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Masters of Research (MRes) Dissertation

**Discursive Analysis of the Accounts of Victims of Racist
Incidents**

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Abstract

In this study I focus on identifying power and processes of 'Othering' in the accounts of victims of racist incidents by identifying discursive repertoires and using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). By re-analysing in-depth interviews with victims of racist incidents I have been able to identify discursive repertoires that occur in the speech of those who are othered through their lived experience of racism. Practitioners of CDA have given limited attention to exploring the lived experiences of minority groups but this study has shown distinctive patterns of self and other positioning in their discourse. Racist markers, actions that could only be explained in the context of racism, served as a powerful tool to exclude and act as a reminder of the non-acceptance of minority groups. These markers were constructed through discourses of the Other, repertoires such as disruption and disapproval acted through name-calling, gendered racism, a continuum of violence with consequences that included emotional (shame and embarrassment), psychological harm and spirit murder (or total harm) arising from the accumulation of everyday racist experiences. This study suggests that revisiting qualitative data is a productive activity and sheds new light on existing social issues and that by focusing on a reanalysis new perspectives can be drawn or examined that were not central to the original research. The study also suggests that more research may be required in exploring discourses of the Other as identified by the Other.

Chapter 1

Aims and Objectives

Introduction

The aim of this dissertation is to identify discursive features within accounts of victims of racist incidents that offer an insight to how the Other emerges, the impact of gender and how power and domination are articulated. Essed (1991:1) argues that whilst there have been many studies on racism, there has been very little on the lived experiences of racism, its impact and 'Black' perceptions about racism in everyday life. I have chosen to focus this study on the accounts of people from minority communities in relation to the lived experiences of racist incidents in and around where they reside.

The exclusion/silence in making meanings of racist experiences from the perspective of minority communities may suggest that from a qualitative research perspective, racialised participants are *'assumed to have some level of a 'race' un/consciousness, which structures how we see ourselves, talk about ourselves, and how we live our lives'* (Gunaratnam, 2003:113). In other words, 'race' is seen as an essential part of racialised individuals that will influence their subjectivity and identity. Essed (1991) and Gunaratnam (2003) highlight that minority groups are potentially seen in two fundamental ways in relation to how they are

represented; as key informants or being ignored, dismissed, or misrepresented both because they have a perceived 'racial' identity/persona .

This leaves little space for minority groups to talk about their experiences (both positive and negative) without their accounts being misappropriated and value judgments made on the basis of the relationship between the Self (majority group) and Other (minority group). Thus the Other may be viewed as good or bad, equal or inferior to the Self depending on the context (Riggins, 1997: 5, Rathzel, 1997). The wide coverage that has been given to racism from a macro perspective has neglected how ordinary people from minority communities experience racism, how it impacts on their everyday lives, suggesting that they are empty vessels that absorb these experiences. There is a need, therefore, to explore how minority groups talk about being Other to better understand the experience. I will be focusing on the accounts given by victims of racist incidents in an attempt to redress the imbalance in research and aim to make those voices transparent.

Understanding racism is still, generally, the preserve of research with majority participants and institutions from which a range of discursive repertoires have been identified that deny, substantiate or challenge claims of racism (van den Berg, et al., 2003, Wetherell and Potter, 1992, van Dijk, 1987, Tilbury and Colic-Peisker, 2006). As a consequence attempts to explore accounts of racism from

the perspective of minority groups are likely to be dismissed through elite discourses as:

“Minorities, and particularly blacks...having a chip on their shoulder, as being overly sensitive, and as seeing ‘racism where there is none’...Blaming minorities for imagining or exaggerating racist events is part of a well known strategy of marginalizing dissidence and problematizing minorities.” (van Dijk, 1997: 52)

van Dijk (1993) suggests that white elite discourses reproduce ethnic and racial inequality and that this reproduction serves to create a view of minority groups that is learned by majority groups through both public and interpersonal communication and that these views cut across western countries:

“Apart from-often minimal or even absent – observation and interaction, White people “learn” about minorities mainly through talk and text...What people told us about the “foreigners” in the Netherlands or the “illegal aliens” or “immigrants” in California is essentially the same...too many are (coming) here, immigration should become stricter, they make us feel unsafe on the streets...they take our houses and jobs...they do not adapt to our ways...” (van Dijk, 1987: 385)

Aims and Objectives

I have two objectives within this study stemming from my concern about an exclusion/silence in making meanings of racist experiences from the perspective of those who are the Other through racist discourse. First, to review the relevant literature on discourse and racism and to develop a theoretical framework for the study. Secondly, to re-focus on interview data that I collected between 1997-1999 for an earlier national research project that explored how victims managed racist incidents and what they felt were the impacts of these events on their everyday lives (Chahal & Julienne, 1999). The objective of the re-focus was to apply a (critical) discourse analysis to the interview text to make transparent the role of discourse in the construction, consolidation and reproduction of power (Tilbury and Colic-Peisker, 2006, van Dijk, 1987, 1993) from accounts given by people on the receiving end of self-defined racist experiences through identifying interpretative repertoires (Edley, 2001). This study will, therefore, aim to explore the following research questions:

- What are the discursive features within the interview text that offer accounts of power and dominance
- How do minority groups organise their version of events and how are identities constructed.
- How does the Other emerge from accounts of perceived racist events

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

The aim of this literature review is to provide a theoretical and methodological framework for the research that I have proposed in Chapter 1, namely a discursive analysis of how the Other, power and gender are discussed in the accounts of victims of racist incidents. I will begin the review by summarising previous research on racist incidents, explore gender perspectives on racist incidents, discuss the relevance of intersectionality and provide an overview of a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Previous studies on racist incidents

Research on and campaigning against racist incidents has been the subject of concern for over four decades both in terms of getting the actual phenomena recognised but also in how to define the phenomena (see for example, Troyna and Hatcher, 1992, Brown, 1984). In recent years and certainly since the Macpherson Report (1999), discussed below, the generic term racist incident has been adopted to cover racial harassment, racist harassment, racial attacks and racial or racist abuse. A criticism of the adoption of a generic term such as 'racist incident' would be that it is conflated with racism without understanding the context of racism and those who are the primary targets of such attacks. This

criticism was also levelled about the term 'racial' incidents used in the 1980s and 1990s (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992).

Some of the earliest evidence of racist incidents was compiled by community organisations and activists (Bethnal Green and Stepney Trades Council, 1978, Institute of Race Relations, 1979). It was not until 1981 that official recognition was given to the problem. The Home Office report, Racial Attacks (1981) estimated that Asian people were 50 times and black people 36 times more likely to be attacked on racial grounds than white people. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s official government reports on local policy responses and localised studies on the extent of racist incidents were produced (for example, Department of the Environment, 1989, Home Office, 1989, Sheffield REC, 1988, Chahal, 1992, Jay, 1992, Hesse, et al, 1992). The overwhelming evidence from all the studies (local and national) demonstrated that minority groups were suffering racist harassment, these attacks were having an impact in local communities and they were increasing:

"It is significant that none of our witnesses have attempted to claim that the number of racial incidents has declined. We believe that the problem of racial attacks and harassment is at least as bad now, and probably worse, than at the time of our last report in 1989." (Home Affairs Committee, 1994: x)

Local studies continued to report the high incidence of racist incidents throughout the 1980s and 1990s (for example, Leeds CRC, 1986, Faruqi, 1990) and as a consequence the state response was to develop and encourage a multi-agency approach, a co-ordinated response to tackling racist incidents (Bowling, 1998) that is still evident to the present day.

Quantification and type of racist incidents

In 1987, the Home Office carried its second survey since 1981 concerning racially motivated incidents reported to the police (Seagrave, 1989). Results suggested that the rate of victimisation for minority groups was much greater than in 1981. It found that Asians were 141 times and blacks 43 times more likely to be racially victimised than white people. Since the mid-1980s there has been regular monitoring of the volume of racist incidents through published police data, the British Crime Survey (BCS) and independent surveys (e.g., Modood, et al, 1997) that has continued to show that the occurrence of racist incidents are a reality for minority groups. Research also indicates that there is a large level of under-reporting of such incidents (Docking and Tuffin, 2005) and that taken-for-granted or low level forms of racist victimisation are often not reported (Blackburn REC, 1997, Chahal, 2007). Various studies have shown that the majority of racist incidents recorded are either damage to property or verbal harassment (Maynard and Read, 1997, Jarman, 2002). Recent research on rural racism has confirmed that the vast majority of incidents involve racist name calling (Chakraborti and Garland, 2004).

Macpherson Inquiry

The Macpherson Inquiry was set up by the New Labour Government in 1997 after a long grass roots campaign to investigate the police handling of the murder of Stephen Lawrence, a black teenager. The Inquiry subsequently uncovered 'a litany of police actions and attitudes towards the victim, his friend, the victim's parents, and in the conduct of the murder investigation that betrayed –perhaps unwitting- racist assumptions among the investigating officers' (Webster, 2007: 77).

The Inquiry recommended a new definition of racism, institutional racism and a racist incident. The original use of the term institutional racism had been used interchangeably with racism to highlight how both were interconnected across all of society's institutions. But the definition of institutional racism put forward by Macpherson has become a term adopted for policy formation within individual organisations and sectors (Bhavnani et al., 2005). Whilst the report has been criticised on different levels (Dennis, 2000, Rowe, 2004), it has had a significant impact particularly in the growing formalisation of racist victimisation in law (Webster, 2007). Media responses, particularly the Daily Mail, constructed the five murder suspects as racist 'other' and served to distance them as racists from the rest of society (McLaughlin and Murji, 1999), thereby reconstructing a familiar trope that denies claims of racism as being insidious – through pathologising these perpetrators as 'savages' (ibid: 1999) and therefore unlike us. This trope of

denial is familiar in other studies where minority groups are described in terms of having 'a chip on their shoulder' (van Dijk, 1997) or as the product of sick personalities (Essed, 1997) and thus limits the space victims of racist incidents have to tell their experiences.

Impact of Racist Incidents

Whilst some authors (Virdee, 1995, Bowling, 1998) have briefly described the impacts of racist incidents, it is only relatively recently that detailed qualitative research has been undertaken (for example, Chahal and Julienne, 1999, Victim Support, 2006). The initial focus on research into racist incidents was to demonstrate that the problem actually existed (Robinson and Gardener, 2004) and later to show how the local state responded (for example, Bowling, 1998).

When I originally collected and analysed the data on which this dissertation is based (Chahal and Julienne, 1999) I found that *'the impact of racist victimisation had a profound effect beyond the actual event'* (ibid: vii) and that *'racist victimisation...turns normal, daily, activities into assessments of personal safety and security'* (ibid: 5). This original research echoed the findings from other research on a phenomena more recently labelled as hate crime – namely the targeting of an individual or group because of an actual or perceived identity that the victim has no control over- that hate crime victimisation extended beyond the immediate victim and has consequences for entire minority communities (Hall, 2005). Hall (2005:66) argues that such findings *'of a disproportionately greater*

impact on victims than 'normal' crimes is one of the central justifications for both the recent recognition of hate as distinct form of criminal behaviour and the imposition of harsher penalties for hate offenders'.

However, whilst the legislation has responded to decades of communities campaigning for racist incidents to be recognised, the research and existing literature on victims of racist/hate has tended to be 'broad and non-specific' (Perry, 2003). Within this 'broad' and 'non-specific' arena research has tended to focus on geographically localised studies or on presenting 'victims' as having fixed identities (for example, I conducted interviews with both men and women but did not present a critical analysis of gender as an aspect of the lived experience). There is a gap within the research literature on the complexity, positioning and gender experiences of those defined as others through racist discourse and this may be suggestive of a process that essentialises minority groups and that blames the victims.

Gender Perspectives

There has been very little research that has focused on issues relating to gender and racist incidents from the perspective of those experiencing racist incidents. Essed's cross cultural projects on everyday racism (Essed, 1990, 1991) are the exception not the norm. Whilst there are examples of research projects where minority women have been interviewed (Chahal and Julienne, 1999, Bowling, 1998) the data has not been systematically analysed from a gender perspective.

Essed (Essed, 1997) through research with black women argues that the voice of victims is a crucial aspect of understanding the socio-political and gender implications of racist incidents and uncovering racism that permeates all levels of the social order.

Brah (1992) highlights that whilst there has been little attention paid to the processes of racialisation of gender, different groups have been racialised differently and thus different subject positions are assumed within various racisms. Gender discourses, therefore, need to take into account the interconnections between racism, class, gender and sexuality and the positionality of different racism (Brah: 132). For example, rural racism is a relatively new area of study. In reviewing research on rural racism de Lima (2004) found that there was a distinct shortage of research focusing on the interaction between ethnicity and other variables, including gender. Hesse et al. (1992) link awareness of personal space and security, the danger of racist harassment and unequal relations of power in determining how minority people experience the 'ethnospace' (i.e., society). Determining spatial security is, therefore, a gender issue and will vary in relation to the social positioning of men and women. Indeed Bowling's data (1998) collected on gender differences substantiates this point. For example, African-Caribbean women were more likely to talk about being harassed at work than Asian women, who were targeted in and around their home. The positioning that occurs is not fixed as this example highlights. However, to develop a better means of understanding how those who

are Other respond to being othered, positioning theory offers a way into analysing resistance, power and domination:

“the concept of positioning constructs people as engaging in dynamic social relationships in which each participant creates and makes available positions for themselves and others to take up, ignore or resist” (Phoenix, 2005:105)

Understanding positioning and the creating of identities is crucial to broadening our understanding of social problems experienced by minority groups and across various socially and culturally constructed categories that are contested and multilayered. It is to this issue that I now turn, briefly addressing intersectionality.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality challenges the essential notion that women are a homogenous category sharing similar life experiences and that various socially and culturally constructed categories interact on a multiple level to manifest themselves as inequality. Brah (1996) defines her political project as one of continually deconstructing the idea of ‘Asian woman’ to highlight that it is a heterogeneous and contested category.

By revealing this heterogeneity, Brah challenges the notion that Asian women are ‘passive victims’ but sites them as dynamic and ‘at the forefront of many and varied forms of political intervention’ (Brah, 1996: 13). This diversity of

experience and expression counters an essentialised view of minority others as fixed in a binary opposition to majority groups. By deconstructing the layers of discourse the positioning of one person can be viewed as multifarious;

“It is one and the same person who is variously positioned in a conversation. Yet as a variously positioned we may want to say that that very same person experiences and displays that aspect of self that is involved in the continuity of a multiplicity of selves” (Davies and Harre, 1990, in Phoenix, 2005:105)

Indeed the intersectionality of minority groups is often forgotten when they are positioned as Other. Rathzel (1997) in a study with German female students when asked to describe themselves in relation to others (Turkish women, Turkish men and German men) found that they defined themselves in a variety of aspects, in a contradictory, non-homogenous way:

“Discourses seem to have two different effects; while the other is constituted as homogenous, the self is constituted as flexible and heterogeneous.”

Brah (1992) argues for deconstructing taken for granted socially ascribed categories to make apparent the racialization process in experiencing gender, class and sexuality.

Given the paucity of research identified in this review on racist incidents and discursive accounts focussing on gender in relation to power and domination, there is a need for further investigation.

Power and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Discourses are used in everyday contexts to build power, knowledge, regulate activities, for meaning-making, to serve vested interests and to obscure power relations. CDA is concerned with studying and analysing text and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced and transformed within specific social, economic, political and historical contexts (van Dijk, 1988 in McGregor, no date). CDA is concerned with making opaque structural relationships of dominance, discrimination and power transparent (Bloommaert, 2005). CDA is, therefore, a potentially relevant tool in understanding how social problems are mediated through mainstream ideology and power relationships. It is critical because it aims, through analysis, to make obvious and transparent the hidden and opaque, target 'power elites' (van Dijk, 1993, in Wetherell, 2001a). In aiming to uncover power relations and the interests of dominant groups, Fairclough (2001, in Wetherell et al, 2001b, 230) adds:

"CDA is not just concerned with analysis. It is critical, first in the sense that it seeks to discern connections between language and other elements in social life which are often opaque. These include: how language figures within relations of

social power and domination; how language works ideologically; the negotiation of personal and social identities...Second, it is critical in the sense that it is committed to progressive social change, it has an emancipatory 'knowledge interest'"

Racism has been described as a relation of group power or dominance and as such CDA can assist in focusing on how this power is used to maintain dominance and control (van Dijk, 1993). Within a CDA framework, social power refers to privileged access to socially valued resources, for example, income, status and group membership. Power involves control and such control may pertain to action and cognition, in other words, a powerful group may limit the freedom of action of others, but also influence their minds through everyday forms of text and talk that appear natural (van Dijk, 1993). Arendt (1970) highlights that power is not the property of an individual but 'it belongs to a group as long as the group stays together' (Essed, 1991: 40). For this to occur power and dominance is usually organised and institutionalised; the individual actions of those part of the socially dominant group are supported by wider political, legal and economic elites (van Dijk, 1993, Poole, 2002) and influenced by elites (Petersen, 2002). However, within the context of the data that I collected and have reanalysed here, power, abuse and expressions of dominance occur where 'violations are generalised, occur in text and talk directed at, or about, specific dominated groups only, and (where) there are no contextual justifications other than such group membership' (van Dijk, 1993, 305). In this respect, how

dominated groups describe racist experiences becomes open to a CDA at the micro-level.

The role of CDA in analysing discourse in the enactment and reproduction of ethnic and racial inequalities has been slow to emerge (van Dijk, 2000). Such work initially focused on ethnocentric and racist representations in the mass media, literature and film. Later discourse studies have focused on, for example, academic discourse, political discourse, everyday conversations, service encounters (for example, Essed, 1991, van Dijk, 2000, Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, Tilbury and Colic-Peisker, 2006). van Dijk concludes that many of these studies have highlighted the continuity of negative images and views of the other that transcend discourse types, media and national boundaries (2000). Whilst Essed (1990, 1991) remains an exception, I have found little evidence of research utilising a CDA approach to offer accounts *from* the Other.

Chapter 3

Methods of data collection

Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 1 my overall aim with this dissertation is to re-examine data that I had collected and analysed (Chahal & Julienne, 1999). Since this publication I have been asked on various occasions to talk about the findings at conferences, community meetings and between 2004-2007 delivering training on the impact of racist incidents and doing effective casework as well as undertaking other similar research for local authorities. I was, therefore, conscious that by re-examining data I wanted to move beyond what was already known and examine aspects of the data using different research questions and methods of analysis.

This study will use a qualitative approach to analyse secondary data through a combination of Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to provide insight into how the Other emerges and how power intersects with gender in the context of talk about racist victimisation. In this section I will discuss issues relevant to secondary data analysis, offer an overview of a critical discourse approach and consider some ethical issues relevant to the data.

Secondary data analysis

Secondary data analysis is a well established tool in quantitative research, but is less frequently used within qualitative research (van den Berg, 2005, Gillies and Edwards, 2005). Whilst there has been methodological scepticism associated with re-analysing situated qualitative studies it is now beginning to be realised and applied (Blaxter, 2006, Gillies and Edwards, 2005, van den Berg, et al. 2003). Re-analysis of data involves the use of existing data, collected for the purposes of a prior study, in order to pursue a research interest which is distinct from that of the original work, this may a new research question or an alternative perspective on the original question (Heaton, 1998). The benefits of a re-analysis of data that influenced my decision to focus on secondary data included: re-analysis is less time consuming and thus enables a fast entry into the world of data analysis when undertaking a time limited project; there is often more data collected than is used in a project and thus a re-analysis offers an opportunity to develop new perspectives or a different conceptual focus can be examined that may not have been central to the original research; because it may open up new areas to explore further at the PhD stage and; re-analysis can be used to generate new knowledge, new hypotheses and it reduces the burden on a research to recruit new participants who may be hard to reach and thus very time consuming (Blaxter, et al., 2006, Heaton, 1998)

Scepticism towards a re-analysis tends to focus on context – the intimate bond developed between the interviewer and participant ‘constitutes a necessary

prerequisite...to grasp context...to interpret interview transcripts' (van den Berg, 2005: para. 23). Hammersley (1997) describes the "cultural habitus" that is acquired through direct involvement in fieldwork, suggesting that the use of data collected by other researchers is likely to be limited. Further, comparing data sets across different time frames raises questions about contextual commensurability relating to theory, policy and political context and changes in and use of social categories for data collection and raises ethical issues (Gillies and Edwards, 2005).

Both van den Berg (2005) and Gillies and Edwards (2005) offer guidelines to how secondary data as a method can be applied to already collected qualitative data. van den Berg (2005) suggests that the feasibility of secondary analysis depends on: the amount of contextual information required to achieve the research goal; the type of textual data; and the amount of contextual information that is required. Gillies and Edwards (2005) highlight that all data is mediated, all findings are socially constructed, all analysts produce analyses that are socially contingent and thus focusing on the context of secondary data is to 'illuminate the very particular perspective knowledge was (and is) created from' (ibid: 11).

Re-analysis of data by researchers who were responsible for the original data collection is an established method of secondary analysis (Heaton, 2004). Indeed the criticism of some aspects of context, particularly the experience of in situ research, is neutralised by the same researcher undertaking the re-analysis.

However, there are still issues to be aware of, for example, memories fade, personal perspective may change thereby altering the relationship to the data and the context within which the data is being analysed may have changed.

From a critical discourse perspective, secondary data are a crucial means of assessing power relations and how change is mediated. Secondary analysis can illuminate continuities and change across time. For example, recent research on the impact and experience of racist incidents suggests similar themes to my earlier study (Victim Support, 2006, Chahal, 2007). In this respect secondary analysis is an important research tool to make transparent the 'enduring continuities in the way people actually live and interact with each other' (Gillies and Edwards, 2005: 7)

Corpus of Interviews

The corpus of interviews that I will use for secondary analysis is selected from a total of 34 in-depth interviews undertaken during 1998 for a national research study on the experience, impact and consequences of racist incidents (Chahal and Julienne, 1999). Using random sampling I will select 11 transcripts for selection for the new study.

The original data was a series of recorded interviews with clients who had reported racist incidents to a relevant agency (local authority housing, local police

or the local racial equality council) across Belfast, Cardiff, Glasgow and London. I undertook all the original interviews in Belfast, Glasgow and Cardiff. The interview process was unstructured, held in the client's home and lasted between 1 to 3.5 hours. Each interview was transcribed and I analysed the data to uncover occurring and recurring themes using a thematic coding process and providing a content analysis (Flick, 1998).

Interview data has been described as second best compared to naturally occurring unsolicited data about race (Wetherell and Potter, 1992 in Tilbury, et al. 2006, van Dijk, 1987). However, in relation to interviewing victims of racist incidents my aim was to encourage the interviewee to talk openly and for them to be aware that my role was to respect their points of view and their experiences in a non-judgemental manner (Essed, 1991). I used a minimal interview schema with non-directive interviewing to generate data that would give an authentic insight into people's accounts of their experiences.

Whilst the research study took an interactionist approach by recognising that interviewees are experiencing subjects who construct their social worlds (Silverman, 1993: 91), the interview, itself, is a co-constructed social event:

"When we talk with someone else about the world, we take into account who the other is, what the other person could be presumed to know, where that other is in relation to ourself in the world we talk about" (Baker, 1982: 109)

An interview has been described as “*an interactional occasion in which respondents’ expressed views are partially shaped by the respondents’ perceptions of: the reason for the interview, the sympathies of the interviewer, previous interview talk, anticipated upcoming topics etc*” (Tilbury and Colic-Peisker, 2006). In this respect the data that is collected is constructed through a joint effort involving both interviewer and interviewee within a specific context; the interviewee is not a vessel for pre-given data (van den Berg et al. 2003).

Discourse Analysis

Taylor (2001: 5) describes discourse analysis as ‘the close study of language in use’. Wetherell, Taylor and Yates (2001: i) describe it as offering ‘routes into the study of meanings’. Discourse analytic research focuses on the post-modern linguistic turn that critiques essentialised representations of language as representing reality. It rejects language as solely an information-carrying vehicle to one that views language as also constitutive – creating, negotiating and changing meaning (Humphries, 2008). This is critical for addressing the exclusion/silence in making meanings of racist experiences from the perspective of minority groups.

A discourse analysis focuses on how language produces certain outcomes, how an issue is defined and understood. Discourse analysis views power as operating

in all social encounters, exercised and resisted in all situations. In this respect the social world is seen as fluid, changing, contingent and complex (Humphries, 2008). Discourse analysis, is therefore 'a way of finding out how consequential bits of social life are done...the study of human-meaning making' (Wetherell et al. 2001: 2-3).

There are a variety of discourse traditions (Wetherell et al. 2001a). However, I will be focusing on combining Discourse Analysis with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and its approach to the study of meaning-making. CDA does not have a unitary theoretical framework and there are many types of CDA (van Dijk, 2000, Riggins, 1997). However, what they do have in common is analysing speech and texts from a critical perspective.

CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (van Dijk, 2000). CDA as an approach is distinguished from discourse analysis more generally, for example, because it aims to make explicit power relationships which are frequently hidden, and from that to draw actions which are of practical relevance and as such an explicit goal of the method (Titscher, et.al., 2007). This explicit goal is not common to all discourse analysis. CDA, unlike other forms of discourse analysis (for example, ethnomethodology), does not ignore power in what may become routine or taken for granted behaviour. CDA also recognises

and embeds the assumption that all discourses are historical and can only be understood with reference to their context (Titscher, et. al., 2007). This is not common to all discourse analysis approaches. Further, CDA focuses on the mediation between language and society which is absent from other methods, for example, ethnomethodology. In short, CDA aims to make the opaque transparent and highlight how power relations are developed and maintained. In this sense its goal, unlike other forms of discourse analysis, is always explicit.

Methods of data analysis

Baker et al. (2008) highlights that CDA does not have a specific set of methods associated with it nor is it in itself a method. Instead it adopts any method that is adequate to realise the aims specific to CDA inspired research. Similarly van Dijk (van Dijk, 2007) suggests that CDA can be both conducted in and combined with any approach and sub discipline in the humanities and the social sciences. Van Dijk (2007) describes CDA as discourse analysis 'with an attitude' with an aim to be critical, focus on social problems particularly the role discourse plays in the production and reproduction of power, abuse and domination and that it should be accessible and shared with others, especially dominated groups.

In utilising CDA I combined a basic discourse analysis to draw out interpretative or discursive repertoires (Edley, 2001) that guided my discussion on the process of power and the Other. To find discursive repertoires one has firstly to be

familiar with the data and secondly, to read and reread the data to identify transparent patterns within the text (Edley, 2001). Given that I had undertaken all the interviews that I was reanalysing and had subsequently made numerous presentations about the original research I felt confident that I was familiar with the text. In addition, I both re-read all the interviews and also re-listened to the tape recordings of the interviews. Edley's suggestions offered a useful means of managing and organising large amounts of text and also a useful means to re-submerge myself within the text.

Ethical Issues

Although a number of years have passed since the original interviews were held, I was still aware that I needed to consider the range of ethical issues inherent in 'person-based' research (Potter, 2006) and to make explicit how I had ensured that the current study was ethically informed. The original research had informed consent from all participants, they were assured that in writing the final report no participants would be identifiable, that the participants were made aware of how the analysis of the data would be reported and disseminated and I had agreement with the funding body that I would be able to use the data from the interviews beyond the publication of the report (Blaxter et al., 2006).

In considering the consequences of talking about a sensitive topic such as racist harassment, all participants for the original study were initially contacted by a

known person from the agency they had first reported incidents to. The research and how data would be used was explained, the gender of the interviewer was made clear (male) with the option given to the participant to decline the interview and confidentiality explained. All of these issues were also discussed with every participant at the beginning of each interview. Further at the end of each interview the participants were given the contact name and number of the person who had originally contacted them to whom they could speak, if they so wished, after the interview.

Gillies and Edwards (2005) highlight that when embarking on a secondary analysis the researcher should continue to consider ethical issues particularly in relation to confidentiality and consent, whilst recognising that information originally collected is likely to become less relevant to the participants through the passage of time and that it may not be possible to trace the original participants to gather their informed consent to secondary analysis. In relation to re-examining the interview data, I contacted the original funding body to gain their permission to reanalyse the data. Whilst it would be impossible to contact the original participants as the interviews were held over 10 years ago, in my analysis I will not indicate a geographical location for the interviews used to limit the possible identification of the participants.

Chapter 4

Collecting and analysing the data

Collecting the data

The primary purpose of this dissertation is to explore how power relations are discursive, how discursive accounts of being other are used by those being othered and how they emerge in the accounts of victims of racist incidents. To achieve this I selected from texts of interviews that I had undertaken with victims between 1998-1999. I took a random sample of one third ensuring that men, women and couples were proportionately represented.

In reading and rereading the texts I familiarised myself with the body of the interviews. However, I was conscious that I needed to have a theoretical framework to manage and understand the data particular given that the 11 interviews totalled over 70,000 words. To achieve this I was again guided by Edley (2001) who has suggested that by reading and rereading text one begins to 'recognise patterns across different people's talk, particular images, metaphors or figures of speech' (ibid, 199) and thus getting a feel for the 'discursive terrain'. This 'feel' of discursive practices is an indication that 'one has captured or encountered most of what there is to say about a particular object or event' (ibid, 199).

My central research questions for this dissertation focused on identifying the discursive features within the texts that offered accounts of power and othering; how minority groups organise their version of events and how identities are constructed by them for themselves and others. Below I present an analysis of the identified discursive features.

Analysing the data

Discourse as Social Action

The Extracts¹ presented below are the opening utterances of interviews with two men and two women. In each extract the opening line that I, as the interviewer, offer is fairly similar each time namely asking the respondent to describe their experiences of racist harassment. Its purpose was to invite the respondent to share their experiences, be as open as possible but also to frame the discussion in relation to the topic being researched. I was aware that as a man interviewing women I may limit their responses. However, all respondents were told the identity of the interviewer in advance and they had the option to decline the interview.

The Extracts indicate a number of crucial issues relating to social action, identities and power. First, the opening statement I offered positioned the

¹ The text is presented in Extracts acting as illustrative exemplars of the identified discursive repertoires with additional quotations within the commentary. This follows the same format adopted by Wetherell et al. (2001a and b), Reisigl and Wodak, 2001 and Essed, 1997.

respondents to act/respond in relation to a constructed social problem (racist harassment). I could, for example, have asked how do they feel today, but I had already categorised the event. In this respect my own 'non-directive' opening was constructive in that I was building a social relation to access particular information. In aiming to understand how these respondents made meaning of racist incidents my opening utterance ensured that 'the world as described comes into existence at that moment' (Wetherell, 2001: 16). Further, my opening utterance suggests that there was an agreement between myself and the respondents in terms of what we meant by 'racist harassment' but I had not checked with them. In this respect I was in a position of power, imposing my meaning without clarification. Power in discourse is to do with powerful participants 'controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants' (Fairclough, 1989: 46). Power is mediated through discourse and has consequences that are actioned within discursive practices.

At this stage it was helpful to ask why this utterance in response to my opening utterance? What does it accomplish? (Wetherell, 2001:17). The discursive genre of the text is in the format of a non-directive interview (minimal questions but where questions are asked it is largely for clarification). Each respondent was aware I was a researcher, they knew the time I would be coming to see them in their homes and were made aware beforehand by a third party about the context of the research. In this respect the respondents were aware of what language event our interaction was, how they should behave, the interpersonal relations

involved and the speaking rights of those involved and broadly the subject matter. Such contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1982) are drawn on by people to organise their conduct. They also influence what is said and how it is said in relation to the previous utterance and in this respect discourse is constitutive.

Extract 1: Female, South American

R: Yes well before I moved here I didn't know the area I was also married to a Scottish man and I never quite sensed or was aware of any racial differences I just lived like another British person and I do hold a British passport...

Extract 2: Male, Somali

R: It started as soon as I arrived in this country as soon as we came because first we came from Somalia you know, so at that time we even couldn't speak much English. So what happened was the children and people around us they were teasing us you know, calling us names.

Extract 3: Male, Bangladeshi

R: Well the thing is I have been here nearly six years now. It is like the street people they are alright. It is more like what has happened before, you know. It doesn't happen regular but it happens now and again. It is like people round here they don't approve of us and we are the only Asian people living round here you know.

Extract 4: Female, White-Irish

R: Well we moved in, we came back from Tunisia about four years ago. We went into an area, my family, because I became Muslim disowned me. In a way so we became, both me and my husband, homeless. We went to the Mosque and they re-housed, a Muslim landlord housed us in the only place he could which was in a prominently Protestant area. My religion before that was Catholic. I didn't mind, I was wearing the scarf and I was Muslim and that, I was quite happy.

These opening statements produce some highly regular patterns of discourse (Edley, 2001). The first sentence in each extract focuses on identifying and locating place and time as a context for opening. The introduction of place may be important for a number of reasons. First, all interviews undertaken were with people who had self reported racist incidents occurring in and around where they lived. In this respect the research was framed primarily around those incidents. However, what is crucial to the respondents is to offer a time frame not necessarily of how long the racist incidents have been occurring but as a marker for the account they are giving that may/may not be relevant to how long the harassment has been occurring. Both the descriptions of place and time serve a function in relation to how the respondents position themselves. For positioning to occur, the respondents must draw on specific discourses, often in a particular context and to support a specific objective (Akinwumi, 2008). In this respect the

discourses of location or place and time become important in constructing or re-entering subject-positions from which the respondents understood and responded to their predicament.

Discursive accounts of Other

Other as a category for both analysis and developing theoretical frameworks is a relatively new concept within sociology (Riggins, 1997). Riggins distinguishes between the 'external Other' and the 'internal Other'. The 'external Other' refers to all people the Self perceives as mildly or radically different. Whilst (following Bakhtin, 1981) the 'internal Other' refers to the subconscious, a phase of the Self, or the experience of self-estrangement. Most accounts of discourses of Otherness focus on the ways in which majority groups 'other' minority groups, drawing on the concept of 'external other' (Riggins, 1997). Within this study the concept of external other is applied to the text in an exploratory way to draw out how minority group members themselves articulate being other; perceiving themselves as mildly or radically different through the actions of majority group members.

Othering the Self

In all of the above Extracts there are examples of utterances relating to being mildly or radically different; to being Other. In Extract 1 and 2 this is through

describing being new to the area (“I didn’t know the area” and “It started as soon as we came”); Extract 2, 3 and 4, however, offer phenotypical, linguistic and religious markers, for example, being Somalian, not being able to speak English, being a white Muslim who wears a headscarf and being the only Asian family in the vicinity. In Extract 2, 3, 4 this recognition of being different was utilised to explain how they in turn were being othered (for example, “we couldn’t speak much English...the people around us were calling us names” and “it is like they don’t approve of us”).

Repertoire of Disruption

The opening utterances are also suggestive of a discursive repertoire of disruption. In Extract 1 the respondent described how her integration into British life was essentially disrupted. She was married to a Scottish man, was a citizen and lived, as she perceived, like a British person. In sharp contrast, the respondent in Extract 2 did not have any claims to citizenship, could not speak English and had no obvious claims to any connection with their current location and thus their lives were already disrupted. In Extract 3 the disruption is occasional, there is on the face of what is presented no pattern or order to the racist harassment that the family experience but it does happen. In Extract 4, the process of converting to a different faith disrupted the taken for granted assumption of remaining within the chosen faith of the family.

Two key discursive repertoires that emerge, therefore, from the opening utterances of these interviews is a focus on being different and on disruption (or change). These repertoires would suggest that in initially talking about experiences of racist incidents, victims will offer accounts of how their identity was already framed around being Other.

Racist Name Calling

Both quantitative and qualitative studies have found that a key feature evident in the discursive accounts of 'victims' of racist incidents is talking about racist name calling (Modood et al. 1997, Citizens Advice Bureaux, 2005, Chahal, 2007).

Racist name calling towards the Other was evident in all the discursive accounts of racist harassment that I analysed and I offer examples from all 8 of the interviews I analysed.

Extract 1: Female, Guyanian

The only name she could call me was nigger and anytime she sees me that was the name she would use...she would see me and say go back where you are coming from nigger.

Extract 2: Male Pakistani, Female White-Scottish

Racial abuse it was black Bs. You could take your children to the van but you were getting black b or paki. Her [perpetrator] brother walked down the path and said 'what you looking at nigger?' I mean it was total racial abuse non-stop...I get called paki lover...nigger is racist

Male: They have always been racial incidents because we have been called black bastard or paki...We get banana skins thrown next to our car

Extract 3: Female Indian, Male White-Scottish

We were all paki bastards...like I was a paki bastard, darky. I mean over the course of the years I have actually forgotten what has been said but there has been racial comments been made constantly.

Extract 4: Male, Chinese

Yesterday...this very young child, local white child...she was chanting 'I want to be a chinky and I want to be it now'...I was utterly offended by it...it is a horrible sounding word and it is the way it is said...a lot of bitterness comes out.

Extract 5: Female, South American

...The children were punched and thrown stones at in the street and they were called paki...words that I had never heard in my life. My children came to ask me what it was all about.

Extract 6: Female, South American

People would call her [daughter] darky. I tend to forget so many things...it has been an on-going thing.

Extract 7: Female, White-Irish

Thinking I was Pakistani [wore hijab] they were calling me paki waki...in the shops I would get called paki

Extract 8: Male, Somali

They are calling us names like paki or black bastard...the major thing was calling us names like paki and they spray even the wall, you know the wall, our garden they spray 'paki go home'. Even they don't know Pakistanis, Indians and Africans, they can't distinguish you know. We tried to ignore it but it constantly happened.

Both males and females were targeted for racist abuse. In many of the interviews respondents had simply forgotten how many times they had been called racist names (for example, in Extract 6 the abuse was described as “an on-going thing” and in Extract 8 it was described as “it constantly happened). Whilst Essed (1997:135) remarks that this is ‘primarily’ because accounts of racism are reconstructions of past events, it is also because racist name calling is part of the lived experience of those who are the external other (Pearson et al. 1989):

“For white people, for example, racial harassment and racial attacks are undoubtedly merely incidental one-off events which are rarely, if ever, encountered. For black and minority ethnic groups on the other hand, these are areas of experience which are part and parcel of everyday life.”

Not being able to recollect the number of times racist name calling has occurred was, therefore, part of the external other becoming routine. For example, in Extract 4 and 7 the racist name calling occurred in the shop and on the streets away from the home. The essentialised identity given by the perpetrator to those marked out as different often meant that racist incidents were experienced in different locations sometimes unconnected to where the Other lives but the racist actions of strangers became part of the narrative of being othered and as Essed suggests informed recollections of the past. Further often the name calling itself

did not differentiate between groups, for example, in Extract 8, the Somali male described being called “paki” and “they can’t distinguish”.

Racist name calling in some of the above Extracts was described as ‘non-stop’, ‘constant’ and ‘on-going’ suggesting that racist name calling often took the form of multiple victimisation (Bowling, 1993, Thompson, 1988). In all of the Extracts above the racist name calling escalated into other forms of victimisation.

Racist name calling was a prevalent form of disapproval, social distance and non-acceptance of the person and family and was often an on-going event that had consequences on the lived experience of those who were othered. These consequences ranged, for example, from not letting the children out to play, changing routine and behaviour, suffering depression, and wanting to move from the area (Virdee, 1997, Chahal and Julienne, 1999), all of which arguably served to reinforce the identity of external others.

The naming of people as ‘nigger’, ‘paki’ and ‘chinky’ highlighted a negative, Other representation (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). The purpose of racist name calling was to identify, de-personalise and negatively objectify through racist terminology all those who were perceived different or acted differently (for example, spouses in inter-racial relations). Racist name calling served as a powerful act of disapproval (for example in Extract 1 the woman described being identified only as a “nigger”). Implicit within these racist slurs is an evaluation that the

'perpetrator' does not want to be like 'them', that there is a power relation – “what you looking at nigger” (Extract 2). In effect the racist name calling both names and shames those receiving/hearing the abuse and as discussed above has tangible consequences on the lived experience of those who are othered. In a number of the extracts racist abuse was a surprise in that the insult was a sudden revelation that they were perceived as different (for example, in Extract 3 the white male was as much described as a “paki bastard” as his Indian wife and in Extract 5 the female had not heard words like ‘paki’ before) and thus had to discover the denigrated social identity that was conferred on their perceived skin colour (Joshi et al. 2004)

Joshi et al. (2004) argued that given name-calling is an easy act to perpetrate, the possibility of encountering racism is random, unpredictable and frequent. The Extracts that I use exemplify these characterisations and indicate that the possibility of suffering racist name calling was frequent (Extract 3: “There have been racial comments made constantly”), unpredictable (Extract 5: “The children were called paki, words that I have never heard in my life”) and random (Extract 4: “A local white child was chanting ‘I want to be a chinky and I want to be it now’”) all suggesting multiple victimisation (Bowling, 1993). Further the extracts above indicate that often the racist name calling was coupled with other forms of violence often physical (Extract 5: “The children were punched and thrown stones at”), property damage (Extract 8: “They spray the wall, our garden they

spray 'paki go home'"), intimidation (Extract 1: "She would see me and say 'go back where you are coming from nigger'").

Racist stereotypes enhanced racist name calling. For example, the throwing of banana skins relates to imagery of the jungle, monkeys, animals (Extract 2: "We get banana skins thrown next to our car"), darky (Extract 6: "People would call her [daughter] darky") suggesting unclean, dirty or references to go back home (Extract 1: "She would say go back where you are coming from nigger") suggesting that they did not belong, did not fit in, were not welcome, were temporary and can be removed, have no attachment, are an illegitimate presence.

Gender and Racist Accounts

Essed (1997) offers a conceptual framework to understanding accounts of racism that comprise five elements: *context* (featuring time, place and participants), *complication* (describing problematic, unexpected, disturbing and/or exceptional acts), *evaluation* (explaining when these acts are evidence of racism), *argumentation* (further supporting arguments with respect to the evaluation) and the *decision* (planned or executed reaction). Not all of these categories will be equally present in accounts of racism. Applying Essed's conceptual framework to accounts of racist name calling, however, offers a method to break down the meaning-making of such events and what actions are taken. The following

extract offers an example of the five elements in aiding understanding accounts of racist events:

Extract 1: Female, Pakistani

“The man downstairs at the slightest noise he just starts to bang my door down and starts giving abuse (*context*)... They threaten to kill my children, it scares the little girl...the woman has threatened to break my door down...it happens most when they are drunk (*complication*)...as well as racist remarks they have called me a filthy paki (*evaluation*)...he wasn't just saying it to me...it was in general (*argumentation*)...I just try to ignore them most of the time (*decision*)...I have had to call the police thinking she would carry out her threat (*decision*)”

Thus racist experiences are complex events that cannot be seen just as accounts of racist action. Intersectionality is important here because each of these elements are foregrounded in interpretations that are gendered. For example in all of the Extracts below women suffered multiple forms of discrimination that intersect and do not act independently of one another. The text highlights how racist incidents were interrelated with nationality, sexism, sexual activity, stereotypes of black male sexual aggression, personal history children and motherhood.

Extract 2: Female, Pakistani

They have called me nigger and a lot of words that they are always using is whore. That is really disturbing especially when I have got three children here...We have had to come away from domestic violence...

Extract 3: Female, South American

Soon after moving here there was literature put through my letterbox from pornographic magazines showing naked women but dark women.

Extract 4: Female, White-Welsh

I was on the bus and I could hear two old ladies talking and I could hear 'how must her mother feel?...She is a black man's whore. There was one time someone said [to her son] 'your mother is being raped by a Somalian...a monkey...'

These extracts highlight that the incidents have the effect of multiplied discrimination – one category (gender) is used to extend the impact of the Other, the combination is a powerful marker consisting of more than the sum of the parts. Whilst gendered, these extracts also provide evidence of sexualised racist language and the two aspects work together. For example, in Extract 3, 'she is a

black man's whore' aims to name and shame, offer disapproval and disgust and make inappropriate assertions about a woman's behaviour and choice. Further it suggests that the 'black man' is only able to have highly sexualised relations that he controls and dominates her and these are not normal sexual relations – they are aggressive and illicit. In this respect they act as markers of negative black masculinity.

The abuse also worked through women's identity as mothers. In each of the three extracts the respondents had children in their care and the women were targeted either directly or indirectly through their children. Further, the sexual racism, in all three extracts, was as much perpetrated by men as women. In Extract 1 the term 'whore' distressed the respondent *because* she was a single mother and was fleeing domestic violence. Indeed in 2 of the 3 extracts it was single mothers who were targeted and without a male partner it could be suggestive that there was a 'natural entitlement' (Gilmore, 1995 in DeFrancisco: 45, 1997) to be abusive.

In extract 2, the use of pornographic images of 'dark women' seemed to bring to the surface that this was part of an overt racist and sexist campaign that utilised imagery of the exotic other. This behaviour reflects an underlying assumption both about single women in general and minority women in particular. There are some indications that some minority women are perceived as sexually exotic and permissive (Essed, 1991: 31).

The three extracts highlight how generic insults and actions – whore, sexual imagery, rape – are applied within a racist discourse and are clearly sexualised. Implicit within Extract 3 is a commentary about black masculinity – the myth of the black rapist (Essed, 1991), also suggesting that the woman is a passive victim without agency. Black masculinity is devalued through the humiliation and degradation of women. In both Extract 3 and the earlier extract focusing on bananas, metaphors for animalistic behaviours are used along with characteristics that aim to dehumanise the other and humanise the self. These operate on a hierarchical typology that, as van Dijk argues, rationalises and justifies discrimination (van Dijk 1984: 13 in Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 22), acts as a key trope that justifies making value judgments (distinguishing between, for example, good and bad) and enacts social distancing (physical and psychological distance from the Other) (Riggins, 1997).

Social Emotions

Being embarrassed and feeling shame were familiar themes within the text and influenced how men and women responded to both the actions of the perpetrators and the responses of family and friends. All of the four extracts below highlight a change in behaviour as a direct consequence of racist incidents that were spoken in terms of shame and embarrassment.

Extract 1: Male, Pakistani

...sometimes the family calls here on their holiday right and they [especially the boys] say paki bastard those things to all my friends. I just feel really uncomfortable about these things and they [friends and relatives] ask me 'why don't you buy another house?' I can't afford it. You feel really bad because I know we are just trying to avoid that family...

Extract 2: Female, Pakistani

It is embarrassing. I can't invite anyone to my house. The children are the same...they can't have any friends coming in or out. I can't even invite them [family] over. I am ashamed...I can't have my family coming to see me living like this [escaped domestic violence]

Extract 3: Female, White-Welsh

She [15 year old daughter] is humiliated living in a hostel. She had a nice house you know what I mean. They [daughter's white grandparents] tried to influence her away from me and my partner.

Extract 4: Female, White-Irish

It affected my husband quite a lot. I mean I am his wife and I am getting verbally abused in the street. I just wasn't allowed out after five o'clock at night. I mean he is a man and he is a big man but people here have no respect for life.

One starting point for the process of shame/embarrassment is that an event triggers self-attention and produces awareness of failure to live up to some actual or ideal self-representation that legitimise and enact the distinction between the Self and the Other (Crozier, 2006). If this is accepted, shame and embarrassment act to question the Other's role and position and influence their actions and responses. There is evidence of this process in all four extracts. In Extract 2, for example, this is expressed in terms of not being able to invite friends and family over and being unable to reciprocate. In Extract 4, the shame is discussed in terms of the denial of the masculine role to defend the spouse ('he is a big man').

Embarrassment occurs when some event – often, but not necessarily, a flawed public performance – creates a predicament for the individual by putting his or her social identity at risk, either by threatening loss of public esteem or 'face', or by giving rise to uncertainty about how to behave and can be triggered by loss of esteem in the eyes of others (Crozier, 2006: 105). Extract 1 and 2 exemplify the

role embarrassment plays in the social regulation of conduct. For example, the loss of public esteem in being asked by a friend or family member 'why don't you buy another house?' (Extract 1) or the fear that your new life will not be judged as an improvement on your old life (Extract 2).

Embarrassment can represent a breakdown in an encounter (Crozier, 2006) when a definition of the situation that participants have constructed cannot be sustained:

"Embarrassment has to do with unfulfilled expectations... the elements of a social encounter consist of effectively projected claims to an acceptable self and the confirmation of like claims on the part of others. When an event throws doubt upon or discredits these claims, then the encounter finds itself lodged in assumptions which no longer hold." (Crozier, 2006:105)

Thus in Extract 3 the change in housing accommodation begins to challenge the 'acceptable self' from living in a 'nice house' to living in a hostel which the father presents as 'humiliating' for his daughter. In Extract 2 the woman feels unable to invite family members to the house because of 'I am ashamed...I can't have my family coming to see me living like this' has consequences on the type and level of subsequent interpersonal contact. The failure to live up to standards is often from the perspective of the (a) shamed person. Thus in Extract 4, the shame of a man whose wife was being verbally attacked in public (embarrassment) led to

him imposing a curfew and intersected his gendered power over her use of space.

Crozier (2006: 33) identifies three criteria to define the self-conscious emotions of shame which can be applied to the extracts identified above. First, an awareness that there are standards and rules for conduct. This is demonstrated in each extract, for example, in Extract 2 and 3 through talk of living somewhere 'nice' and where friends and relatives can come and go unimpeded. Second, an evaluation of the success or failure of actions, thoughts and feelings relative to the standards and rules. This is demonstrated for example in Extract 1 where visitors to the house are racially abused or in Extract 3 where there are feelings of humiliation because the standards and rules cannot be met. Finally, Crozier identifies attribution of success or failure to the self, specifically to either global (shame) or specific (guilt) dimensions of the self. For example, in Extract 2 the female feels shame stating that "I can't have my family coming up to see me living like this" or in Extract 4 where the man could not protect his wife.

Chapter 5:

Interpreting the Data

Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed how I collected and analysed the data, identifying a number of discursive repertoires from the accounts of victims of racist incidents. In this section I will discuss the analysis of data in relation to my earlier research questions, the literature review and the theoretical debates that emerged from the review.

Discussion

My initial aim was to explore the Other and power relations through a conceptual framework of a CDA combined with a discourse analysis that identified discursive repertoires for a critical commentary. As I embarked on reading and rereading the transcripts it became clear that I was helped by being familiar with the data and that the 'craft skill' of identifying repertoires was enhanced by being the person who originally collected the data and analysed it (Edley, 2001). Given this I was aware of what I had originally extracted from the data (Chahal and Julienne, 1999) and knew that there was still more that could be applied through adopting additional theoretical frameworks. I knew from previous work that I

already had a feel for the 'discursive terrain' (Edley, 2001:199). But my own experience, reading and knowledge had expanded since my earlier exploration and analysis and this has influenced how I have approached and reread the data.

I present below my interpretation of the data analysis in relation to my original research questions.

What are the discursive features within the interview text that offer accounts of power and dominance?

van Dijk offers a conceptual advance to the study of power in discourse that is relevant to this study. He suggests that whilst a CDA approach focuses on the elites and their discursive strategies for the maintenance of inequality (van Dijk, 1993), this macro-level analysis is only one approach to making transparent discourse domination. He suggests that because micro-level or 'surface' structures may be less regulated by legal or moral rules, there is likely to be more 'unofficial' exercise of power and dominance. van Dijk suggests that at this micro-level discourse dominance can only be suggestive of power if:

'such violations are generalised, occur in text and talk directed at, or about, specific dominated groups only, and if there are no contextual justifications other than such group membership' (van Dijk, 305 in Wetherell et al., 2001)

The data I have presented would fit within van Dijk's preconditions of a micro-level analysis of discourse dominance. The data analysis has shown that a range of discursive positions were articulated and highlighted how the Other was positioned and positioned themselves within the local ethnoscape (Hesse, 1992) through being made aware of their difference and defining themselves as different. Racist markers, actions that could only be explained in the context of racism, served as a powerful tool to exclude and act as a reminder of non-acceptance of minority groups. These racist markers were constructed through discourses of the Other, discursive repertoires such as disruption and disapproval acted through racist name-calling, gendered racism, and a continuum of racist violence with consequences that included emotional (shame and embarrassment) and psychological harm arising from the accumulation of everyday racist experiences indicating that the:

"mechanisms of racial exclusion and the repression of other cultures are integrated in the mundane and routine practices of everyday life. In this process, the dominant group comes to perceive and experience the marginalization and problematization of the Other as normal". (Essed, 1997: 133)

The power for action to be controlled was endemic in the accounts of victims and highlighted how racist incidents undermine and challenge the Self of the Other (Essed: 1997: 133). This was achieved through racist name calling utilising both

metaphors and sexual racism and highlighted that minority groups are targeted and stereotyped in everyday discourses but also through the Other responding and reorganising their lives.

How do minority groups organise their version of events and how are identities constructed?

Three key aspects emerged from the re-analysis of the data that focused on the way that versions of events were organised and identities constructed. Firstly, discourses of location or place and time become important in constructing or re-entering subject-positions from which the respondents understood and responded to their predicament. The men and women I spoke with all situated their accounts in personal geographies and histories in their opening remarks, namely they offered what Essed (1997) describes as context

Secondly, in the discursive accounts of racist incidents that I recorded there were examples of women talking about sexual racism that were not evident from male accounts. This would suggest that minority women and women in intimate relations with minority men are more likely to be racially abused with sexual references than men. These events were often described as problematic, unexpected and often disturbing acts or as Essed describes as complications. Essed (1991) argues that sexual racism is a form of gendered racism and cannot therefore be separated from gender-specific control of minority groups. However,

it cannot also be seen as separate from sexism more generally and the sexist images of women in particular. It reinforces the way in which sexual objectification of women is sanctioned by society (DeFrancisco, 1997) and supports claims that all forms and degrees of harassment should be viewed on a violence continuum (Kissling, 1991; Kelly, 1987). In relation to women's experience of sexual violence Kelly (1987:77) proposes the continuum as – 'a continuous series of events which pass into one another and which cannot be readily distinguished'. This theme involves approaching victimisation as a process, which connects everyday acts of abuse with severe forms of violence and recognises multiple victimisation but also, I propose, recognising multiple harm and a continuum of impact or changes in behaviour that victims of racist incidents in this study highlighted.

Whilst there were accounts of men not being able to perform expected roles, a woman's femininity was directly challenged and black masculinity was indirectly challenged through the female victim. Women's identities as mothers were similarly challenged through sexualised abuse directed at them through their children. These women were not only from minority groups but also majority groups in inter-racial relations. Essed defines gendered racism as 'the racial oppression of Black women as structured by racist and ethnicist perceptions of gender roles' (Essed, 1991: 31). However, following this analysis I would suggest that it be extended to all women who are perceived as non-white or involved in inter-racial intimate relations.

The everyday experiences of racist incidents have a consequence on the lives of women from minority groups creating feelings of intimidation and insecurity but also questioning and marking their sexual and maternal identity that has emotional and psychological consequences. Critical black feminists have introduced the concept of 'spirit injury' or 'spirit murder' to get to the full impact of racism and sexism upon women's lives (Davis, 1997, Williams, 1997 in Spalek, 2006):

"Spirit murder can be considered to be the product of an accumulation of a myriad of micro-processes that constitute aggressive, racist, sexist language and behaviour from the 'uncontrollable, powerful, external observers who constitute society'."

The accumulative effects of continual, daily harassment on the basis of race and gender on people because of their subject-position can be dramatic and result in 'spirit injury' or what I consider to be total harm, as this a Guyanian female described through a series of events:

"The only name she could call me was nigger...The daughter called me a bitch...My washing line was cut...She wrote to the social workers that I beat my boy...She told me to move my bin because my bin smells...she followed me with her car...she attacked me at work...I couldn't eat food...This house is like a

haunted house. It is like it follows me. Sometimes I am asleep and I will wake up and it is like someone is shouting on me. It is like someone is singing abusive songs through the window, into my garden and through my bedroom."

Thirdly, shame and embarrassment are two crucial discursive repertoires that emerge from the accounts of victims of racist incidents. They are important because they influence how the individual responds to the experience but also in terms of the role social emotions play in the regulation of conduct through being 'othered'. Thus for example, the crude distinction between shame (private humiliation, racist incidents unknown to significant others) and embarrassment (public humiliation, racist incidents made known to significant others) is likely to have a real impact on their own subjectivity, decisions to disclose/report and how significant others will respond or help.

How does the Other emerge from accounts of perceived racist events?

The analysis of racist name calling is suggestive of a common language of othering that cuts across racial background, gender, place and context. For those who are doing the name calling the terms are accepted as an inclusive language, used to act as a dominant marker of social distance (Riggins, 1997: 5). However, for those who were being targeted the racist name calling was an accumulating experience with a historic and situated context of racism (for example, in describing the name calling as constant).

The Self constructs the Other only as a homogenous entity (Rathzel, 1997) and the multiplicity of selves involved in constructing and positioning the Other is lost. I have been able to show from the discursive accounts of victims of racist incidents how the Other experiences and constructs racist incidents depends on multiple factors including, being a parent, gender, length of residence, personal histories and religious and racial identity.

This research has also been able to highlight that part of understanding racist events from a victim's perspective is to recognise how they may other themselves through an internalized external Other. In their accounts of racist incidents the men and women I interviewed retrospectively positioned themselves as different and were regulating themselves as being different. This is critical to an understanding of the dynamic relationship between the Self and Other because it enables a theoretical framework to develop that highlights the complexity of identity construction. The data shows non-linearity. Several, and sometimes on going, racist actions and events lead into a chain of multiple impacts over time and place. There was an awareness of self-estrangement (Riggins, 1997) before the racist incidents began and in this sense the self of the Other is doubly targeted, possibly, resulting in spirit injury (Spalek, 2006) because of a total negative experience that includes having to deal with the consequences of shame and embarrassment.

Chapter 6

Findings

Introduction

I set out in this dissertation to explore meaning making of racist experiences from the perspective of minority groups with a focus on how power was framed, how the Other was described in discourse and how racist incidents were gendered. This involved my refocusing on data I had originally collected in 1998-1999. Using a discourse analysis approach to draw on interpretative repertoires I wanted to draw on conceptions of power discussed in the CDA literature (van Dijk, 1993). In this chapter I will focus on the main findings and their implications for future research, and the validity and limitations of the research.

Findings

The text used in this study was from transcripts of interviews I previously had conducted for a national research on the impact of racist victimisation. In conducting the reanalysis of the present study I was helped by the fact that I had both collected and analysed the original data (Heaton, 2000, Hammersley, 1997) and was familiar with the text. I wanted to ask different questions of the data and apply that to the literature review. In identifying discursive repertoires I have been

able to offer a different perspective from the earlier findings (Chahal and Julienne, 1999) by asking different questions (Heaton, 2004). However, I have also been able to show continuities in the findings, for example, that in recent research racist name calling remains a key discursive strategy that the Self uses to mark the Other (Victim Support, 2006). This begins to demonstrate that secondary data analysis of historical depth interviews is worthwhile in uncovering what Gillies and Edwards (Gillies and Edwards, 2005: 7) describe as the 'enduring continuities' in how people live and relate with each other. This is an important perspective from a critical discourse analysis in that questions can be asked for example, in relation to how does the Other reproduce itself in different discourses, is it different in relation to context, what does a 'continuity' seek to achieve or indicate about the complexity of social life? Indeed I feel that the data I collected in 1998-99 continues to speak and hold meaning as has been demonstrated by the uncovering of discursive repertoires that echo and build on the findings of others (for example, Essed, 1991, van Dijk, 1987, Victim Support, 2006).

Drawing on discursive repertoires and applying a CDA has enabled some key concepts of discourses of the Other to emerge from the text. These discourses indicate that the Other operates in a dynamic way in both recognising how one is othered but also in respect to a self analysis of othering oneself. This study highlights that the Other is not a unitary being but a continuously co-constructed phenomena, whose identity is shaped by and through discourse. This finding is

critical in that it highlights the continuity of racist experiences, that these are not one of events but often sustained through time and place with consequences that involve both emotional and psychological harm.

Validity and Limitations of the Research

The study I have conducted is partial in that I only re-analysed a third of the text of the total interviews within a short timeframe. However, the study does have a broader applicability, for example, in relation to experiences of anti-social behaviour in neighbourhoods or understanding harm in other victims of crime (Spalek, 2006). In relation to validity, combining discourse analysis with CDA was an appropriate method. Given that CDA is described as neither a method nor a theory but an analysis (Baker et al. 2008) synthesising the two approaches to discourse was acceptable. This led to a wider understanding of Other revealing data both on Self and the Internal Other through the technique of drawing out discursive repertoires. However, a key drawback within CDA is its methodological focus on macro settings for its critical analysis. That potentially ignores how dominated groups organise their lives and what such groups accomplish through the discourses of the Other.

My own understanding and experience of the academic literature and theoretical frameworks has developed as I have been going through the process of the MRes. Whilst I was aware of the research on racist incidents, my knowledge on

the theory was limited. Further, I applied a CDA approach because I wanted to draw out accounts of power from the perspective of the victims. Whilst in part this was achieved, I felt with more time and a better worked out theoretical framework I could have gone much further in my analysis. However, my data analysis fits into a genre of CDA that 'adopts any method that is adequate to realise the aims of specific CDA-inspired research' (Baker et al. 2008:273, van Dijk, 2000).

Future Research

This study was small in scale in that I only attempted to reanalyse a few of the total corpus of interviews that I undertook for the original research. In this sense I provide a snap shot of what is potentially available from undertaking a full reanalysis. It would be interesting to reanalyse all the interviews and position them within current research on racist incidents to be able to ask how the discourses of victims of racist incidents are theorised and how such discourses influence practical and policy responses ranging from support to community-based interventions. It may also prove useful to situate the original naturalistic data I collected in context. In other words, within what was occurring at precisely that time in a different discourse – the Macpherson Inquiry. A key question could be how was discursive evidence that was offered to the Inquiry similar or dissimilar in how victims constructed their experiences?

The findings from the data analysis indicate gaps in the literature and in the application of theoretical frameworks. For example, my analysis of data would suggest that one key approach victims of racist incidents use to make meaning about being Other is to position themselves, prior to experiencing any racist incidents, as already different (internal Other). This requires further investigation to uncover the range and competing versions of Other that impact and influence how victims make meaning and position themselves to the Self. Does it have any practical relevance to how victims are helped?

My data analysis uncovered a key discursive repertoire on social emotions, primarily shame and embarrassment. There is a gap in the literature on this in relation to victims of racist incidents. There has been research into violence that has stressed the importance of shame as a trigger for acts of violence and applied to the emotions of racist violence in relation to the motivations of perpetrators (Ray, et al. 2005). However, I have as yet found no evidence of empirical or theoretical work relating shame, or indeed, social emotions more broadly, to victims of racist incidents. Violence results from being shamed and violence is in turn used to restore 'lost or threatened pride or honour' (Ray, et al. 2005, Gilligan, 2000). Gilligan (2000: 110) describes the emotion of shame as the 'primary or ultimate cause of all violence, whether towards others or towards the self'. It may be instructive to ask then how shame operates for the Other, how it regulates the Other, does the Other exhibit violence, what is characteristic of shame for the Other, and what shame accomplishes?

From my literature review it is evident that quantifying racist incidents is a key strategy to how the problem is understood as a social problem and it is only fairly recently that qualitative research has begun to explore in-depth the impact and consequences of racist incidents. My re-analysis of data demonstrates that within racist incidents, gender and intersectionality are key issues that need to be explored. Whilst it is evident from the data that men and women experience racist incidents differently, it would be informative to uncover how men and women construct their own versions and how then these are used by them as sites of resistance and subjectivity.

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Appendix I

Profile of Interviewees

I have presented below a brief synopsis of each interviewee.

1. Female, South American

The interviewee is a single parent with one daughter. She has lived in her flat for about 2 years and has constant trouble from youths

2. Female, White-Irish

The interviewee is Irish born, married to a Tunisian man. They left their home after being threatened, abused and firebombed. She now lives in a hostel, her husband has returned to Tunisia

3. Female, Guyanian

The interviewee lives in private rented accommodation with her son. Her immediate neighbour and their daughter have abused, threatened and attacked her. There has also been property damage.

4. Female, South American

The interviewee is a single parent with two children. She had on-going problems and the racist abuse was very common. They left the house they were living in.

5. Female, Pakistani

The interviewee lives with her three children and recently left a violent marriage. She moving in they have all been abused and intimidated by the couple who live below them

6. Female, White-Welsh

The interviewee lives with her two children and her Somali partner. They started suffering racist incidents after her partner moved in. They made themselves intentionally homeless to escape the racist abuse and violence.

7. Male, Bangladeshi

The interviewee is married and has five children. They have lived at the property for 6 years and for over 5 ½ years have suffered racist name calling and attacks on their property.

8. Male, Somali

The interviewee lives with his wife and children. They experienced racist incidents as soon as they moved onto a housing estate. They have moved twice but now live in a predominately Somali neighbourhood

9. Male, Chinese

The interviewee talked about a range of racist incidents he has experienced over the course of his life.

10. Male, Pakistani and Female, White-Scottish

They have one daughter and have suffered racist incidents for the past 18 months.

11. Female Indian and Male, White-Scottish

The couple live with their two children and have had numerous problems with the neighbours. Their daughter has been singled out for racist abuse and intimidation.

Appendix II

An overview of the original study

The original study was funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and managed by the Federation of Black Housing Organisations (FBHO). I was the research fellow recruited to undertake all aspects of the research process. The study lasted for 18 months from July 1997 to November 1998. FBHO were keen to explore from a qualitative perspective the impact of racist harassment on the lives of black and minority ethnic people. Given the media coverage of the Stephen Lawrence murder and the findings from the 4th PSI study on racist violence, the FBHO wanted to gather a UK wide picture on the impact and consequences of racist harassment. Also given the evidence was that most racist incidents occurred in and around where people live, the FBHO were keen to establish how people lived with racist experiences.

The study itself took on a number of stages: literature and research review; deciding on and agreeing access to geographical areas (Cardiff, Glasgow, London and Belfast) and to key agencies within these areas (namely, the police, racial equality councils and local authority housing departments); focus groups in each area with minority ethnic people (regardless whether they had been victims of racist incidents); organising and undertaking a series of recorded in-depth interviews with people who had reported racist incidents to one of the 3 agencies above; transcribing, analysing and writing the report. The research was published in 1999 with the title ***'We can't all be white!' Racist victimisation in the UK.***

Appendix III

Interview Schedule

The original interview schedule was limited in its topic formulation. This was because the approach adopted was to undertake an unstructured, in-depth interview. Thus in each interview, the opening statement was 'Describe/tell me about your experiences of racial harassment.' Beyond this opening statement the interviewer had a few themes to explore. These included the nature and extent of racial harassment, telling and reporting, consequences and impacts, action taken by the victim.

The original study undertook a thematic analysis of the transcribed data. For the MRes, I purposively selected and coded the opening utterances to draw on how the respondents framed the issue and from these utterances I coded themes. Racist abuse featured in all the interviews. I selected differing accounts from the interviews and coded emerging themes. In reading accounts made by women, I selected and coded accounts of sexualised racism. I coded key words, for example, humiliated, shame, embarrassed to draw out a general theme on social emotions. Much of the familiarity with the transcripts came from reading and re-reading the interviews and setting them against what had emerged in the literature review.