Everyday Multiculturalism and 'Hidden' Hate

Stevie-Jade Hardy

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1

Introduction

> *I stood in front of the group and I couldn't believe what I was hearing. It was "Paki this" and "Paki that". I don't think I said anything. I just stared at the group who continued to denigrate and dehumanise Asian people in a manner which was more suited to talking about football or the weather. What left me feeling most disturbed was hearing a song sung by a young girl with angelic features, who couldn't have been older than ten years. Looking directly at me with unwavering eyes, she sang the vilest racist rhyme I think I've ever heard in my life which included the line "burn a Paki". She completed the song by picking up a pebble and throwing it at the Chinese Take Away. I asked her why she had acted in such a way and she replied, "I hate the Chinky China men". I could feel the tears coming there and then and I knew I had to turn around and walk away.*

The above is taken from a diary entry written after meeting a group of young White British people, who in time became the subgroup at the centre of this study. I met this group through my role as a detached youth worker, which involved engaging with local youths in areas characterised by high levels of anti-social behaviour, and developing and delivering educational and social activities with the aim of reducing offending. One placement in

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particular based within an area on the cusp of the city and county divide in Leicester, stood out from the others and made a significant impression on me. At the time I did not regard myself as being particularly naive or out of touch with the 'real world' but within a week of meeting this group of young White British people, my eyes were opened to a level of prejudice that I did not think existed any more. I was not too dissimilar to the group in terms of my ethnicity, age and interests, and yet it was evident that our opinions on Leicester's multicultural population and our experiences of engaging with minority ethnic and religious people differed greatly. The inability to identify with this group of young White British people, who had grown up in the same multicultural city as I had, motivated me to try and understand why they viewed 'difference' with such hostility and why they refused to engage with the diverse population around them.

Exploring Everyday Multiculturalism and Targeted Hostility

As Meer and Modood (2011:1) explain, the 'first decade of the twenty-first century will be remembered for a series of historical episodes, including international military conflicts and global financial crises; for technological innovations in mass communication, information collection, storage and surveillance; alongside an increased recognition of climate change and an associated environmental awareness'. Along with these global transformations has been a growing awareness of the changing nature of our societies and in particular, of the ways in which societies are dealing with this diversity. One of the marked political changes in terms of managing ethnic and religious plurality has been the shift away from the language of multiculturalism and the use of multiculturalist policies. The exact cause of this demise lacks clarity, but the most cited explanations are the terrorist attacks of 2001 (Gove 2006) and occurrences of inter-ethnic conflict, both of which are perceived to illustrate a lack of cohesion between minority ethnic and religious communities and the 'native' population (Malik 2007; Policy Exchange 2007). In its place we have seen the emergence of a social and community cohesion agenda

and with it a renewed emphasis on strengthening a collective national identity, developing civic ties and prioritising immigrant assimilation.

One of the concerns with the continuing political and, to some extent, academic debates on the meaning, use and failings of multiculturalism is that they are disconnected and out of touch with everyday life (Vertovec 2006). Today, most of the world's societies are ethnically, religiously and culturally diverse, which means that multiculturalism defines, shapes and affects everyday life for ordinary people. It could be argued that the top-down policy changes which have occurred within the last decade have had little impact upon the ways in which people negotiate these differences in everyday environments. There is an emerging body of research which uses the concept of everyday multiculturalism to understand how people encounter and manage diversity within different contexts and through different activities (Colombo and Semi 2007; Wise 2007; Harris 2009). As Semi et al. (2009: 67) explain, this analytical approach 'enables us to view multiculturalism – that is, situations of coexistence in the same social space … as a concrete, specific context of action, in which difference comes across as a constraint … and as a resource'. Using the concept of everyday multiculturalism enables greater recognition of the dynamic ways in which multiculturalism plays out within micro-publics.

Using the concept of everyday multiculturalism as a lens through which to explore everyday practices of engagement has revealed much about the strategies and practices used by ordinary people to enable them to traverse multicultural spaces. However, the micro-analytical approach used within such research has been criticised for somewhat exaggerating the meaning of banal, mundane interactions. It is worth stating from the outset that the present study did not use everyday multiculturalism as a micro-analytical framework to ethnographically investigate the sociology of daily life for a group of young people. Instead, it used the concept as a way of exploring how young people interpret and make sense of living in a diverse geography. It was by getting participants to reflect upon their everyday observations and encounters that I was able to uncover their underlying fears, concerns and hostility towards multiculturalism. In a sense, the concept was used as a platform to empower young people to share their views and experiences of *doing* multiculturalism, rather than as a tool for me to interpret young people's lived realities.

The need for research exploring how young people specifically perceive and manage ethnic and religious diversity has been highlighted through the field of multicultural youth studies (see Harris 2013). This research illustrates that young people's lives are heavily rooted within local environments and that the encounters that take place within these everyday spaces shape their identity and sense of belonging. For me, the importance of such research is ever more compelling given the current social and economic context and the ever-growing availability of information via social media. Compared to previous generations, young people now have much greater access to information on complex and emotive topics, including terrorist attacks, international conflict and immigration. Despite this, there has been a paucity of research conducted on how young people come to understand and interact with 'difference' as part of their everyday lives, particularly so within a British context. There was a marked increase in research attention in the wake of the disturbances in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford but overwhelmingly this focused on 'Asian' and 'Muslim' youth (Thomas and Sanderson 2013). Even within the broader field of multicultural youth studies, research attention has been weighted towards investigating how young people from minority ethnic and religious backgrounds experience multiculturalism. As we shall explore within the next chapter, these studies demonstrate the varying challenges faced by minority youth in everyday spaces, and the tactics and practices these young people employ to manage their disempowerment and marginalisation (de Finney 2010; Clayton 2012).

Whilst much of the extant literature concerned with exploring everyday multiculturalism illustrates that many of the prosaic encounters that take place within public spaces are positive in nature; there is some evidence to suggest that inter-ethnic conflict also plays out within these contexts. Although this research has rarely been conducted with young people, that which has been undertaken has tended to explore how this conflict is encountered and managed from a minority youth perspective. Noble's (2005: 108) work on 'The Discomfort of Strangers' is one such example which illustrates the everyday 'incivility' experienced by Lebanese young people. Of the small number of studies that have investigated everyday conflict from the narrative of the instigators, the majority has focused on microcosms or subcultures of extreme racist youth.

This has reinforced the idea that incidents of inter-ethnic conflict are 'the exceptional acts of exceptional people' (Harris 2009: 189). Often such behaviour is explained through 'personal circumstances of deprivation or psychological problems' (Back et al. 2008: 17). The perception that these acts are atypical has contributed to a denial of racially and religiously motivated hostility being a significant feature of young people's lives (Harris, 2009).

This book intends to shift the focus onto two areas that have been relatively overlooked by scholarship. This book is based upon doctoral research designed to explore young White British people's perceptions of everyday multiculturalism and their involvement in acts of targeted hostility. In particular, this study investigated how young people's perceptions of multiculturalism as an abstract concept compared to how they conceived of everyday multiculturalism; it analysed how young people's concerns, fears and frustrations towards multiculturalism undermined their interactions with everyday multiculturalism, and vice versa; and it assessed the interplay between perceptions of multiculturalism, interactions with everyday multiculturalism and the motivation and causation of acts of targeted hostility. The term 'targeted hostility' is used to refer to acts of verbal abuse, harassment and violence which are directed towards someone on the basis of their perceived identity or 'difference'. Although these offences are more commonly referred to as hate crimes, it is widely acknowledged that this emotive term rarely reflects the nature of the incidents that fall within its purview. As you will see as you progress through this book, there was a discernable absence of hate within the comments made about multiculturalism, as well as within the acts of targeted hostility committed by young people. For me, the term targeted hostility is a much more fitting descriptor because it embodies the unfriendliness, the opposition, the resentment and the lack of empathy felt by the young people within this study. However, this book is entitled 'Everyday Multiculturalism and 'Hidden' Hate' because it is also vitally important that we acknowledge that young people are engaging in the kinds of behaviour that would be officially categorised as hate crimes.

By the end of reading this book it should be starkly evident that hostility towards multiculturalism is not especially hidden. In fact, feelings of fear, confusion and resentment are fused within the fabric of everyday life

for young people. It is only 'hidden' to us as researchers, practitioners and policy-makers because we choose not to engage with it. This might be because we do not want to admit that racially and religiously motivated hostility exists or because we do not want to interact with those who express it. Nevertheless, by not recognising its existence we are incapable of fully understanding it or challenging it.

Structure of the Book

This book is structured to reflect the two central themes of this research: first, to explore the everyday lived reality of multiculturalism for young White British people and second, to investigate how engaging with diversity can result in the commission of targeted hostility. For this reason both the literature and findings chapters are separated into these two themes.

Chapter 2 begins by providing a brief overview of the demise of state multiculturalism, which sets the scene to introduce the concept of everyday multiculturalism. This discussion highlights that everyday multiculturalism is concerned with 'looking at the everyday practice and lived experience of diversity in specific situations and spaces of encounters' (Wise and Velayutham 2009: 3). This chapter again emphasises that this study did not adopt a micro-analytical approach to explore everyday multiculturalism, but rather used it as a broader framework to explore young people's perceptions of and interactions with diversity in everyday spaces. The discussion moves on to review existing literature within the field of multicultural youth studies which demonstrates the importance of investigating how young people engage with diversity because of the role that it plays in shaping identity, and a sense of belonging and purpose. The chapter concludes by highlighting the paucity of research on how multiculturalism is experienced by young White British people.

Chapter 3 begins by using existing literature to consider public concerns about multiculturalism, ethnic and religious plurality and immigration. Specifically, it highlights the hostility directed towards specific immigrant communities and the Muslim population, and explores how this climate of prejudice affects opinion on multiculturalism. The chapter

moves on to consider how individual, intergroup and societal prejudice develops and manifests within multicultural environments. The final part of this chapter focuses on the enactment of this underlying prejudice through incidents of targeted hostility. This section draws upon literature within the field of hate studies to consider existing understanding of what motivates people to commit acts of racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility. This chapter concludes by highlighting the scarcity of research conducted on both young people's involvement in targeted hostility and the interplay between everyday multicultural contexts and the commission of targeted hostility.

Chapter 4 provides an in-depth explanation of the methodology used to explore everyday multiculturalism and targeted hostility with young people. It begins by outlining the three aims that guided the research process:

1. To use the concept of everyday multiculturalism to explore how young White British people living in Leicester(shire) interpret, manage and engage with diversity and 'difference'.

2. To explore the extent to which the concept of everyday multiculturalism helps to understand what motivates and causes young White British people to commit acts of targeted hostility.

3. To use the research findings to consider what research, theory and policy developments could help to address the challenges posed by everyday multiculturalism and targeted hostility.

The chapter moves on to focus on the use of a grounded theory framework and offers a brief overview of how Constructivist grounded theory specifically informed the design and delivery of the study. The reader is then introduced to the location in which this research took place and why Leicester was an appropriate site for exploring perceptions of and encounters with multiculturalism. This section also highlights how access to a sample of young White British people, who formed a purposive subgroup, was negotiated. In terms of data collection, the chapter outlines the use of an ethnographic strategy and in particular, the importance of spending a prolonged period of time getting to know the subgroup. In the three months spent with the group of 15 young White British people, I documented observations and informal conversations and conducted

interviews. In order to capture a much broader range of views and experiences from young White British people, a survey was developed and administered in three schools. In total, 410 surveys were returned from 14 to 19 year olds who self-defined as being White British. The final section of this chapter discusses the ethical and personal challenges that I faced during the research process and how auto-ethnography helped in managing these dilemmas.

Chapters 5 and 6 aim to address the first research question by detailing survey respondents' perceptions of multiculturalism, as well as their interpretations and engagement with everyday multiculturalism. These chapters highlight the disconnect between multiculturalism as an abstract ideology and the lived reality of everyday multiculturalism. The findings from the survey demonstrate that although the majority of young people are aware of the positive attributes multiculturalism can produce, understanding of the ideology is very different to their context-specific experiences of engaging with ethnic and religious diversity in Leicester. The findings highlight that everyday encounters are being shaped by young people's fears and frustration towards immigration, the Muslim population, and the perceived loss of British culture. Both of these chapters draw upon the three months fieldwork phase with the subgroup to better understand how expectations of White entitlement and a lack of social mobility and success produce feelings of insecurity and resentment. These chapters demonstrate the importance of location to members of the subgroup, the strength of their attachment to each other as well as to their families, and the exclusion that they felt from the wider society. All of these factors resulted in spaces of inclusion and isolation which constrained the subgroups' awareness of and engagement with diversity.

Chapter 7 explores the involvement of young White British people in acts of targeted hostility. Specifically it considers whether the concept of everyday multiculturalism is an effective analytical lens through which to understand the contexts and situational cues that can motivate and cause young White British people to act upon underlying prejudices. The chapter again combines both the survey and subgroup data to explore the sample's exposure to and use of everyday racism, and their involvement in incidents of targeted hostility. This chapter explores the acts of targeted hostility which took place in the context of the subgroup's everyday life

to consider the underlying motivations. Chapter 8 builds up the previous chapter to outline the theoretical explanation for why young people commit acts of targeted hostility, which combines strain theories, Perry's (2001) theory of 'doing difference', psycho-physiological theories and the concept of everyday multiculturalism. In order to illustrate how these varying factors combine to create the contexts in which targeted hostility takes places, a Model of Perception and Interaction is proposed.

Chapters 9 and 10 use both the research experience and findings to consider the ways in which research, theory, policy and practice could be developed to better understand and tackle the themes raised within this study. In terms of research, the chapter outlines how important it is to develop a framework which enables research to be conducted with (rather than on) young people. It illustrates how effective the methodological approach employed within this study was in capturing and understanding the lived experience of multiculturalism and targeted hostility. The chapter moves on to consider the implications this research has for academic theory. Within Chap. 10 the research findings are used to highlight the important roles that the educational environment, youth work and youth-offending programmes play in fostering understanding and acceptance of 'difference'. It highlights the needs for practitioners and policy-makers to actively recognise the existence of inter-ethnic hostility and conflict, and to engage with young people on these topics.

Conclusion

This study aimed to develop knowledge on the interplay between young people's perceptions of and everyday interactions with ethnic and religious diversity, and their verbal and physical expressions of hostility. Research within this area is much needed as it is often under-appreciated that young people are most likely to occupy the everyday spaces in which diversity and 'difference' come together, such as at school, in town centres and at leisure-based activities. There has been limited research conducted on the ways in which young people from different backgrounds engage with each other in these spaces and on the everyday conflicts and incidents which arise within these micro-geographies. As Valentine (2008:

328) explains, 'everything from hate crimes and violence to discrimination and incivility, motivated by intolerance between communities in close proximity to each other, is commonplace'. A denial of the prejudices that young people hold, and how this impacts on negotiating multiculturalism, obscures the very real fears and tensions that exist in the context of everyday life (Harris 2009). It is only through listening to young people and understanding the ways in which they interpret, negotiate and engage with diversity that we will be able to develop more effective initiatives and interventions which connect with young people's lives.

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2

Everyday Multiculturalism

Introduction

Global transformations have irreversibly changed the landscape of human geography. In an age of super-diversity (Vertovec 2006), we now encounter cultural plurality as part of our everyday life. Given this fact, it is surprising that we know so little about how multiculturalism shapes our lives, our interactions and our identity. Until recently, academic enquiry within this field has focused on defining multiculturalism as a conceptual framework, and on charting and critiquing its use within state policies and practices. Whilst such work has great value, our understanding of the meaning and impact of state multiculturalism is limited without capturing how it plays out within everyday contexts. It is only through a closer examination of the daily practices of interaction and negotiation between people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds that we can begin to comprehend the lived reality of multiculturalism. The concept of 'everyday multiculturalism' has emerged as an appropriate methodology to capture these everyday exchanges. Whilst this perspective covers a multitude of sub-themes—as discussed further on within

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this chapter—this book is specifically concerned with examining the often 'hidden' tensions and conflicts that arise within multicultural micro-spaces.

Whilst it is an unconventional approach, it is worth beginning by outlining what this chapter does not do. This chapter does not offer a detailed discussion of the various ways in which multiculturalism has been defined in academia or the political sphere—this has been extensively covered elsewhere (see Taras 2012; Modood 2011)—nor does it provide an exhaustive account of the development and implementation of state multiculturalism. What this chapter does seek to do, however, is highlight the faults of conceiving of multiculturalism purely as a macro-framework for managing diversity. Equally, whilst introducing the reader to the concept of 'everyday multiculturalism' and illustrating the advantages of this perspective in terms of capturing a more realistic picture of how multiculturalism is enacted in public spaces, this chapter also presents the drawbacks of a solely micro-analytical approach. In summary, this chapter is designed to frame the central standpoint of this book, and that is, that in order to understand how everyday hostility and conflict arise, we must engage with ordinary people to explore their interpretation of both state and everyday multiculturalism, as well as their daily interactions with diversity. These opinions and experiences must then be analysed within a broader framework which takes into account how wider social and historical structures, and current political and economic factors, influence our thinking and our behaviour.

The final section of this chapter highlights the paucity of research conducted with young people on this topic. Aside from a few notable exceptions, which are drawn upon within this chapter, the subject of how young people conceive of and engage with multiculturalism has largely been overlooked within scholarship. Young people occupy an even more peripheral position when it comes to the phenomenon of everyday hostility in multicultural geographies. This is both bewildering and concerning given that the current generation of young people are growing up in a world characterised by international conflict and saturated with a populist, xenophobic media, which through the development of online social networking platforms, they have greater access to than ever before. We know very little about the ways in which young people interpret these narratives, how such discourse informs the development of their identity or how it influences their everyday encounters with ethnic and religious diversity. It is hoped that by the

end of this chapter the importance of listening to young people's opinions on, and experiences within, multicultural spaces is plain to see.

The Demise of State Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism has failed. This is a phrase that is now commonly and confidently voiced by politicians, academics, the media and general public. As Vertovec and Wessendorf (2009: 7) note, 'the rise, ubiquity, simultaneity and convergence of arguments condemning multiculturalism have been striking'. Often these criticisms are not directed at multiculturalism as a philosophy but rather at how the concept has been deployed through state policies and practices. Although this book is not explicitly concerned with state multiculturalism, a brief overview of the 'top-down' application is worthwhile as it enables an examination of the legacy of such policies within Britain. It also serves to highlight how conceiving of multiculturalism in this way overlooks the everyday lived reality of diversity.

The term 'multiculturalism' first appeared in academic and political discourse in the 1960s and 1970s, predominantly from within Canada and Australia. In its original policy application in Canada, multiculturalism was concerned with the legal dilemmas over constitutional and land ownership problems relating to the indigenous peoples (Meer and Modood 2011). In contrast, multiculturalist policy within Australia initially centred on the assimilation of new migrants before being broadened to also refer to indigenous people. In both of these countries, multiculturalism 'was often presented as an application of 'liberal values' in that multiculturalism in these countries extended individual freedoms and substantiated the promise of equal citizenship' (Meer and Modood 2011: 6). In the height of its popularity, state multiculturalism was seen to provide a framework and a set of policies designed to accommodate and manage a diverse demographic condition. Such policies ostensibly advocated recognition of cultural diversity, permitting minority communities to retain and maintain diverse cultural practices and belief systems (Wise and Velayutham 2009). Since the original policy application of multiculturalism within these two countries, the concept has amassed considerable

critique and its embodiment through state policies has varied widely throughout the western world (see Triandafyllidou et al. 2011).

Specifically within Britain, discussions on multiculturalism began to emerge in the 1960s in response to the growing population of immigrants that had arrived from the West Indies, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh as a result of the enactment of the Nationality Act 1948. Within this context, the Government approach to multiculturalism 'represented a reconciliation of sorts with post-colonial immigration – one that hinged on tightened restrictions on the settlement rights of former colonial subjects' (Paul 1997). In response to the perceived influx of immigrants, three significant pieces of legislation were introduced—the Commonwealth Immigration Act 1962, the Commonwealth Immigration Act 1968 and the Immigration Act 1971—which were designed to restrict and even prevent non-White migration from former commonwealth countries. However, during the same timeframe the Government also produced three iterations of the Race Relations Act (1965; 1968; and 1976), intended to foster tolerance towards cultural diversity by outlawing both direct and indirect expressions of racism. These legislative developments have been widely cited as illustrating the state's inconsistent stance on multiculturalism (see Parekh 2000). On the one hand successive British Governments had introduced multicultural policies that dictated equal treatment for minority ethnic and faith communities, as well as the right for these populations to uphold distinct cultural identities. On the other hand they had done little to rectify the institutionalised practices that disadvantaged and discriminated against these communities, or to actively facilitate a common understanding between different groups of people. Simply advocating recognition of cultural diversity through multiculturalist policy was unlikely to ever maintain, or result in, societal harmony. It is the lack of coherent, proactive and inclusive policy that is said to have allowed Britain's multicultural population to 'drift' (Parekh 2000: 14) towards silos of segregated communities.

More recently many heads of states, including Britain's, have not only distanced themselves from the concept of multiculturalism but been rather public in their criticism of the policies embodying it. It is difficult to pinpoint when the 'demise' (Hesse 2000: 5) of multiculturalism began. For example, Weldon (1989:31) suggested that 'our attempt at multiculturalism has failed. The Rushdie Affair demonstrates it'. However, it was over

a decade later that Kundnani (2002: n.p.) stated that the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and 7/7 'sounded the death knell for multiculturalists'. Within Britain, the disturbances that took place in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford between minority ethnic communities and the 'native' White British population in the summer of 2001 are often regarded as the instigators for the Government retreat on multiculturalism (Thomas 2011). The explanation for this conflict, Parekh (2000) suggests, was the state's failure to officially recognise the plurality of Britain and Britishness. It was the legacy of a passive state multiculturalism that had contributed to many 'second generation' immigrants feeling marginalised, misunderstood, discriminated against, over-policed and under-protected. Multiculturalist policies were also thought to have been responsible for enabling and somewhat encouraging communities to self-segregate, as exemplified by the geographic divide within the three cities in which the conflict took place. The lack of everyday interaction between members of different communities created a climate in which fear, suspicion and hostility were able to flourish. The official response following the conflict alluded to Oldham, Burnley and Bradford as being accidents waiting to happen (see Cantle 2001; Ritchie 2001).

Whilst some multiculturalist policies and legislation within Britain remain intact, it is evident that the doctrine of multiculturalism has become heavily contested and increasingly replaced by the rhetoric of social and community cohesion and the promotion of British values. However, far from academic interest in multiculturalism subsiding, there has been a growing awareness of the need to explore 'actually existing multiculturalisms' (Uitermark et al. 2005: 625). On a daily basis ordinary people are faced with managing the challenges and complexities of micro-multicultural geographies, but to date, much of the political and academic discourse on multiculturalism has been 'disconnected from real life experiences and actual intergroup relations' (Howarth and Andreouli 2010: 2). As Wise and Velayutham (2009: 17) argue:

> *Multiculturalism has traditionally been talked about from a top-down perspective as a set of policies concerned with the management and containment of diversity by nation states, with a typical focus on group-based rights and cultural maintenance, multicultural service provision, multicultural education, and attendant legislation.*

As this section has highlighted, the ways in which multiculturalism is framed and presented at a political level undoubtedly affects how it is interpreted and negotiated in everyday life. What has yet to be fully explored is how a diverse population renowned for its plurality of visible ethnic and religious identities—a product of state multiculturalism—makes sense of each other and, importantly, engages with each other, on a daily basis.

The Rise of Everyday Multiculturalism

Unlike the top-down or abstract notions of multiculturalism that have dominated academic discourse, everyday multiculturalism offers a grassroots approach to investigating the lived experience of diversity. It is concerned with the:

> *diversity that exists in real, lived environments, not simply in abstract multicultural policy, and consequently implies layers of ethnically different individuals inhabiting suburbs and urban environments, corporeally interacting with one another as neighbours, shoppers, workers; rubbing up against one another in a myriad of quotidian situations.*
> (Wise 2004: 4)

Within this perspective, everyday interactions between people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds are analysed through a lens of microsociology. Ostensibly, many of these meetings will be regarded as mundane or ordinary, yet proponents within the field would argue that they tell us so much about the processes, realities and complexities of *doing* multiculturalism. Depending on the situation or context, these interactions will differ: they may be brief or recurrent; they may be meaningful or superficial; and they may involve strangers, associates, colleagues or friends (Wise and Velayutham 2009). These everyday encounters are also shaped by the location in which they take place. How we present ourselves, how we conceive of others and how we negotiate 'difference' will vary depending on whether we are at school or university, in a hospital, a corner shop or supermarket, a pub or nightclub, a cafe, a restaurant or take-away, or on public transport. These micro-publics provide opportu-

nities for ordinary people to engage in banal, routine activities with people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds (Amin 2002; Watson 2006). It is through a close inspection of the prosaic negotiations that take place within these micro-spaces that the dynamics of everyday multiculturalism are revealed. Importantly though, this perspective recognises the role that macro-level power structures and processes play in informing and influencing these meetings. Wise and Velayutham (2009: 3) suggest that central to understanding and investigating everyday multiculturalism is to consider 'how these wider structures and discourses filter through to the realm of everyday practice, exchange, meaning-making and vice versa'.

Although 'everyday multiculturalism' as a field of scholarship is still relatively in its infancy, its roots were founded within the established discourse of the sociology of everyday life, exemplified by the work of Goffman (1967), Simmel (1971) and Elias (2000), to name but some examples. As an approach it builds upon this literature to explore and, importantly, to demonstrate the everyday practices of multiculturalism. Related sub-themes have been subject to academic exploration for some time (see Wise and Velayutham 2009, for a full overview), but there have been several commentators in particular whose work is especially relevant for the focus of this book. For example, Stratton (1998), who was one of the earliest writers on the topic, examined how everyday multiculturalism was depicted through film and television and concluded that these channels of representation helped to perpetuate and reinforce society's idealised discourse of diversity. Media representations of the 'ethnic other' centred on acceptable forms of ethnic and religious 'difference', including visible cultural assimilation through western clothing and speaking English.

Similarly, Hage (1997) argued that multiculturalism has traditionally been conceived of as 'the formal doctrine of white tolerance' (Wise and Velayutham 2009: 3), deployed through state policies and practices which are designed to dissuade 'difference' and to promote assimilation. To Hage, 'everyday mixing' is often superficial, concentrated around cosmopolitan consumption—eating 'ethnic' food and admiring ethnic culture. In this context, these encounters provide a way for 'white cosmopolites' (*ibid.*, 1998: 201) to convey their appreciation of 'difference'

without having to get involved in the messiness of real, everyday exchanges with minority communities (Wise and Velayutham 2009). Lamont and Aksartova (2002) explored this concept further and identified the 'ordinary cosmopolitan' who, in comparison to the 'white cosmopolite', develops mechanisms and practices that enable them to negotiate both the perceived and actual cultural barriers that often undermine everyday interactions. It is those that can successfully *do* 'boundary work', and in particular 'everyday talk', that are more likely to have meaningful engagement with people from different backgrounds (Lamont and Aksartova 2002: 2). This work is particularly relevant as it raises important questions as to what are the factors, influences or contexts that enable people to be, or conversely, disable them from being, ordinary cosmopolitans? Are ordinary cosmopolitans able and/or willing to do boundary work with all minority ethnic and religious communities? It is only through probing these questions with ordinary people in the context of their own lives that we can garner a more realistic understanding of how people *live* multiculturalism.

Applying this analytical lens to cities such as Oldham, Bradford and Burnley provides an alternative, and more sophisticated, account of the lived reality of multiculturalism. As already noted, it is argued that segregated communities and a lack of cross-cultural 'mixing' between White British and British South Asian communities enabled underlying tensions to manifest into conflict, subsequently prompting many to denounce state multiculturalism as the cause (Phillips 2006). This explanation is rooted in the traditional and fixed notions of multiculturalism, whereby communities are presented as homogeneous entities, bound together and defined by discrete identities. The everyday multiculturalism perspective, however, recognises that multiculturalism as a lived environment is a more fluid and prosaic process. It is somewhat naive to think that within these three cities people of different backgrounds were not *doing* multiculturalism as part and parcel of their everyday life (Butcher and Harris 2010: 450). Undoubtedly a micro-sociological investigation within these geographies would have captured members of both White British and British South Asian communities engaging in mundane acts of reciprocity within micro-publics on a daily basis—transcending the perceived barriers of 'difference' in an unremarkable way.

One of the criticisms of the 'everyday multiculturalism' perspective is that a micro-analysis approach can lead to romanticising or even exaggerating the meaning of what are often highly individualised, superficial intercultural meetings (Valentine 2008: 328). It is widely acknowledged that 'contact' alone does not signify meaningful cohesion, nor is it likely that such encounters will have the transformative powers to alter an individual's beliefs (Amin 2002). It could be argued that such everyday interactions illustrate that many people within society present as ordinary cosmopolitans who are able to do artificial 'boundary work' at school, at work and in shops. Though this is a laudable achievement, is it enough that within a diverse society inhabitants are able to superficially negotiate the terrain of multiculturalism? I hope to illustrate throughout this book that such a complacent viewpoint is dangerous because it obscures the very real fears, tensions and conflicts that simmer underneath the veneer of harmonious coexistence. The events that took place in Oldham, Bradford and Burnley demonstrate that the perfunctory daily interactions between members of different communities does not negate everyday hostility, nor prevent violent outbursts. This point is not intended to insinuate that all cross-cultural interactions are contrived or meaningless, or to be unduly critical of the everyday multiculturalism perspective. Rather, it is to suggest that whilst it is important to capture the superficial and mundane micro-interactions that form the mosaic of multicultural living, we must look deeper to uncover the intolerance and resentment that also forms the fabric of everyday life. Employed through an appropriate methodology, the concept of everyday multiculturalism could be used as a framework to explore the contexts and situational factors that exacerbate these underlying hostilities, and which give rise to incidents of racially and religiously motivated hate. It is only through connecting with lived realities that we will begin to see that incidents of targeted hostility, offences which are so often conceived of as exceptional or extreme, are strikingly 'ordinary' and 'routine' in multicultural micro-geographies.

The everyday multiculturalism perspective demonstrates that multiculturalism is a complex, dynamic, lived condition that is interpreted and managed differently by different people. As already noted, much of the academic and political postulating on the topic of multiculturalism

has been detached from these lived realities. This is especially true for young people. This next section seeks to review existing scholarship on this subject and, despite the relative scarcity of literature, to demonstrate the importance of engaging young people on this theme.

Young People and Everyday Multiculturalism

Young people are often imagined in contradictory and over-simplistic terms when it comes to the topic of multiculturalism and diversity (Noble 2009:25). Recently we have witnessed mounting concern about how, when and why Muslim youth are becoming radicalised, and—although to a notably lesser extent—observed growing anxiety about the resurgence of neo-nazism across Europe. At the same time there has been a pervasive and naïve assumption, often based on abstract attitudinal surveys, that 'ordinary' young people are not only tolerant of cultural plurality but actively embrace diversity (Ang et al. 2002; Bulbeck 2004). Speaking on this theme, Butcher and Harris (2010: 449) note how:

> *Youth are often simultaneously imagined as at the vanguard of new forms of multicultural nation-building and social cohesion, and as those most inclined towards regressive nationalism, fundamentalism and racism.*

This polarised view of young people as either 'extremist' or 'liberal' social actors undermines the complexity of youth and of everyday life for this population.

It has been argued that exploring opinions on and experiences of everyday multiculturalism is even more relevant for young people than it is for adults (Harris 2010). This argument has been made on the basis of a number of factors: first, the current generation of young people is exposed to social and cultural worlds beyond their own to a much greater extent than ever before (Harris 2009). Through social media in particular, young people have ample opportunities to consume information and engage in discussions on issues of global relevance, including mass-migration, international conflict and terrorism. Secondly, young people are increasingly regarded as independent economic consumers making

them legitimate targets for marketing and advertising campaigns. This generates an additional pressure on young people to be able to participate in populist consumerist culture. Thirdly, young people are thought to have been most acutely affected by the unpredictability and instability of labour markets through austerity (Ellison 2014; Grice 2014). This juxtaposition between young people having greater autonomy and access within society through the expansion of media, online platforms and consumerism, and the reality of daily life which for some is characterised by powerlessness and inequality, can create considerable frustration and resentment. Fourthly, and finally, despite being more connected virtually to mobile networks and international fora, young people's lives are still heavily rooted in local environs (Harris 2009: 192). As Nayak (2003: 177) explains, 'in a changing world, young people's identities continue to be defined through the material cultures of daily life [including] neighbourhood networks, the institution of schooling, familial relations, local labour markets and place and locality '. In comparison to adults, young people are much more likely to occupy the micro-publics in which diversity and 'difference' come together and therefore more likely to engage with multiculturalism in their everyday life.

It could be suggested that because young people are more likely to participate in cross-cultural mixing (Ang et al. 2006), that they are far less likely than older generations to view cultural diversity as 'unusual' and 'undesirable' (Back et al. 2008:19). Whilst being wary of making grand assumptions of generationally embedded traits of acceptance and tolerance, attitudinal-based research does suggests that the younger generation is more familiar with, and often takes for granted, the cosmopolitan nature of contemporary life (Hoerder et al. 2005; Harris 2013). Young people are found to favour, and simultaneously create, hybridised individual and national identities (Ang et al. 2006). In Australia specifically, research suggests that whilst young people report strong nationalist feelings, they have a fluid and flexible notion of what being 'Australian' is (Howard and Gill 2001; Harris 2013). Whilst these studies offer an insight into how young people conceive of identity and cultural diversity, they tell us little about how the younger generation enacts everyday multiculturalism. One has to question whether this acceptance of 'difference' is actively embedded within the practices of

everyday life or whether it tells us more about the evolution of opinions on multiculturalism due to wider societal shifts. Unlike previous generations, young people in Britain have been raised amongst a diverse population, within a society that has, until recently, been vocal about the societal benefits of multiculturalism and pluralisation. This generation has also been brought up with the existence of extensive legislative provisions, which criminalises discrimination and harassment against minority ethnic and faith communities. These developments have led to derogatory and prejudiced views being pushed to a more liminal, often private, space within society. This could be why young people are more 'au fait' with the narrative of multiculturalism and more nonchalant about the perceived loss of a monocultural national identity. Therefore, it is important to question whether this tolerance of multiculturalism actually equates to young people being more willing and able to engage with diversity in everyday life.

As noted, there have been few commentators on the topic of young people and everyday multiculturalism, but the field is growing: research has been conducted on the lived experiences of young women from indigenous and migrant backgrounds in Canada (de Finney 2010); the ways in which young people manage difference in Hong Kong (O'Connor 2010); the construction of young people's identity and community in Australia (Harris 2009); the strategies and tactics employed by young Muslims in Italy to negotiate their marginalisation (Frisina 2010); and the importance of place-making for young people from minority ethnic backgrounds in Britain (Clayton 2012). A common thread between these studies is that intercultural intermingling between young people of different backgrounds is never neutral; these encounters involve a process of creating and re-reproducing a sense of the self in the context of wider power-relations and situational factors. Due to the range of societal and lifestyle factors mentioned above, everyday environments become especially significant for young people. As the younger generation's participation in wider social life is restricted through legally imposed age-based controls and a lack of resources, greater meaning is placed on everyday spaces and the interactions that take place within them (Harris 2013). Micro-publics—including parks, schools, town/city centres, leisure and entertainment

arenas, and shopping outlets—become 'spaces of interdependence and habitual engagement' (Amin 2002: 969). In everyday life young people are faced with negotiating banal and routine activities with people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds, and managing the practical and emotional challenges that come with it. As Harris (2009: 193) explains:

> *their [young people's] everyday lives are embedded in the local, mundane, intermeshed negotiations of immediate, shared public and domestic space. Their very rootedness, their emplacement, is the basis for the enacting of everyday multiculturalism.*

Both consciously and unconsciously these experiences will shape young people's identities, opinions and behaviours. Equally, wider societal factors such as those mentioned above, will inform and transform these intercultural meetings.

Micro-publics are the spaces in which individual struggles, and local and national ruptures are personified, and this is why many of the everyday interactions that take place within these geographies are often conflict-laden. The existence of intercultural tension within society tends to be downplayed and this is especially true when it comes to the involvement of young people in everyday hostility. As Harris (2009: 201) suggests, denying the existence of such conflict obscures young people's 'very real fears, differences and antagonisms inevitably generated in conditions of massive social, cultural and economic change'. Though limited, there has been insightful academic examination of the struggles and tensions encountered by young people (predominantly from minority ethnic and faith backgrounds) within multicultural contexts. One of the key features of this research is that young people from minority communities experience conflict as a result of expecting, but being denied, the actualisation of multiculturalism – that is, to be recognised as 'entitled hybrid subjects' (Ang et al. 2002; Harris 2009: 198). Specifically, Amin (2002: 965), who engaged with young Asian British males following the disorder in Oldham and Burnley, found that this cohort was driven to action by a desire to claim national belonging and recognition within public spaces. Young people from minority ethnic and religious backgrounds are found

to develop and employ various strategies in order to negotiate their marginalised socio-spatial positions in dominant spaces of Whiteness, including adopting new identities and forging local ties (see Clayton 2012). Despite the pretext that people from minority backgrounds can 'become anybody' (*ibid.*, 2012: 1675) in a modern, pluralised Britain, the reality is that cosmopolitan life for these individuals is still constrained by historically and socially embedded prejudices, and by fixed notions of 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. It within this context that we can see the intersections between perceptions of identity, entitlement and belonging; the realities of everyday multicultural living; and the influence of broader social factors and power structures.

Whilst much of the attention within the field of multicultural youth studies has been directed towards the experiences of those from minority ethnic and religious backgrounds, there has been a growing interest in examining the ways in which multicultural living disrupts and decentres White hegemony at an everyday level, and specifically how people from majority communities respond to this. Due to their local, multicultural habitus, young White British people are confronted by the changing nature of British society to a greater extent than that experienced by any other previous generation. To date, very little effort has been made to understand how this population conceives of multiculturalism and engages with diversity in everyday life, or, importantly, how both of these factors influence and interact with each other to shape their lives. Thomas and Sanderson's (2013) research is one of the few studies that has focused on this topic and was conducted with this population. They found that young White British people living in Oldham expressed hostile views towards the town's multicultural population and felt that they were being demonised for being true 'native' Englishmen. The young people within their study had constructed a mental picture of the 'safe' and 'unsafe' areas within Oldham, which was based on racialised notions of ownership, belonging and territory (Thomas and Sanderson 2013). Within the next chapter, we will explore why multicultural contexts are perceived by some White British people to be identity threatening. Understanding how multicultural living is interpreted and experienced by young White British people could help to shed light on the antagonistic strategies that are employed by those struggling with this demographic condition.

Although focusing predominantly on adults, several scholars have sought to demonstrate the strategies adopted by majority communities in their attempt to uphold monocultural hegemony (Essed 1991; Stratton 2006; Velayutham 2007). One of the mechanisms routinely utilised is targeted hostility, which involves acts of verbal abuse, harassment and physical violence directed towards members of minority ethnic and religious communities within diverse micro-publics (Valentine 2008). The involvement of young people as active proponents in such behaviour has been relatively overlooked. Instead, targeted hostility and hate are commonly attributed to minority subcultures, such as neo-nazis, reinforcing the idea that such incidents are committed by people who are qualitatively different from the rest of us. There is a growing need to re-position everyday incidents of conflict and hostility as part of the process of identity- and place-making for young people. In this respect, everyday acts of targeted hostility can be interpreted as a way of young people contesting entitlement over a given space, over a given nation. It is these everyday practices that take place in micro-publics on a daily basis, but which are so commonly denied and poorly understood. It is crucial that we connect with this lived reality to first enable us to recognise the regularity and ordinariness of such behaviour and secondly, to understand that everyday hostility is inherent to how young people manoeuvre and manage the ever-diversifying population they engage with. It is only once we accept the banality of such behaviour that everyday conflict will be better understood and better resolved, and that we will be able to develop more preventative and positive approaches to facilitate young people's need to make sense of the world around them.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated that arguments condemning multiculturalism as a failed system are futile. Multiculturalism is a lived condition that is embodied on a day to day basis. Macro-conceptions of multiculturalism as a framework for managing diversity overlook this dynamic lived experience. It is hoped that the preceding discussion has demonstrated how 'everyday multiculturalism' offers a grass-roots approach that enables

researchers to become more attuned to the complexity of everyday life, and to the ways in which multicultural landscapes are interpreted and negotiated by ordinary people. Nonetheless, a micro-analytical framework alone does not capture the range of factors that shape these everyday interactions and the 'meaningfulness' of these encounters. It is necessary to consider how wider political and social structures intersect with situational factors and individual influences, to inform and transform our daily encounters with 'difference'. Employing this more comprehensive framework facilitates greater recognition of the diverse tapestry of everyday life. This will include people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds—who will undoubtedly have conflicting views, norms, values and interests—partaking in prosaic exchanges in multicultural spaces. It is how these interactions are managed and negotiated that can either overcome, exacerbate or cement these fault lines.

In a highly diverse society, it is inevitable that everyday multicultural environments will be conflict-laden. This is especially true for young people. As outlined within this chapter, young people occupy a unique position because their lives are so heavily rooted in local environs. Engaging with diversity is part and parcel of their everyday life and it is therefore surprising that so little attention has been paid to their interpretation of multiculturalism as an abstract philosophy and as an everyday reality, and their embodiment of it. Young White British people in particular have been relatively peripheral to the field of multicultural youth studies. As we shall go on to see, everyday life for this population involves grappling with the changing nature of British society; forging and re-forging ideas about their individual and national identity; managing the disconnect between perceived entitlement and the realities of everyday life; and negotiating diverse spaces that visibly disrupt White hegemony. These are the everyday challenges that confront young White British people and that we have failed to connect with.

As well as becoming more attuned to how young White British people conceive of multiculturalism, this book also intends to explore how hostility and conflict features within their everyday life. This chapter has demonstrated that this topic has often been shied away from when it comes to young people. Not only do we need to distance ourselves from conceiving of racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility as purely the actions

of extreme sub-groups, but we also need to better recognise that everyday conflict is a localised and situated strategy employed by young people to make sense of and challenge the world around them. It is only through connecting more meaningfully with young people's lives that we will able to understand how and why everyday hostility proliferates within multicultural micro-geographies, and to develop strategies to resolve or to manage such tensions in more proactive and pro-social ways. However, if we continue to marginalise and ignore these narratives and lived experiences, then it is likely that we will witness the destructive results of allowing feelings of fear, ignorance and hostility to manifest and flourish.

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3

Everyday Hate

Introduction

The previous chapter sought to demonstrate that multiculturalism is not merely an ideology or a mechanism for containing and managing 'difference'. Rather, it is embodied by ordinary people on a daily basis through practices of encounter and exchange. By providing a brief overview of the emergence, and subsequent 'demise', of state multiculturalism, the aim was to illustrate that fixed, top-down conceptualisations fail to account for the interactions, the negotiations, the struggles and the contestations that make up the mosaic of cosmopolitan life. In reality, top-down state policies and practices, and everyday intercultural intermingling are intricately connected, with shifts in wider social and political structures filtering down to shape these interactions. Whilst the field exploring these 'actually existing multiculturalisms' (Uitermark et al. 2005) is burgeoning, academic attention has been disproportionately weighted towards investigating the opinions and experiences of adults. As the last chapter noted, young people are often overlooked, and in some contexts ignored altogether, when it comes to the topics of identity, national belonging, diversity and intercultural conflict. However, research that has actively

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involved young people reveals not only that they are more likely to encounter diversity and 'difference' in daily life, but that these everyday interactions play a significant part in moulding a young person's sense of self and also there sense of others.

The last chapter narrowed the focus of this book to young White British people specifically. For me, this is a unique cohort. Whilst previous White British generations may have prophesied how mass migration would impact on White hegemony, younger people are faced with the actualisation of these global shifts. As part of their everyday life, many young White British people will co-habit micro-environments that are ethnically, religiously and culturally diverse. It may be that young White British people, having grown up in such a pluralised society, view this demographic condition as 'normal'. However, we do not know this because we have yet to fully engage this cohort in any meaningful exploration on this topic. Whilst the field of multicultural youth studies is growing, it has tended to concentrate more predominantly on the narratives of young people from minority ethnic and faith communities. Given that Britain's multicultural population is evolving day by day, it is vital that we understand how all groups of people build, sculpt and reconcile new kinds of identities and national belongings. In some ways this thinking is part of a more radical form of multiculturalism, which accepts that contestations over belonging are to be expected given the complexity of cosmopolitan living (Amin 2002; Germain and Radice 2006; Harris 2009). Rather than denying this conflict, we must try to connect with it and understand it. This book attempts to do this by shining a spotlight on how young White British people specifically interpret, respond to and challenge difference as part of their everyday life.

This chapter focuses more explicitly on everyday occurrences of targeted hostility. Whilst these offences have been labelled officially, and rather grandiosely, as hate crimes, most perpetrators (and victims) regard such incidents as banal and routine (Chakraborti et al. 2014). It is worth stating from the outset that by labelling these offences as 'ordinary' it is not my intention to trivialise the impact that such offences have upon the victim, their families and, in some contexts, the wider community. However, by framing this behaviour as extreme, as the term 'hate crime' insinuates, we inadvertently cast aspersions on the characteristics and

motivations of the perpetrator. Research demonstrates that in reality instances of targeted hostility are most likely to take the shape of everyday forms of verbal abuse and harassment, and are most likely to take place in everyday environments, including on public transport, in supermarkets and in street-based locations (*ibid.*, 2014). We know this because of the ever-mounting body of literature within the field of hate studies directed towards understanding the processes and impacts of hate crime victimisation. As this chapter will illustrate, we know very little about the causes and motivations of hate perpetration—especially young offenders—or how acts of targeted hostility are connected with encountering 'difference' in micro-publics. To contextualise this complex and multifaceted phenomenon, this chapter begins by exploring how prejudice and hostility are thought to develop, why certain groups are especially vulnerable to such sentiments, and what role these feelings play in the commission of targeted hostility.

Learning How to Hate

As outlined in the previous chapter, multiculturalism as an ideology and its embodiment in government policies has faced escalating criticism over the last decade. The wider social and political climate has been significant not only in shaping the Government's retreat from supporting multiculturalism, but also in heightening public concerns. In particular, the terrorist attacks in both New York and London were pivotal in facilitating increased levels of intolerance and hostility towards the ethnic 'Other' (Allen 2007). The involvement of home-grown terrorists in the July 2005 attack—'the children of Britain's own multicultural society' (Kepel 2005: n.p.)—sent shockwaves throughout the UK. For some, this provided proof that the multicultural social model, and specifically the integration of non-indigenous beliefs and norms, had not been successful (Allen 2010).

Within Britain, as within many other European countries, there has been a palpable resurgence of xenophobic sentiment during the last decade. Whilst recent polls suggest that nearly three quarters of the British population think that having a diverse population brings positive

attributes to the country (Ashcroft 2013), they also reveal that significant proportions believe that 'parts of the country don't feel like Britain anymore because of immigration', and that this 'threatens the British way of life' (BBC News 2005). It is likely that these feelings underpin why immigration features as the top societal concern for 38 % of the British population (Duffy and Frere-Smith 2014). Most worryingly, a recent survey conducted by NatCen reported that racial prejudice had returned to the same level reported more than 30 years ago (Taylor and Muir 2014). One of the interesting findings to emerge from such studies is that younger participants were found to express greater levels of opposition and animosity towards immigration, and the Muslim population specifically (Bartlett et al. 2011; Betts 2005). The anxieties expressed by younger respondents within these studies centred on three key issues: that certain groups of 'Others', including immigrant communities and those who identify as Muslim, detrimentally affect Britain's collective national identity; that these groups possess norms, beliefs and cultures that are incompatible with the 'British' way of life; and that these 'Others' threaten their perceived entitlement to education, employment and housing. Though the intolerances expressed here are not especially 'new', what they do demonstrate is how multiculturalism, and particularly the notion of 'difference', is considered by some younger people to disrupt White hegemony and adversely affect the 'British' way of life.

Before we look at how these wider societal concerns filter through to shape the everyday lived reality of multiculturalism, it is necessary to consider how and why these prejudiced views develop, and the purposes that they serve. Social researchers suggest that prejudice and racism manifest themselves at different levels: 'individual, interpersonal, intergroup and institutional' (Augustinos and Reynolds, 2001: 1). Although prejudice is expressed and conveyed at the individual level, the importance of structural contexts and the social identities within which people live out their everyday lives is central to its development (Augustinos and Reynolds 2001). Allport, one of the most influential writers in the field, defines prejudice (1954:7) as 'an aversive or hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group'. Central to social psychological definitions is the idea that

prejudice is a 'social orientation either towards whole groups of people or towards individuals because of their membership of a particular group' (Brown 2010: 4). Generally definitions emphasise the negative element of both individual and group prejudice. However, it must be acknowledged that prejudice and discrimination can be both negative and positive. As Jacobs and Potter (1998) suggest, prejudice is a 'complicated, broad and cloudy concept' (Jacobs and Potter 1998: 11) and for this reason the terminological debate has not been without issue.

One of the main criticisms with existing social psychological definitions is that they appear to emphasise that prejudiced views are inaccurate or incorrect. For example, prejudice has been defined as 'an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation' (Allport 1954:10); 'an unjustified negative attitude' (Worchel et al. 1988: 449); and 'irrational, unjust, or intolerant' views (Milner 1975: 9). These definitions imply that there are certain groups of people who hold prejudiced views which are in some way false or lacking an evidential basis, thus suggesting that their beliefs and generalisations are unfounded (Brown 2010). These definitions are assuming that such individuals have not been able to establish or find 'correctness' in their opinions (*ibid* 2010: 5). This perspective infers that there are certain people or groups such as academics, whose opinions are founded more in reality and/or experience, and therefore are 'right'. If a 'truth-value' element is added to the definition then it is obscuring and even ignoring the 'relativistic nature' of what is essentially an intergroup perception (*ibid* 2010: 5). For certain individuals and groups, their opinions and beliefs may be rational, 'true' and correct due to the framework and social context in which they have grown up in or find themselves within now. For example, if a young White British person is surrounded by friends, family members and a community who all vocalise the same 'prejudiced' views, and they also live within an environment in which they can physically see ethnic 'Others' in positions of power who are markedly wealthier, then this is their validation and 'truth'. It is this lived reality that we must try to connect with if we are to fully understand the existence and strength of hostility towards minority ethnic and religious communities.

Cognitive development and social psychological theories have been used to explain how and why children and young people develop and express prejudiced views. The cognitive development theories focus

predominantly on category awareness (Brown 2010). It is impossible for one to hold a prejudiced attitude or act in a discriminative manner without being able to categorise individuals, such as 'male' or 'female'. Therefore, assessing what age children can achieve this categorical distinction is paramount to mapping the development of these concrete assumptions (Aboud 2005; Bigler and Liben 2006). Research has found that children as young as three are able to distinguish between two of society's major social categories: gender and ethnicity. As part of this process, young people identify the 'visible' differences between themselves and others, such as skin colour, dress and appearance, and language. There are signs that children have the ability to demonstrate attitudinal and behavioural preferences based upon these categories of difference (Brown 2010). It is for this reason that Giles and Hewstone (1986: 1) believe that one of the most disheartening aspects of prejudice is the 'early age at which it rears its ugly head'. For both children and young people, stereotypes and generalisations are thought to 'serve as building blocks for human thought and behavior' (Medin 1989: 1469), and to help make sense of a complex world. Parents and guardians are believed to play a significant role in shaping young people's knowledge of societal norms and prejudices. Allport (1954) suggests that there are three social mechanisms for acquiring prejudice—learning, conformity and contact—and that most children learn prejudiced views through direct transfer of their parents' words, emotions and stereotypes (*ibid.*, 1954). The social setting is also considered influential in the development of prejudiced views, especially if a child is surrounded by unequal relationships of power, insecurity and aggression (*ibid.*, 1954; Aboud 2005).

It has long been acknowledged within social psychology that the group in which we identify with, such as our peer group, can also have a negative and confounding impact on prejudiced views, especially in young people. Young people are more likely to be tolerant of racist speech and acts of targeted hostility if a friend expresses that view or acts in that way (Lun et al. 2007; Paluck 2010). The influence of our peers in particular is said to impact on the affective and behavioural component of prejudice formation. Importantly, the difference between child and adolescent prejudices is the latter's need to form a significant and stable identity within their social environment (Aboud 2005). As young people

become more aware of the status hierarchy of groups in society and in the micro-contexts of their everyday life, they are able to better understand social relationships and the implications of belonging to one group over another. As Tajfel (1981: 255) explains, social identity is:

> *that part of the individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in the social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that group membership.*

Social identity theory suggests that prejudice is a consequence of an individual's need to identify as being more positive and superior to other groups (Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1986). This theory suggests that when social identity is highly important to an individual, others who share that same characteristic have a 'referent informational influence' on their opinions and actions (Turner 1991). Therefore, a person evolves to see themselves as an interchangeable member of the group, rather than an independent individual, and becomes highly influenced by group norms and attitudes (Kumar et al. 2011). The strength of peer, familial and community attachment and belonging is dependent on how important maintaining that social identity is to the self (Tajfel and Turner 1979). As Allport (1954: 42) explains, 'hostility toward out-groups helps strengthen our sense of belonging'. Paramount to achieving this is reinforcing that 'in-groups' are positive, distinct and the norm compared to 'out-groups' who are perceived as a threat and judged negatively. The need for both self and group esteem provides a motivation for individuals to evaluate their own group more favourably than they do other groups (Hewstone et al. 2002). In doing so, the psychological need for a positive self-image is met, the individual's sense of belonging is enhanced and social cohesion within the in-group is strengthened.

When faced with a potential threat to our identity, highly identified individuals are motivated to protect that identity through increased hostility (Branscombe and Wann 1994; Cuhadar and Dayton 2011). It might be assumed that being White in an ethnically and religiously diverse context is a protective and normative factor (Kumar et al. 2011); however, within most European countries multiculturalism is 'typically seen as identity threatening for the majority group and identity supporting for

minority groups' (Verkuyten 2010: 154). This belief is often dependent on your status within society and your group's numerical presence within a given space. Sachdev and Bourhis (1991) found that 'dominant high-status members in society who find themselves in numerical-minority contexts were highly discriminatory toward subordinate low-status, numerical-majority group members' (cited in Kumar et al. 2011: 359). This is a notion supported by Legrain (2006), who explains that White British people are often accepting of the label of a multicultural society as long as it is not visually apparent within everyday spaces.

Feelings of group threat can be exacerbated by certain conditions such as the high visibility of the subordinate groups, geographical segregation limiting everyday contact, an unstable economic climate and finally, heightened political contexts (Hjerm 2007). When a group of people feel threatened due to being in a minority position, whether this is ethnic or numerical, levels of stereotyping, prejudice and hostility are likely to increase (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Hogg 2005). Kumar et al. (2011) found that White adolescents' in-group solidarity increased because they were in a numerical-minority position within a multicultural space, resulting in the development of a salient and central White racial identity. Contrary to what the contact hypothesis would predict, research suggests that majority members who live within super-diverse micro-geographies tend to show greater negative attitudes towards multiculturalism compared to those who do not (Breugelmans and Van De Vijver 2004). As the social identity theory suggests, 'native' inhabitants within these contexts strive for cultural homogeneity as a means of reasserting a strong, distinct identity in the hope of reestablishing the status quo.

This status quo, which has been (and to some extent continues to be) reinforced by socially and institutionally embedded power hierarchies, emphasises the normalcy, superiority and liberalism of the 'White British' culture and national identity. It is this framework that is used to judge and differentiate between 'native' inhabitants and those who have a 'home outside Britain' (Miles and Brown 2003: 62). Racism, as well as broader social and political factors, plays a crucial role in fixing and stigmatising the identities of those who are categorised as belonging to an out-group. As Modood (2012: 5) observes, post-immigration minorities are judged negatively for the following reasons:

> *On the one hand, by the fact of negative 'difference': with alienness, inferiorisation, stigmatisation, stereotyping, exclusion, discrimination, racism and so on. On the other hand, by the senses of identity that groups so perceived have of themselves. The two together are the key data for multiculturalism. The differences at issue are those perceived both by outsiders or group members – from the outside in and from the inside out – to constitute not just some form of distinctness but a form of alienness or inferiority that diminishes or makes difficult equal membership in the wider society or polity.*

It is this 'difference', this perceived incompatibility with the 'British' way of life, which reinforces in-group perceptions about the threat posed by out-groups, and about the illegitimacy of such groups making a claim of national belonging and entitlement (Modood 2007; Jamal 2009). These broader social and political dynamics are brought to the fore within everyday multicultural spaces and are encountered and embodied differently by different people.

The present study illustrates the complexity of everyday multiculturalism for young White British people, especially for those who find themselves in a numerical-minority position. Social identity theory in particular could help to understand why certain young White British people develop and express hostility towards specific out-groups. However, we have yet to fully explore if and how these views translate into acts of targeted hostility within multicultural spaces. The next section seeks to review existing literature on the motivation and causation of targeted hostility, and by doing so will demonstrate how these abstract theories fail to connect with the lived reality of everyday multiculturalism.

Profiling a Hate Crime Perpetrator

So far this chapter has illustrated that whilst large-scale attitudinal surveys reveal that the general public ostensibly recognises multiculturalism as being positive, underlying fears and tensions can hamper the everyday lived reality of engaging with diversity. Often this hostility is directed towards specific out-groups such as immigrant communities and the Muslim population and is motivated by the real or imagined threat that

these groups pose to both national and individual identity and standard of living. The following section aims to consider the motivation and causation of targeted hostility, acts which embody this unfamiliarity, fear and hostility towards 'difference'. It is worth stating from the outset that there exists a significant gap within existing literature to explain the causal link between prejudice and acts of targeted hostility. Green et al. (2003: 72) suggest that 'It might take the better part of a lifetime to read the prodigious research literature on prejudice … yet scarcely any of this research examines directly and systematically the questions of why prejudice erupts into violence.' Although there is a lack of evidence as to why prejudice as a psychological phenomenon leads to violent behaviour, literature from the broader criminological field can be used to explain the motivation and causation of offending. It is the contention of this book that underlying prejudices and the notion of 'difference' are central to why perpetrators select a specific victim. As the following section illustrates, existing hate crime literature builds upon prevailing economic, social and psychological theories of criminal offending to explain the causal link.

As already stated, acts of harassment and violence that are directed towards an individual on the basis of their actual or perceived identity are officially defined as hate crimes. Scholars within the field itself have debated at length the appropriateness of the term 'hate' to describe such offences because as Chakraborti and Garland (2015: 2) explain:

> *'hate' is an emotive and conceptually ambiguous label that can mean different things to different people. This has important implications for the way in which we conceive of the offences that fall under its umbrella framework and the actors involved in a hate crime, whether these be victims, perpetrators or criminal justice and other organisations.*

Elsewhere, Perry (2003: 2) observes that the 'phrase is fraught with dilemmas and difficulties. Laypeople as well as professionals and scholars tend to take it far too literally'. This viewpoint has led to some academics, particularly in North America to re-label this phenomenon as 'bias crime', emphasising the importance of underlying prejudices rather than hatred (Lawrence 1999; Perry 2003). Within this book, the term 'targeted

hostility' is favoured as it is perceived to encapsulate the nature and motivation of incidents that take place within the context of everyday life.

Despite the relatively recent adoption of the concept of hate crime in many western countries, the swift maturation within the field has contributed to the development of more inclusive and comprehensive analytical frameworks and therefore, a growing body of knowledge on this complex and contentious phenomenon. Unfortunately, there still exists a paucity of research and knowledge on offending, particularly with regards to what motivates young people to commit acts of targeted hostility (Gadd 2009). This is because the majority of the literature within the field focuses on victimology (Bowling and Phillips 2002: 114) and that which does focus on offending overwhelmingly relies on secondary 'official' sources of data (Sibbitt 1997; McDevitt, Levin and Bennet 2002; Gadd 2009). Despite the dearth of literature on perpetration, there are several studies that have been conducted which help to paint a picture of who engages in acts of targeted hostility and why they do it.

The most influential work to date on the profile of perpetrators and their motivations was conducted by McDevitt, Levin, Nolan and Bennett (see McDevitt et al. 2002, 2010). Their typology, which was developed after analysis of 169 hate crime cases investigated by the Boston Police Department, suggests that the majority (two-thirds of the cases reviewed) of hate crime perpetrators would be categorised as 'Thrill Offenders'. These individuals are commonly young males who, acting in a group, seek out opportunities to commit hate crimes because they are considered exciting and thrilling. This category of offenders is supported by official data published across the world, including the UK (CPS 2014), which suggests that the majority of hate offenders are male and a significant proportion are under the age of 25 (Iganski et al. 2011). 'Thrill' perpetrators commonly leave their neighbourhood in search of a target who will be selected on the basis of their actual or perceived identity, thus demonstrating the perpetrator's underlying prejudiced views (McDevitt et al. 2010). The offenders within these cases spoke of feeling bored prior to the incident and wanting to have 'some fun' at 'someone else's expense' (Levin and McDevitt 1993: 65). This category of offender has been supported by research more broadly, as demonstrated by Byers et al. (1999: 84) who noted that the young people within their study:

> *traveled the county back roads looking for victims – often while out drinking – cruising for Amish. Once found, the Amish were often targets. These attacks tend to be random and anonymous … offending rests largely with the thrill or excitement experienced.*

The second group of offenders categorised by McDevitt et al. are those labelled 'Defensive Offenders' (these cases equated to a quarter of the total). Although this group have a similar demographic profile to those perpetrators categorised as 'Thrill Offenders', they typically commit hate crimes as a means of protecting their neighbourhood from perceived intruders. Within this context the victim, or more fittingly the community to whom the victim is perceived to belong to, is perceived to pose some form of social, cultural and/or economic threat. 'Retaliatory Offenders' are the third group in McDevitt's et al. typology (fewer than one in ten of the overall cases). The perpetrators who fall within this category are usually motivated to commit a hate crime in retaliation for a previous incident that the victim, or the victim's social group, is believed to have been responsible for (McDevitt et al. 2010). For both 'defensive' and 'retaliatory' offenders, the underlying motivation to commit a hate crime is to send a 'message' that evokes fear and unease in the victim as well as within the wider community. The final category identified by McDevitt et al. (only around 1 % of the sample) includes those offenders who are often inspired to commit hate crime by far-right ideologies. Britain's most notorious hate-related perpetrators, including David Copeland and Pavlo Lapshyn, would be categorised as 'Mission Offenders' and conform to the archetypal idea of a hate crime offender. However, the typology proposed by McDevitt et al. (2002) demonstrates that such offenders account for a tiny proportion of hate crime perpetrators overall.

Sibbitt's (1997) study based within two London Boroughs has also been one of the most significant studies conducted on hate crime offending, and is deemed especially relevant considering the focus of this book. Sibbitt (1997) constructed an age-related hate offender typology which demonstrated that children as young as 4 years old were involved in wider patterns of targeted harassment and intimidation. Within the typology, the most problematic age category included young people aged between 15 and 18 years old. Typically these individuals had been highly

influenced by the prejudiced views held and expressed by their family and their friendship group, were engaging in low-level anti-social behaviour and faced limited further education and employment opportunities. It is within this milieu that these individuals were becoming seduced by far-right ideologies and engaging in acts of racially motivated targeted hostility as a means of gaining status and respect from within their peer group. These offenders were likely to come from 'problem' families which were characterised by Sibbitt (1997) as experiencing a number of issues including poor health and aggressive tendencies and who often perceived themselves as persecuted and rejected by wider society. Sibbit's work emulates that of Allport's (1954) by conveying how instrumental family members and the home environment are in transmitting racist views from one generation to the other.

Similarly, the wider community has also been found to play an important role in the motivation of hate crime perpetration. Research suggests that perpetrators engaging in targeted hostility often believe that the wider community holds the same prejudices as they do and therefore, by extension, are likely to condone acts of targeted hostility (Gadd et al. 2005; Hemmerman et al. 2007). Both Bowling (1999) and Hewitt (1996) highlighted that offenders often neutralised their behaviour by explaining that they were simply acting out community prejudices that had gone unchallenged within their social settings. These participants spoke of feeling a sense of duty to express racist attitudes and to engage in acts of targeted hostility on behalf of both the community and the peer group that they belonged to (Hewitt 1996; Bowling 1999). Sibbitt (1997: p vii) describes this process of legitimisation using the term 'reciprocal relationship'. She suggests that the 'wider community not only spawns such perpetrators, but fails to condemn them', which in turn reinforces the behaviour (*ibid*, 1997: p vii). It is therefore unsurprising that within this context acts of targeted hostility are so often perceived by the perpetrator as being 'ordinary' (Sibbitt 1997; Iganski 2008). A final noteworthy observation of existing literature within the field of hate studies is the recurrent finding that the majority of hate crime perpetrators are young males who come from socially marginalised and economically disadvantaged backgrounds. Within both Ray and Smith's (2001) and Gadd, Dixon and Jefferson's (2005) studies, hate offenders were found

to be overwhelming White British who had low levels of educational qualifications, little to no employment experience and multiple criminal convictions (Ray and Smith 2001; Gadd et al. 2005). The perpetrators within these studies not only perceived minority ethnic communities as posing a social, economical or cultural threat, but also, blamed these out-groups for their own disadvantaged positions within society.

Explaining Everyday Hate

Up until this point, the discussion has focused on using existing literature to put together a profile of hate crime perpetrators. We know from this overview that hate offenders are likely to be young White British males who are from socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds. What we have yet to examine is how these characteristics explain the motivation and causation of hate perpetration. The theory of 'doing difference' which was proposed by Perry (2001) is considered one of the most comprehensive explanations of hate crime perpetration. Perry's framework acknowledges the complexity of hate crime victimisation by highlighting the relationship between structural and power hierarchies, institutionalised prejudices and acts of targeted hostility. Within her definition, Perry (2001:10) intimates that violent and intimidatory behaviour is qualitatively different when it is motivated by hostility and directed towards already disempowered and isolated communities:

> *Hate crime … involves acts of violence and intimidation, usually directed towards already stigmatised and marginalised groups. As such, it is a mechanism of power and oppression, intended to reaffirm the precarious hierarchies that characterise a given social order.*

This definition recognises that hate crimes are historically and culturally contingent, with perpetrators being informed by 'broader ideologies and patterns of social and political inequality' (Perry 2001:10). In this respect, hate crime needs to be seen as a dynamic social process involving context, structure and agency (see also Bowling 1993, 1999). Perry (2001) suggests that within western societies certain prejudiced views have become

institutionalised and this has in turn legitimised the oppression of certain out-groups through state policies and practices. This process has helped to create and reinforce a societal hierarchy, which situates those who are White, male and heterosexual at the top. This hierarchy governs the distribution of wealth, power and status. Perry (2001) asserts that perpetrators are motivated to use acts of targeted hostility when lower status members are perceived to pose a threat to this hegemony. In this context, targeted hostility acts as a mechanism for reinforcing the perceived dominant and subordinate positions of the perpetrator and victim. Such acts are designed to send a message to the community to which the victim is perceived to belong that they are different, inferior and do not belong—echoing the principles of social identity theory.

Perry's definition has not been without criticism. One of the perceived weaknesses of 'doing difference' is the fact that the majority of hate crime perpetrators come from disadvantaged social and economic backgrounds. In terms of a societal hierarchy, these individuals do not hold an empowered position and therefore should not feel threatened by minority communities. However, our identity is multifaceted and our own perception of the position that we hold within society is much more complex than is often assumed. As the intersectionality approach suggests, our identity is said to form via the intersection of our ethnicity, gender, sexuality and class, and these social divisions concurrently affect how we perceive ourselves and others, and influence our life experiences through predetermined hierarchies and power structures (Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill 1996). There are thought to be serious implications for those individuals who, through different axes of power, experience the contrasting positions of privilege and disadvantage (Burgess-Proctor 2006; Trahan 2011). For example, whilst a young White British person may occupy a low-status position on a hierarchy based on class, they may feel that they have been assigned entitlement and superiority due to their 'Whiteness'. This disharmony is likely to be magnified and exacerbated in the context of multicultural living, whereby further conflict is caused when the dominance of Whiteness is visibly challenged in diverse micro-spaces. It is within these everyday contexts that young White British people might be motivated to use acts of targeted hostility as a means of reasserting their perceived superiority or ownership of a given location.

Using social identity theory and the concept of social capital can further help to explain why young people from disadvantaged backgrounds feel individual and group threat most acutely, and in turn, why they are more likely to commit acts of targeted hostility. In order to compensate for feeling socially marginalised young people from disadvantaged backgrounds are found to develop a strong sense of belonging and attachment to their friends, family and their immediate community, as a means of strengthening their social identity (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Trahan 2011). Existing literature on social capital can help to understand how insular networks are created, as well as the impact of belonging to one of these. The concept of social capital has been used to understand 'the values that people hold and the resources that they can access, which both result in and are the result of collective and socially negotiated ties and relationships' (Edwards et al. 2003: 2). As a result of the unequal distribution of economic and cultural capital within society, economically disadvantaged communities are often characterised by 'bonding' social capital, which is described by Putnam (2000) as being an inward-looking, closed network. The societal exclusion felt by disadvantaged communities is countered by the strength of inclusion granted by their immediate community. 'Bonding' networks can result in local nomadism and territorial behaviour. As young people's lives revolve around local environs, as outlined in the previous chapter, these everyday places can become especially meaningful to those groups who heavily rely on these spaces of inclusion to feel a sense of belonging, self-worth and ownership (Pickering et al. 2012). Territoriality, however, is also a constraining force because by rarely venturing out of the confines of the neighbourhood, opportunities for economic and cultural capital and social mobility are limited. In a cyclic manner, this further heightens the importance of maintaining a strong salient social identity and the need to 'defend' these geographies from outsiders, as exemplified by McDevitt et al. (2002) 'Defensive Offenders'.

The literature outlined within this chapter explains hate crime perpetration as the result of thrill-seeking behaviour, economic strain and/or a desire to maintain power. Applied in isolation these theories are too simplistic to account for such a complex phenomenon (Hall 2013). Walters (2011) was the first to attempt to examine the intersections between the various individual, economic and structural theories and to

provide a more holistic explanation of hate offending. Walters (2011: 314) attempted to do this by synthesising Perry's theory of 'doing difference' with Merton's strain theory. Combined, these theories explain the broader macro conditions that can lead to feelings of frustration and resentment within certain sectors of society. It is the perceptions that groups of 'Others', such as immigrant communities and those who identify as Muslim, will encroach upon the 'native' inhabitants culture and social opportunities that aggravates underlying prejudices and economic frustrations (Hall 2013). Although together these theories offer a more comprehensive explanation of the broader social and economic contexts that can exacerbate underlying feelings of hostility, it still fails to adequately explain why certain individuals act upon this strain, whilst others do not. To overcome this theoretical weakness, Walters (2011) incorporated self-control theory. Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) theory suggests that individuals with low self-control, due to their 'impulsive' and 'short-sighted' traits, tend to seek out instant psychological gratification which substance misuse, risk taking behaviour and criminal conduct can provide (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990: 92). For Walters (2011) the inclusion of self-control bridges the gap between macro-level contexts and micro-level offending behaviour. Although this theoretical approach is regarded as advancing the field of hate studies by providing a more comprehensive explanation for hate crime offending, it still lacks a more explicit recognition of the situational dynamics and social contexts which cause social, economic and cultural strain to manifest into expressions and acts of racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility.

What becomes apparent from the analysis of existing hate crime research is that there still exists a significant knowledge gap in what motivates and causes hate perpetration, and of the role that everyday intercultural mingling plays within the commission of such offences. It is also evident that the involvement of young people in such behaviour has been relatively neglected. Despite statistics showing that a significant proportion of hate crimes are committed by 16–24 year olds (CPS 2014), Sibbitt's (1997) research is one of the few studies to actively and explicitly engage with young people. A range of studies illustrate that younger people have been found to express higher levels of xenophobia than older generations and that young people are particularly hostile towards specific

groups of 'Others' (Pagani and Robustelli 2010; Valentine 2010; Bartlett et al. 2011). As outlined in the previous chapter, within the broader field of multicultural studies there has been a tendency for research to focus on subcultures of extreme racist youth, rather than ordinary young people. The lack of research on young people and their views and everyday experiences with 'difference' and targeted hostility could be explained by the perception that young people are more tolerant than previous generations and that this form of behaviour is limited to adults. However, a denial of the prejudices that young people hold and how this impacts on doing multiculturalism obscures the tensions and conflicts that exist in the context of everyday life. It is for this reason that this books focuses solely on young people's views and experiences of everyday multiculturalism, and their involvement in acts of targeted hostility.

The second area that this book seeks to explore is the 'ordinary', everyday nature of targeted hostility. One of the key reasons for distancing ourselves from the use of the term 'hate' is the powerful connotation such an emotive label has on how we conceive of the nature of such incidents and of the people who commit these acts. Within the field of hate studies there is a growing recognition of the routine, ordinary and unspectacular nature of many incidents of hate crime (Chahal and Julienne 1999; Iganski 2008; Walters and Hoyle 2012). Similarly, research illustrates that the majority of hate crimes are committed not by 'hardened race haters' (Gadd et al. 2005: 9), supremacists or far-right extremists but rather, 'people like us' in the context of their everyday life (Iganski 2008: 42). Increasingly, it is acknowledged that the act itself may deviate from the perpetrator's standard norms of behaviour or may be influenced by alcohol, stress or situational anger (Dixon and Gadd 2006; Gadd 2009). Gadd (2009: 768) suggests that although offenders might seem 'hateful to their victims in the heat of a confrontation' a closer analysis to the immediate context before the incident took place could offer a comprehensive explanation of the causation of such behaviour.

Iganski (2008: 20) suggests that we need to recognise 'the day-to-day reality of how bigotry manifests in the lives of offenders and their victims'. Iganski's (2008) was one of the first to demonstrate how important situational dynamics and social circumstances are in the commission of

hate crime. Focusing on hate offences committed within the city context, Iganski (2008) illustrated how micro-urban geographies can produce numerous opportunities for ordinary people to commit everyday acts of targeted hostility. Utilising the everyday multiculturalism perspective, which involves a closer analysis of the everyday exchanges and negotiations that take place in micro-publics, could help us to better understand how acts of target hostility arise. As Perry (2003: 5) explains, hate crime scholars:

> *must define hate crime in such a way as to give the term "life" and meaning, in other words, as a socially situated, dynamic process involving context and actors, structure and agency. … This allows us to acknowledge that bias motivated violence is not "abnormal" or "anomalous" in many Western cultures, but is rather a natural extension of the racism, sexism and homophobia that normally allocates privilege along racial and gender lines.*

To understand the end product of committing an act of targeted hostility, you have to first begin by getting to know the individual, their circumstances and their opinions on the world in which they live in. It is only through analysing everyday interactions and local relationships, and accounting for the context a young person comes from and their notions of identity and belonging, that we will start to reveal the complexity of inter-ethnic relations and targeted hostility.

Conclusion

This chapter has built upon the previous one by briefly introducing the reader to how ordinary people view multiculturalism, diversity and 'difference'. Research demonstrates that although the majority of the general public perceive multiculturalism as being positive for the country as a whole, it is also evident that there are concerns and frustrations towards diversity, which may undermine everyday multiculturalism. In particular, this chapter focused on the concept of 'difference' and how the Othering process, evident in modern society, has contributed to cultural differences being exaggerated, and consequently, to be seen as incompatible with

the British way of life. Social identity theory was introduced in order to understand the development and purpose of prejudiced attitudes. This theory specifically is regarded as highly relevant in explaining why young White British people who lack a stable identity, sense of societal belonging may denigrate and dehumanise particular out-groups.

The second part of this chapter focused on what motivates and causes underlying prejudices to spill over into acts of targeted hostility. Such incidents are officially defined as hate crimes and this chapter provided an overview of the literature within the field. There exists a limited amount of research focusing explicitly on hate crime perpetrators and this is even more evident when it comes to young offenders. Scholars within the field are calling for greater recognition of the banal and routine nature of hate crime, and in a similar vein, the 'ordinariness' of hate crime offenders. This chapter concluded by highlighting two main gaps within existing research: first, studies focusing explicitly on young people; and second, the use of a more comprehensive analytical framework which connects more closely to the everyday lives of ordinary people. The research that this book is based upon sought to develop knowledge that would address these existing gaps by exploring how living everyday multiculturalism can reduce, produce and exacerbate underlying prejudices that have the potential to manifest into acts of targeted hostility. A more detailed analysis of these lived environments (and how such experiences can aggravate underlying tensions) could provide a more comprehensive and empirically rooted understanding of everyday conflict and targeted hostility.

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4

Researching Young People, Everyday Multiculturalism and 'Hidden' Hate

Introduction

The previous two chapters were designed to frame the intention of this book which is to better understand how young White British people conceive of multiculturalism and engage with diversity in everyday life. By doing so, this book will not only uncover a 'hidden' perspective but also expose the everyday forms of targeted hostility that feature frequently in the lives of young people. The concept of everyday multiculturalism offers a more empirically rooted way of understanding the processes, causes and motivations of what is officially termed racially and religiously aggravated hate crime. As outlined in the preceding chapters, the involvement of young people in such behaviour has been largely underexplored despite growing attention being paid to the relevance and importance of everyday multiculturalism to young people's lives. The topics of multiculturalism and targeted hostility are considered by some to be contentious and are therefore shied away from, especially when it comes to young people. However, that is exactly what this research aimed to do: to enable young people to share their views and experiences on these themes.

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In order to conduct this research in a meaningful way it was essential to develop a methodological approach that was accessible, inclusive and sensitive. This chapter is designed to provide a comprehensive overview of how this piece of research was conducted. Unfortunately, methodology chapters tend to have a bad reputation, commonly criticised for being dry, overly theoretical and individualistic. In an attempt to avoid these potential pitfalls, this chapter will focus more predominantly on the challenges encountered and the solutions developed. It begins by providing a brief overview of how and why grounded theory was used to frame this research before tracing the evolution of the data collection approaches, which included employing an ethnographic strategy, conducting individual and group interviews, and undertaking a survey. This chapter seeks to detail and justify the methodological decisions made, whilst being transparent about the potential flaws.

Throughout the duration of the research process I also kept an auto-ethnographical field diary which provided a key source of data. Documenting my personal experiences and observations helped me to actively reflect on the process of conducting this study, and to consider what worked and what did not. This enabled me to think more broadly about the implications of this research in terms of using the lessons learned to design and develop educational programmes aimed at young people, especially those at risk of engaging in targeted hostility. I also recorded my personal feelings and experiences within the field diary to accurately reflect the journey of this research. As expected, researching this topic in this way was not easy. The participants and I experienced many difficult and testing situations during our time together, but we also shared in many moments of joviality and kindness. This chapter, as well as the ones that follow, will draw upon these reflective accounts to infuse a 'human-side' to this research.

The Aims

The research this book is based upon was undertaken as part of a doctorate. Although in some ways I stumbled upon the sample, the topics of everyday multiculturalism and targeted hostility had always interested me.

I had grown up in Leicestershire on the periphery of one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse cities in the world and from a young age had always been confused and angered by expressions of racism. It was this bewilderment that led me to probe and debate such issues in order to find some sort of explanation for what I thought were bizarre and unfounded views. At this time I, like many others, lived in a naive bubble believing that intolerance towards minority ethnic and faith communities—never mind incidents of targeted hostility—was relatively obsolete. That was until I began working for the Youth Offending Service.

As outlined in the introductory chapter of this book, my role as a detached youth worker involved engaging with young people who were at risk of being involved in, if not already involved in, anti-social behaviour. My 'patch', although being located in the majority White British county of Leicestershire, was on the border of the north part of Leicester city, an area which is inhabited by one of the largest populations of Indian people in Britain. I still remember my first night of reconnaissance, which involved scoping out where local 'hang-out' areas were, and how nervous I felt about whether the group of young people we met would be civil and open to engaging with us or unwelcoming, and even rude. Over the coming months I got to know that group of young people, their views, their dynamics, their lifestyles and their experiences, and it opened my eyes to a level of hostility that I did not know existed.

It was because of these encounters that I decided to undertake doctoral research in the hope of better understanding where these views and behaviours had come from. In order to explore these themes three research aims were developed, which were:

1. To use the concept of everyday multiculturalism to explore how young White British people living in Leicester(shire) interpret, negotiate and engage with diversity and 'difference'.

2. To explore the extent to which the concept of everyday multiculturalism helps to understand what motivates and causes young White British people to commit acts of targeted hostility.

3. To use the research findings to consider what research, theory and policy developments could help to address the challenges posed by everyday multiculturalism and targeted hostility.

Due to the exploratory nature of the study, the research lent itself to a grounded theory framework. In the simplest of descriptions grounded theory is 'the discovery of theory from data' (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 1). Glaser and Strauss (1967) were responsible for developing the first iteration of grounded theory, and their motivation for doing so was the continued domination of quantitative methodologies within social science research. At the time qualitative research was considered by many to be 'impressionistic, anecdotal, unsystematic and biased' (cited in Charmaz 2006: 5). Glaser and Strauss (1967) sought to challenge this prevailing epistemic view by demonstrating that generating theories rooted in experiences of the 'real world' could be as scientific as theories based on *priori* knowledge. By combining the principles of quantitative research such as logic, rigour and systematic analysis, with the depth and richness of raw qualitative data, they sought to bridge 'the embarrassing gap between theory and empirical research' (*ibid*., 1967: viii; Dunne, 2011). Since the creation of the Classic Grounded Theory, this methodological framework has been subject to multiple interpretations and modifications.

There is not enough space available within this chapter to sufficiently explain the different strains of grounded theory that have emerged since the original conception. Helpfully (and thankfully) this has been comprehensively addressed elsewhere (see Bryant and Charmaz 2010). Nevertheless, it is still necessary to explain why I chose to combine the principles and guidance from both Straussian and Constructivist Grounded Theory to inform this research. Straussian Grounded Theory, which was the first 'fracture' to come from the Classic Grounded Theory, emphasises the importance of drawing upon a researcher's professional and personal experience in order to identify and engage with a study's participants (Strauss and Corbin 1998). In comparison to the previous iteration, the Straussian approach also provides instruction to guide researchers on how to systematically structure data collection and analysis. However, what is absent from the first generation of grounded theories is a clear epistemological foundation.

Constructivist Grounded Theory, which emerged within the second generation of grounded theories, provides the underpinning philosophy of this research. Constructivism challenges the belief that there is an objective truth by asserting that people construct their lived reality

through the meanings that they assign to the world around them (Appleton and King 2002; Mills et al. 2006). These meanings are created through our interpretations and interactions with different objects and different people. This epistemological viewpoint was a central driving force in not only choosing a grounded theory methodology but also in deciding on how to employ it. Embedded within the design and delivery of this research was the idea that 'only through listening and hearing what children say and paying attention to the ways in which they communicate with us will progress be made towards conducting research with, rather than simply on, children' (Christensen and James 2000: 7). In contrast to the objective standpoint advocated within Classic Grounded Theory, a constructivist approach urges the researcher to develop in-depth relationships with research participants. By ensuring reciprocity between the researcher and the study's participants, a theory is generated which is rooted in both parties' experiences (Mills et al. 2006). This approach requires researchers to go much further than simply conceptualising a distinct pattern of behaviour, to instead interpreting how participants construct their realities. This philosophical lens also highlights the need for researchers not only to recognise the power imbalance that exists between them and the participants but to actively address it prior to conducting the research (Charmaz 2000, 2006).

What becomes increasingly clear from consulting the abundance of material on grounded theories is that adhering to a dichotomous position of either one strain or the other restricts a researcher's flexibility and autonomy. It is therefore necessary for the researcher to draw upon their personal beliefs and experiences to implement a grounded theory approach that is in tune with their own philosophy, research objectives and ethical considerations. For the reasons outlined above, this study combined aspects of both Straussian and Constructivist Grounded Theory in order to explore everyday multiculturalism and targeted hostility in an exploratory, flexible, inclusive and sensitive manner. By taking an active involvement in the research process and documenting auto-ethnographic feelings and experiences, this study strove to generate rich, empirically rooted data through collaborative engagement with the participants. By beginning the research process with an acknowledged inclusion and active participation the researcher tends to be more alert to emerging

dynamics and micro-interactions between the researcher, the participants and outside influences (Birks and Mills 2011).

It is worth acknowledging that when it comes to grounded theory and to qualitative approaches more generally, there are many well-versed criticisms. Qualitative research is most commonly disparaged for its perceived lack of generalisability from the research sample to the wider population. For this study, although this potential limitation was an initial concern it was overshadowed by the fact that this framework enabled me to explore a naturally occurring phenomenon, one which so often academics are not privy to. Conducting the study in this way also provided an opportunity to evaluate the effectiveness of this approach, and to consider the wider implications for future research projects and engagement activities. Focusing specifically on grounded theory, critics often argue that when this method is used within doctoral research it often fails to generate a substantial theory (Jones and Alony 2011). Glaser (1978) believed that research limited by time, resources or experience could result in the data collection and analysis failing to yield the level of insight required to develop a significant theory. For me this attitude is too negative, too defeatist. Whilst acknowledging that doctoral research might not develop a 'significant theory', it is still a realistic aim that such a study will generate insightful and valuable knowledge that will contribute to existing theoretical frameworks and therefore, advance academic thinking.

The Subgroup Sample

Grounded theory was also influential in considering from whom and how the data should be collected. The Straussian principle of selective sampling advocates identifying the study's target population prior to collecting any data. Schatzman and Strauss (1973) explain that by using selective sampling, researchers are able to take a much more active role in choosing their target population. Sampling decisions are often based on a researcher's experience, the study's aims and practical concerns including restrictions on access and resource constraints. Within this study, I had come to engage with a potential research sample through my employment at the Youth Offending Service. My role as a youth worker had led me

to engage with a subgroup of young White British people who not only expressed hostility towards Leicester's multicultural population but also were known to participate in acts of targeted hostility. Such a cohort of young people would be considered 'hard to reach' because of the difficulties that a researcher would encounter in trying to gain access to them. It was because of my position within the Youth Offending Service that I was able to not only identify a purposive sample, but also to negotiate access directly with a gatekeeper whom I was familiar with. Whilst the gatekeeper was enthusiastic about the potential study, he also had some understandable ethical concerns about the research topic specifically (a detailed discussion on these issues is provided within the section called 'Ethical Considerations'). After these initial concerns were addressed the gatekeeper granted me permission to approach the group of young people to discuss their participation within this research. Without my professional experience and the prior relationship I had with both the participants and the gatekeeper, it is likely that there would have been a range of barriers which would have prevented me from conducting this study.

In order to generate a subgroup of participants that I could develop good relations with, observe and interview, it was necessary to use existing contacts within the research location. I selectively approached young people whom I had worked with before and thus already had a good foundation to build upon. Almost immediately the contact with young people within the area began to snowball. Key to achieving effective participation was engaging core members of a friendship group who were trusted and valued. In total, the subgroup sample consisted of 15 young people, who were identified as either 'White British' or 'White English', and who were between the ages of 14 and 19 years old. Within this sample, four participants were female and 11 were male (further detail on the subgroup is provided within the next chapter). As already mentioned within this chapter, this sample of young people was unavoidably small because of the methodological framework that was being employed. However, the time spent with the subgroup formed the first phase of data collection. In fact, the data that was collected during this period of fieldwork was used to inform the development and delivery of the second phase of data collection. A comprehensive overview of the use of a survey is outlined below.

The Location

Leicester is widely predicted, within the next five years, to become the first city in Europe with a majority non-white population. Nowhere else in Britain has proportionally fewer White British residents.
(cited in Simpson and Finney 2007: 1)

The people of Leicester are a beacon for diversity and tolerance.
(People United 2013: n.p.)

From the outset Leicester was the chosen site to conduct this research. As the quotations suggest, Leicester is renowned for being a multi-ethnic, multi-faith and multicultural city. Bonney (2001: n.p.) notes that 'there is greater diversity in two or three square blocks here than anywhere I can think of in Europe' (cited in Bonney and Le Goff 2007: 4). Leicester is considered to be a unique city in the way that it prides itself on its acceptance of multiculturalism and promotes the benefits that diversity brings to the city (Bonney and Le Goff 2007: 4). Even the community cohesion report produced by the Leicester City Council following Cantle's review of the riots in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham in 2001 noted that in comparison to those places Leicester had developed with the growth of people coming to the city:

Unlike many towns and cities elsewhere, diversity in Leicester is widely recognised as a positive asset and a defining characteristic of the City. Leicester has a strong reputation for promoting positive community relations through people of different cultures and faiths coming together with local government and other key agencies to address key problems.
(Leicester City Council 2003: 3)

Population records suggest that it was in the nineteenth century when Irish and Eastern European Jewish people, regarded as being the first wave of migration to the city, settled in Leicester (Simpson 2007). However, it was not until after World War II and the subsequent labour shortages which required an influx of workers that notable levels of immigrants began to arrive in Leicester. The largest populations to settle in the 1960s and 1970s were from the African and Asian subcontinents (Willmott 2003). This is said to have contributed to Leicester having the largest

Indian population in the whole of Britain (ONS 2012a). Although immigration from these countries steadily continued, a marked change in Leicester's population began at the turn of the twenty-first century. The reason for this changing demographic was the accession of Eastern European countries into the European Union. This is thought to have led to increased immigration from countries such as Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia. The ever-diversifying student population further adds to the plurality of the city. Leicester has two world-renowned universities—De Montfort University and the University of Leicester—that attract considerable numbers of students from overseas locations. Finally, as a consequence of a decade's worth of international conflict, which has caused the displacement of millions of people, Leicester has become home to significant numbers of asylum seekers and refugees from a range of different countries, including Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Iran, Iraq, Somalia, Syria and Zimbabwe (Leicester City of Sanctuary 2016).

Leicester is also known for its diverse religious population. The most recent Census data estimate that of the city's 330,000 inhabitants, just over a third of the population define themselves as being Christian, which is much lower than the 59 % average for the rest of the country; 19 % identified as being Muslim, the 11th largest population in England and Wales; 15 % identified as Hindu, meaning that the city has the third highest population percentage of Hindus in England and Wales; and finally, 4 % identified as Sikh (ONS 2012b; Leicester Mercury 2012). Smaller, more marginal faiths including Buddhism, Jainism, Judaism and Evangelism are also well represented in Leicester.

Religion	Percentage for England and Wales (%)	Percentage for Leicester (%)
Buddhists	0.5	0.4
Christian	59.4	32.4
Hindu	1.5	15.2
Jewish	0.5	0.1
Muslim	5.0	18.6
Sikh	0.8	4.4
Other religions	0.4	0.6

Source: 2011 Census Data from the Office of National Statistics

It is the visual landscape of Leicester that truly demonstrates its multi-faith population with places of worship being prominent features within the city, and increasingly, within the county:

> *In the 40 years since, Leicester has become the poster city for multicultural Britain, a place where the stunning number and size of the minorities – the 55 mosques, 18 Hindu temples, nine Sikh gudwaras, two synagogues, two Buddhist centres and one Jain centre – are seen not as a recipe for conflict or a millstone around the city's neck, but a badge of honour.*
> (Popham 2013: n.p.)

The last 50 years of continued immigration to the city has contributed to Leicester being one of the most ethnically, religiously and culturally diverse places in the world.

It is both the top-down management of Leicester's diverse population, as well as the visible actualisation of it, which has led some to describe the city as a multicultural utopia. However, there are signs that Leicester's population is not as cohesive as people first think. In terms of the distribution of different ethnic and religious groups within the city, there is a discernable geographical pattern of placement and, therefore, division. In fact most people who live in Leicester, as well as those who reside in the surrounding county, would be able to identify areas that are associated with a specific community, including places with a majority Eastern European, Indian, Somalian or White British population. There is also tension between the different demographic profiles of the city and the county. Within the city, 45 % of the population identify as White British, compared to 89 % within the county (Leicester Mercury 2012). This has led some to suggest that 'White flight' has taken place; an explanation that has been widely refuted as being too simplistic. Finney and Ludi (2009: 128) explain that it would be more appropriate to term the process as 'affluent flight' as moving away from urban locations tends to be an 'aspirational movement' towards areas of better housing. Claims of White flight are also countered by Census data which illustrate that both White British people and minority ethnic groups are moving in the same direction—towards more rural locations in Leicestershire (Jivraj and Finney 2013).

There have been numerous surveys commissioned to explore perceptions of social cohesion and belonging in Leicester which are worth noting. The first study conducted by Boeck et al. (2008a) focused on adults who live within the city, and found that 60 % of respondents 'definitely' or 'tend to agree' that their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get along. Interestingly, the study found that this dropped to 46 % when the respondent lived in the city's deprived outer estates, compared to 76 % in the more affluent areas. In terms of perceptions of belonging, the report stated that 78 % of respondents had a strong sense of belonging to their local area, Leicester and Great Britain, with no significant differences between White British people and minority ethnic communities. Boeck et al. (2008b) also conducted a similar study with young people in Leicester and found that 67 % felt that their local area 'is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together'. There was a noteworthy difference between Asian/Asian British and Black/Black British respondents, of which 72 % agreed with the above statement, and White British respondents, where only 58 % agreed with the same statement. This finding is especially relevant as the high levels of immigration, outlined above, have contributed to children and young people from minority ethnic communities accounting for more than half of Leicester's school and college population (Leicester City Council 2008). Therefore, the majority of young people within Leicester and the surrounding county areas have grown up with ethnic and religious diversity being the norm. However, Boeck's et al. study suggests that despite the fact that all of the participants had been brought up within a multicultural environment, perceptions of cohesion and belonging are interpreted, and possibly experienced, differently by young White British people compared to young people from minority ethnic backgrounds.

It is worth noting that within Boeck's et al. survey ethnic and religious difference was not identified by young people as being a challenge or concern. Interestingly though, within the focus groups, participants were much more open about the presence of racism in everyday life (*ibid*., 2008b). Boeck et al. (2008b) concluded that although there are issues with people 'sticking to their own', Leicester is not a city where communities live parallel lives. This finding has been supported more recently through a survey commissioned by Leicester City Council (2011) which found that

87 % of respondents felt that within Leicester people got on well together regardless of being from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. It is important to note that again this study reported that participants who lived in the outer areas of the city, and young people specifically, were most likely to think that Leicester was not a socially cohesive place (Leicester City Council 2011). This finding was something that I hoped to explore further with the subgroup at the centre of this research as they were located within an area on the outskirts of the city; a location characterised by high levels of social and economic disadvantage, as well as high levels of anti-social behaviour. As already mentioned, the subgroup's neighbourhood has a majority White British population but it is adjoined to an area with a large concentration of Indian people and a growing number of new and emerging communities. This meant that the subgroup observed and encountered diversity and 'difference' as part of their everyday life.

Data Collection

Observations and Interviews

Qualitative research is described as an 'unfolding model that occurs in a natural setting' (Williams 2007: 3). As an approach it enables the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of a given phenomenon through actual lived experiences (Creswell 2003). Qualitative methods of data collection are often flexible and allow for reflexivity and are therefore compatible with the explorative nature of a grounded theory framework (Flick 2009). Researchers must pragmatically consider the most appropriate forms of instrumentation to ensure relevant data is collected on the topic of exploration (Locke et al. 2004). If one were to systematically evaluate the use of data collection methods in Classic Grounded Theory research they would come across two core approaches; first person observation and face to face interviews. However, Charmaz (2000: 514) highlights the broadness of data collection methods used in more contemporary grounded theory studies, including 'observations, conversations, formal interviews, autobiographies, public records, organisational reports, respondents' diaries and journals'.

The starting point for choosing the most appropriate methodology for this project was to consider the actual and potential barriers between the identified sample of young White British people, the research topic and myself. Highly influential in this decision was my previous work experience as a support worker engaging with hard to reach communities on sensitive and difficult topics. This experience had taught me that key to facilitating meaningful engagement was factoring in time for the necessary bonds of trust and confidence to develop between myself and service users. It was therefore important to adopt an approach that enabled familiarity and ease on both sides. Employing an ethnographic strategy provided this opportunity as it permitted a 'softer', in-depth engagement approach. It is important to make a distinction here between the use of an ethnographic 'strategy' as part of a data collection method as opposed to an ethnographic study. Ethnography, which has a long history in symbolic interactionist approaches, and social sciences more generally, has been used predominantly to research subcultures and gangs (Noaks and Wincup 2004). Cresswell (2003: 14) defines ethnography as studying 'an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time by collecting, primarily, observational data'. Conducting covert ethnographic research requires a great deal of experience, time and resources and can be an ethically dubious approach (Atkinson et al. 2001). For these reasons, the present study did not use ethnography as a covert method for data collection, but rather, as a strategy.

In order to get to know this group of young people and to fully understand how they interpret and experience everyday multiculturalism, I needed to spend considerable time with them 'on their own turf' (Kirk and Miller 1986: 12). Not only practically was I unable to conduct this study covertly, due to having known members of the subgroup through my role within the Youth Offending Service, but also ethically it would not have been acceptable, nor would I have felt comfortable, in deceiving young people in such a way. It was never a desire of mine to pass as 'one of the group', and this was not necessary to collect rich, authentic data. The ethnographic strategy involved listening, observing and engaging with the group in order to gain insight into their lived realities; into the ways in which group members expressed themselves verbally and physically to each other; and into their views and experiences of

everyday multiculturalism. Analysing all of these factors and interactions was central to developing an empirically rooted understanding of how acts of targeted hostility are connected with encountering 'difference' in everyday life.

The ethnographic strategy involved spending three evenings a week with the subgroup—with each meeting lasting anywhere between half an hour and three hours long—over a period of three months. This approach was not without its challenges. During the fieldwork the subgroup could be unpredictable, sometimes not turning up to where we had arranged to meet or not responding to calls. This meant that periods of the fieldwork were spent waiting with little reward. I had arranged for the fieldwork to commence during early spring in the hope that this would maximise the amount of time in which the group were 'hanging out' in the local area. However, this could not account for the spells of poor weather during which time none of the group members would come out. From the outset I decided not to cross the boundary of meeting a young person at their home. Again, this is a situation that I would not have felt comfortable with, especially as time went on and the group had not only accepted my presence but also had actively embraced me within the group. To take the relationship a step further into personal environments could have raised a number of issues. One of the challenges I encountered with employing an ethnographic strategy, which I had not especially anticipated, was that sometimes group members did not want to talk and at times could be quite rude. Although this prevented discussion on the specific research aims, these situations and the informal conversations that arose from them, still provided invaluable data on the subgroup members' lives more generally. Another challenge I came across during the fieldwork was negotiating the fluidity of group membership. On some occasions young people from different areas would 'hang-out' with the subgroup or older members who used to feature more prominently within the group would re-appear. This did create some awkward situations with young people asking who I was and what I was there for; on two occasions individuals became quite hostile and consequently led me to leave the research site entirely.

Employing an ethnographic strategy meant that I was able to engage with the young people in public spaces that they were familiar with. This was integral to gaining the contextual data necessary to understand why

this area and belonging to it was so important to the subgroup. There were several sites in which I would meet participants, the most regular being the local park and the grounds of the leisure centre. We also spent considerable time walking the streets in the neighbourhood and standing outside the house of one of the subgroup members or the corner shop. These are places that I became very familiar with; I was able to experience first-hand the narratives of these spaces, such as the past fights, accidents and even 'break ups' that had taken place within them. Spending time with the participants within 'their' area also facilitated observations of how the group engaged with outsiders, including youth workers, police officers and local business owners, to name but some examples. Although the views and experiences of these individuals was not the central focus of this study, it provided an opportunity to explore how they attempted to engage with the group and how the group responded to them. With the permission of these individuals, these observations and discussions were also noted within the field diary, and where appropriate are used to support both the survey and subgroup findings.

Using an ethnographic strategy enabled me to collect data in various forms through observational field notes, informal conversations and both one to one and group-based interviews. To begin with most of the data I collected came from participant observations. As Bow (2002: 267) explains, 'participant observation is one of the most flexible techniques' and helps the researcher to consider which other data collection methods will be effective with the participants involved in the study. I began by making notes and memos based on my observations and informal conversations and reviewed these entries on a weekly basis, creating a cyclic process of data collection and analysis. After the first month the subgroup members visibly began to relax and started to include me within more of the discussions. This allowed me to shift from the passive observer role to a more active participant, and to begin facilitating unstructured interviews.

The interview method of data collection has encountered criticism. It has been suggested that this methodological approach is likely to elucidate unreliable, inaccurate and inauthentic data due to the artificial way in which it is being produced (Silverman 2001; Potter and Hepburn 2005). The reliance on self-report data calls for researchers to acknowledge that

there might be a 'gap between word and deed' (Bryman 1984: 81). Whilst I do concede that such a criticism is reasonable, it is also important to recognise that there are a number of factors that can increase the validity of the data collected, including the relationship between the participants and the researcher, the location in which the interviews are taking place and the duration of time spent within the field. The group of young people I was interviewing was made up of close friends who had known each other for more than ten years. The interviews were also taking place in an environment which they called home. The way that we present ourselves to our closest friends and interact with our local surroundings is arguably a more accurate representation of the self, than in most other environments. Furthermore, the length of time I had spent with some of the subgroup members first through my role as a youth worker and secondly as a researcher, facilitated a certain level of familiarity, understanding and trust. It is these aspects which allow the researcher and the researched to become more at ease and, to some extent, honest with each other.

What became evident early on within the interviews was how the group responded to the Dictaphone; introducing the recorder into the conversation would either cause the group to become embarrassed or irritated, or reluctant to talk. It meant that I had to rely heavily on written notes to document observations and conversations between participants. Although this raises issues in terms of the reliability and validity of the data collected, my experiences led me to believe that if I had pursued using a Dictaphone then the rapport that we had developed would have been significantly damaged, and therefore very few of the discussions I was privy to would have taken place. Instead, my early field notes were generated through 'real' discussions between the research participants. The informal interviews conducted in a group setting provided a unique opportunity to observe the interactions between different group members, to see how different participants were influenced, and to witness the repercussions for expressing views which opposed others. In the end it became a 'joke' amongst the participants that I would be making notes whilst with them and even led to me being called a 'geek'.

One of the other difficulties I encountered with the interviews was trying to conduct them one on one with subgroup members. They were either reluctant to be seen on their own with me and/or could not understand

why I would want to speak to them individually. This showed the lack of self-esteem within the group as many of the participants were unable to see how they were interesting or important enough to justify a one on one interview. One of the strongest characteristics of this group of young people was their allegiance to each other and by attempting to speak to a participant individually the focus shifted from the group to the individual, and therefore became much more personal. Understandably group members were reluctant to have their personal lives exposed, particularly if they had family or personal problems, and unfortunately many of them did. It was starkly apparent that the female members within the group were much more comfortable in opening up. This is likely to have been influenced by my own identity as a young female. However, within the final month three of the males within the group opened up and shared very personal and upsetting stories about their upbringing. Through employing the ethnographic strategy I was able to collect data on each participant's family set-up, educational attainment and employment prospects.

The Field Diary

During the three months spent with the subgroup I kept an auto-ethnographical field diary to reflect on the process of *doing* the research. Auto-ethnography is seen as combining both autobiographic and ethnographic elements. Rooted in symbolic interactionism, this approach helps to assign meaning to social actors, interactions and relationships. As Jewkes (2012: 63) suggests:

> *Criminology has largely resisted the notion that qualitative inquiry has auto-ethnographic dimensions and remained quiet on the subject of the emotional investment required of ethnographic fieldworkers studying stigmatized and/or vulnerable 'others' in settings where differential indices of power, authority, vulnerability, and despair are felt more keenly than most.*

Often the personal journey and more specifically, the emotions a researcher experiences whilst in the field are underappreciated and fail to feature within the final product (Jewkes 2012). Although there has been a growing recognition of how a researcher's personal interests and

life history may influence their research focus (Liebling 1999), exploring the emotional investment during a study is often shied away from. More recently, Fleetwood (2009) and Jewkes (2012) have been vocal in urging researchers to acknowledge and use the subjective experience more prominently within the writing up phase. Farrant (2014: 1) suggests that the 'story of "doing" research' which highlights the 'concerns, fears, thrills, and frustrations involved in the research process' should be embraced as it helps us to understand the complexity of human behaviour and the importance of 'contaminated' research relationships. As Hunt (1989: 42) argues, 'fieldwork is, in part, the discovery of the self through the detour of the other'.

The process of documenting my views, feelings and experiences throughout the research process facilitated a reflexive understanding. Reflexivity is not a new concept and within qualitative research, has formed a crucial part of the process of collecting and analysing data (Heath 2006). Robson (2002: 22) suggests that reflexivity is 'an awareness of the ways in which the researcher as an individual with a particular social identity and background has an impact on the research process'. Reflexivity has been criticised for its potential to encourage self-indulgence and to distract the research from what the research is actually about (Maynard 2002; Phillips and Earle 2010). For me thinking reflexively was key to openly acknowledging my inability to separate my feelings from conducting research on such difficult and emotive topics. Thinking reflexively made me consciously aware of my own participation in the research process and how my identity, be it gender, age, ethnicity, sexuality or social status, influenced the study. These factors, and the influence that they have upon the participants and the study more broadly, are especially important to acknowledge and to consciously consider when conducting research with young people. One way of achieving this open and reflexive way of thinking throughout the research process is through 'memoing'. McCann and Clark (2003: 15) state that memos 'reflect the researcher's internal dialogue with the data at a point in time', and can become a valuable form of contextual data when explored through comparative analysis with other forms of research data (Cutcliffe 2003; McGhee et al. 2007). During my time with the subgroup I documented my observations, experiences and personal feelings through extensive field notes and memos.

Although researchers are often told about the importance of objectivity particularly when it comes to tackling researcher bias, we are rarely told about the data that might be lost by not reflecting on our own research journey. The same concerns and fears that we feel, as well as the ethical and practical barriers that we may encounter, will not only be shared by other researchers but also frontline practitioners. The experience of conducting this research was emotionally draining, frustrating and confusing. At times my emotions fluctuated from sadness, to awkwardness and irritation, to compassion and guilt. It may be that researchers are reluctant to recognise these feelings in fear of being interpreted as excusing or condoning these forms of behaviours. This, of course, is not the case; acknowledging that the 'offender' also possesses the traits of kindness and humorousness is not condoning such behaviour. It is simply recognising the plurality of our identity and the complexity of our situations, which is key to understanding a given phenomenon. This 'emotional stuff' matters because within our profession we are often met with apprehension, regarded as being detached from the 'real world' and labelled as tourists. To some extent we are; I got to go home to my comfortable majority White British surroundings at the end of every outing with the subgroup, safe in the knowledge that I had a loving family, job security and potential. For these reasons it is imperative that we strive to do everything that we can to humanise the research process, to be human ourselves. To me, it is only through recognising and analysing the impact that our feelings, our relationships and our experiences have upon the research that we will do justice to the research topic and to the participants.

The Survey

As already noted within this chapter, one of the downsides of qualitative research and an ethnographic strategy specifically, is the limited population that the researcher can engage with. The first data collection phase helped me to generate core themes and concepts relating to the research aims. However, to explore everyday multiculturalism and targeted hostility in greater depth and within a broader context, the next phase of data collection needed to involve a larger sample of young White British

people from Leicester and Leicestershire. The most effective tool in order to meet the study's analytical needs and obtain a large amount of data was a survey. Questionnaires have an array of strengths, particularly in that they are standardised and require only a relatively small amount of time and resources to produce and quantify (Russel-Bernard 2002; Locke et al. 2004). However, if the questions are not constructed or phrased appropriately, the data collected can be limited or irrelevant altogether. For this reason, the emerging themes and concepts from the first stage of data collection were used to inform the development of a mixture of open and closed questions. The questionnaire asked respondents for their views on multiculturalism and the lived reality of diversity, and about their exposure to racially and religiously motivated hostility and their involvement in targeted hostility. The questionnaire was piloted on the subgroup and this highlighted a number of issues, including the group's literacy difficulties, their short attention span and their confusion with certain terms. This led to alterations to the survey where, for example, questions were made shorter, the language was changed to be more accessible, and some of the answers were pre-coded.

The most effective and simple way of accessing a large sample of 14–19 year old White British young people is through schools and colleges. Gaining access to these environments posed more difficulties than the first stage of data collection. Initially, emails and letters informing potential gatekeepers of the research were sent to three schools. All but one of the requests for meetings to discuss the research in further detail was declined; this consequently led to a modified approach. A likely explanation for the lack of response from the schools that I approached was that the topic of the research was considered to be too sensitive. Within the meeting with the one gatekeeper who had agreed to meet with me, I was taken aback when they stated that this study had little relevance to their institution as they did not have a problem with racism. The reason offered in explanation for this statement was that more than 90 % of their student population identified as being White British and therefore, few instances of targeted hostility took place. This comment left me bewildered and frustrated as it illustrated both a denial of and complacency towards everyday hostility and conflict.

As with gaining access to the subgroup of young White British people, previous research and work contacts were drawn upon to identify and secure informal gatekeepers, including subject teachers and welfare staff. On liaising with these individuals about facilitating the completion of the survey, informal conversations were documented through extensive field notes (with the permission from the teacher). These informal discussions provided an insight into the sample of young White British people who were completing the surveys and therefore, are used within the following chapters to support the data collected from the survey. Within Leicestershire I was able to gain access to two schools which both had sixth forms. According to recent Ofsted reports, the schools have significant White British student populations and have been evaluated as 'average' in terms of attainments levels at GCSE and A-Level. Although initially the aim was to replicate the sample from the county and collect surveys from two schools within the city, due to the lack of response, I only gained access to one. This school promotes a multicultural and diverse student demographic with over two-thirds of the population being from a minority ethnic background and of this, a large proportion are new arrivals to the country. Although these schools were chosen through purposive sampling, gatekeepers were asked to employ a convenience sampling procedure. The process of administering the questionnaires was made as simple and straightforward as possible to ensure a high rate of participation.

One of the weaknesses of using a school sample is the influence that the location and the presence of the teacher can have on respondents filling in a questionnaire. The school setting itself is known to have a repressive and restrictive impact on students who are asked to partake in research (Alibali and Nathan 2010; Santangelo-White 2012). However, within this study the teachers who were disseminating the survey were asked to reassure participants by explaining that no-one from the school would be viewing their questionnaires. Gatekeepers were also asked to explain how confidentiality and anonymity were being assured so that participants understand that their questionnaire could never be linked back to them. As I had met with each teacher prior to the survey dissemination to discuss the research, they were able to explain the aims of study in a way that resonated with each class of young people. One of

the dilemmas with administering the survey was that the target population was White British students and within all three schools, particularly the one located within the city, classes had mixed ethnic populations. It was seen as ethically and practically difficult to ask only those who self-defined as White British to fill out a survey. For this reason all of the students who were in the class at the time were asked to participate in the survey. Of the 466 questionnaires that were returned, 41 were filled out by students from a minority ethnic background. In total, 425 questionnaires were completed by young White British people who were between the ages of 14 and 19 years old, of which 47 % (n = 201) were female and 53 % (n = 224) were male.

Data Analysis

Within a grounded theory methodology, participant interaction, data collection and analysis are processes which occur in a cyclical manner. This approach allows the researcher 'to develop a theoretical account of the general features of a topic whilst simultaneously grounding the account in empirical observations or data' (Martin and Turner 1986: 141). The three months spent with the subgroup generated a considerable amount of data through field notes, which were based on observations and informal discussions, and recorded interviews. The field notes and interviews were transcribed and entered into NVivo, a software package which facilitates the coding of qualitative data. One of the key concepts in analysing qualitative data in a grounded theory methodology is 'theoretical sensitivity' (Glaser 1978), which is defined as 'the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't' (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 42). Within grounded theory studies three analytical techniques are often drawn upon to facilitate theoretical sensitivity: open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Strauss 1987; Strauss and Corbin 1990). Open coding refers to the technique of labelling concepts, and identifying and developing categories and subcategories based upon these. The initial broad coding categories that emerged from analysis of the field notes and interviews were as follows: participant life histories; education and

employment prospects; perceptions of identity and belonging; perceptions of multiculturalism and 'difference'; experiences of engaging with multiculturalism; and experiences of targeted hostility. Once the data had been organised into these broad categories, it became easier to micro-analyse the data in order to develop more nuanced subcategories. As further data were collected on each meeting with the subgroup, axial coding was undertaken which involved considering the relationship between the categories, and analysing these themes within the broader structural context.

One of the most important stages of this research was bringing together the first phase of data collected with the subgroup and the second phase of data collected from the survey. As the survey produced both quantitative and qualitative data, two sets of analysis were conducted. For the qualitative data, the answers to the open questions were added to NVivo and underwent selective coding so as to further develop the concepts and subcategories generated from the subgroup data. The quantitative data collected from the pre-coded questions were manually added into SPSS, a statistical software package. This facilitated running analyses to generate descriptive statistics. Once all of the data had been analysed, both sets of data were brought together to further advance the core themes and concepts that had been developed.

Ethical Considerations

Ethics are especially important in research that involves young people, even more so when the participants come from marginalised backgrounds or are in vulnerable situations. There has been a considerable shift in the way in which researchers consider the role of children and young people within research. Until more recently this population had been regarded as incompetent and unreliable (Moss and Petrie 2002; Lansdown 2005). As more research has been conducted with young people as active participants, instead of simply 'on' them as passive subjects, researchers have begun to view young people as more competent social agents who are able to comprehend and communicate their opinions and experiences. However, this shift in philosophy has not been replicated within University ethics committees. Ethics committees continue

to express significant trepidation towards research involving children and young people (Valentine et al. 2001; Blackman 2007). This section aims to highlight some of the ethical concerns that arose during the research process and how these issues were addressed and overcome.

Initially, one of the main concerns expressed by both the ethics committee and gatekeepers was the age criterion of participants, and in particular the inclusion of those under 16 years old. Ethical considerations and obligations were a core factor in deciding the sampling framework; the sensitive and perceived contentious nature of this research was acknowledged as a likely factor to raise concern with ethics boards, youth organisations, schools and parents and, consequently, prohibit access. However, the rationale for conducting this research was that young people, especially those who are White British, have rarely been asked about their opinions on or experiences of multiculturalism or targeted hostility. Both of the previous chapters have outlined various reasons as to why exploring these themes is even more relevant for young people than it is for adults (Harris 2010). Even within this chapter I have presented research which suggests that young White British people, in comparison to adults and young people from minority ethnic communities, are less likely to think that Leicester is a place where people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds get on well together (Boeck et al. 2008). It could be argued that shying away from topics such as everyday multiculturalism and targeted hostility may only serve to exacerbate the underlying tensions within certain marginalised and disenfranchised communities. Fortunately this rationale, coupled with my previous experience of working with young people, appeased the ethics committee and relevant gatekeepers.

Gaining informed consent from the subgroup posed its own dilemmas. It was decided that the best approach of gaining a fully informed and independent decision from the subgroup would be to sit down with the group, read through the information sheet and discuss it. This led to a frank discussion about the aims of the study, their right not to participate and to withdraw at any point, and what data protection, anonymity and confidentiality meant in practical terms. Traditionally, research involving participants under the age of 18 is considered to require consent from parents or guardians. However, from having previous knowledge of the group I was aware of the tumultuous relationships between certain

members of the subgroup and their parents. In order to empower the group members and value their independence, parents and guardians were notified of the research but the decision to take part was up to the young person if they were 16 years or above. The two females and one male who were under the age of 16 were given a choice about whether they wanted to take part in the research or not. As all three wanted to take part, additional consent from their parents was secured through a returned consent form.

What often goes underappreciated is the strain felt by the researcher in knowing how best to deal with unexpected and difficult discussions when they arise. This research was focusing on topics that were likely to elucidate contentious, ignorant and offensive views; for many people discussing the concepts of everyday multiculturalism and targeted hostility is inherently challenging and emotive. Interestingly, trying to engage the subgroup in these discussions was relatively easy as they held very strong opinions on these topics. The subgroup often remarked on rarely being asked for their views on these themes and also feeling unable to discuss them in other environments, such as at school, for fear of reproach. For me, one of the most testing aspects of conducting this research was not knowing how to respond or react to the subgroup's hostile views towards 'difference' and diversity. Particularly early on within the fieldwork I felt a sense of shame and guilt for not offering a counter narrative. However, I knew that if I had taken an approach of condemning their views from the outset then this research would not have been conducted. Towards the end of my time with the subgroup I felt much more comfortable and confident with my place within the group and therefore felt able to address expressions of racially and religiously motivated hostility. In fact, my participation within these conversations became an insightful source of data as it enabled me to observe how members of the groups responded to being challenged.

Often the trepidation of conducting research with young people centres on the potential for the study to cause the participants harm. Researchers are rarely given guidance on how to deal with participants experiencing harm that is not caused by the research or how to deal with participants who are harming others. During my time spent with the subgroup I became privy to information about activities, and even observed

behaviour, that would be considered anti-social and illegal. These ethical dilemmas called for me to question my role as a researcher. Should I be addressing this behaviour with a participant? Should I be reporting these activities to an appropriate organisation? In these situations the researcher needs to consider a number of factors, including how it would affect the relationship with the participants, whether a person is causing harm to others or to themselves, and whether it is in fact your place to report that individual. When these incidents arose I used my discretion. For example, when members of the group were drinking or taking drugs, I determined that this was their private sphere, a space which I would not have had access to if I were not conducting this study. Therefore, although some members of the subgroup were underage and the behaviour was at times illegal, it was not my place to report it and add to the criminalisation of these young people. Instead, my response involved discussing these behaviours with them, which is an approach that undoubtedly had been influenced by my past work experience. When these situations did occur I would sit with the group and talk to them about the potential damaging effects of drugs and alcohol, and would try to ensure that they were in an environment that assured their safety.

There were also other sensitive issues which came to light during my time with the subgroup and these caused me considerable concern. As the group became more familiar with me certain members began to share personal and upsetting stories, which included experiences of domestic abuse and sexual, exploitative relationships with older males. It may be a combination of my professional experiences, as well as the rapport that I had developed with the subgroup, that resulted in me feeling confident enough to talk about these issues. This involved making both parties in a relationship aware of the age of consensual sex and the repercussions of 'sexting', and suggesting reporting and/or accessing services which could support people experiencing domestic abuse, for example. Although this was a role that I was used to as part of previous employment, I had not fully anticipated that the subgroup members would see me as a source of advice and support.

On reflecting upon my time with the subgroup it is clear that my demographics were instrumental in becoming accepted by the group and being able to conduct this study. The subgroup perceived me as being

similar to them in terms of age, culture, personality and interests because I was a relatively young White British female who had grown up in the same county as they had. For the subgroup, interacting with a researcher who ostensibly was not too dissimilar provided them with a familiarity and a sense of safety in expressing openly racist and hostile views. At the end of the three months I had become so accepted by the group that I was afforded a level of 'protection' by some of the male group members. This was demonstrated on one occasion when a young person, not from the area, spat on the floor next to me which resulted in one of the subgroup males taking a confrontational step forward and telling him, '*don't do that near Stevie*'. However, our connection also raised difficult and awkward situations when, for example, one of the older males within the extended group made a romantic advance towards me. On the whole I was comfortable and confident with the good relations developed with the group, but I needed to ensure that a clear boundary was maintained so as not to become a 'friend' or someone they came to overly rely on. It was for this reason, as mentioned previously within the chapter, that I never crossed the line of meeting up with a young person on their own or entered a participant's house. It also helped that I structured the time I spent with the group so that our meetings happened a maximum of three times a week, for a duration of anywhere between half an hour and three hours. These strategies not only served to remind the group members that I was there to conduct research but it also ensured my own safety.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to provide the reader with a step by step account of how this study was conducted; the challenges that were encountered; the solutions that were developed; and the lessons that were learned. It began by illustrating how this research was shaped by grounded theory, and in particular the 'newer' frameworks proposed by Straussian and Constructivist Grounded Theory. Within the context of this research, components of each informed decisions on sampling, data collection and analysis. Of particular importance for this study was achieving a constructivist stance that would enable me to meaningfully connect with

young, disempowered people and to understand how they make sense of the world around them. By taking an active involvement in the research process and documenting auto-ethnographic feelings and experiences, this study strove to achieve rich, empirically rooted data through collaborative engagement with participants.

The chapter moved on to introduce the reader to the city of Leicester in order to justify its appropriateness as a site for exploring everyday multiculturalism. Whilst some may regard the city's demographic as unique and therefore atypical, it is important to recognise that England and Wales are ever-diversifying with increasing numbers of cities boasting multicultural populations. Furthermore, both Leicester and Leicestershire are made up of different wards and boroughs which have varying, and continuously evolving, demographic profiles. The subgroup at the centre of this research was located on the periphery of the city, in a community setting that had a majority White British population. However, the wider area was also home to a significant population of minority ethnic and religious communities. The point is that this study has broader relevance beyond the site in which it was conducted.

In terms of data collection, the chapter outlined the use of an ethnographic strategy and the importance of the time spent getting to know the subgroup members, their dynamics and their lived realities. In the three months spent with the subgroup of 15 young White British people, opinions on and experiences of everyday multiculturalism and targeted hostility were captured through field notes, which were based on observations, informal conversations and interviews. The next phase of data collection consisted of administering a survey, which returned 425 questionnaires from 14 to 19 year olds who self-defined as 'White British' or 'White English'. The final section of this chapter discussed the ethical and personal challenges faced during the research process. In particular, it emphasised some of the issues that are often underappreciated by researchers, including managing the disclosure and observation of anti-social activities, and responding to offensive views and comments. The use of auto-ethnography can help researchers not only to deal with these situations when they occur, but also to learn from them. The chapter highlighted the importance of openly acknowledging the emotional investment required from researchers and the multiple demands that are

placed upon them whilst in the field. Reflecting on what worked well during the fieldwork, as well as acknowledging the flaws of the methodological decisions, was in itself valuable because the effective components may help to inform the development of education programmes and social activities which aim to prevent targeted hostility.

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5
Interpreting Multiculturalism

Introduction

This book has two main strands of enquiry: first, to explore how young White British people interpret and engage with diversity and 'difference' as part of their everyday life; and second, to investigate whether the ways in which everyday multiculturalism is interpreted and encountered by young people could account for the motivation and causation of racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility. This chapter and the next aim to provide the reader with a detailed account of how young White British people conceive of multiculturalism, both as an ideology and as a lived reality. It was through exploring young people's perceptions of multiculturalism that their underlying fears and hostilities about diversity came to light. Often these concerns are 'hidden' from researchers, practitioners and policy-makers because of our failure to connect with young people and their lives.

This chapter seeks to demonstrate, and to explain, the prevalence of negative attitudes towards 'difference'. Within this research, young people's perceptions of multiculturalism appeared to be undermined by the perceived threat that immigration poses to Britain's national identity

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and cultural practices, as well as to individual education and employment opportunities. It is within this context that we can see that multiculturalism is perceived by some young White British people as being identity threatening. Discussions with the subgroup participants revealed that they had a deep-rooted sense of entitlement based on their Whiteness. For many, Whiteness and the associated aspects of majoritarianism such as privilege and a sense of normalcy, is taken for granted because White British people rarely occupy a minority position within society. As this chapter demonstrates, the subgroup at the centre of this research lived cheek by jowl with multiculturalism, and yet rarely engaged in any meaningful contact with people from different minority ethnic and faith communities. This chapter and the next will illustrate how young people’s interactions with everyday multiculturalism are heavily shaped by their perceptions of diversity and ‘difference’.

Perceptions of Multiculturalism

To date, research has largely overlooked young people when it comes to assessing views on and experiences of multiculturalism. This is especially evident for young people from a White British background. Within this study, participants were asked to consider whether they thought England’s multicultural population was a positive characteristic. To avoid confusion, a definition of multiculturalism was provided within the survey. The survey data reveal that the overwhelming majority of participants (71.8 %; $n = 299$) felt that England’s multicultural population was a positive trait. When asked to provide an explanation for the answer, a significant proportion of respondents focused on what England gains from having a multicultural population.

> *There are more different things like shops and food.*
> *We can all feed off one another and learn new things such as different cuisines.*
> *It is nice to have influences upon our society (e.g. fashion and art) from other cultures.*
> *Each culture brings something different to England e.g. food.*

We get a bigger variety of foods, clothes and music.
Because they brought things across and made wonderful things e.g. chicken tikka.
They bring positive aspects to here such as food, clothes and sports.

As illustrated by the quotations, many of these comments centre on how multiculturalism has benefited England in terms of the positive influence it has had on diversifying the country's food, music, fashion and art. To some extent, these products are superficial aspects of multiculturalism, which have come to be recognised as acceptable representations of difference. And yet, these responses also demonstrate not only that young people are aware of the effects that multiculturalism have had on England's popular culture—as well as our dining preferences—but also that they actively embrace them.

Within the survey sample there was a sizeable number of respondents who felt that multiculturalism was positive because a diverse population benefited England's economy, increased the country's productivity and facilitated knowledge exchange and advancement.

People from different countries are driving the economy.
Because technology and knowledge are exchanged.
They give a lot to the community.
Because understanding others culture is important for travel, work and development.
With more cultures comes more knowledge.
It benefits our economy. These people create jobs and different goods for us to buy.
Because new ideas and wealth is brought into the country.

As highlighted by the quotations, within these responses the focus has shifted away from the products and objects associated with multiculturalism towards the individuals who belong to minority ethnic and faith communities. In this respect, it is the people who embody the multicultural population that are regarded as being a positive asset for England.

Another theme to emerge from within this sample of survey respondents was the perception that having a multicultural population enhances everyday life as it provides the opportunity to have 'friends' who were from

different backgrounds. These comments, which tended to be expressed by younger respondents, demonstrate a more simplistic conceptualisation of multiculturalism.

People can be friends with people with different nations etc.
You meet different types of people.
Everyone is different and it makes it more interesting.
It's new experiences everyday.
I love having multicultural friends.

As the quotations suggest, some of the young people felt that having a multicultural population was positive because it made life more 'interesting'. Living in a diverse environment provided opportunities for these respondents to make friends with people who were 'different' than them. In all honesty, I had expected fewer respondents to remark on how multiculturalism resulted in 'new experiences everyday'. In fact, given that all of the young people within this study had been brought up either within, or on the periphery of, one of the most diverse cities in the world, I had assumed that greater numbers would have commented on multiculturalism being a normal, unremarkable and accepted part of living in England and Leicester specifically. However, only a small number of respondents stated that multiculturalism 'has become the norm'.

The final theme to surface from this sample of survey responses was the view that having a multicultural population was positive because it promotes acceptance and understanding of 'difference'. Within this sample of young White British people, the responses tended to personify an idealised discourse of multiculturalism, as illustrated through the following quotations.

It gives us a rich culture and should promote understanding and acceptance.
Allows people to be cultural and deters racism.
People can learn about religion better.
It lowers the chances of starting wars and there will be less racism.
It gives the British people a chance to learn about other people's cultures.
It allows an environment where the world can come together and racism can be stamped out.

A substantial proportion of respondents referred to the learning opportunities that come from living amongst a multicultural population. To this sample of respondents, multiculturalism was advantageous for 'native' British citizens because it makes people more 'understanding', 'open-minded', 'accepting', 'tolerant' and 'less racist'. Similarly, there were those who felt that multiculturalism facilitates acceptance of 'difference', as a diverse society 'teaches people that it's ok to be different', and that we are the 'same' and 'equal'. Respondents also referred to England's multicultural population as being a source of pride because 'it shows that we are a welcoming country', 'a leading country', 'that we have no problem mixing' and 'it gives the country a better name'.

Within the survey there were a small proportion (4.6 %; n = 19) of respondents who stated that they were 'unsure' as to whether England's multicultural population was a positive trait. The qualitative responses that were provided to explain this answer mirrored many of the reasons outlined above, but also referred to the conflict and tension that they perceived were caused by multiculturalism. The comments outlined below, which offer more cautious and tepid opinions on multiculturalism, are taken from both the sample who agreed that multiculturalism was positive for England, as well as those who were unsure.

> *People may clash but it's also good to learn about their backgrounds.*
> *We get to learn about different cultures but I also disagree about it because it causes a lot of problems e.g. violence.*
> *A multicultural society has positive and negative effects, like mixed music and art, but also racism.*
> *It can cause problems, religious feuds etc.*
> *In some ways yes but others no, as they cause trouble.*
> *As long as most people get along minding their own business everything's ok.*
> *It has some advantages and some disadvantages such as crime and racism.*

These comments tend to position the material gains, such as the increasing variety of food, music and fashion, as being a positive attribute of multiculturalism. However, in comparison to the previous sample of survey respondents, this group of young people felt that multiculturalism, and specifically the people who are perceived to represent the multicultural population, were responsible for 'racism', 'religious feuds', 'clashes' and 'violence'.

Another emerging theme from the sample of young people who were unsure as to whether multiculturalism was positive, was the perception that although a multicultural population advances certain aspects of the English culture and way of life, the country was becoming overcrowded.

> *Cultural diversity is good but the population is way too high.*
> *It's a good thing for people to mix but there's a limit.*
> *Brings new cultures and ideas, makes a more accepting society. Overpopulation and people do not integrate properly.*
> *Gives them opportunities for jobs. Densely populated. Overcrowded.*

As these quotations illustrate, there was concern amongst this sample that England was 'overcrowded', and therefore whilst multiculturalism was 'a good thing' there should be 'a limit' on how multicultural we become. Again, these comments highlight the disparity between the positive opinions on the inanimate by-products of multiculturalism and the more cautious views towards multiculturalism as a demographic condition. It is within these quotations that we begin to see the topic of immigration, and 'immigrants' specifically, being identified as a negative aspect of multiculturalism.

A small, but still significant, proportion of respondents within this sample were explicit about the ways in which those who come to Britain should behave. The implicit suggestion being that whilst multiculturalism was positive, 'immigrants' themselves can cause problems for the country.

> *Because it gives people chance to mix but they should not claim our benefits.*
> *As long as they come to work and make a living then it should be allowed.*
> *I have no problem with people from other countries (especially commonwealth) as long as they don't come for the sole purpose of getting benefits.*
> *Nice to learn about different lifestyles but they annoy me when they use and abuse the country.*
> *It's good but at the same time it's not because all the immigrants are coming in.*
> *It makes everybody realise that there are different cultures however we haven't any jobs.*

Here we begin to see the emergence of the contradictory views held about immigration. Whilst this sample expresses concern about 'immigrants' coming to Britain for the 'sole purpose' of accessing benefits, they also convey frustration about 'immigrants' coming to Britain in order to secure employment. This apprehension was further echoed by those respondents who felt that although multiculturalism was positive for England, it does 'take away from the British culture'. Respondents referred to the adverse affect that multiculturalism, and immigration specifically, has had upon Britain's national identity and culture. These respondents remarked that 'England's culture shouldn't be pushed aside to please them' and that the country should still contain a 'majority of British people'.

Of the total survey sample, 23.6 % ($n = 98$) felt that England's multicultural population was not a positive trait. When asked to expand on this answer, the topic of 'overcrowding' emerged as a significant theme with respondents stating that Britain was 'too crowded', 'overpopulated' and 'might get too full'. Again, the topic of immigration featured frequently in respondents' explanations of why they viewed multiculturalism negatively.

> *They take jobs and money.*
> *Introducing multiple cultures. British citizens are losing out on jobs.*
> *It gets rid of job opportunities for people already living in England who are English.*
> *There's too many of them.*
> *They are taking away homes and jobs from people who need them.*
> *There are too many people coming over and taking all of the jobs.*

Interestingly, a teacher told me that whilst one of the classes of young people were filling in the survey one student made a negative comment about immigrants out-loud and then looked directly at her asking, '*Why do they all come over here?*' Although Louise teaches English she found herself using the rest of the lesson to discuss immigration and the different reasons why people might come to Britain, such as seeking asylum. Shockingly, none of the students within the class knew the meaning of the terms asylum seeker or refugee. Louise spoke of the disbelief she felt on realising that her 15 and 16 year old students knew nothing about immigration further than the

myths and sensationalised stories they had heard from their friends, family and the media. The topic of immigration also emerged as a significant theme when respondents were asked within the survey to consider what they thought were the biggest problems facing England. The young people within this study felt that unemployment (66.7 %), the economy (53.3 %) and immigration (50.0 %) were the biggest challenges facing the country. It is worth noting that the majority of survey respondents provided articulate, thoughtful responses to this question, further challenging the traditional view that young people are not aware of or interested in social, economical and political issues.

As the quotations above demonstrated, there was a strong feeling amongst this sample of young people that multiculturalism was detrimental to the opportunities and societal resources available for the 'native' British population. Many of these respondents focused on multiculturalism purely as a demographic condition. It was this cohort of respondents who commented on 'less immigration', only letting people in 'with something to offer' and making 'it harder to immigrate into the country' when asked what changes they would make to England. It was England's diverse population that was perceived to threaten the traditional British identity and culture. The following quotations illustrate some of the concerns expressed by this sample of respondents.

> *Changes our national culture.*
> *We're losing British values.*
> *Stops England being English.*
> *We no longer have an English country belonging to English people.*
> *British spirit has been taken away.*
> *We are losing that traditional British die-hard attitude.*

The comments highlight that this cohort of young people perceived that England had 'lost' or was in the process of 'losing' its culture, values and spirit as a result of multiculturalism. Finally, compared to those who felt that multiculturalism developed understanding and tolerance, respondents within this sample (n = 98) stated that in fact ethnic and religious diversity caused conflict within England. Respondents suggested that multiculturalism resulted in 'disagreements', 'arguments', 'controversy', 'conflict' and 'tension', and had even 'increased racism'.

Although it is difficult to extrapolate meaning from such a small sample of surveys, it is interesting nonetheless that all 15 members of the subgroup felt that England's multicultural population was not a positive attribute. Compared to the 410 surveys collected from schools within the city and the county, the qualitative data provided by the subgroup were much more direct, honest and hostile.

> *Need to go and make room for White people.*
> *Immigrants take jobs.*
> *Get Pakis out.*
> *It should only be British people living in England.*
> *Should be White because Pakis take over.*
> *Too many White people are not getting jobs because of Black people.*

There was a small minority of respondents within the school survey sample who mirrored some of the more extreme views expressed by the subgroup, including making the country 'all White again', with some suggesting that it should only be 'English/British people in the country'. The openness of the explanations from the subgroup could have been the result of them filling in the survey within their own environment as opposed to a school context and/or because of the trusting relationship that I had developed with the group. When I initially asked the subgroup to fill in the survey they had questioned whether they could be totally honest and then expressed great enthusiasm in being asked for their opinion on such matters. The hostility articulated within the subgroup's survey responses was unsurprising as during my three months with the group they had openly shared their opinions on and experiences of engaging with Leicester's multicultural population. Employing an ethnographic strategy was key to understanding why this group were so vehemently against multiculturalism, and it is this context-specific approach that could explain some of the fears and concerns expressed by nearly a quarter of the survey sample. The next section draws upon the observations, informal conversations and interviews with the subgroup to further explore the 'hidden' hostility that both undermines, and is caused by, engaging with everyday multiculturalism.

The Subgroup

Before discussing the findings, it is necessary to provide further detail on the characteristics of the subgroup so that you have a better idea of who they were and how they lived their lives. As the previous chapter outlined, I had come to engage with this group of young people through my role as a detached youth worker at the Youth Offending Service. Employing an ethnographic strategy was key to gaining an in-depth understanding of the subgroup in terms of their demographic profiles, their views and their experiences. All 15 participants were aged between 14 and 19 years old, four were female and 11 were male, and each member identified as being either 'White British' or 'White English'. The area in which the subgroup lived was characterised by economic disadvantage, and the participants themselves were socially disempowered. All but one of the subgroup participants were born within the area in which they still lived. 'Local nomadism' was a trait identified early on during my time with the subgroup (Atkinson and Kintrea 2004). Nearly every participant had extended family members living in close proximity, and four of the young people had at least one family relation in the subgroup. When I was receiving a tour of the neighbourhood, Steph pointed at different houses explaining:

> *that house there with the red door that's mine where I live with my mam [sic], ok now that one … yeah three doors down is where my dad lives with his girlfriend and kids, and that one on the end is my aunt's and my nan just lives round the corner.*

This also demonstrates a further common characteristic amongst the subgroup members, which was that eight of the participants lived in a single parent household. Additionally, one participant lived at a friend's house and another resided in a children's home. Although few of the subgroup members had 'conventional' family relationships, the participants had formed strong attachments to their local area, knowing each other's families, as well as neighbours, community members and local business owners. The sense of inclusion offered by the peer group, their surroundings and the immediate 'community', was in stark contrast

to the exclusion they felt from education and employment. It was this disconnect which was found to generate significant feelings of frustration and resentment amongst the group.

Of the nine who were in full-time education, one attended a specialist behavioural school and three had been expelled. When asked about their attendance at school, the collective response was that they 'rarely' attended. The impact that school, or more aptly, a lack of qualifications, had upon how the group felt about themselves and their future aspirations was very apparent. When discussing his lack of qualifications, Chris explained:

> *I stopped going at 14 … no-one did anything about it, I went to Spain to live with my dad for a bit then came back and I just never went to school again.*

In another discussion with the same young person, he explained that he no longer aspired to his previous goal of going into the forces because '*they said they'll just put me on the front line. … I'm not good enough for anything else*'. The six subgroup members who were not in education, employment or training (NEET) expressed frustration with wider social and economic conditions, which they perceived were partly responsible for their inability to secure employment. As Ryan explained:

> *There's just no jobs … I do all those things … yeah the courses, I've been on all of them and I've not even had an interview.*

Employment aspirations within the subgroup were relatively limited. When asked about what their dream job would be, the majority of the subgroup stated elementary occupations such as '*bouncer*', '*builder*' *or* '*soldier*', with Alex commenting on another occasion, '*any would be great*'.

Analysing group dynamics helped to identify the impact that 'failure' in terms of education and employment underachievement had on individual members. It was evident that certain participants had internalised what they had heard from family members, teachers and other outsiders in that they were '*useless*' and destined not to amount to much. Attachment to members in the subgroup was strong because it offered stability and security, with each individual knowing their place within the group. Communication between group members was often short and frank, and an outsider

would have regarded some of the participants' language as offensive, and yet little offence was ever taken. Although physical altercations between the group were frequent, the duration of these acts was often brief and the cause often forgotten. Underneath the bravado, the group members were not only very close but they also offered unfaltering support for each other, demonstrated most poignantly when one of the participant's father had died. Although varying positions of power, influence and status were noted between different aged members within the group, the strength of the young people's attachment to each other could explain why their views, and importantly, their hostilities, were homogenised.

Although not the exclusive explanation for their actions, the involvement of the group in sexualised behaviour, criminality and substance misuse was heavily influenced by their lack of legitimate success and recognition. Discussions with the female participants within the subgroup frequently focused on how the males in the area treated them and their belief that sexual behaviour secured their place within the friendship group. It was when this issue was pressed that it became clear how the participants actually felt about themselves. When discussing how having a baby could change your life, Steph explained that she needed '*to get pregnant*' to keep her boyfriend. When I asked her if she had any other future aspirations, she replied:

> *I can't do anything can I? I fucked up my courses so I ain't got nothing … if I have a baby, he has to stay with me and then I get a house.*

Thirteen members of the subgroup had been in trouble with the police, with 12 being in trouble on more than one occasion. For nine of these individuals, their altercations with the police would be categorised as 'low level' antisocial behaviour. However, four participants who were also the oldest members of the subgroup had been involved in more serious incidents such as possession of a knife, theft and racially aggravated assault.

From observations and discussions with the subgroup about their involvement in criminal behaviour, two main motivating factors were identified. The first factor was a desire for escapism from the boring, routine nature of everyday life. When asking the group about their involvement

in criminal activity, they would often describe their experiences as being '*funny*' and '*just something to do*'. The second motivating factor was the perceived 'need' for subgroup members to acquire status and respect from both within the group and within the area more generally. Being involved in 'deviant' and criminal activity was a trait that was respected in the group and consequently it was an attractive avenue for young people craving recognition and acceptance. The subgroup's perceived exclusion from education and employment, which significantly affected their transition to adulthood, and their involvement in 'deviant' activities served to strengthen the attachment they felt to each other and the area in which they lived.

This section sought to provide a brief overview of the demographic profile of the subgroup, and to some extent, portray the everyday lived reality for this group of young White British people. For the majority of this group, education and employment success was unlikely, involvement within criminal or antisocial behaviour was the norm, and their friends, family and immediate local area provided their only feelings of inclusion and belonging.

A Hierarchy of Hostility

Although the focus of this section is to explore the subgroup's opinions on multiculturalism, it is worth briefly noting that the group also expressed prejudiced and hostile views more broadly. From the early stages of observations and interactions with the group, terms such as '*gay*' and '*retard*' were frequently voiced. It could be due to the excessive use and normalisation of such terms that the words had little strength as an offensive remark. What was quite insightful in terms of assessing the group's prejudices was that Will, who was one of the subgroup members, had sustained a head injury when he was younger, resulting in quite significant learning difficulties. There was a clear contrast in the treatment that he received from the females within the subgroup who often pitied him and did things for him, and the males who saw him as a low status member of the group and an easy target. It was for this reason that the majority of males in the group viewed making fun of him acceptable.

Throughout my time spent with the group, it was difficult to observe the treatment that Will received from his friends, and to hear the insults of '*spag*' and '*retard*' being directed towards him. Will had clearly internalised the abuse he received as he often described himself as being '*stupid*', and simply accepted the frequent taunts without reacting. It may be because this was one of the few interactions the subgroup had with a disabled person that this form of prejudice never gravitated to being more serious than the use of such terms to describe each other. In comparison to the expression of disablist and homophobic views, racially and religiously motivated prejudice was much more common, derogatory and emotionally significant. To understand why the subgroup was so resentful of multiculturalism, it was necessary to explore where these views, and this anger, came from.

The subgroup openly expressed racially and religiously motivated hostility from the very first time I met them. They were unable to recognise how living within a multicultural society or area benefited them at all. To this group of young people, members of minority ethnic and faith communities were viewed as 'different', intimidating and unwelcome, and by extension multiculturalism was considered to be nothing more than a threatening demographic condition. Due to the length of time that I spent with the subgroup it became possible to construct a hierarchy of out-groups. It was through exploring the nature of the prejudices held about different minority ethnic and religious communities that it became clear that the subgroup's perception of multiculturalism was more complex than originally thought. Amongst the subgroup, Black British people were seen as 'acceptable' because their culture, norms and values were perceived to be in line with the subgroup's, such as speaking English and wearing western clothes. However, the group still held stereotypical views about Black British people as demonstrated when a Black youth worker came to the area to try and set up a sports group, and the subgroup refused to engage with him. The subgroup proceeded to ask me why the youth worker was in the area and whether he was there to sell drugs or because he was '*after*' one of them. Again, the association between the youth worker being 'Black' and therefore '*hard*' and involved in criminality, illustrated how little understanding and meaningful interaction this subgroup had with 'difference' and diversity in everyday life.

In comparison to the responses that other groups received from the subgroup, there was significantly less hostility and fear directed towards Black British people. As the extracts below highlight, to the subgroup Black British people were thought of as being '*alright*' and '*not as bad*' as other minority ethnic and religious groups.

Tyler	*You should get him (pointing at 12 year old younger brother of Emma) to fill one (survey) out.*
Researcher	*Why?*
Tyler	*Be well funny … he's a right little racist ain't you?*
Emma	*He ain't anymore. He moved schools dint he? Since then he's got himself his own little Paki friend (group begins laughing and abusing participant).*
Callum	*Have you?*
Brother	*Yeah. … I don't care. Got an Indian and Jamaican friend.*
Callum	*Who is it?*
Brother	*(name)*
Callum	*He ain't a proper one … ain't he got a White mum or something?*
Emma	*Yeah.*
Callum	*He's alright.*

And:

Researcher	*So it's just immigrants you have an issue with?*
Matt	*Yeah … the Asians … just everything about them.*
Researcher	*But what about Ruth (youth worker in the area)?*
Matt	*Yeah she's alright … and she's Black which ain't as bad.*

From the frequency with which racist remarks were aired, and the adjoining emotion, it was apparent that within this subgroup Asian-looking individuals, whether Hindu, Sikh, Muslim, born in Britain or not, were the main target of their hostility. When the subgroup engaged in discussions on multiculturalisms it became clear that they were unable to view British-born minority ethnic communities, particularly those who were South Asian, as being 'British'. Their resentment of '*Asians*' could be because geographically the subgroup was next to a

large concentration of Indian and Bangladeshi communities, with the nearest schools comprising a majority of Asian British students. This created context specific, visible objects of 'difference' for their frustration and prejudice, thus conveying how the subgroup's perceptions of multiculturalism were shaped by their observations and interactions with diversity in everyday spaces.

The subgroup's hostility towards multiculturalism centred on the perceived impact that minority ethnic and religious communities were having on the English national identity and way of life. This perception was influenced by their everyday observations of the local South Asian population, as well as the emerging Somali community. Members of these groups were identifiably 'different' in the eyes of the subgroup because of their skin colour, because of how they dressed, because of how they smelled, to name but some examples. For the subgroup all of these components equated to minority ethnic and religious communities having a culture and a lifestyle which were seen to be incompatible with their own, and with the country's as a whole. These observations were further shaped by the stereotypes and myths that the young people heard from their friends and families.

Kyle *You can't trust any of them (referring to Muslim people).*
Alex *You can't … they're all terrorists.*
Kyle *Like when they're wearing that bin bag thing (group starts laughing) you don't know who's under there.*
Claire *My Dad says all they want to do is keep women liked locked up … and (directed at researcher) did you know they marry them off at like 12?*
Researcher *Really? … How do you know this?*
Claire *That's what my Dad told me … but everyone knows it anyway.*

As illustrated in the extract above, the subgroup genuinely believed that Muslim people keep women '*locked up*' and forced their children to get married at '*12*'. It was perplexing to hear older males within the subgroup who were engaged in sexual and to some extent, exploitative relationships, with much younger females, talk about what they perceived

to be a lack of women's rights in Islam. Whilst some young people may not be exposed to this level of diversity as part of their everyday life and others may not interpret these observations as particularly threatening due to the context in which they had grown up, the subgroup had been brought up within an environment that had systematically denigrated the multicultural population around them.

Often when discussing the local South Asian community the subgroup would use the terms '*Asian*', '*Paki*', '*Muslim*' and '*terrorist*' interchangeably, and would regularly state that '*they*' wanted to '*take over the country*'. It is evident that the Islamophobic sentiment, and the inaccurate representations of Islam, that pervade everyday life have resulted in 'Asian-looking' individuals becoming synonymous with being a Muslim. A growing number of studies have highlighted that there has been a discernible increase in the levels of targeted hostility experienced by Muslims, as well as those perceived to be Muslim (see Bloch and Dreher 2009). This association between Muslim people being 'foreign' and a problematic group also emerged within the survey responses within this study. When the survey respondents were asked about their perceptions of what the biggest challenges facing England were, and what they would change about the country, a sizeable proportion identified immigration and terrorism, and associated these issues with the Muslim population specifically. Respondents suggested that Muslims were 'everywhere' and that they wanted to 'bring Sharia Law to the UK'. These are often the kinds of messages that are espoused by tabloid media, and given the increasing level of exposure that young people have to this through social networking platforms, it is unsurprising that so many expressed such views.

Explaining the Hostility Towards Multiculturalism

As the previous section illustrated, the subgroup at the centre of this study held entirely negative views about multiculturalism, and openly expressed prejudiced and hostile views about the minority ethnic and faith communities that surrounded them. The aim within this section is to

explain not only the development of these views but also the importance of these views to this group of young people. What became apparent early on within the fieldwork was that my age, ethnicity and gender influenced the members of the subgroup into thinking that I held the same views as they did, as demonstrated by the following exchange.

Claire	*We're off now anyway.*
Researcher	*Where are you going or should I not ask what you're getting up to?*
Claire	*Going up Paki land to see some mates.*
Researcher	*Do we need to call it that?*
Claire	*What?*
Researcher	*Paki land.*
Claire	*Why not? … That's what they are … like where they're from.*
Researcher	*Not necessarily and I find it offensive.*
Steph	*Why? … You're not one of 'em (laughing).*
Researcher	*You don't have to be Asian to find it offensive … (pause).*
Claire	*Are you not racist?*
Researcher	*No …*
Claire	*I don't think I've ever met anyone not racist (both Claire and Steph start laughing).*

This highlighted an intriguing situation in that the participants were aware that these views should not be expressed to outsiders; however, if you were from their immediate community or were engaging with them on a regular basis, then they assumed that you must share their views and hold the same prejudices.

It was the perceived normalcy of racist language in particular that was most shocking. In the beginning hearing the term '*Paki*' would make me flinch, but the group used it so frequently that by the end of the fieldwork, I had in truth become somewhat desensitised. This further supports the contention that the relativistic nature of prejudice is not being recognised by definitions that describe prejudiced views as 'faulty', 'irrational', or 'unjustified', as outlined in Chap. 3. To this group of young people holding such views and even expressing them was nothing irrational, exceptional or out of the ordinary. As the two exchanges below illustrate, the subgroup was part of a cycle in which their grandparents,

parents and older siblings all held and expressed the same hostile views towards multiculturalism and specific minority communities.

Researcher	*Where do you hear it (racist language) then?*
Luke	*Nan uses all of them … it's everything that she's grown up with. That's just what they were called. And now me and James live with her so we just hear it from her.*
James	*It's so funny.*
Luke	*She'd never let a Black or Asian in her house.*

And:

Researcher	*Would you say you were racist?*
Alex	*Yeah. … I'm not ashamed. I'll tell anyone.*
Connor	*My parents vote BNP and I'm going to do it when I can.*

When Charlie stated early on within the fieldwork that everyone was '*well racist around here*', I had not quite appreciated how accurate that statement was. This ingrained, routine practice of using racist language and expressing hostile views exemplifies 'everyday racism' (Essed 1991). To this group of young people, their opinions and beliefs are considered rational and correct not only because of the social and cultural context in which they had grown up, but also because of the geographical location they find themselves within now. The subgroup was based within a location, which was surrounded by areas populated by significant proportions of minority ethnic and faith communities. This meant that they were exposed to diversity and 'difference' as part of their everyday life. It was because the subgroup co-habited micro-spaces with diversity that they frequently witnessed members of these communities having '*better*' houses, cars and jobs, than they did. Their observations and interactions within these shared spaces were not only tainted by the hostile views that they were hearing from their friends and family, but they also provided the validation for them.

The over-reliance on information provided by friends and family and the subgroup's reluctance to question the validity of this information could explain why the group was so ignorant and unfamiliar with ethnic and religious diversity. The below exchanges characterise many of the

discussions which highlighted the subgroup's lack of knowledge and understanding of ethnic and religious plurality.

Researcher *So if they come over and work then that's OK?*
Luke *Yeah … well there's still loads of shit that's caused by them.*
Researcher *Like what?*
Luke *If you got rid of immigrants like all of them, there would be more jobs and crime would go down loads, wouldn't it?*
Researcher *Do you think?*
Luke *Yeah like all robberies … and stabbings from Blacks. Everything would go down if they went back to their own countries …*

And:

Emma *What do we call that pig round here?*
James *(laughing) You mean the turbinator? (group starts laughing).*
Ryan *I fucking hate him …*
Emma *You call him Muzzy as well.*

Arguably naively, I had assumed that a group of 14–19 year olds who had grown up living on the periphery of one of the most diverse cities in the world would know the visible difference between a Sikh person and a Muslim person. During the discussion my face had conveyed the shock that I felt at this remark, which the group had noticed. Although this led me to explain the difference between Sikhs and Muslims, the explanation I offered only resulted in James saying, '*So? … they're all the same*'. It is, however, worth noting that this ignorance of diversity was also illustrated within the survey sample. Hannah, a teacher within one of the schools located within the county, recalled an experience involving an exchange student who participated within her class:

Hannah *I remember one time we had exchange students and it was for people doing their A levels to go to Nigeria or Rwanda, and then students from there came to here. You should have seen the reactions of some of the pupils, they were just in shock … asking questions like why are they so Black, and why do they speak funny? I couldn't believe that they were like that … do you know what though, it's*

> *even British born minorities. There is a teacher who is like South East Asian or something and the pupils during Ofsted did everything to try and jeopardise her lessons.*

When I asked about why she thought her students were so ill-informed about diversity, Hannah explained that it was because they lived, played and went to school with a majority White British population and therefore rarely had any meaningful interaction with people who were 'different'.

Throughout the time spent with the subgroup I continually struggled with the dilemma of whether or not to challenge the prejudiced and hostile views that they expressed. In all honesty my main concern was the potential repercussions of challenging these views, which could have resulted in the subgroup no longer welcoming my presence. This became easier as time went on and I developed stronger connections with the group and with it a level of rapport and trust. However, during my time with the subgroup it became apparent that the dilemma I faced of whether to share my opinions, which differed significantly from that of the group, was also felt by other subgroup members. In particular, discussions with Steph and Claire illustrated the concern that they felt about expressing a view in opposition to the rest of the group or associating with an outsider.

Claire	*To be fair we ain't even that racist compared to some of these lot … (pointing to other members of the subgroup).*
Researcher	*Really?*
Steph	*No … I had a half-caste boyfriend … didn't tell anyone about it like! (laughing).*
Researcher	*Why?*
Claire	*Can you imagine everyone round here? They'd go fucking mental!*
Steph	*I don't really like most of them anyway … like most (Steph was about to say Pakis) … sorry (laughing) Asian lads are horrible like proper perves and they hate us anyway!*
Claire	*Yeah … I don't mind some Black lads … they can be alright.*
Researcher	*But you wouldn't tell anyone if you had … a Black boyfriend?*
Claire	*(animated) No, god … they'd go mad.*
Steph	*Be worse if it was a Paki though.*
Claire	*I just wouldn't even like one though (pulls a face of disgust).*

Steph and Claire both feared that if they did not share the same views to the same strength, or if they were to begin a relationship with someone who did not live within the area, it would significantly upset or anger the other subgroup members, and worse still, it could lead to them becoming outsiders themselves. Although there were only a few incidents which came to light during my time with the subgroup, group members faced serious repercussions if they voiced an opinion that was contrary to the majority of the group. This was particularly apparent when it came to opinions on multiculturalism.

Charlie	*Ok this one (questionnaire question) is if you think multiculturalism is alright … which means letting different people into this country.*
Will	*Yeah that's OK.*
Charlie	*No it's not Will … so you think it's OK letting the Pakis and terrorists in? (6 members of the subgroup stop and look at Will)*
Will	*Oh no that's not ok.*
Charlie	*So I'll put no then.*
Will	*Yeah.*
Callum	*You're such a fucking retard (group laughing).*

This altercation had been tense and as an observer, I could feel the pressure that Will was under to answer the question correctly in the eyes of the subgroup. In part I felt guilty as Will had been unable to fill in the a questionnaire on his own due to his poor literacy skills and then had faced ridicule and the possibility of physical assault because of his answers. Although the instances of a subgroup member expressing a view to the contrary of the group as a whole were rare, it demonstrated the importance of homogeneity within the peer group.

As outlined in Chap. 3, the peer group that we identify with has been found to have a significant impact on the prejudiced views that we hold, especially for young people. Research suggests that young people are more likely to be tolerant of hostile attitudes, and to modify their opinions and behaviour, if a friend expresses that view or acts in that way (Lun et al. 2007; Paluck 2010). The importance of sharing the same views as our friends and family is dependent upon how

significant preserving that social identity is to the self, as exemplified by social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979). To these young people, being part of the friendship group was highly valued and the consequence of not belonging to it was beyond comprehension. Due to their disadvantaged social and economic circumstances and their lack of opportunity to gain social capital, being White British and belonging to their area was a significant and stable part of their identity. Key to preserving a positive social identity is emphasising that in-groups are superior and the norm, and this is achieved by reinforcing that out-groups are 'different', subordinate and incompatible (*ibid.*, 1979). How young people feel about themselves and how they believe the external world views them, will affect the strength of their group affiliation and how negatively they perceive out-groups. This could explain why the subgroup so unanimously denigrated and dehumanised England's multicultural population, as well as the specific minority ethnic and faith communities that they came into contact with.

Over the duration of the time spent with this group of young people it became apparent that the strength of hostility felt towards multiculturalism, as well as towards specific minority ethnic and religious groups, differed within the subgroup. It was possible to identify particular reasons as to why a certain member of the subgroup held or expressed prejudiced views. For some of the participants, the act of expressing extreme racist hostility was perceived to reinforce their superiority within the group. It was well known within the peer group which members were especially racist and which were involved in targeted hostility. Some of the younger female and male subgroup members appeared to admire those who held and voiced extreme views:

Charlie	*You need to speak to Ryan (laughing).*
Researcher	*Yeah … why?*
Emma	*He hates 'em … do you know what he said he would like to do on his last day on earth … go down to Melton Road with a baseball bat and kill them all.*
Researcher	*And he's your boyfriend? (directed at Charlie)*
Charlie	*Yeah he's my boyfriend (smiling).*
Researcher	*And you don't mind when he says things like that?*

Charlie *(animated) No! He's well hard and he proper means it you know? Like he's been in so many fights with Pakis and stuff and he always wins.*

Often the younger members of the subgroup would tell racist and religiously biased jokes, reeling off 'funny' rhymes and derogatory comments about Asian people because they '*smell*', are '*curry munchers*' and are '*hairy*'. The majority of the younger individuals within the group would be labelled as being 'conventionally' prejudiced (Aboud 1988). Due to their early socialisation in which they would have become familiar with the words and views of their parents, and now in later life, with the strong attachment and influence of their peer group, their prejudices had assimilated (Allport 1954; Aboud 1988; Verkuyten 2002). Although the younger members believed in the negative stereotypes and myths, including '*Pakis*' being '*terrorists*' and that '*Blacks will just stab you*', observations of the ways in which they spoke about these topics illustrated that there was a lack of aggression, with most incidents being motivated by a desire to impress their friends. In contrast, the prejudices held by the four oldest members of the group were borne out of frustration with their personal and social circumstances.

Employing an ethnographic strategy facilitated observations on both the tone and manner in which statements were made and also the accompanying body language. When discussing the local South Asian community or multiculturalism more generally, the four older individuals verbalised '*fucking Pakis*' with venom, becoming agitated and animated in what they were saying. The difference between the younger members and the four older participants, who would be categorised as NEET, was that the latter were trapped in an ambiguous position between youth and adulthood and had few opportunities to generate social capital and achieve social mobility. A lack of social and economic opportunity and the resultant feelings of failure and frustration are not experienced equally by all young people in Britain. Rather, research illustrates that for the majority of White, non-disabled, middle class young people, the transition from youth to adulthood is more straightforward than it is for minority ethnic and/or economically disadvantaged youth (Gentleman and Mullholand 2010). From spending time with the subgroup, it was

evident that there were limited legitimate opportunities for the older members within the group to change their current situation. It was within this milieu that feelings of shame and isolation manifested into outward frustration towards England's multicultural population, and the minority ethnic and religious communities that enclosed them.

Conclusion

The chapter presented survey data which illustrated that nearly three quarters ($n = 299$) of the young White British participants involved in this study felt that having a multicultural population is positive for England. When asked to expand on this answer, respondents referred to the ways in which England's popular culture, as well as the country's economy, had benefited from multiculturalism. Respondents also remarked on the perceived impact that multiculturalism has on how 'native' inhabitants think and behave, with diversity enabling people to be more open-minded, accepting and understanding. Whilst the overwhelming majority of survey respondents were positive about multiculturalism, there were some who raised concerns about the tensions caused from living within a multicultural society. This apprehension tended to focus on the scale of immigration, which was perceived as being too high, as well as the intentions of 'immigrants' coming to England. It is the perceived threat that 'immigrants' pose to England's national identity, to the English way of life and to our own standard of living, that appeared to undermine perceptions of multiculturalism for those who did not think that it was positive.

To try to understand why nearly a quarter of the young White British people involved in this study viewed multiculturalism negatively, this chapter moved on to focus on the data gained from the subgroup. The ethnographic strategy facilitated an in-depth understanding of the participants' views towards multiculturalism and towards living amongst a diverse population. This chapter revealed that the subgroup held, and openly expressed, prejudiced views about minority ethnic and faith communities, and this deep-rooted hostility made it almost impossible for them to recognise what the country or they individually gained from

having a multicultural population. The group's resentment of Leicester's diverse demographic appeared to be fuelled, and continually exacerbated, by their individual circumstances and the social and cultural context in which they lived. This chapter highlighted how important belonging to the peer group was for the subgroup; how strong the attachment was to their friends, their family and the immediate community; and how marginalised they were from other environments and networks. It is only through developing a more nuanced framework that we can begin to understand that for certain groups their identity and their spaces of inclusion are more emotionally significant. Therefore, maintaining that identity and 'owning' that area is vitally important, but achieving it involves contestation and conflict with those who trivialise it, threaten it and prevent it.

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6

Negotiating Everyday Multiculturalism

Introduction

The previous chapter detailed the survey findings relating to how young White British people conceive of multiculturalism. It demonstrated that the vast majority of young people regard England's multicultural population as being positive for a number of reasons. The survey sample identified that multiculturalism has led to a greater variety in food, music, fashion and art; to increased opportunities to meet people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds; and to people being more understanding, accepting and open-minded. This finding is not exactly surprising given that attitudinal-based research has highlighted that in comparison to older generations young people are often more accepting of plurality (Hoerder et al. 2005; Harris 2013). However, the previous chapter also highlighted that nearly a quarter of young White British people did not interpret multiculturalism as being positive for England. Analysis from this sample of survey respondents revealed that perceptions of multiculturalism were shaped by fear, concern and frustration towards specific minority ethnic and faith communities, including 'immigrants' and 'Muslims', as well as at the perceived negative impact that diversity was having upon England's

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national identity and culture. This study aimed to not only uncover the often 'hidden' tension and hostility that pervades everyday life for young people but understand it. The last chapter drew upon the time spent with the subgroup to try to explain where their feelings of resentment towards multiculturalism and 'difference' came from. The prejudiced views held by the group members appeared to be fuelled, and continually exacerbated, by their individual circumstances and the social, cultural and geographical context in which they lived. Their unwillingness to accept their multicultural surroundings must be analysed against the backdrop of their inability to form a stable adult identity, their feelings of failure and isolation, and their desire to belong.

As outlined in Chap. 2, the fact that three quarters of young White British people think that multiculturalism is positive for England does not necessarily mean that this acceptance of diversity translates into everyday practices of engagement. Rather, this finding might be more telling of the context within which these young people have been brought up. Due to wider social shifts, this generation has grown up within a pluralised society, which has an extensive legislative framework designed to prevent and punish discrimination and harassment towards minority groups. This could explain why young people are more tolerant of the label of a multicultural society and of the philosophy of multiculturalism, epitomised by many of the superficial and ideological answers provided by the survey sample. This chapter focuses on revealing the lived reality of everyday multiculturalism for young White British people. Through the use of both the survey and subgroup data, it highlights that perceptions of multiculturalism on a national scale and therefore, as an abstract concept, are very different from the ways in which Leicester's multicultural population is interpreted. This chapter discusses the key issues which are thought to undermine everyday engagement between young people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, as identified by the survey sample. Employing an ethnographic strategy enabled me to connect more closely with the everyday lives of the young people who formed the subgroup. It was this framework which helped to understand how perceptions of multiculturalism informed and transformed the subgroup's encounters with diversity in their everyday lives.

Perceptions of Everyday Multiculturalism

Within the survey, respondents were asked to consider whether people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds get on well together within Leicester. The aim of this question was to enable young people to draw upon their experiences of everyday multiculturalism. Just 34.1 % (n = 141) of the young White British people taking part in this study felt that people from different communities get on well together. When this finding is compared to the results from the previous question on perceptions of multiculturalism, which revealed that nearly three quarters of the sample felt that England's multicultural population was positive, the disconnect between multiculturalism as an ideology and as a lived reality is clearly evident.

The explanations offered by this sample to explain why they felt that Leicester was socially cohesive were categorised into four themes, with the first being the impact of growing up amongst a diverse population.

> *It has become the norm to live amongst different ethnicities so there is less discrimination.*
> *Everyone has learnt to be tolerant.*
> *It is accepted that different coloured people are allowed to be living in Leicester.*
> *We have been brought up to get along.*
> *It is normal that they all live here.*
> *We have lived together for so long.*
> *We have learnt to live together peacefully.*

As the quotations illustrate, a significant number of respondents felt that people from different ethnic and religious communities get on well together because the city had been home to a multicultural population for 'so long', and it was, therefore, 'accepted' and considered 'normal'. It is the use of the term 'learnt' that is particularly interesting given that one of the key themes to emerge from explanations of why respondents thought England's multicultural population was positive, was that it provided 'native' citizens with learning opportunities. The suggestion is that living in a plural society makes people more understanding and accepting of 'difference', which in turn results in them being better equipped to engage with everyday multiculturalism.

This sample of respondents also appeared to base their opinion upon their observations of visible examples of social cohesion in daily life. Respondents referred to witnessing engagement between people from different ethnic and religious communities in everyday spaces and during everyday activities.

> *You always see everyone working together, going to school together and hanging out together.*
> *People from different ethnic groups go to the same school.*
> *Because we get on well in football and rugby teams.*
> *They all seem to talk to each other.*
> *They go to school together and have grown up together and are used to seeing them.*
> *Because they work together in the same shops and talk to each other.*

Explanations focused on the high level of interaction that people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds had with each other in everyday life. Respondents referred to the fact that 'everyone' lives, attends school, works and socialises in 'the same area'. Leicester's diverse population resulted in young people being in the 'company' of diverse groups of people 'constantly' and therefore being 'exposed' to everyday multiculturalism on a daily basis. To this group of young people, their observations and experiences of encountering 'difference' at school, within social and sports clubs, and in shops (to name but some examples) had shaped their perception of Leicester being a socially cohesive place.

Respondents' answers to this question also referred to the absence of conflict between members of different ethnic and religious groups. The young people within this sample felt that Leicester was a socially cohesive place because they 'rarely' heard about or observed any 'disputes', 'arguments', 'fights' or 'violence'. It is interesting to note that both official statistics and research evidence would suggest that racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility is relatively commonplace in everyday life. Therefore these responses might tell us more about the context within which this group of young people are situated, in terms of the area in which they live, whom they engage with and the views and behaviours that they are exposed to. As we shall see later on within the chapter, the

context in which the subgroup lived not only resulted in them hearing about incidents of targeted hostility, but also facilitated their active involvement in it.

The final theme to emerge from the sample of respondents who thought that people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds got on well together was the notion that social cohesion within Leicester was normal, expected and self-evident. In some respects, this cohort of young people implied that to question whether people from different backgrounds get on well together was ridiculous.

Because there's no reason for them not to.
People have realised racism is extremely stupid.
Because they do?
Because I have multicultural friends.
All the rubbish about not being equal ended a while ago.
Because we are not pathetic.
Because I have a Black and an Asian friend and I am White.

Many of the respondents within this sample referred to people being 'all the same' regardless of differences in skin colour, culture or religion. The perceived normalcy of everyday multiculturalism was further supported by those respondents who remarked upon their own friendships with people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. To this group of young people, it was the banality of diversity and everyday multiculturalism, which in itself was taken to exemplify social cohesion.

Of the total survey sample who were asked about their opinion on whether members of different communities get on well together in Leicester, 24.7 % ($n = 102$) stated that they were unsure. When this cohort of respondents was asked to provide an explanation for this view, many referred to their observations and experiences of geographical division and everyday segregation.

Large areas with one ethnicity, too much segregation.
In schools they get on but where everyone lives it is quite divided.
Each community seems to keep themselves to themselves.
Depends on where you live in Leicester.

They segregate themselves.
People don't feel it necessary to integrate in society – to speak English etc.
Some areas are predominantly just one ethnic group.
They do most of the time because they never interact with each other.
Ethnic groups live in different pre-determined areas.

These observations challenge the view of Leicester being a multicultural utopia. As outlined in Chap. 4, although Leicester should be praised for its avoidance of significant inter-ethnic conflict, its approach to managing diversity has involved dispersing individuals into specific areas of the city on the basis of membership to a given ethnic or religious group (Bonney and LeGoff 2007). Whilst certain everyday spaces, such as the town centre, shops and entertainment venues, reflect the city's multicultural population, residential areas within both the city and the county tend to be much less diverse in terms of their demography. This creates an interesting context in which young people are encountering 'difference' in certain micropublics, such as at school, but are residing in areas populated by 'just one ethnic group'. If, as research suggests, a young person's life is heavily grounded within their local environment, and that space is comprised of a majority White British population, then meaningful engagement with 'difference' is going to be limited. This restricted engagement with everyday multiculturalism was further supported by those respondents who suggested that different ethnic and religious communities within Leicester co-existed relatively harmoniously because 'they never interact with each other'. This might suggest that Leicester is a city in which different communities are adept at 'living apart together' (Ang 2001: 14).

Another common theme to arise from the explanations provided by the young people who were unsure as to whether different ethnic and religious groups get on well together in Leicester was the presence of conflict. In comparison to the previous cohort of respondents, this group remarked on there being 'a lot' of friction, racism and fights as a result of Leicester's multicultural population.

They do, but there is a lot of racism behind backs.
Yes, but they cause a lot of conflict.
I don't know, there is lots of racism.

There are some areas where friction is apparent.
Because we all live together but we often see arguments and fights.
There are often fights.
Racism is everywhere.

This theme also emerged significantly within the sample of respondents who did not think that people from different backgrounds get on well together in Leicester. Of the sample of 41.0 % (*n* = 170), nearly half reported that Leicester was not a socially cohesive place because of the existence of intolerance and prejudice. Many respondents referred to a 'lack of respect', 'tension', 'hostility' and 'racism' between minority ethnic communities and the 'native' White British population. Compared to the 34.1 % (*n* = 141) who felt that Leicester was socially cohesive because they did not see any physical manifestations of racism, the young people within this sample (41.2 % [*n* = 170]) spoke of there being 'lots of racist fights'. These respondents perceived minority groups as 'causing a lot of conflict' and that violence was used by certain groups 'to try to dominate others'. Compared to the other two categories, this sample focused more explicitly on the tensions between particular minority ethnic groups in Leicester:

There is a great divide between White and Asian people and a lot of racial tension.
Because Whites are mostly racist and Asian and Black tend to get along.
White people don't like Asian people.
White people find themselves outnumbered by other ethnic groups.
Most Whites don't get on with others, however most Asian and Black people get on.
Indian culture all live in one community together and don't tend to mix with White people.

A significant proportion of young people within this cohort situated the 'blame' with minority ethnic communities because 'they' did not want to integrate with the 'native' White British population. As with the previous sample who were unsure about whether Leicester was socially cohesive, respondents suggested that 'everyone sticks to their own race', with ethnic groups 'staying clear of each other' and keeping 'themselves to themselves, e.g. Whites, Blacks, Indians'.

Of the total sample who felt that people from different ethnic backgrounds did not get on well together in Leicester, there were a small proportion of respondents who offered more blunt and hostile explanations, as illustrated by the quotations below.

> *Just don't get on.*
> *Do they fuck cuz [sic] White people don't like Black people and Black people don't like White people.*
> *They hate each other.*
> *We don't like them.*
> *People don't like what's different.*
> *The White people don't like Black people.*
> *They just don't. Too many of them are rude.*
> *They are not from here and they're different. They don't dress or speak English and it annoys people.*
> *There is too much difference and people don't like it.*

To this group of young people Leicester is not considered to be socially cohesive because 'White people' do not like those who are different to them in terms of their ethnicity, religion or culture. Within this selection of comments, we also see the emergence of more emotive language, including annoyance, dislike and hate.

It is worth noting that when this sample was also asked about whether they liked living in Leicester many of these respondents stated 'No', and explained that this was because of the city's multicultural population.

> *It's a dump, too many immigrants.*
> *There are too many Asians living in the country and city.*
> *Everyone speaks a different language.*
> *More non-English, you feel out of place.*
> *Too many illegal immigrants.*
> *In minority.*
> *Because there is hardly any British now living there.*
> *Too many coloured people (makes me nervous).*

The comments from this cohort of young people were starkly different to the mundane and trivial responses provided by the sample as whole. Of the 55.2 % of the sample who answered that they liked living in Leicester, explanations focused on relatively routine aspects of everyday life in that their 'friends live here', it has a 'good shopping centre' and simply, because it is 'home'. Even within the 38.3 % (*n* = 163) of respondents who answered 'No', the majority provided general comments of there being 'nothing to do', 'no facilities', the city being 'dirty' and that there are 'too many crimes'. It was evident that for a small, but still significant, proportion of young White British people, their observations and interactions with everyday multiculturalism significantly impacted upon their perceptions of living in Leicester.

Providing the survey sample with the Leicester-specific, everyday context was paramount to exploring whether perceptions of multiculturalism on a national scale differed to how everyday multiculturalism is interpreted and enacted. It was evident from the survey findings that the ideological discourse of multiculturalism does not necessarily filter through to the everyday spaces that young people occupy. Focusing exclusively on the responses provided by those who were unsure as to whether different ethnic and religious groups get on well together, as well as those who stated that they did not, it was apparent that the notion of 'difference' and geographical segregation were perceived as undermining everyday multiculturalism. These findings begin to form a picture which depicts a significant proportion of young White British people as struggling to engage with everyday multiculturalism because of the real or imagined geographical, language and cultural barriers that are encountered in everyday life. These perceptions are likely to have been formed by their observations and experiences of everyday multiculturalism, and are also likely to impact on their everyday interactions with diversity.

It is the relativist nature of everyday multiculturalism, which illustrates a different lived reality to that of Leicester being a multicultural ideal. In reality multiculturalism is a dynamic, fluid and 'lived field of action' within which people try to manage and negotiate ethnic and religious difference (Harris 2009: 188). It is through engaging 'more closely with the lived experience

and the changing cultural and material geographies of young lives' that one can begin to explore the challenges they face when engaging with everyday multiculturalism (Nayak 2003: 178). The following section focuses on the subgroup's engagement with diversity as part of their everyday life, and reveals how their perceptions of 'difference' transformed prosaic encounters into more meaningful and embattled interactions.

Barriers to Engaging with Everyday Multiculturalism

This section intends to build on some of the themes that were raised within the previous chapter so as to highlight the factors that shaped the subgroup's engagement with everyday multiculturalism. The last chapter illustrated the prejudiced views that the subgroup held towards specific ethnic and religious communities, as well as their resentment of multiculturalism as a whole. From spending time with this group of young people it became apparent that the subgroup's hostile views were further strengthened by their reluctance to engage with or to listen to anyone who was from outside of the local area. This group of young people gained their social capital from what Putnam (2000) describes as a 'bonding' network, which not only serves to strengthen the attachment to the group, but also to constrict meaningful interaction with the outside world. The young people, their families and the local community gained relatively little social capital from external sources and relationships, which resulted in low levels of trust and unfamiliarity with outsiders. Subsequently, the subgroup rarely interacted with individuals from different ethnic or religious backgrounds or even anyone who held a different opinion. This served to strengthen the homogeneity of the group and perpetuated the myths and stereotypes which underpinned their hostile views towards multiculturalism.

Researcher *Do you know any Muslim people?*
Matt *Fuck no …*
Researcher *Does anyone know any Muslim people or even Asian people? (group shakes head) … school or anything?*

Dan	*We had one in our class 'dint we?*
Callum	*I remember her (laughing).*
Matt	*Yeah (name) or something, she fucking stunk so no one talked to her or sat next to her.*
Callum	*She had the hairiest arms ever (laughing).*

The time spent with the subgroup on 'their' turf provided a deeper understanding of which groups they were hostile towards and why. Using the concept of everyday multiculturalism provided the analytical lens which enabled me to become more attuned to local tensions and conflicts. The subgroup were especially vitriolic towards the surrounding South Asian, Polish and Somalian communities, and often used the terms 'immigrants' and 'foreigners' interchangeably when talking about them. The focus upon these groups specifically could be explained by a number of factors, including the high visibility of these populations within local public spaces; the geographical segregation preventing meaningful contact between the subgroup and these communities; the unstable economic climate; and the heightened political context and discourse towards immigration. For Hjerm (2005), these conditions facilitate and exacerbate feelings of group threat. As existing literature within the field of everyday multiculturalism highlights, this wider social, economic and political context filters through to inform and transform our perceptions of multiculturalism, as well as our everyday encounters with it.

Probing these views further revealed that the subgroup's underlying prejudices were exacerbated by their belief that minority ethnic groups were receiving preferential treatment over the 'native' White British population.

Researcher	*Why would you get Muslims out?*
Tyler	*Just hate 'em.*
Researcher	*Any reason in particular though?*
Tyler	*No (laughing).*
Ryan	*Why not? They're fucking terrorists and take all our fucking jobs.*
Researcher	*And you think that you haven't (got a job) because of Muslim people?*
Ryan	*Just all the fucking immigrants.*

And:

Will	*I think we have too many of 'em … but it's the ones that don't have visas to come here like the Polish.*
Researcher	*Right?*
Will	*They don't do anything. They're just here to get the houses and all the free stuff they can from us.*

And:

Steph	*They (local Asian community) get everything though like down there they've got this new like Centre where you can do DJ-ing and play loads of sports and it's like open all the time but only for Pakis.*
Researcher	*So you think this area hasn't got anything because you're all White?*
James	*Fuck yeah, they get everything.*
Researcher	*But it's not that far from here, why don't you guys go try it?*
Callum	*No way … why would we want to be around a load of curry munchers … there'd be so many fights.*
Steph	*God imagine the smell (laughing).*

As demonstrated by these exchanges, the bitterness felt by the subgroup was rooted in the perception that minority ethnic and religious communities were taking jobs, taking houses and taking resources. Even more frustrating was the belief that members of these communities were being 'given' these opportunities instead of the 'native' White British population. For someone such as Ryan who did not have any educational qualifications, had never succeeded in getting a job interview and had been on benefits since turning 16 years old, this perception caused considerable anger. Due to the geographical location in which Ryan lived, he was confronted by people with visible markers of 'difference' and 'foreignness' in the mundane spaces of everyday life. In some ways all of these factors generated layers of shame. First, Ryan was 'hanging around' with people who were much younger than him and at 19 years old there is both a societal and personal expectation that he would be in further education or secure employment. Secondly, Ryan had grown up within a social and cultural context which

had denigrated and dehumanised specific groups of 'Others', and yet it is these 'Others' who he routinely observed as doing better than himself. Of the subgroup members, Ryan held the most hostile racist views, and most frequently acted upon them to commit targeted hostility against members of minority ethnic and religious communities.

The hostility felt and expressed by the subgroup towards 'immigrants', 'Muslims' and diversity more generally was further exacerbated by their expectations of entitlement. As outlined in Chap. 3, it is presumed that being White within a multicultural context is a protective and normative attribute (Kumar et al. 2011). However, research illustrates that this sense of safety and security is dependent on your status within society and your group's numerical presence within a given geographical space. As Sachdev and Bourhis (1991) found, members of majority groups who find themselves within numerical-minority contexts were highly prejudiced towards low-status numerical-majority group members. The subgroup at the centre of this research was in a numerical-minority position within many everyday environments, and this visible presence of minority ethnic and religious communities served to challenge their sense of belonging and ownership. To this group of young people, being White British was highly important and this aspect of their identity was strengthened through a continual process of affirming and re-affirming their distinctness to the surrounding population.

Emphasising the normalcy of the subgroup's identity involved belittling minority groups' 'differences', including their skin colour, dress, language and cultural practices. This process reinforced the perception that the subgroup and White British people, generally, were culturally superior to members of minority ethnic and religious communities. This vilification was rooted within the subgroup's belief that minority ethnic and religious communities were unworthy, disloyal and uncivilised. For these young people, the White British population was more deserving and more entitled to employment, housing and other societal resources because it was 'their' country. When trying to unpick this perception with the subgroup, it became apparent that they were unable to view people from minority backgrounds as being British—despite being born in the country—or as being equally entitled. In these conversations, the subgroup would remark that members of minority communities were

'*not English*'. The preference for the term '*English*' might be because it is still somewhat synonymous with Whiteness, whereas the concept of 'Britishness' embodies a plurality of identities.

The subgroup's desire to prove their Englishness, or rather, to stand up for what they thought were decreasing levels of English patriotism, was starkly evident. The following conversation took place between the subgroup and the local youth workers who were planning to arrange a football match against young people from a different area.

Youth Worker	*Yeah so it'd be a football match against (name) … we'd get the transport sorted and give you a lift over there.*
Callum	*What? (animated) We ain't fucking playing against them.*
James	*I'll take my fucking England flag down there!*
Researcher	*Why? … Why wouldn't you play against them?*
Will	*(laughing) Yeah show them what it's like to be English!*
Callum	*(laughing) Probably can't even play football anyway. … Paki's play cricket don't they? (group laughs)*
Researcher	*But I'm confused … why wouldn't you play a match against (name)?*
Alex	*(directed at interviewer) You know we ain't allowed to wear England shirts now 'cos of the fucking Muslims?*
Researcher	*What? … Where have you heard this?*
Chris	*He's actually right, we're not allowed to wear England shirts in the pubs for the world cup 'cos it might offend them?*
Alex	*It really fucks me off … they ain't even English!*
Researcher	*So where did you hear this from?*
Alex	*Everybody's talking about it.*

The perception that minority communities are in some way altering the national identity, preventing 'native' citizens from engaging in certain activities or cultural practices, and rejecting the English or British identity, also emerged within the survey data. Respondents expressed frustration about specific minority ethnic and religious communities not being proud to be in England, with one young person stating that 'they find it offensive to hang the English flag in the window'. Spending time with the subgroup and analysing the survey data revealed the layers of intolerance and hostility towards specific groups of 'Others'. First, minority ethnic and religious communities—especially 'immigrants' and 'Muslims'—were perceived as

a threat because they were coming to Britain to take employment away from the 'native' hard-working population. Secondly, these out-groups were blamed for coming to Britain for the sole purpose of sponging from the state, receiving benefits and local authority housing, which was also at the expense of the 'native' hard-working population. Both of these beliefs were exacerbated by the view that minority groups were refusing to assimilate to the British-way of life and were preventing 'native' British people from celebrating their own history and engaging in traditional cultural practices.

It is within this context that everyday interactions, which for many other people would be regarded as nothing more than prosaic encounters, assumed greater emotional significance. This underlying tension was aggravated when an individual from a minority ethnic or religious group was rude to, ignored or looked down on a subgroup member. Irrelevant of whether these instances were real or imagined, the anger that they evoked was palpable. Conversations with the subgroup illustrated that although they were frustrated by the belief that 'immigrants' were taking what they perceived to be 'theirs', it was even more infuriating that minority communities were not giving White British people the respect that they deserved. There was an implicit assumption in many of the comments made by the subgroup that minority ethnic groups should not only know their place but also, that they should understand that 'native' White British citizens were more entitled than them.

Researcher *So it's because of not getting a job?*

Ryan *Ain't even that, it's just the way they are. They're so fucking rude. … Like I was riding my bike and two Pakis were in front of me … they both turned to like look at me and then fucking turned back around and didn't move. … Does my head in.*

And:

Alex *That's the thing with fucking Muslims they walk around like they fucking own it … like him, he puts his fucking turban on and thinks he's the fucking dogs.*

Callum *It's like he comes up to us [emphasises this word] and tells us what to do … he gets so much fucking abuse (animated).*

Although not intended to excuse these beliefs, it is important to recognise that the subgroup members themselves were made to feel inferior and 'different' in the context of their own lives. Within both the spheres of education and employment the subgroup encountered failure and disappointment. As I walked around the local area with the group I could feel local community members staring at us and these looks often conveyed feelings of fear and disgust. Occasionally group members would talk about the ridicule they faced because of how they dressed, the jewellery they wore and the tattoos they had:

Steph	*I get it like walking down the streets and like someone shouts "Slag" or "Chav".*
Researcher	*Really?*
Steph	*Yeah loads. … I've been in fights because of it like from girls who shout abuse.*
Researcher	*But what about from adults?*
Claire	*There well bad … they just like say something quiet and just look at you like you're a piece of shit on the floor.*

And:

Ryan	*You just know you ain't gunna get a job as soon as you walk in and they just bare stare at you.*
Alex	*Yeah and they see me like shaking with my tattoo on my neck.*
Charlie	*That's why I walked out that job interview I had. They were just bitches like staring and saying stuff. I was like I'm gunna like start a fight so I just went.*

Subgroup members were perpetually looked down on, were made to feel as if they could not, and would not, achieve, and were consciously aware of the limited opportunities they had to secure legitimate success and recognition. As research suggests, young people from disadvantaged White British backgrounds have become an ostracised group in their own right, suffering a unique form of public ridicule and stigmatisation (Jones 2011; Thomas and Sanderson 2013). The subgroup members saw themselves as being the 'real victims' of a society which excludes and belittles them. Mo, a Youth Worker who was engaging with the subgroup, supported this notion:

Mo *It's clear with the young people I work with around here that they are different themselves or think they are different from the norm … like with Dan, his ADHD and self-harming … that makes him different and he knows this but he just deals with it by becoming the bully … he's been a victim himself and it's just how he channels his emotions. … I think all of these young people have insecurities about themselves … but they find other people's vulnerabilities and focus on those … and they just channel their anger and their hatred.*

The social and cultural context in which they had grown up in, as well as the diverse geographical context in which they lived, reinforced their own feelings of 'difference'. As the intersectionality approach suggests, those who experience contrasting positions of privilege and disadvantage can suffer adverse effects (Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill 1996). The toxic mix of feeling ashamed, entitled and aggrieved permeated the everyday lives of this group of young people. It was for these reasons that the subgroup were so outraged when they saw or engaged with a member of a minority community—someone who was considered to be inferior, foreign and undeserving—who had a nice car, who lived in a nice house or who spoke to a White British person in a rude or disrespectful manner. These findings demonstrate how inter-connected our perceptions of diversity and 'difference' are with how we interpret and engage with everyday multiculturalism.

Disengaging with Everyday Multiculturalism

After observing, and for a short time being part of the participants' lived reality, it became necessary not to explore how the subgroup engaged with 'difference' and diversity, but instead how they disengaged with it. The subgroup openly admitted to rarely travelling outside of their 'local' familiar area. Although often said in a jovial manner, certain members spoke of the likelihood of being '*stabbed up*', or even '*blown up*' if they were to go to certain areas of Leicester. The responses from the subgroup had shocked me, as geographically they were less than ten minutes from the city centre yet rarely, if ever, travelled into '*town*'.

When asked more directly why they would not engage with minority ethnic people, even if they were in the same area, often very basic explanations were offered such as they '*eat weird food*', '*smell*', '*don't wash*' and '*don't speak English*'. The fact that the subgroup consciously avoided interacting with multiculturalism could explain why they offered such simple, direct responses within the survey when asked why people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds 'don't get along', including that 'they hate each other', 'we don't like them' and 'we stay clear of each other'.

As the following exchange demonstrates, the subgroup was so reluctant to engage with diversity that they rarely ventured to areas '*down the road*' because of the ethnic and religious population that they were likely to encounter.

Kyle	*It's like just down the road though … you just wouldn't go on your own.*
Matt	*Fuck no.*
Kyle	*Have you been (name)? (directed at researcher)*
Researcher	*No, where's that?*
Kyle	*It's just down the road.*
Researcher	*Oh ok no … why do you ask?*
Matt	*I hate going down (name). It's like an ant farm or something … with them all scurrying about (group laughs).*
James	*That's where you play that game (laughing).*
Researcher	*What game?*
James	*Spot the White person (group laughs).*

The group would also pass up opportunities to take part in activities that they were interested in because it might involve them engaging with a particular minority ethnic community:

Researcher	*So you wouldn't play a football match against a group of Asian lads?*
Callum	*Fuck no … actually if there weren't going to be no ref I would (laughing).*
James	*The smell of curry would make me not want to play! (laughing).*
Ryan	*They'd probably try and fucking blow us up or something.*

Researcher	*I don't think you're thinking of the right area anyway … you're thinking of (name) and I mean playing against young people in (area)…*
Callum	*So there all White there?*
Researcher	*Well probably.*
Callum	*Thank fuck for that! (group laughs)*

Over the three months spent with the subgroup it became apparent that they had developed a map based on the local areas that they perceived as either being safe or unsafe. This finding is similar to Thomas and Sanderson's (2013) study exploring perceptions of social and community cohesion with the White British population in both Oldham and Rochdale. They found that the young men within their study had constructed a mental picture which was often based on racialised notions of ownership, belonging and territory (Pickering et al. 2012; Thomas and Sanderson 2013). As with the subgroup in this study, Thomas and Sanderson's (2013) research found that the young White British people perceived the town centres as being unsafe because of the significant Muslim populations within these areas. The thought of consciously restricting my travel around an area in which I had grown up in because of the likelihood of interacting with members of minority ethnic and religious communities was incomprehensible.

For this group of young people, their locality was a space of inclusion—a comfort zone—around which they constructed a sense of pride, cultural identity and belonging. As Ouseley (2001: 16) explains, 'comfort zones' create contracultures which produce both virtual and real boundaries of exclusion, thus preventing opportunities for meaningful contact and the development of community relations, tolerance and trust. For young disadvantaged people, territoriality can be seen as a form of cultural capital, where a sense of isolation from wider society enhances a sense of place attachment (Pickering et al. 2012). Harris (2009), amongst others, suggest that micro-territories such as schools, shop corners, parks and places of entertainment can become symbolic representations of identity and ownership to disadvantaged and marginalised young people. To this subgroup of young people, their local park, underpass, leisure centre and corner shops provided their comfort zones—places they claimed ownership over and that they belonged.

The unwillingness to travel outside of their 'safe' space also served to constrain their opportunities for economic and cultural capital, and social mobility, compounding and reproducing the stereotypes and tensions towards people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Adopting a constructivist approach to this study brought to the fore how different my own upbringing and current circumstances were to that of the subgroup. The social and economic disadvantage in which this group found themselves and the geographical nearness to super diversity is not an environment experienced by the more wealthy White British population. This reality exemplifies Beck's (1992: 34) statement that 'the wealthy (in income, power or education) can purchase safety and freedom from risk'. At the end of each outing I was able to return to a majority White British area, knowing that I had job security and at any point had the opportunity to change different aspects of my life. Developing a more nuanced understanding of why some people are more willing than others to accept and engage with everyday multiculturalism, can only be achieved through adopting a framework which captures this lived reality.

Although the majority of the group expressed an unwillingness and reluctance to engage with Leicester's diverse population, there were some individuals within the group who were in situations that facilitated a 'softer' engagement with members of minority ethnic and religious communities. This demonstrated that meaningful engagement over a sustained period could have a significant impact on a young person who feels marginalised, isolated and uncared for. This was most poignantly demonstrated through conversations with Dan who was sent back and forth from his parent's home to a children's home. Dan had been arrested for a racially aggravated assault during an incident involving a security guard (discussed in detail within the next chapter) and would frequently voice racially and religious motivated hostility. In a discussion with Dan it became apparent that a relationship he formed with an Asian support worker at the children's home had been pivotal in changing his views:

Researcher *So you don't say as much racist stuff now?*
Dan *What's the point? They're still gun' be here ain't they? … some ain't even that bad to be fair like Pav he's like my worker at the home, he's safe. He's like not like how I thought they were.*

Researcher *What Asian people? (Dan nods) … So you think that meeting an Asian person and seeing they're ok, that changes your mind about them?*

Dan *Yeah he's well funny … he has sick clothes and like last night I went mad like smashed up my room cuz' they found my weed and took it and he like just came in and just sat with me … he helped me like clear up.*

Although just one example, this extract demonstrates that meaningful interaction with a youth worker, teacher or support worker from an out-group within everyday contexts can lead to a greater understanding of 'difference', or more aptly, a greater recognition of similarities. This point is further supported in a discussion with a detached youth worker who found that working with Alex, who openly expressed racist views, helped to challenge his underlying prejudices and stereotypes:

Jazz *I worked one to one with a young girl, she was 18 and had a serious hatred for Black people and would use such words as 'nigger' all the time and I challenged her on this … like to find out where this had come from … and she'd had so many bad experiences in her life but one of them was being robbed by a Black man when she was younger and now she didn't trust them … it's like one bad experience and now she was prejudiced against Black people.*

Researcher *So you think experiences play a big part in someone becoming prejudiced?*

Jazz *Huge … but also the other way with positive experiences like Alex with me, he was so racist and really hated Asian people … and working one to one with him changed his opinion a bit I think. … It's just challenging their stereotypes like the 'bud bud ding ding'… although they may have had one bad experience on the whole they don't mix … like White young people especially have little experience with different ethnic groups.*

Researcher *Yeah?*

Jazz *They won't have had an Asian or a Black friend or had anything to challenge those stereotypes they have.*

As Jazz suggests, it is a lack of contact with 'difference' that enables myths, stereotypes and prejudices about the 'Other' to pervade. This is not to suggest that 'contact' is the panacea; scholars within the field of everyday multiculturalism have been vocal in distinguishing between 'contact' and meaningful interaction, and emphasising the impact that the latter can have on reducing levels of prejudice (Valentine 2008).

As this book has so far illustrated, 'mere co-presence does not guarantee contact, exchange or deep engagement', and in some instances, it can even reinforce prejudicial attitudes (Valentine 2008; Harris 2009: 969). What the chapter does illustrate however is that contact has the potential to challenge prejudiced views in certain conditions and contexts. As Amin (2002: 969) suggests, regular prosaic negotiations within micropublics such as workplaces, schools, colleges and youth centres can facilitate meaningful engagement. Such spaces require 'habitual engagement' and facilitate social actors negotiating and managing 'difference' in their everyday encounters (*ibid 2002: 969)*. As Harris (2009: 193) explains, 'the kinds of places imagined by these scholars as sites of prosaic, compulsory negotiations are those which are frequented by young people: schools, colleges, youth centres, sports clubs and music clubs (Amin, 2002; Nava, 2007). These places, the microterritories of youth geographies, are ones where people are obliged to associate and to interact with one another in conditions of both learning and leisure.' Although the relationship between Dan and Alex and their support workers is not always easy to facilitate, it indicates that even within a group of young people who are vehemently against multiculturalism and unwilling to engage with 'difference', there is still a chance that meaningful and successful interactions with diversity can lead to a reduction in levels of hostility.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to explore the concept of everyday multiculturalism by comparing the ideology of multiculturalism to the lived reality of social cohesion between people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds

in Leicester. The survey findings suggest that real and/or imagined geographical divisions and cultural differences could be undermining social cohesion and engagement in Leicester and Leicestershire. However, analysis of the survey findings without detailed participant demographics and an investigation of the social, cultural and geographical context in which they live, is limited in its explanatory ability. It is for this reason that further insight is gained from the data collected from the fieldwork phase with the subgroup of young White British people. One of the most important aspects of this research was the appropriateness and effectiveness of employing an ethnographic strategy. It was this strand of methodology which enabled me to explore the concept of everyday multiculturalism in-depth and capture the daily challenges and complexities that faced this group of young White British people.

This chapter highlighted that the disconnect between the subgroup's expectations of White entitlement and their means of achieving social mobility and success produced feelings of insecurity and bitterness. It also illustrated the importance of place to the members of the subgroup, the strength of their attachment to each other as well as their family and the wider community, and the exclusion they felt from education, employment and the wider society more generally. Due to the subgroup's geographical nearness to diversity, engagement with everyday multiculturalism was unavoidable. In the eyes of the subgroup these interactions were not recognised as prosaic encounters, rather, they were emotionally significant contests. This study intended to explore whether it was the social, cultural or economic context in which young people live and their exposure to racially and religiously motivated prejudice which undermined how young people came to engage with multiculturalism, or whether the lived reality of ethnic and religious diversity perpetuated the intolerance and hostility towards the 'Other'. In reality the two cannot be separated. It is a cyclic process of interpreting, engaging with and managing everyday multiculturalism that shapes young people's perceptions of diversity, which then inform and transform how they interpret, engage with and manage everyday multiculturalism.

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7

Engaging in Everyday Hate

Introduction

This chapter explores the involvement of young White British people in acts of targeted hostility; incidents in which the victim is selected on the basis of their actual or perceived ethnic or religious identity. Specifically it aims to address the second research question, which considers whether the concept of everyday multiculturalism helps to understand the contexts and situational factors that can motivate and cause young White British people to act upon underlying prejudices. The previous two chapters have illustrated that the ways in which young people conceive of multiculturalism at an abstract level differ greatly from their perceptions of and engagement with everyday multiculturalism. It is worth highlighting that even within the sample of respondents who viewed England's multicultural population positively (n = 299), just 40.4 % felt that different ethnic and religious groups get on well

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together in Leicester. Overall, only a third of the total sample felt that Leicester was a socially cohesive place. Analysis of the qualitative data included within the survey demonstrated that the sample was concerned about immigration, about the impact that multiculturalism was having on the 'British' national identity and way of life, and about the tension and conflict caused by diversity.

The previous two chapters have also highlighted that hostility towards multiculturalism was most evidently felt and expressed by the subgroup. The young people who formed this subgroup actively chose to disengage with Leicester's multicultural population, limiting the potential for opportunities of meaningful interaction with minority ethnic and faith communities. The previous chapter in particular illustrated how the subgroup's hostile views towards ethnic and religious 'difference' were created and exacerbated by their individual circumstances and the social, cultural and geographic context in which they lived. In some ways the previous two chapters have demonstrated how this everyday context can provide the motivation for acts of racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility. Within this chapter we explore the everyday contexts and situational cues that resulted in the commission of these acts. The chapter again combines the survey findings and fieldwork data to explore the sample's exposure to prejudice and involvement in racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility. As mentioned previously, researchers tend to shy away from conducting research with young people particularly when the participants are considered to be vulnerable or hard to reach, and the topic is perceived to be contentious or challenging. Therefore, this chapter also provides a platform to convey what young people themselves think motivates individuals to target someone based solely on their identity, 'difference' or perceived vulnerability. This complements the observations and discussions with the subgroup of young White British people who openly admitted their involvement in targeted hostility. It is the concept of everyday multiculturalism, and specifically a greater recognition to the challenges and conflicts that surface within these contexts, that can further enhance our understanding of targeted hostility.

'Everyday' Incidents of Targeted Hostility

As outlined in Chap. 3 'Everyday Hate', targeted hostility is more commonly attributed to the label of hate crime, a term which has been plagued by criticism. The term is said to convey behaviour that is extreme in nature and by extension we assume that those who commit such acts are hate-fuelled individuals who possess far-right inclinations (Gadd et al. 2005; Chakraborti and Garland 2015). It is because the term is an ill-fitting descriptor of the offences that fall within its purview, that this book has instead used the term 'targeted hostility'. Targeted hostility is deemed to encapsulate the unfamiliarity, intolerance and frustration which motivate such incidents. Growing up within an environment in which racially and religious motivated prejudices are commonplace, and in which specific groups of 'Others' are blamed for threatening the 'native' inhabitants rights to employment and societal resources more generally, is seen as facilitating a resistance to difference. As the previous chapters have detailed, both the survey findings and subgroup data highlighted stereotypical and prejudiced views towards 'immigrants' and the Muslim community in particular. The prejudice and resentment felt about these communities cannot be disconnected from the current social, economic and political climate, whereby such groups are used as scapegoats for the ills within society. Racially and religiously motivated prejudices and the associated feelings of fear and hostility towards the 'Other' are seen as being key motivating factors in the commission of targeted hostility. This section intends to explore the extent to which the survey sample of young White British people were exposed to racially and religiously motivated hostility, how often they heard such views and from whom.

Due to my observations and involvement with the subgroup during the fieldwork phase, it came as little surprise that when asked about their exposure to racist views, 14 members replied with '*on a daily basis*' and the other member stated, '*regularly*'. I think many outsiders, like myself initially, would be shocked to hear that expressions of everyday racism and religiously motivated prejudice were still so frequently voiced in a city such as Leicester. The survey was designed so as to explore whether the subgroup's experiences was a lived reality more broadly for young

White British people. Survey respondents were asked if they had ever heard racist views or religiously motivated prejudices, of which 86.9 % (*n* = 346) answered 'Yes'. Of this sample, 36.2 % stated that they had heard prejudiced views 'under five times'; 19.9 % selected 'more than five times'; 28.8 % ticked that they 'regularly' hear prejudiced views; and 15.1 % answered 'daily'. When the 43.9 % of young people, who routinely hear prejudiced views (calculated by combining both the 'regularly' and 'daily' samples), were asked about who they hear it from, the most common responses were family members and friends. This frequent exposure to hostile views could have a significant impact on the ways in which this group interpreted and engaged with multiculturalism. In fact, of those respondents who reported hearing racially and religiously prejudiced views daily, 56.8 % stated that they did not think that multiculturalism was positive for England compared to 23.6 % within the total survey sample; 64.7 % answered that different ethnic and religious groups did not get on well together in Leicester compared to 41.2 % in the overall sample; and 68.6 % admitted to targeting someone on the basis of their membership to a minority community compared to 25.7 % of the sample as a whole. This exposure to prejudice, as well as these perceptions, will undoubtedly filter through to shape their everyday interactions with multiculturalism. It is when challenges and contestations arise within these everyday contexts that the prejudiced views that these young people hold may manifest into acts of targeted hostility. Although the survey data conveys that there is a significant proportion of young White British people in Leicester who are regularly exposed to racism, it is limited in being able to provide insight into which contexts, if any, might bring this underlying hostility to the surface.

The time spent with the subgroup of young White British people was key to understanding the relationship between exposure to prejudice, living within a multicultural micro-geography and the situational context in which targeted hostility takes place. Although this section primarily focuses on the experience of engaging with the subgroup, the survey data is drawn upon to consider whether the motivations for committing targeted hostility are supported within a wider population of young

White British people in Leicester. As the previous chapter illustrated, the subgroup participants were overwhelmingly hostile towards the minority ethnic and religious groups that bordered them. Social psychological research has documented widely that contact with those who are different from ourselves is central to combating prejudicial and stereotypical views. However, as already illustrated, the subgroup openly admitted to avoiding instances and opportunities that might involve engaging with the multicultural population surrounding them. The heightened importance of their local area to their identity and sense of belonging contributed to the subgroup rarely travelling outside of their 'local' familiar area. Although the subgroup actively tried to disengage with those considered 'different' to them, there were certain multicultural spaces where they came in contact with ethnic and religious diversity. It was often within these micro-geographies that the subgroup's underlying prejudices and frustrations surfaced through acts of targeted hostility.

One of the micro-territories in which the subgroup openly admitted to engaging in targeted hostility was at school. For many within the subgroup, school represented an unhappy and unwelcoming environment. Although the majority of the school student population could be characterised as being White British, some of the teachers were not. The conversation below demonstrates how the subgroup saw incidents of targeted hostility as a means of alleviating boredom at school, and although openly admitting to directing '*abuse*' at most teachers, it was qualitatively different if they were from a minority ethnic or religious community.

Researcher *I haven't seen you in ages.*
Claire *I know … I've been going down (name) to see my boyfriend.*
Researcher *How is everything? … Like school and everything.*
Claire *(laughing) Got fucking expelled again dint I?*
Researcher *Not again … what for?*
Claire *Basically nothing (smirking).*
Researcher *Hmmm … really? (two other members from the group come over)*
Claire *He got expelled with me (pointing at Callum).*
Callum *(laughing) … it was well funny.*
Researcher *So … come on, what did you do?*

Callum	*I walked into her classroom (pointing at Claire) and the teacher was in this like little office (laughing).*
James	*Fucking hilarious.*
Researcher	*Yeah?*
Callum	*We locked her in this room (looking at the researcher, animated).*
Researcher	*Seriously?*
James	*That's not all they did (laughing).*
Researcher	*What else?*
Claire	*Nothing (laughing) … all we did was like ask her who she was 'gun be voting for.*
Researcher	*Right …*
James	*No … (laughing) they started chanting BNP.*
Callum	*And she's a Paki teacher … (laughing).*
Researcher	*No wonder you got expelled.*

Although I had already spent two months with the subgroup when this discussion took place, I was still utterly shocked by the openness of Claire and Callum in describing the incident and by how much they revelled in re-telling the event. Claire and Callum had seen the opportunity for a '*well funny*' experience at the expense of '*a Paki teacher*'. In targeting the teacher they exposed their underlying prejudices, and by taking such enjoyment from making her '*cry*' they displayed a complete lack of empathy. The animated way in which the group described the incident illustrated the thrill that they felt in targeting someone and the insignificance of being '*expelled again*'. This was compounded by the reaction of their parents to this event. When I probed further to assess how their parents had responded to their expulsion, Callum nonchalantly stated that his '*Dad found it funny*' because '*he hates Pakis too*'.

This incident of target hostility is seen as the end product of an interplay between the social, cultural and economic context in which the subgroup members live, which legitimises and exacerbates their underlying prejudices, and the immediate context of being bored within an environment where the group felt disengaged and frustrated. For this group and their families, an act such as this is nothing exceptional or extreme, it is one of many incidents which take place within everyday spaces. The contrast between

the impact targeted hostility has on the victim to the intent of the offender is significant. The subgroup has been brought up within an environment which exaggerates the differences between people based on a range of factors, including skin colour, religion, dress and language. As seen within the last two chapters, it is this process of denigration that leads to certain groups being seen as 'foreign', inferior and legitimate targets to victimise. This resistance to accepting 'difference' and multiculturalism, more generally, significantly affected the subgroup's ability to feel empathy with the target of their hostility. In order to understand what motivates a young person to target someone because of their ethnic or religious 'difference', the immediate micro-situation, as well as the macro-context in which they live, must be taken into account.

The majority of the incidents of targeted hostility took place within the subgroup's own 'territory' and were primarily directed at Asian British residents and shop-owners through everyday forms of verbal abuse and harassment, including shouting offensive names, throwing eggs and targeted attacks of 'knock-a-door-run'. In the re-telling of these experiences, the group saw nothing remarkable about these events. Within the context of their everyday lives, targeting a house, shop or individual on the street, based solely on the victim's perceived ethnicity or religion was no different in terms of acceptability to them than engaging in other forms of anti-social behaviour. Importantly though, if the subgroup engaged in targeted hostility, then a more significant psycho-physiological reinforcement was experienced. Knowing that the group's actions had hurt somebody who was a 'foreigner', 'immigrant' or 'Muslim' contributed to a heightened sense of excitement for the instigator and respect from other subgroup members. As found in similar studies with older perpetrators, the subgroup often committed acts of targeted hostility when multiple members were together, further reinforcing the homogeneity of their prejudices and sense of belonging to the group (Sibbit 1997; Ray and Smith 2001; Gadd et al. 2005). The following extract details another conversation in which several participants recalled an experience in which the whole group had taken part.

Tyler *Before you were here we did a proper like attack on this guard who was working at the flats.*
Researcher *Yeah …?*
Tyler *Yeah it was well bad (laughing).*
Researcher *Why, what happened?*
Tyler *We were all there like proper shouting abuse at this black man.*
Researcher *Was he the security guard?*
Alex *Yeah … we hated him didn't we?*
Tyler *Yeah he was always having a go like telling us to move and all this shit.*
Researcher *So were you shouting racist abuse at him?*
Alex *(laughing) Yeah man it was sick.*
Tyler *And he like came fucking running out after a fight.*
Alex *Yeah yeah … Dan just like smashed him.*
Chris *They were proper fighting.*
James *Then the feds came and we pegged it (laughing).*

Again, this act of targeted hostility took place within the context of everyday life, within a territory the subgroup perceived as being 'theirs' and when the members of the group were all together. These factors are seen as contributing to the normalisation and perceived justification of this behaviour. These themes are similar to those found by Matza and Sykes' (1957) and Byer et al.'s (1999) work on neutralisation techniques. Both indicate that young people often try to justify their anti-social and illegal behaviour by explaining that they were 'appealing to higher loyalties'. In the three months I spent with the subgroup, nearly every incident of targeted hostility that I observed or I was told about involved three or more members of the subgroup. For this group of young people, engaging in targeted hostility was normalised because their friends were also committing such acts, and the incidents were seen as an extension of the prejudices expressed by their parents. Byer et al.'s (1999) research on what motivated young people to commit hate crimes against the Amish community also found that engaging in such activities was a form of group bonding; a means by which group members secured their place within the group. As outlined in the previous chapter, due to the subgroup's

disadvantaged social and economic circumstances and their lack of opportunity to gain social and cultural capital, being White British, belonging to 'their' area and being part of this friendship group were highly valued.

The incident detailed above, as with many others committed by the subgroup, demonstrates another of Matza and Sykes' (1957) neutralisation techniques in which there is a 'denial of the victim'. As Byer et al.'s (1999) found, young people involved in committing hate crimes often believe that either the victim got what they deserved, or that the harm caused to that individual was insignificant due to the perceived inferiority of the victim. When I had initially met the subgroup in my capacity as a youth worker I had been utterly perplexed as to how this group of young White British people could target someone solely based upon their perceived ethnic, religious or cultural 'differences'. However, central to trying to understand how the subgroup was able to commit acts of targeted hostility was to recognise the strength of their prejudiced views and the lack of meaningful engagement they had with diversity. The potency of the subgroup's prejudice towards minority communities dehumanised and exaggerated their 'difference', and therefore reinforced their view that the White British population, their friends and their family are positive, distinct and the norm.

As with the incident involving the teacher, targeting the security guard conveys the group's lack of empathy towards minority ethnic and religious communities and their perceived justification for the incident. The group felt entitled to racially abuse the security guard because he was a Black African male who had no right to ask them to move from 'their' territory. Although this incident led to Dan being arrested for racially aggravated assault, the group saw the event as a success as the security guard subsequently quit his job. The group recalled this story with such animation and pride. When I was told about this incident towards the end of my second month with the group, I remember feeling incredibly torn as to whether to express my disdain for this behaviour. It was these situations which I found most difficult as I did not feel as though I had gained sufficient respect and standing within the group to challenge such views without serious repercussions. Yet the

shame I felt at not expressing my opposition also weighed heavily upon me. This dilemma was further tested when witnessing acts of targeted hostility first-hand.

During my time with the subgroup there were occasions when incidents of targeted hostility were committed whilst I was in the subgroup's company. On one of the occasions I had been walking with several members from the corner shop to the leisure centre when they encountered the new detached youth workers in the area. The group had not been especially welcoming to the youth workers, particularly as one of them was Asian British. The youth workers were talking to the group about the English Defence League as one of the member's older brothers had attended a demonstration in Leicester. Callum loudly stated that when he was old enough he would '*vote BNP*'. Although voicing such a statement was nothing new in terms of demonstrating the subgroup's knowledge of and inclination towards this party, the manner in which Callum made the comment was of interest. When pressed about why he would vote this way, unwaveringly he stared directly at the Asian youth worker and replied, '*They're the only ones who are going to get the Pakis out*'. As I watched Callum I observed the mix of hostility, excitement and desired provocation in his actions. The youth worker continued talking without reaction and this exacerbated Callum's frustration. I could sense the anticipation from the group, who were like myself, bystanders to this tense exchange. As Callum realised that the youth worker was not going to rise to the taunt or convey any sign of hurt, he shouted at the top of his voice '*Fuck off home Pakis*'. With this he and the other members of the group ran off. I was left standing with the two youth workers who, when asked about the incident casually stated, '*We're used to it*'. Observing this 'everyday' incident, as with many others where the group opportunistically targeted an individual they deemed to be 'different' or unwelcome within 'their' area, conveyed the emotional significance of such behaviour. The group thrived on exciting experiences which broke up the mundane, routine nature of their days and if this could be gained at the expense of an ethnic or religious 'Other', then it was especially gratifying.

Exploring the Motivation for Targeted Hostility

The previous section highlighted that there were a range of factors that motivated the subgroup to engage in acts of racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility. I wanted to explore whether these factors were applicable to the sample of young White British people more broadly. Therefore, within the survey, respondents were asked about whether they had engaged in verbal or physical expressions of racially and/or religiously motivated hostility, and if so, why. When designing the survey I was wary about how honest respondents would be in answering this question given that they were filling in the survey within a school environment. It was for this reason that I was so surprised when the survey data revealed that 25.7 % (n = 104) of the sample admitted to expressing racially and/or religiously motivated hostility. It is worth noting that this question could have been interpreted by the sample as relating to expressions of hostility that were shared with friends, and therefore, might not necessarily refer to incidents of targeted hostility. However, it is also important to acknowledge that the amount of young people expressing prejudiced views and engaging in acts of targeted hostility is likely to be higher than the figure to emerge from the survey data because respondents might not have felt comfortable in admitting their involvement in such behaviour within a survey that was administered in school.

The sample of 25.7 % who admitted that they had engaged in verbal or physical expressions of hostility was asked to provide an explanation for this behaviour. The top three reasons provided were that 'it was funny' (39.3 %), that 'they deserved it' (38.1 %) and that 'my friends were doing it' (22.6 %). As illustrated in the previous section, all three of these motivating factors had been identified through observations and conversations with the subgroup during the three months fieldwork. From the qualitative explanations provided by the survey sample, it was evident that the 'blame' for engaging in targeted hostility was situated with the 'victim'.

I don't like them, they scare me.
Sometimes their beliefs annoy me.
I felt very bad at the time but only if they didn't deserve it.
Only use it if they piss me off – get what they give.
They called me something first.

There was also a small minority of respondents who expressed more extreme views, with one explaining that they 'hoped it offended and laughed', and several other participants remarking on the fact that they felt 'happy' and 'good' as they had intended 'to insult'. When the survey findings are combined with the data collected from the subgroup, it becomes evident that the majority of young White British people who commit targeted hostility are motivated by a desire for thrill or by a perceived justification.

To date, no study has sought to explore young people's opinions on why individuals engage in acts of racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility. For this reason, the survey was designed to gauge perceptions of target hostility amongst the broader sample of young White British people. 53.2 % (n = 226) of respondents provided their view in an open text box; these data were categorised thematically and revealed that one of the most prominent themes to emerge, mirroring the top motivation provided by those who had engaged in targeted hostility within both the school sample and the subgroup, was the perception that people commit acts of targeted hostility because 'they think it's funny', 'they use it mainly as a joke' and 'to make people laugh'. A significant proportion of this sample also thought that those who commit verbal and physical expressions of hostility were probably provoked, and therefore, justified in their actions.

They are annoyed at them for coming over to our country and for many other reasons.
They are angry at the way immigration works and get angry when they let us hold Diwali but we aren't allowed Christmas because it celebrates Christ.
Because they take over the country and steal our jobs.
Because they are proud to be British and want England to stay English.
To be truthful and/or fed up that they are everywhere.

Although I found these responses concerning, they are nonetheless unsurprising given that such a large number of young people felt that Leicester was not a socially cohesive place because members of minority ethnic and religious communities caused tension and conflict. The third theme to emerge from the survey responses identified that it was the perpetrator who was at fault. Respondents within this category suggested that people who commit acts of targeted hostility did so because of their own 'insecurity', 'jealousy' and 'lack of education'. In the eyes of this cohort of young people, perpetrators of targeted hostility were 'intolerant', 'racist' and 'narrow-minded'.

The final theme identified from the survey responses to this question was the perception that perpetrators engaged in acts of targeted hostility because it provided emotional reinforcement. Respondents explained that people 'intend to hurt someone' through targeted hostility because it makes them 'feel better' and 'good', and 'it makes them look big', 'cool' and 'hard'. This theme, and the importance of the emotional resonance of engaging acts of targeted hostility, was found to exemplify the underpinning motivation for older members within the subgroup. For certain members the motivation for their involvement in incidents of targeted hostility was borne out of frustration, perceived injustice and their desire to gain respect. There was an observable age-related typology for the motivation of engaging in targeted hostility. The younger participants were primarily motivated by the emotional by-products of targeted hostility, including the thrill and excitement gained from such activities. However it was the older members within the group, who were known for being '*well racist*', who routinely stated that they hated people from minority ethnic and faith communities. Ryan specifically wished that on his last day on earth that he could '*go down to [name of road] with a baseball bat and kill them*'. This aggression towards ethnic and religious 'Others' could not be detached from his frustration at not being in education, employment or training. He was very vocal about blaming Leicester's multicultural population, 'immigrants' and Muslim communities for his inability to get a job or a house. Being an older member of the group and highly regarded for his involvement in criminal behaviour, he made a significant impression

on the younger members. Therefore, although the 14, 15 and 16 year olds were still in school, they recited the same social and economic reasons that they heard from older members and their families to explain why they 'hated' specific groups of 'Others'.

Within the context of their everyday lives, Ryan, Dan and Alex in particular came across opportunities to vent their frustration and act out their resentment. Again, these incidents often took place within 'their' territory. The following discussion relates to an incident which took place outside of the supermarket located within the area. It highlights the layers of motivating factors that cause incidents of targeted hostility.

James *They just walk around here like they own it and they don't.*
Researcher *So have you got into fights about it?*
Ryan *(laughing) Yeah …*
Chris *Like that one up [name of supermarket].*
Ryan *That was nothing, I've done loads worse (group laughs).*
Researcher *Like what?*
Ryan *Like just loads of fights with Pakis and stuff … and then the Feds turn up.*
James *He is well bad (group laughing).*

The motivation underpinning the fight was that a group of South Asian males were in 'their' area acting as if '*they own it*'. Although Leicester has been home to a multicultural population for decades, the group refused to recognise 'Asian' people as being British and therefore, were unable to see them as being equally entitled to live in the same area and occupy the same spaces. As identified in the previous chapter, due to their feelings of marginalisation from school, employment and wider society, the subgroup's identity was forged around being White British and belonging to that area. For the older members of the group who were now experiencing the reality of having limited opportunities to change their circumstances, their sense of purpose and respect came from their involvement in illegitimate means. Incidents of targeted hostility were one way that Ryan could engage in a viscerally exciting experience and cement his reputation as being '*well hard*'. Winning contestations over 'who belongs more' or 'who owns the local area' can be seen as a product of the ambiguity of his perceived White

entitlement, his actual lived reality and the visual presence of members of minority ethnic and religious communities in everyday spaces. As a result of the ingrained prejudices held about multiculturalism, the subgroup was unwilling to take part in any meaningful engagement with the surrounding minority communities, and this resulted in members of these communities being perceived as a threat or an object of vilification. For the subgroup, everyday multiculturalism presented encounters of conflict and contest on a daily basis.

It became apparent from the time I spent with the subgroup, that multicultural micro-geographies provide numerous opportunities for a young person who wants to vent their underlying anger and hostility. Taken on face value, Dan's involvement in violent incidents of targeted hostility could be conceived of as solely the product of extreme racist views. But through conversations with him over the course of three months, it became evident that his motivation was much more complex, much more personal. Dan had recently been sent back to a children's home by his parents and had begun attending a specialist school for young people with behavioural issues after being expelled on multiple occasions. Although within the group he was often mocked for his parents not wanting him and for his appearance, he still remained extremely loyal to his friends. The following discussion took place on a park bench towards the end of the fieldwork.

Researcher *What happened to your face?*
Dan *(laughing) What do you think?*
Researcher *Got into a fight?*
Dan *Yeah … well nothing really. This group of lads started shouting stuff at us … everyone else ran off and I just thought what's the fucking point? … (laughing) like I know what its 'gun feel like to get me head kicked in and couldn't be arsed to run.*
Researcher *That's awful … did you go hospital?*
Dan *No … wouldn't do anything.*
Researcher *What did your home say?*
Dan *Nothing … as if they give a shit.*
Researcher *I'm sure they do.*
Dan *They hate me there.*

(long silence)

Researcher *It's not been that long since I saw you with like cuts and bruises on your face … how long ago was that fight?*

Dan *Shit me … that was bad. About month or something (laughing) … that was where I just went mad, dint' I? I got smashed.*

Researcher *What did you do again?*

Dan *Just went up to some Pakis started shouting shit like BNP and fuck off home.*

Researcher *Why?*

Dan *Dunno … I was just angry like I just really needed a fight … so I knew that'd get me one.*

Researcher *Are you actually racist?*

Dan *I dunno … well yeah (laughing) … but like with Pakis n' stuff I'm not as bad as I was. … I was proper racist. I used to just start on any Paki or anything that walked by me.*

Researcher *But why?*

Dan *Dunno … just hated them and it was just like something to do.*

Although Dan openly admitted to physically assaulting people on the basis of their perceived membership to a minority community and had routinely expressed racially and religiously motivated prejudice to me, I never got the feeling that he actually 'hated' people who were 'different'. Dan's current circumstance had a significant impact upon me and it saddened me to realise how deeply rooted and multifaceted his motivations for committing such acts were. Within the group, different motivations and contextual factors could influence certain members to engage in targeted hostility. For Dan, his motivation for engaging in targeted hostility could not be separated from the sense of loneliness he felt, the importance of his reputation within the group, the existence of pervasive prejudices within his group of friends, and the micro-multicultural context that he inhabited, which provided many visible targets of 'difference'.

Although the subgroup possessed and displayed many abhorrent, challenging and provocative views and behaviours, writing them off as solely racist is only likely to exacerbate their feelings of marginalisation and isolation. In their own ways, the subgroup members experienced

vilification and otherness, and were entangled within environments that were characterised by unhappiness, instability and hostility. During the three months spent with the subgroup I was able to get to know the young people behind the expressions of prejudice and acts of targeted hostility. Within the group there were some great characters, and many of them showed positive attributes, including loyalty, humour and helpfulness. I came to realise that in order to understand, engage with and challenge these views and behaviours, we must not allow it to define them. This is not to belittle the impact that such incidents have upon the victims or to excuse their behaviour, but rather to acknowledge that we will only be able to make progress towards understanding and engaging with young people who are hard to reach, if we recognise the plurality of their identity and the complex matrix of their lives.

Conclusion

This chapter combined the survey findings and fieldwork data to explore young people's exposure to prejudice and their involvement in racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility. In particular, the chapter dissected the acts of targeted hostility that the subgroup was involved in, and explored how these incidents were manufactured by everyday contexts and spaces. It illustrated the different, and yet, intrinsically linked motivations for engaging in everyday forms of verbal abuse and harassment. The subgroup appeared to be motivated to commit acts of targeted hostility because they were in search of thrilling and 'funny' experiences, because they wanted to vent their frustrations, and because they wanted to stake their claim of ownership over a given area. These findings were mirrored somewhat within the data collected from the survey of young White British people, with 25.1 % (n = 104) admitting to engaging in verbal or physical expressions of targeted hostility because it was funny, because the victim deserved it and/or because their friends were doing it.

This chapter intended to demonstrate that the subgroup's involvement within racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility was intrinsically linked to their perceptions of multiculturalism and to their interactions with everyday multiculturalism. This is not to suggest that if the group did not live within that environment that they would not have held prejudiced views towards minority ethnic and religious communities, but rather to propose that the extent of their hostility and involvement in targeted hostility related to their engagement with everyday multiculturalism. It is through connecting with this lived reality that I was not only able to shine a light on this otherwise 'hidden' hostility, but also to develop a model to explain the interconnections between perceptions of and interactions with everyday multiculturalism, and the commission of targeted hostility within everyday spaces.

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8

Explaining Everyday Hate in a Multicultural Context

Introduction

The previous chapter detailed the survey sample's exposure to racially and religiously motivated hostility and highlighted their involvement in verbal and physical expressions of it. From the responses supplied by young people who admitted to expressing such hostility—as well as the responses provided by those who shared their opinion on why people participate in targeted hostility—it was suggested that perpetrators commit acts of targeted hostility because they are either frustrated at themselves or at 'Others', or because they think that it is thrilling or funny. Whilst the survey findings were insightful in revealing that 43.9 % of respondents routinely hear racially and religiously prejudiced views, and that approximately a quarter had either verbally or physically expressed hostility on the basis of someone's ethnicity or religion, these data were limited in their ability to shine a light on the everyday contexts in which targeted hostility take place. It did, however, illustrate that for a significant proportion of young people, their lives are permeated by racially and religiously motivated hostility, which in turn influences their perception of England's multicultural population and their interpretation of social cohesion within Leicester.

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Spending three months with the subgroup provided an in-depth insight into the inter-connected factors that both motivated and caused them to engage in targeted hostility. As the last chapter demonstrated, incidents of verbal abuse towards people from minority ethnic and religious backgrounds occurred due to a minor frustration in the context of daily life such as not being served cigarettes or alcohol. These incidents convey the important role that prejudice and unfamiliarity plays within everyday contexts, namely that they result in ordinary interactions with ethnic and religious 'Others' being conflict-laden. Additionally, there were those within the group who went out of their way to target households and corner shops owned by members of minority communities. These incidents of intimidation and harassment often occurred in times of boredom, and provided the group with thrilling and 'funny' experiences. Finally, older members within the group were involved in the more physical manifestations of hostility as a way of reinforcing their perceived ownership of the neighbourhood and their superiority over those considered 'foreign'.

It was the data from both the survey and the fieldwork phases that enabled the development of an inter-disciplinary theoretical explanation of why young people commit racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility. This chapter builds upon existing frameworks by incorporating the concept of everyday multiculturalism. In particular, it presents a Model of Perception and Interaction to illustrate the interplay between individual characteristics, situational dynamics, and wider structures and discourses.

The Role of Failure and Frustration

Merton's 'strain' and Cohen's 'status frustration' are seen as being particularly useful in highlighting the impact that a fragile and insecure socio-economic context can have on a young person. The notion of economic frustration, and in particular Merton's theory of 'strain', has featured prominently within existing explanatory frameworks of hate perpetration within the field of hate studies (see Walters 2011). Merton argued that social order, stability and integration are conducive to conformity whilst disorder and malintegration are contributory factors in crime and deviancy (Merton 1938). At the core of Merton's theory is the

concept of 'anomie', which was initially introduced by Durkheim (1897) to demonstrate that economic crises and fluctuations could drive people to suicide. Merton (1938) argued that inherent in most western societies is the institutionalised desire to achieve a certain standard of living and status, epitomised by the 'American dream'. Using this construct, Merton explains that anomic social states can occur when there is a disconnect between culturally aspired goals and the availability of legitimate opportunities to achieve these (*ibid.*, 1938). The inherent inequalities in income, education and general societal resources can create 'strain' for certain sectors of society. There are a number of illegitimate ways in which individuals can respond to the feeling of strain, but of particular interest for this research is deviant and criminal behaviour.

Cohen's work on status frustration uses a similar logic by emphasising that not being able to achieve goals can produce feelings of frustration. Cohen developed Merton's rather instrumental view of lower class crime by introducing emotion and anger into strain theory. He sought to explain the group phenomenon of deviant behaviour and crime with 'status frustration' (Cohen 1955). Cohen suggested that frustration was a product of a perceived failure to achieve positive reinforcement and respect from the outside world. For young people, this can involve a lack of positive reinforcement and support from teachers and family members. Cohen believed that young people from disadvantaged social and economic backgrounds would overcome this status problem with 'reaction formation' which meant replacing the traditional norm of gaining respect from acquiring a hard-working job to more deviant, illegitimate means. This acknowledged failure and subsequent 'frustration' has been evident within many youth crime studies whereby young people who are excluded from mainstream society come to rely heavily on their immediate peer group and community, using deviant and criminal behaviour as a means of gaining respect (Howarth 2002; Zdun 2007).

Social and economic frustration have also been identified as a motivating factor within hate crime research; various studies have found that hate crime perpetrators are often aware that they are perceived by outsiders 'as cultural and economic failures – as losers – and that, try as they might, there was little they could do [to] counter this evaluation' (Gadd and Dixon 2009: 85). Rather than hate crime being solely driven by an underlying

hatred for the victim's race or religion, scholars suggest that it may be rooted more in the perceived failure or inadequacy of the offender (Sibbitt 1997; Green et al. 1998; Ray and Smith 2001). As Ray et al. (2004: 355) explained, the offenders within their research:

> *saw themselves as weak, disregarded, overlooked, unfairly treated, victimised without being recognised as victims, made to feel small; meanwhile, the other—their Asian victims … —was experienced as powerful, in control, laughing, successful, 'arrogant'.*

It is through adopting an intersectionality approach (as outlined in Chap. 3) that we can better understand the subgroup's feelings of frustration and failure. The subgroup was in an ambiguous position of being disadvantaged in the social divisions pertaining to class and age, and yet conversely in a perceived position of privilege and entitlement due to their ethnicity. The subgroup spoke bitterly about the harsh reality of not being in education, employment and training.

Researcher *So what have you been doing since you left school?*
Ryan *I ain't done anything. … I've not even had one fucking job.*
Alex *Mate that's only like two years … man I stopped going school at 13.*
Researcher *So you haven't been in education or work for 6 years?*
Alex *Yeah.*
Researcher *Why did you leave school so young?*
Alex *I hated it. … I was getting fucked off my head.*
Researcher *On drugs?*
Alex *Yeah like every day … that's why I fucking shake now. … I kept getting chucked out … everything. The teachers hated me saying I'd never do anything and I used to just abuse them.*
Researcher *Is that when you started getting in trouble like ASB?*
Alex *Yeah … that's why now I can't walk down the street with my bird without the pigs stopping me. Like all these things with my ASBO mean they can stop me whatever.*
Researcher *Do you think having that on your record is what's stopping you get a job?*

Alex	*Could be … like who's 'gun want to take on a 19 year old who has never worked and has no qualifications?*
Ryan	*It's just so fucking boring.*

As illustrated in previous chapters, for members of the subgroup education and employment success was unlikely, involvement within criminal or anti-social behaviour was the norm, and their friends, family and local area provided their only feelings of inclusion and belonging. From observing and interacting with the subgroup, it was evident that they themselves felt 'different' from the wider society, demonised for being 'Chavs' and perpetually reminded of their shortcomings. For the most part, the subgroup members were unable to recognise, or to admit, that they had played a part in creating this situation. Rather, the subgroup's frustration at not being able to attain the standard of living they desired, and more importantly, expected, was directed externally.

In order to explain how these underlying feelings of frustration and bitterness manifest into acts of targeted hostility, Agnew's extended general strain theory could be applied. Agnew explains that negative relationships with those who are perceived to pose a threat to our way of life or standard of living, motivate people to 'present or threaten to present individuals with noxiously or negatively valued stimuli (e.g. verbal insults, physical attacks)' (Agnew et al. 2002: 44). As Walters (2011) suggests, combining both Merton's theory of Strain and Agnew's use of negative relationships gives a greater recognition of how social and economic instability in a young person's life can give rise to expressions and enactments of targeted hostility. As Treadwell and Garland (2011: 1) highlight, 'internalized negative emotions of disillusion and anger … manifest themselves through externalized hostility, resentment and fury directed at the scapegoat for their ills'. This failure, often referred to as 'unacknowledged shame' (Walters 2011: 317), is said to increase the attachment and sense of belonging to an immediate friendship group and to facilitate the emergence of archaic beliefs of entitlement. It is for this reason that in areas experiencing economical strain, 'visible' minority communities come to be accused of taking jobs, homes and societal resources away from the more deserving 'native' population. As the preceding chapters have illustrated, the subgroup's ethnic and national identity, as well as their sense of belonging

to the friendship group, to the neighbourhood and to the country as a whole, were highly valued and emotionally significant. The subgroup resorted to 'externalized hostility, resentment and fury' when they felt that ethnic or religious 'Others' were being disrespectful about their identity or threatening their perceived dominance in respect of national belonging or ownership of everyday spaces (Treadwell and Garland 2011: 1).

It is the contention of the author that both strain and status frustration help to understand why the subgroup, especially the older members, felt angry and bitter towards their current social and economic status and why this resulted in their involvement in criminal activity. However, the use of both these theories could be criticised, first because whilst many people within society experience social and economic deprivation, not all engage in criminal activity. In response to this limitation, we must incorporate Agnew's (1992) more comprehensive version of Merton's original theory which accounts for individual differences in the affective response to social, economic and cultural 'strain'. The core principle of general strain theory, which overcomes a limitation of Merton's perspective, is that people 'differ in their subjective evaluation of the same objective strains' (Agnew 2001: 321). Secondly, the theories could be criticised for being adultcentric in nature and—because of the use of concepts such as the 'American Dream'—for being out of touch with current societal ideals. However, it could be argued that now more than ever young people are aware of the disparity between those who have and those who have not. As identified in Chap. 2, young people are increasingly targeted through online media platforms and are regarded as independent economic members and therefore, have much more exposure to consumerism and economic materialism. For the subgroup having money, owning the latest model of phone and wearing designer clothes were all deeply desired but unachievable through legitimate means.

In terms of explaining the subgroup's underlying feelings of frustration and bitterness, which were identified as key motivating factors in the expression of targeted hostility, strain and status frustration are seen as effective. However, what is lacking within the theoretical explanation so far is why specific ethnic and religious groups are the targets of such hostility. This book has identified how important prejudiced views

towards and intolerance of 'difference' is in the commission of targeted hostility. It is through combining this multi-level strain theory with Perry's theory of 'doing difference' that the unequal distribution of social, economic and cultural capital can be seen to exacerbate underlying prejudices and perceptions of entitlement.

The Myth of White Entitlement

Central to Perry's theory of 'doing difference' is understanding that prejudice, discrimination and oppression towards difference and diversity are apparent throughout England's history (Gilroy 1982; Perry 2001). Perry (2001) explains that institutionalised prejudices and relationships of oppression prioritised the rights of certain members of society, creating and reinforcing what is perceived to be the 'norm' within society: White, heterosexual, males who are masculine (Perry 2001). She suggests that once the dominant norm is established, individuals are evaluated and categorised, resulting in the construction of social hierarchies based on gender, race, sexuality and class (*ibid*., 2001). If an individual, and the community that they are perceived to belong to, is evaluated as being different from the norm identity group, then they are viewed as inferior, incompatible and less entitled. This theory recognises the importance of the structural and cultural context in which the offender is situated and what influence this has on intolerance towards ethnic and religious 'Others' (Bowling 1993; Perry 2001). Perry (2001) believes that integral to understanding the development and expression of prejudiced views is acknowledging that for certain groups these opinions are not regarded as being biased or irrational (Perry 2001; Brown 2010).

Perry's theory is particularly relevant to the concept of everyday multiculturalism and the impact that living within multicultural geographies can have on targeted hostility. Perry's theory embodies the literature on prejudice and social identity theory in particular as it shows that cultural characteristics and homogenised stereotypes of different ethnic and religious groups dehumanise the Other and reinforce the normalcy of being White British (Perry 2001). Perry (2001) proposes that a 'visible' individual or group

difference, whether it is ethnicity, religion, lifestyle or appearance, can be viewed as being disrespectful and in conflict with the customs and values of the dominant group (Perry 2001: 46). This underlying fear towards the unknown can manifest into feelings of resentment and frustration when minority individuals are perceived as encroaching on 'native' traditions and culture, and stealing resources, status and wealth from the 'native' population, thus demonstrating the links with strain theory (Messerschmidt 1997; Perry 2001). Perry (2001) suggests that forms of targeted verbal and physical hostility can be used in an attempt to suppress this threat, and her definition of hate crime embodies this principle:

> *[Hate Crime] … is a mechanism of power intended to sustain somewhat precarious hierarchies through violence and threats of violence (verbal or physical). It is generally directed towards those whom our society has traditionally stigmatised and marginalised.*

A central tenet of Perry's theory is that acts of targeted hostility are motivated by members of minority ethnic and religious communities 'doing difference' in public. Therefore, targeted hostility can be seen as a means of sustaining the hegemonic identity of the perpetrator, reinforcing the distinct differences between the dominant and subordinate groups, and sending a message to the victim in that they are inferior and do not belong.

As outlined in Chap. 3, Perry's theory of 'doing difference' has not been without criticism. Conceptually the theory could be regarded as ambiguous given that the vast majority of hate crime offenders come from disadvantaged social and economic backgrounds and therefore are already disempowered within the structural hierarchy. However, as the intersectionality approach explains, young people who are socially and economically disadvantaged occupy different positions within different social divisions at any one time, and therefore acquire varying levels of status dependant on the specific hierarchy (Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill 1996; Trahan 2011). Perry (2001) suggests that a key aspect of 'doing difference' is the subjective and relativistic nature of the offender's socio-structural perception. Therefore, although a young person may hold a relatively low position on a hierarchy pertaining to class

or wealth, they may instead focus on their perceived power from the institutionalised dominance of White ethnicity and culture (Perry 2001). This is particularly relevant for certain groups such as the subgroup who regularly highlighted how important it was to maintain the 'native' White British norms, customs and values, and the perceived entitlement their ethnicity and nationality granted them.

As detailed throughout this book, the subgroup had grown up within an environment in which prejudiced and stereotypical views about certain minority groups were the norm. This in turn made the subgroup reluctant to engage with 'difference', which in a cyclic manner exacerbated their underlying prejudices, fears and intolerances. As highlighted through the use of strain theory, the subgroup lived in an area which was socially and economic disadvantaged and was characterised by educational and employment failure which contributed to feelings of shame, exclusion and frustration. Due to the subgroup's limited opportunities to gain respect and achievement from outside audiences and through legitimate means, their ethnicity and belonging to 'their' area were highly important. The subgroup lived within a multicultural geography where minority groups 'do difference' in public on an everyday basis. The visible differences between the subgroup and the surrounding minority ethnic and religious communities in terms of their clothes, language and culture, and their observations of these communities with better houses, jobs and cars, generated feelings of threat and provided a scapegoat for their social and economic frustrations. As with the incident involving the security guard, the subgroup felt utterly affronted by being asked to move by an 'immigrant', someone who they have been brought up to view as different, inferior, unwelcome and threatening. By racially abusing the security guard and consequently forcing him to quit, the act amplified their self-worth and reinforced their perceived entitlement and superiority.

Combining both strain and status frustration with Perry's theory of doing difference is regarded as providing the macro context which facilitates feelings of social and economic failure and which produces potential targets for offenders to exercise underlying prejudices and frustrations. However, these contexts are not especially unique and in fact many people within society experience these situations but do not commit acts of targeted hostility. Additionally, although both strain and

doing difference explain the social, economic and cultural factors which facilitate the contexts in which targeted hostility takes place, this book has demonstrated the important roles that thrill-seeking and emotional gratification play in motivating young people to engage in such behaviour. Although requiring further exploration, the use of individual trait theory and psycho-physiological research could move the field of hate crime forward in understanding specifically what drives young people to engage in targeted hostility.

Understanding Thrill-Seeking Behaviour

Both the survey data and fieldwork phases with the subgroup have illustrated that one of the primary motivating factors for young people engaging in targeted hostility is that such behaviour is considered 'thrilling'. A third of the survey sample stated that they had committed an act of targeted hostility because 'it was funny'. On asking the subgroup why they engaged in targeted hostility, the participants would explain that they were '*bored*' at the time and involvement in this form of behaviour was '*something to do*' and '*funny*'. This is by no means a new finding; Levin and McDevitt's (1993, 2002) widely used typology of hate offenders conveys that the majority of such offenders are driven by thrill-seeking. Within their research, thrill-seeking was found to be the most frequent motivating factor (66 %), applicable to over half of all hate incidents (Levin and McDevitt 1993, 2002). They suggested that these crimes are committed for 'excitement' and 'thrills' by youths who are bored and looking for something to do, mirroring both the observations from the subgroup and the survey data (McDevitt et al. 2010). In summarising these incidents Levin et al. (2002: 308) stated that thrill-seeking offenders were 'triggered by an immature desire to display power and to experience a rush at the expense of someone else'. This finding has been widely supported, with Ray and Smith (2001) identifying gratification and excitement as a key motivator in hate crime offending, and Byer et al.'s (1999) noting that in young perpetrators an 'ideology of hate is typically absent. … Rather … offending rests largely with the thrill or excitement experienced' (1999: 84).

Whilst recognising the strength of Levin and McDevitt's typology, this book aims to further this debate by proposing theories that could explain what produces the feelings of gratification and excitement, and why certain young people crave these experiences whilst others do not. Walters (2011) attempted to explain this link by using self-control theory to develop a more holistic understanding of hate crime motivation and causation. This could be taken further by combining Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) theory of low self-control with psycho-physiological research findings to explain individual level offending. This study did not set out to test whether self-control, 'fearlessness' and 'sensation seeking' could explain why certain young people are more impulsive, more likely to engage in 'risky' behaviour and less empathetic. However, becoming an active participant within the subgroup's everyday life permitted an in-depth exploration of the forms of behaviours they engaged in, the immense gratification they experienced from this behaviour, their inability to pass up on anti-social activities, and how quickly ordinary, banal interactions would manifest into explosive verbal and physical conflicts. Based on the observations and conversations with the subgroup over the three months fieldwork phase, this section provides a preliminary explanation for their involvement in targeted hostility, and why emotional gratification both motivated the subgroup to engage in this behaviour and also, reinforced it.

Self-control is regarded as being fundamental to successful social interaction and cohesion within society. Based on this premise Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) emphasised how important self-control, or more accurately a lack of self-control, is in committing crime. 'A General Theory of Crime' suggests that the majority of people within society are able to control their thoughts, feelings and behaviours by utilising their developed knowledge of anticipated outcomes and consequences. The result of this self-imposed restraint is avoiding short-sighted acquisitions in favour of the gratification of achieving long-term goals. Self-control is usually instilled from a young age via parent or guardian monitoring, nurture and punishment (*ibid.*, 1990). It is for this reason that Gottfredson and Hirschi argue that ineffective parents, or more generally socialisation, can result in low self-control in children and adolescents. By failing to appropriately discipline a child or conversely show affection, children

can grow up with low levels of empathy, responsibility and respect for authority (*ibid.*, 1990).

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990: 90) characterise individuals with low self-control as often being 'impulsive, insensitive, physical, risk taking, short sighted and nonverbal'. They expand this further to say that such individuals are 'gregarious' but often have a 'low tolerance' for perceived outsiders (*ibid.*, 1990: 90). These personality characteristics are said to account for why low self-control is a predominant factor for educational and employment underachievement. Low self-control is also a trait conducive to anti-social behaviour as such individuals handle conflicts less constructively and lash out in anger when frustrated (Baumeister and Vohs 2004). During the three months spent with the subgroup I regularly heard, and also observed, many incidents of conflict and physical altercations involving the subgroup members, as well as outsiders. Communication between group members was often direct and curt, and an outsider would have regarded some of the language used as offensive, yet little offence was ever taken. One of the most striking features of the subgroup was their complete lack of empathy with their victims or remorse for their actions, both characteristics identified by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) as indicating low self-control.

A central tenet of Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) theory is that individuals with low self-control, due to their 'impulsive' and 'short-sighted' traits, tend to seek out instant 'psychological' gratification (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990: 92) which risk taking behaviour and criminal conduct can provide. In the three months spent with the subgroup, all members of the group engaged in 'risky' behaviour, including taking both illegal drugs and legal highs, consuming alcohol and engaging in highly sexualised behaviour and low level anti-social activities. Organised fighting between the subgroup members and young people from other local areas provided a regular event on Friday and Saturday nights. The subgroup appeared unable to turn down the opportunity to engage in this form of behaviour as it aroused feelings of thrill and excitement, and alleviated the boredom of everyday life. 'A General Theory of Crime' proposes that low self-control is 'the primary individual characteristic causing criminal behaviour' (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990: 111).

Although 'A General Theory of Crime' is regarded as an integral factor for accounting for individual difference within this research, the theory has been criticised because of its perceived tautology. For example, Geis (2000) argues that 'A General Theory of Crime' uses a single trait to explain the cause and product and therefore, can only surmise that low self-control causes low self-control. Hirschi and Gottfredson (1993: 53) responded by stating that their theory is one of the first to 'explicitly show the logical connections between our conception of the actor and the act'. For Gottfredson and Hirschi, defining the parameters of the behaviour, exploring the causal link between the act and the individual, and then evaluating the differences between non-offenders and offenders, is a logical way of identifying an 'individual characteristic causing criminal behaviour' (Hirschi and Gottfredson 1993: 53). When it comes to the explanatory ability of 'A General Theory of Crime' a further area of criticism is that the theory fails to explicitly demonstrate why having low self-control leads to a need for instant gratification, excitement and risk taking behaviour. Within this milieu, psycho-physiological research on impulsivity and sensation seeking could be incorporated in order to develop the causal link between individual personality traits and the need/desire for anti-social and criminal behaviour.

As discussed, self-control is regarded as being a stable personality trait which assesses the capacity of an individual to control their innate impulses (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990; Caspi 2000; Derefinko et al. 2011). Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990: 90) suggest that the main personality trait, which typifies individuals with low self-control, is 'impulsivity'. In fact, impulsivity is at the explanatory core of various etiological theories of crime (see Cleckley 1976; Moffitt 1993; Lynam 1996). On a wider platform, this trait is one of the strongest correlates in meta-analyses of anti-social behaviour such as substance misuse and risk taking (see Ruiz et al. 2008; Derefinko et al. 2011). By their very essence, criminal acts provide 'few long-term benefits', in most cases 'require little to no planning' and often produce an immediate gratifying reinforcement, all of which suggests an 'impulsive nature not subject to self-control' (Derefinko et al. 2011: 224). The reason for demonstrating the existing research and links between firstly, self-control and impulsivity and secondly, impulsivity and criminal behaviour is because impulsivity has been operationalised

by psycho-physiological theories. Psycho-physiological theories are 'concerned with understanding the relationships between psychological states and processes on the one hand and physiological measures on the other' (Dawson 1990: 243). Using the 'Sensation Seeking' and 'Fearlessness' theories enables a synthesis between self-control and impulsivity and scientifically demonstrates how such traits can be causally linked to antisocial and criminal behaviour.

'Sensation Seeking' theories (Zuckerman et al. 1964, 1978; Horvath and Zuckerman 1993; Zuckerman 1994) propose that genetic and environmental factors can have varying effects on brain function and therefore, account for individual differences in responding to the same external stimuli, operationalising Agnew's perspective of 'Strain' (Steinberg 2008). 'Sensation seeking is a trait defined by the seeking of varied, novel, complex and intense sensation and experiences, and the willingness to take physical, social, legal and financial risk for the sake of such experiences' (Zuckerman 1994: 27). In contrast to Gottfredson and Hirschi's theory of low self-control, sensation seeking and impulsivity have been identified through biological correlates (Roberti 2004). One of the most researched psycho-physiological markers believed to predispose individuals to impulsive, sensation seeking behaviour is a low resting heart rate (Ortiz and Raine 2004). Heart rate under arousal has been a robust correlate and predictive indicator of aggressive and violent behaviour, as opposed to a consequence as was originally suggested (see Farrington 1997; Moffitt and Caspi 2001; Raine et al. 1990, 1997, 2000). Under arousal is seen as a psychologically 'unpleasant state' which then leads individuals to crave an 'optimal level' of arousal by seeking risky, illegitimate activities to provide stimulation and excitement (Raine et al. 1997; Wilson and Scarpa 2011: 81). Whilst conducting the research I was always bewildered as to why I would find situations, such as the altercation with the youth worker, as frightening and unpleasant, yet the subgroup would thrive on such an experience. Explaining the differences in our reactions through solely biological correlates is far too simplistic, as it is clear that the subgroup's socialisation as well their current social, economic and cultural situation all play an important role in which behaviours and experiences we find gratifying and exciting.

Raine's theory of 'Fearlessness' could complete the matrix of psycho-physiological theories explaining why certain young people seek out anti-social and illegitimate experiences (Raine 2013). Raine (1993) proposes that the interplay between children who are born with an innate under arousal whom are then not adequately nurtured or disciplined, prevents the development of an understanding and appreciation of society's rules, norms and authority or the accompanying physiological feelings of fear (Raine 1993, 2002, 2013; Raine et al. 1998). This theory could be used to link Gottfredson and Hirschi's theory of low self-control, which emphasises the importance of early socialisation, with individual personality traits such as impulsivity, and with the innate physiological need and desire for risk taking, anti-social behaviour. In reviewing the literature, low self-control, impulsivity, sensation seeking and fearlessness theories all illustrate that individuals with these specific traits and environmental conditions are more likely to drink heavily, smoke, use illegal drugs, have a low level education and low-skilled, sporadic employment, engage in risk taking behaviour such as gambling and be involved in criminality.

Importantly, psycho-physiological research has sought to develop age-related constructs of anti-social and criminal behaviour and the possible causal links with personality traits (Zuckerman 2007). Research on adolescents suggests that risk taking and impulsive behaviour can increase due to both the period within the individual's life and social factors (Popham et al. 2011). Arnett (2000) identified a 'period of development he coined "emerging adulthood," during which time individuals tend to forfeit childhood norms, values and expectations, but delay accepting the norms and responsibilities associated with adulthood' (Wilson and Scarpa 2011: 83). This could account for why risky behaviours, sensation seeking and criminal activity 'peak during this developmental stage (Arnett 1992), and diminish in adulthood' (*ibid* 2011: 83). It is the perceived relevance and applicability of psycho-physiological theories to young people which cries out for further exploration in the context of engaging in targeted hostility.

Although this triad of psycho-physiological theories needs to be explored and tested in the context of hate crime, behaviours and characteristics identified within the subgroup do appear to initially support the connection. As Walters (2011: 323) suggests that hate crime offenders

'are likely to be impulsive people already prone to physical risk taking'. These theories could potentially provide a more complete understanding of the micro-level offender traits which when combined with strain and doing difference, achieve a more comprehensive understanding of what motivates young people to commit acts of targeted hostility. It is suggested that all of these factors, to differing extents, play a role in the commission of targeted hostility. There are key intersections between the socio-structural framework which helps produce a target of difference and a young person's desire for instant gratification. In seeking to alleviate boredom, young people may choose a target influenced by their underlying prejudices and feelings of frustration, or conversely, be presented with a situation as part of everyday life where their actions spill over into acts of targeted hostility due to their impulsive nature and disregard for the victim's feelings or repercussions. The incident involving Callum and Claire at school demonstrated the nexus between the socio-structural influences which facilitated the teacher being viewed as different and inferior, their lack of self-control, the gratification they experienced at the teacher's expense and their fearlessness towards the consequences of their actions. However, this incident also showed the importance of the immediate context in the causation of targeted hostility. As demonstrated within the previous chapter, the majority of incidents took place within the context of everyday life, during everyday interactions with ethnic and religious 'Others'. It is through incorporating the concept of everyday multiculturalism that the abstract theory developed so far becomes more effective in explaining the routine, everyday nature of targeted hostility.

Incorporating Everyday Multiculturalism: A Model of Perception and Interaction

As it stands, the theoretical framework developed within this section is disconnected from the everyday contexts, interactions and challenges which facilitate the commission of acts of targeted hostility. Increasingly, hate crime literature is recognising the 'ordinariness' of such acts, not only in the form that it takes but also in relation to how the offender perceives the incident (Iganski 2008; McDevitt et al. 2010; Chakraborti

and Garland 2012). In addition, research suggests that hate crime offenders are not so different from non-offenders (Iganski 2008) and that often, the victim is acquainted with the offender (Mason 2005). Therefore, the inter-disciplinary explanation developed so far is incomplete without incorporating the concept of everyday multiculturalism to explain the 'highly individualized "trigger" situations' (McGhee 2007: 221) which can result in acts of targeted hostility.

This section presents a model which aims to bring together all of various factors that have been outlined within this chapter. The Model of Perception and Interaction illustrates the need to incorporate individual perception and everyday interaction within the framework outlined above. In fact, the individual, social, economic and cultural factors discussed so far provide the necessary backdrop to the commission of hate crimes, but without accounting for the everyday contexts and situational cues that cause these underlying prejudices and feelings of frustration and entitlement to surface, the theoretical explanation is detached from the realities of multicultural living. Before demonstrating the implications of the model, it is necessary to first explain the different components.

Diagram 8.1 and 8.2: Contact Circles and Image Key

As Diagram 8.1 demonstrates, the model comprises five circles with an individual located within the centre. Four contact circles surround that individual; the first circle relates to their close network of family and friends. As we move out from the centre, each circle relates to a different aspect of where that individual lives: their immediate community setting, the city, county or borough that they live in, and the country where they reside. This model is intended to illustrate how an individual's perception, which in this context relates to multiculturalism, is influenced by their observations and interactions within each circle. An individual's perception of those closest to them, such as their friends and family members, is most likely to reflect reality because of the high level of engagement that they have with them. Therefore, the knowledge of the group that they belong to, and the feelings of familiarity and similarity to those within

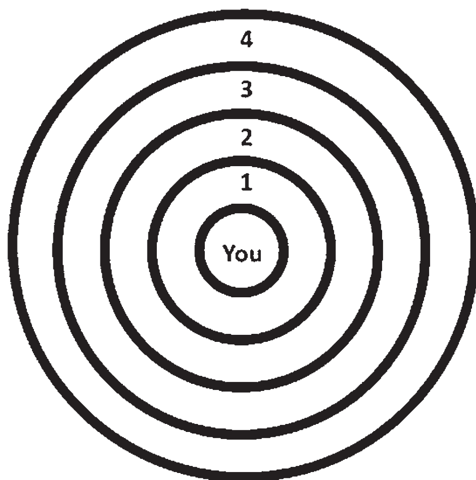

Diagram 8.1 Contact circles

Model Key

Contact circle 1 – Network of family and friends
Contact circle 2 – Neighbourhood
Contact circle 3 – City, county or borough
Contact circle 4 – Country of residence

Diagram 8.2 Image key

Contact Circle 1, are likely to be the strongest of all of the circles. This contact circle is incredibly important because it has the strongest influence on the ways in which that individual perceives the next three contact circles. This is especially true if an individual's immediate circle of family members and friends is relatively closed as it means that they are unlikely to have meaningful interaction with the people who inhabit their local community (Contact Circle 2) or who live in their city (Contact Circle 3). Many of these themes are exemplified by social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1986) (Diagram 8.2).

It is important to emphasise the relationship between each contact circle. An individual's observations and interactions with the people within each circle will influence their perception of the next circle in terms of how diverse it is and how they feel about it. This means that an individual's perception of multiculturalism will be influenced not only by the knowledge that they have gained from their friends and family, but also from their own observations and encounters with those around them. Hence, people who live within an ethnically and religiously diverse community setting (Contact Circle 2) or within a multicultural city (Contact Circle 3) are more likely than those who do not to estimate that the UK's population is more diverse than it is. This is because they are traversing everyday multiculturalism spaces and engaging in prosaic encounters with minority ethnic and religious communities on a regular basis. How they feel about living amongst this diversity will have been influenced by their interactions with their family members and friends in Contact Circle 1.

You might be asking why this model helps to explain targeted hostility. This model helps to bring together all of the factors that increase the likelihood of someone engaging in targeted hostility. This model accounts for the lived experience of *doing* multiculturalism by highlighting the different demographic conditions within each contact circle, and illustrating the cyclic relationship between perceptions of diversity and interactions with everyday multiculturalism. To demonstrate the implications of the model, let us consider an example. If England's population were entirely White, then the neighbourhood that you live in (Contact Circle 2) and your close network of friends and family members would only consist of White people (Contact Circle 1). Although you may still be engaging with people who are 'different' to you in some way in terms of gender, sexuality and ability (to name some examples), there will always be a level of familiarity due to the visible similarity in your ethnic identity. If the individual at the centre was a young White British male, for example, then he would not encounter any identity threatening situations (on the basis of his ethnicity) and he would not come into contact with people from minority ethnic and faith communities. Within this demographic context, this young male would neither possess the necessary motivation nor have the opportunity to commit a racially or religiously motivated act of targeted hostility.

That was an extreme, and unlikely, example. Let us now consider a more realistic situation, and one that is based on the lived realities of the young people who formed the subgroup. Ryan is now the individual at the centre of the model and the diagram below has been altered to reflect the different demographic conditions of each contact circle. As referred to in the previous chapters, Ryan identifies as White British and his close network of family and friends are also entirely White, which is why Contact Circle 1 is white. The colour of Contact Circle 2, which relates to the neighbourhood where Ryan lives, has changed slightly to a moderate grey as although it is a majority White British area, it is still inhabited by a significant number of people from minority ethnic and religious communities. The circle relating to the city (Contact Circle 3) has been altered to dark grey to represent the high level of ethnic and religious diversity within Leicester. Contact Circle 4, which relates to the UK, has again been changed to a pale grey in recognition that whilst the vast majority of the population still identify as White British, there is a growing population of minority ethnic and faith communities.

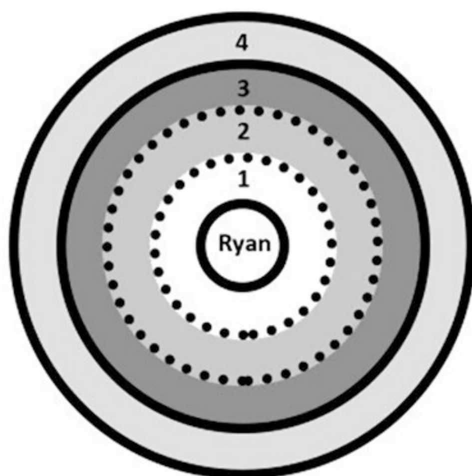

Diagram 8.3 Model based on Ryan's lived reality

Diagram 8.3: Model Based on Ryan's Lived Reality

What this model now also reflects is the frequency in which Ryan has meaningful interaction with the people within each contact circle. Contact Circle 1 is now encased with a dashed line. The amount of space between the dashes represents the level of mobility Ryan has. To clarify, if an individual regularly travels within and between different contact circles and has meaningful engagement with the people within each, this is represented by a more open line of dashes. As with the previous example, Ryan's perceptions will have been shaped by his interactions with his family members and friends, but within his context the strength of this influence is likely to be greater because of the 'bonding' (Putman 1994) and therefore constraining, nature of his attachment to this network. Additionally, the significance of belonging to the group of people within Contact Circle 1 is likely to be greater because of the visible differences of the population in Contact Circle 2 and because of the lack of meaningful engagement Ryan has with members of minority communities. As identified within the previous chapters, the young people who formed the subgroup perceived multicultural spaces to be identity threatening not only because of the visible presence of super-diversity and their active disengagement with it, but also because of the knowledge that they had gained from Contact Circle 1 which served to dehumanise and denigrate ethnic and religious 'Others'. It is because of all of these factors that, in comparison to the last model, there is greater opportunity for Ryan to come into contact with 'difference' and for these encounters to be conflict-laden (Diagram 8.3).

The model outlined so far fails to explain why some people commit acts of targeted hostility whilst others, who live within the same geographic conditions, do not. It is at this point that we must incorporate the literature outlined above to provide the wider social structures and factors that produce the feelings of frustration and resentment which underpin acts of targeted hostility. Again, going back to the example of Ryan, he was acutely affected by social and economic failure, as were many of the people within his Contact Circle 1. As outlined above through the

multi-level strain theory, this social and economic exclusion reinforced the strength of Ryan's attachment to his friends and family members and resulted in significant rage. Ryan felt that he lacked legitimate opportunities to rectify his current situation and to gain respect from those closest to him, which is why he turned to anti-social and criminal behaviour as a means of generating feelings of self-worth and adoration from his peers. Perry's theory of 'doing difference' explains why there is a perceived sense of entitlement and superiority within certain White communities, and why minority ethnic and religious communities are commonly blamed for society's ills. Both the multi-level strain theory and Perry's concept of 'doing difference' help to explain the feelings of frustration and hostility that pervade Ryan's contact circles, and therefore, his everyday life. If we focus momentarily on Ryan's views and behaviours specifically, it is evident that he possesses the traits and characteristics that are perceived to typify someone who has low self-control, who is impulsive, and who is fearless. All of these factors are inter-connected and are inextricably linked to his experiences in everyday life, and by informing his perceptions of multiculturalism, they transform his interactions with people in Contact Circles 2 and 3. It is because Ryan lives in close proximity to diversity that the likelihood of him engaging in targeted hostility is much higher than for someone who does not live within this geography. As part of his everyday life, Ryan has to negotiate interactions with the people that he has been brought up to dislike and to blame, people who are visibly different, people who are in 'his' neighbourhood, and it is this context that brings all of these aggravating factors to the fore.

One of the strengths of this model is that it accounts for the impact that external events, including terrorist attacks and social media, can have on shaping our perceptions and interactions. When a terrorist attack takes place young people often hear and learn about the incident from social media or through engagement with those in Contact Circle 1. It is increasingly acknowledged that our consumption of information on social media is influenced by the networks that we have. For example, the subgroup tended only to be friends with people on Facebook if they were from the local area and shared similar opinions. It was for this reason that all of subgroup member's feeds were populated with material from the English Defence League or Britain First. The point is that when a terror-

ist attack took place, the subgroup learned about it through the narratives of those within Contact Circle 1. As Gillespie suggests, 'news stories may be consumed alone or collectively, but their interpretation is carried out in everyday conversations in the home, in cafés, at work with friends and family' (Gillespie 2006: 906). Therefore, although young people have greater access to information through social media, the extent to which this information is well-informed and unbiased is questionable.

This study was informed by a constructivist grounded theory and the model proposed has been developed based on both mine and the subgroup's lived realities. The final model displayed below illustrates how different my perceptions and interactions are likely to be because of my contact circles. As you can see from the diagram below, the colours of the contact circles are almost identical apart from Contact Circle 2 as I live within a community setting that is overwhelmingly populated with White British people. The other difference between my diagram and Ryan's is that I have greater mobility between each circle and have routine engagement with the people within them.

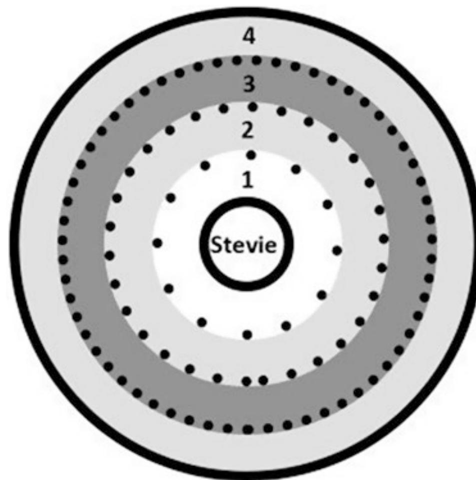

Diagram 8.4 Model based on Stevie's lived reality

Diagram 8.4: Model Based on Stevie's Lived Reality

My lived experience is very different in terms of my social and economic background, my family life and my interaction with diversity when compared to Ryan's. I was not brought up to fear those who belong to minority ethnic and religious communities or to blame them for the problems within society; I have a job that I love and have opportunities to progress; and I have regular engagement with people who are different to me, but yet do not feel that I recognise these differences in our interactions. For all of these reasons my perceptions of multiculturalism and my interactions with everyday multiculturalism are completely different to Ryan's (Diagram 8.4).

What this model demonstrates is that involvement in targeted hostility cannot solely be explained, and reduced, to a product of social and economic disadvantage. Within the context of my everyday encounters in Contact Circle 2, I regularly engage with White British adults who openly express conventionally prejudiced and hostile views about certain groups of 'Others', including 'immigrants' and Muslim communities. These are individuals who cannot be categorised as 'poor' or 'uneducated'. However, they often consume and regurgitate right-leaning, xenophobic media and live within a city that has a significant minority ethnic and religious population. Although they might not feel the same level of anger as felt by the subgroup because of their more empowered social and economic position within society, they are unfamiliar with and intolerant of 'difference'. It is their perceptions of and interactions with the people in the city of Leicester (Contact Circle 3) that results in them feeling that Britain is losing its cultural heritage and that the White British population is under threat; views that I have heard many times. The differences between the adults that I speak to in my Contact Circle 2 and the subgroup are age and geography. As outlined throughout this book, young people's lives are heavily grounded in everyday environments, heightening the significance of these spaces and the importance of the encounters that take place within them. As adults, we can move much more freely—some more than others—and we can also choose to inhabit the everyday

spaces that we want to and that we feel familiar with. The community members that I have referred to rarely traversed everyday spaces that were ethnically and religiously diverse. The pubs they drink in, the supermarkets they shop in and the sports activities they take part in are populated by White British people. The point is that racially and religiously motivated hostility and intolerance permeates all sectors of society, but the likelihood of acting upon these underlying feelings is heavily dependent on your closeness to everyday multiculturalism and the nature and meaning of the interactions that take place within these contexts.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to provide a theoretical explanation for why young people commit acts of racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility. In line with current trends, a multi-disciplinary approach was put forward which aimed to account for the macro contexts which give rise to feelings of frustration, entitlement and hostility towards certain groups of 'Others'. In particular, both strain and doing difference were combined to explain the importance of identity, belonging and territory to the subgroup and consequently, the feelings of frustration and fear when ethnic and religious 'Others' are perceived to be encroaching on this. Building on this platform, this chapter advocated for the use of a triad of psycho-physiological theories to explain acts of targeted hostility in young people. It is suggested that existing literature on the 'thrill' that hate crime offenders experience could be developed theoretically in order to explain why such individuals crave this visceral experience. These theories should be regarded as interlinked to varying degrees in the commission of targeted hostility. However, on their own, these theories are abstract and fail to account for the real-life situational cues and interactions which give rise to acts of targeted hostility. Correspondingly, everyday multiculturalism can provide the analytical lens to explain how ordinary interactions in the context of everyday life can spill over into incidents of targeted hostility. To bring these theories to life the Model of Perception and Interaction was proposed that incorporates existing theoretical understanding which accounts for the micro- and macro-level

contexts that generate feelings of failure, frustration and resentment, and which demonstrates the importance of accounting for our interpretations of and engagement with everyday multiculturalism.

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9

Future Directions for Research and Theory

Introduction

It is worth stating from the outset that this book does not have a traditional 'conclusion'. Rather, this chapter and the next have been designed to address the third research aim, which was to consider what has been learned from this study and how this knowledge can inform future directions for research, theory, policy and practice. In truth, the thought of providing a 'conclusion' for this study seemed superficial since it illustrates how complex and challenging prejudice and targeted hostility are; and by extension, indicates how much more researchers and practitioners need to do to understand and tackle this phenomenon.

By combining both the survey and fieldwork data this book has illustrated how multiculturalism as an ideology can differ from the everyday, lived reality of engaging and negotiating with ethnic and religious diversity. Chapter 7, in particular, demonstrated how ordinary interactions and situational factors can cause underlying prejudices and hostility to spill over into acts of targeted hostility. This chapter aims to use both the research experience and the findings to consider how this study contributes to existing theory.

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The overall aim of this chapter is to urge researchers, educators and practitioners to empower young people on the issues of multiculturalism, diversity and targeted hostility. It is only through working with young people on these themes that we can begin to better understand underlying fears and local tensions, and move forward in developing initiatives and interventions which effectively connect with young people's lives.

The Implications for Research

The first section of this chapter focuses on the experience of conducting this study and identifies specific methodological approaches which should feature more prominently when conducting research with young people. Throughout this book it has been noted that research involving young people, particularly those who are regarded as 'difficult' or hard to reach, is limited. Specifically, it has illustrated that the hate crime literature is relatively adultcentric in nature, and even that which does focus on young people tends to rely solely on official, quantitative sources of data. The limited research actively conducted with young people cannot solely be explained as researcher reluctance; it could be better understood by accounting for the increasing constraints and restrictions applied by ethics committees. The process of getting ethical approval can be convoluted and time consuming and the ethics committees themselves can prevent research on topics which are highly needed and on people who are marginalised and misunderstood.

Until recently, children and young people have been regarded as being incompetent, vulnerable and unreliable within the research setting (Moss and Petrie 2002; Lansdown 2005). Young people were viewed as objects to be 'discussed, diagnosed, scientised, differentiated, and familiarised' (Lesko 2001: 47) by expert adult knowledge. The present study illustrates that young people should instead be regarded as capable and opinionated agents, who are more than willing to share their views and experiences. This argument is not intended to make light of the challenges and difficulties which can arise when conducting research with young people, but rather to urge for greater recognition of the ways in which researchers can be sensitive to these issues and develop strategies

to overcome them. The experience of conducting this research has been intense and challenging, and has illustrated how worthwhile developing the appropriate methodological approach was and also, how important and relevant the research topic is.

Key to overcoming the concerns of ethics committees—and still being able to employ methods that collect empirically rooted data—is factoring in a more tailored, 'softer' methodological approach to accessing and engaging with potential participants. Central to capturing and understanding the lived realities of the subgroup members was the use of an ethnographic strategy which facilitated sustained observations and informal conversations. Beare and Hogg (2013) suggest that researchers have been reluctant to use ethnography despite a range of studies conveying its effectiveness in engaging with hard to reach groups and facilitating an in-depth understanding of complex behaviour. Venkatesh (2008: 21) notes that one of the primary motivations for using ethnography within his study was the response a gang member gave him when he was asked to fill in a survey:

> *You shouldn't go around asking them silly-ass questions. … With people like us, you should hang out, get to know what they do, how they do it. No one is going to answer questions like that. You need to understand how young people live on the streets.*

For a range of practical and ethical reasons, as mentioned in Chap. 4, I did not feel comfortable conducting the research using ethnography. Instead, an ethnographic strategy was chosen which involved spending up to three nights a week with the subgroup in 'their' area. This meant that I was able to capture the necessary contextual data whilst maintaining a professional distance from the group. This approach, rooted in a constructivist framework, enabled the research to be conducted collaboratively, with the findings being grounded in both my and the participants' lived realities.

The subgroup at the centre of this research was made up of 15 young White British people, who were between the ages of 14 and 19 years old, and who lived within an area characterised by social and economic disadvantage. Few of the subgroup members had 'conventional' family

relationships, with the majority living in a one parent household or with extended family members, several residing with friends and one staying in a children's home. Of the nine who were in full-time education, one attended a school specialising in behaviour difficulties and three had been expelled. When asked how often they attended school, the collective response from the subgroup was 'rarely'. The remaining six subgroup members would be categorised as NEET as they were not in education, employment or training. Within the subgroup 13 members had been in trouble with the police for low level anti-social behaviour, with 12 being in trouble on more than one occasion. Four of the participants, who were also the oldest in the subgroup, had been involved in more serious incidents such as possession of a knife, racially aggravated assault and theft. The reason for repeating the demographics and characteristics of the subgroup is to emphasise that these young people would be defined as 'difficult' to engage with and 'hard to reach'. This group fell between the gap of not being 'bad' enough to warrant a range of services working with them, and not being 'good' enough or socially and economically empowered to be able to make use of the opportunities available or take part in cultural activities.

In order to get this group of young people, who were insular and isolated, to engage with me and to trust me enough to open up and share their opinions and experiences, I had to let the group to get to know me first. I would advocate that researchers devote more time to appropriately locating the desired population and to factor in a longer period of initial engagement as this enables participants to become comfortable with their presence. This softer approach is essential for allowing participants who are wary of outsiders to see the person behind the research. It also provides an opportunity for the researcher to gain a better understanding of the most effective forms of communication, along with the dynamics, values and norms within a given group. This approach is by no means easy and from my experience within the early stages of fieldwork, in which the subgroup could be unpredictable and aloof, it can take considerable effort and resilience on the part of the researcher. The ability for researchers to use a softer approach is further hampered by the increasing pressure for studies to be conducted with less resources, less time and, consequently, less flexibility.

This is a great pity and an increasing concern, as without researchers being able to use a softer, sustained method of engagement their ability to capture the lived experience of those who are the most marginalised, disadvantaged and vulnerable within society will be limited.

Using a softer approach over a longer time frame whilst conducting qualitative data collection requires the researcher to be much more interactive within the research setting. As documented throughout this study, I opted to use auto-ethnography as an additional data collection method. As illustrated throughout this book, the subgroup members, their opinions and their actions would frustrate me, upset me, shock me, make me laugh and make me feel guilty. I identified in Chap. 4 that the concept of multiculturalism, and in particular racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility, was something I felt especially interested in and passionate about, and I found that my experience with the subgroup involved a 'discovery of the self through the detour of the other' (Hunt 1989: 42). The use of auto-ethnography, which involved me documenting my experiences, opinions and feelings during the research process, was interpreted as being important and beneficial for two key reasons: First, in a practical sense using auto-ethnography can actively promote good practice and therefore increase the quality of the research produced. This is because researchers become more consciously aware of the impact that they have upon their research and can become more attuned to the subtleties and nuances which may have gone unnoticed or even forgotten during the writing-up phase.

Secondly, when a researcher becomes more of an active participant within their research and documents their feelings and experiences, it enables them to achieve a greater understanding of the participants' characters and lives. This perspective acknowledges that qualitative research can become 'contaminated' with stories, emotions and relationships and that this should be embraced as it infuses a human side to complex and challenging research (Jewkes 2012; Farrant 2014). As Farrant (2014: 6) observed within her own research on prisons and prisoners, 'I have allowed the research to be contaminated, and it has contaminated me'. I began this research from a position where I personally could not understand what motivated young White British people to commit acts of targeted hostility.

Without consciously being aware of my own prejudices and by not employing a methodology which facilitated a more active involvement in the participant's lives, I would have come away with superficial knowledge of their opinions on multiculturalism and participation in targeted hostility. Auto-ethnography permits a detailed inspection of a participant's lived reality, and therefore a more comprehensive understanding. Conveying the importance of comprehending the subgroup's opinions and behaviour is not to suggest that I condone their actions any more than when I began this study. However, if we are to achieve more comprehensive theoretical explanations of complex behaviour and to develop policy and practice which connects with real life, researchers must be able to see past the action, to understand the individual and to capture their social, cultural, economic and geographic context.

The Implications for Theory

Using a more tailored, softer and flexible methodological approach was central to developing a comprehensive and empirically rooted theoretical explanation of targeted hostility. This section reflects on the findings from this study to consider what implications they have for existing theoretical frameworks. The motivation for this study began with observing a group of young White British people from a socially and economically disadvantaged background openly expressing racially and religiously motivated hostility. To gain insight into where the subgroup's prejudiced views had developed from and what motivated their involvement in targeted hostility, it was essential to develop an in-depth understanding of their upbringing, their current social, cultural and economic situation, and their individual personality traits. Leicester provided a fertile research environment to explore everyday multiculturalism and targeted hostility as it is regarded internationally as a successful model of social and cultural cohesion, and by extension the city's inhabitants are perceived to embrace its diverse population. Both the survey and fieldwork data collected from the subgroup reveal that whilst the vast majority (71.8 % [*n* = 299]) embraced multiculturalism as an ideology, there were 'very real fears, differences and antagonisms' (Harris 2009: 201). The survey data

illustrated that of the 425 young White British people taking part within this research, only 34.1 % (*n* = 141) felt that people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds get on well together in Leicester. A range of factors including geographical segregation, cultural and language barriers and pervading myths about the 'Other' were identified as facilitating a sense of unfamiliarity with 'difference' which consequently undermined everyday encounters with diversity.

The concept of everyday multiculturalism has been a central tenet of this research as it provided an analytical lens through which to explore how young people interpret, engage with and manage diversity. The concept of everyday multiculturalism has emerged as an effective framework to understand how people encounter and negotiate diversity and 'difference' within the mundane micro-geographies of daily life (Colombo and Semi 2007; Harris 2009). It is through a closer analysis of local misunderstandings and tensions that incidents of targeted hostility can be seen as forming part of the process whereby ordinary people make sense of the world around them (Wise 2004). Integrating the concept of everyday multiculturalism within existing theoretical explanations of why ordinary people commit acts of targeted hostility is essential if we are to ground these theories in real life experiences and contexts. This theoretical approach chimes with Perry's (2003: 5) assertion that hate crime scholars:

> *must define hate crime in such a way as to give the term "life" and meaning, in other words, as a socially situated, dynamic process involving context and actors, structure and agency. … This allows us to acknowledge that bias motivated violence is not "abnormal" or "anomalous" in many Western cultures, but is rather a natural extension of the racism, sexism and homophobia that normally allocates privilege along racial and gender lines.*

The previous chapter proposed a multi-disciplinary theory of why certain young White British engage in acts of targeted hostility. Multiple, inter-connected factors were identified within the previous chapter as motivating the subgroup to engage in racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility. The majority of the everyday forms of verbal abuse and harassment they committed, including telling racist jokes or bullying school children

from minority backgrounds, occurred due to a minor frustration or contestation in the context of everyday life. This included conflicts over not being served cigarettes or alcohol, being 'told off' or asked to move, or perceiving a person from a minority ethnic or religious community as being rude or disrespectful. These 'everyday' experiences convey the central role that prejudice plays within the context of daily life, whereby ordinary interactions with ethnic and religious 'Others' become more emotionally significant.

In times of boredom certain subgroup members would see acts of targeted hostility as an opportunity for a '*funny*', thrilling experience. Often these incidents involved subgroup members purposely targeting a specific household, corner shop or other business outlet which was known to be inhabited by members of minority ethnic and religious communities. In terms of the nature of these incidents, subgroup members would predominantly shout verbal abuse, knock on a window or door and then run away, or throw objects such as eggs, stones and footballs at the victim or at a building. The final category of offending identified within the subgroup involved the older members of the group in particular using acts of targeted hostility as an outlet for their underlying anger, frustration and resentment towards diversity and 'difference'. These instances tended to be more extreme in nature with subgroup members using verbal abuse, intimidatory behaviour, threats of violence and even physical assaults to send a message to the victim and to the community they are perceived to represent, that they do not belong. To the older subgroup members specifically, physical acts of targeted hostility were used as a means of reinforcing their perceived ownership over a particular place and served to strengthen their underlying belief of being more entitled than minority ethnic and religious communities. Using the concept of everyday multiculturalism to analyse the subgroup's expressions of prejudice and involvement in targeted hostility facilitated an in-depth insight into the process and context in which such incidents took place.

Within the previous chapter, strain and status frustration, alongside the amendments of Agnew's theory, were identified as offering a theoretical explanation of why the subgroup's social and economic instability gave rise to expressions and enactments of targeted hostility. Combining both

strain and status frustration with Perry's theory of doing difference is regarded as explaining the macro context which generates feelings of social and economic failure and which produces potential targets for offenders to exercise underlying prejudices and frustrations. Finally, linking Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) theory of low self-control with the research on sensation seeking and fearlessness aimed to account for the differences in individual level offending. Although in need of further empirical testing, combining these psycho-physiological theories provides a preliminary explanation for the subgroup's involvement in targeted hostility, and why emotional gratification both motivated this group of young people to engage in this behaviour and also, reinforced it. This book contends that all of these factors, to differing extents, play a significant role in the motivation and causation of acts of racially and religious motivated targeted hostility.

Recognising the Importance of Context

As outlined in the previous chapter, the theoretical explanation put forward is somewhat disconnected from the everyday contexts and lived realities that produce situational cues and interactions which can manifest into acts of targeted hostility. Within the field of hate crime, scholars have been increasingly vocal in urging more research to be conducted on the banal and unspectacular nature of targeted hostility (Iganski 2008; Walters and Hoyle 2012; Chakraborti and Garland 2012). The present study illustrated that in contrast to the assumption that acts of targeted hostility are extreme in nature and committed by 'hardened race haters' (Gadd et al. 2005: 9), the majority of incidents were committed by 'ordinary' young people within everyday contexts. The explanation developed so far is therefore incomplete without incorporating the concept of everyday multiculturalism to account for how our perceptions of diversity are informed by encountering it in daily life, and vice versa. It is our interpretation of multiculturalism, which is shaped by our contact circles, as well as our engagement with everyday multiculturalism that can produce opportunities for conflict-ridden encounters and which can result in incidents of targeted hostility.

Chapter 7 detailed how important micro-territories, including the school, the park, the corner shop, the local supermarket and the city centre were to the subgroup's involvement in targeted hostility. To reiterate, for the subgroup school provided one of the few environments in which they were expected to engage with ethnic and religious diversity, and therefore school presented many opportunities for contestation. To the subgroup, school was a boring environment which was characterised by underachievement and troublemaking. There were many instances of targeted hostility which took place at school and these were often directed at teachers or support staff who came from a minority ethnic background. In the eyes of the subgroup and even to their families, bullying the Asian school girl who had '*the hairiest arms ever*' and '*stinks*', as well as harassing the Asian teacher, were 'ordinary', unspectacular events. The importance of context was also illustrated through the more extreme incidents, including the physical attack on the security guard. The act of racially abusing and physically attacking the security guard symbolised again how an everyday 'banal' incident of being asked to move from congregating outside a block of flats manifested into targeted hostility.

Using the inter-disciplinary theory developed so far could explain why the underlying social and economic strain felt by the subgroup legitimised and exacerbated their existing prejudiced views, and how influential their lack of self-control and innate psycho-physiology was in the commission of targeted hostility. However, the incidents, which occurred within the school environment as well as those which took place in their local area, would not have come to fruition without them co-habiting micro-multicultural spaces. It was their perceptions of the surrounding multicultural population, which was informed by their friends and family and reinforced by their reluctance to engage in any meaningful interaction with outsiders, as well as their engagement with everyday multiculturalism that brought this hostility to the surface. For the subgroup, living everyday multiculturalism provided ample opportunities to come into contact with people who looked 'different', people they did not like, people they felt threatened by, people they blamed and people they perceived as inferior. In truth, living everyday multiculturalism both exacerbated the subgroup's social and economic status frustration and prejudiced views, and also generated the situational circumstances and opportunities for the subgroup to act upon these underlying feelings.

More recently, within the field of hate studies there has been a shift towards embedding the concepts of 'difference' and vulnerability within theoretical frameworks which aim to explain hate crime motivation and the heightened risk of victimisation (Chakraborti and Garland 2012). This more nuanced framework recognises that victims of targeted hostility are not selected on the basis of a single identity characteristic such as ethnicity or religion. Rather, it is a range of identity, visual and situational factors which increase the likelihood of victimisation. As Chakraborti and Garland (2012: 501) suggest, 'vulnerability is exacerbated through social conditions, prevailing norms and people's reactions to "difference"'. Using the concept of everyday multiculturalism provides greater recognition of why 'difference', and importantly, unfamiliarity with 'difference', generates contexts which are conducive to targeted hostility. As Noble (2009: 888) suggests, it is when non-recognition is achieved, which means that a member of a minority ethnic or religious community is not solely recognised or defined by their identity, that positive everyday encounters take place.

Many of the excerpts of discussions with the subgroup included within this book convey the lack of meaningful interaction that this sample of young people had with diversity through routine, everyday activities. The intolerance towards 'difference' was not dependent on a singular aspect of identity such as ethnicity or religion; instead participants focused on the differences in culture, appearance, dress, language, food, attitudes and behaviour as symbolising the incompatibility or inferiority of minority ethnic and religious groups. Both the subgroup and student sample spoke of members of minority communities who '*speak funny*', '*smell*', are '*hairy*', dress in '*bin bags*', have '*dark skin*', are '*curry munchers*', and engage in '*terrorism*', '*stabbings*', '*paedophilia*' and '*sponge off us*'. In addition, the incidents involving the African foreign exchange student, the Asian student and teacher, the Black African security guard and the Asian shop owners, all emphasise the importance of vulnerability and context. In all of these incidents the target for the hostility was visibly 'different', and therefore stood out within that mundane environment. All of the victims in these incidents were in a numerical minority position within that context, which reinforced the perception that the victim was an easy target and therefore, increased the perceived vulnerability of that individual.

The Geography of Targeted Hostility

Embedding the concept of everyday multiculturalism within existing theories of hate crime perpetration also helps to recognise that underlying tensions and prejudices are somewhat context and location specific. Spending time with the subgroup within 'their' turf provided a more comprehensive understanding of why they were so hostile towards specific groups of 'Others'. The subgroup spoke about '*immigrants*' in Leicester in relation to the South Asian, Polish and Somalian communities. The subgroup's hostility towards these specific minority ethnic groups can be explained by their closeness to a significant concentration of Indian and Bangladeshi communities. The subgroup also lived within an area that had international shops which were frequented by Eastern European and African communities. This meant that within the context of their everyday life they were presented with visible objects of 'difference' which reinforced and exacerbated their underlying prejudices and hostility. The local Indian, Somali and Muslim communities in Leicester have strong visual cultural characteristics and identity markers, and this was resented by the subgroup as it was seen as an affront to the 'British way of life'. Moran et al. (2003: 7) use the concept 'regimes of placement' to illustrate the importance of visibility in a public space and to explain how visual 'differences' embody the perceived threat posed by minority ethnic and religious communities. Within the present study, the subgroup members appeared to justify their intolerance towards 'difference' by emphasising the potential cultural threat of '*Asians*', '*Muslims*' and '*immigrants*' as being '*terrorists*', who wanted to '*take over the country*'.

Although it is likely that the subgroup would still have held prejudiced views towards 'Muslims' due to the significant societal intolerance towards this population, if they were located within a different area of Leicester or even within a different city, their prejudices would not necessarily be the same. This is supported by research conducted by the Institute of Race Relations which found that the patterns of racist victimisation within the UK were changing (Burnett 2012a, b, c). By focusing on specific locations within Plymouth, Stoke on Trent and Peterborough, the reports illustrate how patterns of migration and settlement have impacted upon levels of prejudice and targeted hostility on a local level. Micro-multicultural

geographies provide many visual targets of 'difference', and these individuals might be perceived as challenging British norms, values and traditions, as well as threatening ownership over a specific territory, opportunities for employment and access to societal resources. All of these underlying perceptions and tensions are brought to the fore in micro-multicultural spaces and can strain everyday encounters between people from different backgrounds.

Relating to the geography of multiculturalism, this book has illustrated how the complex social relationship between the subgroup and minority ethnic 'Others' can be tested further by social and economic conditions. A key contention of this study is that expressing prejudiced views and involvement in targeted hostility is not a 'working- class' phenomenon. The prejudices expressed by the sample of young people within this research are seen as an extension of the prejudices held by wider society. However, it is important to recognise the role that social and economic conditions play in producing micro-spaces and contexts in which people from different backgrounds come together. As Walters and Hoyle (2012: 17) explain:

> *those who can afford large detached houses may be better placed to avoid perceived provocation. The distance from their neighbours and their ability to negotiate day-to-day tasks at a distance from others protects them – at least to some extent – from unwanted contact with those they consider to be outside of their 'circle', whether the lines are drawn according to race, sexual preference, age or other differences.*

The role of social, economic and cultural capital should figure more prominently in theoretical explanations of targeted hostility. Bourdieu (1986) suggests that economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital are dependent on a person's position on the social class hierarchy within society. Within the subgroup, all but one of the group members were born in the area in which they still lived, and had multiple extended family members living in close proximity. The subgroup's community was characterised by 'local nomadism', whereby extended family members would move into different houses but they would still remain within the same locale (Atkinson and Kintrea 2004). This group of young people

was not in a position to move areas, and therefore, to purchase freedom from living everyday multiculturalism. Furthermore, because the subgroup felt a sense of exclusion and failure in education, employment and more generally in the wider society, their area generated a geography of inclusion around which they constructed a sense of pride, cultural identity and belonging (Parker 1974). For those within society who do not experience social and economic instability so acutely, their immediate area and community may not hold the same emotional resonance and significance. The perceived threat to the ownership of a given 'territory' is amplified within socially and economically disadvantaged communities who are living everyday multiculturalism.

Blurring the Victim and Offender Boundary

As the field of hate crime has expanded and developed more inclusive and comprehensive frameworks on targeted hostility, we have also improved our understanding of the victim-offender relationship (Chakraborti and Garland 2015; Walters and Hoyle 2012). Walters and Hoyle (2012: 7) suggest that 'the messier and sometimes intractable disputes between neighbours, colleagues or other acquaintances' had until more recently been overlooked within the context of hate crime. The present study has illustrated that the majority of the incidents of targeted hostility committed by the subgroup involved victims who occupied the same geographical spaces as the group and who were therefore known to the subgroup to some extent. The subgroup tended to target local shopkeepers, residents, the Police Community Support Officers, teachers and youth workers. This supports Mason's (2005) research conducted with the Metropolitan Police Service in which she challenged the notion of 'stranger danger' by finding that the majority of hate crimes were committed by people who were acquainted with the victim. Much of the targeted hostility committed by the subgroup occurred whilst doing routine activities such as buying cigarettes and alcohol from the local corner shop, activities which they were likely to do again. For this reason an act of targeted hostility committed by the subgroup can be seen as just one incident in an ongoing process of encountering and interacting with the victim. For

members of minority ethnic and religious communities who lived in the area, repeat victimisation was a sad reality.

Often the relationship between the victim and the offender is regarded as a dichotomous one, mainly due to the prevailing perception that people who commit incidents of targeted hostility are qualitatively 'different' from ordinary people. The present study illustrates that framing the subgroup as solely 'offenders' misinterprets, and even ignores, the plurality of their life experiences. During the three months spent with the subgroup I was able to get to know the young people behind the expressions of prejudice and acts of targeted hostility. What became apparent was that the subgroup members themselves were subject to different forms of victimisation and this impacted on how they felt about themselves and the world around them. Many of the females within the subgroup were involved in exploitative relationships, and some had experienced domestic abuse and sexual assault. Dan, Ryan and James had all experienced emotional and physical abuse from within their own family. The majority of the subgroup had grown up within an environment which was characterised by a lack of care and support, unequal power relationships, substance misuse and the use of violence to resolve conflict. The group faced a unique form of prejudice and victimisation because of being stereotyped as 'Chavs'. Highlighting the upbringing of the subgroup is not intended to excuse or nullify their involvement in acts of targeted hostility, but rather to suggest that the dichotomous view of 'victims' and 'offenders' is far too simplistic.

This is also true for the 'intractable' relationships the subgroup had with their victims (Walters and Hoyle 2012: 7). For example, the Police Community Support Officer (PCSO) in particular was especially disrespectful and punitive to the subgroup members, which generated immense frustration within the group. The PCSO spoke to the subgroup in a manner which was patronising and rude. In addition the PCSO interpreted Will, Ryan and Dan's involvement in certain behaviour—including Will allowing James to sit on the handlebars of his bike, Ryan dropping litter and Dan spitting—as breaking the conditions of their Acceptable Behaviour Contracts and consequently led to them being given Anti-Social Behaviour Orders. To this group of young people, the PCSO's attitude towards the group and his actions were perceived to be

provocation and therefore, justification for the racial abuse they directed at him. This is not to suggest that the PCSO in any way deserved to be victimised, but instead to emphasise that the framework used to explain the victim and offender relationships needs to be more sophisticated in order to understand the messy and complicated relationships that arise within everyday contexts. This thinking also has repercussions for the ways in which we tackle this behaviour with young people. Trying to unpack these views and behaviours becomes ever more challenging if the perpetrator feels justified in their actions, and unfortunately this perception emerged as a significant motivating factor for the commission of targeted hostility within both the survey sample and subgroup.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn from both the research findings and the experience of conducting this study to suggest the implications and possible future directions for research and theory. The chapter began by reflecting on the process of conducting this study and identified that employing a softer, more nuanced methodological approach was key to engaging a group of participants who would be considered 'hard to reach' and challenging. The use of auto-ethnography in particular is regarded as providing a range of benefits, including actively promoting good research practice as researchers become more consciously aware of the impact that they have upon their research and facilitating a greater understanding of the participants' character and lived reality.

This chapter also used both the subgroup and survey findings to consider the theoretical implications this study has for the field of hate studies. This study employed a grounded theory framework, which holds centrally that theory development should be rooted in empirical data (Covan 2007; Stern 2009). This research sought to explore how young people interpret and encounter 'difference', what micro and macro contexts exacerbate underlying prejudices and tensions and why certain young White British people engage in acts of targeted hostility whilst others do not. This study conveys that using the concept of everyday

multiculturalism as a lens through which to analyse micro-contexts and location specific conflicts could help to develop more nuanced theoretical explanations of targeted hostility. In particular, integrating the concept of everyday multiculturalism within existing theories of why 'ordinary' people engage in targeted hostility is essential to giving life and meaning to otherwise abstract explanations. It is the empirical evidence generated from this study, as well as the lessons learned from conducting it, that could have significant implications for the development of policy and practice designed to tackle prejudice and targeted hostility.

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10

Future Directions for Policy and Practice

Introduction

The findings from this study demonstrate that more needs to be done to develop policy and practice that connects with young people's lives and which acknowledges and confronts the existence of prejudice and hostility. This study has illustrated the existence of a conventional level of prejudice amongst ordinary young White British people in Leicester. For this reason this chapter begins by using both the research findings and the experience of conducting the study to consider the ways in which the underlying feelings of fear, unfamiliarity and hostility can be tackled with young people within an educational environment. It then moves on to consider how targeted hostility can be addressed with young people who are at risk of engaging, if not already engaging, in such behaviour.

It is worth noting from the outset that from both the research experience, as well as my own work experience, I consider that the most effective initiatives and outcomes with young offenders involved in targeted hostility are achieved away from the Criminal Justice System within schools and youth offending teams. Rather than focusing on punitive forms of punishment for young people who commit acts of targeted hostility, it is

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suggested that 'identifying strategies for reducing prejudice and using these to inform rehabilitative efforts offer better prospects for responding to hate and hate crime' (Hall 2013: 147). It is for this reason that this chapter focuses more heavily on how schools could better engage and empower young people in debates on the themes raised within this book, and on how youth offending teams could develop and deliver more effective programmes of activities to address the underlying causes of targeted hostility.

Tackling Prejudice in Schools

Before conducting this study and submitting the proposal for ethical clearance from the relevant committee at the University of Leicester, my main concern was that the research focus would be considered too 'contentious' and therefore would prevent me from gaining access to the relevant young people. It became apparent that the themes central to this study were considered to be so 'controversial' because they are topics that are shied away from, particularly when it comes to young people. Oddly, this study provided a rare opportunity for young people to voice their opinions and discuss their experiences of prejudice and targeted hostility. The subgroup members often commented that this was the first time that they had been asked about living in a multicultural city and about their experiences of engaging with people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, and that they felt more valued for this opportunity. Although the subgroup members often remarked on the fact that everyone they knew were '*well racist*', this is very different from a having a safe social space where they could take part in more open, informative and educational debates. The lack of appropriate platforms in which young people can openly express and debate multiculturalism, British identity and values, and the meaning of 'difference' has also been identified within studies further afield (McLeod and Yates 2003; Harris 2009).

As Clayton (2009) found when asking young people in Leicester about their experiences of living in a multicultural city, the focus groups themselves provided participants with a rare space where they could openly discuss their beliefs without the fear of repercussion or ridicule. Pettigrew

(2012) also illustrated that students within her study were not able to recall a lesson in which they had been actively involved in a discussion about racism. This is why the young people within her study identified the need for specially tailored lessons which explored the issue of racism and 'where you could just talk about language and stuff' (Pettigrew 2012: n.p.). The findings from the present study demonstrate that young White British people are sometimes fearful, ignorant and prejudiced towards ethnic and religious diversity. This section briefly reintroduces some of these findings to highlight the need for schools to be doing more to tackle these issues, and the barriers that they face in doing so.

This study found that within the survey sample there were many respondents who expressed views which could be categorised as being 'conventionally' prejudiced (Aboud 1988). These views could be interpreted as demonstrating the prevalence of everyday racism and religious intolerance in young people's lives. These expressions are often the result of young people listening to and repeating the views shared by their friends, family members and society as whole. This form of conventional prejudice was most evident on the topic of immigration, with the theme emerging when participants were asked to consider what they thought was the biggest issue facing England. Fifty per cent (n = 208) of the survey respondents who answered this question focused on the negative and detrimental impact that they perceived immigration was having upon the country. When respondents were asked to explain why they thought immigration was the biggest problem facing England, a range of reasons were offered and a selection of these are outlined below:

As long as they don't come for the sole purpose of getting benefits.
Not enough room/supplies/jobs.
Government doesn't focus on the most important people.
Decreasing job opportunities and immigrants taking houses and benefits that should be given to the British.
They use and abuse the country.

Within many of the comments made by those who felt that immigration was a problem, and those who thought that multiculturalism was not positive for England, there was a clear suggestion that immigration resulted

in the loss of opportunities and resources for the 'native' White British population. This view has undoubtedly been exacerbated by the current economic climate and the increasing xenophobic discourse disseminated by the popular press and on social media.

Within the survey young people were also asked about whether people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds get on well together in Leicester, to which 34.1 % (n = 141) answered 'Yes', 41.2 % (n = 170) said 'No' and 24.7 % (n = 102) stated 'Sometimes'. Within the 41.2 % (n = 170) who felt that different ethnic groups did not get on well together, a range of explanations were offered which conveyed the underlying 'tension' and 'hostility' observed and felt by this cohort of young people.

There is racism everywhere and some ethnic groups do not get along.
Too much racism.
Because people are racist and not open-minded in Leicester.
The majority of Leicester is Black/Asian whatever and the others are racist.
Because too many of them are rude.
There is a lot of violence and fighting.
Because most of them hate each other.

Further conventionally prejudiced views towards 'difference' could be observed from the 53.2 % (n = 226) of participants who provided an opinion on why they thought people commit acts of targeted hostility. There was a small proportion of respondents who felt that people commit acts of racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility because they are annoyed at 'them for coming over to our country and stealing our jobs', 'at what they hear and see in the news' and at holding 'Diwali' when 'we aren't allowed Christmas'. There was also a suggestion that people commit acts of targeted hostility because 'they are proud to be British and want England to stay English' and because they are 'fed up that they are everywhere'. All three of these questions provided the sample of 14–19 year old White British people with the opportunity to share their opinions on these 'contentious' issues. These responses not only illustrate that this sample was capable of voicing their opinions but also that a significant proportion held fearful, ignorant and intolerant views towards multiculturalism and 'difference'.

As all of the participants within the survey sample were located within schools, it raises questions as to how these underlying tensions are impacting upon how young people are engaging with each other within these environments, and how this is being tackled. Schools now reflect the ethnic and religious diversity that exists in the western world and this can create challenges within the classroom (Van Geel and Vedder 2011). Recently, ChildLine found that more than 1400 children reported experiencing racist bullying whilst in school—a 69 % rise from the previous year—and had sought out counselling to deal with the emotional impact of it (ChildLine 2014). Worryingly, the ChildLine (2014) report highlighted that many of the young people who had experienced racist bullying felt that the teachers were either ineffective or simply ignored what they had been told. Within the process of conducting this study I heard similar remarks from teachers themselves who expressed considerable fear and confusion when it came to knowing how to cover the themes of diversity and prejudice within the classroom and how to deal with incidents of targeted hostility when they arose (the importance of practitioner confidence is discussed at the end of this chapter).

Pagani and Robustelli (2010: 252) argue that prejudice which is underpinned by ignorance is the 'most obvious, matter-of-fact, easiest to identify and to combat of all the basic motivations', and that the most effective way of counteracting stereotypes and fears is through providing knowledge within an educational environment. Thomas and Sanderson (2013) suggest that schools offer a unique micro-context where boundaries between 'difference' are much more fluid and negotiable. They found that the young White British people within their study, who rarely engaged with 'difference' in other contexts, reported positive contact with Muslim young people within the school environment. However, Thomas and Sanderson's (2013) study also demonstrates that simply having a multicultural school population is not enough to counteract underlying hostilities which exist between different ethnic and religious groups. Instead we must look at how the themes of multiculturalism, diversity and 'difference' are being taught within the classroom.

A range of commentators have suggested that the 'issues of diversity and equality arguably took greater prominence in political and education contexts under the Blair government, with key policy drivers requiring schools to

address discrimination and community cohesion' (Hick et al. 2011: 9). In 2000, the delivery of citizenship education was made compulsory within the school curriculum in England due to the growing fear that society's social mortar was being undermined by a lack of cohesion, shared values and civic ties (Pettigrew 2012). The addition of citizenship was just one aspect of a wider shift to develop educational policy and guidance which embraced the discourse of equality and diversity in schools. More recently, we have seen the emergence of a new Government agenda which enforces a duty on schools to 'actively promote' British values within schools (Department of Education 2014). Within the Government guidance on how schools can deliver on this duty, it outlines that they must encourage pupils to 'regard people of all faiths, races and cultures with respect and tolerance' (*ibid.*, 2014: 4). British values arose as a prominent theme within this research, with a significant proportion of survey respondents intimating that these were being changed, and even lost, due to multiculturalism. Whilst it is not especially clear what is meant by British values, or how schools should promote them within the educational context, it is nonetheless a topic that is need of further exploration with young people.

The effectiveness of Government developments in education policy in terms of actively changing what is taught and how is debatable. Hick et al. (2011) reported that newly qualified teachers (NQTs) felt 'out of their depth' teaching and tackling race issues. In particular, they found that the majority of NQTs were 'white, monolingual, female and middle class' who felt that their own background made them ill-equipped in understanding cultural difference and dealing with challenging issues (*ibid* 2011: 6). Hick et al. (2011) found that only 44 % of NQTs felt that the training they received on equality and diversity was 'good to very good'. A range of studies illustrate that the subject of race and racism in particular is addressed in a limited way within teacher training (Wilkins and Lall 2010), and that many teacher training courses 'deal' with the matter in a single lesson (Hick et al. 2011: 6). As racial and religious equality and diversity have been somewhat sidelined in favour of the promotion of British values and the new History National curriculum, there is no obligation or time for teachers to cover the themes raised within this book, or to deliver them in a way that connects with young people's lives (Alexander et al. 2015).

Moreover, research demonstrates that young people are often 'given no language' with which they can discuss and debate the topics of multiculturalism within the educational environment which does not reduce them to being perceived as intolerant, offensive or simply racist (McLeod and Yates 2003; Harris 2009: 201). As this study illustrates, young people regularly encounter diversity and 'difference' because of their rootedness to everyday spaces, and as Harris (2009: 193) explains, they are likely to define and make sense of these contexts and encounters using everyday language. We are often keen to interpret young people's experiences and opinions through an adultcentric lens, using the formal labels and concepts of multiculturalism and social cohesion with which young people rarely identify (Schech and Haggis 2000). It is equally important that researchers and educators realise that when trying to engage young people in debates on these issues, their opinions and beliefs are subjective and relative. Taking the subgroup as an example, they were surrounded by adults who expressed 'prejudiced' views, lived in an area where the success of minority ethnic groups was visually evident, and experienced social and economic disadvantage. If the subgroup members were to express their beliefs, which they perceive as being rational and 'true', and were simply admonished or even ignored, then it is likely to further reinforce their feelings of disconnect and frustration.

The extant literature on the teaching of equality and diversity within schools, as well as the findings from this study, overwhelmingly suggests that the government must do more to embed these areas within the curriculum (Department of Education 2007; Tomlinson 2011; Hick et al. 2011). As Banks' (2004: 291) explains:

> *Although it is essential that all students acquire basic skills in literacy, basic skills are necessary but not sufficient in our diverse and troubled world … the world's greatest problems do not result from people being unable to read and write. They result from people in the world – from different cultures, races, religions, and nations – being unable to get along and to work together to solve the world's intractable problems.*

As highlighted, within current Government policy explicit recognition of the importance of advancing awareness of equality and diversity is absent. It is within this void that schools and colleges must make greater use of voluntary and community organisations within the education environment. In the report 'Challenge It, Report It, Stop It', the Government outlined 23 action points designed to prevent hate crime perpetration (HM Government 2012). The report identified supporting education and anti-bullying initiatives, as well as developing resources for use by local practitioners as top priorities (Hall 2013; HM Government 2014). Within the UK there are a range of voluntary and charitable organisations such as the Sophie Lancaster Foundation, the Anne Frank Trust UK and Show Racism the Red Card, which develop educational resources for schools and colleges and deliver a wide range of workshops within these environments.

In order to tackle the 'conventional' everyday prejudice expressed by young people, schools need to place greater emphasis on using voluntary and charitable organisations. For example, the Sophie Lancaster Foundation delivers numerous presentations and workshops focusing on the nature of prejudice and 'intolerance of difference' in society (Chakraborti and Garland 2014: 49; The Sophie Lancaster Foundation 2016). Sylvia Lancaster founded the charity in the wake of her daughter's murder on August 24, 2007. Sophie Lancaster was murdered by a group of young people who targeted her and her boyfriend on the basis of their alterative dress and appearance (The Sophie Lancaster Foundation 2016). The Foundation has developed a range of innovative educational resources which are available to schools, colleges, youth groups, young offenders institutions and for any professionals working with young people (The Sophie Lancaster Foundation 2016). Similarly, the Anne Frank Trust UK is another invaluable organisation which in 2015 worked with more than 40,000 young people in schools and colleges (The Anne Frank Trust UK 2016). The Trust delivers a programme of tailored activities that focus on Anne Frank's life to illustrate the damage caused by prejudice and hatred, and which enable young people to reflect upon their own lives and the prejudices that they may hold. The benefit of using outside organisations such as those mentioned is that they can design educational workshops that are context and location specific, and which are delivered in a more flexible and interactive manner.

It is worth acknowledging that the long-term impact of educational initiatives such as those that have been noted is questionable. Many commentators have highlighted the lack of practical knowledge to emerge from prejudice literature, specifically when it comes to addressing and reducing such views within the educational institutions (see Paluck and Green 2009). There is a general feeling amongst such scholars that whilst the literature on prejudice reduction is exhaustive, there is a paucity of research that supports 'internally valid inferences and externally valid generalisation, meaning that in order to formulate prejudice reduction policies, we must extrapolate beyond the available data and use theoretical suppositions to fill the gap' (Hall 2013: 160). This is further supported by the work of Abrams (2010), who reviewed a range of prejudice reduction strategies from a British perspective. Abrams (2010) observed that whilst both the public and private sector have developed a range of initiatives to promote equality and diversity, reduce prejudiced views and enhance cross-cultural cohesion, there has been a naive assumption that these strategies will work simply because they have been implemented. This is a sentiment to which I do not disagree with; indeed, there needs to be much more of an emphasis on developing evidence-based policy and practice on 'what works' with young people in both school and community settings.

Furthermore, not all research within this area is negative; As Paluck and Green (2009) note, the best approaches to prejudice reduction include cooperative learning whereby classroom lessons are designed to enable students to teach and learn from each other. On the basis of the available evidence, Paluck and Green (2009) identify initiatives which involve media, reading and other forms of narrative and normative communication as potential approaches to reducing prejudiced views. It is strategies such as these that should be developed in collaboration with young people, administered innovatively and then appropriately evaluated to generate a body of knowledge on prejudice reduction. The educational environment requires significant reform in order for real and continuing progress to be made towards fostering more understanding and recognition in young people. If the teaching of equality and diversity is to be successful then educators and young people need the time, space and flexibility to discuss these increasingly important themes together in an open and informative way.

Engaging Young People in Youth Work

The motivation for conducting the present study was born out of my experiences with the Youth Offending Service and specifically, my role as a detached youth worker. For me, detached youth work plays a crucial part in engaging young people who feel marginalised, and in preventing and repairing local tensions and conflicts. As Thomas and Sanderson (2013) found, although schools help to bring together young people from different backgrounds, outside of this environment young White British people reported limited interaction with diversity. This is a finding mirrored within the present study, as participants in both the subgroup and survey sample suggested that 'in schools they get on but where everyone lives it is quite divided'. As discussed in the previous section, the school setting is seen as the first arena in which underlying prejudices and fears towards 'difference' should be dealt with. However, there are two barriers to this: first, there needs to be a significant change to existing policy on teacher training and the current curriculum to embed understanding of diversity, which therefore is unlikely to come into fruition quickly; and secondly, this book has illustrated how the subgroup found school to be an environment in which they felt disconnected and which also exacerbated their feelings of failure and frustration. It is for this group of young people that detached youth work provides a much more effective and practical option to developing initiatives and interventions.

Youth work is multifaceted, particularly so when trying to work with young people who can be 'hard to reach' and 'difficult' to engage with. The strengths of youth work are that it often takes place on a young person's own 'turf', it requires voluntary participation, and it involves friendship groups rather than individuals (Thomas 2007). My experience of youth work and of engaging with this subgroup illustrates that effective youth work is dependent on being able to relate to each other and to develop mutual respect. This point is not too dissimilar to that mentioned within the previous chapter on the strategies that researchers need to develop in order to engage more meaningfully with participants. Trying to engage with young people who are disempowered and wary of outsiders requires youth workers to put in substantial groundwork in order to develop the necessary rapport with the group. This is a point that Riah, a youth worker who engaged with the subgroup, supported:

Riah *We've been in the area working with the group for like … six months or something.*
Researcher *So I guess you know the young people in the area pretty well?*
Riah *Yeah we've got a good relationship with them, especially since Mo has started working here. The group really likes him.*
Researcher *That's cool. Do you think that makes a big difference? … like if the young people can relate to the person working with them.*
Riah *Yeah totally … I think it helps being around their age… and like knowing the stuff that they like. Age isn't everything but if you are good with them like able to have a laugh then it makes a massive difference.*

This point may seem self-evident, and yet even during the fieldwork phase I observed youth workers who on their first encounter with the subgroup tried to educate or challenge the group about their anti-social behaviour, with little to no success. One of the major barriers between practitioners who are in a position of authority and young people is the latter's perception that adults are out of touch with young people's lives. This is a theme that arises within hate crime literature; Byer et al. (1999) identified that one of the neutralisation techniques used by young hate crime perpetrators was 'condemnation of the condemners', which involved offenders questioning the right of the 'condemners' to judge their beliefs and behaviours. If I had used a condemnation approach during my time with the subgroup, including telling them that their views were wrong and that they should change their behaviour, then I would never have achieved a meaningful understanding of their lives. In order for youth workers to begin identifying underlying motivations and causations for targeted hostility and anti-social behaviour more generally, they need to get to know the group that they are working with. This can only be realised through listening to young people and through developing rapport and mutual respect.

A key part of being a youth worker is listening to and making sense of the local tensions and hostilities through engagement with young people. As the Government report 'Challenge It, Report It, Stop It' (HM Government 2012: 11) identifies, there needs to be more of a focus on

'early intervention' through the development of preventative approaches that aim 'to resolve issues and tensions early before they can manifest themselves in the form of hate crime'. The subgroup within this study perceived the local minority ethnic community as receiving preferential treatment and services.

Steph *They (local Asian community) get everything though like down there they've got this new like Centre where you can do DJ-ing and play loads of sports and it's like open all the time but only for Pakis.*
Researcher *So you think this area hasn't got anything because you're all White?*
Ryan *Fuck yeah they get everything.*
Researcher *But it's not that far from here like why don't you guys go try it?*
Ryan *No way … Why would we want to be around a load of curry munchers … there'd be so many fights.*
Steph *God imagine the smell (laughing).*

One way of resolving these underlying tensions is through the development and delivery of fun and creative activities that are tailored to meet the needs of a specific group of young people. Within this study the majority of the incidents of anti-social behaviour and targeted hostility perpetrated by the subgroup took place within the context of everyday life, at times when the group was bored and where the opportunity for an exciting experience presented itself. When I returned to see the subgroup after the conclusion of the fieldwork phase, I observed a much better relationship between the subgroup and the youth workers in terms of their level of interaction with each other. Partly, this was because the youth workers had listened to the group when they explained that they were engaging in anti-social behaviour because there was nothing within the area to keep them occupied. The youth workers had attended a community forum with a select few from the subgroup to ask about using local facilities to play five-a-side football and about the possibility of developing a boxing club. Developing these location and interest-specific activities also helped to improve the subgroup's attitudes towards the facilities and resources

available within their neighbourhood, thereby reducing the tensions caused by perceptions of preferential treatment.

Building upon this platform, youth workers should seek to develop activities which involve young people from different areas and from different backgrounds as it contributes to bridging social capital (Putman 1994). The most effective contact is 'mediated through cultural forms such as art, music, sport and outdoor activities' (Thomas 2007: 446). Thomas' (2003) research illustrates how effective engaging young people within this form of youth work can be to promoting cultural cohesion and addressing offending behaviour. Thomas (2003) explored the experiences of young people from both Asian British and White British backgrounds in Oldham, who took part in a range of activities such as cricket matches and drama workshops, and reported successful, meaningful engagement. The strength of this approach has also been supported within hate crime literature; Levin and McDevitt (2002) found that community sentences which involve the offender working with a local minority community group had moderate success in reducing the risk of re-offending. This form of youth work is seen as being key to challenging the unfamiliarity between young people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. However, this is not always straightforward for youth workers to arrange and execute. As outlined in Chap. 6, the subgroup expressed great reluctance and trepidation about the prospect of engaging in any form of activity if it involved minority ethnic people.

As this section has highlighted, youth work can potentially play a unique role in challenging prejudiced views and in developing interventions to prevent incidents of targeted hostility. It is unfortunate and to some extent worrying that services for young people have been significantly curtailed as part of the ongoing austerity measures. The process of conducting this study illustrated the effectiveness of a sustained interaction with young people on their 'turf' and the importance of empowering young people by listening to their opinions and experiences. For youth work to be effective in engaging young people, activities need to be tailored to meet the needs of a specific group, and should ideally combine both enjoyable and cultural pursuits as well as delivering educational messages on anti-social behaviour, education and employment. Finally, it is worth reiterating that well-planned and managed cross-community projects could be central to promoting understanding and familiarity between people from different

backgrounds, but the effectiveness of these activities will be dependent on funding and support being available to local authority-run youth services.

Addressing Targeted Hostility with Young People

The last two sections have focused on working with young people who express prejudiced views and who may be at risk of engaging in acts of targeted hostility. Within this section we look specifically at what implications the research findings could have upon working with those who have perpetrated acts of targeted hostility. On reading the literature relating to how best to deal with those who commit acts of racially and religiously motivated targeted hostility, it becomes clear that there are more questions than answers when it comes to the most effective practice. Although there appears to be little consensus on which strategy is the most effective, a range of initiatives have been put forward, such as legislative responses, the development of behavioural programmes and the use of restorative justice. It is worth stating that the literature focusing explicitly on young racially or religiously motivated offenders and the most effective offending programmes is negligible. Gadd (2009) conducted a review of existing provisions designed for adult perpetrators who have committed racially or religiously motivated offending, and found that within the Probation Service there are very few initiatives and programmes exclusively aimed at addressing the underlying prejudices held by such offenders. In fact, a Probation Inspectorate report stated that evidence suggesting that hate crime offender programmes can effectively produce 'positive change in attitudes, beliefs and behaviour in relation to racially motivated offending' was inadequate (HMIP 2005: 32).

One of the issues identified in evaluating the most effective initiatives for hate crime perpetrators is the low numbers of racially and religiously motivated offenders who are convicted, and therefore, the low numbers of offenders accessing probation services (Gadd 2009; Hall 2013). Although evidence-based offender behaviour programmes are scarce for this cohort of perpetrators, practitioners have been found to favour using

one to one tailored work as opposed to a generic package (Hall 2013). Although this approach is regarded as being more effective (Smith 2006a; McGhee 2007), there is still little consensus on exactly what should be covered within these individual sessions. However, it has been suggested that programmes and initiatives that solely aim to enhance cognitive, social and employability skills are not enough in terms of preventing future hate crime offending (Gadd 2009; Iganski et al. 2011). Lemos (2005: 34) suggests that interventions combining work to address prejudice, to develop victim empathy and to manage aggression have the potential to rehabilitate hate crime perpetrators. Within the reviews by Gadd (2009) and Iganski et al. (2011), the use of role play which aims to highlight the affect of peer group pressure and improve victim awareness, and the involvement of offenders in voluntary and community groups through restorative justice, are found to be effective strategies of reducing the likelihood of repeat offending. In particular, the 'Greenwich Race Hate Project' reported reduced offending rates through the use of multi-agency partnership work. The London Probation area developed materials to address underlying feelings of shame and frustration with the offender whilst other agencies with specialised skills, facilitated a greater understanding of the impact that their crime had upon the victim (Dixon and Court 2003). Iganski et al. (2011) produced a range of recommendations for the future of hate crime offender behavioural programmes, including 'the need for a national policy, an increased evidence base upon which to base interventions … commitments to funding, the sharing of a conceptually sound evidence-based practice, the need for systematic evaluation of existing programmes … and appropriately tailored programmes', which if implemented would help to inform and improve the rehabilitation programmes delivered to hate crime perpetrators (Hall 2013: 153).

As already stated, the extant literature focusing on how best to deal with racially and religiously motivated offenders is lacking clarity and is overwhelmingly adultcentric in nature. In relation to young people, every effort should be made to divert them away from the punitive responses of the Criminal Justice System and to intervene at the earliest stage possible. The impact of being convicted and labelled as 'racist' is powerful and may only serve to further marginalise an already isolated young person and

to exacerbate their underlying feelings of frustration. Research appears to support this contention with racially motivated offenders reportedly feeling angry and resentful at being charged with an racially aggravated offence, which can then impact upon the effectiveness of addressing offending behaviour (Dixon and Court 2003; Smith 2006b; Iganski et al. 2011). Within the subgroup only one member had ever been in trouble for their involvement in targeted hostility. Dan had been charged with a racially aggravated assault but had received no further involvement from the Criminal Justice System and unfortunately his conviction was heralded as a badge of honour within the subgroup. In some ways this was a missed opportunity to conduct meaningful work with Dan to address the underlying motivation for his behaviour.

Undoubtedly, the older members within the subgroup, who had engaged in both verbal and physical acts of targeted hostility, would have benefited from tailored work to address their anger issues. Ryan and Alex demonstrated great desire to achieve employment and expressed their feelings of shame at still 'hanging around' with 13 and 14 year olds. Although both Ryan and Alex spoke of taking part in '*all those things … yeah the courses*', this had not equipped them with the skills required to write a Curriculum Vitae (CV) or to take part in an interview. During my time with the Youth Offending Service I found it incredibly frustrating that I was unable to help young people develop their CV or to fill-in job application forms, as it was deemed not to be part of my role. One of the benefits of conducting this research over three months was being able to help two participants develop CVs, fill-in application forms and practice interview techniques. I remember being filled with joy when Charlie emerged from the other side of the park one day, ran up to me to tell me she had '*got a job*'. As Gadd (2009) rightly argues, tackling a young person's social and economic situation is unlikely to alter their underlying prejudiced views but it should figure prominently within tailored interventions with young disadvantaged and marginalised offenders. There should also be a focus on tackling the sense of entitlement that certain young White British people feel. These conversations are difficult, but we must endeavour to convey that possessing an ethnic or national identity does not equate to a right of entitlement or ownership of societal resources. In fact, we need to develop an effective approach to preparing young people to the realities of adulthood, to preparing young people for hardship, for failure and for competition.

One of the key findings to emerge from this book is that the subgroup displayed a complete lack of empathy towards members of minority ethnic and religious groups. The group took considerable satisfaction from targeting an ethnic or religious 'Other' and had little comprehension of the impact that their actions had upon the victim. Empathy can and should be developed through educating young people about diversity and 'difference' within the educational environment or through cross-cultural contact in youth services or cultural activities. However, the success of both of these approaches relies on young people being taught about these themes in a meaningful way, having services and facilities available to them, and being socially and economically empowered enough to be able to take part in such activities. The subgroup had little knowledge of ethnic, religious and cultural 'difference' and actively chose to disengage with the multicultural population around them. Therefore, youth workers and youth offending services face a daunting task to try and educate 'difficult' and 'hard to reach' young people on diversity outside of the classroom environment.

Restorative justice has begun to emerge as a potentially effective method of prevention and rehabilitation with young people who are either at risk of, if not already engaging in, targeted hostility (Walters 2014). As Gavrielides (2012: 3625) explains, restorative justice 'focuses on restoring the harmful effects of these actions, it is not dependent on the law, and it actively involves all parties in the restoration process'. Restorative approaches offer direct or indirect opportunities for the offender, the victim and any other relevant individuals or organisations to come together to discuss an incident or pattern of behaviour on an equal platform and to develop ways of repairing the harm caused (Gavrielides 2007; Walters 2014). Although restorative justice offers a fresh approach to resolving conflicts, it has often been regarded as a 'grey area' in relation to hate crime (Gavrielides 2012). The reluctance to use restorative justice to deal with hate crime incidents is rooted in concern over the power imbalance between the victim and the offender which could lead to re-victimisation (Penell and Francis 2005; Walters and Hoyle 2012). There is also the perception that because acts of targeted hostility are perceived to be motivated by prejudice, which tends to be deep-rooted, restorative approaches are less likely to be effective with hate

crime offenders compared to perpetrators who engage in other forms of criminal activities (McDevitt et al. 2002; Gavrielides 2012).

Those who express concerns about the use of restorative justice in its traditional format suggest that community mediation may offer a more effective and sensitive approach to resolving local conflicts (Walters and Hoyle 2012). As Walters and Hoyle (2012: 10) explain:

> *Community mediation is a restorative process aimed at bringing together those in conflict in order to find a resolution. At its heart are the notions of revelation, empowerment and resolution.*

This approach could be particularly effective for acts of targeted hostility which take place in everyday contexts and during routine activities, and which involve a victim and offender who are already acquainted. Through the process of community mediation, relevant parties engage in an open and honest dialogue to try to resolve the dispute by outlining both perspectives. For young people, such as the subgroup, who may not be fully aware of the harm that they have caused through their actions and who may themselves feel that the other party had in some way provoked the incident, community mediation provides an opportunity to understand the consequence of their behaviour in an informal and proactive manner. Community mediation also offers the chance for young people who dehumanise and denigrate specific out-groups to observe the victim and their community in real terms and to see the similarities rather than focusing on what makes them different.

Often community mediation is delivered without using the terms 'victim' and 'offender' and this recognises the often messy and complicated relationship involved in everyday conflicts (Walters and Hoyle 2012; Walters 2014). It can also provide an opportunity for other members of the community to become involved. As both Bowling's (1999) and Hewitt's (1996) research found, racist offenders often feel that they are acting out community prejudices that have gone unchallenged within local settings. The offenders within these studies reported feeling an obligation to express racist attitudes and engage in acts of targeted hostility on behalf of both the community and the peer group they belonged to (Hewitt 1996; Bowling 1999). Sibbitt (1997: p vii) uses the term 'reciprocal relationship'

to describe how 'perpetrators see this as legitimising their actions. In turn, the wider community not only spawns such perpetrators, but fails to condemn them and actively reinforces their behaviour'. As suggested by Iganski (2012: 21), local community members need to be involved in mediation and rehabilitative interventions with young people specifically, in order to challenge the influence of locally shared prejudices.

Although occurring after my three months with the subgroup, I was fortunate enough to witness first hand a community mediation arranged and delivered by youth workers from the local Youth Offending Team (YOT) involving the subgroup. The victim, a physically disabled woman in her 60s, had been the target of numerous forms of harassment and abuse. Members of the subgroup, as well as other local youths from the neighbourhood were responsible for shouting offensive names at her and for targeting her house with stones and footballs. She had contacted the council who had in turn facilitated her meeting with the YOT working within the area. She wanted to meet with the group and tell them about the emotional and physical impacts that this form of victimisation was having upon her. I sat there before the session which was being held in the local leisure centre, feeling quite nervous and unsure about whether young people would turn up and if they did, how they were going to respond. It was incredibly pleasing to see that not only did the majority of the subgroup show up but they sat quietly, listened respectfully and appeared to take on board what the victim was saying.

The success of this approach could be explained by the communication between the County Council and the Youth Offending Team, the willingness of the victim to take part, the relationship the youth workers had developed with the young people that made them want to turn up, and how the session was facilitated by staff who felt confident and comfortable in addressing this issue. The use of restorative justice approaches, if facilitated and delivered by staff who are competent, could be one of the most effective approaches for developing empathy and understanding in young people. If used in conjunction with a broad range of tailored initiatives that are developed to address community tensions and intolerance, it may prevent young people from committing acts of targeted hostility (Hall 2013). Restorative justice has been widely cited as being under researched and therefore 'both advocates and opponents of

restorative justice have called for further investigation' of its applicability to hate crime (Gavrielides 2012: 3627; Walters and Hoyle 2012).

The Importance of Practitioner Confidence and Competence

In much of the literature addressing offending behaviour, success seems dependent on practitioners having the skills and confidence required to facilitate open and honest conversations with the perpetrator. Dixon (2002: 12) suggests that practitioners working with racially and religiously motivated offenders should aim to 'help offenders develop a positive non-racist identity' by encouraging offenders to freely express their prejudiced views and by challenging them once they are out in the open. One of the main issues in achieving this form of 'constructive relationship' with young offenders is that educators, youth workers and practitioners may not feel competent in doing so (McGhee 2007: 215). Research has found that practitioners within the Criminal Justice System report feeling uncomfortable on hearing expressions of racism and lack confidence in knowing how best to challenge these racist views (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation 2005). I had heard similar concerns voiced by youth workers I had worked with or came into contact with during my time with the subgroup.

During the three months spent with the subgroup many of the practitioners I engaged with expressed apprehension towards talking about race and specifically, challenging racist views with young people. This was especially evident if the youth worker came from a minority ethnic or religious background. In a discussion with Callum about hypothetically what would happen if Sharia Law were enacted within Britain, he used the term '*Paki*' frequently and was particularly derogatory about the Muslim population. This conversation took place towards the end of my time with the subgroup and I felt much more comfortable in being able to challenge such views and/or offer an alternative viewpoint. After the conversation finished I turned to an Asian British female support worker who had stood by whilst the discussion took place and I asked if she ever challenged the language

used or became involved in the conversations. She explained that as an Asian woman it had taken a considerable amount of time for her to build up a good relationship with this group of young White British people and she had finally managed to achieve non-recognition (Noble 2009), meaning that the group saw her for more than just an ethnic 'Other'. She felt that if she were to challenge the prejudiced views or the use of racist language she would no longer have the same relationship with them. On weighing up the options she decided that it would be more productive to tolerate the expressions of racism; a decision I was very familiar with. In another discussion I spoke with Riah, a youth worker who was engaging with the subgroup at the time of the research, who again was often a bystander to racist prejudice, even by members of authority, and felt unable to challenge such views:

Riah *Actually (animated) … you won't believe this!*
Researcher *What?*
Riah *I can't believe I didn't tell you, the other day I was chatting to … yeah I'm pretty sure he's a PCSO.*
Researcher *Yeah.*
Riah *And he was saying … yeah we were chatting about the corner shop and the young people and he was asking if I thought any of them were actually racist.*
Researcher *Yeah.*
Riah *And like he then said and I'm not joking … he said like 'while I wear this uniform I don't agree with them'.*
Researcher *No!*
Riah *Seriously! Like maybe 'cuz it was dark and he didn't realise … (laughs) like that I'm Asian … but I was well shocked … I turned around and said to Lewis did he just say that?*
Researcher *You don't expect that!*
Riah *Innit … he's probably more racist than the young people.*
Researcher *Wow.*
Riah *I know.*
Researcher *So what did you do?*
Riah *What … about what he said? (researcher nods) nothing … I didn't know what to do so just left it.*

Reflecting on the process of conducting this research, it appears that many educators and practitioners have a significant lack of confidence in knowing how to appropriately and effectively challenge prejudiced views. Like myself, many working within a related field will have felt that inner conflict of not wanting to appear to condone such views but also, not wanting to risk impacting the trust and respect that can take a lot of time and effort to develop. And yet, for interventions and initiatives to be effective with young people who commit racially and religiously motivated acts of targeted hostility, practitioners need to feel competent in and able to achieve the kind of constructive relationship required to address these complex and challenging attitudes and behaviours. In this respect, we must look to develop training packages that will equip front-line practitioners with the knowledge, skills and confidence that they need to be able to meaningfully connect with young people's lives and to effectively challenge hostile and prejudiced views.

Conclusion

A consistent theme throughout this final chapter is that the educational environment and youth offending services need to do more to engage young people in difficult, challenging and emotive debates. This book has demonstrated that hostility towards multiculturalism and 'difference' is not especially hidden; in fact, underneath the veneer of harmonious co-habitation are very real concerns, fears, frustrations and hostilities. However, as educators, practitioners and policy-makers we are not connecting with or listening to young people about the ways in which they interpret, negotiate and engage with diversity. In order for us to recognise how conflict and hostility are woven into the fabric of multicultural living, we must take meaningful steps to include young people in these discussions. Only then will we develop initiatives and interventions which are empirically rooted in the reality of young people's lives.

Schools, youth work and youth offending services should be seen as being inter-dependant when it comes to teaching equality and diversity and tackling prejudice and targeted hostility. There should be a clear set of practices in place when a young person or a group of young people

at school or in the community come to the attention of teachers, youth workers and community leaders for expressing prejudiced views and/or committing acts of targeted hostility. The earlier that local tensions and conflicts are dealt with in the context of a young person's everyday life by an educator or practitioner that they can relate to, then the more effective that intervention is going to be. This is by no means easy and the road to challenging prejudice and acts of targeted hostility appears long and complex. However, this book has illustrated that despite ever-increasing constraints on time and resources, there are a range of innovative and dynamic approaches that educators, practitioners and researchers can use which will help to challenge underlying prejudices and the harm caused by targeted hostility.

This book began by detailing my first experience of being confronted by a group of young White British people who were overtly prejudiced and hostile towards all forms of diversity and 'difference'. Initially the thought of spending time with this group, even within a work capacity, was not an attractive prospect. However, taking the time to get to know the group and to some extent, question my own ignorance and prejudices, opened my eyes to how complex and confusing being a young person can be. This experience has been a significant and challenging personal journey for myself and undoubtedly has shaped my interest in this field and my views on living within one of the most multicultural cities in the world. The most disheartening part of getting to know this group of young people is that in reality the attitudes that they hold and the way that they act will define them to the outside world. It is partly for both of these reasons that this book did not have a 'traditional' conclusion; this study illustrates that much more work needs to be done by researchers and practitioners to engage with young people and to generate more sophisticated understandings of the motivation for holding prejudiced views and committing acts of targeted hostility. One of the most difficult aspects of this study was bringing an end to my time with the subgroup. As Farrant (2014) observes, relationships with participants can become 'contaminated', and I feel this is particularly true when engaging with young people who are marginalised and isolated. In truth, I hope that the experience of engaging with me was as enjoyable, impactful and challenging for the group as I found my time with them.

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