On the Misrecognition of Identity: Muslims' Everyday Experiences in Scotland

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Political theory is interested in the misrecognition of identity because it impacts individuals' autonomy in their self-definition and thus their ability to articulate and pursue identity-related interests. Here, we explore minority group members' experiences of being seen in terms that do not accord with their self-definition. Our data are qualitative, gathered through walking interviews with 24 Muslims in Scotland. Focusing on interactions in which they reported discrepancies between how they and others saw them, we differentiate four forms of misrecognition: (1) having the meaning of a valued identity (i.e., one's Muslim identity) defined by others in ways that one judges inaccurate and inappropriate; (2) having one's membership of a valued community (e.g., as a member of Scottish society) denied or rejected; (3) having one's identity (i.e., one's Muslim identity) overlooked such that one's distinctive identity-related needs are not taken into account; (4) being seen in terms of just one of one's many social identities (i.e., one's Muslim identity) such that other identities (judged more situationally relevant) are ignored. This empirically grounded typology contributes to wider debates about the forms of identity (mis)recognition and their political implications.

KEY WORDS: recognition, misrecognition, identity, identity enactment, Muslims

I am invisible, [] simply because people refuse to see me. Like the bodiless heads you see sometimes in circus sideshows, it is as though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination—indeed, everything and anything except me.

These words feature in the prologue to Ellison's classic *Invisible Man* (1952) in which the Black narrator reflects upon the existential challenges of establishing and maintaining an authentic identity in a world where he is surrounded by others' (mis)perceptions. As Butler (1984) observes, the narrator's experiences illustrate the point that "self recognition, while essential to a sense of self, proves to be insufficient in itself for a full sense of identity" (p. 317). That is, others' recognition of the narrator's identity is key, and Butler continues that without this the narrator "has no basis of his own for action" and so "does not know what to do" (p. 324).

We complement this literary exploration of identity-related (mis)recognition with an empirical analysis of minority group members' everyday experience of misrecognition. First, we consider the importance of minorities' everyday interactional experiences. Second, we explore the concept of (mis)recognition and how it contributes to understanding such interactional experiences. Third, we report empirical data illustrating different forms of misrecognition reported by Muslims in Scotland. Our analysis provides an integrative framework with which to conceptualize what can otherwise appear to be an unconnected set of minority group experiences and so helps *Political Psychology* contribute to debates in political theory about the nature and significance of misrecognition.

Minority Group Members' Interactional Experiences

Research exploring majority group members' hostility to minorities has contributed much to *Political Psychology*. However, a focus on prejudiced hostility misses more nuanced dynamics shaping minorities' interactional experiences (Dixon et al., 2012). For example, many apparently positive stereotypes elicit negative responses from minorities (Czopp et al., 2015). One reason is minorities desire some autonomy in their self-definition. Thus, in interviews with Hungarian Roma, the characterization of Roma as musical could be negatively received as it was construed as speaking volumes about majority group members' power to define what was of value in Roma identity and as constraining the community's autonomy to act on their own terms (Dobai & Hopkins, 2021). Similarly, apparently positive representations of women (e.g., as uniquely caring) constrain women's understandings of their qualities and choices, thereby reproducing hierarchy (Barreto et al., 2009; Dardenne et al., 2007). Related observations may be made concerning interactions in which White men "compliment" Asian women as ideal heterosexual partners: Such characterizations reduce the women to subservient and exotic beings whose only role is to care for the needs of White men (Sue et al., 2007).

Addressing such interactions, two related observations stand out. First, majority group members have the power to act on the basis of their beliefs and so make them count for the minority (with the corollary that minority group members are particularly sensitive to what they believe the other thinks about them; Lammers et al., 2008). Second, all manner of intergroup interactions can constrain minorities' autonomy in self-definition, contributing to the invalidation of their experiences and a sense of powerlessness to act on their own terms (rather than someone else's). Such observations return us to the ways in which our interactional experiences are bound up with others' (especially, powerful others') assumptions about who we are and the impact of misrecognition addressed in literary form in Ellison's *Invisible Man*.

(Mis)recognition

Ellison's *Invisible Man* builds on a philosophical foundation (e.g., Hegel, 1969) which developed to counter atomistic conceptions of the self with the argument that our identities depend on our interactions with others and the value others accord us (see Taylor, 2015). This logic is articulated in a literature (philosophical and political) concerning recognition (Honneth, 1996; Renault, 2007; Ricoeur, 2005). Although the concept is broad (Renault, 2007), it refers to processes by which a person's own sense of their identity is accepted, affirmed, and valued by others. Such is the psychological and political importance of these processes that Taylor (1992) argues it "is not just a courtesy we owe other people. It is a vital human need" (p. 26). A growing awareness of such needs has transformed politics. For example, much political theory has shifted from an understanding of equality in multicultural societies as being predicated on cultural assimilation towards one that values "public ethnicity" with majorities being required to show respect and "adapt public attitudes and arrangements so that the heritage they represent is encouraged rather than ignored or expected to wither away" (Modood, 2005, p. 134).

Recently, such analyses have informed social-psychological thinking on intergroup relations. Exploring minority group members' experiences in multicultural society, Simon (2020) emphasizes the value they place on being recognized as different but equal such that majority group members take into consideration minorities' collective identities as self-aspects that matter to them. The significance of such recognition is that it

> does not require us to value what they value, but to register what they value and to show equal concern. It requires us to take into consideration what they value just as we take into consideration what we ourselves value. (p. 153)

Again, this underscores the need to move beyond focusing on the majority's hostile prejudice and the acts of commission (e.g., active exclusion or discrimination) it motivates. Indeed, Simon (2020) explains the nonrecognition of minority group members as a different equal "more often results from acts of omission or indifference" such that the principle and practice of recognition "requires us to go the extra mile in order to find out what matters specifically to them" and to accommodate (whenever possible) their concerns and interests (p. 153). Accordingly, minority group members' interactional experiences may be negative not necessarily because of majority group members' hostility, but because the latter fail to recognize the former's self-definitions (e.g., their dual identities as minority members of the national community).

The practice of recognition is not without problems. Political theorists have cautioned that as we each have several identities, some recognition practices can result in the essentialization of identity, "pressurising individual members to conform, denying the complexity of their lives, the multiplicity of their identifications, and the crosspulls of their various affiliations" (see Fraser, 2000, p. 23). Such concerns are important. It is one thing to willingly identify as a member of a particular group but another to have one's choices as to one's self-definition limited by others (Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011; McNamara & Reicher, 2019). For example, while an individual's Jewishness may be of immense personal value and political significance (e.g., in collective action against antisemitism), "it would be a long-run victory of Nazism if the barbarities of the 1930s eliminated forever a Jewish person's freedom and ability to invoke any identity other than his or her Jewishness" (Sen, 2006, p. 8). However, this does not mean that

recognition is necessarily problematic: Rather, we need a theoretical approach to identity which explicitly theorizes the *multiple* and *varied* nature of our identifications and an understanding of the various forms of misrecognition that can arise. Accordingly, our purpose in this article is to develop a typology of this variety based on an analysis of a particular community's interactional experiences. Specifically, we offer an empirical analysis of the various forms of misrecognition experienced by Muslims in Scotland.

Muslims in Scotland

Across the United Kingdom, Muslims have often been depicted as an alien and threatening other (Runnymede Trust, 1997). Terror-related concerns have added to such sentiments (Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011; Fekete, 2008). Studies conducted in Scotland show that in certain contexts (e.g., airports) such representations are prominent (Bonino, 2015) with Muslims reporting being seen in terms discrepant from how they see themselves (Blackwood et al., 2013, 2015). Yet airports are exceptional spaces, and Bonino found that elsewhere experiences were more varied. Following this lead, we set out to explore Scottish Muslims' interactional experiences across a wider array of contexts through conducting "walking interviews" in which participants led the researcher through geographical sites featuring in their everyday routines. The discussions concerning participants' interactional experiences in such sites (and elsewhere) form the data on which our analysis is based.

Method

Participants

We conducted 23 walking interviews with a convenience sample of 24 self-identified Muslims living in Scotland (one interview involved two participants). Participants were recruited through community organizations, university societies, and snowballing. All were aged 18 or over and were residing in Scotland. Some were born in Scotland; others had migrated (see Table 1). Interviews were conducted between August 2019 and January 2020. Participants were reimbursed up to £30 (depending on their travel costs).

Walking Interviews

Our decision to use walking interviews was twofold. First, it reflected our desire to redress the researcher-participant power imbalance associated with traditional interview methods. As the researchers were White and non-Muslim, this was especially important if participants were to report potentially humiliating interactional experiences with majority group members. Here the advantage of walking interviews is that as they take place in public spaces and are participant-led they give interviewees greater control of the interview (e.g., in selecting where to go and what to talk about; Clark & Emmel, 2010). Second, the changing environment of walking interviews can prompt memories of interactional experiences (whether in the sites visited or elsewhere). This means such interviews can often be characterized by serendipity and spontaneity.

The procedure employed was adapted from the "docent method," a flexible place-based, participant-centered qualitative method (Chang, 2017). Interviews took place in a single session (2–4 hours) comprising three phases: (1) a "warm-up" interview (e.g., on campus, in a café, or

Table 1. Participants

Total participants	24
Gender	
Female	14
Male	10
Age	
18–24	4
25–29	2
30–39	9
40–49	7
50–59	1
Life in United Kingdom	
Born/grew up in United Kingdom	10
>5 years in United Kingdom	12
<5 years in United Kingdom	2
Ethnicity	
Asian *(Pakistani, Bengali, Bangladeshi)*	10
N. African *(Libyan, Egyptian)*	9
Middle Eastern *(Palestinian, Iraqi)*	3
White European *(Scottish)*	1
Other European *(Pomak)*	1

library) in which the logic to the research was explained; (2) a participant-led walk through public spaces (streets, shopping centers, etc.) allowing discussion of participants' everyday experiences; (3) a closing phase (in the original or similar location) during which issues considered in the walking interview were revisited. All phases were recorded.

Twenty-two interviews were conducted by CR and one by AD (both female, white, non-Muslim, non-British). Undoubtedly there would be advantages in having Muslim interviewers. This could facilitate the building of trust in the interview itself (e.g., in relation to reporting examples of inappropriate treatment). It could also enrich our understanding of the experiences of misrecognition. Yet, on the other hand, participants may be wary of disclosing some details of their lives to a community "insider" for fear of being judged against identity-relevant norms. Moreover, the participant-interviewer relationship can become complicated if assumed commonalities in perspective and religious practice are disconfirmed (Siraj, 2011). Another feature of being an "insider" researcher is that it can be hard to pursue some questions because the interviewee would assume the interviewer to have "insider" knowledge (Corbin Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). With these considerations in mind, the two interviewers (both non-British) sought to position themselves as interested third parties.

The interview topics concerned participants' experiences of different social contexts including interactions with other members of the public, people in positions of authority, etc. Such topics typically led to wider discussions concerning the participants' relationships with their neighbors, classmates, colleagues, and so on.

Analytical Procedure

Recordings were transcribed, anonymized, and uploaded to the QSR NVivo software (v. 12). The transcripts were read and reread by CR, AA-M, and AD to develop familiarity with their content. Accounts of interactional experiences received particular attention, and codes were created to capture repeated features of interest. In turn, these coded data were grouped according to their underlying and conceptual similarity. The organization of the data was discussed among the wider team and the analysis refined (with CR and NH returning to the original transcripts). Throughout, our reading

of these data was informed by our theoretical commitments as social identity researchers with interests in minority group members' beliefs about others' perceptions of their identities. Accordingly, our analytic approach drew on the logic of a form of thematic analysis in which "researcher subjectivity is conceptualised as a resource for knowledge production" (Braun & Clarke, 2021, pp. 334–335). Here, it is important to note that as none of the authors are Muslim, we had no personal experience of the particular forms of misrecognition participants reported. However, our reading of these data was informed by the literature on Islamophobia and the importance of taking its experience seriously (Hopkins & Dobai, 2019; Rehman & Hanley, 2022).

This process resulted in our construction of four forms of identity misrecognition, labeled: (1) identity misconstrued; (2) identity denied; (3) identity ignored; and (4) identity imposed. Each refers to a particular asymmetry in how participants saw themselves in a given context and how they believed their identity was defined by others.

Analysis

Although many characterized their everyday interactions as positive (see Bonino, 2015), participants also reported more problematic experiences. Some of these took place along the walked route. Others did not but were described because the walk prompted memories relating to different sites. Our analysis focuses on illustrating the four forms of misrecognition described above. However, we also note examples of identity recognition (i.e., "deviant" cases: McPherson & Thorne, 2006).

Identity Misconstrued

Our first form of misrecognition captures the sense of being confronted with misconceptions of Muslim identity. Participants were acutely aware of stereotypes associating Islam with terrorism. For example, when the interviewer pointed out a nearby CCTV camera to participant 05, the latter responded:

Extract 1

Participant: I'm not generally looking out for cameras, to be honest, I mean, just when I see it and stuff, and it's actually there right in my face, then, you know, I get a wee bit worried. Mostly in the subway, 'cause subway's got CCTV anyway, you know, those big screens, and then you can sometimes see yourself. So I do not like looking, like, into the camera.

Researcher: How come?

Participant: Because maybe they are watching me.

Researcher: Who's 'they'? [Laughter] But who do you imagine them to be, or do you

Participant: Security.

Researcher: And how do you imagine that they might see you?

Participant: Maybe like suspiciously, like I'm doing something wrong, that's my perception of it.

(05; male, 30s)

Often, participants discussed this form of misrecognition in relation to securitized spaces. While some judged CCTV as providing reassurance (deterring others' inappropriate behavior), others were concerned surveillance could increase their own vulnerability to misrecognition because they believed authority figures to be particularly suspicious of Muslims. For example, on approaching a bank, participant 15 (female, 18–24) explained that while the staff were "completely nice [] you feel really uncomfortable and you feel like somebody is maybe thinking of you like being suspicious." Indeed, they continued "this kind of goes back to like the airport idea. It's just kind of this authority that's there. I feel like a lot of the problems, I guess Muslims have, is to do with like authority."

Participants also described being regarded with suspicion by members of the public in such spaces. In these encounters, participants reported a look or a reaction (e.g., physical distancing) as conveying a lack of interactional ease. Speaking of airports, one male participant reported that as his beard grew, he sensed other travelers' reactions changed such that he felt he had "to satisfy people and not look so scary":

Extract 2

Participant: Before two years ago, I never had this. And then uh I used to feel quite, you know, I did not have people looking at me and getting a bit panicky when they are around me

Researcher: Interesting

Participant: But as soon as I grew the beard [both laugh] it was the longer the beard got the more scared people got, it was a very strange thing. And uh, and now that I've got, I also, I do not– I do not look Muslim straight away, it's only when you look at my– you know, now that I grew the beard it was uh, it was indicating to people that I'm Muslim and it was setting off like alarms in their heads. And I feel people, you know, I feel I've got to satisfy people and not look so scary and uh not leave my bag lying around for example

(07; male, 40s)

Associations with violent extremism were not the only ways in which participants' Muslim identities were misrepresented. Another involved the representation of gender-related norms among Muslims. Thus, the same interviewee reported above recounted an experience he and his wife had at a doctor's surgery when her pregnancy was confirmed. Describing how his wife became emotional, he explained he had asked how she was feeling in a language that was not English:

Extract 3

Participant: But the, the nurse who was there at the time said to me "don't pressure her into having the baby." And I'm like "I'm not pressuring her into having the baby. I'm just asking her if everything is okay." She goes "well she doesn't look like she is." You know, the way that she kind of worded it was well "she doesn't look like she's happy about it, and you're pressuring her." And I'm like "no, she is totally happy about it." And then they pulled her off to the side to have a chat with her

(07; male, 40s)

Here, the husband reports being confronted with a characterization of himself as controlling when he saw himself as being supportive, and as the interview continued, he explained he believed this misperception reflected an image of Muslim men having (as he put it) "women under their thumb."

Such assumptions about gender relations also impacted female participants. One who wore hijab reflected on people's assumptions that this was forced upon her (when it was chosen). She made this concrete through reference to the ways in which school peers were surprised at her interest in rap music and sport because they assumed her hijab implied she was under strict parental control. Speaking of others' misperceptions, she explained:

Extract 4

Participant: Yeah I was kind of like "it was me who put it [hijab] on, like why do you sound surprised?" Because sometimes they have got this kind of stereotype, parents are really strict, you have to put it on, and in some cases yes that is the truth but I was like "I put it on, why not?" And then I remember, because I was really into sports, used to play basketball for the school team, and I think they would kind of go more crazy and wild when I scored, they were like "the one in the headscarf! Yeah!" and that's kind of what I was known as, "the girl in the headscarf, woah!"

Researcher: She can play sports!

Participant: Yeah they were so surprised, but I was like, "why wouldn't I?" Like, this is not going to stop me. Yeah I think I think it made me stand out a little bit more and not necessarily for a bad [type] for the racist type but like "wow, she's got a headscarf and she can do things"

Researcher: So it was unexpected

Participant: Yeah, it was a big surprise because like this is not like a big thing, why are you making this a big bigger than it actually is, they just kind of blew it off
(13; female, <20)

Of note here is the way in which others' surprise at her sporting prowess was expressed as delight: "they would kind of go more crazy and wild when I scored." While this audience reaction could be taken as supportive and affirming, she interpreted it as reflecting a significant failure in others' understanding of her, her freedom of choice, her concerns and interests. Moreover, it is noteworthy that while she did not characterize others' response as necessarily rooted in hostility, she still experienced a sense of misrecognition that was painful.

Concluding this section, it is important to note we found examples in which participants reported interactions in which they judged their Muslim identity to be recognized. For example, one (04) referred to non-Muslims' positive interest in Muslims' cultural practices:

Extract 5

Participant: I met this guy in [Supermarket], right, and he knew so much about the Muslim food and Arab food, because he had Muslim friends, and he's just spoke to us, you know, […] we just spoke to him for half an hour just like that.

Researcher: How did that feel?

Participant: Very good, like somebody actually understands, and he said, you know, "I have friends, I've grown up with Muslim friends, so I do understand."

Researcher: Was he from the local area?

Participant: Yeah, he was Scottish, yeah.

(04; female, 40s)

Such cases underscore the point that many interactions are relatively positive. They also complement the examples of misrecognition discussed above: Whereas misrecognition can be experienced negatively, interactions judged to be founded upon the recognition of identity can bring pleasure as participants' own understandings of their interests and concerns are affirmed.

Identity Denied

Another form of misrecognition involved one's membership of a particular group (e.g., the national community) being denied because one is a Muslim. For example, referring to a city-center location, participant 01 (White Scottish; female; 50s) who wore hijab described how when waiting for her prescription in a chemist, another customer mistakenly thought she had skipped the queue and said to another queuing customer "I should have been in front of her" before continuing "you know she couldn't wait to get past me to get to the queue and yeah, she should try doing that in her own country." Elaborating on this interaction, the participant explained they believed the false accusation of queue jumping and her categorization as foreign were bound up with her hijab wearing: as she put it: "I was thinking did you make all that up because of how I'm dressed?"

Another participant (09) reported that when walking through her local park (as she often did):

Extract 6

Participant: You might get some people that kind of walk past you and the odd comment, but I just ignore it. I do not even say anything. I do not even react just like ok whatever.

Researcher: Yeah, what sort of comments?

Participant: There's a few times obviously racial kind of comments and stuff. There has been a couple of times where people say, "go back to your own country." And I said, "I'm Scottish, where do you want me to go" you know?

(09; female, 30s)

In relation to such encounters, participants reported heightened awareness of their own visibility (e.g., on the basis of skin color or clothing) and their own uncertainty as to what others thought of them. Often, this was bound up with discussions of safety, for example, areas to avoid (e.g., narrow streets away from main thoroughfares), risk-management strategies (e.g., walking faster, avoiding eye contact), the types of people who could pose challenges (e.g., teenagers),

and in what contexts (e.g., at night, when people had been drinking). For example, participant 01 (a White Scottish hijab-wearing female, 50s) described how within the one shopping center she differentiated between areas which made her feel more or less comfortable, because "I have to be aware that I am visibly a Muslim and that people may well judge me on that fact. So I don't know how people are going to react to me."

Messages of membership denial were also reported to arise in others' incredulity at one's fluency in English or one's Scottish accent. Participant 19, referring to their interactions with others, noted that while she had Pakistani heritage "sometimes you're like oh I don't wanna be labelled as Pakistani" because "you don't know how they're going to react to it," and she continued that her Scottish accent confused people: "Yeah, they're like "You sound Scottish but what are you?" Another observed:

Extract 7

> Participant: people, especially from an older generation, they have asked, I have to say "where are you from?" And I would say I'm from [English County]. And they go, well what about your parents, "well yeah, [them too?]" They say "well what about you grandparents." "They're from the Punjab in Pakistan"

> (18; male, 30s)

Such experiences mean being continually exposed to an assumption that one does not really belong. In a further example, another recounted how her new university classmates were surprised to discover she spoke fluent English in a Scottish accent: "'Oh you're from here?!' and I'm like 'Yes, why wouldn't I be?'" (13, female, <20). She continued "I think they kind of judged me because I wear a scarf that I couldn't speak English" and explained that she was surprised at their surprise: "Why are you surprised? [] OK yes, I might not [be] kind of white but it's kind of gotten past that point I think here in [city] you know, it's mixed. It isn't how it was a couple of years ago." Again, a critical aspect of what is being communicated in these interactions is not just how she was seen (foreign), but, by implication, how others' defined Scotland (White, secular/Christian).

Several of our participants had come to Scotland as adults and did not expect to be seen as Scottish. However, they contrasted being judged a "foreigner" with not being recognized at the level of local community members or denizens. As one (16, female, 30s) put it, "I'm the only Muslim, in that area, around there. They are nice people, but I'm foreign." However, we should again note we found examples in which participants reported feeling recognized as members of the community. This was sometimes illustrated through invoking comparisons with other European countries. The participant quoted below moved to Scotland from another European country where she belonged to a marginalized minority, and, referring to Scotland, she explained:

Extract 8

> Participant: I feel like here, the way they would like view me is just as like being, I am a part of Scotland. And I am just a part of their like people.

> (15; female, 18–24)

Identity Ignored

Another form of misrecognition involved overlooking the concerns associated with Muslim identities such that those affected were effectively marginalized across a variety of organizational, social, and commercial contexts. An obvious example concerned the ubiquitous presence of alcohol at social events (including work-related events) which made Muslims feel out of place and excluded. For example, referring to work-related socializing, participant 19 (female, 18–24) explained "I just know everyone's going to be drinking and I'm like you feel like you're the odd one out just standing there." Again, it is important to note that such experiences were not conceptualized in terms of majority group members' hostility to Muslims. Rather, the issue is Muslims' invisibility in the sense that their identity-defining interests and concerns were not considered.

An important feature of such concerns related to the challenge of ensuring one's behavior complied with Islamic teaching. For example, an overseas student (02) described his fear of "losing some of my beliefs" because of the environment he was surrounded by. In doing so, he did not simply refer to the immediate environment explored in the walking interview, but also the wider social environment of the university and the degree to which his concerns as Muslim were (not) catered for. Specifically, he described an academic marketing assignment concerning the marketing of beer, and that as a Muslim this was problematic:

Extract 9

Participant: I do not touch it so I went to him and I said like professor please, I'm a Muslim, I cannot touch it. He said this is your problem. You have to deal with it. I said how come like? He said one day when you finish, you are going to be forced to work in a company which sells, which might sell alcohol. I said if I was forced to do that, I'm not going to do it, you know, I'm not going to do it just like. He said and then this is your problem. [] we have like every lecture, we had like a guest, a brewery owner.

(02; male, 30s)

Other examples of Muslims' identity-related concerns being overlooked included the lack of suitable prayer spaces and the limited availability of halal food in institutional or commercial spaces. However, participants seemed to feel more secure in such spaces (as compared with securitized or open public spaces) with participant 20 (female, 30s) arguing that while she felt vulnerable in the city, she felt safer in institutional settings where there was surveillance (e.g., at work, when visiting a hospital). Moreover, participants exhibited a perspective which implied they had a right to expect (and claim) recognition in such spaces. For instance, participant 02, referring to the range of goods available in their local campus shop, explained:

Extract 10

Participant: By the way, [Supermarket name] and these, these shops like, even like [Student Association shop], they do not have halal things. […] Now some people they might tell you like okay if you had the halal food, it's a small percentage of people, you understand me. But I think it's an ethical perspective like because you are inviting people, like these are your guests.

(02; male, 30s)

Related concerns about the lack of provision were raised by another student who reported that although a prayer space was available in her university department, it was used by male students with no provision made for her as the lone female Muslim student.

In commercial spaces too, participants were upfront regarding their needs. For example, one female participant routinely asked department-store staff if she could use the changing rooms for time-scheduled prayer. In some cases, staff helpfully accommodated such identity-related needs. Yet, in others, they refused. For example, as the walking interview approached such a store, they explained:

Extract 11

Participant: I asked them to pray, is there any place to pray? I used to ask and they let me go [to pray in the changing room]. That woman said "no no no no, we don't have this facility." And she was very strict. [] I want to be um to be honest to tell her that I am going to the fitting room to pray, because you know praying times are limited you cannot keep prayers until the end of the day.

(11; female, 40s)

In important respects, such experiences communicate something about the social invisibility of Muslims' identity-related concerns in the public sphere. It is also appropriate to note that such invisibility often had a gendered dimension with Muslim women's distinctive concerns relating to modesty being overlooked. For example, one participant (04) reflected on the failure of schools to properly cater for the needs of Muslim girls with regards to wearing hijab. Speaking of their daughter, they explained:

Extract 12

Participant: My daughter, one day she just said, "I want to try on wearing the hijab," so I said, "Okay." Before she went to secondary school, we told them that she will wear the hijab, and teachers, the Principal were absolutely okay with it. There were some schools who did not want her to wear the hijab. They said, "No, we have very few male teachers." So we decided that we will not even apply to those schools, right, because it's not like you can wear a hijab and then you can take it off and then you wear it again. We just said, "Okay then, we can't send the girl."

(04; female, 40s)

However, as before, it is important to note the counterexamples to such examples of non-recognition: Some participants took pleasure in recounting interactions and contexts where they felt their concerns and interests as a Muslim were acknowledged and socially visible. For example, participant 16 explained that her Scottish coworkers explicitly catered to her needs as a Muslim:

Extract 13

Participant: They are very understanding and they actually know about, a lot about Muslims.

Researcher: They do?

Participant: I was surprised. Yeah, they know, like I, they know I do not eat pork. Especially at work, this is the only Scottish environment I've been where, because they are all Scottish in my work. So I get to know them.

Researcher: Oh that's interesting.

Participant: They know I do not eat pork and they know I do not drink. They know everything and they are very, like okay with that and if they bring food, they will tell me like we brought this for you, this is vegetarian. It does not have–

Researcher: Oh so they'll bring something separate for you?

Participant: Yeah.

(16; female, 20s)

Identity Imposed

The fourth form of misrecognition identified in our analysis entailed experiences of only being seen as Muslim when they judged this contextually irrelevant. In extract 13 above, the participant clearly enjoyed her coworkers' interest in her Muslim identity: It was seen as appropriate and motivated by care with regards to making appropriate accommodations to the participant's needs. However, in other scenarios, the focus on one's Muslim identity could be judged as neither positive nor appropriate. For example, in a discussion of how they thought they could be seen, one young woman referred to an interaction at a student party in which she wore a dress that she thought was "very average, like very normal, like how I would dress every day," but that another young woman approached her in terms of her religious identity. Reporting the interaction, she explained the young woman …

Extract 14

Participant: was like "Oh" like very drunkenly asking me, "Are you just wearing this because you're indie as fuck or is it a religious thing?" [laughs]

Researcher: What a way of putting it

Participant: And then I was like, "Indie as fuck" [laughs]. So like I think she was, it's as if she knew before she came that I'm Muslim and then when she kind of saw something that might have resembled it. She just started making assumptions and she actually expressed them to me because she was drunk

Later, and in response to a question concerning the nature of these assumptions, the participant replied:

Participant: She was clearly even making assumptions despite my clothes not being considered modest, they were just very average, on that line. She was kind of like perceiving it as if this is very modest

Researcher: So she was reading you differently because she knew you were Muslim. So if she did not know you are Muslim she'd look at your same clothes and not think anything of it?

Participant: I think so, yeah

(12; female, 18–24)

Of interest here is the way in which a fellow student referred to the participant's dress in such a way as to invoke the relevance of the latter's Muslim identity. Although, apparently in the form of joke that the interviewee participated in ("And then I was like, 'Indie as fuck'"), it is clear the reference to the interviewee's religious identity was experienced as contextually unwanted and inappropriate.

Another example of a contextually inappropriate reference to one's Muslim identity involved participants being positioned as spokespersons for Islam, as someone asked to comment upon or explain the actions of others (e.g., acts of terror). Thus, reflecting back on such interactional experiences, one explained:

Extract 15

Participant: And every, maybe one hour, I'd get somebody coming up to me [at work] and saying what do you think about this? What do you think about that? And I'd be like you know what are you talking about? And they be like well Muslims do this. And I'm like, no they do not.

(07; male, 40s)

In such accounts, it is not just that participants encountered inaccurate assumptions about the nature of their Muslim identity (a form of misrecognition we earlier termed "identity misconstrued"). Rather, the point is that in some circumstances, participants could find their Muslim identity hypervisible such that they were addressed in terms of just that identity rather than any of their other identities (e.g., as a concerned British citizen). Similar issues were mentioned by another (participant 05) who referred to instances where their other identities were obscured by the unwished-for prominence of their Muslim identities. Specifically, they mentioned their frustration at the hypervisibility of their Muslim identity when traveling to the United States which led them to discuss their desire to be seen in terms of their Britishness rather than as a Muslim:

Extract 16

Researcher: How would you explain yourself and who you really are to them [U.S. airport staff], and how it's different from what they are seeing?

Participant: Yeah, I'd just explain I'm an ordinary person who comes from a different country, like, in the UK. I actually did not, I did not think they would be as strict on me as well, because I've got a British passport, but I guess it does

not matter, like, even if you are from UK, since obviously they are like major allies anyway. It's just because, you know, you are Asian and you have got a Muslim name.

(05; male, 30s)

Again, just because one identifies in terms of a particular group membership, it does not follow that one always wishes to be categorized in terms of that membership. Indeed, what is particularly clear here is the way in which the participant explicitly referred to other ways in which he could be conceptualized (e.g., as an ordinary person, a citizen of a nation that is a major U.S. ally).

As before, we also found deviant cases in which participants reported examples in which they believed others oriented to them in terms of their other (nonreligious) identities that were situationally more appropriate than their Muslim identity. Thus, one participant expressed positive feelings about being seen in terms that accorded exactly with how he saw himself (as a professional) in a work-related context:

Extract 17

Participant: So how do you think the local people in [Scottish town], how do they see you, when they look at you, what is it that they are seeing?

Researcher: I did, when I'm working there, they see me as a [participant's profession]. And they ask me to help and say if they for example I was standing at the front desk. And when I, it's comforting to know that they come to me even though I have a beard, I have a different skin tone and the population of [Scottish Town] that has that is very very small. […] It's a very positive response.

(18; male, 30s)

If this extract provides an example of the pleasure associated with having the professional identity one regards as situationally relevant recognized, this "deviant" case serves to further underline the point that the hypervisibility of a Muslim identity can be experienced negatively. That is, what makes this extract particularly interesting is the degree to which he is so used to being pigeonholed as a Muslim on the basis of his beard and "different skin tone" that he found it "a very positive response" when it did not occur.

Discussion

In political philosophy and theory, the concept of (mis)recognition foregrounds important questions about the conditions in which people (especially minority groups in multicultural societies) are able to define themselves and articulate their identity-related interests. Such questions put the issue of identity center stage and require a political psychology attuned to the ways in which people may experience discrepancies between how others perceive them and their self-definition. Our research contributes to such a project through offering an empirically grounded analysis of four forms of such misrecognition (identity misconstrued, identity denied, identity ignored, and identity imposed). Such misrecognitions are not inevitable: Participants also reported experiences characterized by the recognition of their identities. These revealed the pleasure associated with recognition (and, by implication, confirm the hurt of misrecognition).

Some may object our fourfold analytic framework simply echoes established social psychological research findings captured in research concerning stigma (Major & O'Brien, 2005), identity denial (Cheryan & Monin, 2005), microaggressions (Sue et al., 2007), miscategorization (Barreto et al., 2010), and identity threat (Branscombe et al., 1999). Worse, some may conclude our analysis simply pours old wine into new bottles, adding little. Unsurprisingly, we disagree. The concept of (mis)recognition has value in integrating a diverse range of social psychological findings in a coherent framework. Moreover, given the centrality of identity in contemporary political philosophy and theory, our analysis helps *Political Psychology* contribute to understanding the diverse ways in which misrecognition may be manifested.

With regards to this latter, it is important to note that contemporary theories of identity emphasize the multiplicity of our identities. For example, self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) emphasizes the varied nature of any one person's identification and how different identifications may be psychologically meaningful in different situations. Similarly, analyses of identity informed by dialogical theories of the self (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007) and social representations theory (Howarth et al., 2014) emphasize the contextually variable nature of one's identity, highlighting the ways in which individuals seek to negotiate others' conceptions of their identity (sometimes accepting, sometimes reformulating, sometimes resisting; Andreouli, 2013; Lukate, 2022; Mahendran et al., 2019). Our own work builds on the insight that our identities are multiple and variable and provides an account of four different types of misrecognition individuals may experience in their interactional encounters. Such discrepancies between how we conceptualize ourselves and how others conceptualize ourselves can be painful because they compromise our autonomy in self-definition and our abilities to enact the particular identity-relevant beliefs and values that we believe are situationally relevant (Reicher et al., 2021). Such issues have obvious importance in multicultural societies where citizens self-define in terms of minority and national identifications (Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011).

Although our typology is based on the experiences of a particular demographic, it has a broad applicability. Inevitably, the dynamics to (and manifestations of) such (mis)recognitions are likely identity specific, requiring analytic sensitivity to the nature of the identities involved, the power dynamics at play, and the potential for various forms of anticipatory identity performances (Amer, 2020; Dobai & Hopkins, 2020). Although anticipatory identity performances may sometimes preempt one's misrecognition, the felt need to orient to others' assumptions concerning one's identities can confirm the (humiliating) contingency of one's identity on others' reactions (Hopkins et al., 2007). Moreover, the experiences of misrecognition can be recurrent and their consequences cumulative. If one's identifications are repeatedly misrecognized, it can be hard to formulate and establish an understanding of one's various identities and their associated interests. This returns us to Ellison's *Invisible Man*: As Butler (1984) explains, the narrator's experiences show that without a (socially recognized) sense of identity, he simply "does not know what to do" (p. 324). Indeed, it is precisely because of the significance of recognition in the formulation of one's identity and identity-related interests that minority group members often seek to develop their own social spaces where they are less vulnerable to misrecognition. For example, speaking of British Pakistani-heritage Muslims, Werbner (1996, p. 55) argues empowerment has as much to do with the creation and reproduction of "autonomous ethnic spaces" where identities can be consolidated and interests articulated as it has with penetrating the wider public sphere. The success of such endeavors will likely depend on the wider social context: When it comes to

Muslims' self-definition (as Muslims and as national citizens), some national contexts may be more restrictive than others (da Silva et al., 2022).

The various forms of misrecognition identified here alert us to the diverse ways in which majorities' power constrains minorities' autonomy in self-definition (Amer & Obradovic, 2022) and thus their ability to formulate and pursue their own understandings of their identity-related interests. In doing so, the concept of misrecognition widens our understanding of majority-minority encounters. Sometimes misrecognition may be an explicit strategy of control. Examples include the ascription of identity-defining names which foreground just one of one's identities (e.g., see Herrmann, 2011, on Nazi laws requiring Jews to be named as Sarah or Israel), and narratives which render one's minority group identity invisible (e.g., see Dixit, 2022, on the ways in which educational institutions in India misrepresent Adivasi communities and their cultural practices). However, the practices of misrecognition are not always motivated by majority group hostility but can arise through omission and indifference (Simon, 2020). As a corollary, future research must complement analyses of majority group members' hostile motivations with explorations of minorities' more mundane experiences of finding their abilities to act on their own terms (rather than someone else's) compromised through the misrecognition of their identities.

By way of conclusion, it bears repeating that the concept of (mis)recognition has strong roots in political philosophy and theory and has received significant interest from political scientists interested in exploring the challenges minorities experience in multicultural polities. Our fourfold delineation of the various forms of recognition is integrative in terms of organizing a diverse set of experiences in a manner that is parsimonious and allows *Political Psychology* to contribute to such analyses on the basis of an empirically grounded conceptual analysis. Moreover, our analysis makes it clear that any theorization of (mis)recognition must acknowledge the multiplicity of our identities and explore the implications of diverse forms of misrecognition for individuals' abilities to be full citizens in multicultural polities.

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