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A constructivist grounded theory analysis of how counselling psychologists experience Anti Muslim Prejudice

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<u>Acknowledgements</u>

Reflexive statement (part 1)

It has been long argued that choices related to which studies are funded and what to study are culturally and socially bound decisions that reflect what is occurring in society and its relevance to society (Mosselson, 2010). Starting from this theoretical framework, I present my reflections upon how my identity as a Muslim Counselling Psychologist influenced my topic choice, and how this has been managed and integrated into the research process as encouraged by Willig (2001).

With age you become aware of differences, they become more conscious and thought about, and with age, I too became aware I was different to my next-door neighbours and friends at school, I was darker in skin tone, my parents were from abroad and I was brought up to practice Islam which meant I dressed differently too. This difference started to become something I was hated and attacked for, from name-calling in the street by strangers because of my skin colour to being called a terrorist in the aftermath of 9/11. Not only did I experience hostility and rejection from outside but also from within my own family because I did not fit the stereotype of a Pakistani Muslim girl. At the time, I managed the only way I could, which was to ignore the attacks and forge my own path as safely and as quickly possible.

On reflection, I had nowhere to process how I felt, how to make sense of being the hated object, an object that also did not fit in with those who were supposed to be like me and similar to me. The notion of ignoring hurtful and emotional experiences prevented me from taking the time to understand my AMP experiences because I was not taught how to, despite being someone who is naturally attuned to emotions, particularly of the other. It is no surprise that I dreamed to advocate for others, to help them make sense of their lived experiences and to feel validated, seen and heard.

This dream turned into training to become a Counselling Psychologist where not only could I help others but also use my voice on a global platform through research and to hopefully implement change in society. As I was researching topics under the term social justice, I felt overwhelmed, I was not sure where my focus needed or wanted to be. Ironically, after long reflections, I realised I did not like to talk about AMP experiences, particularly with people who are not Muslim, even my therapists. This led me to question how people experience, process and manage prejudices, starting with AMP, but on a deeper more intricate level as

opposed to past research that focuses on the general population and the after-effects of AMP or factors preluding AMP practices. More so, I was interested in finding out specifically how Counselling Psychologists like myself experience and manage AMP and maybe I could learn something from them (or not) and if so, future generations could learn something too.

In line with BPS (2005) guidance on research ethics and respecting subjectivity and intersubjectivity, I was mindful of needing to be open to various ways of experiencing and knowing, to being led by the research rather than imposing my own preconceptions onto the research. With regards to my identity as a researcher interviewing participants, to manage my preconceptions in the research process, I attempted to take the stance of a naïve enquirer (Etherington, 2004) using open-ended questions and holding a curious, not knowing stance (Bateman & Fonagy, 2006) to allow participants to share their mind with me without direction or influence. However, Charmaz (2006) highlights, it is unavoidable that researchers will actively construct participants understanding and therefore dispelled the positivist notion of researchers as passive observers because our aim is to create and assign meaning to participants world as reiterated by Breckenridge, Jones, Elliott and Nicol (2012). More importantly, I became aware that I wanted to attend to participants meaning, language and action taken or not taken; and adopting a design based on an interpretive-constructivist paradigm was felt to be most appropriate for this study because it combines relativist ontology of Counselling Psychology that is based on the belief that reality is complex and layered where there is no objective reality or truth (Strawbridge & Woolfe, 2003). This acknowledges the dynamic and numerous realities which are co-constructed by participants and myself and this research aims to recognise it is unlikely to fully represent all realities, which means there may be multiple interpretations. Nevertheless, what it does aim to do is ground these interpretations to connect with reality rather than make assumptions that the knowledge received is purely subjective and represented of the people who were part of constructing it.

Within this, I need to be awake to how my own experiences that may be similar to my participants can contaminate the coding based on how I felt, rather than how my participants may have felt. Through supervision, memoing and using my reflective practice group, I was able to share and show how my personal and professional values shaped the coding and model-making process. Evidently, there were times where the influence of my experience of AMP practices on the research process was unavoidable and rather than negating my

presence in the research, I tried to use the potential benefits of integrating my knowledge of AMP practices into the research process.

Abstract

Anti-Muslim prejudice (AMP) practices since 9/11, have cemented its place in history of becoming commonplace and show no signs of abating (Hankir, Ali, Siddique, Carrick & Zaman, 2019). Research since then has focussed on factors that influence and exacerbate AMP practices such as the media (Kurebwa & Muchakabarwa, 2019) and the consequences of AMP practices on the wellbeing of those directly and indirectly affected (Abu-Ras, Suárez & Abu-Bader, 2018). Research has begun to focus on how to combat AMP practice using the profession of counselling psychology in the USA (Bhattacharyya, Ashby & Goodman, 2014); which has spurred research in the UK on advocating for social justice within the profession of counselling psychology (Rhodes, 2016). However, research has recently begun to go beyond the negative outcomes of AMP practices and towards illuminating strategies to overcome AMP practices (Tahseen, Ahmed & Ahmed, 2019), yet, there seems to lack an in-depth exploration of the intricacies of these strategies and the potential outcomes of enlisting such strategies. There is also a lack of understanding in how counselling psychologists experience and manage AMP practices which could illuminate potential strategies for members of society to enlist that are of greater benefit to one's wellbeing.

The central aim of this study was to explore accounts of counselling psychologists experience of AMP practices including how and in what forms AMP practices find them and how they process, manage and approach AMP practices. The second aim was to co-construct an explanatory grounded theory of this process.

Adopting a constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006), this study employed purposeful sampling to recruit eight counselling psychologists and one clinical psychologist as part of theoretical sampling to refine and develop the grounded theory using semi-structured interviews.

Developed from the psychological processes that were co-constructed from the data indicated that three factors were influencing AMP practices finding participants which together increased sensitisation to experiencing AMP resulting in the experience of AMP as costing the self in two distinct ways, psycho-emotionally and systemically. The outcome of which

was processed through two separate means, either through acknowledging or disconnecting from the experience of AMP. The consequences of processing AMP through those two means influenced the pathways towards managing one's experience of AMP, either through reflecting which was experienced to have benefits or deflecting pathway which was experienced to have costs. Participants outlined how a reflective pathway is built over time and with experience and due to its benefits, participants felt they underwent a positive change in their relationship to AMP practices. This stands apart from a deflecting pathway that is found to negatively re-affect participants when exposed to AMP practices.

Participants, therefore, appeared to go through a myriad of complex processes in how they experience and manage AMP practices over their lifespan both psychologically concerning their sense of self and belonging in a society that accepts and rejects them.

The findings from this study provide important insights into how counselling psychologists experience AMP practices, the changes they undergo in how they try and manage such experiences, including the rupture in relationships between colleagues, friends, family and towards their sense of self. Furthermore, the findings outline recommendations from participants and research which has shown that AMP practices cannot continue to be ignored and the need to move towards preventative and proactive measures in line with social justice work to help reduce such negative experiences from repeating for current and future generations of Muslims.

Literature Review

Introduction

'It's not just about maladaptive schemas and cognitive dysfunctions, there are fundamental issues of abuse, social injustice, oppression and trauma…factors which are driving people mad" (Rhodes, 2016, p353).

Social injustice, oppression and trauma categorise some of the problems people face and seek support from in the world today; this can include experiencing racism, prejudice and discrimination towards one's religion, gender, sexuality, mental and physical disability, to name but a few. History has demonstrated that our response to differentness is not universally one of acceptance, but neither is it universally one of condemnation and rejection (Marshall, 2004). The recent events such as the terrorist attacks in London and Manchester, Black Lives Matter movement in the United States and the Muslim travel ban as ordered by the American President Donald Trump and the terrorist attack on two mosques in New Zealand, have once again brought to attention issues relating to religion and race. Surveys have shown that post events related to particular ethnic minority and religious groups have seen an increase in hate crimes against those groups associated with such incidents (Berger & Sarnyai, 2014; Craig-Henderson & Sloan, 2003). However, in the current climate, there has been a greater focus on Muslims and the religion Islam post-September 11th, 2001 attacks in America (Elshayyal, 2015). The response to the increase in hate crime has created help groups, charities and websites where those affected can seek support and keep track of incidents; incidents which link how Muslims and Islam are represented and discussed in the media and political sphere (Saha, 2012; Saeed, 2007). The impact of the rise in AMP and discrimination attitudes has been found to marginalise and alienate Muslims in society including fueling hate crimes, especially during events negatively associated with Muslims and Islam (Borell, 2015).

This marginalisation and negative discourse as with any form of social injustice has been found to impact negatively on the mental wellbeing of Muslims (Samari, 2016). According to Abu-Ras and Abu-Bader (2008), there has been a rise in Muslims seeking psychological support citing fear and anxiety related to hate crimes against Muslims and the increasingly negative discourse surrounding Islam. Given the rapidly growing population of Muslims in Western societies including the those seeking refuge from the war in the middle east, it is imperative to develop a better understanding of the mental health needs and concerns of this

community according to Rasool (2015). For this to be a fruitful endeavour, the profession of mental health, in this case, Counselling Psychology, must confront the possibility that wellbeing for Muslims affected by AMP, directly or indirectly, cannot be resolved simply through change with the individual in the counselling room (Kiselica & Robinson, 2001).

Recent debates have highlighted that counselling psychologists could work more broadly to effect long-lasting social change outside of the counselling room and not just 'band-aiding' at the individual level (Bryant, 2007). Engaging in topics such as AMP forms one of the core values of Counselling Psychology given the various interrelationships between wellbeing and injustice (Prilleltensky, 2013); in this case prejudice and discrimination of Muslims also labelled and known as Islamophobia. On the issue of social justice as a professional responsibility, Kakkad (2005) wrote that psychologists have a professional responsibility in contributing to and challenging social justice issues and that neglecting issues such as AMP only serves to maintain the status quo (Vera & Speight, 2003).

The profession of Counselling Psychology is embedded in and founded upon values and ethics that prioritise and respond empathically to client's subjective experience, to facilitate growth, empowerment and actualisation (British Association for Counselling Psychology, 2016). Counselling Psychology's core values overlap with that of a humanistic value base which Buber (1958) represented as the 'I-Thou' attitude. This is where the relationship between two people is one of equality, reciprocity and uniqueness, the 'I-It' on the other hand is one of power, control, objectivity and separateness which is the antithesis of Counselling Psychology ethos. Levinas (1969) moved forward with this concept and referred to 'Thou' as honouring and welcoming the 'Other', to accept the 'Other' in their entirety and not reduce them to a theme or object. Cooper (2009) argues that Counselling Psychology, therefore, is 'ethics in action' it is an application of the above values and ethics including the social, cultural and political limitations they may face.

However, no individual, whether a counselling psychologist or a primary school teacher, is entirely free from all forms of bias and prejudice. The British Psychological Society (2005) encourages trainees and Counselling Psychology training courses to recognise how prejudices may influence the counselling processes within the counselling room and beyond and within the wider social, economic, political and cultural context. However, there is limited research exploring how counselling psychologists' experience, manage and approach prejudices, specifically, AMP. This research, therefore, aims to explore the factors and processes

regarding counselling psychologists' experience of AMP and to offer a unique contribution to social justice research, theory and practice in Counselling Psychology.

Prejudice in society: An introduction where it comes from, how does it manifest in society?

Prejudice and discrimination are one of the greatest obstacles faced by humanity due to how they continue to create tensions between groups that differ. The concepts are defined whereby one group shares a profound dislike towards another which in the most extreme setting may lead to acts of mass genocide against minority groups. Brown (2010) redefined prejudice to include the expression of negative intergroup attitudes: "any attitude, emotion or behaviour towards members of a group, which directly or indirectly implies some negativity or antipathy towards that group" (p7). Prejudice, therefore, is not bound to any one culture or time in history and to completely understand it, one must look beyond social psychology to include the historical, economic and structural forces in play. This is because history bequeaths to us the language we use and the traditions and norms that we follow which defines and communicates to us the world we inhabit including the social categories involved that are the precursors to prejudice. For example, economic factors played a significant role during Britain's colonisation of large parts of Africa, Asia and Australia, where one group had the means and will to appropriate another group's territory. Wilson (2018) concludes that negative prejudices will follow if one's group's gain is the other's loss. This translates to a nationalist discourse where nations (a collection of people brought together by sharing the same values) are all equally entitled to self-determination where they oppose foreign domination and oppression to protect sovereignty (Heywood, 2017). However, nationalism can give rise to and permits toxic psychology of thinking that one group is more superior than another based on specific characteristics such as ethnicity (ethnocentrism) or nationality, thereby invoking distinctions between 'us' and 'them' (Spencer & Wollman, 2002).

How these distinctions are manufactured and maintained is guided by and given context by groups to which we belong to and the historical ties to specific intergroup relations in which each group finds themselves in (Hogg & Vaughan, 2008). Each group differs regarding its entitativity, which is how distinct, coherent and bounded a group is (Campbell, 1958). Entitativity helps with categorisation which involves the cognitive processing of assigning categories from how similar or dissimilar a group is and serves as an evolutionary function in

simplifying a too complex world we inhabit. According to Fiske (2010), there are several motives for assigning categories within society, such as belonging, where people thrive better when part of an in-group because they wish to attain the same goals. Another motive is understanding, which includes protecting and promoting shared values of the group (Miscevic, 1999), this motivates us to focus and share stereotypes instead of concentrating on the accuracy of a stereotype (Rusher, 2001) and lastly, the control of perceived threats to in-group (Duckitt, 2001). Altogether these motives highlight how belonging or identification with a group is advantageous thus promoting nationalism (Lichtenberg, 1997); however, the outcome will serve to enhance any pre-existing differences between groups or nations.

What happens next is that these differences between groups are attenuated leading members of the same group to view each other as more similar than they are and the other group as more dissimilar than they are (Tajfel, 1959). Correll, Park, Judd & Wittenbrink (2002) found evidence for the same process of differentiation and assimilation when participants were instructed to "shoot" individuals who were depicted to carry a gun and "not shoot" individuals displayed on a screen who carried a harmless object. They found that the presence of labels and descriptions such as ethnicity influenced white participants' judgements. For example, they found that white participants were more likely and quicker to mistakenly "shoot" a black man when he was depicted not to have a gun than a white man. --This suggests that introducing categories distorted people's perceptions and cognitive functioning thus providing sufficient conditions for people to favour their group over others. Such intergroup discrimination has proved to be a robust phenomenon, having been replicated more than twenty times in several different countries (Diehl, 1990, Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002).

So far, we have explored studies focusing on participants making informed judgements about in group and outgroup members; nevertheless, such preferences towards groups are not limited to a conscious domain but are also observable in our automatic or unconscious responses. Devine (1989) found evidence that suggests prejudices are automatic and how susceptible we are to subliminal priming, where information is cognitively interpreted and illustrated as cognitive links. For example, 'Muslim=terrorist, black=gun violence' which is even more salient in the age of social media where such links bombard us due to ease of accessing them; prejudice, therefore, is more or less inevitable. One could conclude that prejudices originate and operate within our cognitive system as conscious and unconscious processes. However, it is important to note that prejudice is not only a cognitive or attitudinal

phenomenon but one that engages our emotions and attitudes as well as finding expression in our behaviour. For example, neuropsychological research has explored links between how prejudice is imbued with functionally relevant emotions ranging from love, pride, fear, disgust and hatred (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). This is due to the network of neural structures of the amygdala which are involved in processing emotion and motivation which form the experience and expression of prejudice (Amodio, 2014). With this knowledge, we can begin to understand how prejudice manifests in society, how it is expressed and its links to hate in society.

Stereotyping at the core of prejudice

Prejudices, therefore, are made up of evaluations and reflect the emotional component of social bias; stereotyping, on the other hand, represents the cognitive component and is at the core of prejudice. This is where one attributes another with characteristics which are seen to be shared by all or most of the members of the person's in-group; it is the assignment of a person to a particular category (Amodio, 2014). These assignments to categories reside as abstract forms in semantic memory (Tulving, 1983) which means, unlike episodic recollection, they are easier to recall and consume fewer resources (Sherman & Bessenoff, 1999). This implies that stereotypes are embedded in the culture we are raised in and identify with and are more easily reproduced through socialisation in the home environment. The most potent sources of socialisation are though repeated exposure to images and texts, and additionally, now through another medium called social media. As highlighted by Gendron, Welleford, Inker & White (2016) society needs to be careful how they carry and convey meanings and messages either on social media or through face to face interactions as language can feed assumptions and judgments that can lead to the development of stereotypes.

Stereotypes no matter how tenuously, derive from some aspect of social reality where a groups' behaviour could provide fuel in which stereotypical perceptions about the group would readily burn and thrive on. Following on from the example in the previous chapter in regards to information being cognitively interpreted and illustrated as cognitive links such as 'Muslim=terrorist', Morgan, Wisneski & Skitka (2011) highlighted evidence of increased prejudice and discrimination against those perceived as superficially similar to the 9/11 attackers. Ibish (2003) further details how Muslims were subjected to employment and

housing discrimination, racial profiling, bullying of students and Muslims being removed from aeroplanes 13 months following the attacks. Furthermore, a decade later, research continues to support the stereotypic notion that terrorist threat can lead to prejudice and discrimination. For example, Van de Vyver, Houston, Abrams & Vasiljevic (2016) found that after the 7/7 bombings in London, there were stronger prejudices toward Muslims and immigrants. In regards to the psychological impact of such stereotyping on Muslims, Rodriguez Mosquera, Khan & Selya (2013) found that their participants were concerned about the potential AMP and subsequent discrimination they expected to experience leading up to the anniversary of 9/11 attacks. Participants spoke about the feelings of fear and anger which uncovered a sense of threat and danger Muslim Americans face. Moreover, they also identified certain coping responses that accompanied this multifaceted emotional experience, each having different implications for wellbeing. For example, some participants spoke about avoiding public places preceding the anniversary to minimise the potential of AMP practices related to 'Muslim=terrorist' stereotype with the emotion of fear as a driving force. However, this led to the experience of loneliness and isolation which has been shown to be associated with depression (Abu-Raija et al., 2011) and thus this coping strategy was psychologically and socially harmful for the participants.

Another example would be that of Muslim grooming gangs and how far-right groups and newspapers attribute grooming gangs to all Muslims (Carr, 2013). These objective indicators are easily translated into perceptions that the group, in this case, Muslim men as being synonymous with rapists and groomers. This over-representation of groups in specific socially prescribed roles suggests that stereotyping serves an ideological function to justify the status quo. In particular, when the said group is either a minority or assigned negative connotations it can help explain and account for the how and why the social system endorses the dominant group's right to its advantageous and privileged status (Devine and Sherman, 1992). This echoes the Brexit saga where England voted to leave the European Union with much focus on the ideology that non-British nationals were taking British jobs, this justificatory function of stereotypes was therefore well demonstrated not only in England but Western Europe as well (Matthes & Schmuck, 2017). This is a relevant example of how nationalism gives rise to partiality towards one group over another, justifying the divisions between "us" and "them".

With this idea, Alexander (1999) proposed four categories that shape outgroup profiles: enemy, ally, dependent and barbarian, the functions of which are to maintain or improve the

in-groups position to that of the out-group. For example, going back to Britain's colonisation, it served Britain well to regard colonial peoples as weak and dependent to rationalise and justify taking control of their resources. Much like the war on terror and invasion of Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries, the out-group is depicted as the enemy or going back further into history the same procedure was used by Adolf Hitler and Slobodan Milošević, both who fostered 'us' vs 'them' attitudes leading to mass genocides towards the 'other'. In the 1990's a new perspective on group conflict and ethnocentrism later emerged called social dominance theory (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994) which suggested that societies advance ideologies that legitimise social and intergroup inequality and discrimination which correlated with 'dominant' and 'submissive' personality traits.

Such findings imply that stereotypes lie deep within the core of social relations between groups in the form of nationalist ideology and not simply cognitive processes or trained phenomenon (Tajfel, 1981). The core social relations as already mentioned, revolve around the psychological distinctiveness between behaviours that are viewed and characterised as desirable or undesirable between the two groups. This is known as an 'illusionary correlation', where the dominant group will readily remember negative or undesirable behaviours committed by the minority outgroup (Hamilton and Gifford, 1976). Social categories such as ethnicity and gender have an intermediate level of entitativity (Campbell, 1958) which means members belonging to a certain ethnic group are more likely to be stereotyped and confused with each other, the less individuality and separateness the higher the entitativity. For instance, Islam as a religion has a high level of entitativity; this includes strict boundaries and distinct characteristics which identify members to that group readily.

A stereotype, therefore, is a cognitive association of a social category characterised by specific attributes, regardless of whether they are positively or negatively prejudiced, the person concerned might, therefore, be evaluated and treated differently in accordance to this stereotype. So when presented with someone, we have at our disposal our preconceptions about what group they represent, but also, at face value, we have information about how they behave and appear which may not be in line with our preconceptions. The question then is, how does someone organise, use and make sense of such incomparable information?

According to Locksley, Borgida, Brekke and Hepburn (1980) in these situations, social stereotypes are less powerful and therefore so are peoples' prejudices, however, this is not always the case, and the validity of Locksley's study is challenged with several studies

indicating that stereotypes do influence judgements even in the face of contradicting information (Grant and Holmes, 1981). There are many theories and evidence to account for the various influences of judgements; Hamilton and Sherman (1994) proposed that there be some fundamental differences in the way information about individual versus group targets are processed. When the actor's social category is inconsistent with the behaviour, situational inferences are facilitated by a minimalist encoding process that integrates prior knowledge with one that leans towards preserving existing stereotypic beliefs (McKoon & Ratcliff, 1995). This is known as confirmatory bias where people tend to seek out and favour information that will confirm and maintain the stereotype labelled as expectancy-confirming processing (Todd, Galinsky & Bodenhausen, 2012). Within this processing, any inferences that create difficulties in comprehension are less likely to be attended to as opposed to accuracy- orientated processing (Ramos, Garcia-Marques, Hamilton, Ferreira, & Van Acker, 2012).

A possible reason for this, according to Stangor and McMillan (1992), is that people recall information that is in line with the stereotype more readily because they expect some individual variation between group members and therefore, inconsistent information is overlooked (Fiske and Taylor, 1991). For example, in society, far-right groups such as EDL only use negative attributes of Muslims and fail to highlight any positive attributes which echo how unfavourable behaviour are recalled more easily about the outgroup which is known as the ultimate attribution error (Pettigrew, 1979). Negative behaviours exhibited by the outgroup are viewed as internally caused (genetics, poor character), on the other hand, those same behaviours when carried out by the ingroup, are defended against and rationalised to an external cause. This is often highlighted in the differences between how western media represent non-Muslims compared to Muslims. Research has found that a common trend of bias in media representation between the two groups plays a significant role in reinforcing prejudices and increasing hate with society (Saleem, Prot, Anderson & Lemieux, 2017).

Intrapsychic processes around hate: a psychoanalytic perspective

To further our understanding of society and the role of hate within society, I introduce a psychoanalytic perspective to bring about an understanding of the individual and internal processes involved in expressing anti-Muslim prejudice and anti-Muslim discriminatory behaviour. These phenomena can also be explained by cognitive theories which I have

already introduced e.g. cognitive bias theory, however, it can also be argued that a psychodynamic perspective is a model that can comprehensively explain human behaviour in terms of intrapsychic processes and the beliefs that societies hold (Opotow & McClelland, 2007). Psychoanalytic theories have expanded their sphere of inquiry to include questions about society, for example, their morals, relationship with the 'other' and how politics shape peoples lives, and therefore inspire intellectuals to promote psychoanalytic theories about conflict, desire, and the unconscious into the wider world (Lee & Rasmussen, 2019). As such, these theories inform psychologists to open promising new avenues for understanding the successes and failures of modern society (Opotow & McClelland, 2007). Psychoanalytic theory, therefore, is in a prime position of being able to provide a wealth of in-depth knowledge and guidance around intrapersonal and interpersonal processes which are forged in the context of relationships and therefore able to address issues pertaining to hate in society and in turn anti-Muslim prejudice practices. As psychoanalytic researcher Simon Clarke (1999) states, "recognition of the role of unconscious processes at work in society can unlock the missing elements in the explanation of ethnic hatred, addressing the affective power in racism and confronting the irrational forces which inform social action" (p. 23).

From the research and evidence presented thus far, prejudice has been investigated primarily from a group or socially shared perspective; however, Duckitt (2001) observed how individuals appear to differ in their capacity to appropriate prejudiced and ethnocentric attitudes. In regards to this variation, Duckitt & Sibley (2009) highlight how certain personality traits generate and predict social, ideological and intergroup phenomenon as well as generalised prejudice to out groups and minorities. It is important to note that personality does not directly affect prejudice, it does, however, influence ones motivational goals which are shared socially with one's in-group and subsequently expressed in the form of ideological beliefs or social attitudes related to underlying personality dimensions that leads to prejudice and hate (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford,1950), Duckitt, 2001). The question then is, what underlying intrapsychic processes in individuals, if any, could attribute to holding prejudices and resultant experience of hate towards the other?

According to White (2002), there are three components to hate, which include: being the hated object via destructive projections and attributions, hating the self by internalising the destructive attributions and projections and hating the other whereby one re-externalises malignant projections with extreme hostility. All three components of hate refer to objects and the individual, and this takes us to the school of object relations perspective on

personality development and pathology because it centres on how an infant internalises his/her relationships with others. This is because, from birth, an infant's libido is drawn towards seeking an object because one's ego cannot exist without it (Fairbairn, 1951). Our ego develops in a series of phases characterised by how the infant relates to the object, the earliest of which centres on identifying with the object it depends on for example the mother (Klein, 1957). This phase according to Fairbairn (1944) is based in orality and known as infantile dependence because the infant has one mode of relating which is to identify with the object by incorporating it fully so that differentiation between ego and object is indistinguishable. Secondary identification, on the other hand, is where the infant becomes similar to the object leading to some differentiation between ego and object which results in maturation, the ultimate goal. However, since the infant desires to incorporate the breast/object, when the object does not meet the needs of the infant's ego, it is frustrating and felt as if the act of love (sucking) of the object has destroyed the object leading to the experience of being deserted by the unattainable object. This leads the infant to withdraw from incorporating the object to save it which is the basis of the schizoid position, the ultimate goal is to love the object without destroying it. The depressive position, on the other hand, is where the infant gains awareness of its love and hate for the same object, the object is therefore in danger of infant's aggression which is a problem for the infant who wants to hate the object without the consequence of destroying it (Klein, 1937). It is important to note that hatred is not entirely unhealthy when it is a response to real danger where fight instincts such as aggression are important for survival and the elimination of danger or bad object. However, hatred becomes pathological when it dominates one's personality and unconscious motivations against the self and others, referred to as the death drive (Kernberg, 2012) and relate to the acting out of ideologies in the form of nationalism for example.

This creates anxiety over fear of losing the object, in schizoid position, infant internalises the object via the method of incorporation to control the bad object; in the depressive position, the internalised object is ambivalently experienced which is intolerable and leads to the need to split the object into two parts to protect it (Klein, 1952). According to Fairbairn (1944), this is achieved if both accepted and rejected parts lead to differentiation thus reduction in anxiety and marks the start of the transitional phase of development due to satisfactory object relationships. This developmental task involves infant managing engulfment and isolation of external objects by gaining some separation from the object while simultaneously supporting the formation of a sufficient and meaningful bond that is safe and secure from fear of

abandonment. Alongside this, the infant also has to satisfactorily expel the internal object to gain a sense of independence without the fear of losing the object, retention, on the other hand, is the act of achieving fullness without fear of over-identifying with the object. Together, this assists in developing mature object relationships as the infant can relinquish their dependence on the object which results in them accepting the object for who they are as a whole rather than a part object (Klein, 1935).

Unsatisfactory experiences on the other hand channels the internalisation of a bad object if its love is rejected and to reduce the pain and anxiety associated with this rejection, the infant splits the object into exciting and rejecting parts, both of which are repressed and result in a psychic division in the structure of the ego. This is where the satisfying (accepted) object becomes the central ego (contact with external reality), the exciting object correlates to the libidinal ego and the rejecting (anti-libidinal ego) object is the internal saboteur which uses aggression in the face of frustration by the unsatisfactory object to remove the danger to the good object (Fairbairn, 1949). According to Sutherland (1994), the intrapsychic environment of object relationships is relatable to group dynamics where the in-group is perceived as the good object that is accepted and the bad object is the outgroup where aggression and isolation/withdrawal is used as a defence to protect self and good object whether accurate or not. I mention this because the defence of avoiding objects may come from projections from others which an individual may have internalised and this has significant consequences in our external reality, the real world. This is because when we discriminate against the outgroup via withdrawal or aggression, they may react negatively and for the over-identified individual this is perceived as conscious justification for their prejudice (Aviram, 2005). Guntrip (1951, p. 45) wrote that "hate is love grown angry because of rejection" and since we need each other for understanding the world and ourselves, we must use the intrapsychic divisions of splitting to enable us to love one object and hate the other. When we think about prejudice, it also involves negative and positive evaluations of the in-group and outgroup, both groups, therefore, become interdependent on each other in distinguishing between the "idealised and good self/group and the devalued bad/other group" (Aviram, 2007, p. 11).

According to Fairbairn (1940), the schizoid character is the most severe form of psychopathology since the basic need for love has been rejected and the lack of response from object leads to the desire to possess the object to secure it. However, this need to own the object threatens to destroy the object resulting in anxiety over fear of losing the object. This creates a perception that all object contact are destructive leading to the motivation to

withdraw from contact with others which exacerbates the normal splitting of the ego as the libidinal ego departs from reality. This can explain the narcissistic personality traits from the schizoid position in which the infant is fixated at the oral phase where the object is viewed as serving a primary function of gratification. At the same time, it tries to protect the object from being engulfed, and so the schizoid withdraws contact, and this is observed in narcissistic individuals as treating the object as worthless or have no emotional value which according to Kernberg (1992) is a defence against envy. Exhibiting such cruel and destructive behaviour results in schizoid feeling powerful which is dangerous because the anti-libidinal condition prevents maturation of the personality and ego integration for the ability to love the other.

Intrapsychic processes around hate: from order to disorder

The community of psychology has voiced their thoughts on narcissism concerning people in leadership positions and of political power since those are the types of professions narcissists strive for (Glad, 2002). Although it is deemed unethical to provide a professional opinion or to diagnose someone without having met and assessed them (APA, 1973), Psychologists have shared their thoughts on how President of America, Donald Trump, displays traits of the narcissistic personality type. Narcissism can be expressed covertly as personal self-centeredness and importance and overtly as grandiosity and arrogance, as we know from object relations that humans need objects, our personality will influence how we treat the other, at the individual and group level, narcissism can affect the expression of ethnocentrism in particular at the group level. Diamond (2012) argues that narcissism is rooted in anger due to repression of rage during early development involving negative individuation resulting in aggression and hate towards the other. Such aggressive and harmful acts result in others experiencing similar feelings of fear, rejection and terror as the perpetrator did at the schizoid stage. Diamond (2003, p. 31) labelled this as a "sadistic sort of projection identification… of anger towards the parents" and this relates to Freud's (1920) concept of repetition compulsion. In line with this concept, Winnicott (1950) believed that for aggression to be kept separate from objects we love and depend on, the individual must maintain the split which means they will continue to seek the bad object towards whom the aggression can be directed at.

There are two ways to view the relationship between ethnocentrism and narcissism; they are either negative or positively correlated. If they are opposed to each other, ethnocentrism,

which includes group cohesion and solidarity, could be achieved if the ego is minimised or extinguished. However, since narcissists value their self-interest (Post, 1993), it is unlikely they would sacrifice themselves for the group. This is traced backed to narcissistic political leaders such as Hitler who believed they were more important than their group, especially if the group was in the way of achieving their personal goals, e.g. "Germany is not worthy of me; let her perish" (Hershman & Lieb, 1994, p. 187). Narcissism and ethnocentrism, therefore, may be inversely related which is in line with Kernberg's (1992) theory that this experience of the other as either an enemy or an idol goes back to how the narcissist has a limited capacity for love and concern for the other. On the other hand, they could show a positive correlation because if narcissists see themselves as superior, they are more likely to view their group the same way and express ethnocentrism such as having in-group preferences (Jordan, Spencer, Zanna, Hoshino-Browne, & Correll, 2003). Using historical accounts again, Hitler and Stalin also viewed their group as more superior (Hershman & Lieb, 1994) which provides evidence for the theory that narcissism is positively correlated to intergroup ethnocentrism rather than intragroup ethnocentrism (Bizumic, Duckitt, Popadic, Dru, & Krauss, 2009). Together such arguments and evidence brought forward suggests that there is a significant relationship between narcissism and ethnocentrism, where narcissism is an essential personality variable that predisposes people to hold ethnocentric attitudes towards the other.

Narcissistic personality type, therefore, supports ideologies that attend to the narcissistic wound that includes pain, frustration and hatred and finds the cure to this in the destruction of the enemy. This is evidenced by right-wing extremists who see multiculturalists as the enemy, on the other hand, in a more common and accepted way, the same mechanism occurs in the business world, personal relationships and on a national level, warfare (Virtanen, 2013). Thus, without the knowledge and understanding of the intrapsychic processes of hate and how it may develop and manifest in society, we would not be able to make links between human behaviour and subsequently what influences that behaviour which for a healthy, well-adjusted and mature society is paramount for our survival. Emotional well-being, therefore, lies on the infant being able to form positive early object attachments and how well it manages frustration from both destructive and libidinal impulses. It is the ability to find a way towards reparation (Klein, 1937), to love and hate without damaging the other thus leading to virtuous cycles of order rather than disorder within the individual.

AMP (Anti-Muslim Prejudice)

AMP is deployed to include instances of stereotyping, open hostility and prejudice towards Muslims and Islam, including criminal behaviour and bigotry. There is some contention whether the term is appropriate, whether it is used correctly or too loosely defined due to its overlap between racism and discrimination and whether it is a problem in need of social scientific investigation. Yet General Kofi Annan, the United Nations Secretary recognised and voiced his concerns in 2004 at a UN conference on AMP, that the world is compelled to coin a new term to account for the rise in anti-Islamic sentiment and bigotry and discrimination that we see happening around the world today (United Nations Department of Public Information, 2004). A term that is used often in the media and global sphere that encompasses AMP is the word Islamophobia, however, it is important to note that Islamophobia does not infer that any critique of Islam is labelled as racist or xenophobic, what it refers to is how Muslims are racialized and discriminated against (Selod, 2016). The word Islamophobia labels a type of hostility, prejudice, discrimination and racism directed at Muslims and the religion Islam (Allen, 2010) this also includes criminal acts labelled hate crimes and anti-Muslim discourse at the individual, societal and political level.

According to Allen (2010), one of the catalysts in awakening the term Islamophobia in this decade was the publication of the report 'Islamophobia: A Challenge for us all' (Runnymede Trust, 1997). The report offered a more detailed explanation of AMPs, consequences of AMPs for individuals and society and offered some practical solutions to this growing concern. The report identified and described the nature of AMP and drew on eight distinctions that characterise Islamophobic/AMPs and attitudes; the report outlined the difference between closed and open views on each distinction or opinion related to Islam. One example of a closed view distinction of Islam was that it is inferior and different to the West, barbaric, sexist and irrational, another closed view was that Islam is violent and supports terrorism and that discrimination and hostility towards Islam are justifiable and seen as 'normal'. A survey conducted by The Pew Forum (Pew Research Center, 2009) which seeks to promote a deeper understanding of issues at the intersection of religion and public opinion, found that when asking participants detailed questions about their perception of Islam, 38% shared the same closed views as outlined by The Runnymede Report.

Islamophobia is not only people's personal thoughts, beliefs and attitudes towards Islam and Muslims; it also includes actual violence and harassment towards Muslims, also referred to as

hate crimes. Islamophobia like other prejudices is an antipathy based on stereotypes that all Muslims are the same e.g. terrorists (Runnymede Trust, 1997); stereotypes which lead to higher levels of discrimination in comparison with other religious minorities at present (Fox & Akbaba, 2015). Known as 'differential racialisation' a targeted group becomes defined and compared to a majority group concerning how similar or different they are to each other based on attributes such as race (Laird, Amer, Barnett & Barnes, 2007). As with any identity, a Muslim identity intersects and is differentiated by multiple attributes such as race, ethnicity, national origin and social class, any of which can result in some form of prejudice and/or discrimination (Crenshaw, 1991). Being as Muslims are easily identifiable by virtue of sartorial markers such as how they dress and their appearance, they are racially stereotyped as coming from non-white groups which further aligns Muslims identity with racial identity. This was observed in the Rochdale case for example, where Pakistani men were depicted as paedophiles and used as an example for right-wing propaganda as the public focus reinforced their racial identity alongside their religious identity leading to an overt rise in hate crimes being documented (Tufail, 2015). Further supporting the argument of identity and race was that by Abrams & Houston (2006), they conducted a survey to assess different aspects of prejudice and in one survey they found that Christians report experiencing less prejudice than Muslims in terms of ethnicity (19% vs. 56%), and religion (14% vs. 46%). Whilst it can be onerous to distinguish racial from religious discrimination, evidence suggests that religion-based bias and ethnicity figures strongly in hate crimes (Sheridan, 2006). On the account of research related to AMPs, the conclusions emphasise that AMP is accelerating with real-life consequences impacting Muslims all over the world (European Muslim Research Centre, 2010). The impact of which reflects the closed views outlined by Runnymede report concerning Muslims social inclusion and their level of vulnerability to physical violence and harassment underlined as hate crimes.

Hate crimes related to AMP practices

Hate crime is a collective term for a range of offences that are intended to harm or intimidate individuals which are motivated by prejudice towards the victim's social group or identity based on their race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, minority group status (Berk, Boyd & Hamner, 2012). The type of offences includes property crimes, physical and verbal assault, murder and threats of violence or other acts of intimidation. It is not the victim as an individual but who the victim may represent, belong to or perceived to belong to, that directs

the attack (Craig-Henderson & Sloan, 2003) which is why hate crimes are especially serious as they assail an entire group of people. However, it is important to highlight that not all Islamophobic prejudices lead to hate crimes but those who act on and guided by their prejudices are more likely to commit hate crimes (Borell, 2015).

Field (2007) conducted a public opinion poll between 1988 and 2006 and found there to be a steady increase in AMPs which escalates with events linked to Islam such as September 11th, 2001 attack on America, Iraq war, and July 7th, 2005 London bombings and most recently the Manchester Arena attack in 2017 and those in London. Such acts of international and domestic terrorism instil a sense of uncertainty and risk for western society and result in retaliation and a wave of hate crime against Muslims (Brown & Richards, 2016; Gündüz, 2010). According to Borell (2015), AMPs to a large extent is event-driven and reactive; AMPs tends to flare up on the heels of dramatic events. Also consistent with these findings is that by Pew Research Center (2009) who noticed that the percentage of closed views on Islam peaked during events negatively associated with Islam and Muslims. An example of a closed view from this survey is the belief that Islam encourages violence, the percentage which fluctuated over the years. The reason for this as suggested by Borell (2015), is that Islamophobic prejudices and discriminatory practices such as hate crimes fluctuate in accordance with media coverage and adverse events related to Islam and Muslims.

Islamophobia, therefore, is not only a cognitive phenomenon but also as an affective event with a strong emotional element to it, hence the spike in hate crimes against Muslims or those who are perceived to look Muslim. This strong emotional element according to Marshall et al. (2007) is due to a perceived threat which activates our neurobiological systems that serve as an evolutionary function of protecting ourselves or something highly valued. The need to safeguard ourselves according to Bryan (2012) is related to being fearful about the fate of the nation which has become the dominant cultural form of relating to Muslims and Islam. The portrayal of Islam and Muslims as a threat intensifies psychological insecurity and the impulse to respond aggressively which is manifested in society as racism and hate crimes against the perceived threat. Allport's (1954) scapegoat theory suggests that during difficult times, some people act out against a perceived outgroup that is somewhat linked emotionally or cognitively to the source of their anger or frustration. Even with relatively low exposure to the event itself because of the media, we can easily access and indirectly exposed to images and news of the event which tends to amplify the event itself even if it happened in another country thousands of miles away.

Such catastrophic and devastating events open up the debate as to whether Muslims threaten the safety of non-Muslims and thereby questioning the loyalty of Muslims, in particular for those living in a western society such as the UK. Such sentiments reflect the eight closed distinctions outlined by The Runnymede Trust (1997), that Islam is different from the West and seen as an enemy. Although published some years ago, the findings of the report have never been more relevant and legitimate in highlighting that AMP is becoming more explicit, more extreme and more dangerous. This is one of the reasons why charities such as Tell MAMA (Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks) exist; they are an independent non-governmental organisation which record, report and analyse anti-Muslim incidents, incidents of malicious acts aimed at Muslims, their material property or Islamic organisations (Tell MAMA, 2015). The website's purpose is to track anti-Muslim hate crimes, bring hate crimes to the attention of local authorities, to gain insight into AMPs and to provide vital support for the victims. One of the major findings of their 2014-2015 data report was the role of media in influencing AMP (Awan & Zempi, 2015) with findings by Ahmed and Matthes (2016) highlighting that Muslims tend to be negatively portrayed.

AMP in the media

Although there is no direct evidence that the single construct of the media causes AMP, nevertheless, such an ideology can be reinforced by messages and meanings from the social, political and cultural spaces and are evidently already embedded in our histories (Allen, 2012). Research has highlighted that the media plays an influential role in communicating the portrayal of Muslims and Islam to the world and its ability to sustain negative characterizations of Islam and Muslims thereby shaping and influencing public attitudes and opinions (Carr, 2013). According to Allen (2012), over the years the percentage of negative media coverage of Muslims in Britain has remained high at 91%; with adverse events related to Islam and Muslims correlating with a notable increase in hate crimes against Muslims. Thus, one could postulate that the way the media symbolise and represent Muslims and Islam can have a powerful effect on the interpretation of the perceiver's world views.

For example, according to Allen (2012), 64% of the British public claimed that what they know about Muslims and Islam is acquired through the media. We rely on media as gatekeepers of knowledge in some domains, and if we take from media what we know of society and its representation, it can inform what we do and what we are prepared to accept as

truth and reality (Jenkins, 2009). This is because media contributes to the overall cultural production of knowledge (Poole, 2002), it has the power to articulate and construct dominant social values and ideologies, and studies have shown that these characteristics often lead to misrepresentation and stereotypical portrayals of minorities (Saha, 2012). Saeed (2007) examined the representation of Islam and Muslims in the British press and gleaned from this the image of British Muslims as the out-group. Such misrepresentation operates to fix and reduce Muslims to a few fundamental and disparaging features which Hall (1997) called 'racialised regime of representation'. A representation that deploys a strategy of splitting, where those who do not fit society's norms are marginalised and stereotyped as the 'other'. This stereotyping and marginalisation is another way religion is employed as a surrogate for racism (Goodall, 2007). A surrogate anchored in and around media representations and discourse of Islam and Muslims as metaphorically an armed enemy which Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010) also argue is a proxy for racism. What naturally follows is the adoption of negative attitudes towards the enemy as acceptable and outside perimeters of politically correct norms for prejudice and discrimination; it can, therefore, act to legitimise AMPs.

In the case of the Rochdale and Rotherham 'grooming' child sexual abuse scandals, the media and political discourse focussed on the cause as being attributed to the perpetrator's religion and ethnicity. Tufail (2015) compared how similar cases were represented and the discourse used in the media and found that reporting was heavily racialized in the context of anti-Muslim racism in regards to the Rochdale and Rotherham 'grooming' case compared to sexual abuse cases not involving individual's characterised as Muslim. The cases' prominent feature in the media and discourse in the UK led to an increase in anti-Muslim rhetoric and used as propaganda for right-wing extremist groups such as English Defence League and British National Party (Tufail, 2015). Such bias, reductive and sanitised misrepresentations in reporting served only to insulate further and symbolise Muslims as a separate and specific racialised threat a direction which can lead to the marginalisation of Muslims. According to Noble (2012), closed views which define evil as a type marked by cultural differences is an invitation to legitimatise and license hate crime, especially if society is unified less by a shared set of values than a dominant set of worries. This reflects the metaphorical armed enemy where a group emerges and defined as a threat to society and presented in a stylised and stereotypical fashion by mass media. Cohen (2002) writes of periods of moral panic, panic which is not conjured at will rather it is melded by local grievances and fears reflected

by xenophobia which are influenced by media in regards to how news is covered and public opinion formed (Morgan & Poynting, 2012).

This does not take away the fact that Muslim men were involved and guilty of sexual abuse and exploitation, what many organisations such as Tell MAMA are trying to work towards is not censorship but responsible reporting and engagement with media outlets as highlighted by Tell MAMA (2015). This is because anti-Muslim messages and meanings can equally be gleaned from factual and accurate reporting as well as misrepresented or inaccurate reporting and unlikely that all articles were anti-Muslim focussed. What is important to note is the process emerging from media coverage, the portrayal of Muslims as a homogenised group with its members seen to have attributes, qualities and characteristics regarded as an antithesis to the West (Poole, 2002). The impact of which only serves to alienate, marginalise and stigmatise Muslims, creating a divide between Muslims and non-Muslims. Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery (2013) conducted a discourse analysis of the role of the media and how they represent Islam and Muslims; their findings included the use of explicit anti-Muslim representations which were intended to be antagonistic and generalising. Although they highlight the importance of not grouping media outlets as monolithic in nature and intentions as this oversimplifies attributes of anti-Muslim motives to journalists, it does corroborate previous findings that have found the link between hate crimes, AMPs and role of media reporting.

Impact of AMP in the global sphere

This marginalisation took another stark turn in July 2016 after the announcement of an ordinance banning the wearing of burkinis on the beaches of Cannes with the head of Municipal Services in Cannes stated that the rule is about banning "ostentatious clothing which refers to an allegiance to terrorist movements which are at war with us" (France-Presse, 2016). This reflects the closed views outlined by Runnymede Trust (1997) that Islam is different from the West, oppressive and terror-related; misconceptions which further thrust Islam into the western discourse and public debate. The Islamophobic undercurrent related to this specific issue was the comparison between nuns being allowed to wear their habits in every environment, so what makes Muslim women any different? This line of questioning supports the argument that AMP is active, Muslims are being victimised and discriminated at the individual and public spheres, the consequences of which serve to further marginalise

Muslims in western society. Continuing on from this, the ban was eventually lifted as it did not violate the French state's secularism (laïcité) however it did serve to further create negative discourse in the media about Islam and in politics with some politicians trying to reinstate the ban to prevent 'Islamification' of France (Benveniste & Pingaud, 2016). This renders the debate wide open leaving behind a question mark for women in Islam and when they will be targeted next, the current and potential impact of which is not a positive one, further highlighting that AMP is fast growing in western nations (Esposito & Kalin, 2011).

AMP is therefore is no longer at the individual level, it has through the years increasingly spilt over into mainstream social and political debates and gaining greater traction as it becomes more ingrained into political discourse all over the world (Tell MAMA, 2015). The discourse which is *about* them not *with* them ensures the continued exclusion of Muslims and proves how gross inequalities of power allow the dominant group to employ secularised and discriminatory strategies without initial challenges. This suggests power is exercised over individuals rather than individuals legitimised at the centre which Foucault (2007) also reiterated; power is a technique or action designed to observe, monitor, shape and control the behaviour of individuals. The term governmentality proposed to explain the techniques and procedures which are designed to govern the conduct of both individuals and populations at every level, not just administrative or political level. Foucault (2007) also tried to highlight how we are governed and how to govern others, that states power and discourse work to constrain people, the opposite of freedom. Foucault redefined the term freedom suggesting that it is a practice, not a goal, and it is a condition for the exercise of power and exercise of power is strategic and warlike (Foucault, 1982). Foucault argued that terrorism, for example, is counter-productive, it ensconces to undermine the marginalised faith in the state to guarantee everyone's security and those who govern then have the excuse to introduce stricter social and legal regulations as a result of terrorism (Welch, 2003). In Foucauldian terms, AMPs involve representational practices of stereotyping operating at all levels of society and culture and not just from the dominant group downwards. The purpose of the burkini was invented so that Muslim women could integrate with western society, taking the burkini away serves only to alienate Muslim women further from Western society. The burkini ban, therefore, is perceived by Muslims and majority of non-Muslims as an exercise of power to marginalise and constrain the rights of Muslims (Urwin, 2016) than an act to free Muslim women from the constraints of Islam. This constant revolving door of what Muslims can and cannot do, from building mosques to wearing a burkini and headscarf is a constant reminder

that one cannot simply practice and be Muslim. Rather, it is a goal to be achieved by weaving one's way through social and legal constraints, anti-Muslim rhetoric and media bias; the impact of which on the individual and society is detrimental at the least because hate-crime activity shows no signs of abating (Awan and Zempi, 2015).

AMP and psychological well being

Research highlights that the impact of AMP serves to marginalise, alienate and stigmatise Muslims, with many Muslims in the West reporting feeling rejected by the broader culture around them and consequently dejected (Perry, 2016). Iganski and Lagou (2015) found that victims of hate crime incur deeper psychological costs because it involves a perpetrator's deliberate intention to cause harm leading to disintegration of assumptions that they are invulnerable, the world as a meaningful place and the view of oneself in a positive light. Given such findings, they recommend increasing jail sentences for incidences of hate crimes to reflect the impact it causes to victims. Furthermore, violations of assumptions that one is invulnerable leads individuals to see their experiences as an assault on a central part of their identity, for Muslims it is based on salient markers such as race, ethnicity and appearance. An assault on identity which one has no control over resonates deeply with feelings of security and ideas about the self and others (Craig-Henderson & Sloan, 2003).

For example, Johns, Schmader and Lickel (2005) found in their study that Muslims who identified with being American experienced more shame and stronger desire to distance themselves from their religion in the aftermath of 9/11, or in other words, from their in-groups wrongdoing. Lickel, Schmader, Curtis and Ames (2005) reasoned that the unsavoury actions of one's in-group members can lead to a sense of vicarious shame because such negative behaviours are seen as reflecting poorly on a central part of one's social identity. This is because feelings of shame related to another person's wrongdoing are predicted by the severity to which the event is seen as linked to or relevant to the reputation of their group (Islam) and the belief that other people (non-Muslims) would judge their group (Islam/Muslims) negatively because of it. If Muslims internalise a stereotyped identity as discussed in previous chapters, it could lead to shame due to the negative flavours of such stereotypes of 'terrorist' for example, but also because internalising them means they may need to disown aspects of the self that do not fit the stereotype thus constricting their identity (Sadek, 2017). Adichie (2009) warns that single story stereotypes can rob people of their

dignity and the richness and historicity of their racial, ethnic and religious narratives as it becomes the only story out there. On the importance of facing shame, Sadek (2017) highlights how owning one's shame means to face it; to recognize it and to understand its origins and the potential defences built against it.

However, how one actions the above remains open to further exploration and research given the myriad of therapies within psychology that work with issues around shame. At the same time, shame may feel too painful and toxic to hold or acknowledge, for example, individuals may take dangerous measures to avoid it at all expense as highlighted by Abo-Zena, Sahli and Tobias-Nahi (2009) in attempt to explain the burdens held by Muslim youth. For example, they either distanced themselves from their religion by changing outward characteristics e.g. clothing to idealising their Muslim self leaving them in a position of complete 'other'. Furthermore, these protective and defensive strategies that are thought to be maladaptive responses or approaches are believed to be disingenuous because of the presence of shame (Zine, 2001). For instance, some strategies may also include outsourcing one's shame by projecting it onto other Muslims creating potential ruptures within a Muslim's in-group leading to a constricted collective identity (Sadek, 2017). Together, one could conclude that the emotion of shame is inescapable regardless of what strategy a Muslim uses, highlighting one area in regards to the impact AMP has on Muslim's psychological wellbeing.

Abu-Ras & Abu-Bader (2008) highlighted similar areas of concern for Muslims in regards to AMPs which included fear of hate crimes, anxiety about the future, threats to safety, isolation and stigmatisation. Consistent with findings from other research studies and previous research studies already mentioned, feeling less safe being a Muslim is the primary variable correlated with both perceived impact of discrimination and AMP (Mogahed & Chouhoud, 2017) and that feelings of anxiety and depression are a natural outcome of this cycle (Samari, 2016). In Abu-Ras, Suárez & Abu-Bader (2018) study, their main objective was to explore Muslim participants' wellbeing during the 2016 presidential election campaign in America and participants perceived AMP and examine any differences in relation to gender between participants. They found that perceived impact of AMP resulted in higher levels of stress in participants and those female participants compared to male participants reported lower quality of life and higher negative impact on their wellbeing from the perceived impact of AMP. For example, females reported more hate crimes, more fearful of going out in public which is believed to be because of entitativity, as discussed in previous chapters, where

visible signs of religious affiliation to Islam such as wearing a hijab, may increase susceptibility and sense of perceived threat of AMP practices finding a person (Mogahed & Chouhoud, 2017).

In addition, hate crimes can exacerbate this fear and the feeling of being unsafe leading to avoidance behaviour and higher rates of vigilance and anticipatory stress of possible future adverse encounters (Wallace, Nazroo & Bécares, 2016). Such unwanted changes in behaviour affect how Muslims carry out their daily lives with some grappling with maintaining their identity and/or maintaining security due to the salient visibility of their sartorial markers as well as race and ethnicity. According to Garofalo (1997), this accounts for why victims of hate crime can suffer severetraumatic effects with higher levels of depression and anxiety than some victims of other crimes.

Although a large part of research on discrimination and mental health-related concerns is correlational in nature, there has been an increase in studies testing this relationship with experimental methods. Sawyer, Major, Casad, Townsend & Mendes (2012) confirmed that exposure to prejudice related stimuli increased physiological stress response accompanied by chronic vigilance including rumination and worry. They also found that chronic vigilance prolongs the negative effects of acute stress on physical and mental health with participants reporting more threat-related cognitions and emotions before and after interaction with a prejudiced participant. This reflects the understanding that hate crimes on average incur deeper psychological costs that last long after the incident (Garcia, McDevitt, Gu & Balboni, 1999); however, this does not mean that non hate crime victims do not suffer the same or even worse psychological costs. Instead, it tries to highlight that because hate crimes are born from prejudice and discrimination, even in the absence of behavioural confirmation, minority groups experience a stress response from the mere threat of discrimination (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983; Sawyer, Major, Casad, Townsend & Mendes, 2012). The impact of which leads to activation of the sympathetic nervous system contributing to allostatic load which has been shown to predict an increase in depressive symptoms and expressed in other chronic anxiety disorders such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (McEwen, 2003).

It has already been mentioned that race and ethnicity intersect with the Muslim identity with research mainly focusing on racism and hate crimes; a study by Jordanova, Crawford, McManus, Bebbington, Brugha and Crawford (2015) looked at the prevalence of perceived religious discrimination and its association with common mental health disorders. They found

that subjects who experienced religious discrimination were more likely to have anxiety disorders than depression due to the negative anticipation, fear and worry related to the experience. According to the discrimination-social stressor hypothesis, on average, disadvantaged group members will fare worse than advantaged group members in regards to psychological distress (Meyer, Schwartz & Frost, 2008). The experience of religious discrimination may therefore have a direct effect on individual self-esteem, increasing negative attributions and vulnerability to mental illness.

One real-life example that brings to life the literature thus far is that of the Sydney café siege in 2014 where a gunman held people hostage resulting in Muslims fearing an Islamophobic backlash consistent with Borell's (2015) theory that hate crimes can be event-driven. What followed next was an outpour of support from Australians after one lady tweeted that she saw a Muslim woman on a train remove her headscarf, a change in behaviour, she then went over to the woman and said to her to put it back on and that she will walk with her (Alexander, 2014). This led to a social media movement on twitter with the hashtag #illridewithyou to support Muslims through this difficult and potentially dangerous time. This highlights the impact adverse events related to Islam has on Muslims, the fear of Islamophobic hate crimes and discrimination resulting in an internal conflict related to their religious identity and safety. This internal conflict paired with hypervigilant behaviour and anticipatory stress has been found to have a detrimental impact on psychological and physiological health (McEwen, 2003). With this in mind and that hate-crime activity shows no signs of abating especially with the increase in terror attacks in western countries, what does this mean for the psychological well-being of the Muslim population and where do the profession of counselling psychology and its professionals' experience or place themselves in regards to AMP?

Counselling psychology and the individual

At the individual level, counselling psychologists use their skills and knowledge in working alongside clients who come to them with various concerns relating to their mental health. The source of clients concerns originate from various avenues, for some their depression is linked to their childhood, anxiety linked to changes in their lives in the present, both of which can be worked through in the counselling room between client and psychologist. However, there are particular issues in which psychologists may be faced with that cannot be resolved simply

through change with the individual in the counselling room (Kiselica & Robinson, 2001). Models of therapy such as person-centred, psychodynamic and behavioural therapies emphasise the impact of an individual's environment on their mental wellbeing, success, growth and development; and at the centre of counselling psychology philosophy is the genuine assemblage of equals (Strawbridge & Woolfe, 2003). Part of the counselling journey begins with understanding the client in the context of their environment which not only includes the micro-level involving the individual and their immediate family but also the macro level of their ecological systems which includes social, political and historical issues; because all elements of our environment influence psychological development and bears on mental well-being (Wells, Evans & Cheek, 2016).

However, in reality, the central focus on the individual rather than the larger social, economic, political and ecological context that may be having an impact on the individual, can generate and foster a theme where significant issues that impact one's mental health remain neglected (Chung & Bemak, 2011). Throughout history, we have seen and lived through many types of oppression, inequity and injustice and the subsequent negative impact on wellbeing (Dalton, Elias & Wandersman, 2006). As a result, over the past 40 years, the profession of psychology has grown and extended itself beyond the individual microsystems and applied itself to understand people in the context of their environment which includes social, political and cultural circumstances. For example, community psychology is concerned with and emphasises a level of analysis and intervention in relation to how people feel, think and experience within their environment and working together to resist oppression that exists within society to help create a virtuous world (Burton, Boyle, Harris & Kagan, 2007). Community psychologists began to address some of the shortcomings of traditional Counselling Psychology and the long-lasting value of helping individuals in the face of societal structures that were inimical to human wellbeing. They saw then what counselling psychologists see now, the potential and need for psychologists to use their skills to work more broadly to effect long-lasting social change for society as a whole (Bryant, 2007) outside of the counselling room and not just 'band aiding' at the individual level.

Social Justice and counselling psychology

When defining social justice, there are many interpretations and definitions from all around the world from various professions to religions. One definition that stands out and encompasses everything that social justice embodies is that of Toowoomba Catholic Education (2006) where social justice is defined as "promoting a just society by challenging injustice and valuing diversity… people are not to be discriminated against, nor their welfare and wellbeing constrained or prejudiced on the basis of gender, sexuality, religion, political affiliations, age, race, belief, disability, location, social class, socioeconomic circumstances or other characteristic of background and group membership". It is an underlying principle for peaceful and prosperous coexistence within and among societies, local and global.

How does social justice relate to the profession of Counselling Psychology? Social justice according to Packard (2009) forms one of the core values of Counselling Psychology and Counselling Psychology is therefore ideally placed to consider matters of social justice because of the emphasis on the individual in contexts, of strength and resilience; a holistic view of the person. A social justice viewpoint in counselling put importance on societal concerns which include matters of equity, interdependence and social responsibility (Bell, 1997). Counselling Psychology functions as a discipline within the context of human society, as a science and a profession, it therefore has responsibilities to society. An article in the British Psychological Society (BPS) highlighted that "It's not just about maladaptive schemas and cognitive dysfunctions, there are fundamental issues of abuse, social injustice, oppression and trauma and psychology has a moral, ethical and professional responsibility to raise its voice and challenge social systems of injustice" (Rhodes, 2016, p. 353).

Similar to community psychology and feminist counselling, transcultural counselling recognises and covers the reality of prejudice and discrimination including acknowledging that counselling psychologists are a part of society in which discrimination and prejudice exist. Such approaches were borne from oppression and created in respect of the oppressed groups indicating that the profession of Counselling Psychology cannot exist in a vacuum and must attend to the wider social, cultural and political aspects of the world we inhabit (McLeod, 1998). This includes counselling psychologists' commitment in acknowledging their own potential prejudices, whether covert, overt, known, unknown or simplistic in nature (Lago and Thompson, 1996). What commitment looks like will vary from individual to individual; however, McWhirter (1991) presented a model for empowerment in therapy

called critical consciousness. The first part involves increasing one's awareness of power, entitlement, privilege and biases known as critical self-reflection, secondly, power analysis which refers to how power and privilege being used. Although, it is not documented or regulated whether counselling psychologists are committed or engage in critical consciousness and whether it is an active and overt process or covert and implicit.

One way to show commitment as overt and active was the Division of Counselling Psychology (DCoP) launch of the social justice network in 2015; the aim of which was to raise interest and commitment in counselling psychology and their members by focussing on important social issues. This was borne from research conducted by Laura Winter (2015) who first examined and compared Counselling Psychology ethical guidelines from both the USA and UK in relation to social justice. Winter (2015) found that the American Psychological Association's (APA) Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct (APA, 2010), demonstrated more of a commitment to social justice values and practice than that of its UK counterparts. For example, Principle B, "Fidelity and Responsibility", highlights that psychologists should be "aware of their professional and scientific responsibilities to society and to the specific communities in which they work" (APA, 2010, p. 3). Furthermore, the code indicates that psychologists have a professional responsibility in contributing to justice and equality by broadening their knowledge to not only understand themselves, but that of society as well. However, once again Winter (2015) suggests that it is limited to awareness and commitment, not action, despite the codes preamble suggesting psychologists should strive to contribute outside of the counselling room. Furthermore, the APA (2010, p.3) states that counselling psychologists roles are not singular but multiple including that of "social interventionist", linking back to critical consciousness, is this an active, overt process, or an ideological fashion statement?

In respect to the UK, the BPS which alludes to the consideration of power within society does not discuss the wider role of the practitioner. However, concerning issues of discrimination, power and prejudices, HCPC's recently updated version of Standards of Conduct, Performance and Ethics competencies (HCPC, 2016) states that psychologists must "practise in a non-discriminatory manner" (p. 7) however there is no reference to challenging discrimination outside of the counselling room excluding that of fellow colleagues. This highlights the differences between US and UK practising guidelines for counselling psychologists, with the UK far behind in promoting and referencing a social justice identity as part of the profession of Counselling Psychology. Not only highlighting a difference but it

also raises the question of whether social justice has a place within the profession of Counselling Psychology and the potential issues and ambiguity surrounding the aspirational elements of such documents (Winter, 2015).

Counselling Psychology, Social Justice and AMP

So far, I have introduced research highlighting relevance between counselling psychology as a profession and its relevant position within social justice research and practice which AMP falls into. There is an abundance of research within counselling psychology that tries to understand the position or experience of counselling psychologists themselves in various areas or domains such as how they experience personal therapy for example. Similarly, there has been research in reference to how counselling psychologists manage racism in the therapy room as explored in Ridley's (2005) book and in multicultural competencies (Ratts, Singh, Nassar-McMillan, Butler & McCullough, 2016). This is so that counselling psychologists and therapy programmes are more aware of issues related to social injustices linked to prejudices and discriminations psychologists may have or come upon. However, when it comes to AMP specifically, majority of the research and literature available focusses on the effects AMP on Muslims; for example, that they may experience high levels of fear and avoidant behaviour whilst also identifying the factors that may perpetuate such feelings and behaviours. However, there seems to be little research combining these areas, in other words, counselling psychologists and AMP, in particular, their experience of AMP and taking it a step further by trying to understand how they manage and approach AMP practices.

The importance of which is that research into understanding counselling psychologists experiences, whether it is in relation to personal therapy or prejudices and discrimination, for example, they all aim to enhance understanding of the self and other, the wellbeing of oneself and informing professional practice when helping others. In relation to AMP, Boston College in America developed an intervention to combat AMP on their campus through their counselling psychology doctoral programme by applying traditional counselling skills to problems within the community and assisting their cohort with ongoing self-examination of power and privilege (Bhattacharyya, Ashby & Goodman, 2014). The results from their study found that at the micro-level, the Muslim community felt supported, in particular, because engagement in the project was coming from Muslims and non-Muslim's and at the meso level the interventions facilitated prosocial conversations on campus and online. Another

relevant finding was that non-Muslims that were part of the project spoke about becoming more aware of what their Muslim community were going through, in particular during times where AMP practices would rise, something they were previously unaware of. Finally, at the macro level, they found their interventions were a step towards managing and approaching prejudices that are in place in society.

The above example is one instance where the profession of counselling psychology, social justice and AMP come together for the greater good. However, little is still known, in greater depth, about how people who are impacted by AMP not only experience AMP but how they manage and approach AMP. Given that literature by Winter (2015) and Kakkad (2005) for example, correlate social justice as being part of counselling psychologist ethics and responsibility, it would make sense to understand first-hand from counselling psychologists who are impacted by AMP, how they experience, manage and approach AMP. Like previous research in trying to understand counselling psychologist experiences in various areas, it would be useful to get an insight that is not yet available of how counselling psychologists traverse an area of prejudice that is not solely focussed on racism as explored by Naz, Gregory & Bahu (2019); and what if any, how this impacts on their wellbeing, relationship with colleagues and clients and their profession.

Furthermore, given that America seems to be ahead in regards to linking and working with counselling psychology, social justice and AMP, more research coming from the UK could help bridge this difference and move the UK towards enhancing and informing the profession of counselling psychology in the area of AMP.

Research rationale and aims

Research rationale

Recent debates have highlighted that counselling psychologists could work more broadly to effect long-lasting social change outside of the counselling room and not just 'band-aiding' at the individual level (Bryant, 2007).

Research has shown how therapy can support people to overcome prejudices with the adoption of multicultural competences which outline how to work ethically and culturally responsively (Arredondo & Toporek, 2004). Literature has highlighted the need for therapists to understand the developmental processes and complex interactions of sociocultural identities (race, ethnicity, economic status, ability, religion, gender, and sexual orientation) and the ways those interactions can affect the counselling process (Leach, Aten, Boyer, Strain, & Bradshaw, 2010). Various frameworks exist that work with a contextual perspective of prejudice and discrimination to find a corresponding solution. Ridley (2005) championed a framework that is biopsychosocial in nature to reflect the influence and interplay between a client's environment and emotional and social status in order to examine the full effect of prejudice and discrimination.

Addressing prejudices such as AMP in clinical settings requires the therapist to engage and draw out clients which according to Day-Vines et al. (2007), is not a straightforward process. This is because there is an assumption that all clients wish to talk about their experience of prejudice, and this is not entirely true. Some clients may not have the language or ability to articulate their experience of prejudice or some may avoid the topic of prejudice because they fear a negative response from their therapist. Therapists therefore are encouraged to initiate such discussions about prejudices, discrimination and race to indicate comfort and willingness to discuss such topics (Thomas, Witherspoon, & Speight, 2008). I hope this research can help bring forth further insight for Psychologists who themselves experience AMP and a window for their colleagues and friends into how AMP can be experienced. Furthermore, it could also help therapists who may choose to work with clients affected by AMP an insight into their experience and the psychosocial process involved.In regards to other therapeutic frameworks to work from in helping clients understand how prejudice affects their life, how to help them develop coping skills for managing prejudice, a trauma-informed approach can help clients understand their prejudice and the negative effects it has

on them. The framework helps the therapist recognise historical and ongoing experiences of prejudice and discrimination as trauma-inducing and using general trauma-based counselling techniques such as establishing a sense of safety and compassion for oneself (Helms, Nicolas & Green, 2010).

Another intervention, one that is preventative in nature, aims to strengthen and develop a client's identity which can provide a buffer against future experiences of prejudice or discrimination (Malott & Schaefle, 2015). Here, the therapist and client can explore the origins of clients' negative beliefs and perceptions, their effect on the clients' relationship with themselves and others and to consider alternative, more positive self-perceptions concerning their race or religion for example.

It can also be said that therapy can help people overcome their prejudices so they can nurture deeper, more diverse connections and another reason why understanding prejudice such as AMP, would be invaluable to the counselling psychology field, in particular, AMP practices since it shows no sign of abating. Sparkman, Eidelman & Blanchar (2016) found that a person's prejudice can be reduced in part, by shifts in openness to experience, a personality dimension that has consistently shown to be related to less outgroup prejudice as also evidenced by Sibley & Duckitt (2008). With this in mind, I hope this research can add depth to understanding the impact of AMP on the individual and encourage the world within the counselling psychology field to explore this phenomenon in greater detail.

However, on the issue of social justice as a professional responsibility, Kakkad (2005) wrote that psychologists have a professional responsibility in contributing to and challenging social justice issues.Yet there is little known of how counselling psychologists are committed or engage in critical consciousness related to prejudices such as AMP specifically, and how they are impacted by and respond to AMP. More knowledge is therefore needed about how AMP is firstly experienced by counselling psychologists, the context it occurs in and the qualities and relational characteristics of oneself and of others and the effect this has on how one manages AMP, whether effective and helpful, or ineffective and unhelpful. This seems significant when we think about counselling psychologists wellbeing and that of their clients, how does AMP affect the therapeutic relationship, if at all, and when does social justice work in relation to AMP starts and stops, if at all?

The research is thought to be particularly timely and therefore an important area to explore due to the rise in the number of AMP incidences which is known to correlate with terrorist attacks (Hanes & Machin, 2014), a cycle which shows no sign of abating and with many Muslims in the West reporting feeling rejected by the broader culture around them and consequently dejected (Perry, 2016).

When considering the lack of research in this area, enlisting a 'bottom-up' approach to explore how counselling psychologists experience, manage and approach AMP, acts in line with professional practices from a Counselling Psychology stance. By approaching this area of enquiry openly and without a particular theoretical model in mind, there is an opportunity to be guided by the data rather than preconceived ideas and theories.

This enquiry was stimulated by my own experience of being a counselling psychologist and Muslim and how it may impact my mental wellbeing, the work I do with clients and the impact AMP has on my relationships with family, friends and fellow colleagues.

Research Aims

The primary research aim and therefore central research question is to explore how counselling psychologists' experience AMP, this includes identifying any harmful or positive effects on counselling psychologists wellbeing. Secondly, to identify how counselling psychologists manage their experience of AMP by exploring participant's perception of the way they manage AMP and explicating what they do or do not do and to understand the psychological processes behind such thinking and behaviour. Thirdly, to uncover how participants approach AMP and whether these approaches are helpful or not for participants own wellbeing and what this may mean for any future experiences of AMP. Together, the aim is to address lack of understanding in how counselling psychologist's encounter this phenomena under investigation in the hopes to better understand what our peers may be going through in relation to AMP and whether we can learn from how they manage and approach AMP. This can be useful to understand and disseminate to the counselling psychology community and beyond to think about how AMP is experienced and managed and subsequently approached, whether others wish to adopt or be wary of such ways of relating to AMP. In addition, for counselling psychologists who experience AMP to have a safe space to explore their experience of AMP and to help them understand their experience of AMP, something which they may not have had a chance to explore with their therapists,

family or peers in their profession. Furthermore, I aim to understand their experience using relevant theory from counselling psychology to highlight its relevance to making sense of AMP and understanding group dynamics which includes understanding fellow counselling psychology colleagues, those impacted by AMP and those that are not. Another extension this research aims to examine is how counselling psychologists may come across AMP in either their work or personal lives; in regards to working with clients, it will be helpful to understand how AMP is managed and approached within the therapeutic relationship. This could be useful for when allocating clients, in determining the type of clients one can work with or not work with in the area of AMP and how to safeguard all involved.

The rationale for examining the experience of counselling psychologists rather than the general public is in part due to there being a significant amount of research already conducted that focuses on the general public's experience of AMP (e.g. Bakali, 2016; Awan & Zempi, 2017; Husain & Howard, 2017; Abu-Ras, Suárez & Abu-Bader, 2018). Given my own experiences of AMP and my interest in social justice issues, I was interested in whether counselling psychology could be a profession that could contribute to social justice issues such as AMP. This led me to the research carried out by Winter & Hanley (2015) and how counselling psychology is a profession that would work well with issues around injustice. This led me to a study by Bhattacharyya, Ashby & Goodman (2014) which highlighted how counselling psychologists can use their position to explore and combat AMP. This led me to want to take a step back and understand how counselling psychologists experience this phenomenon both in their personal and professional roles before moving onto working on these issues for themselves or their clients, friends and family members.

McLeod (2015) highlights several principles for conducting research in the counselling psychology profession which relates to this research and why I felt it was important but also potentially useful in choosing counselling psychologists as the focus of this research. For example, Mcleod highlighted principles that identify the importance of producing genuine knowledge that requires a commitment to an ethic of care, that good research requires paying attention to reflexivity i.e. the personal meaning of the research to the researcher and that the purpose of therapy research is to produce practical knowledge that contributes to social justice and the profession of counselling psychology. I felt that the first two principles have been met by previous research in the area of AMP whereas there was a gap in research in relation to specific sub groups such as those in a caring profession such as counselling

psychology. Hence the relevance of the latter principle stated above was a factor in choosing counselling psychologists and not the general public.

Together the aim is to co-construct an explanatory grounded theory of this process. There seems to be a lack of research into understanding how AMP is experienced and managed by counselling psychologists who are part of a population that also experience or are affected by AMP. In line with previous points, conducting research in this area will help add to research in learning about AMP whilst also moving towards uncovering and understanding psychosocial processes potentially at play. The hope is that the model can help other agencies at various levels whether grassroots or government, to learn from this model about how AMP is experienced and factors that may or may not feed AMP in order to work with society to help reduce the likelihood of AMP practices occurring.

To summarise the research questions for this study are focused on the following questions:

1. How do counselling psychologists experience anti-Muslim prejudice?
2. How do counselling psychologists respond to anti-Muslim prejudice, in the counselling room and outside?
3. How do counselling psychologists manage anti-Muslim prejudice inside and outside of the counselling room?

Methodology

This section provides a rationale for why a qualitative methodology was chosen for this study and the reason behind selecting the grounded theory method with a constructivist epistemological stance. Furthermore, I will outline how this method was employed, including ethical considerations, procedure for recruiting participants and analysis of data.

Design

Rationale for qualitative research methodology

Qualitative research methodologies provide a robust platform to explore, understand and make sense of the complexities of individual experiences to enrich and broaden our knowledge of the research phenomena that is of exploration and the social world we live in (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative research is particularly suitable for research questions that involve exploring or identifying concepts or views and areas that involve identifying what is happening or being experienced. It aims to broaden our understanding of why people behave the way they do, their opinions and attitudes and how they are affected by events around them and the cultures and practices developed as a consequence. It, therefore, draws on a philosophy that is curious about how we can know and what we can know (Patton, 1990).

Rationale for a grounded theory methodology

The selection of grounded theory seemed most appropriate for research in exploring how counselling psychologists' experience, manage and approach AMP because theories are co-constructed through our involvement with people, perspectives and social processes. GT is recommended when investigating or uncovering basic social processes and the goal is to explain how certain social circumstances could account for the interactions, behaviours and experiences of the people being studied (Charmaz, 2002). In regards to this study, I wanted to understand what social circumstances can account for counselling psychologists encountering AMP, what do they do when they encounter AMP, how to they make sense of it, and how does it impact on their relationship with themselves and others.

GT provides a stable and efficacious foundation for constructing contemporary and unseasoned knowledge by the way it appreciates the process of learning and understanding how participants translate and understand their positions within the area of study. GT, therefore, attempts to embrace and make sense of participants' assumptions and how they comprehend and approach problems they encounter by the researcher adopting a non-assumptive approach (Charmaz, 2008). From reading excerpts of GT in action, I could see how GT appreciated the process of learning and understanding how participants translate and understand their positions within the area of study; which is an area this research is interested in. This is because GT facilitates the move from a description of what is happening to an understanding of the process by which it is happening (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This is important to this research as I want to understand and explore interpersonal processes and dynamics in regards to how my participants experience and manage AMP practices. Furthermore, I was interested in how meanings are handled, modified and interpreted by my participants when encountering AMP which GT also focusses on. For example, how human beings act towards a phenomenon based on the meanings that the phenomena have for them since meaning can be derived from and arises out of social interactions one has with others, be it colleagues, friends or family (Handberg, Thorne, Midtgaard, Nielsen & Lomborg, 2015).

The decision to use Charmaz's version of GT was based on its attempts to attend to contexts, positions, discourses, meanings and actions which are thought to advance our understanding of social justice issues through looking at how power, oppression and prejudices, such as AMP, differentially affect individuals (Odegard & Vereen, 2010). Another reason I chose cGT is founded on how it attends to my position within the research process. Charmaz (2006) argues that categories and theories do not simply and readily emerge from the data, but are con-constructed by the researcher through their interaction with the data.

Glaser and Strauss (1965) on the other hand, describe GT as involving the discovery of theory from the data, but it has been argued that the term discovery suggests that the researcher uncovers something that is already there (Thomas & James, 2006). Similarly, the concept of emergence, be it categories or theory, plays down the creative role of the researcher in the research process, suggesting that it is possible for a researcher to avoid the imposition of categories of meaning onto the data. This reflects the belief that phenomena create their own representations that are directly perceived by the observer which does not sit

comfortably with me as I agree with Charmaz's (2000) view, that it would be naïve to think that is possible. Charmaz acknowledges and embraces the idea that the researcher's decisions, questions asked of the data, the way the researcher uses the method as well as their personal, philosophical and theoretical background shape the research process and ultimately the findings. Charmaz (2000) therefore reiterates that it would be naïve of the researcher not to acknowledge this; and for myself, it would be naïve of me not to acknowledge my role as someone who has experienced AMP and is a counselling psychologist.

Although classic GT does not ignore the researcher's perspective, classic GT researchers do strive for a degree of objectivity which is in line with fulfilling the purpose to generate a conceptual theory that is abstract of the descriptive detail from which it was derived (Glaser & Strauss, 1967); whereas cGT claims of objectivity are rejected. The idea that the researcher should remain somehow removed from the research process so that one objective theory can be discovered or allowed to emerge is heavily loaded with a positivist epistemology (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011). cGT suggests that the researcher cannot be purged from data collection and analysis as both are created from shared experiences and relationships with participants/data. In cGT the resulting theory depends on the researcher's view, it does not and cannot stand outside of it. Therefore, its groundedness is not the result of a somehow detached researcher but instead, it comes from these researchers commitment to analyse what they actually see in their data.

The core idea is a theory cannot be grounded in the data by an active passivity that allows its emergence but rather by a proactive focus on the data, to acknowledge that it is not the research methodology that aims to discover a theory despite the researcher, but it is the researcher who aims to construct a theory through the methodology. Another reason in line with the previous point and why I did not choose classic Glaserian GT is that Glaser and Strauss (1967) recommend delaying literature review as they believe it presented as a constraining exercise rather than a guiding one. The rationale behind this was that refraining from a literature review would allow the theory to emerge from the data rather than being imposed on it from the existing literature. Another note is that preparation for any research is always essential to find out at the very least if the proposed study or phenomena has been explored before. In addition, an early literature review is used to prepare a research proposal for the ethics committee as was the case for this piece of research, and so a level of preliminary work is required and unavoidable.

Nevertheless, consideration of other methodologies was explored; in particular, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as it fits in line with the research question of trying to understand participants lived experience and it also shares several similarities with GT (Starks & Trinidad, 2007). For example, IPA also seeks to examine and analyse data from participants' perspectives in regards to their lived experiences whilst also trying to stay grounded in the data (Smith, 1996). IPA also shares similar quandary of requiring the researcher to take an active role in the process of trying to get close to participants experiences and meaning-making process but access to this information can be complicated by the researchers own conceptions (Gearing, 2004). IPA is also informed by symbolic interactionism in regards to how meanings are constructed by individuals in their social and personal worlds. IPA could therefore also endorse social constructionism claims that social processes of past and present influence how we experience and make sense of our lives (Eatough and Smith, 2008). Thus, IPA shares some similarities with the roots of GT.

Despite these similarities, IPA works with a very homogenous sample to find similarity and differences, whereas the aim of this research was to use a purposive sample that will allow generation of a universal model and theory. For example, IPA studies are interested in common features of the lived experience, whereas the aim of this research and in line with GT methodology, enlisting samples who have experienced the phenomena under different conditions allows the exploration of multiple dimensions of the social processes under study, hence the implementation of theoretical sampling (Starks & Trinidad, 2007). IPA also focusses on sense-making whereas the aim of this research was to also focus on underlying social processes such as relationships and behaviours with others related to AMP which is a feature of GT. GT also uses a technique called 'constant comparison' where data is compared to other interviews to help strengthen and challenge emergent theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), whereas IPA does not and thus could reduce generalisability of the research (Hefferon & Gil-Rodriguez, 2011). Although it is not to say that IPA research cannot make general claims of generalisability to larger populations, rather, it is committed to an idiographic mode of inquiry and therefore focused on analysing specific cases and not jumping to generalisations. With this in mind, IPA did not fit in line with the research aims and therefore not the chosen methodology for this research.

Research Paradigm and epistemological framework

The original approach based in positivism (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) assumes data and its analysis are value-free, that it is possible for the observer to remain detached and uninvolved. Charmaz (2006), however, argues that this is unavoidable and dispels the positivist notion of researchers as passive observers; Charmaz's (2006) constructivist GT asserts that to understand and interpret reality, we need to create and assign a meaning to the external world that surrounds us, as reiterated by Breckenridge, Jones, Elliott and Nicol (2012). It explores how individuals attend to contexts, positions and discourses relating to both researcher and participant; categories and theories do not simply materialise from the data but are established by the researcher through the in-depth process of connecting with the data throughout the investigation. Willig (2008) places the social constructivist researcher as also being open and reflective in how his or her own identity influences on the grounded theory process, including their understanding of how participants experienced the social processes under investigation. The researcher "creates an explication, organisation and presentation of the data rather than discovering order within the data" (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1169) which depends on the researcher's interests, history and interpretive frame (Charmaz, 2005). Pragmatism, therefore, informed symbolic interactionism and addressed the relationship between meaning and action and embedded within data is a reflection and reproduction of inequalities, power relationships and discourses (Charmaz, 2009). Researchers are therefore encouraged to attend to meaning and action, how the language within the data can highlight and bring forth discourses related to power, inequality, social policies and practices, our understanding of reality, society and ourselves through interaction (Charmaz, 2017).

Constructionism is referring to an epistemological position in general in terms of social processes in creating meaning and constructivism is a term related to methodologies and in relation to individual meaning making. They are both similar concepts but used in different contexts. The methodology used here is constructivism and my epistemology as constructionist. The differences between the two are that in constructionism, there is no meaning in the world until we construct it and the meaning we make is affected by our social interpretation of what we have experienced or observed and arises from our interaction with the phenomenon. Constructivism on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of culture and context in understanding what occurs in society and constructing knowledge based on this understanding (Doan, 1997).

Adopting a design which based on aconstructivist paradigm was appropriate to this study because it shares the aim of exploring the multiple realities and co-existent meanings attached to factors and processes regarding Counselling Psychologists' experience of AMP. This is consistent with the relativist ontology of counselling psychology and qualitative research where each is unique; there is no objective reality or truth (Strawbridge & Woolfe, 2003).

cGT attempts to interrogate the meanings created and the processes behind them, trying to discover how counselling psychologists work with AMP. Even though we are individually engaged in acts of sense-making, we often do this from a wider social, cultural and historical context. , With cGT, we can discover contradictions between counselling psychologists' rhetoric and realities, goals and outcomes, their experiences and interpretations regarding AMP on a micro and macro level, personal and professional, the meaning of their actions and why. In line with the research question, cGT helps us acquire information about the world we study and a method for establishing and creating theories to understand and advance social justice. Recent grounded theory studies have shown an increase in engagement with a critical inquiry which includes social justice issues that address and attend to context, positions, discourses, meanings and actions to advance our understanding of how power, oppression, prejudices, discrimination and poverty differentially affect individuals, groups and categories of people (Poteat, German & Kerrigan, 2013; Tarvydas, Vazquez-Ramos & Estrada-Hernandez, 2015). This leads researchers to translate and define their interpretation of what is occurring in the empirical world in their analysis that illustrates in what way it and why it occurred. This begins from "a researcher's explicit value position that defines the meaning of the research question in advance of conducting the study" (Charmaz, 2017, p. 35). Adopting this logic encourages social justice researchers to engage in and focus on the construction of inequities and how people operate in and around them. Thus bringing to attention to covert processes and invisible structures to discover contradictions between rhetoric and reality, ends and means, goals and outcomes that otherwise might be unseen or ignored (Charmaz, 2005).

Methodological Self-Consciousness

The principles of cGT call for reflexivity by detecting and dissecting researchers worldviews including revealing how the researcher enters the research, the meaning they make and actions they take. This is because researchers actively construct a particular understanding of the phenomenon under investigation thereby sensitising the researcher to look at certain aspects of the topic and empirical world of participants (Blumer, 1969). GT, therefore, dispels the positivist notion of passive observers, Charmaz's (2006) constructivist GT affirms that individuals create truth in the process of prescribing meaning to the world encompassing them, and explores how they attend to contexts, positions and discourses; this relates to both researcher and participants. Categories and theories can arise from the data collected as well as through the researcher's engagement with the data. To evidence my interaction with the data and maintain reflexivity, any assumptions I may have and the impact on the analysis of coded texts, I have kept a reflexive diary also known as memoing, throughout the research process. Memoing aims to explicate my position as an active researcher and "provide a mechanism for the articulation of assumptions and subjective perspectives about the area of research" (Birks, Chapman, & Francis, 2008, p. 69) including the analysis and interpretation of the data.

Harding (1991) urges researchers to imagine how the research project and process look from the participant's position while simultaneously looking both behind and forward to shape the next step of the research process. This process of self-consciousness allows the researcher to rethink and redirect the research process as data is collected and analysed, to recognise my own biases and remain open to recognising and facilitating new issues arising from the data.

A critique of cGT is that it moves between induction and abduction to take advantage of the literature that is available in contrast to Glaserian GT (Glaser, 1978) which advocates delaying literate review in the area of study. Dey (1999, p. 251) argues that "There is a difference between an open mind and empty head" suggesting that by ignoring literature available and established theories, it would leave the researcher at a disadvantage.

Procedure

Participant information

There are some gaps in the demographic information about the participants as they were concerned about being identified due to the nature of the research topic. Of the data available; eight participants were female and one of the participants was male, aged between the late twenties and late forties, eight of the participants were born in England and two of the participants moved to England at a later stage in their life and six of the participants identified as Muslims, two Hindus and one was Christian.

Participants' experience of AMP came from various avenues such as: face to face contact with colleagues, friends, non-Muslim family members and strangers in the public domain. Participants also spoke about experiencing AMP indirectly through watching the News and reading comments and posts that contain AMP views and expressions online or on social media platforms such as Facebook. Participants worked in a myriad of places including: veteran's service, refugee charity counselling services, within the National Health Service that includes specialist secondary services working with personality disorders and the Ministry of Defence.

Recruitment

Participants were recruited from accredited websites such as BPS and UKCP, which provides the contact details of Counselling Psychologists' and their interests, DCoP Facebook and Twitter page and the BPS Social justice network group. Potential participants were contacted initially via email with a copy of the recruitment poster (Appendix A) which outlined the aim of the research; to register their interest, participants were instructed to email me back confirming their interest. Once participants had confirmed their interest, an appointment was arranged to carry out the interview.

Sampling considerations

A suitable participant for cGT is one who has been through, observed, or has the knowledge and the experience of the phenomena under investigation (Patton, 1990); purposeful sampling was therefore utilised for the initial selection of information-rich participants to provide a comprehensive judgment of the phenomena under exploration. This first purposeful sample was composed of 6 counselling psychologists' and the second purposeful sampling consisted of a further two counselling psychologists'.

Once tentative categories begin to emerge, in order to refine and elaborate these categories in my emerging theory, I conducted theoretical sampling to saturate my categories with the data and subsequently integrate them into my emerging theory using the constant comparison method (Charmaz, 2006). Theoretical sampling is a procedure that shapes further data collection in which the researcher pursues additional cases in order to develop or refine concepts already proposed (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). The idea is not to amass general information but to create the opportunity for comparison between the purposeful sample of counselling psychologists and their close counterparts, clinical psychologists. The purpose of which is to establish a control useful in the development of theoretically generalisable models, which aim to add further rigour to the study (Morse, 2015).

This strategy drew one response from a clinical psychologist and the rationale for choosing clinical psychologists' as a sample is that they have the most similar attributions which are themselves the topic of the research e.g. training background and job specification which are relevant to the ideal or wider community of psychologists. This strategy was also used in another study exploring counselling psychologists' experience in another phenomenon using grounded theory analysis. When enlisting theoretical sampling, Davies, Halewood, Johnstone & Waite (2017) also recruited a clinical psychologist.

Theoretical sampling filtered for a male participant given that the first four participants were all female leading to the study lacking in generalisability in regards to gender. From this case, I filtered for comparison and differences with the concepts that were emerging from the initial interviews e.g. what leads to participants experiencing differing levels of AMP?

Overall, 9 participants were recruited and they were all face to face interviews.

Inclusion criteria

Inclusion criteria for the purposeful sample were: being a counselling psychologist accredited by the Health and Care Professions Council (HCPC). Participants need to have experienced AMP which includes the direct or first-hand experience of AMP, for example, being a victim of AMP through being physically or verbally abused and indirect experience of AMP such as witnessing AMP practices that are targeted towards someone else, or experiencing AMP online via social media platforms such as Facebook. Participants need not have experienced both to qualify for participation. The reason for incorporating both direct and indirect experiences of AMP is because studies on AMP have shown that both types of contexts have been known to lead to and exacerbate experiences of AMP (Zempi & Awan, 2016).

Exclusion criteria

Exclusion criteria for all participants included: non HCPC registered counselling psychologists and individuals with no experience of AMP.

Data collection

The selection and implementation of semi-structured interviews for this research project gave room for a deeper exploration of participants understanding of their world and the phenomena under investigation, whilst at the same time allowing both researcher and participant the freedom to explore what they perceive to be of importance (Flick, 2009). In line with Charmaz's (2010) direction, semi-structured interviews help guide the researcher to avoid overly directing the participant by allowing room for exploring perceptions and opinions regarding complex and sometimes sensitive topics. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews also make room for probing and clarification of participants' answers to further enrich the data (Irvine, Drew & Sainsbury, 2013). Similarly, Knox and Burkard (2009) highlight how semi-structured interviews allow a new path to be travelled should something unexpected come forth during the interviews. The form of semi-structured interviews also creates a conversational atmosphere that arguably facilitates a space for deeper self-reflection (Adams, 2015). The initial interview schedule is provided in Appendix B, and as the

interviews progressed, the questions were adapted in line with further exploration of the theory as it developed.

Interviews were carried out at participant's homes or places of work and they were face to face interviews which were audio-recorded using a Dictaphone. Following the British Psychological Society's code for human research ethics (BPS, 2014), participants were given both verbal and written information (Appendix C) on the aims of the research and how the data will be used. Each interview began with reviewing the information sheet (Appendix C) with room for the participant to ask any questions. Participants were then given a consent form (Appendix D) to read, and by signing the form, they were in agreement to participate in the study and recording could commence. The average length of the interviews was 1 hour and 10 minutes and at the end of each interview, participants were asked if they had anything further to say which was followed by a verbal debrief; participants were also given a written debrief form to take away (Appendix E). The audio recording of the interviews was transcribed verbatim.

Ethical considerations

This study fully adhered to the ethical guidelines outlined by the British Psychological Society code for human research ethics (BPS, 2014). In addition, ethical clearance was sought and obtained from the London Metropolitan University School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Review Panel (Ethical approval certificate at Appendix G). The following ethical issues were considered and addressed.

Informed consent

Prior to participation, individuals interested in taking part were emailed an information sheet (Appendix C) which outlined the research topic and its aims and what to expect during participation; contact details for me and my research supervisor were also included. On arrival at the interview, participants were handed a second copy of the information sheet alongside a consent form (Appendix D) and given the opportunity to discuss and ask questions. Participants were interviewed once they ticked all the boxes and signed the consent form.

Right to withdraw

Participants were reminded both before and after the interview, in writing and verbally, that they had a right to withdraw from the study at any time during participation and up to two weeks following the interview. Should participants wish to withdraw, relevant recordings and transcripts would be destroyed.

Confidentiality

Due to the relatively small size of the UK CoP community, confidentiality was of utmost importance. To ensure anonymity, participants were assigned pseudonyms and any identifiable information provided in the interviews such as names, towns, places of work, were removed and replaced with 'xxxx' during the transcribing process. Following on from this, the full transcripts have not been attached as appendices to further protect participants from being identified. Subject to the requirement of the Data Protection Act (1998), electronic data is password protected and when in paper format, locked in a filing cabinet and held for no longer than necessary.

Participant welfare

It is possible that asking participants to reflect and share their experiences of AMP, both in their personal life and in their clinical work, might elicit some difficult feelings and may bring into awareness thoughts and feelings that were previously unaware of. With this in mind, I developed a distress protocol (Appendix F) to monitor participants emotional wellbeing should they experience or show distress at any point during the interview process.

Debriefing

At the end of the interview, time was taken to ensure that those taking part in the study were comfortable with their experience. Participants were given a debrief form (Appendix E) which outlined the aim of the research that they took part in and my contact information as the lead researcher as well as my supervisor's contact information in the instance that participants may wish to discuss anything arising from their participation or to withdraw from the study.

Health and safety issues for researcher

In order to mitigate any potential risks involved in carrying out interviews in participant's homes and places of work, I will hand a responsible third party a sealed envelope containing the date, time and location of the interview including estimated finish time in which I will make contact with them via phone call. If I have not contacted them after thirty minutes past the estimated finish time, they are to call me, if this fails they can open the envelope and contact emergency services. The use of an envelope aims to maintain confidentiality to the greatest extent possible under the circumstances unless there is a concern for my welfare.

Upon entering the participant's home or office, I will risk assess the surrounding area, mindful of the nearest exits, potential hazards and monitor the participant's behaviour for hostility and aggression for example. In this instance, the safest option should be considered such as terminating the interview and leaving the premises.

Analytical Procedure

Coding

To thoroughly immerse oneself in the data, interviews were transcribed into textual data and analysed using constructivist GT (Charmaz, 2006). GT proffers a framework for coding data which begins with initial coding at a low level of abstraction which consists of categorising segments of data word-by-word, line-by-line, and sentence-by-sentence; codes represent how data is selected, separated and sorted. Coding was used to study the data, to understand and make sense of the data whilst attending to meanings and images, the structure and flow of words and to observe actions and processes. cGT encourages to attend to meaning and action, how the language within the data can highlight and bring forth discourses related to power, inequality, social policies and practices, our understanding of reality, society and ourselves through interaction (Charmaz, 2017). This is through making sense of meanings, which not only explain behaviour but are the linguistic categories that compose a representation of participants' view of reality, their beliefs and ideologies, norms, customs and values (Loftland & Loftland, 1984). In order to see the data from a distance and thus move away from any assumptions including those of the participant, codes are required to sit aptly with the data counter to pushing the data to fit the codes. Charmaz (2012) also advises researchers to code in gerunds to highlight processes, actions and meanings that may otherwise be covert

and easily missed; Glaser (1978) also advocated for using gerunds as it aids identification of processes. In line with the framework of GT, Codes are concise and stay close to the data, they define what is occurring in the data and explore what it may mean which begin to form part of a nascent theory (Charmaz, 2006).

Moving forward with focused coding, the researcher begins to amalgamate and clarify substantial portions of data to determine the adequacy of earlier codes, which involve moving through interviews and observations transversely and comparing participant's experiences, actions and interpretations. Focused coding condenses data to a small set of themes, thoughts, feelings, actions, issues or events that appear to describe the phenomena under investigation; paragraph-by-paragraph, page-by-page, and section-by-section, incident-by-incident. During focused coding, the researcher will need to make judgements based on which codes are analytically significant to categorise data in a concise and comprehensive manner. Throughout the coding process, researcher maintains the momentum of constantly comparing, moving back and forth between the data, to identify similarities and differences among and between the categories emerging, (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). What follows next is data which can be recognised and understood in its full complexity and multifariousness, and any homogenising impulses counteracted so that the emerging theory captures all instances of variations (Willig, 2008).

Theoretical coding involved grouping together substantive codes that relate to other codes into abstract patterns or categories which were then refined further by checking the fit of each category with the coded data it represented (Willig, 2013). Categories were built up and then broken down into smaller units of meaning, from low level of abstraction (descriptive labels) to a higher standard of abstraction (analytic). Interacting with the data involved interpreting and asking questions of the data rather than labelling. Each emerging category, idea, theory or linkage informed a fresh perspective on the data to develop or adjust the first construct by making associations and searching for contradictions, being theoretically sensitive to the data.

Memo-writing

Incorporated into the process of coding is memoing, memo writing is a written record of theory development and evidence of active engagement with the data and research process (Glaser, 1978). Memoing serves to keep the researcher involved in analysis and to increase the level of abstraction of ideas, to capture thoughts, comparisons and connections researcher

makes and questions and directions for the researcher to pursue. Early memoing included recording and exploring what I observed to be occurring in the data, what is being told and acted and what processes are at work to illustrate how categories emerge or change, comparing participants beliefs and actions and comparing categories with other categories (Charmaz, 2006). Memo writing encouraged engagement with a category, to explore and discover freely coded data to explicate processes, assumptions and actions as well as showing transparency in how relationships between concepts progressed, generation of hypotheses and categories. All memos are dated, contain a heading and indicate which sections of the data they reflect (Appendix L).

Theoretical Sampling

To obtain and appreciate the full multiplicity of the data and to add weightiness and body, the researcher continues to develop emerging theory in light of negative cases; abductive inference entails considering all possible theoretical explanations for the data (Charmaz, 2012). Theoretical sampling, therefore, involves possible further data collection, exploration of problems, pursuing plausible explanations, refining codes, or seeking statements or cases that will illuminate a category (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2011). Theoretical sampling involved interviewing a clinical psychologist once categories began to emerge and be constructed.

Once no new theoretical insights emerge, more specifically, when no new patterns emerge in the data, then can researcher claim for theoretical sufficiency, where categories are suggested rather than saturated by the data (Dey, 1999). However, due to the limited number of participants, one cannot fully say that they have reached theoretical saturation. On the other hand, Dey (1999) described theoretical saturation as theoretical sufficiency, this is where exhaustion of the data is not the goal but the relevance and development of a category is. In other words, once no new developments or novel relationships emerge from the categories through the process of them being 'defined, checked and explained' (Charmaz, 2014, p. 213).

Corresponding with this study's concluding concepts and resultant model with Nelson's (2016) criteria for meeting conceptual depth, data collection for this study ended based on several criteria. One criterion would be when concepts are represented by a range of quotes drawn from multiple interviews; furthermore, these concepts need to be made visible to demonstrate they sit within a rich and complex network of numerous concepts in the data.

Clarke (2005) believes memoing and diagramming maximise reflexivity whilst also helping the researcher to make and communicate such rich connections as evidenced in Appendix J. Another criterion is subtlety, which is developed by comparing instances of similar codes whilst questioning how they are similar or different. Trying to unearth meaning is pertinent to the GT method as it assists the researcher in determining what those variations in differences mean to help identify any ambiguities which are facilitated through memoing. In this study, for example, memos were used to elaborate my codes and as analysis progressed they were shaped and merged with other codes to develop descriptions for concepts such as that of Lower order category 4.2.1. An example of this is can be found in Appendix L: example 3, to evidence my reflections and exploration of subtlety, ambiguity and nuances.

Another criterion is that the concepts resonate with existing literature. An example is taken from this study is in relation to the Higher order category 1.1: Media related influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices. In this category, participants spoke of the role the media has in influencing and exacerbating AMP practices finding them. In the literature review, I included studies (e.g. Carr, 2013) who found that the media is influential in communicating and sustaining negative characteristics of Islam and Muslims which can be used as a justification of one's anti-Muslim prejudices.

Data collection,therefore, ended at this stage to organising memos created alongside the analytic process which were then incorporated into the related categories.

The final stage of analysis in GT involved the creation of substantive theory which began with selective coding where a core category is selected that integrates and captures all of the other categories that construct a descriptive narrative in relation to the central phenomena (McLeod, 2003). Theory, therefore, emerges inductively from the data, which has the potential to explain, interpret and guide practice in reference to the phenomenon under investigation through a number of theoretical codes such as a consequence, condition or process (Glaser, 2004).

The use of diagramming is beneficial to the process involved when following grounded theory because it creates a visual representation that assists the researcher with the sorting, integrating and refining categories and their relationships to build a theory whilst communicating to the readers how this process emerged (Charmaz, 2010).

Model development

In this section, I discuss how I came to put together my grounded theory model.

In appendix K, draft 1 of my model, I had highlighted a category on how participants came in contact with AMP which was titled 'being exposed' and surrounding this category were the higher order categories of media and society. This was born from participants who spoke about the ways they experienced or encountered AMP practices. I had also identified what I labelled as 'reinforcing factors' that participants had shared with me that highlighted factors which would exacerbate or increase the likelihood of experiencing AMP practices. From my understanding, I pictured society and media being attached to the 'being exposed category' whilst wanting to show how the reinforcing factors play a role in the high order categories of media and society and hence the triangle format was created at the top. However, I noticed I had not elaborated on what implicit and explicit meant until it came to draft 2 where I realised all the lower order categories in media and society fit into being explicit or implicit. I, therefore, was able to label the first category as 'AMP practices finding counselling psychologists' and decluttered media and society category whilst retaining their meaning. In draft 1, I had not added the processes that were occurring within the model, and so in draft 2, I added 'increasing sensitisation to experiencing AMP' which enhanced my model to ensure it was a grounded theory model and not just a diagram of one thing leading to another. In the final draft of my model, after one supervision session, I realised I had not utilised data to its fullest extent regarding an important category that became 'Experiencing AMP in early years'. Once this was identified I was able to add it to the model.

Going down the model, participants spoke about how they were impacted by their experience of AMP practices, and so came the next category labelled 'impacting' in draft 1. Here participants spoke about on the one hand identifying with the negative perceptions of Muslims which impacted on their identity and on the other hand, experiencing fear and anxiety which led to feelings of hopelessness. However, on further exploration, these lower order categories were incorrectly grouped under 'psychological' and so I changed the label to 'psycho-emotional' so that it correctly underpins the lower order categories. Furthermore, in regards to process, rather than simply labelling that this is how participants were impacted, I included what the impact entailed which was seen by participants as a cost or a negative by-product and so I named the higher order category 'Experiencing psycho-emotional cost to

self'. In addition to this, in draft 2, I realised I had moved too fast to understanding the impact of AMP, however, I realised we were still at the stage of 'experiencing' and so I re-named the category 'Experiencing AMP'. In draft 2, you can also see that there is an additional higher order category labelled 'Experiencing systemic cost to self'. When continuing to immerse myself in the data, and using my grounded theory group as a non-bias perspective, I was able to identify and move appropriately from draft 1 model the systemic conditions participants were under that led to them feeling like they couldn't speak out. This was a really important and useful process because in draft 1 I was struggling to identify where to place the bottom box, and in the final draft, it seems to sit more comfortably within the narrative of my participant's experience that is more coherent.

Once again, compared to draft 1, in draft 2 and the final model I have included the process in the model e.g. including 'processing experience of AMP' which resonates with my learning of grounded theory in greater detail which assisted me to move from low level of abstraction to a higher level. In draft 1, I have the category of 'managing' with higher order category of 'coping', however, in draft 2 and in the final model, I was able to recognise that I am repeating myself and synthesised the category into 'coping styles to manage impact of AMP practices' which also reads better. In regards to descriptive labels of my categories, in draft 1, I did not adequately describe my Lower order categories e.g. 'avoiding', 'masking' were used. Whereas in draft 2, I was able to add a more detailed description that encompassed psychological processes and not just using the gerund to describe what was happening. However, in the final draft, in line with when I was addressing the missing category of 'experiencing AMP in early years', I also realised I had overlooked a whole category of how my participants processed their experience of AMP (which is outlined in more detail in my reflexive statement). Going back to my data I was able to incorporate how my participants either acknowledge or disconnected from their experience of AMP which filled a key gap in the model that now made greater sense.

In the next part of the model, in draft 2, coping styles were reframed to 'reflective and deflective' pathways in the final model to once again move from low abstraction to higher level of abstraction of the data to outline what the process of coping is. In other words, moving away from the visible behaviour to understanding the motivations or intentions of said coping behaviours and being able to show that within the model.

In the final model, the resulting outcomes category was brought forth and consolidated by previous drafts of my model to outline concisely and coherently what my participants do or have done in order to gain some sense of positive outcome from experiencing AMP or on the other hand, the costs they experience in how they have experienced and managed their AMP experiences. Draft 1 begun this differentiation or separateness in the final box at the bottom of the model, for example, in regards to identifying there being distinct conditions that result in whether someone addresses AMP or not. Draft 2 was able to show an understanding of participant's actions and meanings behind their actions to clarify the higher order categories separateness; which was edited for more clarity in the final model.

Finally, the processes that feedback into 'experiencing AMP', was incorporated into two labels that encompass its meaning without needing to add more detail as was shown in draft 1.

As the drafts and final model show, there was a significant change from the first model, and at the same time, categories that were evident in draft 1 remain in the final draft but are more refined and coherent as I have grown, learnt and immersed myself with the data and what grounded theory really involves.

Results

Analysis overview

This section presents a grounded theory model developed from the analysis of interviews using Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory methodology (Charmaz, 2006). The purpose of the research was to explore counselling psychologists' experience of anti-Muslim prejudice (AMP) and to formulate a grounded theory of this process.

The model identifies how AMP practices find counselling psychologists which is through two platforms, media and society and how this is delivered is through both implicit and explicit factors. Both society and media related influencing factors were thought to reinforce AMP practices finding counselling psychologists due to the lack of perceived scrutiny. Furthermore, participants expressed a shared understanding of the media and its role in influencing society's perception of Islam and Muslims; a process which they felt worked in reverse where society also has an influence on what and how the media influences AMP practices. Participants also highlighted how their past experience of AMP resulted in them being negatively reinforced by external expressions of AMP and how this impacted on feelings of uncertainty about one's sense of belonging in the world.

Together, this increased sensitisation to participants experiencing AMP which was identified to have psycho-emotional and systemic costs to the self; participants processed the costs to self through either acknowledging or disconnecting from AMP. Participants who processed AMP by acknowledging it were more likely to manage AMP via more reflecting methods; the resulting outcomes of choosing this reflective pathway are perceived to come with many benefits and therefore deemed more effective and healthy; a consequence of which is that participants underwent a positive change in how they related to experiencing AMP.

In regards to participants who would disconnect from AMP, they were more likely to manage AMP by enlisting deflecting methods which were perceived as a cost to the self and as a consequence, participants were being negatively re-affected by AMP practices. Regardless of chosen pathways, participants identified that there is no full-proof escape from AMP practices finding them and hence why they will re-experience AMP but how they re-experience AMP is determined by the pathways chosen.

This process is explained in figure 1.

Anti-Muslim prejudice (AMP) practices finding counselling psychologists

Lack of scrutiny on media related influencing factors reinforcing AMP

Media related influencing factors of AMP
- Implicit influencing factors of AMP
- Explicit influencing factors of AMP

Influencing

Lack of scrutiny on societal related influencing factors reinforcing AMP

Societal related influencing factors of AMP
- Implicit influencing factors of AMP
- Explicit influencing factors of AMP

Experiencing AMP in early years
- Being negatively reinforced by external expression of AMP
- Becoming uncertain about ones sense of belonging in the world

Increasing sensitisation to experiencing AMP

Experiencing AMP

Experiencing psycho-emotional cost to self
- Identifying with the projected negative characteristics of Muslims
- Obstructing self-actualisation leading to identity disturbances
- Living in a state of embodied anxiety

Experiencing systemic cost to self
- Experiencing marginalisation in the external environment
- Competing for positive discrimination within a work context
- Experiencing a cultural promotion of repression of vocalised opinions of AMP

Processing experience of AMP

Acknowledging AMP
- Rejecting attachment figures style of processing AMP
- Embracing reality of difference

Disconnecting from AMP
- Mirroring attachment figures style of processing AMP
- Trying to defend against reality of difference

Pathways to manage impact of AMP practices

Processed through reflection and reframing over time

Reflecting pathway
- Engaging resources effectively to aid management of AMP
- Active reflecting on the cost to self of expressing one's views
- Consciously processing boundaries to safeguard one's sense of self

Deflective pathway
- Refraining form using ones voice for "brownie point collection"
- Embodying negative altruistic tendencies to mitigate conflict

Resulting outcomes of employed pathways to manage impact of AMP practices

Benefits to going down the reflective pathway
- Enforcing boundaries to safeguard one's sense of self
- Making use of the implicit protective factor provisions in the workplace to validate sense of self
- Effectively managing to contain ones experience of AMP within one's pre-conceived ideologies of a counselling psychologist
- Gaining self-acceptance within the context of exposure to presence of AMP
- Experiencing affective reward for actively holding the external world accountable for AMP

Cost to self in going down deflective pathway
- Experiencing repression of the self due to fear of rejection
- Fighting assimilation at a cost to sense of belonging within the counselling psychology community
- Experiencing a fractured sense of self in the face of inability to meet the perceived duty of challenging AMP

Undergoing positive change in the relationship to their experience of AMP

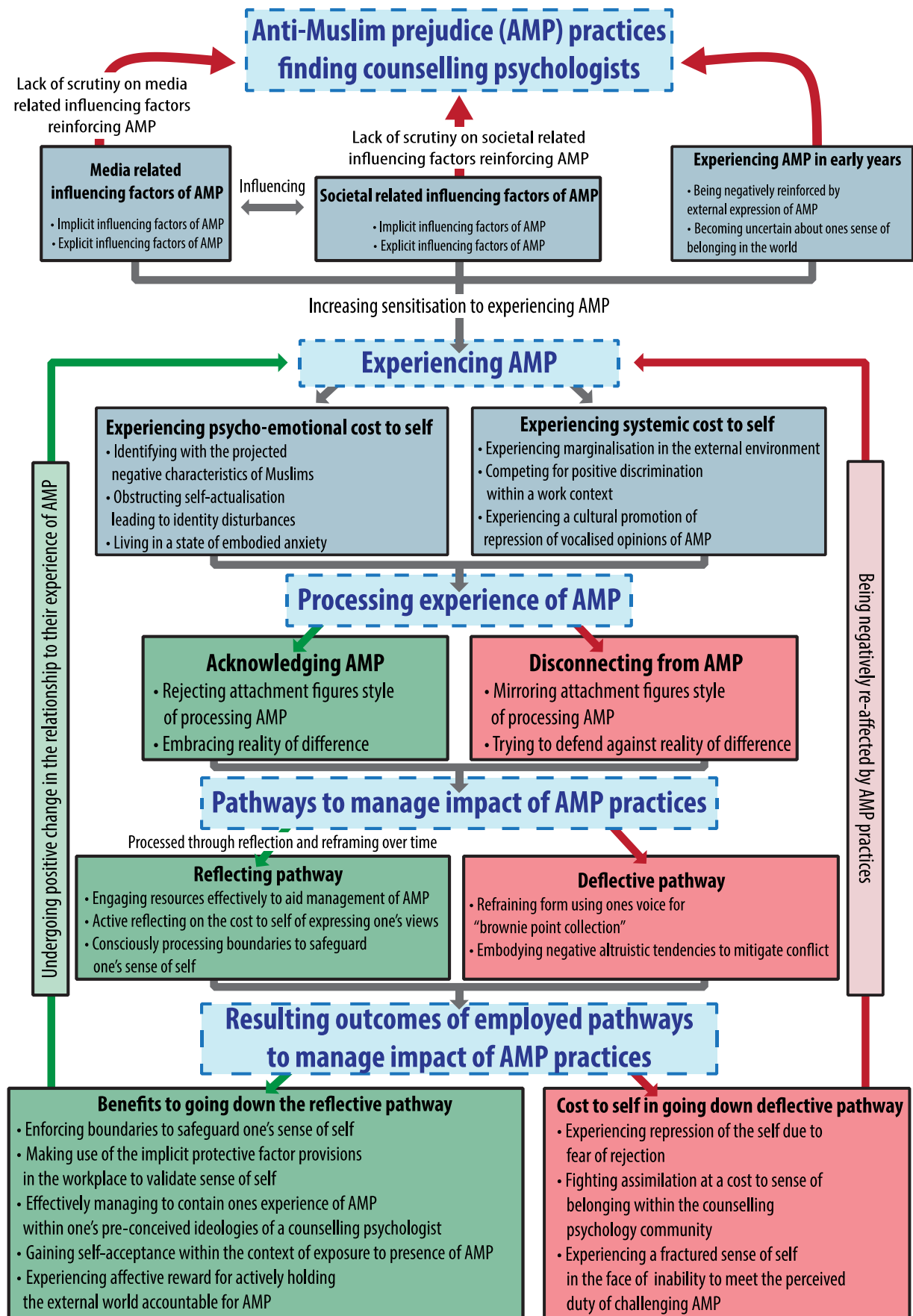Being negatively re-affected by AMP practices

Figure 1: Counselling psychologists' experience of AMP practices

Table 1: Summary of model categories and participants who contributed

Category	High order category	Low order category		pps
1. AMP practices finding counselling psychologists	1.1 Media related influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices	1.1.1 1.1.2	Implicit influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices External influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices	abcefgh abcdef
	1.2 Societal influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices	1.2.1 1.2.2	Implicit influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices External influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices	abcdefgi abcdefgh
	1.3 Experiencing AMP in early years	1.3.1 1.3.2	Being negatively reinforced by external expressions of amp Becoming uncertain about ones sense of belonging in the world	acfi achi
2. Experiencing AMP practices	2.1 Experiencing Psycho-emotional cost to self	2.1.1 2.1.2 2.1.3	Identifying with the projected negative characteristics of Muslims Obstructing self-actualisation leading to identity disturbances Living in a state of embodied anxiety	abefh abefg abfgi
	2.2 Experiencing systemic cost to self	2.2.1 2.2.2 2.2.3	Experiencing marginalisation in the external environment Competing for positive discrimination within a work context Experiencing a cultural promotion of repression of vocalised opinions of AMP	abgi abde abefi
3. Processing experience of AMP	3.1 Disconnecting from AMP	3.1.1 3.1.2	Mirroring attachment figures style of processing AMP Trying to defend against reality of difference	abfg fhi
	3.2 Acknowledging AMP	3.2.1 3.2.2	Rejecting attachment figures style of processing AMP Embracing reality of difference	bcf bcfi
4. Pathways to manage impact of AMP practices	4.1 Reflecting pathway	4.1.1 4.1.2 4.1.3	Engaging resources effectively to aid management of AMP Active reflecting on the cost to self of expressing one's views Consciously processing boundaries to safeguard ones sense of self	abdh abfg acdei
	4.2 Deflecting pathway	4.2.1 4.2.2	Refraining from using one's voice for "brownie point collection" Embodying negative altruistic tendencies to mitigate conflict	acfgi abef
5. Resulting outcomes of employed pathways to manage impact of AMP	5.1 Cost to self in going down deflective pathway	5.1.1 5.1.2 5.1.3	Experiencing repression of the self due to fear of rejection Fighting assimilation at a cost to sense of belonging within the counselling psychology community Experiencing a fractured sense of self in the face of inability to meet the perceived duty of challenging AMP	cefi abefi abefi
	5.2 Benefits to going down reflective pathway	5.2.1 5.2.2 5.2.3 5.2.4 5.2.5	Enforcing boundaries to safeguard one's sense of self Making use of the implicit protective factor provisions in the workplace to validate sense of self Effectively managing to contain ones experience of AMP within one's pre-conceived ideologies of a counselling psychologist Gaining self-acceptance within the context of exposure to presence of AMP presence Experiencing affective reward for actively holding the external world accountable for AMP	bcdef adfi abcdefi acefg bcefghi

Category 1: AMP finding counselling psychologists

Participants found that they were encountering AMP practices via two major platforms which they named as media and society, which they experienced as being delivered either through implicit or explicit means. There was also a shared belief that there was a lack of scrutiny or deterrent for both media and society in the role and influence they have in perpetuating AMP practices finding participants. Participants also shared how they experienced and therefore internalised AMP in their early years which would later influence how they experience and process AMP later in life.

Higher order category 1.1: Media related influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices

There was an overwhelming consensus shared by participants when it came to the role and influence that the media had on AMP practices. Participant's placed an element of blame on the media for spreading a negative ideology of Muslims through implicit and explicit strategies to sell society a biased reality pertaining to Muslims. Participants also identified and outlined how a lack of scrutiny in relation to media-related influencing factors which reinforces AMP practices finding participants and how such factors can influence society. However, it is also important to note that participants also acknowledged that the media is not solely to blame for the existence of AMP practices.

Lower order category 1.1.1: Implicit influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices

The media held a significant and prominent position in participants' minds when thinking about AMP practices, as well as its causes and factors that exacerbate it. For example, Eliza described this process of learning from the media and how she felt society is bombarded and influenced by the information the media relays, sometimes, unconsciously due to its seemingly benign and implicit nature:

'That's where we learn about the world…I feel like they have the ability to poison my mind… so easy isn't it you hear it every morning eating your breakfast, read the free paper on the way to and back from work…somewhere those words and thoughts and images go in' (291-298).

'Media is the major tool to generate a perception about any phenomena… it is very significant and crucial in forming and resolving any bias or prejudice against any group of people' (Haaris 131-143).

According to Amal, if only the negative aspects of Islam and Muslims are being relayed, then it's natural for people to picture Muslims in a negative light:

'Every time we read the newspaper there's always something negative and its building up an association with different aspects of peoples identity by sort of dropping in things and they're not always accurate' (186-188).

Gabriella explains this further where she comes across people who tend to process what the media sends out from a non-mentalizing stance:

'Blame other people without questioning it's the easiest thing to do' (242).

Through a process of not questioning what the media portrays about Muslims, particularly stories that depict Muslims in a negative light, it can set a precedence whereby people do not learn how to see Muslims from a different perspective as highlighted by Haaris below:

'What media is creating for a whole community or population, those are not educated up to the same level to understand or to see from different angles or from different facts and this is quite inferential view and biased view' (Haaris 124-125).

As a consequence, if negative or biased views of Muslims make the headlines that which is not questioned by society, it could set the foundation for negative ideologies of Muslims to continue (as discussed further in lower order category 1.1.2). In conclusion, the participants' described how implicit bias in regards to the way the media reports on Muslims influences not only how society responds to Muslims but also increases participants sensitisation to experiencing AMP.

Lower order category 1.1.2: Explicit influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices

In relation to negative aspects of Islam and Muslims that Amal spoke of, Eliza explains how the word Muslim is synonymous with the word terrorist:

'Everything is just about terrorism at the moment and I just feel like actually terrorism and Muslims is in this country has become completely connected so I feel like I hear it constantly…brown people being Muslims isn't it's only brown people being terrorists it's only Muslims so that you know terrorists and Muslims go together' (265-271).

The idea held by participants that only Muslims are terrorists which they believe is spread in part by the media, further exacerbates the negative ideology of Muslims:

'What the media does is just polarise so you know for example you've got this group of paedophiles that are all Pakistani Muslim Asian men you know but they're also white paedophiles so what the media does is just kind of give you that and not balance it out with you know hundreds of other white paedophiles that we have' (Fatimah 899-903).

Diana describes the frustration many of the other participants felt in regards to the biased, imbalanced way the media reports on Muslims compared to non-Muslims, moving from the implicit to the explicit:

'There'll be lots of news about someone being a terrorist and or someone has done something and immediately they're branded a terrorist and then an English person does it and they're viewed as mentally unwell' (241-243).

Similarly, Fatimah described how negative Muslim stories tend to be on the front page of newspapers, on the other hand, when a UKIP member was found to have sent racist messages, the details were not on the front page, instead:

'You had to turn to like the 5th or 6th page to actually find out what she had said yeah so if it was the other way round you would have got exactly all the gory details on the front page' (925-926).

Not only do the media focus on the negative aspects of Muslims or Islam, but they also minimise their faults:

'They write headlines that make assumptions and they are not true sometimes they don't correct them they don't update some of the misinformed articles that they write' (Amal 155-157).

Together, these explicit factors influence the way in which the media spreads what is perceived by participants, as a negative ideology of Muslims, and a lack of punishment, for example, fines for writing misinformed articles, reinforces AMP practices finding participants. Media related influencing factors of AMP therefore not only influence society and how they process and respond to Muslims but also increase participant's sensitisation to experiencing AMP:

'Read many things on the internet in newspapers heard on the radio lots of inaccurate things about Islam and Muslims…I think they have a huge responsibility towards literally misinforming people and giving people the wrong information, dangerous information, information that causes people to have a negative view of Islam and Muslims' (Ciara 116-120).

However, Fatimah also highlights that despite the explicit media bias, Muslims cannot blame the media solely for AMP and implores other Muslims, including herself, to try and combat Islamic terrorism and grooming gangs:

'*We also need to face up to the things that are going on in the world you know our communities whatever communities horrific things happening including terrorism'* (906).

Higher order category 1.2: Societal influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices

This component of the model identifies how society responds to the implicit and explicit influencing factors of AMP practices. An implicit factor refers to behaviours or talk that is suggested or inferred though not directly expressed, or when something is assumed. In contrast, explicit factors refer to behaviours or talk that is clear, direct, obvious, overt and therefore easily identifiable. However, it is also important to note that some participants were clear in their belief and interpretation that AMP practices and behaviours, overt and covert, implicit or explicit were in their view classed as AMP. Whereas, some participants' were able

to hold in mind that what they view as AMP may not be viewed as such by others. This highlights that individual differences exist between participants in regards to their subjective and objective interpretations of what behaviours are classed as being driven by AMP.

Lower order category 1.2.1: Implicit influencing factors of AMP practices

Participants spoke about how AMP practices are not always overt or visible, that they can be implicit in nature and therefore not easily detectable. Amal described her experience of AMP as:

'Done in a very subtle way (723)*...even I was like later on, hang on, what do they mean by the comment "you Muslims"'* (725-726).

When enacted in a subtle way, it is not often clear to others that one is experiencing AMP at that moment:

'It's like those nonverbal actions, those sort of things people quite easily mask behind and mask prejudices behind those sort of are harder to sort of identify behaviours' (Ciara 21-23).

Diana perceived people who are implicitly AMP, do so purposefully because the more explicit your prejudices are, the more likely they are to be seen and potentially scrutinised:

'Sometimes people don't openly disclose their prejudices they keep it quite tight to their chest... people want to play safe' (98-99).

Implicit methods also included avoidance of addressing one's AMP which for Amal prevented the potential for reparative work with a client:

'Like she was playing on her name and joking about it I said that it wasn't ok and then I said I noticed you keep calling the other group member this name and I don't think that's nice...trying to explore what she is doing, why she is doing that, she's like I'm only joking' (641-648).

Furthermore, thinking about what is in the mind of individuals in society, the majority of participants shared the understanding that one of the main aspects of AMP was the stereotyping of Muslims, which results in a shared implicit narrative held by society about Muslims:

'Asian is synonymous with Muslim now… terrorist is equal Muslim…they want their partners to wear I don't know a hijab they or they want their partners to not work and all this sort of stereotypes' (Bushra 257-272)

Amal's therapist was also not immune to stereotyping and the inability to separate culture from religion leading to a rupture in their relationship:

'And she would say stuff like oh I feel really sorry umm when I see Muslim women walking behind their husbands…and they're covered they're fully clothed all in black and their husband's wearing a t-shirt' (306).

Linking Islam with women being treated differently to men as exampled in the above quote, potentially gives credence to the stereotype that Muslim men adhere to practices that are the antithesis to western practices. Amal perceives this as creating stereotypes or assumptions about Muslim men which may create fear in western countries:

'There's like fear there…so they might make negative assumptions about you and they might be wary about you' (Amal 133-135).

'I hear a lot of things from my clients around not trusting their Muslim neighbours' (Eliza 541).

Participants believed this is related to fear which links back to being unable to separate culture from religion which Diana believes is important in reducing AMP:

'Untangling religion and culture which can be quite hard…it's untangling that from the actual ok these people and people that happen to be Muslim but are just using that as a way of perpetuating evil and destruction' (Diana 146-152).

'People who are fearful of something that they actually don't know the truth about (129)...everybody seems to know what they hate [laughs] umm they don't like women covering up they don't like animals being killed in a certain way they don't like umm the concept of marrying more than one wife, you know all these kind of really stereotypical issues are the issues that that they struggle with *and these are often the issues that are completely misrepresented in the media (131-136)... and if they don't understand they are against it or fear it which again if they understood the concept behind these things, they may not fear it so much'* (Fatimah 138-139).

Participants also believed that society is complicit in AMP through prioritising themselves or diffusing responsibility, the consequence of which is that AMP practices are reinforced:

'If we don't address it, if we don't start small, start with one person, we're never going to address it and it'll be a continuing problem' (Ciara 161-162).

'We think it's another person's fight...(515) if it doesn't affect you it doesn't really exist, you shut down to that idea of discrimination or prejudice or difficulty for other groups' (Bushra 588).

Lower order category 1.2.2: Explicit influencing factors of AMP practices

Following on from society identifying Islam as an existential threat to western values, the implicit nature of which leads to what we explicitly start to notice, which is fearing what is essentially an out-group as outlined by Ines, can shed some light on why society reacts to Muslims as "the other":

'People kind of sort of stick more to their own and it's partly because of this feeling of the danger (578)...danger because the only thing that gets highlighted in the media or whatever, is how different Muslims are to non-Muslims and not in a nice way different but in a negative way and so I guess naturally you want to distance yourself from those who you perceive as different in a dangerous way' (Ines 580-583).

'I sometimes get told I'm one of the good ones and although it's presented as a compliment, actually, it's based on believing that someone who practices their faith more than I do is somehow different or does not fit in very well into a western society and so it feels like there's set categories of fitting in and not fitting in which is very ostracising' (Bushra 623-629).

This danger can be instilled by friends, the media and family:

'I think that's what always got sort of shoved down our necks just keep ourselves safe from the Muslim boys' (Eliza 326-327).

This threat that Muslims pose, is extended not only to the individual level, but national and global level:

'I've heard lots of things about people feeling concerned that Muslims are taking over the country, how there's just so many mosques everywhere now' (Diana 86-88).

'For example, the Muslim ban by Trump, that were are a danger to America, you know, feeling very targeted and scrutinised, what kind of message is that sending out? That Muslims are so much of a threat that you have to ban us from entering your country' (Gabriella 433-437).

Participants also described how one of the messages they often hear repeated is the belief that Islam is incompatible to western values and they therefore felt their religion was not being seen in a fair light. Participants outlined how non-Muslim people's perception of Islam is one that treats women less favourably and its practices outdated:

'I think being a Muslim and being religious is seen as equivalent to being conservative being not progressive not open and I'm not comfortable with this although I'm not religious myself I don't think that I think they're dichotomies (17-20)...*Muslims can be progressive and practice Islam, one doesn't necessarily influence the other, I'm Muslim and you're Muslim we both are educated, one wears a scarf one doesn't, but that doesn't make either of us less or more progressive'* (Gabriella 23-28).

'I was working I was doing a therapy group and there was someone being I didn't hear her say it but she was saying because I was working with domestic violence and sexual violence and I heard that she had made a comment about me that how can I be doing this type of work when I'm oppressed. So she had this very like I am the oppressed stereotype' (Amal 634-637).

From her own experience, Fatimah found that some people in society find the way some Muslims embody their religion, in the words of Gabriella, not progressive and conservative, as uncomfortable, even fellow therapists':

'One evening we were all, there was three of us there and I think our clients haven't turned up or something. And he started talking about, I can't now even remember how the conversation came up, but we basically started talking about hijab and niqab and, and Islamic female dress, and in the process of the conversation he was, I could tell that he had issues, Islamophobic issues due to his demeanour and his tone of voice and his attitude. He was trying to be polite, but he clearly had questions, so I thought okay, I'm going to do my best to answer his questions this was probably in my phase of developing my confidence in talking about these things. I was slowly sort of answering and then there was another person in the room as well (687-697)*...but he said a number of things which were completely inappropriate. He said, to him he finds it deeply offensive to see somebody walking down the road wearing a hijab and the niqab and for him it was like somebody walking down the road wearing a t-shirt that said I love Nazis or I hate Jews'* (700-702).

When differences are clear, particularly when society has set preconceptions of what a Muslim looks like, it was felt by Amal and Ines as enhancing in-group favouritism which they perceived as encouraging 'US vs Them' mentality. They not only felt people were placing them in a separate category; they also saw cohorts of people segregated into categories based on religion and ethnicity:

'she was like using names like us and them...she kept using sort of us and them oh you lot do this and you lot like that and it just felt very ostracizing and it just I found it very uncomfortable actually and I had other peers who were from various ethnic backgrounds and they said to me they find it very uncomfortable and people weren't mixing with each other like

people were sort of racially segregating themselves in the group and that wasn't really being explored very well' (Amal 1037-1047).

'I felt that differences were always highlighted more, I mean you do get some friends or colleagues who delight in differences and find positive things in them and are really interested in Islam, but you do get some people who focus on the negative or the differences and you feel alienated and it makes you not want to try and integrate and so you can get groups that split based on those similarities or differences whether its religion or ethnicity as both can be intertwined in peoples minds' (Ines 932-940).

When linking together participants' experiences and perceptions of other people's feelings towards Islam (e.g. not progressive and oppressive towards women) participants described how they have comes across people's justification of their AMP practices based on these feelings and beliefs. Participants deduced that justification of AMP practices comes from a defensive place in the name of patriotism, to protect Britain from Islam. :

'What I hear and read online and interviews and told by people is that because of terrorist attacks that have happened it makes it ok because what we're doing is we're protecting ourselves and protecting our families and protecting the country (517-519)… not being prejudiced that's protecting Britishness' (Eliza 747).

'By using their examples from the world like from terrorism, they would feel like a victim rather than the perpetrator because they're doing this prejudice, discrimination they would justify it by feeling as if they are the victim of prejudice so the other way round instead' (Gabriella 45-47).

The majority of participants positively correlated a rise in AMP practices with events like terrorism and grooming gangs which they felt resulted in Muslims and by default Islam, being depicted as an existential threat. Existential threat is a term that represents a collective-level concern for an in-group's future existence (Wohl, Branscombe & Reysen, 2010) which participants felt reinforced spreading a negative ideology of Muslims and the consequence is the increase in the likelihood of experiencing AMP:

'If there's been like a terrorist attack I've noticed that there's been an increase in in like racism and prejudice… people are telling me go back home… don't talk to her she's a terrorist…and like with the acid attacks'. (Amal 549-557).

'When something happens it reminds them "oh yeah don't like these people" and then you kind of get more stares or you get more frosty interactions with people in shops' (Fatimah 149-150).

This led participants to hold some anger towards people who group all Muslims as terrorists as well as Muslims who carry out those terrorist attacks:

'Groups like ISIS...have just done a really good job of giving you know the white community a reason to sort of be more wary or paranoid of brown people so there's a bit of me that feels quite angry you know every time I hear the stories of young Muslims who have gone over, I just think God we're just giving them more fuel for this' (Eliza 501-504).

Participants also identified a lack of association between being AMP and scrutiny at the individual, public and government level:

'There doesn't seem to be any repercussion for members of parliament or news bloggers for example who make tweets about Muslims that incite hatred and hate crimes' (Ines 555)

The perception that there is a lack of scrutiny and deterrent in being AMP moves people towards acting out their AMP behaviour in an explicit manner:

'Come up to me and just say to me why don't you go home I've had someone spit at me and tell me to go home and called me a fucking paki' (Amal 525-529)

'Out rightly say I fucking hate that Muslim person or you know I want to pull they're hijab off' (Bushra 107).

Participants perceived that society can process AMP through learned behaviours from influential figures:

'Your authority figure or a key communicator who is very influential and you have heard something from them, people are least likely to challenge' (Haaris 133-134).

'Hear politicians saying horrible things like it creates a climate where it's okay (to be anti-Muslim)... after Brexit people were being more outwardly racist and aggressive to people, so it's like people sort of discern oh what is tolerable, what can I get away with doing and it just fluctuates depending on the climate and the Political climate' (Amal 545-548).

As highlighted at the beginning of this category, some participants were also able to hold in mind that some behaviours do not necessarily correlate with being AMP. Diana highlights

how something may be interpreted as AMP but objectively it may not be perceived as such and she has to be careful not to jump into conversations and label people as AMP:

'Some of my family have said [sigh] yeah would be classified as saying things that are anti-Muslim umm because of their experiences of umm terrorism in my home country so [sigh] and within my culture with within my family's culture, so my parents are XXX well I'm XXX as well I was born there umm but in XXX there's been this huge divide between Christians and Muslims for years and with persecution on both sides and there's a lot of there's a lot of trauma there and there's a lot of hurt there and you need to be mindful of not invalidating one person's experience because you believe there is an element or flavour of AMP because that may actually not be the person's intention' (Diana 138-145).

Higher order category 1.3: Experiencing AMP in early years

Participants shared how being exposed to AMP in the early years placed them in a position where they had to make sense of their experience the only way they could, seemingly through being negatively reinforced by other people's external expressions of AMP which resulted in feeling like they didn't belong anywhere. External expressions of AMP included verbalising one's AMP views or beliefs or acting on one's AMP beliefs or views.

Lower order category 1.3.1: Being negatively reinforced by external expressions of AMP

Participants felt that their early experiences of AMP were negatively reinforced by other people's expressions of AMP practices which they had internalised as having to change oneself but which was not congruent with their true self:

'I learnt early on that some people didn't like some of the things I did or ate or didn't eat that represented my culture or my religion which created this space this distance and difference and I wanted to change that so I started to change so they would stop reacting like that' (Ines 145-150)

'When I was younger whenever I spoke in my native tongue, people didn't respond well to that so I stopped doing that in public…difficult because my parents prefer to speak to me in my native tongue' (Fatimah 180-184)

It seemed that participant's early experiences of AMP sensitised them to acts of AMP as they grew up potentially resulting in them being susceptible to interpreting reality or AMP through one lens:

'I think my personal experience back home in XXX in terms of conflict, intercommunal conflicts and intergenerational trauma all these things affected my interest in psychology… I think if I wasn't so aware of it when I first started when I first decided to embark on this I may not have gone down this route (counselling psychology) so I think as I thought about what has prompted me to do psychology I think it is very relevant to my personal or in my community my experiences in the community I grew up in. So yeah I think it has been affected by my personal experiences too. I think especially in the western world now it's growing and it's becoming more and more relevant but I think also because where I come from I think it will be very interesting if I compare the two kind of regions of the world because in the western world it is more recent and everyone knows about it and everyone talks about anti-Muslim prejudice but it's different in other regions of the world…so I think depending on where you are and what you have gone through it can impact choices you make about career like for me, what we read or lookout for' (Gabriella 4-14)

Haaris specifically outlined how he comes from a stance where he can be more objective compared to other Muslims he interacts with in regards to interpreting AMP experiences. For example, he speaks about laws in the UK that protect people from prejudices and how someone's attitude towards another person may be based on other factors and not whether someone is a Muslim:

'The thing is anti-Muslim frankly speaking, I haven't come across as a really big social issue because of a lot of things like number one, if you talk about this country, laws are very clear, firm and strong and which protects people against prejudices (81-83) … but again prejudice is a broad term, prejudices are certain way of looking at things and that can be based on your personal frustrations rather than your religious beliefs or your cultural beliefs, sometimes your economic frustrations can result into a very biased approach or attitude towards a particular sector in society and not because someone is Muslim' (Haaris 88-91).

It seemed that participants learnt that certain behaviours would reduce AMP finding them and to experience a sense of merging with the idealised other:

'I was talking to (sister) about (experiencing AMP) and she doesn't wear hijab so she has a different experience…she looks quite European and she's like I don't particularly find that I have necessarily negative experience I feel like people are accepting, but she dressed very different whereas like I never used to wear hijab before, now I do, so I can see the difference in terms of how people respond' (Amal 232-240).

This move towards belonging in the western world seemed to influence the process of desensitisation to AMP:

'I felt as a child I wasn't able to deal with it…my heart has got used to it…going down the street someone can just say something they just don't care…I think you know in the end of the day it's like the attitude I developed as well…more hardened…not the healthiest' (Ciara 177-203).

'It hadn't really hit me how bad what he'd done was to me in that environment actually…because I'm not somebody that would ever report someone' (Fatimah 717-718).

Lower order category 1.3.2: Becoming uncertain about one's sense of belonging in the world

For some participants like Haaris, they were not born in the UK and even though they grew up in a Muslim country, he still experienced AMP:

'If you go over the country you and myself belong to I can tell you prejudices, caste systems, in Pashtuns you have tribes, one tribe is prejudiced against another isn't it that? One sect Shia Sunni Wahhabi etc. but they're terribly against each other prejudiced up to the level of killing each other' (243-245).

Ciara also shared that even when she went back to India, she would still experience rejection leaving her frustrated at feeling like she didn't belong:

'It's quite an interesting experience growing up from another race, we went somewhere like India you're never accepted there, you're never accepted here (UK)' (204-206).

'As we walked through the village towards our home there was a wall that was spray-painted that said something like UK girls go back home and I was thinking, even here (Pakistan) I'm not accepted' (Ines 381-384).

Category 2: Experiencing AMP

Participants felt that as AMP practices found them, this resulted in an increase in sensitisation to experiencing AMP practices, for example, they were more aware of it, saw it more and experienced it more than if they were not sensitised to it. Participants' reported that it affected them in two ways, through experiencing a psycho-emotional cost to the self and or experiencing a systemic cost to the self.

Higher order category 2.1: Experiencing psycho-emotional cost to self

Participants shared how they experienced a psycho-emotional cost to the self due to how they encounter and subsequently make sense of their AMP experience. The term psycho-emotional cost refers to one's psychological and emotional state in which participants outlined were affected negatively. Participants described how they experienced emotions such as shame in relation to identifying as a Muslim and an increase in anxiety levels and feelings of inferiority which were felt as a cost to their overall wellbeing and sense of self.

Lower order category 2.1.1: Identifying with the projected negative characteristics of Muslims

Participants found it interesting when exploring the impact of AMP on their perceptions of Muslims, for some participants like Bushra, they had not realised that they too were being influenced by what they would hear and see regarding Muslims:

'Even for some people that are Muslim when we think of terrorists now we automatically think of a brown man with a beard and I find that quite interesting how even for Muslim people the image they might conjure up actually is a person that looks like them so those that are Asian Muslims (121-123).

'Recent example I can give you, there are some incidents in France and recently in one Scandinavian country and recent American incident where someone killed in Las Vegas, so people were talking, many of my colleagues told me they know they're going to say this is Muslim terrorist (261-264)...you start to believe this repetitive narrative, and this was not a

Muslim thing actually, the media had to like reword a lot of reports that were coming up in the beginning' (Haaris 266-268).

There seemed to be a negative by-product of identifying with all the negative projections about Muslims. Participants spoke about experiencing emotions such as feeling ashamed of their religion which they felt stemmed from other peoples beliefs which they started to adopt:

'Uncomfortable to actually acknowledge even though it's not you doing things, like what the group that you belong to some of their actions (293)*…I actually internalised a lot of these negative messages* (699)*... unfortunately, it sort of seeped into my sense of self and that I don't feel like I'm good enough* (704-705)*… I feel like I'm made to feel ashamed about who I am and my identity I think that's very sad to be honest'* (Amal 1022-1023).

'I have been coming across people who would say on a lot of terrorist incidents that media reports are really biased they're ashamed that these are biased reports' (Haaris 255-256).

Lower order category 2.1.2: Obstructing self-actualisation leading to identity disturbances

The more participants were exposed to AMP, the more they thought about it:

'I think about it every day…depending on what's going on in the world so like Brexit it would it would increase, any kind of terror attack it increases yeah definitely something that is very very much part of my life yeah' (Fatimah 143-147).

Exposure to AMP would also vary for participants depending on not only events that portray Muslims in a negative light but how much or how little they outwardly embodied the stereotype of a Muslim because they recognised that there are a myriad of intersectional factors that create one's identity as a Muslim:

'Being brown being Muslim having all of these differences too and then also wearing a scarf or not wearing a scarf how all these layers contribute to who you are and how you see yourself and how ultimately you're then impacted and affected' (Bushra 590-592).

This led to participants' feeling fragile about their sense of self and confusion about how to embody their Muslim identity:

'I feel very much in the middle as I said because I'm from a community whose trying to be more and more western but with an identity of being a Muslim…so things can become complicated' (297-298)… *feeling both insider and outsider* (Gabriella 301).

'Really hard to actually draw on well how do I get a positive sense of who I am in terms of my identity' (Amal 717).

This resulted in feelings of inferiority related to being Muslim:

'Think oh I'm not good enough I wasn't as good as Tony you know so it becomes personal, then what does that do to our psyches and on it goes' (Eliza 798-801).

This sense of inferiority was sometimes played out in the counselling room with clients, as Amal experienced herself when exploring the difference between client and therapist:

'I'm possibly the first Muslim person that they've actually been able to sit down with and talk with…I think I would bring up like how they experienced the difference between us… and some of them have been able to reflect on where they were at in the beginning, where they were like sceptical or it's as if they drew the short straw in getting me' (611-617).

Lower order category 2.1.3: Living in a state of embodied anxiety

When exploring the impact of being exposed to AMP, participants reported that they felt a myriad of threat-based emotions such as fear, emotions which the clients they worked with also experienced:

'I know that some of the clients there became vigilant after the attack to the mosque in Finsbury park…they had fear that it might happen again, so they came to us with this kind of issues with this kind of worries' (Gabriella 212-216).

This state of fear was also perpetuated by the inability to stop thinking about one's safety which was reinforced by the presence of social media and its focus on Muslims:

'In my head I will have some kind of anxiety thought about whether somebody is going say something to me today that thought never leaves me…or am I going to get treated not very nicely because of how I look so it's a constant fear that has a massive impact on your life' (Fatimah 1004-1008).

This sense of fear morphed into feeling dejected at the lack of progress in eradicating not only AMP but all types of prejudices and discriminations resulting in embodying a sense of hopelessness for any change:

'If you look at all of these equality reports it's a well-known figure that BME staff experience discrimination prejudice at a rate so much higher than other maybe minority groups…so it makes you think, can you challenge this'? (Bushra 90-93).

Fatimah described the difficulties she has come across when trying to converse and educate people who are AMP:

'It kind of became clear that it didn't matter what I said I wasn't going to be able to change his mind or anything' (698-699).

Participants' therefore felt they had no power to make any positive change in regards to peoples AMP views and behaviours particularly against powerful systems like the media and politicians resulting in feelings of anxiousness, depression and disheartened:

'I felt very hopeless and alone' (Gabriella 84).

'I don't think there is any coming back from Muslims being seen as the enemy or something to fight against and that just makes me so anxious about the future…there will always be this underlying anxiety which makes me angry, sad and just hopeless sometimes' (Ines 764-766).

Higher order category 2.2: Experiencing systemic cost to self

In this category, participants spoke about the various systemic costs to the self as a result of experiencing AMP.

<u>Lower order category 2.2.1: Experiencing marginalisation in the external environment</u>

The term marginalisation refers to the social process of treating someone or a group of people less favourably or in my participants' examples; of being treated differently or unfairly which they felt impacted on their progression as a counselling psychologist. Amal spoke about her experience at an interview and perceiving being marginalised by the interview panel because she is a Muslim and believing she did not get the job because she is a Muslim:

'They spent the whole interview talking to me about why am I Muslim and just asking me loads of questions about my religion...I was like what the hell is this? Like how is this relevant to my post here? And I didn't get the position, obviously' (Amal 262-268).

'Feels like you have to work harder to get ahead career-wise as well. Some interviews I've gone to its like they tried to sort of suss out how you are... asking me well how do I feel about working with someone with different beliefs from me' (Ines 731-734).

However, it is important to note that we cannot determine if Amal's felt experience and belief that not getting the job was due to her religious identity as Haaris reflects on when exploring his and other people's interpretation of AMP and how it can be different:

"I wasn't stopped because I was Muslim from getting this job...maybe I'm the lucky person compared to what some of my fellow Muslims experiences but I have worked with people who are just not appropriate for the job and not based on their religion but that's my view" (Haaris 84-87).

Gabriella experienced her supervisor as invalidating and unhelpful when she voiced her concerns about working alone with a male client with a history of violence. She felt he was dismissive of her concerns because of the stereotype that she has come across before that

Muslim women tend to be fearful of men and she wondered if this is where he was coming from as well:

'I was seeing a male client and I was the only person building while I saw him and I was quite anxious because he had a history of assault and when I shared this with my supervisor my problem wasn't solved and not only that my supervisor suggested it was a cultural thing so I think that was an assumption or prejudice against the background I come from which also involves Islam as I said and I think he just assumed…that I would be maybe scared of men because of my culture…as a Muslim woman but I think he missed the point (65-72)…it wasn't that I was scared of this man because of my culture and because of my culture women have more subordinate position it wasn't because of that I think the biggest factor here was the gender and gender inequality and being anxious seeing a man with a history of assault on my own as a woman rather than as a Muslim woman' (Gabriella 74-76).

Lower order category 2.2.2: Competing for positive discrimination within a work context

The term positive discrimination refers to policies or practices supporting groups of people who are known to be discriminated against when allocating resources or employment. However, participants spoke about how their colleagues seemed to fail to understand why there is a policy that helps people from backgrounds or categories that may disadvantage them such as their religion, ethnicity and gender when it comes to employment and progression. Participants felt their colleagues experienced feeling left out or feeling disadvantaged because of such a policy.

When trying to address or explore their experience of AMP with colleagues, participants found that colleagues sometimes minimised their experience by trying to place themselves as the victim:

'And I'm just thinking you can't have everything, they don't understand the disadvantages we experience so we need that extra support but they see it as taking something away from them and experiencing being anti-them or anti-white when it's not about that (717-723)… my colleagues and one in particular recently said yeah it does seem to be much more about anti-whites sort of sentiment you know it's all about diversity these days' (Eliza 725-726).

'At my induction training in my new job, they had a session on diversity and the trainer spoke about equity not equality, which made sense, that it's not about treating everyone equally although that sounds weird but it's about recognising that there are some people who because of their gender, or ethnicity or economic background or religion, are at a greater disadvantage and need extra support...sometimes difficult for my non-Muslim or white colleagues to comprehend and they feel it's unfair to them and so when I try talk about it is just gets shut down (740-750)... I get uncomfortable because they see themselves as being treated less than and it's hard sometimes to try and work with that' (Ines 753-754).

There were some colleagues who were oblivious to how prejudice or discrimination impacts upon participants' progression in the workplace resulting in feelings of frustration as explained by Diana:

'I've recently gone on a training for BME staff it was leadership training for band 7's and above with the view to helping people to progress and when I came back one of my colleagues who was white said oh like sounds like everyone needs that kind of training and I was like oh [sigh] you just don't get it' (Diana 213-216).

Lower order category 2.2.3: Experiencing a cultural promotion of repression of vocalised opinions of AMP

Opposite to justifying one's AMP sentiments as found in higher order category 1.2, participants came across some members of society who had a preference towards avoiding or in conscious denial of addressing AMP practices:

'When you have a prejudice or you're racist or you're you know against faith I don't think you see it as anti-anything, these people don't see themselves as anti-Muslim' (Eliza 744-745)

'Some people want to minimise it(285)...like they want to move onto another topic or say oh let's talk about something you know happier and they actually think it's ok to do that, that I want to move on from a topic that is important to me (287-291)...and I feel like I have to go along otherwise I'm this person who is all serious and doom and gloom which honestly isn't a label I want to have attached to my name' (Ines 294-297).

'This systemic psychotherapist is very verbal about white privilege and about power and about discrimination and they get it in the neck from all the other white people that they work

with who want to pretend that it doesn't exist and who don't want to talk about it' (Fatimah 795-798).

Amal also came across people who she felt were unable to see how their behaviour may come across to someone as anti-Muslim prejudiced, and rather than be willing to explore another person's viewpoint or experience, they would try and justify their own. This prevented any opportunity to explore with this person about AMP behaviour:

'A lot of people either just sort of say oh we don't really need to learn about this because you know we've got friends and you know we mix with certain people and so forth as if that's it as if its that simple and there's no space they don't think oh what makes you think that or how did you come to that assumption or feeling, nothing there's nothing' (Amal 378-382).

This sense of knowing it all was experienced by participants that people, particularly colleagues, lacked awareness of areas for potential growth within themselves to make room for exploring and discussing issues around prejudices such as AMP:

'I find that people feel like they're really liberal and they're fine but just don't question me I know, they literally have no idea that actually they are not liberal, they do need to be questioned but it's so much harder with someone who doesn't have a clue or is good at brushing it off ' (Eliza 732-737).

In the quotes included so far in this category, the word harder or difficult has appeared several times and Ines gives another example of how avoiding or moving away from acknowledging or talking about AMP practices is easier. Ines deduces this is because it reduced the number of uncomfortable interactions, as addressing AMP was believed to create discomfort:

'Some people sort of rejected the idea that there is racism like they didn't want to have conversations about it…I think there was discomfort there and who wants to live or work in a place where there is discomfort so naturally you escape uncomfortable situations' (Ines 1066-1069).

Moving on from avoiding talking about or acknowledging AMP practices; Eliza experienced her team as one that discourages her from addressing AMP:

'Some of my white colleagues have encouraged me or advise me to step back (395)... sometimes I'll step back with them because I don't need that battle as well (398)... don't rock the boat which is probably the biggest message that I get' (411).

This understanding is based on letting things go which Ines recognises as being projected onto her and one which she accepts begrudgingly to save herself from battling with people to reduce the cost to her wellbeing:

'I just feel like you know if I don't say anything and it kind of condoning it and I really don't want it to be sort of complicit in this (346-347)... but I'd say it's tiring to constantly be raising something which isn't exactly going to sit well with people so I'm putting myself in a hard and really uncomfortable position really so I do have to think about the consequences for raising things' (362-365).

Category 3: Processing experience of AMP

Participants identified two pathways to processing their experience of AMP which is to either disconnect from their experience by mirroring what they witnessed and learned through their attachment figures and through defending against or denying the reality of being different. The other pathway is labelled acknowledging AMP whereby participants described rejecting their attachment figures style of processing AMP and embracing the reality of difference.

Higher order category 3.1: Disconnecting from AMP

Participants spoke about how their experiences growing up described in 1.3, led them to feel they did not have a healthy sense of who they are due to lack of healthy mirroring from attachment figures in how to process AMP. Attachment figures inaction resulted in them disconnecting from their experience of AMP, an unintended consequence of which, is that they do not learn new and healthier ways of processing AMP.

Lower order category 3.1.1: Mirroring attachment figures style of processing AMP

How one's parents interpreted their experience of AMP influenced how participants interpreted and processed their own experiences of AMP. For example, Amal spoke about how her parents did not speak up against AMP, they did not make room for exploring this phenomenon which Amal then copied but she found that this way of processing AMP was unhelpful in how she viewed herself:

'I haven't been brought up with enough strong messages about my identity and heritage because my parents never gave any space for that or they didn't try to do anything in relation to that' (700-701).

'It's what you learn from your parents and what you hear, the stories you hear and how the stories shape your psyche, what you feel…they teach you to ignore it, that's how they were taught and how they survived' (Gabriella 317-319).

Participants' also spoke about their experiences of family as one that doesn't like to talk about AMP where they prefer to dismiss it, and so they would follow along with this even though they preferred to engage in conversation and process feelings around AMP:

'I think some of the difficulties that we feel because it's not always seen as safe to express and share those difficulties within a family context…I guess somewhere along the line I embodied that too' (Bushra 266-270)

'As a family we do not talk about Islamophobia …particularly with my parents…when all of us are together all the Asians…everybody pretends that or something will come up in the news everyone will get really angry and say something and then it completely goes again, so there isn't any kind of meaning helpful conversations about what could we do about it, you know, how are you feeling about it, it's too painful nobody wants to talk about it together umm and I I struggle to talk to them about it' (Fatimah 159-167).

However, Ciara made a useful point that different generations may interpret their experience of AMP in different ways highlighting that one parent's style of interpreting and processing AMP may have been appropriate for that point in time but not for their children. This

highlights how people will interpret their experience of AMP in different ways depending on their individual experiences:

'I think for example back in the 80's people emigrating over here they tended to stay within their own communities which meant little mixing with other cultures but that felt ok at the time but now if that's continued then you will experience feeling marginalised or separate which for this generation it then becomes an issue and ignoring it or carrying on is unhelpful' (Ciara 41-47).

Lower order category 3.1.2: Trying to defend against reality of difference

Some participants grew up with parents who did not embody the outward physical characteristics of what it is to look like a Muslim e.g. wearing hijab, which safeguarded them against being seen as different or identifiable as a Muslim and therefore reduced experience of AMP. This reinforced them to continue this way of being:

'I had a very idyllic childhood it was lovely and we actually grew up in a very white area which meant that nobody felt any fear towards us so we were just accepted and in fact a little bit special you know (196-199)…*I didn't grow up wearing a hijab I grew up in quite a Western upbringing, actually my parents weren't particularly religious'* (Fatimah 266-271)

There was a sense that disconnecting from AMP served as a form of protection through hiding reality of AMP:

'I would find myself trying to change topic or skipping over it, just staying with describing not getting too involved in how it made me feel I didn't want to face it…too much hurt and vulnerability' (Ines 1082-1084)

'I don't let my kids watch the news' (Fatimah 209)

Amal spoke of her struggle with trying to pray but feeling the need to hide herself and found she was also influencing other Muslim women to do the same:

'One sister said I'm going to pray in the street, and everyone was like oh my god how can you just pray in the street? Like don't you feel scared about your safety? Like people were just saying to her don't do that…I try and do it in a most discreet place possible…I do try to hide it…It's as if I felt ashamed to have it out…I didn't want people seeing me praying at work…I'd pray really quickly and I'd close the blinds so that people can't see me' (564-572).

There were also differences in how family members and fellow Muslim friend's processed anti-Muslim prejudice where if others were able to let it go, participants felt they too had to let it go due to fear of being labelled too sensitive and feeling uncontained:

'Family would just say it's a test, think about Muslims who are being treated worse, so it felt like I just had to shut down my feelings and carry on with life' (Ines 1040-1044)

Haaris admitted he used to be the one labelling people too sensitive:

'Sometimes people would come and complain 'oh we have been really discriminated at our work…because they are Muslim or some type of Asian… My first response would be just no, I won't get influenced… telling (them) to explore further' (198-204).

Higher order category 3.2: Acknowledging AMP

This category explored the opposite process to disconnecting from AMP whereby participants preferred to face AMP and do something different with it as opposed to what they were taught by their attachment figures.

<u>Lower order category 3.2.1: Rejecting attachment figures style of processing AMP</u>

Bushra acknowledged that Muslims in the current climate cannot continue to follow their parents or grandparents way of processing AMP through avoidance, denial and resistance to accommodation; through this understanding, Bushra tries to engage people and herself in thinking about these processes:

'They (non-Muslims) thought the solutions were integration and British values but even that again is questionable because what does that mean? Does that mean that you take your hijab off?... I do think that we should still be able to be who we are but also I do think that it's probably time to have those difficult conversations... two extremes now, one where we're really trying to assimilate and we're really trying to find ourselves that's going to be part of being brought up in a western society' (549-562)

'My children are mixed raced we have lots of conversations about race and about religion and bringing Muslim children up at this point in time I think is very challenging' (Fatimah 192-194)

Participants' also used their profession as a way to receive therapy and make changes that would positively impact on future Muslim generations; provisions which they wish were accessible to them growing up:

'Systemic work...work with children and young people, with parents in relation to children and young people (10-1)... in light of recent events I'm happy that I trained...when I look back I think that obviously my background being Muslim would have defiantly contributed to the people that I want to work with' (Bushra 25-26)

*'My personal experience back home **xxxx** in terms of conflict, intercommunal conflicts and intergenerational trauma all these things affected my interest in psychology...having to be in personal therapy where I had to face some of conflicts I experienced which has been cathartic'* (Gabriella 4-10)

Lower order category 3.2.2: Embracing reality of difference

For some participants, as they grew away from their parents and started embracing their own identity, they rejected the idea of mirroring others to fit in with society, instead, they owned their differences in relation to being Muslim which also meant acknowledging and embracing AMP:

'It was hard for like my husband's stepmom and stuff and for them it represented a shift in my life...I couldn't say to people I'm still the same person because actually I wasn't. I wasn't going to be going out with them...drinking with them...and the hijab was significant of that change, I still love them and I still wanted to have a relationship with them but it was going

to be different so actually it was a case of them coming to terms with that that I had changed and I had changed because of God' (Fatimah)

'I had one friend as a result of (9/11) she became more religious and she began to wear the headscarf and she used to wear English clothes then she started to cover herself up…and peoples attitude changed towards her she was heartbroken towards how people dealt with her she felt people being wary of her she overheard people saying why had she done that and how unhelpful it was' (Ciara 218-224)

Despite experiencing a backlash from family and friends in regards to embracing one's differences in the form of becoming more religious, participants sought out people who were similar to them which spurred participants to continue with these changes rather than reverting to mirroring:

'It was hard work, but the more I connected with other Muslim friends who were in the same position as me the more motivated I became to stay on this path…they would listen and validate me' (Ines 1053-1059)

However, it is also important to note that, although participants were able to embrace their differences, there was still seemed to be some fear and defensiveness to this process resulting in some participants believing they were on the pathway of acknowledging AMP but in fact, they were straddling between disconnecting and acknowledging AMP. For example, although Fatimah became more religious, there were some things she was not comfortable with embracing:

'I've never worn niqab so for me that's the worst you know' (984).

Category 4: Pathways to manage impact of AMP practices

This category explores the two different pathways to manage the impact of AMP practices which are described as reflective or deflective which are pre-determined from how one processes their experience of AMP as discussed in category 3.

Higher order category 4.1: Reflecting pathway

Participants identified that the more they reflected on their experience of AMP, a process that takes time as one matures, the more effectively they perceived to manage their experience AMP. The term reflecting refers to thinking carefully about where one is positioned within various environments, be it work or with friends, and making informed decisions about the most effective way forward in managing AMP experiences. Furthermore, reflecting also refers to how participants took time to think about other opportunities or possibilities that are available to them in helping them manage AMP experiences.

Lower order category 4.1.1: Engaging resources effectively to aid management of AMP

Here, participants' spoke about coming to realise they had untapped resources that could help them come to accept that they will experience AMP practices in their life by reading and connecting with religious scriptures for example, which helped them maintain a more positive stance going forward in their life. Through opening their mind to other resources and avenues of support, encouragement and motivation and one's knowledge and educational background, did participants gain a sense of strength and wisdom.

Below, Bushra speaks about turning towards reading the Quran and how she experienced an increase in motivation to advocate for herself and others when it comes to AMP experiences as it is encouraged in the Quran to do as such:

'There's like a third of the Quran that talks about that idea of justice and social justice in doing good and advocating for people…for yourself too' (Bushra 361-362).

Below, Amal also spoke about coming to accept that AMP experiences, as with any other difficult and hurtful experiences, are a test from God which she will need to work on

overcoming. Amal outlined certain beliefs from the Quran that helped her towards this process of acceptance which she often tells or reminds herself. Amal also highlights parts of the Quran that speak about being one race and how holding onto this is helpful to her when faced with AMP experiences:

'The only thing I've remotely found helpful is my faith which is that there isn't any difference that we're all the same…there is a higher power and its supersedes this world because it's just it's like part of the test I guess' (Amal 718-721).

Through experience, participants have paid attention and thought about or reflected on the type of people who are more likely to hold similar views to them or willing to talk about them when it comes to addressing issues such as AMP. From this knowledge, participants' like Diana and Amal, use these people, be it colleagues or friends, to talk about AMP, ask for help or support around AMP or raise issues in the workplace around seeing AMP practices occurring:

'Thankfully I've had managers and supervisors who have been really keen to address this issue so it wasn't really hard (199)…but because it's kind of like in the forefront of my managers and supervisors who have also lived in diverse places… but I think it'd be probably harder to talk about with people that are less culturally sensitive' (Diana 204-205).

'Depends on what their position is and whether they're vocal about it...because you do get some people...they're very good at raising awareness and helping people reflect and exploring difference and diversity...Therefore if people create a space for that, then yes I can talk about it' (Amal 278-282).

Reflecting also involves being open and curious about how accurate one's experience or perception of AMP is and whether it is in line with reality and not coming from a place of blame which is not an effective strategy in addressing AMP, as perceived by Haaris:

'Education, clear information, interaction, collaboration...these things actually will help an individual to work on their prejudices about others... supporting each other rather than going against each other' (Haaris 109-112).

Haaris wants people who are affected by AMP to think before they act, to use their strengths in regards to their educational background as a counselling psychologist, to work with others instead of against, even in the face of AMP practices.

Lower order category 4.1.2: Active reflecting on the cost to self of expressing one's views

For some participants, addressing AMP was determined by the level of severity and relevance in order to assess whether the cost to self outweighs any benefits:

'I think people have other things going on in their lives as well if they've got relationship problems or they're depressed I think there's other things that overshadow so unless someone has something very traumatic or something very recent or something that's made them feel very unsafe then that might be at the forefront of what they come with' (Amal 688-689).

'With strangers I don't really go into discussion because I think there are lots of words and arguments on Facebook and I don't think it necessarily changes everyone just tries to prove their position so I don't think it's effective on that medium' (Gabriella 254-256).

Participants also identified they spend time fantasising about what they would like to say but on reflection they conclude it is not worthwhile:

'Overheard a comment but I was walking past what I would be like to say "what do you mean by that? Who's they? And how can we make that assumption?" And I didn't, I think at that time because I was walking by I thought oh fuck that. At the same time what I've realised is there's something about protecting yourself' (Bushra 311-315)

'I would just carry on walking…I don't think I'd challenge it and I think safety-wise that's probably not a bad thing although my heart's like just say something' (Fatimah 213-216).

Lower order category 4.1.3: Consciously processing boundaries to safeguard ones sense of
self

Despite wanting to make a difference and address AMPs, participants acknowledged their
limitations and pressures they already contend with:

'I just don't have the time and I don't have the capacity to think about doing anything with it'
(Ciara 62).

Ines spoke about wanting to get involved in academics again by writing papers and
researching more in the area relating to AMP because she has the knowledge, background
and personal experience to do this, but just not the time. Ines went onto say that she tries not
to dwell too much on not having the time to write papers as she is aware it will increase her
guilt and negative feelings about herself which is detrimental to her sense of self:

*'You know I have an understanding of these issues, I've been on the receiving end of of, you
named it anti-Muslim prejudice right, so I've had personal experience and then in my
undergraduate degree we are taught about prejudices, group dynamics…and so counselling
psychologists or anyone in our position with our knowledge are in a position to write papers
(58-63)… Yeah I often think about writing papers or whatnot, or witting something to do with
the research but I don't have the time'* (Ines 66-68)…*and I feel bad for not having the time or
making an effort to make time for going back and writing or publishing articles but I also
need time to look after myself and my family you know, I can't do it all and I also think I don't
have to, I do what I can and that's good enough and I try and remind myself about that all
the time' (70-77).*

Eliza spoke about how she manages interactions with clients to safeguard her own
psychological and emotional wellbeing by acknowledging her strengths and limitations and
working within those boundaries:

*'Putting down a boundary is really important even if the boundary is harsh enough that you
leave…Normally it's quite clear like I just would not work with this with you as a person or
with these issues all that level of racism, I don't think it's safe but it's quite extreme for me to*

walk out… one of my strengths is I can engage with people who services really struggle with' (622-636).

Higher order category 4.2: Deflecting pathway

Participants identified that the more they disconnected with their experience of AMP, the more likely they are to manage this experience through a deflective stance, which for some, was an unconscious process.

Lower order category 4.2.1: Refraining from using one's voice for "brownie point collection"

The feeling of having to do more and having to go along with what is happening, felt as if one had to try and refrain from being different which included trying to fit in and please non-Muslims whilst using objects that represent Britishness to safeguard against AMP:

'My NHS badge is like my safety badge… to say you work in NHS…that's an honourable thing to do so it gives you some brownie points but that's how my life is, brownie points, and where you can get those brownie points from so to live with that is really hard' (Fatimah 978-1000).

'Giving myself a nickname that sounds English' (Ines 410).

Participants also felt they had to prove their worth to outweigh the negative representation of their religion:

'It's as if you have to prove them wrong…it's as if you're bad until you prove yourself otherwise. That you have to give them something to have to say something to satisfy the anxiety but you're ok you're not what they think you are' (Amal 737-741).

Lower order category 4.2.2: Embodying negative altruistic tendencies to mitigate conflict

Altruism is when a person acts to promote someone else's welfare, even at a risk or cost to themselves ("Altruism," 2019). For some participants, they acknowledge that sometimes they are unable to set themselves limits on when to stop helping or advocating for others because they feel they have a duty to address AMP because if they don't, they fear it will create a climate where it reinforces AMP practices. Participants would therefore take on roles and responsibilities above and beyond what is required of them for the greater good. As a result, participants experienced themselves as stuck in a cycle of altruistic behaviour that was leaving them personally in a deficit, emotionally and time wise. Hence the use of the word negative in front of altruistic tendencies, as the intention of their acts of altruism is coming from a place that they are beginning to resent and see as a negative aspect of their behaviour.

For example, Amal spoke about taking on the responsibility of setting up a counselling service that was knowledgeable in regards to working with ethnic minorities and religious client groups such as Muslims. This is because she saw that they were not getting the most appropriate care and she took it upon herself to try and make helpful and positive changes where clients have a space to go to and be heard without the fear of things being misconstrued or their religion seen as negative. However, this was also something that took extra effort and time, something that Amal could not continue with, resulting in feelings of sadness, which she tried to mitigate through encouraging others to seek other services in her absence:

'And I think there is a lot of people like I've known people that have gone to therapy and like from like ethnic minority backgrounds and they don't feel comfortable, they don't feel like they're understood so I think there's some sections of communities that aren't accessing therapy (397-398)… I once helped set up a very sensitive counselling service…(clients) felt too scared to go into like the NHS, or normal services because they feared they would be judged because of their faith'(406-408)… So I think some Muslims are like protective, like they want to protect their image because they're already aware we've got a shit image and it's all very negative and so then people some I've actually had some sisters say to me I only want to work with someone whose Muslim because I don't want them to misunderstand the things I'm coming with I don't want them to think that this is a reflection of Islam or um there are some people that are being put off by accessing umm mainstream therapy (410-414)…

So, it's sad and I was leaving that service and I was trying to get them to access other counselling services' (Amal 416-18).

Similarly to Amal, Bushra also started up her own group to support people impacted by prejudice due to the injustices she saw happening around her and how she felt she had to do something. However, this was also something that took time and effort that was not sustainable in the long term. Bushra went onto acknowledge that although she finds a purpose in advocating for others and trying to make a positive difference in the world, it is a tendency that is not always healthy or positive for her overall wellbeing and therefore seen as a negative tendency on her part:

'I started up like a like a black lives matter therapist type of group...what fueled that was a lot of activism at the time and a lot of a lot of injustice that I saw happening but then it kind of fizzled out and I think it was because we were all doing so many different things and we couldn't sustain it and I guess in hindsight this urge to want to make the world a better place is not always possible even though we need more people to fight against anti-Muslim practices which is why there's some disappointment that I can't always do my bit but I try but sometimes I shouldn't so I have more time for myself and family as it takes a lot out of you personally and emotionally you know' (Bushra 570-582).

Putting the needs of others ahead of one's own needs such as time to oneself to relax, is further evidenced by Eliza who had to be present when her Muslim volunteers would come onto the ward to support the Muslim patients when her Christian colleague did not have to do the same for their Christian volunteers. Eliza described how she made the effort to supervise her volunteers even though this was extra work for her, something which she was not happy about, but nevertheless, continued to do:

'So they were strict with my volunteers...Christian volunteers could come and go, the Muslim volunteers could be there if I was there and I would go along with that because otherwise I wouldn't have been allowed to do any of those things, you know they did some really good work, and *to enable that I had to put in extra I'd be the one who's coming in to do extra work so I could make sure I can be there, just so used to it, I think which is umm which is a shame and not the best situation for me to always put myself in...*(464-475)

Similar to Eliza, Fatimah found it difficult to address other peoples AMP behaviour. Fatimah spoke about her difficulty in addressing her mother in law's AMP behaviour because she wanted to avoid potential rupture or conflict in the relationship which she acknowledges is something she wishes to change due to the negative impact it has on her. However, Fatimah is used to cooperating with others and more worried about their feelings over her own, an example of altruism that she acknowledges is not always beneficial for her own wellbeing:

'I'd liked to just get a little bit more confident, I don't want to upset her I don't want to offend her…just to be able to say actually I find that's a bit hurtful…so that she knows that what she is saying is having an impact on me' (1073-1077).

Bushra also spoke about how being a Muslim meant she was automatically placed in a position of responsibility in educating people on Islam to help reduce AMP practices from occurring. However, Bushra struggled with this responsibility and disagreed with the logic that being Muslim meant she knew everything about Islam but found this a difficult position to move away from as she felt she had to embody being the one to educate people on Islam for the greater good. The consequence of which is that she felt pressurised and uncomfortable:

'Some people have come to me for advice and being Muslim again is not synonymous with you know knowing the Quran inside out and having all this knowledge, I put my hands up to I don't and I find that interesting that automatically you're seen as the token… then in a way you're looked at to either speak out or you're looked at to not say anything or you're looked at to give people all this knowledge (421-425)*…I don't like it but it feels like it's what I have to do or be'* (427-428).

Category 5: Resulting outcomes of employed pathways to manage impact of AMP

This category explored the resulting outcomes of enlisted coping styles to manage the impact of AMP where deflecting was experienced as a cost to the self whereas reflecting had numerous benefits.

Higher order category 5.1: Cost to self in going down deflective pathway

Participants identified several costs to the self when enlisting deflective strategies to manage AMP which prevented growth in confidence to address AMP in the future and resulted in them being negatively re-affected by AMP practices.

Lower order category 5.1.1: Experiencing repression of the self due to fear of rejection

The consequence of engaging in safety behaviours of avoidance and masking identified in higher order category 4.2 is outlined by Fatimah:

'I feel this massive difference between how I feel inside and what I go around being like every day is totally different' (10015).

There was a sense that they could not address AMP due to the fear of being rejected:

'Feeling very disappointed that I live in a country and love a country and was born in a country which doesn't actually really accept me anymore… why am I so scared to talk about it why am I so scared to stand up?' (Ciara 953-961).

Ines highlights how detrimental to ones wellbeing such strategies can be:

'Act like it doesn't (impact me) and that causes a split within you that causes psychological issues I think… so I worry about that sometimes, god is something going happen to me mental health wise' (1009-1014).

'I sat in my car for about 10 minutes just thinking, should I just take (hijab) off you know what should I do, in the end I took it off…came back and I felt sooo bad that I just thought I'm never going do that again' (Fatimah 584-588).

Lower order category 5.1.2: Fighting assimilation at a cost to sense of belonging within the counselling psychology community

Some participants identified that if they spoke up about AMP they were automatically identified as different, which led them further away from a sense of belonging within the counselling community:

'Risk of like some of my black colleagues are seen as the angry black woman. I think with Muslims… there's a stereotype that women are submissive so if you're seen as a bit outspoken you're automatically seen as a feminist or seen as oh inverted commas different' (Bushra 336-338)

'I'm a bit different…annoying because I just don't let things go or I sort of raise stuff…there definitely is a cost to it because you sort of separating yourself, being very individual' (Eliza 356-361)

'(People go) "yeah you were always the woman that goes on about that kind of thing" you know but yeah it feels more offensive I think it's much more difficult' (Ines 712-714)

There was also a sense of blaming oneself for the potential consequences to others in addressing their AMP and on the workplace:

'In the end he chose to leave because he felt he wasn't a good fit…and I did feel a bit bad I was a bit like oh God we've lost a councillor because of me… you do feel a little bit guilty' (Fatimah 773-779)

Lower order category 5.1.3: Experiencing a fractured sense of self in the face of inability to meet the perceived duty of challenging AMP

Participants' expressed how it is their duty to challenge AMPs; however, it can be a tiring and painful process that breaks at their sense of self:

'Because of my professional changes where I am being more involved in social injustice and talking more about all of this and that is having a negative almost you could call it negative

or positive impact on my personal life because I can't ignore it anymore so it's becoming much more painful…I'm now in a position of how am I going to survive this how am I going to be true to who I am being this person in my profession who is talking about social injustice and Islamophobia and all these kind of things and in private life I can't continue to ignore it or can I?' (Fatimah 1061-1068).

In order to protect themselves, participants sometimes let AMP go, which doesn't always sit well with them and there is ongoing conflict:

'I think NO that is such as sense of injustice and that is not right for that person and if you're saying that about this one person how many other people can you say this about?... I think we definitely have to think of the consequences…can be grave, and I think that's where by I am learning it's taken time about consequences… I'm in the middle if we're always thinking of the consequences what would that mean if we don't speak out?' (Bushra 470-487).

Higher order category 5.2: Benefits to going down reflective pathway

The more participants learned from the costs in relation to managing AMP through a deflective stance by reflection and reframing over time, the more likely they were to move towards a more reflective pathway. This is because they identified experiencing several benefits from engaging in reflective strategies; they felt this led them to undergo a positive change in the relationship to their experience of AMP.

Lower order category 5.2.1: Enforcing boundaries to safeguard one's sense of self

Participants' acknowledged and accepted the reality of one's limited capacity to hold others which is why they put in place certain rules and practices. In regards to limited capacity to hold others, what participants seemed to have meant is that they acknowledge they cannot always be the person to help others or be their advocate and so they would do things that would help build up their own strength and resources as a way to look after their own wellbeing first:

'Aligned myself mostly to black Twitter or you know sort of the more Asian black news channels and groups and people that I trust that have learnt about those outlets' (Eliza 764-765).

'I don't tend to read the newspapers read the news that much anymore, I like to watch more documentaries that will give another point of view' (Ciara 52-53).

As a consequence of enforcing such boundaries for oneself, participants found that they felt less angry, depressed and sad:

'I don't have that same anger or sadness, its more productive anger and sadness now...which I wouldn't have reached if I hadn't protected myself and enforced limits to what I was exposing myself to' (Fatimah 956-960).

'Feel less emotional or down which is so helpful for my own wellbeing you know I get to hear a different narrative which is such a nice change' (Ciara 56-60).

Lower order category 5.2.2: Making use of the implicit protective factor provisions in the workplace to validate sense of self

As discussed in lower order category 4.1.1, participants found that an interpersonal climate that was, for example, willing to address AMP, increased their confidence in engaging resources effectively to address AMP practices.

'It's nice feeling to know people understand how you feel, that you are not being too sensitive or making a fuss over nothing' (Ines 693-694).

'I find that I can be quite honest with them...it's easy to have those conversations with people that are aware and people who acknowledge that there is a difference [laughs] I think when people are colour blind I think that can be quite hard' (Diana 208-211).

Together these experiences helped participants identify conditions in which they are likely to feel validated to better cope with and address their experiences of AMP:

'Unless they've done work where they've tried to challenge these attitudes or I know what their position is I won't particularly talk about prejudice in the therapy field...whereas if I've

got colleagues from a similar background then I do talk about that with them because they already know and they understand it and it's like you don't have to explain it' (Amal 251-256).

Lower order category 5.2.3: Effectively managing to contain one's experience of AMP within one's pre-conceived ideologies of a counselling psychologist

Participants felt that certain expectations were placed onto them in regards to firstly, taking responsibility for addressing AMP because they are Muslim and secondly, conducting themselves in a fashion that reflected their title as a counselling psychologist:

'When I did my counselling training I felt very uncomfortable because some people were dealing with me as if I was an ambassador for Islam' (Amal 1026).

Participants felt that because they identified as Muslims, they are automatically viewed as being open and willing to address AMP, which for some was not a problem, and they embraced these expectations and responsibility to ensure the reputation of Muslims and Islam was not negatively affected:

'Going to my local mosque years ago and saying like you know could I do like mental health drop in for an hour after Jummah for free' (Fatimah 907).

'Went and did presentations…that was the first time I spoke in public about Islamophobia and how from a social injustice perspective as counselling psychologist not only should be we be aware of this but we need to be talking about it in the therapy room and it needs to be very much part of our work' (Ines 823-826).

Nonetheless, participants acknowledged that they cannot over assume responsibility as it can become unhealthy, and so they need to let go and share this responsibility:

'I do find that often coming to teams and I'm the only one who kind of brings that stuff up and gets them to think about it…I try and reinforce that we should be opening up the space to talk about that and it shouldn't be just the fact that I've got brown skin that allows that conversation to happen' (Eliza 63-67).

This then led some participants to experience anger and irritation at having to always try and act responsibly as expected of a counselling psychologist and Muslim, which at times was in conflict with wanting to act on one's id impulses:

'There's something about saying to people fuck you I don't need to owe you a response a definition of something with the same time thinking oh should I educate this fool or should I educate this ignorant person and that's a hard that's really difficult to then balance at what point because people are constantly judging you anyhow' (Bushra 415-417).

Therefore, to effectively manage and contain one's experience, coming from a wise mind place or perspective was more effective in addressing AMP than acting on their destructive impulses:

'I think by writing we get to our audiences become wider I think possibly training giving myself the space to reflect as well and to think about what it means when someone says something rather than reacting' (Diana 575-577).

'Helpful to not be personally and emotionally attached to the engagements and to be able to kind of sit back and observe what I have felt was happening' (Fatimah 549-460).

Participants' identified the negative consequences of acting on id impulses when addressing AMPs:

'Reason I don't sit there and become argumentative because actually that just feeds it' (Ciara 269).

Participants also learnt that being more tactful in how one addresses AMP helps build positive relations and allows for more open dialogue:

'If I'm talking to someone I know they're particularly sensitive…I'm like more wary about what I say because I don't want to like make them feel more unsettled' (Amal 249-250).

Lower order category 5.2.4: Gaining self-acceptance within the context of exposure to presence of AMP

The more participants utilised reflective strategies, they found that over time their confidence grew in addressing AMP and subsequently they didn't need as much external validation or fear rejection from others thereby developing a healthy sense of grandiosity over time:

'I grew up needing to be liked and fit in so you make yourself likeable…so actually what I'm trying to do is the complete opposite of that and that's taken a huge shift in my personality and life and character and a lot of therapy and stuff to be able to not need to fit and be liked anymore' (Fatimah 965-969).

'But now I just get fussy it's like well why am I going give you my skills my time my expertise…try and challenge their perception just by being myself and being good at what I do… I'm starting to prioritise myself more' (Amal 747-751).

Rather than identifying with the negative projected characteristics process outlined in 2.1.1, participants were coming round to embracing their out-group characteristics:

'For the first time in my life this year, well I've been thinking about it for the past 5 years but I've identified myself as a BME which I would never have done in the past' (Fatimah 397-398).

'Realising how ignorant these people are and actually you know they don't know me I pay more taxes than them so it's almost yeah and this is my identity and you're not taking it away from me and how dare you even judge me for it' (Ciara 211-216).

There was also the development of resilience because they acknowledged AMP will find them:

'It's going be difficult and there's going to be conflict but I'm not there to just be shat on I don't see that as my job to just take all your negativity…I will always make at least that point of how do you think that felt for me I think that's become my line and that's become something I'm quite comfortable with saying. I practised it enough' (Eliza 599-607).

Lower order category 5.2.5: Experiencing affective reward for actively holding the external world accountable for AMP

Participants' recognised that being vocal is an integrative and crucial part in addressing AMP by speaking out against it so that it is not hidden or implicit thereby giving it recognition to prevent people forgetting or letting it go:

'Giving it a voice and just putting it out there and saying this exists let's talk about it…I think we find it hard I think Muslims find it hard to talk about Islam …and we all just want to get on and be ok and so I think just talking about it would be the goal' (Ines 869-882).

'People have said comments to me, so I did talk about it, helping them to understand why, I actually felt myself doing that trying to get people to be more understanding than ignorant' (Ciara 240-244).

Sometimes, talking does not solve the problem which means participants felt they had to raise things further to prevent letting AMP go or be forgotten thereby holding people to account:

'So I kind of was like okay well I don't agree with you and I find that very offensive and you know maybe we should leave it there kind of thing and that was sort of how it ended. And I immediately I think the following day phoned the head of the company and I said look this is what's happened, I'm really not happy about it' (Fatimah 710-715).

Participants also found a sense of achievement through influencing people by educating them, trying to activate their thinking processes to help them reflect more to subsequently untangle religion and extremism:

'I try to make it clear that it has nothing to do with like this is religion this is separate this is belief' (Gabriella 131).

'Educational and communication, giving equal opportunities and purpose in life these are the major things that can help people to really manage their prejudices and stay more in realistic zones rather than prejudice zones' (Haaris 287-288).

'One person did say to me do you want to facilitate something and I remember saying no…I said I don't think it's appropriate for us to have one session on looking at race how we work with race our own biases our own thoughts, so actually I am outspoken' (Bushra 301-303).

In regards to trying to activate peoples thinking processes, it is one that takes time and requires persistence and consistency but one that is rewarding:

'I also know that change takes particularly long time so they kind of do consistently need to hear me say the same thing again and again and again which is kind of why I would do it

with teams that I work with…it's about sort of putting something into somebody's consciousness it is drip drip drip…keeps me motivated and feels like I'm doing something positive and helpful without over exhausting myself' (Eliza 368-371).

Discussion

The grounded theory presented above, outlines the social psychological processes involved in how counselling psychologist's experience, process and manage AMP practices. The theory was influenced by the researcher's social constructionist position and insider position as a counselling psychologist and Muslim, by psychoanalytic theorising on self-psychology and object relations theory in regards to hate, in-group and out-group dynamics and social learning theory.

The model proposes to demonstrate how and why AMP practices find counselling psychologists which are understood through how the media portrays Muslims and how this influences society and vice versa. Moving to understanding how society makes sense of difference, it is thought to impact group dynamics between Muslims and non-Muslims through the lens of psychoanalytic theory of Muslims as the bad object. Following on from this, I will also explore how participants experience of AMP in the early years is internalised which is ultimately at a cost to one's sense of self which influences upon how one processes their experience through either acknowledging or disconnecting from AMP. The discussion will argue how pivotal this component of the model is in regards to how one then manages AMP which is believed to have benefits and costs to one's development or lack thereof of healthy narcissism and subsequently their future relationship to AMP.

Throughout the discussion, although the above processes and their corresponding categories are discussed singularly for clarity and greater coherence, at times they will be discussed co-dependently to show how experiences at different parts in the model impact upon other areas of the model.

Influencing factors of AMP finding counselling psychologists

Media

There was a strong sense of blame aimed at the media by participants when it came to the role and influence of the media on how they report on Muslims which they felt exacerbated AMP practices. Research continues to support this belief that the media is influential in communicating and sustaining negative characterisations of Islam and Muslims which incidentally or purposefully, shapes and influences society's attitudes and opinions (Carr, 2013). This is understandable since 64% of the British public claim what they know about Muslims and Islam is acquired and relied upon through the media (Allen, 2012) as highlighted by Haaris:

'Media is the major tool to generate a perception about any phenomena… it is very significant and crucial in forming and resolving any bias or prejudice against any group of people' (131-143).

Participants' described how they perceived the media to spread a negative ideology of Muslims and therefore believed to sensationalise coverage on not only Muslims but any form of crime (Karatzogianni, 2012); which is not only consumed online but is reproduced and recycled through social media which is believed to increase the frequency of AMP practices (Brookes, 2015). For example, Mohammed (2016) analysed the content of online newspaper coverage of the Woolwich attack and found that headlines and contents clearly categorised the general Muslim community with acts of terrorism, for example, one reporter said the attacker 'was of Muslim appearance' which sparked many complaints. This tends to create a spiral reaction from far-right groups which has been observed whenever there is a threat to the safety of the country (Murji & Solomos, 2005). This can account for the justification of AMP which participants deduced as society responding from a defensive position where people justify their AMP practices in the form of patriotism as described by Eliza:

'Because of terrorist attacks that have happened it makes it ok because what we're doing is we're protecting ourselves and protecting our families and protecting the country (518-519)… not being prejudiced that's protecting Britishness' (747).

This is in line with Borell's (2015) findings where AMP practices are to a large extent event-driven and reactive and tends to flare up on the heels of events like terrorist attacks; a trend

which has been found to occur worldwide (Cohu, Maisonneuve & Testé, 2016; Aizpurua, Singer, Butler, Collier, Gertz, 2017).

As a consequence of such findings, AMP practices and hate crimes related to AMP are closely monitored by police and organisations like Tell MAMA who work together to pre-empt and reduce the impact of this pattern. Participants acknowledge that AMP will continue to find them but that it can be reduced through more balanced, less inflammatory and sensationalised reporting of Muslims by the media which they believe will have a more positive influence on society.

Society, group dynamics and hate

The process emerging from media coverage, the portrayal of Muslims as a homogenised group with its members seen to have attributes, qualities and characteristics regarded as an antithesis to the West (Poole, 2002), serves to alienate, marginalise and stigmatise Muslims creating a divide between Muslims and non-Muslims. This can lead to an 'Us V Them' mentality which is further reinforced by public figures such as politicians like Tony Blair who aligned terrorist attacks with the ideology of Islam (Dominiczak, 2013) and Boris Johnson who refused to apologise for his derogatory remarks about Muslim women who wear a burqa. These instances are thought to reinforce participants' beliefs that the media has the ability to influence society's perceptions:

'Poison my mind… so easy isn't it you hear it every morning eating your breakfast, read the free paper on the way to an back from work… somewhere those words and thoughts and images go in' (Eliza 291-298)

For example, news coverage would last weeks in regards to terror incidents linked to Muslims compared to non-Muslim perpetrators of terror incidents (Powell, 2011) and in line with Fatimah's experience, articles about non-Muslims do not always make the front page:

'You had to turn to like the 5th or 6th page to actually find out what she had said yeah so if it was the other way round you would have got exactly all the gory details on the front page' (925-926)

This links back to how media coverage affects how the public learns, understands or thinks about an issue (Jamieson & Waldman, 2003) which is why participants are concerned about the difference between how the media reports on Muslims and non-Muslims. For example, adjectives to describe domestic perpetrators that are more western include the words intelligent, family orientated or mentally unwell which seemingly reduces the level of threat and difference to society (Morin, 2016).

Research has found that a common trend of bias in media representation between the two groups plays a significant role in reinforcing stereotypes, prejudices and increasing hate within society (Saleem, Prot, Anderson & Lemieux, 2017); which is made worse by the ultimate attribution error (Pettigrew, 1979) where unfavourable behaviour are recalled more easily about the outgroup. However, stereotypes, no matter how indeterminate, are born from a level of social reality about Muslims which fuel stereotypical perceptions about them. It is therefore important to note that even participants agree that as Muslims, we do have a problem with radicalisation which can occur through Muslim's being groomed by influential Islamic figures within mosques for example and that the media and society cannot and is not the sole influencing factor of AMP.

Nonetheless, this over-representation of groups in specific socially prescribed roles suggests that stereotyping serves an ideological function to justify the status quo (Jost & Banaji, 1994) particularly, when the said group is either a minority or assigned negative connotations which can endorse the dominant group's right to its advantageous and privileged status (Devine and Sherman, 1992) and justifying divisions between groups, a reference to nationalism. Following Alexander, Brewer and Hermann's (1999) proposed categories that shape outgroup profiles, Muslims seemingly fit into the enemy category which serves to maintain their out-group position. The out-group being depicted as the enemy goes back further into history where the same strategy was used by Adolf Hitler and Slobodan Milošević, both who fostered 'us' vs 'them' attitudes. Islamic terrorism, immigration, mosques being perceived to be built everywhere leading to a sense of Islam taking over one's country and a threat to western societies privileged and advantageous status (Betz & Meret, 2009).

'I've heard lots of things about people feeling concerned that Muslims are taking over the country, how there's just so many mosques everywhere now' (Diana 86-88)

Since terrorism works on generation of fear and anxiety, highly authoritarian individuals who tend to be ethnocentric, can maintain an evaluative bias in favour of their own group by reinforcing out-group as being the enemy to the in-group as outlined by Haaris:

'Your authority figure or a key communicator who is very influential and you have heard something from them, people are least likely to challenge' (133-134).

Hutcheson, Domke, Billeaudeaux & Garland (2004) provide a working example of this when they analysed newspapers for five weeks following September 11th terrorist attacks and they found that the government and military officials consistently emphasised American values, themes and power whilst simultaneously demonising the enemy which journalists paralleled using nationalist language.

It is important to reiterate that hatred is not always pathological when it is a response to real danger to ensure survival by eliminating the bad object; unconscious motivation, however, may intensify hatred when it is a chronic character predisposition, which reflects the psychopathology of aggression when it involves overwhelming dominance directed against the self as well as against others, referred to as the death drive (Kernberg, 2009). It is thought therefore that nationalism and any kind of religious fundamentalism and liberal capitalism are ideologies that give breadth to act out the death drive. Kernberg (1989) introduced the concept of the malignant narcissism syndrome defined by the combination of a narcissistic personality disorder, antisocial behaviour, ego-syntonic aggression directed against others that may become generalized in the form of symbolic destruction of all objects through envy, rage and eroticized hate. This is where the ego is boosted by an ideology or higher values than itself and becomes inflated and ready to sacrifice itself, become a hero against the archetype of the villain/trickster, beliefs which are difficult to control or assimilate and thus deemed "perilous to one's state of mind state" (Jung 1917/1953, p. 388).

Certain kinds of personality structures are therefore seemingly supported by ideologies that work to cure the narcissistically wounded ego where the pain, frustration, fury and hatred find an explanation and reason and subsequently an enemy in multiculturalists and Muslims for example. To reduce the pain and anxiety associated with threat caused by Muslims, the object (Muslims) is split where the rejecting part (anti-libidinal ego) serves to remove the danger to the good object (non-Muslims) (Fairbairn, 1949). Sutherland (1994) links this back to group dynamics and good object versus bad object where aggression and

isolation/withdrawal is used as a defence to protect self and good object whether accurate or not.

Based on stereotypes which lie deep within the core of social relations between groups, they therefore revolve around psychological distinctiveness between behaviours that are viewed and characterised as desirable or undesirable between two groups (Tajfel, 1981); in this case, wearing the niqab or hijab is perceived as undesirable in western society. Participants described how they experienced more or less AMP depending on whether they looked like a stereotypical Muslim e.g. brown skin, long beard, wearing a hijab. This is because Islam is a religion with a high level of entitativity (Campbell, 1958) thereby creating less individuality and separateness between its members particularly in relation to outward characteristics such as clothing which identify members to that group more readily. This could explain why Haaris, the only male participant, experienced AMP to a much lesser degree compared to my female participants who were either darker in skin tone or who wore Islamic garments like the hijab. In line with this, three of my participants were not Muslim but due to embodying certain characteristics such as skin colour or clothing that is similar to what Muslim women wear, they were grouped and targeted as Muslim. This brings us back to the idea of stereotypes where it is easier to attribute someone that shares characteristics which are seen to be shared by all or most Muslims and thereby automatically and unconsciously assigning a person to the category of Muslim (Amodio, 2014).

Experiencing AMP in early years

Being negatively reinforced by external expression of AMP

How one embodies their Muslim identity is therefore an important factor as to what extent AMP finds participants. Participants shared how their early experiences of AMP were negatively reinforced by other people's expressions of AMP practices which they had internalised as them needing to change who they are to fit in with society. White (2002) identified several components to hate, a process which started with being the hated object via people's destructive projections and attributions. To manage this, participants learned that changing certain characteristics and behaviours that spurred the destructive projections and attributions reduced likelihood of experiencing AMP, which mimics the process of operant conditioning (Skinner, 1938). As a consequence, participants felt closer to their non-Muslim peers, which all humans desire, to feel similar and to experience a sense of connectedness with others which makes room for merging with the idealised other (Kohut, 1984) which

before was obstructed by difference. However, this is a short term solution, since participants experienced negative side effects of trying to merge with the other such as low mood which Fairbairn (1952a) believed was a reaction in which hate and aggression are internalised against the self rather than directed at the idealised other.

Eslea and Mukhtar (2000) discovered that second-generation bicultural participants who attended mainstream school became targets for peer victimisation because they retained some characteristics from their parents' homeland such as customs, accents, food choices and religious differences. They believe that rejection from peers may have resulted in some bicultural participants to experience a lack of belongingness to the mainstream culture.

Participants also spoke about how they became desensitised to experiencing AMP because they were used to it and expected it as long as they are Muslim which is similar to occupations that are known to expect and encounter violence such as mental health workers and police officers. Mawby and Zempi (2018) study on police officers experiences as victims of hate crimes found that they also became desensitised to abuse because they too expect it and it is seen and accepted as part of their job role leading them to build immunity just like Ciara did. In regards to understanding AMP, Vedder, Wenink and Geel (2017) expected to find more intergroup anxiety in Muslims who experience negative intergroup attitude aimed towards them; instead, they found a weak correlation between extended negative contact and intergroup anxiety. They hypothesised that this could be due to participants desensitising themselves to survive the negative extended contact and hence a reduction in expressed anxiety.

However, it is important to note what is being perceived as AMP before desensitising oneself and experiencing anxiety. Marchand, Palis & Oviedo-Joekes (2016) tried to understand the relationship between participants' perceptions of prejudice and discrimination during their interaction with a health care provider. This was based on a similar study by Bolster & Manias (2010) that found there were differences in views between a patient and health care provider in their interaction and what was viewed as prejudiced or not. Therefore, to fully understand the relationship between experiencing AMP and its subsequent impact on participants wellbeing and perception of the world, research must also consider participants perceptions within this and the role this will have on the outcomes. In this study, participants' experienced different levels of AMP and within that, some participants like Haaris did not perceive a certain act to be AMP but his friends and colleagues would label it as AMP.

Becoming uncertain about ones sense of belonging in the world

Despite efforts to merge with the idealised other to defend against feeling inferior and to gain a sense of belonging in society by imposing order and control on that which provokes conscious anxiety and unconscious psychic conflict (Horney, 1945), some participants still experienced AMP both in western society and in Islamic countries resulting in a sense of not belonging anywhere. Bhimji (2008) explored the manner in which participants demonstrated their impression of belonging and cosmopolitan identity when they reflect on their visits to their parents' homeland. She found that participants moved from identifying with their parents' homeland to expressing tourist-like appreciation of their parents' homeland to considering Britain to be their home yet finding difficulties in each experience; much like Ciara, Ines and Fatimah.

Although Levitt (2009) has found positive outcomes of children who hold dual national roles as they inherit skills that can benefit them in both environments, he also argues we cannot dismiss the potential difficulties that also arise when children are raised in a transnational environment that include ideologies and practices from their parents' homeland and the country in which they live. For example, Waite and Cook (2011) found that second-generation participants struggled to manage their multiple identities leading to attachments to people and country becoming strained because contact with their parents country of origin resulted in feeling confused and disjointed. These feelings were further exacerbated by continuing conciliation of the insider/outsider belongingness conundrum in multicultural Britain which resulted in feelings of alienation from imposed convictions of Britishness.

Much research has looked into understanding and finding the answer to how belongingness can be achieved with some studies like that of Ward (2013) that suggest integration has the most positive outcomes. Integration is felt to involve balancing role, relationships and responsibilities which is a process that takes time and for Muslims or those who are religious, it is a much harder process to traverse through. This calls into question how Muslims integrate their religious identity within a country that has similar and different values which are explored further in how participants reject attachment figures style of processing AMP.

Experiencing AMP

Experiencing AMP as a psycho-emotional cost to self

Identifying with the projected negative characteristics of Muslims

It could be thought that experiencing AMP in early years led to unsatisfactory experiences resulting in the internalisation of a bad object if its love or approval is rejected and to reduce the pain and anxiety associated with this rejection, the infant splits the object into exciting and rejecting parts resulting in psychic division in the structure of the ego (Fairbairn, 1952b). According to Kohut (1977) development of a cohesive self is fostered by positive early experiences which assist in meeting the child's critical developmental needs which he referred to as self-object needs, each which influence the developing self in different ways. The self-object need for healthy mirroring is where the child needs to admired for their qualities and accomplishments to produce a healthy sense of grandiosity and self-esteem to enable the child to assert themselves later in life. Participants did not perceive to have had such an experience which is likely why they experienced AMP as a cost to their sense of self where they were not admired due to their differences. They felt a lack of admiration from society and being bombarded with negative messages results in the self-object need for belonging and feeling of connectedness known as twinship, is not gratified (Kohut, 1984) which is felt to impede self-actualisation (Maslow, 1954).

Lack of admiration can be a human condition experienced by many, not just participants who have experienced AMP and therefore it is important to note that experiencing AMP or what participants perceive as AMP may not be the only reason for feeling disconnected from society or not reaching self-actualisation. In the analysis, participants' spoke about shame and taking on this shame, sometimes without the influence of others, and their interpretations can, therefore, occur without stimulus yet it can be felt as if something akin to AMP is occurring for them. In Mun's (2019) study, she examined accounts of shame in which a person accepts or assents to a shared negative self-evaluation and how groundless shame can be portrayed as both rational and irrational experience of shame. Mun elucidated how accounts of shame can act as an instrument of epistemic injustice where the person, like my participants, may transmute their righteous anger and resentment at their experiences which inevitably recasts them as feeling shame, again, in the absence of a direct stimulus. This could account for why some participants' felt more shame than others which can be dependent on, for example, how

they interpret events such as terrorist attacks in the news and therefore what negative projections they identify with.

Obstructing self-actualisation leading to identity disturbances

In regards to self-actualisation, step three is the need to feel a sense of belonging, step four the need to feel admired for healthy self-esteem and positive feelings towards oneself and to overall be able to resolve dichotomies (Maslow, 1943); such as those experienced by participants when trying to make sense of and synthesise being western and Muslim. Participants described feelings of inferiority and shame at being Muslim due to the negative perceptions of Muslims in society and in the media which impacted upon their work and emotional wellbeing. Mead's (1934) symbolic interactionism outlined a process whereby people internalise ideas, perspective and beliefs conveyed by notable figures in their lives. As a consequence, individuals learn to respond to themselves in a mode accordant with the manners of those around them; if significant figures disregard or devalue a person, antithesis of healthy mirroring, then low self-esteem is likely to result.

For Erikson (1958) these crises are of a psychosocial nature because they involve the psychological needs of the individual and the needs of society which are in conflict. For example, in the fourth psychosocial crises stage, industry vs. inferiority, children's peer groups become the centre of their world and a major source of a child's self-esteem through gaining approval and demonstrating specific competencies to develop a sense of pride. If this stage is not reinforced and encouraged much like how participants experienced and internalised external expressions of AMP in their early years, then the child begins to feel inferior and doubting their capabilities. If the child has learnt to embody the role of inferiority, they are more likely to occupy this role in adulthood instead of reintegrating their sense of self in regards to their identity and who they want to or could be by learning new roles (Bee, 1992).

Failure to establish a sense of identity within society can lead to role confusion which involves a lack of sureness about oneself and one's place in society. Participants expressed how they are bombarded with negative messages about Muslims and how they also identify with the negative projected characteristics of Muslims held by society and the media. This is a process that serves to take in and get rid of any psychological objects that are needed or causing discomfort; the good and bad objects are transformed into aspects that belong to the self (Klein, 1955). Freud (1940/1989) described this as identification which Hinshelwood

(1991) believes results in a change in identity where the object is relocated within the ego boundaries that had once been experienced as external. In line with this, Kelman (1998) believes that through social interaction, identities are established in respect of identification which requires adopting traits related to the idealised object in order to satisfy the individuals need to inaugurate a positive self-concept that involves procuring a sense of power that as individuals or Muslims as a minority, may lack.

Living in a state of embodied anxiety

Participants spoke about the physiological repercussions from the impact of experiencing AMP which mimicked symptoms clients with PTSD present with after a traumatic event such as perceiving there is a current sense of threat and negative appraisal of trauma and its effects which lead to coping strategies such as avoidance (Ehlers & Clark, 2000). Participants spoke about how their clients would become more vigilant, how they changed their own behaviours such as not praying in public due to fear of being attacked and how their mind focussed on threat-based thoughts. Research on socially marginalised populations who experience prejudice and discrimination have found that respondents experienced acute and chronic stress that can lead to increased blood pressure, anxiety, depression and symptoms of PTSD (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003); similar to outcomes as experienced by participants in this study. Abu-Ras and Abu-Bader's (2008) finding that participants biggest concern was related to safety and the sense of feeling less safe after a terrorist attack due to anticipated repercussions on Muslims, which are in line with findings that AMP practices increase on the heels of terrorist attacks (Borell, 2015). However, as highlighted by Abu-Ras & Suarez (2009), it is important to note that, similar to participants' experiences in this study, not all reactions are seen as pathological but rather as reasonable responses to prejudice and discrimination.

In regards to research specifically focussing on Muslims in western countries, Abu-Ras & Abu-Bader (2009) found that post 9/11 Muslim respondents rated their level of depression and anxiety as significantly high. They also found statistically significant differences between men and women's experience of AMP practices, with men downplaying their symptoms and experienced less AMP compared to females, whereas women expressed fear of leaving their homes. Similar to the differences in the experience of severity of AMP practices between Haaris (the only male participant) and the rest of the participants who were female who experienced greater levels of AMP. A possible explanation for the differences is explored

further when discussing participants' experience of marginalisation in the external environment.

The cost of experiencing anxiety to oneself is further exacerbated by step two in Maslow's (1943) hierarchy where participants spoke about living in a state of anxiety due to the unpredictable nature of experiencing AMP leading to a sense of feeling like the world is not a safe place. This feeling of mistrust has continued to grow where there is a lack of consistency, predictability and reliability in how AMP is managed by society, media and authority figures which diminish participants hope that they will be supported in times of crises (Erikson, 1963). If one's identity is filled with mistrust, inferiority, role confusion and despair, all which impact one's sense of self and emotional and psychological wellbeing as well as systemically.

It is important to note that anxiety can make a person feel as if there is something to be wary of or fear which can translate into experiencing the feared phenomena (Barlow 2002), for example, experiencing fear of AMP in the absence of tangible AMP incidences. If this is the case, then the cost of experiencing anxiety and its impact on participants wellbeing is not necessarily related to direct experiences of AMP but the 'what if' scenarios that may go through their minds. This can influence how participants are primed to notice certain things or lookout for certain things, which are classic symptoms of anxiety (Bandelow, Michaelis & Wedekind, 2017) and as such can influence their interpretation of AMP events. This could explain for the individual differences found between participants interpretation of what is AMP in this study and other studies examining prejudices. For example, in Ferguson's (2019) study, he found that participants anticipated experiencing prejudice towards their ethnic group when going through an interview process with an employer of different ethnicity which resulted in them feeling less motivation to perform the assigned task to the best of their ability. Interpretations of AMP can, therefore, be skewed based on one's interpretations and threat-based thinking that are not necessarily based in reality all the time.

Experiencing systemic cost to self

Experiencing marginalisation in the external environment

Hooley (2015) reiterates how in unequal societies distribution of power is unequal and society is frequently structured in ways which advantage the powerful against the less powerful thus giving rise to the privilege which creates dysfunctional societies which are bad not just for the poor, but also for the rich and the whole of society. A person's position within social systems is therefore central to their chance of having a successful career and realising their potential; a humanistic conception that systems should be organised to allow people to reach their potential (Rogers, 1995). Participants felt they were being treated differently for example, when they went for interviews, where they were scrutinised because of their faith rather than their experience and qualifications resulting in them not progressing in their career or not receiving the appropriate support due to stereotyping as experienced by Gabriella.

Organisational diversity management initiatives like the ones described by Diana, aim to attract and empower employees to excel and to remove barriers that may hinder progress for minorities who are not in a privileged position (DiTomaso et al., 2007). Research across western countries have shown an increase in religious discrimination since the September 2011 attacks with many of the cases associated with people who identify as Muslim (US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2011). Complaints ranged from the negative impact on hiring decisions based on their name/religion (King & Ahmad, 2010), unfavourable judgment compared to non-Muslims in hiring decisions, salary assignments, and future career progression (Park et al., 2009) and instances of intolerance and refusal to accommodate, particularly with Muslims in the workplace (Mujtaba and Cavico, 2012). Women in general and particularly Muslim women have reported greater challenges for attaining fair and equal treatment and a work climate that is inclusive going back to entitativity and how Muslim women are easily identifiable due to their veils or headscarves which are a woman's most conspicuous signifier of Muslim religious identity (Khosravi, 2012).

In regards to individual differences between participants and how they interpret their experience of AMP, for example, whether they are able to differentiate between not getting the job because they do not have the relevant experience or qualifications compared to a non-Muslim candidate who got the job or whether there was indeed AMP sentiment involved.

Participants like Haaris were able to demonstrate how reality may be skewed by one's interpretations whereas participants like Amal held their own singular interpretation and labelled her experience in that scenario as AMP whereas Haaris did not. A study by Tao, Owen and Drinane (2017) examined participants' perceptions and biases when watching four video scenarios of racial microaggressions. They found that there were individual differences between participants' ratings in the overt condition as well as the conditions based on negative and positive emotions and attribution of the potential aggressor.

Competing for positive discrimination within a work context

Furthermore, participants came across colleagues who were envious of such programmes; unintentionally creating an environment that was competing against what they felt was positive discrimination. Research has shown that increased diversity representation does not necessarily create productive work environments which relate to the dilemma of policy making concerning equal opportunity in the workplace (Noon, 2010). The question is whether minorities and groups who are at a structural disadvantage, need to be compensated or accounted for; and the criticisms of positive discrimination coalesce around how positive discrimination undermines meritocracy and the injustice of reverse discrimination. This is understandable since those in an advantageous position have benefited from a said system that privileges them and is of little surprise that they would react negatively towards changes that seek to remove those privileges.

For participants, the social justice argument that discrimination is wrong rings hollow when issues of fairness are felt not to be a primary concern for colleagues who embrace the privileges of their dominance. Instead, there is a sense of hypocrisy in those who claim they are concerned about inequality and social injustices only when one becomes a potential victim of injustice (Goodman, 2000). Perlmutter (2011) however, highlights that people in a position of power and privilege find that deployment of privilege for justice encompasses behaving in contradiction one's own privilege which can be felt like a difficult and painful process which incurs costs. It is also understandable to not be aware of something that does not impact you directly and people are therefore less motivated to make extra work for themselves with no direct reward for the self (Goodman, 2000). In addition, McIntossh (1998) gleaned from her analysis that the lack of awareness of privilege and power is due to people in positions of power and privilege being taught not to see them.

Experiencing a cultural promotion of repression of vocalised opinions of AMP

Participants felt this hypocrisy could explain why there is a culture that discourages them from expressing their views on social injustices including AMP practices; participants described how colleagues found it uncomfortable talking about AMP and they would implore participates to also step back and refrain from talking about AMP. DiAngelo (2018) talks about White Fragility, where white people live in a social environment that protects and insulates them from race-based stress which on the one hand builds comfort whilst at the same time lowering their ability to tolerate racial stress. As a consequence, when discussions around discrimination and prejudices for example occur, it is thought to trigger a range of defensive moves which include experiencing anger, fear, embarrassment and guilt as well as arguments or avoidance; which are experienced by non-Muslims and Muslims albeit the reason may be different (Utsey, Gernat & Hammar, 2005). Mark Kiselica, a white psychologist, offers insights into the reason why White people may find dialogue around prejudice and race difficult. Ultimately, such discussions may lead people to experience guilt about how non-White people are treated, fearful they will be accused of being prejudiced and blamed for the oppression and discrimination of others, fear of confronting white privilege and to hold onto one's innocence and self-image as good and moral through avoidance or minimisation of talking about AMP practices (Kiselica, 1999).

This could also account for participants who have come across people's egocentrism that they believe prevents their acknowledgment of AMP practices. Fish (2005) believes that egocentrism has several advantages that corroborate Kiselica's (1999) theory of self-preservation and enhancement but egocentrism also has its disadvantages where it can lead to negative relations with others, from deceiving oneself to preening to bullying which is why it parallels ethnocentrism as it is characterised by a lack of empathy or an inability to see reality as it appears to others and hence participants frustration with colleagues.

Kiselica's reflections bring forth the major question as to whether anyone raised in society can escape prejudices of our ancestors and institutions and can we admit that we are a product of our social conditioning and that escaping internalising prejudices is impossible? Research on implicit bias supports the notion that most if not all of society have internalised prejudicial attitudes and behaviours (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002) which can be resistant to change because they operate outside of conscious awareness and therefore may appear in subtle ways (Boysen & Vogel, 2008) as described in the section related to media and society.

Following on with the idea of implicit mechanisms, Sue et al. (2010) carried out a study on the impact of prejudice and discrimination on white students and faculty members and they found that participants were unable to identify and deconstruct microaggressions based on race and religion in themselves and others unlike people of colour who could readily name and identify offensive behaviour. This imbalance leads to frustration for participants' which they feel they cannot afford to change as the cost to self outweighs the benefits and so they too let it go.

Processing experience of AMP

We are beginning to notice how one starts to process AMP due to how they experience AMP, for example, letting AMP go by stepping back which is fostered by the environment one is surrounded by and encourages and from our attachment figures.

Disconnecting from AMP

Mirroring attachment figures style of processing AMP

Participants described how growing up, they lacked a healthy sense of themselves due to the negative messages they received from society about Muslims and also because of a lack of healthy mirroring in the form of inaction from attachment figures like their parents in how to process these negative messages that form part of AMP practices. Mirroring, as explained in psychoanalytic theory, is a process by which an individual can accurately see oneself in the face of another through interactions with another which begins in early childhood with parents or primary caregivers (Winnicott, 1989). The aim of mirroring is to foster an accurate and positive representation of oneself thereby making room for the development of healthy self-esteem. However, in instances where mirroring does not occur, as experienced by my participants, the individual does not encounter their most significant person in their life as reflecting an accurate image of themselves leaving the individual to confront a distorted reflection of themselves (Schaller, 2008). This has implications beyond the parent-child dyad wherein daily interactions with members of society, participants also experienced people reflecting back to them the negative representations of Islam and Muslims suggesting failed mirroring is a cultural phenomenon when societal representations are assumed and projected

and as already discussed, internalised. Cultural representations of Muslims and Islam include an emphasis on terrorism and the assumption that Islam is to be defended against (Saniotis, 2004). Thus, society may have a difficult time responding to Muslims with genuine admiration resulting in an inability to provide healthy mirroring (Kohut and Wolf, 1978). It is therefore important to note that failed mirroring is not solely a consequence of poor parenting and not simply a childhood phenomenon because information about Muslims and Islam transcends through interpersonal interactions and through cultural messages and media which could undermine the best of parenting (Schaller, 2008).

Based in social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), the transmission of parenting is a process through which intentionally or unintentionally, a parent's own experiences as a child influences their own child-rearing practices and attitudes (Van Ijzendoorn, 1992); participants spoke about mirroring their attachment figures style of processing AMP which was to dismiss it. Research has explored the differences in the experience of prejudices between first-generation immigrants and second-generation immigrants and why this difference may exist. Driscoll, Russell and Crockett (2008) explored parenting styles and youth wellbeing across immigrant generations and found that first generations are largely concerned with surviving and adjusting to their new context and they may go through a variety of normative adverse reactions such as experiencing anxiety and depression, however, they are somewhat protected from these psychological sequelae. For example, the dual frame of reference by which immigrants compare their current situation with that of which was left behind allows them to feel advantaged in the new context and optimistic and even grateful, thereby serving to inoculate them from frustrations of prejudice and barriers (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995). Eliza experienced her father as being thankful for the opportunity he has been given living in the UK and fails to see what she sees which is being progressively blocked in the workplace and being shouted at in the streets to go back home.

Furthermore, first-generation immigrants are often energised by the desire to support loved ones through sending remittances home and a desire to build a better life for their children; while a difficult position to be in, it is line with a clear rationale and identity which is rooted deeply in their birthplace. For example, some immigrants may react to the alienation and confusion that result from arriving in a new country by turning towards religion and re-establishing familiar social and cultural activities in the new host society (Kurien, 1998). Therefore, although many expatriates integrate and are comfortable in the new homeland, they are more likely to retain an outsider status and therefore the path for their children is less

straightforward. Fatimah speaks about how England is her home and yet she does not feel accepted by her people, something which her parents do not struggle with so much, reiterating the differences in needs between first-generation and second-generation Muslims and how forging their identity may be their single greatest challenge. If one's parents experience and process AMP very differently, i.e. through disconnecting from AMP by dismissing it, participants either follow this pattern as described in higher order category 3.1 or not. For example, participants felt their parents did not internalise negative projections of AMP because they found solace in their religion and it's teachings on how to manage hardships, however, for participants, this meant their parents did not have the understanding and ability to support their children who did internalise these messages thereby unintentionally invalidating their experience of AMP through labelling them too sensitive or simply referring them to Holy scriptures.

Interestingly, Haaris, the only male participant, would also label people too sensitive although he acknowledges differences exist. A possible explanation is a fear of being labelled as a complainer particularly in the current climate where the neologistic term 'snowflake generation' is being used to characterise the millennial generation as being more likely to take offence and having less psychological resilience than previous generations, that Haaris, for example, belongs to (Oxford Living Dictionaries, 2017). Haaris may be trying to encourage other Muslims to focus on AMP practices in a more pragmatic fashion before validating their experience to foster resilience, reflexion and problem solving as his experience is that some people jump to labelling people as AMP when it is not always the case. It seems as if Haaris is trying to embody a mentalising stance of not reacting to situation straight away but encouraging people to reflect, pause and think more which includes looking at different perspectives (Bateman & Fonagy, 2006).

Trying to defend against reality of difference

Some participants grew up with parents who did not wear traditional Muslim clothing or who tried to accommodate rather than assimilate, which together, reduced likelihood of experiencing AMP and could explain why this would act as a reinforcer to continue to embody one's Muslim identity in a less identifiable way. Rayaprol (1997) suggests that this is because religion maintains personal and social distinctiveness, something which acts as a beacon for AMP practices finding oneself; linking back to living in a state of embodied anxiety, it is natural to want to avoid what is causing the anxiety as it is easier (Salkovskis,

1991), and as a consequence, defending against the reality of difference is further encouraged. For example, Amal does not like praying in front of non-Muslims or in public and will go to great lengths to avoid being seen due to fear of being attacked and from reminding others she is different, she is a Muslim.

Religion is, therefore, a domain where groups negotiate their relationship to wider society (Connor & Koenig, 2013); and Beaman (2016) found that participants framed their religiosity in ways that allow them to agentically respond to their marginalisation and legitimate their inclusion within mainstream society. For example, they would like Amal, choose more privatised expressions of their religious identity as part of the process of assimilation into western society which minimises difference (Killian, 2007). Participants therefore process

AMP practices through disconnecting in the form of how their parents disconnected to survive in a new context and by defending against the reality that difference exists.

Acknowledging AMP

Another pathway to processing AMP is through acknowledging AMP as opposed to disconnecting from AMP through rejecting attachment figures style of processing AMP and embracing the reality of difference.

Rejecting attachment figures style of processing AMP

Transmission of parenting which was introduced above, is intergenerational and concerns the origin of parenting behaviour and attitudes in the earlier generation (Feldman & Goldsmith, 1986). Some participants like Bushra acknowledge the difference between how their parents and grandparents (previous generations) process and manage AMP through disconnecting as described above and how they cannot afford to continue the same way of processing and managing AMP. Instead, participants encourage themselves and other Muslims to question the process between choosing to accommodate versus assimilate and the impact this has on self-identity and adaptation to one's environment. Through assimilation, we take in new experiences and information and incorporate them into our existing ideas or ways of living and therefore denote the cumulative changes that make individuals part of the majority (Rumbaut, 2015). Through this process, there is a dissolution of the social and cultural differences and identities associated with being different (Alba & Nee, 2003). The level of

dissolution is of importance and Kunst, Thomsen, Sam, Berry (2015) argue how integration should be achieved through mutual accommodation between the majority members and minority members and not just minority or Muslims responsibility. This is particularly important since British Muslimness as an identity of ''unbelonging'', progressed through a ''culture of resistance'' which is in conflict with the hegemonic British identity (Ansari 2000, p. 97); this links back to how participants experienced a sense of not belonging due to their religious identity (discussed further in the section exploring becoming uncertain about one's sense of belonging in the world).

When exploring why participants chose counselling psychology as a profession, they expressed how they did not want the next generation of Muslims to grow up feeling the way they did, which was a sense of feeling unsupported by their parents in regards to the impact of AMP on their emotional and mental wellbeing and lack of understanding in educational systems. Hence, living in a multicultural society necessitates a need for mental health professionals to tailor services to the needs of various cultural populations (Constantine, Kindaichi, Arorash, Donnelly & Jung, 2002). Participants were seemingly motivated to change the system through becoming counselling psychologists which are in line with the reason why we have multicultural competencies so that psychologists and therapists can possess appropriate levels of self-awareness, knowledge and skills in working with individuals from diverse backgrounds and being cognisant of group memberships in terms of cultural privilege, discrimination and oppression (Arredondo et al., 1996): *'systemic work…work with children and young people, with parents in relation to children and young people (10-1)… in light of recent events I'm happy that I trained…when I look back I think that obviously my background being Muslim would have defiantly contributed to the people that I want to work with'* (Bushra 25-26)

Kiselica and Robinson (2001) believe multicultural competencies have become inextricably linked to psychologists ability to commit to and engineer an agenda for social justice; which reflects a fundamental valuing of fairness and equity in resources, rights, and treatment regardless of age, religious heritage and sexual orientation for example (Fondacaro & Weinberg, 2002). Psychologists in the US and more recently in the UK have made advances in addressing social justice issues using the profession of counselling psychology because it is believed that at the centre of counselling psychology philosophy is the genuine assemblage of equals (Strawbridge & Woolfe, 2003). Within this is understanding the system in which the client is part of because all elements of our environment influence psychological

development and bears on mental well-being (Wells, Evans & Cheek, 2016). Counselling Psychology, therefore, functions as a discipline within the context of human society, as a science and a profession, and it therefore has responsibilities to society which are in line with Winter (2015) findings when comparing counselling psychology's ethical guidelines in the US and UK which demonstrate a commitment to social justice values and practice.

Participants also chose a profession that required them to be in personal therapy; and through using their profession, it seemed that participants were able to use personal therapy to integrate the split-off parts of their selves, to experience empathy and a holding environment to process experiences of AMP. In psychoanalytic terms and interventions, some participants moved closer to fellow Muslims and their religion to receive more positive experiences of mirroring, to take in and hold onto good experiences to begin integrating contrasting aspects of the self (Klein, 1946). When evaluating cost and benefits of religiousness, Pargament (2002) identified how religion can be a source of support to socially marginalised groups and in particular in stressful situations that push people to the limit of their resources; intergroup solidarity is therefore increased in the face of shared threat or common challenge (Sherif, 1966).

Embracing reality of difference

This is one way participants can acknowledge AMP as well as through embracing their differences instead of hiding, dismissing or minimising them, although, to what degree, extent and longevity may differ depending on how long they have changed the way they process AMP. Participants expressed what seemed to look like healthy narcissism (Miller, 1981), where they worked towards accentuating and revelling in their Muslim identity without feeling too egotistical, taking joy in one's beauty and identity like Ciara expressed. Whereas previously, they had learnt to deny their true self-expression in response to rejection to the parts of themselves that were not idealised in the form of AMP and consequently, one would work towards presenting a false self by not wearing the hijab or going out drinking with colleagues thereby falling back on accommodating others (Johnson, 1987). This links in with the experience of shame, an emotion resulting from negative evaluations of the stable, global self related to identifying as a Muslim (Tangney & Dearing, 2002).

Swann, Kwan, Polzer and Milton (2003) therefore suggest that through embracing one's differences it enables a person to foster individuation and self-verification when in diverse groups which in turn augments group identification and even productivity in the workplace.

They argue that discordant relations stems from peoples failed efforts to acquire confirmation of their self-views from their fellow group members which undermine feelings of connectedness and performance. This is because they are persuaded to position themselves towards the superordinate identity of the group whilst simultaneously downplaying or temporarily relinquishing their idiosyncrasies which represented depersonalisation of self-perception. (Swan, 1996) argues that people should externalise their self-views rather than de-empathise them because as humans we want other people to see us as we see ourselves (Lecky, 1945). The positive consequences from an epistemic perspective are those self-verifying evaluations will strengthen people's perceptions of psychological coherence by reassuring them that their perceptions of themselves and reality are supported and that groups function best when individuals within the group enjoy verification of their self-views.

Through embracing the reality that involves embracing one's out-group characteristics, the confluence of loved and hated figures can be borne resulting in ego capacities growing and the world is more richly and realistically perceived where omnipotent control over being hated, although felt as more real yet more separate, diminishes (Klein, 1946).

Pathways to manage impact of AMP practices

Participants described two pathways to manage the impact of AMP practices; they perceived that a more reflective pathway produced several benefits whereas a deflective pathway was experienced as having several costs.

Reflecting pathway

Engaging resources effectively to aid management of AMP

As discussed in the section on embracing the reality of difference, participants turned towards their religion as a source of comfort and guidance in effectively managing AMP practices which not only helped them find a source of connectedness and healthy mirroring but also to defend against the negative projections about Islam as highlighted by Amal:

'Our faith that encourages us to be ethical it complements a lot of the ethical codes in some ways like not to be judgemental, be more understanding, being empathic, being kind, being charitable, being generous' (803-806).

Research demonstrates that religion can provide meaning for life, organise people and communities to provide care and promote positive coping with stress in varying contexts (Hood, Hill, & Spilka, 2009; Stark, 2012; Goeke-Morey, Taylor, Merrilees, Shirlow & Cummings, 2014). For example, Pargament (2011) outlined that in the coping process, religion can be added throughout, from the function level (meaning-making, transformation), to the method level (gaining control, closeness) and to the outcomes (psychological wellbeing). However, one cannot solely rely on and use religion as a source of support similar to how clients are encouraged to learn and use a variety of skills like in Dialectical Behavioural Therapy (Linehan, 1993) so that if one does not work, they can fall on another to support them through difficult times. Also, as mentioned in the section on disconnecting from AMP, some participants felt the way their parents encouraged them to turn towards religion was not always containing and so the way a person is taught to turn to religion by attachment figures, for example, plays an important role in how this source of support is received and utilised, i.e. positively or negatively as highlighted in Dollahite, Marksand & Dalton's (2018) study.

Through careful exploration and attention to one's surroundings, participants were able to recognise and discern between people who are interested and willing to address AMP, information which increased their confidence in addressing AMP. Participants felt that people who came from cultures, religions and countries similar to their own, would have a shared understanding or experience of prejudice practices and would, therefore, support and validate participants' experience of AMP. According to Myers and Smith (2012) people associate and trust those whose attitudes and experiences are similar to their own which is why, according to Festinger (1954), people prefer to evaluate their opinions with people in their reference group. For marginalised groups in society, same-ethnic relationships have the potential to create community and group consciousness and can be used for social justice movements that are mutually beneficial (Holland, Reynolds & Weller, 2007).

It is important to note that how one engages such resources available to them is of significance, as Haaris outlined, we should move away from blame and towards interaction and collaboration to support one another. Forscher, Mitamura, Dix, Cox and Devine (2017) corroborated Devine, Forscher, Austin and Cox (2012) habit-breaking interventions which have been found to produce enduring changes in people's prejudices; the intervention includes creating awareness, empathy, ongoing reflection and time to practice new ways of thinking and relating.

Active reflecting on the cost to self of expressing one's views

There is an element of safeguarding oneself when engaging resources effectively, for example, participants choosing who they would talk to about AMP; participants, therefore, seemed to be constantly reflecting on the cost to them when or if deciding to express their views on AMP. Kowalski (1996) posits that previous to a complaint being made, a person will contemplate the costs and benefits of complaining, an example of a cost is being disliked, labelled a complainer, retaliated against or being dismissed. If said costs are too high, a person is less likely to address prejudices like AMP (Haslett & Lippman, 1997), particularly in front of outgroup members (Stangor et al, 2002). This could link back to the argument that dominant group members may feel threatened or anxious regarding issues of prejudice and they may manage this anxiety and threat to their sense of self as non-prejudiced, by derogating the target (Kaiser & Miller, 2003). Targets of prejudice may become cognizant of this distinction because of their past experiences and consequently become less likely to address perpetrators of prejudice as experienced by participants like Amal, Gabriella, Diana and Bushra (Nicole & Stewart, 2004).

Consciously processing boundaries to safeguard ones sense of self

When the cost to self is too high, or when one does not have the time or energy to stand up against AMP practices, participants felt a sense of sadness and guilt, however, they were able to reflect on this and hold in mind the ongoing pressures of reality they already contend with thereby placing a boundary between what they can and cannot do. Boundaries, dissimilar to psychological defence mechanisms, are conscious and salubrious strategies to protect ourselves from emotional suffering that may come from internal or external sources. Participants seemed to have formed a hierarchy that outlined when they should address AMP and when they should let it go for example, how relevant, important or severe it is. This was managed through a strong internal locus of control where participants were in control of what they decided to do to ensure their own wellbeing and safety rather than acting on their desires without consideration of the consequences (Rotter, 1966). In Freudian theory, the Ego is known to enlist reason and logic to resolve the conflict between the Id and Superego, for example, between the desire to write papers and feeling like one should be addressing AMP and not letting it go. By releasing oneself from the imperiousness of the Id, to surpassing the Superego, the Ego can assimilate both to create one's own moral code found on rational objective analysis (Freud, 1923). The Ego is fortified and more able to engage reality, to

accept what is existing and to tolerate stress and frustrations, using cognitive-behavioural-emotional and relational skills as favoured and tested by (Lamagna & Gleiser, 2007); for example, being able to say no and to draw a line between taking on too much responsibility.

Much like how one develops mentalising capacity (Bateman & Fonagy, 2006) a reflecting pathway it seems is one that takes time, effort and much reflection which develops over time and as one grows in maturity, gains experience and is focused on safeguarding oneself.

Deflective pathway

Opposite to a pathway that focussed on exploration, reflection and sensibility, some participants enlisted a pathway that short-circuited such a process that required time and effort but still for the same reason, to safeguard oneself.

Refraining from using one's voice for "brownie point collection"

To manage the process of identifying with the negative projections of Islam and Muslims is the idea that one has to please non-Muslims and show them explicitly that they represent Britishness for example, wearing an NHS badge or changing one's name to defend against the reality of difference by collecting what Fatimah described as *'brownie points'.* It could be argued that such behaviours are in line with the need to be admired as previously discussed and to feel a sense of connectedness with the dominant group by reducing their anxiety. Past studies have shown that anxiety can cause people to withdraw from interacting with unfamiliar others (Howes & Hamilton, 1993) which manifests in more unfavourable attitudes towards these others (Binder et al., 2009). Participants seemingly felt they had to prove themselves constantly, whether it was by showing people they worked in the NHS or by changing their name and outward appearance to reduce AMP finding them.

There was a sense of needing to be liked or accepted into society through collecting brownie points. Baumeister & Leary (1995) believe the need to be liked and to belong, shapes peoples personalities in relation to how they make decisions and interact with others which influence one's emotions, behaviours, and ultimately quality of life. Needing to be liked is a fundamental human requirement because if it is not fulfilled, there can be negative effects such as being rejected by others and it would, therefore, serve as an evolutionary function for survival to ensure we form relationships with others. However, there is no guarantee that we will be accepted automatically by a group and so offering something in return like assimilating into host country which may be construed as having positive regard for the host

country, would lead to a better chance of being accepted which is known as reciprocity of liking (Montoya & Horton, 2012).

Embodying negative altruistic tendencies to mitigate conflict

This sense of giving more is antithesis to setting boundaries, where participants felt they had to go above and beyond their roles as Muslims and counselling psychologists by embodying negative altruistic tendencies to mitigate potential conflicts which may reinforce difference and negative group dynamics. The relationship between self and other reward in simple algebraic economics is negative; if we give more to others then the less there is for ourselves. While altruism might not automatically necessitate self-sacrifice its meaning implies at least disbursement of time, labour and resources which participants don't always have spare (Rosenhan, Underwood & Moore, 1974). Altruism is stationing others above the self and their concerns above one's own, however, since participants embody altruistic tendencies to mitigate conflict, there is an anticipation of a reward. There are various forms of interests and means in which individuals can be rewarded for helping others (Szuster, 2018), for example, participants like Eliza and Amal gave examples of exocentric altruistic motivations which are premised on the discovery of the other person's needs and enabling attention to be transferred from self to other (Piaget, 1932). They sacrificed their time so that their Muslim clients received appropriate care and support that would not have been possible without them. Participants like Bushra on the other hand, gave an example of endocentric altruistic motivation which is founded on determining the other person's needs and acting in a manner that is consistent with self-esteem needs and comfort (Karylowski, 1982). For example, Bushra set up a service that gave her a positive sense of who she is whilst empowering other marginalised groups, doing good to enable herself to feel good.

Resulting outcomes of employed pathways to manage impact of AMP

Cost to self in going down deflective pathway

Experiencing repression of the self due to fear of rejection

Participants spoke about how they would enlist strategies such as avoidance and masking because they were easier to employ and created a sense of safety and reduction in anxiety.

Many psychological disorders such as social anxiety and obsessive compulsive disorder are maintained in a similar way as it is the quickest and easiest way to reduce discomfort (Salkovskis, 1991). However, strategies that aim to protect the self are also directly responsible for lowering self-esteem and creating difficulties in the long term as a person's quality of life is disrupted and reduced (Crocker, Cornwell and Majory, 1993). For example, participants felt there was a split between who they really are and what they show to others which Winnicott (1960) would describe as the 'false self', a defensive organisation as a result of failures in mirroring and empathy. The infant is forced to satisfy his own needs, to be compliant, where the false self reacts to societal demands and to accept those demands as he is exposed to rejection. As a result, the growing child progressively loses his sense of enthusiasm and zealousness leading to a growing sense of futility and despondency. The false self seemingly protects participants against rejection by preventing them from speaking up against AMP because doing so is not always received well. This sense of hiding or repressing one's true thoughts and feelings can lead to depression, dissatisfaction, emptiness and lack of authenticity and incongruence (Lowen, 2004); which some participants already complained of or were concerned about experiencing these symptoms in the future should they continue engaging the false self.

Participants who have tried to accommodate society or manage their anxiety by taking their hijab off, for example, have felt worse afterwards. Winnicott (1971) suggests such replacement coping strategies observed in adulthood, described as 'dramatic action', creates a transitional space between 'me and not me' for people to engage in a reality through fantasy. This allows them to experience omnipotent control over external reality which moves a person away from the implications of an inner voice that cannot be tolerated (Ellman, 2018). However, growth of the self is limited to fantasy and is therefore not sustainable in the long term leading to feelings of exclusion and lack of belonging (Winnicott, 1956).

Again, it is important to note that participants anticipate or fear rejection, although some have experienced this directly, nevertheless, the anticipation or future expectations or assumptions are not always directly related to reality. As with any future thinking or expectation of fear, it can skew peoples interpretation of a situation, in this case, acts of AMP leading to behaviours such as taking one's hijab off to mitigate against the perceived fear of rejection. In Kahn, Barreto, Kaiser & Rego (2016) study, they examined how the perceived pervasiveness of prejudice affected participants differently which influenced whether they would confront the

prejudice or not. For participants in this study, their interpretation of AMP acts determined the level of anxiety and fear of rejection and subsequent behaviours noticed.

Fighting assimilation at a cost to sense of belonging within the counselling psychology community

This sense of exclusion and lack of belonging in the counselling community came true when participants spoke about the consequences or costs of fighting assimilation through addressing AMP and becoming closer to their religion. Participants spoke about how they would be labelled with negative connotations for speaking up against AMP which echoes a similar case in Tennis where people felt Serena Williams was punished unfairly for showing anger compared to white and male Tennis players (Prasad, 2018). Henderson-King and Nisbett (1996) highlight how racial stereotypes are manufactured beliefs that all members of the same race share particular characteristics and according to Jewell (1993) these attributed characteristics are usually unfavourable e.g. black women are viewed as domineering, aggressive or angry if they stand up for themselves. By standing out through fighting assimilation, differences are highlighted which is felt by participants as uncomfortable and makes life much more difficult as often found in studies relating to whether people confront prejudice practices. This is because the confronters are often viewed negatively and likened to complainers or trouble makers suggesting there is a cost to confronting in the form of belonging within a community or group (Kaiser & Miller, 2001). A recent Nike advert depicts this trope of women who may cry in sport, show their anger in the boardroom or who wear a hijab whilst playing sports as being labelled crazy by society; Nike aimed their advert at normalising women's experiences to weaken such stereotypes.

Experiencing a fractured sense of self in the face of inability to meet the perceived duty of challenging AMP

Linking back to the section on embodying negative altruistic tendencies to mitigate conflict, participants described how they felt they have a duty to address AMP as Muslims and they, therefore, go above ad beyond what is expected of them; participants described how feeding into this need impacted upon their psycho-emotional wellbeing. Maslach and Gomes (2006) highlight how social justice and human rights activists are more susceptible to emotional and physical exhaustion, particularly since they tend to perceive self-care as selfish (Rodgers, 2010) and put pressure on themselves to make a change in the world (Pines, 1994). Participants are therefore less likely to place boundaries and limits around how much they

advocate against AMP practices if they perceive not doing so as selfish leading to burnout (Chen & Gorski, 2015). Maslach and Leiter (2005) describe burnout as a chronic condition rather than a temporary struggle which would seem fair since being Muslim is not a temporary struggle or stressor and they have an emotional investment in challenging AMP practices.

Maslach and Gomes (2006) believe that the challenging injustices like AMP, requires activists to develop a profound understanding of suffering and oppression, conditions which society often is unable or resistant to facing. Carrying this burden weighs heavily on activists consciousness which exacerbates their level of stress thereby elevating threat of burnout (Kovan & Dirkx, 2003); which is compounded in some cases where there is a culture of suppressing concerns and wellbeing (Rodgers, 2010). This is similar to participants being told to step back and not rock the boat (discussed in the section exploring participants experiencing a cultural promotion of repression of vocalised opinions of AMP) and going along with this, a process which Cox (2011) found in unsupportive work environments and resulting disengagement from activism. Nevertheless, participants acknowledge that sometimes they need to let AMP go to protect themselves, however, it is still at a cost as they feel terrible for letting it go and feeling responsible for perpetuating AMP which goes back to the culture of feeling selfish. The impact of which relates to how one experiences their sense of self, a system that organises subjective experiences, for example, determining how comfortable one is with who they are, being at ease with your place in the systems you belong to or find yourself in. Together, the sense of belonging and comfort one experiences determines the level of confidence and security one experiences which sets the stage for how we think and feel about our surroundings and ourselves (Kohut, 1971). If a person's sense of self is disrupted or fractured, nothing feels safe or familiar, as described by participants, they handle situations in ways that do not feel comfortable due to the lack of confidence in one's ability to deal with life's hardships and they, therefore, do not reflect to others how they truly feel (Kohut & Wolf, 1978). This can impact upon a person's self-esteem, the extent to which we like, accept or validate ourselves (Baumeister, 1998), for participants, their inability to meet the perceived duty of challenging AMP led to the experience of dissatisfaction with oneself.

Benefits to going down reflective pathway

Enforcing boundaries to safeguard one's sense of self

Participants realised that through consciously processing boundaries as discussed in the section on consciously processing boundaries to safeguard one's sense of self, then enforcing such boundaries like aligning self to certain media outlets, they felt less angry, depressed and sad due to the reduction in exposure to negative experiences. Negatively valenced events have more impact than positive events and the self is driven to evade bad self-definitions (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer & Vohs, 2001). Naturally, one would want to avoid what makes us feel worse, however, one needs to be conscious of when balancing exposure to positive and negative events becomes fearful avoidance of negative events, in other words, in the direction of coping, as opposed to a mastery approach (Borkovec & Sharpless, 2004). Participants seemed to be aware of this fine line where they would try to find a synthesis between media outlets that upset them with media outlets that focussed on the same topic but in a more meaningful and prosocial manner. This is imperative in the current climate we live in where social media fatigue is rampant which is characterised as a user's inclination to retreat from social media participation when s/he becomes engulfed with information, (Bright, Kleiser & Grau, 2015). Participants seem to acknowledge and accept the reality of their limited capacity to hold others and between what they can and can't do which his imperative to prevent burnout (Chen & Gorski, 2015).

Making use of the implicit protective factor provisions in the workplace to validate sense of self

In the section on engaging resources effectively to aid management of AMP, participants' described how certain conditions such as having colleagues who are willing to address AMP, improved their confidence in addressing AMP which they felt validated their sense of self. Sense of self is described as the manner in which a person thinks about and regards his or her traits, beliefs, and ambitions within the world (Rogers, 1959), however, when bombarded with negative messages about your traits and beliefs, as discussed previously, these messages can be internalised and become part of one's sense of themselves (Hinshelwood (1991). Fortunately, when faced with a climate that is responsive and validating, it can lead to learning and practising to self-validate by affirming your own internal experience, thoughts and feelings (Linehan, 1997). Validation was most likely sought from and received by people

and colleagues who could readily identify with the experience of prejudice as Laumann (1973) highlights, individuals are inclined to choose discussion partners who have similar views to them. Participants' therefore utilised this knowledge to their advantage allowing them to experience empathy, support and validation which they would not have otherwise experienced.

In regards to confidence, which is a subjective understanding about the plausibility of one's beliefs, perspective, goals, or experiences (Brin˜ol & Petty, 2009), Festinger (1954) suggested that people appraise the correctness of their attitudes by observing other people's stance on the matter. Thus, if people are evaluating the definitiveness of an advocated position, they could exercise advantage of the number of other people who uphold the position as a sign to its validity and see the position as one that is legitimate when accepted by a majority than a minority (Asch, 1956). As a result, this motivated participants to talk about their experience of AMP to enable them to cope in a more healthy way as opposed to not talking about their experience of AMP. For example, studies have shown that exposure to an event that elicits an emotion provokes an urge to share this with other people (Luminet, Bouts, Delie, Manstead, & Rimé, 2000). Zech (1999) found that 90% of respondents perceived to have felt better after talking about an emotional experience which was consistent with Zech and Rimé (2005) findings where participants who spoke about their emotional experience perceived more benefits than those who did not share their experience. Making use of the implicit protective factor provisions in the workplace seems to have therefore benefited participant's wellbeing which includes their sense of self as it can help reduce isolation thereby increasing connectedness (Yalom, 1983).

Effectively managing to contain one's experience of AMP within one's pre-conceived ideologies of a counselling psychologist

In line with the teachings of the Quran, Muslim's loyalties emerge from the ground up, rooted in the principles of moral conduct and social obligation to family, neighborhood, town, nation, and humanity. Muslims are taught to be morally and legally responsible for their fulfilment either individually or collectively to all of humanity to defend and establish justice, generosity and love for all (Ramadan, 2004). It is therefore British Muslims role to work for the common good by holding these principles to avoid victimhood and to embrace civic responsibility without yielding their commitment to truth and justice (Birt, 2006). This could explain why participants felt they were expected to take responsibility for addressing AMP;

an expectation and responsibility they embraced for their own agenda (safety) and for their fellow Muslims. However, in line with the section on experiencing a fractured sense of self in the face of inability to meet the perceived duty of challenging AMP, to experience addressing AMP as a benefit rather than a cost to one's wellbeing, participants need to practice balancing and moderating how much extra responsibility they are taking on to prevent burnout. This can be made even more difficult if society also expects Muslims to take on the responsibility of addressing AMP and so participants used their status as counselling psychologists through doing presentations and educating their colleagues so that the responsibility is shared. The principle of encouraging others to attend to AMP is in line with findings that people learn better through education and training where they are actively engaged rather than it being done for them (Meier, 2000), for example, by Muslims taking full responsibility.

However, this was not a smooth experience and it came with its own difficulties and challenges, for example, when responsibility was not shared, participants experienced the urge to act on their aggressive (death) instinct regardless of the consequences (Freud, 1920). Fortunately, participants are held back from acting on their id impulses because they hold in mind that the consequences only serve to perpetuate AMP which will only create more distress and work for them in the long term and can jeopardise their career as a counselling psychologist. Counselling Psychology functions as a discipline that has responsibilities to society (APA, 2010) which contains agreed-on values, traditions and rituals which includes scientific thinking and informed practice, continual learning, sharing of knowledge, advancing and developing society and increasing tolerance for diversity and social justice (Handelsman, Gottlieb & Knapp, 2005). Adhering to these agreed-on values involves the quality of thinking and reflection that encompasses what Linehan (1993) would describe as the wise mind and Bateman and Fonagy (2006) mentalizing stance, which both help with reducing emotional dysregulation and preventing normal pain from increasing to suffering. Furthermore, participants acknowledged that by gaining appropriate distance from their thoughts and emotions by balancing being either too fused and stuck to their thoughts and emotions or by avoiding them completely, was not helpful, instead, practising to mindfully observe them was more effective. This skill is also taught to clients who find it difficult to manage their emotions and thoughts when coming across difficult situations and treatment such as Dialectical Behavioural Therapy (Linehan, 1993), which incorporates mindfulness-based interventions to help clients pause before reacting to prevent feelings of shame and regret or from making the situation worse. For participants, there was the threat of losing

their job or credibility as a counselling psychologist and Muslim and so through being mindful and holding onto the ideology of what it means to be a counselling psychologist and Muslim, participants perceive it helps address AMP in an effective and conducive manner.

Gaining self-acceptance within the context of exposure to presence of AMP

Participants acknowledged that utilising or learning to utilise reflective strategies, increased their confidence in addressing AMP over time whereby they did not need others to validate them or fear rejection from non-Muslims thereby developing a healthy sense of grandiosity over time. Reflective strategies such as engaging resources effectively like becoming closer to one's religion, can make room for healthy mirroring which according to Kohut (1971) can contribute to the emergence of a cohesive self-structure that enables the individual to actualise his/her potential and to feel valued for their qualities. For example, participants were able to hold in mind their positive qualities such as their work as a counselling psychologist and owning being good at what they do, indicative of healthy narcissism, the joy of self-love which involves holding realistic levels of self-esteem without disconnecting from a shared emotional life (Kohut, 1971). This can act as a buffer against identifying with the negative projections of Islam and Muslims which can increase resilience which is the capacity to proceed past adverse, traumatic or distressing experiences such as AMP (Tugade & Fredrickson 2004). In regards to owning one's good qualities, this was a process that took time, and resembles moving away from the abandoned/abused child mode (Young, Klosko & Weishaar, 2003) where participants are taking responsibility for how they feel instead of relying on society to appreciate them through using therapy, religion, colleagues who will listen and validate them and through aligning themselves to media outlets that can mirror them.

There was also an acceptance that AMP will continue to find participants since it did not matter how hard they assimilated, integrated or accommodated, or whether Muslims were the perpetrator or victim of a terrorist attack; this, therefore, motivated participants to develop resilience or hardiness for surviving AMP practices since it shows no signs of abating (Awan and Zempi, 2015) *'experiences have hardened me… I just feel I am more able to deal with it as times gone by as I've become more and more confident'* (Ciara 185-187). Resilience is the ability to adapt to adversity, maintain a sense of control and to shift forward in a positive manner and is therefore an active process that involves shifting between vulnerability and

resilience (Giordano, 1997). Growing evidence suggests that personality traits such as hardiness can help shield individuals in the face of adversity (Judkins, Arris & Keener, 2005) which involves finding meaning and purpose in life and the belief that one can influence and make changes in their environment e.g. through challenging AMP practices (Bonanno, 2004). Jackson, Firtko & Edenborough (2007) believe that resilience or hardiness can be learned and developed through strategies that involve reflection in order to establish awareness and understandings into experiences so that one feels validated, and by generating knowledge that can be employed in successive situations. Participants have learnt when it is safe to address AMP and what methods are more effective, for example, not getting into arguments all the time on social media, instead, taking part in research, writing papers, and through educating others but within their capacity which suggests there is a need for an element of flexibility. Cognitive flexibility enables an individual to move from one perspective to another, from wanting to address AMP to putting their safety above addressing AMP, which provides varied views of the object or situation which places an individual to be prosperous in their interactions through making adaptations (Hale and Delia, 1976). Successful interactions, in turn, increase a person's level of interpersonal skill which according to Segrin and Flora (2000) lead to higher levels of psychological, emotional and physical well-being; which in turn increases resilience and consequently a stronger sense of self when exposed to negative events such as AMP (Jacelo, 1997).

Experiencing affective reward for actively holding the external world accountable for AMP

Due to the nature of AMP practices being explicit and implicit in nature as highlighted by Nadal, Griffin, Hamit, Leon, Tobio and Rivera (2012), participants recognise that it is imperative that they uncover microaggressions or subtle and covert manifestations of AMP because if it is not noticeable there is less chance of anyone seeing it and doing something about it. Since participants who experience AMP are aware of it, it makes sense for them to be the ones to begin the process of making it explicit in the hopes to engage others in helpful discussions, both Muslims and non-Muslims. However, this does not always work and sometimes, participants have had to raise things further such as making formal complaints thereby holding people accountable for their AMP behaviour. By not letting AMP go, participants found a way to communicate their dissatisfaction which can feel cathartic and also created an opportunity for learning e.g. untangling religion form culture. Prejudice confrontation can therefore involve different goals (Hyers, 2007), for some participants, they

aimed to change perpetrators behaviour and for others, it was standing up for their values. Regardless of which position a person takes, Czopp, Monteith, and Mark (2006) found that in regards to those who hold implicit prejudiced beliefs, holding perpetrators accountable makes them aware of said biases allowing room for prosocial change. This can make participants feel empowered and results in them undergoing a positive change in their relationship to experiencing AMP i.e. it was worthwhile.

Participants found that through holding people accountable, they felt a sense of achievement by trying to activate people to think and reflect which they found is more productive than arguing with a perpetrator of AMP. For example, in Mentalisation Based Treatment (Bateman & Fonagy, 2006), when people are in psychic equivalence mode where thoughts and feelings become too real and it is difficult for a person to entertain another perspective, there is an urge to argue or cognitively challenge said person, however, this has iatrogenic effects and so starting with a more curious stance would be more effective as described by Haaris and Ciara. It seems that they are trying to shape people's behaviour to be more reflective which Skinner (1938) argues may reinforce the desired behaviour of engaging in dialogue rather than confrontation. The outcome of which is likely to be positive which motivates participants to want to address AMP thereby changing their relationship to AMP as one that is positively experienced and worthwhile.

Holding people accountable also involves taking a step back and teaching or highlighting to other people that they need to hold people accountable, that it is not only a Muslim persons role. This goes back to preventing burnout by sharing responsibility in addressing and challenging AMP practices, Segal (2011) highlights how people (non-Muslims) can develop social empathy to better understand people, communities and groups that are marginalised to support and advocate for them. Within social empathy, is a social responsibility which is a feeling of attachment to those external to your circle of family and friends and consists of a duty to help those in society who are in need (Pancer & Pratt, 1999). This is borne from empathy at the individual and social level, which is found to strengthen insight into other groups' circumstances which are conditions that are required to feel social responsibility and become socially involved in matters related to social justice (Frank, 2001). Freire (1990) enunciated the basis of social change which is accomplished through reflection and comprehension cultivated through consciousness-raising which is a mixture of the self/other-awareness and perspective-taking components of empathy "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (p. 36). To truly achieve change by holding people

accountable through various means, whether education or standing up for one's values, participants experience sense of achievement and fulfilment which transforms their experience of AMP to one that is positive.

Limitations of research

Whilst this research aims to deliver valuable insight into how counselling psychologists experience, manage and approach AMP practices, it is acknowledged that there are limitations that require consideration:

All participants, minus theoretical sampling participant who is male, are female meaning that that the sample is not necessarily representative of male counselling psychologists and therefore this study lacks generalisability in regards to gender. Counselling psychology as a profession is over-represented by women and further over-represented by members of western and non-Muslim backgrounds (Clay, 2017) which could explain lack of male participants who have come across or experienced AMP practices.

Since participants take part in research voluntarily, specific groups of people may be drawn to taking part in this research because of self-selecting characteristics which may produce voluntary-response bias (Patel, Doku & Tennakoon, 2003). This is where the resulting sample can be over-representative of those who have distinct experiences and beliefs and thus hampers recruitment of participants that represent a more universal understanding and experience of AMP practices. Nevertheless, qualitative research requires recruitment from a homogenous group, that is, a sample who has experienced AMP practices. The reason for which is to understand, from within, the subjective reality of the participants which would not have been achieved through selecting participants that have no experience or rich knowledge of the phenomena under investigation (Patton, 1990). This, therefore, means the researcher has limited control in avoiding such bias (Collier & Mahoney, 1996).

In regards to transferability, due to majority of participants stressing the need for anonymity, I was unable to provide in-depth details in regards to sample characteristics that allow readers to visualise context in which the theory and its corresponding categories were developed from. This potentially limits the reader from assessing transferability of the findings as preferred by (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

I acknowledge that the construction and meaning-making of participants' experiences and understanding of AMP will have been influenced by my position as a Muslim and counselling psychologist (in training) and thereby bias the framework on which the grounded theory is presented. Rose (1985) argues that "There is no neutrality. There is only greater or less awareness of one's biases. And if you do not appreciate the force of what you're leaving out, you are not fully in command of what you're doing" (p. 77).

The process of grounded theory has been questioned in regards to its precarious position between being over interpretive, subjective and oversimplifying participants' experiences which could render data and conceptualisation of emerging model as unreliable (Thomas & James, 2006). Since the research adopts a social constructivist approach, it provides one interpretation of the data that is expected to have relevance and application to wider society as it has implications for the understanding it can provide and recommend (Willig, 2012). It is therefore both a responsibility and privilege that within the intersubjective process between participants articulated experience and researchers attempt to draw out and construct meaning from these accounts, that the researcher remains highly reflexive. The aim is to prevent the researcher from imposing their own assumptions too heavily on the data but not too heavily that the researcher approaches analysis too rigidly. Charmaz (2006) advocates that a synthesis between the two extremes allows links between codes to be highlighted whilst retaining a sense of creativeness during model making that is grounded in the data. Remaining reflexive comes with its own difficulties which I found during the coding process in particular, as it is an exhaustive process where novice researchers like myself can become inundated at the coding level when abstracting and encompassing concepts can be time consuming and laborious process which grounded theory has been criticised for (Fassinger, 2005). In line with Myers (2009) advice, supervision and use of grounded theory group allowed for greater mentalising when generating categories and model making as to prevent the coding process from becoming hindered through losing sight of the task of discovering new categories.

This can potentially prevent the creation of inappropriate models of induction from which claims about how counselling psychologists experience, manage and approach AMP practices are made (Thomas & James, 2006). As such, the critiques mentioned can be debated on account of cGT theory as it clearly outlines for consideration the epistemological assumptions which include the researcher's position on the research topic because "data is not separate from either the observed or the observer but rather reciprocally constructed during

interaction" (Charmaz, 2009, p.138). cGT methods also allow for creativity and flexibility without simultaneously imposing any pre-conceived ideologies during the analysis (Charmaz, 2006). Such considerations thereby uphold the belief that grounded theory moves beyond interpretations and understanding and towards model generation.

Ensuring methodological rigour

Methodological rigour in qualitative research refers to processes that may strengthen confidence in the findings of the research; below are the following suggestions by Chiovitti & Piran (2003) on how to enhance methodological rigour:

Creditability: Carpenter (1995) claim that credibility or authenticity of one's research findings could be determined by how well the researcher has captured participants experiences in which, according to Beck (1993), the informants and readers who have had similar experiences can recognise the portrayed experiences as their own. As suggested by (Chiovitti & Piran, 2003), this was ensured by staying close to the data by incorporating the language used by participants in the coding process to prevent distortion of the data, check and verify codes during theory construction with peers to ensure relevance to participants meanings. Furthermore, I kept a reflexive journal throughout the process by outlining my personal views and sense-making of the phenomena.

Transferability: Despite some limitations in regards to transferability (discussed above), to maintain some level of transferability of my findings to other contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), I tried to remain transparent throughout the research process in how I coded, developed and constructed categories and emergent model. The examples of which are provided in the appendix which includes interview transcripts and corresponding coding process.

Dependability: refers to whether the findings, if replicated in a similar context, remain stable over time. This was ensured through detailing and documenting the research process which includes in the appendix, samples of all stages of coding and diagramming to illustrate as to how methodological decisions were made for traceability and replicability.

Confirmability through credibility, transferability, dependability and reflexivity: To ensure issues of bias and prejudices of the researcher are accounted for and minimised, it is my expectation that through the above points of providing evidence of methodical procedures and analytical development, confirmability can be accounted for (Bitsch, 2005). Furthermore, practising reflexivity via journaling, memoing and peer monitoring to review the coding process for cross-referencing of the research process for audit purposes (Fassinger, 2005); contact with supervisor to illuminate any conscious or unconscious presumptions on the data, and exploring my epistemological position and personal involvement with the research, aims to strengthen confirmability.

Doing grounding theory as I have experienced, is an all-encompassing process which requires patience and constant transparency and reflection of one's reasoning and decision making. Through adhering and anchoring myself to the process and methods of grounded theory, for example, to utilise supervision and grounded theory peers to remain unbiased during coding and explication of categories will ensure methodological rigour (Seale & Silverman, 1997).

Considerations and implications for future practice

Recommendations for counselling psychology doctoral programmes

Participants highlighted differences in the quality and quantity of the training they received in regards to topics on difference and diversity. Coupled with the profession of counselling psychology being dominated by white, middle-class females (Clay, 2017), in line with participants recommendations, a more comprehensive training package on matters relating to social justice in relation to current affairs, religion and privilege are imperative in line with growing multiculturalism to improve relations with our clients and colleagues we work with. It seems that there was a level of discomfort for both participants and people they encounter, both on their course and into employment which suggests an area for further reflection since counselling psychology is in a prime position as a discipline that can understand and work to resolve intra and inter-relational conflicts (Fouad, Gerstein & Toporek, 2006). This will enable counselling psychologists to gain confidence in challenging not only AMP practices but other forms of prejudice and discrimination that they may encounter in their career as a counselling psychologist. This is because counselling psychology cannot exist in a vacuum

and it has the ability to help wider society at all levels (e.g. government and media giants) to attend to societal concerns (McLeod, 1998).

For example, in Winterowd, Adams, Miville & Mintz (2009) article, they described specific strategies that doctoral programmes can implement with their trainees to explore and work comprehensively with issues related to diversity, differences and prejudices. They also include a case example of how these strategies could be implemented and dispositions that further define expectations of integrating personal character with professional values, commitments, ethics, and skills possible from the training programme. There were nine virtues identified " (a) Respectful, (b) Inclusive, (c) Collaborative and Cooperative, (d) Openness, (e) Inquisitive, (f) Self-Aware and Introspective, (g) Culturally Aware, (h) Socially Just, and (i) Professional Growth and Self-Improvement" (p. 679). Virtues of self-awareness and introspection are aimed at engaging trainees in self-examination and increasing their capacity for reflecting. Self-examination aims to encourage the process of exploration as individuals and as professionals by identifying one's strengths, weaknesses or vulnerabilities including biases and prejudices and highlight areas where one lacks knowledge or understanding in. The aim is to help trainees and trainers in becoming aware of who one is and how they impact others this may include identifying one's status and privilege. In regards to reflective capacity, it refers to a process of how one processes and evaluates their feelings, decisions and actions and how it affects their practices and subsequently the people they serve. In regards to the virtue of being socially just, this includes being culturally aware with emphasis on diversity but with an additional step that involves active support and advocacy around social justice issues.

However, the article highlights how the mechanism for addressing diversity training and values are often separate from other aspects of the curriculum and scholars such as Fouad & Arrendondo (2006) have advocated that the most successful pedagogical approach for developing such competencies is by their infusion throughout the curriculum and not just a one-off module. Such an approach can create the time and emotional space for the development of such complex virtues and dispositions across the many facets of professional psychological practice. For example, the infusions can occur when developing the overall doctoral programme, course plan, research efforts, type of placements opportunities that trainees can be directed towards, programme events and activities that relate to diversity/prejudice issues e.g. variation of guest speakers and conferences.

Furthermore, Winterowd, Adams, Miville & Mintz (2009) suggested that doctoral programmes demonstrate a commitment to recruit and retain diverse faculty members and students. They believe that by having a diverse faculty and students can create the opportunity to adequately challenge each other about biases and assumptions so that they have the opportunity to demonstrate their commitment to the training values. However, this does not mean recruiting and retaining diverse members solely based on their diverse demographics rather it is based on their willingness and openness to learning about diversity from one another in a space that feels safe and trustworthy. Another suggestion involved trainees being able to demonstrate values and dispositions outlined above across aspects of the programme using the scale outlined in their article which aims to authentically embed such skills and competencies. At the end of their article, they summarise succinctly the aim of the above recommendations for doctoral programmes which is the "goal of helping students to work through their defences and gain additional training experiences in facing their biases; to understand the worldviews of their clients; and to realize their strengths and their limitations as researchers, practitioners, and educators. The ultimate goal of training programs is to train students to be compassionate, curious, culturally competent, open-minded, and flexible professionals who are informed by science as well as by practice" (Winterowd, Adams, Miville & Mintz, 2009, p. 702-701). In a study by Singh et al. (2010) the responses from their participants who were doctoral trainees, found themes where the infusion suggestion and importance of "walking the talk" support Winterowd, Adams, Miville & Mintz (2009) suggestions in their article. In regards to "walking the walk", Burnes and Singh (2010) introduce areas of training in practicum that are relevant when considering integrating issues of social justice into ones practice with some students reporting a desire to receive more of such training by Beer, Spanierman, Greene, & Todd (2012). One of the strategies in fieldwork practicum is providing trainees with the opportunity to learn how to design, implement and evaluate psychoeducational workshops and outreach programmes. They suggested the following guidelines outlined by Conyne (2010) and Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) in keeping in line with social justice principles. These included first identifying a social justice concern that could be affecting a client they are working with, carrying out a literature review in how to work ethically and effectively with selected social justice issue, meeting with stakeholders in the community of said client to co-construct goals and objectives and using this information to design a workshop based on the needs of the client/community and with support of a supervisor, delivering it in a form of presentation, handouts for example, and establish evaluation format and follow up procedures. Burnes and

Singh (2010) attempt to identify and investigate ways to train trainee counselling psychologists and they believe that it is imperative that social justice training is infused within doctoral programmes that future professionals will be better equipped to respond equitably and responsibly to issues related to prejudices such as AMP.

Consideration of counselling psychologists' wellbeing surrounding AMP practices

Since AMP practices show no sign of abating (Hankir, Ali, Siddique, Carrick & Zaman, 2019), coupled with the widely researched findings which repeatedly show the negative impact of AMP practices on peoples psycho-emotional wellbeing (Abu-Ras & Abu-Bader, 2008). For example, Sawyer, Major, Casad, Townsend & Mendes (2012) believe that simply anticipating prejudices related to one's social identity such as religion, can lead to significant psychological and cardiovascular stress responses such as hypervigilance of mistreatment and depleted cognitive resources, depression and anxiety. It is therefore important that those affected receive the appropriate support and validation. In line with participant's suggestions, recognition and condemnation by speaking up against AMP rhetoric can help validate those who have experienced AMP which can prevent the perpetuation of the status quo thereby reducing feelings of hopelessness and separateness both within the counselling community and with fellow colleagues.

Recommendations for supervision: It is hoped that through the processes outlined in the grounded theory presented will be of interest and use to supervisors who are supervising colleagues who may be impacted by AMP practices in both work and personal context as neither can be separated fully. In a study by Desai (2018), she explored supervisor responses to issues related to race, culture and ethnicity in clinical psychology supervision with their supervisees, as well as exploring supervisors on their comfort and confidence during these discussions and the influence of any wider systemic influences on these conversations. Some of the themes that came out included discomfort and lack of confidence when discussing such issues with supervisees. Following on from this, Schen and Greenlee (2018) examined features that can help lead to having robust discussions around race and prejudices within a supervision setting and they identified three phases of the conversation that includes pre-dialogue, the conversation and after the conversation. Within these phases included themes around building an alliance between supervisor and supervisee, building competence, reducing avoidance and having shared vulnerability, closeness as opposed to being distant

and owning what one says when they speak up. They also conclude with guidelines for supervisors on how to further explore what these themes involve to facilitate talking about issues around race and prejudices in supervision with their supervisees.

Recommendations for counselling psychologists impacted by AMP practices: It is also hoped that those impacted by AMP practices can use the grounded theory presented to gain meaning-making of their experience, to better understand which pathway they engage in to manage their experiences and ideas in how to move across pathways that are more in line with their values and that which will benefit their wellbeing.

Counselling Psychology and social justice: to be or not to be? Practical considerations

Participants have highlighted how they have utilised their role as a counselling psychologist to make changes towards better access to mental health care for minorities using their own experience and understanding as a minority which is in line with the core values of counselling psychology (Packard, 2009). The profession of counselling psychology is ideally placed to consider matters of social justice since it is concerned with matters of equity, interdependence and social responsibility since it functions as a discipline within the context of society (Bell, 1997). In line with participants' experiences, not everyone they have come across is as concerned or motivated to challenge social injustices such as AMP which may create a divide between those who do and those who don't thereby mimicking the experience of systemic costs to self. This, therefore, leads to the need for further consideration in regards to how counselling psychologists like their counterparts in the USA, make room for social justice within the counselling profession.

One example of social responsibility that participants' unanimously agreed on was the role of the media in influencing AMP practices. Although there is no direct evidence that one single construct causes AMP, research has shown that the media plays an important part in communicating and sustaining negative characterisations of Islam and Muslims (Samari, 2016; Kurebwa & Muchakabarwa, 2019). Despite decades of research that have come to the same conclusion, lack of direction in how counselling psychologists can effect change needs further consideration for counselling psychology as a profession to be taken seriously in the movement towards social justice.

Directions for further research

Given the sample size used in this study, future research considerations could include replicating this study using a sample size greater than the one enlisted in this study. Given the qualitative nature of this study is based on personal experiences and interpretations one has in relation to AMP, using a larger sample size may strengthen the generalisability of this study. However, given that there is unlikely to be an infinite number of participants that fit the criteria for this study, opening the criteria to include clinical and counselling psychologists may be more fruitful. Within this, it could be an interesting addition to this topic area in whether such changes illuminate any significant differences between how counselling psychologists experience, manage and approach AMP compared to clinical psychologists. Furthermore, it would be interesting to understand why, if any, are there differences and whether these differences are beneficial to one's wellbeing or not and whether there is some useful learning to come from this for one's wellbeing in relation to experiencing and managing AMP.

In regards to using different participant groups, another direction for research could include using participants who are not counselling psychologists and instead open recruitment to people of any field of work but who meet criteria of experiencing AMP. This is to ensure findings in this study are generalisable to people who have experienced AMP but are not necessarily counselling psychologists. If there are differences, it would be helpful to understand what these differences are and explore why these differences occur to enrich understanding of how AMP is experienced in all its nuanced ways as AMP does not only affect counselling psychologists.

In regards to preventative measures, the model can be used (as I have) to identify where a person lies in regards to experiencing, processing and managing AMP, for example, are they on the disconnecting pathway and if so, how can they move to a more reflective pathway (if they wish to). Furthermore, the model created in this study can be used to inform therapeutic practice when working with clients who have experienced AMP. For example, when participants spoke about their anxieties and fears, they could benefit from receiving therapeutic support from care professionals who have some understanding and awareness of the difficulties they engage with internally and externally, their perceptions of the world they live in and how this influences the work they do and their relationship struggles with

colleagues, friends and family members. Given that participants spoke about how these conversations can be difficult, if other professionals have an understanding it could help reduce anxiety and discomfort around engaging in conversations related to AMP. Different modalities such as psychodynamic (Stevenson, 2019), CBT (Beck, 2019) and MBT (Stoute, 2019) can help identify interpretations of AMP, acknowledge safety behaviours such as carrying NHS badge to collect brownie points and identify unhelpful projections and working towards not identifying with them. However, for this to be a fruitful endeavour, it is important to hold in mind the point about increasing generalisability of the findings in this study before incorporating the findings for use in therapeutic practice. This is to ensure the findings are relatable to not only the general population but other psychologists as well.

If the above proves reliable then further research can also explore how parents of children who experience AMP can support their children growing up in an era where AMP practices are present. This links to the findings in relation to participants' early experiences of AMP which included being influenced by their own parent's style of managing and interpreting AMP. The model can be used to identify where families are in relation to how they experience, manage and approach AMP and how they can also explore with their children in regards to where they are in regards to processing AMP. The aim is to provide a starting and guiding point that can be used to encourage open dialogue around one's experience of AMP, something which my participants did not have with their parents. This is in line with Cabrera, Kuhns, Malin & Aldoney (2016) article on the way parents manage discussions around race and prejudices and research such as this study could play a part in helping parent socialize children to discussions around diversity, race and prejudices such as AMP.

Conclusion

This study outlined the intricate and complex psycho-emotional processes that are involved in how participants experienced, managed and approached AMP practices and outlined influencing factors on how and why AMP practices find them. The demonstration of which, if understood and identifiable as relatable to one's own experiences, could alter the lack of confidence, avoidance, hopelessness and lack of healthy narcissism that is observed in the deflective and disconnecting categories. In regards to the reflecting and acknowledging categories, it is hoped that those affected by AMP practices can use the knowledge as a source of motivation and resource to manage AMP practices that result in benefits rather than costs.

The grounded theory proposes that by reducing costs to the self in relation to the experience of AMP practices and using counselling psychology as a resource for social justice, can benefit a society that is battling division of a nation (Brexit), extremism of all kinds and knife crime. Counselling psychology as a profession is in a unique position to make sense of such difficulties and proffering potential treatments, strategies and outcome monitoring. However, the study outlines the conflicts within the profession in how counselling psychologists manage AMP practices, passing of roles and responsibility resulting in the increase of alienation and frustrations of those directly affected. The study, therefore, highlights the importance of sharing the responsibility in addressing AMP practices inside and outside of the counselling room.

Reflexive statement (part two)

In this thesis, from the literature to the participants themselves, we are reminded how as humans we cannot escape from making assumptions and biases; that we can be constrained by our capacity to reflect on our experiences, subjectivity, knowledge and expectations (Etherington, 2004).

Being that my research design is that of social constructivist grounded theory, it is important to acknowledge that the analysis and emergent model is centred on my interpretations and understanding of my participants' experiences highlighting the process of co-construction (McLeod 2001). Therefore as researchers, it is in our own best interest and that of the research and to honour our participants, that we remain open throughout the journey to enable the audience to assess in what aspect and to what extent, the researcher has influenced the enquiry for credibility, relationality and rigour purposes (Charmaz 2006).

However, reflection on its own attends to only the verbal and non-verbal feelings and thoughts, reflexivity, on the other hand, investigates researchers actions via introspection as they occur (McLeod, 2003). I believe this is an integral part of the research process given how much the analysis process is reliant on my interpretation of the data and the inescapability of my subjectivity onto the data. I found myself initially staying far too close to the data in fear of imposing myself onto the data and yet the more comfortable I became in the coding process the more I began to fear my interpretations of the data were too abstract and bound in counselling psychology theory and my own experiences of AMP.

To maintain a balance, as good practice, I followed Charmaz's (2010) instructions of memoing to track my engagement with the data and to show transparency in how relationships between concepts progressed and where I was positioned within that decision-making process so that my emergent theory can hold up to enquiry. Although this was extremely helpful, I came across my most pivotal point of reflexivity through dialogue with my grounded theory peer supervisory group and supervisor. During the analysis process and in the final stages of model generation, my supervisor highlighted to me that I had included but did not elaborate or explore further what has now become an important category, on how my participants processed AMP; and I was asked where was my voice. I thought it was because I was trying to remain as objective as possible out of fear of being too imposing and

subjective on the data due how close I was to the research topic being a counselling psychologist and having experienced AMP. However, this was a reflection, after exploring what I had discovered in my supervision session, I spoke to a close peer and I was asked why I embody my religion the way I do, why do I choose not to wear my hijab when playing sports. I started with what I now believe is through a defensive stance by replying "its uncomfortable and I get hot", but actually is it because I processed AMP through defending against the reality of difference, of wanting to fit in with society?

This was a reality that did not sit comfortably with me because I wanted to see myself as someone who doesn't care about fitting in, but actually, underneath the defences and talk, was something uglier yet real and very raw with a sense of feeling stripped of my clothing, leaving me naked and open, that I was and still am, yearning for twinship (Kohut, 1984). I was aware that just like some of my participants, I manage AMP via a deflective pathway, but what I didn't know and what I can now understand is *why* I find myself on the deflective pathway. As I went back through my data, I saw what I unconsciously did not want to see and what some of my participants did not want to acknowledge, that my learning is not done, that there is still more discovering and processing to be worked on that personal therapy had disappointingly not uncovered.

This 'aha' moment alongside generating a theory and model from the data, has also helped me make makes sense as to why throughout my thesis journey, I felt embarrassed, ashamed and scared of my research topic so much so that I would try and avoid talking to anyone about it. I can now understand that, much like my participants, I feared people would be uncomfortable if I spoke about AMP which would make me uncomfortable, that people would feel that it was an attack on them "anti-white sentiment" (taken from Eliza 725). The result of which would place me in a ien sickeningly frightening position which is a cost to a sense of belonging, thereby obliterating my need for twinship.

However, at the same time, and again much like my participants, I want to move to a more reflective pathway, I want to and dream to be able to allow my voice to be heard, to be brave and stand out against the crowd, to not let AMP go to save myself from "rocking the boat" (taken from Eliza 411).

My journey on this thesis has been a long and transformative process. During the hottest summer in England, I was in the midst of coding, a process that I struggled to understand at first and cursed heavily about and vowed never to do again. By Christmas, when I had a model in mind, I was excited, all the hard work was coming together, but the final piece was learning more about myself which I would not have achieved if it wasn't for grounded theory encouraging the researcher to be reflexive and open about themselves throughout the process.

In part 1 of my reflexive statement, I acknowledged there being times where my own AMP experiences may influence the research process. An example of which is where I came in with the expectation and assumption that my participants would speak about the role of media in influencing AMP practices. On reflection, during the interviews, I was aware that I was waiting for the opportunity for this to come up rather than being curious and coming from an unknowing stance. I was also aware that I held onto the media as the bad object, something which was based on my own interpretations and experiences and why I had in my mind predetermined that it would appear in the model, which it did. Using continual memoing of my interviews around the concept of media I tried to keep a record of how I approached media in my interviews with the intention of focussing on how I worded my questions, whether I probed too much or led the participants in any way in order to try and contain my bias, expectations and desire to have media in my model (Appendix L, Example 4). If I did notice myself probing too much based on my biases and desires, I tried to ensure the next interview did not go the same way and so forth by being more open-ended and curious and letting the participant lead me, which was the case in a few of the interviews. Furthermore, studies such as Saleem, Prot, Anderson & Lemieux (2017) also support participants views and can substantiate medias place in the model and that it is not based solely on my biases and desire for it being there.

Another challenge being so close to the research topic included my interpretations of some of the quotes and how I had fallen into the trap of interpreting and summarising them based on my beliefs and feelings rather than objectively as that of the participants. I was able to notice this when proofreading my work, specifically, the comment:

Such stereotypes serve to support the idea that Islam is a threat and something to therefore fear and fight against.

Comment [MB2]: Not necessarily. Could have said, such stereotypes make out Muslim men are against western values of independent women and could support idea that they are against western values and so something to fight against

'there's like fear there...so they might make negative assumptions about you and they might be wary about you' (Amal 133-135)

To overcome this and contain it as much as possible, I went back over my analysis and tried to look for commentary and interpretations I have made that contain language and assumptions that are my own rather than the participants. This process helped me notice and address such bias that infiltrated the research process and a valuable lesson on how despite my best efforts, I could not keep away my own biases from the research process. Furthermore, taking time away from the data and coming back with fresh eyes and an open mind, helped create some distance in order to look at the data as a less knowing and more naïve observer as much as possible.

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Appendix A: Advert for participants

A constructivist grounded theory analysis of how counselling psychologists experience AMP

My name is Majida Bibi, and I am a Counselling Psychology Trainee at London Metropolitan University; I am conducting a piece of original research as part of my PsychD in Counselling Psychology. The research involves interviewing Counselling Psychologists currently working in the UK who are willing to discuss and explore how they experience, manage and approach AMP.

Participants can choose where the interview takes place, either at London Metropolitan University's Psychology Department in central London or at the participant's home/office; at a time and date convenient for participants. Interviews are audio recorded using a data encrypted Dictaphone and will take up to approximately one hour.

All data gathered during this study will be held securely and anonymously and there will be an opportunity for participants to withdraw their data if they so choose or up to two weeks post interview.

If you would be interested in taking part or would like more information, please contact me on the details below.

Researcher: Majida Bibi

Email: mab1813@my.londonmet.ac.uk

Department of Psychology

London Metropolitan University

166-220 Holloway Road

London

N7 8DB

Appendix B: Interview Schedule

A constructivist grounded theory analysis of how counselling psychologists experience AMP

Researcher: Majida Bibi

This research is being conducted to explore how counselling psychologists' experience, manage and approach AMP. I am conducting this research for my doctoral degree at London Metropolitan University. I am interested in social justice aspect of counselling psychology more specifically that of AMP as it is becoming more predominant in society and worldwide. I am therefore interviewing fellow counselling psychologists to explore the factors and processes regarding Counselling Psychologists' experience of AMP and to offer a unique contribution to social justice research, theory and practice in Counselling Psychology.

Your name and any other identifying information will not be identifiable or linked with your answers.

Discuss ethical considerations and confidentiality.

You have consented to the interview by signing the consent form, do you have any questions before we begin?

1.   Can you tell me a bit about yourself and how you came to be a counselling psychologist?

- Training/Learning, interests, personal experiences, values, ethics.

- Why or what contributed to choosing this career? Has this changed over time?

2.   Can you tell me what you understand AMP to mean?

- Definition, meanings, examples.

- Is it clear, easy, difficult to define, explain or understand?

- Where is knowledge received from?

3.   What are your thoughts on AMP?

- Is it something you are conscious of? Do you acknowledge it overtly or covertly? Are you comfortable talking about it, with others, family, colleagues?

4.   As a counselling psychologist, have you come across or experienced AMP?

     a.   If yes, how did you identify the situation? What happened? What did you do/act/react/not react? How did it make you feel on a professional level? What thoughts went through your mind? Did this experience change you?

     b.   Within what context did you encounter it? When the client was the victim or yourself when working with a client?

     c.   What motivated your reaction/feelings/defences?

     •   If no, why do you think that is? What does it mean?

5.   Is there anything you would like to add or that I should know in regards to what we have explored?

     a.   Anything you would like to ask me?

Further prompts:

     •   What does that mean?

     •   Can you elaborate on that?

     •   What happened next?

     •   How did you respond to ….?

     •   Can we go back to something you said earlier?

     •   How is that different to…?

     •   How does that relate to…?

Appendix C: Information sheet

A constructivist grounded theory analysis of how counselling psychologists experience AMP

This research is being carried out by Majida Bibi, a Trainee Counselling Psychologist at London Metropolitan University.

The study is concerned with exploring how counselling psychologists' experience, manage and approach AMP in the current climate and to offer a unique contribution to social justice research, theory and practice in Counselling Psychology.

You have volunteered to take part in an interview during which you will be asked to share and explore how you experience, manage and approach AMP.

It is anticipated that the interview will take approximately one hour which will be audio recorded using a Dictaphone, transcribed and then analysed following a constructivist method of Grounded Theory on the data.

Your name and any other identifying information will not be attached to the recording or any transcripts made from the recording. All data will be kept confidential and anonymised using pseudonyms and other identifying information omitted from transcripts. In line with the Data Protection Act (1998) all electronic data will be stored on a password protected computer known and accessed only by researcher and all hard paper data stored in a locked cabinet accessed only by researcher.

Confidentiality will only be broken in the unlikely event that anything you disclose suggests that harm will come to yourself or others.

You have the right to leave the interview at any time and the opportunity to withdraw your data from the study within two weeks following the interview where all the information and data collected from you, to date, will be destroyed and your name removed from all the study files.

You can contact me by email or mobile on: mab1813@my.londonmet.ac.uk, 07447585518.

Alternatively you may contact my lead supervisor:

Dr Catherine Athanasiadou-Lewis   c.athanasiadoulewis@londonmet.ac.uk

Thank you for volunteering to take part in my research.

Appendix D: Consent form
A constructivist grounded theory analysis of how counselling psychologists experience AMP

Researcher: Majida Bibi

This form is designed to obtain your informed consent to take part in this research and that you have received satisfactory and sufficient information regarding the research

- I have read and fully understood the information sheet   (yes / no)
- I have had the opportunity to discuss further questions related to the study and satisfied with the answers   (yes / no)
- I understand that all information I reveal will be kept confidential unless the information disclosed suggests that myself or someone else is at risk of harm   (yes / no)
- I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study and at any time during the interview and up to two weeks following the interview in which we will need to use the data collected up to your withdrawal   (yes / no)
- I give consent for the researcher to record the interview and to use verbatim quotations from my interview in the writing up or publication of the study   (yes / no)
- I understand that I will remain completely anonymous and my name and identity will not at any point be revealed and will be kept separate from the findings of the study   (yes / no)
- I give my consent for the recording and transcript to be kept for up to a period of five years in case the study is published   (yes / no)
- I agree to participate in the study as outlined to me   (yes / no)

Your signature below indicates that you have decided to volunteer as a research participant for this study, and that you have read, understood and circled yes to **all** the statements outlined above. You will be given a signed and dated copy of this form to keep, along with information sheet.

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant (print)   Date   Signature of participant

_____   _____   _____

Name of researcher (print)   Date   Signature of researcher

Appendix E: Debrief

A constructivist grounded theory analysis of how counselling psychologists experience AMP

Researcher: Majida Bibi

I would like to thank you for taking part in my research which is designed to how counselling psychologists' experience, manage and approach AMP. In this study you were asked a number of questions about AMP including exploring the factors and processes regarding your experience of AMP.

Having audio recorded this interview, I will now make a transcript of the recording and conduct a constructivist version of grounded theory on the data. The aim of which is to gain an understanding and show commitment to social justice concerns to address for example structural constraints, resources and inequalities that exist in society at present such as AMP.

If you have any further questions about the study now or in the future or you wish to withdraw your data from the study, you may do so at any time over the following two weeks by contacting me on:

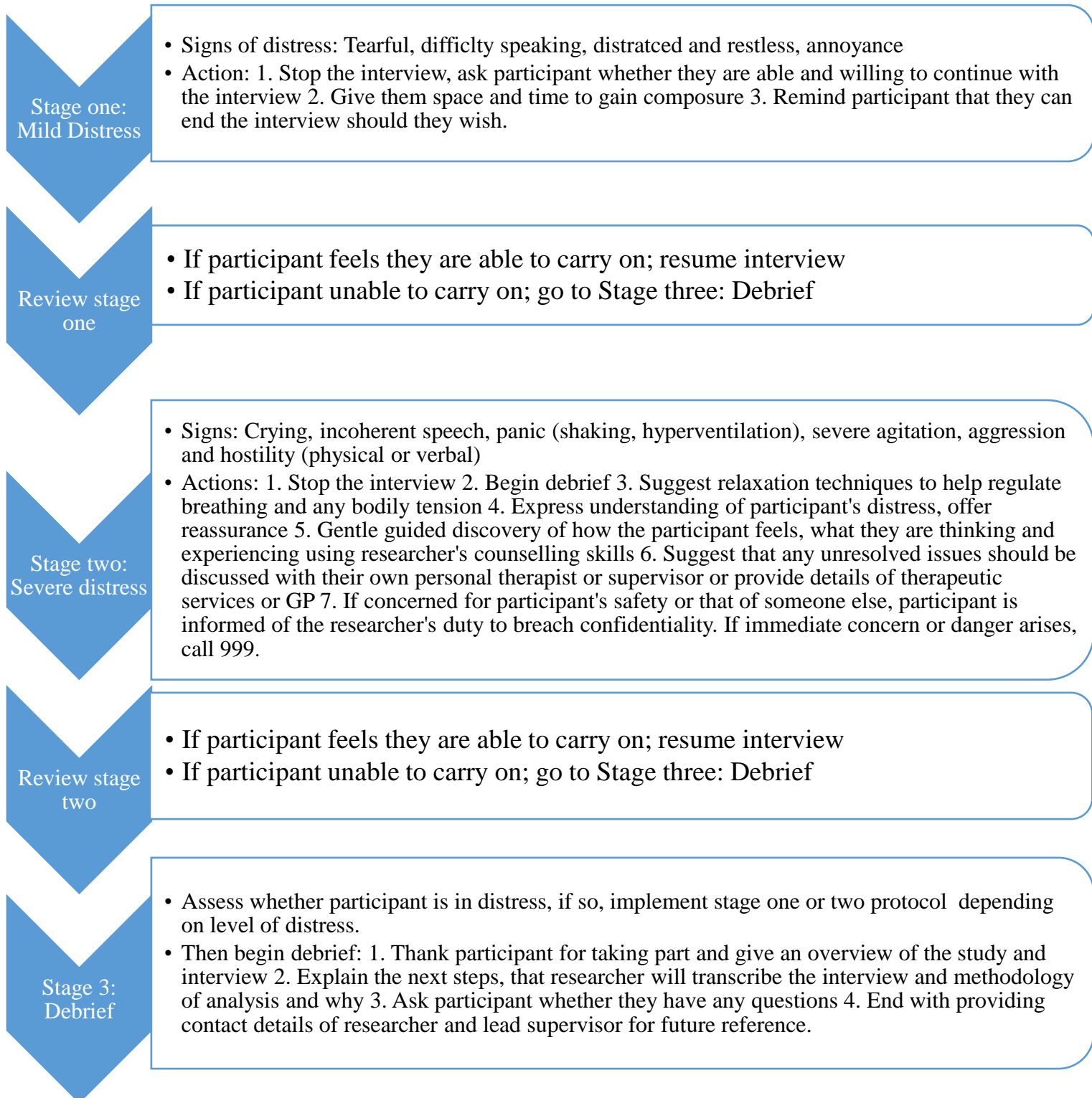Email: mab1813@my.londonmet.ac.uk

Mobile: 07447585518

Alternatively, you can contact my lead research supervisor Dr Catherine Athanasiadou-Lewis on:

Email: c.athanasiadoulewis@londonmet.ac.uk

Thank you again for taking time to participate in my research.

Appendix F: Distress Protocol

Stage one: Mild Distress

- Signs of distress: Tearful, difficlty speaking, distratced and restless, annoyance
- Action: 1. Stop the interview, ask participant whether they are able and willing to continue with the interview 2. Give them space and time to gain composure 3. Remind participant that they can end the interview should they wish.

Review stage one

- If participant feels they are able to carry on; resume interview
- If participant unable to carry on; go to Stage three: Debrief

Stage two: Severe distress

- Signs: Crying, incoherent speech, panic (shaking, hyperventilation), severe agitation, aggression and hostility (physical or verbal)
- Actions: 1. Stop the interview 2. Begin debrief 3. Suggest relaxation techniques to help regulate breathing and any bodily tension 4. Express understanding of participant's distress, offer reassurance 5. Gentle guided discovery of how the participant feels, what they are thinking and experiencing using researcher's counselling skills 6. Suggest that any unresolved issues should be discussed with their own personal therapist or supervisor or provide details of therapeutic services or GP 7. If concerned for participant's safety or that of someone else, participant is informed of the researcher's duty to breach confidentiality. If immediate concern or danger arises, call 999.

Review stage two

- If participant feels they are able to carry on; resume interview
- If participant unable to carry on; go to Stage three: Debrief

Stage 3: Debrief

- Assess whether participant is in distress, if so, implement stage one or two protocol depending on level of distress.
- Then begin debrief: 1. Thank participant for taking part and give an overview of the study and interview 2. Explain the next steps, that researcher will transcribe the interview and methodology of analysis and why 3. Ask participant whether they have any questions 4. End with providing contact details of researcher and lead supervisor for future reference.

Appendix G: Ethical approval certificate

LONDON METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY

London Metropolitan University
School of Social Sciences
Research Ethics Review Panel

I can confirm that the following project has received ethical approval by one anonymous reviewer and the Head of School of Social Sciences Ms. J. Skinner to proceed with the following research project:

Title: A constructivist grounded theory analysis of how counselling psychologists experience anti-Muslim prejudice

Student: Majida Bibi

Supervisor: Dr Athanasiadou-Lewis

Ethical clearance to proceed has been granted providing that the study follows the ethical guidelines used by the School of Psychology and British Psychological Society, and incorporates any relevant changes required by the Research Ethics Review Panel. All participating organisations should provide formal consent allowing the student to collect data from their staff.

The researcher is also responsible for conducting the research in an ethically acceptable way, and should inform the ethics panel if there are any substantive changes to the project that could affect its ethical dimensions, and re-submit the proposal if it is deemed necessary.

Signed: Date: 27 March 2017

Prof Dr Chris Lange-Küttner
(Chair - Psychology Research Ethics Review Panel)

Email c.langekuettner@londonmet.ac.uk

Appendix H: Quotes to further illustrate lower order categories

1.1.1 Implicit influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices (Media)	• According to Bushra, along the way, these messages or depictions of Muslims have to go somewhere: *'a lot of the media influences what they say…they're not always aware of it'* (104-106).
1.1.2 Explicit influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices (Media)	• Amal believes that the media has an agenda, one that reinforces the negative ideology of Muslims: *'the media is very controlled by certain people and they have a certain narrative they want to represent which I think all goes back to actually politics and making money, and wars'* (147-149). • Ciara expresses her anger at how biased the media is in regards to the way they choose what to report thereby perpetuating one reality of Muslims: *'I feel angry at how sometimes biased the media can show, it can only report the bad, it doesn't report the good'* (39-40). • *'the idea the understanding of Islam actually comes from what they see on tv and again you know if you think of the propaganda and everything that's been spurred within the media, yeah it's quite questionable'* (Bushra 119-120) •
1.2.1 Implicit influencing factors of AMP practices (Society)	• *'if you speak up you got ten other people going oh we don't mean that, that's not what is happening'* (Fatimah 813) • Gabriella can identify with the previous point and confessed she is guilty of shutting down to AMP most of the time because she doesn't look like a Muslim on the outside but *'once I'm in that appearance I'm in that look it's amazing that it comes to my mind more frequently'* (167-168) • Participants believed that the level of relevance to white non-Muslims is low which reduced the likelihood of them addressing AMP *'when you talk to other people, it's like because they're from a different background like they're*

	usually white or middle class so they have a very different experience because they already have privilege and so therefore they don't notice what is absent or what is different (257-259) they've had privileges that they're not always aware of so then you do need to reflect on that because if they want to improve services for different groups of people to increase access for ethnic minorities and certain faith groups people have to be comfortable to explore these prejudices' (Amal 997-1000)
1.2.2 Explicit influencing factors of AMP practices (Society)	• These experiences all happened outside of work, in regards to Eliza, she worked in what she described as quite a racist service and the AMPd she experienced was also overt, where her clients would: *'making sort of umm digs or jibes about Muslims or umm it's often about terrorism…it will always be about Muslim terrorists (38-40)… I think there's a really obvious version which is when you're saying something about a Muslim or what Muslims do umm and being very specific about not liking that group or having assumptions about that group'* (816-817) • *'on the whole, I think there's not many consequences'* (Bushra 494). • *'not enough people standing up against something so standing up against the status quo or the rhetoric that this is not ok to be to have these view points and that kind of allows the negative communication to perpetuate'.* (Diana) •
2.1.3 Living in a state of embodied anxiety	• Amal also shared with me her experience of feeling alone and how not even her therapist was able to empathise and hold her psychologically: *'I find it more helpful to talk to family and my therapist I do talk to her about it but I don't always umm I don't know if she fully grasps it because she was quite surprised by some of the stereotypes I was talking about and she wasn't very aware of it like the stereotype*

|	
	about like refugees and the like sort of being seeing them less than and like scummy' (221-227).
2.2.2 Competing for positive discrimination within a work context	• *'some people who are very good at doing training on (prejudice)…and they're not being invited back by universities because perhaps its making people think too much. And then they're being replaced by umm white, middle class therapists… think about what aspects am I privileged in and what aspects am I not privileged in like they really made me think and people didn't like it some people really didn't like it'* (Amal 421-433)
2.2.3 Experiencing a cultural promotion of repression of vocalised opinions of AMP	• Participants linked this notion of not rocking the boat with identifying certain grandiose traits in others that created a block in challenging people's AMPs *'When I challenged her and I said it almost felt like her learning was done and she didn't want to reflect on things or change her opinion or learn more, she didn't respond to that very well'* (Amal 321-324).
3.1.1 Engaging resources effectively to aid management of AMP	• *'I work in a place whereby interestingly the conversations feel more safer with other BME people'* (Bushra 185) • Amal also highlighted the similarities between counselling psychology code of ethics and teaching in Islam *'I feel like umm our faith is there are lots of things in our faith that encourages us umm to umm be ethical it complements a lot of the ethical codes in some ways like not be judgmental, be more understanding, being empathic, being kind, being charitable, being generous and actually I did training with Islamic counselling and when I went on the course they actually said to me counselling is a Sunnah like it's a prophetic tradition'* (803-806).
3.1.3 Consciously processing boundaries to safeguard ones sense of self	• *'Everyone would come to me and you know tell their problems and all my friends it's still the case now but I try to actually curtail that because I've I find that actually its quite enough dealing with that at work I don't really don't want to*

	deal with that at home, so yeah it's something that actually that I'm quite actively working on right now' (Diana 43-47).
	• To cope with a lack of holding capacity, participants find prioritising and setting themselves limits on how much responsibility they take on in addressing AMP which helps prevent them from burning out *'generally complaints are the last thing to do but I try and get the person involved to think about what's happening and I have put complaints in where it's been necessary'* (Eliza 423-425).
	• *'These conversations are just constant and I'm tired of them like I'll do it at work I'll do it with people who I love and I want to see their opinions be a little bit sort of more respectful but I'm tired of doing it with strangers'* (Ines, 752-756).
3.1.2 Active reflecting on the cost to self of acting out	• When talking about personal safety, Bushra shared her dilemma of wanting to challenge peoples AMPs whilst maintaining her physical safety *'What I've realised is there's something about protecting yourself within this institution and what I mean by that is not that you don't challenge I think I think it's important I think if more of us challenge maybe then we can do something about it...so choose your battles I think mainly that that's my take home message...I'm probably bit more mindful with strangers because someone can just punch you in the face'* (314-326).
	• *'Depending on the reception I get if its negative then I might think again about raising it* (464-465)*…but then I bear the emotional brunt of that… and I feel the consequences are well it just kind of feeds into like my concerns and my worries about how I'm received'* (Amal 750-755).
3.2.2 Embodying negative altruistic tendencies to mitigate conflict	• Letting go of AMP resulted in participants becoming accustomed to experiencing AMP which consequently reduced the likelihood of them raising it as experienced by Amal *'I sort of like dismissed it like I don't know maybe*

	because I've just experienced so much racism it's just became normal (504-506)… and it's like a feature of people's lives unfortunately' (683).
4.2.2 Making use of the implicit protective factor provisions in the workplace to validate sense of self	• *'whereas sometimes when you talk to other people from a different background they're usually white or middle class so they have a very different experience because they already have privilege'* (Amal 257-258)
4.2.3 Effectively managing to contain ones experience of AMP within one's pre-conceived ideologies of a counselling psychologist	• *'So if I say oh fuck off what do you know, how much is that reinforcing some of this that we have shared that they hold in this world'* (Bushra 419).
4.2.4 Gaining self-acceptance within the context of exposure to presence of AMP presence	• *'when the western countries do it (be anti-Muslim) as I said they (family and friends who are not very Muslim) feel like Muslim they feel for their fellow Muslim individuals'* (Gabriella 188). • *'if somebody abuses me or if I get hurt or whatever then if I die then hopefully I go to heaven because I was wearing the hijab'* (Fatimah 590). • *'Actually for the first time normally these sorts of things would really affect me and you know I wouldn't want to be disliked by my clinical supervisor and I wouldn't want to be disliked by my manager and I'd come home and be like omg what am I going to do but this time I didn't have of those feelings at all Alhamdulillah I've been praying a lot for those feelings to go'* (Fatimah 446-450). • *'Maybe the way I deal with it I see it as society as one of those passing things, like anyone, and I don't see it as the majority I see it as the minority I think you know most people I meet don't have these viewpoints'* (Ciara 86-88).
4.2.5 Experiencing affective reward for actively holding the external world accountable for AMP	• Some participants found it difficult activating people to move towards a wise mind stance and they have resorted to shock tactics by personalising prejudices to gain their attention as outlined by Eliza *'I would use the examples whether it would*

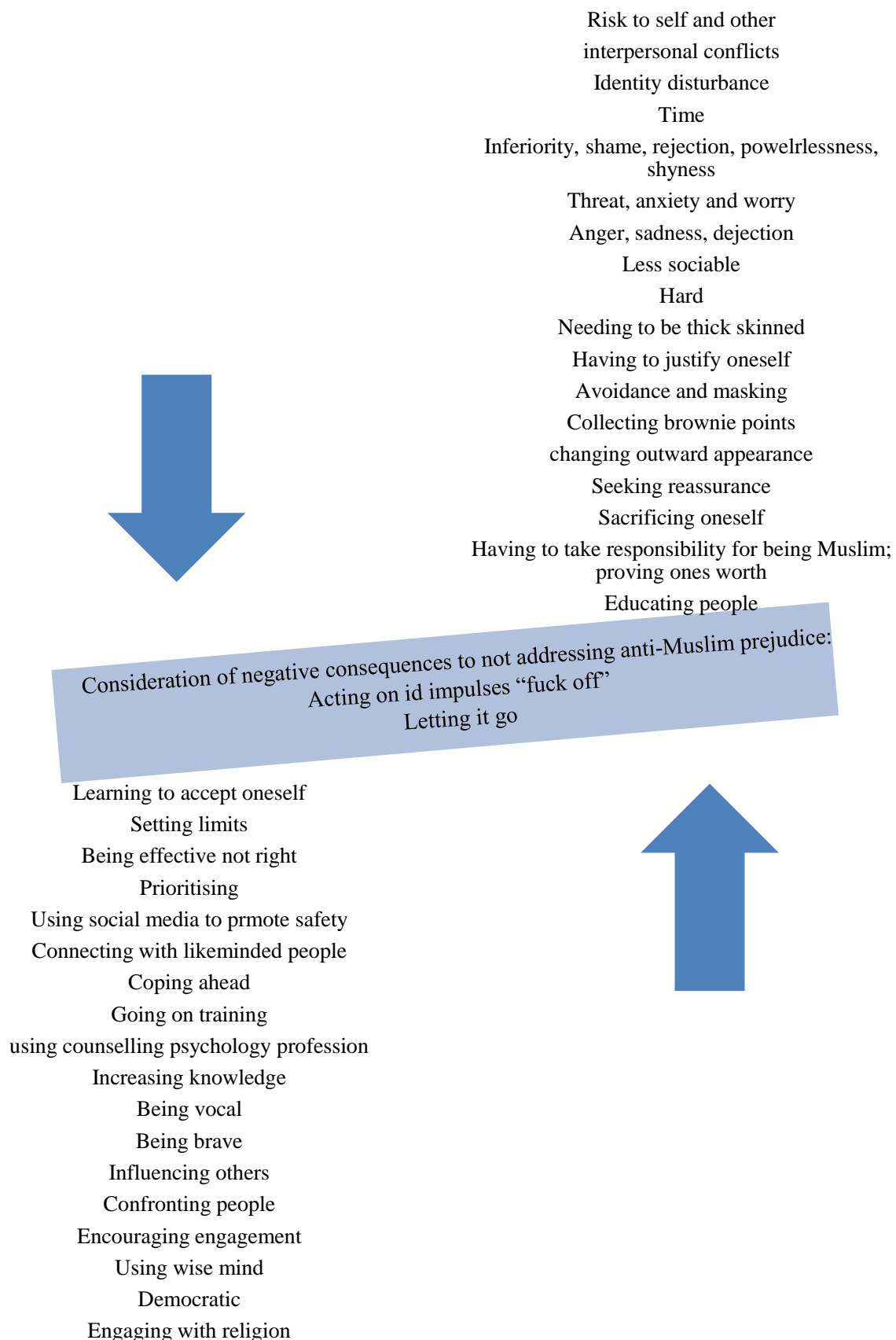|	*be saying something offensive about children that kind of thing I knew that my team would respond to, how far would you let a client make a sexual joke about a child because I know that's really going to offend them…so you don't find that offensive because it's about Muslims and you felt very separate from it but do you might find this offensive, and just really getting them to draw parallels you know or if it's about disability how far would you let it go or trying to get them to think together about how do you address something when it does become offensive like what are the lines to what's appropriate to talk about in therapy?' (179-189).*

Appendix I: Mini model examples

Example 1: Deciding whether the approach/address AMP practices: Showing emergence of the links between the types of atmosphere, conditions and contexts required for participants to either address AMP practices or not and why e.g. level of risk involved.
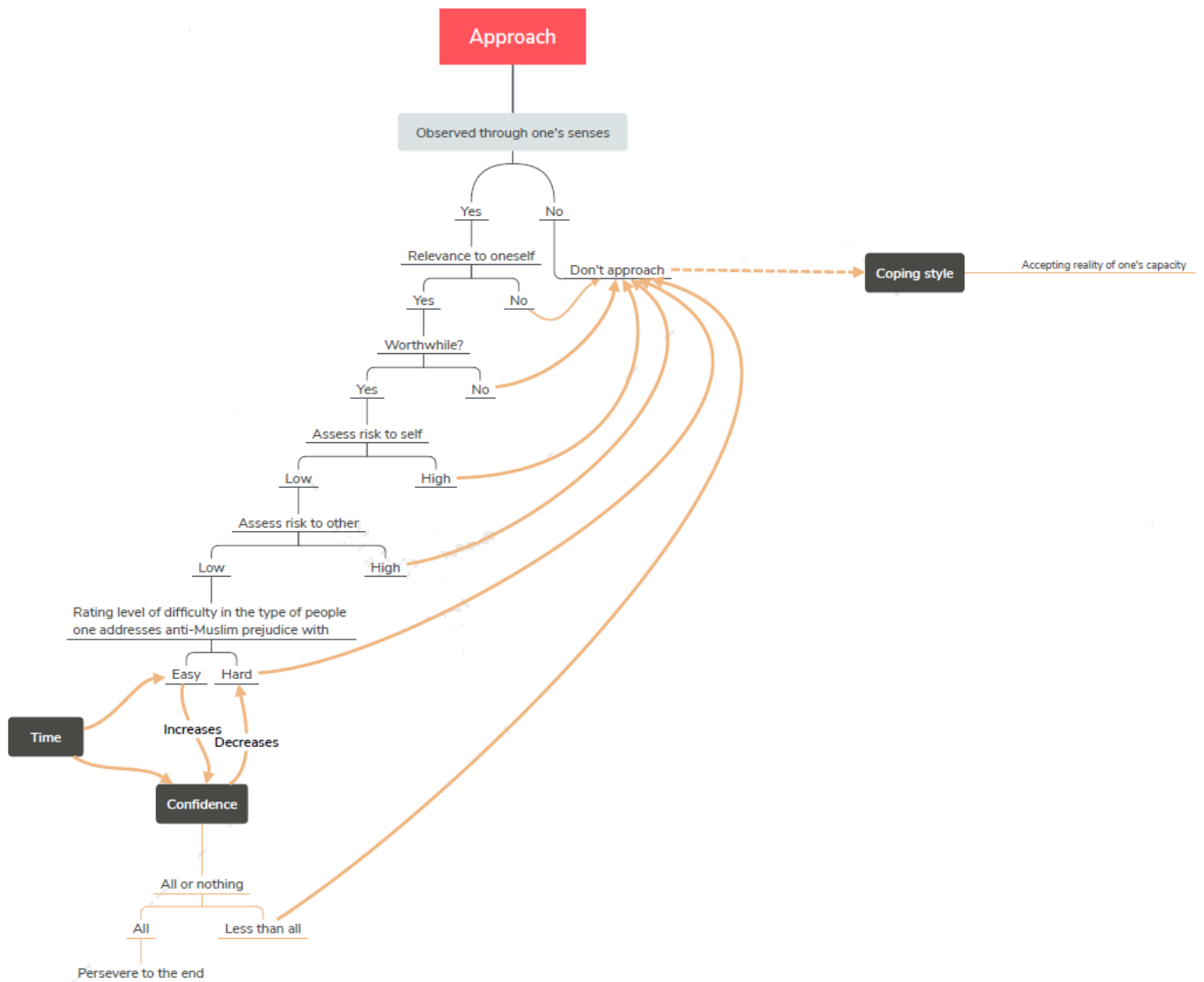
Example 2: Identifying the processes linked to managing addressing AMP practices:
Developed from the previous model, participants expressed the need to balance what is lost through experiencing and addressing AMP practices and the need to recover from some of those losses.

Risk to self and other

interpersonal conflicts

Identity disturbance

Time

Inferiority, shame, rejection, powelrlessness, shyness

Threat, anxiety and worry

Anger, sadness, dejection

Less sociable

Hard

Needing to be thick skinned

Having to justify oneself

Avoidance and masking

Collecting brownie points

changing outward appearance

Seeking reassurance

Sacrificing oneself

Having to take responsibility for being Muslim; proving ones worth

Educating people

Consideration of negative consequences to not addressing anti-Muslim prejudice:
Acting on id impulses "fuck off"
Letting it go

Learning to accept oneself

Setting limits

Being effective not right

Prioritising

Using social media to prmote safety

Connecting with likeminded people

Coping ahead

Going on training

using counselling psychology profession

Increasing knowledge

Being vocal

Being brave

Influencing others

Confronting people

Encouraging engagement

Using wise mind

Democratic

Engaging with religion

Example 3: Beginning to link data to lower order categories. This table shows emergence of category related to the media and its role in spreading negative ideology in regards to Muslims

Low order cat	Things that fall into it
1.1.1 Blaming the media's role in spreading a negative ideology of Muslims	**Identifying media's role in spreading negative ideology of Muslims** • Feeling like she can't trust the medias reporting; Perceiving media as so biased; Learning about the world through media; Feeling like the media has the ability to poison her mind; • Hearing (anti-Muslim prejudice) every morning; Reading (anti-Muslim prejudice) in the free paper whilst commuting; • Stating (media) is very anti-Muslim; very racist; Stating (UK newspapers) are rather racist • Thinking in terms of Muslims she sees here that you're watching the news, reading newspaper and automatically you see a brown man, convert or refugee • Hypothesising her clients' experiences (of Muslims) are what they hear in the media • Thinking knowledge is received from the media ultimately • Thinking media has a huge responsibility towards misinforming people; giving people the wrong information • Thinking the media gives out dangerous information • Believing absolutely that the media gives out information that causes people to have negative view of Islam and Muslims • Believing stereotypical issues are often completely misrepresented in the media • Predicting if the media printed picture of a hijabi woman everyday doing amazing things it would have an impact on the world • Thinking that will not happen anytime soon • Emphasising Muslims are doing amazing things that are not picked up by the media • Stating the media is an issue • Identifying the most negative part for Muslims is what is playing in the media • Countering how media can also fuel prejudice against something • Spreading occurs through social media via posts • Thinking the media is communicating hate • Feeling concerned that newspapers are spreading hatred • Agreeing the dissemination of stories of hate perpetuates anti-Muslim prejudice

Example 4: Building of category related to society and the emergence of the idea that Islam is a threat
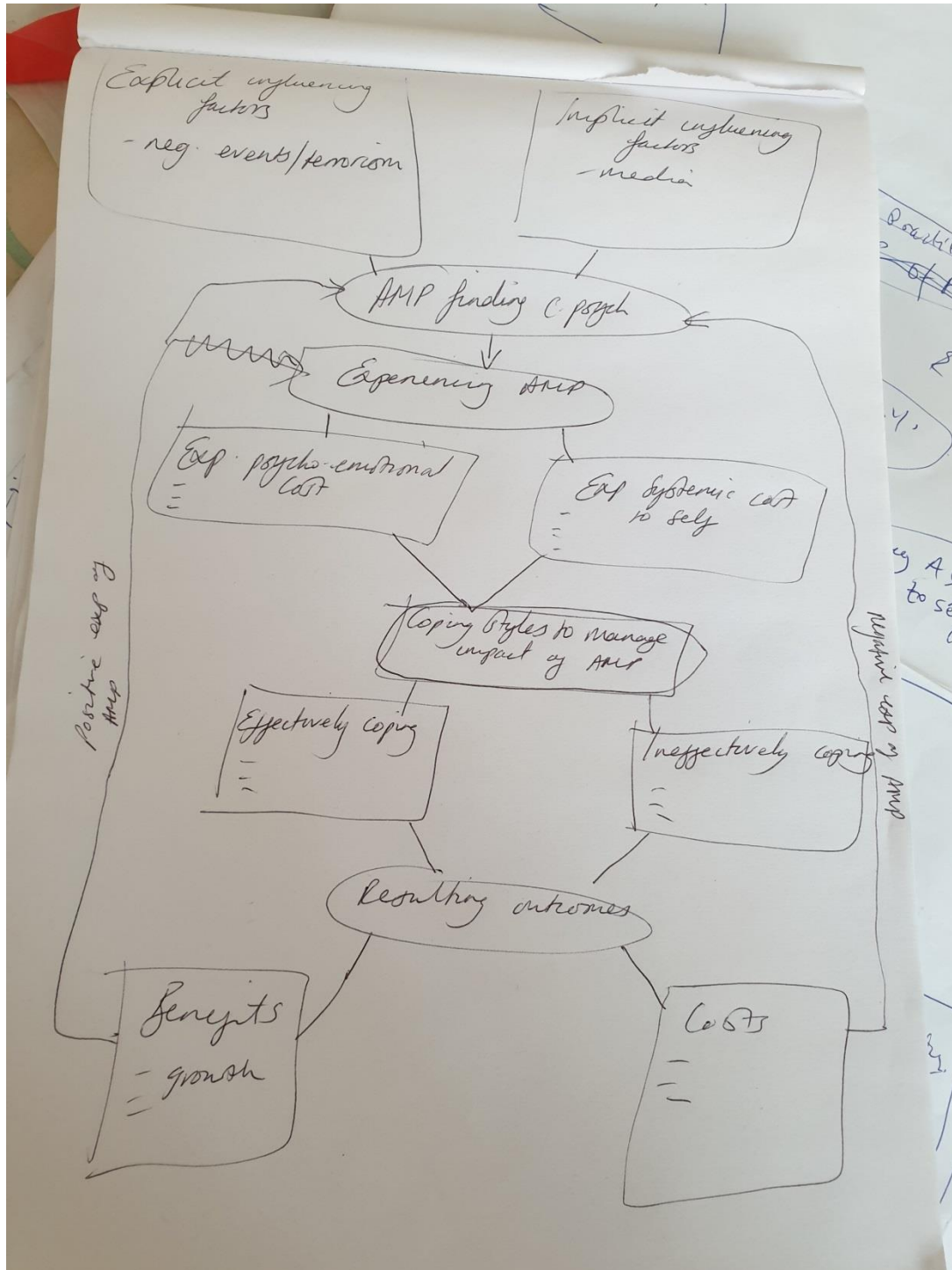
| 1.2.1 Identifying existential threat of Islam to western values as underlying anti-Muslim prejudice | **Identifying existential concepts as underlying anti-Muslim prejudice**
• Fear; Fear out-group as harmful; Stating that people have their guard and back up
• Thinking people have this fear (of Muslims)
• Hearing lots of things from her clients around not trusting Muslim neighbours; Hearing from her clients that they don't quite trust Pakistanis
• Favouring in group; protect in-group; Hypothesising people stick more to their own because of this feeling of the danger
• Noticing when running groups that there's splitting; people gravitating towards what's familiar
• Explaining the same as being seen as a threat or not; might be misunderstood or not
• Disqualifying/putting down the out-group based on: gender, race, age, faith; get rid of out-group;
• Thinking humans are very good at othering
• Thinking humans are always scared
• Thinking most humans are fearful of things they don't know about' that are different
• Guessing for her Islamophobia is a word that represents prejudice against Muslims and Islam; people who are fearful of something they don't know the truth about
• Describing how a Muslim man may be seen as potentially harmful; terrorist (p7)
• Assigning assumptions about Muslims related to whether they are a risk to you

Believing society indoctrinates existential concepts
• Instilling fear; sense of threat
• Remembering that's what was shoved down her family's necks
• Receiving the message to keep self away from Muslim boys
• Stating that the bias people hold is also about their own people and about themselves; Suggesting it's probably based on socialisation; European standards of beauty ; based on what the persons parents and grandparents have said to them
• Having one client who seemed quite scared working with her

Coming across people's perceptions of Islam as threatening to western society values
• "Muslims taking over the country"; "Muslims want to be in power"
• "So many mosques everywhere"
• Experiencing a white student who lived in halls with her making a random comment saying 'oh they think they think they own the world' about an international Asian Muslim student
• Being told that he finds it deeply offensive seeing someone wearing a hijab and niqab
• Being told that someone wearing a hijab or niqab is the same as someone wearing a t-shirt that says I love Nazis or I hate Jews
• Being told mosques do not fit in with western countries
• Finding reasons as to why Islam does not fit in within western countries
• Explaining there are prejudices against Islam in Cyprus because the community is secular and non-religious (p7) |

Appendix J: Example of Diagramming

Example 1: Brainstorm of emerging grounded theory diagramming: This diagram illustrates emerging categories and concepts that informed the first draft of the model. Beginning to make links between media and society and the exacerbating factors related to both and how society responds towards Muslims. Begin to see hot different parts of the model are emerging between exposure, impact and management of AMP and how they link from one to the other in a linear way.
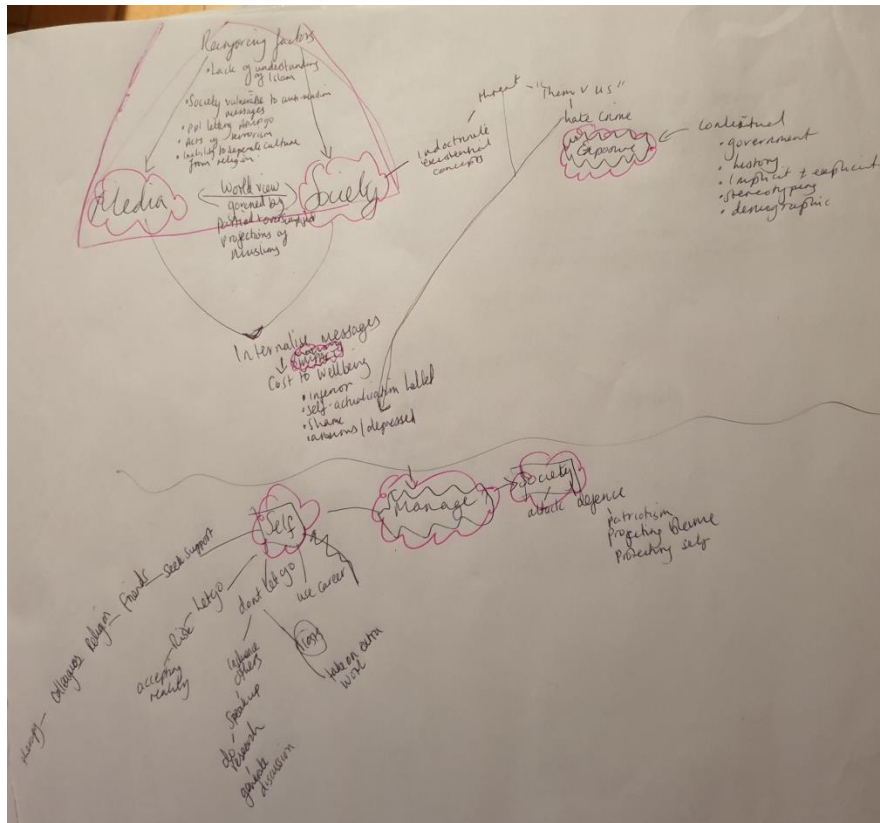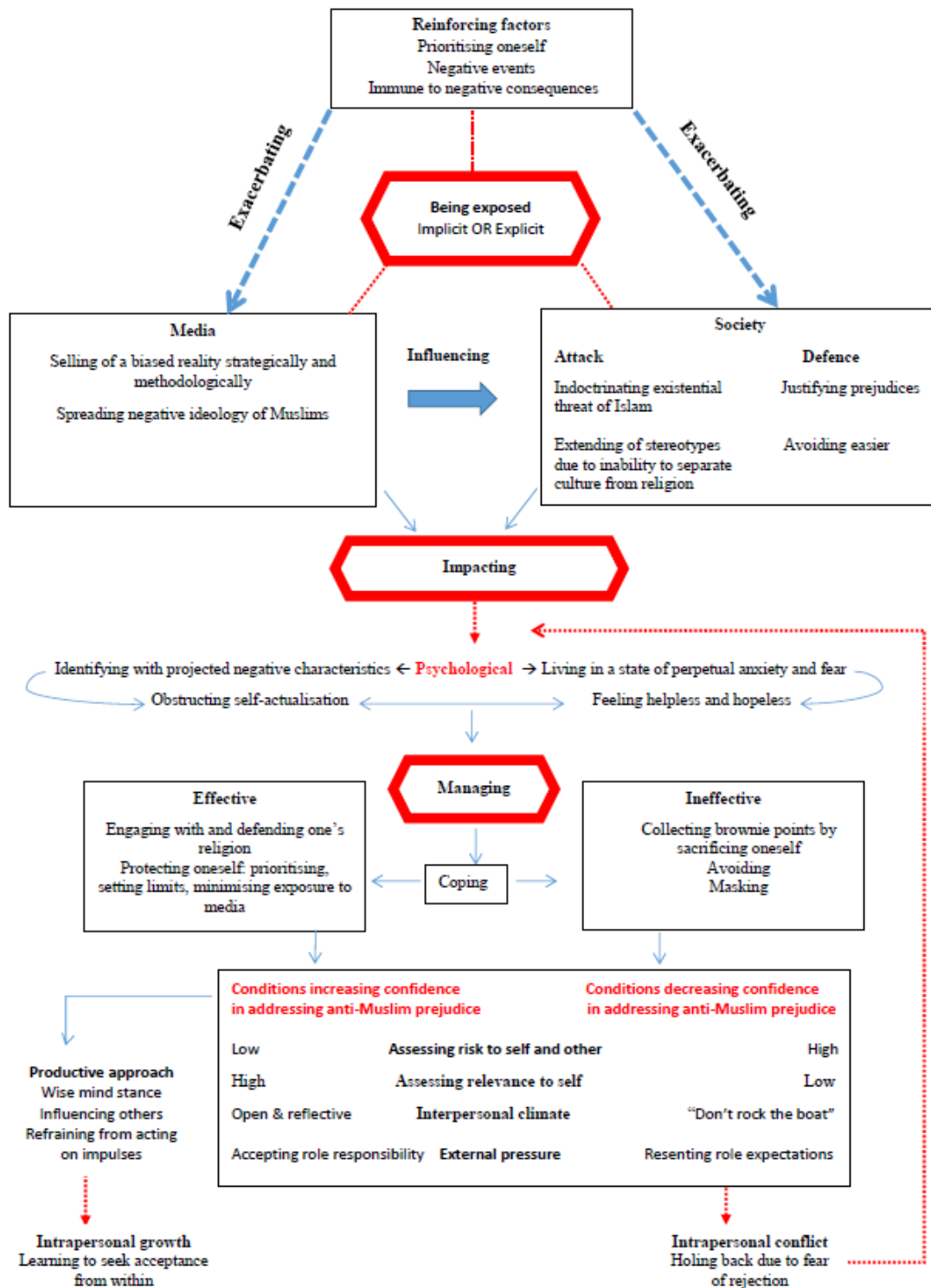
Example 2: Brainstorm of emerging grounded theory diagramming: This diagram came from brainstorming with the grounded theory group on how to make the model more coherent and remove/reconceptualise categories in line with the data and to spot repetitiveness.
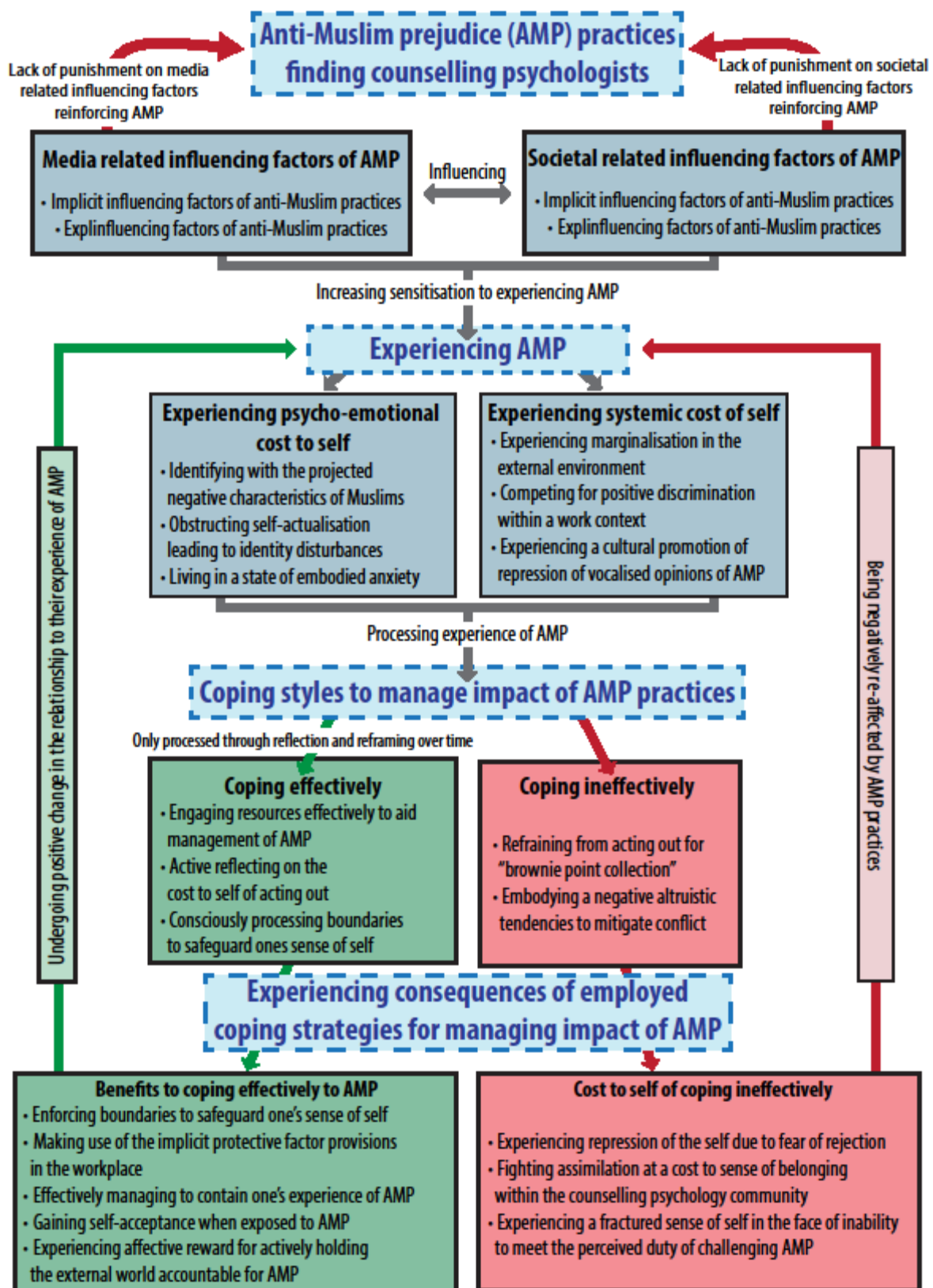
Appendix K: Drafts of model

Draft 1 of grounded theory model

Draft 2 of grounded theory model

Anti-Muslim prejudice (AMP) practices finding counselling psychologists

Lack of punishment on media related influencing factors reinforcing AMP

Lack of punishment on societal related influencing factors reinforcing AMP

Media related influencing factors of AMP
- Implicit influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices
- Explinfluencing factors of anti-Muslim practices

Influencing

Societal related influencing factors of AMP
- Implicit influencing factors of anti-Muslim practices
- Explinfluencing factors of anti-Muslim practices

Increasing sensitisation to experiencing AMP

Experiencing AMP

Experiencing psycho-emotional cost to self
- Identifying with the projected negative characteristics of Muslims
- Obstructing self-actualisation leading to identity disturbances
- Living in a state of embodied anxiety

Experiencing systemic cost of self
- Experiencing marginalisation in the external environment
- Competing for positive discrimination within a work context
- Experiencing a cultural promotion of repression of vocalised opinions of AMP

Undergoing positive change in the relationship to their experience of AMP

Being negatively re-affected by AMP practices

Processing experience of AMP

Coping styles to manage impact of AMP practices

Only processed through reflection and reframing over time

Coping effectively
- Engaging resources effectively to aid management of AMP
- Active reflecting on the cost to self of acting out
- Consciously processing boundaries to safeguard ones sense of self

Coping ineffectively
- Refraining from acting out for "brownie point collection"
- Embodying a negative altruistic tendencies to mitigate conflict

Experiencing consequences of employed coping strategies for managing impact of AMP

Benefits to coping effectively to AMP
- Enforcing boundaries to safeguard one's sense of self
- Making use of the implicit protective factor provisions in the workplace
- Effectively managing to contain one's experience of AMP
- Gaining self-acceptance when exposed to AMP
- Experiencing affective reward for actively holding the external world accountable for AMP

Cost to self of coping ineffectively
- Experiencing repression of the self due to fear of rejection
- Fighting assimilation at a cost to sense of belonging within the counselling psychology community
- Experiencing a fractured sense of self in the face of inability to meet the perceived duty of challenging AMP

Appendix L: Examples of memoing

Example 1: Higher order category 1.3: After a supervision session, I realised I had unconsciously ignored data related to the top half of the model in regards to participants early experiences and the impact this may have had on how they process AMP, and so I had to go back to my data. 06/03/19

Example 2: Lower order category 5.2.3 and 4.2.2: Emerging categories related to the need to do more and the costs related to this; and as evidenced in participants narrative of learning form experience, to prevent costs to self such as burning out. Bringing to light to different ways in managing AMP and the costs and benefits involved. 4/12/17 and 16/2/18
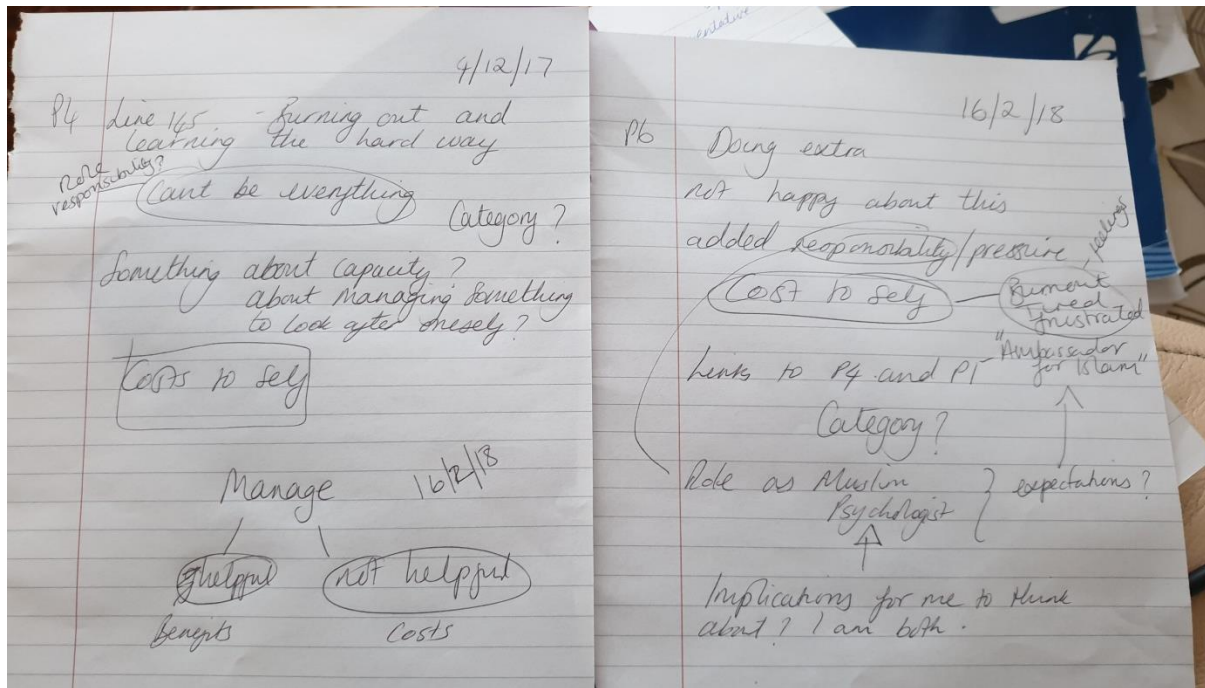
Example 3: Lower order category 4.2.1: Refraining from using one's voice for "brownie point collection": Reflections on the nuances of Britishness and exploration of any subtlety or ambiguity
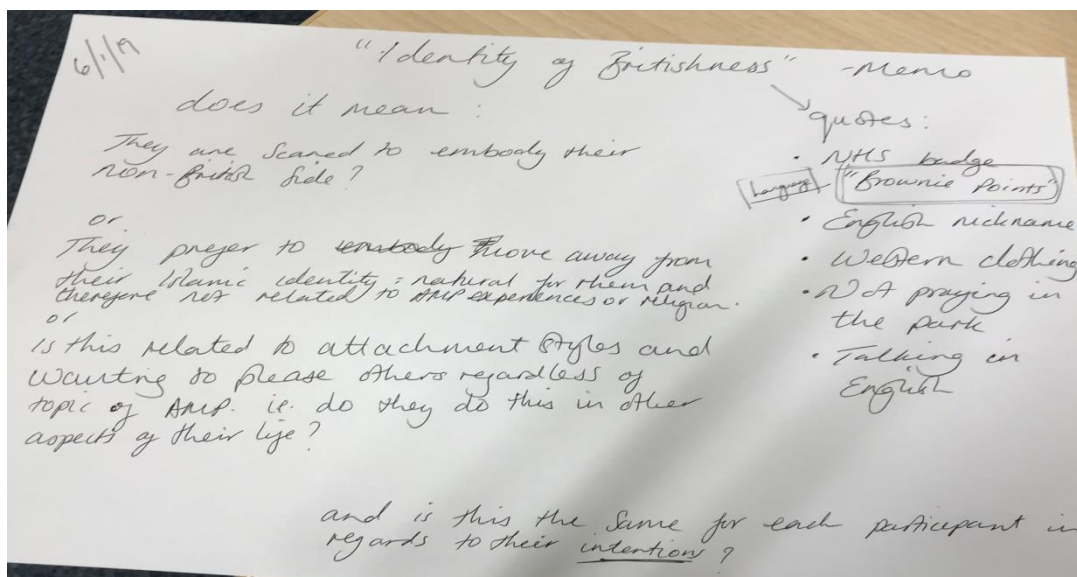
Example 4: Higher order category 1.1: Tracking my bias and expectations around the role of media during interview process

4/11/17

Diana - Less probing ~~but~~ and more open ended curious questions. However, still something I need to continue being mindful of. What do I want to see ?

2/12/17

Ciara - Interview less like the one before and so I followed interview questions more closely which resulted in asking about "where knowledge is received"

Again, participant expressed her feelings and anger, my questions remained open e.g why do you think that, what do you mean by closed?".

However, there were more probing questions - to be mindful of this for next interview.!

19/10/17

Haaris - Also provided his own thoughts on media in relation to a question that did not directly or indirectly involve media.

I was also open to his thoughts on not blaming the media although in the moment I noticed bodily sensation of not agreeing with him.

My bias!

Make sure I include somewhere the other side to media or that media isn't solely to blame!

7/1/18

Eliza - Better, participant brought media up first without any questions/input from me. I was able to follow up with asking her to expand.

Gabriella - Participant named media as a way of how ideologies about Islam/muslim spread without me directly asking.

14/1/18

28/1/18

Fatimah - Again better, participant created an opening for me to ask what she meant which led to or hopefully what resulted in exploration around media.

8/9/17

Ines - Same as last few interviews, no direct or indirect probing, participant offered her own interpretations and feelings.

Appendix M: Examples of Extracts from transcribed and coded interviews

Example 1

Transcript	Initial Codes	Focused Codes	Categories
210 Yeah so I always start that off	210) Being the one to start discussions	Having to take responsibility in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	
211 I do my best to try	211) Doing her best to try start discussions		
212 if if there isn't a reflective practice happening in the team that I work in to try and encourage it [00:17:00] the setting up of it	212) Trying to encourage setting up reflective practice in her team if there isn't one	Outlining intellectually driven strategies in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	
How do you do that?			
213 I just be very clear	213) Being very clear	Being the one to start discussions	
214 and say I think we need reflective practice	214) Saying she thinks they need reflective practice	Setting up safe spaces to talk	
215 and should we start it	215) Asking should they start it		Approaching anti-Muslim prejudice in the workplace
216 so could do it as peers and monitor each other	216) Suggesting they could do it as peers and monitor each other		
217 or get someone else in if there is funding	217) Suggesting they could get someone else in if there is funding		
218 and I think in that kind of safe environment it's much easier to raise these issues	218) Thinking reflective practice offers a safe environment; much easier to raise issues	Identifying systems that are helpful in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	
219 which is what I found in the post that I have been in	219) Finding reflective practice a safe and easy environment to raise issues in		
220 when it's not there it's more difficult umm	220) Experiencing it as more difficult when reflective practice has not been there		
Have you ever raised it when it's not in that setting?			
221 So all my work at the Veterans umm team we didn't have reflective practice	221) Not having reflective practice when working in veterans service	Identifying problematic areas in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice in the counselling psychology field	
222 that was just me raising things constantly	222) Raising things constantly by herself	Having to take responsibility in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	
How would you raise it?			
223 So I would just talk to whoever was around who I was sharing with umm	223) Talking and sharing to whoever was around	Outlining medium through which anti-Muslim prejudice is addressed	Standing up against anti-Muslim prejudice

Example 2

Transcript	Initial Codes	Focused Codes	Categories
really hard to deal with it			
And how do you deal with that?			
1058 well not very well so far [laughs],	1058) Admitting to not dealing with it very well	Enlisting protective mechanism of avoidance in coping with anti-Muslim prejudice	
1059 ignoring it is how I have dealt with it before now	1059) Dealing with anti-Muslim prejudice by ignoring it		
1060 become too painful	1060) Becoming painful		
1061 because of my professional changes where I am being more involved in social injustice and talking more about all of this and that is having a negative almost you could call it negative or positive impact on my personal life	1061) Being more involved in social justice is having a negative and positive impact on her personal life	Addressing anti-Muslim prejudice comes with a mix of positive and negative experiences	
1062 because I can't ignore it anymore so it's becoming much more painful umm	1062) Being unable to ignore anti-Muslim prejudice results in feeling much more painful	Identifying how tasking the process of addressing anti-Muslim prejudice is	
So do you feel it's hard to keep the psychology separate from you as a?			
1063 well you can't	1063) Feeling you can't keep psychology separate from personal life		
1064 and you shouldn't	1064) Believing you shouldn't keep psychology separate from personal life		
1065 and people do because that's how you survive	1065) Explaining people separate psychology from personal life to survive	Coping with lack of holding capacity through prioritisation	
1066 so I'm now in a position of how am I going to survive this	1066) Thinking how is she going to survive (anti-Muslim prejudice?)	Worrying about one's mental wellbeing as a result of living with anti-Muslim prejudice	
1067 how am I going to be true to who I am being this person in my profession who is talking about social injustice and islamophobia and all these kind of things and in private life I can't continue to ignore it	1067) Thinking how is she going to be true to who she is as a professional who is advocating for social injustice and Islamophobia versus not doing it in her private life	Dissonance between one's actions vs one's beliefs and urges	
1068 or can I?	1068) Questioning whether she can ignore it in her private life		
1069 or what you know I don't know umm I just know that its crunch time really	1069) Thinking it's crunch time		
1070 I think I just like to get a bit better	1070) Wanting to get a bit better	Aspiring oneself to improve in	
1071 I mean to be honest with some people there isn't			

Example 3

outside?			
77 Yeah that's what I was doing and I got burnt out	77) Getting burnt out being others confident all the time	Processing the cost of holding others	
78 And I got ill	78) Getting ill		
79 and it's because I was just taking on too much responsibility for so many people my family my friends my colleagues plus patients	79) Taking on too much responsibility at home and work		
80 And it's just not possible you can't be everything to everyone and yeah I learnt that the hard way so yeah	80) Learning the hard way that it's not possible to be everything to everyone	Accepting reality of one's limited capacity to hold others	
So my next questions umm can you tell me a bit about what you understand anti-Muslim prejudice to mean			
81 Mmm that's a good question **7min** I think I would understand it to mean [pause] I think it's anyway in which you are treating someone you are discriminating against someone because they are Muslim.	81) Thinking anti-Muslim prejudice means discriminating against someone because they are Muslim	Understanding anti-Muslim prejudice to include discrimination of Muslims	Meaning of anti-Muslim prejudice
82 Umm in any way that you are treating them differently	82) Thinking discriminating Muslims to be treating them differently		
83 and I would say prejudice umm I guess I guess treating them disfavourably if that's even a word because simply because of the fact they are a Muslim	83) Thinking being prejudice against Muslims is treating them disfavourably		
And do you have any examples or any meanings?			
84 Umm so it's I guess I think it is a stereotype you know	84) Guessing it's a stereotype	Understanding anti-Muslim prejudice to include stereotyping of Muslims	
85 Umm stereotyping someone and saying "oh goodness you know it's all these Muslims"	85) Giving an example of stereotyping Muslims to be saying "it's all these Muslims"		
86 and you know umm I've heard lots of things I've heard lots of things about umm	86) Hearing lots of things about Muslims		
87 feeling people concerned that Muslims **8min** are taking over the country	87) Hearing that people are concerned about Muslims taking over the country	Reflecting that society is extending prejudice to include all Muslims	Influencing factors of society?
88 How there's just so many mosques everywhere now umm	88) Hearing people saying how there's so many mosques everywhere now		
89 I've heard things like obviously there's the the terrorist thing and Oh	89) Hearing people saying "obviously there's the terrorist thing"	Identifying specific markers that are utilised as targets for discriminating Muslims	
90 If we had tighter control of our borders then this sort of thing wouldn't be happening these Muslims wouldn't be like killing everyone	90) Hearing people saying if tighter		

Example 4

and living your teenage life with that	assumption that it's the Muslim world (responsible for terrorism?)	Outlining the biased messages being communicated to society
133 ummm has really made me think like doing doing my own research	133) Doing own research	Coming from an inquisitive and open minded place in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice
134 has made me really explore the notion of what is terrorism what is prejudice what is racism and why do we hold the beliefs that we do.	134) Exploring notion of what terrorism, prejudice and racism is; why we hold the beliefs that we do	
135 Both from you know Muslim perspective but also non-Muslims why do they hold the beliefs that they hold	135) Aiming to look at it from both Muslim and non-Muslim perspectives about why they hold the beliefs that they hold	
Mmm, yeah and what are your thoughts on this are you kind of we kind of discussed about overt and covert and conscious and unconscious umm are you comfortable talking about it with friends, family, colleagues?		
136 Yeah yeah umm friends and family definitely,	136) Experiencing it as comfortable talking about (anti-Muslim prejudice) with friends and family	Discerning between the types of people addressing anti-Muslim prejudice is easier with
137 I think I come from a family whereby though everything is so simple [laughs] we simplify a lot of things	137) Coming from a family where everything is simple; simplify a lot of things	
138 so we have an awareness that you know racism exists **14min**	138) Having an awareness that racism exists	Identifying factors that make addressing anti-Muslim prejudice easier
139 but that's it you know and I think really we can look at things in the context of slavery	139) Looking at things in context of slavery	Trying to get people to identify with Muslims through making comparisons
140 and a lot of the racism that ummm black people African Caribbean people have experienced	140) Outlining racism black, African Caribbean people experienced	
141 and you know even even now if we think of again the historical contexts	141) Thinking now of the historical contexts	
142 that's why it's really important when we put all of this within a context what Muslims are experiencing now in some ways	142) Stressing importance of putting all of this within context of what Muslim's are experiencing now	
143 actually if you think of slavery and women men being killed raped	143) Thinking of slavery and women	

Appendix N: Example of focused codes and corresponding line by line coding

Example focused code	Example of corresponding interview quotes
Identifying platforms in which anti-Muslim prejudice is communicated	• **News**; Seeing anti-Muslim prejudice constantly in the news everyday; Reading anti-Muslim prejudice in the papers; Asking rhetorically what do we see on the news? Seeing the idea of Muslims harming others again using inverted commas • **Social media** • Coming across on Facebook a friend liking an anti-Muslim post • Watching anti-Muslim prejudice on the **telly**
Identifying media's role in spreading negative ideology of Muslims	• Feeling like she can't trust the medias reporting; Perceiving media as so biased; Learning about the world through media; Feeling like the media has the ability to poison her mind; • Hearing (anti-Muslim prejudice) every morning; Reading (anti-Muslim prejudice) in the free paper whilst commuting; • Stating (media) is very anti-Muslim; very racist; Stating (UK newspapers) are rather racist • Thinking in terms of Muslims she sees here that you're watching the news, reading newspaper and automatically you see a brown man, convert or refugee • Hypothesising her clients' experiences (of Muslims) are what they hear in the media • Thinking knowledge is received from the media ultimately • Thinking media has a huge responsibility towards
Believing the media has the power to influence peoples beliefs	• Pointing out that the media is a major tool in generating perception about any phenomena • Believing media is the most powerful tool • Concluding how the media is significant and crucial in forming and resolving biases/prejudices • Believing if a message is relayed by media it will impact people • Believing media had created association between Islam and terrorism
Placing blame on the media for peoples anti-Muslim prejudiced views	• Experiencing another client say to her they weren't sure what: she was thinking; her attitudes • Understanding that it's not her clients fault • Repeating how therapists are being informed by the media • Believing media has a massive impact on (people being anti-Muslim prejudiced) • Believing the media plays a big part in anti-Muslim prejudice
Identifying how powerful systems are immune to negative consequences thereby propagating	• Feeling like (newspapers) do not take (consequences) seriously • Guessing (newspapers) don't care (about consequences) • Hypothesising it doesn't matter to (newspapers) if there's

their behaviour	repercussions to what they write
Believing media has a sinister agenda at the expense of Muslims	- Believing the media is controlled by certain people; Referring to Rupert Murdock's newspapers - Thinking it all goes back to money and power - Stating (media) has a certain narrative they want to represent - Thinking it goes back to politics; making money; wars - Concluding there's a higher agenda - Highlighting the media certainly fuels it - Stating it is quite an inferential and biased view that the media is influencing
Perceiving some members of society as unsuspecting to media's hidden agenda	- Perceiving that normal people won't always understand (higher agenda) - Perceiving there are a lot of things like financial interest of states, geopolitical interests from different states that are behind the media
Outlining the strategies enlisted by the media in communicating and replicating anti-Muslim prejudice	- Immediately branding a Muslim a terrorist - Branding white person as mentally unwell - Media communicating message that it's ok - Agreeing that the media uses the same drip drip method - Highlighting the disproportionate amount of stories that you hear - Highlighting how stories are sensationalised - Suggesting that is what you get right at the beginning of the paper - Stating they write headlines that make assumptions - Stating that (newspapers) don't: correct their assumptions; update their misinformed articles - Adding little tones (to reporting) - Describing reporting of Parsons Green attack as putting little words in there - Noticing how (media) adds descriptions and words like: middle east, Asian, Arabs
Perceiving anti-Muslim prejudice is based on biased reality sold by the media	- Explaining how prejudices are biases not based on realistic ground - Describing how prejudices are based on: frustration, prior held beliefs; propagated perception about people - Seeing prejudices based on false perceptions - Describing prejudices as being unable to see reality; real picture - Coming across people who say media reporting of terrorist incidents are biased - Feeling angry at how biased the media is - Not seeing what is in the media a reality
Finding society struggles with the changing levels of religiosity in Muslims	- Stating this friend was the only person that said to her she is struggling with her wearing a hijab - Friend saying that it's not the same for her when they walk down

	the road together • Thinking it was hard for her friend • Thinking it was less hard for her • Explaining how her friends found it very hard with all the changes she was making because of God • Thinking they needed that gap to: see if their relationship was going to survive; Asking if the relationship was going to survive , how was it going to be different now •
Identifying existential concepts as underlying anti-Muslim prejudice	• Fear; Fear out-group as harmful; Stating that people have their guard and back up • Thinking people have this fear (of Muslims) • Hearing lots of things from her clients around not trusting Muslim neighbours; Hearing from her clients that they don't quite trust Pakistanis • Favouring in group; protect in-group; Hypothesising people stick more to their own because of this feeling of the danger • Noticing when running groups that there's splitting; people gravitating towards what's familiar •
Believing society indoctrinates existential concepts	• Instilling fear; sense of threat • Remembering that's what was shoved down her family's necks • Receiving the message to keep self away from Muslim boys • Stating that the bias people hold is also about their own people and about themselves; Suggesting it's probably based on socialisation; European standards of beauty ; based on what the persons parents and grandparents have said to them • Having one client who seemed quite scared working with her •
Coming across people's perceptions of Islam as threatening to western society values	• "Muslims taking over the country"; "Muslims want to be in power" • "So many mosques everywhere" • Experiencing a white student who lived in halls with her making a random comment saying 'oh they think they think they own the world' about an international Asian Muslim student • Being told that he finds it deeply offensive seeing someone wearing a hijab and niqab • Being told that someone wearing a hijab or niqab is the same as someone wearing a t-shirt that says I love Nazis or I hate Jews • Being told mosques do not fit in with western countries • Finding reasons as to why Islam does not fit in within western countries •
Reflecting that society is extending prejudice to include all Muslims	• "All these Muslims" "All Muslims are like that" • (white student) responding by saying "oh well you're Muslim too aren't you so maybe you're just like them as well" • "Terrorist thing"; when it comes to fundamentalism or terrorism people are more specific that it's a Muslim issue (; Expressing how veterans talk about their role of 'fighting the terrorist'; Starting from the baseline that every Muslim is a terrorist;

	Everything is about terrorism; Feeling like terrorism and Muslims in the UK are connected; (white student) Making this link and assuming all Muslims were terrorists
	•
Finding society has set preconceptions of what a Muslim looks like thereby treating them differently	• Suggesting people might not say, they might do it because someone visibly looks Muslim to them
	• Comparing wearing a hijab to someone who doesn't visibly look Muslim to people but is
	• Suggesting there is a difference between how a white person that identifies as a Muslim is treated compared to a non-white Muslim
	• Inferring that another person might make assumptions
	• Suggesting if people noticed what they are like with different groups of people and ethnicities they would get different receptions
	• Pointing out even Muslim bloggers in the media talk about how they have different experiences with their white relatives
	• Being mis-identified with her actual ethnic group
	• Explaining that even though she doesn't look Muslim and not regarded as one she is conscious of anti-Muslim prejudice (p7)
	• Assuming she will be judged because of her ethnic background which includes being Muslim
	•
Being identified as Muslim through specific markers leads to being treated more negatively	• **Clothing** – hijab; Thinking the stuff around headscarves is a massive one; Explaining the difference as you're wearing a face veil and being described as looking like a dustbin
	• Equating not wearing hijab with having different experience
	• Explaining how her sister reports: she doesn't have negative experiences; feeling people are accepting
	• Reasoning that her sister dresses very differently
	• Reasoning that she never used to wear hijab
	• **Skin colour**; being brown; Perceiving people to think of brown people as being Muslims; Experiencing being branded in with it (anti-Muslim prejudice) because you look the same (brown?); (anti-Muslim prejudice) Becoming about any browned skinned person; Thinking being brown equals being automatically looked at; Describing how her sister talks and looks European
	• Terrorism; Proposing that Muslims and terrorism as being the same;
	• Thinking anti-Muslim prejudice crosses in (race, religion and terrorism?) to every aspect
	• Thinking it's much bigger about being brown; anyone with a beard; anyone whose relative comes from that part of the world; anyone that speaks another language on the bus who isn't white
	• Feeling like some situations are because she is a woman more; not white enough; Muslim; or all three
	•
	•

Finding differences between people are being used as a platform to extend prejudices	• Finding the area quite segregated between white majority and other ethnic minorities • Conflict between religion; Highlighting tensions between Muslims and Sikhs; • Suggesting also that people can see otherness but everyone is grouped in the same category • Explaining how there is prejudice within sub groups of Muslim communities
Delivery of anti-Muslim prejudice can be unconscious and automatic	• Wondering whether a person is consciously aware of their prejudice or not • Thinking it can be difficult for some people • Explaining unconscious bias where people automatically make assumptions; having bias towards a group of people; not necessarily because they are consciously aware of something
Inability to separate culture from religion serves to exacerbate stereotypes of Islam	• Hearing someone ask how she can be doing (therapy with domestic violence) when she is oppressed herself • Stating this person had the stereotype of her as oppressed • Being asked how she never gets into relationships with Muslim men • Untangling religion and culture as hard; mess • Explaining how the man was using religion as a reason for why he was abusing her • Seeing a miss-match between cultural and religious bias or prejudice
Understanding anti-Muslim prejudice to include stereotyping Muslims	• Seeing colleagues stereotyping and making assumptions about black or Asian people; Highlighting that prejudice, racism and assumptions were being made by white colleagues; Perceiving there to be a bit of a stereotype/prejudice in terms of Muslim clients • Interpreting anti-Muslim prejudice as prejudice towards Muslims or groups that might be seen as Muslim
Finding society has set expectations of a terrorist that is synonymous with Muslims	• Finding it interesting how even Muslims conjure image of a terrorist as one that looks like them; particularly Asian Muslims • Expressing that when non-Muslims and even Muslims think of terrorists we automatically think of a brown man with a beard • Perceiving people to typecast brown people as being terrorists; Perceiving people to associate only Muslims as terrorists; Perceiving people to group together terrorists and Muslims; • Explaining if you have a brown man that might have a beard that

	comes onto the train/tube and has a backpack then there's discomfort
Perceiving members of society to try and encourage others to share in their anti-Muslim views	• Explaining how someone stopped and screamed at the lollipop lady to not talk to (a Muslim) because she's a terrorist • Spreading of the dichotomy through the sharing of ideas that goes on in a small community • Stating spreading of ideas happen very fast and effectively due to small size of the community • Thinking spreading of the dichotomy occurs through: word of mouth; social media and popular culture
Society's anxiety in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice negatively reinforced through avoidance	• Thinking people need to just stop feeling so uncomfortable • Feeling that's what she is up against with her teams • Noticing she didn't really get anywhere • Seeming it to be more of a segregation between whites and non-whites; Proposing (segregation?) happens when there is discomfort, dis-ease and difficulties happening • Being unsure whether the white communities are comfortable talking about (anti-Muslim prejudice) • Experiencing people shut down the conversation • Reading how a lot of people from Caribbean and African backgrounds experience being shut down when trying to talk about difference and diversity on all white training courses
Experiencing white colleagues in denial of their narcissism	• Finding people feeling like they're really liberal; they're fine • Perceiving people to think "don't question me, I know" • Experiencing colleagues saying (don't question me, I'm liberal) as constant • Explaining how (white staff member) then retracted by saying "oh no you didn't but it feels like that" • Experiencing her therapist as insensitive • Stating her therapist was very insensitive in general considering what has happened between those countries, religion and gender
Coming across people's egocentrism that prevents acknowledgment of their anti-Muslim prejudices	• Hearing a lot of people say that they don't need to learn about (being reflective and having uncomfortable conversations) because: they have friends; mix with certain people • Relating (negative feedback) to trainees resistance to (thinking) • Identifying most people wouldn't call themselves Islamophobic when they are • Believing her supervisor would not admit she was treating her differently because of race
Perceiving white colleagues as projecting blame to defend against addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	• White friends and colleagues using the word anti-White • Hearing her colleague saying "yeah it does seem to be much more about anti-whites" • Colleague responding by saying they see black and Asian people being racist against them

	• Wanting to say it's all isn't for you; you can't have everything • Experiencing people trying to feel like a victim instead of a perpetrator to justify their prejudice and discrimination • Experiencing people justifying their anti-Muslim prejudice through feeling like a victim of prejudice themselves •
Perceiving people are in conscious denial of their anti-Muslim prejudice	• Thinking people don't see (anti-Muslim prejudice) as being prejudiced • Thinking there's an unconscious bias or prejudice where people don't know; don't care • Thinking that's the point of it • Perceiving people to not see it as anti-anything when they have a prejudice, racist or against faith • Stating they just don't talk about it; or pretend they were always going to vote remain • Experiencing family as pretending six months of arguing never happened
Reacting to one's anti-Muslim prejudice being uncovered by masking one's true intentions	• Receiving response of "I'm only joking" from the woman • Speaking up results in ten other people saying they didn't mean it; being told that's not what's happening • Perceiving people can easily mask their prejudices
Processing of anti-Muslim prejudice can be unconscious and automatic	• Wondering whether a person is consciously aware of their prejudice or not • Thinking it can be difficult for some people • Explaining unconscious bias where people automatically make assumptions; having bias towards a group of people; not necessarily because they are consciously aware of something • Stating that white colleague was not aware (grouping people) in the meeting; Thinking some people just don't know (they are grouping people); they have no idea • Sharing how her therapist said she wasn't really aware of that stereotype • Repeating how her therapist wasn't particularly aware of stereotypes
Society using patriotism as a sublimation defence against being labelled anti-Muslim	• Hearing the argument most often is "this is our country, if we went to Saudi then I wouldn't expect to be allowed to live my life the way I live it here so why should Muslims live their life the way they live it here"? • Experiencing people believing that's not being prejudiced; that's protecting Britishness • Interpreting clients as eluding to not letting them win • Comparing how a Muslim with a hijab might be seen as not integrating within society vs without a hijab • Stating people always ask questions of "oh they pose as a refugee or an asylum seeker and they come over here and say look they bloody hate these British values; they hate being in our country; they cannot assimilate • Perceiving others as justifying being anti-Muslim prejudiced by protecting themselves; families, country

	• Questioning how to survive in diverse communities; questioning whether British Muslims are able to align themselves to queen and country • Thinking the biggest issues were young men possibly getting radicalised
Justifying being anti-Muslim prejudiced with the belief one needs to protect oneself	• Perceiving non-Muslims to define anti-Muslim prejudice with justifying it (p7) • Experiencing people justifying their anti-Muslim prejudice because of terrorism • Suggesting people justify anti-Muslim prejudice because they are protecting themselves from fear of Muslims • Experiencing people justifying their anti-Muslim prejudice with: protecting themselves; saying it's not prejudice or discrimination; saying they are nice people; don't hate any group of people
Identifying society is complicit in social injustice through prioritising themselves	• Thinking (speaking out and living morally) is difficult; we don't do that • Thinking most people want to go home and live a quiet life; don't want to get involved • Believing people don't realise that by getting involved or not, it still happens • Expressing that if it happens to a person it can happen to you at any point • Experiencing one of her colleagues from Finland break down; being distraught with how much racism is in the world • Looking at colleague quite dumbfounded; Thinking (racism) is an experience of our everyday life • Highlighting this notion of how her colleague was awoken to racism • Emphasising that if it doesn't affect you it doesn't really exist; you shutdown to discrimination, prejudice or difficulty of other groups • Suggesting if we are not: aware; willing to look; aware of our flaws; paying more attention to working with particular groups of people, you're going to have problems • Believing it's only people that are interested in serving the more marginalised communities and want to make changes that are gravitate towards social justice
Recognising projections of avoidance as a defence against anti-Muslim prejudice being addressed	• Expressing that her team does not want her to do it either • Receiving the biggest message to not rock the boat • Working with white colleagues who say not to get involved • Working with a team that would **let anti-Muslim prejudice go**; Understanding the message from white colleagues is to **let things go** • Admitting being stereotypical whilst saying that it's **comfortable** to be the white man; service lead or director at the top, that's ok • Thinking there's an unconscious bias or prejudice where **people don't know; don't care** • Having an opinion that with therapy **less people are open**; Supposing that your peers are up for telling you what's happening; what's uncomfortable; what's going wrong • Highlighting at her workplace it was more about choosing your battles; Thinking her take home message is mainly to choose your battles

Perceiving creation of anti-Muslim prejudice as a natural progression of ongoing cycles of hate	• Experiencing Black friend saying Muslim is the new Black • Finding out they were trying to say that it is the Muslims time to experience all this racism and shit that's going on in the world • Speaking with fellow colleague quite often about plantation politics; Thinking if we parallel that with the idea of Muslims then ultimately Muslims are still seen the same • Stating we can read about colonisation • Accepting at the moment it's Muslims • Predicting it will be someone else in 100/50 years' time • Highlighting prejudices are part of human personality • stating anti-Muslim prejudice has always been there
Having expectations placed on how one conducts themselves when challenging anti-Muslim prejudices	• Expressing the frustration related to (not saying fuck off): identifying as a Muslim; or someone who identifies and believes in social justice • Feeling like she should be doing something
Identifying there is a myriad of intersectional factors that create one's identity as a Muslim	• Explaining difference about being brown and being Muslim • Having all of these differences; wearing scarf or not • Emphasising it's not just about being Muslim • Identifying the intersectionality: being brown; from a certain ethnic group • Finding it hard to work out whether racism is based on her skin colour or because people are assuming she's Muslim • Highlighting there is a lot of intersectionality there • Stating she wouldn't say Islamophobia is one thing • Receiving racism even when she wasn't wearing headscarf therefore prejudice is not solely related to Islam
Experiencing Muslims as having to take on responsibilities because of their religion	• Thinking being seen as the token leads to being: looked at to speak out; not say anything; give people all this knowledge • Feeling very uncomfortable during her counselling training because people dealt with her as if she was an ambassador for Islam
Society perpetuating development of shame in being associated with Islam	• Linking not growing up with a proud heritage with getting bombarded with shit messages from outside • Highlighting it's all negative • Experiencing it as uncomfortable to acknowledge that even though it's not you doing (bad?) things, the actions of the group you belong to are (bad?) • Feeling like she's doing something wrong; awful until proven otherwise • Feeling like she is made to feel ashamed about who she is and her identity • Having to carry (negatives of what people think) for many years • Feeling ashamed of biased reports
Feeling scared for the safety of minority groups	• Needing to think about people from lower social economic backgrounds • Needing to think about how (e.g. Brexit) fuels hate
Worrying about emerging archetype of Islam as 'The Villain/Trickster' on one's identity	• Wondering how it impacts us collectively; way we engage in our psyche • Believing we are getting traumatised by: Bombing in Manchester; something on the tube; somewhere else • Hypothesising that people start to build a profile (of Muslims? Arabs?)

	• Perceiving people to think that every time they read newspaper there's something negative (about Muslims)
	• Thinking Muslims are already aware they have got a shit and negative image
	• Stating the slides have numbers on how in Europe Muslims are the second most hated race
	• Referring to how Muslims did not do very well
	• Stating its very dangerous (p7)
	• Feeling worried
	• Feeling concerned with people believing what the media says
	• Expressing how filling people with hatred and fear turns into hatred for Muslims which is risky
Feelings of fear proceeds behaviour aimed at concealing one's religious practices	• Being very aware about where to pray in this country
	• Trying to pray in discrete places
	• Feeling like she does try to hide praying
	• Remembering having a prayer mat and hiding it
Identifying a split in Muslims who assimilate vs those who reject assimilation	• Identifying one extreme where Muslims are trying to assimilate; really trying to find themselves which is part of being brought up in western society and being second third fourth generation Muslim people
	• Identifying other extreme where some people are becoming very isolated; parents expressing they did not bring their kids up to be like that
	• Highlighting we are getting two extremes
Identifying lack of leadership for Muslims as destabilising and fuelling insecurities	• Thinking community leaders should speak up
	• Thinking we should be able to be who we are
	• Asking if we are having those difficult conversations, why are Muslims keeping themselves protected
	• Surmising as a result Muslims do keep to themselves
Coming across people in health services abusing their positions in power	• Believing NHS has lots of people in power who cannot do their job
	• Stating it is dangerous and horrible to work in
	• Identifying her clinical supervisor as coming from a place of wanting to gain something because it's her department despite it not being in her remit
	• Experiencing how issues are side-lined all the time as a female Muslim Asian woman
	• Being side-lined helps her understand: what clients may be going through; Helping her understand power in relation to clients
	• Pointing out clients talk about being side-lined all the time
	• Referencing client activist groups and service user groups that talk about it
Processing anti-Muslim prejudice through learned behaviours from influential figures	• Identifying creation of prejudices is linked to frustrations, media image which is learned, hearing something from your authority figure
	• Perceiving hearing something from authority figure as being more influential
	• Hearing something from Imam is less likely to be challenged compared to hearing something from someone standing in the street
	• Explaining how if the key communicator is more influential and says something prejudiced people are less bothered about checking facts which is how prejudices develop

	• Outlining how it is the small things you say that can affect a child's view point • Seeing children repeating what their parents have said
Identifying lack of association between being anti-Muslim prejudiced and punishment	• Thinking on the whole there's not many consequences • Being offered security to escort her around for 24 hours • Perceiving people who are prejudiced don't go care
Addressing anti-Muslim prejudice is not a priority	• Finding that the Police are a bit slow • Perceiving Police to be under resourced • Pointing out (lack of mixing and racial segregation) wasn't explored very well • Sharing previous experience of reporting something or whistleblowing to NHS as terrible • Getting swept under the carpet • Frequently experiencing people do nothing when she reports something • Believing her supervisor should have taken steps to make her feel comfortable (p7) • Stating her supervisor didn't make her feel comfortable • Concluding in the end the issue wasn't resolved
Being de-motivated to address anti-Muslim prejudice	• Explaining that (she doesn't care) because of how she sees the place as toxic • Expressing how it feels quite painful and too much to work in a place or team that: sees her in a negative way; having to challenge what they think; working with clients • Ending up not reporting • Believing no one will do anything
Being motivated to address anti-Muslim prejudice due to positive experiences in reporting anti-Muslim prejudice	• Having a lovely experience with the marriage company • Stating the organisation had stance of: acceptance of everybody; non-judgemental; doing it for sake of God; never discriminating against people • Receiving support that what the counsellor said was inappropriate • Stating it was very empowering • Proclaiming she would feel more confident and continue taking it further if she reported something in NHS and it was swept under the carpet
Identifying lack of exposure to critical thinking in mainstream teaching	• Pointing out how (exposing critical psychological perspectives) wasn't taught on the main curriculum • Stating in training you have one workshop (on being reflective and having uncomfortable conversations) • Thinking (courses) don't give enough space for it • Emphasising it is not sufficient to have one or two hour workshops exploring difference and diversity • Training a lot with people from (white middle class) background means there's not always space for other people • Outlining how good institutions and organisations will incorporate into their inductions and trainings about understanding different cultures and backgrounds
Identifying how systems reinforce privilege preventing ethnic minorities from challenging prejudices from within	• Perceiving people to question whether ethnic minority people can afford the process of going through training • Questioning whether (ethnic minorities) have opportunities such as having contacts available to get psychology type work

	experience • Expressing that there's loads of discrimination and oppression •
Identifying implicit mechanism of anti-Muslim prejudice delivery	• Hidden: don't openly disclose prejudices, tight to their chests; identify some people you can say things to and some not; being careful; play it safe; not being forward in saying discriminatory things • Pointing out rhetorically that there is something called indirect discrimination • Thinking the idea of prejudice is not always overt in your face, its subtle • Experiencing anti-Muslim prejudice as very subtle • Describing (microaggression interaction) as: being short with you; treating you quite differently • Explaining how there are many subtle prejudices people have • Highlighting how subtleties are non-verbal actions
Identifying explicit mechanism of anti-Muslim prejudice delivery	• Overt and clear when people: say things, treat Muslims differently • Expressing that for some people they can out rightly say I hate that Muslim; I wanna pull their hijab off • Experiencing someone spitting at her • Being checked out to see whether she is Muslim • Stating that as soon as something happens (terrorist attack) you're sitting on the train and people look at you; • Being asked questions • Name calling; digs and jibes (p5); Thinking they say things they expect Muslims to find offensive • Being with her white partner who didn't and wouldn't bat an eye lid that she'd get searched so badly • Highlighting how she always gets taken off to the side compared to everybody else
Identifying society as conforming to in group favouritism thereby encouraging 'US vs Them' mentality	• Having people say "don't let the f*****g Muslims in • Hearing people say "we don't want people from Asian countries and that country to come in" • Describing how her colleague said there's a lot of you (Muslims) called that • Explaining how her colleague was using names like 'us' and 'them' • Describing how her colleague kept using terms like 'you lot' 'you lot do this…and that' • Describing how it felt very ostracizing
Correlating rise in anti-Muslim prejudice with events that portray Muslims in a negative light	• Noticing an increase in racism and prejudice after a terrorist attack • Linking increase in anti-Muslim prejudice with Brexit; terror attacks • Perceiving when something happens it reminds people "oh yeah don't like these people" • Believing the image has come from whenever there is an incident • Hypothesising peoples mind will go towards terrorism • Perceiving terrorist attacks as turning points because it has brought anti-Muslim prejudice to the forefront

Being visibly Muslim construed as being open to talking about religion	• Stating if you wear a hijab you are saying: I am Muslim; believe in God • Perceiving her colleague to feel able to talk about religion • Asking why does wearing a headscarf allow them to talk about religion
Acknowledging the potential implications of one's religious identity on the therapeutic relationship	• Remembering talking to her supervisor about clients dream/story • Being asked by her supervisor how her client felt about working with her because she's a Muslim • Identifying her client was going (down the Muslim route?)
Being screened by clients to determine whether the prejudices they have of you will be confirmed	• Highlighting within first 10 minutes clients can sense she is: nice person; wants to help them; kind • Stating it takes 5-10 minutes and prejudices are all gone: colour; gender; religion • Stating how you will be able to sense within the first few minutes whether you are going to be someone they can trust; open up to
Having to contend with racism within services	• Thinking about the struggles in the service and the rife racism within it • Highlighting that BME staff experience discrimination and prejudice at a higher rate than other minority groups
Identifying fear of consequences as an influential factor in determining whether a colleague is willing to address anti-Muslim prejudice	• Explaining the danger as everyone worrying about ending up in an argument; true feelings coming out • Conjecturing white friends believing that if they say something that they really feel to her it's going to be an argument; or her letting them know how angry she is about their privilege
Perceiving people to adopt behaviours which safeguard against them having to address anti-Muslim prejudice	• Believing people know there is a difference so they: stay away from you; watch their words around you • Hypothesising people do not want to say the wrong thing
Identifying one's social class as a contributing factor influencing whether one attends to anti-Muslim prejudice	• Suggesting it might be people who are very middle or upper class that have to look at their own privilege • Thinking (white power/supremacy/privilege) are important terms to think about and reflect on when we think about prejudice and prejudice BME groups experience • Suggesting people from white or middle class backgrounds have a very different experience (of prejudice) from talking with them • Believing (white or middle class people) have privilege • Concluding (white or middle class people) don't notice what is absent or what is different (due to privilege) • Stating people are not aware of their privileges • Suggesting people need to reflect (on their privileges)
Needing time to process how to approach addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	• Wanting to think about how to explain it to her colleague • Pause; take step back, not rush • Remembering thinking in that moment how she is going to challenge her colleague • Thinking slowly • Answering slowly • Supposing you might stop and think about what to do • Explaining how you don't realise you are stopping and thinking • Talking herself through things

Creating a hierarchy of importance and severity to guide when to address anti-Muslim prejudice	• Stipulating that she wants to say something but not always or for the sake of it • Wanting to speak out if it's the right thing to do • Thinking people have things like relationships problems and depression going on in their lives that overshadow (racism/anti-Muslim prejudice) • Highlighting that unless something very traumatic, or recent, and made to feel very unsafe then it might be at the forefront of what they bring to therapy • Relating to how she is also working on other more distressing and imminent things • Acknowledging there are other more pressing things • Not acknowledging (anti-Muslim prejudice) if she is walking out and about and something happens • Correcting someone if she felt it was appropriate • Deducing there is a time where you can challenge things • Deducing there is a time when you can't challenge things • Sharing she doesn't get into an argument under general posts
Weighing up how worthwhile addressing anti-Muslim prejudice is	• Believing writing something on Facebook doesn't change people's opinions; not effective • Believing writing something on strangers Facebook doesn't change people's opinions • Thinking getting into a discussion with strangers is not effective
Assessing risk to others in deciding whether to address anti-Muslim prejudice	• Being considerate of those affected by Islamic terrorism; being less vocal with them • Experiencing terrorism in home country • Feeling like she doesn't want to impact someone's therapy • Expressing how she doesn't want to make people feel more unsettled
Assessing risk to self in deciding whether to address anti-Muslim prejudice	• Thinking it's much more confrontational; having more of an edge; feeling more dangerous • Being careful with how she challenges people • Realising at the same time that there's something about protecting yourself within this institution • Being more mindful with strangers because: someone can just punch you in the face; you just don't know what's going on with people • Highlighting there is also the risk of (challenging) • Describing how some of her black colleagues are seen as 'the angry black woman' • Raising (something that isn't right) depending on the reception that she gets; Thinking twice about raising something if it's a negative reception • Feeling that the consequences feeds into her concerns and worries about how she is received • Emphasising that she wouldn't necessarily start talking to somebody in public
Organising importance of challenging anti-Muslim prejudice depending on its relevance to oneself	• Eyes not open to anti-Muslim prejudice because it's not a prejudice that impacts one; placing prejudices that impact oneself first • Explaining (that she didn't challenge) because: it was her friend's workplace not hers; and her friend works in admin and in a different city

	• Outlining how different racial groups contend with different problems • Finding she doesn't understand anti-Muslim prejudice until she looks like one • Pointing out she is also aware of anti-Muslim prejudice because: of her background; relevant; in the news
Identifying lack of confidence in one's self for not addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	• Lack of confidence = letting things go • Not understanding • Explaining how she didn't understand (the questions) but some people made comments • Explaining how she didn't always understand some of peoples references • Declaring (addressing anti-Muslim prejudice) as still far and few between • Acknowledging she wouldn't be able to report someone to their governing body • Finding it difficult to speak up at first
Identifying time as a factor in improving ones confidence in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	• Going back 17/17 years ago and presuming she wasn't as confident as she is now • Thinking she is a different practitioner (now?) • Being very confident; Probably got more confident • Probably got a bit louder with it • Saying something automatically as she is getting older • Liking to think she is a bit more aware • Thinking she might be ready to start thinking about talking about (anti-Muslim prejudice) more publicly • Knowing it was just the beginning of her journey to making herself strong enough to be able to talk about (anti-Muslim prejudice) in public • Getting braver at (addressing anti-Muslim prejudice) • Getting louder as a part of not being servile; quiet;
Identifying characteristics in others that increases one's confidence to address anti-Muslim prejudice	• Family - Thinking it's for those that realise and are more open to listening to what they are saying; Experiencing it as comfortable talking about (anti-Muslim prejudice) with friends and family; Being able to have conversations with family when something happens (terrorist attack); especially living so lose to London; Finding it more helpful to talk to her family • Talking to her therapist • Stating it takes someone very reflective, honest and open to challenge (the associations?) • Colleagues: who are keen to address/support issues; lived in diverse places; Working in a place where conversations feel safer with fellow BME people; Questioning whether feeling safe with BME people is about both self and other feeling comfortable • Stipulating being comfortable to address her experience depends on: what their position is; whether they are vocal
Persevering in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	• Sticking it out/staying • Stating it is a path she has started • Having to keep on going • Expressing that you have to (keep going)
Learning to seek acceptance from	• Thinking it's nice (asserting herself) doesn't affect her anymore

within enables one to address anti-Muslim prejudice	- Identifying that previously she wouldn't assert herself because she didn't want to be disliked by her superiors - Recognising that standing up against anti-Muslim prejudice is opposite of getting liked/fitting in - Resulting in a huge shift in: personality; life; character
Accepting reality of one's limited capacity to hold others	- Trying to curtail being others confident - Not wanting to deal with other people's problems outside of work - Confiding doesn't work both ways - Can't be everything to everyone - Highlighting that sometimes she would rather not (stand up against anti-Muslim prejudices) due to being tired
Fearing rejection motivating the need to protect relationships through being amenable	- Wanting to leave with relationships intact - Outlining next step taken by service was getting in touch with him - Trying to maintain relationships with family - Battling with having relationships with people who are family but hate Islam - Wanting to avoid: offending and upsetting people when addressing anti-Muslim prejudice - Not wanting to start picking fights with people - Refraining from spoiling family relationships
Feeling the need to hold back from telling people how their anti-Muslim prejudice truly impacts on oneself	- Wanting to be able to say she finds (their anti-Muslim prejudice) hurtful - Wanting to be able to say she understands their point but finds it hurtful - Wanting to be able to say how what they said impacts her
Coping with lack of holding capacity through prioritisation	- Being a psychologist means not needing to be someone's confident - Choosing her battles now - Explaining people separate psychology from personal life to survive - Keeping professional and personal views separate in regards to view of media - Preferring to work from a social psychology and perception management pov - Being compassionate to oneself as a way to cope with needing to do something
with the process of prioritisation using justification	- Being approachable, someone who can listen, non-Judgemental - Helping others through her work (cost to self of prioritisation – linked to model) - Emphasising that she doesn't need to be fed with this stuff anymore - Explaining as professional they have to prioritise service users on waiting lists - Having a small percentage of time to reflect on personal views - Stating he doesn't have time nor space
Enlisting protective mechanism of avoidance in coping with anti-Muslim prejudice	- Refraining from reading newspaper; Refraining from opening newspapers like The Metro and Evening Standard; free newspapers; Emphasising she doesn't read newspapers like the Daily Mail, The Sun - Defending why she is wary of where she travels to - Refraining from listening to the radio

	• Refraining from following BBC News • Saying she wanted to end therapy • Moving on (leaving) if she doesn't like where she is working • Explaining how everybody pretends • Perceiving it to be too painful; nobody wants to talk about it together • Struggling to talk to family about it • Understanding it is easier to be blissfully unaware and ignorant
Masking how one truly feels to survive harshness of reality as a Muslim	• Acting like it doesn't have a massive impact • Resulting affect is a split within you • Causing psychological issues • Seeing resemblance with clients in constant fear of something they can't control and can't do anything about • Feeling a massive difference between how she feels inside and what she shows others on outside • Describing how everyone gets on with things
Using objects that represent Britishness to safeguard against anti-Muslim prejudice	• Believing people will think twice of attacking her if she has her NHS badge • Feeling more scared going to work if she hasn't got her NHS badge
Being taught to become part of the in-group through accommodation	• Having parents who tried to fit in • Having must fit in thing • Not agreeing with having to fit in • Fitting in caused a lot of damage • Fitting in worked and was helpful in the past • Being told they must fit in
Securing oneself from unpleasant experiences through changing one's outward appearance	• Telling oneself that if they look pretty and fit in then it will be ok • Having an appointment on one of the most notorious estates in England on the first day she wore a hijab • Deliberating on whether to take her hijab off • Taking hijab off
Abandoning ones identity in line with the western majority	• Describing how Turkey became more secular; becoming more westernised • Perceiving Turkey to be going through identity issues • Outlining how Turkey is from middle eastern/Mediterranean area and trying to be western or European • Disclosing how in her region people desire to be more western
Having colleagues who will advocate on one's behalf	• Explaining how her supervisor had heard similar things about the organisation • Sharing how her supervisor was going to do some training for that organisation • Stating her supervisor is really good at working with racism, difference and diversity • Highlighting that the support she got from the head of centre was enormous • Being fully supported by head of centre • Being asked whether she wanted head of centre to come so she is not alone
understood by likeminded people as a factor in whether one shares their experience of anti-Muslim prejudice	• Stating she is lucky the woman she was working with was Irish; experienced in activism; against injustice; works with it very well • Feeling very understood by the woman she was working with; Perceiving it to be because she's had a lot of experiences of

	feeling 'other'
	• Being told they understood how she felt because of what they went through with IRA
	• Repeating that a lot of Irish people come up to her and say they feel her pain
	• Having husbands relative align themselves with her family because they perceive they're not going to receive racism from her
	• Equating having a faith leads to more of an understanding of other faiths
Aligning oneself with media outlets that are not anti-Muslim prejudiced	• Aligning herself mostly to black twitter; Asian black news channels; and groups
	• Aligning herself to people that she trusts that have learnt about those outlets
	• Being shown another point of view by documentaries
Using counselling psychology to satisfy the desire to help people in line with social justice work	• Interested in finding out why people do what they do
	• Interested in finding out why they say what they say
	• Thinking before she became a psychologist she was looking for ways to fulfil the need to be others confident
	• Believing all these things contributed in wanting to give back
	• Wanting to ensure people are not on their own
	• Ensuring clients have got someone that would try their best
	• Feeling happy where she worked because there was a lot of room to advocate for clients
	• Using her mental health background to try and support clients to get their needs met
Seeking psychological support from professionals in managing one's feelings	• Working on her feelings in therapy
	• Disclosing that it's very hard to shift
	• Identifying (really good supervision) as exploring difference and diversity
	• Using therapy to stop the need to fit in and be liked
Aspiring oneself to improve in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	• Wanting to get a bit better
	• Wanting to get a little bit more confident (in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice)
	• Wanting to get better at talking about (anti-Muslim prejudice)
Receiving lack of support and guidance in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	• Receiving **little support**; **no real thought, care or aftercare** from team
	• Reiterating **not having much response** from their team
	• Expressing how colleagues feelings would be to **step back**; Being encouraged or advised by white colleagues to step back ; Receiving the biggest message **to not rock the boat**
	• Team **not understanding** the level of racism that they felt
	• Being reminded that the veterans are angry and traumatised men (excusing their behaviour?)
	• Team **not understanding** the level of racism that they felt
	• Should have known better; should have expected it
	• Feeling like her white colleagues have said its ok to talk about Muslims like that; Feeling like her white colleagues just **don't go there**
	• Surmising people don't like people standing up against injustice
	• Expressing how she didn't know what else she could have done
Identifying pitfalls in making	• Finding it really interesting that people come to her for advice (on

Muslims responsible for educating others	Islam)
	• Highlighting that being Muslim is not synonymous with knowing the Quran inside out and having all this knowledge
	• Admitting she does not (know everything about Islam)
	• Explaining how she doesn't want to say it (if she can't remember it)
	• Suggesting Muslims are not good at knowing their religion; explaining it; talking about it
Identifying a split in responsibility between races and religions in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	• Thinking the Asian community doesn't recognise what's happening
	• Thinking the Muslim community are more aware because of the amount of anti-Muslim propaganda; and being so targeted
	• Thinking there is more (anti propaganda and targeting) for Muslim community than Indian
	• Thinking for Indians it's so underground; not recognising the impact of racism
	• Family not seeing it (similarities)-Thinking her family see Pakistani Muslim's and Punjabis as completely different tribes; Hearing her uncles and people around her talking about differences
	• Thinking the responsibility of ignorance lies in all cultures
	• Believing everyone has a responsibility to balance good and bad of cultures
Identifying grandiose traits in others that creates a block in challenging peoples anti-Muslim prejudices	• Feeling like her learning was done
	• Feeling like she didn't want to: reflect on things; change her opinion; learn more
	• Explaining how her therapist did not respond very well (to being challenged)
	• Sharing how her therapist didn't: apologise; acknowledge error of her ways
	• Identifying she didn't come away thinking her therapist's actually heard anything she's said
	• Experiencing her therapist as insensitive
Difficulties comprehending the reality of peoples anti-Muslim prejudices	• Remembering thinking "is this fucking happening?"
	• Feeling bewildered and asking "is this happening"?
	• Thinking "like really"?
	• Remembering just thinking "wow"
	• Shocked; Thinking "what on Earth"
	• Revealing that maybe she didn't expect it (the racism?) to be quite to that level
	• Thinking "what on earth have I don't to you to warrant this type of response"?
	• Sitting and feeling incredulous at what was coming out of his mouth
Identifying temperament for shyness as a barrier to addressing difficult topics	• Suggesting (good or bad supervision) depends on how comfortable someone is to reflect and explore
	• Concluding that there's less people that are (comfortable reflecting and exploring)
	• Believing less people are being reflective and having uncomfortable conversations
	• Thinking people are most uncomfortable looking at: colonisation;

	slavery; war; human injustices • Admitting she was definitely not bringing it up
Being vocal as a medium through which anti-Muslim prejudice is addressed	• Talking and sharing to whoever was around • Stating she would normally still point out what's happening when somebody or a group is being oppressed • Addressing it with perpetrator by oneself • Speaking to supervisor; raising it with colleagues • Generating discussion; asking questions about what Obama did • Processing of unpicking involves having a discussion • Looking at white staff member • Going to still speak out • Raising her (concerns) • Identifying as being outspoken • Leading to a lot of conversations with her very close colleagues who she considers friends around white privilege, race, power and • Giving it a voice • Putting it out there
Holding colleagues to account for their behaviours	• Responding to colleague by saying "just as well they're working with a Muslim psychologist" • Saying to her colleague "do you not see how that's quite prejudice"? • Telling her supervisor at university • Phoning the head of the company to complain about what happened
Influencing others through activating their conscious thought processing	• Needing to consistently say the same thing again and again to family • Knowing it's about putting something into their consciousness; drip drip • Thinking social education is next • Believing education, communication, giving equal opportunities and purpose in life are major things in helping people manage their prejudices • Helping people stay in realistic zones rather than prejudiced zones • Helping people to understand why her friend became more religious
Educating people on the foundations of their anti-Muslim prejudice	• Trying to make it clear the difference between religion and belief • Wanting to stress to her community about their beliefs and how they come to see religion
Confronting peoples avoidance of self-reflection	• Making white people look at their own privilege • Showing colleagues how they might be only supporting people like them • Finding that colleagues haven't noticed (their racism?) when she raises it
Suggesting Muslims have a duty to change the perception society has of them	• Thinking Muslims need to start doing amazing things with the rest of the world in non-Muslim communities • Suggesting media will likely pick it up • Thinking Muslim communities had a lot of work to do • Thinking we need more: open mosque days; come and have a cup

	of tea with your imam day • Emphasising that Muslims need to face up to things that are going on in the world; their communities; terrorism • Reiterating Muslims have a lot of work to do in their own communities
Having to justify one's acts, thoughts and feelings in response to peoples assumptions	• Sharing how other things happened when she ended up covering alongside 7/7 bombings • Explaining how her colleagues assumed she started covering because of 7/7 • Having a number of conversations with colleagues about why she was covering • Responding by explaining the reason for covering is related to getting into her faith and not because of 7/7
Coming from an inquisitive and open minded place is productive in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	• Doing own research • Aiming to look at it from both Muslim and non-Muslim perspectives about why they hold the beliefs that they hold • Saying "It's really interesting that you are making these links and then you brought me into this and I don't understand why you would do that" • Identifying that it is helpful not to be personally and emotionally attached to engagements
Identifying id impulses governing destructive behaviours	• Reacting angrily, lashing out • Being honest and thinking she ultimately wanted to say was "fuck off"; Knowing (saying fuck off) was her reacting from a place of anger • Wanting to retaliate • Pointing out the obvious • Shutting people down; saying they are wrong • Responding by saying "if you think I'm racist now then I was always racist" • Replying yes it fucking is
Willingness to take on roles and activities outside of being a counselling psychologist	• Being a spiritual and cultural care co-ordinator at a hospital • Organising awareness around Ramadan for Muslim patients • Training volunteers to work alongside her • Stating she started up like a black lives matter therapist group with colleagues last year • Volunteering where she can; if it's viable
Sacrificing oneself for the greater good	• Comparing how the Muslim volunteers could be there if she was there • Going along with that otherwise she wouldn't have been allowed to (bring them in) • Putting in extra work to enable (Muslim volunteers to come in) • Being the one to come in and do extra work; making sure she can be there; to supervise • Explaining how if a client comes in and they are really offensive at whatever level her first point is to be there in the service of them • Having her team say "you've taken enough for the team" • Feeling like she's just picking people other people don't want to work with

	• Disclosing there are times where she feels she should work there
Identifying counselling psychologist's place in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice is in line with social justice work	• Being a counselling psychologist wanting social justice and working to advocate for it means we are in a good position • Being in a good position means we can write journals, book chapters, being able to say we need to run training, need to explore this • Being in a good position means running, facilitating or thinking about attending reflective groups • Being in a good position means running activist groups • Being in a good position means running activist groups • Thinking there's lots in ways (we can use our position) • Thinking we have a responsibility to ourselves and community as a whole
Believing society has a responsibility to advocate for social justice	• Thinking every one of us has a responsibility to speak out; advocate for ourselves, clients, communities, and humans • Believing that whether Muslim or not, white, black or Asian, we each have a responsibility to speak out; treat people well; try and live as morally as possible • Thinking (speaking out and living morally) is difficult; we don't do that • Thinking people need to call out other people when they see something (prejudiced?) • Believing we have responsibility to address prejudice
Finding solace from the teachings of Islam in coping with anti-Muslim prejudice	• Finding her faith as helpful • Thinking there is a higher power that supersedes this worlds • Guessing (this world) is part of the test • Being at peace if someone abuses her or if she gets hurt or die then hopefully she goes to heaven for wearing the hijab • Talking to Allah over the years • Being helped by her faith to put into context (anti-Muslim prejudice) • Getting Quran lessons and personal coaching from Sheikh in Egypt
Using teachings of Islam to truly embed values and ethics of counselling psychology into every aspect of one's life	• Finding her faith more so than her training has helped her become a better therapist in terms of values • Explaining how if someone is of a particular faith or got a certain outlook on life and they make an active conscious decision to embody these values then it comes out in many aspects of their lives including professional • Trying to live by life according to values of Islam; spills out in every aspect of her life • Highlighting she doesn't contain (values) just for therapy • Finding that her faith: strengthens her work; helps her become a better person and therapist
Highlighting how Islam is in line with social justice work as a motivating factor in difficult times	• Stating (helping needy and oppressed) a core part of Islam • Stating there's a lot of hadiths about not feeling rested or at peace knowing your neighbour is hungry or suffering; or there's suffering around the world • Thinking Muslims are the most generous financially in giving charity • Thinking charity is one pillar of Islam

	• Explaining how (Islam) is also about: advocacy; giving your time • Linking doing therapy and hard work because there's barakat (blessings) in it
Becoming closer to Islam as a result of being rejected by the western world	• Sharing how friends and family from Cyprus would condemn anti-Muslim prejudice if it happened in western world (p7) • Stating people don't want their fellow Muslims to be discriminated against • Equating any anti-Muslim prejudice that happens in the western world with feeling more Muslim than western • Ascribing people to feel more Muslim and feel for Muslims when the western world is anti-Muslim prejudiced
Putting boundaries in place to protect oneself	• Emphasising that she is not there to be shat on • Not seeing it as her job to take clients negativity • Working with forensic clients and experiencing aggression in her face; saying "no I'm sorry that's really offensive • Ending sessions if clients are really extreme • Stating she would not work with this; with you as a person; with these issues; all that level of racism • Reflecting on how she said "no" and it not being normal for her
Protecting Islam through educating others on its links with peaceful practices	• Thinking there is a third of the Quran that talks about: justice and social justice; doing good; advocating for people • Identifying with how her faith teaches not to judge • Explaining that the message in hadiths are: to not judge people; God loves people • Outlining how the messages and lectures she listens to are about: not judging people; being best example through your interactions; being kind
Disagreeing with Muslims having to put in extra effort to show society Muslims are not the enemy	• Feeling like she has to work extra hard to be perceived in a positive way • Historically feelings angry and bitter (about having to do extra)
Seeking clarification of one's intentions in response to anti-Muslim prejudice talk	• Questioning what the language and tone that is used means in that moment • Sitting and thinking whose 'they'; Wanting to say "what do you mean by that; who's they; how can we make that assumption? • Responding by saying "what does that mean"? • Saying "hang on a minute, why are these people being treated differently" • Reacting by asking her what she meant by being different
Questioning appropriate avenues in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	• Questioning whether to explore what client is saying • Contemplating on how to look at what client is saying • Asking whether to challenge what client means by they • Asking whether to challenge the tone and anger she feels is being demonstrated or experienced • Asking whether to go with what client has come to the service for or presenting with
Managing responsibilities expected of oneself influences how one challenges anti-Muslim prejudices	• Believing there is something about saying to people "fuck off, I don't owe you a response or definition of something" whilst thinking "I should educate this fool or ignorant person" • Finding it hard and difficult to balance at what point (saying what you want vs role and responsibility)

Having to take responsibility in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	• Being the first to say something; Being the one to start discussions; Raising things constantly by herself • Doing all the bloody talking • Getting asked lots of questions by her clients about Muslim faith • Finding that she is the only one who brings race discussions up in her teams; Feeling like the only one who's going to question issues around faith and discrimination • Being the one that gets colleagues to think about race issues; Having people say they felt like they learnt a lot about (prejudices/lines?) form her; gets people saying they have learnt a lot from her; Having someone say to her its good she gives them a kick up the bum • nobody else would say what's going on
Having to be the one to educate people on Islam	• Being the educator in every bloody setting • Explaining the stance of religion on Muslim men abusing women • Seeing that he had questions • Willing to do her best to answer his questions
Feeling the need to hold oneself back from expressing how one truly feels	• Reflecting back she could have been more insistent (p7) • Reflecting she could have said that she's not going to see her client anymore • Stating she didn't say what she wanted to say • Being unable to tell her supervisor what she thought • Stating she didn't show her frustration
Fighting against letting anti-Muslim prejudice go	• Being indignant; Feeling like she can't help herself (from standing up against anti-Muslim prejudices); • Thinking she can't just let (anti-Muslim prejudice) go; Feeling like she can't just ignore (racist things); Reiterating that she wanted to challenge • Thinking NO; sense of injustice • Thinking it is not right for that person (to profile?)
Having to prove one's worth to outweigh the negative representation of one's religion	• Having to prove herself • Feeling like she has to work harder to get ahead career wise • Pointing out that when you're trying to work in these services there's an assumption that you have to prove them wrong • Pointing out another assumption that you're bad until you prove yourself otherwise • Having to give them something or say something to satisfy their anxiety
Dedicating oneself to addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	• Working normally at the really severe end with people who are really difficult to engage • Expressing she has always talked about it • Willing to have conversations; Always like this (saying more) • Bing interested in politics of identity; Looking at those issues • Stating it's probably clear that (anti-Muslim prejudice) is something she is really interested in; and work very actively in • Thinking the training was the start of approaching (anti-Muslim prejudice) • Willing to talk about it
Addressing anti-Muslim prejudice comes with risks to one's professional status	• Threatened to be reported to the anti-terrorism line • Being reported could really mess up her professional status • Having so many complaints; racist complaints • Noting no progress or positive things came out of her experience

	• Thinking it does impact her work; who she is as a psychologist • Having to deal with the fallout; done that before • Stating consequences (of challenging) can be grave • Learning about consequences which has taken time
Being discouraged in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice due to negative consequences	• Identifying (addressing anti-Muslim prejudice) as something she is not talking about and raising • Explaining how she's had experiences in which (addressing anti-Muslim prejudice) has not gone down very well • Getting attacked by staff in very discrete ways • Making it very difficult to report or do anything about •
Being discouraged from addressing anti-Muslim prejudice due to its implicit nature	• Finding there is nothing to say to some people because they don't say anything around her • Stating there is nothing she can do other than be a good person in situations where people conceal their anti-Muslim prejudice • Feeling like you can't report or write statement about (subtle things) because it's almost not there • Finding it difficult to identify prejudiced behaviours when people mask their prejudices • Linking subtle comments with not doing anything about anti-Muslim prejudice •
Addressing anti-Muslim prejudices creates interpersonal conflicts	• Likely to have an argument(with family); Ending up being separate from her family and community • Thinking people separate from her because she doesn't share their anti-Muslim prejudices • Wondering how much do you raise awareness without souring relationships • Being verbal about white privilege, power and discrimination results in getting it in the neck from other white colleagues •
Developing a healthy sense of grandiosity as one progresses over time	• Highlighting how she now gets fussy • Asking herself why is she going to give her skills, time and expertise where there is hostility • Challenging others perceptions by: being herself; being good at what she does • Thinking she's starting to prioritise herself more
Developing fragile sense of self	• Surmising how that breaks away at the sense of identity; ability to manage to do things • Surmising that people feel quite fragile about themselves and their identity • Stating in terms of identity, it makes Muslims question their identity; who are we? • Wondering how having terrorist events impacts ones identity as a Muslim and as a therapist • Stating it was very damaging despite therapist knowing some of her earlier experiences • Finding it hard to draw on how to get a positive sense of who she is in terms of her identity
Experiencing anti-Muslim prejudice as taking up space in one's consciousness	• Thinking about it every day • Stressing that anti-Muslim prejudice is something she is conscious

	of
	• Thinking about it all the time in her home life
	• Experiencing anti-Muslim prejudice as taking up space in one's consciousness
	• Tending to think more about what others think about her
Self-actualisation obstructed by anti-Muslim prejudice	• Stating we have touched on: different things; different marginalised groups; people that are disempowered; don't have a lot of agency
	• Likening it to battling systems to get peoples basic needs met
Identifying with feelings of inferiority related to being Muslim	• Perceiving people to think they are not good enough; not as good as white colleague
	• Perceiving her clients thinking they drew the short straw in getting a Muslim therapist
	• Experiencing others as assuming she's incompetent or not bright enough (because she's foreign and wears hijab)
Society repudiating one's efforts to assimilate leading to feelings of rejection	• Thinking for her family they find it easier to say "it's just people"
	• Identifying for her its "no but these are my people"
	• Identifying herself as British and English
	• Linking the anger to: injustice; unfairness; wanting to be accepted
	• Feeling disappointed that she lives, loves and born in a country that doesn't accept her
	• Feelings of not being accepted in England
	• Experiencing rejection in India
Feelings of anger towards society not accepting Muslims	• Recognising anger is primary emotion
	• Recognising she does feel angry
	• Feeling angry that her Muslim friends affected by terrorist events
	• Being aghast at people for judging her
	• Feeling annoyed and angry on friends behalf
	• Feeling annoyed her friend had to leave
	• Getting angry seeing anti-Muslim prejudice
	• Being angered
Halting development of healthy narcissism by internalising harmful messages communicated by and to society	• Living teenage life with the assumption that it's the Muslim world (responsible for terrorism?)
	• Believing dropping in things builds up an association with different aspects of peoples identity
	• Dropping in things is not always accurate
	• Sharing that she hasn't been brought up with enough strong messages about her identity and heritage
	• Explaining how her parents never gave any space for (strong messages); didn't try to do anything in relation to it
Experiencing threat based emotions when exposed to anti-Muslim prejudice	• Feeling more offensive
	• Remembering having this anger in her
	• Uncomfortable (p5); Stating it is uncomfortable
	• Thinking it's dangerous (with the way newspapers report news)
	• Becoming wary as a consequence of prejudice experiences
	• Knowing some clients becoming vigilant after attack on mosque
Living in a state of perpetual anxiety in anticipation of revenge for practicing one's religion	• (Feeling unsafe) going to fuel sense of questioning what can we do; of not being in control
	• Getting the sense that people don't feel safe
	• Describing how everyone asked: how can you pray in the street; don't you feel scared about your safety?

	• Thinking (praying in street) is not safe
	• Waiting for (anti-Muslim prejudice to happen)
	• Feeling fearful of possibly meeting someone every day that was going to give her a mouthful for being paid to work with religion and God
	• Sharing that fear is still there
	• Finding she has anxiety thoughts in her head about whether someone will say something to her
Feelings of shame associated with practicing one's religion preventing development of self-object need for twinship	• Feeling as if she was ashamed to have her prayer mat out • Sharing how she didn't want people seeing her praying at work • Noticing she'd pray really quickly • Closing the blinds so people couldn't see her pray • Being unable to fit in because: she wore abayas to work; representing her faith and spirituality at work
Experiencing emotions closely linked to depression when exposed to anti-Muslim prejudice	• Expressing how it saddens her that clients are coming into the nhs and experiencing (anti-Muslim prejudice?) • Feeling fed up • Experiencing it as disheartening • Finding it upsetting • Feeling very upset at how people are treated • Being distressed for 2 weeks • Crying non-stop • Concluding it is quite upsetting to see stuff like that at university • Feeling very alone • Emphasising that the sadness will always be there • Feeling hopeless and alone
Feelings of dejection at lack of progress in eradicating prejudices and discriminations	• Feeling disappointed (with the way newspapers report news) • Feeling fed up • Making her think whether you can challenge discrimination or prejudice • Asking how do you challenge (discrimination or prejudice) • Experiencing people make up their own stuff in their head
Experiencing changes in one's socialising tendencies as a result of anti-Muslim prejudice	• Made her much more of a homebody • Stipulating not going out with friends of friends of friends if there was going to be lots of white people unless she knows a big group of people there too • Being very aware that she lives in her own bubble too
Identifying how tasking the process of addressing anti-Muslim prejudice is	• Hard, not easy, not great; Pointing out that it takes a lot of hard work to get to that point • Thinking it's much more difficult; • Exhausting; tiring; • Stating how all those people who are still around her now are still part of that shared ongoing journey • Stressing it has been a massive journey
Processing the cost to one's health in addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	• Thinking she's learning through people that are saying: she is going to burn herself out; she needs to take care of herself especially if she is working with client's with difficulties every day and having her own stuff going on • Asking, if you put all that going on: what is buffering you; what's not going to burn you out • Thinking if we challenge every single thing there'd be nothing left

	of us • Struggling with (people saying negative things about Islam)
Identifying consequences to avoiding addressing anti-Muslim prejudice	• Wondering if they are saying this about one person, how many other people can they say this about? • Wondering if they are saying this about her • Wondering that if we're always thinking of the consequences, what would that mean if we don't speak out? • Asking what about when you don't pick up on it because you are uncomfortable with it
Identifying Islamic terrorism as a reinforcing factor in spreading negative ideology of Muslims	• Experiencing Islamic terrorism; Feeling like Brexit and the more terrorists attacks that happen increase anti-Muslim beliefs; Walking past and overhearing her white colleague say "oh well they (Muslims) really hate the French don't they" when a terrorist attack happened in France • Thinking that Islamic terrorist groups (ISIL, ISIS and Daesh) have done a really good job of giving the white community a reason to be more wary or paranoid of brown people
Identifying environment is not always responsive to being challenged	• Describing how the person stumbled over her words and mumbled something • Stating (the conversation) was left at that (unresolved?) • Knowing there could be ramifications of bullying (for speaking out) in certain places • Knowing people who have experienced bullying because they have spoken out or stood up for themselves • Emphasising bullying might be covert or subtle
Coming round to embracing one's out group characteristics	• Identifying oneself as BME • Acknowledging one wouldn't have identified as BME previously • Applying for a BME leadership course • Identifying oneself as BME is a huge step • Being proud of her identity • Stressing prejudiced people cannot take her identity away from her