# Islamophobia: It's Menifestations in Politics and the Media

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# Today's Talk

- Islamophobia definitions with historical contexts
- Islamophobia in Politics
- Islamophobia in the Media

## Islamophobia - A Complex Concept

- How can anti-Muslim political and media rhetoric be defined?
- Is Islamophobia significantly different from other forms of racism?
- Are people targeted only because of their Islamic faith similar to that of Anti-Semitism?
- Is Islam a religion or race or both?
- Is the term 'Islamophobia' appropriate or 'anti-Muslim' hatred is better?
- Are we talking about hostilities against the religion rather than the people who follow it?

### What is Islamophobia?

- Historically, Islamophobia is deeply rooted in colonialism, imperialism, and orientalism
- The first usage of the term found in the 1920s in the form of criticizing European orientalists' distorted interpretations of Islam
- Early twentieth century the period of clash between "Christian Europe" and the "Islamic orient"
- Brought the relationship between colonial power and Islam at the forefront of Western political rhetoric.
- Imperialism is one of the major reasons for Islamophobia in the West

# Towards a Definition The Runneymede Trust - 1997 Vs 2017

The first academic definition of Islamophobia was the 1997 publication of the report "Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All" by the British race relations NGO the Runnymede Trust.

"a useful shorthand way of referring to dread or hatred of Islam—and, therefore, to fear or dislike of all or most Muslims" (p. 1)

- They revisited the term twenty years later in 2017 due to the concept being much more complex and multifaceted after 'changed circumstances' since 1997.
- ► The 2017 report focuses on the manifestations of Islamophobia , which they describe as "anti-Muslim discrimination or racism".

### Islamophobia as a form of Racism

- Many scholars call it 'cultural racism', as Muslims are identified due to their non-European and non-white descent with a perceived homogenous foreign culture'.
- The All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) in late 2018 gave a widely accepted definition: "Islamophobia is rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness".

#### The Definition is Contextual

- Islamophobia exists around the world
- It comes in different shapes and sizes around the world
- In Western countries, it is mostly racism
- In some countries, it is purely religious e.g., in India
- It also exists in Muslim countries Practising Muslims vilified
  - in Turkey under Kemal Ataturk
  - in Bangladesh during the regime of Sheikh Hasina (2008-2024)

### Manifestations of Islamophobia

- Islam portrayed as monolithic
- Islam is othered different from other cultures
- Seen as inferior and primitive barbaric, irrational, sexist and incompatible in the West
- Portrayed as violent, aggressive, threatening, having monopoly over terrorism, and instigating a clash of civilisations
- Seen as a political ideology that seeks to take political or military advantage

# Political Rhetoric Similar to pre-Nazi Antisemitic Tropes

- Threat of taking over 'Islamification', 'Londonistan', 'Muslim no-go areas
- Threats to indigenous culture Why London has Ramadan lights? Why the King allowed Iftar in Windsor Castle?
- They don't integrate A report by the University of Essex in 2024 found that Muslims in Britain identify with Britishness more strongly than their non-Muslim counterparts 83% of Muslims are proud to be British citizens, compared to 79% of the general public.
- Fear of Misogyny Muslim men force women to wear the hijab is it possible in the West?
- Fears based on historical cultural inferiority stem from orientalism

# Islamophobia in British Politics

- In 2011, Baroness Sayeda Warsi, the first Muslim cabinet Minister in Britain said, 'Islamophobia has passed the dinner table test'.
- Politicians easily get away with Islamophobic remarks
- Nigel Farage openly gives Islamophobic remarks, and he is becoming more and more popular
- His Reform Party is leading by a big margin in opinion polls and may win the next election

### Some Examples: British Politicians

- Boris Johnson's burqa comments 'led to surge in anti-Muslim attacks': Monitoring group says abuse incidents jumped by 375% in the week following PM's article (Guardian, 2 September 2019)
- A clear majority of 521 Conservative party members (58%) surveyed by Opinium think Islam is a threat to the British way of life, while only 18% believe the two are compatible (Guardian, 28 February 2024)
- In November 2020 The Labour Muslim Network published the *Islamophobia and the Muslim Experience* report into prejudice within the Labour Party, which reported that half of Muslim members said that they did not trust Keir Starmer or the party leadership to address Islamophobia (*Muslim News*, 2 August 2024.
- Nigel Farage under fire after saying Muslims do not share British values (Guardian, 26 May 2024)
- Reform UK Facebook Groups Are Full of Racist Far Right Posts and Islamophobic Conspiracy Theories: Groups set up by Reform UK officials contain posts calling for Muslims to be lynched and suggestions that Jewish people are trying to "dilute out country with foreign invaders" (Byline Times, 30 April 2025)

## Some Examples: American Politicians

- Donald Trump 'Islam hates us'
- Donald Trump's Muslim travel ban
- Rashida Tlaib and Ilhan Omar vilified and sidelined
- Attacks on Zohran Mamdani
- Influence of AIPAC
- Attacks on Pro-Palestinian activists on campuses
- MAGA movement overtly Islamophobic
- Strong Evangelical force who are Zionists

# Islamophobia in the Media

Following are some Key findings of a comprehensive study in 2021 by the Centre for Media Monitoring (CfMM) of the Muslim Council of Britain - the largest Muslim umbrella body in the UK.

# How are Muslims misrepresented in the media?

- The label of Terrorism synonymous with Muslims.
- Islam is often labelled as inherently 'Anti Semitic'
- Muslim scripture advocates rape, violence, lying, stealth etc
- Ordinary religious practices in Islam are often defamed, slandered and equated to terrorism.
- Muslim civilisation is primitive and inferior to the West.
- Muslims are an inherent threat to Western norms and culture.
- Muslim presence is a unique 'problem' in the West which has to be addressed
- Muslim women are oppressed even if they declare they are not
- The Muslim man is a threat to Western women
- Islam is outside the fold of Abrahamic moral and social values and in direct opposition with 'Judeo-Christian' values.

#### **Framing**

The fact she refused to convert to Islam is **NOT** why he killed her.

#### **Mail**Online

Afghan migrant is jailed for life for murdering 17-year-old ex-girlfriend who had refused to convert to Islam in Germany - where he had lied about his age to claim asylum as a minor

- · Ahmad S. killed girlfriend Mireille in Flensburg, Germany back in March last year
- He was said to heave stabbed her 14 times after she ended their relationship
- The court heard he arrived in Germany in 2015 claiming he was 18 to get asylum
- . But the court found that he was actually an adult and could be up to 29 years old

By GEORGE MARTIN FOR MAILONLINE

PUBLISHED: 10:25, 6 February 2019 | UPDATED: 11:17, 6 February 2019

#### **Mail**Online

#### Afghan migrant is jailed for life in Germany for murdering 17-year-old exgirlfriend who had ended their relationship

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- · He was said to have stabbed her 14 times after she ended their relationship
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#### By GEORGE MARTIN FOR MAILONLINE

PUBLISHED: 10:25, 6 February 2019 | UPDATED: 17:34, 11 February 2019

A previous version of this article stated that Ahmad S had murdered his girlfriend because she had refused to convert to Islam. This claim, made by a family friend, was first reported in March 2018 by Mailonline in common with other British media after appearing in a news outlet in Germany. Recent articles in the German media, however, have reported that Ahmad S murdered Mireille after she had broken up with him and formed a new relationship, and that he was angry about not being able to control every aspect of her life. We are happy to make this clear and apologise for any confusion.

# Kitchen supported by Meghan's cookbook is housed inside mosque 'which has links to 19 terror suspects including Jihadi John'

- The Al Manaar Muslim centre in London is said to be linked to 19 terror suspects
- One imam allegedly claimed women listening to music could become strippers
- Imam Samer Darwish also suggested women should not pray while on periods
- Other jihadists with alleged links to the mosque include three of four 'Beatles'
- One is said to have stood outside the mosque and preached extremist views
- · The Duchess of Sussex has promoted a cookbook at a community kitchen there



A community kitchen supported by Meghan Markle is based in a mosque with links to terror suspects, it was alleged last night.

#### Misleading Headlines

The Duchess of Sussex, Meghan Markle launched a cookbook for victims of the Grenfell Tower fire, collaborating with the women from Al Manaar Mosque.

The place of worship had been widely praised for its work with victims of the Grenfell fire - however headlines talk about 'terror suspects'

instead.





Kitchen backed by Meghan Markle's cookbook is in

mosque 'linked to 19 terror suspects'

#### Lack of Consistency

- The media continues to use language unevenly when reporting on acts by white supremacists compared with Islamist extremists.
- There is no universally agreed definition of terrorist, which can mean it can be wrongfully applied to Muslims more.

In November 2018, The Times covered the case of a bomb maker called Matthew Glynn, who was found to have anti-Muslim views and followed far-right groups online. This did not reach the threshold of terrorism according to investigatory bodies.

# White fanatic who made bombs avoids terrorism charges

Fiona Hamilton Crime & Security Editor

A white man who followed far-right groups, posted Islamophobic comments online and made bombs has avoided being charged with terrorism offences. Matthew Glynn, 37, had filled a tennis ball with explosives to be thrown like a

Matthew Glynn, 37, had filled a tenn ball with explosives to be thrown like grenade and made a cylindrical bomb. The authorities discounted any "individual corganisation terrorist motive" eve though he followed far-right groups. The decision not to charge him wit terrorist offences will raise questions fo

ponce and prosecutors about wheth white suspects are being treated differe by from their Muslim counterparts. Last week at Bristol crown court ofly admitted five charges of making an exp sive substance. His bornb factory was considered so dangerous that his street Horfield, a suburb of Bristol, was evacued for four days while it was dismantle.

Glynn will be sentenced next monthal faces life in prison, but without a terror motive, a lesser sentence is likely. He al denied possession of CS gas and posse sion of a prohibited weapon, which the prosecution accepted. Analysis by Bristol Cable, a news websit showed that from 2015 until last yet.

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Analysis by Bristo (Cable, a news well
showed that from 2015 until last
(Synn shared Islamophobic, white nat
lifst and anti-immigrant Facebook, p
Armong the groups he "liked" were Br
irst, which has since been banned I
Facebook, and the Oath Keepers
American far-right organization. He

shared an article by English Templar International, and "lisked" anti-Muslim Facebook pages including World Against Islamism and Stop Islamification Wake Up World. In August 2015 he shared a post that said "Snow — the only thing that settles here ... and doesn't claim f\*\*\*sing benefits".

His final open post was made in Februa ry last year when he shared a cartooi mage of a baby in a nappy carrying sword, with the caption "English born English bred 100% English and proud". It wa produced by a far-right website.



Matthew Glynn filled a tennis ba with explosives

comment on the case. It is understood that police noted musch of the far-right material was two years old and therefore not necessarily a reflection of Glynn's current views. It is understood that prosecutors felt the threshold for more serious charges, such as possessing the explosives with intent to endanger life, was not reached.

possessing me exposers with ment to danger life, was not reached. A CPS spokeswoman said that there was susfficient evidence" to charge him with terrorism offence. The terrorism threshd requires that a device was constructed or the "purpose of advancing a political, livings resident or idealorisal cause."

#### Finsbury Park

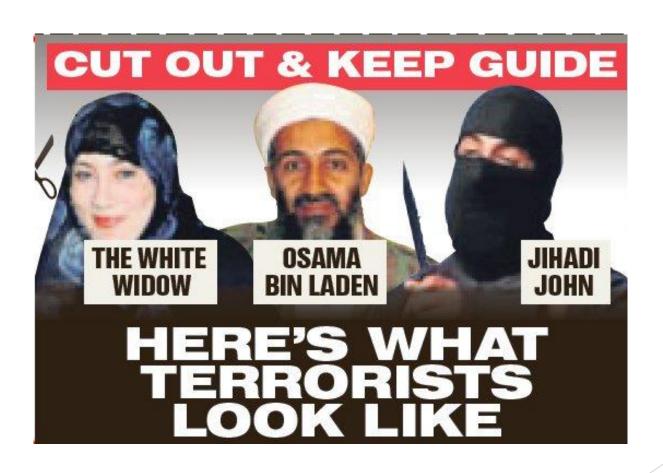


Darren Osborne was jailed for life for murdering a Muslim worshipper at Finsbury Park

After killing one person and injuring twelve, Darren Osbourne was described as a "career criminal." After murdering Labour MP Jo Cox, Thomas Mair was described just as a "right wing extremist."



#### The Sun:



Multiple people have been shot after a gunman opened fire in a bar in Thousand Oaks. California.

Initial reports indicated that a man had opened fire with a semiautomatic gun at about 11.20pm.

Officers on the scene said around 30 shots had been fired and that victims would be at multiple locations as they fled, local media reported.

The suspect has been described as a Middle Eastern man in his early 20s wearing all black clothing and with a beard.

#### **False Reporting**

Perpetrator of Thousand Oaks shooter, in California, in 2018 was **falsely** described as a 'Middle Eastern man with a beard', when in fact was Ian David Long, a white former army veteran.



Actual perpetrator

**BEFORE**: Express claims that the suspect was a "Middle Eastern man". He was a white ex-marine called Ian Long



Officers were advised that the suspect was a Middle Eastern man in his early 20s wearing all black clothing and with a beard.

Source: https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1042521/california-shooting-thousand-oaks-ba video-live-police-latest-news-update-terror



The Daily Mirror faced criticism for attempting to 'whitewash' the extent of the crime committed by the terrorist, describing him as an 'angelic boy'.



#### Christchurch terrorist attack

- The Christchurch mosque shootings were two consecutive terrorist shooting attacks at mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, during Friday Prayer on 15 March 2019, killing 51 and injuring 49.
- Despite the New Zealand police, politicians, and general consensus describing him as a 'terrorist', several news outlets did not acknowledge this label:
- The Daily Telegraph brandished him as a 'Far Right Racist'
- Guardian Front Page: 'Gunman'
- NY Times 'A Hate-filled Massacre'
- Wall Street Journal 'The New Zealand Shooter'
- I News Front Page refers to 'Racist, gunman and Terrorist'
- Times: 'Mass Shooter'
- Daily Star Double Page Spread: 'Massacre Monster'
- The Sun: 'Facebook Terrorist'
- Daily Mail: 'Mosque Killer'

#### Islam/Muslims and Anti-Semitism

"For many Muslims hatred of Jews is motivated by RELIGION far more than POLITICS."

Heydel-Mankoo, R. (2023) Talk TV

"Islam, Muslims, the Muslim voters are organising the Labour Party."

Kelvin Mckenzie, (2024) GB News

"Islam is clear! You are vile... Let us rape their women and kill them without mercy!" I was told by a Muslim friend of mine in London, whose name I won't mention.

Motaza Al Khalil (2023) Daily Express

"Given the highly charged times in which we live with incidents of antisemitism spiralling and anti-Israel protests giving horsepower to Jew hatred, is it safe to travel to an area of the country with such a concentrated Muslim population?"

Angela Epstein (2023) Daily Express

# Islamophobia in Films and Dramas

- Aladdin typical orientalist trope
- Homeland overt misrepresentation and Islamophobia
- "The Hurt Locker" (2008), "Zero Dark Thirty" (2012) and "American Sniper" reinforce Islamophobia
  - reveal the nature of the "enemy"
  - portray Iraqis, Afghans and Pakistanis as "savages"
  - civilians in those countries are dehumanized and portrayed as a threat.

## Gendered Islamophobia - An Example

- The hijab, worn by some Muslim women has often been slandered in the media as being 'oppressive'.
- Boris Johnson's comments in a newspaper column saying, "it is absolutely **ridiculous** that people should choose to go around looking like **letter boxes** and **bank robbers**".



BBC's TV series 'Bodyguard' was criticised for stereotyping a female hijabi as being an evil submissive victim in the programme.

The show also went on to show her attempting to detonate a bomb,

feeding into another stereotype associating Muslims with terrorism.

At the end, she was shown as a terrorist ring leader who had planned everything from the beginning.

# Defamation of Islamic Terminologies

- The phrase "Allahu Akbar" (meaning "God is the greatest"), is often perceived synonymously with terrorism.
- The Greater Manchester Police even used it as a phrase in their mock terrorist drill.
- Newspapers often use it as a headline in their articles to entice readership, subsequently linking the attack with Islam.







#### The Sun claims terror attack & links to a Muslims by stating the perpetrator says "Allahu Akbar"



'screaming Allahu Akbar' spens fire in Spanish supermarket while 'carrying bag filled with petrol and gunpowder'

A GUNMAN carrying gunpowder and petrol in his pockets was said to scream "Allahu Akbar" as he opened fire in a Spanish supermarket.

The incident, which happened at around 2pm, did not result in any injuries but left shoppers extremely shaken.

After firing at Perez, the gunman - reported to be a 35-year-old man from Bilbao started eating a banana before dropping to the ground, according to newspaper Faro de Vigo.

An employee said the man shouted "Allahu Akbar" - which means "Allah is great" - as he opened fire, reports La Region.

Police sources also told local media the man had gunpowder and petrol in his pockets.

Pictures from inside the supermarket show a double-barrelled shotgun, believed to be the weapon used in the attack.

Other photos show the aftermath, with broken glass and debris covering the shop floor.

#### Compiled by @miqdaad

#### The Sun retracts claim it is a terror attack and link to Muslim



SUPERMARKE HORROR Gunman

opens fire in Spanish supermarket while 'carrying bag filled with petrol and gunpowder'

A GUNMAN carrying "gunpowder and petrol" in a rucksack sent shoppers fleeing for their lives when he opened fire in a Spanish supermarket.

The incident, which happened at around 2pm, did not result in any injuries but left shoppers extremely shaken.

After firing at Perez, the gunman - reported to be a 35-year-old man from Bilbao - started eating a banana and smoking a cigar before dropping to the ground, according to newspaper Faro de Vigo.

An employee said the man shouted "Allahu Akbar" as he opened fire, reported La Region, but cops later denied this was the case.

Local media outlets also say the man reportedly had shotgun cartridges and a bottle full of petrol in a rucksack as he carried out the shooting.

Pictures from inside the supermarket show a sawn-off double-barrelled shotgun, believed to be the weapon used in the attack.

Other photos show the aftermath, with broken glass and debris covering the shop floor.



**NEWS** 

#### Melbourne attack: Lone wolf terrorist <u>'screams "Allahu</u> Akbar"' in knife rampage

WARNING - DISTRESSING CONTENT: The Bourke Street attacker set his truck on fire and killed one person before he was fatally shot by police



NEWS

#### Melbourne attack: 'Lone wolf' terrorist kills one in knife rampage before he's shot dead

WARNING - DISTRESSING CONTENT: The Bourke Street attacker set his truck on fire and killed one person before he was fatally shot by police **BEFORE:** The Mirror slurred Muslims from across the globe by citing the teaching of Allahu Akbar as relevant terrorist-like behaviour



Once in Syria she dressed her toddler son in ISIS-branded clothing and taught the youngster to say 'allah hu akbar'.

The Daily Mirror uses the unverified claim that "Allahu Akbar" was said despite the police denying this. The headline was changed after CfMM complained

#### **GB** News

- GB News is now famous for spreading Islamophobia more openly.
- A CfMM report in 2024 exposed the news outlet's Islamophobia

#### **Key Findings**

**50** 

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Over a two-year period, GB news mentioned Muslims OR Islam more than 17,000 times in its output, accounting for almost 50% of total mentions

Specific shows that are particularly obsessed include Headliners and Patrick

Fropes

GB News repeatedly casts suspicion on the motives of Muslims in civic spaces and regurgitates tropes found in far-right circles. Muslims are cast under the lens of the 'Great Replacement' conspiracy theory and presenters like Darren Grimes have been accused of playing into far-right tropes of a

into far-right tropes of a

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Claims of a 'two-tier society', 'two-tier judiciany', 'education system', 'health system' and 'policing' where Muslims are allegedly afforded special privileges are made frequently on GB News. During the riots, references to 'two-tier' almost tripled with 1,325 mentions.

#### Misleadin g informatio

The channel regularly misleads the audience about Muslims, from outright lies to misrepresented and uncontextualized claims about so\_called 'grooming

n

gangs communate growing and cultural affers e, c y picking forces a levi lice.

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Across a two-year period, GB
News has double the mentions
of Sharia compared to the BBC
and Sky combined. GB News had
261 mentions of the word
Sharia, mainly pertaining to the
negative implications of Sharia
Law, while BBC News and Sky
News had a combined total of
129 mentions.

**60** 

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Stories mentioning
Islamophobia do not feature
examples of
anti-Muslim racism but instead
are designed to rubbish the
concept of Islamophobia and
downplay hateful acts against
Muslim to ham
been reconsed on Gibblews on
1,180 tass accounting for
60% but her UK
news channels.

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During the summer riots, GB News repeatedly framed Muslims as perpetrators rather than victims of violence, downplaying attacks on mosques and Muslim communities and contributing to a biased narrative. It dedicated more airtime (more than ten hours) to associating Muslims with the riots than the BBC and Sky News combined. GB News accounted for 62% of all clips on UK news channels that associated Muslims with the riots, over three times as many as BBC News and Sky

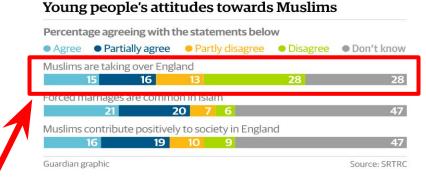
Chants like 'Allah, Allah who the F\*\*\* is Allah?' were

# What is the problem with inaccurate reporting on Muslims?

Media influence can often shape perception of Muslims in society.

18%

Muslim immigration to this country is part of a bigger plan to make Muslims a majority of this country's population



32%

Believe there are no-go areas in Britain where sharia law dominates and non-Muslims cannot enter

31%

Of young children think Muslims are taking over England 56%

Believe Islam (not fundamentalist groups) poses a threat to Western liberal democracy

Source: SUTR report, HnH, Huffington Post poll, YouGov poll



Media fuelling rising hostility towards Muslims in Britain



Mainstream media reporting about Muslim communities is contributing to an atmosphere of rising hostility towards Muslims in Britain, according to a University of Cambridge/ESRC Roundtable held at the House of Lords.



#### 'Politicians and media fuel hate crime in Britain,' say University of Leicester experts

Posted by pt91 at Jun 29, 2016 05:19 PM | Permalink

'Toxic climate' around EU referendum debate highlighted for contributing towards hate incidents

"When ordinary people have a political mandate to blame those who are different for society's ills then the shackles of human decency are stripped away."

- Professor Neil Chakraborti and Dr Stevie-Jade Hardy, University of Leicester

Newspaper industry + Add to myFT

#### Muslims treated differently by newspapers, says press watchdog

Fleet Street regulator will issue guidance to editors on 'difficult' issue next year





Alan Moses, the outgoing chairman of the Independent Press Standards Organisation © Charlie Bibby/FT

Patricia Nilsson in London DECEMBER 30 2019

□ 136 
□

The portrayal of Islam and Muslims in the British press has been "the most difficult issue" facing the press watchdog in the past five years, according to its outgoing chief.

"I speak for myself, but I have a suspicion that [Muslims] are from time to time written about in a way that [newspapers] would simply not write about Jews or Roman Catholics," said Alan Moses, who is standing down after five years as chairman of the Independent Press Standards Organisation.



UK ► UK politics Education Media Society Law Scotland Wales Northern Ireland

**Daily Express** 

• This article is more than 1 year old

#### Daily Express editor calls its front pages 'downright offensive'

Recently appointed Gary Jones tells MPs some stories helped stir Islamophobic feeling in media

Jim Waterson Media editor Tue 24 Apr 2018 19.09 BST



▲ Gary Jones, who was appointed editor of the Daily and Sunday Express last month, appears before a select

The Daily Express editor has said some of his newspaper's past front pages have been "downright offensive", made him feel "very uncomfortable" and contributed to an "Islamophobic sentiment" in the media.

Gary Jones, who took over at the newspaper last month, said he was







#### most viewed



Sandi Toksvig quits as Great British Bake Off co-host



Live Trump impeachment: White House broke law by freezing Ukraine aid, says watchdog - live



Long-Bailey says abortion limit should not be different for disability



Betfred owners make millions from company treating gambling addicts



Live South Africa v England: third Test, day one - as it

## Islamophobia: What should we do?

- Understand what it means and pass this on to others
- Build rapport with non-Muslim friends and colleagues and be the real ambassador of Islam and Muslims. Our character and conduct are key.
- Build relationships, at personal and community levels, with influential people in politics and the media who are not inherently Islamophobic.
- Play active roles in debunking mis/disinformation. Don't wait others to do this for you.
- We need more people in influential positions civil service, politics, media
- We need many more Mehdi Hasans unfortunately, we only have one like him in the USA and UK combined. We need more Zeteos.
- We need more Zohran Mamdanis who can challenge the political establishments
- There is an increasing number of private media outlets like TYT, The Majority Report etc. We need to engage with them and establish more institutions like these.

## What should young Americans do?

- Some things mentioned in the previous slide apply to young people as well.
- Try to be the best in whatever you do studies, sports, activism etc.
- Think of a career that will not only help you but also help the humanity in general and Muslims in particular
- When you mix with non-Muslim peers, make sure they are influenced by you rather than the other way round.
- Be the first to help people irrespective of their faith or background. A humanitarian is liked by everybody.
- Love your country. This is your country too, so don't let the hatred by racists and bigots frustrate you too much.

# Thank you! Any Questions?