will to create change at the level of the state remains dubious. The UK Law Commission's (2018a) review into hate crime legislation has resulted in little change; the incorporation of misogyny as a protected characteristic was rejected in 2021, in spite of almost 2,000 consultation responses and widespread engagement with interest groups and scholars (Garland et al., 2021). Such failures occur against a backdrop where close to 1 in 7 forces is deemed by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire Rescue Services to be in need of "intensive help and monitoring to urgently improve their performance" (Dodd, 2022). Indeed, in the UK 62% of women do not feel like the police are doing enough to keep them safe in the wake of Sarah Everard's murder (Nolsoe, 2021) and there is particular concern when the victims are non-White girls and women. The family of Shukri Abdi (a Somali refugee) has been forced to initiate legal action against Greater Manchester Police (one of the forces now in special measures) over alleged shortcomings of investigation into her death, in which racism and Islamophobia played a role (George, 2021), highlighted by the 'Justice for Shukri' campaign (Fendi, n.d.). Other forces are also plagued by issues of Islamophobia, racism and misogyny. For example, an investigation into the Metropolitan Police by the Independent Office for Police Conduct (2022) found private WhatsApp messages exchanged between officers that explicitly mocked non-Christian religions, the Black Lives Matter movement, non-White people and women. Such evidence shows that existing systems are scarcely dedicated to achieving justice for Muslim women.

1.3.4. Problems facing support services

For the most part, support services appear to be recognised in policy and academic discourses as a remedy to many of the issues which states encounter (Fyfe and Milligan, 2003) (and create). They include advocacy groups, activist circles, community-led charities, listening services, reporting centres and infrastructural organisations, although their boundaries can be blurred due to overlapping functions and their specialisms have changed and expanded over time. Siddiqui (2019) notes that minority ethnic women demanded their 'own' organisations in the 1970s and 1980s (in response to oppression based on race, class and sex), which altered the landscape of the third sector. For example, Stand Against Racism and Inequality (SARI) (n.d.) was established as early as 1991, Apna Haq (n.d.) in 1994, Hopscotch Asian

Women's Centre (n.d.) in 1998 and Rotherham Ethnic Minority Alliance (REMA) in 2001 (Upton, 2019). However in the last decade, two national services have emerged to specifically tackle Islamophobia in the form of hate crime since a rise. These are Tell MAMA which surfaced in 2012 (Abou-Atta, 2018) and the Islamophobia Response Unit (IRU) in 2017; the latter falls under Muslim Engagement and Development (MEND) (2020a). The location of organisations supporting victims of hate crime generally tends to be uneven as they are all based in urban locales.

Minority ethnic-led organisations can be especially important in helping victims from marginalised communities as they appear to be more attuned to the feelings and needs of diverse individuals. They offer: interpreting; knowledge in specific forms of violence against women and girls; expertise in working across extended family networks and international community webs; life skills and orientation for those who have just entered the UK; ethno-cultural community connections; and advice on local and national strategies to ensure they are constructed in ways that are sensitive to equalities (Spence et al., 2018, p. 23). Indeed, minority ethnic-led organisations have mainly arisen as a consequence of "the toxic tide of British racism, oppressive policing and fascist politics" (Afridi and Warmington, 2009, p. 18). Yet there has been scant research on the impact of advocacy on minority ethnic communities who face Islamophobia. Instead, studies have allotted precedence to other issues like abusive relationships (Tam, 2004), mental health (Rai-Atkins et al., 2002) and children with severe disabilities (Fazil et al., 2004). An advocate is typically defined as "a person who is appointed to advise on and protect the rights, needs, etc. of a vulnerable adult or child, and act as his or her representative, especially in a legal or official context" (OED, 2011a). "Advocacy has the potential to secure vital redress" (Rai-Atkins et al., 2002, p. 2), as it is "key to being able to move on, to become empowered and to transform what you know but have not been able to speak, with the help of others" (Griffin, 2018, p. 110). Indeed, advocates can attend court on behalf of victims and they can liaise with the police, council and MPs to ensure that these authorities are fulfilling their obligations (Hidayah, 2018).

However, minority ethnic-led advocacy organisations are not without issues. Their presence is rapidly shrinking due to austerity and their principal goal is to survive, i.e. maintain a basic level of service (Spence et al., 2018, p. 22). Imkaan (n.d.) is a Black feminist group which represents the expertise of frontline minority ethnic women's organisations. Out of Imkaan's 34 members that took part in a survey, 67% reported "huge barriers" to accessing local

funding, particularly because commissioning processes favour "value for money" rather than "quality" (Roy et al., 2015, p. 14). There is also evidence of funding being withdrawn from them and redirected to generic/mainstream providers across the UK. For example, Rotherham Council terminated its £145,000 contract with Apna Haq in a letter, after deciding that the local community would be best served by an organisation with no specialism in the needs of minority ethnic women (at a lower cost) (Ahmed, 2016a).

In this project, many of the advocates can also be regarded as activists as they carry out "vigorous political or social campaigning [to bring about political or social change]" (OED, 2011b). In doing so, some support services have come under fire for expressing political dissent. For example, MEND (2019) is vocal about "counter-terrorism initiatives and funding infiltrating several aspects of British Muslims' lives under the guise of security, imposing structurally Islamophobic policies and procedures in the process". Consequently, the organisation has been labelled as 'extremist' by right-wing think tanks. Dissent can frequently be branded as violent as a means to shut down voices that expose (and threaten) governmental regimes (Butler, 2020). Policy Exchange has accused MEND of painting "Muslim life in Britain to be akin to that of the Jews in Nazi Germany", thereby deploying narratives that "resemble those utilised by extremists to 'poison' the minds of young people" (Phillips et al., 2019, p. 11). Similarly, Henry Jackson Society continually misrepresents MEND as 'extremist', for example, by accusing it of "downplaying the terrorist nature of various Islamist terror attacks… [by] promoting conspiracy theories in relation to those attacks" (i.e. the role of British foreign policy in generating terrorism) (Wilson, 2017, p. 3). Such (mis)representations can impact the work of minority ethnic charities, chiefly their engagement with public agencies as their credibility is called into question. However the ways in which these repercussions affect responses to hate crime have scarcely been researched.

1.3.5. Issues of representing and hearing Muslim women

Faltering state mechanisms, dwindling funding of specialist services and risk of defamation shape who can speak for/represent/facilitate justice for Muslim women. This matters as Muslim women can sometimes have difficulty in controlling the ways in which they are represented and heard across academia, politics and the media. Thus examining the role of institutional speech acts in Muslim women's claims to justice is crucial. In academia,

researchers typically determine what stories constitute 'discovery' and what narratives do not (Tuck and Yang, 2014, p. 812). Across current research on Islamophobia, the role of Muslim women during analytical practices is acutely absent, which reinforces the fact that the "named, described and categorised" are mostly comprehended through the techniques of those with the power to name, describe, and categorise (Gerrard et al., 2017, p. 391). A focus on the reflexivity of those who become the subjects of study is paramount, otherwise Muslim women's concerns risk being distorted in governmental strategies. This is because researchers are being called upon to generate evidence capable of informing policymaking (Salway et al., 2009, p. 1). There have also been worries about the depoliticisation of intersectionality in research, through "decentring the constitutive role of race in intersectional thought and praxis", also known as the "Whitening of intersectionality" (Bilge, 2013, p. 412). A reversal of this occurrence should not just focus on phenotypes like skin colour or facial characteristics. For example Pain (2001) has rigorously studied how women's fear of public spaces is influenced by age, race and gender, but to appreciate the heterogeneity of experiences, it is essential to foreground the interplay of other identities like religion, which minority ethnic groups are more likely to see as an important right than White people (Attwood et al., 2003).

The capacity of the political realm to hear female Muslim voices does not offer much hope either. Instead, it is customary for Muslim women to be represented in a derogatory manner. For example, when Boris Johnson (2018) referred to them as "bank robbers" and "letter boxes", which had the effect of increasing hate crime towards them by 375%; Tell MAMA recorded 8 incidents during the week prior to his comments, but 38 during the week thereafter (Abou-Atta et al., 2019, p. 6). This is situated against a general backdrop of Islamophobia in the Tory party (Murphy, 2019). If those in positions of power are able to be Islamophobic without risk of punishment, then the boundaries of the policing of Islamophobia can easily become blurred. Additionally, the role of structures and systems in perpetuating racism have been downplayed which is concerning given the role of intersectionality. Page 8 of the Race and Ethnic Disparities (2021) governmental report reads:

> "We no longer see a Britain where the system is deliberately rigged against ethnic minorities. The impediments and disparities do exist, they are varied, and ironically very few of them are directly to do with racism. Too often 'racism' is the catch-all explanation, and can be simply implicitly accepted rather than explicitly examined."

Thus if existing structures and systems are faultless, then they need not be fixed – a claim I unpack by scrutinising Muslim women's testimonies of how intersectionality shapes contemporary encounters with institutions.

Additionally, media displays of Muslim women are noteworthy. Nowhere is this more evident than the story of Shamima Begum, whose body and trauma are frequently "up for popular consumption" and "dissected" by copious amounts of commentators (Johnson and Fernandez, 2019), all of whom drown out her voice. Having one's voice confined to the periphery is similarly echoed in research on who speaks about hate crime, which Burnett (2017) explored using 134 racist incidents that were reported in the media in the succeeding month of the EU referendum from 24th June to 23rd July 2016. He drew on a database developed by the Institute of Race Relations. This utilises an online news aggregator - a tool that obtains stories online as well as those covered in local and national newspapers; where necessary, information was supplemented through Freedom of Information requests. Interestingly, 47% originated from the police (i.e. in the form of a story or press release beseeching more information). 16% originated from other criminal justice agencies or representatives. When stories were derived from 'unofficial' sources (i.e. the public), the police or another institution interpreted them, for example as a spike or anomaly in a tolerant country (BBC, 2016), thus inaccurately representing the realities of victims. There were cases where victims had the opportunity to comment, however only their emotional impacts were written about, and so they were depicted as mainly victims. I address this absence by incorporating the perspectives of diverse Muslim women which not only reveal why they were targeted, but also what should have been done (about the targeting).

1.4. Research gaps, research questions and structure of thesis

Due to state failures, problems with support services and issues with representing Muslim women, there is a "need for fresh responses to hate crime" (Chakraborti, 2017, p. 387). The current academic portfolio of research on hate crime tends to have several limitations. Firstly, a lot of the data is aggregated, combining experiences from a range of protected characteristics and thus obscures patterns with regard to group specificity. The specificity of each 'type' of hate crime as it is experienced by diverse groups is essential for understanding

the precise barriers to injustice. An institution may be prejudiced against Muslims, but not necessarily other protected characteristics, so any work to reconfigure the institution would need to take this into account. What requires recognition is not group-specific identity per se, but parity of participation where institutional routines deem a group to be undeserving of respect. This kind of subordination problematises existing social relations (Fraser, 2001). Secondly, where there is in-depth interview data (Zempi and Chakraborti, 2015; Allen et al., 2013), this tends not to focus on Muslim women's experiences of reporting hate crime, but rather on impacts of the initial hate crime itself (i.e. between victim and perpetrator), hence placing the problem of Islamophobia in Islamophobic, racist and/or misogynistic individuals. This occludes the responsibility of the state to uphold the Human Rights Act (1998) when dealing with marginalised citizens. Specifically Article 9 ("freedom of thought, conscience and religion") (p. 18) and Article 3 ("prohibition of torture" including "inhuman or degrading treatment") (p. 16). Thirdly, there is an absence of basic knowledge pertaining to the potential and actual failures of support services to adequately respond to Islamophobia. Current research again aggregates the experiences of victims of all hate crimes, concentrates on victims' lack of awareness and labels the location of support as a "postcode lottery" (Hardy and Chakraborti, 2017b, p. 9). Fourthly, the traumatic impacts of failures of the police and support services when responding to Muslim women's testimonies of Islamophobic hate crime have not been fully documented. Finally, there is a shortage of proposed solutions when working towards justice for greater numbers of Muslim women.

Research in criminology (Chakraborti and Zempi, 2012; Mason-Bish and Zempi, 2018; Massoumi et al., 2017) and social policy (Allen et al., 2013; Allen, 2020) has made important progress towards understanding the drivers, expressions and impacts of Islamophobic hate crime. Meanwhile, geographers have explored the spatial aspects of hate crime (Najib and Hopkins, 2020), female Muslim identity (Dwyer, 1998; 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; 2000), male Muslim identity and experiences of discrimination (Hopkins, 2004). However these approaches can be usefully brought into conversation in order to explore the institutional responses to Islamophobia and the barriers to justice for Muslim women due to uneven power dynamics across policing and support systems. Such asymmetry is rooted in differences in race, religion and gender which can lead to oppression (Collins and Watson, 2021). This means that there can be "some inhibition of their [Muslim women's] ability to develop and exercise their capacities and express their needs, thoughts, and feelings" (Young, 1990, p. 40).

A geographical analysis can offer several benefits. It looks at how "power is multifaceted, diffuse and relational" (Staeheli and Kofman, 2004, p. 7). Particularly how the unequal distribution of power is discursively performed by institutions and how such dynamics can be disassembled to "challenge those who wield power over others" (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020, p. 83). Geographical research has also examined the ways in which trauma arises across different spaces, is connected to different structures, but felt by the body (highlighting trauma's scalar nature), and associated with different temporalities (past and present) (Pain, 2021; Pain et al., 2020; Loyd et al., 2018; Marshall, 2013; Pratt et al., 2015). A geographical approach additionally considers how an ethic of care can make headway in state systems through a call for more intimate relations and the mobilisation of advocacy and activism (Staeheli and Kofman, 2004, p. 6). Indeed, this is vital in a context where systems are moulded in ways that are formal, bureaucratic, tokenistic and hierarchical, which do not relate to people's everyday experiences of spaces, localities and communities. Thus, devising research questions that trace the connections between systems, institutional responses, uneven distributions of power, traumas, intimate relations, advocacy and activism, can offer insights into when, where, why and how failures happen, thus inhibiting justice:

- How do the police and support services respond to Islamophobia through the use of speech acts?
- How can the lens of geotrauma be used to improve understandings of the failures of the police and support services?
- How can the police and support services be more attuned to Muslim women to secure justice for them?

In responding to these questions, the research brings together theories related to the politics of speech/discourse, feminism, post-colonialism, embodiment, trauma, affect, attunement and emotions, so as to offer an understanding of when, where, why and how the police and support services fail to help Muslim women achieve justice in the aftermath of hate crimes. The theories are reviewed in chapter 2 which sets out relevant literature in the areas of Islamophobia, institutional responses to hate crime, speech acts, geotrauma, attunement and embodied emotions. Chapter 3 details research design and methodology, both of which explore the tools employed to re-centre seldom heard voices during data collection and analysis. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present empirical findings of the study which respond to the

research questions; these pertain to systematic barriers to justice, impacts and attunements. The first half of chapter 4 explores the discrepancy between what police officers say and do, in addition to the effects of identifying areas in need of improvement. The second half investigates how support services come into being through speech and whether or not they are helpful from the perspective of the diverse Muslim women interviewed. Chapter 5 considers the role of the police and support services in compounding spatial trauma, by tracing how it resides in, extends beyond and shapes the body, thus developing an embodied analysis of the impacts and barriers to justice. Chapter 6 contemplates how the police and support services could be more attuned to Muslim women by learning from practices in and amongst informal networks (like family and friends) and intimate relations with specialist advocates and activists. To conclude, chapter 7 reflects on the implications of findings for theory, policy and practice. In particular, it argues that justice for Muslim women requires much more labour than is typically acknowledged. Much of this labour is undervalued/underpaid, informal, and undertaken by mostly Muslim women and/or minority ethnic people who are overrepresented in the sample of this project. I elucidate how attunement of this labour to the geotrauma experienced by Muslim women facing Islamophobic hate crime provides lessons which should be adopted by existing police forces and support services to better fulfil the justice claims of Muslim women.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1. Introduction

The previous chapter contextualised inadequate institutional responses to hate crime, which are highly likely to shape the ways in which testimonies of Islamophobia are handled once shared beyond personal networks. However this is an under-explored dimension in social and political research. The landscape of current support services (particularly those that are minority-ethnic led) is additionally permeated with problems, which may impact the quality of assistance victims receive, but again enquiries into this are absent. Such gaps need to be thoroughly examined in a context where Muslim women embody different capacities to speak, with their experiences dissected by spectators who inhabit academia, politics and the media, forcing them to be portrayed in ways they do not consent to. Consequently, their justice claims can at best be diluted, and at worst be insignificant.

In order to explore the aforementioned gaps, the literature review comprises four key components. The first concentrates on Islamophobia, particularly the evolution and heterogeneity of the term, which involves a discussion of exclusion/racialisation and a need to focus on how intersectionality shapes interactions with institutions. The second section introduces literature on policing and raises the question of how police officers might negotiate tensions inherent in their activities, specifically demands to target yet help marginalised groups. The segment also raises questions of the adequacy of support services in a context where they are misrepresented, under-resourced and spatially uneven. Thus how the police and support services actually come into 'being' is important, which can be usefully understood through the theoretical lenses of speech acts and performativity. The third part of the chapter explores geotrauma and intimate geopolitics. Geotrauma illuminates how structural, social, cultural and political arrangements become detectible through the embodiment of trauma. Intimate geopolitics reveals how matters of the state like nationality, citizenship, migration and border crossing are internalised, regulated and resisted through the body. The fourth section considers how institutions may be able to better hear and manage the testimonies of Muslim women, chiefly through attunement and embodied emotions.

Throughout this chapter, I follow Barnett (2018, p. 318) by "giving conceptual precedence to injustice". He draws on the work of Young (1998) to explain that summoning the vocabulary of justice and injustice can be equated with putting forward a claim about the "state of affairs which calls for vindication of certain sorts" (p. 323). Young (1990) did not start with the model of an ideal society, but from certain expressions of injustice. This requires shifting away from an idea that justice is synonymous with the division of resources, to questions of "the relative… standing of persons with respect to each other"; simply put, the issue is "not what you have", but "how you are treated" (Forst, 2007, p. 260). Such logic entails deliberating how social relations and structural arrangements oppress some people more in public life (Fraser, 2003). Indeed it is the contention of this thesis that the multiple identities of Muslim women shape the ways in which they are treated by institutions and their ensuing feelings that those institutions are neither achieving justice, nor addressing injustice. Yet at the same time, these realities can be reconstituted, performed otherwise, or imagined anew (Barnett, 2018, p. 319).

2.2. Acknowledging hate crime as one manifestation of Islamophobia

2.2.1. Islamophobia: An evolved concept with multiple faces

During the last two decades, there has been mounting interest in the everyday intersectional experiences of Muslims although the priority areas have altered in tandem with national and international politics. Intersectionality can be defined as "greater than the sum of racism and sexism" (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 140). Dwyer (1998; 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; 2000) was one of the first geographers to explore how intersectional identity is constructed through the type of space occupied. Within the South Asian community, Muslim girls and women are expected to embody ethnic and religious 'purity', leading to their being monitored, but within the White British community, they embody difference. In both cases, they must sculpt their identities in opposition to stereotypes that smear them as victims, which Afshar (2008) demonstrates, are propagated by politicians and journalists. After the terror attacks on 11th September 2001, focus across different disciplines shifted towards Islamophobia, itself a contested term. Whilst Runnymede Trust (a British race equality think tank) drew attention to the term in 1997 by describing it as a "shorthand way of referring to dread or hatred of Islam – and, therefore, to fear or dislike of all or most Muslims" (Conway, 1997, p. 1), the concept

has since been likened to a "type of racism" (All-Party Parliamentary Group, 2018, p. 11) and thus racialisation. This is defined as the subjugation of non-White populations by portraying their bodies - especially their skin as inferior (Bhavnani et al., 2005). 9/11 was undertaken by Al-Qaeda, an extremist Islamic group, and this terrorism, as well as subsequent acts of violence (in the name of Islam), have resulted in increased hostility towards people who look Muslim as a means of retaliation. The targeting has been facilitated by the embodiment of certain markers which are associated with Islam (hijab, abaya, niqab, beard, brown skin and black skin) (Allen and Nielsen, 2002). Indeed Hopkins (2004) concentrates on young Muslim men to illustrate this, and Hopkins et al. (2017, p. 939) have even shown that non-Muslim South Asian, Black Caribbean and Black African young people are mistaken for being Muslim through their "skin colour, facial features, hair texture, and style".

It is important to note here that hostility towards Muslims precedes introduction and usage of the term Islamophobia, which Allen (2010) dates back to the flourishing of Islam in Europe, and Western/Occidental enquiry into the East/Orient by a plethora of disciplines including "philology, lexicography, history, biology, political and economic theory, novel-writing, and lyric poetry" (Said, 1979, p. 15). The purpose of exploration was to not only comprehend, but also control this part of the world. However an in-depth historical trajectory of Islamophobia is not the focal point of this thesis. Social scientists today have shown that Islamophobia refers to all those structures in everyday life which have the effect of inhibiting fundamental freedoms for Muslims (Ingham-Barrow, 2018). Such structures include microaggressions (Nadal et al., 2012), discrimination (Gholami, 2021) and governmental policies (Qureshi, 2017). The latter will be covered in more detail in section 2.4.1, which is about understanding embodied experiences through geotrauma and intimate geopolitics, but here I concentrate on hate crime which is the centrepiece of this project.

2.2.2. Reclaiming intersectionality by exploring how it shapes encounters between victims and institutions

Within geography there has been interest in how intersectionality connects with the spatial nature of hate crimes. Najib and Hopkins (2020, p. 470) draw on evidence to convey that "veiled women with foreign backgrounds and lower social class" are targeted across public spaces, transport systems and public institutions, but also specific spatial arrangements

such as “the centre… the suburbs, transport axes and pockets of segregation” (p. 458). Outside of geography, there has been a focus on the impact of hate crimes on veiled Muslim women’s emotions, embodiment, family and community (Zempi and Chakraborti, 2015), in addition to the ways in which female Muslim ‘victims’ respond to (White) male perpetrators, and the barriers to reporting to the police and NGOs (Zempi, 2020). However, across disciplines, there is more of an emphasis on interactions between victims and perpetrators (Hopkins, 2004; Zempi and Chakraborti, 2015; Allen et al., 2013), rather than between victims and representatives of the state and support services when testimonies of hate crime are shared with these establishments. Thus less is known about how (and even if) the police and support services protect veiled Muslim women who experience hate. If such aspects remain hidden, “an exclusive focus on individual-based hate crimes” will continue to deflect attention from systems (Tyner, 2016, p. 1060).

Crenshaw’s (1989, p. 141) ground-breaking work on intersectionality is highly relevant here as it examines how courts “frame and interpret” the stories of plaintiffs who are Black women, but the theory has not been utilised to elucidate Muslim women’s interactions with the criminal justice system following Islamophobia. The scholar notes how General Motors did not hire Black women before the Civil Rights Act 1964 and that all of the Black women recruited after 1970 lost their jobs in a “seniority-based layoff” owing to a recession. Nonetheless the court perceived no sex discrimination as General Motors hired White women during this time. The court also brushed off the race discrimination complaint and “recommended its consolidation with another case alleging race discrimination against the same employer”, implying that Black women could not face discrimination or were not worthy of protection (p. 142). Similarly, in the context of this research, “attending to questions of power means understanding how differences and domination intersect” (Nagar, 2004, p. 35). As part of this goal, one must consider such issues of denial and non-recognition. How do institutions respond when testimonies of hate crime are shared with them and how does the role of intersectionality shape justice claims? This would go some way to resisting and rectifying the recent “Whitening of intersectionality” (Bilge, 2013, p. 412), whereby the constitutive role of race is relegated, sometimes even removed, at the expense of gender’s foregrounding. In addition to the erasure of race, the erasure of religion is also problematic. For example, Valentine (2007) asserts that the goal of her paper is to trace “the emergence of debates about the interconnections between gender and other identities” (p. 10). Indeed she explores how “gender, sexuality, class, motherhood, disability,

and the cultural/linguistic identity "deaf" become salient/disappear, are claimed/rejected, and are made relevant/irrelevant in the narrative of… a White, now-middle-aged, woman" (p. 15). The demotion of race and religion from intersectional studies is concerning as it obscures the very purpose of intersectionality: to evince how systems oppress women of colour on the basis of their multiple identities.

2.3. Institutional responses to hate crime

2.3.1. Investigating the policing of Islamophobia in the context of racialised state practices

As the previous chapter and above section have highlighted, there is a paucity of information on how institutions - the police and support services - respond to testimonies of hate crime from Muslim women who occupy heterogenous identities. A geographical analysis can rectify this by extending the types of spaces to be examined (i.e. state and non-state), in addition to the ensuing impacts arising from the responses of these two institutions.

Where there is research on the institutional responses to hate crime, this mainly occurs outside of geography. Hall (2011) examines the theoretical response of policing, Woods (2011) analyses how hate crime laws are implemented and Chakraborti (2017) inspects the experiences of victims engaging with the criminal justice system. However such pieces fail to focus on group specificity. Where they do (in the West), this largely touches on race. In Sweden, Atak (2020) investigates how the police tackle racist offences, and in the US, King et al. (2009) explain how the policing and prosecution of hate crime are less stringent where the lynching of Black people was more prevalent before 1930. Whilst there is some research on religion, for example, flaws in the police recording of anti-Jewish encounters (Iganski, 2007), there does not seem to be much appraisal of the institutional responses to Islamophobia, let alone Muslim women. Geographers have also tended to steer clear of issues pertaining to policing, which can be defined as "the maintenance of order, the control of disorder, the prevention of crime and the detection of offenders" (Rawlings 2008, p. 47). Perhaps one explanation for lack of engagement has been the trouble of theorising policing (Yarwood, 2007). Early research in the 1970s commonly investigated the spatial distribution of crimes (Harries, 1971; Pyle et al., 1974). Around the 1990s, studies began to examine how fear of crime is controlled through particular spaces, and how this affects particular social

groups (Pain, 1997; Valentine, 1989). Whilst such work develops awareness of the way in which (perceived) victimisation is moulded by (intersectional) identity, to construct certain types of "socio-spatial exclusion" (Edwards, 2013, p. 308), the focus on White women depoliticises intersectionality as mentioned in the first theme of this chapter (Bilge, 2013).

Elsewhere, geographers have been documenting processes of racialisation by tracing the proliferation of state methods in policing the border. Boyce (2018, p. 1) suggests that enforcement agents at the US-Canada border view risk through geographic components like "origin, location and direction of travel" which render some bodies 'out of place'. Contrastingly, Coleman (2007) explores the policing of immigration beyond the border (specifically Mexico-US), by concentrating on interior operations. Similarly in the UK, Yuval-Davis et al. (2018) explore everyday bordering, by demonstrating that employers must keep their eyes peeled for illegal immigrants by checking the immigration status of their employees. Amoore (2021, p. 2) considers how technological advances have constructed the "deep border". She describes this as a "machine learning border that learns representations from data". In particular, data on certain types of bodies that become "unbundled, disaggregated into derivatives that are readily traded, transposed, and translated as threats to the state". It is within this punitive state that Moran (2015, p. 13) situates her research, as she explores the spaces and practices of incarceration, characterised by "overcrowded prison conditions, longer sentences, increased criminal sanctions, and humiliating punishments" (in addition to punitive policies targeted towards marginalised groups). However how do the police deal with people who appear to occupy paradoxical positions? Those who are regarded to be suspects, but are mostly victims? Can such inherent tensions be negotiated? Do punitive policies apply to perpetrators if the victims are racialised? The case of Shukri Abdi would suggest they do not always. Throughout time, policing has been subjected to public backlash, and present events are no exception. George Floyd's murder in 2020 has led to a withdrawal in funds to the police in the US (Levin, 2021), and Sarah Everard's murder in 2021 has resulted in nearly half of all women trusting the police less (End Violence Against Women and YouGov, 2021). High-profile events like these generally lead to greater accountability, but what happens to those victims whose injustice does not receive as much public scrutiny? Those who speak but cannot be heard? Those who feel like they cannot speak because they will not be heard? Those whose lives are seen not to matter?

Parr and Fyfe (2013, p. 628) suggest that "we need to develop a nuanced understanding of the spatiality of police work more generally". The majority of research on policing by geographers has concentrated on the 'doing' of policing through ethnography in order to explore "time-space" movements of officers, "settings of social interaction" (Fyfe, 1992, pp. 470-471), and the demarcation and administration of territory as a way of exerting authority (Herbert, 1997). Parr and Fyfe (2013, p. 628) suggest that what is occluded is how policing is also "a *textual* as well as a *practical* activity". By this they mean that police officers apply materials, for example policy/legal documents (i.e. discourse), to events they are investigating in order to interpret and classify them. Thus the definition of any crime (or non-crime) "is part of a complex constructive process" (Innes, 2002, p. 671), and "'factual' status" (i.e. anything regarded as legitimate and trustworthy) (p. 682) is constructed by those working in policing in a performative (or non-performative) manner. This can have implications in terms of bias and many scholars have written about institutional racism within police forces. Indeed Keith (1993) has inspected the processes by which antagonism between Black communities and the police in England has become part of the institutional composition of modern policing, in addition to the everyday experiences of Black communities.

2.3.2. Assessing how the issues facing support services can shape their interactions with victims of Islamophobia

Like the police, support services are a type of (social) institution, and whilst some of them respond to Islamophobia, there is scarce research about their effectiveness. This warrants attention as "where there are power differentials – and there always are – there is resistance and rebellion, or more generally collective action" (Brook, 2001, p. 265). Support services can be heterogenous in their operations as indicated in the introduction, but they appear to be recognised in policy and academic discourses as a remedy to many of the issues which states encounter (Fyfe and Milligan, 2003) (and indeed create). They are typically viewed as "place[s] where politics can be democratised, active citizenship strengthened, [and] the public sphere reinvigorated" (Brown et al., 2000, p. 57). I use Salamon and Anheier's (1998, p. 216) definition of voluntary services to describe what I conceive of as support services in this thesis. They are *"organisations",* i.e. possess some institutional reality. They are *"private",* i.e. distinct from the state. They are *"non-profit" orientated,* i.e. not distributing any profits

to directors. They are *"self-governing",* i.e. able to dictate the work they undertake. They are *"voluntary",* i.e. there is some voluntary engagement, either in the performance of tasks or in the administration of matters. Thus, I do not investigate governmental forms of support like the Victim Contact Scheme as participants did not meet the criteria for access which requires one to have experienced violent or sexual crime, with an offender being sentenced for at least one year (Ministry of Justice, n.d.). In this project I explore the work of predominantly two kinds of services, namely advocacy and activism, both of which I have defined in the previous chapter. Information about the role of these voluntary organisations in relation to hate crime remains relatively sparse, with a few notable exceptions, such as the recent work of Legg and Citizens (2021) who explore implications of the Hate Crime Commission undertaken in 2014 by Citizens UK in Nottingham. The project was community-led/co-produced and explored experiences of hate crime and under-reporting in the city. In particular the paper explores the project's victories, specifically the campaign to have misogyny acknowledged as a hate crime, and connects such work to efforts of conceptualising activism that is implicit (i.e. "modest" and "quotidian") (Horton and Kraftl, 2009, p. 21) and explicit (i.e. "mass gatherings") (Legg and Citizens, 2021, p. 1183).

Researchers have also highlighted the problems voluntary organisations encounter. Bunglawala (2017, p. 110) describes how Muslim-led charities like CAGE (n.d.) (previously known as CagePrisoners, which "campaign[s] against discriminatory state policies") and MEND, are "targets of hostile campaigns", as the media misrepresents their activities as forms of extremism. CAGE has frequently been branded as a 'terrorist sympathiser' (Hamilton and Lemanski, 2020) as it advocates for prisoners in Guantánamo Bay (a "lawless space"), to ensure that due process/the rule of law applies to them (Gregory, 2006, p. 405). MEND has been dubbed as a 'wolf in sheep's clothing' (Webb, 2018, p. 1), whilst its events on university campuses for Islamophobia Awareness Month, and critique of the Home Office's Prevent programme have been viewed with utmost suspicion (Bunglawala, 2017). This statutory duty requests public sector workers to share information on people perceived to be at risk of being drawn into terrorism (either by becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism) (Home Office, 2019b). However, this mechanism has disproportionately targeted Muslims (Home Office, 2017; 2018c; 2018d; 2019c). If it has already been documented that organisations which may be well-placed to assist victims of crime do not always feel like they have the resources to bid for contracts (Harries et al., 2020), then the misrepresentations of charities can be further disadvantageous. Hence there is a need to closely examine how

such issues impact directly on the support offered to victims. Indeed, Hopkins (2020, p. 586) asserts that "researchers need to play an active role in local or national activist groups that challenge Islamophobia, or in collaborating with external organisations to assist them with such work". Working together "to get to where we need to go" goes beyond "good intentions" and can mitigate some of the "limiting dualisms" in academia such as "us/them, margin/centre, major/minor and civility/incivility" (Oswin, 2020, p.14). Whilst research has begun to explore the role of support services as important intermediaries between victims and the criminal justice system, the perspectives of victims are seldom heard, and the role of these organisations is constantly evolving (Zempi, 2014).

By contrast, it has also been noted that organisations which are supposed to offer support can actually be caught up in processes of ongoing trauma. Loyd et al. (2018) explore how the screening of displaced individuals seeking refugee status requires psychologists and social workers employed by NGOs to diagnose medical issues like post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which allows the most vulnerable cases to be identified (and thus prioritised). Elsewhere, Tyler et al. (2014, pp. 5-6) discuss how a lack of economic stability can force charities to discard "principles of autonomy" and "enter into contractual arrangements" with the state and private organisations, which demand them to govern family detention centres. Nonetheless, knowledge of how support services are embedded in networks which can cause ongoing trauma when striving to support victims of hate crime is scarcely considered. Deverteuil (2018) explains how geographical research emphasises the "spatiality of the voluntary sector" (for example its interiority, whereabouts and unevenness). This pattern raises significant questions pertaining to the distribution of resources and ultimately some kind of support and justice. I.e. what is available to access, who is able to access, where are they able to access, how are they able to access and when are they able to access? These questions are particularly pertinent as institutions can be key areas which reproduce "gendered, classed, racialised, ableised, and sexualised inequalities" (Kang et al., 2017). Institutions – the power they possess and the changes they make – can additionally be obscure and sluggish respectively. Thus, sustained effort is needed to observe and unpick them (Kuus, 2020, p. 119).

2.3.3. Understanding activities of the police and support services through speech acts and performativity

In order to explore responses of the police and support services to hate crime (including disconnection between policies and practices, or words and actions), the theory of speech acts can be highly useful. Scholars who consider speech acts will typically look at Austin's (1975) lectures on "How to do things with words". Among other elements, he makes a distinction between "constative and performative utterances" (p. 54). The former can be either "true or false" (p. 45), whilst the latter "indicates that the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action - it is not normally thought of as just saying something" - he offers examples such as "I bet" and "I declare war" (pp. 6-7). However such performative utterances can also fail if "something goes wrong" (p. 14). For instance, if the subject does not have the resources to bet if they lose, or if the subject does not have the authority to declare war. Austin's work has been criticised. Why can only some verb phrases be categorised as performative utterances, whilst others cannot (Green, 2007)? Performative utterances can be misused; for instance, a marriage ceremony will be successful when both parties say "I do", however such a speech act is likely to be insincere when the marriage is one of convenience. There is also "the possibility that we might do more than one thing" through performative utterances (Longworth, 2012).

Ahmed (2012, p. 54) notes that Austin's theory of speech acts applies to first-person singular pronouns only, so she develops his work by giving attention to institutional speech acts which make use of first-person plural pronouns. Typically individuals will speak for or even as the institution. Such practices are acts of "naming: the institution is named, and in being given a name, it [the institution] is also given attributes, qualities, and even character". She includes not just spoken words but writing and images as these materials construct the interiority of an institution "as if it has a face, as well as feelings, thoughts, or judgements". Doing so allows her to explicate the chasm between pledges to diversity and the realities of individuals who embody diversity in higher education. Of particular significance here is the notion of non-performativity, which is when a speech act does not do what it says (Ahmed, 2006, p. 104). In geography, her concept has been used in analysing the non-performativity of multiculturalism in novels (Schlosser and Stinard-Kiel, 2016), the non-performativity of concern for the urban environment (Swyngedouw and Kaika, 2014) and the non-performativity of citizenship by universities (Kimura, 2012). Hence, her theory can be

usefully applied to other topics, to shed light on the discrepancy between narratives and deeds in institutions.

If one is to consider non-performativity, then one must also understand performativity. Such work has been significantly discussed by Butler (1999, p. 32), who questions "gender as substance, the viability of man and woman as nouns"; this emphasis evokes the conventional conflation of the noun 'being' (e.g. human being) with the verb 'being'. The noun is static, fixed, a kind of revelation or representation, whereas the verb is attentive to how a man or woman is formed through performance, which can entail thinking, running, dressing and the like. This distinction is essential as Heidegger (2010, p. 41) affirms that "the 'essence'… of this being lies in its to be. The whatness (essentia) of this being must be understood in terms of its being (existentia) insofar as one can speak of it at all". This means that the noun (being/substance) is comprehended by its connection to its verb (being/action), or being/substance can only be established by its association with its being in action (Sullivan, 2016, p. 25). The following question can thus be raised, are institutions nouns or verbs? Are they made up of nouns or do they function as verbs? Perhaps this is an incorrect binary and the right response would be both. That is, institutions are composed of nouns/substances and they function as verbs/actions (p. 24). Unpacking this distinction is imperative to comprehending whether or not institutional dedication to tackling hate crime (by means of discourse) is felt by Muslim women (in practice).

Like much of Austin's (1975) theory, Butler's is not without critique. Mills (2000) and McNay (1999) cited in XIE (2014, p. 26) believe that the kind of agency that Butler discusses is essentially negative if the subject's power is demarcated by their capacity to repeat, which has implications, specifically that "agency is reduced to resistance [by virtue of subverting norms] and action to reaction". Practices of repetition and citation also suggest that "there can be no access to a pure materiality outside or before signification" (Kirby, 2005, p. 41). This means that there can be no reality that is detached from language, however it is the intention of this thesis to explore how there is a discrepancy between signification and practice, that is, repeating and citing do not always bring into effect that which is named. Butler also discards the concept of a subject who is pre-given, thus rejecting the idea that this pre-given subject is actively subverting gendered norms. Indeed she quotes Nietzsche (1969, p. 45): "the doer is merely a fiction added to the deed – the deed is everything" (Butler, 1999, p. 33). However, I will take into account the history and specificity of institutions. Treating them as 'unmarked'

can erase their historical roots in Whiteness (in the case of policing and generic/mainstream charities), or response to Whiteness (in the case of minority ethnic-led support services), both of which shape present encounters with those who come into contact with such agencies.

In spite of such criticisms, Butler's theory has allowed geographers to explore how space shapes the performance of gender and sexuality (Duncan, 1996), how space itself can be performative through community arts workers/projects and car-boot sales (Gregson and Rose, 2000) and how space influences the process of becoming a mother (Boyer and Spinney, 2016) amongst a plethora of other things. Like Ahmed's work then, Butler's can be usefully applied to see how institutions which tackle hate crime come into being. Indeed there are studies about how everyday speech and performativity can construct harmful institutions. Wieslander (2019) explains that through conversations with colleagues, employees can learn about the informal norms of not speaking against their institution for fear of retaliation; consequently, such silence can hinder organisational development. Holmes IV (2020) argues that whilst police brutality can harm Black people, other less obvious performances are equally culpable like: (1) expecting Black people to be accommodating of other people's needs and desires; (2) creating the illusion of activism and allyship through tokenistic gestures; (3) giving Black people the duty of tackling racism; and (4) believing education can solve racism. Similarly this research will highlight how the everyday speech and performativity of policing (in relation to prioritising, flagging, training, updating, evidence-gathering, etc.) can be detrimental to Muslim women in a myriad of ways. Equally important is the complicity of everyday speech and performativity of support services (listening, informing, advising, promising, etc.), which can be harmful in ways that are almost imperceptible.

In particular, I want to use speech acts and performativity to shed light on structural and slow violence, both of which can prevent Muslim women from fulfilling their basic rights and needs (Lee, 2019). Structural violence, described as "systemic inequalities embedded within societal structures" (Saleem et al., 2022, p. 426), opens up to a process of slow violence. This describes the generation and strengthening of multi-layered adversities which typically occur gradually, habitually and inconspicuously (Rezwana and Pain, 2021). Slow violence is not distinguished as violence as violence is conventionally imagined as an episode that is instant, volatile and striking (Nixon, 2011). There has been research on the structural violence of Islamophobia. Specifically how hatred re-structures space for Muslim women (Listerborn,

2015), and how racialisation, including normalisation and discrimination operate in different settings (Saleem et al., 2022), but not in relation to how the police and support services respond to Islamophobia. Similarly, whilst slow violence has been used to theorise pollution (Davies, 2022), online abuse (Brydolf-Horwitz, 2022), migrant border crossings (Schindel, 2022) and rural dispossession (Vorbrugg, 2022), it has not been used to theorise the slow violence of policing and support services when they respond to Islamophobia. Structural and slow violence shift attention away from points of crisis to ordinary (rather than extraordinary) processes in policing and support services and how these are additive, generating "suffering, humiliation, aggression, and injustice" (Benhabib, 1986, p. 226).

2.4. Geographies of embodied trauma

2.4.1. Building on geotrauma and intimate geopolitics

It is important to consider the role of trauma when exploring the response of the police and support services to Islamophobia. This is because scholars have been drawing attention to how external forces can oppress groups along the lines of identity, particularly that of race, giving rise to traumatic responses. Fanon explains this by drawing on his experience of residing in the French colony of Martinique as a Black man. He theorises that "alongside phylogeny [the evolutionary history of an organism] and ontology [the nature of existing], there is also sociogeny [that which is produced by society]" (Fanon, 2008, p. XV; Merriam-Webster, n.d.). In such work, he argues that the "neurotic structure of an individual" arises "on the one hand from the environment and on the other from the entirely personal way this individual reacts [to it]" (Fanon, 2008, p. 62). Such claims – the connections between the environment and one's response – fit with definitions of trauma – indeed, for Freud (2015, p. 23) "trauma" refers to "any excitations from the outside which are powerful enough to break through the protective shield [of consciousness]". Whilst Fanon concentrates on the experience of Blackness under colonial rule (also see Hooks, 1989; 2003), his ideas are echoed by some research on Islamophobia (beyond geography) which focuses on impacts like vulnerability, anxiety, fear (amongst veiled Muslim women) (Zempi and Chakraborti, 2015), insecurity (Abu-Ras and Suarez, 2009) and post-traumatic growth (Tineo et al., 2021). However these studies predominantly focus on encounters between citizens (e.g. victims and perpetrators), rather than on the institutional responses to Islamophobia. Pain (2021) asserts

that geographical analysis on trauma is fairly new and has emerged from mainly psychoanalysis (Kingsbury and Pile, 2014). In particular, she uses the term "geotrauma" (p. 972) to capture the essence of Freud's definition of trauma, but instead of concentrating on the individual, she explicates structural, social, cultural and political processes to articulate the role of "oppressive power relations in… collective forms of trauma" (p. 974). This kind of lens repositions survivors as experts in narrating their trauma. She thus gives a name to an existing collection of work by post-colonial scholars within and beyond geography, whilst calling for more research to be done in this area.

One form of structural trauma of especial relevance to this project is intimate geopolitics. This conceptualisation is typically deployed to explain how matters of the state like "nationality, citizenship, migration and border crossing" are "internalised, regulated and resisted" through the more private spaces of home and corporeality, such as marriage, birth, social reproduction, family, language, emotions and affect (Barabantseva, 2019, p. 343; Critical Global Politics, n.d.). The aim of this is to demonstrate that the intimate is not merely a topography on which power relations are inscribed; it is very much active in replicating and contesting them (Pain and Staeheli, 2014). In doing so, intimate geopolitics builds on feminist geopolitics, which, for the last two decades, has called for women's and migrants' bodies to be incorporated into geopolitical thought. The purpose of which, is to recognise their entanglement in international relations in banal ways and to increase the transparency of how power functions across all practices and spaces. This work stands in antithesis to political geography which has historically been the preserve of Western men, connected with an all-seeing vision and the privileging of certain sites, namely the state and elite actors (Dowler and Sharp, 2001; Pain and Staeheli, 2014). Despite the clear strengths of intimate geopolitics, studies do not always explicitly focus on trauma. There are exceptions of course. Examples of current scholarship include refugee regimes in Turkey and the individualisation of geopolitics through mental health diagnosis/service provision (Loyd et al., 2018); performance and transformation of the discourse of trauma in Palestinian childhood to understand the present political moment (Marshall, 2013); and family separation arising from the Philippine labour export policy, which works in tandem with the Canadian immigration policy (Pratt et al., 2015). Several of these studies make connections with psychological/mental trauma, but there are still opportunities to make deeper engagements with embodiment to show how the police and support services protract the trauma of Muslim women. This is because trauma has a multiplicity of manifestations and impacts (Pain, 2021).

Recognising and sharing such trauma can operate as a call to reposition victims of hate crime in the "webs of power that organise life" (Staeheli and Kofman, 2004, p. 7).

Within research developing the concept of intimate geopolitics, there has not been much engagement with issues pertaining to policing. Of relevance to this project are those studies that mainly draw comparisons between domestic law/order and foreign battles. For example, Schrader (2019) shows how US "expansion of policing capacities around the globe… to prevent communist revolution" (p. 5) became translated into domestic practice, "recalibrating racialised social control" (p. 23). Elsewhere, Cuomo (2013) draws on Iris Marion Young's logic of masculinist protection (whereby the US invasion of Afghanistan was justified by a discourse on liberating Afghan women), to elucidate its links with US policing practices in response to intimate partner violence. However these studies do not make connections between policing and trauma. With regard to Muslims, geographers have certainly shown that through government policies centred on counter-extremism/terrorism, the spaces which Muslims occupy can be subjected to surveillance, such as the home (Fernandez, 2018), neighbourhood (Isakjee, 2013), cafes and clubs (Koefoed and Simonsen, 2012). However, when Muslims (who are perceived as global threats) become targets of hate crime, how are practices of the state like nationality, citizenship, and security operating through the corporeality of Muslim women and what is the role of support services in this? There has certainly been research on the role of non-violent organisations, for example those that facilitate "protective accompaniment" which "puts bodies that are less at risk next to bodies that are under threat" as a kind of 'unarmed bodyguard' (Koopman, 2013, p. 278; Pratt, 2008). Additionally there has been a study on charitable knitting for 'needier bodies' in response to the refugee crisis (Shipp, 2022). However, again, links between support services and trauma are scarcely made and not enough is known about how support services internalise, regulate and resist responses of the police to Islamophobia. The previous chapter has shown that Islamophobia has formed under a climate comprising anti-immigration/-Muslim sentiment, the War on Terror, and foreign and domestic policies – all global affairs that are felt locally. Indeed, "a global lens offers new angles on civil rights, criminal justice, police-powers regulation and law reform" (Lanham, 2021, p. 1421). It is thus important to turn towards literature on the body within geography to understand the role of the police and support services in the trauma narratives of Muslim women.

2.4.2. Feminist and non-representational conceptions of the body

In order to explore trauma, one must understand how it is experienced by the body (Westin, 2022) which requires an analysis of embodiment. This refers to the body as "always in a process of becoming, marked by contextual circumstances and… fluctuating experiences of… [oneself] in the world" (Simonsen, 2007, p. 173). To focus on embodiment "is to stress the transactional. It is to downplay reified, static conceptions of the body" (Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan, 2020, p. 2). This is particularly important as the female Muslim body is frequently defined, in quite static terms, by the scarf which envelopes her. Bullock and Jafri (2000, p. 36) argue that Muslim women are typically classified into one of three body types: the "harem belly-dancer"; the "oppressed Muslim woman"; and the "militant Muslim woman". These are mediated by past (orientalist) and present ((geo)political) representations. Indeed, geographical conceptualisations of the body have been aided through work in other disciplines like sociology, feminism, gender and queer studies and psychoanalysis (Bonner-Thompson and Hopkins, 2017), which demonstrate how bodies come into being through discourse and power, as exemplified by Butler (2014).

Outside of feminist scholarship, for instance in non-representational theory, the body is spoken about in terms of affect, described as the body's "capacity to affect and be affected" (which shows that affect is two-sided), and a body can be anything (Anderson, 2014, p. 9). This indicates that a body is always entangled in a set of relations. Affect has been put forward as an alternative to the supremacy of social constructivism. The latter looks at how the current social order – which for Ley and Samuels (2014, p. 21) emulates "the values of a society and an epoch" – realises itself through the distribution of meanings, permitting an uneven allocation of goods, opportunities and power, within which, members make sense of their experiences. In respect of this, social constructivism examines, articulates and replicates an existing social order (Duncan, 1990). For devotees of non-representational theory, this has epistemological implications, as action is implied to be located in neither an individual nor a collective body but instead in the meanings expressed by and projected onto those very bodies (Anderson and Harrison, 2010). Whilst this may give the impression that scholars preceding the inception of non-representational theory have failed to capture this dynamism, they have not, as they tended to demonstrate that meaning is unstable and representation is achieved through performance. However, the key distinction lies in their focus on the end-product – representation as done and dusted – and so too the current social order.

Contrastingly, followers of non-representational theory conceptualise representation as a performance – a verb – (Cresswell, 2012[i]) and this performance is "caught up in the fabric of the world" (Merleau-Ponty 1969, p. 256). The combination of affect studies and post-colonial feminism (which takes into account intersectionality) can thus enable us to see past static conceptions of Muslim women, and how they are caught up in processes of being and becoming, and consequently the embodiment of various subject-positions. "A location… is not a self-appointed and self-designed subject-position. It is a collectively shared and constructed, jointly occupied spatio-temporal territory". The politics of location thus indicates "consciousness-raising that requires political awakening and hence the intervention of others [i.e. advocates/activists]" (Braidotti, 2002, p. 12).

Sullivan (2015, p. 1) has called upon theorists of feminism and critical philosophy of race to engage more fervently with the medical/biological sciences, as such connections can account for medical/biological processes as transactional, i.e. they are formulated through a dynamic link with socio-political processes. Besides highlighting inequitable health, such an approach is useful as "bodies tell stories that people cannot or will not tell, either because they are unable, forbidden, or choose not to tell" (Krieger, 2005, p. 350). Indeed, a lens of trauma which is at once post-colonial and biological can work towards such an aim. Until fairly recently, in what is now regarded as the biosocial approach, whereby "the two extreme wings of the nature/nurture dichotomy are equally destabilised" (Meloni, 2014, p. 595), across the social sciences, there has been a tendency to steer away from connections between biological processes and socio-political experiences. Perhaps because in the past, when the body was mainly discussed in terms of biology, "presumptions [were made] regarding its naturalness" (Grosz, 1994, p. X), which scholars in the social sciences have tried to undermine. Whilst Sullivan (2015) mainly concentrates on the biology of racism and sexism in the US, one can easily apply her thinking to Muslim women's trauma which is compounded by institutions in the UK. The key point I want to take from her approach is how spatial relations affect the entire body.

2.4.3. Exploring mental health and trauma's imprints on the brain

If we are to look at how structural, social, cultural and political arrangements are connected with narratives of embodied trauma, we must naturally consider mental health. This is

because “biology [the body] must be understood as psychologically pliable” (Grosz, 1994, p. 28), that is, the body can be altered by the mind, and such an association is clearly recognised in trauma-related diagnoses such as PTSD, depression and anxiety (Cori, 2008, p. XIV). Philo and Wolch (2001) outline two established waves in the geographies of mental health. In first-wave research (from the mid-1970s to the 1980s), the focus was on spatial-distributional questions (White, 1976; 1979) which traced the movement of people from large-scale asylums or hospitals into the community (Joseph and Kearns, 1996; Jones, 1999). In second-wave research, mental health geographers framed their questions in terms of the differences between people identified by society as ‘normal’ and those deemed mentally ‘abnormal’ (Philo and Wolch, 2001, p. 234), i.e. ill bodies and disabled bodies (Butler and Parr, 1999). Today, there is quite a bit of research on the connections between mental health and urban locales; within these settings, Winz et al. (2022) examine stress, discomfort and arousal amongst those experiencing early psychosis and Baumann et al. (2022) and Duff (2012) explore contexts in cities that aid recuperation. In response to mental health issues, McGeachan (2017) also states that a range of studies have strived to unearth the multi-dimensionality of caring. Geographical research has focused on self-help, advocacy and arts for those with mental health problems, as well as on relationships of care which are nurtured in informal spaces, like cafes, parks, streets and the internet (Parr, 2008). This work is helpful in understanding how victims of hate crime can use an assortment of pathways in community spaces to actively rescript their own psychological healing.

However, across such geographical research there seems to be less engagement with the intersections of mental health, race, religion and gender. Outside of geography it has certainly been recognised that non-White people are at greater risk of poorer mental health (Weich et al., 2004), but there is mainly a focus on racial disparities in access and experience. For example, GPs are less likely to be involved if patients are Black (Anderson et al., 2014) and Black and Asian people are more likely to be detained (Singh et al., 2007). There is also work on race and gender, for example, on Black and South Asian women’s narratives of mental distress, coping strategies and the significance of appropriate services that can aid recovery (Kalathil, 2011). This work highlights issues of migration, racism and discrimination in causing suffering. Such aspects are briefly considered in research on Islamophobic hate crime that explores the intersections of race, religion and gender. Papers describe various impacts on mental health; these include “panic attacks, worry, extreme anxiety and depression” as a consequence of the perpetrator’s actions (Zempi and Chakraborti, 2015, p. 48) and how such

sensations can restrict bodily movement, "by not [walking] (…especially not alone) and by using public transport as little as possible". Nevertheless, little consideration is given to the role of institutions (i.e. the police and support services) in shaping/alleviating neurotic tendencies. One exception is Parr et al. (2015), all of whom consider the role of mental health in people who go missing to better understand absence, thus contrasting the generic/categorical information often required by the police to investigate and solve such cases.

In connection with mental health geographies, psychoanalysis identifies the distress of patients as originating in the space/environment/world they inhabit, even though the patients' distress is articulated through the "topological twisting" of their space/environment/world, "both psychic and corporeal, both internal and external" (Kingsbury and Pile, 2014, p. 5). Within geography, psychoanalysis has facilitated insight into existing issues. Stepney (2017) explains that Sibley (1995) and Wilton (1998) have drawn on the works of Freud, Klein, and Kristeva, to explore exclusion, difference and marginalisation. Elsewhere Thomas (2010) looks at how girls in American schools preserve ethnic segregation through unconscious investments in racialised identification. However, less is known about the actual practice of psychoanalysis in geography and its role in relation to (geopolitical) trauma, although a notable exception is Bondi (2005) (but she does not focus on geopolitics). Loyd et al. (2018) do explore psychosocial service provision of NGOs for refugees in Turkey, and their role in protracting trauma, but there is room to build on this research when inspecting the institutional responses to hate crime.

Outside of geography, the literature on psychoanalysis shows both advantages and disadvantages to understanding the impacts of trauma. When a client believes that a therapist is interpretating their experiences in a 'correct' fashion, fairly good outcomes are likely (Crits-Christoph et al., 1988; Joyce and Piper, 1993). However this may not always happen, especially when marginalised individuals are concerned. Hooks (2003, p. 23) asserts that psychology has been particularly "feared" because many Black people are apprehensive that voicing their traumas through the vocabulary of mental illness will create biased interpretations which can pathologise the experience of being Black. These things could favour and reproduce their oppression. Indeed, for the most part, less is known about how psychoanalysis can compound trauma when religious bodies, who are also racialised and gendered, seek support from counsellors/therapists in order to deal with the ways in which

they experience their environment/world. Disturbingly, abuse from counsellors/therapists is not uncommon (Penfold, 1998). Freud sometimes used his ideas to strengthen patriarchy, for example in his case study of Dora, he downplayed an uninvited kiss from the perpetrator (Mahony, 1996) as a "little scene" (Freud, 1963, p. 43). Psychoanalysis has historically been a way through which trauma becomes an 'object' of study and recipients tend to value certain qualities of counsellors/therapists (like warmth, acceptance and a desire to understand feelings) (Mearns and Dryden, 1990; Howe, 1993). It is thus worth exploring both the negative and positive components of reparation when enquiring into the distribution of support within the context of Islamophobia. Based on current research about mental health, it is possible that marginalised groups are less likely to receive appropriate provision.

If current research shows that structural, social, cultural and political arrangements can alter one's bodily processes and mental health (such that trauma becomes embodied), one must also look at effects on the brain, as it is well known that trauma leaves imprints on and is connected with this organ (van der Kolk, 2015). One study discovered that Black women who were subjected to greater racial discrimination had increased activity in regions of the brain that are linked to alertness (to danger) – "that is, the middle occipital cortex and ventromedial prefrontal cortex". Their responses exceeded reactions induced by trauma that was unrelated to racism/discrimination. These findings matter as racist and discriminatory practices can affect regulatory systems in the body (Carter, 2021). Cori (2008, pp. 35-36) draws on existing research, the experiences of her clients (who have undergone psychotherapy) and her own ordeal to articulate (from a victim perspective) when the 'thinking part' of our brain – the frontal cortex – may go dormant during trauma. Situations include: when the 'emotional brain' has been activated or over-stimulated; when the 'survival brain' has taken charge; when we are dissociated/fragmented and unable to focus on our surroundings; and when we shut down/experience numbing. These are additional issues to consider if examining the ways in which institutions protract the trauma of Islamophobia, as Muslim women are required to make important decisions during and in the aftermath of encounters with injustice. These include how to respond to the perpetrator, how to report, how to gather evidence, how to find witnesses, how to ensure the case is not dropped and so forth. If trauma affects the brain then naturally these processes of decision-making will also be affected, which the design of appropriate support from the police and third sector would need to take into account.

I thus echo Herman's (2015, p. 13) work, as she "integrate[s] clinical and social perspectives on trauma without sacrificing either the complexity of individual experience or the breadth of political context". However whilst she unifies a "divergent body of knowledge… to develop concepts that apply equally to the experiences of domestic and sexual life, the traditional sphere of women, and to the experiences of war and political life, the traditional sphere of men", I extend her work by concentrating on a phenomenon (Islamophobia) that is politically generated but felt unevenly at the personal level, in that it affects predominantly minority ethnic women. Although I am not asserting that the police and support services need to be trained in the areas of physiology, psychology or neuroscience, the trauma victims' experience impacts on how they react and deal with Islamophobia. It is these nuances in reaction, management and pursuit of cases which are often complex and overlooked; there thus needs to be more attunement to these processes.

2.5. Alternative perspectives on institutional listening

2.5.1. Using attunement to encounter diversity and otherness

In response to the issues discussed thus far, consideration must also be given to alternative modes of responding to hate crime in ways that do not sustain trauma in the lives of Muslim women. I suggest that one way of doing this is through the lens of attunement which refers to "openness to what is around us". To be attuned is to share moods and specific rhythms; if two individuals are laughing simultaneously, they may be facing one another (Ahmed 2014a, p. 17). However some bodies must work harder in order to be in tune with others (p. 21). This makes attunement especially valuable as it generates "ways of encountering diversity and otherness" (Brigstocke and Noorani, 2016, p. 2). Techniques to modify behaviour are known as misattunement (Ahmed 2014a, pp. 18-19). Contrastingly, non-attunement refers to the state of not being able to pick up on how others feel, and this may not even be conscious. Within geography and beyond, attunement has been linked to various strands of thought. Examples include: (inter-species) encounter and affect (Haraway, 2008; Anderson, 2014); methodologies pertaining to the senses (Evans and Miele, 2012); spiritual processes (Oosterbaan, 2008); feminist materialisms (Braidotti, 2002); and indigenous beliefs of duty to the natural environment (Todd, 2014; Tallbear, 2015). Thus attunement is well-suited to exploring difference, relationality, embodiment and the social environment.

It is important to note that attunements have been conceptualised in various ways over time. For philosophers who have written on communication and reason (like Kant (1987, p. 88)), attunements are "necessary condition[s] of the universal communicability of our cognition, which must be presupposed in any logic". This means "objects present themselves in experience; the extent to which they occasion, in the subject… attunement of the cognitive faculties (i.e. understanding and imagination) is a matter, Kant attributed to feeling" (Jackson, 2016, p. 13). Thus, attunements refer to the negotiation between two faculties: "the freedom of… imagination and the lawfulness of understanding" (Brigstocke and Noorani, 2016, p. 2). In post-Kantian thought there has been a focus on tuning in and tuning out which can be shaped by forces we are not conscious of, and so when there are attempts to make known these attunements, they become annihilated, as logic would suggest that they no longer function as attunements but as something else. Instead, there is a focus on "awakening… attunement" which allows attunement to "be as it is" (Heidegger, 2009, p. 85). Thus, attunement can be a pre-conscious "affect, mood, feeling, or atmosphere" (Brigstocke and Noorani, 2016, p. 3) such as: "joy, contentedness, bliss, sadness, melancholy, or anger"; these pre-conscious states orientate us in certain manners, but do not raise themselves into consciousness. Accordingly, attunement can be characterised as something that is 'there and not there' and it is related to "events occurring in a subject", which we can identify in ourselves and in others. For example, we can observe their duration, how they ascend and descend, as well as the sources that summon and inhibit them (Heidegger, 2009, pp. 84-85). Another area of work by psychoanalysts/psychologists likens attunement to a kind of embodied relationality which entails vitality affects: "[these] emerge in an encounter with dynamic and stimulating movements, which are either conscious or unconscious" (Holmqvist et al., 2019, p. 31).

Thinking through the lens of attunement as something that is cognitive, pre-conscious and relational is crucial because all three notions can illuminate and produce modes of interacting with differences (Brigstocke and Noorani, 2016). I bring these key ideas into conversation with Stern's (1998, p. 138) work on affect attunement. He uses this concept to describe how it is possible for one to get 'inside of' the subjective experience of another, and then to inform them of this without necessarily using words (he draws on the relationship between a mother and her infant). Such practices of listening and recognising are requisite for caring and nurturing relationships. They can be usefully applied to (White) institutions that wish to

provide a better service to victims of hate crime along the lines of race, religion and gender. Attunement allows the conceptualisation of how more appropriate forms of support can be envisaged and provides ways of distinguishing how justice can be achieved in a context where state mechanisms are plagued by non-attunement. I.e. reports to the police are scarce, owing to a belief among affected communities that the severity of the situation will not be acknowledged (Chakraborti et al., 2014; Hardy and Chakraborti, 2019; Zempi, 2020). Prosecution rates remain stubbornly low in comparison to the number of hate crimes recorded (CPS, 2019; Home Office, 2019a). Satisfaction with the police is lower amongst victims of hate crime than victims of all crimes (Home Office, 2020). Victims are largely unaware of the existence and function of support services (those people who do utilise these are generally satisfied but the data does not consider group specificity) (Hardy and Chakraborti, 2019). The latter point suggests then that the state may benefit from understanding the attunements of non-state networks if it wishes to improve the police response to hate crime and deliver a better service to victims than is hitherto being carried out. Similarly, there is some evidence to suggest that victims draw on support from family members, friends, carers and colleagues (Hardy and Chakraborti, 2017), so equal consideration must be given to attunements within informal spaces.

2.5.2. (In)validating the geopolitical emotions of marginalised women

Victims of hate crime tend to be more emotionally impacted than victims of all crimes (Smith et al., 2012) and so institutional responses would need to address this issue. Emotion, derived from the Latin word 'emovere', refers 'to move, to move out' and so an emotion can be described as something that moves us from one bodily state to another (Ahmed, 2014b, p. 11). Like attunements, emotions involve some kind of embodied relationality. For instance, emotional geography attempts to "understand emotion – experientially and conceptually – in terms of its socio-spatial mediation and articulation rather than its entirely interiorised subjective mental states" (Bondi et al., 2005, p. 3). This sub-discipline therefore has the potential to consider how emotion can be controlled by connections between different spaces (i.e. institutional and bodily). Indeed the concept of 'geopolitical emotions' "connects political processes and everyday emotional topographies" (Pain, 2009, p. 466). However most studies typically look at the emotional impacts arising from an encounter between a victim and perpetrator, and normally consider relations in spaces such as the street,

neighbourhood, public transport, work, education and so forth. As noted earlier in the section on Islamophobia, turning the spotlight on "individual-based hate crimes" fails to untangle problems related to systems (Tyner, 2016, p. 1060) and in turn, risks overlooking how these systems can be more attuned and emotional.

Emotions contrast 'feelings', which are commonly attributed to pre-cognition, in that they are not yet exhibited. When they do consciously emerge and become articulated however, they are conceived of as 'emotions' which are socially constructed (Pile, 2010, p. 9). It may come as no surprise then that extensive geographical research on emotions has unquestionably centred the body as the location where emotions are experienced and expressed (Davidson and Milligan, 2004). Topics include producing fear in (geo)politics (Pain and Smith, 2008), mourning women's health (Collis, 2005), grieving for a partner (Hockey et al., 2005) and connecting touch with emotions (Paterson, 2005). However some non-White writers feel that a certain type of body is typically prioritised as minority ethnic people do not always receive validation of their emotions. The stereotype of the 'angry Black woman' dominates Western/White views of Black women (Prasad, 2018), yet ignoring such anger on the basis of intimidation functions to maintain privilege (Lorde, 1997). Jameela (2018, p. 199) notes that it was only when White liberals openly communicated their dismay over Brexit and Trump, that minority ethnic people could see a slight chunk of the grief they frequently feel to be uttered publicly. In other words, grief was made visible, heard, discussed and supported and this allowed non-White people to sneak into conversations where they could "identify with sadness and fear" without having to invent safe spaces. Suddenly, without specifically being for them, there were articles on self-care that encouraged switching off phone notifications, restricting news intake, supporting others and requesting help (Moss, 2020). However crucially, self-care is not enough by itself as it does not address how systems can be disabling for certain groups. Indeed for people of colour, healing entails recognising the source of trauma, striving to collectively destabilise that source, and stimulating hope to inhibit trauma from penetrating communities (French et al., 2020, p. 19).

From the aforementioned literature, it seems that for marginalised women, their experiences, feelings and needs are often secondary to those of their White counterparts and are not recognised as being important until their White counterparts deem it to be so. How then, or who, can validate their emotions through political representation and rhetoric and what are the implications of this? It must be noted that (in)validation of feelings can be characterised

by bias. It is easier to empathise with people who are close to us, similar to us, attractive to us, vulnerable to us and less scary to us. Hence empathy can skew moral judgements (Bloom, 2016, p. 31). In Hein et al.'s (2010) study, football fans watched a fan of their football team (i.e. an in-group member), or a fan of the rival football team (i.e. an out-group member), endure pain. They then decided whether or not to assist the two fans by experiencing pain themselves. This in turn would decrease the hurt imposed on fans. Coming to the rescue of an in-group member was predicted by anterior insula activation (empathy-related brain responses) when witnessing their pain, in addition to descriptions of apprehension. In reverse, not assisting the out-group member was predicted by nucleus accumbens activation (which reduces an inclination to help) and negative judgements of the other. Similarly, in Harris' and Fiske's (2006) experiment, participants viewed photos of diverse social groups (in study 1) and objects (in study 2) and made a judgement of each image. Results revealed that "low-low social groups" such as drug addicts and homeless people were viewed with disgust and dehumanised due to the "absence of the typical neural signature for social cognition" (p. 852). These findings suggest that out-group members are likely to respond to Muslim women's experiences of Islamophobia with little, if any empathy. Thus deciding whether or not to extend empathy can be a means of exercising power, and mapping the binary of "empathiser" and "sufferer" onto "geopolitical hierarchies" can further buttress such categorisations (Pedwell, 2014, p. 95). Accordingly, as Boler (1999, p. 158) states, it is necessary to "recognise oneself as implicated in the social forces that create the climate of obstacles the other must confront".

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter has identified a number of gaps across four core sections (Islamophobia, institutional responses, geotrauma and attunement). Most studies which consider Islamophobia as hate crime typically look at the emotional impacts arising from encounters between victims and perpetrators, and consider relations in spaces such as the street, neighbourhood, public transport, work, education and so forth. However this distracts us from how institutional routines within the police, but sometimes also support services, may affect the justice claims of those with marginalised identities. Addressing this can subvert the "Whitening of intersectionality" (Bilge, 2013, p. 412), whilst firmly grounding the theory in its origins (the unjust justice system) to shed light on discriminatory institutions. Current

research on the responses of the police to hate crime fails to focus on group specificity, but there is a need to investigate how the police negotiate tensions between assisting people who appear to occupy paradoxical positions: those who are regarded to be suspects, but also victims. Whilst high-profile events generally lead to greater accountability, what happens to those victims whose injustice does not receive as much public scrutiny? With regard to the literature on support services, there is evidence of dwindling funding and spatial unevenness (in terms of location) (as highlighted in the previous chapter), but also misrepresentations and a necessity to compromise autonomy due to economic insecurity (as conveyed in this chapter). These aspects raise questions pertaining to the distribution of support and justice. Indeed such factors shape the degree to which support services can fulfil their duties.

In order to explore the responses of the police and support services to hate crime, six key conceptual lenses can be valuable for explicating how institutions are constructed in ways that are harmful to marginalised groups. Firstly, the *everyday speech acts of policing* can unpack routines like prioritising, flagging, training, updating and evidence-gathering. Secondly, the *performativity of support services* can unravel practices like listening, informing, advising and promising. Such ideas can illuminate processes of structural and slow violence. Thirdly, *geotrauma* is useful in explaining how structural, social, cultural and political arrangements are made visible through the body and how the harms are collective. Fourthly, *intimate geopolitics* can reveal how practices of the state like nationality, citizenship, and security operate through the corporeality of Muslim women when they become targets of hate crime and the role of support services in this. Studies about geotrauma and intimate geopolitics do not sufficiently engage with clinical studies which may eclipse the intricacy of subjective experience as a consequence of the political environment. Where studies do unify clinical studies and the political environment, they omit attention to intersectionality (particularly the combination of race, gender and religion) which misidentifies the multiple ways in which identities are assaulted. Reversing this paucity is necessary if exposure and protest of trauma are synonymous with an appeal against structures of power (Edkins, 2003). Fifthly, *attunement* proposes alternative techniques for responding to the testimonies of hate crime victims, especially in ways that do not sustain trauma in the lives of Muslim women. Attunement can help shed light on how to respond to hate crime effectively because it generates modes of encountering difference (Brigstocke and Noorani, 2016). Finally, validating the *geopolitical emotions* of marginalised groups is imperative as part of such an ambition. These are often sidelined but when evoked to make claims about the

state of affairs, can be a way through which the language of injustice is summoned (Barnett, 2017). Doing so may pave way for the reconstitution of existing arrangements if institutions are neither achieving justice, nor addressing injustice.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Overview of chapter

The literature review highlighted the need to assemble a methodology that could suitably explore interactions between intersectionality and institutions through six key ideas. Firstly, the *everyday speech acts of policing,* which can cast a light on the tensions between state practices that target, but also legislate for the protection of minority ethnic groups. Secondly, *the performativity of support services,* which can evince the complexities imposed upon them. Thirdly, *geotrauma,* which can depict the ways structural, social, cultural and political arrangements become embodied. Fourthly, *intimate geopolitics,* which can illustrate how nationality, citizenship, and security operate through the corporeality of Muslim women and the role of support services in this. Fifthly, *attunement,* which can stir the imagination of how existing arrangements can be performed otherwise. Sixthly, *geopolitical emotions,* which can convey a need to act on the subjective and collective feelings of injustice in ways that do not cement hierarchies. I felt that scrutiny of these areas would be best facilitated by involving three distinct groups in the project: victims, advocates/activists and police/policy officers. Though each group sees the world from their own location which inevitably results in "partial perspectives" (Rose, 1997, p. 308), juxtaposing their voices would aid the delineation of when, where, why and how there is *divergence* in the understandings and experiences of institutional responses to Islamophobia, such that there can be an illumination of situated failures. By using this logic, their voices could also be juxtaposed to aid the tracing of when, where, why and how there are moments of *convergence*, which lean towards positive outcomes for victims of hate crime. I strived to foreground the viewpoints of Muslim women, which, the preceding chapters have argued, can easily become diluted by other spectators who feel sufficiently qualified to dissect the traumas of those on the periphery. Indeed this is reminiscent of the wider historical problem of orientalism, specifically the Western study of other people and places as well as attempts to speak on their behalf (Said, 1979).

In terms of the structure of this chapter, I outline how Muslim women have been excluded from knowledge production and a need to reverse this to improve evidence-based decision-making. I emphasise how advocacy/activist organisations in particular are well-placed to bring prominence to urgent issues, whilst insights from police/policy officers can enhance

understanding of the institution they work in which is necessary if reconstitution of that institution is the goal. I then explain how the three groups were recruited through emails, before stating key variations in the main form of data collection which was semi-structured interviewing. For victims, I used primarily two techniques to re-centre peripheral voices: interpreting and deep listening. For advocates/activists, I foregrounded counter-stories. In contrast, interviews with police/policy officers were informed by techniques of elite interviewing. As the chapter progresses, I discuss how data collection was shaped by positionality and trace how certain identities of mine – race, gender, religion, class and profession – became prominent or receded depending on the type of interviewee. Towards the end of the chapter, I state the approaches to analysis and discuss deductive, inductive and abductive logic, as well as coding. Finally, I include an account of how I navigated some of the critiques of analytical practices, especially those related to the territorialisation of knowledge, by inviting interviewees to comment on my writing.

3.2. Context: Rationale for interviewing three distinct groups

3.2.1. The problem of not being heard and the exclusion of Muslims from knowledge production in UK higher education

The preceding chapters have shown that when Muslim women speak, they cannot always be heard, which echoes much research on gendered subaltern voice (de Jong and Mascat, 2016, p. 721) and has implications for the identification of injustices. For Spivak (2010), this deficiency equates to epistemological violence, which she illustrates by analysing discourse on sati, an ancient but non-universal, non-class-based, non-caste-based Hindu practice that describes a widow who mounts her deceased husband's pyre so as to simultaneously immolate herself (pp. 49-50). On the one hand, the British government categorised sati as "murder, infanticide and… lethal exposure of the very old" (p. 57), rendering the practice illegal in 1829 (p. 49). On the other hand, natives would express admiration for women who practiced sati (Nandy, 1975, cited in Spivak, 2010, p. 51), because immolation would prevent dishonour during the Mughal invasion (Tagore, 2004, pp. 50-51). As the police reports incorporated in the East India Company's records contain no testimonies from the widows (prior to their decease), two systems of power – namely colonialism and patriarchy – dictate 'how we know things' (Spivak, 2010, p. 50).

Even today, it has been noted that academia more broadly, and specifically the discipline of geography, "does not prioritise the material realities of differential embodiment" (Oswin, 2020, p. 13). The volume of geographical research exploring 'race', 'ethnicity' and 'Muslims' in the UK has certainly increased since incorporation of the ethnic group question into the 1991 Census (Bulmer, 1996) and the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities in 1993-1994 (Parekh, 1997). However in comparison to 'race' and 'ethnicity', research on 'Muslims' is of much lower quantity according to the academic publications database, Web of Science. If Muslims are excluded from the circuits of knowledge and power (Dowler and Sharp, 2001, p. 170), governmental strategies are unlikely to be sensitive to the diversity of the UK's Muslim population. This is because policymakers are increasingly being required to draw on academic research to make evidence-based decisions. Consequently, there is an ongoing need to understand the patterns and causes of inequalities arising from racial, religious and gendered differences in the uptake, experiences and outcomes of public services (Mason, 2003, p. 18). This goal requires female Muslim voices to be at the fore.

3.2.2. The role of advocacy/activism in foregrounding urgent issues at the margins

Recent research has shown that advocacy/activist organisations can help to re-centre urgent issues in Britain's Muslim communities beyond academia. I have defined these organisations in the literature review (advocacy refers to representation whilst activism refers to action that can lead to change). One charity in Bristol created a film to showcase an anti-FGM campaign which led to a local model of awareness, prevention and support for those at risk; this was replicated across the UK. Elsewhere, steering group activities and social media have enabled Muslim women to connect with organisations that can provide them with resources when calling for more inclusive mosques (Lewicki and O'Toole, 2017). Warren (2018; 2019) highlights how a digital magazine and TV programme led by Muslim women serve as strategies for challenging the stereotypes and socio-economic exclusions they face. However in general, there is limited knowledge on the utility of advocacy/activist organisations that assist victims of Islamophobia. I address this gap by exploring how advocacy groups, community-led charities, listening services, reporting centres and infrastructural organisations help Muslim women move forward and transform what is known but has

hitherto been difficult to speak – an angle that Spivak overlooks (Griffin, 2018). In doing so, there is also a need to explore some of the tensions, as indicated in the literature review.

3.2.3. Interacting with police/policy officers to contemplate realistic interventions

Involving police officers may seem strange because of their engagement with racialised and discriminatory practices, as established in the literature review. Similarly, involving policy officers in this project may seem odd given the "counter-policy research" that permeates geography (Pain, 2006, p. 251). However academic research has been critiqued for concentrating on identifying a problem and its dynamics rather than embracing the challenge of pondering possible actions (and when interventions are suggested, they are included as an addendum to a paper) (Stoker and Evans, 2016, p. 20). Solutions can be more realistically contemplated if academics understand the system they strive to reconstitute. Policy officers can share information about the actions needed to help meet institutional priorities, whilst police officers can share examples of how they enact such obligations (or fail to). Harrison (2022, p. 91) argues that there is limited literature on "geography and public policy". Hence, the discipline of geography risks becoming irrelevant to policing as customarily, this state institution uses (academic) "evidence… to inform and challenge… [its] policies, practices and decisions" (College of Policing, n.d.). Geographers therefore need to invest more effort into creating an audience of police officers for their research as well as policy officers, "with all the caveats and disclaimers involved in what that might actually mean for academics, in terms of what they do, how they do it, and where they do it" (Ward, 2007, p. 697).

3.3. Recruitment of participants

I felt that juxtaposing the voices of victims, advocates/activists and police/policy officers would be best achieved through interviewing (which I discuss in 3.5). In total there were 20 interviews with advocates/activists (see figure 7), 36 interviews with Muslim women (see figure 8) and 22 interviews with police/policy officers (see figure 9). Data collection initially began in November 2019 but was halted in March 2020 owing to the Covid-19 pandemic. Fieldwork resumed in June 2020 and ended in April 2021. During this period, all of the interviews were conducted via online video software due to a national lockdown.

Emails were sent to advocacy/activist organisations across the UK (see appendix 1), which were identified through umbrella organisations like Imkaan and End Violence Against Women, but also through internet searches using terms like 'BME women's organisations' and 'anti-racist charities'. A lot of the advocacy/activist organisations I contacted are typically inundated with research requests; this suggests that they could be 'over-researched', resulting in fatigue – a consequence of repeated engagement that does not lead to any change (Clark, 2008). I was asked about how I will ensure that the project has impact, *"won't get lost"* and *"end up on a bookshelf"*. The link between research and practice is not linear (Stoker and Evans, 2016, p. 15) so hopeful promises of its future use, especially about how it may lead to improvements which are of wider benefit, cannot always be guaranteed. In terms of managing expectations, I placed an emphasis on the insights that the research will generate, such that police/policy officers can read the testimonies of victims to comprehend how service delivery should be improved. Another way of creating buy-in was by mentioning that the Home Office is interested in my research, given that they invited me to present my research in August 2018 about gendered experiences of Islamophobia and how to live with difference. Telling (prospective) participants about how the West Midlands Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner hopes to use the findings to fund an appropriate support service for victims of hate crime across the region also seemed to be helpful.

As the Covid-19 pandemic increased strain on minority ethnic communities, I engaged fewer organisations than expected which were *"working to capacity and beyond"* (as stated in an email from one minority ethnic women's organisation). When exploring risk factors for Covid-19 after controlling for sex, age, deprivation and region, Bangladeshis had twice the risk of death than White people, whilst Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, other Asian, Caribbean and other Black people had between a 10% and 50% higher risk (Public Health England, 2020, p. 39). A study by Fancourt et al. (2020, p. 3) revealed that the impacts of lockdown were much more damaging for people of colour than their White counterparts. For example, 4-7% of minority ethnic individuals who took part in the questionnaire experienced self-harming, compared to 3-4% of White people. Furthermore, 8-12% of those from minority ethnic communities encountered psychological/physical aggression, in contrast with 5-6% of those classed as White. The intersection of race/ethnicity and gender also increased vulnerability as violence against women intensified; the number of calls to the National Domestic Abuse Helpline run by Refuge was 49% above average in the third week of

lockdown (BBC, 2020). All of these issues indicate that my target groups were experiencing increased pressures, with less time to participate in my research (see figure 7).

Figure 7: List of anonymised organisations interviewed

Organisation	Remit	Geographical coverage	Funding
Organisation 1	Reporting centre for Islamophobia and offers support to victims	Operates nationally	Central government
Organisation 2	Tackles Islamophobia through media engagement, advocacy and activism	Operates nationally	Community
Organisation 3	Provides support for victims of any type of hate crime	Operates within the boundary of a specific location	Local authority and National Lottery Community Fund
Organisation 4	Offers support to victims and witnesses of crime, including information/advice, emotional and practical help, advocacy, peer support, restorative justice, personal safety services and help in navigating the criminal justice system	Operates nationally	Various local authorities and police and crime commissioners
Organisation 5	Reporting centre and provides signposting for all forms of hate crime and discrimination	Various locations	Central government, local authorities, and police and crime commissioners
Organisation 6	Assists minority ethnic women and girls who are experiencing violence	Operates within the boundary of a specific location	National Lottery Community Fund, police and crime and commissioner, various foundations and charities

Organisation 7	Enables Asian women to actively participate in society by helping them to make informed decisions, increasing their awareness of significant issues, promoting opportunities and influencing policy and practice	Operates within the boundary of a specific location	Various local authorities, businesses, charities and other types of organisations
Organisation 8	Seeks to understand where a person is on their journey of reparation and to find solutions based on their needs. Approach is based on mental health experiences that arise from issues around them (poverty, racism, unemployment, etc.)	Operates within the boundary of a specific location	NHS (through clinical commissioning groups/integrated care systems), local authority and foundations
Organisation 9	Works with diverse individuals from institutions in civil society to teach them about community organising so they can tackle issues that matter to people in their local area	Operates nationally	Institutions from different sectors (e.g. education, health, faith, community), various charities and foundations
Organisation 10	Collaborates with statutory and associate partners to create strategic change that will strengthen Muslim communities	Operates within the boundary of a specific location	Voluntary/no funding
Organisation 11	Supports organisations with the delivery of in-house and tailored training, talks and workshops on various issues	Operates within the boundary of a specific location	Service delivery in external organisations
Organisation 12	Provides a listening service for young people that is sensitive to religion and culture	Operates nationally	Various charities
Organisation 13	Supports the development of minority ethnic voluntary/community/faith organisations	Operates within the boundary of a specific location	Local authority and central government

Organisation 14	Reporting centre for hate crime and charitable partner of a football club which delivers projects that strive to alter habits through education, wellbeing, inclusion and engagement with physical activity	Operates within the boundary of a specific location	Sport England, Premier League Kicks, various charities and foundations
Organisation 15	Delivers training and supports organisational change by embedding human rights and evaluating the effects of such work	Operates within the boundary of a specific location	Service delivery in external organisations, National Lottery Community Fund, various charities and foundations

Organisations 2, 3, 9 and 13 were particularly helpful in finding seldom heard victims who fulfilled one of the three criteria for participation. I.e. those who had contacted the police, accessed support services or depended on personal networks for assistance following Islamophobia. Recruiting 'victims' through intermediary contacts within organisations which 'know' me and my research overcame one of the major barriers to engaging seldom heard groups: lack of trust. This issue sometimes means that seldom heard groups become mislabelled as 'hard to reach', and blamed for their lack of involvement (Long, 2018), with the causes attributed to barriers that are perceived to be linguistic, financial, cultural, geographical and so forth. Kitchin and Tate (2000) assert that certain groups are reluctant to be involved in research if previous studies have brought them into disrepute. Given the incessant vilification of Muslims in society, it is plausible that some might have thought that the findings would be used against them. Some organisations were also happy to circulate my details (via a poster (see appendix 2)) to their clients without directly participating. This was a result of the perceived benefits of engagement (a monetary incentive, the chance to improve confidence in speaking English for newly arrived migrants and an opportunity to indirectly shape policies and practices). Additionally, I found contacts through: the University of Birmingham's Decolonisation in Practice Conference in October 2020; Citizens UK workshops on tackling racial injustice with residents of Tower Hamlets in November and December 2020; and personal networks that were formed during further and higher education.

Scholars have raised various concerns about how oppression and difference are researched; there can be a tendency for academics to represent minority ethnic groups as homogenous entities (Gunaratnam, 2003), rehearse victimhood narratives (Gerrard et al., 2017) and omit the voices/experiences of those who are seldom heard (Blakey et al., 2006). In order to negotiate some of these difficulties, my recruitment sample included a range of sub-groups. These were 1) new arrivals comprising refugees, asylum seekers and those with a visa; 2) individuals whose ethnic origins are not often reflected in research with, for and by Muslim women (like Somali, Syrian, Afghan, and Iraqi); 3) those whose experiences are further complicated by disability or age; 4) first-generation immigrants; and 5) second-generation immigrants. (See figure 8 which contains information about each victim's age, citizenship status, ethnicity and profession; as asylum seekers are ineligible to work, this is marked by N/A.)

Figure 8: List of anonymised Muslim women interviewed

Name	**Age**	**Citizenship status**	**Ethnicity**	**Profession**
Amal	20s	British	Indian	Student researcher
Amira	40s	British	Pakistani	Project manager
Layla	30s	British	Bengali	Teacher
Khadija	20s	British	Afghan	Engineer
Naila	30s	British	English	Mental health nurse
Zoya	30s	Refugee	Iraqi	Full-time mother
Dina	40s	British	Moroccan	Community worker
Farah	40s	Asylum seeker	Kurd	Volunteer/interpreter
Safa	Teenager	British	Bangladeshi	Student
Basma	40s	Asylum seeker	Iraqi	N/A
Nawal	40s	Asylum seeker	Emirati	Full-time mother
Farida	30s	Access to a child visa	Yemeni	Full-time mother
Nima	20s	British	Pakistani	Business owner
Sakina	20s	Asylum seeker	Indian	N/A
Rafiqa	40s	British	Pakistani	Teacher

Hiba	30s	Asylum seeker	African	Volunteer/interpreter
Lina	40s	British	Palestinian	Newly qualified teacher
Tabassum	40s	British	Pakistani	Support worker
Rayannah	30s	Marriage visa	Sudanese	N/A
Haniyya	40s	British	Indian	Counsellor
Zubaida	50s	Refugee	Libyan	Full-time mother
Zahrah	40s	Refugee	Yemeni	Nursery worker
Fadila	40s	British	Indian	Full-time mother
Nafisa	20s	British	Caribbean	Full-time mother
Tahira	40s	British	Pakistani	Full-time mother
Karam	50s	British	Somali	Taxi driver
Zayna	30s	Asylum seeker	Yemeni	N/A
Mumtaz	20s	British	English and Moroccan	Full-time mother
Mona	70s	British	English	Charity worker
Asiya	40s	Refugee	Yemeni and Somali	Full-time mother
Aisha	30s	Marriage visa	Libyan	Full-time mother
Nabila	30s	Asylum seeker	Algerian	N/A
Shula	50s	British	Pakistani	Office manager, mother and community activist
Basira	30s	British	Bengali	Solicitor
Masuma	30s	British	Somali	Professional carer/student
Ikram	20s	British	Yemeni	Creative freelancer

The final stage of recruitment entailed interviewing police/policy officers. Most of the relevant people were identified through individual internet searches for hate crime leads in the 43 territorial forces in England and Wales, for instance ‘Cambridgeshire Constabulary hate crime’. I aimed for regional coverage in order to sketch commonalities in failures and successes when dealing with reports of hate crime across the police forces. Contacts were also identified through: my ESRC-funded placement at the Home Office during June, July and August 2018; advocacy/activist organisations; a conference hosted by the Westminster Legal Policy Forum in March 2020; meetings with the West Midlands Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner in June and July 2020; and group meetings hosted by Birmingham

City Council in December 2020, the purpose of which, was to exchange ideas on how to tackle hate crime locally. Interviews were negotiated through emails (see appendix 3), in which I mentioned my role in co-assembling the government's evidence base for hate crime in 2018 and my membership of the Independent Advisory Group for Hate Crime in the West Midlands. I aimed here to recruit those in influential positions (8 of the 22 participants), to explore the extent to which the strategic planning of hate crime is effective. This was not always possible and many of the leads I contacted passed me on to hate crime co-ordinators, whom they felt would be better placed to share case studies of police response to hate crime (see figure 9).

Figure 9: List of anonymised police/policy officers interviewed

Type of organisation	**Police rank (where applicable and known) and/or (policy) function/role**
National Hate Crime Independent Advisory Group	Member
Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner 1	Officer of victim services
Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner 2	Elected police and crime commissioner
Police Force 1	Policy lead for the policing of hate crime
Police Force 2 (2 individual interviews)	1. Police constable and hate crime co-ordinator 2. Police community support officer for hate crime
Police Force 3	Superintendent and force lead for hate crime
Police Force 4 (paired interview)	1. Detective superintendent and strategic lead for hate crime 2. Inspector
Police Force 5 (paired interview)	1. Inspector and manager of diverse communities 2. Equality, diversity and human rights officer
Police Force 6	Hate crime officer
Police Force 7 (2 individual interviews)	1. Chief superintendent and force lead for hate crime 2. Police constable

Police Force 8	Hate crime officer
Police Force 9 (2 individual interviews)	1. Chief superintendent and strategic lead for hate crime 2. Hate crime co-ordinator
Police Force 10	Sergeant and hate crime co-ordinator
Police Force 11 (2 individual interviews)	1. Police constable in hate crime and cohesion unit 2. Community cohesion sergeant
Police Force 12 (paired interview)	1. Hate crime co-ordinator 2. Hate crime co-ordinator
Police Force 13	Superintendent and force lead for hate crime

3.4. Ethical considerations

The University of Birmingham's Humanities and Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee approved the project in February 2019 (ERN_18-0665). Consent to participate was required (see appendix 8). Each victim received from me, a list (containing descriptions) of national and local support services relating to hate crime, violence against women and mental health (see appendix 9). In reality however, consent forms and debriefing sheets may be of little use to participants (Hansson and Hellberg, 2020). Thus, participation should be exchanged with genuine aid for communities (Watson and Till, 2010). I designed a newsletter for Organisation 10. I analysed data and created surveys for the clients of Organisation 5 to help advocates/activists evaluate their activities. I shared papers/books with Organisation 2 and Organisation 3. I introduced the director of Organisation 3 to two solicitors who said that their colleagues were interested in carrying out pro bono work for victims of racism/hate crime.

When conducting interviews with advocates/activists, many recognised their experiences as forms of knowledge and reiterated the necessity of partaking in anti-racism work, though this burden created less time for caring duties, employment, education, leisurely pursuits and so forth. Thus, after completing the first phase of interviews, I sought permission from the ESRC to increase my Research Training Support Grant so that I could financially compensate advocates/activists as well as victims. I purchased gift vouchers and made donations to their

preferred charities as a means to prevent them from feeling "under-remunerated, unremunerated [and] underacknowledged" (Aggarwal-Schifellite, 2019). The contributions of advocates/activists and victims can be akin to "emotional labour". The term was first coined by Hochschild (2003, p. 7) (a sociologist) to refer to employment where people need to manage their feelings at the expense of their own, but then took into account "the hidden, unacknowledged costs of time, effort, and stress" in both paid and unpaid employment (Aggarwal-Schifellite, 2019).

> *"Because I don't have a reasonable co-parent to share my responsibilities with… I'm already at a disadvantage. I recognise that, my time is valuable… people pay for your knowledge and your expertise… taking part in research like this is still emotional labour… I won't participate for free because that's taking away from my children." [Tabassum, 40s, British, Pakistani, support worker]*

During the interviews with victims, I aimed to create an environment "conducive to discovery, realisation, negotiation [and] exploration", whereby the person seeking 'help' is constructed as the one who has the answers (with the help of others) (Bondi, 2005, p. 442). I often found myself sending links to various women in the middle of conversations to inform them about their rights. These included links about the Public Sector Equality Duty and how to complain about the police. After some of the interviews, I introduced some isolated victims to each other (with permission), as I felt they could benefit from the advice of someone who had been in their position. I also put some victims in touch with various advocates/activists as they were desperate for help.

> *"Contacting you guys made a difference. It made me feel more powerful… there is nothing that I solved by myself… that's the fact why, when I'm talking now, to [the advocate/activist from Organisation 2] or to you about these details, because, the fact that I don't know and it's good to know and then to help myself… if you look at someone who has been 5 years in the UK, 6 years and now just figured out… it took me a long time… I think that a lot of women are going in what I'm going through. Especially people who are like immigrants or coming from other places. Not the ones who are raised here in UK because, obviously through education and school and meeting people and friends, you learn, but we miss that. We come and we stay lonely for a while." [Lina, 40s, British, Palestinian, newly qualified teacher]*

The main ethical consideration when interviewing police/policy officers was the reassurance of anonymity. Some were worried that they were speaking about their institution in ways that may not be liked or agreed with by their colleagues. Interestingly they agreed to have their names published in any outputs before being interviewed, but once they had finished answering all of my questions, some expressed a desire to keep their participation secret, indicating that researchers need to be flexible in their approach to ethics and must seek ongoing consent.

3.5. Data collection: adapting techniques for interviewing seldom heard Muslim women, advocates/activists and police/policy officers

As mentioned earlier, I collected data from all 76 participants through the method of interviewing which allowed each group to speak about institutional responses to Islamophobia in their own words, by sharing their experiences, needs, emotions and beliefs (Valentine, 2005, pp. 110-111). This is particularly important in a context where advocates/activists and police/policy officers work in institutions with specific constraints, which then affect Muslim women's experiences of reporting. I opted for a semi-structured approach, which "has some degree of predetermined order but still ensures flexibility in the way issues are addressed by the informant" (Dunn, 2005, p. 80).

Whilst each group had a specific semi-structured interview schedule, and I asked a different set of questions (see appendices 4 to 7), the core themes overlapped so that I could compare the construction and negotiation of their situated meanings (Cloke et al., 2004, p. 150), and shed light on their complexities (Valentine, 2005, p. 110). Specifically when, where, why and how there is *divergence* in the understandings and experiences of institutional responses to Islamophobia, such that there can be an illumination of situated failures, as well as when, where, why and how there are moments of *convergence*, which lean towards positive outcomes for victims of hate crime. For example, when interviewing advocates/activists, the main areas of exploration were reporting, Islamophobia/hate crime, support and change. When interviewing victims, the main areas were hatred/Islamophobia, state support, formal non-state support, informal support, no support, resistance, activism and hope. When interviewing police/policy officers, the main areas were reporting, training, support, investigation and outcome, though I had to devise two interview schedules for this group.

The first pertained to 'strategy', which "is a plan of action designed to achieve a series of objectives or a particular goal" (College of Policing, 2013a). The second concentrated on 'tactics' which refer to "the method of deploying police resources in order to meet specific objectives (College of Policing, 2013b)". The purpose of this was again to compare the extent to which the two neatly align, and to trace the connections between policy and practice, specifically points of deviation, the ensuing impacts of trauma, and moments of union.

The less-structured elements were open-ended questions and probes, according to whether I felt there was more to be revealed at a particular point (Gillham, 2005, p. 70). As the interview developed, the interview schedule became less important than what the participant wanted to discuss. Interviews with Muslim women were typically the lengthiest. The shortest was 90 minutes, whilst the longest was 10 hours (split into several shorter sessions), which is highly unusual in social and political research but cultivated greater rapport and trust. Interviews with advocates/activists and police/policy officers were characteristically shorter, lasting between 2 and 3 hours, though there was an outlier and an interview with Organisation 3 lasted for 9 hours in total (which again was split into 1- and 2-hour meetings). In spite of the fact that all data was gathered through semi-structured interviews, there was some variation in the techniques implemented across conversations with the three distinct but interrelated groups, which will be detailed below.

3.5.1. Using an interpreter and practising deep listening to elicit rich descriptions from victims

"Researchers do not have the language skills necessary to communicate with a linguistically diverse population" (Murray and Wynne, 2001, p. 157), so "the potential benefits that differences between researchers and participants bring to the research process may be lost" (p. 158). Hence, I had to use an interpreter to give voice to seldom heard Muslim women, otherwise heterogeneity of the institutional responses to Islamophobia would have remained faint. Some participants could understand basic English, but they did not feel confident enough to fully express themselves in this language, especially in detail. "The extra effort required for speaking in a second language can result in an inordinately abbreviated history, bereft of the emotional context" which may not give a true picture (Westermeyer, 1990, p. 745). Researchers have found that when non-native English speakers use interpreters, "they

are more appreciative and feel better understood" (Kline et al., 1980, p. 1533). 9 out of the 36 victims interviewed required an interpreter.

The interpreter I used was highly experienced, as she interprets for several organisations. Having been a research participant herself, she understood the role of the interviewee and what I as a researcher was attempting to explore (Freed, 1988). In the beginning I would ask the interpreter to request more details from the interviewee, like 'what impact did the experience have on you?', and then she automatically did this during the other interviews. Ideally, the interpreter is "a neutral party who should not add to or subtract from what the primary parties [interviewer and interviewee] communicate to each other" (p. 316). Nevertheless at times, I did feel like the interpreter had prolonged conversations with the interviewees but gave briefer interpretations, sometimes saying that accounts were irrelevant to the research, which meant that a lot of detail was getting lost. There were even a few occasions when interviewees spoke and the interpreter told me to move onto the next question without translating. Sometimes superfluous material can be useful for context and it is possible that interviewees may have felt that certain experiences were devalued. There were also misunderstandings during interpreting. For example, the interpreter started talking about two people abusing a participant in a garden, so I wanted to clarify whether this was a private/shared garden or a park:

> *"I get… misunderstood… because it wasn't her garden, so… actually it was a big garden in Nottingham and it's famous, it's called, Open Garden?" [Farah, 40s, asylum seeker, Kurd, interpreter]*

Deep listening is a way of practising intellectual humility which entails being humble about one's thoughts, opinions, knowledge and rank. Whilst intellectual significance may not always be assigned to daily listening practices (Koch, 2020, p. 54), it was extremely powerful in the context of this research. Many a time, Muslim women reiterated that they were made to feel *"voiceless"* and like a *"leper"* because people would dismiss or ignore them when they did try to speak. This echoes the widespread observation that the issue is not so much the subaltern cannot speak, as the subaltern cannot be heard (de Jong and Mascat, 2016, p. 721). Indeed, Zembylas (2018, p. 118) explains that for Spivak, the subaltern is speaking all the time, but upon entering "Western culture, privileged with political representation and artistic/philosophical re-presentation, she disappears". Hence my role as a researcher entailed

asking about their feelings and mirroring their emotions (like sadness, shock and laughter), chiefly through gestures (nodding), facial expressions, and tone of voice, in order to signal comprehension of their emotions (Stel, 2016, pp. 28-29).

> *"I'm very touched at the fact that you, you know, the humanely heart that you have, you thought about, coming forward and actually giving somebody like myself, and don't forget like for us we feel insignificant, no one really cares what we think. So the fact you know, you've been moved as well at every emotion that I spoke about. I can see you've been moved too and that's a wonderful thing." [Dina, 40s, British, Moroccan, community worker]*

Equally important is the ethical dilemma that deep listening poses; when the participant is reminded of their past, traumatisation can easily follow (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 30). However, this is scarcely taken seriously by "research ethics board processes [which] stem egregious harms and help universities avoid litigation down the line, but they stop well short of considering the insidious harmful effects of even well-intentioned research on 'vulnerable' communities" (Oswin, 2020, p. 13). For example, many Muslim women found it difficult to talk at times and there were signs of clear distress (i.e. a quivering voice, long silences and tears running). One participant's response to each question became very short (a couple of words) in comparison to the first session we had. When I discerned the contrast, I verbally expressed this for confirmation and asked if she was ok, to which she replied:

> *"Um, I don't like to go, talk about that, everything because, I'm still like thinking… how I'm going to find help... I'm finding it difficult to talk everything I went through and still life it seems to me same struggle." [Masuma, 30s, British, Somali, professional carer/student].*

I offered to pause the interview and resume on a different day (which we did) as she was keen to share her experiences and support the project.

3.5.2. Searching for counter-stories amongst advocates/activists

Counter-stories are used in Critical Race Theory (CRT) to offer marginalised groups the chance to disclose their experiences, and can be a device for revealing, interpreting and confronting the master narratives of racial privilege (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002, p. 32). CRT "questions the very foundations of the liberal order" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017, p. 3), as often, racism "is understood to operate through structures and assumptions that appear entirely normal". CRT surfaced partly in response to the limitations of Critical Legal Studies (a group comprising academics who challenged liberal approaches to legal ideology, but in a reductive manner as they positioned racism as a class-based structural inequality) (Rollock and Dixson, 2016, p. 384). CRT was useful for seeing beyond the master narratives of particular organisations, whereby right-wing think tanks label them as 'extremists' (as mentioned in the introduction and literature review). Had I not been told by a member of the National Hate Crime Independent Advisory Group and the director of Organisation 3 to contact these Muslim-led groups, I would have failed to understand how master narratives attempt to shut down the important work of many minority ethnic charities.

> *"The report [by Henry Jackson Society] was suggesting, that active Muslim[s], are… wolf in sheep clothing… so this is what he was saying – I'm an extremist but I don't show it. But the truth is I'm not extremist at all. You don't see it because I am not you know? But the claim of Henry Jackson Society is that [Organisation 2] and active Muslims are entryist – we are wolves in sheep clothing, which creates suspicion that, no matter what you do as an active Muslim trying to participate… in public life and shape the narrative around Islamophobia, you're almost not accepted to participate in public life. And if you do participate in public life you then get accused of extremism and entryism." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 2 which supports victims of Islamophobia]*

> "*When Sarah Champion [Labour MP for Rotherham] made the comments and she specifically said that… 'Asian Muslim… men it's part of their culture and religion – they are taught that it's ok to rape White girls', we had many many young people in [the local community] who were really really angry… they were saying 'we are Muslim people, we have Muslim names, it's obvious that we're Muslims… from now on we're going to be targeted because of what she's said'. So we put together a SurveyMonkey and we put together a report about the impact of Sarah Champion's words on the local… community. We published that report and on the back of that*

report we had over, I don't know how many hundreds of, abusive online messages, of which, at least 30 or 40 were actual threats to kill us. This was from the far right… we even had The Times write a piece about us. And this is Islamophobia working at its best – what The Times wrote was that we were a group of fundamental Muslims who were out to get rid of Sarah Champion and replace her with a Muslim woman." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 6 which supports minority ethnic women and girls who are experiencing any form of violence]

I was able to search for counter-narratives through deep listening, specifically by giving organisations a chance to represent themselves. This required me to admit to myself that whatever I had read about these organisations in reports and news articles, and understood from conversations between colleagues in the Home Office, could be wrong theoretically, factually, emotionally, socially, culturally and politically (Koch, 2020). Counter-stories usually took the form of composite narratives, by bringing together two varieties of data on victims: biography (case notes, reports and articles which had been compiled by advocates/activists); and autobiography (interviews with victims whom the organisations had supported). Counter-stories have numerous benefits. Firstly, they can develop solidarity amongst marginalised groups by putting a familiar human face on theory and practice. Secondly, they can confront the 'knowledge' of those at the centre by offering a context to comprehend and change the contemporary belief system. Thirdly, they can exhibit alternatives to the realities lived and show oppressed people that they are not alone. Finally, they can instruct others that by bringing together components from the story and reality, a different world can be generated that is more elaborate than either the story or reality alone (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002, p. 36).

Nevertheless counter-storytelling has its limits. We think, in spite of our biases, that "by exposing ourselves to ennobling narratives, we broaden our experience, deepen our empathy, and achieve new levels of sensitivity and fellow-feeling" but this is not necessarily true (Delgado and Stefancic, 1992, p. 1261). Furthermore, transformative action arising from counter-storytelling is lacking (Miller et al., 2020) as researchers do not customarily hold the power to orchestrate change.

3.5.3. Deploying techniques of elite interviewing to bring forth information from police/policy officers

8 of the 22 participants in this group occupied influential positions (see figure 9), so I employed techniques from elite interviewing. There are a range of definitions of elite (Zuckerman, 1972). Harvey (2011, p. 433) defines elites as "those who occupy senior management and board level positions within organisations" as "these people have significant decision-making influence within and outside of… [where they work]"; this best describes the group I interviewed. Elite interviewing is assumed to be optimum during the final strand of a project because if you do not know your area inside out, this can lead to the questioning of your legitimacy (Richards, 1996, p. 201). It is recommended to reference information from previous interviews as it demonstrates knowledge, establishes credibility and enables you to cross-check information and clarify processes (p. 203). Accordingly, conducting interviews with advocates/activists and victims beforehand allowed me to: raise issues that some police officers had not considered (like the intersection of Islamophobia and sexual harassment); paint a fuller picture of the services available in each third sector organisation; and describe the misrepresentations of some charities. Interviewees rearranged meetings several times because urgent work suddenly arose. For some, I had to wait for weeks/months until any time could be spared. The purpose of these elite interviews is to offer insights into how certain occurrences are interpreted by those who influence society. In particular, elite interviews can help with analysing papers and can assist in exploring the personalities involved in decision-making processes. Elite participants may also share information that has not been publicly documented (pp. 199-200). However, it was not always in my control to interview hate crime leads as over half of them passed me on to colleagues who were involved in tactical rather than strategic work as defined previously. This was still beneficial as those interviewed articulated how strategic planning materialised on the ground through case studies.

3.6. Positionality

It is vital for a researcher to be reflexive by recognising his or her multiple positions - gender, race, religion, age, sexuality, economic status, education and values (including personal, cultural and political) - in relation to the person being researched. This is because the social relations between the interviewer and interviewee alter what the interviewee thinks and

decides to say (Cloke et al., 2004). Consequently, the production of knowledge during interviews is situated (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004; Rose, 1997). Hopkins (2007a; 2007b) has conducted substantial research on Muslim masculinities in Scotland and was reminded on many occasions by participants (young Muslim men), that his positionality was very different from theirs – he was not Muslim, Asian or Black – and this obstructed the fostering of research alliances. In one focus group, participants believed that he was a government official and did not permit him to proceed until he had proved otherwise. Some also thought he was part of the BNP and would use the conversations to fabricate and disseminate Islamophobic material. Consequently, certain stories may have remained concealed during the research. In the following sections I trace how my race, gender, religion, class and occupation became prominent or receded and the implications for knowledge production. I outline how I played up some combinations of my identity and played down others to make connections to the different groups of interviewees.

3.6.1. Magnifying race and gender but obscuring religion, class and past connections to government when encountering Muslim women

I am Hindu but frequently misidentified as Sikh because of my surname 'Singh'. I am therefore conscious of the entanglement of my identity in historical and contemporary conflict between Sikhism/Hinduism and Islam. The Partition of British India in 1947 was characterised by violence between Muslims and Hindus (Bates, 2011). Today the media reports that PM Modi has encouraged the polarisation of society along religious lines; he has consistently failed to condemn acts of violence perpetrated by Hindus against Muslims in a timely fashion (Komireddi, 2019). Another difference may be class (which I would describe as 'middle') as I have been raised in an affluent suburb by three professionals (mother who is a retired civil servant, father who is a retired banker/business owner and aunt who is a retired GP/hospital doctor). Culturally, I am likely to be perceived as an 'assimilated' minority ethnic individual because of my British accent and Western dress. I tried to avoid initiating any discussion of these identities and when directly asked about them, I responded vaguely as I was worried that such elements could create a distance between my participants and me. For example, when asked about my heritage I mentioned that I am Indian rather than Hindu. When asked about my parents, I highlighted that my mother grew up in Kenya whilst my father was born and bred in India. By accentuating my history of migration, I hoped to foster

a connection with interviewees. When asked about where I live, I sometimes mentioned the cosmopolitan city of Birmingham rather than the broadly middle-class town of Solihull which has been cited as a place of hostility for Muslim women in prior research of mine. I additionally did not mention my student placement at the Home Office during the very early stages of my PhD in 2018 for two key reasons. Firstly, an asylum seeker's claim to be a refugee is dependent on a decision by the Home Office, and there appeared to be a shared belief that any negative information passed on to this ministerial department could affect one's application to settle in the UK. Secondly, a lot of my British participants seemed to disapprove of the Home Office because it is the department responsible for overseeing Prevent – a statutory duty that has contributed to the surveillance and suspicion of Muslims (as explained in the previous chapter).

By obscuring my potentially problematic identities, my gendered and racialised identities naturally came to the fore. Gender facilitated an intimate mode of interaction, as many participants spoke without any veiling. I believe that sharing the same gender as my research participants operated as a privilege as women were more forthcoming, exemplified by the duration of interviews. This might not have materialised had I been a man because the hijab is supposed to be a barrier between men and women. Being of a male gender may have occluded certain stories (for instance, the intersection of Islamophobia and sexual harassment as the latter can be regarded as a taboo subject in some of their cultures). Race has been another crucial identity of mine and has allowed me to empathise more deeply with participants. Empathy describes the process of imaginatively assuming what other people feel. Though this feeling has been critiqued (as explained in the literature review), such transcendence can be partially attained if the researcher has experienced incidents that are very similar to the ones endured by the researched. Growing up, I have heard stories of racism and discrimination faced by my family and the barriers they have had to overcome in order to provide a comfortable upbringing for my brother and me. I have also experienced (c)overt racism and discrimination as a child and young adult. These things paved the way for me to ask effective follow-up questions during interviews and interpret narratives more attentively. Hence, I did not necessarily feel that I had to 'work' to feel empathy like Zempi and Awan (2017), both of whom wore Islamic clothing in public spaces to feel part of the realities of their participants. At the same time, my positionality overcomes some of the problems connected with empathy. It is often imagined that a privileged subject (middle-class and White) encounters 'difference' (poor, non-White and/or 'third world') and then chooses

whether or not to extend empathy. When empathy is understood as co-feeling in this type of situation, the complicity of privileged subjects in the wider relations of power is obscured (Pedwell, 2014, p. 96).

3.6.2. Amplifying race, gender and academic status during dialogues with advocates/activists

It is worthy to note here that the majority of advocates/activists interviewed were minority ethnic women, many of whom conveyed an eagerness to see me do well and earn a PhD. They said that I would be a role model for young minority ethnic women wanting to be scholars in a context where people of colour are hugely underrepresented in academia (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2021). Hence, advocates/activists felt more inclined to share their time and knowledge with me, often exceeding the minimum level of involvement I expected which was an interview. The director of Organisation 3 invited me to team meetings so I could explore a few cases in detail and ask follow-up questions to caseworkers, which enabled me to elicit more information. Indeed one caseworker spoke about how previous researchers had left her clients feeling 'used' but I would be able to talk to them as I am a minority ethnic female; this led to some successful interviews. Organisation 12 put together a file of case studies for me about how clients using their listening service had been supported. Moreover, a lot of advocates/activists offered advice and told me about other people to get in touch with who could offer valuable insights.

3.6.3. Accentuating academic status and former links with government in communications with police/policy officers

Being a doctoral researcher appeared to be the most significant aspect of my identity when accessing and interviewing police/policy officers. This is probably due to the presence of evidence-based policymaking; using analysts (who can be internal or external) guarantees that the most robust evidence is identified and interpreted, which can help to create 'effective' policy. As a doctoral researcher who has the luxury of time, I am able to explore the effects policy has on society and specific social groups independently and in depth. This necessitates recognising and engaging with an assortment of stakeholders (Kemp, 2018) (which was possible because of my race and gender as discussed above). I reached 36 seldom heard Muslim women which was valued by police officers as they often face barriers when

trying to engage marginalised communities like lack of trust and linguistic diversity. I even connected several police officers with some advocacy/activist organisations, as they were struggling to find Muslim women for their Independent Advisory Groups. For Boden and Epstein (2006, p. 226) the state "seeks to capture and control the knowledge producing processes", but I have to additionally acknowledge that interest in my work is occurring within a specific context, i.e. increasing reports of hate crime and a need to better respond and manage the phenomenon. I explained to police/policy officers how my project would address some of the gaps in hate crime research, which became apparent when I co-assembled the government's evidence base for hate crime in 2018. Undertaking this literature review for the ministerial department responsible for policing may have therefore also played a role in enhancing my credibility.

3.7. Transcribing and coding

I embarked on the research through deductive logic, whereby I designed research questions based on gaps in knowledge about Islamophobia, i.e. the institutional responses to it. However, it is important to note that as the interviews unfolded, I utilised inductive logic; this is because the interviews generated more observations, (de Vaus, 2014) i.e. traumas arising from inadequate institutional responses to Islamophobia and the need to devise better support mechanisms. As I wanted to illuminate "why things happen" in a way that is meaningful to my participants (Denscombe, 2007, p. 70), I also made use of abductive logic; this entails formulating explanations of the categories which observations fall under (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012, p. 171). Abduction involved "putting together what [I] had never before dreamed of putting together" (Peirce, 1934, p. 113). For instance, as there is so little research on victims' experiences of support services following Islamophobia, I did not think that they would play a role in protracting victims' traumas, however the empirical material suggested that they did. Thus amongst participants, I differentiated between those lived experiences that form consciousness and those things that are assumed (i.e. anything drawn from dominant discourses in society, which includes the belief that charities are "safety net[s]" for people who have exhausted access to public agencies (Ott, 2001, p. 49)). This means that I reflected on aspects of the participants' lived experiences that are "affective and cognitive", and "present or absent" (Orbe, 2000, p. 615).

All of the conversations with advocates/activists and police/policy officers were transcribed. For interviews with non-English speakers, I transcribed and quoted interviewees' voices as translated by the interpreter due to budget restrictions. Participants acknowledged that it is difficult for any interpreter to mimic their "gestures, emotional expressions, and varying intonations" (Freed, 1988, p. 316), which can inadvertently shift the meaning of what is said.

> *"If I… speak for myself, I can like make another person feel me more. I can use the body language, I can use the way like I'm speaking, my tone of voice… sometimes you saying some word, but if you said in different way, it meaning something else, so when you able like you know, I could able to speak the language, I could do all of things together plus the word is coming from my mouth, nobody can change them to something else… In this position when I'm saying, I cannot speak, so when somebody else can transfer the words for me, at the time, I really… need it, because I cannot do it by myself... I don't have another option." [Rayannah, 30s, marriage visa, Sudanese]*

Half of the interviews with Muslim women were fully transcribed. For the longest interviews (those in excess of 6 hours), I coded the notes made during interviews and included time stamps. Even these were very large documents (some 70 to 80 pages in length) and a full transcription of the material would have been time-consuming, overwhelming, and impossible to use in its entirety[5]. I then coded the transcripts/notes, whereby I assigned 'codes' to words, phrases and sentences. This encompassed two phases: 1) descriptive/emic codes, which are the participants' own words; and 2) analytical/etic codes, which are words that do not necessarily appear in transcripts but are selected because they relate to the aim and objectives of the study (see appendix 10). This was performed using NVivo. Subsequently, I distinguished different relationships between the codes (examples, causations, and contradictions across the three groups of interviewees), which is referred to as axial coding (see appendix 11). This demands the grouping of codes to create sub-categories/sub-themes that are associated with one another and allows overarching categories/themes to be generated (selective coding) (Cloke et al., 2004; Denscombe, 2007). These are 1) the disconnection between policies and practices, 2) impacts and 3) support.

[5] I did however transcribe verbatim all quotations inserted into the empirical chapters.

3.7.1. Critique of analytical practices

Research governance within universities already territorialises knowledge from participants; "data", "coding" and "fieldwork" are comprehended as machine-like practices (Gerrard et al., 2017, p. 390) that promise to uncover "the code that lies beneath the code" (as suggested by Tuck and Yang (2014, p. 811), both of whom draw on St. Pierre and Pillow, 2000). Coding in particular determines what stories are civilised (as intellectual property) and what narratives are "natural" or "wild" and can be declared as a "discovery" (Tuck and Yang, 2014, p. 812). Typically, the "named, described and categorised" are comprehended through the techniques of those with the power to "name, describe, and categorise". There is a focus on the researcher's interests and reflections, rather than the relationship between researcher and participants or on the social and political ramifications of the project (Gerrard et al., 2017, p. 391). Whilst the coding exercise generated plenty of themes, I tried to address the 'territorial nature' of coding by analysing certain words and themes that kept reappearing like 'the police don't care'/'the police do nothing', 'impacts', '(re)traumatisation' and 'limitations of support'. These formed the theoretical framings of this project: speech acts/performativity, geotrauma and attunement, thus denoting an attempt to "generalise… descriptions of the world out of particular empirical instances" (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012, p. 174).

In order to further resolve issues related to privileging of the researcher's political imagination, I tried to create a methodological and conceptual space for the people who allowed me to temporarily be a part of their lives (Gerrard et al., 2017, p. 390). Accordingly, I sent a copy of the analysis to victims, advocates/activists and police/policy officers, inviting them to problematise the arrangements I attempted to grasp, the theories I used and my interpretations of their agency, which had the potential to de-centre these things and unfold new spaces for political action (Hansson and Hellberg, 2020, p. 280). For those whose native language is not English, I offered opportunities to organise follow-up meetings with the interpreter. However, only a handful replied. Therefore, more work needs to be done to re-engage participants for analytical purposes, otherwise researchers will continue to conjure a political imagination of their subjects and be responsible 'for' rather than 'to' them. This constructs a hierarchical relation between the researcher, who is politically imaginative, and their subjects who are devoid of this (because of their engagement, or lack thereof with power) (p. 279). Consequently the researcher can fall foul of misappropriating knowledge,

whilst simultaneously strengthening the existing societal paradigm: that subaltern women are prone to being spoken for by others and represented in ways they do not identify with.

3.8. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the rationale and process of interviewing three separate groups: victims, advocates/activists and police/policy officers. Historically, minority ethnic women have been wedged between colonialism and patriarchy and thus excluded from epistemology (Spivak, 2010, p. 61). Even today, research on Muslims in UK higher education is restricted to the periphery which means there is a continual need to explore their encounters with public services. A methodological review suggests that advocacy/activist organisations may be able to foreground such urgent issues, though chapter 2 points towards some tensions. The involvement of police/policy officers can additionally be beneficial, as an understanding of the system that academics want to reconstitute can facilitate the contemplation of more realistic solutions. Juxtaposing the stories of these groups through interviews allows the tracing of when, where, why and how there is *departure* in the comprehension and subjectivity of institutional responses to Islamophobia (to shed light on failures). Similarly through this logic, one can also detect when, where, why and how there are periods of *unification* (to illuminate positive outcomes).

In order to recruit all participants, placing an emphasis on the insights that the research will generate has been crucial. For advocacy/activist organisations payment (in kind – i.e. assembling newsletters, analysing data, designing evaluation strategies, sending papers/books and connecting them with contacts in the legal world who could represent victims pro bono) nurtured greater trust, allowing me to access their clients. For victims, financial compensation was a means to prevent them from feeling "under-remunerated, unremunerated [and] underacknowledged" (Aggarwal-Schifellite, 2019). For police/policy officers, I believe that access was shaped by my secondment to a ministerial department which gave me credibility.

Whilst I have suggested the employment of numerous ways to accentuate listening across the three groups, these are not faultless. The use of an interpreter can facilitate access to a linguistically diverse population but the meaning of what is said may inadvertently shift. It thus becomes important for the researcher to clarify what has been expressed where

confusion arises, otherwise misrepresentation may follow. Deep listening can tease out intricate descriptions and carve out a space for marginalised women to talk, be heard and feel validated, but (re)traumatisation is inevitable. Hence, the researcher must act on signs of distress by reminding participants that they can either pause or end the session. I shared details about civil rights and with consent, connected them to organisations that may be able to help in the future. I connected some interviewees with other women on occasions when they felt completely isolated. Deep listening also enabled me to search for counter-stories when interacting with advocates/activists which required me to unlearn what I had read and heard about their organisations. In spite of problematising structures that look normal, the researcher does not always have the power to orchestrate transformative action. Similarly, employing techniques of elite interviewing to tease out information from police/policy officers may facilitate improved comprehension of their work but does not guarantee the implementation of any interventions on their part.

Positionality has enabled me to acknowledge that each identity of mine has implications for access to and depth of insights. When interacting with victims, I downplayed my religion, class and past connections to government which may have created perceived divisions between us. Consequently, race and gender came to the fore, both of which made participants feel like I would not 'exploit' them. These identities also allowed me to be more empathetic when conducting interviews and interpreting descriptions. During conversations with advocates/activists, the facets of my identity that appeared to be most significant were my South Asian heritage, gender and occupation as a doctoral researcher, because this group of interviewees judged me to be a role model for other aspiring minority ethnic female scholars. For police/policy officers, my researcher status and former links with government seemed to be influential, owing to my 'specialist' knowledge, ability to engage seldom heard individuals and the perceived urgency of my research in the context of increasing reports of hate crime and a desire to better manage these.

After data collection, I negotiated the politics of interpretation by inviting participants to problematise my readings of their experiences. Nevertheless, there were still limitations which were more troublesome to negotiate. Firstly, few people took up the offer of providing critical feedback indicating that more work needs to be done to re-engage participants for analytical purposes. Secondly, knowledges and interpretations will always be incomplete as the researcher and the researched are constantly making and remaking their worlds. Thirdly,

it is my career that will most likely benefit from this project (Clark, 2008). Fourthly and perhaps of most concern however, is the link between research output concerning the injustice of victims and policy changes, which can be weak, opaque and even non-existent (Stoker and Evans, 2016, p. 15). This echoes the concern of other scholars that even when the subaltern speaks, she cannot be heard (de Jong and Mascat, 2016, p. 721). I have built relationships with policymakers by participating in ongoing consultations, joining working groups and sharing my findings at different scales and to different audiences (beyond academia). Nonetheless, researchers must also demand policymakers to make their decisions transparent and demonstrate the ways in which they have taken up research recommendations. Indeed after I had presented a list of services victims find useful to the West Midlands Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner, and emphasised the need to offer personalised and complete advocacy where required, a decision was made to commission a restorative justice organisation, a trend that has been repeated up and down the country. This is worrying as restorative justice deals solely with issues between victims and perpetrators and does not consider how justice may be hindered by institutions, thus erasing their complicity in the suffering of victims.

Chapter 4: Speech acts: the (non-)performativity of policing and support services

4.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the empirical material to explore how institutions (namely the police and support services) respond to Islamophobia through the theoretical lens of speech acts. I juxtapose such speech acts with the everyday experiences of Muslim women. In the literature review I defined speech acts as utterances that are performative; in other words, they generate whatever they name (Butler, 2014). I use performativity to primarily explore ways of speaking for or even as the institution, though I focus on the other side of the coin: non-performativity, which is when a speech act does not do what it says (Ahmed, 2006). The chapter is divided into four key parts. Section 4.2 considers how police officers speak about hate crime in relation to policing priorities, victim perception and being victim-centred. Section 4.3 examines how police officers talk about the need for institutional improvement in training, communication and tracking internal bias. I show the implications of those speech acts for victims. Section 4.4 discusses how charities assert their intentions and roles towards victims. I specifically explore claims of seeking redress, available provisions, national coverage and mechanical practices. Section 4.5 contemplates how support services offering psychotherapy construct this through speech. Rather than helping to 'rebuild' the victim, some Muslim women felt that therapists made assumptions about character failings, prescribed insensitive (social) practices, blamed familial and community structures for distress, medicalised trauma and abandoned them.

4.2. Disconnection between policies and practices

This section will look at the discrepancy between speech and action. In particular, I unpack three key claims by police forces: 'hate crime is a priority', 'hate crime is based on a victim's perception' and 'the policing of hate crime is victim-centred'. Throughout, I draw on empirical material from victims who participated in this study, to explain why they firmly contested such declarations. Indeed, their perspectives are based on experiences of reporting hate crime to the police.

4.2.1. 'Hate crime is a priority'

Across all the interviews with a range of police officers and policy professionals in the UK, they described how hate crime is a priority. Indeed operational guidance from the College of Policing details minimum standards that should be followed when responding to reports that are perceived to be motivated by hatred. The case ought to be categorised as a 'priority' and an officer should see the victim within one hour (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire Rescue Services, 2018):

> *"You have regional leads, you have dedicated units, dedicated teams, dedicated performance reporting. On our strategic performance document, the last two months that I've been, hate crime has been, number one on the agenda." [Detective superintendent and strategic lead for hate crime, Police Force 4]*

> *"An incident, I would say within two to three hours we will have to attend it... If a crime has already occurred all you need to do is call the victim and just explain who you are and the process… If there's an assault… it is going to be dealt with straightaway and we're going to look at if the person is safe. Is there any concern?... Is she having any harassment?" [Police community support officer for hate crime, Police Force 2]*

However, such speech acts "do not, as it were, commit a person, organisation, or state to an action" (Ahmed, 2006, p. 104). This can partly be attributed to a 14% reduction in police officers, from 143,769 on 31st March 2009, to 123,171 on 31st March 2019 (Home Office, 2019d, p. 8). Across the interviews, it became clear that police officers were covering multiple duties. In this way, crimes and duties must be prioritised.

> *"Everything is a priority for us if that makes sense? Because there are so many different competing demands and different crime types, CSE [child sexual exploitation], modern slavery, there's honour-based violence, there's so many really serious things that are impacting people. When everything's a priority, nothing's a priority." [Police constable, Police Force 7]*

"Sometimes it's given lip service to (the hate crime agenda)… hate crime sits, to me, alongside domestic abuse in that victims of hate crime suffer in similar ways to victims of domestic abuse… as they're often isolated, they're vulnerable... they often aren't able to, reach out to, support mechanisms because of that control that the perpetrators have on them. But what we have… within many forces but certainly [our police force] was that… there was the domestic abuse co-ordinator who would always review each case to make sure that… x y and z were done but with hate crime cases, this wasn't being done... one of the things we changed is that the co-ordinator would review every hate crime or incident that came in… we created the kind of drop down box so that everything would be, ticked off… if it wasn't being done we would go back and say 'why hasn't this been done?'" [Sergeant and hate crime co-ordinator, Police Force 10]

All of the Muslim women who had reported perceived experiences of Islamophobia to the police described the response time as slow. This implies that police officers had not graded reports of Islamophobia as a 'priority', or if they did, victims failed to receive a priority response, exemplified by Farida, who was left waiting for an officer to turn up for days after a lady in her hotel had punched her:

"For two days and a half almost three days, me and my children we been like prison like inside our room." [Farida, 30s, access to a child visa, Yemeni, full-time mother]

Waiting can generate arrangements of inequality as a list must be drawn up to determine the order of importance (Olson, 2015): some bodies will inevitably be higher up on this list than others. Auyero (2012, p. 2) highlights that waiting constructs the ideal state subject by shaping "temporal processes in and through which political subordination is reproduced". Nevertheless, Muslim women sometimes had no option but to call the police because of their perceived vulnerability which is not inherent. Indeed, vulnerability was mentioned in some way, shape or form in all of the interviews. Most women felt vulnerable as a consequence of motherhood – they shuddered at the thought of harm coming to their children. Some women felt vulnerable due to old age; they could no longer muster the agility needed to escape and were worried about not having enough strength to defend themselves; they additionally acknowledged that if they were to be physically harmed, their ability to recover would be much slower. Many touched on their gender and how that made them physically weaker (in

comparison to male perpetrators) and prone to sexual harassment. Certain women indirectly nodded at their vulnerability by virtue of their 'newness'. As asylum seekers, refugees, and newly arrived migrants, they had not been in the country for long so their knowledge of systems was lacking. They would also have to report hostility in English which was a barrier as they could only speak in detail in their mother tongue. Furthermore, when perpetrators did shout abuse at them, they could not distinguish the words so what evidence could they give to the police who wanted to know all of the particularities? Plenty of these vulnerabilities intersected, as exemplified by Farida (a mother and non-English-speaking migrant who arrived through access rights to her children).

This construction of vulnerability has several implications. If a group comes to be vulnerable, as is the case with Muslim women, each member can rightfully request protection. In this way, another group emerges as a protector, i.e. the police, giving rise to an implicit binary: "vulnerable and invulnerable", in which the invulnerable are obliged to safeguard the vulnerable (Butler, 2020, p. 39). This has two implications: Muslim women become treated as if they are vulnerable and there is also an imposition of a kind of power that is "paternalistic". Both parties thus by default subscribe to a "social hierarchy" (p. 40). This can be immensely problematic when the institution which is depended on is removed (or imposes a (long) wait) and fails to criminalise Islamophobia, as there is a risk of being "dispossessed, abandoned, or exposed in ways that may well prove unlivable" (p. 28). Farida explained that as she waited days for the police to arrive, the perpetrators kept taunting the family by knocking on their door and running away.

> *"I was just trying like you know, to wait for the Egyptian lady [my friend] or the other one, to come outside [of the room] and go with them, so I would feel more comfortable and safer when I would see them… I was avoid like to have some food need to be warm up... if you're asking me about the feeling, absolutely like I said, upset and feel afraid. Most of the time… for example I have something to clean… I was collect all the duty in one journey… if it was nobody there like me and my son I'm going… I wasn't feel good actually and I was going to kitchen not by myself, very late sometimes it was like 2am… and really I don't want to remember this nightmare the way I been through." [Farida, 30s, access to a child visa, Yemeni, full-time mother]*

Even though the assault was captured on CCTV, there seemed to be no punishment for the perpetrator. Instead, Farida was eventually relocated.

4.2.2. 'Hate crime is based on a victim's perception'

The 'rule' of perception-based recording was reiterated in all the interviews with police officers and policy professionals, whereby:

> "The perception of the victim, or any other person, is the defining factor in determining whether a report is a hate incident [i.e. a non-crime like anti-social behaviour], or a hate crime [i.e. violence with/without injury]. The victim does not have to justify or provide evidence of their belief, and police officers or staff should not directly challenge this perception. Evidence of the hostility is not required for an incident or crime to be recorded as a hate crime or hate incident" (College of Policing, 2014, p. 5).

> *"If you perceive [they've] got something against you because of the way you look, or your background, or the way you speak, so that becomes a hate crime, which sometimes is difficult to deal with… because… the person [perpetrator] will say… there's nothing racial here but if [the victim] believes it's racial,* ***it's racial*** *[highlighted for emphasis]. Or it's hate." [Police community support officer for hate crime, Police Force 2]*

> *"It can easily fall into the category of anti-social behaviour, it can easily fall into the category of hate crime, but as we know, it's down to the victim to define it… that's then how it's recorded." [Officer of victim services, Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner 1]*

However such speech acts, whether in documents or in person, did not always translate into implementation and at least seven victims felt like their perceptions were questioned or dismissed (though some were less certain about how their reports were actually flagged). For example Nima explained how she was repeatedly shoved with a walking frame by one woman, and then had her niqab pulled by another woman, but her experience was brushed off as purely a public order offence (generally regarded as low level), which makes up 53% of

hate crimes (Home Office, 2020, p. 7), and covers riots, violent disorder, affray, fear or provocation of violence, (intentional) harassment, alarm or distress (Public Order Act, 1986).

> *"They just didn't seem bothered… they kept calling it a public dispute… I was like 'it's not a public dispute' 'a public scuffle' he was like 'oh it sounded like'. It wasn't. They know that this woman has pulled off my niqab and they're calling it a public dispute. And it was like borderline disrespectful. And I honestly do feel like how can two White police officers who have probably never faced discrimination in their life relate to someone like me?" [Nima, 20s, British, Pakistani, business owner]*

If a hate crime is not flagged as such, this has implications for the kind of outcome that can be realised. The Crime and Disorder Act (1998) specifies that if an offence can be categorised as 'assault', 'criminal damage', 'public order' or 'harassment', and demonstrated to be motivated by race or religion, then it becomes 'aggravated', permitting a higher maximum sentence. For instance, 'assault occasioning actual bodily harm' carries a maximum prison sentence of five years. However if 'assault occasioning actual bodily harm' has been motivated by either race or religion, then the maximum prison sentence increases to seven years, and the offence is also registered on the perpetrator's criminal record (Law Commission 2018b, p. 4). Section 145 of the Criminal Justice Act (2003) allows for an "increase in sentences for racial or religious aggravation" for any offence (rather than from the list defined in the Crime and Disorder Act (1998)). It also requires the judge to not only increase the sentence but also to state in court that it was aggravated (although the offence is not registered on the perpetrator's criminal record).

Legislation thus appears to recognise the severity of hate crimes, but victims felt that police officers did not. When Hiba believed that she was regularly targeted by a lady whom she lives with because of Islamophobia, there seemed to be no acknowledgement of Hiba's perception. The perpetrator would regularly harass her, and there was even 'common assault' when the perpetrator grabbed Hiba by the shoulders and started shaking and pulling her because she left a safety gate open. Hiba called the police but they attempted to de-escalate the situation through words – it is unclear if they gave a warning or words of advice.

> *"The police came here and they spoke to her about the incident, what happened and why did she do it – she denied everything – of course she wasn't going to say that she*

did it. So she was saying that I was just lying, I wanted to put her in trouble. But it made that lady even more aggressive… so I had to call them again. So every time they would come, she becomes more aggressive… she would just slam the door, whenever she sees me…. and she screams… and sometimes at my kid and my kid comes crying. Sometimes she [the perpetrator] would take the toys from her [my kid] and my kid would cry... It was really frustrating so nobody can save you from these situations, even the police can't unless they relocate one of us… they would come especially if somebody has attacked you physically… they will talk to that person, they will tell you just to keep your distance. And try to get along if possible. If not just keep yourself to yourself, that's it. That's what they did – that's what they told us." [Hiba, asylum seeker, African, volunteer/interpreter]

Across numerous interviews with victims, it became evident that the use of out-of-court disposals was not uncommon. Traditionally there have been six varieties, including simple cautions (which are mere "warnings not to re-offend") (Home Office, 2023a) and conditional cautions (which involve "stick[ing] to certain rules and restrictions") (GOV.UK). Nevertheless, out-of-court disposals are intended to be used for low-level offences (Ministry of Justice, 2013). As can be seen by Hiba's experience, they "simply serve to maintain the… process of victimisation" (Bowling, 1998, p. 280). A new two-tier framework for out-of-court disposals has been legislated, which includes diversionary cautions ("intended for more serious offences where the public interest can… be [best] served through prosecuting breaches of conditions") and community resolutions ("designed to address lesser offences than… diversionary caution[s] and apply to cases where the public interest would not be served by prosecuting breaches") (Ministry of Justice, 2023). Both will require the offender to "engage in some way with the outcome" (Home Office, 2023a), though the impact remains to be seen.

4.2.3. 'Policing is victim-centred'

Across the interviews with police officers, case studies of victim-centredness were shared, though there was an acknowledgement that more could be done. Nevertheless in almost a half of the interviews with this group, it was asserted that the victim satisfaction for hate crime across their force is better than the national average, which would also indicate that they are victim-centred. This measurement is a way in which police forces perform an image of

themselves, particularly "in the sense of doing well", which then allowed them to distance themselves from other police forces which were not doing so well, or as well (Ahmed, 2006, p. 114).

> *"We made a 13% increase on our hate crime satisfaction, in the last 12 months compared to the previous 12 months… I think nationally satisfaction levels are about 15% under all crime levels… we were at 15% but we're now at about 4 or 5% below. So we've cut off a big chunk of that discrepancy between all crime victims and hate crime victims." [Chief superintendent and strategic lead for hate crime, Police Force 9]*

> *"Victim satisfaction is an important driver behind community confidence… I think we're slightly above average." [Chief superintendent and force lead for hate crime, Police Force 7]*

This sense of pride can be distracting, insofar as it glosses over the experiences of dissatisfied victims. Such speech acts have a tendency to do precisely what they affirm they do not do: they obscure grievance the moment they assert they want to make grievance transparent through measurements of victim-centredness (Ahmed, 2006). Across the interviews, regardless of geographic location, all of the victims who had interacted with the police reiterated disaffection (except for one) and in just over a half of these conversations, it was felt that there was a tendency for police officers to excuse the behaviours of perpetrators. One of the ways this occurred was by directly affirming the existence of mental health or personal issues, so it would be difficult to take the case further.

> *"I didn't really see it ending like, with a prosecution... I felt like, they were really trying to put me off, filing, a complaint… he kept saying things like 'oh she's saying she's got mental health and if she does, you know it will be very very difficult to get a conviction'. I was like 'what? She's just attacked me and you're telling me that I might not get a conviction?'" [Nima, 20s, British, Pakistani, business owner]*

> *"She [the perpetrator] would say 'I'm stressed and I have mental issues'. When they confronted her about slamming the door she said 'it's just the door it's not me'. It's a lie the door can't be slammed by itself. She was saying 'I have mental issues, that's*

why I sometimes, I can't speak in a low voice. Sometimes without even realising I'm just screaming and that's the way I talk'." [Hiba, asylum seeker, African, volunteer/interpreter]

In the UK and elsewhere, there has been a trend towards the 'de-institutionalisation' of people with mental illness from the 1980s (Docking et al., 2008, cited in Vigurs and Quy, 2018). In other words, police officers have discretionary powers to divert these individuals away from the criminal justice system. They can substitute arrests for warnings, frequently for perpetrators who have offended for the first time. An individual in receipt of a warning must take responsibility for their actions to evade arrest and a criminal record; certain conditions may need to be met such as writing an apology, or attending a treatment programme (Vigurs and Quy, 2018). However based on conversations with Muslim women in this project, there did not seem to be any implementation of restoration.

There were also other ways of excusing perpetrators. For example, when a victim resorted to self-defence, police officers sometimes interpreted this resistance as abuse, such that the victim was viewed as the perpetrator because the real perpetrator had pleaded their innocence and pretended to be the victim. Sometimes there were accounts of the police feeling sympathy for the perpetrator (i.e. 'the perpetrator will be put in jail and their opportunities in the future will be diminished'):

"Another example that was extremely bad, extremely extremely bad, it's a hate crime that took place in Newport, against a sister who wears the niqab and she had her own shop in Newport city centre… she goes there everyday… and she was providing for her family. And outside her shop, she was abused by a man [who pulled off her niqab]. And it was recorded on her CCTV… and it was passed on to the police. The police found the perpetrator and then decided to release him because he did not have a criminal record before, and it was extremely disappointing because everything was there… the victim told me that the police officer dealing with her was saying to her 'what do you want me to do? Do you want me to jail him?'… So she was questioning the victim about what she can do and the victim is basically asking too much to put him in jail. The mental and psychological impact of that was too bad that she stopped working in her shop and eventually she closed down her shop." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 2 which supports victims of Islamophobia]

"Another friend of mine, she had an incident with a lady on the bus… it's actually on the camera, exchanged words and then she pulled my friend's niqab off. So my friend pushed her on the floor and then they had to fight… my friend called the police, she reported it. When the police came… they arrested the other woman. I don't know what she said because the very next day they came back to arrest my friend... I think she got a fine for that. I would think twice before I report something to the police. Somewhere along the line it's going to be turned back on me." [Dina, 40s, British, Moroccan, community worker]

Studies have shown that survivors of traumatic events often experience guilt (Kubany et al., 1996) and victims tend to overstate the significance of their role in negative episodes (Janoff-Bulman, 1985; Jehu, 1989; Kubany, 1994; Miller and Porter, 1983; Price, 1990; Scurfield, 1994). Contrastingly, this research shows how the imposition of guilt and blame by police officers operates as a barrier to justice and often contributes to trauma (which will be unpicked in the next chapter). Muslim women were made to feel guilty for reporting hate crime. They were made to feel guilty for wanting a particular outcome. They were made to feel guilty for being abused. They were made to feel guilty (and in some cases were charged) for defending themselves from further abuse. They were made to feel guilty for not accepting abuse or not behaving at their best during the ordeal. They were made to feel guilty for accusing mentally unwell people of harming them and they were made to feel guilty for feeling helpless.

There was certainly recognition amongst police officers that at specific points, victim dissatisfaction seemed to be prevalent, chiefly during investigation, but this was essentially attributed to poor contact and time span rather than the ways victims were made to feel.

"If you look at our satisfaction and confidence data… we are now 8th in the country… in terms of hate crime satisfaction, what we see is that people are most satisfied when they call. So first point of contact is always up in the 90%. Initial response is next – always very high… then what happens is, the ongoing contact is always poorer. So the overall satisfaction of victims of hate crime is around 80% so we lose it when investigations go on." [Superintendent and force lead for hate crime, Police Force 3]

"It's low sample sizes, but people were unhappy that they had to wait on hold... some were unhappy that there were delays in police getting to them, when they had scheduled appointments. Some people were unhappy that the investigations took time, to resolve. Very very few if any, were upset with the way that they were treated by our staff which is important. And I just found the satisfaction data… nationally I think 55% are happy with response for hate crime. 66% said they were happy on the Crime Survey in England and Wales and we are over 75% - for our satisfaction and it's something we take quite seriously in the police because… it's a… level for… trust and confidence and legitimacy for our force." [Detective superintendent and strategic lead for hate crime, Police Force 4]

4.3. Accepting room for improvement

In all of the interviews with police officers and policy professionals, numerous shortcomings were identified, however these were often couched in the language of improvement (i.e. 'these are the areas we want to improve on'). Here, I want to extend on Ahmed's theory of speech acts by affirming that the expression of improvement does not necessarily do anything; it is a non-performative, just like expressions of what the institution apparently does (but does not), as explicitly outlined above. Looking at speech acts of improvement "can reveal an important fallibility" (Clare, 2019, p. 1), but an emphasis on improvement may only be effective if it focuses on structural issues, otherwise "nothing will change and we will continue to fetishise and paradoxically reward people who… 'fail up'". Indeed, it seemed that the police were almost praised for such acknowledgement.

"They've just pretty much accepted they just haven't got it right so in a way once you give the police a hard time, they're quite open and honest about the fact that they haven't got enough BME staff, that they need them, that they need to get better, that racism is an issue… also there's a lot more accountability and a lot more challenge when they get it wrong." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 3 which supports victims of any hate crime]

The recognition of improvement can also be conceptualised as an acceptance of non-attunements**,** described as "how we can be in a world with others where we are not in a

responsive relation, where we do not tend to 'pick up' on how they feel" (Ahmed, 2014a, p. 18). In what follows, I outline how police officers accepted shortcomings in training, specifically 'too much', 'too little', 'no national training' and 'not enough emotionality'. I then unpick the acceptance of poor communication, especially the failure to: visit victims, provide updates on their cases, explain decisions and be transparent about outcomes; such issues were framed through the language of 'expectation management'. There also seemed to be acknowledgement of internal bias and a necessity to find and confront this. Throughout, they *expressed* rather than *embodied* an intention to do better.

4.3.1. Issues with training: 'too much', 'too little', 'no national training' and 'not enough emotionality'

The first institutional activity in need of improvement was training on hate crime and there were conflicting statements between police officers. At one end of the spectrum, six interviewees stated that there is often a lot of information to cover within a short space of time, hence it is easy to forget the content, even if it is streamlined. At the other end of the spectrum, six participants claimed that they never received any formal training on hate crime and were expected to learn about the phenomenon on the job and/or devise their own educational materials. In all the interviews, it became clear that no national training package had been developed. This raises questions as to how country-level patterns can be addressed locally (as echoed by one interviewee) which is not dissimilar to the ambition of this thesis. Whilst nine interviewees explicitly discussed the significance of embedding emotionality in training activities, six individuals mentioned that there is still a heavy focus on legislation. Police officers are expected to know as much case law as they possibly can, even though it may not necessarily be relevant to their day-to-day activities, evoking the metaphor of empty vessels that need to be filled.

> *"I've had no formal training [on hate crime] from the College of Policing, and there is no guidance from the College of Policing other than making sure we have a common understanding around definitions… in order for us to be consistent across the country, there would probably be a benefit from being able to meet people at national level… 'this is what the country is looking like in relation to hate crime around problem areas', you know trends, patterns… everything that I do… is based*

on my personal experience of what's happening at local level." [Hate crime officer, Police Force 6]

"Hate crime training it's literally rolled out, every few years just as a refresher, to make sure that officers, don't forget because… it's just not hate crime they have to learn about – there's everything from domestic violence, from burglaries, to road crime, to grooming… loads of different laws and dos and don'ts kind of thing. It's very easy for, once you've learnt it to forget bits, because there's so much other information to take in." [Hate crime co-ordinator, Police Force 9]

"I do wonder how current the College [of Policing] is… I've just sat that sergeant exam… written by the College of Policing but none of it, really is, relevant to being a supervisor… it's all multiple choice, 150 questions… they're all law-based, so, they'll give you a big scenario and then they'll ask you a question, whether that particular scenario is contrary to section 1 of the Theft Act for example… in my view, a supervisor is there to motivate people, look after their wellbeing… if your staff are happy they're going to perform better, they're going to provide a better service to the public. If as a supervisor, you have specific issues or questions relating to law, you'd look it up, we've got a system, the Police National Legal Database." [Police constable, Police Force 7]

"I did my inspector's exam in October and you're just shoving case law into your head and bits of legislation. I can't remember half of it… the PCSO, so police community support [officers] training was incredibly legislation-heavy. And I've taken all of that out… PCSOs… they need to be aware of what a hate crime is and what a hate incident is but they need to be more victim-focused and victim-led. And they need to be aware of… who their community is, who might be a victim of hate crime within their community and from there who their contacts might be to speak to the community… similarly for PCs [police constables] they need to know the main legislation around hate crime, the RARA [racial and religious] offences, the uplifts… but they don't need to necessarily know racial chanting at a football match unless they are going to police a football match. The incitement offences, they can be aware of it but they don't need to know them inside out because it will be rare they will deal with an incitement offence. I think I've maybe dealt with two potential incitement

offences... the legislation they can look up, it's understanding how to deal with a victim, that is really important… I'd rather have an officer who's empathetic and compassionate to a victim." [Sergeant and hate crime co-ordinator, Police Force 10]

The failure of embedding emotionality in police training becomes "a form of doing…rather than as a form of inaction" (Ahmed, 2006, p. 106). Indeed, this lack of emotionality tends to be central in policy; it is not surprising as certain emotions like empathy can be quite personally biased and may therefore inhibit goals such as fairness, equity, equality and justice. Thus empathy is capable of contorting our moral judgements. For example, "it's far easier to empathise with those who are close to us, those who are similar to us, and those we see as more attractive or vulnerable or less scary", as established in the literature review (Bloom, 2016, p. 31). However the absence of emotionality can be equally risky. Though Unwin (2018, p. 28) explores the role of kindness, she reflects on discussions with people from civil society, public services, regulatory bodies, other professions and a poll of over 5,000 people across the UK to affirm that "a very harsh operating environment, with little room for support… will result in staff following a rigid rule book, and resisting any connection". Indeed connection is necessary to emotionality which can be construed as a way of "relating and interacting with the surrounding world" (Merleau-Ponty, 1968, cited in Bille and Simonsen, 2021, p. 300).

There was definitely a desire to be more empathetic and training materials even aimed to achieve this. In Police Force 8 and Police Force 11, victims were invited to share their stories. In Police Force 2 and Police Force 9, certain videos were played, such as the University of Leicester's 'Harms of Hate' and the tragic death of Bijan Ebrahimi who lived in Bristol. Prior to his murder, he called the police multiple times because of the hate crime his neighbours subjected him to. However, he was branded a nuisance and attention seeker and even arrested; he was eventually set on fire by the perpetrators and died (BBC, 2017).

"We try and use a victim's story… rather than it being a sterile College of Policing or written example. And what's useful about the Ebrahimi case is that we have video-footage of him outside his front door… I think that just brings everything to life… police officers… the vast majority will do their best every single time. It's always better that they… put the shoes of the other person on and try and see it from their perspectives… really try to understand the impact… it makes it really personal and

just makes people reflect and think 'gosh I wouldn't want that happening to my sister, brother'… the Ebrahimi case I think is particular impactive because we know what a disastrous end, what a tragic end that resulted in. Thankfully, very very few hate crimes result in that disaster… but it's important that cops think that it could possibly get to that if they don't intervene effectively now." [Chief superintendent and strategic lead for hate crime, Police Force 9]

"We spend a significant time during the training talking about the effects of hate crime on victims because… we really expect our officers to show empathy, to listen when they're dealing with hate crime victims and when they investigate hate crime... when you're on shift as a response cop, you will respond to… diverse jobs… you might go to a very nasty domestic violence where someone's life was threatened, and after that, you might be called to a low-level neighbourhood dispute. We recognise that it might be difficult for them to maintain the same levels of empathy because… this low-level neighbourhood dispute might seem not as serious. However we always say for that person, that moment, that is the most important thing that happened to them. So we also spend a lot of time talking about empathy, how to show empathy, why this is important and why it is important for us to take every report of hate crime very seriously." [Hate crime officer, Police Force 8]

Empathy, by its very definition, means to put yourself in somebody else's shoes. This is the definition we are all taught from an early age. Given that the ethnic make-up of the police workforce is principally White (92%) (in England and Wales) and the gender composition is primarily male (65%) (Home Office, 2023b; 2023c), learning how to empathise with Muslim women may therefore seem like a logical idea. However putting ourselves in someone else's shoes implies that we can imagine the entirety of their interiority when we never really can. A related issue is that we do not actually feel somebody else's pain, which destabilises the very notion of empathy. For example, when somebody punches another person in the face, our skin does not become sore, our nose does not break, we do not bleed and we do not bruise (Bloom, 2016, pp. 67-68). Accordingly, when the police endeavour *"to understand"* and to *"show empathy"* "the speech act… fails to bring about what it names [i.e. *"to understand"* and to *"show empathy"*]" (Ahmed, 2006, p. 105) because of the power dynamics linked to understanding and empathising. Elsewhere in his critique, Bloom (2016, p. 33) asks those reading his book to think about a person who is going through a difficult period and to put

themselves in that person's shoes. He subsequently asks his readers to do the same with another person who has different feelings and experiences. Finally, he challenges his audience even more by asking them to add a 3rd person, a 10th person, a 100th person and so forth. Police officers, as they repeated multiple times across the interviews, have to deal with an abundant number of cases of varying severity and impacts, which makes putting themselves in every one of those people's shoes extremely difficult, if not impossible.

This non-performativity of empathy became apparent in all the interviews with Muslim women who had reported perceived experiences of Islamophobia to the police (bar one). Shula described a trip to Legoland and how she was made to wait in the priority queue whilst people in the non-priority queue were allowed to go on the ride before her. When she kept asking the employee as to when she would be granted entry, people in the non-priority queue became agitated and started to swear at her, which escalated into a *"mob mentality"*. One person called her a *"fucking bitch"*; when Shula retaliated and told her to *"shut the fuck up scum"*, the perpetrator complained to her partner who made a sign to indicate that he would slit her son's throat. She recalled the police response:

> *"So they didn't actually come out that day. They didn't come to Legoland… I don't even think it was the next day actually because when they came I had already written it [the witness statement] up. He was writing notes and he was really confused 'so who was it and what?' I said 'do you know what it's just easier if I email you'… they gave me an email but it was the wrong email so I remember I had to call in and get the correct email… then it was passed on and I think I got a call from Windsor and they said basically there wasn't anything they could do… 'the registration' [number of the perpetrator's car] they said, 'could have been somebody else driving' they 'can't prove that it was them'… so they didn't pursue it in anyway." [Shula, 50s, British, Pakistani, office manager, mother and community activist]*

When I asked her why they did not take the witness statement down properly, she said:

> *"I don't know, but even my children said they had attitude since they came in… it was just so difficult for them to get everything right or spelling right and I said 'it's easier if I email it to you… what actually happened'. For example if I said SH he would say HS, 'no no, S for sugar H for home', and still writing it wrong… he just kept on asking the same questions and kept on asking for the spelling of the names and…*

another thing, 'well how do you know they were being, could you have done something that upset them?', 'well I don't know them they weren't even on the ride so I didn't even come across them, they just started shouting from across the barriers'." [Shula, 50s, British, Pakistani, office manager, mother and community activist]

Empathy requires certain conditions which were not met. The police officer here failed to embody the active listener. He failed to adopt a "responsive attitude for the entire duration of the process of listening and understanding, from the very beginning… literally from the speaker's first word" (Bakhtin, 2010, p. 68). Listening (deeply) cannot be reduced to a formula of rules; it is an approach, an attitude as well as an ethic (Koch, 2020). The police officer exemplifies the concept of non-attunement. When he entered Shula's home, and when she recalled what had happened, he was unable to pick up on her mood and whatever she was saying: her name, the date of birth of each child, what happened, even doubting if Shula was really the victim by asking her if she had done anything to provoke the attack. He failed to pick up on how she had been hurt, showing no willingness to help her seek justice. When the case was passed on to another police station, a different officer said that the number plate could belong to somebody else, so her case does not qualify for an investigation. "When attunement becomes an aim, those who are not in tune or who are out of tune become the obstacles; they become what gets in the way not only of attunement, but all that it promises: life, connection, empathy, and so on". Being in tune with others can be brought about through hard work, which was clearly lacking (Ahmed, 2014a, p. 20).

4.3.2. Lack of contact: not enough presence, updates, explanations about actions, and transparency regarding outcomes

The second institutional activity requiring improvement across the interviews with police officers was communication with victims. 11 individuals acknowledged that there tends to be a failure to visit victims, a failure to update them on their cases, a failure to explain what has been done, and a failure to elucidate why cases cannot be taken forward which precludes the attainment of positive outcomes. These shortcomings were couched in the phrase of 'needing to better manage expectations'.

"We just don't send people [police officers] to things… and I don't always think it's because we've not got the resources. I just don't think the resources are deployed

particularly smartly. There is a whole cost implication involved... but... the police aren't very good at explaining why we're not coming out. Why we're gonna do things over the phone, why we've changed the way we work… I think it needs to come from government, from Home Office, to demonstrate that we've changed the way we work because crime has changed. But it's a symbolic thing. If you call the police and the police attend, there's that, acknowledgement from the police that something has happened and it's unacceptable and we are going to do something about it, even if later on down the line, we've not got anywhere and it's going to be filed, there's an element of if somebody's unhappy with the outcome, they'll be less unhappy with it if they feel they've been treated fairly and listened to. But the way we are set up now and the way we process crime just doesn't give people that feeling that they're being treated fairly or heard." [Police constable, Police Force 7]

"Keeping in touch… in regards to hate crime, this is an area that needs improvement from us... because we… always investigate all reports but I think because of the volume of cases that police officers are dealing [with], sometimes we fail to keep the victims informed." [Hate crime officer, Police Force 8]

"Maybe we just don't do as good a job as we could do… of saying what we have done and the reasons why we can't take things forward." [Hate crime co-ordinator, Police Force 12]

"Sometimes we can… over promise that we'll do lots of things. When in reality, if somebody, is walking down the street, been subject to a public order offence, or someone shouts abuse and… you don't see who does it, there's no number plate on any car or anything such as that, you just hear it, you report it to the police, 'this has happened'. It's really difficult to try to find a defendant." [Detective superintendent and strategic lead for hate crime, Police Force 4]

Recognition of the failure to be present, update, explain actions, and be transparent about outcomes is taken up as demonstrating that the institution has overcome what the speech act admits to (i.e. the failure to be present, update, explain actions, and be transparent about outcomes), because it is clarified that the failure is due to culture (i.e. new ways of operating), the high quantity of cases, organisational norms, over promising and a lack of

evidence. Thus there appeared to be declarations of the need to improving these areas (Ahmed, 2006, pp. 107-108) rather than the embodiment of such declarations. This feeling of being left in the dark was interpreted as inaction in almost all of the interviews with victims who had approached the police and it often had very detrimental impacts. The failure to inform leaves behind a silence, described as "a term we reserve for that which we cannot perceive, the inaudible" (Biguenet, 2015, p. 3) "and silence can feel like another blow; a wall that is not experienced by those not directly affected (because silence is often not registered as silence unless you hear what is not being said) (Ahmed, 2016b)". One Muslim woman remembered being scorned by a bus driver who said *"don't talk to me with that thing on your face"*. In order to film the moment for evidence, Dina (the victim) asked the bus driver to repeat herself (which she did). The bus driver then closed the door on Dina, such that it hit her and she had to pull herself out. In spite of having evidence, she was just told by the police that the perpetrator had been disciplined.

> *"I reported it to the police and then they just told me that… she's had some sort of, disciplinary? 'Well we're not going to tell you what kind of disciplinary, we're not going to tell you anything else, that's all you need to know thank you very much, case closed'." [Dina, 40s, British, Moroccan, community worker]*

Dina here attempted to work around the silence, to rupture the seal, to seek a means through it, striving to have a conversation, paperwork, or any information about the details of the outcome, which would have permitted her to know what had really happened and what was meant by 'disciplinary'. Yet her best endeavours proved futile, so she questioned if what she had been told was the truth or just a way to give the illusion that something had been done. When the police fail to be transparent, it is not merely that nobody knows what happened, but nobody has to know, or nobody has a right to know (Ahmed, 2016b).

Similarly, Naila explained how the silence of police officers is felt as inaction:

> *"That [incident where the perpetrator shouted at me when I was with my children] was reported to the police… and they said 'oh we don't have any camera evidence'. Like there was a camera in front of the building, how do you not have a picture of me walking up towards, up the hill? I was quite angry about the fact that the guy lived in the same building as me and I felt like nothing was done… I feel vulnerable because*

I've got children… I didn't receive like a callback from them… you don't, one… have the time to keep calling up constantly and checking up what's happening and two, you don't wanna keep going over it, you just feel like 'I've had enough'." [Naila, 30s, British, English, mental health nurse]

From the perspective of hate crime victims, the silence surrounding explicit details of outcomes erases the history of that victimisation, in addition to the history of properly confronting hate crime, because "it is as if nothing happened" and silence reproduces a culture where nothing happens or nothing has to happen (Ahmed, 2016b). In recent years there has been a drive to increase reporting and during the interviews, police officers frequently expressed that they cannot do anything until a victim *"put[s] pen to paper" (community cohesion sergeant, Police Force 11).* The onus to initiate action is therefore on victims. However several women felt like over the years, there had been more importance afforded to statistics. Essentially, statistics represent the "ideals of evidence-based policy, rationality, progress and nationhood grounded in facts…[and] they promise to reveal what historical path the nation is on: what kind of progress is occurring? How rapidly?" (Davies, 2017). For victims, this notion of progress (in practice), including action for victims, seemed to be lacking. When Muslim women are constantly being told of the centrality of reporting, yet feel that nothing happens (which presents itself as silence) in spite of their being able to present evidence and identify perpetrators, frustration can easily arise. In this way, some women developed low trust in concepts such as 'reporting', 'statistics', 'intelligence', 'the police' and 'the criminal justice system', as injustice was essentially being reduced to digits, disturbing their dignity.

"What I am seeing is that people just talking about and still gathering the statistics… we need to move into this second step which is, ok, how do we report and once the incident's been reported, what are the support that the victim receives and also how do we deal with the perpetrator? How do we do that? That's not happening at all." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 9 which leads community organising]

"It's a strange thing hate crime because, we're the only kind of group where we want our figures to go up. Because we want people to report what's happening, and… we're still having to kind of fight to get people to report." [Sergeant and hate crime co-ordinator, Police Force 10]

The disjunction between reporting and justice has further effects; suffering can remain restricted to the victim's psyche and may extend to the immediate community. "These are circuits of pain, loss, guilt, anger, and shame that can contain testimony and hold it close to home" (Whitlock, 2007, p. 79). Such circuits reinforced a collective feeling that the institution of the police does not work, or at least, not for Muslim women, which frequently heightened the sense of injustice.

> *"Those stories of the girl who was shot at and other stories, are circulating within our communities and people know that nothing has been done about those perpetrators. So there's then an overall feeling which is what people will say to you 'what's the point of going to the police? They're not going to do anything about it anyway'." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 6 which supports minority ethnic women and girls who are experiencing any form of violence]*

> *"One day my friend this accident happened to her, like these people when they finish the football, they came to her home and start to throw something, broken the glass, of the windows and she called the police and come the police… and he said 'ok, if any information we get we will let you know'. Until now nothing came to her or help her or do anything to her. She is Muslim, they are White people… they live in same area… they became aggressive, drink, they do bad things to this area… we need more support… we not getting any safety from the police in this country… I don't feel like if I call the police, police will help me… I have to face this problem by myself, because police doesn't do anything to this people." [Zahra, 40s, refugee, Yemeni, nursery worker]*

4.3.3. Internal bias

The third institutional activity where improvement was desired pertained to the tracking of internal bias. However, in comparison to the other shortcomings, fewer police officers (six) spoke about the fact that there are probably biased officers amongst them, and the issue of prejudice seemed to be one that was confined to a minority rather than the institution as a whole. This is in antithesis to findings of the Macpherson report (1999) and more recent

testimonials from serving police officers like Basu (2022) who describes the police as institutionally racist.

> *"We have to accept that sadly, the police force is a representation of the community, and that means that there is a percentage of police officers that will have racial tendencies. As a lead in my organisation… we have to be honest and open and transparent about that. Because if we're not, then I'm not looking for it and I'm not there to deal with, challenge it, and stamp it [out] and stop it from happening and speaking to those individuals that might have that element and trying to educate them, change the culture and change their mindset and understand where that's been based from." [Superintendent and hate crime lead, Police Force 13]*

> *"We are open-minded to the fact that you know within an organisation as large as ourselves, we know we will have individuals working for us who are racist… it would be, completely mad if we didn't acknowledge that fact because, we are all at the end of the day employed from the communities that we're in… what we're trying to do, is as much scrutiny as possible to advise ourselves of ok, so if we're saying that everything looks appropriate, does that on the paper for example? Does that then tally with for example, what the, body-worn video is also telling us?" [Equality, diversity and human rights officer, Police Force 5]*

Ahmed (2006) affirms that when the institution admits to being racist, it simultaneously demonstrates that it is not racist, as racists tend not to admit that they are so. Thus institutional acceptance gets taken up as a commitment to anti-racism. However across the interviews (and unlike other issues in this section), there was a tendency to describe racism as an individual rather than a collective issue which produces its own effects. If an institution asserts that it is dedicated to tackling hate crime, and therefore opposed to racism, Islamophobia and misogyny (and the institution constantly repeats so), then how can it be racist, Islamophobic and misogynistic? This can then camouflage racists, Islamophobes and misogynists who masquerade as defenders of the law, as they can then refuse responsibility for their behaviours by hiding behind this banner of institutional pride.

Police officers certainly expressed that hate crime has a lot of oversight (even if they did not explicitly discuss bias); for instance, they described some internal mechanisms to identify and

challenge discrimination. However, such scrutiny was not evident from any of the conversations with victims regardless of their geographic location. Some interactions with police officers were more hostile than others and there was a blatant disregard to assist the victim. Khadija recounted her sister's birthday party in their mother's garden and how the neighbours seemed to be disgruntled with the sound of Arabic music, so much so that they started shouting racial abuse. They then trespassed, and the occasion came to a halt when one lady punched Khadija's sister's nose. The police officer who arrived, proceeded to tell the family that they were giving him a headache and the case was later closed without a proper investigation:

> *"The officer the whole time was like 'oh I've got a really bad headache, I really just can't be here…', and my mum was obviously angry because someone had just punched her daughter on her nose on her birthday and my mum was like 'I can't believe you're talking about [a] headache right now when my daughter's lying on the floor with blood all over her face?... and he was like 'I just can't deal with you, I've got a headache I've got a migraine… I need a paracetamol and you're just doing my head in and you're wasting police time'." [Khadija, 20s, British, Afghan, engineer]*

Khadija expressed an eagerness to get hold of the body-cam footage, as all the evidence would be there. Indeed, if there had been proper oversight in this specific police force, surely the footage would have been picked up on. Unfortunately, this was not the only incident where Khadija and her family felt that the police had treated them with disdain. In order to survive, Khadija and her family decided it would be better not to complain about the police officer(s) through filling in a form on the police website (after I had informed her of the process), or by sharing their experiences publicly (Ahmed, 2020). She did express during the interview that she had thought about uploading videos of the ways in which she and her family were treated by the police to her social media account(s). However she was perturbed by the potential repercussions, specifically being targeted by the police in the future. Her mother had worked very hard to provide for the family and her sister was about to start looking for a job. The family did not want their livelihood or their future prospects to be affected. In this way, it was easier to just put the house on sale and move on; keeping quiet was a way to protect themselves (Lorde, 2017).

> *"My sister went to speak to a solicitor about taking it [issues with the police] further and the solicitor was like 'off the record… we've had problems like this before with this certain police force and if you try and do something about it, then I'm giving you a warning now that, they'll put a target on your back later…' so… the police will just come after you for every little thing." [Khadija, 20s, British, Afghan, engineer]*

An advocate/activist also mentioned that victims consider it to be of paramount importance to avoid creating any bad blood between agencies, so to speak, in case there is a need to use those services in the future.

> *"So it might be something to do with the police and the women will say 'yeah but, they're the police, I don't want to you know upset them because I might need them to come out again to me'. Yeah it might be same with the council services, it might be to do with the GP, it might be to do with the hospital. And every time their response will be 'yeah but, I don't want to take this action because if I do, they may not react – I might not get the service that I need the way that I need it next time'." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 6 which supports minority ethnic women and girls who are experiencing any form of violence]*

Accordingly, Muslim women felt that police officers (by virtue of the powers bestowed upon them), could determine whether or not female victims of Islamophobia are 'allowed' to benefit from the service of policing (Ahmed, 2022).

4.4. Speech acts of support services: performatives or non-performatives?

The final part of this chapter will consider the speech acts of charities and psychotherapists, specifically how these bodies come into being through the words they use. In section 4.6, I predominantly focus on the perspectives of victims as psychotherapy emerged as a theme amongst this group of interviewees during data collection and analysis. In what follows, I draw on Butler's (1999; 2014) theory of performativity (which is defined in the literature review), to explore support services as composed of nouns/substances and/or verbs/actions. This distinction is essential as Heidegger (2010, p. 41) asserts that the "essence" of a being "lies in its to be". Typically, support services are spaces where Muslim women can be heard,

advised and advocated for; they were thus perceived to be more helpful than the police. Nevertheless they do still have limitations and were not always helpful in the ways that victims wanted them to be. Whilst it would not be wholly appropriate to designate them as non-performatives, there certainly were instances where one might be able to describe them as such.

4.5. What is enacted when charities speak?

This section considers how support services strived to seek redress for victims through speech without harbouring such authority. The intent to lend a helping hand left victims feeling confused about organisational remit, especially when there was a disconnection between what support services claimed to offer and what victims received, when personal pledges were unfulfilled and when there were failures to keep in touch with victims. Many support services also claimed to be national in speech but lack of resources and conflict of interest hindered this ambition. Additionally, certain practices which were alleged to be helpful failed to have their intended effect.

4.5.1. Seeking justice for victims

There seems to be few organisations which are able to support victims in their quest for justice. Amongst those I spoke to, Organisation 1 and Organisation 2 – which specifically aid victims of Islamophobia – and Organisation 3 – which assists victims of any hate crime – all strive to help each client achieve a criminal or civil justice outcome. For example, Organisation 1 states on its website that it works "with police forces… to ensure access to justice for victims"; similarly, Organisation 2 states online that it "seek[s] redress for victims". These statements were once again rehearsed in both interviews, even if milder in assertion.

> *"We try to be there for the victim and to serve the victim with the outcome they want." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 1 which supports victims of Islamophobia]*

> *"Our priority is essentially responding to victims' cases and assisting them where possible." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 2 which supports victims of Islamophobia]*

A performative operates by generating whatever it proclaims and is "not creation ex nihilo" (Butler, 2014, p. 107). As a discursive practice, performative acts must be repetitive in order to bring about the desired result, which in this case would be a 'positive outcome' or the outcome and support that the victim wants. Only a habitual and authorised practice can exert the influence to yield whatever it announces, and this depends on the power held by the person, group or organisation engaged in citation. Essentially, this power seemed to be lacking across support services.

> *"It [the report of Islamophobia] always gets blocked once it reaches the authorities [police]… they want that kind of attitude to go ahead. They want it to be still manifest within society… [I] can't tell you I've ever experienced like, something which worked out with the police. I will tell you the organisations have been great, they've done their best. Like Organisation 2… [made a documentary about my experience], Organisation 1 they're the ones that wrote the article for me… but it always again gets blocked once it's reached the police… I think if the police pushed a little harder, maybe something would take place." [Dina, 40s, British, Moroccan, community worker]*

Dina approached Organisation 1 and Organisation 2 for succour, after she was verbally abused and deliberately hit with a closing door by an Islamophobic bus driver; in spite of evidence, there was neither a criminal nor civil justice outcome. Organisations attempt to cite the law, for example by speaking to the injustice of Dina's experience, but are unable to bring the law into being (Butler, 2014, p. 107). This is because they cannot perform actions, which criminal justice agencies can, from the moment of enunciation: for instance, 'I warn you', 'I fine you', 'I arrest you', 'I prosecute you', 'I sentence you' and so forth. These are known as "illocutionary act[s]" (Austin, 1975, pp. 99-100). Langton (1993) writes that "the ability to perform speech acts can be a measure of political power" (p. 314) and requires "the speaker [to] have authority in a relevant domain" (p. 315). It is therefore hardly surprising that in almost all of the interviews with victims who had contacted a support service, there was barely any evidence of justice (though there were a few instances where women felt like they

were on the road to achieving this which I highlight in chapter 6). "One mark of powerlessness is an inability to perform speech acts that one might otherwise like to perform" (p. 314). Such limitations were recognised by organisations themselves *("we try", "assisting where possible")*, which were perceived to be circumvented through their relationships with police forces, but the strength of such relationships must be questioned. It is unusual that Organisation 1 could not wield the power to convince the police to present Dina's case to the CPS in a context where it prides itself on having decent relationships with the police. Indeed, when I asked what was distinct about the support service, the following was said:

> *"The values that we stand for. The access to police forces and the work that we do with Crown Prosecution Services… we have partner agencies that, help us to provide that holistic approach to victims. We have strong casework that we provide to the victims, we have strong advocacy, because of the partnerships." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 1 which supports victims of Islamophobia]*

4.5.2. Presence and absence

Not dissimilar to the speech acts of policing, there seemed to be a mismatch between what organisations claimed to offer and what victims received. Five Muslim women contacted Organisation 1, which as the quote above indicates, provides advocacy. However all of them explained that they did not receive anything beyond emotional support.

> *"Organisation 1 supported [me] emotionally, but there wasn't anything else beyond that… she [an advocate/activist] just chatted about the situation with me and went through it with me, and then assured me things would get better [long pause]. It's just that when you're in a dark place even a nice kind voice just helps you." [Rafiqa, 40s, British, Pakistani, teacher]*

The limited support that was offered impelled them to deduce that Organisation 1 is a *"counselling service"* or *"reporting centre"*. Most were generally satisfied with the emotional support available, even if it did entail several brief phone calls. Perhaps the bar for succour was already very low to begin with: women had been let down by members of the public, colleagues, local authorities and the police, so the fact that somebody listened and

believed their experiences was precious. Nevertheless they recognised that a friendly ear was not enough by itself.

Notes from field diary, June 2020:

> *When I initially tried to map support services available to minority ethnic communities and Muslims within Birmingham (as part of a presentation (on my research) to the West Midlands Independent Advisory Group for Hate Crime), it initially seemed that there were quite a lot. However, I soon realised that the majority of these organisations only provide information on accessing housing, employment, finance, health and education and appear to be geared towards helping new communities. The exceptions are Organisation 1 and Organisation 2, both of which focus on Islamophobia, though they only seem to be accessible via phone/email.*
>
> *Organisation 9, Organisation 15 and Organisation 4 also state that they deal with racism or hate crime, however they operate within certain bounds. Whilst Organisation 4 supports victims of crime, it is located outside of Birmingham. Organisation 15 concentrates on infrastructural change by means of learning reviews, workplace investigations and cultural audits. Organisation 9 focuses on community activism. Whilst these are useful practices, they are not always appropriate for every single victim and will depend on the nature of Islamophobia. In terms of implications, this mapping exercise demonstrates that there is no clear physical infrastructure that can support 'victims' of Islamophobic hate crime in the city. Even if one is able to proficiently navigate the online world, it can still be perplexing to gauge if support services can assist them and how.*

As echoed in the field notes, a key issue is comprehending the remit of organisations which is not always obvious until an individual has contacted them and tried to seek help. Even though these support services have a physical presence, for some women, the presence turned into one of absence (Lewis, 2017) which had detrimental impacts.

> *"She [a lady from a Muslim women's organisation] listened to everything that was happening, and she was sympathetic and she apologised that I was having to go through this… but at the end of the day, it was just like 'ok well there's nothing we*

can do to help you and I wish you all the best'. Just said it wasn't their remit... there was nowhere she could recommend for me to go. I've learnt there's lots of organisations that are out there but they have a very small remit and they don't want to be involved in community activism or what they might see as political activism." [Shula, 50s, British, Pakistani, office manager, mother and community activist]

"When I rang them [Organisation 1] they were sympathetic. They promised that [an advocate/activist] would come to the meeting [at my children's school where I was a governor to see the Islamophobia], not to speak but just to have another person there to witness what was happening. It was really really disappointing [because he didn't turn up]… I resented the fact that my details were being used by them in terms of a statistic, for funding but actually I got no real help. I rang them several times… it was so unprofessional to promise somebody... and… not to give any explanation or not to respond. After that, never returned my calls." [Shula, 50s, British, Pakistani, office manager, mother and community activist]

When Shula was experiencing Islamophobia as a governor at her son's primary school, because she attempted to challenge corruption, she often found her voice being shut down. She was mimicked in meetings, followed around, excluded from attending coffee mornings for parents, banned from the vicinity and suspended without a reason. She reached out to both Organisation 1 and a Muslim women's charity because of this harassment; the advocate/activist from Organisation 1 did not turn up even though he agreed to, and the advocate/activist from the Muslim women's charity said the issue was outside of her remit, but still failed to refer Shula to other NGOs. For any individual, "language is deeply implicated in their ability to claim and maintain their rights and in their affective connections with others (Valentine and Skelton, 2007, p. 122)". Support services are supposed to be a conduit through which marginalised narratives can be heard and acted on, however the presence of some support services was felt as an absence, which is "different from a general not-being or not-existing, it is a not-being-here, a not-existing-now" (Frers, 2013, p. 434).

In order to reverse what some Muslim women considered to be "a void, a lack of presence, a lack of… connection" (p. 434) when they reached out to advocates/activists, it becomes necessary to fully explain why support may not be afforded, and to build links with diverse voluntary groups which can be used for signposting. What is of interest is why support

services say they will help (either through advertisements or verbally) when they do not. Do they, like the police and CPS, only want to take on a case which they feel will engender a positive outcome as this will improve their measures of success?

4.5.3. National in name

Both support services which Shula tried to contact are considered to be national. Further testimonies from victims, advocates/activists and those working in policing/policy about the effectiveness of national NGOs revealed additional issues. For instance, there was a consensus that these support services are unable to penetrate local areas due to under-resourcing.

> *"They [Organisation 1] would like to have somebody in every town doing a service. But the reality of it is they're obviously constrained by their finances and the resources they've got and how much grant they've got from government... so they're relatively small. If you look at the size of [Organisation 1] compared to the CST [Community Security Trust], the CST… it administers some government funds that goes to schools and things, but it doesn't receive government money through its structure. But has got a hugely bigger staff ratio for about a tenth of the population. So there's probably about 10 Muslims to every Jewish person in the UK. And the CST is a much bigger organisation because more of the community are prepared to donate money to support it." [Policy lead for the policing of hate crime, Police Force 1]*

> *"When you look at the reports which are still small numbers in [Organisation 1], so that does highlight the issue… but I can tell you that the reporting for [Organisation 1] is mostly from… metropolitan areas, and majority I would say would be from London, Manchester and maybe Birmingham… they're still a new fledgling organisation. Doesn't go far enough into, places where there may be abuse but it's not being reported because their networks are not well developed." [Elected police and crime commissioner, Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner 2]*

> *"In general, there's a lack of respect from national organisations when they come into local areas and sort of take over that area and then sort of don't really penetrate*

and walk away. We've seen this happen quite often where they've gone 'oh we've commissioned' I'll just use an example like 'Organisation 5 to do this work in schools'. Well Organisation 5 do 10 sessions, disappear and their work in schools is still needed. And actually they're using other people's contacts that they're not paying capacity for… they drop in drop out." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 13 which supports the development of minority ethnic charities]

In reality, it is extremely tricky for 'national' support services against hate crime to claim to be so, because there is an insufficient quantity of people who make up these organisations. Echoing the words of the advocate/activist above, they have to drop in and drop out of areas and may not always pay local charities for their labour which is exploitative. The 'national' organisations against hate crime can only be secured as such through repeated practices that aim to challenge hatred and support victims (so not a single act but recurrent acts) (Butler, 2014), yet with their limited resources they cannot engage in such performatives. However across the interviews with police officers and policy professionals, the names and practices of 'national' organisations were reiterated. "The naming is at once the setting of a boundary, and also the repeated inculcation of a norm" (p. 8), i.e. ''national' organisations operate in locations up and down the country and hold great eminence'.

It is important to note that a dearth of local penetration can also be associated with tainted credibility instead of just funding. For example, when I spoke to an advocate/activist from Organisation 2, she mentioned that Organisation 1 is funded by the government. This is not appreciated by some Muslims (mostly those who have greater awareness of UK politics), as the government is also responsible for Prevent which has contributed to the surveillance and suspicion of Muslims (as explained in the literature review). Organisation 1 was also frowned upon for seeking funding from the National Lottery Community Fund which is raised by players of the National Lottery (gambling is prohibited in Islam). It is for reasons like these that although Organisation 1 advertises itself as a 'national' organisation, such actions have made it incredibly difficult to win the hearts and minds of a large number of Muslims nationally.

4.5.4. The problem of generic services: superficial practices

Organisation 1 was not the only 'national' support service that was subjected to a barrage of criticisms. A bad taste was also left in the mouth of each of the four victims who had interacted with Organisation 4. There are various ways of being in the world, for instance generating, using, relinquishing, achieving, determining, questioning, noticing, speaking and so forth (Gorner, 2007, p. 37). For a number of the Muslim women interviewed, support consisted of phoning, talking, listening and receiving letters and leaflets, however the ways such practices came into being were perceived to be highly superficial, mechanical and insincere. Such practices were mainly attributed to generic/mainstream services; these are charities that are led by White people and/or concentrate on all crimes rather than hate crime. Many specialist advocates/activists asserted that local authorities and teams working for police and crime commissioners prefer awarding funds to generic/mainstream providers simply because they charge cheaper rates. These support services lack the experience, training and knowledge to deal with the fallout of Islamophobia because they are not led by minority ethnic people. Voice4Change (2015, p. 6) has shown that the total amount of statutory grants received by the voluntary sector as a whole remained reasonably stable between 2007 and 2012, but surveys of minority ethnic charities revealed significant reductions in funding over the same period. This further suggests that changes in their income may be attributed to the reallocation of funding to more generic/mainstream provisions.

> *"That [support] came at the end… before they were going to close my case, it was very weird... I didn't get like much. And then I asked for a letter… that you know 'it says that I've had this incident'… so they said 'ok' and it was kind of them, they wrote it to me, sent it to me… the lady called to see that I have received it and I said 'I have' and that's when she said to me 'do you want to speak to someone?' And this was like months and months later." [Dina, 40s, British, Moroccan, community worker]*

> *When I reported the hate crime to the police, although they didn't do anything, they sent Organisation 4 my number, and Organisation 4 spoke to me which I was shocked… I spoke to them, but it felt like I was talking to air like maybe I was on the person's lunch break or something and you know she was just trying to get me done in her book. But she was just like 'yeah yeah' you know like when you're like speaking to a counsellor and they don't really have, that dialogue back? And it feels like a one-way conversation ('um yeah') and then it comes a point where you feel really awkward." [Khadija, 20s, British, Afghan, engineer]*

There was one lady who was calling me I think she was, helping victims of abuse… but she wouldn't do much. She would just tell me that she's going to send me, information about how to deal with things like that. And I think she sent me a booklet, so it talks about how to manage your stress and how to deal with such kind of incidents. If I couldn't read English, how am I supposed to read that? That wouldn't be helpful actually. Or at least if they could translate it into Arabic, it was in English. I didn't even touch it… what am I gonna look at? Read something what abuse means? I know what it means." [Hiba, asylum seeker, African, volunteer/interpreter]

Dina mentioned how she was only contacted towards the end of her case, after many months. Even then, the advocate/activist felt that making a phone call and dispatching a letter, as requested by Dina, would be sufficient to qualify as support but such a response caused bewilderment and seemed too little, too late. Khadija described how it felt like she was talking to herself because of the receiver's substandard interpersonal skills. Although the listener may have uttered semi-verbal communication *("um yeah")* to indicate attention over the phone, its constant repetition was judged to be passive and dismissive, rather than active and passionate (Shuy, 2003; Koch, 2020). Similarly for Hiba, support came in the form of receiving a booklet which although was intended to be helpful, merely individualised her problem by offering techniques for de-stressing, whilst functioning to be patronising as it contained definitions of abuse which she was already well versed in. Consequently, the category of 'victim' can be reinforced and confined by the very structures through which some kind of relief was initially imagined.

4.6. The (non-)performativity of psychotherapy

From hereon, I contemplate how support services offering psychotherapy construct this practice through speech. Psychotherapy only emerged as one of the salient themes of (inadequate) support during interviews with victims. Thus I did not initially attempt to recruit advocacy/activist organisations offering this type of provision to partake in my study. For this reason I present empirical material solely from Muslim women. Below, I unstitch why participants felt that therapists made assumptions about character failings. I then sketch the effects of prescribing insensitive (social) practices, before examining the attribution of

distress to familial and community structures. Towards the end, I outline why the medicalisation of trauma is problematic, as it had the impact of worsening Muslim women's everyday experiences. I add some final reflections on the role of speech in what was felt as the abrupt termination of 'therapeutic' space.

4.6.1. Character failings and insensitive (social) prescribing

Out of the 36 Muslim women interviewed, Shula, Zayna, Lina, Karam, Farida and Masuma engaged with psychotherapeutic support services, yet their interactions were permeated with complications. They felt that their afflictions were frequently attributed (by therapists) to character failings, or 'deficiencies' (like being *"less assertive", "less resilient", "depressed"* and *"self-critical"*), which would suggest that these six women lack the traits necessary for reparation (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002, p. 30). This often resulted in prescribing practices aimed at ameliorating character failings/'deficiencies' and these 'antidotes' were simultaneously ignorant of race, religion, gender and culture. In other words, there was no consideration of how experiences of 'treatment' might be shaped, even inhibited, by intersectional identity. One such insensitive 'cure' was social prescribing, which describes the referral to "local, non-clinical services" (Office for Health Improvement and Disparities, 2022), where patients are connected to "activities, groups, and services in their community to meet the practical, social and emotional needs" (NHS, n.d.-a).

> *"I didn't find them [the mental health support service] effective because I just want to be motivated, stronger. Like I didn't want someone to ask me 'write down for your routine…', I'm not like someone that's depressed at the moment." [Masuma, 30s, British, Somali, professional carer/student]*

> *"She would tell me 'try to do something with your kids today like have fun'… then we would record the way I feel during the day… when I feel bad or down '…analysing how you're feeling now, what part of your body is the part that you felt the pain in?'… Then it was another week that we focused on doing activities… once she told me 'go for a run and when you pass by people greet them even if you don't know them'… she wanted me to be, um like resilient about the fact that, the way people are treating me. So… I will go running wearing my headscarf… in a part of the UK where*

I didn't see anyone wearing hijab in all of my neighbourhood… she was aware of that she was thinking of a way to help me to feel like I am normal when I am out… I was trying to convince myself through this activity that so what? They don't want to say 'hi' that's fine." [Lina, 40s, British, Palestinian, newly qualified teacher]

A mental health worker thought Masuma would feel better if she were to follow a routine which would "regularise the overall structure of daily living" (Hou et al., 2020). However a lack of routine for Masuma (who is a professional full-time carer) was not the issue. It was the irregularities of life (Islamophobia and sexual abuse) which had left her feeling vulnerable. Lina's therapist thought Lina would feel more 'normal' if she were to be the first one to greet strangers as she goes for a run. This type of therapeutic advice is worrisome for several reasons. Firstly it perpetuates the common meta-narrative in society that it is the responsibility of (Muslim) migrants to integrate into society whilst obscuring the responsibility of the host country (Taylor, 2016). Secondly it assumes that this taken-for-granted act of friendliness will be reciprocated by strangers. When I asked Lina if other people emulated her greeting, she said *"no"*. She was perceived to be unworthy of receiving any friendliness, perhaps because others viewed her as a stranger, a threat, or any of the other stereotypes that cast a shadow over Muslim women. She was visible yet invisible. Lina was told by her therapist that it is fine to be unacknowledged, as this will merely increase resilience.

In both examples, there were clear attempts to recreate the 'matter' of Muslim women. This 'matter' can be thought of as what Heidegger (2010, p. 41) describes as the "essence" of a being which "lies in its to be". Thus, simply put, the 'matter' or 'essence' of Muslim women was reinvented such that they could become resilient/confident/structured through the prescribing (and performing) of various actions, for instance documenting routines and greeting strangers, whereby in doing so, that social context disappeared (Burman, 2018). This is "a process of materialisation that stabilises over time to produce the effect of boundary, fixity and surface that we call matter". Such materialisation has to be thought of "in relation to the productive and… materialising effects of regulatory power" (Butler, 2014, pp. 9-10). I.e. the neoliberal discourse on resilience, itself a reiteration, whereby "character and resilience are formulated… as traits that can be taught". "Trait theory assumes individuals are separate and precede the social"; it also presumes the "coherence and stability of these 'traits' across contexts" (Burman, 2018, p. 422). Consequently, a discursive shift occurs, especially

away from the "feminised genre of emotions to the serious (masculinised) matter of character". Supplanting a previous emphasis on risk and vulnerability, discourse has shifted to centre mental toughness and hardiness (p. 430). Hence, the "construction [of therapy] is neither a subject nor its act, but a process of reiteration [of character failings and insensitive (social) prescribing]... There is no power that acts, but only a reiterated acting that is power in its persistence" (Butler, 2014, p. 9).

4.6.2. Blaming the family and community

There was also a feeling amongst interviewees that they were constantly having to explain things to therapists rather than being permitted the opportunity to dwell on their experiences. In particular, therapists insisted that Muslim women should investigate their childhood, family, and community structures because there was a sense that these elements were complicit in their 'problems'. Indeed, this can be quite a standard practice of psychotherapy (Gaysina and Thompson, 2017). Through this instruction, the therapist depicted themself as a saviour whose insights were enough to rescue the patient from the complexities of everyday life. Such forced reiteration of the norms (i.e. revisiting childhood, family, and community structures) made up the performative dimension of therapy and at the same time articulated the social realities of constraint to performativity. Constraint refers to something that not only limits, but also "impels and sustains" performativity (Butler, 2014, p. 95), which in this case was the depoliticisation of women's suffering as its causes were attributed to the more personal spaces of home and community (Goozee, 2021). Constraint happens when "the client invests the therapist with power", which the therapist ought to use to enable the client to empower herself. However such power dynamics can prevent therapy when the professional relationship is suffused with differences in race and religion, because if the therapist belongs to the dominant group in society, i.e. White and/or non-Muslim, they may degrade the patient's beliefs, values and views which they perceive to be inferior (Boyd, 1996).

> *"Other activities that we would do would not make sense cause they are more about deeper thinking… going back to your childhood… at times it felt like urgh I can't see how that is going to be helpful, but I will try it and I used to tell her... 'I don't get the sense why we are doing that, can you explain to me why?… I was successful and*

leading a happy life back in Jordan'… but [she had]… the idea that there must be something that happened in your childhood that makes you feel less assertive." [Lina, 40s, British, Palestinian, newly qualified teacher]

"Where I come from you know you grow up in this kind of, more communal, where people are wrapped around each other for good and for worse… trying to explain that, 'but actually I love that communal thing it gave me so much'… and it's disappearance in the West is traumatic to some extent. Rather than just exploring what that felt like, it almost felt like she [my therapist] didn't quite get it. The value of the community, because it doesn't exist here [in the UK]… you know when somebody gets it? The course of a therapeutic session can simply be taken over by you trying to explain something... so we need people who have cultural competence and self-awareness to run these things if we are talking about spaces where we are going to help heal some of the things that are going on." [Karam, 50s, British, Somali, taxi driver]

4.6.3. Medical interpellation

Typically, when Muslim women sought help from (medical) health professionals, the 'solution' was one of medicine, whereby "survivors are treated as victims of an illness", using "various forms of psychiatric and medical practice, the aim being rehabilitation and the resumption of normal life" (Edkins, 2003, p. 190). Four women were either prescribed or recommended to take anti-depressants or sleeping tablets to aid recovery, so that they could successfully resume as functioning members within an environment that harmed them in the first place. In this way, there was a medical interpellation which shifted Muslim women from being 'fully human', to 'depressed', 'sick', 'unwell' and so forth, and through this naming, the 'depressed', 'sick' and 'unwell' were brought into the domain of language (Butler, 2014). Indeed, the Annual Health Survey for England found that 11% of women took anti-depressants, compared with 5.5% of men (Wise, 2014), suggesting that women are over-treated in comparison to men (Thunander Sundbom et al., 2017). Drugs can help in the management of feelings and behaviours but there is a cost, as they function by inhibiting the chemical systems that control "engagement, motivation, pain and pleasure". Serotonin reuptake inhibitors (like Prozac, Zoloft, Effexor, and Praxil) are able to make feelings less overwhelming and more controllable, such that people can feel relaxed and in command.

However others may feel like they are "losing their edge" which was reported by most of the women (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 125). Thus, in this project, the remedies were judged to scarcely be of much help.

> *"They kept on prescribing me [anti-depressants] on and off and I stopped taking them myself because I noticed I was a lot slower in my response… for example, shopping, so I'd be standing there and the person at the till would have to say 'can you scan your card or can you put your card in or can you put your pin?' So it was little things like that… but that adds to the problem because somebody is going to be thinking 'oh you dumb Muslim bitch or you dumb 'paki', can't even enter her pin'. So it just adds to that you know abuse or you feeling like really inadequate. Currently one of my GPs is a bit annoyed because I've refused to go back on them. I've been on and off them for 10 years, 'I've been coming to you desperate for help. And I'm not getting any practical solutions'." [Shula, 50s, British, Pakistani, office manager, mother and community activist]*

> *"I had depression before, I take tablets from the GP, it's making me just sleep. And I stopped that one because I told them 'ok I have child with diabetes. It's making me sleep I can't give him the insulin and look after him, I'd like to give it up'." [Zayna, 30s, asylum seeker, Yemeni]*

The medical interpellation is "reiterated… throughout various intervals of time to re-enforce… this naturalised effect" (Butler, 2014, p. 8), as participants felt that their chemically modified behaviours can function to strengthen negative beliefs about Muslim women, which already circulate in society. Firstly, the stereotype that Muslim women are somehow 'lacking' and 'stupid' otherwise they would know how to pay for items in a shop. Secondly, the misconception that Muslim women have no sense of time and are being an inconvenience by holding up the shopping queue. Thirdly, the myth that Muslim women do not have enough energy to take care of their vulnerable children and are thus incapable of mothering. For Butler (2014, p. 8) interpellation feeds into a "field of discourse and power that… delimits…that which qualifies as the human". This means that the medical interpellation is able to reconstruct the perceived abilities (or 'deficiencies') of Muslim women in a manner that calls into question their humanness.

4.6.4. Termination versus abandonment

In this remaining section I want to touch on Austin's (1975, p. 109) idea of "perlocutionary acts" which is "what we bring about or achieve by saying something". The support that therapists offered was not always received in ways that therapists might have hoped or expected. For instance, therapists may have thought that they were terminating sessions in an "ethically and clinically appropriate process" (Younggren and Gottlieb, 2008, p. 500); indeed, this is indicated through referrals, which were made as they felt ill-equipped and simply unable to help some patients (as a consequence of the shifting needs of these patients and/or because of issues pertaining to professional capacity such as going on maternity leave). However, therapist-initiated termination of the professional relationship often left Muslim women feeling that they were beyond help, because it seemed that psychotherapists were ready to throw in the towel, or at least shift the responsibility to somebody else (Barnett and Coffman, 2015).

> *"She wasted my money… on the day when I called her… I came back from school and I was feeling really bad and I told her, 'listen I went down the hill back again…' because she is the person whom I'm open to about my problems, we are working on that together and… to integrate better. And then she said… things that didn't relate to the conversation, like 'oh I'm sorry that you're feeling like that, I think the best thing now is to refer you… speak to your GP, I will write a letter to your GP and if you want I could refer you to someone who speaks Arabic'... I was thinking how the hell is that supposed to help now? I'm talking to you about something else and you're telling me about language?... I told her you didn't understand what I said. She said 'no no I understand what you're saying, it's better for you'. I sensed that she's telling me in an indirect way that she has nothing to offer... I paid her money for that session… she wrote a letter to GP saying that she offered me other solutions and I'm not taking these solutions... I'm going back into depression." [Lina, 40s, British, Palestinian, newly qualified teacher]*

> *"She said to me that she's not, qualified to take my situation. She is CBT… trained like that. But first day she says there's more trauma, your situation… the second day, she called me, I had been moved from the people I was sharing the room… I was sound like much better say like 'I want to build like my confidence… and help to build*

my trust and everything'. And she said to me 'ok you need now constantly someone to help you with that… and I will refer you'. She's saying I don't need her. 'I'm not teaching you to do anything because you're doing your stuff'. When did she start calling me? End of February. And then, after three sessions, she discharged me [two weeks ago], just referred me to the counselling who can help me with my confidence." [Masuma, 30s, British, Somali, professional carer/student]

Muslim women felt a sense of abandonment because they believed that the treatment came to a close rather bluntly, which essentially breaches the 'correct procedures' of termination. They did not feel that they were given the opportunity to a) identify the impacts of the treatment, (b) consider the significance of the therapeutic relationship, and (c) think about the future in terms of applying whatever they had learnt in therapy (Joyce et al., 2007, p. 26).

4.7. Conclusion: Structural and slow violence

Understanding speech acts of the police and support services has allowed me to reframe individual encounters as collective experiences. Thus, I build on the work of Saleem et al. (2022) by revealing the presence of structural violence, described as a kind of harm from social structures or institutions towards certain groups of users by inhibiting them from fulfilling their basic rights and needs (Lee, 2019). The structural violence lends itself to a process of slow violence, which occurs "gradually and out of sight, [it is] a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all" (Nixon, 2011, p. 2). It can also be shaped by "disasters [that] are 'layered'" (Rezwana and Pain, 2021, p. 743).

In this chapter, I have shown why there is a need to pay attention to violence that is neither extraordinary nor immediate, but one that is ordinary and lagged, which has ramifications at different scales: i.e. the individual and the collective. I do so through speech acts and (non-)performativity to make visible the invisibility of slow violence. The non-performativity of the police is often concealed through a discourse on austerity, which leads to under-resourcing and an inability to deploy police officers in a timely fashion when requested. However when they do eventually respond and attend to the victim, the slow violence continues, by not always taking into consideration the victim's perception, sometimes even

excusing the perpetrator and making Muslim women feel guilty. Detrimental impacts were also discernible when police officers expressed rather than embodied an intention to do better in the areas of training, communicating (with victims) and tracking bias (amongst colleagues). These connected occurrences are spread over many months, sometimes years, as achieving a 'positive' outcome is a laborious if not impossible process. What is less obvious, almost invisible, is the slow violence that can be perpetrated by support services. Their speech acts indicate that they aim to seek reparation for victims, however they either cannot or do not help in ways that victims desire. There is a disconnection between the assistance they claim to offer and the assistance victims receive. Personal commitments to victims can remain unfulfilled. They are 'there' yet 'not there' in the landscape. Like police forces, they are plagued by austerity and do not have enough resources to penetrate local areas. Many are scarcely equipped to deal with the deep pain of Islamophobia. Furthermore, the performativity of psychotherapists can compound suffering, whereby the traits of victims, their family and community structures are considered to be the source of affliction. When medical help is sought, there is a perception that the 'antidote' merely functions to reiterate stereotypes of Muslim women that are already in circulation in society, and when Muslim women feel like the correct procedure of ending a therapeutic relationship has been breached, they feel forsaken.

Chapter 5: Geotrauma: the role of the police and support services in protracting the hurt of Islamophobia

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter has demonstrated how the speech acts of institutions can inhibit Muslim women from receiving both support and justice. This chapter will explore how the police and support services can thus sometimes exacerbate the impacts of Islamophobia through the lens of geotrauma. In the literature review I defined geotrauma as "emotional wounding" (Coddington and Micieli-Voutsinas, 2017, p. 52) which is tied to structural, social, cultural and political processes that are characterised by "oppressive power relations" (Pain, 2021, p. 974). Geotrauma foregrounds the collective and transactional nature of trauma, i.e. the role of various societal groups, because "the [emotional] wound opens the inside to the outside (and vice versa)" (Luckhurst, 2003, p. 28, who draws on the work of Seltzer, 1997).

This chapter is divided into four key themes. Section 5.2 explores Muslim women's perception that there is a downplaying of Brown/Black women's geotrauma but a privileging of White women's geotrauma. This leads to victim-blaming and the 'bad mother' trope and arises in part, from an environment which is implicated in the denial of Islamophobia. Section 5.3 considers how the state and support services additionally proliferate geotrauma. They do so by imposing a burden of proof and overlooking the effects of shock which can inhibit the gathering of evidence. They also reverse coping mechanisms like amnesia and numbing, and victims do not feel that the criminal (or civil) justice outcome is proportionate to the type of crime (or incident). Section 5.4 looks at the enduring imprints of geotrauma in the absence of adequate support and justice. I specifically focus on the development of multi-layered geotrauma through triggers, contagion (whereby emotional wounding extends beyond the individual) and flashbacks and fear. Often such imprints of geotrauma can lead to disorders such as anxiety, depression and stress as explored at the end of the chapter in section 5.5.

5.2. Downplaying geotrauma

This section will explore a particular viewpoint of victims: 'Brown/Black women's geotrauma is of lesser importance for institutions than White women's geotrauma'. I then explore a repercussion of sharing stories of Islamophobia, specifically the belief of victim-blaming. One key example is the 'bad mother' trope which Muslim women felt is attributed to them in society. Accordingly, this group can become depicted as more of a perpetrator and less of a victim, which (I argue) is largely due to the failure of spectators to register testimonies of gendered Islamophobia.

5.2.1. Perception that White women's geotrauma is more important

In 11 of the interviews with victims, there was a belief that Brown/Black women's geotrauma is of lesser importance than White women's geotrauma for police forces, generic/mainstream support services and the general public. This perceived downplaying happened in one-to-one and group support sessions, in the intimate spaces of the victim's home, in private spaces like shops, in the street, on public transport, in 'state' spaces like the police car, during different temporalities (day and night) and so forth.

> *"This police, they don't care… you feel like they just act when things happen and even if they act… they make things like, sugar-coat it? Like they make a… report and they not doing any action. And I feel like, how can I feel safe in this country when they say we must be equal and safe? We not equal. I even told my [support worker], I say 'maybe they would treat me differently if I'm White girl'." [Masuma, 30s, British, Somali, professional carer/student]*

> *"There was this… vocal White lady, in the group… she had so much more support… help with trying to get employment, help with training, the more kind of life skills to help her move forward, whereas the rest of us [minority ethnic people], had not had that. So that was kind of I suppose interesting to see… how some people might be treated, and I know they can say her reasons for therapy whatever were different, but in that group… it was quite obvious that she was getting and she had a lot more support in terms of moving her life forward." [Shula, 50s, British, Pakistani, office manager, mother and community activist]*

"Look at the poor lady Sarah… that was murdered by a police officer and how much awareness that got… it resulted in protests… I can't help but think if that was a Brown woman, if that was a Muslim woman, if she was a White lady that had converted to Islam, or whatever other religion, would it have got the same, volume? The same amount of people standing up and saying 'that's not right and I'm not having it'?… If it was stronger in media outlets, if there was a stronger voice on the internet, a stronger voice in classrooms, in meeting rooms, then maybe… that would prevent hate crime in future. Or maybe that would mean that when you report hate crime more people would stand up. Like I imagine if this Sarah lady, was a Brown lady and it was race behind it, and it happened years ago and then a week later l was stood at the train station and that [Islamophobia] happened to me, maybe one of those 20 odd people that stood there, would have stood up for me." [Ikram, 20s, British, Yemeni, creative freelancer]

At various points in the interviews, Muslim women became teary when recalling their injustice, however there was a perception that their tears could not mobilise the action they needed from the police, support services and general public. Masuma's tears could not have persuaded the police to help her find shelter because of a housemate who was harassing her. Shula's tears could not have convinced her GP or mental health worker to provide holistic assistance. Ikram's tears could not have coaxed the public into intervening when she was verbally abused. The triviality of their tears is in stark contrast with the potency of White women's tears, which are attached to femininity (Phipps, 2021). "These tears are pouring out from the eyes of the one chosen to be the prototype of womanhood; the woman who has been painted as helpless against the whims of the world. The one who gets the most protection in a world that does a shitty job overall of cherishing women" (Jones, 2018).

This 'political Whiteness' (Phipps, 2021, p. 83) constitutes ties to the (injured) self and to (governmental) power, which generate several dynamics: "narcissism, alertness to threat (which in White women's case is often sexualised), and an accompanying need for control". The mobilisation of victimhood is key (Banet-Weiser, 2018). Historically, bourgeois White women have connoted uprightness and their power has been contingent on this notion (Ware, 1992), so when they embody the 'damsel in distress', it is believed that they are likely to receive protection. Simultaneously, colonial archetypes of minority ethnic people as hostile and scary circulate (Phipps, 2021, p. 84). White women can thus perpetuate the oppression of

women of colour if they fail to confront their own privilege (Accapadi, 2007). In an article on #MeToo, Lemieux (2017) commented, "White women… understand that they are entitled to sympathy".

5.2.2. Connections between victim-blaming and speechlessness

When Muslim women did speak out about Islamophobia, many felt that they were met with victim-blaming (as confirmed by 19 of them). Ryan (1971) coined the term 'victim-blaming' to describe how the oppressed are held responsible for various social problems including crime and mental illness; through this process, there is a "transference of blame from the perpetrator of a crime to a victim" (Taylor, 2021, p. 25).

> *"The officer rang me the next day and… was horrible... he asked me why I was at the tram stop, what was I doing out on Wednesday at 10pm. I explained that I finished work… and that I'd gone to Sainsbury's, and explained what had happened. I explained about the racial slurs and the physical attack, and the gentleman had given his details to say he's happy to be a witness. I gave a description of the lady and that lady is well known as somebody who roams the streets of Sheffield, so it wouldn't be hard to find her, was my understanding. His understanding was basically victim-blaming. Just kept on highlighting that 'what were you doing there alone? Why would you go there alone? What were you thinking?' He goes 'I'll check CCTV but I doubt there'll be anything on there'… and that's when I had explained 'the staff [in Wetherspoons] have already highlighted that they could see it'. And he said 'ok I need a week for the witness statement and for the CCTV footage I'll be in touch'… it had now been two weeks for the week timescale… so I rang again. And they said 'we'll get the officer to get back in touch with you'. The officer got back in touch with me and he said that 'you know it's hard to find somebody who doesn't have an address, I couldn't find anything on the CCTV footage… and that there's a witness statement but we'll take a victim statement and that this is a dead case. There's nothing we can do'… he was just so passive aggressive… I felt like he lied to me… I had four interactions with him to get the CCTV footage... I had to wait for about 23 days after the attack, for him to go and check the evidence, knowing that most CCTV*

only lasts about a month anyway before it's wiped." [Ikram, 20s, British, Yemeni, creative freelancer]

"I went to an imam and he… allegedly specialises in people who might… be experiencing mental health issues. And so I spoke to him about it and he was like 'it's down to a person not having enough faith… it's a person not being strong enough, person not having enough trust in Allah, that's why they're experiencing these mental health issues, it's because they must have done something wrong, like as a punishment'… because, he was a sheikh, I kind of just, took it… came away feeling like a bad person – maybe you deserve that." [Shula, 50s, British, Pakistani, office manager, mother and community activist]

"Here's a tweet from… November 2017: 'for those who promote a view that Islam or #Muslims are under threat, LOOK at how many non-Muslims stand with you against @POTUS. Enough of this victimisation narrative, be someone and engage with your local communities, #No2h8November'… would they say the same to somebody who experiences anti-Semitism?" [Basira, 30s, British, Bengali, solicitor]

Victim-blaming can be split into three types which overlap and operate simultaneously. 1) Behavioural: 'she was asking for trouble by travelling alone', 'she does not trust God' and 'she keeps playing the victim card'. 2) Characterological: 'she does not seem to be very smart (for catching public transport in the dark)', 'she is weak (which is why she is mentally unstable)' and 'she is too naïve (for believing the meta-narrative that Muslims are under threat)'. 3) Situational: 'she put herself in danger by being away from home at night', 'she is getting punished for wrongdoing in the past' and 'she is not engaging sufficiently with her local community' (Taylor, 2021). Whilst victim-blaming tends to be widely documented in discussions of sexual violence against women, it is less frequently spoken about in the context of Islamophobia, but similarly linked to sexist attitudes (Abrams et al., 2003). Nevertheless all victim-blaming reduces or wipes out the actions of the perpetrator (Taylor, 2021), and in doing so, violence towards Muslim women becomes justified. Victim-blaming can be conceived of as a kind of testimonial injustice, whereby the victim's trustworthiness is denigrated (Johnson et al., 2021). The effect of victim-blaming typically left Muslim women feeling speechless, unable to turn to anyone else for assistance and gave police officers reasons not to investigate cases and forward them to the CPS.

5.2.3. Obsessions about the 'bad mother' trope

In 11 of the interviews with victims, they felt that there were attempts to re-brand the Muslim mother as a 'bad mother' (so she was less of a victim and more of a perpetrator). Bullock and Jafri (2000, p. 36), in their research on the representation of Islam, Muslim women and other minorities in the media, affirm that Muslim women are frequently perceived to embody three positions. These are the "harem belly-dancer", the "oppressed Muslim woman" and the "militant Muslim woman". Research here suggests the 'bad mother' trope is deserving of equal consideration, exemplified by media coverage of Shamima Begum, who was born and bred in the UK, but travelled to Syria in February 2015 to support the Islamic State (IS). She was found pregnant in a Syrian refugee camp in February 2019, but the baby later died of pneumonia and Shamima Begum mentioned that she had lost two other children. Sajid Javid revoked her British citizenship because she was deemed to be a threat to national security (BBC, 2019; 2022).

Similarly in this research, Muslim mothers were accused of being terrorists and mentally unstable, committing fraud and just generally putting their children in danger. Accusations emanated from the police, social services, GPs, mental health teams, and other citizens, all of whom can easily find themselves becoming mock 'psychoanalysts' when they are knowledgeable about the problems of their 'patients'. This can be dangerous if there is a failure on the part of these groups to understand the suffering of Muslim women. Indeed, Muslim mothers were judged to be too emotional, irrational and thus incapable of taking care of their children. Consequently, they have to live with the ongoing threat that they may be separated from their children.

> *"My son just burst out crying when the police came… he was like 'I don't want you to get arrested' and the way they [the police and perpetrators] were speaking to me, it was so patronising, that he thought that I was going to get arrested. Like that is really like a whole new level of sick… I definitely gave them [the police] an awful review when I was contacted by the independent organisation… I was like 'you're disgusting', they had no care for the victim… They basically flat out told me that 'we*

need to work out who the victim is'. How can you be confused?" [Nima, 20s, British, Pakistani, business owner]

I actually had a very horrible incident with a mayor…. she told me that… I'm a 'breeder of terrorists', said to me that's all I do is just breed them… that's a risk to my safety, and to my children. Cause they [the authorities] might think you know something. That 'oh maybe they are terrorists after all'... how can you accuse somebody like that?" [Dina, 40s, British, Moroccan, community worker]

"I was like 'well I don't understand why you [the mental health team] need to have social services [involved]?' She was like 'oh no I'm not saying you're a bad mother but they'll be able to help you'… 'well I'm under the care of the mental health team, you're in the mental health team, your role is to help me'… even my GP… I'm telling her all of this stuff and she's like 'but how are your children coping?… we'll get the family welfare officer involved, I'll make a referral'. And I'm like 'I'm not asking you for help for the children, I'm asking you for help about my mental health'… I was saying to my friend… 'maybe they [my children] will be better off after I was dead' but I feel like I can't even say that to anybody because immediately the social services will jump in to take my children. Even though I might not act on it." [Shula, 50s, British, Pakistani, office manager, mother and community activist]

Bad mothering connotes abuse, neglect and immoral behaviour, all of which blight the worldview of the child (Miller et al., 2017, p. 1). Muslim women with mental health issues felt like they are perceived as bad mothers. Muslim women who self-medicate to deal with mental illnesses (as indicated in the chapter on speech acts) felt like they are perceived as bad mothers. Muslim women who raised their voice to confront Islamophobia felt like they are perceived as bad mothers. By virtue of wearing the hijab or niqab, Muslim women felt like they are perceived as bad mothers. The definition of a bad mother is culturally shaped by the definition of a good mother (p. 5), which Rich (1976, p. 34) describes as a woman who is "beneficent, sacred, pure, asexual, [and] nourishing" (by drawing on various disciplines). These traits were customarily embodied by the middle-class White 'Angel in the House' figure of the 19th century (Hoffman, 2007). Contrastingly, oriental women in general have signified danger, fecundity (Said, 1979) and indecorum (Lane, 2013, p. 386). Furthermore, for women of colour, motherhood has either been linked to barbaric customs (i.e. sati and

female infanticide in India) (Agnes, 2001, p. 205), or it has been degraded (i.e. the enslavement of Black women which "strove toward[s] a rigidified disorganisation in family life", as they were forced to work in fields and give birth to child-slaves" (Davis, 1972, p. 4)). Miller et al. (2017, p. 8) argue that mothering is rarely contextualised and the challenges that mothers face are rarely acknowledged when the bad mother trope is drawn on. In particular, Muslim women felt that the police and support services were labelling them and their behaviours as risky/harmful because of their identity.

For Muslim women, the bad mother trope leads to obsessions; these are ideas or images that you cannot get out of your mind (Cori, 2008, pp. 62-63), particularly the idea/image that one's children can be taken away at any moment because of actions that one has been accused of committing. This makes Muslim women fall into a kind of chaos which means that they become dysregulated, in thought, emotion and physiology (p. 19). Feeling helpless and out of control (pp. 62-63), they are "at the mercy of unexpected and uncontrollable elements" (p. 19) and so they do what they can to limit these. Nima sought help from Organisation 2 in an attempt to convict the perpetrators. Dina mentioned how she was not seen in public for a while after being accused of breeding terrorists as this was a threat to her safety (and that of her family). Shula thought it would be better to remain silent, just in case anything she said would be misconstrued as endangering her children. It has been observed that people who live in this kind of dysregulation tend to have lives that are in constant turmoil. "The lack of stability invites crisis" (i.e. anything could happen at any moment). Life becomes draining and it feels laborious just to get through a day (p. 20).

5.2.4. Societal denial of Islamophobia and responding through fight, flight, freeze

Whitlock (2007, p. 78) asserts that in order for testimonies to flourish (such that Muslim women are perceived as victims, rather than as unworthy recipients of support and justice), they must be recognised by witnesses - those who are willing to register what has happened. Attwood (2001, p. 183) merely terms this process as "learning about the truth"; only then can testimonies spawn impetus for action. The "accrual in value will bring both those who testify and those who will witness testimony to the point where an uptake occurs and private and public discourses catalyse one another to produce a recognition that is of historical significance in its attention to human rights and social justice". A number of elements can

cause this, such as the circulation of oral stories, campaigns, scholarship, authoritative individuals, autobiography, enquiries into human rights, the media and so forth. However, in order for testimonies to generate significance and affect, an environment that facilitates those testimonies to first of all be articulated and then listened to, is crucial (Whitlock, 2007, p. 78). Evidence from the interviews would suggest that this seemed to be absent.

Throughout the interviews, victims lamented at the collective refusal to acknowledge Islamophobia across all levels of society. Many were quick to point out that the government will neither accept structural racism nor adopt a legal definition of Islamophobia. Muslim women also acknowledged the growth of social movements like Black Lives Matter, which prompted more awareness of issues pertaining to race, but they felt that the movement, along with feminism, did not necessarily give sufficient attention to the intersection of religion.

> *"With the [Race and Ethnic Disparities] report that has come out to say there's no structural racism, is such a slap in the face. All of our experiences, everything we are going through, everything our children are going through seeing and feeling, you're saying it is not real." [Shula, 50s, British, Pakistani, office manager, mother and community activist]*

> *"It [BLM] doesn't address our issues at all." [Layla, 30s, British, Bengali, teacher]*

> *"In terms of the wider sector, and in terms of feminism, there's a big, slice of the women's sector that are anti-religion and quite anti-Islam." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 6 which supports minority ethnic women and girls who are experiencing any form of violence]*

In the absence of strong political movements for witnessing, there is soon progression to denial, which is a process of "social as well as individual consciousness" (Herman, 2015, pp. 16-17, who draws on the work of Lerner, 1980). This was most evident in Muslim women's immediate response to Islamophobia, whereby they adopted the 'fight, flight or freeze' response (as confirmed by almost all the interviews with victims). Whenever a person is threatened, there is an instinct to seek help from those around them, however if nobody comes to their assistance in the face of immediate risk, the person returns to a primitive technique of survival: fight or flight. In other words, the person attempts to fight the

perpetrator or they escape to a place considered to be safe. However, if neither one of these reactions is realised and the person becomes ensnared, they attempt to protect themselves by freezing and using little energy (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 49).

> *"I'm going back to a bus ride when my son was actually quite young… we were… having a sandwich… I was giving him tidbits, I was talking to my sister… we were speaking in Somali. And there was this old couple there and… they practically told us to 'shut up' - so loud… I think I remember sort of going 'are you serious?' Flipping to English, because I don't know whether they assumed that we didn't speak English. And, it was the usual, 'go back to where you came from, go back. If you're going to talk, if you're going to be that loud, go back'. I was quite horrible back. I said 'I'm so glad people who hold your opinion, are going to die out'. I went for the jugular and there was just this horror, like what did she say?... And do you know what the woman said? She said… we are all like this… we're sitting at the front, we've got the whole audience behind us… I stood up. And I said 'who agrees with her? Are you all like this?' And there was silence. One woman, I remember her, was sat sort of back there but to the right, she just shook her head but wordlessly… and I then sat down… I attacked back. Nobody said 'actually we disagree with her'. I took the silence as a - that she's right. I was shaking actually. Because… I had a child with me. But I didn't feel like I had any other option. My sister was like 'ssh'. I do hope that kind of position will die out… I think I meant, that racism will die out… you know when you… go into that fight flight mode, I was in* ***fight mode*** *[emphasis added]… It was no longer about, rationality… they were just picking on us." [Karam, 50s, British, Somali, taxi driver]*

> *"When I was shopping and I was looking at the food and one old lady, White old lady she… pushed me or… she hit like you know us by her, car? Little car for shopping?... She wasn't feel like sorry or say 'I'm sorry' or apologise or something like that. Nothing… my kids already, they have a weak personality… because they been through a lot so they afraid from anything. So when she did like that and didn't look around like to say sorry or at least, tell you something, they been afraid or not comfortable with what she did… I didn't say anything because I just feel afraid… I couldn't like you know complete my shopping, and I just* ***left*** *[emphasis added] the place." [Farida, 30s, access to a child visa, Yemeni, full-time mother]*

"I was waiting at the bus stop… he didn't even say anything, he just came up to me with… his walking stick and just hit me with it… I didn't think to fight him because I was thinking he's an old man… I'm actually still confused to this day… I was very young at the time… I was about, 16… you never know what the person is going to do in that situation. It's actually a very natural thing to ***freeze*** *[emphasis added]… when you are a victim of physical assault… I think it's just a surviving mechanism because if you think about it, if you just freeze and don't react, sometimes… the situation goes by quicker, whereas if you fight back, the situation could go on longer. Or the situation could actually get escalated, because sometimes when you fight back the person gets more angry, and if that person is stronger than you, bigger than you… you're going to suffer a lot more from that." [Nafisa, 20s, British, Caribbean, full-time mother]*

When something distressing occurs, a person signals this through their facial expression or tone of voice, which should in theory serve as a call for aid: Karam questioning in disbelief, Farida feeling uncomfortable, and Nafisa looking confused. However, if no witness reacts, the threat augments and the sympathetic nervous system takes up the reigns, animating muscles, the heart and lungs for fight or flight. The voice becomes quicker, more vociferous (exemplified by Karam who retaliated verbally) and the heart begins to pump speedily (which propelled Farida to exit the store immediately). Yet if there is no escape, the emergency system (the dorsal vagal complex) will be activated. Typically, the heart rate drops, it is difficult to breathe and the gut empties (causing fear). At this moment, there is complete disengagement (Nafisa, who was just 16 at the time froze so the situation could pass quickly) (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 50). Here it is possible to see the multi-scalar relations between trauma and place. Specifically how politics (an unwillingness to confront Islamophobia), social arrangements (a shortage of social movements) and cultural processes (the dearth of solidarity amongst the public indicated by their failure to intervene), all penetrate the fabrics of space (Pain, 2021). These things can then 'get inside' Muslim women and whatever is 'inside' like high arousal may get 'outside' (Bondi, 2014, p. 65), as manifested by fight, flight, or freeze - ways in which Muslim women respond to Islamophobia in public spaces. It is thus evident that the impacts are "collective, spatial, and material (instead of [merely] individual, temporal and linguistic)" (Rothberg, 2008, p. 228).

5.3. Amplification of geotrauma

The amplification of geotrauma appeared to be partially sculpted by the burden of proof which is connected to a culture that affords greater value to vision than the other senses. However this legislation was complicated by the effects of trauma like shock, which interferes with the cognitive processes required to gather evidence. I then discuss how the police and support services were implicated in the reversal of two specific responses to trauma which Muslim women felt are helpful for coping: amnesia and numbing. The trauma imposed by the criminal justice system did not stop there as victims felt that the criminal (or civil) justice outcome was disproportionate to the type of crime (or incident).

5.3.1. The burden of ocularcentrism

When the environment fails to register testimony, the burden of proof cannot be redistributed to bystanders, and so remains solely with Muslim women. The burden of proof is a feature of the criminal justice system as Article 6 presumes innocence until proven guilty (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2021). The one who denies committing a crime does not have to show beyond reasonable doubt that they did not commit the crime. Instead it is the victim (the one who speaks out), who must carry the burden of proof (Bennett, 2018). Support services seemed to mainly offer advice on collecting evidence. With regard to the police, officers generally perceived the responsibility to be a combined effort, as they expected victims to provide them with some verification in order for a line of enquiry to be created. The burden of proof centres on optics: photography, videos, the perception of the victim as well as of witnesses. Only through such visual tools can insights of encounters be gleaned, and Islamophobia be proved. This is connected to ocularcentrism, which refers to the eminence afforded to vision in Western culture at the expense of other senses. Ocularcentrism does not merely indicate that eyesight is perhaps valued more than the other senses, but it also suggests that knowledge garnered through the gaze is more significant than that acquired through other senses (i.e. smell, touch, taste, and of particular importance over the course of this project: hearing). This of course has implications for the types of evidence deemed worthy of knowledge production. “We ‘believe what we see’, whereas what we hear is ‘hearsay’” (Brook, 2002, pp. 68-69).

"Our smart phones are our most powerful weapon… so I always encourage people to scribble down information or try and take a photograph or a video. Not because I want them to become our substitute police officers but because it does help our investigation because evidence is what leads to prosecutions… you're walking down the street and somebody shouts abuse from a van and you ring us and say 'I've just been called something and he drove a white van and it was a man', 'well ok fantastic what more can you tell me?' 'Nothing'. With all due respect what do you want me to do? Whereas if you can give me a little bit of 'it was a white van and I know it had sign writing with blue on the side and the man had a red shirt on and a green baseball cap', actually when we put that out to our local officers, chances are they'll know who that is… and I think it's important to tell them why we want it rather than just do it… how does it help you." [Hate crime officer, Police Force 6]

"I train victims on how to report and what kind of information they give… I developed for [Organisation 2] the reporting toolkit myself... it's available online – I developed it myself from the countless abuse I have faced... if someone abused me whilst driving, I record their number plate. If it was in a public space, I would actually locate the cameras and see the shops. After the incident I would write it down and I would describe the perpetrator thoroughly, like the clothes, the skin colour, the tattoos, everything." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 2 which supports victims of Islamophobia]

It is very demanding to ask victims to prove what they feel is unprovable, especially when the emotional and mental impacts of Islamophobia are invisible and perceived not to be serious. Unlike hate crime, when a person has their possession stolen, the police will document the item as described (whether it is a purse, bag, wallet, watch or money). They will write a description of the location, time and perpetrator if applicable. Thus, "the burden of proving to people [the police] who [in some cases] would not believe [Islamophobia, as exemplified by section 4.2.2] seems misplaced. Assuming someone is innocent means we assume someone else must be lying or confused" (Bennett, 2018).

"Unless it was a physical attack, I wouldn't report it to the police. Obviously if you've been physically attacked, then you've got the bruises, you've got evidence almost… it feels like… if I was verbally abused and I went to the police, I don't think they would

take me seriously because there is no, evidence?" [*Haniyya, 40s, British, Indian, counsellor]*

"I remember one of the, inspectors was actually saying to me, he had said 'you know we could give you a compensation form, but the likelihood of you getting anything is quite slim, because that often happens if we find somebody and there's somebody to prosecute and if there was damage, considerable damage to you, but there hasn't been so we don't think you'll be successful'… it's almost like he was trying to put me off, from actually making any kind of, request for compensation. I wouldn't have even thought about compensation. Compensation from who if you haven't caught anybody? And surely, 'there's been no damage to you'… I kept on thinking about that, thinking well, there may not be physical damage, in that I am blessed to, not be, brain damaged… or dead… or even… have… scarring, in terms of stitches required… what if something happened to my vision?... But he didn't seem to have taken that into account, 'there's not any real damage to you' - didn't think of the mental damage." [Basira, 30s, British, Bengali, solicitor]

5.3.2. Not thinking when in shock

When Muslim women encountered Islamophobia, they were frequently overwhelmed by a feeling of shock (as explicitly described in 14 interviews), which inhibited them from thinking 'properly'. This was characterised by "confusion and agitation" (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 136). Hence the expectation for victims to gather evidence can be highly problematic. For example, some women could not always think of the best way to respond, or responded in what they felt was an inadequate way. Naila recalled a man who had screamed at her from his car and how she retorted, *"you should not believe everything you read"* which she thought was a bit *"stupid"*. Sometimes women felt like they forgot to do things which would have ordinarily been quite easy to remember, such as memorising the number of the bus, or photographing or filming the perpetrator(s).

"If I want to call the police, what shall I tell them? The bus gone already and I don't know the name of the driver… to help me or to be as witness. I didn't catch the number of the bus… to see… which bus that happened. Maybe even if they have

CCTV on the bus, which number of the bus? And that happened quickly." [Zoya, 30s, refugee, Iraqi, full-time mother]

"Afterwards I was like why didn't you take his number plate? Why didn't you video him? You know I was thinking to myself like, why didn't I get my phone out and video him? But in that moment you think you don't know what's someone is capable of. He was so angry, what if… he jumped out of the car and hit me or something in front of my kid? That would traumatise my daughter for life. So for me it wasn't worth it in that moment, you just have to think in that split second, what to do." [Naila, 30s, British, English, mental health nurse]

Even when victims had prolonged contact with perpetrators, they seemed to be unaware of the legalities of gathering evidence (i.e. General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR)) and how information privacy interacts with specific workplace policies in the context of trying to prove hate crime. When they were aware, they still had to find ways through loopholes; for instance one Muslim woman tried to record Islamophobia using equipment at work because employees are not allowed to be in possession of their own devices. Various other difficulties were cited such as background noise and the limited distance a camera can capture, all whilst trying to be discrete, making sure that the perpetrator was none the wiser of their being photographed or filmed, as the women were concerned about potential repercussions.

"We're not allowed to have our mobile phones on us as well when you're teaching. Not even in your pocket – it has to be in, a cupboard... I tried once, on the iPad because we were able to use the iPad to record things… and I remember trying to record a conversation once that was happening but there's so much noise in the classroom, with kids, you can't hear anything... you're trying to record from the other side of the room, pointing your camera somewhere else, it didn't pick up at all." [Rafiqa, 40s, British, Pakistani, teacher]

"There's only so far that your cameras are allowed to record like when we first put our cameras up… the neighbours called the police to say 'oh they're breaking GDPR, they're not allowed to put cameras up'. And the police came out… to ask us to view the cameras which we weren't breaking GDPR… it's very hard to prove certain things, especially when, things are being said on the street you're not allowed to

record neighbours on their property, etc. you know? So that's the hardest part to prove, unless I walk around with a phone on video 24/7. And even then if I don't have the video camera facing that person's face, it's hard to get that proof." [Khadija, 20s, British, Afghan, engineer]

Some police forces did speak about the possibility of supporting vulnerable/repeat victims through the Harm Reduction Unit, whereby their property can be made safer or they can have access to panic alarms. However this was mainly offered to victims of forced marriage, domestic abuse and other (hate) crimes, again raising the question: are Muslim women a priority if they become victims of Islamophobia? As the spatial context for healing is important, external interventions that can make places safer may play a supportive role (Anguelovski, 2013).

There were also many assertions amongst police officers that victims would not be required to gather their own evidence if they were abused in a public space.

"If there's an incident taking place in a public place… we wouldn't ever be asking a member of the public to secure their own CCTV or their own evidence - we would do all of that." [Police constable, Police Force 7]

However I came across numerous instances where Muslim women had to relentlessly chase the police to ensure that evidence would be collected, as they were worried about the footage being completely wiped, which unfortunately happened. For example, Khadija was called a *'paki'* at her place of work (a restaurant) by a colleague which was captured on CCTV, but the police officer in charge of her case failed to get hold of the recording in a timely manner in spite of numerous reminders. Khadija recalled how the officer firmly vocalised that hate crime is not a priority of hers.

"I emailed the police officer to say about 3-4 times… 'you need to get that CCTV. It'll be wiped after a certain time - you need to get it'. And within, after about a week, she replied saying with that comment about 'oh you know I'm just really busy, prisoners are my first duty. This [hate crime] is not my first duty." [Khadija, 20s, British, Afghan, engineer]

This geotrauma (i.e. the failure of institutions to gather evidence and recognise shock which inhibits victims from satisfying the burden of proof), further highlights the need to address detrimental institutional practices (Ginwright, 2018) as these serve as barriers to justice.

5.3.3. Interruptions to amnesia and numbing

In 15 of the interviews there were instances of amnesia (i.e. constricting "the field of consciousness") (Janet, 1911, cited in Herman, 2015, p. 44) and numbing (i.e. "neutralising… unwanted experiences") (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 147). However, these processes of amnesia and numbing were sometimes reversed by the police and support services. Understandably these organisations need to understand past encounters in order to provide an adequate response, but the problem occurred when they kept forcing Muslim women to remember the geotrauma (which they did not want to do). The fact that cases were ongoing for months and sometimes years also made it impossible to forget and feel numb.

> *"They [Organisation 1] talked to me about check-in calls… 'I don't need them. I just need calls, for, progress on matters'… I didn't want… 'are you ok? You know about this charity, that charity?'... But they didn't listen to that actually… they did keep on, with the wellbeing calls, saying that 'we understand that you said you're feeling ok that day but you might not be feeling ok'. I said 'leave me alone' at that point… 'please leave me alone, you're making me go over it, I don't need to go over it. I'm perfectly ok, this is how the world functions. I've got my mum, I've got my sisters, I've got my siblings… please don't contact me again'." [Ikram, 20s, British, Yemeni, creative freelancer]*

> *"They [the police] used to show up unannounced without calling me and be like 'yeah I'm going to come take your statement now'. I'm like 'no, like I'm out. I'm not here waiting, when is the police… going to bother to come and take my statement'. I told him 'I told you on that day exactly what happened, I was like on both occasions, both women, I was harassed'… I would go through like periods where I didn't want to talk to anyone. I just didn't feel like really talking about it because it would just bring it back… it just made me sick, I just remember I had a really really sick feeling in my stomach." [Nima, 20s, British, Pakistani, business owner]*

There were sometimes attempts to keep traumatic memory away from consciousness, though it was possible for a fragment to surface as an intrusive symptom (a sick feeling (in the stomach) in Nima's case). If Muslim women allowed themselves to fully remember what had happened, the pain would return with force. However if they could not fully remember, they could not fully re-experience what had happened (Kardiner and Spiegal, 1947, cited in Herman, 2015, pp. 44-45). According to Freud (2001, p. 147), "turning something away, and keeping it at a distance, from the conscious [is the essence of repression]". Not wanting to talk about geotrauma was a mechanism of self-numbing – a means of dulling intolerable sensations. Yet this can often give a false sense of feeling in control as the underlying issues are not addressed (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 147). I.e. Islamophobia and inadequate institutional responses to the phenomenon. Thus amnesia and numbing are paradoxical, as these processes can fail to confront geotrauma, but continued attempts to inhibit amnesia and numbing (whether consciously or unconsciously) can also function to re-induce geotrauma.

5.3.4. Criminal (or civil) justice outcome is disproportionate to the type of crime (or incident)

It was rare for a criminal (or civil) justice outcome to be procured, but when this did happen, victims averred that it was always disproportionate to the type of crime (or incident). Some of the instances were even life-threatening. Often such mismatch was wedded to the culture of policing but at other times it became palpable that the discrepancy was a problem across the criminal justice system. Dina described how a man had threatened to harm her and a friend with a knife but was only subjected to a fine even though a police officer had witnessed the whole event.

> *"It was just an incident that took place and then he got fined and that was that… He [the perpetrator] was really angry, he was really annoyed to see us. He said 'I'm going to stab you in your C-U-N-T. That's what I'm going to do. Yeah you bitches' effing this and effing that. 'Get the F out of here'. And then he was like 'I hate you'. He was really angry when he saw us he was enraged already… and the funny thing is that's where he was aiming for [our genitals]… I can't believe he just pulled out the knife from the back and he just came to us." [Dina, 40s, British, Moroccan, community worker]*

Elsewhere, Mona described how her car was parked on the driveway behind a gate that was chained. Yet somebody found the time to throw acid on her car and get on their hands and knees to put nails in all four tyres (she did not immediately realise the latter had happened). Whilst driving, she contemplated how someone could throw acid on her car, but was interrupted when her car made a right angle and her tires went flat. When she requested roadside assistance, a male member of the recovery patrol arrived and became *"incandescent with rage"*, telling her that whoever did this tried to kill her. Had she been driving at a normal speed, she would have had an accident and killed someone, but luckily, she was driving slowly. When Mona called 999, a police officer appeared within half an hour and he seemed kind, but whatever happened did not merit much attention; she was not required to make a witness statement.

> *"I did phone the station, that was before he [police officer] popped in to tell me, that the guy was leaving Bristol… but they really weren't interested. He was living in the street, apparently. He deliberately targeted me and my husband - we're the only Muslims in the street. I knew who he was when the officer told me… a youngish guy. The officer said he had done it on the way to the pub, but you don't carry a bottle of acid, and nails and a hammer, on the way to the pub, so that's obviously not true. He had never spoken to me. So he didn't actually know what nationality I was… I think that was the attitude of the police at that time [in 2005], they weren't then required to, register hate crime… even now sometimes, their attitude I think is… 'oh it's a bit of damage, it can be replaced'… it's not thought of as serious. But actually… driving nails through somebody's tires, is serious because it can cause an accident. But I think the registration of the police was simply 'it was acid, it was damage… no big deal, they can claim on their insurance, they can give a new car' and this can be quite a, police attitude." [Mona, 70s, British, English, charity worker]*

By utilising the concept of "grievability" (Butler, 2020, pp. 33-34) in relation to Dina's and Mona's experiences, it becomes obvious that their lives do not matter. Whoever wanted to stab Dina and whoever threw acid on Mona's car and put nails through her tyres wanted to seriously maim, possibly even kill both women. Yet the criminal justice system did not register the fact that the loss of their lives would matter, which the pair attributed to a lack of acknowledgement that these crimes were aggravated by hatred towards their Muslim identity.

In Mona's case, the police officer simply saw, what Mona perceived to be a hate crime, as *"a bit of damage"*, otherwise the perpetrator would not have merely been warned or moved out of the area (effectively 'let off the hook'). Similarly the judge deemed that the perpetrator who wanted to stab Dina solely needed a fine to deter his behaviour. The lack of sanctions means that both perpetrators could have at any point attempted to hurt the interviewees again (or other Muslim women for that matter). This means that Dina's body and Sheila's body were not treated as ones whose precarity should be reduced. The assumption of "equal grievability" is not merely an attitude, but a principle of the social arrangement of health, safety and civic life. When I listened to Mona's story, I noticed that she tried to explain or make sense of the outcome by asserting that the crime happened before hate crime became a priority across policing. However, even more recent justice outcomes did not seem to match the type of incident/crime (as exemplified by Dina's case in 2018).

5.4. Geotrauma's expansiveness

This section explores geotrauma's propensity to spill over in particular moments. I begin with a discussion of how state and support services were complicit in this spillage through spatial and temporal processes that lead to multi-layered trauma. I show how trauma is contagious but the effects of its transmission to the collective were neither appreciated by police forces nor handled by support services. I then elucidate why there is very little that can be done to manage flashbacks and fear, as Islamophobia is etched in one's memory coercing Muslim women to relive these occurrences again and again through triggers.

5.4.1 Developing multi-layered geotrauma through triggers

In at least 10 cases, routines of the state and support services sometimes triggered 'separate' or 'past' geotraumas that were unrelated to Islamophobia but exaggerated the turmoil victims felt. Muslim women were then forced to navigate this composite version themselves. Conventional literature on Islamophobia does not tend to recognise how the phenomenon can trigger such non-Islamophobic geotraumas. Khadija described that when she was obliged to endure racial and verbal abuse by a colleague, she was dismissed from her job. Her boss was extremely embarrassed about customers having to witness the chaos and he affirmed that it

would be too much of a hassle to retrain a new chef. Khadija recounted how attending court to deal with this evoked the trauma of going to court as a child:

> *"When I was, a lot younger I went to court for a separate issue. It was a big deal and… there was a trial for about three weeks. The perpetrator was put in prison for 10 years after that and that was… a hard time for me, I had to take a year out of education and I went through a lot of anxiety, post-traumatic stress and, I thought I had put that behind me but, dealing with the case that I'm dealing with now and knowing that I have to attend court again next year, has riled up like loads of feelings for me. And I feel like… I've opened up a whole can of worms when it comes to my PTSD and stuff that I had left behind a long time ago. But I have to deal with those feelings that are completely unrelated to the situation now that I'm dealing with, but, it's just, you can't control that it's just knowing that you have to go through the court process again, or it just opens all that stuff up. That's hard to deal with actually…* I *had dealt with Organisation 4 at that time as well, when I was a minor and went through that court process and they were amazing then... held my hand through everything… I was, only 15… I wasn't even allowed my mum there for the three weeks because she was also testifying and my sisters were testifying so, you're not allowed to sit with those people so I had to stay in a hotel and Organisation 4 were there the whole time. And they were the only people I spoke to during that time and, they were amazing then, which is why it's such a huge let down, come 10 years later now I'm speaking to Organisation 4 again, and they're completely different… like they didn't bother. It reinforces that feeling of 'oh this [hate crime] is not a crime crime'."*
> *[Khadija, 20s, British, Afghan, engineer]*

Elsewhere, Masuma described the time she was living in a shared house with a man who would repeatedly harass and threaten to harm her. He would slam the kitchen cupboard door close to her face, so that it would almost hit her. He would tell her that her home is not her home and she does not belong there. He would constantly tell her to take all the rubbish out of the house. He would either use or steal her possessions. After drinking a lot, he would throw up in the sink and leave her things in there, so they would get dirty. He would turn off the electricity to scare her. He would constantly laugh at her and say she is *"stupid"* and *"thick"*. He said *"I'm going to make your life hell"*. Masuma described that when she called

the police to ask them to take her to a place of safety, they left her alone in the middle of the night, which evoked a memory of sexual abuse:

> *"Why they [the police] left me in the, midnight, outside without I book hotel? And they just say 'you need to book the hotel', to make me scared, like 'we're the police, we've got the power so you don't have to talk to us back'… but at the moment, I'm not strong to concentrate… anyone can take advantage whilst I was sitting there, any man can take advantage and say 'come on I'll give you somewhere to stay and they can do to me anything'. And what the police will do then? I called them to get me out of this place [shared house]. And it was the night… I'm a woman, I have a lot of problems, I'm so stressed, I'm alone, I don't have no one to comfort me… I feel like the police supposed to take me somewhere safe… why… they not make sure I am in the hotel?... When the hotel woman she say to me she cannot book me, I was thinking is she not gonna let me in the hotel? I scared, I say like, anything can happen now so where shall you go? Your phone will go off anytime now because it's not charged. That's why I feel like the police they don't care… they just left me there… the White man family and his friend maybe will come after me. I worry about those [other] things as well [the Somali man who caused sexual abuse] will come back to me as well because I'm so vulnerable now, I'm going to lose myself as well as scared, I'm saying calm down, don't go mad, don't go mad but I was so desperate to speak someone professional at that time. Very very desperate to speak someone." [Masuma, 30s, British, Somali, professional carer/student]*

Adams-Hutcheson (2017, p. 108) draws on the work of Curti (2008) to explain that when "memories come unwelcomed into the present, the past is brought to life and reignited. But the past is often reinterpreted and not entirely in the same way as before. This meeting of moments implies a complex entanglement of bodies, feelings and the impress (or event of being impressed upon the skin) of the affectual moment". For Khadija, the court room evokes the memory and PTSD of having to attend court as a child. Although Organisation 4 stood by her then, she felt like the charity was disinterested in guiding her now (in relation to ongoing Islamophobia). When the police left Masuma alone in the middle of the night, she immediately viewed this as a risk, where anything could happen; this forced her to remember the perpetrator who sexually abused her. At the same time, she was also worried that the White (Islamophobic) man whom she lives with would find and hurt her, and so could his

family and friends. The collision between past and present sparks discomfort. Firstly fear of losing herself. Secondly physical sensations, a kind of paralysis where Masuma was not able to physically do anything herself, such that she asked the police officers to book a hotel room but they refused. Thirdly impulsive actions, whereby she fled home to find a hotel in the middle of the night. These post-traumatic reactions which can be triggered by citizens, support services, police officers and even courts, feel incomprehensible and overwhelming. Feeling out of control, survivors of geotrauma often begin to fear that they are damaged and beyond recovery (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 7).

Khadija thought she had dealt with the past geotrauma and Masuma moved to a different city to start a new life, but the geotrauma cannot be contained within the body; it spills over into the present and is experienced with intensity. This means that "the body can undergo many changes and nevertheless retain impressions or traces" (Spinoza, 2003, p. 200). Accordingly, the memory of geotrauma is "a foreign body which long after its entry must continue to be regarded as an agent that is still at work" (Breuer and Freud, 1955, p. 6). The psychological boundaries that were once considered to contain the geotrauma must somehow be re-secured (Longhurst, 2001, cited in Adams-Hutcheson, 2017).

5.4.2. Contagion

In 15 of the interviews, victims recognised the 'leakiness' or 'contamination' of geotrauma, so they decided not to disclose their experiences of Islamophobia to relatives who were living abroad; it was unlikely that their distant loved ones could help, so to unduly burden them seemed senseless. Others did not feel comfortable divulging instances of hostility which involved some kind of sexual threat as these encounters stirred feelings of being dirty and would upset members of the family. Furthermore, such things are simply not spoken about in some of their cultures. Elsewhere women could not retell episodes which involved profanity as uttering these words would evoke shame.

> *"We don't talk about these things [sexual harassment] but they take place… I would die for anybody to know in my community that this was happening to me. As matter of fact the men in my family would get very very upset. It's very hurtful especially when*

there's nothing you can do about it, cause you wasn't there." [Dina, 40s, British, Moroccan, community worker]

"In our culture we don't say bad words… when you say bad… you feel like shame? If you tell someone like that kind of word." [Sakina, 20s, asylum seeker, Indian]

When applying Akhtar's (2009, p. 799) definition of shame, it becomes apparent that it can be broken down into five elements. Firstly, there was a disintegration of self-esteem, i.e. the 'dirtiness' or 'badness' of the encounter was transferred to victims. Secondly, there was a sense of humiliation, i.e. it would be better to die than to reveal the events to family/community. Thirdly, there was a fracture in self-continuity, i.e. one's modesty was affected. Fourthly, there was a sentiment of isolation, i.e. others cannot know what has taken place. Finally, there was a feeling of being observed by an audience, i.e. the abuse was executed in public spaces. Shame originates from the Indo-European root 'skam' or 'skem', meaning to hide or cover (Shah, 2016, p. 52). Silence or the refusal to narrate a memory because of shame can also be considered as an act of "dissociation". Though this term was coined by Janet (1925, p. 676), van der Kolk (2015, p. 103) paraphrases it as the "splitting off and isolation of memory imprints". In other words, when Islamophobia interacts with sexual assault or sometimes swearing, Muslim women strive to escape from "sensations, thoughts, and emotions of the [geo]trauma", which come to be stored separately as frozen fragments, giving rise to a dual memory system. This does not permit the actual encounters to be put behind them.

At the same time, the risk of contagion inhibits three things: reporting, institutional understanding of the nature of Islamophobia, as well as its individual and collective ramifications. Reports and impact statements have the potential to shape decisions on the development and commissioning of provisions that may be required by victims and their families. Impact statements are also typically taken into account prior to passing sentences (Sentencing Council, n.d.-b). Yet the effectiveness of these processes is at stake if the nature and impact of geotrauma are occluded.

"From the statistics that we see [in our police force], reporting of misogyny is still very low… if you think about the intersectional nature of hate crime, women are normally targeted for more than one reason." [Hate crime officer, Police Force 8]

"Just tell me everything [that happened] letter by letter [including profanity,] what has really hurt you inside? What impact this has on you?... Why you have called the police?... and then me in my survey… I'm going to put in there, this is the impact and also I'm going to put in the research, for the officer to do an impact statement… 'it's affecting my daily life… I'm having anxiety when people are looking at me, and every time I face that person I have to change my route… I have to park my car somewhere else… when I go to work it's in my mind'... when this go to court and CPS goes… 'we need to take this to court'… or we are going to do a community resolution or, write a letter and say 'I'm sorry about that'… you see the impact statement, the impact on the person is very very important." [Police community support officer for hate crime, Police Force 2]

Elsewhere, containing geotrauma to oneself was not always possible, and each Muslim woman was perturbed by the impacts of Islamophobia on her children (who were obligated to be spectators of their mother's ordeal but were even susceptible to a direct attack themselves).

"My son… just from his behaviour you could tell he was nervous to go out the next day, that he was uncomfortable, he was stressed. It took him a few days to be ok. And from then, now and again he would mention it to me, and he only mentions things that bother him or that make him really happy." [Nima, 20s, British, Pakistani, business owner]

"You know my daughter… it's affecting her a lot… whenever I'm in the living room she went out. If I went upstairs she come down… she avoiding me and she avoiding sitting as a family. She's like, making her own like small comfortable world, where she can talk to herself... she wasn't cleaning her tooth and she losing her tooth… and her overall health is bad. So, then I realised what I'm doing? You know, I'm not affecting my own self, I'm affecting my children's health as well… in the middle of the night once I was sleeping and she put on light and was saying 'I heard you was crying'. I said 'no I'm sleeping my jani [love], I'm not crying'... the whole house is being affected with that incident... that's why I never forgot that incident, it was very very bad. I still remember that lady's face… She comes automatically in my mind, and

I was start thinking the whole story comes to my mind, the way she talks to me… I was still feeling the same feeling." [Tahira, 40s, British, Pakistani, full-time mother]

The emotional state of a mother is "of fundamental importance" to the emotional state of a child (Tronick, 1989, p. 114); indeed one study found that "a mother's stress is embodied by her infant" (Waters et al., 2014, p. 9). Hence an ongoing challenge is "trauma's contagion" (Caruth, 1995a, p. 10); this refers to the "spreading and expanding" of trauma (Coddington, 2017, p. 68) which "requires a degree of proximity, sometimes physical, but always emotional, to the traumatic events witnessed" (p. 69). Contagious trauma defies the idea that trauma is "bound by individual psyches" as there is a foregrounding of its embodiment as inherently relational (Coddington and Micieli-Voutsinas, 2017, p. 53).

When Muslim women did not receive any justice for Islamophobia which their children were witnesses to, this made them especially angry:

"The last time I spoke to [Organisation 1] was like last week or the week before when they called me about the traitor incident and on that phone call… I remember I told... the woman…'this case like traitor I understand they can't do anything about [because there was no evidence], but I was quite angry about the fact that the guy lived in the same building as me and I felt like nothing was done… I don't want to be… verbally abused when I'm with my kids'. So that really concerned me the most and that was the one I was quite upset that the police didn't even get back in contact with me… and I think that made me quite angry." [Naila, 30s, British, English, mental health nurse]

Threat arouses the sympathetic nervous system causing the individual at risk to feel an adrenaline rush and be more vigilant. Threat also induces outrage, which prompts the endangered person to take action (Herman, 2015, pp. 35-36), i.e. by contacting the police. This feeling of outrage was exacerbated by intersectionality, i.e. Islamophobia targeted towards Muslim mothers. For Lorde (1997, p. 280), "every woman has a well-stocked arsenal of anger potentially useful against those oppressions… which brought that anger into being. Focused with precision it can become a powerful source of energy serving progress and change". However Muslim women felt that police officers turned away from that anger, compounding it. This is a way of maintaining oppressive systems. Whilst victims asserted that support services certainly acknowledged their fury and could act as spaces where that

fury could be held, they could not always turn that fury into action due to impediments already mentioned (i.e. illocutionary acts in the previous chapter and the burden of proof in this chapter).

5.4.3. Flashbacks and fear

Long after Islamophobia had taken place, it was still etched in one's memory (this was confirmed in almost all of the interviews with victims), and there was very little that institutions seemed to be able to do to alleviate this. Whilst there is a general tendency to recollect insults and injuries accurately, remembering a specific event is contingent on the extent of emotions aroused at the time. The adrenaline that is secreted to defend against impending peril facilitates the etching of that encounter into one's mind (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 100). Although Basira could not remember the perpetrators making any comments when she was repeatedly hit on the back of her head with a metal baseball bat in the dark (as she was on her way home by foot), she remembers one of the men: his height, his weight, his proximity to her and his eyes.

> *"I think the mental trauma is the sheer fact that, having been attacked physically. What it's 20 years on now? Coming up. I still look behind my shoulder, I'm not comfortable walking in the dark. I'm an avid walker, I can walk miles and miles… up until, early March… I fell pregnant in January… I was still walking, I did a February challenge, whereby I was walking something like 15k per day and weekends I was walking 20k per day. And I was raising money for an orphanage in Pakistan. But I used to do it in the mornings... and even when I'm walking in the mornings, I do look over my shoulder if I hear footsteps, instantly turn around. I'm conscious of my surroundings much more, so that kind of mental trauma. When the attack first happened, I remember the guy that was watching out, so he was in front of me, I can still remember his height and weight, and his eyes, his eyes are very very clear in my mind's eye, even today. I can even tell you the exact distance away he was from me, more than the actual guy that was hitting me… I can't remember, words that were said to me, in the Tesco incident which is far more, nearer in my memory than, this incident which was 20 years ago, I remember it very very clearly. And I remember the guy that was keeping watch because I could see him, he was in front of me. I could*

remember his eyes, even though it was dark when he walked past me. I remember that stone look in his eyes… I do sometimes remember him. Often when I walk past that road because I'm not too far from there even now that I've moved away, twice… I do still remember that incident. Every time I hear of an… Islamophobic attack, it takes me back to that place." [Basira, 30s, British, Bengali, solicitor]

Elsewhere, Aisha spoke about how a man took off her hijab and face mask, was breathing on her face and pushed her; sometimes she remembers the sensation (but to exemplify this actuality, she sketched a slightly different example of hostility).

"Somebody… slapped you on your face. And after a while, if the same thing happened for example, maybe the second person didn't want to slap you, but just accidentally, raised his hand or her hand, what's your reaction? You feel, this person will slap you, so your reaction exactly, even the person didn't do it like physically, but you are mentally you feel the person did. Why? Because you have this note. Because you have a bad like previous experience." [Nabila, 30s, asylum seeker, Algerian, full-time mother]

In trauma, "when memory traces of the original sounds, images and sensations are reactivated", the parts of the brain that construct one's sense of location in time and assimilate inbound sensations shut down. The emotional brain takes over and expresses its activation (under 'abnormal' circumstances) through changes in "emotional arousal, body physiology, and muscular action". Consequently, the imprints of geotrauma are not arranged in an intelligible account, but through patchy emotional traces: sounds, images and sensations. Whenever Basira is in the dark, discerns footsteps, turns around and sees a person, she remembers being assailed. If she hears of an Islamophobic assault in the news, she is transported back to the night she was pounded. Anytime Aisha sees a raised hand, she feels a sensation of being attacked. When one element of the traumatic experience is triggered, other elements follow. There is a segregation of memory imprints. Those who experience geotrauma cannot put the event (i.e. the root of the emotional traces) behind them (van der Kolk, 2015, pp. 100-103). Indeed, Caruth (1995b, p. 153) writes that trauma "has no place, neither in the past, in which it was not fully experienced, nor in the present, in which its precise images and enactments are not fully understood". "Flashbacks often occur in different times and places than the initial traumatic event itself" (Coddington and Micieli-

Voutsinas, 2017, p. 52). Hence, as trauma is mobile, Basira, Aisha, and other Muslim women interviewed "mentally and physically re-experience" Islamophobia in an embodied way to the extent that their affective response overwhelms the ability to be present (Carter, 2015).

5.5. Geotrauma-related 'disorders'

As the chapter on speech acts has evinced, certain activities of support services did not function to alleviate geotrauma-related disorders. For instance, the prescription of drugs (as usage had side effects, which meant that some Muslim women had to stop taking these), and the illusion of offering a helping hand (through perfunctory practices). Consequently victims appeared to be living 'with' and 'in' troublesome conditions, which overlapped. This section will detail the three most prevalent ones that were narrated: anxiety, depression and stress.

5.5.1. Anxiety

Anxiety was amongst the most commonly reported disorder (it was brought up in at least nine of the interviews). In this condition, one's thoughts shift rapidly between different objects, a shift which functions to exaggerate the experience of anxiety. One ponders an additional number of 'things' to be anxious about; the separation from a precise object enables anxiety to accrue through collecting an ever-increasing amount of objects, until it overpowers "other possible affective relations to the world". One becomes anxious as a type of relationship to objects. "In other words, anxiety tends to stick to objects, even when the objects pass by" (Ahmed, 2014b, p. 66).

> *"I started having panic attacks… I started waking up in the night and I couldn't breathe, I needed all of the windows open. And that slowly slowly changed to I would wake up in the night and I still suffer from them unfortunately, I'd wake up in the night, it'd be dark and I'd be like 'oh my God I need sunlight'. Then I would freak out cause it's like two in the morning and there's not going to be sunlight until another four hours. I'm 100% convinced that, it started through all that stress and trauma and everything, that I was going through at the primary school and the lack of justice, the lack of support… that really affected my mental health, it affected my ability to get a job, and work. So yeah all that stuff as a family, it really impacted us negatively... I*

never understood that before… it's really really inhibited my life because… I can't go on trains, I don't use the underground, because of the claustrophobia and I might think I need to get out, I need to be able to breathe in air. Living in London a lot of offices are high-rise, you have to use lifts… my youngest when he was in hospital, I ended up having a panic attack in the night there when I was staying with him. Because the hospital is high-rise… I walked up 9 flights of stairs… that don't have windows. So I was literally crying going up the stairs, I was just like so freaked [out]. So I feel it's really awful and unjust, and the people that did that, they've gone on, to carry on with their careers even though they have done wrong." [Shula, 50s, British, Pakistani, office manager, mother and community activist]

For Blum and Secor (2014, p. 105), trauma is deeply topological. This means that the source of trauma is not a single incident confined to an exact time or space. Rather, it is a topological constellation in which conventional notions of time and space are distorted and prone to continual reconfiguration. In Euclidean geometry, co-ordinates enable location to be demarcated along intersecting axes (it is "mappable, graphable, measurable space") but topology comprehends space in a non-Euclidean framework. That is, space is not defined by the distance between two points. Instead, it is determined by the characteristics it retains in the process of distortion ("bending, stretching, squeezing, but not breaking"). Topology thus does not refer to co-ordinates but to "surfaces and their properties of boundedness, orientability, decomposition and connectivity".

Space itself becomes a map of one's psychic constellation. When Shula, a governor at her son's primary school, attempted to challenge corruption, she often found her voice being shut down through harassment (she was mimicked in meetings, followed around, excluded from attending coffee mornings for parents, banned from the vicinity and suspended without a reason). Similarly, when she endeavoured to challenge other episodes of hate crime like verbal abuse in Legoland, at the park and outside her flat, she was not helped by bystanders, support services or the police and she felt like everyone was against her. Consequently, the space she traverses becomes a map of her psychic constellation of geotrauma. Not being able to breathe at night, feeling claustrophobic in lifts and on public transport and being enclosed in space which does not 'permit' any oxygen through the windows all correspond to the times her voice was being shut down – a sense of suffocation. To people who are reliving geotrauma, "nothing makes sense; they are trapped in a life-or-death situation, a state of

paralysing fear… they startle in response to the slightest noises". Their sleep is chronically disturbed (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 57).

Our gut feeling indicates what is safe or dangerous even when we might not be able to express why we feel a certain way. If one has a comfortable connection with their interiority (this means if one can rely on their gut feeling to convey the correct information), then one will feel ownership of their body. However people who are traumatised have an inclination to feel perpetually insecure within their body, exemplified by Shula. Geotrauma is alive through uneasiness across enclosed spaces which may cause breathing difficulties. Such bodies are showered by "visceral warning signs" (memories of the past) and when trying to manage these, they turn a blind eye to their gut feeling. The more these bodies try to ignore their gut feeling, the likelihood of "visceral warning signs" taking up the reigns increases, incurring bewilderment. People then respond to sensory shifts by shutting down or panicking. Panic symptoms persist because people develop a fear of the sensations associated with panic attacks which may be triggered by something irrational (using public transport or lifts). However fear of the sensations (being freaked out or having breathing difficulties) prevents the situation from unfolding into a "full-body emergency". Disregarding or warping the body's gut feeling can lead to an inability to distinguish between what is actually dangerous and what is safe (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 58).

5.5.2. Depression

Depression is one of the most frequent findings in clinical studies of traumatised people (Herman, 2015). Incidentally, it was also cited by at least eight Muslim women. Depression can be described as a collapse of relationships with the world and those residing in the world; this is marked by a biochemical reduction in neurotransmitters like serotonin (Wilson, 2004, cited in Sullivan, 2015). For Allen (2005), depression does not merely refer to a state of melancholy – it can be "severe… [and] typically results in significant impairment in ability to function". There appeared to be evidence of dysthymia which is a "prolonged episode of depressed mood [for] at least two years". Although depression is typically conceived of as a shutting down, resulting in a state of inertia, it is actually a condition of high stress. Hence you can simultaneously be inactive and internally restless (p. 154). Indeed depression can easily arise when anger is suppressed (p. 163), as confirmed by Lina who mentioned that she

was angry inside. It seemed that for Lina, acute interludes of severe depression were superimposed on a more perpetual period of dysthymia (p. 154).

> *"They [family] took over my chores and all the house had this like sad atmosphere, you must have days like that when your mum gets like sick and she's in the bed… you're missing something in the house, not necessarily missing the service that mum provides, but missing the presence of that person around so there is something sad in the house, something abnormal… my husband would cook most of the time when I'm not feeling good. I was responsible for the online shopping, they took over that as well because I was not in the mood to do anything. Them [my family] going out without me… I would tell them 'just go I don't want to go I'm not in the mood'. I was missing a lot with being around them. I can divide this into sections, there was the time when I was deep deep deep in the worst situation of my depression where I didn't even want to get up and take a shower, so I was really disgusting to that point, but there is no intrinsic motivation to do anything. Kids would wake up in the morning and I would just do them breakfast because I have to and send them to school… not because I am enjoying it. I would not cook like I used to. I would not clean the house like I used to so they would do the minimum, just vacuum the sitting room because… the dust is everywhere… I am not ready to listen to my kids if they have something to say because I am really angry from the inside. I would tell them 'later'... or I would just have the sad face all day long. Or I would start sobbing and crying and sitting in my room for hours." [Lina, 40s, British, Palestinian, newly qualified teacher]*

Lina's depression stemmed from various microaggressions at work. She was told to observe classes instead of teach. She was worried about her (newly qualified teacher) training being terminated for running one 'poor' lesson (even though she was entitled to three observations, one of which she could 'fail'). She felt disregarded in meetings. One colleague cleared her desk whilst she was teaching. Another colleague asserted that non-English speakers were spreading Covid-19. This was layered by perceived episodes of hate crime, for example, almost being run over when trying to cross the road with her daughter. There was also a general feeling of not belonging, for instance, being ignored by cashiers when paying for products and not receiving any assistance whilst shopping.

All of these things altered Lina's mood. "A mood can imply something that hangs around, despite our best intentions, despite even our own selves. Moods are often hangers on". They tend to be sustained emotional states rather than transitory. Being in a certain mood makes the world appear in a certain way. When Lina was feeling down, 'things' which ordinarily would have brought her joy appeared to be 'down' and were thus afforded the affective quality of being 'downers' (Ahmed, 2014a, pp. 13-14) (such as doting on her children by listening to their stories, taking them to school, spending time with them and preparing their meals). She anthropomorphised the house by affirming that the mother is the pillar of the house; when the mother is sad, inevitably the house becomes sad. There was a "change in [her] actions, reactions and attitudes toward[s] life" (Beck and Alford, 2009, p. 14), as she no longer displayed any interest in getting up, showering, going out, shopping, cooking and cleaning. This is not surprising because for any course of action to be achievable, it is necessary to be 'in the mood'. "A mood can be what assails from the outside; deciding for us what we can and cannot do" (Ahmed, 2014a, p. 13). Her low mood was manifested as sleeping too much (hypersomnia), developing poor hygiene, having zero motivation to do anything, isolating herself in her bedroom and crying for hours.

5.5.3. Stress

For many Muslim women who feel unable to take effective action, there is a continual secretion of stress chemicals. The concept of weathering denotes a diminishing of the body's systems by environmental/interpersonal stressors that accrue with time (Sullivan, 2015, pp. 105-106). Stress was reported by at least 14 women. In Rafiqa's case, she described daily Islamophobia at work from her colleagues who would give her the silent treatment, shout, swear, square up, make pig sounds, constantly observe her lessons, assert that she has to break her fast, tell her she does not *"fit the face… of the school"*, steal and destroy her resources/personal property, and describe Black children as *'niggers'*. She recalled how the situation got worse when a new head teacher was appointed (who supported the perpetrators) and when the few friends she had either left or would not speak to her at work for fear of being targeted.

> *"We didn't own our own house and we had two children at private school… so I just thought ok stick it out, it will pay for the kids' schooling and once the kids finish their*

A levels, then I'll leave… my husband works as well, but it would have had a big big impact if I'd quit work… I had, quite a lot, I got ill, I had pertussis which is whooping cough… and then I got pneumonia. And, there was no support from school. I took about a week off and a couple of days off here and there because my health was just deteriorating and then, after a period of illness when I was going back to school, I had some kind of, like an attack where I was struggling to see, and my eyes just went funny, my whole cornea… I really could not see at all, so my husband rushed me to hospital, they checked and everything, and they said, 'it just went black'… my eyes just went red and my cornea just crinkled up. I was crying and I was crying a lot and my husband said… 'you've got no option but to quit, you have to walk out'… and I said 'let me get through to Easter, and then I know it's just the summer term and hopefully it will get better Inshallah'… and he was just like 'just quit quit quit quit quit'... He said… 'don't worry we'll make it work, I just can't see you like this anymore'. And even my children, in the end they were like, 'you know what it's not worth it, you need to quit'. My daughters were saying to me 'everyday it's the same, you come home you're upset you're crying. It's too much - it's been too much'." [Rafiqa, 40s, British, Pakistani, teacher]

Normally, when the body responds to a challenge, extra hormones like adrenaline are momentarily generated with the aim of resolving that challenge. Production is terminated when the adversity has subsided. However, when the same body is subjected to continual stress, it is unable to cease the additional generation of hormones, thus resulting in what is known as a high "allostatic load" (Sullivan, 2015, pp. 105-106). Rafiqa would constantly challenge individuals and report their behaviour (at her place of work and to support services) but to no avail. There was an eventual weakening of her body's systems of regulation, causing many a health problem such as pertussis, pneumonia and even damage to the cornea.

Insomnia was also reported by Muslim women as a recurrent indicator of stress.

"Since… I arrive to UK, even I cannot sleep. I cannot like you know, get sleep, without pill, so every night I'm taking medication… and this one it's not normal for me." [Farida, 30s, access to a child visa, Yemeni, full-time mother]

There are many reasons why people who suffer geotrauma may experience insomnia. If geotrauma unfolds at night and/or at/in proximity to home (like for those Muslim women who live in the same accommodation as perpetrators), it feels threatening to the unconscious to totally relax at night, so arousal of the sympathetic nervous system will make it more difficult to sleep. If people have a lot to emotionally process (like ongoing Islamophobia, the impacts, the lack of support and injustice), they may find themselves using the time allocated to sleep to do this. Insomnia can have additional consequences for health, mood, ability to work, memory and sense of wellbeing (Cori, 2008, p. 39). For example, Farida mentioned a desire to improve her English, but said she could scarcely concentrate.

5.6. Conclusion

Probing into institutional routines that contribute towards geotrauma directs attention to how justice may be obstructed by the police and sometime support services. This focus contrasts existing literature on Islamophobia in the form of hate crime which mostly explores the impacts arising from encounters between victims and perpetrators (like Listerborn, 2015), hence obscuring the role of institutions in protracting affliction. The reality of geotrauma, as experienced by survivors who utilise the criminal justice system, demonstrates that the state must engage in reformation and scrutinise its practices in order to fulfil its duty of delivering justice. Muslim women who are traumatised can feel completely alone; during the geotrauma there is a lack of support, and after the geotrauma there is a lack of support. This paucity leaves footprints on the body and other aspects of life as outlined in this chapter, such that geotrauma is a "chronic… condition", which is "structurally rooted in oppressive power relations and involve[s] ongoing, layered or transferred violence". Thus, whilst the accounts of geotrauma are intimate, they are also "social and political symptomologies" (Pain, 2021, p. 984).

Through the concept of geotrauma, we can see how slow violence continues beyond speech acts of the state and support services. The slow violence may start through non-performatives and the identification of failures, however it becomes attritional, functioning as a key "threat multiplier" (Nixon, 2011, p. 3), owing to the perceived downplaying of Brown/Black women's geotrauma, claims of victim-blaming and accusations of being 'bad mothers', all of which are buttressed by an environment that refuses to witness their testimonies. Geotrauma

is further amplified through imposing the burden of proof, reversing amnesia and numbing, overlooking the effects of shock which hinder Muslim women's ability to gather evidence, and failing to deliver a criminal (or civil) justice outcome that is proportionate to the type of crime (or incident). In the absence of adequate support and justice, the imprints of geotrauma endure, which include the formation of multi-layered geotrauma through triggers, contagiousness (whereby emotional wounding extends beyond the individual) and flashbacks and fear. Often these marks of geotrauma can give way to geotrauma-related disorders such as anxiety, depression and stress, the remedies for which, appear to be unhelpful, as outlined in the chapter on speech acts. In this way the conditions for maintaining life can become incrementally jeopardised, if not deteriorated (Nixon, 2011, p. 3), and geotrauma becomes embedded in the body.

The notion of slow violence raises challenges, specifically its development and belated impacts. This is because "both the causes and the memory of catastrophe readily fade from view as the casualties incurred typically pass untallied and unremembered. Such discounting in turn makes it far more difficult to secure effective legal measures for prevention, restitution and redress" (Nixon, 2011, pp. 8-9). At the same time, the victims of slow violence are likely to be those groups whose lives are mostly invisible, and those whose lives are probably perceived to matter the least (p. 13).

Chapter 6: Attunements: conditions needed to improve support and deliver justice

6.1. Introduction

The preceding chapters have unmasked how institutions (the police and support services) can consistently be 'non-attuned' or 'out of tune' with Muslim women, whereby they are not in a responsive relation with them. This can be conscious when institutions are cognisant of their shortcomings, but it can also be unconscious when they are oblivious to the harm they spawn which was made prominent by Muslim women. These realities inevitably magnify the trauma which victims experience during and in the aftermath of hate crime. There are times however when family, friends and specialist advocates/activists/mental health workers can alleviate some of the hurt through attunement. If institutions are to improve their responses to hate crimes, they can benefit from understanding this phenomenon which I explain in the literature review. I primarily employ Stern's (1998, p. 138) concept of "affect attunement" (which I will just refer to as attunement). He uses this to describe how it is possible for others to get 'inside of' the subjective experience of another, and then to inform them of this without necessarily using words (he mainly draws on the relationship between a mother and her infant). Such a process may seem akin to empathy, however there are some differences. Attunement takes place automatically without awareness, whereas empathy requires greater cognition and consists of: "1) the resonance of [a] feeling state, 2) the abstraction of empathetic knowledge from the experience of emotional resonance, 3) the integration of abstracted empathetic knowledge into an empathetic response, and 4) a transient role identification" (Stern, 1998, p. 145).

A mixture of organisations took part in the interviews as detailed in section 3.3 of the methodology chapter. Some of these were specific to hate crime, whilst others focused on all crimes, issues pertaining to women, the community and so forth. Some were reactive (responding to victims' needs) whilst others were proactive (locating and resolving issues). Some worked face-to-face, whilst others provided assistance through the phone. Each advocacy/activist organisation that took part in the project had its own remit. Activities comprised: listening and signposting, providing information and guidance, offering mental health support, conducting casework from cradle to grave, delivering practical assistance,

influencing decision-makers and so forth. No organisation provided 'everything'. Regardless of the particular expertise of advocates/activists, they all saw certain types of attunement as integral to nurturing support and justice, which will be explored throughout this piece.

The chapter is divided into three parts. Section 6.2 explores the utility of relationality, through the examples of deep and active listening, non-judgement, touch and mimicry. These processes are important steps when working towards support and justice, and whilst they are sometimes absent in state systems, they are certainly not enough in isolation. Section 6.3 develops Braidotti's (2002) concept of metamorphosis (i.e. processes pertinent to becoming), to theorise how Muslim women embody 'the speaker', 'the learner', 'the perseverer' and 'the fighter', with the help of specialist (i.e. minority ethnic-led) mental health services and charities that confront Islamophobia. Section 6.4 concentrates on systems, particularly how these are navigated with the help of more-than-human attunements and specialist advocates/activists. Here I explore the concepts of Prophetic anger, leverage points, escalation and restructure. Across the three sections, these attunements show what a victim- or client-centred approach looks like which makes Muslim women feel supported and valued. However, the conclusion will accentuate that anti-racism work in the form of attunements occurs at the cost of advocates'/activists' wellbeing, burdening those who come from communities that are already suffering.

6.2. Relationality

Attunements include responding to relational needs which enhance the quality of life and a sense of self. Relational needs include validation, acceptance, relatability, self-definition, having an impact on the other and having the other initiate (Erskine, 1998, pp. 237-241), all of which can be brought about by deep and active listening, non-judgement, touch and mimicry. Specialist advocates/activists, family members, friends and other close contacts were typically praised as being able to successfully fulfil relational needs.

6.2.1 Deep and active listening

The majority of victims found talking and being listened to therapeutic. When I spoke to an advocate/activist from Organisation 5, he recalled a telephone conversation with a young

female Muslim student, and how he helped her to move away from a place of distress through deep and active listening. He described how somebody held a piece of broken glass against her neck, called her a *"terrorist"* and told her to *"fuck off back to her own country"*. The episode had been reported to the police, but she could not talk to her family about it because they did not have any experience in dealing with the matter and they kept wondering why she was so upset. An advocate/activist from Organisation 5 combined his experience as a former employee of Citizens Advice Bureau with his experience as a former student advisor in higher education to assist the young woman in moving forward.

> *"It was just a really positive experience for me to move her [the young female Muslim student] from a place where at the end of that conversation she was laughing and joking and was a lot calmer. And really thanked me for doing what I did which was distract her. I moved her away from reliving this experience over and over again. She mentioned in passing because I was being very attentive… I asked about the A levels… whether or not that had completely impaired her performance and whether she sought mitigation because, I used to be a student advisor, so these sort of things just occur to me automatically, then I started to talk to her about her aspirations for university, what subjects she was going to study, which institutions she was, aiming at. I drew on my experience as a student advisor to talk to her about freshers and beginning an academic career. And she said at the end of it 'thanks… it was really positive that you were, offering me tips and advice, but you were also taking my mind away from it'. So that's one example… I will tailor a conversation based on the person I'm speaking to… I will modify my accent, I will modify my vocabulary. I've had conversations about Franz Kafka with some clients. I've used different colloquialism and frames of reference depending on whom I'm talking to and some of that is about putting the client at ease. They're sort of intuitive things that… would be very difficult for me to articulate. I'm more likely to use my Northern accent if I'm talking to somebody that's working-class and I'm trying to put them at their ease. I'm more likely to use more vocabulary if I'm talking to somebody in authority. But I'm also very informal. Because at the end of the day, it's just one human being talking to another human being." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 5 which is a reporting centre and provides signposting for all forms of hate crime]*

The advocate/activist from Organisation 5 exemplifies one specific genre of attunement which refers to covert techniques for modifying behaviour and experience. This is known as "misattunement" (Stern, 1998, p. 148) and does not refer to those moments where two people are "out of sync" (Ahmed, 2014, p. 19). One type of misattunement of relevance here is "purposeful misattunement", whereby there is a deliberate over- or under-matching of another's intensity, timing, or behaviour. The aim of misattunement is to amplify or reduce another's level of activity or affect (Stern, 1998, p. 148). In summary, the advocate/activist attempted to sneak into his client's state of feeling (her interiority), to disrupt her experience of reliving the Islamophobic encounter. Once he had (partially) 'captured' how she was feeling, he then attempted to recast the experience of emotional resonance into another form of expression (p. 224), but not to the extent that the attunement was broken. For example, he picked up on what may ordinarily seem like superfluous material (anything that was external to the source of the client's problem) and showed an interest in this, including her A levels, academic performance, whether or not she had declared extenuating circumstances, her degree choice, the institutions she was aiming for and occupational aspirations. He then put forward advice on navigating freshers and embarking on an academic career. This is the opposite of "thin listening" which rarely takes into consideration, "the breadth and depth" of the speaker's contents (Koch, 2020, p. 58). The main aim of the call was acknowledged at the end, as she mentioned that the conversation had provided her with helpful suggestions and been a distraction. The advocate/activist hoped to return the woman's experience of hate crime to her, so that she would feel it in a different, perhaps more manageable manner, at least to the extent that it would not hold her back from realising her ambitions (Stern, 1998). This unique interpersonal contact is only possible through a service that is tailored to each client.

It is visible here that attunement is a product of labour, of how one needs to labour, in order to be in tune with Muslim women. However, "if the labour is successful, it disappears as labour" (Ahmed, 2014a, p. 21) as the advocate/activist mentioned attunements can be "difficult to articulate". Due to the overly fleeting encounters which listening services offer, it is very difficult to understand the long-term effects of such ephemeral attunements. For example Organisation 12 allows its clients to talk for 45 minutes before drawing the call to an end owing to high demand. Indeed, its objective is to wean clients off to avoid dependency on the provision. Nonetheless listening services appear to be positive building blocks when clients give consent to repairing themselves.

6.2.2. Non-judgement

In 14 of the interviews with victims, non-judgement was emphasised to be a fundamental form of interaction. This was mostly implicitly (but at times explicitly) echoed by all of the advocates/activists. Organisation 12 for example gives clients the space to talk about sensitive subjects like suicide without immediately calling the authorities. Non-judgement was evident through the differentiation between exploring suicide and having a concrete plan to commit suicide. The former was seen as acceptable, whilst the latter would be a cause for concern. In my own interviews with victims of Islamophobia, several felt comfortable in sharing the fact that at various stages in the past, they had felt suicidal. Manifestations of helplessness and hopelessness are often consequences of "relational needs [that] are not satisfied" (Erskine, 1998 p. 238). Feeling suicidal highlights just how intense suffering can be, whereby ending life is the only way to halt pain.

> *"I was really want to like end my life that time... she [the advocate/activist from Organisation 3] was comfort me, talking me and checking me, saying 'everything will be alright, you're not alone now I will help you'. She reminded me my religion as well - Islam… [she is] very very empathetic. Even now she texts if everything is ok in this place I'm living in now. I feel like I'm being cared. [She] was very, caring, kind and talking to me very nice… you feel a little bit more released, [when] you talk to Allah… 'I'm really struggling please Allah help me, to calm down or not to kill myself'. In Islam they're saying like if you kill yourself, you're likely to go, to hell. Because you know your life? It's from Allah and Allah will take from you when he want to take it. And… if you harm yourself, so you like increase sin… it's better somebody else to kill you instead you kill yourself intentionally." [Masuma, 30s, British, Somali, professional carer/student]*

Attunement occurred from the moment the advocate/activist expressed a willingness to be aroused by Masuma's affect of feeling suicidal and decided to respond with a "reciprocal affect" (Erskine, 1998, p. 236). In particular, the advocate/activist from Organisation 3 reminded her client to remember Islam during hardship. This allowed Masuma to recollect its teachings, so that she was able to become more spiritually attuned. She was able to recall

with clarity that killing oneself is far worse than enduring hardship as life holds both sacredness and sanctity. That is, life is given by God and can only be taken away by God. In the meantime, life must be revered and safeguarded, even if that life is of "poor quality" (Shomali, 2008). Anyone who takes life, including one's own, is thus committing a crime, exemplified by the following verse (5:32): "whoever slays a soul, unless it is for manslaughter or for mischief in the land, it is as though he slew all men; and whoever keeps it alive, it is as though he kept alive all men" (Qur'an, n.d.).

In this way, there was an awakening of spiritual attunement, and the main aim was to allow this spiritual attunement to be as it was. If the spiritual attunement has been "awakened" (according to linguistic usage), then it goes without saying that prior to this, the spiritual attunement had been "sleeping". Something "must be there… in order to be away" (Heidegger, 2009, pp. 85-86). The spiritual attunement focuses on what the body 'should do', rather than what it 'can do' (the latter being the modus operandi of most scholars' interpretation of the body (like Anderson, 2014)). The key point is that a lot of Muslim women across the interviews felt completely disconnected from life (including religion) at various points in time because of Islamophobia. I exemplify this in the section on geotrauma-related disorders in addition to Masuma's all-consuming suicidal mood. Thus, the advocate/activist had to draw on tacit knowledge about how to re-shape Masuma's mood. The spiritual attunement was strengthened through the advocate's/activist's initiation, whereby she would regularly check in with her client, recording how long Masuma's internal state endures, mapping its rise and fall, and ultimately attempting to impede it where necessary (Heidegger, 2009, p. 84), by showing that she does care and that Masuma's life does matter. "Initiation refers to the impetus for making interpersonal contact with another person. It is reaching out to the other in some way that acknowledges and validates the importance of… her in the relationship" (Erskine, 1998, p. 240).

6.2.3. Touch

The care offered by family, friends, and other close contacts played a particularly important role in each Muslim woman's capacity to manage uncomfortable emotions. For Conradson (2003, p. 508), care entails "the proactive interest of one person in the wellbeing of another". Fisher and Tronto (1990, p. 40) define caring as:

> "A species activity that includes everything… we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web."

The informal networks of care which Muslim women are embedded in, had a tendency to listen and believe what they were being told, thus offering validation. They were able to propose words of advice and encouragement to allow Muslim women to move forward. The role of touch appeared to have healing properties (as confirmed by 16 women). Basma recounted an English lesson run by Crisis, where her teacher had picked up on her low mood.

> *"During the class… I said 'yes actually the life in UK it's difficult'. So maybe when I said this sentence and, after that my face it was look sad and she paid attention. When the class been done and she said… 'Basma stay with me, for little bit'. So everybody left and after that we sit down… she told me 'you very sad'. I say 'yes teacher I'm very sad because the life in the UK very difficult… because I am alone here, because sometime problem was people, sometime… I am very tired and very angry'. 'Basma, this is life… life not… every time to be high… but sometime, life in the low... sometime middle… I know you alone here but I feel you strong woman. You very, clever, you very strong'. I say 'thank you [teacher]'… when we was sit down and talking about you know what I been through, she was… squeezing my hand and after that she was putting… her hand on my back and say 'everything will be ok Basma'… at that time not just me anyone can feel good because you feel you are not alone and it's somebody there even like you know this support it's not enough." [Basma, 40s, asylum seeker, Iraqi]*

Exploring the concept of touch means paying attention to the "immediacy of our everyday, embodied, tactile-spatial experience". When the human body is touched, "the immediacy of sensation is affirmatory… and comforting, involving a mutual co-implication of one's own body and another's presence" (Paterson, 2007, pp. 2-3). Basma's ears heard the contents of her teacher's uplifting words, whilst her eyes saw that the teacher had moved close to her. The teacher's presence, proximity, dulcet sounds and soothing touch cemented an empathetic or affective bond, giving way to a wholly different conduit of communication, one where the

teacher ceased to be so, and one where she started to occupy the role of friend, which allowed Basma to feel like she was no longer alone. In this way, it can be said that Basma also felt 'touched' in the "metaphorical" sense: she felt emotionally affected (Paterson, 2007, pp. 6-7), she felt "good", even though she acknowledged that this support by itself was not enough to undo the Islamophobia she experienced and will most likely experience again. Accordingly, touch extends beyond mere contact with the epidermis. The touch of the teacher can almost be seen as one that facilitates flows of "energy, empathy and affect", that conveys "feeling-with another", and so it takes on an affective quality that is quite therapeutic. The significance of the touch lies in the "intercorporeal nature and the way…[it] restore[s] tactility and the somatic senses into prominence" (p. 13). It is essential to note that this emotional and physical proximity is in antithesis to the absence of emotional and physical proximity from others (bystanders, the state and sometimes generic/mainstream support services) as established in the previous chapters.

6.2.4. Mimicry

Muslim women recalled that upon notifying their family and friends that they had been targeted, their personal networks would often display strong emotional reactions. A basic relational need is to "have an impact on the other person" in a desired way, whereby the other person reacts in a manner that shows the subject matters (Erskine, 1998, p. 240). "Relational needs include the need to… validate that our emotions are a significant intrapsychic and interpersonal communication" (p. 238). Fischer and Hess (2016, p. 1) echo this notion:

> "We feel and express emotions towards the people we care about, and if people do not elicit any emotions in us, this implies that we feel indifferent towards them. Thus we get angry, irritated, worried, sad, or proud with the people to whom we feel connected; the stronger our concerns, the stronger the emotions, whether negative or positive."

> *"When I tell him [husband] [about hate crime], he's… visibly angry [like me]. He would just ask me what happened and then he would listen to exactly what happened. And then he would probably tell me… 'how you know dare he speak to you like that'. And then he would say 'this is what we're going to do, you need to report it', and he'll*

say like 'I'm really sorry that happened to you'." [Naila, 30s, British, English, mental health nurse]

If Muslim women were angry, their family members and friends were angry. If Muslim women were shocked, their family members and friends were shocked. If Muslim women were sad, their family members and friends were sad. Mimicry, which was evident in 10 interviews, has been defined as "the tendency to automatically imitate and synchronise facial expressions, vocalisations, postures, and movements with those of another person" (Fischer and Hess, 2016, p. 2). This means that family members and friends actively respond to the emotional expressions of Muslim women and react by demonstrating the same – or from time to time – different expressions. For Stel, (2016, pp. 28-29):

> "[One] possible explanation for the relation between feeling an emotion and mimicking an emotion is… to communicate that one understands [and cares about] the emotions of the other person."

Alternatively, someone can exhibit a facial expression that is close to the facial expression of the subject, merely because someone catches the emotion(s) of the subject from what has been said. This occurs as mimicry is sometimes regarded to be one of the causal avenues to empathy (Hatfield et al., 1992). In contrast to the non-performativity of empathy by police officers and some (generic/mainstream) support services, family members and friends of Muslim women can have too much empathy owing to a combination of love, protectiveness and "epistemic transformation". The latter refers to experiences that must be endured in order to understand what they are really like - the act of imagining is not sufficient (Paul, 2014, pp. 10-11).

6.3. Metamorphosis

Those who are out of tune with Muslim women can certainly employ deep and active listening, non-judgement, touch and mimicry as a means to improve relationality, however, these undertakings are not enough in isolation. Indeed, they happened to be the main ingredients in helping Muslim women undergo what Braidotti (2002, p. 12) calls a "metamorphosis" (or "subject-in-process"). By this, she means that "a location… is not a self-appointed and self-designed subject-position. It is a collectively shared and constructed,

jointly occupied spatio-temporal territory". I apply her core idea to my empirical material to exhibit how Muslim women's locations can shift as a consequence of Islamophobia but also other inequalities. They can lose their voice, realise gaps in their knowledge when it comes to civil rights, feel like giving up and experience impaired functioning in day-to-day living, all of which can inhibit them from reporting and pursuing cases. I evince how their shattered locations were collectively rebuilt by discussing four types of subject-positions that are not mutually exclusive: 'the speaker', 'the learner', 'the perseverer' and 'the fighter'. These figurations show how reporting hate crime, learning about civil rights, ensuring cases receive attention and resuming everyday activities were all aspects which Muslim women required assistance with in order to pursue justice. Not speaking, not knowing, not persevering and not fighting evaded self-scrutiny as these practices were habitual (i.e. victims could not easily see them). The politics of location thus necessitates "consciousness-raising that requires political awakening and hence the intervention of others [i.e. advocates/activists]" (Braidotti, 2002, p. 12).

6.3.1. Rebuilding voice: 'the speaker'

In more than a half of the interviews with Muslim women, it became apparent that there was often a need to help a victim find her voice. When I spoke to an advocate/mental health worker from Organisation 8, she explained that when her clients had tried to speak about injustice in relation to a whole host of issues including domestic violence and childbirth, they had not been heard. This then affected their ability to speak about other issues such as Islamophobia. The advocate/mental health worker recalled supporting a niqabi who was called a *"bank robber"* at the bus stop; when the advocate/mental health worker pointed out that what had happened on the bus was an injustice which could be reported, the client did not feel confident enough to do this. As she had been shunned by family members when speaking out against domestic abuse by her husband, she felt like the police would not take any of her issues seriously either. There thus seemed to be some internalisation of phallogocentrism. Whilst the concept was coined by Derrida to describe male-centred viewpoints articulated in and through language, feminists utilised the term in the 1980s to denote how women's perspectives were confined to the periphery within most cultures, not least through language (Griffin, 2017). This exemplifies Griffin's (2018, p. 110) argument

that not all subaltern women are able to "take voice" due to continual marginalisation and an imposition of invisibility.

Support in this case entailed repairing her confidence (which she did not have to even make a report). This required the dismantling of internalised phallogocentrism through principles of cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) so as to "keep open the processes of becoming" (Braidotti, 2002, p. 85). One activity was geared towards combatting negative thoughts with positive thoughts by nurturing leisurely pursuits like painting. Another activity emphasised the significance of setting boundaries, so if family members ask her to do things, how does she say no in a nice way, how can she differentiate between assertiveness and aggressiveness and at which point along that spectrum would she like to be. The advocate/mental health worker also imparted guidance to her client on how she could meet her educational goals and prioritise self-care through moderate amounts of exercise, mindfulness and breathing techniques.

> *"Having that regular contact with them, having that warm kind of non-judgemental approach and kind of validating approach, it helps them feel a bit more confident… the idea is that if they start to feel a bit more confident, if they start to feel heard in one kind of setting, they can then replicate that in all those different settings as well… and that's a big advantage." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 8 which is a minority ethnic-led support service for mental health]*

There was an attempt to stop the client from existing as a "disempowered reflection of a dominant subject [her husband] who casts his masculinity in a universalistic posture" (Braidotti, 2002, p. 11). Courtesy of the intersubjective mental health sessions, the advocate/mental health worker introduced her client to processes of becoming, which "are not predicated on a stable, centralised self who supervises their unfolding. They rest on a… non-unitary, multi-layered dynamic subject" (p. 118). With the help of the advocate/mental health worker, the client could see her body as a "play of forces, a surface of intensities" (p. 21). She has the capacity to alter her thoughts through the artwork she creates. She has the capacity to express herself to family members in a way that she wants. She has the capacity to study what interests her. She has the capacity to choose whatever career she sets her heart on having. She has the capacity to prioritise her own wellbeing.

Feminist theorists have argued for processes of sexual difference to be better represented, especially in a way that acknowledges the fluidity of "data, experience and information" (Braidotti, 2002, p. 2). In this context, "becoming [a] woman is an affect that flows… it is a composition, a location that needs to be constructed… in… encounter[s] with others" (p. 118). This helps us to understand that becoming a woman who speaks needs to be constructed with the co-operation of others. The empirical material elucidates these others to be the advocate/mental health worker, her family, her artwork, her education and her self-care, in order to push the subject to her limit. "[Becoming a] woman is neither open nor closed. She is indefinite, in-finite, form is never complete in her… this incompleteness in her form, her morphology, allows her continually to become something else" (Irigaray, 1992, p. 229). By attending the mental health sessions and putting into practice what the advocate/mental health worker advised, the client learnt how she could re-invent herself and her desires, and so she became the process of transformation. She therefore attempted to break free from "semiotic inscriptions and culturally enforced codes" such as voiceless, passive and weak (Braidotti, 2002, p. 21).

6.3.2. Informing victims of their rights: 'the learner'

Educating women about their rights, such that they metamorphosed into 'the learner', appeared to be amongst the most vital forms of "subject-in-process" during the majority of interviews with victims, who often were clueless about what they could do and whom they could turn to for succour, in the absence of assistance from personal networks and state actors (Braidotti, 2002, p. 12). Khadija (a part-time manager at a restaurant) recalled a situation where a new male colleague called her a *'paki'*. In spite of being a victim of hate crime, Khadija's boss ended up dismissing her because he was embarrassed that customers had to witness the chaos (he specifically referred to the arrival of police officers whom Khadija had called). He also affirmed that it would be too much of a hassle to hire a new chef as he had already invested his time and money into training the male employee. As there were other managers employed, it would be much easier to ask them to cover Khadija's shifts. Khadija found herself agreeing with her boss to an extent but was still visibly distressed so sought help from Organisation 2 to explore her options of what could be done.

"After I got sacked, I think within 24 hours I made contact with [Organisation 2]… and I was actually not clued up on what I could do about, something like this happening so when I spoke to the woman from [Organisation 2]… and she explained ABCDE needs to be done… straightaway fighter mode kicked in like oh ok so there's a light at the end of this tunnel… I have a path that I was unaware of… she was like 'no you need to apply for this… we're going to do this this this this'. And it felt like oh someone's fighting for me you know someone cares about something like this… the way they were talking… they knew everything, they had a procedure of what needed to happen… they were very comforting… I myself even on the phone was downplaying the situation to them… and even with me downplaying it, it felt, enough for [Organisation 2] to be like 'oh my God no this is serious you can't stand for this'… I didn't even realise unfair dismissals was a thing… until [Organisation 2] were like 'no that's a thing, your employer has a duty of care towards you and you know it wasn't too much hassle… [to train another chef]. He should have just found someone else for those days that you were in'. So I didn't even know I had those rights available to me so the fact that [Organisation 2] laid that stuff out for me, it really helped you know? It gave me a boost of confidence… [They said] 'this is something that is illegal actually and it shouldn't be allowed'." [Khadija, 20s, British, Afghan, engineer]

Khadija contacted Organisation 2 because she felt a sense of unfairness. The advocate/activist confirmed that what had happened – racism, followed by dismissal – was unlawful and should not have occurred, thereby reading with rapidity, their client's suspicion of injustice. Khadija was able to read the advocate's/activist's matching response as being linked to her own state of feeling, and began to realise that perhaps she could take legal action against those who harmed her. She explicitly uttered that courtesy of the telephone conversation with Organisation 2, she became aware of a path that was previously hidden. On the other hand, a pure imitation of Khadija's behaviour would have been more similar to expressions of doubt, unawareness and emotional instability. It is therefore palpable that advocates/activists must not limit their embodiment to mere imitations which do not allow one to slip into the other's internal state (however partial this may be); "imitation renders form" whilst "attunement renders feeling" (Stern, 1998, p. 142).

Whilst imitations can certainly offer validation, they may not facilitate justice. Advocates/activists perform something akin to "close or loose imitations" of their clients' immediate behaviours. If victims vocalise, advocates/activists vocalise in return. If victims make a face, advocates/activists make a face too. However crucially, the dialogue does not take the form of a tedious pattern of duplications. This is because advocates/activists attempt to introduce "modifying imitations" (p. 139) by reminding clients of their civil rights, and by telling them about the mechanisms of justice, with the aim of "maximising or minimising aspects of… [their clients'] original behaviour[s]" (p. 143). In Khadija's case, the minimisation of a sense of helplessness and the maximisation of (legal) knowledge so that she could take actions to redress the injustice inflicted upon her. Consequently, "a social network of exchanges" between Organisation 3 and Khadija allowed her to ascertain her capacities which were previously blind spots (Braidotti, 2002, p. 13). It is important to note that this "ethic of care" is based on "relations of trust" (McDowell, 2004, p. 157) (whereby the 'unknowing' victim depends on the 'knowing' advocates/activists).

6.3.3. Encouraging victims to pursue cases: 'the perseverer'

As established in the previous chapter, recounting Islamophobia was highly traumatic and Muslim women often wanted to put the abuse behind them in order to move on. However this preference was compromised by the lifespan of investigations which took months if not years to resolve. Consequently victims could go through periods where they felt disinclined to contend with the criminal justice system. In such scenarios, the role of advocates/activists became invaluable. They would regularly keep in touch with their clients to make sure the essentials for pursuing cases were (being) completed such as witness and impact statements. They would frequently provide advice on the contents of those statements and ensure that the police were paying attention to Islamophobic cases. In this way, advocates/activists encouraged Muslim women not to give up, even when sometimes this felt like the easiest avenue to take. Embodying the subject-position of 'perseverer' is vital, because if Muslim women do not consent to take action, there can never be any justice, even with advocacy.

> *I found it really difficult in the beginning… talking to [the advocate/activist from Organisation 2]… obviously she was trying to encourage me like to, pursue it and stuff but like to, keep getting told like 'chase it up chase it up chase it up' I was like, 'I*

don't want to think about this you know? It's quite hard'... especially when you don't feel like you want to feel that way... even though you know that there's not really like a good relationship with the police, you never think it's going to be as bad as what happened... I think the police needs an educational reform - like very very necessary at this point… it [the chasing] was in a good way… I can't fault her. I think that she understands from working with other victims… that's necessary - do you see? Because for them it's like, if we don't get an outcome, good or bad, we've got nothing to reform, do you see? She was always really helpful, friendly… even things like asking how I am, 'I haven't heard from you, is everything ok?'... She drafted something for me… she was quite persistent like in a really good way… and if I said to her 'can I speak to you?', like I don't think I ever needed to because she always, made sure she called me and spoke to me… I think she really did advise me, even when I was doing my statement, I sent it to her and she sent it back to me and she said to me… 'I think that you should talk about how you were impacted… how this has affected you, your son. And how important it is that you get justice' and I was like 'oh', I was like 'I didn't even think of that' and so I did." [Nima, 20s, British, Pakistani, business owner]

Instead of merely saying *"chase it up"* once which functions as a positive reinforcer, the advocate/activist from Organisation 3 repeated *"chase it up, chase it up, chase it up"*. She repeated the positive reinforcer with a kind of intense intonation in the imperative clause. In particular, there was cross-modal over-matching, whereby the advocate's/activist's modality of expression differed from the client's. Nima's lack of bodily movements in both intensity and duration were over-matched by the intensity and duration of the advocate's/activist's voice. There was not a correspondence to Nima's behaviour per se, but rather an element of the behaviour that reflected Nima's internal state, which would seem to indicate apathy, as she just wanted to put the hostility behind her. The expressions can certainly change but they remain as articulations of a "recognisable internal state" (Stern, 1998, pp. 141-142).

This kind of attunement led to an awakening within Nima, which means "letting whatever is sleeping become wakeful" (Heidegger, 2009, p. 80). She realised the importance of achieving a positive outcome, which she wanted in the first place, otherwise she would not have contacted the police and Organisation 3 and published her experience online to warn others, however this desire receded due to ongoing geotrauma. She also started to recognise the

importance of achieving a criminal justice outcome for other women which would perhaps entice them to report hate crime. However, if her endeavour were to malfunction, it would further fortify the call to reform the police. This realisation was "absent and yet there". As humans, "something can be at hand in us and yet not be… there are processes that belong to us that nevertheless do not enter our consciousness" (Heidegger, 2009, p. 81). Hence, an ethic of care reignites the active reimagination of policing and this hinges on the refusal of advocates/activists to "partition care from justice" (Staeheli and Brown, 2003, pp. 773-776). In particular, metamorphosing into the 'perseverer' (which is rooted in flows of information between Nima, the advocate/activist and the police), deconstructs power relations, specifically the inertia of police officers to resolve her case and Nima's inability to confront this due to lethargy.

6.3.4. Complete advocacy: 'the fighter'

In a small number of cases where Islamophobia was resulting in severe debilitation of bodily capacities (i.e. the inability to perform daily tasks), complete advocacy was vital to rebuilding a victim's sense of self (Kobayashi et al., 2014) and gave rise to one particular metamorphosis: 'the fighter'. Due to a barrage of abuse from an Islamophobic neighbour, one victim felt unable to leave her house. This meant that she lost her job and could not take her children to school (she would also feel too afraid to open her curtains and non-exposure to sunlight can result in a vitamin D deficiency (NHS, n.d.-b)). The perpetrator would shout bible verses from his window and talk about Islam being the devil's work. After six months of abuse, he attempted to break into her house to physically attack her, at which point, she called the police (through 101) and was referred to Organisation 4 by her housing association. When the man moved into the area, she helped him to settle in, so the support service's response had to not only deal with a plethora of issues stemming from fear but also a sense of betrayal.

> *"We had to go out and support her... we'd… just listen to her. I think just letting her express how she felt. I think we were the first people to go in there and ask 'how are you?' It got to the point where we'd maybe do like little things like maybe go into the garden with her, or trying to slowly embed her in, helping her take the first steps into going out of the house… advocating for school, like the kids not missing school, so*

she doesn't get fined because that was another fear, because of not leaving the house… advocating for benefits because she lost her job because she couldn't leave the house. It was a lot of advocacy… we filled in a move application, made conversations with housing officers. The perpetrator is going to be moved, and for me that's the way it should be… because they're the wrong one. Helping and guiding her through the court process, 'this is what you're going to have to do, tell your story, answer the questions'... even to this day we're just having conversations with her and trying to help her… she's now able to go out into the community, she's able to take her kids to school. We're guiding her back into the world of work… we signposted her to Citizens Advice Bureau… who came out and did a home visit and did all the paperwork with her. So basically it was mainly around form filling, emotional development and advocacy, we advocated on her behalf… to the police because, the police were very very keen to get this matter resolved quickly. It was about seven months. You're looking at over a year… had she called on the first occasion, what would happen then? Because he went very severe towards the end."
[*Advocate/Activist from Organisation 4 which supports victims of crime*]

Being on the receiving end of Islamophobia induced a sense of agoraphobia, defined as "a fear of being in situations where escape might be difficult or… [where] help wouldn't be available if things go wrong" (NHS, n.d.-c). Thus, the spaces once occupied by the victim (home, work, school) no longer held significance for the ways in which they are represented (as home, work, school), because agoraphobia is generalised to a large number of spaces. Many people who suffer agoraphobia prefer to be accompanied by people they know (such as a partner, (other) family member or friend) when they traverse spaces which could trigger panic attacks, as their personal network could perhaps shield them from any potential danger, by stopping it from happening or by calling an emergency service (Bandelow et al., 2014, p. 2). However, the victim in this example (a single mother) did not have anyone whom she could rely on for escorting, so Organisation 4 took on this role.

There were some features of the victim's behaviour (intensity and timing) that were matched by the advocate without mirroring them. For example, the victim's vocalisation of help was matched by the advocate's vocalisation of help for the Muslim woman through contacting various agencies to work through the impacts of hate crime. The shifts in intensity were matched over time, as the victim's restricted physical effort matched the restricted physical

effort of the advocate (who helped her to go outside by slowly taking steps in the garden first). There was a temporal sequence, with the most important things being sorted out first like making sure the children go to school and then applying for benefits so she could stay in her house. These figurations (becoming confident, becoming a mother, becoming a provider) "embody stages of metamorphosis", to bring forth 'the fighter' (or fighting back to become what she once was) (Braidotti, 2002, p. 13). The time span of the behaviour was matched, as the advocate from Organisation 4 spent seven months looking after the woman or however long the help was needed. Hence, "giving and receiving care" "emphasise[s] the values of interdependence over individuation" (Smith, 2005, pp. 10-11). It requires "some individuals to move towards others" and stay with them. It is a "shared accomplishment" (Conradson, 2003, p. 508). The alternative subject-position underlines the pernicious impacts of Islamophobia and the rebuilding that is necessary to resume daily activities.

6.4. Systems

There is growing interest in contemplating how the lens of systems can be applied to aid better stewardship of public services, so that complex issues like hate crime/Islamophobia can be tackled. Policies often fail to achieve their intended results due to "complexity of… the environment in which implementation takes place", as exemplified by the chapters on speech acts and geotrauma (Gardner et al., 2019, p. 5). Using the lens of systems allows us to think about public organisations from the "outside-in" (i.e. through the needs of customers) (Seddon, 2008, p. 70). "A system is an interconnected set of elements that is coherently organised in a way that achieves something… a system must consist of three kinds of things: elements, interconnections, and a function or purpose" (Meadows, 2008, p. 11). Currently, there exists scant evidence on facilitating the stewardship of systems, including fundamental concepts and methods, but this final section of the chapter will show how attunement can help (Gardner et al., 2019, p .4).

6.4.1. Prophetic anger

"Delays, non-linearities, lack of firm boundaries, and other properties… that surprise us are found in just about any system", but as explored over the course of chapters 4 and 5, systems can also be "structured in ways that produce truly problematic behaviour; they cause great

trouble". Some predicaments of systems are unique whilst others are customary; the latter can be referred to as "problematic behaviour archetypes" (Meadows, 2008, p. 111). Owing to these things, it was sometimes difficult for Muslim women to confront systems without some kind of impetus. This impetus was frequently manifested as Prophetic anger, giving rise to more-than-human attunements. These appertain to "qualities, rhythms, forces, relations and movements" that are non-human (Stewart, 2011, p. 445).

In the majority of interviews, it was evident that Muslim women felt angry at their injustice, however they are required by their God not to react to the suffering caused by "human error" in a "wrongful wrath" (Murad, 2020, p. 264), which would merely serve oneself (p. 295). It is perfectly acceptable to be angry as this is part of human nature. Indeed, feeling angry can remind one to act, but it is necessary to do so within the confines of the law (p. 266). Other post-colonial and feminist intellectuals have spoken about the uses of anger in similar ways. For example, Nussbaum (2018, p. 74) introduces her readers to the term "transition-anger". This describes a reaction to considerable damage that has been unjustly inflicted on something/someone cherished, but which, may create an avenue for solutions to be sought.

For Amira, anger was imperative to driving the investigative process of the hate crime she experienced (when she was spat on whilst walking to work in the morning). She got in touch with a local newspaper to publish the story and was later contacted by a BBC reporter who wanted to have a filmed interview with her. This attracted plenty of attention upon dissemination. She revealed how anger simply gave her a drive *"to voice what [she] felt was wrong and [to] try to do something about it"*. She acknowledged that she was constantly chasing the police and asking them to approach certain witnesses (such as the cleaners who had the best view).

> *"I had the number of… my police officer and I was ringing them a lot and I was leaving messages and… I got in touch with the [shopping centre] security myself. I got in touch with Evening Post myself… so I done all these things." [Amira, 40s, British, Pakistani, project manager]*

In this way, Amira displayed a kind of "benign aggression" which tends to be quite a natural reaction when one's rights are withdrawn (Murad, 2020, p. 284). We see this through her relentless assertion to explore every avenue in order to catch the perpetrator. It is also very

much grounded in instinct; after her experience had been aired on TV, she used the same route to go to work the next day and was scanning the area, nervous that she might spot him for a second time, which she did, and so she alerted the police and they quickly arrived. The purpose of her anger or transition-anger was to enshrine the dignity of life. In contrast, "malignant aggression" is "unjust", and speaks to "vengeance… for its own sake" (Murad, 2020, p. 284). Amira suspected that had her case not garnered such heavy public exposure, she may not have received a positive outcome as the CPS only takes on cases if they are in the public interest. It is important to note that only women who have the time and skills are able to compete against systems with the help of more-than-human attunements.

6.4.2. Leverage points

Advocates/activists seemed to constantly be searching for ways to restructure systems through "leverage points" (Meadows, 2008, p. 6). "These are places within a complex system… where a small shift in one thing can produce big changes in everything" (Meadows, 1999, p. 1). This is possible because "systems can… adapt… and attend to their own survival" (Meadows, 2008, p. 12). A system's components are typically the easiest segments to distinguish, as a lot of them are observable, physical elements. The system of policing is made up of public money, officers, radios, mobile phones, control rooms, computers, police cars, reports, statements and so forth. Elements do not have to be tangible; they can also be intangible such as values like the duty to protect all citizens. It is integral to consider the interconnections between these.

An advocate/activist from Organisation 13 explained that one of her client's family (her children and her brother's children), received racial abuse in the street by their neighbours. The police had sent the case to the CPS, but because the case was very old, the CPS required the police to acquire a refreshed impact statement. Even though the victim was keen to fulfill this request, she became increasingly concerned about the stagnation of her case and enlisted Organisation 13 to intervene, as repeated pleas to the police to record a refreshed impact statement were not met following a considerable lapse of time. As the system did not respond in the desired way (Seddon, 2008, p. 80), the advocate/activist interrupted the movement of information (one of the many leverage points cited by Meadows (1999, p. 2)), by giving the

victim access to the commander's number. Indeed, the movement of information can keep the system running and can shape how it operates (Meadows, 2008, p. 14).

> *"It's 2 years old this crime… the CPS told her because the crime was so old that, they needed the police to go through refresher statements with her. She was panicking because they were young people and it's a long time since this happened and she did not want them to get off… and then she was like 'well the officer has not turned up - they keep saying they're going to turn up' and they turned up at her house, she told them she was on nights, they went to her brother's house and then left. When she contacted the officer back they said 'we ain't got time'. This was Friday and they were going to court on Tuesday, they goes we'll come Monday. She had no faith that they were going to turn back up if I'm honest. So she was like dragging me left right and centre and I said 'here you are the commander's phone number… [phone] yourself and tell him because he's telling me that everything that the police are doing at the minute is fantastic'… and she rang him and then she had an officer out that very next morning to go through her statements because she'd gone to the commander… she… went to court on Tuesday. Basically the magistrate said she couldn't do a full day sitting so it's been postponed." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 13 which supports the development of minority ethnic charities]*

Out of powerlessness, the victim contacted the advocate/activist from Organisation 13, and in doing so, brought an atmosphere of panic with her which attuned the advocate/activist "through and through" (Heidegger, 2009, p. 87). The resultant attunement became pronounced by the act of making a call to the commander to find out what was happening and then passing the number on to the client, who in spite of reassurance from the advocate/activist, was still panicking. Equally noteworthy here is the fact that leverage points are not permanent fixtures and they are certainly not accessible to every support service (perhaps only to those which have built relationships with senior state actors which is why only a very small number of advocates/activists discussed them). Therefore, if the conditions that caused the issue are not removed (such as nonchalant state responses) "any improvements will be marginal and unsustainable" (Seddon, 2008, p. 81). Similarly, an advocate/activist from Organisation 3 conveyed her preference for contacting police officers directly instead of ringing up 101 because the latter entails a lengthy wait. Nonetheless, she was still occasionally instructed to phone 101 in the future. Leverage points can also recede

when police officers move on and are replaced, or when connections become frayed owing to the withdrawal of public money from minority ethnic-led organisations, and its redirection to generic/mainstream provisions. If, however, the leverage points were to persist, there would be a greater likelihood of altering the system (Meadows, 2008, p. 17).

6.4.3. Escalation

Escalation appeared to be a key performance for five advocacy/activist groups. This usually meant documenting the intricacies of a case (including issues, impacts and solutions) and sending a copy of the records to the most senior person within the organisation accused of permitting Islamophobia, as such an influential individual can make a drastic difference. Escalation is based on the premise that institutions (and their powers) are made up of (and by) people; they are not abstract entities with no capacities to change. Organisation 9 likened this work to a *"power analysis"*. In the case of Organisation 1, escalation occasionally meant approaching the media with a news story as this could propel an establishment to act to avoid reputational damage. Thus, while escalation could take slightly different forms, it always involved taking cases to a higher level and was catalysed by the fact that when women spoke up, issues were sometimes kept at lower or middle level management which was *"not equipped or competent enough or [did not] care enough to deal with it properly" [advocate/activist from Organisation 3]*.

> *"This is 2015… the employment case. And so to give you an example, the report that we did, it's written for the mayor… and the chief exec… we address our serious case reports to leaders… we wrote… an overview… I'll give you some samples of the things we wrote down that were her major issues ok? Number one there is no longer a zero-tolerance message to customers regarding treatment of staff and racist abuse as there used to be. There seems to be a failure to report failure, to report instances of racism to health and safety by managers. The team as in the managers are not working with the police to resolve incidents. They just expect the victim staff to do it on their own. So can you imagine, you're being attacked in your workplace but your own organisation is not working with the police to help you? There's a failure to adhere to and a lack of clarity regarding clear protocols for dealing with racist abuse and oppressive incidents by customers or staff… racist staff are remaining in post in*

organisations so even after they have accusations against them… nothing is done with them - it is victims who end up being moved. Or victims are getting unwell, seen as the problem or… they're leaving… she had to have time off because of the impact on her… wellbeing… she felt so frightened, it's very hard for her to focus… she was so busy dealing with this and having to have time off, that, she couldn't actually progress in her career. And couldn't be seen for the potential she had. She couldn't thrive in her work environment, she couldn't enjoy her work environment and also she was lonely and isolated because… there was only 2 BAME staff left." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 3 which supports victims of any hate crime]

By virtue of its name, Organisation 3's 'serious case reviews' articulate a very sombre and stern tone; indeed for Manning (2013, p. 21), "each occasion has a tone, a singular expressivity". The involvement of Organisation 3 and the crafting of its 'serious case review' were not merely intended to deliver or restrict specific actions, but to establish a precise tone. The tone was not purely about creating a serious mood or emotional state in the bodies of those who would read the 'serious case review'. Rather, it was also about potentialising certain tendencies by tuning the milieu of the victim's workplace (where she experienced Islamophobia) in a number of ways (Ash and Gallacher, 2015, p. 80). Firstly, new policies and protocols to deal with racist incidents and staff. Secondly, the display of posters to inform customers that the establishment will not tolerate racist behaviour towards any employees. Thirdly, training for all staff to take hate crime seriously: to recognise and lend a helping hand to colleagues when it happens. Finally, ensuring that the establishment will support its workers with police inquiries. Specifically by calling the police, assisting the victim when the police take statements at work, and giving the victim time off to deal with the abuse.

In this way, escalation can be a form of systems thinking. This concept "focuses people to work on a few co-ordinated changes over time to achieve… impacts that are… sustainable" and "stimulate continuous learning" (Stroh, 2015, p. 22). Escalation as a form of systems thinking can accordingly be apprehended as a kind of "stewardship" (Gardner et al., 2019, p. 4) as it "motivates people [employer/colleagues/customers/police officers] to change because they discover their role in exacerbating the problems they want to solve [inequality/racism/Islamophobia]". The fundamental principle is that if people are unable to discern their responsibility for the present, they presume it is compulsory to change others

(Stroh, 2015, pp. 21-22). Thus, the tone of the workplace was not crafted to simply operate at a representational level, but to link the affects of bystanders (colleagues, customers and the police) (their capacities to intervene and help), to the affects of the victim (their capacities to labour, feel valued, progress in their career and feel well) in ways that would create supportive relationships between colleagues, customers, the police and victims. This means that tones do not simply indicate or establish moods; they influence the futures that can arise from a situation.

6.4.4. Restructure

It is possible to avoid "system traps", chiefly by identifying them early and by changing the structure through redesigning goals. Yet in spite of attempts to introduce "policy fixes", the system seems to be obstinately "stuck", generating repeated problematic behaviours (Meadows, 2008, p. 112). For instance the Stephen Lawrence inquiry published in 1999 recognised institutional racism and outlined a number of recommendations, yet more than 20 years on, the problem still persists. Resistance to policy is a consequence of the constrained rationality of each actor in a system, as each has their own goal. In a system that is resistant to policy, each actor will pull the system in a particular direction and each has to invest resources into pulling the system where the others may not wish for it to be. If one actor relinquishes their goal, the others will strive to pull the system closer to their goals (p. 113).

If we apply the aforementioned prelude to policing, competing demands must be juggled with austerity, though such elements can also be inflected with bias (as exemplified in the chapter on speech acts). This pulls the system away from functioning properly when it comes to Islamophobia. Hence victims of hate crime do not feel that their injustice receives sufficient attention, so they try their best to involve support services to make the system work for them. Each actor is invested in attaining their own goal. If any of them secures an advantage and shifts the system in a specific direction (e.g. state agencies opting to give their attention to crimes other than those motivated by hatred), the others invest more energy into aligning the system to their goals (e.g. victims start chasing support services to intervene and in turn, support services begin chasing police officers). The police officers end up overstretched again and have to prioritise the 'most important' tasks, perhaps resulting in even less time for

future hate crime cases. This is because "intensification of anyone's effort leads to intensification of everyone else's" (Meadows, 2008, p. 113).

The optimal way of handling resistance to policy is to seek a means of bringing into line, the goal of each actor, typically by establishing the primary goal which will enable the rupturing of their constrained rationality. If each actor is able to work collaboratively towards the one shared goal (p. 115), elements/sub-systems will be reshaped so that they can meet the shared goal too (p. 161). As established in previous chapters, there seems to be an alignment of goals in terms of speech but in practice, a different story emerges. The majority of advocates/activists interviewed were involved in the delivery of training and spoke about the difference that this made. Indeed, training is pivotal given that "changing the players in the system is a low-level intervention, as long as the players fit into the same old system" (p. 162).

> *"One of the things that we do in the training is we, ask the police officers to write their questions on a piece of paper so they don't feel, targeted. We wanted to provide a safe space… to ask difficult questions that they may not be able to ask publicly… and I would open the piece of paper and read out his question and try to answer them but most of the conceptions are about Muslim women, about the Sharia law, about Isis – 'Muslims supporting Isis and they're hiding it, that most terrorists are Muslims - why is that?'... For example, when they asked the question 'but we feel Islam oppresses women'. I just use my example that 'look at me I'm in front of you, I'm educated, I'm a geneticist by profession. I'm a skydiver… so if I was oppressed I would not jump off a plane' and it shocks them.... they have this image that I'm a stay-at-home mother, with 7 children [laughs] and I'm not that. And then you give them historical examples from Islam… the Prophet Muhammad whom you think he is a man who oppressed women, he married his boss, his wife was a… very successful known business woman, and he never stopped her… we talked about women's rights in Islam, that for example it's her right to keep her surname and not change it, it's her right to own her properties and her husband has… no right to take a single penny... when it comes to providing for the family, the onus is on the man… if the woman gives a single penny to the family it's considered to be as a charity, but for the man it's a duty... other misconception is 'but all terrorists are Muslims, we do have a very good reason to be fearful of Islam and Muslims'. And I tell them that 'actually 98% of*

terrorists across Europe, are actually far-right separatists and anarchists. It's not Muslim. And it's just you don't see it in the media'. And I use the example of Thomas Mair. Thomas Mair is the far-right man who… stabbed Jo Cox - the MP - until she died. He was a White man. Hardly anyone recognises his face in the media. I just tell them 'just imagine if that person had been a darker skin colour, or had a Muslim name? You would see his face in every single newspaper'… we ask for feedback at the end of the workshop and some of them are actually really touched by it and they would say 'I really want you to come to… my children's school. I want you to give [an] assembly, I want to make sure that my son does not grow up with the hate that he sees on TV' and they start to actually link us up with schools and other institutions… so the police… are willing to engage, they're willing to learn until they receive pressure from the government, not to engage with us." [Advocate/activist from Organisation 2 which supports victims of Islamophobia]

Here the advocate/activist from Organisation 3 slipped inside the police officers' subjectivities by getting them to share their prejudices in an anonymous manner without facing repercussions. She did not respond by prohibiting, shaming or inducing guilt but tried to instil a feeling of shock (Stern, 1998, p. 222) by asserting her inner experiences – specifically her embodiments as geneticist, skydiver and activist, in addition to her knowledge of Islam (particularly women's rights). This allowed "the previously unavailable plane of relatedness to be re-encountered through shared meaning of personal knowledge" (p. 173). She created the impression of referencing their inner state (fear) by dulling it (for instance, by stating that the majority of terrorists in Europe are far right) (p. 142); in doing so, she simultaneously provided information that the police officers did not have. She used a range of "paralinguistic" "communicative channels" (p. 216). Certain parts were articulated with greater stress and loudness: "*you would see his [Thomas Mair's] face in every single newspaper [if he had darker skin]".* Some pauses were longer so that attention could be drawn to certain elements*: "Thomas Mair is the far-right man [pause] who stabbed Jo Cox [pause] the MP [pause] until she died".* This didactic act was not accomplished straightforwardly, however. She did not simply teach. She attempted to slip into their inner experiences through attunements and then tried to steal their affective experiences by re-shaping their "intrapsychic experiences". Consequently, the police officers (p. 208) began to "see their [inner] experiences ebbing away" (p. 214). She yearns for learning that will stir a

cultural change, in the hope that 'good' habits will supplant those regarded to be 'bad' (Sullivan, 2006, p. 9).

Healing entails recognising the source of trauma, resisting that source, and nurturing hope for Muslim communities. Healing must occur beyond conventional ideas of psychotherapy that prioritise the individual sufferer: their feelings, emotions, cognitive processes and behaviours, and instead must concentrate on the system which instigates and perpetuates trauma associated with Islamophobia (French, 2020, p. 19). For example, Worden et al. (2020, pp. 155-157) evaluated the influence of anti-bias training on New York Police Department (NYPD) officers and whilst the programme modified attitudes moderately, there was little evidence of its role in decreasing racial differences in police actions like "stops, frisks, searches, arrests, summonses, and uses of force". The study suggests that if police officers are to be more attuned to Muslim women (as exemplified by specialist advocates/activists), there must be an accompanying change to the whole system, such as greater scrutiny and confrontation of police actions that are permeated with bias against Muslims (Collins and Watson, 2021). This will likely necessitate the involvement of independent teams that can offer some impartiality.

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that family, friends and specialist/minority ethnic led-support services are in tune with victims in ways that the police and some generic/mainstream provisions are not (exemplified by the preceding chapters). Attuned groups can therefore play an integral role in helping victims to navigate geotrauma by: providing spaces to talk and be heard, expressing non-judgement, touching (both physically and metaphorically) and mimicking. These practices can easily be integrated into the work of the police and generic/mainstream provisions, but of course they are not enough in isolation, and when striving towards justice, processes of becoming are vital. This is because Muslim women's locations can shift as a consequence of Islamophobia but also other inequalities. They can lose their voice, realise gaps in their knowledge when it comes to civil rights, feel like giving up and end up utterly impaired, all of which can inhibit them from reporting and pursuing cases. Thus I show how shattered locations can be collectively rebuilt through strengthening voice, imparting knowledge about freedoms, encouraging perseverance and even repairing

the whole subject in order for daily functioning to resume. It is imperative to bear in mind that these subject-positions are not end-points; they can break and must be rebuilt owing to incessant and new geotrauma. Whilst some attunements may be labelled or mistaken for forms of resilience-building, I argue that they are rooted in advocacy, a response to neither being seen nor heard. They are hence grounded in practices that entail asking Muslim women what they need, and then acting in a way to meet that need (Griffin, 2018). Linked to such reparation is the ongoing necessity to undermine how the system functions which I unpack through four concepts. A more-than-human attunement, specifically Prophetic anger, sheds light on how a benign aggression drives action. Leverage points highlight how direct contact with leaders is integral to double-checking the integrity of the system. Escalation elucidates how a serious tone can tune the milieu of a place to bring about tendencies pertinent to anti-Islamophobia/racism. Finally, restructure illustrates how training may begin to shift biased beliefs within a system, though for behavioural change to follow and be sustained, there needs to be oversight from independent teams. Research from previous chapters suggests a paucity of this, or at least a paucity of effectiveness.

Generally when specialist advocates/activists speak, their voices can be shut down. An advocate/activist from Organisation 2 mentioned that in certain cities where she is not well-known, it can be exceedingly testing, if not impossible, to engage public agencies. This is attributed to Prevent co-ordinators applying pressure on public agencies to disengage themselves from Organisation 2. Indeed she recounted how one of Organisation 2's launch events was suddenly cancelled by a council at the behest of a Prevent co-ordinator who got in touch with local government officials to say *"you must not have Organisation 2 in your building"*. She mentioned that this outcome occurs habitually and is one of the biggest hurdles that must be overcome by the community engagement arm of Organisation 2. Elsewhere Organisation 1, Organisation 2, Organisation 5 and Organisation 6 have all been threatened. Advocates/activists do not want to remain silent in the face of Islamophobia otherwise this can be read as an indicator of concurrence. The perpetual risk of threat suggests that attunements are displays of willfulness, which involve the "attribution of negative affect: you become charged with 'not' in being 'not with'. To be 'not with' is to get in the way, to go against the flow". The willful subject is similar to the "feminist killjoy": the one who destroys the atmosphere (Ahmed, 2014c, p. 152) . Willfulness indicates a "reluctance to yield" and this reluctance is perceived to be an issue that pertains to femininity (p. 153). The interviews plainly revealed the consequences of speaking out and being heard.

One gets branded as *"difficult"* and *"extremist"* and therefore dangerous. "When we are no longer willingly helpful we are judged as willfully unhelpful" (p. 154). Their voice is considered to be unpleasant and must be shut down where possible, either through disengagement from their activities, or simply by sending death threats. It can thus be interpreted that it is sufficient to partake in advocacy and activism, so long as it does not resemble dissent towards Islamophobia because such dissent could threaten the very stability of that structure (Butler, 2020). This means that dissent may make Islamophobia more visible and amplify any calls to confront it.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

Chapters 1 and 2 highlighted how gendered Islamophobia is a problem in non-Muslim countries and can manifest itself as hate crime. However, the institutional responses to this type of hate crime have been questionable. I mostly draw on evidence from Western contexts. In the UK, prosecution rates remain stubbornly low in comparison to the number of hate crimes recorded (CPS, 2019; Home Office, 2019a) and satisfaction with the police is lower amongst victims of hate crime than victims of all crimes (Home Office, 2020). Indeed there have been reports of police forces being plagued by issues of Islamophobia, racism and misogyny, all of which have become matters of public concern (MEND, 2020b; Dodd, 2021; Farrell, 2023) and external investigation (Casey, 2022; Independent Office for Police Conduct, 2022). Of equal importance has been the need to explore the role of support services which are frequently recognised for their "instinct to do good" (Charity Commission, 2019, p. 4) and delivery of public services (Charity Commission, 2012). However funding allocated to specialist (particularly minority ethnic-led) provisions has shrunk (Voice4Change, 2015). Some support services are subjected to backlash when they dissent from policies and practices that disproportionately affect the communities they serve (Wilson, 2017). This can sabotage the work they undertake. Others have also been forced to bid for/enter into contracts with the government and private corporations for economic survival which has compromised their autonomy (Tyler et al., 2014). These realities have implications for the distribution of support and indicate that amongst minority ethnic communities, the attainment of justice (specifically through advocacy/activism), may be getting harder.

In spite of these issues, the current portfolio of research on institutional responses to hate crime has been limited. Where there is research on the police's actions, these pieces have not sufficiently concentrated on group specificity (Chakraborti, 2017). Exceptions include Atak (2020) who explores race, King et al. (2009) who centre Black experiences and Iganski (2007) who looks at anti-Jewish incidents. There has thus been a need to conduct research on the handling of hate crime that is motivated by Islamophobia. Accordingly, I have focused on gendered testimonies as Muslim women are more likely to be targets (as established in

chapter 1 of my thesis). This has illuminated the extent to which they have parity of participation in the criminal justice system. With regard to support services, research has begun to explore their role as important intermediaries between victims of hate crime and the criminal justice system, but the perspectives of victims are seldom heard, and the function of these organisations is constantly evolving (Zempi, 2014).

To address these gaps, I devised a methodology (chapter 3) that would juxtapose the voices of victims, police/policy officers and advocates/activists. This is to trace when, where, why and how failures arise out of institutional responses to Islamophobia and when, where, why and how there can be moments of success. Documenting the diverse perspectives of three sets of actors has been integral for two primary reasons. Police/policy officers and advocates/activists have contextualised their constraints when responding to Islamophobia which may be blind spots for outsiders. In contrast, victims have narrated, for the purpose of this project, how the constraints and blind spots have shaped their experiences of pursuing justice.

In order to address my research aims, in chapter 4, I used the lens of speech acts/performativity to explore how the police and support services respond to Islamophobia. This has shed light on how speech acts are non-performatives, as there is a disconnection between policies and practices. In chapter 5, I used the theory of geotrauma to explore how structural, social, cultural and political arrangements of institutions become detectible through the embodiment of trauma. This has helped to further improve understandings of the failures emanating from policing and support services by providing analysis of the impacts of specific institutional practices on Muslim women. The concept of geotrauma draws attention to the role of oppressive power relations in collective forms of suffering.

Across chapters 4 and 5, I have argued that justice is inhibited by the structural violence of policing and support services, as detrimental routines prevent Muslim women from fulfilling their basic rights and needs (Lee, 2019). Structural violence can be described as “systemic inequalities embedded within societal structures” (Saleem et al., 2022, p. 426). I therefore build on prior research about the structural violence of Islamophobia, specifically how it reshapes space for Muslim women (Listerborn, 2015), and how racialisation, including normalisation and discrimination operate in different settings (Saleem et al., 2022). I also explain how structural violence can then open up to a process of slow violence, which refers

to the generation and strengthening of multi-layered adversities which typically occur gradually, habitually and inconspicuously. Hence I develop the work of Pain and Cahill (2022) who use the lens of slow violence to understand Hopkins et al.'s (2020) study of Islamophobia as a product of Brexit, far-right politics and the media. Whilst they pay attention to the construction of violence within a specific political, historical and global context, I also highlight the importance of concentrating on institutional context.

Therefore, my thesis provides a novel way of conceptualising (through structural and slow violence) how the police and support services respond to Islamophobia. Structural and slow violence shift attention from points of crisis to ordinary (rather than extraordinary) processes in policing and support services. Especially how these are additive, resulting in "suffering, humiliation, aggression, and injustice" (Benhabib, 1986, p. 226). By foregrounding the role of intersectionality, specifically how it shapes encounters with institutions, I demonstrate how race, religion and gender are intimately linked with structural and slow violence to affect the justice claims of Muslim women. Consequently, I respond to Hopkins' (2021, p. 386) call for debates about justice in geography to be more explicit in relation to the unjust nature of racism and racial inequalities. This will give the scholarship "more political clout, relevance and contemporary currency". However I deepen these debates by generating a new and substantial empirical evidence base from testimonies of support services, police forces and diverse Muslim women themselves.

Finally, the framework of attunement and embodied emotions in chapter 6 was adopted in order to explore how the police and support services can respond to structural and slow violence. In doing so, I propose how institutions may be able to better hear and manage the testimonies of Muslim women. The concepts of attunement and embodied emotions pay greater attention to the affective labour of informal and specialist formal networks. This builds on Piedalue's (2022, p. 373) work which explores how grassroots organisations in India and the USA are undertaking slow non-violence as one response to the violence inflicted on Muslim women in those countries. She defines her theory as "long-term, incremental (but substantial) change".

This final chapter (7) summarises how the three research questions have been answered. I then outline some of the major contributions of this project to speech acts, policing, embodied geotrauma, attunement, hate crime and Islamophobia, before moving onto the

implications of findings for policymakers and practitioners. An understanding of speech acts demonstrates a need to commission external scrutiny groups and invest in minority ethnic women's services to align policies with actions. Geotrauma-informed approaches ought to be embedded in institutional activities to avoid retraumatising victims. Attunement must be utilised to improve institutional listening and this is imperative if criminal and civil justice outcomes for Muslim women are to be increased. Finally I highlight limitations of the thesis and offer some suggestions for future research.

7.2. What has been learnt through the research questions?

7.2.1. Disconnection between discourse and practice when the police and support services respond to Islamophobia

The first research aim was to explore the institutional responses to Islamophobia through the lens of speech acts/performativity. This has been worthy of examination because the state frequently gives the impression that it is taking effective action through legislation (Giannasi, 2015), documents (Home Office, 2018b) and increases in police funding following many years of underinvestment (Home Office, 2022b). The lens of speech acts/performativity has been useful for understanding how individuals speak for or even as the institution (Ahmed, 2006). In particular, it has aided recognition of the constraints under which institutions operate. Police officers highlighted the priority of hate crime but they must also prioritise other types of crime in a context where there has been a reduction in police officers between 2009 and 2019 (Home Office, 2019d, p. 8). This situation has caused the justice claims of Muslim women to be de-prioritised. Nonetheless victims of Islamophobia had no option but to call the police (and wait) which arose from their perceived vulnerability as mothers, senior citizens and females which placed them at greater risk of harm.

If a group comes to be vulnerable, each member acquires a position that allows them to request protection (Butler, 2020). This can be particularly problematic when police officers fail to take the actions required for a criminal justice outcome even though a crime has occurred. At times, the perception of the victim in determining whether a crime or non-crime has been motivated by hate went unacknowledged. This gave rise to a collective feeling that the police continue to exercise discriminatory power over minority groups (Joseph-Salisbury,

2020, p. 83). If offences are not recognised as being 'aggravated', then a higher maximum sentence is out of the question. Victims felt that police officers typically tended to de-escalate verbal abuse and physical assault through cautions, warnings or words of advice. Juxtaposed with these claims were those of police officers, who rehearsed statistics to evidence that victim satisfaction for hate crime across their force is better than the national average. Nevertheless, some victims asserted that there was a tendency for the police officers whom they had interacted with, to excuse the behaviours of perpetrators. This made Muslim women feel like guilt and blame were being imposed on them by police officers, merely for reporting hate crime and pursuing justice. In this way, the first half of the empirical chapter shows that through speech acts, ordinary practices of policing like (de-)prioritising cases, flagging, cautioning, warning and measuring (performance), can function to operate as barriers to justice.

Across my interviews with the police (specifically community support officers, constables, sergeants, inspectors, superintendents and chief superintendents), there was recognition of the need for institutional improvement. The first institutional activity suffused with issues was training. There were conflicting statements between interviewees, of too much training and no training at all. No national training package was available which raises questions as to how country-level patterns can be addressed locally. Legislation tended to dominate much of the educational material, so there was a desire to embed more emotional content in programmes of learning. Indeed, rebuilding public trust depends on the formation of "human connection[s]" (Unwin, 2013, p. 3). However, any approach needs to be mindful of the power dynamics involved in the cultivation of collective feelings within institutions (Bloom, 2016, pp. 67-68). The second institutional activity requiring improvement across the interviews with police officers appeared to be communication with victims. There was typically a failure to visit victims, a failure to provide updates on cases, a failure to explain actions, and a failure to be transparent about outcomes. Here we see how silence operates as a "conscious provocation against what is expected and demanded" (Kanngieser, 2012, p. 344). If speech is rendered as civilisation (because "word, preserves contact") (Mann, 1967, p. 518), silence distances Muslim women from civilisation and all the rights and freedoms that civilisation affords to them. The third institutional activity where progress was desired pertained to the tracking of bias amongst colleagues. However this seemed to be a predicament that was out of sight and confined to a minority. Declaring an institutional commitment to equality, diversity and inclusion may also inadvertently allow racist, Islamophobic and misogynistic

police officers to hide behind this banner of institutional pride. Police forces certainly expressed that the policing of hate crime is internally scrutinised, but it was unclear whether the mechanisms for dealing with bias were being implemented properly. This highlights the need for external scrutiny of institutional policies on equality, diversity and inclusion in addition to organisational cultures.

Of equal importance has been assessing the effectiveness of support services through speech acts/performativity. These organisations are often perceived as "safety net[s]" for people who have exhausted access to public agencies (Ott, 2001, p. 49) and are spaces where Muslim women can be heard, advised and advocated for. However, the number addressing hate crime remains relatively sparse and researchers have highlighted the problems they encounter when operating. Indeed charities publicised how they try to seek redress for victims even though they do not harbour the authority to perform actions which criminal justice agencies can from the moment of enunciation (for example, 'I warn you', 'I fine you', 'I arrest you', 'I prosecute you', 'I sentence you' and so forth). That is, support services cannot engage with "illocutionary act[s]" (Austin, 1975, p. 99-100) to deliver criminal justice outcomes. The extent to which this powerlessness could be negotiated through relationships with the police was not always clear. We hence see how ordinary practices of support services like listening, informing, and advising can become so easily dissociated from the actions needed to pursue claims to justice.

Other key issues were the mismatch between what organisations claimed to offer and what victims received, in addition to the unclear remit of organisations (as felt by Muslim women). This blurriness meant that victims were sometimes turned away without being referred elsewhere. It hence becomes necessary to provide definitions and examples of practices, to fully explain why support may not be afforded, and to build links with diverse voluntary groups which can be used for signposting. Despite the intended national coverage of some support services (which can only be secured through repeated practices that aim to assist victims across the country), it was difficult for them to fulfil this duty due to lack of funding. Nevertheless, the names of 'national' organisations were reiterated by various police/policy officers during the interviews which had the effect of (re-)creating these organisations as indeed *national* (Butler, 2014). There is thus a chasm between expectations and provisions, as police/policy officers and Muslim women expect these support services to be able to address a multiplicity of victims' concerns but under-resourcing prohibits this. It is important

to note that the difficulties of attaining national coverage were also associated with sources of funding which conflict with the values of communities that charities intend to serve.

In other interviews, some specialist advocates/activists affirmed that generic/mainstream charities with offices across the UK usually charged cheaper rates, which meant that local authorities and teams supporting police and crime commissioners redirected funds to them. As these provisions are not minority ethnic-led, they lack the experience, knowledge and skills to deal with the fallout of hate crime. For a number of the Muslim women interviewed, such practices were manifested as delayed assistance, thin listening and the circulation of letters/leaflets, all of which were perceived to be tremendously superficial, mechanical and insincere. Consequently, 'what' is available to access, appears to be highly undesirable in some of the generic/mainstream organisations and consideration should be given to co-designed support. The concept of speech acts/performativity has thus shown a need to recognise hate crime as a significant problem as well as the organisations that are ill-equipped to deal with this.

When victims reached out to support services to ameliorate their mental health (which was shaped by experiences of Islamophobia, the faltering state response and other factors), applying the lens of performativity to their testimonies also sheds light on the construction of assistance as a reiteration of character failings and insensitive (social) prescribing. There was particular unease amongst Muslim women when therapists insisted on investigating their childhood, family, and community structures because there was a sense that these elements were complicit in their 'problems'. This happens when "the client invests the therapist with power", which can prevent reparation when therapists belong to the dominant group, i.e. White and/or non-Muslim and start to degrade the patient's beliefs, values and views (Boyd, 1996). Knowing about this non-performativity of support is particularly informative in a context where there is poor understanding of the extent to which mental health provision by the third sector is effective (Newbigging, 2017).

The evidence in chapter 4 also illustrated that when Muslim women sought help from (medical) health professionals, the 'solution' was one of medicine. Consequently, there was a medical interpellation which shifted Muslim women from being 'fully human' to 'sick' (Butler, 2014, p. 8) which can do more harm than good. This is because medication made them slower in their responses, which then (re-)shaped the performance of race, religion and

gender in public and private spaces in ways that (re-)constructed Muslim women as 'dumb' and 'bad mothers'. Similarly, there were instances where (therapeutic) health professionals may have thought that they were being helpful by referring clients to other support services, but this made Muslim women feel like they were being abandoned (Barnett and Coffman, 2015). This is because they did not feel that they were given the opportunity to: assess the effects of treatment, contemplate the relevance of the therapeutic relationship, and ponder how they could continue to apply any learning in the future (Joyce et al., 2007, p. 26). These are "perlocutionary acts" (Austin, 1975, p. 109). In essence, the theory of speech acts/performativity has been used to shed light on how support services need to value intersectional experiences, otherwise Muslim women will continue to be "affected by actions over which they have no control, that is… they may be arbitrarily subjected to the will of others" (Barnett, 2017, p. 209).

7.2.2. Understanding the failures of the police and support services through the lens of geotrauma

The second research aim investigated how structural, social, cultural and political arrangements are made visible through the body by employing the concept of geotrauma. This has helped to improve understandings of the failures of the police and support services. Here I strived to draw attention to how the banal practices of institutions become visible in everyday life through social relations (Painter, 2006, p. 753) that leave imprints of trauma on the body. This lens is important as the literature review highlighted that although there is research on racialised state practices and their impacts (Boyce, 2018; Coleman, 2007), little is known about these expressions when the police respond to gendered Islamophobia. Similarly, the literature review asked questions of the adequacy of advocates'/activists' responses to hate crime in a context where support services can be embedded in networks that cause ongoing trauma (Loyd et al., 2018; Tyler et al., 2014).

Victims in this research felt that the police and generic/mainstream support services downplayed Brown/Black women's geotrauma but privileged White women's geotrauma. This happened in one-to-one and group support sessions, in the intimate spaces of the victim's home, in private spaces like shops, in the street, on public transport, in 'state' spaces like the police car, during different temporalities (day and night) and so forth. By combining

post-colonial ideas with spatial aspects of trauma, I exhibited how this downplaying can lead to victim-blaming which constitutes various classifications. It can be behavioural: 'she was asking for trouble by travelling alone', 'she does not trust God' and 'she keeps playing the victim card'. It can be characterological: 'she does not seem to be very smart (for catching public transport in the dark)', 'she is weak (which is why she is mentally unstable)' and 'she is too naïve (for believing the meta-narrative that Muslims are under threat)'. It can be situational: 'she put herself in danger by being away from home at night', 'she is getting punished for wrongdoing in the past' and 'she is not engaging sufficiently with her local community' (Taylor, 2021). Often, there were attempts to re-brand the victim as a 'bad mother'. Muslim mothers were accused of being terrorists and mentally unstable, committing fraud and just generally putting their children in danger. Hence, I develop existing research on victim-blaming, much of which prioritises White women's experiences of sexual violence (Strickler et al., 2023). Victim-blaming leaves imprints of trauma; it typically left Muslim women feeling speechless which has implications for the capacity to share testimonies. I thus echo Barnett's (2018, p. 319) work:

> "Attending only to expressed claims of harm or injury or exploitation can lead us to pass over the ways in which the dampening of victims' capacities to express their own experiences of harm and injury and exploitation is often a central feature of unjustifiable power relations."

In the absence of an environment that registers and confronts Islamophobia, as indicated by the paucity of solidarity in the face of immediate risk and the primitive techniques of survival (fight, flight or freeze) (van der Kolk, 2015), the burden of proof remained solely with Muslim women which was internalised by support services. This observation helps to convey the "spatial reach of state power" (Painter, 2006, p. 755) and is connected to ocularcentrism, which suggests that knowledge garnered through the gaze is more significant than that acquired through other senses (Brook, 2002, p. 68). When Muslim women encountered Islamophobia in public and private spaces, they were frequently overwhelmed by a feeling of shock, which inhibited them from thinking 'properly'. Hence, the expectation for victims to gather evidence can be highly problematic. Even when victims had prolonged contact with perpetrators, they were not always aware of the legalities of gathering evidence, and when they were, they had to find ways through loopholes. Therefore, using the lens of geotrauma has allowed me to build on existing work to show why valid evidence based on optics may

not be gathered (Chakraborti and Garland, 2015). In chapter 5 I have also highlighted the paradox of two responses to geotrauma amongst Muslim women: amnesia (i.e. constricting "the field of consciousness") (Janet, 1911, cited in Herman, 2015, p. 44) and numbing (i.e. "neutralising… unwanted experiences") (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 147). These processes can fail to confront geotrauma, but continued attempts by institutions to inhibit amnesia and numbing can also function to re-induce geotrauma. Thus, by concentrating on routines, I evince how life can be organised by the social relations with institutions which are uneven and processual (Painter, 2006, pp. 753-754).

This has only been possible by considering the "subjective sense of injustice", without which "no theory of either justice or injustice can be complete" (Shklar, 1990, p. 49). Indeed, "justice radiates no emotional appeal" (p. 103) whilst "irrationality, cupidity, fear, indifference, aggression, and inequality…. give injustice its power" (p. 49). Very rarely, when a criminal (or civil) justice outcome was procured, there was a sense that it was always disproportionate to the type of crime (or incident). Indeed some of the offences were even life-threatening. Hence the female Muslim body is not treated as one whose precarity should be reduced (Butler, 2020, p. 34). For Diamond (2009, pp. 120-121), "the capacity to respond to injustice… requires a recognition of our own vulnerability". However as my thesis has shown, if a group comes to be invulnerable by perpetuating structural and slow violence, then this goal becomes impossible.

As a result of institutional failures by the state and support services, the protraction of Muslim women's geotrauma often triggered 'separate' or 'past' suffering such as sexual violence, which is more likely to be experienced by women (ONS, 2021). This was unrelated to Islamophobia but deeply affected the subjective experience of it, in addition to the subjective experience of institutional responses. Additionally, throughout the interviews Muslim women recognised the 'leakiness' or 'contamination' of trauma, so they decided not to disclose their experiences of hate crime to relatives who were living abroad; it was unlikely that their distant loved ones could help, so to unduly burden them seemed senseless. Others did not feel comfortable disclosing instances of hostility which involved some kind of sexual threat as these encounters stirred feelings of being dirty and would upset members of the family. Furthermore, such things are simply not spoken about in some of their cultures. Elsewhere women could not recount instances which were marked by profanity as uttering these words in the presence of an audience would evoke shame. Such issues must be situated

in the landscape of research which has already unpacked how Muslim women signify the honour of their family through dress and behaviour (Dwyer, 1999a; 1999b; 1999c) and why male members of their family have an inclination to protect them from harm (Zempi and Chakraborti, 2015). Thus, intersectionality can highlight whether testimonies are shared in order to be dealt with and "such [geo]traumas involve [the] precarious work of navigation by survivors" (Pain, 2021, p. 984). Nonetheless, long after Islamophobia had taken place, environmental cues like sounds, images and sensations impelled victims to relive hostility. This is because the adrenaline that was secreted during the initial encounter (to defend oneself) facilitated the etching of that encounter into one's mind (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 100). I therefore build on "recent scholarship [which] explores places not just as points where trauma has happened… but as active locations where trauma is renewed and reshaped" (Pain, 2021, p. 980).

The majority, if not all the Muslim women interviewed, had to live 'with' geotrauma-related disorders as a consequence of Islamophobia and faltering responses of the police and support services to the phenomenon. However, the lens of geotrauma implies that causes and treatments must not be reduced to medicalisation (as problematised in the chapter on speech acts). In particular, geotrauma disrupts the binary logic of state and non-state spheres (Painter, 2006, p. 754) or support service and non-support service spaces, to show how the effects of institutional responses endure. Anxiety was amongst the most commonly reported disorder, whereby one becomes worried as a type of relationship to objects (Ahmed, 2014b, p. 66), which leads to unease and panic across different spaces. Depression was also cited by a lot of Muslim women which can be described as a collapse of relationships with others in the world (Sullivan, 2015). In order for any course of action to be achievable, it is necessary to be 'in the mood'. However when one is not, there is zero motivation to undertake daily routines. For many Muslim women who felt unable to take effective action, their stress augmented, diminishing their bodily systems (Sullivan, 2015). Insomnia was also reported to be a frequent indicator of stress. If geotrauma unfolds at night and/or at/in proximity to home (like for those victims who live in the same accommodation as perpetrators), it feels threatening to the unconscious to totally relax at night. By employing the lens of geotrauma, I join those who study trauma as "a chronic… condition". I ascertain how it arises from hierarchies of power, as "social and political symptomologies", with temporalities that are multiple: there is an intermission between episodes and effects and affliction intersects with space and time to expand and constrict (Pain, 2021, p. 984).

7.2.3. Using attunement to secure justice for Muslim women

For the third research aim, I used attunement to explore how existing conditions in policing and support services can be imagined afresh. This is needed in the context of low criminal and civil justice outcomes for victims of hate crime in comparison to the number of reports (CPS, 2019; Home Office, 2019a). However, attunement requires much affective labour which I evidenced by primarily drawing on interviews with victims (who are experts in their experiences of Islamophobia) and specialist advocates/activists (who have experience in catering to Muslim women's needs). This reflects Barnett's (2017, p. 174) contention that "all those affected by a course of action should have some say in formulating decisions around that action [which] is a basic feature of ordinary ways of talking about democracy". Attunement refers to the sharing of moods and specific rhythms (Ahmed, 2014a, p. 17). The chapters on speech acts and geotrauma emphasised that this was lacking, owing to Muslim women's gendered, racialised and religious identities.

Attunement includes responding to relational needs which enhance the quality of life and a sense of self. All of the Muslim women interviewed found talking and being listened to therapeutic, perhaps courtesy of the receiver's covert techniques for modifying behaviour and experience, which is known as misattunement (Stern, 1998, p. 148). In summary, advocates/activists moved their clients away from a space where they kept reliving geotrauma by sneaking into their state of feeling, to the extent that the affective experience could be 'captured'. They then attempted to recast the experience of emotional resonance into another form of expression (Stern, 1998, p. 224) (but not to the degree that the attunement was broken), by asking victims about their needs, the areas of life that had been affected and by providing solutions to manage those elements. In doing so, they work towards creating (and expressing) a shared feeling (i.e. injustice) (Ahmed, 2014a, p. 19). In countless interviews with advocates/activists, there was an emphasis on being non-judgemental in order to be attuned to clients. This was accompanied by awakening spiritual attunement which reminded Muslim women that life ought to be preserved in spite of the quality of that life. The spiritual attunement focuses on what the body 'should do', rather than what it 'can do' (the latter being the modus operandi of most scholars' interpretation of the body (like Anderson, 2014)). The care offered by family, friends, and other close contacts also boosted

victims' capacities to manage their emotions. Likewise, the role of (metaphorical) touch facilitated presence, interest and understanding, which is in in antithesis to the absence of emotional and physical proximity from others (bystanders, the state and sometimes generic/mainstream support services) as established in chapters 4 and 5. Muslim women recalled that upon notifying their family and friends that they had been targeted, their personal networks would often showcase the same strong emotional reactions in order to communicate that they care (Stel, 2016, pp. 28-29). By exploring the role of formal and informal networks in attunement, I expose the jagged distribution of attunement which is typically omitted by studies deploying this theory. Just as women are more likely to deliver care (Armstrong and Armstrong, 2002), they are also more likely to be attuned (in the context of this research). It is not unsurprising then that attunement seems to be both under-valued (as specialist support services are witnessing a decline in funding) and unpaid (as family and friends are typically more attuned than the state and generic/mainstream support services).

Throughout the interviews, it became apparent that there was often a need to help women find their voices. When clients had tried to speak about injustice in relation to a whole host of issues including domestic violence and childbirth, they had not been heard. This then impacted on their ability to speak about Islamophobia. Accordingly, support entailed repairing confidence by encouraging victims to undertake activities that "keep open the processes of becoming" (Braidotti, 2002, p. 85). I thus extend work on healing amongst racialised communities by concentrating on how those with intersectional identities cope, resist and hope through direct links to advocates/activists who are mostly from their communities (French et al., 2020, p. 19). Educating women about their rights, such that they metamorphosed into 'the learner', appeared to be amongst the most necessary forms of "metamorphosis" during interviews with victims, who were clueless about the course of action they could take (Braidotti, 2002, p. 12). I show that attunement is not merely a social skill, mood or form of relationality, but also requires legal knowledge of equality, racism, religion, hate crime and discrimination and how these various rights have been breached in narratives of geotrauma. Embodying the subject-position of 'perseverer' was also incredibly valuable in a context where Islamophobia and the institutional responses to it could be retraumatising. Consequently the victim's lack of bodily movements in both intensity and duration were over-matched by the intensity and duration of the advocate's/activist's voice, who repeated positive reinforcers in the imperative clause (Stern, 1998, pp. 141-142). This was supplemented by regular contact, drafting witness and impact statements and by making

sure the police were paying attention to reports of Islamophobia. In cases where hate crime was resulting in the inability to perform daily tasks, complete advocacy was indispensable (Kobayashi et al., 2014) giving rise to: 'the fighter'. Here, the victim's vocalisation of help was matched by the intensity of the advocate's vocalisation of help, who contacted various agencies to work through the impacts on the victim. There was a temporal sequence, with the most important aspects of life being sorted out first. The time span of the behaviour was matched, as the advocate supported the victim until she needed it (Stern, 1998). By concentrating on metamorphosis through attunement, I elucidate how caring for Muslim women does not always have to be a long-term relationship of dependency which can evoke powerlessness (Cox, 2010). It is more about temporarily helping victims to navigate the effects of geotrauma so that they feel able to contend with the justice system if they wish to.

Besides focusing on relationality and metamorphosis, there is growing interest in contemplating how the lens of systems can be applied to aid better stewardship of public services (Gardner et al., 2019, p. 5). Sometimes Muslim women felt like they had to directly take on the justice system. This frequently came from a place of Prophetic anger, giving rise to a more-than-human attunement, which has non-human "qualities, rhythms, forces, relations, and movements" (Stewart, 2011, p. 445). Muslims are ordered by their God not to react to the suffering caused by "human error" in a "wrongful wrath" (Murad, 2020, p. 264). Accordingly, Prophetic anger reminded Muslim women to challenge Islamophobia by engaging with legal mechanisms (i.e. reporting and driving investigative processes). I thus advance work on the uses of anger by Black feminists like Lorde (1997) through elucidating the role of religious teachings of anger in navigating oppressive systems. Advocates/activists appeared to be constantly looking for "leverage points" (Meadows, 2008, p. 6), which are places within a system where a small shift can produce a large change (p. 1). One example I included was having access to commanders who are able to intervene in the movement of information (Meadows, 1999, p. 2) when police officers in lower positions fail to act. By concentrating on leverage points, I portray that "modest" and "quotidian" steps (Horton and Kraftl, 2009, p. 21) mobilise action in the present. Escalation seemed to be a key performance that advocates/activists enacted. This sometimes meant approaching the media with a news story which could propel an organisation to act as a means to avoid reputational damage. At other times, organisations often carried out what they call a power analysis, which entails identifying who holds the power within an establishment and approaching them with a list of issues and solutions. By bringing together work on attunement and systems, I unveil what

role attunement may play in creating institutional moods through the "capacity [of advocates/activists] to sense, amplify and attend to difference" (Ash and Gallacher, 2015, p. 73). Connected to this point is the delivery of training programmes by advocates/activists, which entail recognising and challenging the subjectivities of police offices in order to rupture their unconscious (Stern, 1998). Thus, I develop the work of post-colonial scholars who explain that healing requires researchers to move beyond "Western, individualistic, person-level notions of healing to a multi-systemic focus" (French et al., 2020, p. 31). However such studies usually foreground race instead of religion.

7.3. Contributions of research

7.3.1. Tracing the non-performativity of institutions through speech acts

I enrich existing scholarship on speech acts by applying this framework to the realms of policing and support services. To date, other studies have looked at the non-performativity of multiculturalism in novels (Schlosser and Stinard-Kiel, 2016), the non-performativity of concern for the urban environment (Swyngedouw and Kaika, 2014) and the non-performativity of citizenship by universities (Kimura, 2012). The theory of speech acts has enabled me to examine how ordinary practices like (de-)prioritising cases, flagging, cautioning, warning, surveying (to explore satisfaction rates), identifying areas for improvement like training, communicating, and tracking internal bias are non-performatives. Similarly I explicate how support services can be non-performatives through declarations of seeking redress (when they do not harbour the authority to do so), a mismatch between what they claim to offer and what victims receive, the making and breaking of promises, assertions of being 'national', reaching out late, listening poorly, dispatching letters/leaflets, rehearsing character failings, prescribing insensitive activities, blaming family/community, medicating and terminating sessions. I argue how the institutions of policing and support services construct images of themselves as doing well but the reality for victims is quite the opposite. I also illustrate how the aforementioned performances make up the very substance of those institutions. However, it is possible to re-imagine them with capacities to transform, in that they are not static institutions made up of nouns. This requires alternative performances.

7.3.2. Inequitable access to policing: the duties of police officers and advocates/activists

Policing is typically seen to be a "universal requirement of any social order" (Reiner, 1994, p. 1004), so it is "crucial to realise whose order is being policed" (Yarwood, 2007, p. 458). Findings from this research suggest that the policing of Islamophobia appears to be trivial. This is because it excludes certain groups, namely Muslim women, from equitable access to the institution of policing and consequently justice. As a state power, it is *assumed* that policing is "exercised uniformly and absolutely across a state's territory" (Painter, 2006, p. 755). However an analysis of the mundane practices and social relations that constitute the policing of Islamophobia shows this assumption to be just *that*. Most studies that combine policing with Islamophobia conventionally unmask how the spaces occupied by Muslims are subjected to surveillance, such as the home (Fernandez, 2018), neighbourhood (Isakjee, 2013), cafes and clubs (Koefoed and Simonsen, 2012). There are different public, private and voluntary organisations that have taken on the duty of policing to various degrees, or have been compelled to take on this task (Crawford, 2003). I explore how support services (specifically minority ethnic (women's) organisations) ensure policing practices work for victims with intersectional identities. However, I have also laid bare the contradictory nature of support services by articulating how they can internalise policing practices that may be detrimental. For example, by not always being transparent as to why cases cannot progress and by reinforcing the guiding principles of police investigation rather than pursuing techniques of attunement.

7.3.3. Building on a more embodied geotrauma of policing and support services

In the chapter on geotrauma, I explore what happens when policing and support services (fail to) deal with hate crime, rather than contemplating the impacts of encounters between victims and perpetrators. I thus argue here that the practices of policing and support services need to take a more geotrauma-informed approach than has hitherto been considered (which will be covered in section 7.4.2). I have examined how geotrauma affects basic bodily processes like decision-making, speech and memory, all of which shape claims to justice. If one cannot think rationally (to capture evidence), speak (to share testimonies) and remember (the details of Islamophobia), then justice can never be fully realised. Indeed geotrauma has a multiplicity of manifestations and impacts (Pain, 2021), and I have been able to unpack some

of these by engaging with clinical studies of trauma which evince the intricacy of subjective experience as a consequence of the political environment. By connecting geotrauma with intimate geopolitics (i.e. the formation of Islamophobia owing to anti-immigration/-Muslim sentiment, the War on Terror, and foreign and domestic policies, in addition to how this climate reverberates), I unpick how the security and citizenship of intersectional bodies remain precarious. In other words, they do not benefit from "civil rights, criminal justice, police-powers regulation and law reform" (Lanham, 2021, p. 1421). Furthermore, research on geotrauma predominantly spotlights the voices of survivors, their communities and NGOs (Loyd et al., 2018; Marshall, 2013; Pratt et al., 2015; Pain et al., 2020) rather than the accounts of state actors who can reproduce geotrauma. By juxtaposing the voices of victims, advocates/activists and police/policy officers, I have been able to delineate when, where, why and how there is divergence in the understandings and experiences of institutional responses to Islamophobia. These insights are needed to inform the formation of, and resistance to structural and slow violence (see section 7.4).

7.3.4. Listening and responding to difference through attunement

Thinking through the lens of attunement as something that is cognitive, pre-conscious and relational has been crucial because all three notions have illuminated forms of listening and responding that can be utilised by White institutions (Brigstocke and Noorani, 2016). This is necessary if they wish to provide a better service to victims of hate crime along the lines of race, religion and gender across a landscape where mechanisms are plagued by non-attunement. However much labour is required and direct links to specialist (particularly minority ethnic women's-led) provisions are pivotal. I depict such necessities by foregrounding relationality, the embodiment of different subject-positions and the restructure of systems. In doing so, I portray how attuned support services "reinscribe the social [and political] as a site of [care,] ethics and responsibility" (Popke, 2006, p. 510). At the same time, courtesy of "epistemic transformation" (Paul, 2014, pp. 10-11), attuned advocates/activists are able to overcome the inherent power dynamics of empathy, as unstitched in chapter 4 of this thesis.

7.3.5. Developing debates on hate crime and Islamophobia by foregrounding how intersectionality shapes institutional responses

Within and outside of geography there has been a focus on how space and intersectionality shape encounters between victims and perpetrators. The consequences of such interactions have been explored (Najib and Hopkins, 2020; Zempi and Chakraborti, 2015), in addition to the ways Muslim women respond to perpetrators (Zempi, 2020). However there is an ongoing need to untangle problems related to systems (Tyner, 2016), otherwise at stake, is an erasure of the complicity of institutions in causing suffering. Accordingly, I investigate how intersectionality shapes encounters with institutions which are supposed to be involved in the delivery of either justice or support for victims of hate crime. In doing so, I make use of intersectionality in a way that pays homage to its origins because I accentuate how institutions discriminate on the basis of race and gender. Yet at the same time, I place great emphasis on religion. I thus extend debates on Islamophobia by showing that it is not merely manifest in rising hate crime figures. Rather, its trivialisation in society spills over into a belittling of the phenomenon by some police officers (and this may be conscious or unconscious). Generic/mainstream support services also fall short on offering appropriate succour for this reason. Such insights have been possible by bringing together the voices of three discrete groups of actors. Interviews with police/policy officers have facilitated comprehension of the strategic and legal commitments to tackling hate crime. Interviews with victims have thrown a light on the felt institutional actions. Interviews with advocates/activists have spotlighted how the concerns of victims can be balanced with the strategic and legal responsibilities of police officers. If we see the state, as not a "unitary object but… a set of practices enacted through relationships between people, places, and institutions" (Desbiens et al., 2004, p. 242), then our accounts must give full weight to heterogeneous perceptions of institutional responses to Islamophobia. This is because there is much variation in what may be perceived as "failure, disruption, and breakdown" (Painter, 2006, p. 764). By juxtaposing the voices of three groups who deliver, are affected by, or regulate/resist responses to Islamophobia, more suitable recommendations can be devised as these individuals have first-hand experience of what is effective and what is not.

7.4. Implications of findings for policymakers and practitioners

7.4.1. External scrutiny of policing and investment in minority ethnic women's services to align policy with action

The framework of speech acts has allowed us to see that speech does not do what it says it does in the context of institutional responses to hate crime. Across interviews with police officers, they cited relevant policies and practices such as how hate crime should be categorised as a priority, how the victim's perception should be taken into account and how policing is victim-centred. Whilst the development of policy, practice and guidance on hate crime has augmented in recent years, having 'good' policies or writing documents should not be conflated with action. Ahmed (2007) states that policies and documents and the circulation of these can become forms of institutional performance, as they get taken up as 'evidence' that institutions are 'doing well'. Hence producing, reading, sharing and citing these policies and documents can become linked to being good at responding to hate crime. Indeed 'doing well' is typically quantitively measured through victim satisfaction surveys in each police force area and the score is then distributed. Contrastingly, stories from victims did not concur with the speech acts of the police. This demonstrates that the performance of policing needs to come under greater external scrutiny (which I develop in the next section (7.4.2)). Furthermore, victim satisfaction surveys alone are inept at teasing out the intersectional, in-depth, complex and emotional data – requisites for evincing the barriers to justice. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire Rescue Services (2018, p. 55) did conduct research into the initial policing response to hate crime by requesting documents from all 43 police forces in England and Wales and by carrying out fieldwork in 6 of those. It found a number of shortcomings in the police's response to hate crime, including how in 7,796 religiously motivated crimes, the perceived or actual religion of the victim had been recorded as 'unknown' 2,261 times (29%), denoting negligence towards this protected characteristic[6]. Since the aforementioned study, there have not been any recent publications on the current police response to hate crime. Thus there needs to be more long-term, regular and independent investigations of police performance, otherwise it will be difficult to track progress. Future inspections should consider group specificity, the advantages of which, have been discerned throughout this project.

[6] If the offender's perception is unknown, then the actual religion of the victim should be recorded.

With regard to support services, speech acts like ‘seeking redress for victims’ and being a ‘national’ organisation when these entities have neither the power nor the resources to, have shed light on elements requiring change. First of all, police forces ought to welcome the value that specialist services provide, which means listening and responding to their advocacy. Secondly, as part of this revaluing, funding providers, whether these are from national government, local authorities, police and crime commissioners or other spaces, need to seriously reinvest in specialist services that can co-design suitable interventions (with their clients). These organisations are typically led by minority ethnic women. Support from generic/mainstream charities remained as non-peformatives because victims did not feel like their practices of delayed assistance, thin listening and circulation of letters/leaflets were helpful. Indeed these were considered to be superficial, mechanical and insincere but were regularly discharged. We see how a lack of specialism in intersectionality affects therapeutic provisions as victims felt like their narratives and self-reflections were dismissed. In contrast, minority ethnic women’s support services have been praised by users. Out of 140 women who had accessed one of these in a study by Imkaan, 89% reported improvements in their mental health (Thiara and Roy, 2012, p. 17). Women pointed to the understandings held by specialist workers with respect to the expressions and impacts of violence against women and girls, language, culture, racism, discrimination and immigration (Roy et al., 2013).

7.4.2. Embedding a (geo)trauma-informed approach to avoid retraumatising victims

This research has verified that police forces must improve their performance and adopt trauma-informed practices. Research has shown that officers deem value in such orientation, but clarity on what this might look like at an everyday level is missing, and there is doubt regarding whose responsibility it is to deal with trauma-exposed individuals (Gillespie-Smith, 2020). In trauma-informed policing, an officer attending a crime scene where there is a victim who appears to be disconcerted can be trained to ask, “what happened to you?” instead of “what’s wrong with you?” - as the latter may result in further agitation. A trauma-informed police officer cultivates the skills to ensure the victim is safe, allows the victim to express her concerns, and prepares her for the next steps in the criminal justice system (Love-Craighead, 2015). Across the interviews, police officers certainly spoke about carrying out risk assessments, however these three trauma-informed precautions were clearly absent in the testimonies of victims. Harm Reduction Units were also described, whereby victims who

experience recurrent and high-risk crimes are prioritised. In such scenarios, various units in a police force work together alongside external agencies to reduce the risks to victims and demands on public workers. Yet the Muslim women interviewed in this project had access to no such thing. One may therefore deduce that they were not considered to be victims of recurrent and/or high-risk crimes; indeed this concurs with the evidence presented in chapters 4 and 5.

The empirical material also indicates that support services need to be trauma-informed when responding to the claims of Muslim women. Research on trauma-informed practice is widespread, although its application to handling gendered Islamophobic hate crime has been under-researched until now. The phenomenon can be described as one that "incorporate[s] an understanding of the effect of trauma into every aspect of an agency's work, including its structure and policies; its training and supervision of staff; its approach to working with survivors; and its involvement with the larger community" (Goodman et al., 2016, p. 749). However we see that these goals were not fully met. The lack of trauma-informed practice was particularly worrying when Muslim women sought help for their mental health, as knowledge on trauma-informed approaches to mental health is fairly extensive (Sweeney et al., 2016). This demonstrates that trauma-informed practice needs to be more sensitive to intersectionality.

Accordingly, a (geo)trauma-informed approach would be valuable, i.e. one bringing together spatial, post-colonial and embodied understandings of hurt and one that is sensitive to race, religion and gender. Firstly a spatial lens demands police forces and support services to recognise that trauma arises from one's environment which can be relocated again and again due to triggering (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 102). Institutions can be complicit in this triggering through their routines (as they inhabit the environment as well), which not only renews but also reshapes trauma (Pain, 2021, p. 980), distorting Muslim women's experiences of space and time. In this way, precautions must be taken to avoid reactivating trauma. Secondly post-colonial perspectives indicate how Muslim women feel that their trauma is sometimes denied because of their identity, which can lead to victim-blaming and the bad mother trope. Hence, there needs to be more investment in finding biased individuals across policing and support services, scrutinising their cases, asserting a zero-tolerance attitude to such behaviours and implementing disciplinary and/or dismissal procedures. With regard to police officers, Casey's (2022, p. 19) review of internal allegations in the Metropolitan Police (i.e. statements

not originating from the public), found "unacceptable behaviour going unchecked for long periods". Indeed, racism, sexual misconduct or other discriminatory behaviour were less likely to result in actions being taken. Thirdly an embodied framework conveys how legalities like the burden of proof may be difficult to fulfil due to shock and so police forces and support services need to find better ways to assist victims with this. Similarly there is a need to stop institutions from engaging with practices that may risk the reversal of victims' coping strategies like amnesia and numbing. Knowing that fear, anxiety, depression and stress are likely to taint the everyday experiences of victims following Islamophobia and unsatisfactory institutional responses, it becomes imperative for police forces and support services to practice attunement (which I detail in the next section). In parallel to this goal, I propose specific (geo)trauma-informed actions for police forces and support services in figures 10 and 11 below.

Figure 10: Recommendations for policing (based on analysis in chapters 4 and 5)

Testimonies of hate crime should be listened to.
Muslim women should not be made to wait for days after contacting the police.
The perception of a victim should be taken into account.
The perpetrator should not be treated as the victim.
Victims should not be made to feel guilty for wanting justice.
More emotional content needs to be embedded into training programmes but the cultivation of (collective) feelings that are characterised by power dynamics ought to be avoided.
Police officers should regularly update Muslim women on their cases and be transparent about the decisions taken.
Muslim women should be fully supported when they want to complain about the police and there should be no risk to their livelihoods for doing so.
Referrals should be made to support services that are attuned to the needs of Muslim women as summarised in this chapter, and as detailed in chapter 6.
Victims should not be blamed for the crimes which they have been subjected to.
Plans should be made with Harm Reduction Units to reduce risk and to gather evidence.
Witness and impact statements should be taken once.
Cases should not be extended for months and even years where there is sufficient evidence as this prolongs (geo)trauma; they should be resolved at the earliest.

Courts should not abuse the clause of exemption; this states that relevant sentencing guidelines need not be followed if "it is not in the interest of justice to do so". For example if a Muslim woman has been threatened with a weapon the mandatory minimum sentence for threatening offences should apply. This is six months' custody, whilst the maximum sentence is four years' custody (Sentencing Council, n.d.-c). The matter should not be resolved by fining a perpetrator.

Figure 11: Recommendations for support services (based on analysis in chapters 4 and 5)

Definitions and examples of practices must be made clearer.
It is necessary to fully explain why support may not be afforded (due to remit).
It is vital to build links with diverse voluntary groups which can be used for signposting.
Tokenistic practices must be avoided and ensuring that organisations are made up of frontline workers who have undergone "epistemic transformation" (Paul, 2014, pp. 10-11) is imperative.
In the case of generic/mainstream organisations and mental health provisions, more attention needs to be given to the role of intersectionality in harm and reparation.
Victim-blaming whether directly or indirectly needs to be discouraged.
The burden of proof must not be internalised and reproduced. Where possible, especially in the case of ongoing Islamophobia, support services should work with Harm Reduction Units in policing to help in the gathering of evidence.
Frontline workers should not force victims to repeatedly remember and retell trauma, unless victims find this to be beneficial.

7.4.3. Using attunement to improve outcomes for Muslim women

This thesis has articulated that the current practices of policing and sometimes support services are inadequate when responding to hate crime, and so there is a need for institutional change to improve outcomes for Muslim women. Existing studies demonstrate that unconscious bias training can reduce implicit prejudice, but it is unlikely to eradicate it (Leslie et al., 2017; Girod et al., 2016). I offer a promising alternative by drawing on the work of Ahmed (2014a) and Stern (1998). I use the lens of attunement to discuss how police officers and advocates/activists from some generic/mainstream support services are required to exert much more care-full labour to share moods and rhythms with victims, specifically in

ways that family, friends and attuned advocates/activists do (i.e. those from minority ethnic (women's) organisations). Whilst there is no single best practice, I avow that assistance must be personalised and sensitive to the race, religion, gender, culture, beliefs and other inequalities of Muslim women. As part of such work, I highlight how the recognition of a victim's internal state is not merely enough. This needs to be expressed to the victim through a "reciprocal affect" which signals that the victim's affect is important and has an impact on the receiver. If successful, the receiver may be able to lay the foundations for reparation. The "two-person experience" of an "unbroken feeling [of] connectedness" may arise from a cross-modal interaction (Erskine, 1998, p. 236). That is, the modality of expression used by the receiver to convey to the victim, an understanding of her feelings and behaviours, is different from the modality used by the victim. For example the intensity of a victim's voice when she shares her story with an advocate/activist can be matched by the intensity of an advocate's/activist's bodily movements for the sake of pursuing justice. In other words, the police and advocates/activists should work towards understanding what victims need through deep listening. They then need to deliver what victims need (i.e. emotional and practical support) through their experience and knowledge of navigating processes within institutions. All of these components can minimise a sense of helplessness and are essential to responding to the justice claims of Muslim women. Such work is indeed cognitive, pre-conscious and relational, but also open-ended. Perhaps more crucially, such work is underpinned by deep and active listening which occasions understanding and feeling in the receiver (Jackson, 2016).

Indeed, attunement should not be perceived as an alternative to the intensive and uninterrupted interrogation of the privileges of Whiteness and the foregoing of those forms that deny minority ethnic groups their humanity (DiAngelo, 2018; Eddo-Lodge, 2017; Esson and Last, 2020; Saad, 2020). However the necessity and benefits of attunement must also be recognised within training initiatives and everyday routines of policing. In this project there were certainly several examples of institutional listening. One police force invited victims to share their stories to create community dialogue. Although this role was unpaid, which raises ethical issues, victims' narratives gave police officers opportunities to ask questions about victims' expectations and what the police could have done better. It is also unclear if this exercise actually ameliorated the response to hate crime in this particular police force. In previous years, SARI has run a Voices Conference, where between 60 and 70 people with lived experiences have been invited to share their stories. During their most recent event,

there were round-table discussions which included decision-makers and every single agency had to send to SARI, its reflection on learning and any outstanding actions for victims. However, this was only viable by securing trust and funding. Indeed the latter is shrinking across the minority ethnic third sector (Voice4Change, 2015), jeopardising the future of events like the Voices Conference. Again, it remains unknown whether the agencies involved embedded learning into their work (in addition to the impacts of integrating such learning). Thus support services need sufficient resources to allow them to evaluate their activities which seemed to be lacking based on the conversations I had with advocates/activists. Furthermore it is unclear whether seldom heard Muslim women participate in these activities, especially those who do not speak English. Therefore more work needs to be done to reach women with different capacities to speak (and relevant accommodations need to be made to allow them to speak). Mechanisms for capturing the many diverse voices of Muslim women need to be sustained and built into the ongoing activities of policing and support services, rather than being one-off or irregular workshops. However, these endeavours will remain as tokenistic gestures unless police forces and support services can demonstrate how victims' narratives have led to institutional change.

7.5. Limitations of the project

This thesis has made: conceptual contributions to speech acts, geotrauma, intimate geopolitics and attunement; empirical contributions to geographies of policing and advocacy/activism; and methodological contributions to researching Islamophobia and hate crime, from the perspectives of three groups of actors relevant to comprehending Muslim women's experiences of injustice. Nonetheless, there is still room to conduct research that is much more nuanced across these themes. Initially this project aimed to unpack the state barriers to justice for victims of hate crime by looking at the response of not only the police, but also the CPS. However I was unable to find ample victims who had interacted with the CPS. Although this is probable because a sizeable quantity of cases does not seem to be referred to court, some actually are, and several women whom I interviewed in this project had negative experiences of the court process, even when the defendant was found to be guilty. The research may also have benefitted from interviewing employees of the CPS, however this required authorisation by its Hate Crime Policy Team, which seemed reluctant. Hence one would need to negotiate (during the formative period of a study) the extent to

which this group can be involved. Preliminary discussions may appertain to exploring if they can: ask complainants to participate in research; share data on victims' experiences of going through court; and even input into the project themselves, where they (as policymakers and lawyers) can appraise mechanisms of criminal justice. If such entreaties prove to be successful, a fuller exploration of the barriers to justice for hate crime victims can be anticipated.

With regard to methodological limitations, the modest budget of this project meant that I had no option but to transcribe interviewees' voices as translated by the interpreter, which may have inadvertently shifted the meaning of what was said. Due to the timeframe, I was unable to spend additional time re-engaging participants for the purpose of 'decolonising' analysis. This would have reshuffled some of the power dynamics inherent in traditional analytical processes, which I described in chapter 3. Thambinathan and Kinsella (2021, p. 1) outline for researchers, some precise practices that a 'decolonial' methodology would entail: "(1) exercising critical reflexivity, (2) reciprocity and respect for self-determination, (3) embracing 'other(ed)' ways of knowing, and (4) embodying a transformative praxis". Thus in the future, marginalised participants need to be given the resources requisite for re-engagement. Scholars must schedule time between data collection and writing to not only assemble summaries for participants, but also to ensure that these are translated into the required languages. Synopses can be accompanied by presentations of possible theories and how they illuminate themes of the research (including the pros and cons of each). Again, such communication must be translated into non-English languages. Organising several small workshops to rework the findings (and potentially the key themes) may be a fruitful means to gather feedback and act on it. Some participants also expressed an interest in directly disclosing their injustice to decision-makers. All the while, participants will need to be financially compensated.

A major limitation of juxtaposing three voices (victims, advocates/activists and police/policy officers), was the fact that I could not gauge how each group spoke about the same case. For example, though advocates/activists spoke about how they had supported victims, as I did not always interview those victims myself, it was difficult to verify whether or not victims actually concurred with the reports of advocates/activists. Thus many of the stories remain partial. That is, they are from one perspective, though I have made every effort to include 'what works' from victims themselves (in chapter 6) where I have this evidence. Therefore in

the future, if permissions for ethical data sharing can be secured, it would be immensely valuable to focus on cases where the researcher can interview all those involved, as this would provide greater precision in when, where, why and how there is *divergence* or *convergence* in the understandings and experiences of institutional responses to Islamophobia. This ambition is unlikely to be possible in cases where police officers are openly biased. Lastly, in terms of intersectionality, my sample size for certain demographics (for example elderly Muslim women and disabled Muslim women) was also scant so I could not fully document how these identities shape encounters with the police and support services.

7.6. Future research

7.6.1. What other spaces, actors and manifestations of Islamophobia can speech acts, geotrauma and attunement be applied to?

A methodological strength of this thesis was the juxtaposition of narratives from three distinct groups of actors. However injustice is not simply a by-product of the routines of policing and support services, but also necessitates the involvement of other actors depending on the location of hate crime. This means that the conceptual developments of speech acts, geotrauma and attunement provided here can be superimposed on other institutions, for example education (Chaudry, 2021), employment (Khan, 2022) and healthcare (Shahid and Ali, 2021). Actors in these spaces can play a part in mediating, stopping and preventing hate crime, but they may also fail to act in a way that can bring about justice. As part of the goal to foster nuance, researchers may want to explore the institutional responses to other forms of Islamophobia like microaggressions (Nadal et al., 2012), discrimination (Adesina and Marocico, 2017) and surveillance/profiling (Zempi and Tripli, 2022), some of which I have touched on.

7.6.2. What does justice look like for hate crime victims?

Evidence from this thesis suggests that charging guidelines were not always followed by the court which requires further exploration. It may also be worth analysing whether or not the type of punishment/justice for each crime type (when upheld) is proportionate to the impact

from the perspective of the different actors, given the failures of systems to respond effectively to intersectionality, as discussed in this project. There is research to suggest that victims of hate crime would like to see education being offered to perpetrators (about diversity and the harms of hate crime) instead of an increase in sentence (Hardy and Chakraborti, 2019). This may facilitate the systemic healing required by marginalised communities (French et al., 2020). However the aforementioned study aggregates the experiences of victims of any hate crime (i.e. on the basis of race, religion, gender, sexuality and transgender status). In contrast, interviews from my project revealed that some Muslim women were in favour of a combination of sentence uplift and education (rather than one or the other).

7.6.3. What may an understanding of the physiological effects of both Islamophobia and the ensuing institutional responses tell us?

In order to extend work on the emotional and embodied impacts of hate crime that is based on religion, and the subsequent institutional responses, future research can make deeper engagements with the physiological effects on victims by unpacking how these repercussions are transactional (thus advancing interdisciplinarity). This means that "biological and physiological matter itself: cortisol levels, allostatic loads, nerve growth factors, muscle fibres, bone tissue, epigenetic markers, and so on" are all "co-constituted in a dynamic relationship with the social-political world" (Sullivan, 2015, p. 23). Alterations to physiological habits inevitably result in the impaired functioning of bodies and may even be transgenerational, as groups can biologically "inherit the deleterious effects of racism", sexism and Islamophobia (p. 20). Such work can uncover some of the 'hidden' impacts of oppression to show how the entire body has a relationship with its social-political environment. This has implications for training in medicine through a need to acknowledge the role of a discriminatory environment in the health of communities which can shape the kind of 'treatment' 'prescribed'. There may also be implications by way of policy and/or legal changes to institutional activities, so as to limit the potential harm that can be inflicted on marginalised bodies who interact with those institutions.

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Appendix 1: Recruitment email for advocates/activists

Dear [name],

I was wondering if you and your colleagues would be interested
in feeding into my PhD through online discussions over the next couple of weeks/months or maybe later depending on workload?

I am examining how state mechanisms, i.e. the police, the CPS and policymakers, can be more attuned to 'victims' of Islamophobia in ways that family, friends, colleagues, carers and advocacy/activist organisations are. The few people who utilise the latter are generally satisfied with the services available like building confidence, gathering evidence, assisting through the criminal justice system, hosting workshops that challenge prejudice and undertaking activities that change workplace protocol. Such forms of support are crucial in the context of limited positive state outcomes, i.e. low prosecution rates and average satisfaction with the police.

I'm based in Birmingham and the West Midlands Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner is interested in using the findings to decide which support service for 'victims' of hate crime/Islamophobia they should commission next year so anyone who does participate will make a highly valuable contribution.

I am conducting video interviews lasting between 1 and 2 hours and would be happy to compensate people for any time expended. So far I've been offering advocates/activists payment in kind by: analysing qualitative and quantitative data; designing evaluation programmes; and connecting them to other advocates/activists who have links with law firms looking to offer 'victims' free legal representation. I can also teach statistics through SPSS or mapping using GIS. These are just some ideas and I'd be happy to discuss alternatives.

Best wishes,

Shivani

Appendix 2: Recruitment poster for Muslim women



Appendix 3: Recruitment email for the police

Dear [name],

I was wondering if you would have the time and interest to feed into my PhD on hate crime against Muslim women through a 1-to-1 meeting online? I am a member of the West Midlands OPCC Hate Crime Working Group. I presented emerging findings of my project at one of the meetings in the summer and received positive feedback. I am also a doctoral researcher at the University of Birmingham.

To summarise, I am examining how state actors, i.e. the police, the CPS and policymakers, can be more attuned to 'victims' of Islamophobia in ways that family, friends, colleagues, carers and advocacy/activist organisations are. The few people who utilise the latter are generally satisfied with the services available like: building confidence; gathering evidence; assisting through the criminal justice system; hosting workshops that challenge prejudice; and undertaking activities that change workplace protocol. Such forms of support are crucial in the context of limited positive state processes/outcomes, i.e. under-reporting, low prosecution rates and average satisfaction with the police.

These objectives have partly been informed by the government's evidence base for hate crime which I assembled with colleagues at the Home Office (Westminster) in 2018: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/748140/hate-crime-a-thematic-review-of-the-current-evidence-oct2018-horr102.pdf.

It would be great to find out how policies and practices designed to tackle hate crime and support victims can be more 'emotional'. I am particularly interested in the areas of police training, victim support, investigation and outcome. I understand that you're probably really busy so if you could introduce me to hate crime co-ordinators in the region, that would also be useful?

Best wishes,

Shivani

Appendix 4: Semi-structured interview questions for advocates/activists

I am only interested in the experiences of Muslim girls and women, specifically the intersections of race, religion and gender.

Please think of examples to support your statements.

Key:

Questions may need to be checked before/after the interview.

Introduction

1. What is the purpose of your organisation?
2. Why did you join?

Reports

3. Can you provide background information on the nature and extent of discrimination against Muslim girls and women that is reported to your organisation?
4. Can you describe the characteristics of 'victims'?
5. Can you describe the characteristics of perpetrators?
6. How many hate crime reports from Muslim girls and women do you receive weekly, monthly and annually?
7. What proportion of your overall reports (weekly, monthly and annually) is:
   -Racially motivated?
   -Religiously motivated?
   -Both?
8. Where are Muslim girls and women most likely to be targets of hate crime?
9. Do you receive reports from Muslim girls and women outside of your location?
10. Are the spaces where hate crime takes place changing over time? Why?
11. Has there been an increase in the number of Muslim girls and women submitting reports to your organisation since its inception?
    -What do you think has caused this?
12. Have you got any indication of the proportion of hidden hate crime towards Muslim girls and women (i.e. unreported occurrences)?
13. What do you feel are the barriers to reporting hate crime?
14. How can more people be encouraged to report hate crime?

Islamophobia

15. Why do you think people hate?
16. What evidence does your organisation have with regard to the drivers of Islamophobia?

17. A lot of hate happens online - are there connections between online hate and offline hate? What are these? Why?
    -How are social media providers, the police, the government, etc. taking action?
18. Why do you think some people target Muslim girls and women (please give evidence)?
19. Do you feel there needs to be a greater focus on protecting the rights of Muslim girls and women?
20. What evidence does your organisation have with regard to the impacts of Islamophobia?
    -'Victims'?
    -Communities?
    -Society?

Advocacy (i.e. defending/speaking on behalf of/supporting others)

21. How do you represent 'victims' of Islamophobia?
    -What forms of consultation do you use to understand the experiences of Muslim girls and women?
    -What opportunities do you afford to 'victims'/communities to sit on boards, feed into policy, engage in marketing campaigns, etc.?
    -What are the most effective ways (please give evidence)?
    -What are the main difficulties?
22. What is distinct about your role (as an individual and organisation) in comparison to other individuals and organisations?
    -Why are you needed?
23. Please can you reflect on the role played by central government and how it influences your activities?
24. Can you describe your relations with the following groups when responding to Islamophobia:
    -Local communities?
    -'Victims'?
    -Local authorities?
    -Police?
    -Crown Prosecution Service?
    -Academics?
    -Other organisations that strive to challenge hate crime?
    -Third-party services you signpost your 'victims' to?
    -How important and effective is this network in supporting 'victims' of Islamophobia?
    -What is missing?
25. Why do you think some Muslims will make a report to your organisation as opposed to any of the others?
26. Please can you describe the impacts of your work on your health?

Training and Activism (i.e. acting to bring about social/political change)

27. How do you attempt to challenge Islamophobia?

-What are the main difficulties?
-What are the most effective ways (please give evidence based on work conducted by your organisation)?
-What does success look like?

28. Do you challenge particular actors?
-Why is this important?
-What are the main difficulties?
-What are the most effective ways?
29. Who has the ethical responsibility to address Islamophobia?
30. What kind of training do you deliver to prevent/handle Islamophobia? Do you think it is effective? Evidence?
31. What kind of tools can bystanders be given to intervene in Islamophobia?

Appendix 5: Semi-structured interview questions for Muslim girls/women

Please think of examples to support your statements.

Islamophobia

1. Have you ever experienced any negativity because of your race, religion, gender or any other aspect of your identity?
2. How frequently do you experience negative encounters?
3. Have negative encounters affected you in any way?
4. Are you worried or scared of going to any particular places because you are a 'visible' Muslim?
5. Are you conscious of the fact that you might be subjected to harassment/racism/discrimination at any time?
6. Do you feel like the hostility you experience, and the ensuing impacts, are exacerbated by:
   -Other aspects of your identity?
   -Other responsibilities in your life?
   -Other issues in your life?

State support

7. Have you ever reported Islamophobia to the police?
8. Do you feel that current reporting mechanisms are effective?
9. Do you feel that there is enough (state) support for you to deal with Islamophobia?
10. What do you think of the current mechanisms designed to achieve justice?
11. How should perpetrators be dealt with in your eyes?

Formal non-state support

12. Do you know about local and national support services that would help you to deal with hostility towards your race, religion, gender/other aspect of your identity?
13. Are anti-racism charities important?

[if participant has used formal non-state support proceed to next set of questions]

14. Why did you reach out to a support service?
15. Did they help you to manage your feelings?
16. Did they help you to resolve your issue?
17. Do you prefer local or national support?

Informal support *[if participant has dealt with Islamophobia through personal networks proceed to next set of questions]*

18. Have friends/family/colleagues/carers ever expressed a concern for your wellbeing?
19. Have you ever sought support from personal networks (family/friends/colleagues/carers)?
20. Did they help you to manage your feelings?
21. Did they help you to deal with your experience(s)?

No support *[if participant dealt with Islamophobia individually proceed to next set of questions]*

22. Have you ever dealt with a negative encounter by yourself?
23. Would you have liked support from any of the follow and why?
    -The state
    -Charities
    -Personal networks
24. What would make you reach out to other people for support?

Resistance

25. Who has the ethical responsibility to tackle Islamophobia?
26. Have you seen hostility towards a Muslim being challenged? If so, what did you make of this? If not, why do you think that might be?
27. Have you ever challenged Islamophobia?
28. Are you aware of any ways that your family/friends/colleagues/carers have challenged Islamophobia?
29. When challenging Islamophobia, what are the best ways and main difficulties?

Activism

30. Can you recall any particularly positive experiences/conversations you've had with non-Muslims where you've challenged negative perceptions that they had of you/Muslims?
31. What is the best way to create opportunities for mutual respect/activity/interaction?
32. What kinds of emotions are important in multi-cultural societies?

Hope

33. Do you think things are getting better or worse in relation to racial or religious discrimination?
34. Do you feel there needs to be a greater focus on protecting the rights of Muslim girls/women?
35. Can you describe any small daily human acts of kindness you have shown to others, or others have shown to you?

Appendix 6: Semi-structured questions for the police: strategy

I am only interested in Islamophobia and the experiences of Muslim girls/women, specifically the intersections of race, religion and gender.

Please think of examples to support your statements.

Key:

Questions in blue text are more subjective
Questions in purple text can be addressed from the perspective of strategy and tactics

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Introduction

1. Please can you describe your role?
2. When did hate crime become an important agenda across your force?
3. How does its priority compare with other crime types?
4. How do 'victims' typically contact you?
5. Do you get more reports that are labelled as crime or non-crime?

Reports

6. Do you feel that current reporting mechanisms are effective?
7. Do you flag repeat victimisation?
8. Are you tackling online Islamophobia?
9. Are you working directly with communities to encourage confidence in reporting?

Training

10. What training have you received to improve response to Islamophobia?
    -Has the College of Policing produced any specific hate crime national training package that you've used?
11. Do you feel like you are victim-centred?
    -Do you feel like you are empathetic enough when dealing with the needs of 'victims'? Examples?

Support

12. What forms of consultation do you use to understand the experiences and needs of Muslim girls/women?
13. What opportunities do you afford to 'victims'/communities to sit on boards and feed into policy and practice?
    -What are the most effective ways (please give evidence)?
    -What are the main difficulties?
14. Are hate crime co-ordinators needed?
15. Do you feel there is a need for a support service in the region?

16. How do you decide which support service to commission?
    -Do you feel like services that support 'victims' of all crimes are better than specialist services (i.e. those that focus on hate crime or a particular protected characteristic)?
17. Do you feel like you provide enough information to 'victims' about the support available?
18. Do you automatically refer all 'victims' to specialist services for support or do you have an opt-in approach?
19. Do you have a risk assessment management plan in place?
20. Can you describe your relations with the following groups when responding to Islamophobia and supporting 'victims'?
    -Central government?
    -CPS?
    -Local authorities?
    -Academics?
    -Other organisations that strive to challenge hate crime?
    -Third-party services you signpost your 'victims' to?
    -How important and effective is this network in supporting 'victims' of Islamophobia?
    -What is missing?
21. Are you engaging in proactive work to address Islamophobia, i.e. following the public sector Equality Duty?

Investigation and outcome

22. Do you have specific hate crime officers who handle reports of Islamophobia?
23. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the outcomes of hate crimes?
24. Why are there so few positive outcomes (regionally and nationally)? How are you addressing this?
    -At what point do you close cases?
    -Are you improving ways of gathering evidence? How?

Appendix 7: Semi-structured questions for the police: tactics

I am only interested in Islamophobia and the experiences of Muslim girls/women, specifically the intersections of race, religion and gender.

Please think of examples to support your statements.

Key:

Questions in blue text are more subjective.

Introduction

1. Please can you describe your role?
2. When did hate crime become an important agenda across your force?
3. How does its priority compare with other crime types?

Reports

4. Do you feel that current reporting mechanisms are effective?
   -How are you tackling online Islamophobia?
5. How are you working directly with communities to encourage confidence in reporting?

Training

6. Do you feel like you are victim-centred?
   -What training have you received to improve response to Islamophobia?
   -Do you feel like you are empathetic enough when dealing with the needs of 'victims'? Examples?

Support

7. Do you feel there is a need for a support service in the region?
   -Do you feel like services that support 'victims' of all crimes are better than specialist services (i.e. those that focus on hate crime or a particular protected characteristic)?
8. Do you feel like you provide enough information to 'victims' about the support available?
9. Are hate crime co-ordinators needed?
10. Can you describe your relations with the following groups when responding to Islamophobia and supporting 'victims'?
    -Central government?
    -CPS?
    -Local authorities?
    -Academics
    -Other organisations that strive to challenge hate crime?

-Third-party services you signpost your ‘victims’ to?
-How important and effective is this network in supporting ‘victims’ of Islamophobia?
-What is missing?

11. Are you engaging in proactive work to address Islamophobia, i.e. following the public sector Equality Duty?

Investigation and outcome

12. Are you involved in improving the gathering of evidence? How?

Appendix 8: Information sheet and consent form

Research Study: "Exploring the state's response to Islamophobia and the co-construction of alternative securities."

I am carrying out online research interviews (lasting between 2 and 3 hours) for an independent project at the University of Birmingham in order to:

- Explore Muslim girls' and women's emotional encounters with racial, religious and cultural differences across a range of spaces (e.g. work, education, healthcare and public transport). This will involve investigating the coming together of a whole host of things like geopolitics, media representations, memories, certain 'atmospheres' like anger and gender relations in public and private spaces.
- Examine how state mechanisms (i.e. the police, the CPS and policymakers) can be more attuned to 'victims' of Islamophobia (specifically girls/women) in ways that family, friends, colleagues, carers and advocacy/activist organisations are in the context of limited positive outcomes, i.e. low prosecution rates and average satisfaction with the police.
- Develop research-based recommendations for police and crime commissioner hate crime working groups (I am a member of the one in West Midlands), select committees and workshops with policymakers to address appropriate support (particularly across different sectors, e.g. employment, education and public transport).

Data obtained:

- Will only be used for the purpose of my PhD (2018-21) and related publications.

Please note that I have a duty to inform relevant parties if the participant or others are at risk of serious and/or immediate harm.

CONSENT FORM

Please read each statement below; double-click the corresponding box to insert a cross (X) which will show you agree/understand. I am available to explain/discuss any of these statements.

	Please indicate that you agree (X) with each statement.
1. I have carefully read and understood the information sheet for the project.	☐

2. My participation is voluntary and I can withdraw from any question and the interview itself at any time without giving a reason. If I decide to withdraw from the project after the interview has happened, this must happen before the research is written up (i.e. before July 2021).	☐
3. I agree to the interview being audio recorded for the purpose of meaningful analysis; the file will be safely stored on a password protected computer/laptop which only the researcher, supervisor and examiner(s) can access and I can request for it to be destroyed at any time.	☐
4. If the researcher is allowed to publish/present any data, please indicate how this will be done by choosing 4a. OR 4b./4c.	
4a. I agree to the use of anonymised verbatim quotes in publications/presentations.	☐
4b. I would like my organisation's name beside verbatim quotes in publications/presentations (optional) unless information is off the record.	☐
4c. I would like my name beside verbatim quotes in publications/presentations (optional) unless information is off the record.	☐
5. I can request a copy of my interview transcript; this will give me the opportunity to make additional comments and to withdraw certain information from analysis.	☐
6. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and discuss adjustments to my ethical requirements.	☐
7. I understand that the researcher cannot maintain confidentiality if I am/ others are at risk of serious and/or immediate harm.	☐
8. I agree to anonymised data being archived by UoB Research Data Archive and the UK Data Service which is the UK's largest collection of economic and social data, funded by the ESRC to support researchers, teachers and policy-makers (optional).	☐
9. I agree to participate in the study.	☐

Name (participant) _____

Signed (participant) _____ Date _____

If participant is under the age of 18:

Name (parent/guardian) _____

Signed (parent/guardian) _____ Date _____

CONTACT DETAILS

This project has been approved by the Humanities and Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee at the University of Birmingham (ERN_18-0665A0). If you have any further queries, please contact the researcher and/or supervisor below:

Researcher:	Supervisor:
Name: Shivani Singh **Email:** [redacted] **Address:** School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences University of Birmingham Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT	**Name:** Dr Jessica Pykett **Email:** [redacted] **Address:** School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences University of Birmingham Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT

Appendix 9: Debriefing sheet

Thank you for taking part in the research study: "Exploring the state's response to Islamophobia and the co-construction of alternative securities."

Next steps:

What if I have any questions about the study that I would like to ask after the interview (now/at some point in the future) or if, for any reason, I would like to withdraw my data?

Can I obtain a summary of the results of the study?

Please don't hesitate to contact the researcher who will be happy to assist you:

- **Name:** Shivani Singh
- **Email:**
- **Address:** School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences, University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT

This study has raised personal issues that I do not wish to discuss with the researcher - what should I do?

If you feel you have been adversely affected by taking part in this study, and would like to speak to an independent support service you can seek help from the following:

Citizens UK
https://www.citizensuk.org/
Phone: 020 7043 9881

"Citizens UK organises communities to act together for power, social justice and the common good. We are the home of community organising in the UK, with diverse civil society alliances in London, Milton Keynes, Nottingham, Birmingham, Wales, Manchester, Tyne & Wear and Leeds. We develop the leadership capacity of our members so they can hold politicians and other decision-makers to account on the issues that matter to them."

Muslim Women's Network
http://www.mwnuk.co.uk/Helpline_181_c.php
Phone: 0800 999 5786 / 0303 999 5786

"We have set up and operate a national specialist faith and culturally sensitive helpline that is confidential and non-judgemental, which offers information, support, guidance and

referrals for those who are suffering from or at risk of abuse or facing problems on a range of issues."

MEND
https://www.mend.org.uk/report-islamophobia/report-an-incident/
Phone: 0203 904 6555

"If you have been the victim of Islamophobia, then please report it to MEND's IRU team, who will endeavour to assist you in seeking redress."

Tell MAMA
https://tellmamauk.org/about-us/
Phone: 07341846086

"Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks (MAMA) is a secure and reliable service that allows people from across England to report any form of anti-Muslim abuse. We have created a unique portal where you may address your concerns and record any incident that you experience as a result of your Muslim faith or someone perceiving you to be Muslim. By using our 'submit a report' section, you can describe the details of the abuse you suffered, whether verbal or physical, and then add in the location of the attack so that we can effectively map incidents across England. We can also refer you for support through partner agencies if you have been a victim of an anti-Muslim incident."

Muslim Youth Helpline
https://www.myh.org.uk/
Phone: 0808 808 2008

"A national helpline in the UK providing free and confidential faith and culturally sensitive support… targeted at vulnerable young people. It is registered as a charity." MYH receives calls from people of all ages and will be able to signpost you to appropriate services.

Samaritans
https://www.samaritans.org/
Phone: 116 123

"Safe place for you to talk any time you like, in your own way – about whatever's getting to you. You don't have to be suicidal."

Stop Hate UK
https://www.stophateuk.org/
Phone: 0800 138 1625

"Stop Hate UK is one of the leading national organisations working to challenge all forms of hate crime and discrimination, based on any aspect of an individual's identity. Stop Hate UK provides independent, confidential and accessible reporting and support for victims, witnesses and third parties."

SARI (for Avon and Somerset residents)
https://www.sariweb.org.uk/
Phone: 01179420060

"Stand Against Racism and Inequality provides support for victims of any type of hate crime including racist, faith-based, disablist, homophobic, transphobic, age-based or gender-based."

Citizens Advice
https://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/
Phone: 0345 404 0506

"We aim to provide the advice people need for the problems they face and improve the policies and practices that affect people's lives. We provide free, independent, confidential and impartial advice to everyone on their rights and responsibilities. We value diversity, promote equality and challenge discrimination."

Victim Support
https://www.victimsupport.org.uk/
Phone: 08 08 16 89 111

"Independent national charity which helps people cope with the impact of crime. Our services are free and available to everyone, whether or not the crime has been reported and regardless of when it happened. We also work to promote and advance the rights of victims and witnesses."

Remedi
http://www.remediuk.org/restorative-justice/
Phone: 0114 2536669

"Remedi have provided Restorative Justice (RJ) services in partnership with Youth Offending Teams, National Probation Service, Community Rehabilitation Companies, Police and Prisons since 1996. Restorative Justice provides victims of crime and the offender responsible to communicate with the support of a trained practitioner". Communication can take place directly (face-to-face) or indirectly (via letter exchange, or verbally through a Remedi practitioner).

True Vision
http://www.report-it.org.uk/home
Phone: 101

"On this website, you can:

- find out what hate crimes or hate incidents are
- find out about the ways you can report them
- report using the online form
- find information about people [who] can help and support you if you have been a victim."

GP
https://www.nhs.uk/Service-Search/GP/LocationSearch/4

"General practitioners (GPs) treat all common medical conditions and refer patients to hospitals and other medical services for urgent and specialist treatment. They focus on the health of the whole person combining physical, psychological and social aspects of care." If you aren't registered with a local GP, you can find one by entering your postcode in the NHS 'find GP services'.

Appendix 10: Sample of coded interview transcript with victim

Name: Dina
Length: 3 hours and 30 minutes
Date: 22/12/20
Age: 40s
Occupation: Community worker

Guidance:

1. Interviewer's words are in bold text.
2. The most interesting segments of the interview have been coded and these elements relate to the research question(s).
3. Emic codes have been extracted from text that is highlighted in red.
4. Etic codes are words that do not necessarily appear in the transcript but are selected because they relate to the aim and objectives of the study.

Interview transcript	Emic codes	Etic codes
So it was… just before the pandemic broke out I had an incident on the bus, so I was I was having some sort of police and court situation going on with the TfL. So I was trying to get on the bus, the lady didn't like, what I was wearing so when I came in I went to ask her a question about my daughter's Oyster card and then she said to me 'don't talk to me with that thing on your face', and then she continued to do this to me, I've actually got pictures of what she was saying 'don't talk to me. That thing on your face is just you know' I said to her 'excuse me can you repeat that?' Would you believe she actually repeated it what she said to me [laughs]. And then, I said to her I said 'you know what you're saying right here it's actually racism it's Islamophobic and it's against the law you can't be talking to me like this' and she said to me, she was swearing, she was saying to me 'I don't care get off the bus' so she told me to get off the bus she made such a scene, that even the passengers on the bus started telling me to get off I was so humiliated. She humiliated me I had a special needs child with me actually. And with special needs they as you know they like routine, he doesn't understand that he was getting on the bus and now he has to get off	Bus driver told her to take her niqab off Passengers telling her to get off the bus	Islamophobia - verbal Environment which refuses to witness Islamophobia

and he didn't make a journey, so he had the biggest tantrum we ended up sitting on the floor crying and then while I was dialoguing with her I said 'I'm going to report you and I'm now taking pictures of everything and I'm going to report you'. She didn't believe that I would but guess what she went on to do she hit me with the door, she closed it on me with such a force so so she hit me with the door. I managed to pull out and come out of there and then she continued to drive on. She opened it again and then she re-closed it. That's how I know she was trying to hit me with the door.	Bus driver shut the door on her	Islamophobia - physical
Did you get trapped or anything? Yes I did. I got pulled out by my my 14 year old daughter. I had children with me, I just can't believe it I can't believe she was doing it in front of everyone, you know what was shocking to me? Members of the public allow they don't even speak up. They just watch and that I find shocking and alarming. It's not until you do a hash tag, hash tag Muslim Lives Matter Black Lives Matter, that's when people start speaking I don't know what's wrong with the British public I don't know I've never seen it anywhere around the world it's just here. And then they started 'ah we need to get to our destination, just get off we don't care'. An incident has just taken place so then they started dilly dallying the TfL and I reported it to the police and then they just told me that how she's had some sort of disciplinary, 'well we're not going to tell you what kind of disciplinary we're not going to tell you anything else that's all you need to know thank you very much case closed'.	British people don't say anything until you do a hashtag BLM Passengers more concerned about their journey being delayed Lack of transparency from police regarding outcome of case	Environment which refuses to witness Islamophobia Outcome disproportionate to impact – link to Butler's work on bodies that don't matter
So I was taking it further and I was with actually [Organisation 2] was like speaking on my behalf and writing all the letters and everything. And then, and then eventually, eventually they told me the same thing again, we were trying to appeal it and then the pandemic happened. And before that I was telling them you know 'people should be, your your your driver should have some sort of training, to understand there's all types of people, there's people that wear the niqab and they seem to have a problem… because a lot of people are having	Advocacy	Attunement

problems with the niqab. So she didn't allow me on the bus because of that. And then, I got an email from TfL telling me, 'as from tomorrow, it is mandatory to cover your face on the bus'. I said to them 'this is what I've been trying to tell you all along, I've been trying to tell you please allow us with our face coverings on the bus' and so basically case closed so that didn't get anywhere. Things don't get anywhere.	Nothing happens	No justice

Appendix 11: Axial coding using 'parent' codes

See text below table for a description.

Advocates/activists	Police/policy officers	Victims
-Action	-Agenda	-Religiously-sensitive justice
-Austerity and funding	-Attunement	-Blaming the victim
-Benefits of services	-Downplaying hate crime	-Burden and representation
-Burden of dealing with Islamophobia	-Engagement	-Bystanders (no/little support)
-Caring for oneself	-Evidence	-Challenging
-Challenging	-Extremism and dissent	-Coping mechanisms
-Commissioning services	-Intersectionality	-Covid-19
-Consultation	-Lack of awareness (amongst victims)	-Dissent
-Covid-19	-Lack of confidence (amongst victims)	-Drivers of Islamophobia
-Criminal justice limitations	-Lack of long-term relationship with communities	-Government and law
-Data (lack of)	-Learning organisations	-Hope
-De facto justice	-Legislation (mostly weaknesses)	-Hopelessness
-Drivers of Islamophobia	-Multi-agency response	-Identity
-Evidence	-Non-attunement	-Impact of Islamophobia
-Gender	-Other priorities	-Invisible
-Government failures	-Outcomes	-Islamophobia
-Impacts of Islamophobia	-Reporting	-Limitations of criminal justice system
-Invalidation	-Support (mostly issues)	-Making sense of experiences
-Islamophobia	-Third party reporting (issues)	-Multicultural society
-Local authority limitations	-Training (negatives)	-Muslim community
-Lack of BME and Muslim leadership	-Hope	-No/little support, self-censorship, suppression and silence
-Limitations of being an advocate	-Institutional performance (is good)	-Patriarchy
-Limitations of support services	-Performance of police (is good)	-Perpetrators
-Making sense of experiences	-Political agenda not sympathetic to issues police deal with	-Policing - mostly negative views
-Media adds to Islamophobia	-Reluctance to implement feedback	-Policing - positive
-Need for support	-System works	-Race and Whiteness
-Need to find who has the power	-Victim-centred	-Relationships
-Negative practices of agencies	-Drivers of Islamophobia	-Reporting
-No support	-Negativity towards police	-Resilience
-Outcomes	-Scaremongering	-Responsibilisation
-Police (failures)	-Changing space of hatred	-Social movements
-Police (positives)		-Support
-Relationships and engagement		-Support - designing a service
		-Support - limitations
		-Systems (problems)

-Reporting	-Emotionality or lack of	-Tackling Islamophobia
-Resilience and empowerment	-Seldom heard	-Trauma
-Schools (limitations)	-Priority response - speech acts	-Unawareness
-Silence	-Austerity	-Vulnerability
-Systems (problems)	-Voice	-Voice
-Training and education	-Vulnerability - hate crime is same priority as domestic violence	-Voiceless
-Trauma		-Self-care
-Voice		-Safety mechanisms
-Voicelessness		-No justice
-Vulnerability		
-Whiteness		

Juxtaposing the 'parent' codes (in the table above) for each group of interviewees, allowed me to trace when, where, why and how there is *divergence* in the understandings and experiences of institutional responses to Islamophobia (to shed light on failures). Similarly, I could also trace when, where, why and how there are moments of *convergence* (to illuminate positive outcomes). I did this by exploring how the same or similar topics were spoken about by the different types of interviewees (indicated by those 'parent' codes which have been highlighted in the same colour across the 3 columns). However, I also made links between colours (indicated by arrows). For example, where victims spoke negatively about the police, I connected these to perceived failures (causations) and successes (contradictions) from interviews with police/policy officers. Those 'parent' codes which are not highlighted (e.g. 'drivers of Islamophobia') were not explored further as they did not relate to the research questions. Each 'parent' code contained a set of 'child' codes which are not visible in the table as these were too vast, but I include an example in appendix 12.

Appendix 12: Example of 'child' codes for 'parent' code 'impact of Islamophobia' (victims)

- 'Child' codes highlighted in grey appeared in more interviews.
- Some 'child' codes are linked, e.g. 'anxiety' and 'couldn't breathe'.

Impact of Islamophobia
-Danger can be anywhere
-Didn't pay attention to surroundings when abused
-Hearing about negative encounters can lead to fear
-Hearing negative stories makes her fear for her safety
-Impact - afraid to go out
-Impact - anger
-Impact - anxiety
-Impact - appeasing abuser
-Impact - avoiding others
-Impact - bodily damage
-Impact - can't concentrate
-Impact - can't take action if scared
-Impact - can't think what to do when being abused
-Impact - confidence breaks and needs to be rebuilt
-Impact - conscious something might happen
-Impact - couldn't breathe
-Impact - couldn't concentrate on getting better
-Impact - covert Islamophobia can be more damaging
-Impact - cumulative
-Impact - decreased tolerance
-Impact - depression
-Impact - desensitised
-Impact - don't know what to do when in shock
-Impact - double consciousness
-Impact - embarrassing
-Impact - emotionally affected
-Impact - faith became weaker
-Impact - fear
-Impact - feels safe in neighbourhood and multicultural areas
-Impact - feels safer in ethnically diverse areas
-Impact - felt dirty and cheap
-Impact - fight, flight, freeze
-Impact - habit to accept hatred
-Impact - injured
-Impact - irrational thoughts
-Impact - lonely
-Impact - mental trauma

-Impact - paranoia
-Impact - parents worried
-Impact - physiological
-Impact - relationships wiped away because of skin colour
-Impact - sadness and disbelief
-Impact - scared of White areas
-Impact - scared when alone
-Impact - shaken up
-Impact - son wants mum to remove hijab
-Impact - stories from others shape use of space
-Impact - stories of discrimination under Prevent duty make her fear for son's safety
-Impact - stress
-Impact - thinks twice about partaking in conversations with strangers
-Impact - tiring
-Impact - took hijab off because husband found hostility scary
-Impact - wary of being in the countryside
-Impact - will have to leave UK if niqab is banned
-Impact - witnessing Islamophobia made her scared
-Impact - worried that daughter's character will be affected if she wears hijab
-Impact - worthlessness
-Impact of trauma - panic attacks
-Long time to feel safe
-No home unless you feel safe
-People aren’t patient - loses confidence
-Stories of injustice circulating in community
-Suicide
-Weary after terror attacks
-Worried about children more than herself