

What u lookin @? –

Us and Them in this Age of Anxiety

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"ISLAMOPHOBIA – A CHALLENGE FOR US ALL", 1997

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PART ONE: INTRODUCTORY

(a) Amani's story

Amani is an American citizen of Jordanian and Palestinian heritage. In September 2001 she was nine years old and in the weeks and months following 9/11 she found herself bullied and taunted by other children at her school, and excluded and frozen out from birthday parties, games and conversations. She was in consequence lacking in that sense of self-worth that comes from belonging to a group, and receiving concern and respect from people you care about – being one of us, not one of them. In a word which in those pre-Facebook days did not have the meaning it has now, she felt unfriended.

In the words of a poet who lived in England some four hundred years earlier, Amani felt 'in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes: she all alone bewept her outcast state, troubled deaf heaven with her bootless cries, looked upon herself and cursed her fate, wishing to be like to one more rich in hope'.¹

So, she referred herself to her school's guidance counsellor. The counsellor reflected to her what she had said, and offered guidance and counsel, a direction

of travel. 'You say every single kid in your class is attacking you ... Well, if everyone feels that way about you, then maybe you need to change.'

In the months and years that followed Amani did change, but not in the way the counsellor had in mind. She assertively refused to internalise the abuse she was getting from her peers, and resolutely refused to adopt the simplistic worldview and assumptions of her school's guidance counsellor (in essence, 'stop being a Muslim', or minimally 'stop looking or sounding like a Muslim'). She chose instead to build resistance and resilience not only for herself but also for thousands of others in the same outcast state of not belonging, of being one of *them* rather than one of *us*. In her early teens she taught herself HTML and set up a website that is visited nowadays by girls and young women all over the United States, and in other countries as well.

Amani's autobiography about her life so far – *Muslim Girl: a coming of age* – was published last year when she was 23 years old and reprinted with an afterword earlier this autumn. In the book's introduction she comments that people such as herself have 'a responsibility to use our privileges, resources and every avenue at our disposal to assert a change that will ripple out and alter the course of history'. In the afterword published this year she adds 'we owe it to ourselves and to each other to find the strength, courage and resolve to speak our truths'.²

'Don't just stand there and look,' says a piece of ancient advice, 'do something'. The opposite is good advice too: 'Don't just do something, stand there and look.' Amani's story challenges us to do something. But also it challenges us to stand there, to take stock, to look.

'What are you looking at?' asks the title of this lecture. Human beings first started asking each other that question at least 70,000 years ago. But the language in which it is formulated here today – 'what u lookin @?' – is the language of tweeting and text-messaging, which is less than 25 years old. Young people have always grown up in an anxious world, and have always needed to learn how to stand there, take stock, look. But nowadays looking has certain distinctive new dimensions, symbolised by the international conventions of youth culture and social media.

This lecture is going to name nine themes or things relating to Islamophobia that, so it argues, we need to look at and think about before we continue to act. For convenience each theme has a one-word title. In the order in which something is said about each of them they are: 1) Hurts 2) Shoes 3) Storms 4) Lines 5) Words 6) Tribes 7) Lights 8) Hopes 9) Friends. Each brief discussion of one of these titles is accompanied by an image, or icon, to help fix in our minds some of the theme's components.

But first, a brief word about the report on Islamophobia that was published by the Runnymede Trust 20 years ago this month, and that we are recalling and recognising this evening, and some acknowledgements and tributes to others.

Introduction: (b) Background and acknowledgements

The Runnymede Trust was founded in 1968 by E J B Rose (Jim Rose) and Anthony Lester. Rose was the principal author of a magisterial study entitled *Colour and Citizenship*, and subtitled *A report on British race relations*, published in 1969. Lester, now Lord Lester, worked with Home Secretary Roy Jenkins to update race relations legislation introduced in this country in the 1960s, and was the chief architect of the Race Relations Act 1976. Reflecting these titles, the dominant terms in Runnymede's discourse were race, race relations and colour. The discourse portrayed everyone as either white or coloured – or, according to the terminology developed in the eighties, white or black (later, since about 1998, white or BME – black and minority ethnic). The worldview reflected in this language was derived in part from the United States and in part from Britain's history as a colonial power.

Alternative views of so-called race relations were advocated from about 1990 onwards within the Runnymede staff team and by some of its trustees, and in 1992 the Trust set up a commission on a form of racism that was clearly not essentially to do with colour: antisemitism. One of the report's formal recommendations was that there should be a broadly similar commission on Islamophobia. In so far as the word was known and used at all in the early 1990s, it referred to anti-Muslim hostility not only in the general population but also, more specifically, amongst antiracist and race equality groups and organisations – the Commission for Racial Equality and local racial equality councils, for example, and units and projects in local authorities and other public services, and organisations such as the Runnymede Trust.

The commission's report, published in November 1997, made 60 recommendations covering topics such as education, employment, law, health, law and data collection, and were addressed to (in this order) the prime minister's office, the social exclusion unit, local education authorities, housing authorities, health care organisations, police forces, employers and unions, funding organisations, the National Union of Journalists, Muslim and non-Muslim faith organisations, political parties, the press complaints commission, race equality organisations and monitoring groups, and the Runnymede Trust itself.³

Most of these 60 recommendations were implemented in the ensuing twenty years, though not necessarily as a result of the report and not always as vigorously, speedily and sensitively as the commission would have wished. A follow-up report was published by the Runnymede Trust earlier this month (November 2017).⁴

Acknowledgement is due this evening to Gordon Conway, who chaired the Runnymede Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia in 1996/97, and to all the commission's members; Richard Stone, a member of the commission who chaired and guided many developments after the report was published; the Stone Ashdown Trust, that funded the follow-up developments; and the great

company of individuals and organisations, not only in this country but also in many others, whose work and words, and actions and advocacy, have helped over the last twenty years to shape understanding of what this phenomenon named as Islamophobia actually is, or may be, and how it may be resisted, and how removed, how changed out of existence.⁵

PART TWO: NINE THEMES

1. Hurts

'I held an atlas in my lap,' writes the young Somali poet Warsan Shire, 'ran my fingers across the whole world/ and whispered/ where does it hurt?/ it answered/ everywhere/ everywhere/ everywhere.' Yes, the world hurts everywhere, and there are many kinds of hurt as also there are many kinds of place where hurts happen.



The 1997 report on Islamophobia distinguished between four main kinds of hurt inflicted on Muslims, and people believed to be Muslims. They are summarised below.

- **Text and talk in the climate of opinion.** All Muslims are perceived to be the same, regardless of nationality, social class, gender, age, political ideology and religious observance, and all as essentially and intrinsically different from non-Muslims, with no values, needs or interests in common.
- **Violence and abuse.** Muslims are at the receiving end not only of hate crime against persons and property but also of micro-aggressions such as taunts in school playgrounds, as in the case of Amani. and 'the unkindness of strangers', as the term might be, in public places.
- **Direct and indirect discrimination.** Muslims are treated unequally in employment and the provision of services and resources, including the criminal justice system and (latterly) counter-terrorism measures, for example the Prevent programme.
- **Exclusion and absence ('missing Muslims').** Muslims have very little say in political decision-making and mainstream cultural life.⁶

Each of these four can be both a cause and a consequence of each of the others.

2 Shoes

It is often said that only those on the receiving end of exclusion and pain truly know where the shoe pinches. But they do not necessarily know, it has also been said, who or what fitted them up.



Similarly, those who do the hating and attacking, be it in school playgrounds or on city streets, do not necessarily know what drives them.

It was right that this talk should start with a reminder of hurts, including those which occur in local and small places such as school playgrounds. But we must attend to the big picture too with its many different details. We must therefore ask *cui bono*, to whom is the benefit.

3 Storms

It has become increasingly clear during the last 20 years that racism and xenophobia are caused and exacerbated by several separate trends coming together and reinforcing each other. What causes the shoe to pinch is a huge storm – ‘a perfect storm’ – of many different tempests, or many different material interests, coming together and flowing into each other.



The different trends and material interests include the following.

- **Legitimising inequality:** the desire to justify patterns of inequality in modern Western societies.
- **Fossil fuel supplies and ‘project for the new Western century’:** the desire in Western countries to maintain and defend fossil fuel supplies in the Middle East; and therefore to justify the military invasions of Iraq, Libya and Afghanistan, and to motivate Western troops and security services to mistreat, torture and kill.

- **Israel/Palestine:** Western countries, particularly the United States, wish to stand by and support the state of Israel, particularly its current leadership, in its dealings with Palestine.
- **Globalised insecurity:** Governments cannot control, to the extent they did in the past, economic, financial, cultural and ecological borders. The resulting insecurities, anxieties, precarities and crises of legitimacy lead to scapegoating and moral panics. Ethnic and religious minorities, and also various other minorities, become convenient enemies and targets, though they are not in fact the principal causes.
- **Commercial pressures on the media:** Proprietors and editors wish to sell newspapers, and therefore to excite and orchestrate frissons of fear, spreading and responding to moral panic. They want to reassure readers that threats to identity, status and normality are understood and can be dealt with.
- **Electoral politics:** Political parties, movements and individual politicians wish to gain votes in local and national elections, and to diminish the attractiveness of political opponents. This frequently leads them to use xenophobia, for example, by playing the Muslim card. Sometimes it is done in-your-face, sometimes with a more or less subtle dog-whistle.
- **Scepticism, secularism and permissiveness:** There is widespread scepticism in Western countries towards religious beliefs, identities and institutions mixed perhaps with envy towards those who claim religious certainty.
- **Changes in households, families and relationships:** Many people, particularly in older generations, have been bewildered by the speed and strength of the changes heralded by, for example, marriage equality legislation in western countries.
- **Religious illiteracy:** Not just ignorance of elementary facts but also a gross failure to understand the nature and function of religious language – ‘God talk’. Incidentally, such illiteracy is not unknown among observant and devout believers: it is not just the hallmark of atheists.
- **The aims and methods of terrorism:** Organisations and movements that use violence to achieve their aims derive benefit from Islamophobia, so they think, since expressions of it confirm their narratives about ‘the West’ and attract moral, material and legitimacy support for themselves.
- **Legacy of history:** For many centuries, western and non-Western cultures have been engaged in military conflict with each other. Relationships and mutual perceptions have been deeply affected by conquest, colonisation, resistance and rebellion.

4 Lines

Caught in a storm of trends and factors such as those listed above, human beings are torn between fight and flight, and either way they yearn for

simplicity. If only, as Russian dissident Alexander Solzhenitsyn famously mused in *The Gulag Archipelago*, everything were simple. He continued:

If only there were evil people somewhere insidiously committing evil deeds, and it were necessary only to separate them from the rest of us and destroy them. But the line dividing good and evil cuts through the heart of every human being... Even within hearts overwhelmed by evil, one small bridgehead of good is retained. And even in the best of all hearts, there remains an unrooted small corner of evil.



One seductive form of simplicity is that which distinguishes tightly between self and other, in-group and out-group, people like us (PLU) and people like them (PLT). These simplicities include regarding People Like Them as:

- **all the same**, a monolithic, undifferentiated mass
- **wholly different** in every significant way from PLU, with no values or interests in common
- **a threat** – perhaps even a physical threat, certainly a threat to PLU's sense of status, history and identity - in other words a threat to their very existence
- **irrational, violent and destructive**, motivated only or primarily by hatred towards PLU, since there is no other conceivable reason (so it is imagined) for hostility
- **prone to making criticisms** of PLU that are unjustified, and seldom, if ever, worth attending to.

The upshot of these various expectations, both separately and in combination with each other, is the assumption that constructive interaction and cooperation between People Like Us and People Like Them is essentially impossible.

It's crucial to remember, incidentally, that drawing a tight and impermeable line between PLT and PLU involves not only demonising and dread of PLT but also idealising and misrepresentation of PLU. This was once nicely captured by a spoof new national anthem for the English written and performed by Flanders and Swann. The English, the English, the English are best, they announced, 'I wouldn't give tuppence for all of the rest'. The song contained appalling and unrepeatable stereotypes about the UK's other three nations, and drew towards its conclusion with slightly less explicit nastiness about other European countries:

And crossing the Channel, one cannot say much
Of French and the Spanish, the Danish or Dutch
The Germans are German, the Russians are red,
And the Greeks and Italians eat garlic in bed!
[But] the English are moral, the English are good
And clever and modest and misunderstood.

Self-misunderstanding, it's important to stress, is an important concept in the field we are concerned with here this evening! The song's conclusion, incidentally, is that 'all the world over, each nation's the same, they've simply no notion of playing the game: they argue with umpires, they cheer when they've won, and they practise beforehand, which ruins the fun. [But] the English, the English, the English are best, so up with the English and down with the rest. It's not that they're wicked or naturally bad, it's knowing they're foreign that makes them so mad.'

5 Words

Someone who edits a report on Islamophobia has much in common with a lexicographer. A lexicographer, said Dr Johnson, is 'a writer of dictionaries, a harmless drudge that busies himself in tracing the original, and detailing the signification, of words'. And what are words, what do words do?



From the point of view someone editing a report on Islamophobia, or giving a talk on this subject:

Words strain,
crack and sometimes break, under the burden,
under the tension, slip, slide, perish,
decay with imprecision, will not stay in place,
will not stay still.

Words strain and will not stay in place because reality itself does not stay in place, does not stand still. The world is continually changing and so, therefore, are the tasks of finding the best words with which to name it, and putting them in the best order. Also, words strain because understandings of reality change. This is not quite the same thing. The world out there may stand still whilst,

however, you come to a new understanding of it, but have only old words with which to try to name what you are looking at, and seeing.

Further, and particularly significantly in the context of this evening's meeting, words strain because there are changing relationships amongst the users of words. Individuals and communities are in constant competition to gain access to the platforms where meanings are negotiated and settled and reality is defined and where, in consequence, winners and losers are determined. Words crack and break, and decay and perish, because there are human beings who want certain prevailing power relationships to crack and break, and decay and perish. And because there are other human beings who want those very same relationships to stay precisely where they are, thank you very much. Or, better still from their point of view, to revert to how they were, so that they can get their country back, make it great again, take control, be no longer left behind, regain paradise lost. They pine for the bliss they experienced when and where People Like Them knew their place, and stayed there.

6 Tribes

In the census of UK population that took place in 1991 people were asked what tribe they belonged to. Not that this was the official word. The official term was ethnic origin. Respondents were provided with tick boxes, for example White, Black Caribbean, Pakistani, Indian, and so forth, but could alternatively write in their own preferred self-description if they wished. In the city of Liverpool quite a lot of people did write in a word of their own to summarise their ethnic origin: 'Everton supporter'.



Being the supporter of a football club – any football club – and having a strong sense of ethnic identity have certain features and functions in common. In particular, both provide a sense of belonging, community, history and continuity, with shared memories of triumph and disaster and shared symbols, heroes, icons, anthems, rituals and routines. Both provide a defence against anxieties, fears and terrors occasioned by awareness of an individual's personal mortality, their own obstinately unique and steps on the way to dusty death.⁷

Oh, and both involve hate figures too. Love of PLU and hatred of PLT are expressed with different words but sometimes there's precisely the same melody

– Land of hope and glory, we hate Tottenham Hotspur ... Mother of the free, we hate Arsenal too.

In the case of Everton Football Club, as of certain other clubs in the UK, there is a distinctively clear connection between being a football supporter and being a member of an ethnic group or, more accurately in the current context, of an ethno-religious group. A substantial proportion of its supporters are of Irish heritage and have an affiliation, however tenuous, with the Roman Catholic Church.

The concept of ethno-religious identity is well-known to sociologists throughout the world. In some jurisdictions it is well known also in the justice system, for example in civil law in relation to rights and non-discrimination and in criminal law in relation to aggravation and incitement. Most dictionary definitions of religion, however, refer to belief in a supernatural realm as the essentially distinctive feature of religion. They imply further that individuals consciously choose whether to believe that such a realm exists. But for sociologists of religion, religiosity is not chosen but is inherited at birth, and is much more to do with belonging to an ethno-religious community than with beliefs and creeds relating to the supernatural or the transcendent. Progress on countering Islamophobia depends on, amongst other things, attending to the concept of ethno-religious identity, both in sociology and in jurisprudence.

Relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims are often between different ethno-religious identities, and this appears in many countries to be increasing, for example in the Alt-Right movement in the United States⁸ and in the hysteria this autumn in Britain around a fostering case in east London – ‘A white Christian child was taken from her family and forced to live with a niqab-wearing foster carer,’ announced the front page of *The Times*, and the story was duly and widely and unquestioningly recycled by most other papers.

When relationships are religionised there is a grave danger that the God-is-on-our-side syndrome will be switched on. For example, as the young Bob Dylan didn’t quite say, predicting the Alt Right discourse of 40 or so years later:

I’ve learned to hate Islam
All through my long life,
When the next war starts
It’s them we must fight.
To hate them and fear them
To run and to hide
And accept it all bravely
With God on our side.

7 Lights

The word lights here is a translation of the French word *lumières*, as in *le siècle des lumières*, the century of lights, which is the French term of what in English is

known as the Enlightenment – the political, philosophical, moral climate that developed in Europe and North America through the 18th century.



Enlightenment ideas included and include the use of reason and the advance of science; freethinking and toleration of dissent; the rights and responsibilities of individuals; independence and emancipation in the affairs of nations; deliberative and representative democracy; anti-clericalism, *laïcité* and the separation of church and state; humanism as a distinct worldview, explored and presented in the arts as well as in philosophy; social sciences, particularly anthropology, sociology and psychology; the rule of law as distinct from despotism and the arbitrary whim of officials; procedural secularism in public administration; cosmopolitanism and internationalism; and the famed trinity of equality, liberty and solidarity.

The legacy of Enlightenment values includes equalities legislation and human rights legislation in an increasing number of jurisdictions throughout the world.

Frequently, Enlightenment values have been, and still are, in opposition to religion. Religion, in turn, has been, and still is, suspicious of, or downright hostile towards, many or most of the values associated with the Enlightenment.

But these two sets of values have also deeply influenced each other over the last 300 years. At best they can and do critique and benefit from each other. There can be synergy and mutual reinforcement. They can act towards each other as critical friends, for example in challenging and countering racism and xenophobia, and the various storms with which these are associated.

More about this later.

8 Hopes

When nine-year-old Amani was ostracised by her schoolmates in New Jersey in 2001 she felt, it was suggested here earlier, 'in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes' and wished to be like 'one more rich in hope'. As this lecture draws now draws towards its end we too wish and need to be more rich in hope.



I would like to introduce Dr Azin Qureshi, a character in Francesca Kay's 2011 novel *The Translation of the Bones*. He is of South Asian Muslim heritage but British born and educated. He sees himself as 'decent, civilised, tolerant, intelligent', and as having 'no use for supernatural solace'.

But, Kay informs us, if Qureshi had to choose one piece of music to take with him to a desert island, then it would be Bach's *St Matthew Passion*.

This music spun of hope and tears moved him profoundly, as did the fragile ribs of stone that arched above his head in his college chapel, interlaced in pleading, reaching to the sky.

What Qureshi saw in those soaring notes and those impossible perfect carvings of stone, remarks Kay, was human aspiration. There is an orientation towards religion here, whether to the religion in one's own cultural heritage or to that of someone else's, that is arguably more to be admired, and more to be cultivated, than the 'culture of sniggering contempt towards religion' that is endemic, it has recently been alleged, throughout – for example – the BBC, particularly the Today programme on Radio Four.⁹

It is possible, the point is, to appreciate religious art, architecture, stories, poetry, music and theatre without necessarily sharing the beliefs which they express or assume.¹⁰ Similarly, all or most religious and philosophical traditions contain concepts, wisdom and teachings that can valuably challenge the strategies, policies and priorities of secular governments, both national and local, and which therefore merit a presence and a hearing in the public square. Concepts such as mercy, reconciliation, that of God in everyone, unknowing, joy, hope, bliss, discernment, fasting, prayer, jihad, inner life. The challenge, says Philip Pullman, is 'to reclaim a vision of heaven from the wreck of religion' and 'to realise that our human nature demands meaning and love'. Passionate love of the physical world, Pullman adds, will 'both grow out of and add to the achievements of the human mind such as science and art.'¹¹ Hope and aspiration can be expressed through religious music and religious architecture. And, further, they can be directed towards ending the hurts and harms of racism, xenophobia and the demonising of others, and towards the creation and

maintenance of a human rights culture between and within countries – towards a new us.

We are up against multiple perfect storms and we need therefore multiple allies. An alliance entails giving support and assistance, including encouragement and moral support, and also it entails, equally importantly, not interfering, not publicly criticising, not sniping.

We need more alliances between the various strands of equalities legislation, and attention needs to be paid, as said here earlier, to the relationship between Enlightenment values on the one hand and religious values on the other.

To repeat, we need allies, comrades and co-workers, we need solidarity and partnerships; we need friends.

9. Friends

Is our wish for a new us in a new world just a pipe dream, a naive, silly fancy? Does not the world hurt everywhere, and are not humans ineradicably unable to draw the line between good and bad in their own hearts, as distinct from between People Like Us and People Like Them?



The United States has elected Donald Trump to be its president. The 'will of the British people', it is claimed, is to turn their back on Europe. There is a similar mood in many other European countries. More generally there's currently a resurgence of far-right nationalism, xenophobia and nativism throughout the Western world, egged on by the vast majority of mass-circulation newspapers.

What reasons do we have in the face of all this to believe it's reasonable, not a mere fancy, to hope and strive for a better world?

Each person has their own mix of reasons to hope. Among their reasons there is likely to be the realisation that there is more generosity and mutual respect in the world than, on bad days, we are prone to think. We have many friends. Only 52 per cent of the people who voted in last year's Brexit referendum voted Leave and they constituted only 35 per cent of the total electorate. It is dishonest nonsense to claim that the referendum result expressed something

that can be described as the will of the British people. It is in addition unhelpful to claim they were motivated solely or principally by xenophobia, as distinct from more generalised anxieties relating to social, economic and cultural change, as mentioned here earlier.

Only 26 per cent of eligible voters in the US voted for Trump.

Ninety-nine percent of human beings, according to Wislawa Szymborska, the Nobel Prize in Literature winner, are worthy of compassion and empathy.

Solzhenitsyn again: 'Even within hearts overwhelmed by evil, one small bridgehead of good is retained.' Yes, we have many friends, or potential friends.

Conclusion

There are other relevant statistics too to give us a sense of perspective and proportion. It's about 200,000 years ago that *homo sapiens* began to evolve in East Africa, but only 12,000 years ago that the agricultural revolution took place and that plants and animals began to be domesticated. The scientific revolution took place only 500 years ago and the industrial revolution only 200 years ago. It was in the lifetime of people still alive (some of them – some of *us!* – in this room this evening) that most humans found they have no choice but to live in One World, a single world society, one where there is a Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Admittedly, *homo sapiens* is not quite as sapient, as wise, as is desirable and we could be the first species to have the dubious honour of making itself extinct. But basically we are going to be around for a very long time yet. Whilst there's life there's hope.

And as long as we have friends, there's hope.

Let us tell that story to each other, and to our children and children's children. Let us tell it as we stand and look at hurts, shoes, storms, lines, words, tribes, hopes and friends.

Let us tell it as we walk with, amongst others, young Amani, the author of *Muslim Girl: a coming of age*, asserting 'changes that will ripple out and alter the course of history'.

Ladies and gentlemen, colleagues, fellow world-citizens, friends: Us and Them in this Age of Anxiety: past, present and possible futures.



Notes and references

¹ William Shakespeare, sonnet 29.

² Amani Al-Khatahtbeh, *Muslim Girl: a coming of age*, Simon and Schuster, 2016, reprinted 2017, pages 2 and 137.

³ The 1997 report is summarised at <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/islamophobia.pdf>. A scanned copy of the full report can be accessed at <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/companies/17/74/Islamophobia-A-Challenge-for-Us-All.html>.

⁴ Full information at <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/projects-and-publications/equality-and-integration/islamophobia.html>.

⁵ Links to 60 recent online articles about the nature and effects of Islamophobia can be found at <https://www.islamophobia2017.org.uk/issues>. There is a useful recent review of the concept in chapter 6 of *Muslim Britain* by Sayeeda Warsi, Allen Lane 2017.

⁶ *The Missing Muslims: unlocking British Muslim potential for the benefit of all*, full information at http://www.citizensuk.org/missing_muslims.

⁷ Sheldon Solomon and his co-authors, *The Worm at the Core: on the role of death in life*, Allen Lane, 2015.

⁸ Recent articles about the intermixing of Islamophobia with Christianity include 'The Alt-Right has created Alt-Christianity' by Brian McLaren at http://www.patheos.com/blogs/brianmclaren/2017/09/alt-right-created-alt-christianity/?utm_medium=email&utm_source=Newsletter&utm_campaign=Progressive+Christian&utm_content=43, and 'Is Donald Trump waging a religious war?' by Abdul-Azim Ahmed, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/columns/donald-trump-waging-religious-war-649899269>

⁹ Giles Fraser, 'Here's my thought for the day: stop sneering and keep the faith, BBC', *The Guardian online*, 31 October 2017

¹⁰ As argued by, for example, Alain de Botton in *Religion for Atheists: a non-believer's guide to the uses of religion*, Penguin 2013, and by Simon Loveday in *The Bible for Grown-Ups*, Icon Books 2016.

¹¹ Philip Pullman, *Daemon Voices: essays on storytelling*, 2017, p.447.