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THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITIES
BY BRITISH-MUSLIM PUPILS
AGED 14-15 YEARS

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In Memory of Neelam Visana

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ABSTRACT

The research reported in this thesis examines the social construction of ethnic and gender identities by British-Muslim pupils, from a critical, feminist, discursive position. The research draws upon critical, feminist conceptualisations of identity which challenge positivistic Social Psychological theories of ethnic identity for constructing British-Muslim young people in racist and sexist ways. The aims of this study were to (i) identify ways in which young people conceptualise their identities with regard to 'race', gender and religion and (ii) consider young people's constructions of racism and sexism, particularly within the context of school.

Participants were recruited from four schools, located in a town in the North-West of England ("Mill Town"). In total, 69 young people participated across two, main phases of data collection: 60 young men and women participated in single-sex, focus group discussions, which were conducted by two British-Asian, female researchers and the British-White, female author. Nine young women also completed 'Photographic Diaries' with the author. The use of participant-generated, photographic data is a novel approach within Social Psychology, and it was anticipated that the use of this method would provide an original contribution to knowledge. All data were analysed discursively.

Analyses suggest that the young men constructed 'Muslim' identities, through which they positioned themselves as 'not western', and asserted hegemonic masculinities. These constructions are contrasted with previous literature, in which second generation Asians are conceptualised as choosing between 'British' and 'Asian' identities. The young men used discourses of 'culture' to position themselves both as 'not proper Muslims' (in comparison to Muslims in Bangladesh) and as 'authentic' Muslims (in comparison to Muslim women in Britain). These constructions are discussed in terms of the young men's talk about the duties of 'being a man'.

Analyses of the female discussion group data suggest that the young women reproduced and resisted stereotypical discourses of themselves as oppressed, 'passive victims'. In particular, young women conceptualised arranged marriages in terms of 'choice', positioning forced marriages as 'not marriage'. The theme of choice was also reproduced in discussions around the wearing of *dhutah* and educational careers, in which the young women emphasised their own agency. In comparison to the young men, the women constructed 'British Muslim' identities. The differences in the young people's identity constructions are discussed in terms of their resistance to racist discourses and the negotiation of masculinities and femininities. Similarities in the young people's use of 'race' discourses are also highlighted, through their construction 'Black' and 'Asian' identities.

Across both male and female groups, racism was talked about as a frequently, almost daily, experience. The young people reproduced discourses of 'modern' and 'traditional' racism, although they also produced challenging constructions of 'institutional' racisms. In particular, young men and women talked about the

difficulty of identifying 'hidden racisms' from teachers and pupils. These implications of these constructions for challenging or reproducing inequalities are discussed in relation to psychological literature.

Analyses of the photographic diaries suggest that the young women drew on, and resisted, dominant discourses of attractiveness and sexuality to construct Muslim femininities. Photographs of classes are discussed in terms of highlighting the marginalisation of young Muslim women (with particular reference to science) and reproduction and resistance of the 'behavers and achievers' stereotype.

From the analyses it is suggested that the young people's identity constructions demonstrate the complex intersection of 'race' and gender. The young people also produced discourses which challenge, and resist, positivistic Social Psychological conceptualisations of 'identity' and 'racism'. Findings are discussed in terms of possibilities for anti-racist and anti-sexist strategies within schools, and application of the photographic technique in work with young people from marginalised groups.

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PREFACE

My interest in British-Asian identity has developed from a number of personal experiences, which I explain more fully within Chapter Four, but the work in this thesis also reflects my academic interests in gender, feminism and education. In this research I have focussed upon second generation, young Asian, Muslim pupils (whom I refer to as 'British-Muslims'). My choice, to research with British-Muslims, follows on from the Salman Rushdie affair of the late 1980's, and the increasing concerns, reflected within the British media, about 'Muslim fundamentalism' and Islam's 'oppressive' treatment of women.

Islamophobic discourses are also echoed within social psychological theories of British-Asian identity: within these theories, young Muslims are identified as suffering from inherent psychological conflict (as a result of being 'between two cultures') from which they are assumed to adopt either 'traditional' or 'western' identities. Young women, in particular, are conceptualised as double-oppressed, by sexist, ethnic minority 'culture'. I consider that the rise of 'Islamophobia', in popular and academic discourses, has resulted in Muslims being identified as "ultimate Others" (see Phoenix, 1997; p.7) and in this research, I attempt to look at how young people reproduce, and resist, the various, dominant, gendered, racist discourses which position them as Others.

My decision to investigate the social construction of British-Muslim identities was also pragmatic, based upon an early offer of access to a particular school. This school

happened to be located in a town, in which the 'Asian population' overwhelmingly comprises Muslim families, of both Pakistani, and Bangladeshi, origin.

My choice of terminology within this thesis also requires justification. I refer to participants in this study as 'British-Muslim'. This term was chosen partly to emphasise how all the young people involved have British nationality, through being born, and raised, in this country. The use of 'Muslim' was derived from pilot work findings, in which most participants emphasised a preference to be identified as *Muslims, rather than as 'Pakistani', 'Bangladeshi', or 'Asian'*.

I would like to emphasise that although I do not concentrate upon differences between Pakistani and Bangladeshi young people, I am aware that considerable importance may be attached to these different identifications, and that differences of experience may occur. Young people did refer to themselves as Pakistani, or Bangladeshi, and these identifications were used to construct differences between groups. However, I have deliberately distanced myself from commenting upon these specific distinctions. This is because as a White researcher I do not feel it would be appropriate for me to comment on intra-Asian racisms, which I consider differ from White racist discourses in terms of their institutional power within the educational, and social, context.

I have also used the more general term 'British-Asian' when referring to second generation young people whose families originate from the Indian sub-continent. I use the term 'Asian' primarily when discussing discourses which, I consider, cross-cut

religious, linguistic and other boundaries. I also make provisional use of the term 'White', and although I do not examine the construction of White identities within this thesis, I would like to acknowledge that I consider 'whiteness' to be an equally contested, and problematic, concept (see Fine et al., 1997; Wong, 1994).

A Cross-Disciplinary Approach

In this research, I have utilised a broadly cross-disciplinary approach in order to criticise positivistic psychological social identity theories. My initial concerns with positivistic social psychological approaches developed when I started to find difficulties 'fitting in' women in to the existing models. Furthermore, none of my close Asian, female friends and family seemed as pathological as the theories would suggest. These 'personal' reservations were coupled with my reading of theoretical concerns around social identity theories from both within positivistic approaches and outside them. Therefore, in response to the unexamined ethnocentric, patriarchal assumptions of social cognition theories, I shall outline re-conceptualisations of particular key concepts which inform the theoretical position which I have taken within this doctoral research.

These re-conceptualisations concern ethnic groups, culture and 'race', positioning identity as fluid, multiple and shifting, and as gendered and racialised.

In this thesis I have drawn on a range of theories and research from across social psychology, sociology and education. Within these broad fields, I have also made considerable use of feminist and critical, Social Psychological approaches. I do, however, locate my work as Social Psychological. This is partly based on my own location within a psychology department, with a background specifically in Social Psychology. It is also because I have drawn my position (albeit from various sources) in light of social psychological theories of ethnic identity.

In particular I have attempted to bring some cross-disciplinary thinking on 'race', ethnicity and gender into social psychology as a means of attempting to effect change "from the inside" (albeit from the margins). This decision was also influenced by the fact that (in my opinion) positivistic social psychological theories have largely ignored debates, changes and developments which have taken place within sociology. I have therefore aligned my work with Critical Social Psychology, a movement which has gathered momentum, but which is still unable to 'break through' to 'mainstream' psychology (as can be seen, for example, in terms of access to the more prestigious journals, and as major conference themes).

My cross-disciplinary position also attempts, to some degree, to answer the concerns which have been raised within positivistic paradigms by researchers such as Phinney (1990), who have become increasingly disillusioned with the 'fragmentary and inconclusive' state of psychological ethnic identity research. In particular Phinney (1990) has aimed criticisms at the lack of empirical research in comparison to the weight of theory being produced, and the general lack of congruity in the linking of theory and practice. She also suggests that there is clearly a need for the integration of theory and practice within the psychology of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990). In this thesis I attempt to link together theory, research and practice, raising issues relevant to both academics and practitioners.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

In this thesis, I examine the social construction of identities by British-Muslim pupils, aged between 14 and 15 years. In particular, I address the themes of gender, 'race', racism and education, discussing how these themes interact within the young people's identity constructions. I take a theoretical position within this work, which is critical of positivistic Social Psychology research, and theory, which has been conducted from within a scientific paradigm. My criticisms are not concerned with suggesting that these (dominant) theories of ethnic and gender identity are 'wrong' or factually incorrect, rather I suggest that the particular beliefs and ideologies underpinning such approaches result in the (re)production of knowledges which are oppressive to British-Asians.

In Chapter One, I suggest that positivistic Social Psychological theories have produced racist, sexist knowledges of ethnic and gender identity because a White, male (middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied) norm is assumed, against which Others (Black, female, and so on) are marginalised and pathologised. I discuss how, and why, I made specific theoretical and methodological choices in my research; these choices are located in terms of criticisms which have been made of positivist, social psychological theories, and research, concerning ethnic identity, particularly the identities of British Asians. I argue that these theories have pathologised and marginalised Black, and Asian, people, particularly women, and that these oppressive knowledges are integrally

linked to the particular epistemological and theoretical assumptions underlying dominant systems of social psychological research.

The positivistic theories which I have identified, and shall predominantly refer to within this research, are social identity theories, in particular Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982) and Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell, 1987). I also refer to acculturation and assimilation theories (models such as Hutnik 1991 and Phinney, 1990). I suggest that these perspectives have produced oppressive knowledges through their underlying assumption of a rational, unified individual as the focus of research. I also suggest that such theories assume a White, male (middle-class, heterosexual) norm at the centre of research, an assumption which serves to marginalise, and pathologise, 'Others'. I address the separation, and neglect, of gender in ethnic identity research and the separation of 'race' from racism and prejudice. I illustrate and explain these criticisms with theory and research from feminist and critical perspectives.

In Chapter Two I discuss the critical, feminist social constructionist perspective taken in this thesis, and I relate my use of discursive, qualitative methods of data collection, to the theoretical position taken. The chapter is organised into two main sections; in the first section I summarise the rise of postmodern perspectives and I discuss various tensions in the theory-method relationship within, and between, postmodern, feminist and critical positions. I consider developments within discursive social psychology

which I relate to the use of discursive analysis in this research, with specific reference to feminist, and critical approaches.

In the second section of the chapter I discuss the critical, feminist, discursive position taken, and outline how I use specific methods to achieve my theoretical, and political, aims. I present the rationale behind my collection of verbal and visual data, and my use of a discursive approach to interpret them. I also discuss how my adoption of a critical, feminist position has entailed careful consideration of my role as a researcher, which I address as issues of reflexivity and ethics.

In Chapter Three, I apply the theory to the research context, discussing how positivistic theories (from Chapter One) and challenging theories (in Chapter Two) construct Black, particularly British Muslim, pupils in the British education system. I discuss educational research which has drawn upon the main tenets of Social Identity and assimilation theories, to position young, British-Asians in racist, sexist ways as 'behavers and achievers'. I also discuss the dominance of multiculturalist perspectives within the British education system, suggesting that these approaches are unable to adequately tackle racisms and sexism within schools. I conclude the chapter by raising some specific concerns and questions to be addressed within this research. In particular I look at ways in which the young people reproduce, and resist, dominant discourses which position Muslim males as fundamentalists or western and young women as passive and oppressed by sexist home cultures.

In Chapter Four I set out the Method. I present background details on the research context ('Mill Town'), the LEA and the schools visited ('Lowtown', 'Hightown', 'Eastfield' and 'Westfield'). Personal biography details of the research team are also provided. The remainder of the chapter discusses the structuring, format and composition of the discussion groups and the Photographic Diaries study. I identify and detail rhetorical techniques, which I consider were employed within the accounts. The steps taken in analysis are presented and transcribing conventions are summarised.

Chapter Five contains my analyses of data from the young men's discussion groups.

In the first half of the chapter I consider ways in which the young men constructed Muslim masculinities. I highlight in particular, their reproduction of, and resistance to, dominant discourses which position the young men as 'fundamentalist/ western' and 'sexist'. In the second half of the chapter I discuss ways in which the young men constructed 'race' and the experience of racisms as integral to their identities. I identify gendered 'solutions' conceptualised by the young men, and I discuss these with reference to the educational context.

In Chapter Six I present my analyses of data from the young women's discussion groups. The chapter is structured similarly to Chapter Five: in the first half of the chapter I consider ways in which the young women constructed Muslim femininities, highlighting their reproduction of, and resistance to, dominant discourses which position British Asian women as 'passive victims' of oppressive minority culture. In

the second half of the chapter I consider the young women's constructions of 'race' and racisms within the educational context.

Chapter Seven is a short comparison chapter, drawing together and comparing findings from both the young women's and the young men's discussion group chapters. Discussion centres around differences, and similarities, in the ways the young men and women talked about 'race' and racism, with particular reference to the construction of racial identities as 'British Muslim' (young women) or 'Muslim'(young men). In this chapter I also discuss similarities and differences in the ways young men and women talked about 'arranged marriage' and 'dbuttah', which I relate to the construction of masculinities and femininities.

Chapter Eight contains interpretations of the Photographic Diaries work, conducted with a group of nine British-Muslim young women. I consider ways in which the young women constructed femininities, highlighting in particular discourses which challenge dominant conceptualisations of Muslim femininity as weak, passive and invisible. I also discuss the young women's constructions of their school experiences within the photographs. In particular, the photographs are discussed in relation to themes of racism, sexism and the young women's '(in)visibility' to staff.

Chapter Nine summarises some implications of my research findings for theory and application. I draw a number of conclusions, which are discussed in relation to Social Psychological theories and the educational context. I also evaluate the usefulness of

the Photographic Method for the articulation of marginalised viewpoints. The chapter ends with suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER ONE

THE THEORETICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

It is standard practice for academic, psychological writing to begin with the review of previous literature and theory, thus 'setting the scene', and providing the rationale for the research. This thesis is no exception, although I shall begin with a less usual, brief review of the background to, and history of, Social Psychology itself. This consideration of developments in social psychology aims to locate, and justify, the epistemological position of my research. I have included this section because 'critical', feminist and social constructionist perspectives remain at the margins of social psychology, and have developed in response to particular, dominant biases within psychology generally.

In this chapter I suggest that 'scientific' social psychology is characterised by positivism, rationality and the use of experimental method. My criticisms centre around social cognition theories and their assumption of a unified, rational, White, male subject at the heart of psychology. I argue that these assumptions have produced theories of ethnic identity which are oppressive knowledges, that pathologise, and marginalise, the experiences of Black and Asian 'subjects', particularly women. I discuss my criticisms in relation to critical/ feminist theories of ethnic and gender identities.

The Development of Social Psychology as a Science

"Social psychology, like any branch of science, is a social system whose primary objective is the production of a particular kind of empirical knowledge" (Cartwright, 1979, p.82)

There is no single definable Social Psychology; there have always been contradictions and competing groups within Social Psychology, which have all drawn on other related disciplines in their influences. However, positivistic theory and research has been the most dominant tradition within the discipline, as reflected in the 'major', most utilised, journals and textbooks. These approaches utilise theory and methods derived from the natural sciences, and have thus endeavoured to reproduce Social Psychology as a 'scientific' discipline.

There have been alternatives to, and contradictions within positivistic, experimental social psychology. For example, there have been different schools of thought within European social psychology, such as the German "Volkerpsychologie" of Wilhelm Wundt. Ironically, Wilhelm Wundt is often cited as one of the 'founding fathers' of positivistic psychology because his early application of experimental methods in the study of psychological phenomena (specifically, reaction times) was taken up and propagated by American theorists. His subsequent disillusionment with the widespread adoption of the 'scientific method' has since been cited as the motivation driving Wundt to develop Volkerpsychologie (see Stenner and Brown, 1998). Volkerpsychologie

shared many theoretical concerns with more modern discursive branches of psychology in that:

"it was a cultural social psychology, in which the study of language had a central place. Except for the most elementary processes, no human experience or activity can (and should) be separated from its socio-cultural context" (Graumann, 1996; p.10).

However, a more positivistic psychology, based upon the principles of empiricism and the experimental method, has become dominant within social psychology, and the main focus of research has been concerned with social cognition.

Social psychology has been proposed by those working within the dominant paradigm, as:

"the scientific study of human social behaviour [...] it [is] an empirical science which adopts an array of methods to discover the mental processes involved in the complex dialectical relationship between stimuli and human behaviour" (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; p.8-10).

The dominance of a positivistic epistemology within social psychology can be linked to wider developments within psychology's identity, as a discipline seeking to establish itself in opposition to sociology. By extending positivism from the natural sciences to the social sciences, psychology embraced the scientific principles of objectivity and rationality, proposing that psychological phenomena are facts which could be observed, tested, empirically measured and discovered, in much the same way as phenomena are analysed in the natural sciences. Psychology's identity as a positivistic science, based

around the principles of experimental method, has since been criticised because "in the clamour to become a respectable science, psychology developed an abhorrence of anything philosophical" (Valentine, 1998; p.167). However, adherence to a scientific, objective 'reality' is itself a philosophy (Stenner and Brown, 1998) which has come under increasing suspicion and criticism through the rise of postmodernist theories concerning the social construction of reality (see Chapter Two for discussion of postmodern debates).

The identification of psychology as a science has been interlinked with its use of experimental methods, adapted from those of the natural sciences:

"Social psychology is a science by virtue of its use of scientific method [...] Laboratory experimentation is the ideal method because it best permits the isolation and examination of individual causal agents" (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; p.8).

The emphasis placed upon the reliability, validity and generalizability of findings has resulted in the widespread use of quantitative methods within dominant/positivist social psychological research, with measurement being understood as implying the existence, and reality, of phenomena. A close link has developed between positivism and empirical research, but positivism is not necessarily limited to quantitative research per se, because positivism defines only the assumptions of reality which underpin the research process.

Mama (1995) suggests that the measuring of human behaviour is based upon the assumption that the knowledge produced can be used ultimately to predict, and control, behaviour and indeed some of the most well-known Social Psychological research was originally commissioned with these aims explicitly in mind (such as the work on persuasion conducted by the Yale group and Hovland after the Second World War). The use of the experimental method has been of central importance in such work because it has lent scientific credibility to research findings, and it enabled the researcher to impose order and coherence upon social phenomena:

"the experimental method, adopted from neighbouring sciences, provided psychology with a protocol for work as well as for professional legitimation [...] the experiment permitted the researcher to control the messiness of human life in order to locate its underlying causal mechanisms" (Morawski, 1997; p.25).

The methods adopted by social psychology have been similar to those of the natural sciences, such as observation and the use of quantifiable, scales and questionnaires to render 'internal' psychological phenomena, such as 'attitudes', externally measurable (e.g. Likert, 1932). Consequently, psychologists have worked to label, and therefore divide, people, and having defined these differences as 'real', they have sought to quantify and perform analyses on the phenomena created, thus 'proving' and affirming their reality. Social Psychology has also made extensive use of the 'laboratory' as the arena for testing experimental methods, through the manipulation and control of variables. For example, Tajfel et al.'s (1971) proposal of the minimal group paradigm

has been hugely influential, since it purports that intergroup behaviours can be reduced to their 'simplest' form, having removed extraneous variables, through control of the group's composition and environment. As such, laboratory techniques have been proposed as a means of conducting 'pure' scientific research, as distinct from work in more 'uncontrollable', applied and naturalised contexts, because the laboratory allows psychological phenomena to be separated out and measured in their purest form, filtering out interferences and 'impurities' from all other social phenomena.

These quantitative techniques have therefore assumed the subjects of psychological research to be unitary, rational and coherent, because not only can their psychological processes be measured as 'real' phenomena but these measurements can be taken as indicative of a general, usual state of being, against which predictions, generalisations and inferences can be made. The researcher has thus assumed the status, and position, of 'scientist' and 'expert', with the ability to control and manipulate variables (criticisms of this approach, such as that by Oliver (1991), and other proponents of emancipatory research, will be addressed in the Chapter Two). The psychologist has also been assumed to be objective, as a figure whose presence has no significant effects on the research results per se. For example, the 'race' of the researcher (who has been predominantly White) has largely been considered an unimportant factor, not even worthy of mention, in the majority of positivistic research concerned with ethnicity and prejudice (Morawski, 1997). Furthermore, the 'identities' of prominent psychologists have predominantly been White, male and middle-class, with the exceptions of a few

"Great Women" who have 'made it' onto university undergraduate core degree syllabuses (Squire, 1995; p.147).

This powerful position held by the researcher, as 'expert' and as 'scientist', has been reinforced through the labelling of experimental 'subjects' on whom research is performed. In fact, the British Psychological Society's guidelines have only recently been altered to recommend the use of terms such as 'participants', 'respondents', 'individuals' and 'students'. *The Psychologist* reported the Society's Code of Conduct, Ethical Principles & Guidelines as follows, explaining that the term 'subjects' is no longer acceptable because "psychologists owe a debt to those who agree to take part in their studies" and that these participants should "expect to be treated with the highest standards of consideration and respect" (1997; p.293).

This change has been met with outrage and resistance by some individuals, who wish to reinforce the scientific merits of their research with adherence to the positivistic methods. For example, following the publication of these recommendations, letters in the following edition expressed "protest", and "baffled" opinions, questioning why "the Society's time has been occupied on addressing such an ultimately trivial issue" and identifying "the banning of 'subjects' [as] part of a worryingly coercive trend", likened to previously being "ordered to use 'non-sexist language'" (*Letters to the Editor, The Psychologist*, 1997; p.443).

Stenner and Brown (1998) have suggested that the use of experimental method is more than simply a choice of technique, and instead that it acts as a common bond within positivistic psychology, bringing together diverse sub-disciplines and areas of research:

"[...] a vast expansion and specialization of sub-disciplines and practitioner bases has stretched the common bond of psychology to the limit [...] in the absence of a generally agreed title, project or social function, scientific method becomes still more important as that which holds the discipline together and as the grounds upon which psychological research should be evaluated. The durability of this hold is questionable" (Stenner and Brown, 1998; p.173).

Positivistic psychology has therefore been identified as addressing itself to "a unitary subject, a static and eternal entity about whom the grossest generalisations could be made" (Mama, 1995; p. 38). The use of empirical methods demands a degree of coherence and consistency in the phenomena being studied, and positivistic psychology therefore conceptualises the individual subject of enquiry as reasoned and rational, and subsequently supposes that generalisations can be made about this subject, based on research measurements:

"Positivism is founded upon empiricism and aims to discover truth and to accumulate knowledge through objective, replicable modes of sampling, data collection, and analysis completed by an impartial, value-neutral observer. It assumes the existence of an obdurate external reality independent of the observer and the methods used to produce the collected observations" (Charmaz, 1995; p.45).

The role of scientific method and, more specifically, debates around qualitative and quantitative methods will be discussed in Chapter Two, with particular reference to arguments within feminism concerning the role of method and the epistemological basis of research.

Social Cognitive Approaches

Within Social Psychology, social cognition research, which is based on positivistic assumptions and utilises the experimental method, has become dominant:

"[...]one can see the cognitive approach as currently dominant in [Social Psychology] manifest for example in work in attribution theory, schema theory and attitude-behaviour research" (Smith, 1995; p.1).

From a social cognitive perspective, individuals are conceptualised as rational beings, possessing coherent cognitive strategies which enable them to make sense of the external world. Social cognition researchers postulate the existence of internal, mental processes, which can be measured and tapped using a variety of methods/ techniques. For example, numerical or verbal data from questionnaires and scales is assumed to directly, or indirectly, reflect the participant's cognitions (Smith, 1995; p.2). The social cognition approach proposes that psychological phenomena are persistent, rational, unified and coherent to the extent that they are quantifiable, and that interrelationships between cognitions can be theorised. These cognitive activities are broadly assumed to be universal, for example:

"There is also a functionalist strand to the social identity approach in that the psychological processes involved in self-conceptualization and group behaviour are considered to be largely trans-historical and universal because they fulfil a fundamental adaptive function for the human organism (e.g. Doise, 1978)" (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; p.17).

Hogg and Abrams (1988) suggest that, as social psychologists, they are concerned with how group membership constructs individual identity. In their view, the social identity approach focuses on "the group in the individual" (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; p.3). They emphasise group membership (social identity) as a psychological state, which they differentiate from one's unique sense of personal individuality. Social identity is thus proposed as "a shared/ collective representation of who one is and how one should behave" (ibid; p.3).

Social cognition and discourse analysis have been referred to as the two "major and diametrically opposed streams of work in contemporary British social psychology" (Smith, 1995; p.1). I suggest however that the two do not occupy similar positions of power and prestige within social psychology. In Chapter Two I expand upon the various premises and theories within discourse analysis.

Social Identity Theories

"Today, no major review of intergroup relations can ignore Tajfel's contribution to this field" (Doise, 1988; p.100).

A variety of perspectives have been used to conceptualize 'identity' within psychology. For example, identity has been proposed as an internal, essential concept of self in 'personality-based' approaches, as a "subjective sense of an invigorating sameness and continuity" (Erikson, 1968; p.19). Within social cognition approaches, social identity explanations have dominated, such as Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1972; 1982) and, extending Tajfel's initial principles,

Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT) (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell, 1987). These approaches have conceptualised identity as relational and derived from an individual's self conception as a group member, with the group forming the basic process of interaction (Turner et al, 1987).

Although these theories were not specifically developed to conceptualise ethnic minority identity, a substantial number of researchers have attempted to apply principles of SIT and SCT to the study of ethnic group identification, because 'ethnicity' is assumed as a common-sense group, being a socially ascribed category (Brown, 1988). Social identity research has particularly referred to ethnic identity and ethnic groups in order to look at the effects of majority, and minority, group status on social identity processes (e.g. McGuire et al., 1978) and in terms of minority group members' ingroup, and outgroup, preferences (e.g. Jahoda et al. 1972; Milner, 1973).

SIT (Tajfel, 1972; 1978) conceptualises social identity as "the individual's knowledge that he/she belongs to certain groups together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of the group membership" (Tajfel, 1972; p.31). Group memberships are used to provide a locus of identification for the self (Kawakami & Dion, 1995), with individuals being motivated to engage in making cognitive, social comparisons between one's own group and other relevant outgroups. An SIT perspective suggests that individuals are motivated to maintain positive self-esteem. An individual's personal self-esteem is considered to derive

from their social group memberships, and therefore the individual will tend to view groups of which they are a member (ingroups) as positive and distinct from relevant comparison groups (outgroups). The individual is thus able to maintain positive self-esteem by engaging in processes of intergroup comparison (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

The centrality of self-esteem, as the motivating force which drives an individual to engage in making social comparisons, has since been challenged, and it has been suggested that SIT has little empirical evidence to support the importance of positive distinctiveness in intergroup relations (Hogg and Abrams, 1990; Hinkle and Brown, 1990). Further suggestions have been made for greater investigation of the relationship between self-esteem and collective social identity (Crocker, Blaine and Luhtanen, 1993). Hogg and Abrams (1993) have suggested instead that social identity may be linked to the desire for coherent self-conceptions and the desire to construct meaning from the experiences of oneself and others.

Self Categorisation Theory (Turner et al., 1987) builds upon the basic assumptions of SIT and attempts to answer some of problems raised by SIT, particularly with regards its emphasis upon self-esteem as the prime motivating force behind identity processes. Turner et al. (1987) proposed that the group is the basic process of social interaction. They conceptualised "group processes" as shifts in the level of abstraction at which the self operates (e.g. shifting from "personal" to "social" identity, referred to as "depersonalization"). A person's self-concept is, therefore,

thought to comprise both group self and individual self (Hogg and McGarty, 1990; Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell, 1987), with a functional antagonism proposed between group and individual identities (Turner et al., 1987). According to Turner et al., the self-concept is proposed as having multiple, highly differentiated and independently functioning parts, which take the form of self-categorisations. Self-categorisations form part of a hierarchical system of classification which operates at different levels of abstraction, representing human, personal and social levels of identity. The interaction between the characteristics of the individual and situational factors will determine which self-category will become salient at which level of abstraction.

Building upon this idea (and answering criticisms of SIT's conceptualisation of esteem as the motivational basis for social identity), Brewer (1991, 1993) has proposed Optimal Distinctiveness theory. Brewer suggests that the distinctiveness of a given social identity is context-specific and depends on the frame of reference within which possible social identities are defined. Brewer thus rejects self-esteem maintenance / enhancement as a causal explanation for motivating shifts between personal and social identity. She suggests that self-esteem explanations cannot explain the maintenance of positive self-esteem by disadvantaged and stigmatised minority groups. As an alternative explanation, Brewer proposes that group identification is a function of the resolution of opposing needs for "differentiation of the self from others and inclusion of the self into larger collectives" (Brewer, 1993:3) and therefore the strongest social identifications will be those which best

resolve this conflict (e.g. Abrams, 1991, cited in Brewer 1993). This view therefore builds upon Turner et al.'s (1987) suggestion that, at any level, self-categorizations will form and become salient through comparisons made with stimuli from the next, higher level self-category (the principle of meta-contrast).

Despite a wealth of empirical (often laboratory-based) evidence supporting SIT and SCT assumptions (see Turner et al. 1987; Abrams and Hogg, 1990) various calls have been made for elaboration and integration of existing social psychological theories in terms of application to real life groups (Jackson, Sullivan, Harnish, & Hodge, 1996). Suggestions have also been made for the production of more flexible conceptualisations of identity, which are sensitive to situational variations, because "how people perceive themselves is not stable and constant, but varies across situations and goals" (Kawakami & Dion, 1995). Tajfel's notions of social identity as a static, and relatively enduring, set of self-cognitions has been questioned, and notions of "multiple social identities" have instead been proposed by those working within SCT (e.g. van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993).

Social identity theories have addressed issues of cross-cutting identifications in terms of "cross-categorisation", concentrating in particular upon the potential of cross-categorisation as a means of reducing intergroup conflict by the inclusion of one, or more, possible ingroup dimensions (e.g. Doise, 1978; Hewstone et al., 1993; Vanbeselaere, 1987). However, these conceptualisations of cross-categorisation

rely upon assumptions that groups, and categories, are discrete, identifiable and provide homogenised social identifications.

For example, Hogg and Abrams (1988) use examples in which race and gender are assumed as discrete categories which do not necessarily overlap. I have highlighted the following examples (in the quotation below) which demonstrate these assumptions, and which also illustrate how such views reproduce oppressive racist, and sexist, stereotypes. I consider that the example relies upon particular 'common-sense' racial and sexual stereotypes (for which no 'disclaimer' is given) and assumes that 'race' and gender are unrelated categories. The authors use racist, sexist stereotypes to suggest that categorization leads to an accentuation on perceived, relevant dimensions:

"[...] if the focal dimension were 'sense of rhythm', then quite possibly the categorization black/white might produce accentuation whereas male/female would not. If it were 'nurturant', then categorization by sex would be likely to cause accentuation, while race would not" (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; p. 20).

I also suggest that Hogg and Abrams have assumed that the reader shares these stereotypical perceptions. This is a point to which I shall return as a basis for my rejection of social cognitive approaches.

Assimilation and Acculturation Theories

Assimilation and acculturation theories of ethnic identity have developed from the work of Erikson (1959, 1968) and have focussed upon the way individuals develop self-awareness as ethnic group members and orientate themselves in terms of an ethnic identity. Erikson (1959) conceptualised identity as;

"the conscious feeling of having a personal identity [...] based on two simultaneous observations, the immediate perception of one's selfsameness and continuity in time; and the simultaneous perception of the fact that others recognise one's sameness and continuity"
(Erikson, 1959; p.23).

Erikson (1968) proposed that identity is not salient until adolescence and suggested a theory of identity development in which crisis plays an integral part, precipitating a process of progression through stages, towards an eventual coherent sense of self.

Erikson proposed this as a general theory of identity development, but in his chapter on 'race' he suggested that members of disparaged minority groups may develop negative identities and self-hatred, due to an internalisation of the dominant society's negative perceptions of the group (Phinney, 1989). These 'problems' of ethnic identification have been further echoed as developmental issues, for example, Marcia (1980) has built on Erikson's assumptions, by proposing that ethnic minority group members arrive at an 'ethnic identity' by a similar process of passing through stages whereby the person must come to an 'understanding' and 'acceptance' of their ethnicity (Phinney, 1990; p.508).

Phinney's (1989) model of ethnic identity search and commitment is based on Erikson's (1968) theory of ego identity formation and Marcia's (1966; 1980) theory of ego identity statuses. These stages are described by Phinney (1989; p.38) as follows:

1. 'Identity diffusion': "little or no exploration of one's ethnicity and no clear understanding of the issues".
2. 'Foreclosure': "little or no exploration of ethnicity, but apparent clarity about one's own ethnicity. Feelings about one's own ethnicity may be either positive or negative, depending on one's socialisation experiences"
3. 'Moratorium': "evidence of exploration, accompanied by some confusion about the meaning of one's own ethnicity"
4. 'Identity Achievement': "evidence of exploration, accompanied by a clear, secure understanding and acceptance of one's own ethnicity".

An 'achieved' identity (where ethnic identity issues have been resolved) has been proposed as most desirable for healthy development, being associated with measures of high self-esteem and self-acceptance (Phinney and Alipuria, 1990). Ethnic identities which have not yet been achieved have therefore been associated with depressive symptoms (e.g. Nguyen and Peterson, 1992), whereas a 'strong' ethnic identity has been linked with high self-esteem (Phinney, Chavira and Tate, 1992).

These theories, of how individuals become engaged in 'searching' for identity, have been expanded upon with regard to the 'type' of identity which the individual subsequently achieves. Stages of ethnic identity search have therefore been conceptualised as the processes leading up to an individual's commitment to an ethnic identity, and acculturation/ assimilation theories have theorised the possible content of these identities. Theories of acculturation have grown from Erikson's (1959) conceptualisation of a general process of identity development and the number of acculturation theories has grown in line with an increase in later generations of the number of children born to immigrant parents within countries such as America, Canada and Britain (e.g. Berry, Kim, Minde & Mok, 1987; Hutnik, 1991; Phinney, 1990; Ting-Toomey, 1981).

Erikson's original four stages of identity search and commitment have since been criticised by ethnic identity theorists for failing to account for anyone who does not follow a path towards assimilation (Hutnik, 1991). These stages have subsequently been developed into quadri polar models of ethnic identity search and commitment, (e.g. Hutnik, 1991; Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1990) in order to account for other possible responses which are not based on integration into the 'host' culture. Broadly speaking, these models incorporate two independent dimensions (i) degree of orientation to the majority group (high, low) and (ii) a degree of orientation to the minority group (high, low), forming a quadrant within which individuals may be located (e.g. Berry, Kim, Minde & Mok, 1987; Hutnik, 1991; Phinney, 1990). The squares within the quadrant illustrate orientations of assimilation (high majority

group identification, low minority group identification); acculturation (high identification with both); separation (low identification with majority culture, high identification with minority culture) and marginalisation (low identification with both cultures).

However, the literature surrounding the measurement of ethnic identity shows variation between what are considered as indices of identity and their measurement, with little reliability being achieved between measures (Phinney, 1990). For example, theorists have developed questionnaire items for 'measuring' ethnicity which have ranged from 'general' scales such as *The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure* (Phinney, 1992) to culturally specific scales e.g. for Vietnamese-Americans (Nguyen and Peterson, 1992) with little correlation between the two.

Assimilation and acculturation are considered as the most functional orientations, being seen as 'best' for individual self-esteem and beneficial to societal integration and harmony. For example, Hiro (1991) reports how young Asians managed to resolve their problems of ethnic identity conflict "by adopting some aspects of western culture and behaviour whilst retaining many of the traditional values and attitudes" (Hiro, 1991 p.151). However, Phinney (1989) conceded that most research has shown that ethnic minority group youth do not differ significantly in self-esteem from their White counterparts. Despite this apparent contradiction, she still asserts a concern that failure by young ethnic minority people to 'deal' with their ethnicity could have negative implications in terms of poor self-image and a

sense of alienation, with greater risk of adjustment problems (i.e. ethnic identity is conceptualised as pathological and inherently problematic for Black, but not for White, youth).

Literature concerning the second generation of British-born Asian children has developed from its initial conceptualisations of British-Asian identity as torn "between two cultures" (Watson, 1977), towards quadri polar conceptualisations of young British-Asians as firmly situated in a minority culture, but participating in a majority culture with varying degrees of 'expertise' (Kitwood & Borrill, 1980), negotiating their position with regard to both 'Asian society' and 'White society' (e.g. Hutnik, 1991). Roger Ballard suggests that "most of the rising generation [of British Asians] are acutely aware of how much they differ from both their parents and from the surrounding white majority, and as a result they are strongly committed to ordering their own lives on their own terms" (Ballard, 1994; p.34).

Researchers have reported how young Asian identity has synthesised and negotiated "traditional Asian customs" (e.g. Ghuman, 1991) and how religious identity (rather than parental country of origin) has emerged as a defining aspect of Asian identity (Gardner & Shukur, 1994; Shaw, 1994).

Drawing on assimilationist rhetoric, second generation, Asian and Muslim young people have been classed as either 'orthodox' or 'progressive', according to theorists' perceptions of the young people's level of acculturation or marginalisation from 'mainstream' (White) culture (e.g Weinwright, 1983). Ellis (1991) has also

stated that there is a "clear difference" between progressive and traditional Muslims. However, although being 'progressive' or 'modern' is associated with acculturation and is therefore positioned as a more desirable option, Kelly (1989) has suggested that the level of conflicted identifications is likely to be intensified within progressive Muslim groups due to their 'strong empathic identification' with indigenous culture.

The progressive/traditional dichotomy, and its associated 'conflict', has been particularly applied to Black women, including British-Asian women (e.g. Ellis, 1991; Kelly, 1989). For black women, ethnicity has been conceptualised as a "double-bind" (of both racism and sexism) and subsequently Asian women have been conceptualised as "double-oppressed" and more "confused" and "mixed up" than their male counterparts (e.g. Ghuman, 1991; Hogg, Abrams and Patel, 1988; Sharma and Jones, 1997). For example, Kelly (1989) suggests that the most dramatic cases of different representations of self were found among her female, 'progressive', Muslim Pakistani sample. Hogg, Abrams and Patel (1987) also linked British Indian young women's unresolved identity problems with their social change beliefs, which they considered to be 'less functional' than their male counterparts' social mobility belief structures. Ghuman (1991) refers to the "two worlds" of Muslim girls, and suggests that Asian girls prefer a British way of life because it is less restrictive than the Asian lifestyle. Ellis (1991) also assumes that the most 'westernised' women have the most problems in their lives. I would

therefore argue that such theories have painted a bleak picture of pathology, conflict and mal-adaption for British-Asian (particularly Muslim) women.

Socio-Cognitive Developmental Theory

The basic concerns of social identity theories with cognitive processes and the focus of developmental theories with maturation through identity stages have been brought together by Aboud (1988). She suggests that

"ethnic self-identification refers to the realization that one is a member of an ethnic group, possessing attributes common to that ethnic group [...] ethnic self-identification [...] refers to the perceptually and cognitively based knowledge that one is a member of a particular ethnic group. The basic component of ethnic self-identification is describing oneself in terms of a critical ethnic attribute, for example, a label or another attribute that defines rather than merely describes the ethnic group." (Aboud, 1988; p.7).

Aboud's (1988) theory of the development of ethnic identity is based on Cross's (1980, 1987) theory of nigrance (Black identity development) which proposed five stages of Black identity development. Cross suggested that these stages involved a process of change from initial White identification and preference through to a stage of high Black identification and preference, coupled with a dislike of Whites, until finally the Black individual learns to be less hostile to whites, whilst identifying him/herself as 'Black'.

Aboud proposes that children's ethnic cognitions develop as a function of the child's general cognitive development, deriving from the development of cognitions for understanding other physical and social phenomena. Aboud measured ethnic awareness and identification in terms of (i) recognition or identification (ii) perceived similarity/dissimilarity to others and (iii) cognitive categorisation. She proposed that two sequences of development underlie general cognitive and social development: firstly, processes which dominate the child's functioning (affective to perceptual to cognitive) and secondly, changes in the child's focus of attention (self to group to individual). In other words, she has suggested that initially affective processes motivate a child to focus upon the self, but with maturation, the child develops cognitive abilities which allow a shift in focus of attention towards an understanding of others' identities as individuals.

Aboud (1988) proposed that young children's development of 'ethnic identity' involves developing particular cognitive abilities ('ethnic cognitions'). In particular she emphasised that a critical shift in the development of cognitions occurs around the age of seven years, with the maturation of cognitions allowing the child to 'achieve' their ethnic identity. In other words, she conceives of a normative sequence of social cognitive development, but her supporting research positions this sequence as more representative of White children's development. This is a point further addressed in the following section, in which critical evaluations of ethnic identity theories are considered.

CRITICAL RE-EVALUATIONS OF THEORIES OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

In this section I argue that positivistic psychological research, based on a 'scientific' epistemology, has produced theories which have both marginalised, and pathologised, Black participants, particularly women. I shall suggest that this is because such theories have positioned White identity as an unquestioned, assumed norm against which ethnic minority identities appear as pathologised Others. For example, Black identities have appeared not to fit into theories of normative identity development and Black identity has been conceptualised as inherently psychologically conflictual or maladaptive.

I argue that conceptualisations of ethnic identity as clearly identifiable, definable, (by the researcher) with fixed boundaries, stem from assumptions of a unitary White, male subject at the heart of psychological enquiry, based upon theorists' unquestioned, common-sense assumptions that ethnic groups are real, and identifiable, distinguishable by their homogenous 'culture', and that ethnic identity is quantifiable and distinct from Whiteness and 'Britishness'. In other words, the norms and values which are assumed, and which underpin research, have reflected the demographics of those who have conducted most psychological research (namely White, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied men). I further suggest that this imbalance has resulted in the production of theories which do not apply/speak for Others, or in which their differences/otherness is reduced to mediating 'factors' and variables (see Kitzinger, 1997).

In particular I argue that positivistic approaches have constructed young British-Muslims in oppressive ways as "confused", "culturally ambiguous" and "caught between two cultures". I also consider that young British-Muslim women have been generally ignored within ethnic identity research, but where they have been identified, they appear as pathologised and "caught in a culture trap" between 'liberal western values' and 'oppressive patriarchal home cultures'.

My arguments are structured in the following way: I begin by suggesting that positivistic theories have produced oppressive, racist theories of ethnic identity because (i) White norms have been assumed and utilised in psychology's generation of scientific truths, (ii) ethnic groups have been assumed as homogenised, natural categories, and (iii) ethnicity has been reduced to notions of quantifiable culture.

I consider that these assumptions have resulted in the formulation of theories of ethnic identity which: (iv) construct the ethnic minority subject as pathologised Other, (v) separate gender and ethnicity, resulting in Black women appearing as particularly marginalised and pathologised, and (vi) separate 'race', ethnicity and gender from racism, thus marginalising experiences of inequalities from conceptualisations of ethnic identity. Finally, I present critical reconceptualisations of identity as fluid, shifting and gendered, and racisms and sexism as ideologies which cross-cut ethnic identities.

The Assumption of a White Norm and the Generation of Scientific Truths

I have drawn directly upon Amina Mama's (1995) conceptualisation of the relationship between knowledge, social power and racist practices as a basis for my criticisms of positivistic theories of ethnic identity:

"Early psychology constructed the Negro as a unitary subject, in simplistic and obviously expedient ways, producing imaginary notions which reaffirmed a status quo in which only white people had the power to define, and to articulate knowledges that were taken as scientific truths. The effective suppression of any contrary evidence that emerged [...] illustrates the interplay that occurred between the knowledge produced (the psychology of the Negro) the dominant social order (of White supremacy) and the practice (of slavery, of medicine)" (Mama, 1995; p.25).

She further suggests that dominant racial assumptions have been echoed and legitimated within psychological theorising, which has served to reaffirm, produce and legitimate racist discourses. For example, Black people have been constructed as mentally inferior through the administration of IQ tests on which Black participants have tended to score lower than white participants because the tests have assumed, and privileged, White, western cultural norms as universal (e.g. Block and Dworkin, 1977; Rose, 1976 in Mama, 1995):

"[...] psychology has generated scientific discourses which construe the Other in ways that have reproduced and legitimised White supremacy [...] scientific discourses do more than underwrite existing regimes of truth, since they are also productive. Academic production and political power are intimately related in such a way that intellectuals can also generate new theories and facts to meet the changing institutional and intellectual needs of a dominant regime" (Mama, 1995; p.160)

I have assumed a relationship between psychological knowledge and wider social relations within society. Various arguments have been put forward regarding the relationship between psychological 'knowledge' and 'lay' knowledge; whether this relationship involves the "trickle down" of psychological knowledge into everyday contexts (e.g. Gramsci, 1971) or whether there is a "trickle up" effect, whereby "psychology often does little more than use its scientific clout to legitimate everyday dominant assumptions" (Ahmed, 1996; p.191). I would like to suggest however that rather than being a simple, 'one-way' relationship between 'psychological' and 'everyday' understandings, the two are recursively linked (see Mama, 1995).

The assumption of a White as the norm (outside of 'culture') within talk about 'race', and subsequently the identification of minority cultures as 'ethnic' has been documented in the work of Wetherell and Potter (1992) with White New Zealanders. Wetherell and Potter suggest that for Pakeha (White) participants, race was "a way

of talking about *other* people rather than oneself" (1992; p.127) and as such, Pakehas often found it difficult to define themselves or specify their own racial group, and tended to speak from 'outside' race. As will be discussed below, the normalisation of Whiteness implies a pathologised concept of Blackness, which therefore operates as racist discourse.

The Assumption that Ethnic Groups are Homogenous and Natural

It has been suggested that positivistic psychological theorising has been characterised by its tendency to

"homogenise and naturalise social categories and groupings and [which] deny shifting boundaries as well as internal power differences and conflicts of interest" (Yuval-Davis, 1994; p.179).

These assumptions (of groups as homogenous) can be regarded as stemming from theorists' unquestioned assumptions of reality, that draw upon common-sense assumptions concerning the nature of social groups, which are then reinforced as scientific truths via measurement of differences between these groups. In other words,

"psychology, even more than other social sciences, concentrated on a narrow, dualistic paradigm which fell back on biologicistic explanations of human behaviour and which took 'the individual', 'the family' and 'society' as given, rather than attempting to study or theorise how they came to be" (Mama, 1995; p.56).

The positivistic theories of ethnic identity reviewed in this thesis (social identity theories, acculturation theories and socio-cognitive developmental theory) reproduce certain common-sense assumptions that social groups are identifiable, with relatively clear boundaries for delineating membership, imposing a certain homogeneity upon members with regard to the meaning and implications of their ethnic identity to them. For example, from a social identity perspective, Turner has defined social identity, social group and social categorisation almost synonymously as comprising of

"two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves or, which is nearly the same thing, perceive themselves to be members of the same social category" (Turner, 1982; p.15).

The 'reality' and definability of social groups and social categories has been justified by common sense observations which refer to the "striking differences" which exist between groups (Hogg and Abrams, 1988). For example, Hogg and Abrams introduce their Social Identifications book with

"the fact that [...] society is made up of individuals, it is patterned into relatively distinct social groups and categories, and people's views, opinions, and practices are acquired from those groups to which they belong. These groups can be considered to have an objective existence to the extent that members of different groups believe different things, dress in different ways, hold different values, speak different languages, live in different places, and generally behave differently" (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; p.2).

From this perspective, society is conceptualised as "hierarchically structured into discrete social categories which stand in power, status and prestige relations to one another" (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; p.18). For example, religious and national identifications have been conceptualised as discrete and clearly definable in research with Indian Hindu and Bangladeshi Muslim respondents (Hewstone et al., 1993).

Positivistic social identity theorists have also treated groups as ahistorical, based on the supposition that social identity processes are trans-historical, being internal, psychological cognitive processes (Hogg and Abrams, 1988). For example, laboratory experimental methods have meant that ethnic identity research has often been conducted outside of the local contexts in which identities are produced and experienced. Researchers have recognised contextual factors as influential, but these are rarely examined in any detail (Phinney, 1990) and studies which have purported to examine the role of situation and context have interpreted these in terms of themes such as trans-racial adoption (e.g. Andujo, 1988) or community size and concentration (Massey & Denton, 1992). This ahistorical, acultural approach can be criticised for over-simplifying real-world phenomena, and socio-historical and cultural construction of groups, and therefore has been proposed as neglecting the very essence of the phenomena the methods propose to study (Parlee, 1979).

The importance of historical circumstances upon the construction of group boundaries has also been highlighted by Yuval-Davis (1994); for example, she has suggested that social and historical context can influence the reordering and creation

of new collectivity boundaries, so that people who may have previously been hostile towards each other, become grouped together. She suggests that this has occurred in the context of 'Asians' in Britain, subsuming "people from Sikh, Hindu and Muslim origins, from both Pakistan and Bangladesh, who were fighting each other on the Indian subcontinent" (1994; p.183). This echoes SCT notions of "superordinate categorisation/ levels of categorisation, but SCT does not address issues of power or historical circumstances. Nor does it consider the power relations which define membership boundaries. Therefore, in response to positivistic assumptions of group boundaries as fixed and identifiable, I adopt the following conceptualisation of group boundaries as fluid, multiple and contextual:

"the boundaries [of ethnic collectivities] often change over time and in response to concrete economic, political or ideological conditions (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992; p.5).

The Assumption that Ethnicity is Reducible to Quantifiable Culture

"Different criteria or signifiers of inclusion may be used by those on the inside and those on the outside [...] the notion of where and how the boundary is constructed is not only diverse, but is also contextual and relational (to other groups)" (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992; p.5)

Implicit in the assumption of unitary, homogenised ethnic groups, is the notion of ethnic culture as characteristic of the group. Wetherell and Potter (1992) have

documented various ways in which Pakeha talk about (Maori) 'culture' operate as racist discourses. They argue that discourses which define minority groups in terms of specific cultural practices serve to separate culture and politics, so that "the study of ethnic groups becomes segregated from the study of the systematic exclusion and oppression of minorities" (1992; p.129). The association, therefore, of minority groups with 'culture' positions them as 'exotic' against White majority groups, who are positioned as the 'normal' owners of 'civilisation' and 'the modern world'. For example, Wetherell and Potter demonstrate how discourses of 'culture as heritage' construct culture in terms of ancient traditions, referring to 'golden times' when culture was 'pure' and unpolluted by modern (White) ways. Despite drawing upon 'liberal' themes of 'conservation' and 'saving culture', Wetherell and Potter suggest that such discourses entail conceptions of culture as inherently problematic, whereby "all modern Maoris become liable to damage, by definition" (1992; p.130). Furthermore, they suggest that such a discourse works to discredit some voices (such as those of 'radicals') by positioning them as 'damaged' in comparison to 'real' cultural spokespersons.

Wetherell and Potter (1992) therefore suggest that culture discourse is not 'neutral' and does not reflect 'real' or natural categorisations. Instead, they argue that culture discourse can perform some of the same tasks as race discourse, and as such should be made the focus of discursive enquiry. For example, they point to ways in which culture is used to construct differences between groups as 'natural' facts

of life, operating as a self-sufficient form of explanation. They also suggest the power of 'culture' for 'glossing over' racism with notions such as 'clashing values'.

Social identity researchers have also treated the 'ethnicity' of second generation Asian participants as 'obvious' and homogenous, and as characterised by an Asian culture. For example, Hogg, Abrams and Patel (1988) refer simply to "Indian" and "Anglo-Saxon" groups in their research, accompanied by generalisations such as "Indians [...] represent a subordinate group in Britain with a culture that is relatively inward looking [...] it [the group] is commercially successful" (Hogg, Abrams and Patel, 1988; p. 493). Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1990) have also stated in their opening chapter that "Asians" are more homogenous than other ethnic groups, and thus constitute a clearly defined minority, on account of their distinct linguistic, cultural and religious traditions. Assimilation and acculturation researchers have assumed that, if there are identity options available, ethnic identity search involves a process of deciding which label to adopt (e.g. Alipuria and Phinney, 1988).

I also suggest that within positivistic research, ethnicity has been reduced to culture in order that it may be quantified and measured. For example, Betancourt and Lopez (1993) suggest that:

"When culture [...] is defined in terms of psychologically relevant elements, such as roles and values, it becomes amenable to measurement. Moreover, the relationship of the cultural elements to psychological phenomena can be directly assessed" (Betancourt and Lopez, 1993 p.531).

They also recommend "the conceptualization and measurement of specific cultural elements" (ibid.) which they suggest may be used in order to understand differences between groups. A number of different indices have been suggested, such as ethnic involvement, social participation in cultural practices, and ethnic pride (see Phinney, 1990 for full review). Subsequently there have been various debates surrounding the nature and "strength" of second and third generation ethnic identity, such as whether there is a decline in ethnic identity over generations (e.g. Constantinou & Harvey, 1985; Masuda, Hasegawa & Matsuma, 1973) and how "psychologically conflictual" this may be for second generation group members (e.g. Ballard, 1994; Ghuman, 1991; Padilla, Alvarez & Lindholm, 1986; Stopes-Roe & Cochrane, 1990).

I would suggest that these social cognition approaches can thus be identified as "ethnicist discourses" which "seek to impose stereotypic notions of "common cultural need" upon heterogenous groups with diverse social aspirations and interests" (Brah, 1992; p.129). Minority groups appear within such discourses as passive, requiring guidance so that culture should not be 'lost', which would result in 'rootlessness' and pathology (Wetherell and Potter, 1992).

Acculturation and assimilation theories are thus grounded in multicultural ideologies, proposing that 'communities' are internally homogenous entities, and cultures are regarded as "static, ahistoric and in their 'essence' mutually exclusive from other cultures, especially that of the 'host' society" Yuval-Davis, 1994; p.185).

In comparison, Yuval-Davis suggests that "ethnicity cannot be reduced to culture and [...] 'culture' cannot be seen as a fixed, essentialist category" (Yuval-Davis, 1994; p.183). "Culture" is therefore not limited to an idea of ethnicity or race, but refers to all groups, real or imagined ¹ (Donald and Rattansi, 1992). Donald and Rattansi further suggest that within sociological theorising, culture has largely replaced 'race' as the focus of ethnic theorising, since 'race' has been deconstructed as problematic and has been termed "an unstable and "decentred" complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle" (Omi and Winant, 1986; p.68).

The homogenisation of ethnic groups and ethnic culture can also be criticised for marginalising and ignoring the experiences of minority group members. For example, in Britain, "Asians" have been homogenised as a minority group, serving to "straightjacket" the experiences of British Asians (Donald and Rattansi, 1992).

Very few studies have drawn on conceptualisations of identity as multiple and shifting. This homogenisation of "Asian" has often occurred despite even basic

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Ethnic groups are 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1983, cited in Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992) because the sense of commonality shared by members is assumed, rather than being the result of actual interaction.

distinctions which could be drawn, for example, in terms of religion (Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism, Christianity), caste, language (e.g. Urdu, Punjabi, Gujarati, Mirpuri etc.) and nationality (e.g. Pakistani, Indian, Bengali, Singhalese).

Ellis (1991) suggested that these differences may sometimes be so distinctive that, in Britain, some Asians may perceive other Asians of differing religions, languages, castes etc. as "foreign", with very little intergroup contact occurring. I suggest that social cognition research has been characterised by a tendency to perceive Asian cultures and communities as homogenous, and this has occurred particularly in research concerning Muslims (this is discussed later in Chapter Three).

I also suggest that it is similarly unrealistic to talk of homogenised 'second generation' identity. For example, Gardner and Shukur (1994; p.158) suggest that "the new British Bengalis" are "far from homogenous". Woollett et al. (1994; p.130) have suggested that "the concept of acculturation makes the assumption of a certain degree of consistency" and they further suggest that when the variations of people's representations of their ethnic identities are considered, it becomes difficult to apply a unitary concept of acculturation.

I have therefore rejected positivistic conceptualisations of culture and ethnic groups because I consider that the assumption of a clear demarcation between social groups and cultures has operated as a racist discourse, separating ethnic minority identity from British identity, whereby Britishness is equated with 'Whiteness' (as the norm) and ethnic minority identity is positioned as Other (the 'exotic', or 'pathological',

exception to the norm). For example, quadri polar acculturation theories (such as Hutnik, 1991; Phinney, 1990) juxtapose majority group identification and minority group identification, so that an "assimilated" individual is defined as feeling "less ethnic" and "more British". Racist assumptions therefore underpin perceptions of majority and minority cultures as opposite identities, assuming minority identity (e.g. 'Asian-ness') to be separate, from majority (British) identity (i.e. 'British' reads as 'White', rendering Asian/Black as Other).

Conceptualisation of Black Identity as Inherently Pathological

Positivistic theorists have conceptualised ethnic minority identity as being 'problematic' and inherently psychologically conflictual (the notion of being "between two cultures", Watson, 1977). I consider that the emphasis upon 'conflict' as psychologically inherent to ethnic minority identity, serves not only to 'blame' minority groups for their own situation, but detracts from other possible sources of conflict, such as racism. I have suggested that it can be more useful to consider the location of conflict within racist, White society (Archer and Maras, 1995), that is, to consider racism as a central axis in the construction of ethnic identities.

Social identity theories have conceptualised ethnic minority identity in negative terms, as inherently problematic, and something which members will want to change:

"subordinate group membership potentially confers on members evaluatively negative social identity and hence lower self-esteem, which is an unsatisfactory state of affairs and mobilises individuals to attempt to remedy it" (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; p.27).

Brewer (1991) also refers to the problems of identity for minority group members unless they "can dissociate themselves from the group membership and seek positive identity elsewhere" (Brewer, 1991; p.179).

According to SIT, positive social group identity is achieved by engaging in intergroup comparisons which favour the ingroup (Hinkle & Brown, 1990). Ethnic identity is therefore achieved through an individual, cognitive process of decision-making and self-evaluation, engaging in social comparisons between ethnic groups. However, in comparison to 'White' identity, social identity theories have identified the "problem" of identifying with a devalued minority group. These 'problems' have been conceptualised as low self-esteem for minority group members, resulting from their membership of disparaged ethnic groups (Hogg, Abrams & Patel, 1988; Ullah, 1985).

Tajfel (1978) suggested that members of low status groups may attempt to 'resolve' these problems by trying to improve their status by adopting either social mobility, or social change, strategies. In the case of "visible" ethnic groups, where social mobility, or "passing", into the dominant group is not a viable option, various other strategies have been suggested, such as developing pride in one's group (Cross,

1978), re-categorising negatively viewed group characteristics as positive (Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel, 1973) or stressing the distinctiveness of one's group (Hutnik, 1985).

In the context of second and third generation minority group members, Tajfel (1978) suggested that identification with two groups will be problematic, due to the necessity of negotiating conflicting value systems. This view of an inherent 'conflict' in second and third generation identity has been echoed in many psychological and academic approaches to the ethnic identities of second generation young people. In line with social identity conceptualisations of the centrality of self-esteem, this conflict has mainly been measured in terms of low self-regard or psychological adjustment. For example, Hogg, Abrams and Patel (1987) stated that they found Anglo-Saxon adolescents to be better adjusted than (British) Indian adolescents. In general they suggested that the Indian group had lower self-esteem than their White sample.

Attention has also been drawn to the problems and conflicts which abound for young British-Asians who have been described as "confused and culturally ambiguous" (Hiro, 1991 p.151). It has also been suggested by Weinreich (1983) that conflicts in identification are an important part of the self-development process for second generation young people. The "solution" to this perceived cultural conflict has been explained by social identity theorists in terms of operationalising either social mobility beliefs or social change beliefs (depending on the individual's perceptions

regarding the permeability of group boundaries). Hogg, Abrams and Patel (1987) stated that ethnic identification only appeared to resolve the identity crisis if the ethnic group was seen to contribute to a positive self-image. They illustrated this with the example that whilst Indian females from their study clearly identified with their ethnic group, they did not appear to have 'resolved the crisis', whereas English (White) males were described as more 'contented'.

I also suggest that Social identity theories place the onus of responsibility for social change onto minority groups, which absolves majority group members from challenging oppressive relationships:

"real confrontation between subordinate and dominant groups only arises when the subordinate group can conceive of cognitive alternatives" (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; p.27).

I suggest that this idea underpins multiculturalist initiatives such as 'consciousness raising', which assume that disadvantaged groups require more, and 'better', information about themselves in order to instigate their own release from the oppressive status quo. This approach has been advocated within identity literature (e.g. Aboud, 1988; Phinney and Rotheram, 1987) and is revealed in the following statement:

"Although research has shown that minority youth do not differ in self-esteem from White youth [...] concern remains that the failure of minority adolescents to deal with their ethnicity could have negative implications, such as poor self-image or a sense of alienation" (Phinney, 1989; p.38).

Even in the face of seemingly contradictory 'evidence' regarding the 'self-esteem' of minority group adolescents, 'ethnicity' is still problematised and presented as 'unnatural', requiring 'dealing with' in a way that does not apply to 'normal' White adolescents. Furthermore, the locus of this pathology, and the locus of responsibility, is internal, so that minority individuals are blamed if they 'fail' to 'deal' with issues of ethnic identification. Any subsequent problems, such as 'a sense of alienation' (Phinney, 1990) are thus conceptualised as resulting from the individual's lack of identity search and commitment, rather than resulting from any other possible external forces, such as racism.

Positivistic theorists have thus stated their rationale for looking at ethnic minority identities in terms of problematics and statistics, for example quoting the rising percentage of ethnic minority populations through the growth of second and third generations and referring to the 'problems' entailed by multiculturalism, such as assumptions of 'conflict' (e.g. Stopes-Roe and Cochrane, 1990). I suggest that this illustrates how research has not been undertaken 'with' participants, but has focussed upon black people as (pathologised) Other, as exceptions to the general rules, and as problems which need to be 'solved' (Mullard, 1985).

Conceptualisations of Black Identity Development as Pathological

Across social identity, developmental and acculturation approaches, researchers and theorists have conceptualised ethnic group, ethnic culture and ethnic identity as homogenous, real and quantifiable phenomena. Perceptions of ethnic identity and ethnic groups as static, quantifiable phenomena have been evidenced by the wide scale use of ethnic identity scales and questionnaires, designed to measure 'levels' of ethnicity (see Phinney, 1990). These questionnaires feature statements such as "I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means to me" and "I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group" (taken from Phinney, 1992).

I suggest that these approaches imply that anyone who does not have a "clear sense" of their ethnic group is pathologised as less 'developed' or self-aware. This may disadvantage in particular women and 'other others' for whom the cross-cutting, unclear, boundaries of ethnicity may be especially salient. In comparison, White 'identity' (or majority group identification in terms of social identity theories) has been assumed as normative and unproblematic (e.g. Aboud, 1988; Phinney, 1990).

From the early work of Kenneth and Mamie Clark (e.g. 1947) through to more recent studies (such as British work by Davey, 1983 and American studies by Aboud, 1988) black children have been conceptualised as more retarded in development than White children with regard to social cognitive development of 'ethnic awareness':

"Ethnic group awareness is well established by the age of four or five. Identification 'errors' persist to a later age with black children than white" (Davey, 1983; p.82).

Aboud's emphasis upon 'normative' cognitive development can be accused of pathologising Black children; for example, Aboud suggested that ethnic self-identification differs between groups "White children perceive themselves to look similar to an ingroup member earlier than Black and Hispanic children who catch up by 7 years. Asian and Native Indian children develop this response somewhat later" (Aboud, 1988 p.58). Furthermore, Aboud places processes of individuation as normative with the theory relying on a conceptualisation of ethnic groups as clearly definable phenomena. The role of adolescence is therefore not considered, since identity has presumably been 'achieved' around the age of seven years. This point is contested by developmental theorists such as Erikson, and other psychologists who propose that identity alters over the life course of an individual.

Quadri polar models also position black identity development in narrow, pathological terms. For example, theorists have proposed that the most 'beneficial' ethnic identity orientations, in terms of positive self-concept, are assimilation and acculturation (e.g. Phinney, 1989; Phinney, Chavira and Tate, 1992) and subsequently concern has arisen where ethnic minority groups have been judged as not following the 'correct' path of integration;

"Given their marked reluctance to adopt Western attitudes and their tenacious retention of traditional beliefs and lifestyles, Pakistanis in Britain are often seen as deeply resistant to assimilation" (Shaw, 1994; p.35).

In other words, perceptions of assimilation as a beneficial form of integration, and perceptions of Pakistanis as "resistant" to assimilation, may work to position Pakistanis as unreasonable, hostile and mal-adapted. I agree that assumptions of integration and acculturation as psychologically desirable, and inherently good for esteem, reflect the values of White researchers working within the dominant societal value system (see Brah and Minhas, 1986).

I also suggest that theories which assume acculturation and assimilation to be beneficial to psychological 'adjustment' and 'mental health' (e.g. Phinney and Alipuria, 1990) cannot be separated from the western, cultural and multiculturalist ideologies in which they have been produced. For example, conceptualisations of the "naturalness" and necessity of a process of identity conflict within adolescence (e.g. Erikson, 1959; Marcia, 1980) are historically and socially specific, and therefore may not be applicable to the experiences of young, British Asians. For example, Shaw (1994) suggests that there is little evidence among Pakistanis in Oxford of 'rebellion' against parental values among the second generation, with any differences of opinion being justified by the young people in terms of Islamic values and rhetoric, rather than western values.

Shaw (1994; p.56) also found that "it is virtually impossible to classify particular biradaris, or even particular families, as more or less "traditional" than any other" and reported that young women's and young men's attitudes towards future careers and arranged marriages and the maintenance of Muslim identity were broadly in line with the views and expectations expressed by the young people's families. In light of this Shaw suggests that to talk of being "torn" between cultures is inappropriate and that the modern/traditional dichotomy is 'unsustainable' (Shaw, 1994; p.57).

I consider that these 'stage' theories of identity development can be criticised for assuming a particular 'normal' developmental progression, and thus pathologising individuals who do not appear to follow the prescribed sequence, or who do not continue to 'progress' through the stages outlined. In doing so, these theories draw on further cultural values of individuation and separation as desirable goals (in particular these theories assume that it is desirable for an ethnic minority member to separate from parental views). For example, ethnic minority pupils who accept, and do not question, the values and identification of parental cultures, have been classed as "foreclosed" (Streitmatter, 1988).

Furthermore, I suggest that conceptualisations of ethnic minority development as inherently problematic serve to reinforce, and reproduce, assumptions of a normative, White identity development, against which non-Whites appear to be pathologised Others. For example Phinney (1989) reported that White students could not be assigned to stages of ethnic identity development because they

perceived themselves as 'just American'. In this case, conceptualising oneself as 'just American' is not considered as problematic, in contrast to the 'foreclosed' status attributed to ethnic minority group adolescents who declare acceptance of parental ethnic identities and culture.

The Conceptualisation of Women as Marginalised Others

Black feminists have argued that dominant ethnic identity research has marginalised and distorted the experiences of their identities as (black) women (Hill Collins, 1990; hooks, 1981). Very little ethnic identity research has been conducted with women (Phinney, 1990) but where there has been research, gender has been pathologised as a variable which stands in opposition to the male norm. 'Stage' theories have also been criticised for assuming young, White, male experiences as the norm and for treating ethnicity, gender and sexuality as singular variables (Raabe, 1998).

Psychology has thus been scrutinised from a feminist position as problematic in its reproduction of unequal power relations, "revealing it as participating within prevailing social norms and interests, historically and currently" (Burman and Parker, 1993 p.8). For example, unequal power relations "outside" psychology have been replicated within research; women have been largely invisible within psychology, with this invisibility being "confirmed and perpetuated by the ways in which social science has looked at - and not seen - women" (Du Bois, 1983, p.108).

Throughout the history of psychology, the overwhelming focus of psychological

research has been on the behaviour of male participants within experimental contexts (Griffin, 1995).

Within social psychology, the use of masculinity and femininity scales has served to provide "scientific reinforcement" of sex role stereotypes whereby "empirical reality is measured and evaluated against this norm" (Eichler, 1980 in Duelli Klein, 1983, p.92). For example, feminists have criticised the theoretical presumptions which position competition and differentiation (associated with male relations) as desirable and "natural" as opposed to cooperation and similarity (associated with female relations) in relationships between groups (Williams, 1984). Prominence has been given to rationality, objectivity, replication and generalisation, essentially a process which enshrines 'male' values within the research process (Griffin, 1986). It has therefore been suggested that women's experiences have been distorted and misinterpreted within positivistic approaches because they have been considered in relation to a masculine norm. For example, within cognitive developmental theory differentiation has been prized (a stereotypically male theme) and integration has been denigrated (a stereotypically female theme) (Beckett, 1986; Gilligan, 1977).

Within positivistic theories, gender has been treated as a factor which affects the 'strength' of ethnic identification (i.e. debating which sex is 'more ethnic') with results suggesting that Chinese-American women (Ting-Toomey, 1981), Black women (Bolling, 1974) and Japanese women (Masuda et al., 1973) are somehow 'more ethnically involved' than their male counterparts. Phinney and Tarver (1988)

also suggested that black females were particularly 'high in ethnic identity search'.

Hogg, Abrams and Patel (1987) reported that women were the 'strongest ethnic identifiers', and evidenced this with the assertion that Asian women were more likely to mix with 'their own group'. Lalonde, Taylor and Moghaddan (1992) also stated that women were most strongly attached to their heritage group and Ting-Toomey (1981) also perceived women as being more ethnically orientated towards their ancestral culture.

I suggest that the above examples position women as 'embodiments' of 'ethnic culture': this is a view based on Yuval-Davis (1980), Yuval-Davis and Anthias (1989) and Yuval-Davis (1993), who have argued that black women are conceptualised as "cultural carriers" (biological and cultural reproducers), as cultural embodiments of collectivities and their boundaries, and as carriers of collective 'honour'. As Floya Anthias suggests, for both men and women:

"[...] gender relations are important boundary markers between one ethnic group and another. The 'true' ethnic subject is often defined through conformity to gender stereotypes" (Anthias, 1996; p.18).

I further suggest that because dominant theories assume women to be embodiments of ethnic culture, second generation women's identities have been assumed as inherently conflictual, on account of (assumed) exaggerated conflict with possible 'western' identities. British-Asian women in particular have been misrepresented and pathologised as "double-oppressed" and "confused" or "mixed up" (e.g.

Ghuman, 1991; Hogg, Abrams and Patel, 1988; Sharma and Jones, 1997), particularly those who are 'progressive' rather than 'traditional' (Ellis, 1991)². For example, Dev Sharma and David Jones (1997) suggested that "Asian teenagers born in Britain feel that they experience more conflict in their home lives and view their parents as more authoritarian [than New Dehli teenagers] [...] Asian girls seemed particularly anxious, and it is already known that they are up to three times more likely to harm themselves, either as a cry for help or in suicide attempts. They tend to feel less valued than sons and have lower self-esteem" (*The Times*, April 8th, 1997; p. 14).

In contrast to these dominant conceptualisations of Asian women as heavily oppressed, feminist researchers, such as Brah and Minhas (1986), have suggested that the stereotype of Asian women and girls as heavily oppressed and restricted (e.g. Ghuman, 1991) by Asian society is due to cultural racism, which is insensitive to the vibrancy of Asian female cultures. Brah and Minhas (1986) found levels of inter-generational conflict between Asian girls and their parents to be no greater than those between White girls and their families. Although I would agree that such stereotypes of Asian women (as oppressed and restricted) may indeed operate as racist discourses by positioning 'Asian culture' in negative ways (as unfair, controlling and oppressive), I would not agree with the implication that such oppressions do not, therefore, exist per se.

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The use of these 'western' / 'progressive' versus 'traditional' / 'orthodox' stereotypes as racist discourses has been discussed by Ahmed, 1996.

I therefore suggest that some Asian women may indeed experience oppressive family situations, however this is not 'the norm', nor is it an intrinsic and inevitable feature of Asian 'culture'. For example, Shaw (1994) found that the "great majority" of young women in her study accepted the roles they were expected to fulfil (Shaw, 1994; p.55). She also suggest that in the case of arranged marriages, (in contrast to dominant western/White views), elopements are actually rare occurrences which do not threaten the arranged marriage system. Among her Muslim Pakistani participants, 'elopements' and 'running away' were often constructed in terms of 'Asian' romantic idioms and not 'western' ideals.

This view of British-Asian women as 'double-oppressed' and 'mixed-up' has been echoed in the media: for example, the following article reported Sharma and Jones (1997) findings about the 'double life' of Asian girls:

"Caught in the culture trap: few Asian girls cross the East-West divide without paying a price [...] a 19-year-old Bengali woman leads a double life. At home she is a quiet and subservient daughter, but once outside, she becomes a hipster-wearing, cigarette-smoking, trend-obsessed teenager" (Anjana Ahuja, *The Times Tuesday April 8, 1997*; p.14).

I was particularly interested to note that the accompanying extracts to the article, interviews with Asian young women, did not reflect these sensationalised sentiments at all. A 17 year old female student located her problems of "a double life" as lying within White society. She reported that it was at home that "I am able to be

myself" whereas at college "I would change my voice [...] I felt I had to talk really politely. I felt inferior talking to White people". In my view, she was clearly externally locating conflict as within (racist) White society. In contrast, she talked about pressures from within Asian society in terms of her family being looked down upon for having no sons. She did not indicate at any point that being an Asian woman is inherently conflictual or problematic. In spite of this, the article carried a large photograph of the girl with the accompanying headline "*Caught in the Culture Trap*".

In this research I therefore aim to discuss and challenge constructions of second generation Asian women as oppressed, "passive victims" (Mama, 1995) who are either traditional/"orthodox" or "modern/western"/"progressive". My approach here is to deconstruct the idea of a singular "Muslim female" identity or experience, through consideration of the social construction of femininities among young British-Muslim women, highlighting the variable and contradictory positions taken by the girls interviewed, highlighting the cross-cutting of discourses of gender, 'race' and religion. I also aim to highlight instances where the young women have produced radical, counter-discourses to traditional thinking.

The Separation of 'Race', Ethnicity and Gender from Racism

"For many British Bengalis, their experiences of White racism provides a central component of their self-definition" (Gardner and Shukur, 1994; p.160).

Within Social Psychology, social identity theories have tended to ignore 'racism', which has been considered the conceptual realm of 'prejudice' researchers. Despite long-standing traditions of intergroup relations and 'prejudice' research, psychology has largely ignored issues of racism and power inequalities, and as such has been subjected to criticism, as a discipline which maintains and reproduces racism (Phoenix, 1997). I suggest, in line with the introductory quotation above, that experiences of 'racism' are important discourses in young British-Asian people's constructions of gendered, ethnic identities. I also suggest that positivistic psychological theories of 'racism' and prejudice are based upon similar assumptions to previously criticised theories of ethnic identity, and are thus subject to the same criticisms (e.g. for constructing oppressive knowledges by marginalising and pathologising Others, and separating 'race' and gender as separate variables).

As discussed earlier, the role of power, and the social and political context of research, has been ignored in positivistic research because theoretical interest in ad hoc, laboratory-based groups (such as the Minimal Group Paradigm, e.g. Tajfel et al., 1971) has meant that groups have been treated as "context-free", with no importance given to historical and situational factors. For example, Social Identity research rarely debates the politics of racism, sexism or inequality and it is unusual for researchers working within scientific paradigms to specify the aims of their research as political (such as 'empowerment' or challenges to the status quo), although politically committed research is part of a long tradition in critical social psychology according to Griffin (1995).

Within positivistic social psychology research, 'racism' has been more neatly packaged as "prejudice", which is defined as:

"the holding of derogatory social attitudes or cognitive beliefs, the expression of negative affect, or the display of hostile or discriminatory behaviour towards members of a group on account of their membership of that group" (Brown, 1995; p.8).

Theories of prejudice have ranged from individual-based accounts, such as the prejudiced personality (Adorno et al., 1950) and prejudice as the result of rigid, over-simplified styles of thinking (Rokeach, 1948; 1960), to group-based theories such as Frustration-Aggression theory (Dollard et al., 1939), Relative deprivation theory (e.g. Runciman, 1966), and Realistic Conflict theory (e.g. Rabbie et al., 1974) (see Brown, 1988 for full review). Social-cognitive developmental theories of prejudice, such as Aboud (1988) and social identity theories (see Brown, 1995) have positioned prejudice as a 'natural' and 'inevitable' feature of intergroup relations, arising from basic cognitive biases in the processing of social information (e.g. 'illusory correlation', Chapman, 1967 and Hamilton, 1981). For example, Tajfel (1981) suggested that social stereotypes are functional in maintaining group ideologies and for justifying and explaining social actions.

One of the most influential theories in terms of its influence upon US housing, employment and education desegregation policies, has been Contact Hypothesis. There have been various different forms and modifications of contact hypothesis

since Allport (1954), however generally "this hypothesis suggests that contact between members of different groups, under the appropriate conditions, lessens intergroup prejudice and hostility" (Brown, 1996; p.557), with one prerequisite being that there must be some form of cooperative activity or common goals shared. Aboud (1988) also proposes intervention projects for reducing prejudice in schools "based on the assumption that information reduces prejudice" (Aboud, 1988; p. 132). Although varying in their emphases and beliefs in what 'causes' prejudice, these approaches share some basic assumptions. For example, these approaches rely on a notion that prejudice is quantifiable, and there is little, if any, mention of the gendered nature of prejudice, social context, what happens when there are power inequalities, or the effects these forms of prejudice may have on the identities of those who experience the prejudiced attitudes.

'Modern Racism'

In social cognition research, prejudice has been conceptualised as an attitude, lying on a continuum, so that racism can be measured with scales so that subjects are identified as being either "high" or "low" in prejudice (e.g. Devine et al. (1991). Contradictions between levels of reported prejudice and non-conscious measures have been explained by researchers in terms of lying and self-presentation (Crosby et al. 1980). Prejudice has been used synonymously with sexism, racism and homophobia:

"Other names for prejudice are racism (the belief that members of another ethnic or national group are inherently inferior), sexism (an ideology asserting the superiority of one gender)" (Brown, 1988; p.165).

Racism has thus been considered as a 'special case' of the general phenomenon of prejudice (Brown, 1995). More recently, attention has been drawn to 'modern' forms of prejudice, which "take the form of increased social distance or mild aversion rather than outright hostility" (Brown, 1995; p.207). Social cognition approaches have focussed in particular upon the prevalence of 'modern racism' (McConahay, 1986) as typifying White majority attitudes in contemporary society.

Whereas 'traditional' racism has been conceptualised as typified by beliefs that other ethnic or national groups are 'inherently inferior' (as in the quote above), modern racism appears to be more subtle and ambiguous. For example, "the modern racist believes that black people are 'getting more than they deserve' and are receiving unfairly generous, and thereby unequal, privileges" (Billig et al, 1988; p.106).

This shift in the expression of racism, towards more 'subtle' discourses of 'modern racism' has been noted in a number of discursive studies (see Billig, 1988; Billig et al, 1988; Van Dijk, 1984; Wetherell and Potter, 1992). However, Billig et al (1988) and Wetherell and Potter (1992) argue that although discourses of 'modern racism' may be identifiable, they suggest that such discourses demonstrate the

discursive, negotiated quality of prejudice talk. Furthermore, Billig has also suggested that 'traditional' racist talk (such as that of authoritarian bigot, identified by Adorno, 1950) is not unitary or unambiguous, but is characterised by similar discursive features, such as appeals to reason, demonstrating an awareness of social norms (see Billig, 1988; Billig et al., 1988).

A Discursive Approach to Racism

"The main advantage of the concept of ideology, as we see it, is the basic premise that knowledge, talk and texts are bound up with social and material processes and the emphasis on historical analysis [...].

This conception of ideology draws attention to processes of legitimation, rationalization and justification, and in this sense discourse is seen as a form of social action" (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.33).

In contrast to social cognition theories, Billig et al. (1988) suggest that prejudice and racism are not simple concepts that can be measured unambiguously. Rather, they suggest that prejudice and racism are characterised by ambivalence, and as such are more easily understood through discursive study, that accounts for the dilemmatic quality of talk. For example, they give the example of how a speaker may acknowledge and accept a negative moral evaluation of the notion of prejudice, may deny themselves as 'really' prejudiced, but may simultaneously express what may be considered as prejudiced views (the "dialectic of prejudice" 1988; p.100). In his

study of working class Dutch people's attitudes towards immigration in Holland, Van Dijk (1984) noted the complex ways in which racist views were expressed. In particular, he found that racist discourse was characterised by the use of disclaimers, that denied any prejudice in the speaker, whilst simultaneously introducing a prejudiced remark ("*I'm not prejudiced but ...*"). This "on the one hand" and "on the other hand" strategy has been described as "a form of prolepsis, which is aimed to deflect potential criticism in advance. Having stated an opposition to racism or to prejudice, the way is then opened for an expression of racist and prejudiced views" (Billig et al., 1988).

Billig et al. (1988) have explained such contradictions in relation to Enlightenment thinking, and the origins of the term 'prejudice' as 'irrationality', being thus considered negatively as an "enemy of rationality" (1988; p.102). Prejudice is currently understood as irrational feelings and attitudes held towards social groups, and has been understood in popular theories as relating to a lack of advancement, being exacerbated, for example, through poor education. Billig et al. locate academic thinking within the wider social context, suggesting that "the study of prejudice has often led to an affirmation of liberalism and the hope that a liberal practice may follow from a liberal theory" (1988; p.103).

Modern cognitive psychological theory has been criticised for continuing "to associate 'prejudice' with a deficiency in judgement which leads to erroneous conclusions, especially about social groups" (1988; p.111). The emphasis placed

upon 'inaccurate' individual, psychological strategies as the 'cause' of prejudice and racism, means that racism appears to be an individualised result of the "mundane limitations on rational mental organization" (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.37). Wetherell and Potter further point to the assumption in social cognition theories of an underlying 'truth' to racial stereotypes, due to the emphasis placed upon perception and experience as informing cognitions:

"In the social cognition analysis, the perceiver remains a lone individual, forming, apparently in isolation, their account of 'racial' traits on the basis of the actual similarities and differences of the individuals s/he encounters" (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.41).

Billig et al. (1988) suggest that the concept of prejudice is widely used in everyday talk and has retained its psychological implications. Therefore 'modern racist' talk may be characterised by appeals to reason, attempts to locate the 'causes' of prejudice externally (not as internal, psychological biases) and the use of 'facts' to support and justify claims.

Wetherell and Potter (1992) have also criticised proponents of modern racism for assuming that contemporary attitudes are a 'step in the right direction' and suggest a 'lessening' of racism. They argue that such assumptions work to maintain and protect current (unequal) power relations by positioning society as on a continuing path towards a state of equality. Billig et al. (1988) have further discussed the implications of 'modern racism', showing how it is more than 'just talk'. For

example, the rhetoric of equality and liberalism can be used to justify racist policies and maintain the power status quo; Billig et al.'s cite an example of such rhetoric as "an employer's freedom to discriminate against a black", through which the placing of barriers to Black progression in society are defended in the name of equity, fairness and nationalism. In such ways, it is suggested that modern racist talk can combine ethnocentric themes with liberal discourses in order to effectively argue against 'anti-racist' strategies such as positive discrimination, or 'concessions' in rules (e.g. when rules are changed to ensure that the religious requirements of individuals can be met). Within this discourse:

"[p]rejudice is not merely a property of crazy or disturbed individuals. It also relates to ways of life or cultures. 'Our' language, our reasonableness and traditional ways of life are being threatened by an unreasonable way of life, a prejudiced way of life"

(Billig et al., 1988; p.121).

Billig (1988) thus suggests the important task for discursive study of highlighting how elite messages can be transformed into everyday discourse and made 'reasonable'. The importance of examining dominant ideologies is also underlined by Wetherell and Potter (1992), who explain ideology as "the means by which the ruling class consolidates and reproduces its advantage through presenting its partial and sectional interests as the universal interests of an entire community" (1992; p.24). They cite examples from their own research with White (Pakeha) New Zealanders, who positioned themselves as an 'advanced' race 'caring' for, and

protecting, Maoris, and advocating the 'saving' of Maori 'culture'³. Wetherell and Potter suggested that although these constructions appear benevolent, through a liberal theme of 'tolerance', they work to protect dominant group interests by rationalizing continued (White) control over the political and economic agenda. They argue therefore that majority group (dominant) discourses are powerful forms of social action that maintain existing power relations by reproducing disadvantages on a daily basis. Ideology thus "constitutes particular individuals and fixes them into positions and hierarchies [...] Representation is thus embedded in institutions and tied to social life"(Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.28).

"Racism [...] needs to be seen as a series of ideological effects, with a flexible, fluid and varying content. Similarly [...] all scientific claims, not just those currently disputed, should be open to critical attention, and that attention should turn from the veracity of racist claims to the processes whereby these claims become communicated as 'fact' and empowered as 'truth'" (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.59).

Phil Cohen (1988) has elaborated further on the processes by which racism is 'communicated as fact and empowered as truth'. He proposes that the power and pervasiveness of racism derives from its 'common sense', which he explains in terms of hegemony:

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Cohen and Taylor (1992) suggest that the rhetoric of 'saving' is common to a whole range of post-industrial political narratives, revealing the problems of post-industrial society.

"[...] 'hegemony' [...] describe[s] the process of structural and cultural negotiation whereby one class comes to exert moral leadership over the rest of society, so that its own ideology comes to be generally regarded as 'common sense'. This is a strategy for winning the active consent of the majority of the population to policies and practices which keep them in their subordinate place, by making alternative ideas 'unthinkable', while remaining within the framework of representative democracy, and without recourse to overt coercion" (Cohen, 1988; p.25-26).

Cohen points to the interconnection of race, class and gender discourses in the production of forms of racism in Britain. He suggests that racism has been generated "from within certain strategic discourses in British class society" and is actually "*constitutive* of what has come to be known as the 'British way of life'" (Cohen, 1988; p.63). In particular, Cohen identifies class-based 'codes of breeding' as central to the development of 'internal' (commonsense) racism. He suggests that racism must be understood as it relates to the (class and gender) identities of those who reproduce it, for example he highlights the role of working class discourses of 'territoriality' in shaping and producing particular 'commonsense' racist ideologies, showing how particular working class racisms are located within themes of (class) resistance.

"[...] the working class 'goes racist' when and wherever the presence of immigrants or ethnic minorities threatens to expose the ideological structures which it has erected to protect itself from recognising its real conditions of subordination. It is not because immigrants are actually undermining their standard of living, but because their entry into and across the local labour or housing market signifies the fact that the working class does *not*, in fact, own or control either jobs or neighbourhoods, that the immigrant presence is found" (Cohen, 1988; p.34).

Racism therefore works (and is reworked) through popular culture, and Cohen draws attention to the implications for anti-racist strategies, suggesting that unless the role of class and identity within the form and expression of racism are understood, anti-racist strategies will remain ineffective. In particular, he argues that within the educational context, "as long as educational initiatives remain locked in a 'civilising mission' which itself is founded on a curriculum of middle-class racism, they will continue to be resisted by the majority of working-class pupils" (Cohen, 1988; p.2). In other words, middle-class, multicultural educational strategies are based in rationalism and cannot 'compete' with commonsense racist discourses, because they do not engage with issues around emotion and identity. Furthermore, Cohen suggests that working class pupils may express resistance to schooling through their resistance to the school's anti-racist policies, but this resistance may be enacted within specific ('hidden') spheres:

"The attempt to censor the popular culture of racism through disciplinary means thus encounters a whole series of resistances which may produce a number of unintended counter-effects. Racism may be silenced in the classroom only to appear in an even more virulent form in the playground. Various strategies of disavowal may be mobilised, and silent racism may continue to rule" (Cohen, 1988; p.93).

In line with the above literature, in this research I attempt to highlight the reproduction of dominant discourses in young Muslim people's constructions of racism, interpreting the discursive consequences of such constructions, and the workings of alternative, competing discourses.

SUMMARY OF CRITICAL RE-CONCEPTUALISATIONS

Identity as multiple, fluid and shifting

"Identity [...]has captured the political imagination of the present time" (Bhavnani and Phoenix, 1994; p.9).

In this thesis, I agree with Mama's (1995) call for a rejection of the dualistic conceptualisations of 'social' and 'personal' identity espoused by social identity theories in favour of conceptualisations of subjectivity "as recursive rather than resulting from interactions between two ostensibly separate levels of being" (Mama, 1995; p. 165). In order to facilitate such an understanding, she proposes concepts of 'positionality' and 'movement' be made central. 'Positionality' refers to "the idea of subjectivity as being the sum of all the positions available to an individual; positions which are both psychodynamic and discursive" (p.164), and 'movement' refers to the creation and disappearance of discourses through changes in processes of adoption, collectivisation and abandonment of discursive positions.

Ethnic identity, 'Race' and Ethnic Groups

Following the shifting, relational and contextual nature of 'ethnic group' which I supported earlier, I agree with conceptualisations of 'race' and ethnicity as not discrete categories, but are negotiable, the meaning of which will vary across and within groups and between individual group members (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1982). In this way, the meaning of a person's 'ethnic identity' is conceptualised as similarly multiple and contradictory. I therefore conceptualised identity as:

"[...] plural, fragmented and with a propensity to shift contextually and over time...the site where structure and agency collide [...] [and] the place from where an individual can express multiple and often contradictory aspects of ourselves" (Bhavnani & Phoenix, 1994:6:9).

I consider that identity is produced (Burman, 1994) and is therefore both structural and agentic. The use of terms such as "Asian", "Indian", "Muslim" or "Black" may serve particular identity functions within different discourses as part of specific political strategies (for example making salient common experiences of racism). Taking this conceptual approach to identity, I suggest that my analyses will attempt to highlight contradictions and similarities in the ways participants construct ethnic and gender identities. However, my aim to deconstruct dominant stereotypes around male, and female, British Muslim identities is rooted in a belief that previous constructions are not just 'inaccurate' but that they are actively oppressive, reproducing racisms and sexism.

Identity as Gendered and Racialised: Constructing Muslim Femininities

In conceptualising identities as gendered and racialised, I propose to investigate ways in which young, British-Muslim women constructed femininities. When theorising femininities, Wetherell reminds us that;

"[...]it is vital to work with ambiguity, ambivalence and openness with the recognition that femininity is a negotiable category which takes its shape as a particular type of identity within contrasting discourses. Accepting that there is not one thing there to be discovered, femininity should be seen as a method of description, not a psychological attribute" (Wetherell, 1995; p.141)

Harrison (1997) argues that femininity is not just passively taken up, but is a site of constant struggle, with young women being creatively involved in their own identity constructions. Femininity has also been conceptualised by Dorothy Smith as a set of discourses which need to be worked at (cited in Harrison, 1997). The importance of female friendships in adolescence, in terms of identity construction, has been highlighted by some feminist researchers, although more generally female friendship groups have received little academic attention.

In developmental psychology emphasis has been placed upon the development of self as autonomous and individuated, rather than relational (e.g. Erikson, 1959) and this theory has been criticised as patriarchal because it places emphasis on traits which are traditionally prized as 'masculine', as opposed to 'feminine' emphases upon interrelation and the social dimension (Beckett, 1986). Indeed, Freudian theory interpreted women as less developed than men, due to their lack of differentiation

and separation from the mother (Freud, 1917 "*General Theory of the Neuroses*")⁴.

Hey (1997) stresses the relational aspects of female friendships, particularly (as she suggests) for White, working-class females. She also argues that friendship is the medium through which the social may inscribe its mark upon, and regulate, the individual and that friendship interactions both position participants not only in relation to one another, but in relation to broader discourses and social structures (Swann, 1997). From my own experience, I feel that it was (and still continues to be!) within close, female friendship groups, that I and my friends spent considerable time negotiating possible discourses of femininity and locating our own identities in relation to these possibilities. These friendship groups were important arenas for identity construction, and for experiencing ourselves as 'feminine' beings.

Mama (1995) identifies instances of black women negotiating their black subjectivities within social group settings and she suggests that such communities perform an important role for developing a range of black discourses. She suggests that without access to these possible discourses, black people may be 'unable' to perceive and respond to racism, even though it may be part of their experience. She therefore positions being part of a black community as important for positioning oneself within black discourses, and developing black subjectivity. I suggest that Mama's points can be applied to female friendship groups and I consider that Asian, female friendship groups may provide important sites for the negotiation of both

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In Freud, S. *Introductory Lectures*, 1991.

'race' and gender subjectivities, with activities and practices performed within these groups contributing to these negotiations and identity experiences.

Attractiveness and Sexuality

Cohen (1988) has suggested that representations of sexuality within popular culture provide key sites within which 'common sense' racisms are formed and expressed.

Amina Mama (1995) has suggested also that 'attractiveness' (physical and sexual) is a useful site from which to examine the emergence of femininity because it cross-cuts with dominant discourses around heterosexuality, patriarchy and 'race' (and I also suggest that attractiveness and sexuality are themes which may assume particular prominence in adolescence). Early White, western feminist thought questioned how women are positioned in terms of their relationships with and to men, and how the patriarchal, male gaze seeks to position women according to their attractiveness. Queer, Black and disabled feminists have since drawn attention to further cross-cutting discourses of heterosexuality, disability and 'race'. Mama states her particular concerns with 'attractiveness' as:

"racist discourses have traditionally defined black women as 'ugly' and their sexuality in negative terms" (Mama, 1995; p.149).

Notions of the attractive ideal in western countries, such as Britain, have revolved around the desirability of light skin, blond hair and blue eyes and repressed/passive sexuality.

"[M]en of all colours share the dominant racialised notions of female attractiveness which few black women can ever hope to attain. Skin bleaching and hair straightening are therefore less about black women wanting to be white than about black women wanting to be attractive, especially to men in a patriarchal world that assumes beauty to be blonde and blue-eyed, and makes it imperative for women to be attractive enough to succeed with men" (Mama, 1995; p.151).

I suggest that young Asian women in Britain will also be aware of these ideals of (heterosexual) western beauty, the 'un-obtainability' of which may be heightened by the acute under-representation of Asian women in the British media generally, particularly among 'popular' and 'youth' cultures (which may be some of the main arenas where young people can look for fashion and beauty ideals). For example, there are few Asian (particularly female) popular music stars, models and sports personalities prominent within the British media. Within western cinema (particularly with regard to 'blockbuster' type films) there are very few Asian actors. This under-representation may derive in part from the strength of the Asian film industry (primarily 'Bollywood') whose glamorous actors are also popular music stars.

Although Bollywood films are very popular among British Asians, this interest has not extended to mainstream, White society, and so, in Britain, these alternative images remain marginalised. Furthermore, with reference to Mama's point

concerning the availability of cultural discourses, these images and alternatives may not be as common to Asian people who are relatively geographically isolated from larger Asian communities.

I also consider that within discourses of sexuality, attractiveness and femininity, 'Asian' cultural norms and values can be juxtapositioned with dominant western norms and values, which place 'dating' as a 'natural' part of adolescent sexual maturation. Within academic texts (e.g. Levinson, 1978, cited in Gilligan, 1993) the formation and rejection of such relationships (with women) has been theorised as part of the 'developmental process' of individuation (for men). For British-Muslim young women there may be cross-cutting and competing religious and ethnic cultural discourses of femininity pivoting around ideals of arranged marriage, with which 'dating', and associated displays of sexuality, are not then norm.

Theorising Muslim Masculinities

I have so far argued that Social Psychological theories have assumed 'male' identities, values and development as normative. In response to these inequalities, I have deliberately focussed upon women in this research. However, I consider that masculine identities are socially constructed, and are cross-cut with discourses of 'race' and religion. In this research I also consider ways in which young, British-Muslim men construct masculinities. Concerns have been raised as to whether feminists should research masculinity (see Wetherell, 1993), but I agree that:

"one of the most important achievements of feminism has been to problematise and relativize masculinity. Feminism succeeds to the extent that men become gendered and questionable, no longer synonymous with the human and the normal" (Wetherell, 1993; p. 2).

Although attempts have been made to chart the social history of 'what it means to be a man' and the emergence of a 'men's movement' (e.g. Graham, 1992) these texts have largely been from the perspective of White males. In other words;

"the narratives of black masculine identity similarly indicate a constant but delicate negotiation, in this case of the power attributed to masculinities and the powerlessness engendered by racism [...] the very meaning of patriarchy and the patriarchal 'protection of femininity' has been defined differently for black and white men throughout the history of racism, colonialism and slavery" (Wetherell, 1993; p.4).

I suggest that young Asian men may construct 'racialised' masculinities in relation to discourses around 'power' and visibility, negotiating identities between discourses of patriarchal 'power' and the 'powerlessness' of being positioned by racist discourses (Connolly, 1998). Furthermore, Cohen (1988) has suggested that Asian men have been particularly negatively positioned within White, working class (male) racist discourses:

"Some ethnic attributes may be idealised because of their positive class and gender associations, whilst others are denigrated. Most typically, of course, many White working-class boys discriminate positively in favour of Afro-Caribbean subcultures as exhibiting a macho, proletarian style, and against Asian cultures as being 'effeminate' and 'middle-class'". (Cohen, 1988; p.83)

In Chapter Three I further discuss issues around a 'crisis in masculinity' and male underachievement (Mac an Ghail, 1996) in relation to dominant stereotypes of Asian pupils as "behavers and achievers" (Gillborn, 1990).

Re-conceptualising Racism as Ideology

Social Identity Theory has been criticised for failing to address identity issues such as racial prejudice and discrimination. For example, by not accounting for black people's experiences of racism and prejudice, SIT may be "generating a partial and quite possibly distorted account" (Henwood, 1994; p.45). Inequalities do not exist within a vacuum, their origins are rooted within social, cultural and political histories (Williams, 1984), therefore ethnic identity theories, and 'solutions' to

racism, which do not take account of unequal power relations, risk 'blaming' minorities for their own oppressive situations;

"the growing threat of racism may well need a greater awareness amongst ethnic minorities of their common oppression and the development by them of political strategies to bring about long overdue social change" (Brown, 1988; p.viii).

Furthermore, traditional 'static' classifications of individuals as either 'racist' or 'not racist' in varying degrees, can be criticised as too simplistic, because they cannot account for contradictions and variations in the use of racist discourses (see Phoenix, 1997).

In this research I therefore take the view that racism is an ideology, which symbolically constructs boundaries between racialised categories and also constructs identities and subjectivities, through which we position others and ourselves, and by which we are positioned (Harris, 1997). I conceptualise discourses of racism as involving the subordination of difference to the demands of identity (Harris, 1997) and:

"[...] a denial of access to resources of different types and construct their object not only as different but as inferior or undesirable; racism is therefore a discourse of exclusion and inferiorisation" (Anthias, 1996; p.11).

In this doctoral research I therefore propose to examine the cross-cutting of gender with 'race' and racisms, considering the ways in which participants use racism and racist experiences in the construction of their identities.

CHAPTER TWO

A CRITICAL, FEMINIST, DISCURSIVE POSITION

In Chapter One I argued that positivistic Social Psychological theories have conceptualised young, British Asians in negative, racist and sexist ways, using methods which reify constructed differences. I based my criticisms upon a range of feminist, postmodern and critical theorists' arguments. However, these positions are not clearly defined, unitary bodies of work and do not advocate a singular, coherent theoretical, or methodological, position.

In the first half of this chapter, I address debates within, and between, postmodern, discursive, feminist and critical work, discussing in particular alternative perspectives on the theory-method relationship. In the second half of the chapter, I set out the critical, feminist, discursive position which I have adopted in this research, and I discuss the rationale linking my theoretical position to my use of verbal and visual (photographic) methods.

Post-Modernist Perspectives and Social Constructionism

During the 1960's and 1970's, Social Psychology underwent a series of "crises" (Parker, 1989) concerning the construction of reality, the usefulness of experimental psychology, and debating the relative merits of qualitative and quantitative methods.

Postmodernist approaches to psychology provided challenges to previous scientific, positivist approaches to theory and method, with their "beliefs in scientific rationality, objectivity and truth" (Charmaz, 1995, p.29). However, it is impractical to attempt to define a postmodern position since there is "no unified postmodern theory, or even a coherent set of positions" (Best and Kellner, 1991, p.2). Rather, there exist a number of contradictory postmodern positions which share a common

"[...]critique of representation and the modern belief that theory mirrors reality, taking instead 'perspectivist' and 'relativist' positions that theories at best provide partial perspectives on their objects, and that all cognitive representations of the world are historically and linguistically mediated" (Best and Kellner, 1991, p.4).

In contrast to positivistic psychology's assumption of a rational, unified subject, postmodern approaches emphasise the multiplicity, plurality, fragmentation and indeterminacy of social life. Postmodern approaches therefore reject the notion of a rational and unified subject, in favour of "a socially and linguistically decentred and fragmented subject" (Best and Kellner, 1991, p.5).

Postmodern critiques of the scientific construction of reality have extended to debates around the role of method. The postmodern shift away from macro-theorizing and the generation of grand narratives has also entailed changes in the types of methods used, the ways data are treated, and interpreted, and the nature of results produced. Theoretical shifts have therefore been accompanied by changes in research methods, with discussions centring around the benefits of 'qualitative', as opposed to 'quantitative', methods, and a growing interest in the relationship between theory and method. Debates have also arisen over whether methods are just 'tools' with which to perform research, or whether methods are intrinsically bound to the position of the researcher.

There has been great debate surrounding this "qualitative-quantitative divide" (see Griffin, 1995; Hammersley, 1995; Henwood and Pidgeon, 1995) and it is commonly acknowledged that "there is little to be gained from rehearsing further the merits of qualitative over quantitative approaches" (Stenner and Brown, 1998; p.174). Within this thesis I suggest that this division is in fact a false distinction (Hammersley, 1995) without any direct linear relationship being apparent between debates over 'qualitative versus quantitative methods' and 'constructivism versus empiricism' respectively (Henwood & Pigeon, 1995). I have based my views on the argument that:

"techniques are not of themselves positivist or phenomenological - it is how they are used and how the data are interpreted that defines the epistemological assumptions on which they are based" (Cassell and Symon, 1994; p.3).

Instead, I consider that a useful distinction can be made between "method" and "methodology", whereby "method" refers to the actual data gathering techniques used, and "methodology" refers to the broader theoretical and epistemological basis on which the research is carried out.

"The significance of the use of the term 'methodology' is that it requires an argument to connect the choice and practice of particular methods to the way that the problem is conceived and the utility and limitations of the outcome" (Schatz and Walker, 1995; p.12).

I therefore propose that methods should be conceptualised as the means by which data are collected to elaborate theories, although the way in which these methods are used will be determined by the methodology adopted. In order to bridge the gap between qualitative - qualitative arguments, and as a means of clarifying the 'postmodern' approach to be taken, I have decided to label and locate this work as coming from a social constructionist perspective¹. Gergen has suggested that:

"Social constructionism views discourse about the world not as a reflection or map of the world but as an artifact of communal interchange. Both as an orientation to knowledge and to the character of psychological constructs, constructionism forms a significant challenge to conventional understandings. Although the roots of constructionist thought may be traced to long-standing debates between empiricist and rationalist schools of thought, constructionism attempts

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For a review of the historical context behind the growth of social constructionism in psychology, see Gergen, 1982.

to move beyond the dualism to which both of these traditions are committed and to place knowledge within the process of social interchange" (Gergen, 1982; p.266).

However, this social constructionist position merely outlines the broad approach which I have taken within this research. I discuss my position, next, with regard to the various tensions within discursive psychology, and my use of discursive methods.

Discursive Analysis in Social Psychology

The rise of postmodern, relativist and phenomenological perspectives, has enabled researchers to question the applicability of positivistic techniques to the new forms of data collected (e.g. discourse). These theoretical developments have also facilitated interrogation of whether techniques themselves can be considered 'value free' and impartial. There has been a growing movement within Social Psychology away from experimental paradigms, and an epistemology based on the conceptualisations of the natural sciences (Smith, Harre and Langenhove (1995). Instead, discourse analytic psychologists have drawn attention to the centrality of discourse in constructing meanings and identities through the location, and negotiation, of the self within competing discourses.

Currently there is no unified approach to the use of discourse in Social Psychological research, which Squire explains as due to the "blurry" nature of discourse analysis (Squire, 1995; p.145). It has been suggested however that discourse analytic

approaches share "a common attention to the significance and structuring effects of language, and are associated with interpretative and reflexive styles of analysis" (Burman and Parker, 1993, p.3). Discourse analytic approaches can also be identified as holding in common the assumption that the technique of analysing discourse is not a theoretically neutral approach, but is a combination of

"[...] metatheoretical notions about knowledge and objectivity [...] with theoretical ideas about discourse, action [...] and these in turn are meshed into some metatheoretical suggestions for broad strategies and specific techniques of analysis" (Potter and Wetherell, 1995: p.83).

Wetherell and Potter (1992) argue that language is not neutral and does not merely express, or reflect, pre-existing psychological and social realities. Instead, they suggest that discourse actively constructs social and psychological processes, "subjectivity, individuality, social groups and social categories [are] constructed, defined and articulated through discourse" (1992; p.59). In other words, "psychological phenomena" (e.g. attitudes) are not fixed constructs which are located within the individual, but have a shared, social nature in that they are culturally (and linguistically) constructed. From a discursive perspective therefore, language constructs the reality of phenomena, so that psychological phenomena cannot be tapped and discovered, because they are "created by the language that is used to describe them" (Burman and Parker, 1993, p.1).

Wetherell and Potter (1992) also point to the complex relationship between discourse, social structures, practices and processes. Talk performs social actions, such as legitimating particular power relations, and in this way "knowledge, talk and texts are bound up with social and material processes" (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.33). The concept of 'ideology' is placed as central in discursive analyses, and emphasis is placed on how everyday thinking can be considered as processes of ideology (Billig et al., 1988). From this perspective, attitudes are not individually held and products of solely personal cognitive biases. Instead, thinking is reflective of and constitutive of the wider social context:

"[...] the time and the place in which the people live affect the nature of their thinking. [...] The very contents of everyday thinking- the maxims, values and opinions which are commonly held etc.- are themselves cultural products. In ordinary thinking, people use a 'common sense', which they themselves do not invent but which has a history" (Billig, 1991; p.1).

Common sense thus contains contemporary assumptions and is related to patterns of power and domination; "the continuing history of domination flows through the patterns of commonsensical thinking" (Billig, 1991; p.1). From this perspective, discursive analysis is particularly useful for study of social inequalities and for identifying ways in which oppressive relations are reproduced in everyday life.

Wetherell and Potter (1992) suggest that the aims of discursive analysis are:

"to perform historical analyses and thus locate contemporary discourse within some changing social, economic and political context and to examine the power of ideology as rationalization and justification [...] [but] also [...] to investigate in a more localised fashion how different political ideologies actively construct and create group and class alliances and new types of identity and subject positions. To study, that is, how ideological discourse becomes turned into popular discourse, recognized as 'truth', and comes to work as effective rhetoric" (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.61).

In other words, discursive analysis can be used to investigate "how wider patterns of society and of history are being reflected in the thinking of individuals" (Billig, 1991; p.2).

Discursive analysis therefore enables alternative approaches to the study of psychological phenomena, beginning with the assumption that the 'mind' is not outside of language (Burman and Parker, 1993), but is in fact a product of western, scientific discourses (Kitzinger, 1992). Through my use of discursive analysis in this thesis, I aim to investigate ways in which participants create meanings and organise values within their talk, from which

"[...] a multitude of contradictory and inconsistent self-characterizations depending on context might emerge, as opposed to one stable identity" (Wetherell, 1986, p.85).

Within research on identity, discursive approaches have been used to demonstrate the multiple, and contradictory, nature of identities. For example, Wetherell suggests that gender identities are not reducible to singular, homogenised 'masculine' and 'feminine' identities. Instead, she suggests that individuals construct gendered identities

"[...] from contradictory and frequently fragmentary pieces of discourse, repertoires, and accounting systems available to individuals to make sense of their position, and which historically and contingently have come to be marked as feminine or masculine responses" (Wetherell, 1986; p.77-78).

Walkerdine (1986) also highlights contradictions, and conflict, between teacher and pupil identities, suggesting that these identities do not fit together smoothly.

The importance of identity construction as an active, everyday process in which individuals engage, has also been articulated by Cohen and Taylor (1992). They draw attention to the variety of ways through which people engage in projects of resistance to everyday life, pointing in particular to the emergence of various political discourses which people use to position themselves within, and against, society. Cohen and Taylor suggest that people's personal identity constructions are interlinked with the broader social structures, but by engaging in identity work people often resist ('escape from') their present 'reality' through the construction of competing, alternative realities. They thus describe:

"A tangled picture of the relationships between people and everyday reality, a picture of the ways in which we attempt to manipulate the symbolic forms in which the world presents itself to us" (Cohen and Taylor, 1992; p.170).

In this research I use a discursive approach to challenge positivistic Social Psychological conceptualisations of ethnic and gender identities as 'real', quantifiable social cognitions. Instead, I take the view that:

"institutions, practices and even the individual human subject itself can be understood as produced through the workings of a set of discourses" (Potter and Wetherell, 1991; p.2).

However, as suggested earlier, there are many varied, and competing, approaches to analysing discourse (see Potter, Wetherell, Gill & Edwards, 1990). Similarly, Burman and Parker (1993) argue that although traditional methods are inappropriate for the study of texts, there is no one approach to constructivist, qualitative methods and no universal set of techniques prescribed to guarantee 'success'. Various views therefore exist between analysts, as to the best ways to set about analysing the data produced:

"One of the difficulties in writing about the process of discourse analysis is that the very category 'analysis' comes from a discourse developed for quantitative, positivist methodologies such as experiments and surveys" (Potter and Wetherell, 1991; p.11).

In comparison to positivistic psychological research, which uses formalised, quantitative and statistical methods and emphasises objectivity and reliability, discursive analysis involves the highly subjective interpretation of texts. Wetherell and Potter (1988) have described the process of doing discursive analysis as a "craft skill" which is slowly developed by the researcher. However, they do recommend attention to certain features and constructions in texts (Potter and Wetherell, 1991; Potter and Wetherell, 1995), which they consider to be key elements in producing analyses, rather than just descriptive accounts, of the texts, and I have used the work of Potter and Wetherell in particular to guide my analyses.

My approach to discursive analysis begins with the assumption that talk does not simply reflect an inner psychological reality, such as revealing opinions or attitudes (as would be the case within social cognition research), and therefore is not coherently and systematically organised. As previously mentioned in Chapter One, Wetherell and Potter (1992) emphasise the dilemmatic quality of discourse and suggest that talk is characterised by 'ideological dilemmas' (Billig et al., 1988). In other words, speakers do not simply reproduce stable and coherent attitudes, but negotiate their way between different competing frameworks and arguments. However, as suggested by Billig et al. (1988), the arguments and 'common sense' that people use to argue with are not the products of individual psychologies, but derive from the social and historical context. In my analyses I therefore attempt to identify different forms of ideological talk used by the young people, and show how these discourses construct various identities. I also aim to chart discourses in relation to dominant and subversive ideologies, and discuss

the social actions performed by them (such as legitimating or challenging current power relations).

It has been suggested that discourse is not the product of individual consciousness or psychological processes, however, this is not to say either that people are "the duped victims of ideology" (Billig, 1991; p.5), who cannot be held responsible for their passive reproduction of ideology. As Wetherell and Potter (1992) suggest, this view of people as 'cultural dupes' denies their agency, thus 'excusing' speakers from the reproduction of, for example, racist discourses. Instead, Billig proposes that the individual is "a rhetorical being who thinks and argues with ideology" (Billig, 1991; p.2). In other words, speakers take up positions within discourse and are thus accountable for their discourses. For example, Wetherell and Potter suggest that White New Zealanders articulated "a collectively shared set of resources for legitimating their social position. They are responsible for the articulation but not in the sense that racism always reflects character weakness or illogical thought" (1992; p.219).

In my analyses I look at practices and resources used by the young people in their identity constructions, considering what they were doing with their talk, and the resources they drew on to construct identities. For example, looking for variation within, and between, texts; reading the detail of the texts produced (looking at what has been selected as important, and how experiences were constructed within accounts); examining rhetorical organisation and accountability (paying attention to construction

and description, showing how discourse is constructed to perform social actions, establishing versions as independent of the speaker); and showing how people take positions, and are positioned, within discourses (see Potter and Wetherell, 1991). I have also drawn on Parker's (1989) suggestion that institutions are protected and reinforced in the texts produced (although Parker suggests these themes as "extras" in analysis) and have attempted to highlight the social actions performed by talk, such as noting points where particular institutions (such as 'the education system') are justified or attacked.

I consider that discursive analysis does offer the potential to challenge scientific and psychological notions of 'truth' with alternative 'truths', by exposing the discursive production of "institutions, practices and [...] the individual human subject" (Potter and Wetherell, 1991; p.2). However, discourse analysis' foundation in relativism has been proposed as problematic for researchers who wish to engage with political projects and unequal power relations (e.g. Gill, 1995). In other words, whilst relativism appears as a way of liberating psychology from positivistic ways of thinking, (suggesting that previous scientific 'truths' are constructions of methodology) relativism has also been suggested as a 'truth' in itself; for example the relativist idea that 'all truths appear as of equal status' can be presented as a truism.

The implication of such a relativistic stance is that 'power' becomes absent, and thus neither explains, or addresses, the dominance of particular truths over others, nor the role of these discourses in actively reproducing particular power relations and 'ways

of understanding'. These concerns over 'values' in discourse analytic research have largely been voiced by feminists, who have called for "a kind of relativism or epistemological scepticism which does not eschew or efface the question of values" (Gill, 1995; p.182).

I have placed a concern with 'values' (and, more specifically, "*whose values?*") as central to my use of discursive analysis. In the section below, I discuss 'Feminist' and 'Black' criticisms of psychological research, and I consider the debates which exist within, and between, these perspectives.

Debates Around 'Feminism' and 'Feminist Research'

"Research on women in their own right, without reference to a male standard, is not viewed as worthy of male attention" (Bernard, 1973 in Wilkinson, 1986; p.10).

A number of feminists have criticised Social Psychological theories for being masculinist and for excluding the experiences of women, or for reducing these experiences to mere 'variables' (Beckett, 1986; Du Bois, 1983; Gilligan, 1977; Griffin, 1995; Michael, 1991). In response, academic feminism has attempted to "reclaim the past, to alter the present, and in so doing to challenge the continuation of White, male hegemony" (Bowles and Duelli Klein, 1983, p.5). Burman (1992) also suggests that psychology itself should be made the focus of study, as a theoretical and conceptual practice of regulation, which does not exert power without simultaneously producing resistance.

In order to achieve these goals, feminists have strived to ground research in women's lives and experiences, with the aim of making 'the personal political' (Duelli Klein, 1983). By focussing on women's own words and self-definitions, feminist researchers propose "to acknowledge and integrate the authenticity of individuals' rights to define their own important categories" (Beckett, 1986; p.53).

These concerns gave rise to the search for a 'feminist method', through which to achieve 'feminist research'. Positivistic Social Psychological methods have been criticised as incompatible with *feminist aims* (Mies, 1983) and *scientific imperatives of objectification*, measurement and quantification have been questioned by feminist psychologists who are concerned with challenging and transforming inequalities (Jayaratne, 1993). Feminist researchers have argued that scientific, positivistic research paradigms alienate the researcher from the researched and do little to affect the unequal power relations in place (Edwards, 1990; Harding, 1987; Lather, 1988; Stanley and Wise, 1990). In contrast, issues of subjectivity, 'voice', and the nature of 'Otherness' have become "increasingly central themes of feminism and post-structuralism" (see Haw, 1996; p.323).

Recently, there has been a particular growth in the use of discourse analysis by feminist researchers (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1995) to such an extent that 'discursive' and

'critical' research are often assumed to be synonymous (Burman and Parker, 1993)².

This link has been proposed in terms of common concerns between the two;

"the meta-theoretical concern of discourse analysts within psychology is with a constructivist epistemology which leads them to advocate the primacy of qualitative methods. Similarly, for ethical, epistemological and emancipatory reasons, traditional quantitative methods are increasingly being rejected by feminist researchers in psychology" (Henwood and Pidgeon, 1993; p.16).

I suggest that the widespread use of discourse analysis by feminist psychologists may be related to the possibilities offered by the method for less formalised, language-based research which can facilitate the production of knowledge that is more closely grounded in the language and experiences of the research participants (Wilkinson, 1986; Du Bois, 1983). The 'attractiveness' of discursive analysis to feminist psychologists has also been conceptualised as due to the method's 'respectable' nature, as a "qualitative yet systemised method" which offers political possibilities for a radicalisation of psychology (Squire, 1995; p.147) .

However, Squire also highlights that there is "no necessary co-incidence between feminist and discourse analytic interests in psychology" (1995; p.145). Wilkinson and Kitzinger (1995) further suggest that work conducted within a feminist, discourse

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Although other feminist researchers have suggested that feminism can benefit from using a range of methods (Beckett, 1986; Stanley and Wise, 1983) .

analytic framework may share a feminist topic and common epistemological assumptions (regarding the role of language in social construction), but (they suggest) individual pieces of research often "include very different kinds of data, analysed at very different levels" (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1995; p.2). This variation occurs because;

"[...] there is no single feminist method, no one approach to data collection or analysis which is distinctively and inherently 'feminist' [...] there is nothing distinctly feminist about the theory or method of discourse analysis" (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1995; p.7).

In line with this, Gill (1995) and Griffin (1995) have called for increased debate concerning the political strategy and accountability of research (Gill, 1995). Arguments have also been put forward for a critical consideration of social relations in the production of research, in order for research to be useful, relevant and meaningful (Oliver, 1992; Wilkinson, 1988). In other words, it has been suggested that researchers should take account of the power relations which structure the production of research, *because the researcher is not a neutral, unbiased observer.*

Despite these variations, I suggest that discourse analysis can be used by feminists to challenge dominant ways of thinking (e.g. Wetherell, 1995) and to facilitate the creation of languages which are based in women's experiences and words (Stanley and Wise, 1983; 1990). I do agree though that discourse analytic theories and methods are not inherently related to a critical politics of transformation, due to the 'rampant

relativism' to which social constructionist approaches are prone (Gergen, 1982; p.273).

Relativism can be politically paralysing because it positions all forms of social practice as 'equally different' and 'just another interpretation'.

Calls have been made, in response, for interrogation of the moral position of the researcher, and for distinctions to be made between 'right and wrong' in research (see Gergen, 1982). I also agree with Gill's extension of these arguments, which calls for "a relativism which is unashamedly political" (1995; p.182). I believe however, that any consideration of values in research must also question "whose" politics and values are being represented. In my view, feminist research should endeavour to recognise the multiplicity of 'feminist values', and should therefore ask "whose feminism?" and "whose politics?" are being proposed as feminist solutions. I do not think there are any easy, 'right' answers to these questions, although I have tried to address them as explicit themes running throughout my analyses (ie. "deconstructing my interpretations").

I subsequently take the view, in this research, that discourses and texts are not abstract, free-floating entities, but are rooted in the contexts in which they are produced, and that these research contexts will be structured by particular power relations, and interactions, between researcher and participants. In my analyses I therefore attend to the power relations at work within texts, because I consider that inequalities persist, and have real effects, beyond the text itself (Burman and Parker, 1995). I draw upon Henwood and Pigeon's (1995) suggestion of "conscious subjectivity", which involves

recognising the interdependence of researchers' and participants' subjectivities, constructing (women's) experiences as meaningful within cultural frameworks and social power relations. In my research I attempt to highlight the sources of my interpretations, and the ways in which my own participation shaped the interactions which took place.

The 'Other Others': Black, Queer and Disabled Voices

"The meeting of feminism with post-structuralism has brought issues of multiplicity to the fore" (Burman, 1992; p.48).

"Feminist work should begin not only from identity but also from difference, not only from agreement but also from conflict" (Bhavnani and Phoenix, 1994; p.8).

Feminism has been proposed as "the political theory and practice that struggles to free all women" (Griffin, 1995; p.189) however, it is important to recognise here that feminism itself is not unitary, but a contested space under continual debate (Griffin, 1989). Early feminist concerns have been criticised as distinctly White, middle-class in orientation (reflecting the authors' backgrounds) and "many black and minority women have pointed out the racist, eurocentric and middle-class biases which have been at the heart of most feminist agendas, at least until the last few years" (Yuval-Davis, 1994; p.187/188). A growing number of feminists are now emphasising the integral

nature of race, class and age-related dimensions on women's and men's lives, gender and sexuality (Griffin, 1995).

The feminist response to patriarchal dominance within psychology was to focus upon women's marginalised experiences, making "the personal political". However, as Amina Mama suggests, although recording and giving prominence to participants' experiences is a valuable political exercise, solely describing 'experiences' alone is not enough to transform oppressive social relations:

"The specific experiences of the research participants are not the experiences of all women and, for this reason alone, the general processes through which subjectivities are constituted need to be theorised, if this work is to have a relevance to anyone other than the actual participants" (Mama, 1995; p.14).

A focus on experience alone does not, therefore, yield the "truth" (Maynard, 1994) and focussing on difference alone is not particularly useful because, in order to engage in political action and effect change, some sort of collective experience of oppression needs to be theorised (Yuval-Davis, 1993). In other words, the proposal of 'multiple voices' does not necessarily mean that the old ones are challenged (Maynard, 1994).

Furthermore, the multiplicity of 'woman' (and indeed feminism) must be ensured if conceptualisations and theory are not to be restricted to White, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied women. In other words, "women's reality is not just different from the narrow version men's reality which has been passed into popular use.

Women's realities are different from each other" (Beckett, 1986:46). It is only by looking at difference that it becomes possible to highlight what dominant theories may omit or repress (Burman, 1992).

However, as Floya Anthias asserts, deconstructing 'woman' to the point of denying notions of sisterhood, or a racialised divide, may be politically disabling because it prevents taking feminist, or anti-racist, positions:

"[...] the postmodern critique of the unitary conception of 'woman' and the fractured and contradictory nature of subjectivity do not lend themselves easily to any political action. A provisional and contextual closure around the terms Black or feminist may be necessary to engage in particular political projects" (Anthias, 1996; p.5).

In this thesis, I propose to consider "a theory of the relationship between experience, social power and resistance" (Weedon, 1987 p.8 cited in Mama, 1995 p.14). This view has also been expressed by Erica Burman (1992), who suggests that feminist and post-structuralist concerns with attention to difference may render grand narratives problematic, but a degree of commonality of experience should be maintained when theorising experiences of subordination. Otherwise, she suggests, these experiences will be reduced to "mere differences" (Burman, 1992; p.48). I therefore agree that:

"all feminist (and other forms of democratic) politics should be viewed as a form of coalition politics in which the differences among women are recognized and given a voice, without fixating the boundaries of this coalition in terms of who we are but in terms of what we want to achieve" (Yuval-Davis, 1994; p.188/189).

I hope to facilitate an 'understanding of the lived experiences' of the research participants (Oliver, 1992; p. 111) although I also recognise that this position requires a redefinition of what is meant by generalizable, and useful, research findings (see Schofield, 1993). Schofield (1993) suggests that 'generalisable' findings are those which the researcher deems fit between the research situation and other contexts. The richness of qualitative data has been criticised for hindering researchers from generalising findings, since emphasis is placed upon complexity and nature of 'results' as a function of the research context. I would suggest however that it is precisely this engagement with complexity and social power relations which offers useful potential for application.

My adoption of a critical, feminist social constructionist approach to my research is therefore related to my desire to help transform, rather than reproduce, oppressions within social psychological research. Subsequently, I position this work within issues raised by the following extract, although I would express a degree of reservation as to whether this 'transformation' (ie. the 'revolution' of psychology) has yet been wholly achieved:

"scholars of multiculturalism, critical gender and race theory, and subaltern discourses have spent considerable energy centring the voices of those historically excluded and marginalised. Voices of those positioned at the "margins" or "on the edge" are being heard within and across all disciplines, contributing to a transformation of what constitutes 'knowledge'." (Fine, Powell, Weis & Mun Wong, 1997; p.vii).

A Note on 'Race', Gender and Social Class

Socio-economic disadvantage has been proposed as 'the most significant dimension in inequalities in the provision of education (Mackay, 1998) and Phoenix and Tizard (1996) have suggested that class is an identity issue which has important influence over people's life chances, self-concepts and world views. Although the discussion groups in my research did not specifically talk about social class identities, I would tentatively describe the socio-economic backgrounds of the majority of participants as 'working-class' (based partially upon the 'free school meals' index, which various researchers have suggested is a useful index of socio-economic deprivation: e.g. MacKay, 1998).

I agree that more research is needed to redress the neglect of social class as an identity within social psychology (Walkerdine, 1996), particularly in light of the tendency within (psychological) ethnic identity research to use mainly middle-class samples (see Phinney, 1990). However, within this research I have chosen not to focus specifically

upon social class. My reasons for not giving the issue further attention and consideration relate to the difficulties of conceptualising class, both in itself and in conjunction with other social identities and forms of social stratification (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992; Phoenix & Tizard, 1996); and the proposal that social class is a relational identity which is "more likely constitute a conscious identity position for middle-class than working-class young people" (Phoenix and Tizard, 1996; p.439).

THE METHODOLOGICAL POSITION OF THIS RESEARCH

In this research I deconstruct dominant notions of a unitary "Muslim female" and "Muslim male" identity. I interpret ways in which the young people who participated constructed identities, drawing on, and countering, various dominant discourses. Potter and Wetherell suggest that an attention to variation, both within and between individuals' texts, is central in discursive analytic work.

"[Variation] is probably the single most important analytic principle in doing discourse analysis. Attention to variation works on a range of different levels and senses." (Potter and Wetherell, 1991; p.13).

They suggest that this is because:

"people perform actions of different kinds through their talk and their writing, and they accomplish the nature of these actions partly through constructing their discourse out of a range of styles, linguistic resources and rhetorical devices. One of the principal aims of discourse studies is to reveal the operation of these constructive processes. (Potter and Wetherell, 1991; p.3).

In accordance with these suggestions, in my analyses I look at rhetorical devices and types of discourse (re)produced, by considering variations between, and within, the discourses of my participants:

"Rhetorical analysis has been particularly helpful in highlighting the way discursive versions are designed to counter real or potential alternatives (Billig, 1991). Put another way, it takes the focus of analysis away from questions of how a version relates to some putative reality and asks instead how this version is designed successfully to compete with an alternative." (Potter and Wetherell, 1997; p,3).

My analysis of the rhetorical techniques used by participants therefore involves consideration of how various means have been utilised to make the accounts appear factual or convincing (termed "accountability" by Wetherell and Potter, 1989). Revealing the social construction of reality within accounts is not only a central focus of discourse analytic work, but is important in feminist, and other, critical analyses that are concerned with exposing the workings of particular power relations. For example, drawing on the work of Foucault, Cohen and Taylor suggest that the aim of their work is "to excavate one's own culture in order to show the contingency of power and to find the spaces for creativity and resistance" (Cohen and Taylor, 1992; p.29).

Within feminist approaches to psychology, it has been suggested that highlighting the variations within people's identity constructions can be used to challenge dominant

psychological/patriarchal concepts of stable, 'essential' identity, which have been used to justify existing power relations as 'natural':

"Stable femininity and masculinity must imply that the tradition of male dominance is not only natural but here to stay. If, however, identities can be so easily, and elegantly, interchanged then the biological foundation cracks and all kind of social changes become thinkable."
(Beloff, 1997; p.63).

Ros Gill (1995) also suggests that a goal of feminist research is to:

"deconstruct and interrogate the nature of Enlightenment thought- its false universality, the partiality of its knowledge, the notion of the White, western male which constitutes its unified subject" (Gill, 1995; p.176-177).

Soper (cited in Gill, 1995; p.177) further suggests that the politics of 'difference' facilitates "releasing subjects from the confluences of imperialising discourse and the constructed identities of binary oppositions" and allows the exposure of previously occluded class, gender and racial identities which can also be used to reveal "the potentially manipulative powers of the discourses that have achieved the status of knowledge" (Soper, 1991 in Gill 1995 p.177).³

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In Chapter Nine, the potential limitations of such an approach for promoting social change will be discussed.

Therefore, by looking at the variation between, and within, accounts I hope to substantiate my view that there is no one 'truth' and no one unitary subject. I also use examples of variation to challenge unitary, homogenising stereotypes of British-Muslim females and males, and I attempt to show how alternative accounts may not 'fit' existing dominant ideological constructions. I attempt to identify points where the young women, and men, draw on, and reproduce, dominant discourses and where young people produce counter discourses to challenge dominant assumptions and definitions. I also highlight ways in which these representations can be contradictory and are not without problematics and I emphasise the gendered and 'racialised' nature of the discourses produced.

In line with many other approaches to feminist, discursive analysis, I decided to use discussion groups as arenas within which discourses could be generated and negotiated by my participants. I made this decision in light of suggestions that

"group interviews provide tremendous potential for deeper probing and reciprocally educative encounter" (Lather, 1994; p.299).

I also consider that discussion groups yield rich data and participants to negotiate meanings and experiences. The negotiation of identities and discourses between participants may involve negotiation, and justification, through processes of agreement and disagreement within the group (Steyaert and Bouwen, 1994). Non-formally structured single-sex groups, particularly woman-to-woman interviewing, have also been advocated as promoting a more relaxed atmosphere which is conducive to self-disclosure and a more 'pleasurable' research experience (Oakley, 1981; Finch, 1993).

In addition to discussion groups, I also conducted photographic work, the rationale for which is discussed below.

Photographic Diaries: 'Mirrors of Reality' or Constructed Texts?

"There has been a shift in recent years away from the consideration of photographs as autonomous artefacts with primarily aesthetic significance, towards the study of how images are received, interpreted and incorporated into the life of society and that of the individual, and how the interdependent processes of looking and being looked at themselves work to create our sense of what it means to be a human being, and what sort of human being we are" (Holland, Spence and Watney, 1986; p.4/5).

The initial idea for using cameras within the research process was suggested to me by my supervisor⁴ as a possible way to gather background data on the young people's home and school lives. I developed the idea, based on my own concerns with developing less oppressive techniques of representation, and giving participants greater 'voice' within my work. I also thought that a study using cameras might be more enjoyable, and less awkward, for all participating (including myself!). I wanted to enable my participants to exercise greater autonomy over their responses and self-representations, and giving the young people cameras seemed, to me, a possible way to encourage this, by taking the research away from a formal setting. Following these ideas, I began a more academic consideration of what exactly I wanted to achieve with

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the photographic technique and I decided to incorporate the photographic study as a main, not peripheral, form of data collection and analysis.

The use of visual and photographic data is not new to social science research, although it has been more common in sociology and anthropology than in psychology. Within psychology it has been argued that "social psychology must be creatively expanded to incorporate the visual", or "visual rhetoric" (Beloff, 1995) and use has been made of subject-generated photographic material (e.g. Ziller, 1981). However, generally within the social sciences there has been "a curious neglect of the visual imagination" (Wiedel, 1995; p.72). Where it has been used:

"[...] photography [...] has been regarded by anthropologists and sociologists as the major way of representing the seen world. The powerful claim to realism presented by photography has made it an attractive tool for the anthropologist and sociologist: It appears to permit the rapid and faithful recording of visual phenomena" (Ball & Smith, 1992: p.4).

In early anthropological research photographs were mainly used as descriptive sources of information (Ball and Smith, 1992). Photographs were taken by the researcher as a means of recording what they observed and were used to convey this "truth" to others. Photographic material has rarely been included in sociology and psychology journals (being restricted to specialist journals concerned with the study of visual imagery) although introductory undergraduate texts make use of illustrative

photographs (presumably to help maintain interest, and to relate material more closely to everyday life). Otherwise, within journalistic texts, or documentary photography, photographs mainly appear in the form of un-analysed images depicting a particular 'reality'.

The neglect of photographic imagery in the social sciences may be due partly to a mistrust of the 'objective' nature of photographs:

"social scientists almost always look on pictures with suspicion, knowing the capacity of photography to manipulate meanings, sceptical of the motivations of photographers, and seeing pictures of any kind as unreliable sources of documentary evidence" (Schatz and Walker with Wiedel, 1995; p.72).

It has been suggested that photographic data threaten assumptions of objectivity, since photographs portray:

"[...] *these people at this time in this place and circumstance, not [...] people in general. Perhaps this explains why social research has been reluctant to use pictures, for this very identification of people poses a threat to conventional notions of objectivity and raises ethical issues that research finds difficult to address*" (Wiedel, 1995; p.89/90).

Photographs have also been conceptualised as 'mirrors of reality' and 'mirror(s) with a memory' (Ball and Smith, 1992; p.4) due to the mechanical and chemical processes which record an instant. In this way photographs may appear as objective and non-

intrusive records of the situation (the adage "the camera never lies"). However, I consider that photographs are never objective mirrors of reality. Even our most everyday photographs are far from objective and are carefully constructed, selected, controlled and composed. For example, in posed family portraits the photographer gathers everyone together artificially; the 'scenery' style holiday photograph involves a selection process by which we select what 'counts' as a view; we have an idea of what makes a 'good' photograph.

There have been also various critical approaches to visual imagery. Goffman (1979) argued that the photographs used in 'gender advertisements' construct, and constitute, gender differences which are portrayed as 'natural' differences between the sexes. He analysed a range of images in public circulation in society, showing how they are formulated for specific social uses. In this way he suggested that photographs can be treated as discourses which both originate in, and describe, society.

I consider that photographs are not objective "mirrors" because, like other texts, they must be read:

"Photographic literacy is learned. Photographs are made sense of by a viewing subject and thus do not straightforwardly reflect reality [...] [they] unavoidably require interpretative work on the part of the viewer [...] what is found in the picture is conditioned by the cultural knowledge the viewer brings into viewing [...] moreover the sense that is made of a photograph will be structured by the viewer's social affiliations" (Ball and Smith, 1992; p.18).

The viewer has an active role in making sense of photographs "according to the codes and conventions available from experience" (Holland, Spence and Watney, 1986; p.3) in other words, the viewer draws upon ideological knowledges in order to read photographs. Photographs are therefore constructive texts, which require interpretative work, in the same way as any other text.

"Pictures become a kind of writing as soon as they are meaningful: like writing they call for a lexis. We shall therefore take language, discourse, speech etc., to mean any significant unit or synthesis, whether verbal or visual: a photograph will be a kind of speech for us in the same way as a newspaper article; even objects will become speech, if they mean something" (Barthes, 1957 p.119).

I suggest that the constructed nature of photographs makes them an interesting medium through which to consider both processes used by young people in constructing and communicating their identities, and techniques, used by viewers in reading these constructions. Holland, Spence and Watney (1986) conceptualised the possible uses

of photographic techniques in challenging inequalities through acknowledging and privileging challenges to dominant ideological representations:

"We would much prefer to think about the possibility of a society in which photography is available to everybody as a means to make sense of themselves and their society. This means actively encouraging all branches of photo-practice which challenge and undermine the dominant ideology of photographic representation in its individual aspects or in its totality" (Holland, Spence and Watney, 1986; p.7).

Although Holland et al (1986) call for a politicised, socialist, anti-racist, feminist photography with which to challenge inequalities, I suggest that they do not consider the role of the Other as photographer, only subject. Although they (quite rightly) placed an emphasis upon the photographer as responsible and political, I feel that their neglect of the possibility of Others representing themselves, leaves their arguments around *representing the Other incomplete*. I hope that the use of photographic accounts produced by the young people themselves will contribute to debates around representing the Other by adding a dimension of *Others representing themselves (acknowledging the specific context in which these representations were constructed)*.

There are an increasing number of photographers who are focussing on capturing the experiences of British minority groups, such as Raghbir Singh (1986) and Jagtar Semplay, whose work has been printed in The Observer as part of a four part series on British 1990's multicultural society (The New Britons, 28th January, 1996). Semplay's rationale is summarised in that:

"he has adopted a photo-narrative approach to his subjects and their setting and, while avoiding the pitfalls of attempting a definitive representation of the community, he rejects a stereotypical approach to Anglo-Asian life" (The Observer, p.15).

It would be tempting to suggest that 'the researcher' could view these photographs objectively, as mirroring the reality of the young person behind the camera. However, I conceptualise the young people's photographs in my research as places from which to look at active constructions of identities, not as capturing the reality of identity. I have therefore used their photographs as places from which to identify, and deconstruct, various discourses which have been drawn upon in the construction of the images. For example, I have tried to identify ways in which the young people made particular points about their identities, and I have suggested different processes which have acted on, and been used to position, the young people in these images. As Cohen and Haddock (1994) have suggested:

"Photography is useful [...] as a model for looking at some of the hidden ways in which mental pictures are composed. The processes of choosing what to put in and what to leave out of a picture and of interpreting pictures in one way rather than another are very like the mechanisms of selective perception which underpin stereotyping - whether of race, class or gender" (Cohen and Haddock, 1994; p.21).

Researchers have used a number of different theoretical approaches to make sense of visual data (such as content analysis and ethnomethodology). My decision to discursively analyse the photographic data is consistent with a social constructionist approach aimed at interpreting participants' meanings and techniques of self-representation. I have drawn on semiotics (Barthes, 1962) in my readings of the data, as well as using knowledge obtained from the discussion groups analyses. I agree with Barthes' (1980) suggestion that images are not self-evident, because meanings are constructed socially and contextually, and contain signifiers which convey meaning. I therefore take the position that photographs can be treated as texts (as discourse) and that the images taken and selected by my participants, to represent self and identity, will draw upon certain resources, just as in spoken identity construction. In my discursive analysis of the photographic data, I propose to identify discourses drawn upon, and reproduced, within the images produced. In this way I shall interpret my participants' identity constructions through their choices of images, through what they are choosing to show, and not to show.

In addition to taking photographs, I wanted as far as possible for the participants to be able to guide/influence my/the viewer's reading of the photographs. Captions perform a purpose to guide the viewer in a particular way, with certain consequences:

"captions do not simply tell us what is "in" a picture: they orientate viewers to similarities, contrasts, and other relevancies; they supply substantive identities for distinguishable features; and they supply metaphors, extrinsic connections, and genealogies which instruct viewers' understanding of what they are being shown [...] [but also] the features of a picture can be adjusted to fit a caption" (Lynch and Edgerton, 1988; p.202 in Smith and Ball, 1992; p.67).

I therefore asked participants to pick out which photographs they wished to be shown and in what order (i.e. to structure the narrative) and also to caption their photographic choices. Full details of the instructions given to participants and my approach to the analyses of the photographic diaries are discussed in Chapter Four (Method).

The Role of The Researcher

Throughout my research I have tried to address issues concerning my position as a White, middle-class woman working with Asian, predominantly working-class, young males and females. Various criticisms have been made of 'majority group' researchers who conduct research with less powerful groups, of whom they themselves are not members; For example, disabled researchers, such as Oliver (1992), have criticised research conducted by non-disabled researchers with disabled groups. Similar critiques, of majority group researchers working with minority group participants, have been made with regard to research conducted with women (Maguire, 1987, in Oliver, 1992), and with Black people (Bourne 1981, in Oliver, 1992).

Various theorists have argued that researchers should be members of the groups they are researching, and should share experiences with those groups, otherwise the quality of research will be impaired. For example, it has been suggested that a White person will have no shared understanding of the experience of racism (e.g. Adelman, 1985; Lashley, 1986; Lawrence, 1981; Reissman, 1987) or 'shared cultural knowledge' on which to draw in the interpretation of data (Ahmed, 1996). Furthermore, in woman-to-woman interviews Janet Finch has suggested that there is "an identification between interviewer and interviewee which is gender specific" (Finch, 1993;p.171). Some Black researchers have also spoken out against the domination of ethnic research by White researchers (e.g. Maud Blair, 1994; Amrit Wilson, 1984) and the question has been raised as to "should the White researcher stay at home?" (Haw, 1996).

I draw on proposals by Bhavnani (1988), that researchers who come from different groups (e.g. in terms of 'race', sex and social class) to *their participants* should use their different positions as a way to look at these relations⁵ within the research process.

In line with this proposal, discussion groups in my research were conducted by both myself (a White woman) and two Asian, female researchers, one of whom also read, and commented upon, my analyses. In my analyses I pay particular attention to interactions between 'race' and gender between participants and researchers and I attempt to use my 'Whiteness' and 'participant knowledge', of mainstream discourses around Asian identity, as points from which to challenge stereotypes. I have also

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Bhavnani was specifically talking about a situation of 'researching up', referring to her own position as an Asian, female researcher working with young, White males.

attempted to look at the ways in which different discourses and interactions were produced in relation to my identity as a White female researcher, as compared to interactions with the identities of my other two researchers, as Asian women.

I attempt to highlight the workings of oppressive, psychological discourses, and I have tried to illustrate these arguments with examples of how, and where, young British Muslims have challenged these discourses, with *alternative constructions and realities*.

I also attempt to engage with some issues around 'power' and 'ethics' in research, based on the view, which I support, that all research entails unbalanced power relations between researcher and 'researched'. For example Janet Finch writes;

"I also emerged from interviews with the feeling that my interviewees need to know how to protect themselves from people like me. They have often revealed very private parts of their lives in return for what must be, in the last resort, very flimsy guarantees of confidentiality"
(Finch, 1993; p.173).

As such, I do not presume that my research is 'emancipatory' (Oliver, 1992). I present it as a PhD submission, with the hope that it may contribute to anti-racist, and anti-sexist, discourses. I do not present my interpretations of the texts as the truth about young British-Muslims, rather I intend them as possible, alternative truths which expand upon, and challenge, processes of inequalities and existing, dominant oppressive discourses.

Reflexivity

I have tried to place issues of reflexivity as central to my research by making my readings and interpretations of the data collected as clear as possible, showing where my interpretations have come from (i.e. "deconstructing my deconstructions"). As already mentioned, I enlisted the help of female, British-Asian co-workers and colleagues in this research (both 'academic' and 'lay'). I would like to emphasise though, that my inclusion of Asian researchers was not designed to suggest that the accounts they produced were any more 'real'. Instead, I aimed to highlight similarities and differences between our readings, and the texts produced, as a means of investigating the processes of our perceived ethnicities, and the role of shared cultural understandings, in the production of the research.

Throughout my thesis I attempt to be clear about the specific political and epistemological positions I have taken, which underpin and guide the aims of my research. I have also provided personal biographical details about myself and co-workers (see Chapter Four), to help explain, and describe, some of my own investments and interests, the particular 'types' of knowledge to which I have access, and my own experiences.

Ethics

The British Psychological Society has various ethical guidelines for conducting research. My research was carried out in accordance with these guidelines and additional guidelines produced by the University of Greenwich for Conducting Research with Children and Young People. Participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity, and pseudonyms were used for all participants, schools and the research context. I also attempted to adopt some 'informal' ethical considerations, such as trying to ensure that my participants understood the research process. For example, researchers conducted lengthy and careful discussions with the young people to convey my intentions within the research and what exactly I planned to do with their responses afterwards. My two co-workers also made clear that the taped discussions were being conducted on my behalf, and that I would be listening to their tapes afterwards, and writing about them. We tried to explain who I would later talk to about their responses (e.g. at conferences) and what I would be saying about them. I considered this a particularly important issue with regards the photographic diaries. I asked all the young women who they would allow to see, and who they would not allow to see, their photographs, and gave them the opportunity to withdraw any of their images from the project (see photographic diaries chapter).

With the discussion group data, I had intended to return to the schools, to present my analyses to the young men and women, in order to offer them the chance to withdraw any of my interpretations with which they felt uncomfortable, or with which they did not agree. However, the time lapse between data collection, transcription and analysis

was such that the cohort had left the schools before I had finished analyses. In future work I would try to avoid a repetition of this situation, building 'safeguards' into the research as far as possible, particularly in terms of time-management. The possibility of continuous feedback throughout analyses was also hindered by my distance from Mill Town (being based in London), by budget constraints on the numbers of visits possible and by the numbers of participants involved (and the subsequent pressures on schools, allowing me time to intrude). As a crude form of compensation, I engaged in careful consideration of the analyses with my co-worker in order to try and alleviate, at some level, potentially 'problematic' material. For example, based on these discussions, I did not use particular 'personal' or 'intimate' images, even though these images had previously been 'OK'd' by the young women.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

In this chapter I discuss the social context to my research. I begin by outlining literature on the growth of discourses of Islamophobia in contemporary British society. In particular I highlight the reproduction of discourses which construct Muslims as 'fundamentalists' and Islam as a sexist, oppressive religion to women.

In the second part of this chapter I review the educational context. I discuss dominant educational perspectives which have treated Black pupils as problematic and 'culturally deficient'. I outline criticisms which have been made of multicultural approaches and I suggest that such approaches may reproduce racisms and sexism. I also suggest that 'race' and gender are often separated within educational discourses. The chapter ends by examining some of the dominant ways in which Asian (particularly Muslim) male and female pupils are conceptualised within educational discourses.

Islamaphobia

In Britain, there has been an increase in racist discourses of 'Islamaphobia' and it is suggested that currently Muslims are conceptualised as "ultimate Others" (Phoenix, 1997; p.7). Islamaphobic discourses have been reflected in both the media (Lewis, 1994) and academic writing:

"the media have become fascinated by something called 'fundamentalist Islam' so much so that this phenomenon, whose nature and meaning are assumed to be as self-evident as its implications are sinister- has become a routine component of the journalistic lexicon" (Lewis, 1994; p.58).

In Britain, Islamaphobia, and fears of Islamic fundamentalism, have been highlighted by, and are often conceptualised in terms of, the issue of a fatwah against Salman Rushdie for publication of *The Satanic Verses*. In academic texts, I suggest that Islamaphobia has been manifested in terms of concerns with British Muslims' lack of assimilation and acculturation. This lack of integration has been explained as the 'retention' and 'increase' of strident commitment to Islamic beliefs:

"Among members of Britain's White majority there is a widespread assumption that all Muslims are "fundamentalists" who enthusiastically advocate the burning of books and the assassination of Salman Rushdie [...]. Yet, however stereotypical the majority's images of Muslim fundamentalism maybe, they have not appeared from a void. Strident commitment to Islamic beliefs and values is indeed increasing amongst many British Bengalis, especially the younger generation" (Gardner and Shukur, 1994; p.162).

Perceptions (and fears) about the "growth" of Islam in Britain have been echoed elsewhere (particularly in the wake of the Salman Rushdie affair). The *Planet Islam* programme, referred to in the extract below, documented the specific case of North African Muslims in France, but I consider that the interviews clearly illustrate some of the mainstream stereotypes, and conceptions, of Islam, which are applicable to the situation of British Muslims:

"Islam is the world's fastest growing religion, sweeping the world outside the Middle East and bringing with it fears of fundamentalism and terrorism [...] France's secular society feels threatened by the fervent faith of devoted Muslims- a situation exemplified by the case of one forceful young woman expelled from school for refusing to remove her head scarf."¹

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The Guardian, 2nd August, 1997; p.82: Taken from Preview summary of programmes.

These representations of Muslims as "fervent" and "forceful" are not uncommon and can be considered as relating to growing "Islamaphobia"². The documentary reported views of White, Parisian police, which were similar to those of the National Front spokespersons, constructing Muslims as 'militant', 'extremist', 'fundamentalists' and 'fanatical'. Officials used the terms 'Islamists' as synonymous with 'terrorists'.

Within the academic sphere, Erica Burman (1994) discussed the fears of immigrant invasion and the sense of Muslim threat articulated by Enoch Powell, Margaret Thatcher and more recently the Conservative Party MP, Winston Churchill (whose fears that in fifty years the 'British way of life' will be destroyed and "the muezzin will be calling Allah's faithful to the High Street mosque" were widely reported in the national press on 31st May 1993; Burman, 1994; p.172).

"The response of the British liberal left newspapers was to juxtapose Churchill's claims with the 'facts' about immigration and black presence in Britain. But the implication that correcting the numbers will undo the damage ignores the effects of the reproduction of anti-black and anti-Muslim sentiments." (Burman, 1994; p.172).

Among academic literature, researchers have alluded to the growing importance of 'Islamic identity' to second generation young people. For example it has been suggested that in the 1990's, the "myth of return" (Anwar, 1979) no longer features prominently in British-Pakistani ideology (Shaw, 1994) or in British-Indian Sikh

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Rahila Banu, BBC Radio Northwest, personal communication, April 1997.

ideology (Ghuman, 1991) with no widespread notions remaining of a return to a homeland (Miles and Phizacklea in Hiro, 1991; p.164). Instead, Shaw (1994) suggests that, among young Muslims in Oxford, the decline in the belief of returning to a "motherland" has led to British-Pakistani's increasingly identifying themselves as an (Islamic) religious minority. Shaw also suggests that among Pakistani families in Oxford this "growing intensity of religious practice among both women and men" has "increased concern with Muslim issues in broader political contexts", which she illustrates with the example of Muslims protesting against the closure of Oxford's only single-sex girls' school (Shaw, 1994; p.49).

Similarly, increasing numbers of young Bengalis have also been reported as identifying themselves "first and foremost as Muslim rather than as Bengali or Bangladeshi" (Gardner and Shukur, 1994; p.163), thus expressing their social and cultural identities through Islam, rather than through their parents' geographical country of origin.

Shaw further suggests that Muslim identity functions effectively to maintain and control migrants' distinctive cultural and social structure (Shaw, 1994). Religion has also been noted as a defining identity among British-Sikhs of Indian heritage (Ghuman, 1991) and Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1990) report that within their heterogenous, second generation 'Asian' sample, there was more commitment to keeping religion, rather than language, alive.

Gardner and Shukur (1994) have suggested that the increase in young Muslims asserting their Islamic identity may be a response to the racism they have encountered:

"Islam provides both a positive identity in which solidarity can be found, together with an *escape* from the oppressive tedium of being constantly identified in negative terms. Even more important, Islamic rhetoric not only condones fighting for one's rights and acting in collective defence of a Muslim brotherhood, but explicitly encourages it" (Gardner and Shukur, 1994; p.163, my emphasis).

I consider that Gardner and Shukur seem to be drawing on SIT notions to explain young people's Islamic identifications, suggesting that young Muslims are operationalising alternative (religious) identities in response to perceptions of impermeable intergroup boundaries. In my view, this conceptualisation (along with those reported above, e.g. Ghuman, 1991 and Stopes-Roe & Cochrane, 1990) is problematic because 'Islamic identity' is assumed as a homogenised experience, which provides a 'functional' response to racism, as an 'escape' (rather than a challenge), which is not given value in its own right.

In contrast to racist constructions of Islam as homogenous and static (Lewis, 1994), Haraway (1994) emphasises the relational nature of Islamic identity, citing the example of the young Muslim women (studied by Aihwa Ong), who are positioned "within Islam, but Islam is not homogenous" (Haraway, 1994; p.33). At a basic level, I would suggest that Islam is not homogenous because practices and interpretations of Islamic identity are varied and diverse. Shaw (1994; p.50) also writes that "although Oxford's Pakistani Muslims regularly present themselves as wholly united on [...] many [...] issues, they are in no sense a monolithic community, even in religious terms". She

points in particular to "fierce theological disputes over the proper forms of religious practice" (p.50) such as the tensions between followers of the Deobandi tradition and followers the Barelevi tradition.

However, I wish to emphasise my view that discourses which construct Islam as homogenous are not only 'inaccurate', but serve to actively reproduce 'racial' and gendered oppressions. For example, western opinions often assume that Islam is a monolithic religion which controls all aspects of Muslim women's lives (El-Solh and Mabro, 1992). El-Solh and Mabro demonstrate this point by outlining different Muslim discourses (depicting modernist, traditionalist and fundamentalist trends) and assert that this diversity is also evident in the fact that "not all Muslim women feel compelled to resort to dress or other symbolism to signal their adherence to Islam and to the Muslim component of their identity" (1992; p.1).

In spite of this, the wearing of hijab (scarves/ dbuttah) has been conceptualised within anti-Islamic, racist discourses, as a symbol 'Islamic militancy' and the oppression of women. For example, the *Planet Islam* documentary reported disputes and demonstrations in the French town against two Muslim girls being allowed to wear their headscarves to school, claiming that the wearing of scarves (hijab/ dbuttah) is incompatible with France's principles of equality, because the White majority claimed that the scarves symbolise women's inequality and denigration. The deputy head teacher of the school was recorded as saying "religion has no place in school [...] if they wanted to integrate they'd remove the veil". In my opinion, the White, male

teachers reproduced 'feminist' discourses of 'emancipation'/'enslavement' of women as part of their racist rhetoric.

White teachers were also reported using assimilationist and multicultural discourses within their rhetoric. For example, the Head Teacher of the school said that the young women should 'blend in', and some White female pupils protested that pupils 'should all look the same'. I consider that these examples reflect some of the main interests and themes within this thesis, such as the gendering of 'race' within educational, multicultural approaches, and the prevalence of 'modern racist' discourses, that use 'liberal' discourses of 'equality' to argue for maintaining unequal power relations (see Billig et al., 1988; Wetherell and Potter, 1992). In the following section, I consider the impact of multicultural discourses within the British education system.

The Educational Context: "Black Kids in White Schools"

"Within psychology, Social Identity Theory has also tended to reflect and perpetuate the reduction of ethnic differences to social identity. Such collapses, evident in various forms of 'identity politics' movements and 'equal opportunities' policies based on both 'multiculturalist' and 'anti-racist' schools of thought, need examining and unpacking" (Yuval-Davis, 1994; p.182).

"A vital part of pupils' school experience is determined by curricular content and pedagogical styles" (Gillborn, 1990; p.141).

My research is conducted within an educational context, exploring how British-Muslim participants construct their identities in relation to their school experiences, and considering how British-Muslim pupils are positioned, in turn, by educational discourses. I decided to locate my research within an educational context because school is a system of standardised, formal rules, obligations and lessons, where children and young people are obliged by law to spend a large proportion of their time (Prendergast, 1995). I also suggest that school is a place where ethnic minority pupils may be homogenised, problematised, and may experience negative, dominant stereotypes of 'Asian' and Muslim home-life. For example, research has suggested that teachers may assume that Asian pupils experience a 'clash' between their 'home' and school cultures (Kitwood and Borrill, 1980; McKellar, 1994).

In the early 1960's the Commonwealth Immigrant Advisory Council recommended to the Home Secretary that there should be some "special provision" (in terms of teaching resources) made for the education of "immigrant" pupils (Mullard, 1985). Since then, the educational reforms initiated in Britain have traditionally been based on notions of underachievement, the "compensatory perspective" (Siraj-Blatchford, 1993). It has been argued that the multiracial education movement in Britain has tended to view Black pupils as a problem (Mullard, 1985; Verma, Zec and Skinner, 1994). The perception of Asian pupils as 'problematic' has also been demonstrated in research by Ogilvy et al, 1990 (cited in Phoenix, 1997; p.11), which suggested that staff regularly reported Asian children as having more emotional and behavioural difficulties than White children.

This view, of Black pupils as problematic, is demonstrated by the compensatory perspective's emphasis upon the 'deprived' conditions of ethnic minority children (both economically, and in terms of their knowledge and skills). This is demonstrated in support services such as English language support, the provision of extra nursery places and access to secondary education and examinations (Siraj-Blatchford, 1993). I suggest that this view may be widespread across schools: for example Verma, Zec and Skinner (1994) asked schools what they perceived as particular requests made by 'minority communities' and found that "most issues were to do with dress, translation of documents and matters to do with games and PE" (p.85).

In addition to being perceived as more 'problematic' and 'deprived' than White children, Black pupils (particularly males) are identified as under-achieving at school, in relation to White pupils. Concerns have also grown around ever-increasing rates of exclusion, which remain highest amongst (male) Black pupils (Brooks and Grant, 1998; Watkins, 1998).

In the case of Muslim pupils in particular, The Education Reform Act (1988) has also been perceived as creating further tensions, with regard to clauses on communal school worship. Indeed, following its introduction, some Muslim pupils were withdrawn from school assemblies (Verma et al. 1994). This conflict over religious practices has also been linked to the "Black education movement" in Britain, whereby "specialist" West Indian, Muslim, Sikh and Hindu schools have been set up, with the aim to redress equality of opportunity and cultural, or religious, deficits in Black children's education (Tomlinson, 1985). It is not within the scope of this thesis to explore the debates surrounding such schools, I would tentatively suggest that their existence may be constructed within anti-Islamic discourses as 'evidence' of Muslims as separatist and fundamentalist.

Multiculturalism

"One of the criticisms frequently levelled against multicultural education is that it is "soft" on racism and that the social, political and economic power relations which have resulted in the exploitation of minority groups are not properly addressed" (Gillborn, 1990 p.153).

"Many studies show that black and other minority children tend not to fare as well as children from the white majority in terms of educational qualifications and experiences of racial and ethnic discrimination" (Phoenix, 1997; p.5).

According to critics, the British education system is currently unable to confront and tackle sexism, racism and privilege inequalities directly. These criticisms have been also echoed with regard to other Western educational systems:

"schools in the United States, as in most Western countries, traditionally have been White, middle-class institutions that propagate the values and attitudes of the dominant group. As such, they have often not served the needs of children coming from different backgrounds" (Phinney and Rotheram, 1987; p.278).

Multicultural approaches for *'tackling' racism have focussed on celebrating diversity* through increasing information and awareness around 'different cultures';

"Multicultural education refers to materials and programs that foster understanding and appreciation of ethnic diversity and promote positive inter-ethnic relations. Some such programs involve special units on each of a variety of ethnic groups. Others aim to include information about minority cultures in all subjects, for example, art, music, literature and history" (Phinney and Rotheram, 1987; p.277).

Multicultural initiatives, such as these, are based on the assumption that racism is the result of lack of knowledge and that white majority children "particularly need accurate information about other groups and an understanding of the value of diversity in enriching a society" (Phinney and Rotheram, 1987; p.278). This individualist emphasis has been criticised by Wetherell and Potter (1992) for re-presenting inequality as "a problem of backwards and individual identity, rather than as a problem of resources, social class and the needs of capital" (1992; p.138). They further suggest that not only are inequalities perpetuated through presentation of continued racism as an individual deficiency, or lack of education, but such multicultural strategies separate off the "politics of the dispossessed" from the mainstream into "ethnic politics", which turns "claims for justice" into "claims for culture" (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.138).

Strategies for increasing knowledge and "celebrating difference" draw on cultural pluralism strategies advocated by social identity theorists such as Berry (1984). These approaches advocate recognizing 'cultural diversity' and different value systems, in other words, keeping group boundaries and identities salient in interaction. For example, Aronson et al. (1978) proposed the "jigsaw classroom" whereby small groups of pupils work together on a task, whereby each member has a specific role and must use their own cultural resources in order to help achieve the group goal. I suggest that this approach conceptualises 'culture' as a constant, 'functional' resource, proposing co-operation as a means of 'celebrating difference', and thus reducing prejudice.

As already discussed, I do not consider ethnic group boundaries to be static and definable and I do not conceptualise groups as homogenous entities. From this perspective, 'celebrating' these constructed differences does not tackle issues around power inequalities. Furthermore, 'celebration of differences' relies upon a homogenised, romanticised construction of the Other, which assume that the Other speaks in a singular voice (Kitzinger, 1997). Such themes of 'tolerance', 'harmony' and 'one nation' discourses have also been criticised by Wetherell and Potter (1992) for assuming (and imposing) a unity of interests, (those of the dominant group) upon others in society.

The 'celebration of diversity' within British multiculturalism has been criticised for its tendency to reproduce the "sari's, samosas and steel bands syndrome" (Donald & Rattansi, 1992; p.2). Cohen and Haddock (1994) have also criticised multicultural approaches for adopting too simplistic an approach that fails to recognise the multiplicity of children's (and adults') identity negotiations, and neglects the role of the school as a conveyor of anti-racist messages:

"To impose an over restrictive view of what is a 'positive image' on the complexity of their experience can both alienate and confuse children. They may not recognise their lived experience within it [...] [Furthermore] rationalist anti-racist approaches seem to 'bounce off' the powerful, imaginative and emotional appeals made by racist ideology and can seem helpless when ranged against the 'commonsense' explanations with which racist discourse justifies itself.

Multiculturalism, historical analysis or the presentation of positive images seem remote from the emotional levels where fear and hatred are experienced. And the language and style of the school may not connect at all with the lived experience of the pupils they are trying to teach" (Cohen and Haddock, 1994; p3-p.4).

Multiculturalist approaches therefore draw on notions of the 'reality' of group differences, and can be criticised for failing to take account of the particular standpoint from which this reality is viewed:

"The recognition and celebration of difference, in all its guises, may lead to political and moral relativism. This can be found in arguments and policies around those multiculturalisms which ratify and celebrate difference" (Anthias, 1996; p.6).

Criticisms can also be made of the tokenistic strategies towards 'celebrating diversity' which have been utilised within multicultural initiatives, in which:

"[...] 'culture' in the multiculturalist discourse is often collapsed to 'religion', with religious holidays becoming the signifiers of cultural difference within multiculturalist' school curricula" (Yuval-Davis, 1994; p.185).

I suggest that these criticisms are illustrated within the following exert (below) from an SIT text. In it, Brown argues for the need to recognise differences between pupils because of:

"[...] the psychological reality of some intergroup differences, especially for minority group members. The Asian girl in a British School, forbidden by her parents to go swimming because of cultural taboos against the exposure of the female body, cannot simply be regarded as 'one of the others' when it comes to swimming lessons" (Brown, 1988; p.217-218).

I consider that this example reproduces discourses which homogenise Asian women, reduce 'culture' to religion, and reproduce notions of Asian (read 'Muslim') young women as passive, oppressed by their parents, and lacking agency. There is no consideration of how dominant discourses may position 'the Asian girl' as Other, instead I suggest that her non-participation is reduced to the "psychological reality" of her ethnic identity.

Other dominant educational approaches to ethnic minority identity have suggested that minority group members require "a better understanding of the strengths and achievements of their own culture" (i.e 'consciousness-raising'). Within these perspectives, the onus of responsibility for action is placed within the minority culture, drawing upon a racist discourse of 'culture as therapy' (Wetherell and Potter, 1992), in which minority culture is positioned both as the cause, and the cure, of pathology.

The 'success' of consciousness-raising initiatives in schools has been measured in terms of the 'enhanced self-esteem scores' of minority group children. Cohen and Taylor (1992) have also argued that changing individuals' 'consciousness' alone is not sufficient to affect wider societal changes

"We cannot simply adopt counter-cultural values - that is change consciousness - while the institutions on which this consciousness was built, remain the same" Cohen and Taylor, 1992; p.163).

Strategies for 'consciousness raising' have thus been similarly criticised (to 'celebration' strategies) for assuming "a reality that has to be discovered and then changed, rather than a reality which is being created and re-created when practised and discussed" (Yuval-Davis, 1994; p.190). Furthermore, it has been suggested that political movements based on such notions of consciousness raising do not permeate society generally, but only create 'liberated enclaves', because wider social relations and structures are not addressed (Cohen and Taylor, 1992).

Within multicultural approaches to education there has been little focus on the prevalence and experiences of racisms and inequalities, or questioning of the nature and content of teaching³. In other words, emphasis has been placed on "increasing the quantity or quality of knowledge and skills being transmitted, rather than on questioning the educational content and context themselves" (Siraj-Blatchford, 1993; p.3). As such, these multicultural approaches can be criticised for relying upon notions of homogenised ethnic groups, patronising 'minorities' and failing to address issues around racism and other inequalities.

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For example, Donald and Rattansi (1992) suggest that the development of the National Curriculum was motivated by desires to homogenise and reassert ideas of nationhood and a particular national identity.

Despite the promises of multicultural policies, and the claims of Ghuman (1991) that schools in Britain are largely free of racism, there is a growing body of research documenting Black pupils' experiences of racism in the British education system (e.g. Mac an Ghail, 1988; Mirza, 1994; Troyna and Hatcher, 1992; Wright, 1987, 1992). For example, Gillborn (1990) found in his study of 'Asian' and 'Black' male pupils, that Asian boys were "frequently subject to attacks from their White peers" and that these racist attacks (whether verbal or physical) were "a regular fact of life for most Asian pupils" (Gillborn, 1990; p.78).

Verma, Zec and Skinner (1994; p.69) also reported "some, perhaps disproportionate, disquiet felt by Muslim students about relationships in school" across the nine schools they visited. They found that pupils mentioned in particular the experience of racist comments about their religion, and a significantly higher proportion of Muslim students reported experiencing name-calling 'fairly often' or 'very often'. Verma et al. (1994) also found that Asian students 'disproportionately' reported experiencing teacher racism (p.112)⁴.

I suggest that the 'failure' of multicultural approaches to protect their pupils from racism may also be related to narrow perceptions among staff concerning their own role in education. It is suggested that teachers have not been required to recognise

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I suggest that these observations could be interlinked with Islamophobic racist discourses, and staff perceptions of Muslim young men as 'aggressive' and problematic.

their own roles in the education process and that currently teacher training in equality is 'disparate and optional' (Siraj-Blatchford, 1993; p.6). As a result:

"most teachers and educationalists still fail to appreciate the effects of racism and sexism, and perhaps more seriously, they often fail to recognise it" (Siraj-Blatchford, 1993; p.4).

As Cohen and Haddock (1994) have suggested, teachers often fail to recognise tensions between pupil and school cultures, for example where "resistance to anti-racist policies becomes an expression of children's resistance to schooling" (Cohen and Haddock, 1994; p.3). As a result, racism may be displaced from the classroom to the playground, where it can be more effectively hidden from teachers, and is thus perpetuated in even stronger forms (Cohen, 1988).

Gendering 'Race' and Racialising Gender in Schools

"[S]o early, children come to be positioned in ways which can cumulatively disadvantage them through interactions of 'race', gender and social class, even when teachers do not intend this to happen" (Phoenix, 1997; p.12).

In this thesis I agree with suggestions that educational approaches have homogenised and pathologised Black pupils through the separation of 'race' and ethnicity from gender (Mirza, 1992). In other words, educational discourses and policies are often based on the assumption that "gender [is] a White issue and race clearly a male matter" (Mirza, 1992; p. 20).

The separation, and neglect, of gender from 'race' within dominant, British educational approaches has been linked to the continued dominance of White teaching staff in British schools (McKellar, 1994), an 'Anglocentric' curriculum (Rattansi, 1992; Verma, 1992 cited in Verma et al. 1994), and the disproportionate number of men in senior positions in schools, (Sikes, 1993). Until the 1970's, racial and cultural perspectives dominated debates on race and education (Parekh, 1988) and gender was not considered as an area of concern within this debate:

"gender, it was believed, could not lend any valuable or illuminating insights to a debate whose underlying premise was about racial differences" (Mirza, 1992; p.11).

However, an increasing awareness of sex differences in academic achievement has contributed towards 'gender' per se becoming widely accepted as a mainstream education issue, although it has been suggested that in practice, gender equal opportunities training is often considered as 'a good idea', but a detraction from main teaching concerns (Sikes, 1993).

It has been argued that schools in Britain in the 1990's differentiate between male and female pupils in terms of the taught curriculum (Kelly, 1985) and through teachers' gendered expectations and treatment of pupils (Sikes, 1993). In terms of academic achievement

"girls have more than caught up with boys in the race for secondary schooling credentials and in many respects have overtaken them" (West and Lyon, 1995; p.51).

However, concerns persist that fewer female, than male, pupils tend to pursue mathematics and science-based subjects (Department of Education and Science, 1988).

These concerns have been reflected in the media, with calls being made for more female scientists and technologists (Weiner, 1985).

A 'crisis of masculinity' within education has also been identified, relating to "growing professional concern in education about 'boys' schooling underachievement'" (Mac an Ghail, 1996; p.381). This underachievement has been identified in terms of young women's comparatively stronger performance in examinations at age 16 (GCSE level), although Mac an Ghail suggests that in fact these 'trends' are less clear-cut when considered in terms of 'class', 'race' and ethnicity.

However, 'gender' has remained conceptually divorced from ethnicity (and class) in the educational analysis of underachievement. In response to this situation, researchers, such as Mirza (1992), have attempted to address concerns over the invisibility of Black female pupils in educational discourses. For example, it is suggested that young, Black working-class women may be highly orientated towards school and education, possessing the potential to achieve, but they are still being trained for 'working-class' jobs (Mirza, 1992).

The intersection of 'race' and gender has also been highlighted by research which shows that Black girls are currently achieving better examination success than Black boys; with Black boys achieving poorer results than males in any other ethnic group

(see Gillborn, 1990). Research has also suggested that rates of exclusion are particularly high amongst Bangladeshi boys and Afro-Caribbean boys (Brooks & Grant, 1998; Marland, 1995 in Phoenix, 1997).

As previously suggested compensatory perspectives have located differential educational achievement in terms of minority groups' deficits, however, Mirza (1992) argues that racist assumptions, and a lack of understanding by teachers concerning the home lives of Black pupils, can block educational attainment. In her research, teachers' racist assumptions and lack of understanding about Black, female pupils' home lives and abilities meant that girls were blocked from higher academic achievement (e.g. in terms of the numbers of CSE's taken). She also identified other restricting factors on achievement in terms of racial abuse suffered by the girls in classroom and school settings.

Stereotypes of Asian Pupils

Various dominant (gendered) stereotypes of Asian pupils have been identified in educational discourses, and it has been suggested that

"the two most common beliefs which are held concerning pupils of South Asian ethnic origin [are] [...] that they both behave and achieve more positively than their Afro-Caribbean peers" (Gillborn, 1990; p.72).

In the 1970's there were trends within educational research to compare West Indian children to Asian children in their educational achievement with the emphasis was placed on measuring differences between groups, rather than differences within groups (Mirza, 1992). Following on from these comparisons, researchers have pointed towards the emergence of a stereotype within British educational discourses of Asian pupils as 'behavers and achievers' (Gillborn, 1990; Mac an Ghail, 1988).

I suggest that because academic achievement has been used as an indicator of equality of opportunity, stereotypes of Asian pupils as 'academic achievers' have positioned Asian pupils as unaffected, or untouched, by racism and discrimination. The stereotypes also assume that Asian pupils experience school in particular, homogenised ways. I also consider that stereotypes of high achievement do not necessarily equate with actual levels of achievement, particularly in light of statistics which suggest that Asian pupils perform successfully (academically) only in relation to other ethnic minority groups (such as West Indian pupils), not in comparison to White groups (Gillborn, 1990, Cheng & Heath, 1993). It has also been demonstrated that the amalgamation of pupils into one 'Asian' category obscures achievements, with both the highest (Indian) and the lowest (Bangladeshi) achieving ethnic groupings being lumped together (Kysel, 1988 cited in Gillborn, 1990; Rattansi, 1992).

Stereotypes of Asian parents as highly valuing education for their children (Afshar, 1989; Rattansi, 1992), and as having high expectations of the education system (Tomlinson, 1985) have also been identified. However, these discourses are often

gendered, and educational discourses have also blamed Asian families for being the source of conflict for young women:

"This same culture and family system is held responsible for widespread pathology supposedly afflicting 'Asian' girls and thus also their education: the malaise of being 'caught between two cultures' an 'identity crisis', a form of individual splitting between two essentialised cultural forms, 'Asian' and 'British-Western' " (Rattansi, 1992; p.19).

Initiatives such as LEA INSET programmes were designed to aid the education of ethnic minority pupils and girls, by stressing the importance of home-school links (e.g. Deshpande and Rashid, 1993). In line with views of ethnic minority children being an "educational problem", (Verma, Zec and Skinner, 1994) the nature and importance of the home-school relationship often becomes emphasised in schools where pupils are judged to come from backgrounds which are potentially conflicting with school values and objectives, and with which staff are unfamiliar.

White staff may have little, or no, experience or understanding of their Asian pupils' home lives in terms of religion, cultures, values and customs (Verma, 1992). It has also been suggested that teachers and many other professionals (e.g. social workers, youth workers) have expectations of conflict in Asian lifestyles, particularly in the case of Asian girls (Ballard, 1994). In the case of British-Muslim pupils, particularly girls, it has been suggested that (White) staff may assume that school is a place of 'freedom',

where children may escape 'repressive' family obligations and ways of behaving (Ballard, 1994; Verma et al., 1994).

For example, Verma et al. (1994; p.81) found that many staff held the views that Muslim girls were not involved in social activities outside school, and that the girls' lack of involvement was due to "a repressive home situation". Verma et. al found however that these assumptions were not reproduced in interviews with the young women, who often positively constructed their choices in favour of home-based activities⁵. Their research findings also suggested that Muslim students were particularly widely under represented in extra-curricular activities, particularly in sports, where Muslim girls were noticeably absent. Teachers explained Muslim pupils' lack of involvement as due to compulsory Mosque attendance (for young men), as due to parental concerns in the case of young women. A PE teacher is reported as saying:

"Muslims go to Mosque in the evening and lunchtime is already full of activities [...] the White kids feel that they don't join in" (p.81).

Teachers were reported arguing that extra-curricular activities are valuable because they promote good inter-ethnic understanding and relationships; teachers subsequently blamed Muslim pupils for "lessen[ing] the impact of attempts to develop a whole school response to cultural diversity" (Verma et al, 1994; p.81). I would suggest that

5

Verma et al. however did add to this statement "of course, cultural and religious expectations may have a persuasive psychological effect" (1994; p.81), which alludes to notions of 'false consciousness' and 'consciousness raising' ideology (see Yuval-Davis, 1994).

statement demonstrates assumptions of a White normative pupil within educational discourses, the centrality of whose opinion is underlined by the PE teacher's remark "the White kids feel that *they* don't join in" (my emphasis).

I suggest that the above examples reveal the dominance of a White, middle-class, assimilationist values within dominant educational discourses, against which British-Asian pupils are conceptualised as 'cultural Others'. As such, White, educational discourses have continued to define 'responses to cultural diversity', with little input from alternative, marginalised perspectives; although a number of Muslim groups have in fact challenged the 'integrational pluralism' of mainstream educational initiatives (such as the Swann Report) and have called instead for 'dynamic pluralism' to enable "educational curricula that would acknowledge and allow those basic values of Islam to be preserved" (Islamic Academy, 1993; cited in Verma et al., 1994; p.15).

Summary of Theoretical Chapters (Chapters 1-3)

In these chapters I have presented arguments for an epistemological shift away from positivistic Social Psychological theorising, based on scientific principals, towards a critical, feminist social constructionist position. I discussed various tensions around the critical, feminist, discursive position which I have taken within this research, and I explained the rationale behind my choice of verbal and visual data, and my discursive analysis of these data.

In support of my views I discussed how, within positivistic theories of ethnic identity, Black participants, particularly women, have been marginalised, and pathologised. I suggested that within scientific paradigms, oppressive knowledges have been produced because researchers have not recognised the social construction of research. Subsequently, psychological knowledges have reflected, and reproduced, the norms, values and interests of those who have performed the research (primarily White, middle-class males), rather than the interests of those 'studied'.

I outlined in particular how young British-Asians and British-Muslims have been homogenised as torn 'between two cultures', suffering psychological conflict, trying to opt between 'progressive' or 'orthodox' personal identifications. I suggested that young British-Asian, and British-Muslim, women in particular have been pathologised as 'double-oppressed' by patriarchal, restrictive home cultures.

I also argued that social cognition theories have separated 'ethnic identity' from

'racism' (which has been subsumed within 'prejudice' research), and thus have neglected experiences of racism from conceptualisations of ethnic minority identities. I proposed instead conceptualisations of racism as ideology, as gendered and multiple. I indicated how dominant conceptualisations of British Asian/Muslim pupils operate as oppressive racist/ sexist discourses within the educational context, which I related to the multicultural ideologies which currently underpin the British education system.

Summary of Research Aims

Within this thesis I aim to challenge these dominant, oppressive conceptualisations of young British-Muslims, by considering the young people's own constructions of their gendered, racialised identities and their experiences of racisms, within an educational context. In order to achieve these aims I have adopted critical, feminist, discursive theoretical position. In this research I therefore aim to:

- Look at ways in which British-Muslim young people construct gendered, racialised identities, demonstrating how these constructions (of Muslim femininities and masculinities) are cross-cut by discourses of 'race' and religion.
- Consider ways in which British Muslim pupils construct their experiences of school, and how discourses around 'race', gender and racisms are negotiated within the school context.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHOD

"Finding the right question is more difficult than answering it" (Merton 1959, in Hammersley and Atkinson, 1987:34)

This research did not start off as primarily discursive in nature, rather I came gradually to adopt a more postmodern, discursive, critical, feminist position as I progressed through my period of doctoral study. I conducted some early, exploratory pilot work in one of the schools (Lowtown School). These early visits took the form of semi-structured, general group discussions with single-sex groups of second generation, Asian pupils (from National Curriculum Years 7 and 10), and adapted versions of the Twenty Statements Test (see Appendix A). My growing frustrations with the 'narrowness' of the questionnaire methods, in comparison to the discussion group data, contributed to my subsequent abandonment of the measures. However, the questionnaire data did draw my attention to religious identifications, as respondents continuously, and spontaneously, brought my attention to the centrality of religion when talking about "ethnicity" (see Appendix A).

Mill Town

The main part of my study was conducted in a medium-sized town in the North West of England, which I refer to as "Mill Town". Four secondary schools were identified from the Local Education Authority (LEA) list of schools. I shall refer to these as Lowtown School, Hightown School, Eastfield School and Westfield School. Apart from White communities¹, Mill Town's ethnic minority population consists predominantly of Muslim Pakistani and Bangladeshi people. Pakistani communities are the most established of these two Muslim groups, and considered the most upwardly mobile by local people. The Bangladeshi communities are relative newcomers to the town (Bangladesh itself was formerly a region of Pakistan before its independence in the 1970's), and a degree of conflict has been reported between these two groups². Very few other ethnic minority groups are represented in the town.

In economic terms, there is a rate of unemployment running currently higher than the national average. There is an increased degree of deprivation among the town's primarily working class communities since the decline of the cotton mills industry. The town was selected because of its composition of mainly Asian and White populations and its discernible history of immigration and settlement patterns. The majority of Asians in the town are Islamic, allowing for investigation of issues surrounding Islamic identity among young Asians. The predominantly working class

1

I recognise that White communities are also heterogenous and use the term with this in mind.

2

personal communication with Deputy Director of Mill Town LEA

nature of the town also facilitated the consideration of socioeconomic deprivation within the identities of young people, with a view to examining strategies of resistance within the discourse of less powerful groups.

Pilot Work

Pilot work was conducted in a mixed comprehensive secondary school (Queen Victoria School) in the East End of London. This location was chosen as the area has a relatively large Asian population and roughly similar socioeconomic-economic conditions to Mill Town. The London area did vary significantly from Mill Town in that London is *predominantly multicultural, rather than 'bi-cultural', with a wide* variety of other ethnic groups living in the area.

Mill Town LEA and Related Educational Initiatives

There are over 5000 bilingual pupils in Mill Town schools, of these approximately 2000 are at secondary school level, based at five schools in Mill Town LEA, four of which I visited for this research. *Mill Town LEA currently has in place a Section 11* funded Language Assistance Programme (LAP)³ which is in place in the four schools visited. The project is a central unified support service, from which English language and bilingual support teachers and assistants are allocated to schools according to the school's need (determined by numbers of pupils requiring assistance). The project covers all schools and nurseries which fall within the 3-18 age group (currently 4

3

LAP is a pseudonym, to protect the anonymity of schools and LEA.

nursery school; 14 primary schools and five secondary schools). LAP has a six point Philosophy and Practice (which includes an interest in pupils' identities). The six point code is detailed below:

- (1) Support for the development of bilingualism, the recognition of its positive advantages, and the fostering of the use of the mother tongue.
- (2) Building on a pupil's previous knowledge, skills and experience and creating a learning environment which positively reflects these
- (3) Supporting a pupil's sense of identity and self-esteem
- (4) Raising teachers' expectations of bilingual pupils
- (5) Supporting inclusionary rather than exclusionary policies
- (6) Supporting full access to the mainstream curriculum for bilingual pupils.

According to the LAP statistics, 85% of the bilingual pupils in the LEA are of Pakistani heritage and 13% are of Bangladeshi heritage. LAP is a *detached service* funded by both the government and LEA, and as such the project is limited by time and money, with insecure funding. It is target specific and is monitored (Service, Survey and Home Office data collection). Until recently the service employed 83 staff, however cuts in funding have meant a reduction to 65 staff. The aims of the project are to support schools in meeting the needs of bilingual students by placing teams of teachers in schools where there are students for whom English is a second language. LAP teachers provide in-class support for bilingual students and work with subject teachers, often jointly presenting and producing lessons with them. Pupils are

encouraged to develop both English and their first language. LAP teachers work with schools towards a curriculum based on anti-racist perspectives.

The Schools

There is debate over whether individual schools make a difference to pupils' educational achievement on the basis of how they are run (Rutter, Gray, Maughan & Smith, 1979) or whether such differences in educational outcomes is due to the social and economic inequality which exists between pupils (Jencks, Smith, Acland, Bane, Cohen, Gintis, Heyns & Michelson, 1972). I drew pupils from four schools for the main study. By doing this I hope to account for some of the regional differences, and idiosyncrasies, that occur between schools. In an analysis of two different schools' regimes on the educational aspirations and achievements of young, Black women, Mirza (1992) concluded that the ethos of a school greatly affected pupils' outcomes, and that this appeared "to be directly related to the attitude and orientation of the individual Head Teacher".

In this study pupils have been drawn from four schools. Profiles of the schools are based on DfEE information, with additional information (such as on the location of the school) provided from school prospectus', meetings with staff and the deputy director of the LEA, and my perceptions from time spent in the schools conducting research, and during periods of observation.

Lowtown School

- Lowtown School is a County (maintained by the local education authority) Comprehensive which takes boys and girls from the ages of 11-16. The school has 856 pupils on role.
- Lowtown School has the highest ethnic minority composition (between 80-90% Asian pupils) and recruits primarily from the Bangladeshi community.
- The school is located in a predominantly middle-class, White suburb of the town, but draws pupils from the centre of town residential areas.
- Lowtown School is currently under-subscribed and pursuing initiatives to counter this.
- Lowtown School also has the largest LAP team, currently numbering around ten full time staff. The school operates mixed-ability teaching, with LAP staff integrated within mainstream lessons.
- GCSE performance levels in the school are generally below averages for Rochdale and England (e.g. in 1996 23% of pupils gained 5 or more Grades A-C, as compared to 35% in Mill Town and 44% nationally).

Westfield School

- Westfield School is a County Comprehensive which takes boys and girls from the ages of 11-16. The school has 866 pupils on role.
- Westfield School has an ethnic minority composition of around 42% Asian pupils and recruits from both Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities.

- The school is located in a predominantly working-class, White council estate in the town, but draws pupils from nearby 'Asian' residential areas. The estate is commonly recognised as a 'no-go' area for Asian people⁴ and pupils are bussed across town to the school.
- Westfield School is currently under-subscribed (although the prospectus states that the school likes lower numbers to allow more space).
- Westfield School did not disclose the size of their LAP support.
- The school teaches pupils in sets, determined by ability.
- GCSE performance levels in the school are generally below averages for Rochdale and England (e.g. in 1996 25% of pupils gained 5 or more Grades A-C, as compared to 35% in Mill Town and 44% nationally).
- Westfield School is also a Community School, with a Community Council, elected from groups which use the school in the day and evening, who organise a programme of activities (such as the *Town Mela*).

Eastfield School

- Eastfield School is a County Comprehensive which takes boys and girls from the ages of 11-16. The school has 861 pupils on role.
- Eastfield School has an ethnic minority composition of about 33% Asian pupils and recruits predominantly from Pakistani communities.

⁴

personal communication with Deputy Head Teacher of the school.

- The school is located in a mixed middle-class/working class, White suburb of the town, but draws pupils from the centre of town and neighbouring residential areas.
- Eastfield School has had capacity intake for the last five years.
- Eastfield School has 1.4 LAP staff.
- The school operates mixed-ability teaching, with LAP staff integrated within mainstream lessons.
- GCSE performance levels in the school are generally below averages for Rochdale and England (e.g. in 1996 24% of pupils gained 5 or more Grades A-C, as compared to 35% in Mill Town and 44% nationally).

Hightown School

- Hightown School is a County Comprehensive which takes boys and girls from the ages of 11-18. The school has 1,557 pupils on role.
- Hightown School has the lowest ethnic minority composition around 20% Asian pupils and recruits primarily from the Pakistani community.
- The school is located in a predominantly middle-class, White suburb of the town, and draws pupils from neighbouring residential areas.
- Hightown School has capacity intake.
- Lowtown School did not disclose the size of their LAP support.
- The school did not disclose whether or not they operate mixed-ability teaching.

- GCSE performance levels in the school are generally above averages for Rochdale and England (e.g. in 1996 49% of pupils gained 5 or more Grades A-C, as compared to 35% in Mill Town and 44% nationally).

Pilot school: Queen Victoria School

- The Queen Victoria School is a County Comprehensive which takes boys and girls from the ages of 11-16. The school has 612 pupils on role.
- Queen Victoria School has an ethnic minority composition around 50% Asian pupils and recruits primarily from Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities.
- The school is located in a predominantly working-class, ethnically heterogenous area of East End London, and draws pupils from neighbouring residential areas.
- Queen Victoria School is under-subscribed.
- The school operates mixed ability teaching.
- GCSE performance levels in the school are generally below? averages for the LEA and England (e.g. in 1996 20% of pupils gained 5 or more Grades A-C, as compared to 34% in the local LEA and 44% nationally).

The Research Team

In addition to my own involvement in data collection from all of the schools, I also enlisted the help of two⁵ female British-Asian researchers. This was not only for practical reasons (such as including more participants) but also to *aid reflexivity* by

⁵

Originally only Tamar was to participate, however on one occasion she was forced to pull out of the research at short notice, and Nessa agreed to take part.

producing differing accounts for comparison. I approached my friends Tamar and Nessa for help because they had both expressed personal interest in my research. They participated in the conduction of discussion groups and formulation of questions for guiding discussion. Tamar also read my analyses of the transcripts and offered her own, sometimes different, accounts.

We were all aged in our mid to late twenties at the time of the research, living in London and were all university graduates (although Tamar and Nessa were unfamiliar with psychology). All the discussion groups were conducted in English and we all dressed similarly in smart-casual 'western' clothes. We all felt a need to be both comfortable and 'appropriately' dressed, to conform to (our perceptions of) staff and pupil expectations and to respect Muslim discourses around modesty of dress. Individual biography details are provided about each of us below. Our initials are provided in brackets, as used in transcripts to identify the interviewer.

Louise (LA)

I am Louise, I was originally born in Canada, but I grew up in Berkshire, and now live in London. My parents are White, British and of a Christian background. My interests in Asian identity arose mainly from having had a British-Hindu partner, and many close Asian friends. These relationships not only introduced various concerns about 'identity', but also exposed me to previously un-encountered problems of racism, particularly as a result of being in a mixed-race relationship. On the death of my partner (prior to starting this research) I was welcomed into his family and made a

'daughter'. I have since been privileged to participate in a lifestyle very different to my previous experiences. My reason for including this personal detail here is that in places my interpretations (and indeed my participation in the discussion groups) have been driven by the 'different' knowledges and understandings that I have developed as a result of my experiences over the past four years. Although I in no way claim access to the "insider knowledge" (Ahmed, 1996) of a second generation Asian woman, I do feel that my experiences and subsequent lifestyle have positioned my 'Whiteness' in quite important ways; indeed when I did engage in self-disclosure in the discussion groups, I experienced marked shifts in the types of questions which the young people subsequently asked and in the manner in which these questions were addressed and discussed (see Discussion Chapter Nine).

Tamar (TD)

Tamar is from Yorkshire, and her parents are of Pakistani-Christian origin. I have known her since I began my undergraduate studies, and we continue to live together at the time of writing. At the time of the research, Tamar had just completed a *Masters Degree in Political and Social Theory, and was engaged in part-time employment*. She participated in the majority of the discussion groups with myself (in the pilot school, Eastfield School, Lowtown School and Hightown School). She felt that often in the schools she was perceived by the young people as Indian, on account of her dress, appearance and manner (which she describes as "western"). She experienced surprise from the participants in the groups where she told them she is Christian because Pakistani Christians are a minority both in England and Pakistan.

Nessa (NS)

Nessa is from Wales, her parents are of Pakistani-Muslim origin. At the time of her participation in the study, she was sharing a house with myself and Tamar, and was preparing to start a postgraduate course in Law. During the research she reported feeling that most of the young people in the discussion groups she talked to seemed to know that she was Muslim. She also said that she feels more 'traditional' than Tamar and that she felt comfortable using Punjabi at times in the discussions because it felt more natural and easy with her participants. Before the research day, Nessa had mentioned that she might wear shalwar kamiz, but in the end she said she would have felt uncomfortable dressed that way in the schools and also (being the oldest of the three of us) she said she did not want the young people to relate to her as an "auntie" figure! Nessa conducted discussion groups in the pilot school and in Westfield School.

Group Discussions

For my main study data collection, 16 discussion groups were conducted across the four schools (Eastfield, Westfield, Hightown and Lowtown) in Mill Town. Four discussion groups were carried out in each school, with each group comprising four, same-sex pupil participants from National Curriculum Year 10 (aged 14-15 years); two male groups and two female groups per school. Each researcher was assigned to one male group and one female group in each school (Tamar conducted groups in Lowtown, Hightown and Eastfield Schools, and Nessa conducted groups in Westfield School).

Therefore, in total 64 young people (32 females and 32 males) participated in the discussion groups. All participants were identified by school staff as 'Asian pupils' and were invited (via form teachers) to participate on a voluntary basis, conditional upon obtaining parental consent. No details of participants were formally collected or recorded as part of our assurance of anonymity to participants (pseudonym are used in transcripts). We also made sure that we talked to participants about our intentions for the data produced, and made sure they understood who we would potentially be disseminating to in the future.

Format of the Discussion Groups

The group discussions were researcher-led and discussions centred around the following six topics: personal identity, local area, gender, ethnicity, school and home. These topics were developed in the pilot work, particularly the questionnaire work, as general areas of interest. The main questions were developed with the aid of Tamar and Nessa, and we refined and added to these questions during pilot work.

We three researchers had interview schedules with pre-prepared questions for guiding discussions, but we followed the young people's lines of discussion as far as possible. During discussions we also invited questions from the young people and we (the researchers) engaged in self-disclosure during the discussion groups when asked, and where we felt it was appropriate. We were flexible in our choices of questions and phrasing of questions, using our individual judgements of the situation and our

participants to guide what we asked. However, we did follow the same broad sequencing of discussion topics.

After each discussion group we discussed our impressions of the discussion and which questions worked particularly 'well' or 'badly'⁶. Each group discussion lasted between one hour and an hour and a half, although some groups took less time (for example pupils arriving late to Nessa's male group at Westfield School). The lengths of the discussions depended upon the time granted to us by staff at the individual schools; roughly we were allotted an hour and a half per group in Lowtown School and one hour per group in the other three schools.

The Discussion Topics: Introductory questions

We opened the discussion by introducing ourselves and the aims of the research. Participants were then asked their names and ages. The initial questions were designed to help participants relax a little; we asked how they would describe themselves generally, what they liked and didn't like about themselves and what they would change if they could. We found that girls in particular responded more enthusiastically to these types of question, which we felt intuitively could be related to a culture typified by the consumption of magazines aimed at teenage female audiences, which are often filled with self-assessment and self-reflection articles.

⁶

See Chapter 9 for an evaluation of the discussion group questions.

We also asked our participants about Mill Town, what they liked and disliked about living there, whether they had grown up there and whether or not they lived near to school. These questions again were designed to help initiate talking about themselves and their home town context. Over the course of the discussion groups, these questions (about 'the local area') were gradually substituted (for the personal questions) as introductory topics (particularly for the young men's groups).

Questions about school

We introduced the topic of school saying that we were interested in what participants thought about school and what it was like for them going to school. We asked participants what they particularly liked and disliked about school, what they would like to change if they could; what they did at break times; their relationships with teachers and other pupils; the value of education generally, ambitions and future plans.

Questions about home

These questions were broadly along the lines of the school questions in that we asked what participants particularly liked and disliked about home, what they would change if they could; what they do after school and at weekends; relationships with parents and other family members; ambitions and future plans in terms of marriage and having their own families. In the case of talking about future plans, arranged marriage often emerged as a topic which we explored more fully, although the nature and form of these discussions varied according to the types of responses made by the group members.

Questions about 'ethnicity'

With these questions we asked the young people how they understood and would describe their ethnicity. We asked about their religion, whether they considered themselves to be religious, if/how important religion was to them and their personal religious choices. We asked about their parental countries of origin and what they liked and did not like about aspects of their ethnicity. We had discussions around participants' perceptions of their parents' countries of origin and visits they had made there themselves. We also asked about participants' experiences of racism and their feelings about racism. We also brought up the issue of our own 'ethnicities' and asked the young people how they felt it affected what they were saying to us, and our questions, and understandings, of their replies. We also asked participants how they thought their experience of the group may have been different, had they had been talking to the other researcher.

Questions about gender

In this part of the discussion we asked participants about what they liked or disliked about being female/ male and about their relationships with boys and girls in general (e.g. whether they got on with pupils of the opposite sex at school). We asked participants whether they had ever experienced sexism at school and home, and their perceptions of these experiences. We also asked how they felt that our sex, as female researchers, had affected our questions, their replies and our understandings of the discussions.

Conclusion of discussion groups

We always ensured that the discussion groups ended with the invitation back to the participants to ask us any questions. We also tried to ask what they themselves thought of our questions and what they thought we should have asked, or what they would have asked if they had conducted the discussion instead.

Analysis

All discussion group tapes were transcribed by myself. I analysed male and female groups separately, reflecting decisions on chapter structure, and my wish to concentrate in particular on the accounts of the young women. I first looked at the young men's transcripts, then the young women's transcripts, although in both cases I followed the following broad procedure in analysis. Within each set of analyses, however, my interests in specific gendered themes and discourses was guided by the literature outlined in my first three chapters.

Initially I began analyses by reading and re-reading the data. My reading was guided by my main research interests in gender, identity and racism, and in line with this, I highlighted all passages in the transcripts which seemed to relate to these themes, producing a large working selection of passages. Using these passages, I grouped together extracts with similar themes, noting in particular the points at which there were both similarities and variation between accounts. For example, working from the broad headings of Race and Racism, I constructed further subheadings of "racist incidents and violence" and "constructions of racism". From these subheadings I

created further categorisations such as "racism as relational" (where racism was talked about in relation to White pupils, Black pupils and Asian pupils) and "racism as inevitable/unchangeable".

Another broad starter heading I used was "religion", which I then further split down into "constructing Muslim identities" and "Muslim masculinities/ femininities". I divided these discourses around masculinities and femininities further; for example I grouped young men's data into extracts which talked about "relationships with fathers", "macho talk", "Muslim women" and "White women". Within these subdivisions I identified discourses around sexism for particular attention, such as reproduction of a discourse of "sexism as inherent and natural".

The discourses which I selected for more detailed consideration and inclusion in this thesis were often ones which, as it seemed to me, were used by several of the young men and women, thus making them more distinctive. It also seemed that these more frequently used discourses tended to reproduce or counter some dominant stereotypical discourses (e.g. Muslim women and arranged marriage; Muslim males and sexism) and so seemed particularly appropriate as arenas for discussion in this thesis.

Photographic Diaries

Nineteen pupils from National Curriculum Year 10 participated in producing Photographic Diary folders representing "A Day in My Life". The photographic research was conducted in Lowtown School. The choice of school was partly due to

my personal relations with one of the teachers, which facilitated access and co-operation. I also chose this school because it had the highest proportion of British-Muslim pupils, thus ensuring that I would be more likely to recruit the British-Muslim girls I wanted through my policy of open-access to the research.

Participants were recruited through an assembly announcement, and participation was voluntary. I held an open meeting at lunchtime for any Year 10 pupil who wished to take part. The vast majority of those who turned up were girls, two boys volunteered, but the majority of boys remained hanging around outside the classroom, looking in.

Having introduced myself, I explained the purpose of the study, and what it would involve. During the talk I passed around examples of the work of Jagtar Semplay and Raghubir Singh to illustrate some of the professional work done on British-Asian identity and experiences by Asian photographers. These created a great deal of interest and surprise. The brief for the project was fully explained and anyone who wished to participate was then invited to collect an instruction sheet, camera and was asked to sign for the camera.

Participants were shown the folders in which they would later stick the photographs.

These were divided into six 'time' sections with coloured dividers (before school; morning at school; lunchtime; afternoon school; after school; evening). I decided on the format of "A Day in My Life" because I thought it both a relatively easy task to comprehend, due to having some structure, but it also left a great deal of room for participants to define their own agendas. I also hoped that the emphasis on a range of

photographs might help participants to avoid the temptation to instantly use up all the film that lunchtime!

Participants were asked to take photographs with which to make a folder describing themselves and the aspects of their identity through their own eyes. Each pupil received a camera (with flash), a roll of 24 exposure film, and was advised to take about three photographs per time section. Everyone was told however that whatever they chose to photograph was in the end completely their own decision and there were no formal restrictions. They were also told that they would be given one set of their photographs to keep for themselves.

I returned the following lunchtime to collect the cameras and films. I then returned to the school approximately a month/two months later with processed films (two copies) and A4 ring-binder folders, with glue sticks, card and pens for the young people to construct their folders. Five pupils did not turn up to this session (one White boy, one Muslim boy and three Muslim girls). I was told by the other pupils that the White boy was absent that day, but the other four Muslim pupils were all in Pakistan on holiday (except one of the girls, whom I was told had gone there to get married). The young people were excused for an hour to participate in constructing their folders (the session was time tabled during a PSE lesson). During the hour I chatted informally with the pupils about their perceptions of the research, their reasons behind their choices of photographs and the future uses which I would like to make of their photographs.

Those who finished early also wrote a short piece about themselves at the back of the folder (under the guideline of "anything else about yourself").

Analysis

My approach to the analysis of the photographic data was guided by the themes discussed previously: I looked at the photographs in terms of (i) practises and resources (ii) construction and description (iii) content (iv) (re)production of dominant/subversive ideologies.

In addition to this I also drew on themes suggested by Dewdney and Lister (1986) for guiding analysis of photographic data; (i) co-operation by others with the photographer in constructing images (ii) manipulation of symbols (objects and expressive actions) (iii) emphasising or de-emphasising certain meanings within photograph (iv) role of intention (including looking for subversions of the brief given and for conformation to my guidelines).

I was also guided by Barthes' (1980) concepts of 'studium' and 'punctum' in photographic images. For example, I attempted to identify the 'studium' of photographs, those which encapsulated and (re)produced psychological discourses around Asian identities. I also considered the 'punctum' of various photographs, looking at what it was about certain photographs which particularly drew, and held, my attention.

My method for conducting the analysis began with looking through the folders, and removing those of the four White pupils, one mixed-race female pupil, and the two Muslim boys (one completed, one uncompleted). My main reasoning for removing the White pupils' folders was primarily to enable a focus on young Muslim people's identity constructions and although I had initial plans for comparing White and Muslim accounts, on embarking with the analysis I considered this to be too ambitious an approach. Subsequently, I plan to return to the White pupils' folders in later research.

I also limited my attention to completed folders (i.e. I did not use photographs taken by pupils who did not attend the folder construction session) both for reasons of comparison between folders, and because I considered that the 'absent' young people had not given their full consent to participation and had not had an adequate chance to 'vet' the images. The final folder that I removed from analysis was the completed diary of a young, Muslim male. This decision was made because his was the only male folder, in comparison to the young women's diaries. I thus decided to focus solely upon the young women's accounts, with the aim of returning in future work to more fully address issues around the young men's accounts.

For this thesis I have therefore analysed nine British-Muslim females' photographic diaries (eight were fully completed and one was part-completed). My method of analysis took the following structure; I read and re-read each folder individually several times, making notes on content, format, highlighting interesting points, and noting particular points where my readings were altered by captions (e.g. subversive captions) or where I thought the girls were challenging, or conforming to, dominant conceptions

of themselves. I noted details such as who was in the photographs, where, when and what was missing (for example no photographs of home life, thus subverting the brief).

From these copious notes I looked at differences and similarities within and between accounts in terms of dominant discourses around British-Muslim femininities (such as 'passive', 'double-oppressed' and 'behavers and achievers'). I also tried to identify the rhetorical techniques which had been utilised in constructing the images, to both justify my perceptions of photographs as texts, but also to 'test out' the application of social psychological discursive analysis to visual images.

Analysing the Photographs Discursively

I began my analyses by identifying rhetorical devices within the photographic texts, considering how these features perform particular discursive work (Potter & Wetherell, 1989; 1997). I looked for ways in which different styles and features within the young women's visual texts were used to construct particular versions of reality, in the same way that discourse analysts interpret rhetorical devices in written and spoken discourses. However, because discursive analysis of photographic data is relatively uncommon in social psychology, I feel it is beneficial to clarify some of the techniques which I consider were used in constructing these 'realities'.

Before moving onto a discussion of the rhetorical techniques, an important question should be answered: How were the accounts perceived by the young women

themselves? While they were all sticking and pasting photographs into their diaries, I asked the young women how, and whether, they thought their projects were similar and different to each others'. Almost all of the young women looked up from their sticking and pasting and exclaimed that they thought their projects were very different from one another. For example, young women pointed out how they had all photographed different sorts of things and had used different techniques and approaches⁷. On the whole, the young women said that the main differences centred around whether family had been included or not, whether teachers and classes were photographed and whether the photographs had been stuck in the folder to make a type of narrative sequence (such as following daily events from waking up in bed through to going to sleep in the evening) or whether 'interesting stuff' had been included but in no particular order.

In other words, the young women initially talked about their accounts in terms of the rhetorical organisation, rather than the types of discourses addressed within the diaries (such as 'pro-school' or 'anti-school' discourses). The young women's identification of the variations in organisation of accounts guided my analyses of the photographs and my subsequent interpretation of the rhetorical devices employed. I have grouped my interpretations under the headings of 'salient things versus story narratives', 'self as viewed versus photographer's eye styles', 'the role of intention and subversion of the brief', 'idealisation versus naturalisation' and 'co-operation with the photographer'.

7

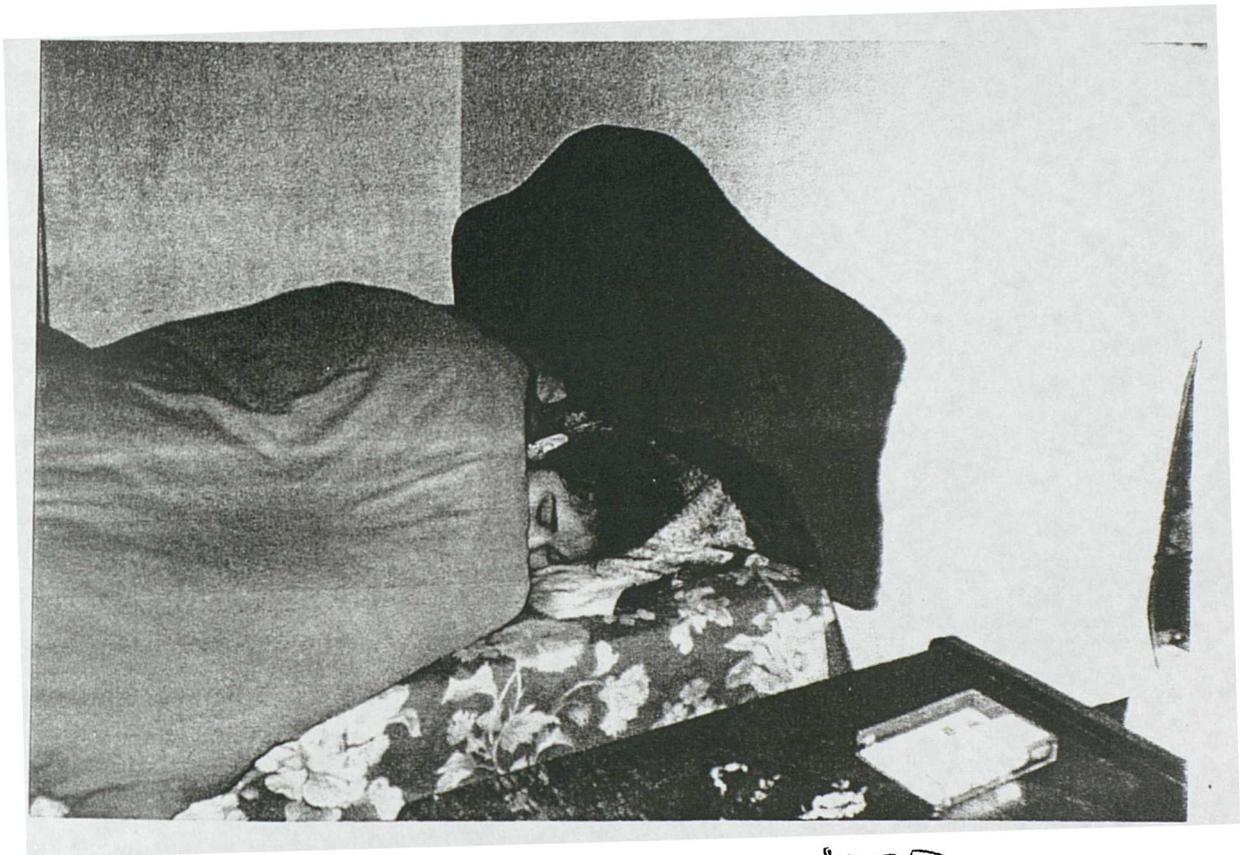
This may have been reproducing suggestions I had made earlier

As already stated in this chapter, my analyses of the photographic data were guided by the work of Potter and Wetherell, with additional themes suggested by Dewdney and Lister (1986).

'Salient Things' and 'Story Narratives'

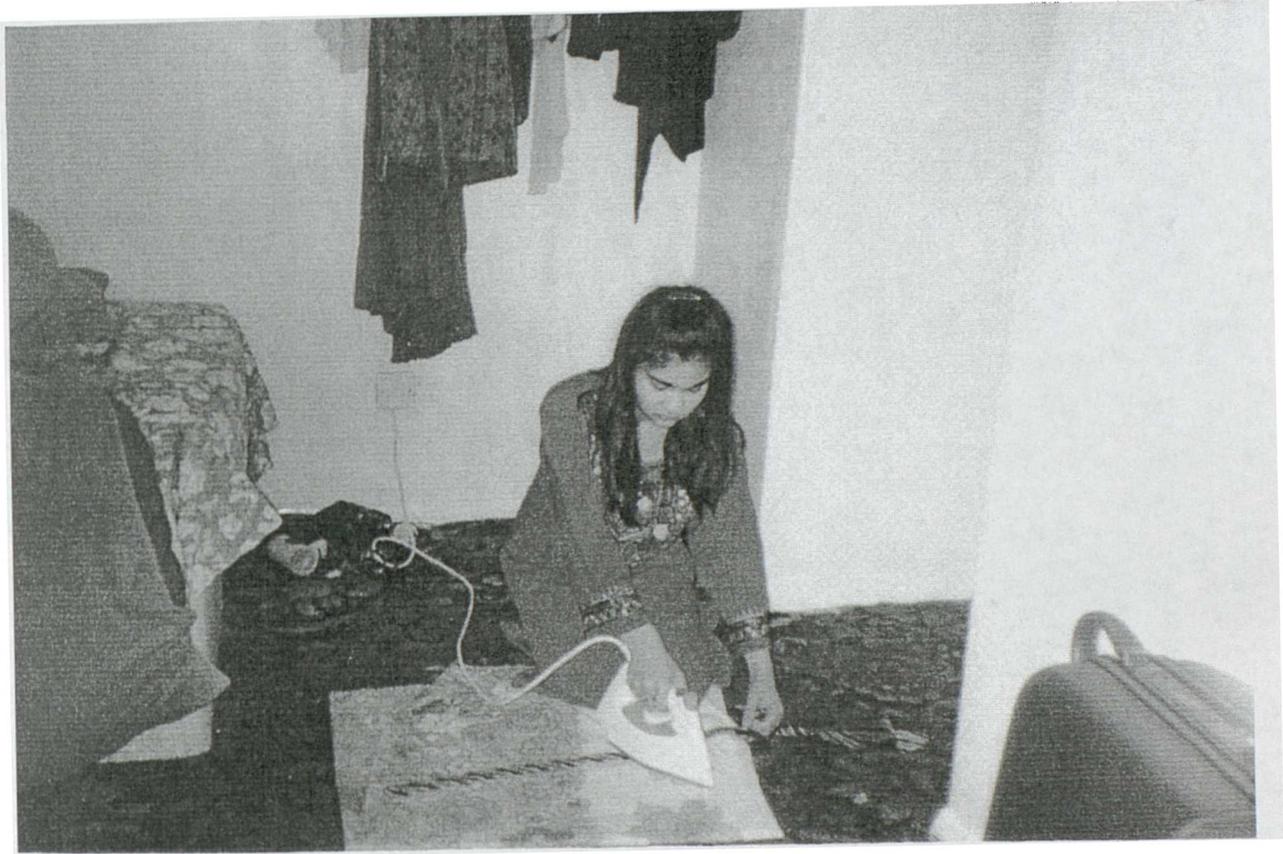
Across the young women's accounts I have identified two main approaches to the structuring of their narratives; The first approach I identified is a 'story narrative' in which particular everyday activities are structured into a familiar chronological sequence (e.g. breakfast, lunch, dinner). The second approach I identified is a focus on 'salient things' where the activity or scene depicted is not located within a particular point of the day, and does not contribute to a sequential narrative in relation to other photographs. As previously stated though, I do not conceptualise these two forms of structuring as mutually exclusive, indeed several of the young women's accounts utilise both with ease, manipulating symbols and structural styles.

Two of the young women (Tamsin and Aneka) made rigid use of a 'story narrative' to structure their accounts, whereas Mona and Selima opted for an approach which just featured 'salient things', in which the chronological sequencing was absent. However the other five of the girls used a mixture of both approaches, where the photographs were roughly presented showing a 'logical' order, but this ordering was not explicitly stated and secondary to the importance attached to individual photographs.



Taanim going to sleep.

Fig. 1.1



Ironing my School uniform
for the next day.

Fig. 1.2

To illustrate ways in which the 'story narrative' structuring of accounts operated, I have selected photographs from Tamsin's account, because she made most extensive use of this technique (see Fig. 1.1 and Fig. 1.2). In order to construct her account sequentially, Tamsin included two copies of particular photographs, but captioned each copy differently. In addition to the selected images below, she also captioned double copies of a photograph of herself drinking at home (which she labelled as "*having breakfast*" and "*having supper*") and of herself paying at an ice cream van (which she captioned "*lunchtime*" and "*breaktime*").

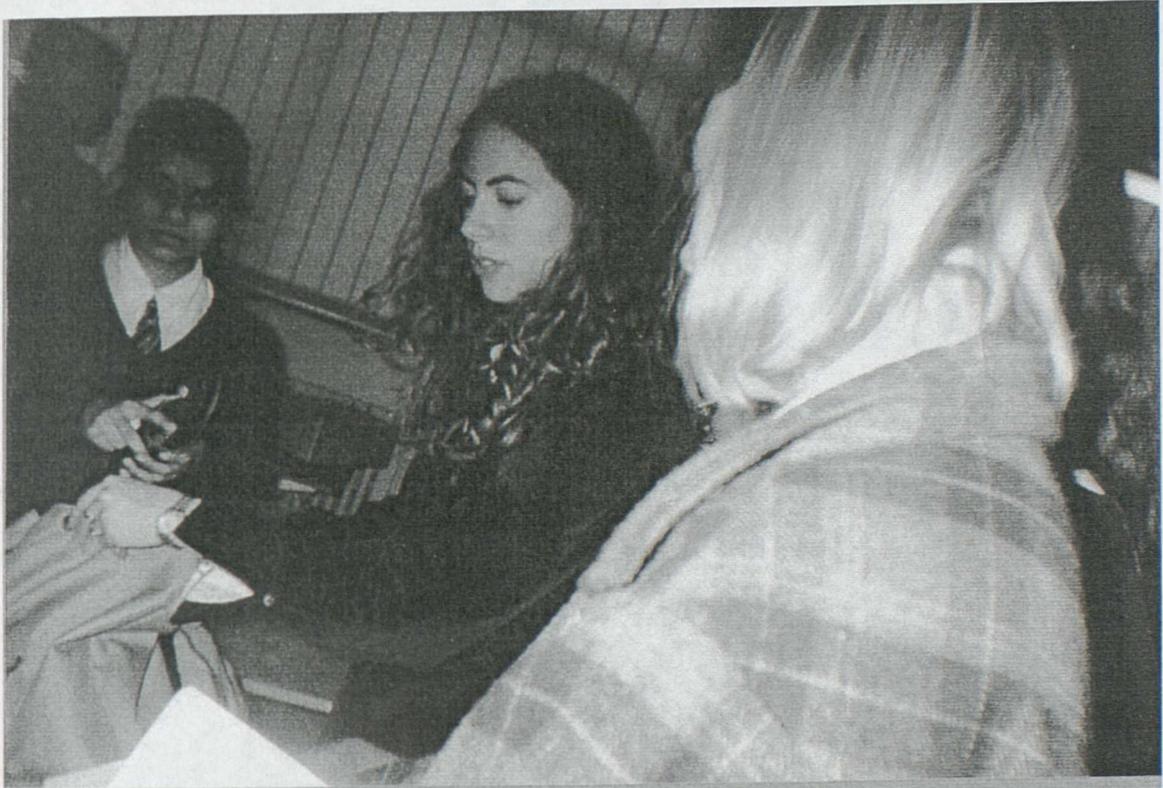
The thing that struck me about Tamsin's use of these photographs is her manipulation of certain symbols to achieve a 'logical' and familiar sequencing structure for her narrative. She subverts the 'truth' about her activities that day (because she locates the same image across two different points in time) in order to present what can be interpreted as a "typical" day. Tamsin's photographs suggest a sequence of everyday activities occurring in a recognisable, common-sense pattern (asleep, washing face, having breakfast etc.) which I suggest convey a sense of realism through their everyday banality. For example, the two photographs of "Tamsin asleep" construct a strong beginning and end to the narrative because of its seemingly 'logical' beginning, and end, to the day. The only girls who used these images were Aneka, Tamsin and Nargis.⁸

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Nazreen stuck her photographs into her folder but did not label them, so I cannot be sure that she would have labelled them in a story narrative style, although the sequence in which she presents her images strongly suggests that she was using chronological sequencing as a structure to her diary.

I would also suggest that realism is conveyed by the location of Tamsin within the photographs: She is positioned throughout her photographs as looking away from the camera. This conveys the impression that the viewer is an objective observer to her daily activities (a 'fly on the wall'). For example, the two images of "Tamsin asleep" suggest the objective, almost intrusive gaze of the viewer, when Tamsin herself is not even conscious. However, an interesting point here is that several of the young women told me that they had indeed 'staged' these photographs (ie. they were not really asleep), but this image of being 'asleep' was considered important enough to entail considerable effort in its construction, negotiating with another person to act as photographer.

In addition to conveying a particular normative sequence of events, I also suggest that, at certain points, the young women may have made a conscious use of symbols in order to convey messages about their daily lives. Tamsin's use of double copies and captions in Fig. 1.2 suggest that she irons her uniform tie twice daily (morning and evening). Apart from this 'literal' reading, I have read the images as linking together with discourses around Muslim femininities and attitudes towards school, designed to make particular identity statements. For example, I read the selection of her ironing the tie as symbolic of her care for uniform more generally. I felt myself making further interpretations, such as ironing may be an activity which Tamsin performs daily and Tamsin may be meticulous, neat and tidy.



Taking Photographs .

Fig. 1.3

I consider that the 'story narrative' reproduces a format which is often reinforced through early schooling, and is a narrative structure which children learn to recognise and use (the 'once upon a time..' formula). In particular the inclusion by a couple of the young women, of photographs of themselves 'asleep' in bed reminded me of my own attempts at story telling at school, paying heed to the importance of having a clear beginning, middle and end to a story. In this way, Tamsin's use of the technique appears to demonstrate her own competence in constructing a carefully organised, recognisable narrative. Given that the whole project was undertaken within school, within school time, the young women's concerns to do their projects 'right' (ie. in a way which would be considered academically appropriate) should not be underestimated. I consider that the photograph in Fig. 1.3 underlines this point.

Mona sequenced some of her photographs into a story narrative, but also included occasional photographs out of this sequence towards the end of her folder, such as the photograph session (Fig. 1.3). Mona was the only young woman to include a photograph of one of the camera sessions in her final project, although these sessions had taken up a considerable portion of the lunch hour on two days. In the session constructing the folders, Mona asked me if it was "OK" for her to include this photograph, suggesting that she was not sure whether deliberately showing the processes behind the construction of her project would be "allowed".

I suggest that she may have been unsure whether to include the image because the photograph was not 'typical' of her other days. But I also consider that the photograph

can be read as potentially 'illegitimate' because it breaks the illusion of reality portrayed by her other photographs, because this photograph directly reminds the viewer that the images were taken within a constructed exercise. This potentially detracts from realism conveyed by the posed, and composed, photographs. Although Mona did include the photograph, it appeared towards the end of the folder among more 'salient things' style photographs, and therefore does not overly detract from earlier 'story narrative' sequenced shots.

In contrast, I read the photographs within Selima's project as using a 'salient things' approach. Instead of ordering photographs chronologically, she organised them into three sections "*school*", "*school teachers*" and "*spear time*" (sic). I suggest that this organisation focuses the viewer's attention onto particular, salient aspects of Selima's day; the chronological sequence of these events is not indicated. I suggest that this form of organisation directs the viewer's attention towards a particular aspect and function of the photograph, rather than focussing on the images as representative of particular moments in time. For example, Selima labels photographs of herself and her school friends as "*school*", which I interpret as indicating that Selima has constructed her experience of school in terms of particular prominent female friendships.

'Self as Viewed' and 'Photographer's Eye' Styles

I noticed variations between, and within, the young women's accounts with regard to who had taken the photographs. For example, some of the photographs had been taken by the young women themselves (which I call 'Photographer's Eye' style) and other photographs were taken of the young women, by someone else ('Self as Viewed' style). This variation surprised me initially because I had assumed that the young women would take all of the photographs themselves!

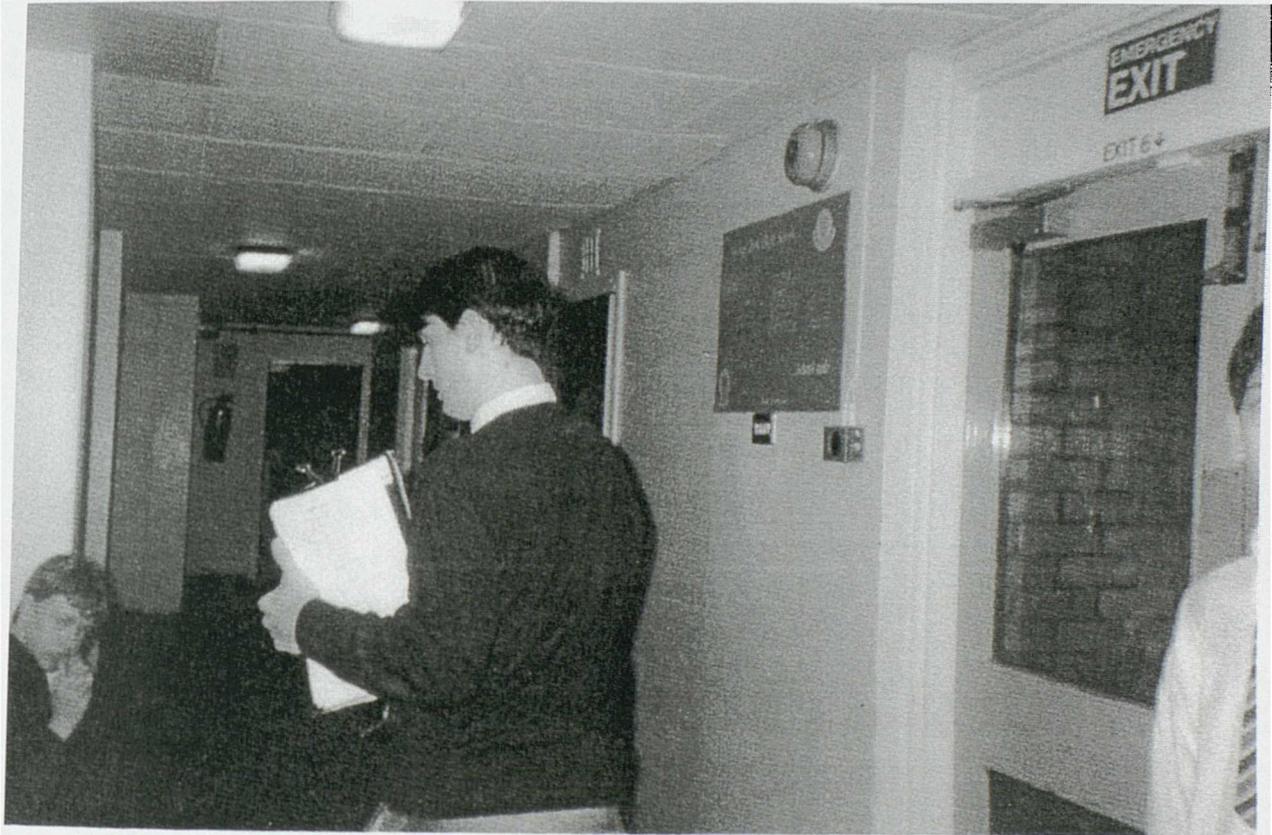
Only two of the young women (Shireen and Uma) used one style exclusively, each of them (presumably) took all the photographs themselves and did not feature in any of the images. All the other young women used both techniques, (presumably) taking some photographs themselves and positioning themselves as a subject of other photographs. I interpreted the two styles of photograph as being effective in quite different ways, because I consider the authorial control being directed from either in front of the camera ('Self as Viewed') or from behind the camera ('Photographer's Eye').

I read 'self as viewed' style photographs as effectively controlling how I (as viewer) see the actor. This style was used particularly by Tamsin and Nargis, and is illustrated in Tamsin's photographs in Fig. 1.1 and 1.2.

I read 'Self as Viewed' photographs as effective in constructing, and conveying, particular 'identity' points (such as "I am hard-working") about the young women.



Fig. 1.4



mr chapman to go in class

Fig. 1.5

For example, I suggest that the following photograph, from Nazira's folder, which show her 'working' (writing at a desk, reading in the library) constructs Nazira as hard-working and interested in work. I read the caption as reinforcing this message that Nazira "like[s] reading books" (Fig 1.4).

I also consider that the 'Self as Viewed' technique was effective in presenting young women as friendly and members of friendship groups. For example, many of the young women took photographs of themselves with their friends, which I interpret as conveying the importance of female friendships to the young women. This point is discussed more fully in the section on Female Friendships, later in this chapter.

On the other hand, I read the 'Photographer's Eye' style as showing the viewer (me) the photographer's perspective, through the lens of the camera. For example, I suggest that Shireen's photographs present her view (through the camera) of the world around her. Shireen used a 'photographer's eye' view in all her photographs. I interpreted her photographs as conveying the photographer's spontaneity, through the lack of (obvious) composition in her images. For example, in Fig. 1.5 the central figure ("*Mr. Chapman*") has his back to the camera, and seems to be walking away, which suggests to me that not much time has been spent in composing the image. I read the more haphazard appearance of her images as conveying a certain 'slice of life' realism, which present a captured moment, as opposed, for example, to a carefully structured 'identity statement'.

Similarly, I read Uma's photographs as spontaneously taken images which represent a 'participant's view' of what she saw around her. I consider that the spontaneity and 'realism' of Uma's shots is conveyed through the use of unposed and sometimes less than flattering intrusive, or unexpected angles (see also Fig. 2.4). I suggest also that the realism of such images is further constructed by the absence of the author from the shot because the agency of the photographer, in selecting and constructing the image, is literally 'out of sight'.

The Role of Intention and Subversion of the Brief

I read the photographic accounts as representing dynamic processes of identity construction, produced within particular contexts. I do not consider the diaries to be 'mindless', free-floating entities which depict 'truth' or 'windows on reality'. In other words, I read the (photographic) discourses as constructed and performing certain actions.

Whilst compiling their diary folders, I noticed that the young women included various photographs which belonged to other participants. For example, Nargis and Selima made use of copies of the same photograph, and Shireen stated in her caption that she had stolen ("*robbed*") a photograph from another young woman's diary (see Fig. 2.5).

In one instance, Nargis asked another participant during the session for a photograph which she liked, featuring a friend wearing a lengha. Nargis had not been present when this particular photograph had been taken, and so it was not strictly a part of her day in terms of the photographic diary. However, I understood the photograph as

subverting an 'actual' reality of that day in order to construct a different representation of Nargis's 'everyday reality'.

I interpret the young women's use of other participants' photographs as indicating that the young women were not random in their choice of images to include in the diaries.

Instead, I suggest that 'stealing' others' photographs indicates the young women's intention to construct particular meanings. As already mentioned, Tamsin subverted the brief by including double copies of her photographs in order to create her account, captioning the photographs as if they were taken at different times when they are actually the same photograph.

The interchangeability of the photographs amongst the young women suggests to me that they were (i) drawing on common cultural resources, such as common representations of school (e.g. several of the young women traded photographs of teachers) (ii) they were being strategic in their selection, labelling and use of photographs taken by others in order to make specific points in their own accounts. This further suggests to me that the young women were clearly reading the photographs and were not being random in their choices.

"Idealisation" Versus "Naturalisation"

I consider that some of the photographic accounts appeared to convey the image of an idealised 'typical day' whereas other diaries were more 'naturalistic' in orientation (i.e. concentrating on what happened on this particular day). I was guided towards this



Evening
Watching a
Video drinking
Tea

Fig. 1.6

particular stylistic point by noticing variations between the inclusion of images such as friends holding their cameras, and the session I held with the Year group, in contrast to accounts which avoided all reference to the photographic exercise. Priya expressed concern that she should have included images which were representative of her 'typical' day: She wrote at the end of her project

"In my photo shots I would like to have had more photos of my family. I don't know why I didn't take any. The photos has shown a lot of how my tipical (sic) day runs but I think I could have shown more of an insight into my life if I was more thoughtful in what pictures I took".

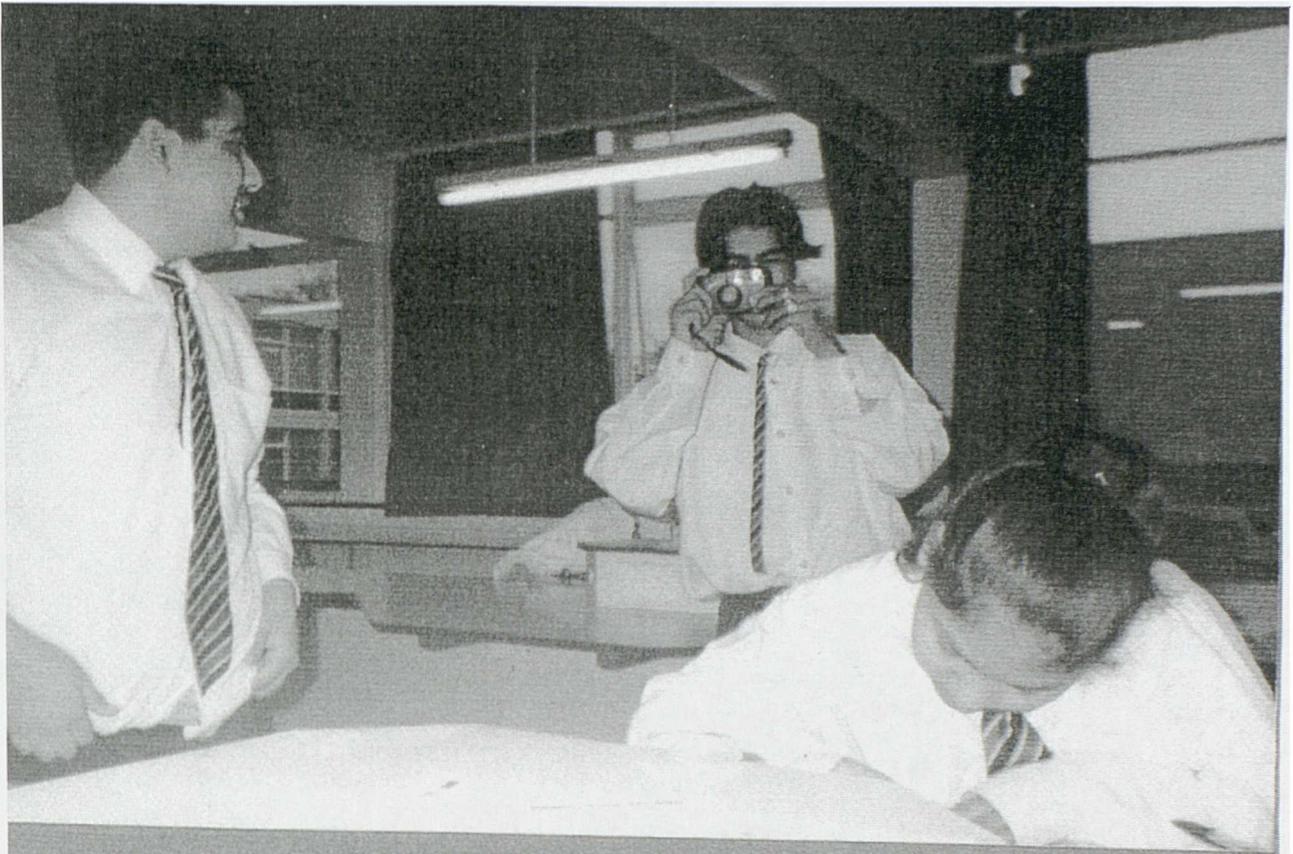
I also consider that Tamsin went to considerable lengths to show the viewer a 'typical', idealised day, for example, through her portrayal of everyday domestic tasks such as washing up. I also interpret the following photograph by Aneka (Fig. 1.6) as representing, and emphasising, 'everyday' activities.

In Fig. 1.6, Aneka is positioned in front of the television, watching a Hindi film, drinking tea and relaxing after school. I suggest that in order to convey a 'typical' evening's activities to the viewer, the photograph is constructed so that the television is central to the image, with Aneka positioned very close to the side of the screen, holding her mug of tea to her mouth. In this way, although the possible 'realism' of her specific physical position may appear doubtful, the viewer is directed to the symbolic content and meanings conveyed by the photograph.



Lunchtime

Fig. 1.7



friends taking photograph
of me. In science
lab

last lesson of the day

Fig. 1-8

Aneka's photographs also use a 'naturalised' approach, for example showing that lunchtime was spent taking photographs for the project (fig. 1.7) which was also constructed in the photograph taken by Mona (fig. 1.8.)

I read Aneka's photograph as explicitly conveying the 'reality' that during lunchtime on this particular day, the young women's activities were centred around taking photographs, which included deciding upon, and constructing, their shots. In Fig. 1.7. a young woman (Priya) is captured mid-action, which I understand as showing her (Priya) organising others for a photograph. This is conveyed to me by her open mouth, her outstretched arm and the way she is pointing with one hand, whilst holding her camera ready in the other. In my view, she appears to be in the process of directing her photographic subjects into position.

Mona's image (Fig. 1.8) also refers to the fact that this particular day involved taking her photographs: the photograph shows a friend taking a reciprocal photograph of Mona⁹. Mona's photograph of her "friend taking photographs" particularly stood out in my eyes, because I read it as a ('postmodern'), reflexive comment upon the project itself. Both Mona and Aneka's photographs comment upon some of the salient

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This photograph raises an additional point as to the identities of the photographers employed by the young women when they wished to feature themselves as subjects. This photograph shows an Asian male pupil behind the other camera (although only two volunteered for the whole study). Indeed it is possible that some of the young women may have been photographed for their projects by male peers. This is a point which will be raised in the end discussion.

activities performed by the young women over those two days, namely the inclusion of photography into the social activities of their friendship groups. However, apart from these particular images, very few of the young women actually alluded to this process in their accounts, which suggests to me the role of 'idealisation' within the diaries.

Co-operation With The Photographer

In my analyses of the photographs, I looked at the composition of the photographs with regard to the degree of co-operation (or not) between photographer and those photographed. I also considered whether another person had been recruited to take the photograph and whether the photograph had been taken 'unawares' of the photographic subjects (see Dewdney and Lister, 1986). My attention was drawn to the contrast between photographs which featured people who were photographed (apparently) against their will, images of people who were photographed seemingly unawares, and images of people who had co-operated with the photographer to produce a particular image.

Barthes (1980) suggests that surprising someone or something is the 'essential gesture' of the photographer and;

"[...] this gesture is therefore perfect when it is performed unbeknownst to the subject being photographed. From this gesture derive all photographs whose principle (or better, whose alibi) is "shock"."
(Barthes, 1980; p.32).



in lesson picture
of worst enemy

Fig. 1.9

Barthes also suggests that an implicit aim therefore behind photography is to reveal a truth which "was so well hidden that the actor himself (sic) was unaware or unconscious of it" (Barthes, 1980; p.32). This view suggests that the 'shock' photograph can open up other possibilities beyond the control of the participant because the actor is not given time to arrange their appearance into a pose, and s/he is therefore unable to co-ordinate any particular image of self, which they wish to portray. I felt that photographs which had been taken, apparently, against the actor's wishes (see Fig. 1.9) seemed to me to wield particular power because they force the subject of the photograph to be represented in a way not of their own choosing.

For example in Fig. 1.9 I consider that the main actor (subject) seems not to want to have his photograph taken, because he appears to be running away from the camera, with his back turned. In my view, his escape may be in quick reaction to Uma taking the photograph, because his coat is hanging of one arm and he appears to be moving at speed away from the camera. I consider that this image demonstrates the power of photograph(ers) to define others in particular ways: for example, Uma's image not only subjugates the young man's wish not to be photographed, but she has the power to label him, and thus represents him to other viewers as her "worst enemy". In Chapter Eight I discuss further possibilities of the photographic method for privileging representations produced by marginalised Others, by creating a space through which to assert the 'reality' of alternative experiences and points of view.



Fig. 1.10

I also noticed that many of the young women made use of 'posed' shots, which were carefully constructed in order to make a particular point. Barthes suggests that in the act of posing for a photograph he, as the actor, places himself in the position of a spectator, and so is engaged in a reflexive process of identity construction;

"I transform myself in advance into an image. This transformation is an active one [...] for the photograph is the advent of myself as other: a cunning dissociation of consciousness from identity" (Barthes, 1980; p.10-12)

I read the photograph in Fig. 1.10, taken by Nargis, as illustrating how posed shots construct particular meanings. In my opinion, Nargis has enlisted the help of others in taking this photograph of her "*getting off the bus*". This shot appears to have entailed a considerable degree of co-operation, because she has not only recruited someone to take the photograph for her, but, in order to arrange the shot, the photographer needed to be waiting outside the bus for the moment when Nargis came down the steps. I consider her attention to detail, and manipulation of symbols, is also shown through other photographs, such as those taken of Nargis in the library, in which (as I read it) she has used her positioning, and that of the camera, to manipulate symbols in the background to convey her interests in reading. I also suggest that the range of locations in her photographs convey messages about her pastimes and interests. I consider that the constructions within these photographs are further justified as real "slices of life", because she does not look at the camera, and she appears to be unaware of the camera. In contrast to Uma's photograph, Nargis's

image appears carefully arranged, asserting an 'everyday' reality by placing the viewer as a bystander to her everyday activities.

Summary of Chapter

I have outlined the research context and participants and I have discussed issues relating to theory and method. I have attempted to make clear both my choices in discursive method, and also how I conducted my analyses, both as part of 'good' psychological method (being as 'systematic' as possible) but also as part the reflexivity project of this work. The nature and format of the discussion groups has been outlined, and the choices behind my use of the photographic diaries have been discussed, thus paving the way for the analyses chapters.

Transcribing Conventions

I have used the following abbreviations in the transcripts of the audio-taped discussion groups:

(.)	pause in speaker talking
<u>underline</u>	underlining indicates speaker has stressed the word/ part of word
CAPS	text in capitals shows where words are spoken louder
//	between sections of text indicates some dialogue has been removed
[..]	text has been removed from a sentence, or was incomprehensible
hhh	audible exhalation of breath
!	exclamatory tone
?	questioning tone
text-	talk stops before phrase is complete, or is interrupted
-text	speaker begins talk mid-phrase, or interrupts previous speaker

CHAPTER FIVE

CONSTRUCTING MUSLIM MASCULINITIES

In this chapter I consider ways in which young men in the discussion groups conceptualised their identities with regard to religion, gender, generational status and racism. In the first half of the chapter I consider their constructions of 'Muslim masculinities', paying particular attention to the young men's reproduction of dominant discourses of 'fundamentalist' or 'western' identities, and constructions of masculinity as 'sexist' through 'tradition'. I highlight the cross-cutting of gendered, racialised discourses in the construction of masculinities, considering how the young men conceptualised discourses around 'Muslim' identities in specifically 'male' terms, defining themselves in opposition to British-Muslim young women, through their reproduction of sexist discourses.

In the second half of this chapter, I consider how the young men conceptualised masculine identities, drawing on multiple, and contradictory, conceptualisations of 'race' and 'racisms'. I suggest that the young men negotiated identity positions in light of tensions between discourses of 'masculine power' and discourses of 'powerlessness' as 'victims of racism'. These positions are discussed in terms of tensions between the 'invisibility' of Asian males (Connolly, 1998; Gillborn, 1990; Mac an Ghail, 1988) in academic and popular discourses as 'Black other' and 'sexual other' and their 'visibility' as 'victims of racism' (Connolly, 1998). In particular, the gendered

'solutions' to racisms offered by the young men are critically discussed, with reference to racisms within the educational context.

Constructing Islamic Identities: 'Fundamental' or 'Western'?

As discussed in Chapter Three, there has been a recent growth in Islamophobic discourses, particularly in the media, where Islam has been associated with violence, hostility and terrorism as well as sexist and oppressive treatment of women. Within academic writings, researchers have suggested that young British-Muslims are increasingly primarily defining themselves in terms of their religion, as opposed to their parental nationalities or country/continent of origin (Gardner and Shukur, 1994; Shaw, 1994). I suggest that intersections of gender with Islamophobic discourses have particular effects upon the positioning of young Muslim males as 'fundamentalist' (e.g. by using Islamic identities as an excuse for violence/hostility) and 'sexist'. I argue that dominant constructions of Muslim identities as either 'orthodox/ traditional' or 'progressive/ western' are not only too rigid and simplistic, but are contradictory, working within gendered discourses to problematise and pathologise young males' Islamic identifications.

Many of the young men emphasised the personal importance of, and their pride in, their Islamic identities. They reproduced aspects of academic theories which suggest the growth and prominence of religious identifications (as opposed to national or linguistic identifications) among British-Muslims, with religion forming the central axis along which ethnic and cultural identities are drawn (e.g. Gardner and Shukur, 1994;

Shaw, 1994). The following extracts represent these views, which were expressed across the discussion groups. These particular excerpts have been selected because they expand upon the reasoning behind these generally expressed views.

Extract 1.1 Lowtown school; Louise p.24

- Louise: Uh (.) what are you are you proud of it? are you proud of- are you more proud of being Pakistani Bangladeshi or being Muslim?
- Gufter: Muslim
- Imran: Muslim
- Gufter: its like a religion (.) its (.) like strong and its like-
- Jamil: - cos like if we all Muslims like you're all one (.) like they don't Bangladeshi or we're not Pakistani
- Gufter: yeah plus ethnicity is just where you're born (Lou: yeah) err (.) whereas this is religion and its important

Extract 1.2 Hightown School: Tamar p.7

- Tamar: [...] like you all say that you're proud to be err your colour yeah I mean are you proud of your of your ethnicity?
- Abdul: yeah
- Gulfraz: yeah
- Deepak: Islam uhh? too right! we all respect Islam in school- talks and that
- Tamar: are you all really religious? you're not hhh?
- Gulfraz: yeah I am
- Tamar: you are?
- Deepak: we all think of our religion man so- its it's a big part of our life
- Tamar: wh- what do you like about it? what is it specifically that's so good about it?
- Fazaan: it it just makes sense and that (.) it keeps you close to- out of trouble and makes sense everything's (.) brilliant

Extract 1.3. Westfield school; Louise p.12

- Louise: Do you think that's the most important thing you think about (.) being who you are like being Asian or-
- Rahan: Being a Muslim (.) cos you got Muslims all over the world so wherever you go (.) Muslim- a Muslim brother will help yer- dunno

In these extracts, the young men construct "being a Muslim" as centrally important to their daily lives and sense of self, constructing 'Muslim' as a positive identity, conveying a sense of pride and belonging. Islam is constructed as "important" in that it is both a pervasive influence throughout everyday experiences ("*it's a big part of our life*", Deepak, Extract 1.2) and it also serves as a culturally defining identity. For example, in extract 1.2 Deepak interprets Tamar's question about "ethnicity" in terms of "Islam" and in extract 1.3, Rahan answers my question about the importance of "*being who you are... being Asian*" in terms of "*being a Muslim*". Furthermore, (Extract 1.1) Gufter positions religious identification as more important and meaningful than "ethnicity", which he conceptualises as "*just where you're born*". Gufter's dismissal of "ethnicity" (country of birth) as unimportant stands in contrast to acculturation and social identity theories, which postulate that the identities of second generation minority group youth are derived from, and inherently psychologically conflictual as a result of, their being born within a 'different' majority culture (e.g. Phinney, 1990; Tajfel, 1978). By constructing 'where you're born' as unimportant, Gufter also resists possible competing Pakistani/Bangladeshi *and* British identities, which serves to reinforce his position as a 'real' Muslim, whilst resisting racist discourses around 'belonging'. This point is discussed further in Chapter Seven, where I consider the young men's (and women's) reproduction of, and resistance to, Pakistani and British identities.

The young men also draw on and counter dominant, negative conceptualisations of Islam, presenting radical alternative constructions of Islam as positive ("*brilliant*",

Fazaan, Extract 1.2). Fazaan further justifies the young men's respect for Islam by emphasising the rationality of their choices. This rationality is constructed in terms of doctrine ("*it just makes sense and that*") and presents following Islam as desirable because it "*keeps you (...) out of trouble*". By emphasising Islamic doctrine as 'making sense' and promoting good behaviours, Fazaan thus counters dominant discourses around Islamic 'fanaticism' and 'terrorism'.

The positivity of Islamic identification is explained in terms of strength ("*It's like... strong*", Gufter, Extract 1.2) and unity. For example, Jamil (Extract 1.1) and Rahan (Extract 1.3) both draw on the notion of 'ummah' ('the family of Islam') which transcends nationalist boundaries, as Jamil says "*if we all Muslims like you're all one*".

This emphasis upon 'unity' with other men in the construction of masculinities counters western, individualistic notions of masculinity, which place emphasis upon separation from others. Jamil also produces a radical discourse when he constructs Muslim unity as a political project for bringing together "Bangladeshi" and "Pakistani", thus reducing conflict (Jamil says that because of ummah, there is no stand off between Bangladeshis saying 'we're Bangladeshi' and "*we're not [calling ourselves] Pakistani*").

However, this notion of unity is often drawn along specifically male, 'brotherhood' lines (e.g. Rahan refers to "*Muslims all over the world*" but then specifies that these are male Muslims ("*a Muslim brother will help yer*"). This notion of brotherhood was explicitly referred to in other discussion groups, for example Rakim (Hightown School; Louise p.15) refers to the good thing about being Asian as being part of a community

with *"like brothers (.) they're like my unity"*. I suggest that the young men's discourses could be read as drawing on specific gendered Islamic identities, constructing masculinities in terms of a strong, global, united brotherhood. Although this operates as a powerful, uniting discourse, which the young men use to challenge and resist White society, it also entails the silencing, and exclusion, of Muslim women.

The young men's use of "Muslim" identification rather than nationalistic identities could also be interpreted as merely a 'response' to their generational status; almost all of the boys interviewed had been born in Britain or else had arrived when very young. The idea of Pakistan and Bangladesh being distinctly foreign places to the boys was reiterated in other areas of the discussions. Jamil and Rahan's recognition of the 'functional' potential of 'Muslim' as a superordinate categorisation (to use Sherif's terminology; e.g. Sherif et al. 1961) as a form of coalition politics between young Asian males, suggests a more political use of identity. However, whilst the young men could use their collective Muslim identities as a position from which to challenge racisms and oppressions, this appears to offer little chance for Muslim women and other Black men and women. Furthermore, this could also be viewed as a form of separatist politics, since the young men seem to be distancing themselves from their British nationality (in Chapter Seven there is further discussion around the different use of 'Muslim' by the young men and women, in terms of discourses of racism and masculinity/femininity). Although the young men use the 'Muslim' identity discourse in a seemingly unproblematic way (as a 'natural', almost 'genetic' cultural identity which transcends country of birth), in the following extracts, the young men draw on

notions of 'homeland' to construct differences between themselves and 'proper Muslims' (see extract 1.4).

Negotiating 'Western' Identities: "*We're Muslims... but not proper Muslims*"

Despite emphasising the importance of their Muslim identities, some of the young men talked about not being "proper" Muslims. Not being a proper Muslim was constructed in terms of not practising religion to a sufficient degree. However, the young men constructed not being a 'proper' Muslim as due to living in a non-Muslim country, rather than being the result of a lack of faith, or rejection of parental beliefs and values, as suggested by acculturation theories which draw on notions of decline in ethnicity (e.g. Constantinou & Harvey, 1985).

Extract 1.4 Lowtown School; Tamar p.24

- Sham: Truth is uh most of us don't know much about it ourselves! do we?!
- Naseem: no
- Tamar: you don't?
- Sham: no its just like- no
- Tamar: why do you think that's (.) are you just not interested or-
- Sham: we're interested but uh uh its hard! (.) like we used to- like most of us have lived here all our lives yeah? (.) I mean in Bangladesh they all read namaaz five times! and I found it surprising cos none of my mates round here do! (.) and uh like I'd go in't Mosque with them and that-
- Naseem: thing is like you become religious following by like giving things up
- Sham: yeah but its- there- they're used to it like they started- but here you're used to going to school umm with girls and that and used to talking to them I don't know! you yeah (.) and so like you slowly (.) get westernised really
- Tamar: what (.) I mean you sort of used the word westernised but what do you think that actually means?
- Naseem: more modern
- Tamar: modern?
- Sham: yeah! (.) I don't know!
- Tamar: I mean do you think being western being western's good?
- Naseem: (.) dunno
- Sham: well I've only been western so I don't know what its like to be (.) like uh
- Tamar: *well like comparing yourselves to your parents?*
- Sham: well yeah! cos we seem to have more fun! hh!
- Jagdip: a lot!
- Sham: well yeah I mean (.) its good but then from what I believe I'm gonna rot in hell! so I shouldn't be doing it! so hhh!

Extract 1.5 Westfield School; Louise p.11

- Louise: are you all religious?
- Rahan: yeah (Lou: yeah) but we can't be called proper Muslims
- Louise: why not?
- Rahan: because you don't do- we don't we don't follow the- like pray five times a day (.) and er go to Mosque every Friday cos we in school
- Wajit: like I've seen loads of umm (.) Asians and like is like beginning to go like into pubs
- Rahan: once
- Wajit: and I've seen quite a lot of people (.) erm (.)

Rahan: and I think the problem around [Mill Town] is we aint got Mosques its a bit hard to get Mosques here (Lou: yeah?) we just got about two in one area! or summit!

In the two extracts above, the young men negotiate their identities as 'Muslim', questioning whether they consider themselves to be "*proper Muslims*" (Rahan, Extract 1.5), drawing on nationality, and their generational positions, to construct differences between themselves as "*westernised*" (Sham, Extract 1.4) and 'proper' Muslims. These discourses contrast with previous extracts, where "Muslim" was constructed as a homogenous, unifying global discourse of identification between people of varying backgrounds. Instead, in constructing Muslim identities, Sham positions himself and the other boys as second generation ("*most of us have lived here all our lives*") and as British, by drawing comparisons between life in Britain and Bangladesh (e.g. finding the reading of Namaaz five times a day in Bangladesh as "*surprising*" and something which "*none of my mates round here do*").

Being a "proper" Muslim is similarly particularised in both extracts in terms of performing religious requirements and behaviours ("*read Namaaz five times a day*", Sham, Extract 1.4; "*pray five times a day (.) and er go to Mosque every Friday*", Rahan, Extract 1.5). In addition, in both extracts the young men place an emphasis upon particular 'western behaviours', as incompatible with being a 'proper Muslim'.

These are conceptualised as "*giving things up*" (Naseem, Extract 1.4), "*going to school .. with girls.. and.. talking to them*" (Sham, Extract 1.4) and "*beginning to go like into pubs*" (Wajit (Extract 1.5). In other words the young men draw on Islamic religious discourses around sex and alcohol to redefine situations considered 'normal'

within white British cultures, thus reproducing a discourse of being 'between two cultures', whereby their participation in 'British' cultures prevents them from being 'proper Muslims'.

Sham positions himself within these negotiations by reproducing a definition of himself as "*slowly get(ting) westernised*". This construction draws on discourses of assimilation and 'culture decline'. Wajit's suggestion that he has "*seen loads of um (.) Asians ...is like beginning to go like into pubs*" also draws on notions of 'generational decline' and 'loss of culture' through contact with (and therefore assimilation into) 'host' culture.

Rahan's reproduction of dominant ideas around generational 'decline' in cultural identities to the point where these boys are not "proper Muslims" could be read as collapsing culture into religion, and essentialising 'nationality' as a marker of ethnicity. For example, the young men's parents may appear as 'purer' and 'proper' Muslims because they were not born British. In other words Muslim identity is being rejoined with nationality, as compared to previous extracts where the two were separated, which reproduces positivistic conceptualisations of clearly-defined, oppositional 'majority' and 'minority' cultures. Sham's talk also reveals an apparent contradiction, since he refers to both 'becoming more westernised' and "*I've only been western*", where the former draws on processes of assimilation and the latter suggests an essential 'western' identity, ascribed by his birth in Britain, from which he cannot detach himself.

Sham presents British institutions such as the education system as antithetical to leading an Islamic lifestyle, both practically in that it makes it difficult to "*pray five times a day*" and in terms of mixed sex schooling ("*here you're used to going to school um with girls*"). Daily contact and mixing with girls is particularised as a hindrance to being a good Muslim, that is girls and contact with girls is conceptualised in sexual terms. Sham's construction of mixed-sex education as integral in the gradual process of 'becoming westernised' serves to further position Islamic religious beliefs as antithetical to amoral, British social and educational life. However, whereas acculturation and assimilation theories have previously focussed upon 'westernisation' as resulting from changes in attitudes, (as values from mainstream society "filter" into minority cultures), Rahan (extract 1.5) produces an alternative conceptualisation of 'decline' in religious practice in terms of limited resources ("*we aint got Mosques it's a bit hard to get Mosques here.. we just got about two in one area!*"), thus locating the difficulties associated with being religious externally, with western/British society and not internally as psychological conflict or as a rejection of the Islamic faith.

Naseem echoes dominant constructions of minority group cultures as being primitive and backward, in comparison to being western which is "more modern". However, whereas mainstream industrialist discourses may assume that 'modern' and 'fun' equate with 'desirable', the young men also construct 'being religious' as desirable (as Sham says "*we're interested but uh uh its hard!*") associating 'modern' with hedonism, ("*fun*") and immorality.

The apparent contradiction between Sham's westernised 'fun' lifestyle and his Islamic beliefs ("*from what I believe I'm gonna rot in hell! So I shouldn't be doing it!*") seems to reproduce a discourse of 'conflict' between cultures, as hypothesised by various researchers (Ghuman, 1991; Hiro, 1991; Watson, 1977). Sham juxtaposes western and Muslim cultures, as "fun"/"modern" versus moral/religious respectively. Islam is positioned within the two cultures differently, as the norm within Bengali culture ("*they're used to it*") but as in opposition to British institutions/society which exerts pressure onto the boys making them more "*westernised*". Difficulty in maintaining a Muslim identity is constructed as a particular function of living in Britain unlike in Bangladesh where this conflict is absent since practising Islam is the norm.

The subversive elements of the discourses Sham uses derive from his implicit location of cause (blame) within western/ British society and British institutions for making it hard for him and his peers to live as Muslims. Some schools (e.g. Eastfield School) do offer prayer rooms and not all second generation young people attend mixed schools (single sex schools are often popular with Muslim parents). Solutions offered within Sham's discourse could be not attending school or attending single sex schools. These constructions of Muslims in Britain being more 'modern' than those in Bangladesh do not necessarily reflect a view shared by all Asians (e.g. the use of a discourse of British Asians "clinging" to culture more than those in India, who are perceived as being more 'westernised' and "liberal"). Instead, I would suggest that views of assimilated, British, 'westernised' identities as more modern could be read as reproducing racist cultural discourses, which conceptualise, and value, a particular 'normal' sequence of

development (Rattansi, 1992), which in Britain has been towards secularisation (resulting in associations between being 'religious' and being 'old-fashioned').

From these extracts, I suggest that although the young men reproduced discourses referring to Muslim and Western identities, they did not construct these as oppositional, exclusive identities (as suggested by 'caught between two cultures' theories). For example, in extracts 1.1 to 1.3 the young men emphasised the primacy of, and their pride in, their Muslim identification. However, in extracts 1.4 and 1.5, the young men constructed differences between themselves as 'western' Muslims, living in Britain, and 'proper' Muslims in Bangladesh. The discourse of 'culture as tradition' has been identified by Wetherell and Potter (1992) in the talk of Pakeha (White) New Zealanders, whereby culture is conceptualised as something ancient and unchanging, liable to become 'polluted' by modern/ western society. Wetherell and Potter identified the racist actions of this discourse in terms of defining some voices as more 'authentic' ("proper") than others. From this perspective, the young men appear as pathologised, and positioned between clashing cultures.

However, when the young men constructed themselves as 'western', they did not draw on attitudinal change, rather they conceptualised being 'western' in more external terms, as a function of being a minority group member in a non-Muslim society. Sham uses a discourse of 'culture as tradition' to argue that their religious traditions need to be protected and safeguarded from western detrimental influences. However, he also constructs a radical challenge to (racist) culture discourses, which contrast the

ancient and archaic with the 'modern' (advanced) western society. He positions Bangladesh as an 'alternative present' to British society, a 'proper' or 'ideal' Muslim country, in which "they all read Namaaz five times [a day]", and where being religious is the norm ("they're used to it"). He resists the association of this society as 'primitive' by positioning it as morally, and spiritually, desirable (and therefore preferable to White society). This construction resists culture/multicultural discourses that construct tradition as archaic, which only existed in a 'true' (and therefore 'viable') form in 'the past' (i.e. incompatible with 'modern' times/society). However, Sham also reproduces dominant constructions of 'western' as 'modern', but positions this form of society as ultimately destructive of the individual and 'wrong'. Furthermore, Sham resists the marginalisation of 'culture' within dominant western discourse (the idea that "culture is for spare time", Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.137), by constructing culture (religion) as a (natural) way of life. From this position, existing social relations and western society are challenged as pathological, making the young men go 'against their nature'.

The young men therefore located themselves as inherently 'good' Muslims (having good intentions) who are 'tempted' and prevented from living as 'proper' Muslims by White society. The young men thus positioned themselves as 'western' by virtue of context, and as constantly struggling against this context. These constructions differ from the young men's pathologisation of their ('western') female peers, which is addressed below.

Gendered Masculinities

I argued in Chapters One and Two that positivistic psychological theories have assumed a male norm, and that these theories have been formulated by men, and for men, with the result being that women are positioned as Others. The achievements of feminism in 'problematizing' and 'relativizing' masculinity (Wetherell, 1993) has led to a growing number of theories pertaining to the construction of masculinity (see Gough, 1998).

Using the following extracts, I consider ways in which the young men constructed sexualised, gendered masculinities, by defining themselves in relation to women, and constructing 'sexism' as integral to masculinity. I suggest that the young men used discourses of 'race' and 'culture' to maintain/construct powerful, dominant masculinities. Their constructions of 'sexism' are discussed in terms of their location within specific 'racial' and ethnic discourses.

Despite voicing their concerns about their own religiosity, many of the boys drew comparisons between themselves and their female Muslim peers, emphasising how 'non-religious' the girls were, and how this was cause for concern. In contrast to the previous ambivalence associated with being 'western' as males, 'change' for women was constructed as 'bad'. Coupled with this, the majority of the boys indicated that, as Muslim men, surveillance of Muslim/ Asian women (particularly their sisters) is an integral feature of their identities. This discourse of protection of sisters was also reproduced (as problematic) by staff in informal conversations with myself. The

young men appeared to reproduce oppressive, sexist discourses in relation to Muslim women, presenting Islam as restricting women's behaviours, which is enforced by the young men 'patrolling' young women's behaviour and appearance (clothing). At the same time, the boys reproduced conceptualisations of second generation Muslim girls either progressive or orthodox, with the former rebelling, rejecting Islam, and the restrictions placed upon them. In this way, the young men protected their own positions and definitions of Muslim identity, by rendering alternative, challenging voices from young women as 'less', or 'not really', Muslim.

Several of the boys constructed British Muslim girls as rebellious and "*not real Muslims*". The section below shows how I consider they did this by (re)producing discourses around Muslim girls' clothing, dress and the wearing of dbuttah and through the use of discourses which pathologise second generation Muslim women as 'mixed up and confused' (Ghuman, 1991; Hogg, Abrams and Patel, 1987). The young men labelled their own discourses as sexist and knowingly unfair, but justified their continued use of them in terms of "*tradition*". They thus made their arguments sound more reasonable (less 'prejudiced', sexist) by constructing them as 'culture'. The young men further supported these constructions by identifying 'real' sexism, which was talked about in terms of 'colourless' sexism (see below, '*Constructions of Sexism as Tradition*').

Constructing 'Orthodox' versus 'Western' Women

Despite having positioned themselves as "*not proper Muslims*" in generational terms, several of the boys constructed themselves as 'proper Muslims' in comparison to British-Muslim girls, who were referred to as "*not really Muslim*" (e.g. Gufter Lowtown School, LA; p.27; Kabir, Westfield School, LA; p.12 Rakim Hightown School, LA; p.13). Many of the boys talked about Muslim/ Asian girls' personal religiosity, and morality, in terms of their clothing, whereby 'Western' clothing, (particularly revealing clothing or skirts) were particularised as markers of immorality or 'lack' of religiosity. For example Sham (Lowtown School; Tamar p.32) tells Tamar that Asian girls in Mill Town would not be seen dressed like she was ("*you wouldn't get Pakistani women dressing like that round our area*)¹. He continues that if his sisters wore skirts he would "*kill 'em!*" and "*wouldn't let them out*" because "*people would call them stuff*", unless the skirt was right down to the ground in which case it would "*be alright*".

Young women's clothing was also drawn upon in discussions around the wearing of hijab/ dbuttah (the Veil/ scarves), which elicited divided, and heated, opinions from the young men. Many who expressed opinions in my discussion groups, thought girls should wear them more (e.g. Rakim Hightown School LA p.13; Ashav Eastfield School; LA p.13) and bemoaned that more girls do not cover their heads (e.g. Wajit, Westfield School; LA p.17). Some of the young men, such as Mushtak and Mo

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Tamar was dressed in 'Western' clothes; a long skirt and a long-sleeved top.

(Hightown School, LA p.14) thought wearing dbuttah, and being more religious, should be "up to them". However, Ashav (Eastfield School; LA p.13) also pointed out that girls wear scarves at home and not to school "*cos people take the mick out of them*" which suggests that Muslim religious discourses and personal religious choices are not value free, but are positioned in relation to racist discourses and gendered discourses concerning male protection of female sexuality. The two extracts below have been selected since they utilise a similar juxta-positioning of 'religion' and 'fashion', alluding to the 'western' and 'traditional' dichotomy.

Extract 1.6 Lowtown School; Louise p.27

- Louise: so um (.) cos I've noticed that quite a few of the girls here don't wear dbuttah or anything like that (.) uh (.) what do you think about that? Do you think its-
- Gufter: -they're not (.) they're not exactly (.) you know (.) they don't really take Islam seriously (.) like they've got a taste of (.) um (.) its like they've got higher status over here (.) and they don't really care (.) so (.) they're not really religious (.) I mean you can go to them and say are you Muslim and they'll say yeah (.) (Louise: yeah) do you read Namaaz at the end of the day? Do you pray five times a day? say no (.) do you fast every year? they say maybe one or two- its like (.) they not really Muslim (.) its just cos (.) cos they say it (.) but they don't even do what is required
- Louise: do you lot think that's OK or do you think its bad?
- Gufter: its bad (.) because then when it comes to celebrating festivals (.) they say yeah! I'm a Muslim now! cos they wanna get new clothes!
- Louise: ha ha! (.) do you think girls should wear (.) dbuttah?
- Jamil: they should (.) they should wear dbuttah (.) (Louise: mmm) but (.) not the black covering you know what I mean (.) its weird!
- Imran: s'weird

Extract 1.7 Westfield School; Louise p.12/17

- Kabir: Miss! especially the girls! you know like with fashion its said you can only show your wrist- wrist and face that's it- but they can't- most of these girls miss they just can't- Asian girls can't be bothered!
- Louise: can't be bothered?
- Kabir: yeah
- Wajit: they try to be fashionable!
- Rahan: you have to cover your head as well (Louise: uh huh) but a person I know is (.) cos err her father is thingy- an Imam the person who reads prayers in the Mosque
- Louise: so why don't you think the girls are as religious? are they-
- Rahan: cos they don't have a choice you know back in Africa the girls had a choice to go to Mosque and pray in Mosque (.) and the men because it was it was about two grannies- so the girls go upstairs and-
- Kabir: - Miss I reckon that that if they go to Saudi Arabia- and every single woman you see you can only see her wrists and face- that's where I think you know they get used to it but (.) countries like this no one (.) no one does it so (.) (Louise: do you think they should?) like my parents don't do it! (.) yeah yeah they should
- // Louise: cos you were saying like the girls have changed a bit like they- they're not so- someone said they're more like fashionable do you think change is bad?
- Wajit: very bad (.) its if you go around all the country (.) I bet you won't see one person- one Asian woman with the head scarf (.) its-
- Rahan: its parents with girls who were born here and that's (.) the other thing
- Kabir: if some people like some foreigners like in a proper strict country they moved down here they might they might you know (.) wear it

In contrast to previous extracts in which the young men constructed their own Islamic identities as "*interested but its hard*" (see Extract 1.4), in the above extracts Gufter (Extract 1.6) and Kabir (Extract 1.7) construct second generation Muslim girls as "*not bothered*" about religion ("*they don't really care*", Gufter; "*Asian girls can't be bothered*", Kabir). In both extracts, young women are described as not caring about religion, because they have more materialistic concerns with fashion ("*they try to be*

fashionable!", Wajit, Extract 1.7). Gufter further justifies this view, by explaining that young women's participation in "*celebrating festivals*" is not based on religious sentiments, but is because "*they wanna get new clothes!*". Instead, Gufter suggests that young Muslim women are Muslim in name only, and not in practice ("*they don't even do what is required*") because they do not "*pray five times a day*" or "*fast every year*".

In the above extracts, the young men suggest that girls' lack of interest in religion is related to "*fashion*" and British society. However, in contrast to the previous discourses, which emphasised young men's continued interest in Islam despite the constraints or temptations of western society ("*we're interested but its hard*"), Kabir and Wajit (Extract 1.7) and Gufter (extract 1.6) construct girls as not caring or being bothered on account of being "*born here*" (Rahan, Extract 1.7) and western preoccupations with "*fashion*". This serves to question the underlying motivation and religiosity of the young women, whilst exempting the boys from appearing equally un-participative in overt religious behaviours. The young men have drawn on dominant, patriarchal discourses, positioning the young women in terms of clothing and appearance, as frivolous and superficial, requiring restriction and control. For example, in addition to the view expressed by Rahan that "*parents with girls who were born here*" allow their daughters not to wear scarves, elsewhere, girls who did wear dbuttah to school were constructed as only doing so at their parents' insistence (e.g. Mushtak Hightown School; LA p.16 and Ashav, Eastfield School; LA p.13). In both cases therefore, the agency of young women is removed, because the wearing of

dbuttah is used to signify girls' religiosity, and something which *should* be done, but the decision as to whether, or not, to wear dbuttah to school, is located within the parental sphere.

However, this preoccupation with fashion and clothes is not essentialised as 'femininity' (as in popular western, patriarchal discourses), rather the young men have explained it in terms of western influence. In addition to his emphasis upon women's concerns with "*new clothes*", Gufter relates young women's lack of religiosity to women having "*a higher status over here*" and Kabir identifies the problem as "*countries like this no one does it*" whereas in a "*proper strict country*" women would be "*getting used to it*". This statement sets feminist ideals and Muslim doctrine in opposition to each other, because it implies that women with "*higher status*" will choose not to "*take Islam seriously*", thus Gufter reproduces dominant discourses which construct Islam as an oppressive, sexist religion.

Wajit and Rahan's comments about change among "*girls who were born here*" being "*very bad*" also reproduce dominant notions of 'decline of culture' in second generation Muslims, positioning women as 'cultural carriers' of ethnicity/religion (see Chapter One). Such ideas are linked to ideas of the 'double oppression' of Asian women. However, the boys do not present the girls as 'passive victims', instead emphasis was placed on young women's resistance and rebellion, to the exasperation of the boys, who fear they are becoming 'uncontrollable' (see below). I also consider that by particularising the wearing of dbuttah as a marker of religiosity, the young men

produce a convincing rhetoric because I am invited to 'see with my own eyes' that girls are not religious. However, the young women produced various other constructions regarding the meaning of wearing dbutton (see young women's analyses, Chapter Six) which I consider contradicted the young men's constructions of themselves as "*not bothered*" about religion.

Constructions of "Modern" Young Women: "*Mental*" and "*Messed up*"

Young men from Hightown, Lowtown and Eastfield schools talked about British-Muslim girls as having 'changed' and become "*out of control*" and "*modernised*" in their behaviour. For example Yasser (Eastfield School; TD, p.19) talks of how "*these days girls are getting out of control aren't they?!*". In the two selected extracts (below) the young men conceptualise these 'changes' in women as pathological and a result of being "*modernised*". The pathologisation of "modern" Muslim women is drawn upon sexual lines. In the first extract, Tamar has asked whether they think the girls will go to University:

Extract 1.8 Hightown School; Tamar p.11

Abdul: no they're mental!
Tamar: they're mental? hhh!
Deepak: all these Asian girls- what they do-
Abdul: they just go after boys!
Deepak: go after boy and they laugh so loud yeah (Abdul: yeah!) you can hear them all down the corridor!
Abdul: they just piss you off man
Fazaan: they follow you all the time!
Abdul: yeah they don't follow the Islamic path they they follow
Tamar: they fol- what they following?
Abdul: the wrong path
Tamar: Ok (.) umm
Fazaan: they gonna be struck down
Abdul: they used to be straight all the Indian girls and that but they get messed up now
Tamar: how how are they messed up?
Abdul: just
Gulfraz: from going out with boys and that

Extract 1.9 Lowtown School; Louise p.35

Gufter: at home yeah its like (.) s'more of a downside for the girl cos they have to stay in (.) its just like Islam (Louise: mmm) that's it
Louise: what do you think they'd say about it? (.) what do they think about it?
Gufter: mmm (.) depends how they are cos like (.) the ones who think they're you know modernised and (.) they say something like you know its not fair I want to go out see that (.) but others will understand (.) they'll say something like yeah its right you know I don't mind cos (.) they know its right
Imran: cos like you know you see all these girls wearing jeans you know (.) they they're the ones who are (.) uncontrolled and everything
Jamil: not all of them
Imran: have you seen anyone wearing jeans?
Louise: are most girls here quite (.) traditional then and a few are (.) like more-
Gufter: actually more of them are turning into like (.) the modernised type (.) cos they- these you see them wearing these kind of dresses and (.) you know (.) its just different (.) its not how it used to be
Louise: they wear dresses outside
Gufter: outside yeah (.) they really give it (.) they don't really care
Jamil: in our area they've started wearing (.) uh (.) body's outside yeah (.) showing their uh stomach"

Imran: yeah do you like that?! ha ha ! hhh!
 Louise: uh (.) do you think sexism is important? Do you think its important for girls to be treated equally?
 Gufter: they should be treated equally yeah
 Imran: yeah

In these two extracts, the young men reproduce mainstream discourses which have identified young Asian women in terms of the 'traditional'/'western' dichotomy (e.g. Ellis, 1991; Weinreich, 1983). For example, in extract 1.9 in particular, Gufter refers to "*the ones who think they're you know modernised*" and "*the modernised type*". 'Modern' young women are constructed in terms of pathology ("*they're mental*", Abdul, extract 1.8), and sexuality, which is talked about as relationships with males ("*they just go after boys!*", Abdul), and in dress and appearance ("*..they've started wearing (.) uh (.) body's outside yeah (.) showing their uh stomach*", Jamil, Extract 1.9). These behaviours are positioned as counter to Islamic values ("*they don't follow the Islamic path*", Abdul, Extract 1.8).

Throughout both of the extracts, the young men have placed an emphasis on 'change', reproducing psychological discourses which construct 'modern/ western' orientations as resulting from processes of assimilation and acculturation of the minority group into the majority culture (e.g. Phinney, 1990; Hutnik, 1991). For example, (extract 1.8) Abdul refers to change within "*Indian girls*" who "*used to be straight*" but "*get messed up now*". Gufter also alludes to change among Asian young women ("*more of them are turning into like (.) the modernised type*") and says "*its just different (.) its not how it used to be*". The young men reproduce themes of 'conflict' as integral to

constructions of 'western' young women, echoing positivistic psychological theories (e.g. Ghuman, 1991; Hogg, Abrams and Patel, 1987).

Psychological theories have located Asian women's conflicts as internal, psychological identity crises, (e.g. Hogg, Abrams and Patel, 1987). In these extracts, the young men constructed conflict in terms of women's pathologised sexuality, and amorality, drawing on patriarchal discourses around the sexualisation of women. In contrast to internal psychological confusion, the young men placed emphasis upon the 'western' young women themselves as unconcerned and not bothered ("*go after boy and they laugh so loud yeah*", Deepak; "*they don't really care*", Gufter). I consider that although the young men pathologised the women for 'western' attitudes and behaviours (e.g. as "*mental*" and "*messed up*", Abdul; as "*uncontrolled*", Imran) this is conceptualised in terms of the religious consequences of their actions ("*they gonna be struck down*", Fazaan) and for going against Islam, not as a sense of internal psychological conflict.

In addition to the immorality of being 'modern', both Abdul and Gufter allude to 'traditional' behaviours as 'original' and 'true' states, with the implication of western 'corruption'. For example, Gufter states that the young women only "*think they're modernised*" (my emphasis) and they "*used to be straight*" (Abdul). In other words they are just deluded, trying to go against their 'nature', whereas the wise ones "*understand*". Gufter's lamentation "*its not how it used to be*" reproduces conservative notions of an earlier 'golden age' of morality and order, or a "nostalgia for a golden

past" (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.184). This equation of sexualised young women as "*mental*", morally corrupt ("*gonna be struck down*") and "*uncontrolled*" operates as a sexist discourse to present women as pathological, denying women the power to construct their own sexualities (e.g. as both sexual beings and Muslim women). In contrast, the boys, position themselves as able to combine these aspects unproblematically.

In contrast to "*the modernised type*", Gufter (extract 1.9) constructs 'traditional' young women as wiser, with more understanding and acceptance of the restrictions placed on their going out at home ("*others will understand (.) they'll say something like yeah its right you know I don't mind cos (.) they know its right*") and Abdul (Extract 1.8) suggests that before these 'changes', Asian young women used to be sensible and non-pathological ("*they used to be straight all the Indian girls*").

The two extracts (1.8 and 1.9) vary in that the way 'changes' among Muslim women are constructed. In extract 1.8, Deepak and Abdul refer to "all these Asian girls" (Deepak) and "*all the Indian girls*" (Abdul). While in extract 1.9, Gufter refers to a process of more gradual change ("*actually more of them are turning into like (.) *the modernised type**"), suggesting that there still are "*others.. [who].. understand*". Jamil and Imran also question Gufter's remark about "*all these girls*" who wear jeans. Jamil qualifies Gufter's statement, insisting that "*not all of them*" are like he says, whereas Imran questions the statement yet further by bringing in their own personal experiences as contradictory to Gufter's image ("*have you seen anyone wearing jeans?*"). Imran's

question suggests a difference between the young men's reproduction of dominant discourses ("*girls are becoming western/modern*") and their own experiences of their female peers. In other words, Gufter and Abdul challenge liberal, multicultural ideals of 'change' (through assimilation and acculturation) as positive, presenting 'tradition' as reasonable, sensible and more desirable.

Although the young men appear to reproduce aspects of dominant psychological discourses, I consider that their accounts also challenge these theories in certain ways.

For example, Asian young women are not talked about as passive or invisible (see Mama, 1995), rather they are constructed as loud ("*they laugh so loud yeah.. you can hear them all down the corridor*", Deepak) and intrusive ("*they follow you all the time*", Fazaan), which "*pisses off*" the boys. The young men also challenge dominant stereotypes of young Muslim women as 'not allowed' to go to university because of patriarchal home cultures. Instead, Abdul and Deepak suggest that the reason their female peers will not go to university is because they are "*mental*", and only interested in chasing boys (thus shifting the focus of attention away from the role of culture, and onto the psychology of individual women). The identification of women as 'mental' could be read as drawing on associations of women as less intellectual than men, through their being 'closer to nature', and more affected by hormones and emotion than men. In this way, women's sexuality is positioned as antithetical to 'intelligence' in a way that is not done for men. However, the comment could be equally read as referring to the 'protection of femininity', whereby young women are not allowed to go away in order to protect them from their own instincts. Both of these

interpretations draw upon notions of the young women's visible, active sexuality, which again contradict the 'passive victims' stereotype.

However, the young men do not conceptualise these behaviours as 'good', rather Abdul positions them as "*the wrong path*", contrasting these 'loud' and sexualised behaviours to ideals of 'shereef' femininity. The young men in extract 1.9 did not construct these views as 'sexist' but as 'right', positioning 'traditional' women as 'wise' ("*they understand*") and thus as more 'authentic' Muslims. This construction relies on a notion of homogenous 'culture', the content of which is defined from a single perspective (the young men's). Within this discourse, women who 'rebel', or who offer challenging discourses, are dismissed as irrational, lacking 'real' understanding, and the legitimacy of their criticisms is undermined. To support their non-sexist position further, Gufter and Imran agreed that women "*should be treated equally yeah*".

In other words, they explained differences in the treatment of males and females in terms of religion, not oppression ("*its just like Islam*", Gufter). However, the young men's constructions of women in terms of their sexuality and appearance draws upon patriarchal discourses concerning the 'protection of femininity' (Wetherell, 1993), and thus can be read as sexist discourses. The young men stated their interpretations of Islam, and "*the Islamic path*", as factual, to support the moral basis of their views.

The young men pathologise 'unnatural' and 'deviant' women, as going against their backgrounds and religion. I suggest that this construction reproduces men's position as definers of culture and tradition. In other words, the young men have positioned

women as 'cultural carriers' through their embodiment of collective honour (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989). However, whilst this discourse could be seen as positioning Muslim and western cultures at odds with one another, it also works to protect White male power, because 'conflict' is located between Muslim men and women, within 'sexist' Muslim cultures.

Constructions of Sexism as "*Tradition*"

Extract 1.10 Lowtown School; Tamar p.23

- Tamar: what do you think it all goes down to? [different treatment of Asian men and women]
- Naseem: uhh religion?
- Sham: history!
- Tamar: history
- Sham: yeah! (.) cos um (.) I think I don't know if this is true or not-
- Tamar: I would you would you change things? Do you think its fine? is it-
- Sham: its good for us innit?! we're lads! so hhh! its alright for us but (.) hhh! I think I I quite I feel the women would wanna change it!
- Tamar: what about your sisters and friends that you got at the moment that are girls?
- Sham: I dunno they're too young to (Tamar; too young they don't really-) to know yet I don't know they probably would change it cos (.) its not really fair (.) on err (.) Asian women (.) I dunno!
- Tamar: // what do you think should be done? (.) do you think things should do you think should change it?
- Sham: yeah but what can we do? its tradition
- Jagdip: yeah
- Tamar: yeah but like you're all the next generation (Sham: but-) so you could! You could change it!
- Sham: that wouldn't solve it! cos could either be- change it and be heroes for some of them but we would still have hell of a- (Jagdip: yeah and we wouldn't like-) like our forefathers (Tamar: so-) just carry on with the tradition!

In the above extract, Sham and Naseem appear unsure as to the reasons behind differential treatment of Asian men and women. Naseem suggests that it could be "*religion*" and Sham suggests "*history*", although he qualifies his suggestion by saying "*I don't know if this is true or not*". The young men detach 'patriarchy' from "*religion*" and 'factually correct' "*history*", challenging dominant discursive constructions of Islam, and Asian cultures, as inherently sexist and oppressive. Instead, the young men present explanations of the maintenance of patriarchal power, and privilege, as instrumental in the perpetuation of 'difference', or 'culture'.

Sham constructs the reproduction of unequal power relations between men and women as "*tradition*". Culture (as tradition) is presented as natural, powerful, unchanging and unchangeable, because Sham suggests neither he, nor his sisters and female peers, would be able to change it, even if they tried, or wanted, to ("*I feel the women would wanna change it! (...) but what can we do? its tradition*"). He acknowledges that as "*lads*" the boys are aware of their privileged position and are therefore unwilling to challenge the situation which is "*good for us*".

However, he also presents a simultaneous recognition of the disadvantaged position of women ("*its not really fair (.) on err (.) Asian women*") and that they would want to change it if they could ("*I feel the women would wanna change it*"). Sham justifies his recognition of "*it's not really fair*" and his unwillingness to challenge this unfairness in terms of young men's impotence against 'tradition' ("*but what can we do? its*

tradition"). This construction protects Sham, and other young men, from allegations of sexism, because he presents himself as unable to challenge the status quo.

Sham's emphasis upon his powerlessness in relation to "*tradition*" also serves to distance himself, and other individual males, from patriarchy. Patriarchy is constructed as an institution external to themselves, with its own laws and norms, which despite benefiting males, does not implicate the young men in its perpetuation, thus removing any possible blame from them, their views or actions. Furthermore, the emphasis upon "*tradition*" as a system which pre-dates the young men themselves, also justifies the young men as non-responsible or culpable.

Tamar challenges this construction of 'victims of tradition' by drawing on the reproduction of tradition, conceptualising the young men in generational terms ("*you're all the next generation .. you could change it!*"). This undermines Sham's argument, and he responds by shifting the focus from his own inabilities ('not being able') to "*that wouldn't solve it*". Sham reinterprets Tamar's call for change as having only limited effects, because men would only "*be heroes for some of them*". In this argument, Sham introduces a dilemma of interests for young men between their responsibilities to women, and to their "*forefathers*". This dilemma is resolved by '*just carry[ing] on with the tradition*'. In other words, Sham conceptualises the maintenance of patriarchal power as part of masculinity and 'cultural tradition'.

Sham constructs the status quo and unequal power relations between the sexes as outside of his control, thus absolving himself of responsibility for the reproduction of patriarchy. I consider that his discourses construct Asian women as aware of the inequalities they experience ("*women would wanna change it*"), but as unable to effect change. Within this discourse, women require male "*heroes*" to institute change for them. But Sham conceptualises himself, and other young Muslim males, as 'reluctant heroes', unwilling to give up their benefits, powerless in the face of "*tradition*" and their obligations to their "*forefathers*".

I suggest that Sham constructs Muslim masculinities by drawing on competing discourses of power and powerlessness, positioning himself both as a 'victim' of culture/tradition and as an agentic perpetuator of tradition. In this way, he constructs masculinities as relational, drawn along gendered, cultural divisions, and he positions Muslim masculinities as characterised by these divisions, but not as inherently sexist. Thus, Sham uses a particular, gendered discourse of 'culture as tradition' to argue for, and justify, the maintenance of particular power relations between men and women.

Although the young men suggested that such differences were "not really fair" on women, they resisted constructions of these differences as 'sexist', positioning them, instead, as 'culture/tradition'. In comparison, several of the young men talked about 'real' sexism, which was identified as 'unfair'. I would suggest that the young men reproduced constructions of sexism as 'non-racial' in order to further justify particular cultural practices as 'non-sexist'. For example, boys in all of the four schools drew on

White, feminist, liberal discourses: Nazir (Westfield School p.15) suggested that he would encourage his wife if she wanted to have a career; Rakim (Hightown school p.18) acknowledged patriarchal systems and said that it is harder for girls to get jobs than for men; and Sham himself states that sexism will become more of an issue when he has his own children, and that he would be "*offended*" if anyone was sexist to his daughter (Sham, Lowtown school, p.31). Yasser and Abdul from Eastfield School also dispute the myth that Asian girls are weak and not as strong as boys ("*I mean you can't say that girls are weak and girls are this (.) because we got X and Y and they're-they're not weak!... they could knock the whole lot of us out!*") Yasser, Eastfield School p.16). I would suggest that such constructions can be read in light of suggestions by Wetherell and Potter (1992) and Billig et al. (1988), that in order to justify a particular argument as 'unprejudiced' and reasonable, the speaker may construct an alternative 'prejudiced' position for comparison. Thus in these extracts, the young men seem to be taking liberal positions, reproducing feminist arguments, whilst also distancing 'cultural' inequalities from 'real' sexism (which, Sham suggests, he is 'offended' by).

Sham's (Extract 1.10) also avoids presenting himself in a negative way as 'sexist' by constructing masculinity in terms of a positive 'protecting' femininity (e.g. being a strong, responsible man is to protect women's honour), and in terms of personal honour and respect, which is derived relationally from women. This point is discussed in more detail in the following extract, in which Sham positions masculinity as relationally derived from female 'honour'.

Constructions of Sexism as a Defining Feature of Masculinity

Extract 1.11 Lowtown School; Tamar p.15/16 & p.36

Sham: like when boys are with girls they don't say anything but if you see an Asian girl (.) with another lad you know (.) people go MAD! (Naseem:yeah) like go up and you say nurrgh! no she's a (.) hhh! slapper! Hhh! (Naseem: yeah) and so it's a bit sexist really!// its like all the lads do it all the Asian lads do it all the time so (.) nobody says anything (.)

//p.36 Sham: [...] I don't know with my sister like (.) you do this I won't get caught for it! people will say oh! look at her! ITS YOUR FAULT! but if my sister did it people would say oh! you didn't realise! (Naseem: yeah) you this and that! (.) really (.) its like (.) we say we understand now like you're doing all this but (.) even if like say his sister (.) ran off we'd still call him! even though we know what its like nowadays we'd still say your sister's this your sister's that even though we know that (.) its (.) I don't know unfair for girls not to be (.) I don't know its just the way we've been brought up

In extract 1.11 Sham constructs Asian masculinity as defined through the protection, and patrolling, of the behaviour of Muslim women (the 'protection of femininity', Wetherell, 1993). For example, Sham says that "*if you see an Asian girl (.) with another lad you know (.) people go MAD!.. like go up and say nurrgh" no she's a (.) hhh! slapper!"*. He also talks about how even if a friend's sister "*ran off*" they would "*still call him*" (ie. call him names). Sham constructs these behaviours as being "*a bit sexist really*" and "*unfair to girls*" but he also uses these behaviours to identify Asian masculinity ("*its like all the lads do it all the Asian lads do it all the time*"). This emphasis upon "*Asian lads*" together with Sham's statement they "*its just the way we've been brought up*" suggests a clash between 'western' and 'Asian' values, against which the young Muslim men define their racialised masculinities. In his statement "*we know that [...] its [...] unfair [...] it's just the way we've been brought up*", Sham uses a form of prolepsis (Billig et al., 1988), deflecting potential criticism by acknowledging

prejudice ("we know its unfair"), but deflecting potential criticism by redefining it as tradition, not individual bias ("it's just the way we've been brought up"), thus absolving himself of responsibility for his position.

Sham conceptualises masculinity as defined by 'tradition', and as positioned at odds with liberal, western discourses (within which tradition appears 'unfair'). Engaging in these behaviours is presented as a way of 'being' an Asian man, and as the 'duty' of being a man; for example he would be chastised for not being aware of his sister's behaviour, for which he is held responsible ("*people will say oh! look at her! IT'S YOUR FAULT! but if my sister did it people would say oh! you didn't realise!..you this and that!*"). In this way Sham moves the focus of attention towards the males, separating the function of this 'patrolling' (in terms of the implications for the construction of masculinities) from the actual meaning of this for the woman. He acknowledges that it is "*unfair for girls*" not to be allowed out with boys, especially because "*when boys are with girls they don't say anything*", but he presents issues and concerns around the woman's honour as of secondary importance to the meaning of these discourses for constructing Asian masculinities.

Sham constructs the different moral standards for men and women as both reasonable, and understandable, because 'patrolling' female sexuality and morals is constructed as integral to masculinity, in the form of guarding his own 'izzat' (honour, face). He simultaneously removes his own volition and responsibility by placing the reasons as fundamental within 'tradition' ("*its just the way we've been brought up*"). Sham

presents 'tradition' as something incredibly deep-rooted and powerful. It transcends individual friendships and loyalties ("*even if like say his sister (.) ran off we'd still call him!*") and even rationality and understanding ("*we say we understand...even though we know what its like nowadays*"). In this way tradition is constructed as unchangeable: this removes responsibility, and accountability from males, but also ensures that men retain the power (as 'authentic' voices) to define 'culture', providing little room for challenges.

The practices Sham talks about may be considered as sexist in effect, but I suggest that the 'sexism' is more complicated than some feminist discourses might interpret. For example, his construction of young women's behaviour as highly visible, open to public scrutiny, and directly influencing the social standing of other family members, stands in opposition to dominant discourses in which Asian women are hidden and ignored, and which treat 'race' and ethnic identities as un-gendered (see Mirza, 1995).

I suggest that sexist discourses and patriarchy are not positioned in a 'one way' relationship, but are interwoven, deriving meaning from each other. Men can subsequently draw on a range of racialised, patriarchal discourses to maintain their positions of privilege. The Muslim young men in these extracts have particularly drawn on discourses of 'tradition' with which to counter, and protect themselves from western 'feminist' allegations of sexism.

These interpretations do not necessarily offer particular possibilities to Muslim women, and could be accused of merely 'confusing' issues around emancipation with fears of being 'culturally insensitive' (Brah and Minhas, 1985). I would suggest that discussion is useful for highlighting the workings of dominant discourses around Muslim masculinities, particularly with their emphasis on power and control of women, which could be seen as contrasting with, and related to, the powerlessness engendered through being positioned by racist discourses (see Connolly, 1998). Furthermore, these interpretations suggest that care should be taken when proposing universal 'feminist solutions' to patriarchal discourses. This interweaving therefore of 'race' and gender extends to issues around 'racisms' and 'sexisms'. The impact and interrelation between the young men's construction of racialised masculinities and 'racisms' will now be addressed.

CONSTRUCTIONS OF 'RACE' AND RACISMS

Constructing 'Race'

As suggested in Chapter One, it has been suggested that identity is often 'negatively' constructed through a sense of what 'we' are not (Said, 1978, in Wetherell and Potter, 1992). In constructing racialised identities, several of the young men compared, and positioned themselves, against White people (for a comparison of ways in which young men and women constructed 'race', see Chapter Seven). 'Whiteness' was often constructed using family relations as a cultural divider (see below) and racism. In terms of family relations, commitment to, and support of, parents was highlighted by Nazir (Westfield School; NS p.7) and by Gufter (Lowtown School- extract below) as distinguishing Asian from White. Respect for parents (not "*calling them*") was also picked out by Jagdip (Lowtown School) and Yasser (Eastfield School) in the following extracts:

Extract 2.1 Lowtown School; Louise p.31

- Louise: uh (.) do you think there's stuff like I don't know about you because I'm White? that I can't (.) that I don't understand about (.) what sorts of things (.) would you think that I-I don't understand?
- Gufter: uh (.) Asian (.) its like once your parents are old its like your responsibility to look after them (.) whereas-
- Imran: -its like you would give them most of the cash and you keep what you need
- Gufter: yeah whereas Whites (.) its like (.) we get the uh picture that (.) once you're old you lead your own life
- Imran: that's why (.) they tell Asians to you know study more and get good jobs where there's good pay (.) cos you gotta pay a wife (.) and er-
- Jamil: kids and then your parents

Extract 2.2 Lowtown School; Tamar p.19

- Tamar: do you reckon you'll marry Asian girls?
- Sham: probably yeah
- Naseem: yeah
- Tamar: and is that (.) is that what you want?
- Naseem: yeah
- Sham: I'm not really bothered! I think it- yeah cos I think its easier actually I mean its hard on someone of different cultures very different like I I've just recently broke up with someone who's White and its really hard cos they don't understand things that like (.) umm (.) what you have to (.) do at home and (.) you can't understand why they do certain things and uh its different really different
- Tamar: why? what sort of problems do you have?
- Sham: I don't know things like (.) umm on Eid (.) I mean that was like Christmas for me you'd wanna go out with your mates (.) and that's what we usually do (.) and then she wouldn't let me cos goes no you gotta be with me- and we we can't drink and they drink so (.) they're like they're why why why won't yer drink? Go on just drink but no no its against my religion (.) they're so?! its doesn't matter! and err loads of things its really hard

Extract 2.3 Eastfield School; Tamar p.18

- Yasser: I'd stick to what my parents said like whoever they want me to get married to I won't say no I won't disagree (.) keep them happy
- Tamar: why do you think its so important to keep them happy?
- Yasser: they're your parents
- Abdul: if it wasn't for them you wouldn't be here!

Yasser: you like get the White ones don't you who call their mum and dad and swear at them (.) you know hate them you know
Abdul: yeah (.) yeah
Yasser: you know like the Whites you get the families and they're married and then they're divorced and then they have boyfriends its funny innit?

The young men drew on familial discourses (western versus Islamic) in order to construct differences between 'White' and 'Asian' identities. In constructing themselves as Asian, they positioned their identities as relational within a family structure. For example, Gufter (Extract 2.1) constructs Asian identity in terms of duty to one's parents (*"Asian (.) its like once your parents are old its like your responsibility to look after them"*). Imran (extract 2.1) conceptualises this duty in financial terms (*"its like you would give them most of the cash and you keep what you need"*). The importance of giving duty and respect to parents is also highlighted by Yasser (Extract 2.3) when he states that he would not disagree with his parents and would marry whoever they wanted him to marry (*"I'd stick to what my parents said like whoever they want me to get married to I won't say no I won't disagree (.) keep them happy"*).

From a western developmental perspective, these views could be read as 'immature' or 'foreclosed' (e.g. Marcia, 1966, 1980) showing a lack of separation and an unquestioning acceptance of parental values. But the young men present these values as not only positive, but as ways of constructing and defining Asian masculinity (as dutiful, and a provider). Imran and Jamil (extract 2.1) reproduce, and redefine, dominant stereotypes of Asians as educational 'achievers', and of Islamic families as strongly pushing their children to achieve. Instead, Imran and Jamil explain parental

emphasis upon academic achievement and 'getting a job' in terms of the duties of being a man. Their constructions challenge White, western conceptualisations of the 'male provider' role as individualised, providing for a nuclear family. Imran and Jamil construct their duties as men to both "wife", "kids" and "your parents" ("*that's why (.) they tell Asians to you know study more and get good jobs where there's good pay (.) cos you gotta pay a wife [...] kids and then your parents*").

The young men can be read as producing alternative discourses of masculinity, redefining western values of masculinity which are based on discourses of autonomy and individualism, in favour of 'Islamic' values of collectivism and relationality. Values of relation and connectedness have been traditionally defined as 'feminine' values, and thus excluded from discourses of masculinity (see Chapter One) which I would suggest could have been contributory to the 'emasculatation' and 'femininisation' of Asian males in dominant discourses, as reported by Connolly (1998).

The young men in these extracts produced alternative constructions of Whiteness which subverted notions of 'autonomy' and 'individualism'. 'White' was conceptualised as 'not caring' about family relationships, disrespect, individualism, and hedonism. These views challenge western discourses of adolescence (e.g. Erikson, 1958) which conceptualise 'adolescence' as a 'natural' time of conflict and separation from parents. The young men re-conceptualised these as defining White identities, which did not relate to themselves (e.g. Gufter "*yeah whereas Whites (.) its like (.) we get the uh picture that (.) once you're old you lead your own life*"). Yasser (Extract 2.3)

conceptualises this autonomy as 'unnatural' and negative, as showing "*hate*" and disrespect for parents ("*you like get the White ones don't you who call their mum and dad and swear at them (.) you know hate them you know*").

Yasser also positions Whites as not concerned with 'family', lacking a stable family unit, resulting in strange ("*funny*") family set-ups ("*you know like the whites you get the families and they're married and then they're divorced and then they have boyfriends its funny innit?*"). In this way, Yasser constructs these family relationships as 'other' and as unusual (with questionable morality through the emphasis upon 'boyfriends'), in comparison to the 'normal' and understandable bases of respect and 'nature' underlying Muslim family cohesion (the 'fact' that "*they're your parents*").

In talking about his relationship with a White girl, Sham also constructs cultural differences between White and Muslim identities by particularising 'respect' and 'morality'. He defines Whites as not understanding "*what you have to (.) do at home*" and specifies drinking as a religious difference which causes conflict. Ashav (Eastfield School; LA p.12) also identifies drinking as a main difference between Muslim and White people, and Mushtak (Hightown School; LA p.13) expresses concerns over non-Muslim, White men as potential drinkers and gamblers.

I suggest that Sham's use of drinking to construct differences between White and Muslim identities draws upon White, working-class masculine discourses around drinking. White, working-class, male cultures have been identified as drinking-

orientated, and pubs as male-orientated places. The emphasis placed on 'drinking' and 'pub culture' within British discourses of masculinity can be related to the historical exclusion of women from public houses and social taboos against women's drinking, which rendered drinking a 'male domain' and thus a suitable arena within which to construct masculinities (see Gough, 1998).

Sham talks about how his White girlfriend did not understand why he did not drink and pressured him to drink. This coercion could be related to the social pressures exerted upon group members to 'fit in' with group behaviour. It could also be read as an attempt by the White young woman to coerce Sham to engage in a 'typical' masculine behaviour, because within such discourses, abstinence may be conceptualised as non-masculine. This taunting of men who do not drink has reflected in the popular media, for example the character 'Phil Mitchell' on 'East Enders', BBC1 soap opera, encounters various identity 'crises' and challenges to his White, working-class 'manhood' when he stops drinking. I also suggest that the association of 'drinking' with 'masculinity' may position Muslim males as Other and 'non-masculine' within dominant discourses.

Constructing Racisms

In all the discussion groups, the young men conveyed their multiple and frequent experiences of racism. These experiences of racism were used by the young men in constructing their identities as young Black men. One of the discussion topics asked whether participants had experienced racism, but in almost all the groups, racism was

spontaneously mentioned (in answer to different questions) within the first five minutes of conversation. Only in discussion groups with myself and boys from Eastfield School was racism not explicitly mentioned before direct questioning. I felt that this may have been because the boys from Eastfield were generally very reluctant to talk to me.

In the other six discussion groups racism was brought spontaneously in conversation by the boys themselves, and racism was constructed as an everyday occurrence. Experiences of racism were not uniform, but revealed the multiplicity of 'racisms' which are experienced by the young males. As already stated, I have concentrated primarily on White racism, for reasons as highlighted at the beginning of this thesis.

It should be noted however, that young men from Lowtown School did talk at some length about Bengali-Pakistani racism, but the nature of intra-Asian racism was discussed in qualitatively different ways from White racism as something "*we joke about*" which lacked the violence and 'seriousness' of their constructions of White racism.

Across the discussion groups the young men produced many, and varied, accounts of experiences of racism. The young men's accounts commonly conceptualised racisms in terms of violence and abuse, ranging from abuse on the way to school and around town; to the existence of particular 'no-go' racist areas (Naseem, Lowtown School; TD p. 4), including on the way to Lowtown School (Sham, Lowtown School; TD, p.4) and the area around Hightown School (Abdul, Hightown School; TD, p.2).

In Mill Town the majority of the Asian population have settled in particular geographical areas, and many of the boys who spoke of where they lived mentioned living in this area. The "*Black*" areas of town were often described as much friendlier and safer than the White areas, in which the four schools were located. For example, Javid (Eastfield School; TD p.3) explains in his home area, unlike other parts of town, "*there's no racism (.) cos its all Black ... and the odd White (.) there's no racism*". Imtaz (Westfield school; NS p.2) also reported living in the "*Black area*" which he describes as "*friendly*" and Wajit (Westfield; LA p.2) said that the area where he lives is becoming less racist and has "*settled down*" now that "*mixed people*" are moving there. However in the following extract (2.4) Majid, who has said that he lives in a more White populated area, reports experiencing problems with neighbours.

Having outlined the extent and 'everyday-ness' of racisms reported by the young men, the remainder of this chapter will consider the young men's constructions of the causes of racism, and will discuss the various 'solutions' offered within their discourses. First, the young men's reproduction of psychological discourses of racism will be considered, followed by their reproduction of 'modern' forms of racism. Finally, the various 'solutions' offered ("*violence*", "*separatism*" or "*ignore it*") will be discussed. [For further discussion, and comparison, of male and female constructions of racism, see Chapter Seven].

Extract 2.4: Westfield school; Nessa p.1-2

- Majid: uh they do loads of things (.) throwing eggs at out windows (.) throwing rubbish in our garden..// and err my little children (.) my err little (.) (Nessa: yeah I know) brothers and little sister they always go out to play in the evenings and they got beat up they started beating them
- Nessa: beating them? (Majid: yeah) really?
- Majid: yeah (.) they come home crying and (.) and uh they when the neighbours the neighbours were good to us and told us don't worry about this its going to be alright (.) (Nessa: mmm) after after a time it becomes alright (.) but when you're new they they become racist to you

Extract 2.5: Hightown Tamar p.5

- Tamar: do you think it'll ever change? do you think you'll ever be able to stop racism?
- all: no
- Tamar: why-why do you think it'll never change?
- Deepak: it'll never change because they the people that-
- Gulfraz: -like all the White people
- Abdul: called like Pakis and that and you know we we're not gonna say ohh- we're not gonna say yeah yeah you know that's (.) but if you say it back you know you White hhh! (Tam: yeah) and err uh huh
- Tamar: uh huh
- Abdul: and their parents you know what I mean they at the end of the day its not their fault its this country (.) their parents are like that but genuinely if they're not racist if they're not nor are their kids
- Deepak: if they learn them while they're little but yeah they go you Paki's you Paki's what's the cause of that? its only a little kid its dad innit? his parents obviously

Extract 2.6: Eastfield School: Tamar p.8

- Tamar: why do you think you can't change-
- Yasser: cos you look down at the Year Sevens now (.) and the other years (.) its not that you know I think that its gonna carry on like that (.) I'm not saying that oh we're the hardest or anything (Tam: uh huh) but its like have you noticed the Blacks mostly that are taking over more and more (.) and racism is just gonna carry on and carry on (.) there's never been Whites since I joined the school that have taken over has it?
- Tamar: hmm have you got (.) I mean like what do you (.) what I mean obviously you must like know like White kids what do they think about it? do you know what they think about it? about the fact that you've taken over and stuff?
- Yasser: I think the British listen to quite a lot of us now (Tam: they do?)

I think they got used to it (Tam: mmm) you get the odd few who don't like (.) who give you cheek

Constructions of Racism as a Response to Invasion, and Threat

In the above extracts, the young men have drawn upon and reproduced aspects of a number of positivistic psychological theories of prejudice and 'popular' conceptualisations of racism. Majid (extract 2.4) constructs racism as a response by his White neighbours to the perceived threat of 'unknown' and 'new' people living near them ("*when you're new they they become racist to you*") which gradually diminishes with time and contact ("*after a time it becomes alright*"). This echoes aspects of the Contact Hypothesis and social identity theories, concerning the 'inevitability' of intergroup discrimination, as well as popular adages such as "better the devil you know" and "fear of the unknown". Within this construction, Majid reproduces a discourse in which White is the norm, and Asian is Other. He explains racism as a 'normal' cognitive response to being "*new*", which is not similarly applied to Majid's perceptions of his neighbours. In Majid's construction, Asian people appear as passive, forced to wait until their White neighbours feel more 'familiar' and 'get used' to them. Furthermore, his White neighbours' prejudice is constructed as the inevitable result of individual cognitive processes (termed the 'universal human failing' by Wetherell and Potter, 1992), thus absolving them of responsibility for their racism, and reducing the potential for counter-action.

In contrast, Abdul (Extract 2.5) constructs Asian people's refusal to accept racism as integral to the perpetuation of racism ("*we're not gonna say ohh! we're not gonna say*")

yeah yeah"). He also conceptualises retaliation as causing further hostilities (*"but if you say it back you know you white- hhh!"*). Abdul hints at reciprocity as central to the perpetuation of racial hostilities, but both he and Deepak excuse racist pupils (*"its not their fault"*), placing the blame on *"this country"* and *"the parents"*, specifically *"dad"* (*"its this country (.) their parents are like that... if they're not racist .. nor are their kids; Abdul; "if... they go you Paki's you Paki's what's the cause of that? its only a little kid its dad innit?"*, Deepak).

Abdul and Deepak reproduce aspects of social learning theories and cognitive developmental theories (e.g. Aboud, 1988) which suggest the cognitive immaturity of a *"little kid"* who is not aware of the implications of their words, because they are only repeating what they have heard at home. These accounts of racism remove agency and blame from racists. Abdul's conceptualisation of *"this country"* as a source of racism serves to construct racism as something outside of individual control, the implication of this being that it makes it difficult to chastise individuals for racist behaviours. These constructions were also echoed in other discussion groups, for example, Sham (Lowtown School: TD p.6) also talked about the inevitability of racism, saying its just *"life"* and you have to put up with it.

In extract 2.6, Yasser draws on a similar discourse of racism as a response to Black 'invasion' and *"taking over"*. However, he constructs the fear of Black power as a source of prejudice (*"the blacks mostly that are taking over more and more (.) and racism is just gonna carry on and carry on"*). He presents this fear as a reason why

racism will not stop. This discourse reproduces aspects of social identity theories which position ingroup favouritism and outgroup derogation result from cognitive motivations for positive distinctiveness, and control of resources and rewards, in competitive intergroup situations.

Yasser's construction also reproduces notions of Enoch Powell's 1970's speech on 'immigrant invasion', but I consider that his conceptualisation of Blacks as having "*taken over*" school (in a way that White pupils have not), can be read as a radical alternative to positivistic discourses which construct Blacks only as 'victims' of racism.

Abdul also challenges stereotypes of 'passivity' and Blacks as 'victims' through his reference to the more powerful position of Blacks who "*perpetuate*" inter-racial conflict by not just submitting to racism passively (saying "*yeah yeah*"). He produces a further challenge with his suggestion that this refusal to accept racism has 'worked' because "*British listen to quite a lot of us*". This discourse conceptualises racism as a struggle for 'voice' between groups. Blacks are thus constructed as pro-active, rather than passive victims of racism, because they fight back and are subsequently 'listened to' by Whites. However Abdul only conceives of engaging with racism by fighting back (with 'counter-racism) against Whites. This discourse therefore locates racism at an individual level, and does not tackle the broader structural bases of racism identified in other parts of these extracts, nor does it address the multiplicity of forms which racisms may take. It also assumes that there are singular, and mutually exclusive, 'British' and 'Black' positions. Yasser distances himself from a British identity, constructing Whiteness, and racism, as 'British', and Black as Other. This does create

an allied position from which to challenge White racism, but Yasser's construction also raises a number of issues as to whether this Black 'us' (who have taken over, and are listened to) speak for all Black groups (see Chapter Seven for further discussion).

Constructions of Racism as Social Aversion ('Modern Racism')

Extract 2.7: Lowtown School; Tamar, p.6/11

- Sham: [...] like some people are here (.) and err they talk to us like (.) summit it depends like you know cos there's a bit of racism like I said but not in school (.) you know when you go outside you see they wouldn't talk to you- wouldn't if they were with their mates (.) like I mean White guy
- Said: like when they're here they're really quiet but like when they're with their friends they talk and all that
- Sham: yeah yeah hhh!
- Tamar: and what about you? are you like I mean would you talk to them outside of school if you see them?
- all: yeah!
- Sham: we did! but they ignore us! and then they come in school and you know they try and hide it- how come you didn't say hi? (.) oh! I didn't see ya (.) but we know its really-
- Tamar: how does that make you feel?
- Sham: (.) not bad I gue- its just life its- everyone has t'put up with things
- // Sham: like I said before some people might be racist but in school they they're not and then after (.) after you see them and you (.) you're shocked really because they got on well with you in school (.) and after school they won't talk to you yeah (.) won't talk to you but nothing in school

Brown (1995) suggests that 'modern' prejudice and racism is characterised by 'increased social distance' and 'mild social aversion'. In Extract 2.7, above, Sham reproduces aspects of this discourse, when he constructs racism as White pupils ignoring Asian pupils. He also constructs racism as shifting across context, because 'overt' forms of racism only occur outside school time ("*not in school (.) you know*

when you go outside you see they wouldn't talk to you"). The subtlety of this form of racism renders it as 'lesser' than more 'traditional', identifiable racisms ("*there's a bit of racism*") and as difficult to identify not only through its subtlety, but through its dependency upon context ("*some people might be racist but in school they they're not*"). Sham also constructs the racism as gendered (he talks about it in the context of interactions with the "*White guy*") and presents the young White men as adjusting their interactions to their surroundings, so that they "*got on well with you in school*" but "*after school they won't talk to you*".

Sham also conceptualises young White men as denying that their avoidance of Sham and his friends out of school is based on racism ("*then they come in school and you know they try and hide it- how come you didn't say hi? (.) oh! I didn't see ya*"). Sham insists that he and his friends are correct in their constructions of the behaviour as 'racist' ("*but we know its really-*"), and suggests racist pupils hide their racism in school and will not admit to it, even when challenged. I consider that this discourse highlights the limitations of positivistic social psychological theories for tackling racisms, because they rely upon conceptualisations of racism as a coherent, quantifiable attitude or behaviour. Sham constructs young Asian men as clearly aware that "*some people are racist*" but the subtlety, and contradictory nature, of these racisms render the young men less able to justify their challenges on pupils whom they have experienced as racist.

As suggested in Chapter One, Wetherell and Potter (1992) have highlighted how discourses of modern racism work to protect the status quo by presenting changes in the form of racism (due to the influence of liberal values) as a 'step in the right direction'. Thus, potential criticisms of existing social relations appear unreasonable because society is 'already' engaged in a process of change. For example, within Sham's construction, 'school' is positioned as demonstrating the 'success' of liberalism (as a place where pupils 'hide' their racism), although the failure of multicultural strategies to effect change beyond the school gates is not challenged.

Sham therefore highlights the contradictions and complexity and how racisms may be reproduced, and hidden from teachers. His discourses also suggest the failure of successful intergroup contact to reduce racism ("*they got on well with you in school*") or to work beyond the school day as a means of reducing racism.

Constructing Solutions to Racism ("*... But not the answer*")

I interpreted the young men as producing a number of alternative "*solution*" discourses, which will now be considered. The first of these solutions was voiced by boys from Hightown School and Eastfield School. They advocated "*violence*" and retribution as solutions to racism. I have read this construction as embedded within masculine, 'macho' discourses, which promote physical conflict as a 'natural' and useful way to solve disputes.

The second identifiable discourse drew on 'separatism' from Whites, and the formation of collective Black identifications and alliances. The third 'solution' was reproduced by young men from Lowtown and Westfield schools, and advocated ignoring racism/ not being "*bothered*" by it. These discourses are deconstructed, and discussed, in terms of the possibilities they offer for resistance and change and their applicability as "*solutions*" to Others (e.g. young women), and as 'solutions' within the education system.

I would also like to highlight that the less 'subversive' discourses were predominantly produced within the discussion groups with myself, a White researcher. In comparison, the more 'confrontational' discourses emerged in interviews with Tamar, who is Asian². I therefore think these transcripts should be read bearing in mind comments that some of the young men made in discussions with Tamar indicating that they would not have been as "*racist*" had they been talking to a White woman [issues around reflexivity are discussed more fully in Chapter Nine].

'Violent' Solutions

Extract 2.8: Hightown School: Tamar p.21

Tamar: how would you bring your kids up differently?
Abdul: I'm gonna say to them you know what I mean I'm gonna say to them (.) when you're called you Black bastard you deck them dec-dec-deck them! Kill him!
Fazaan: stick all-
Abdul: stick to your- [Fazaan: yeah stick to yourself] when someone call you don't don't st-stand in the corner and just ignore them and

²

Nessa's male group was short because pupils arrived late. Subsequently, not all topics were covered.

that and don't let the all people wh- just say ignore them and that
 (.) how can you ignore them when they're saying it to you?! (.)
 you can't ignore it when they say it kill 'em! (.) break batter 'em
 Tamar: do do you really think (.) violence is the answer? (.) do you
 think its the only answer?
 Fazaan: yeah definitely
 Abdul: not an answer but (.)
 Fazaan: right they like (.) we couldn't have got
 Abdul: its not the answer its not an answer- just a good solution though
 hhh!
 Tamar: ha ha ha!

Extract 2.9: Eastfield School: Tamar p. 15/16

Tamar: do you think there's any other solution to it except violence?
 Yasser: no
 Shabid: no one's heard of talking it out
 Yasser: you just want to let it all out on them though (.) you're psyched
 up inside and you have a nice chat with them?! It's not right!
 well fighting isn't good either though but you know the only
 reason I like fighting is you know someone gets me mad or
 summat- wouldn't have a nice chat yeah?! I wouldn't want to
 take it out on something else so I take it out on them

In these extracts Abdul and Fazaan (extract 2.5) and Abdul and Yasser (extract 2.6; extract 2.7) appear to be utilising some radical, militant discourses as solutions to racism, advocating violence and retaliatory racism. In extract 2.5, Abdul refers to the inevitability of the racism persisting against the next generation, suggesting it is not a case of 'if' but "*when*" his children will be called "*Black bastard*". The solution he proposes is to attack the racist, who is assumed as male ("*deck them! Kill him!*"). Abdul reproduces, and counters, discourses of passivity and invisibility, which suggest ignoring racism ("*when someone call you don't..stand in the corner and just ignore them*"). Instead, he constructs a counter position of visibility which directly challenges verbal racism with interpersonal violence. Abdul counters potential criticisms of 'extremeness' in his views by asserting that it is not possible or rational to "*ignore it*"

("how can you ignore them when they're saying it to you?! (.) you can't ignore it").

As such, he acknowledges that violence is not "*an answer*" but presents it as "*a good solution*", in that it provides an active response to a problem which they have few other resources with which to react. I would further suggest that Abdul's violent talk draws on and counters feelings of powerlessness and impotency, which may be experienced by the young men in racist interactions. This 'macho' aggressive talk may therefore serve to reassert a sense of power and autonomy within discourses of masculinity.

Yasser (extract 2.9) also reproduced a dominant discourse of 'aggressive' masculinity, constructing violence as a way of 'venting' strong emotions raised by racist experiences (*"you just want to let it all out ... you're psyched up inside"*). He justifies using anger, and violent reactions to racism, as 'natural', suggesting that alternative 'peaceful' solutions (*"have a nice chat with them"*) are abnormal (*"its not right!"*). Instead, Yasser presents violence as both a personally satisfactory solution to racism (in terms of 'letting it all out') and also as a means of preventing the anger from being directed elsewhere (*"I wouldn't want to take it out on something else so I take it out on them"*). He also presents violence and "*fighting*" as deriving from the racism itself, challenging alternative views that racism is an 'excuse' for violence (*"the only reason I like fighting is you know someone gets me mad or summat"*).

The radical element of these discourses is tempered by their reactivity (e.g. "*when you're called..*" you retaliate) and in the way both Yasser and Abdul acknowledge the limitations of their 'solutions'. Within these discourses whereby fighting is an answer

to racism, the boys can only respond to one aspect of 'visible' clearly identifiable interpersonal racism, not multiple racisms. As such this solution would be difficult to operationalise to tackle either institutional racism or more 'subtle' forms of racism. Again I consider that this discursive response is embedded within gendered, male, cultural discourses, and as such it does not easily offer solutions to young women.

The solution of violence as a response to racist verbal abuse also assumes a degree of power on the part of the 'victim', both in terms of physical strength, and in terms of 'back up' from others. It also relies on not being disciplined from the school, or legal system. The recognition that this discourse is not an answer, just a good solution, also reproduces a conceptualisation of racism as an inevitable, unchangeable feature of social life (as in social cognition accounts, Wetherell and Potter, 1992), and thus may work to discourage future anti-racist initiatives.

Despite the emancipatory limitations of this challenging discourse I feel it does have a destabilising potential, because it places emphasis upon increasing the visibility of Asian pupils and advocates 'speaking out' (or 'shouting' out!) against racisms. However, the young men's talk also reproduces (racist) constructions of young, Black, male pupils as aggressive and militant, which may work to dismiss their claims of racism, redefining conflicts in 'de-racialised' terms.

Separatist Solutions

Extract 2.10: Eastfield School- Tamar p.13

- Tamar: do you think it affects the way you answer questions the fact that I'm Asian as well? do you think if I was White it would be different?
- Yasser: it would yeah it would actually
- Shabid: I wouldn't be saying some things
- Abdul: racist things
- Yasser: cos we are saying racist things answers and that but uh (.) like what we're saying is is racist like with White we don't like White (.) that's us though innit? we hate white they hate us (Tam: uh huh) they can't do nothing about it we can though (.) we are saying racist things but we are racist that's it
- Tamar: how do y- are you all saying that you all say that you're racist?
- all: yeah
- Tamar: I mean w-what do you think about (.) the fact you openly admit to it?
- Yasser: we're not we're not r-racist like you know to white you know swearing this that you know then they start sometimes (.) we might start it
- Shabid: cos they get cheeky some of them
- Yasser: like like if they give us cheek

Extract 2.11: Hightown School: Tamar p.19

- Tamar: how do you feel about Black people uh (.) like like Afro Caribbeans?
- Abdul: very stupid for mixing in with the White very stupid because behind the Black they're saying (.) you nigger this that and you negro and
- Fazaan: that's what they call them but they're Black so are we! //
- Abdul: its like I'm not saying they're dumb but by mixing in with the White you know what I mean they always be racist and that saying Black bastard this that and they shouldn't be (.) they- God created their heart know what I mean umm that I'm Black
- Fazaan: they should realise cos they more blacker than us! you know like really black instead of brown (Tamar: yeah) they shouldn't be like that

In extract 2.10, Yasser talks about how racism structures intergroup relations between Asian and White young men, and is instrumental in the construction of Asian

masculinities as "racist" against Whites ("*we don't like White (.) that's us though innit?*"; "*we are saying racist things but we are racist that's it*"). Yasser suggests that their "racist" identities are a reactive, and reciprocal, response to White racism ("*we hate White they hate us*"), and positions Asian racism as different to White racism, as a response to racist provocation ("*like if they give us cheek*") rather than verbal, racist insults ("*we're not r-racist like you know to White you know swearing this that*").

In both extracts 2.10 and 2.11, White racism is constructed as 'natural', 'inevitable' and integral to 'whiteness' (reproducing aspects of social identity theories which suggest the 'inevitability' of prejudice). For example, Yasser (Extract 2.10) suggests that White people "*can't do nothing*" about being racist, whereas for Yasser and his friends racism is more of a choice ("*they can't do nothing about it we can though*"). Similarly, Abdul (Extract 2.11) emphasises the inevitability of White racism (they are "*always*" racist), even if Black people are unaware, because it goes on "*behind the Black*" and not to their faces ("*I mean they always be racist and that saying Black bastard this that*").

The 'solutions' offered by the young men in these extracts are structured around mutual antagonism (extract 2.10) and separatism, through coalition with other Blacks (2.11). Fazaan and Abdul argue for this latter solution on the grounds that 'blackness' is Other ('not white', and White equates with racism). In other words, they position Blackness in opposition to Whiteness, using 'racism' to identify White identities and constructing Black as the common experience of suffering racism, despite differences in colour and

background ("*.. but they're Black so are we!*", Abdul). Fazaan, however, recognises a disparity between 'being Black' and being aware of White racism ("*they should realise cos they more blacker than us! you know like really black instead of brown*", Fazaan). The young men draw divisions between themselves as Asians, from Blacks, by attributing blame and responsibility to the Black person who is "*stupid*" not to realise racism (in contrast to themselves as Asians, who can see racism, and hence do not 'mix in' with Whites).

Black people are further pathologised for going against their nature ("*God created their heart*", Abdul) and skin colour, conceptualised as an external indicator of internal race politics ("*they should realise cos they more blacker than us! you know like really black instead of brown [...] they shouldn't be like that*", Fazaan). In this way the boys chastise Blacks for not being 'black enough', drawing on essentialist discourses surrounding 'race' and skin pigmentation. Therefore although the boys are aligning and conceptualising themselves politically as Black ("*they're black so are we!*" , Fazaan) they are also distinguishing Asian identities by virtue of their different, lesser, interaction with Whites (as well as by their actual skin pigmentation) which is used to chastise Blacks.

Fazaan's comments reproduce constructions of 'race' which utilise physiognomy and colour pigmentation to mark the boundaries of 'race'. He constructs a distinction between 'proper' black ("*really black*") and "*brown*" ("pigmentocracy", Powell, 1997; p.7). Fazaan's comment suggests there is no one Black experience of racism, and that

White racism towards Blacks and Asians may differ, both in the overtness of the behaviour (e.g. "*behind the black*" versus overt "*hate*") and in the insults which are used, with the result being that "*really black*" people are more unaware, but "*should realise*". The young men therefore reproduce notions of 'consciousness raising' with regard to a common 'Black experience' of White racism.

I consider that this solution of 'separation' is limited in a number of ways. First, the young men are assuming that Blacks who 'mix in' are in some sort of state of 'false consciousness'. This pathologises Black people and reproduces racist stereotypes of Black as 'stupid' and intellectually inferior (see Mama, 1994). Second, I would suggest that separation as a political strategy demands a degree of self-sufficiency and adequate resources, which racism works to prevent minority groups from having. Separatism also runs counter to multiculturalist ideals and liberal values, and thus is often considered as unfavourable ('extreme' and therefore not 'tolerant' or 'harmonious') within western, liberal discourses. Finally, separatist solutions rely upon homogenised conceptualisations of 'Black', with clear boundaries between groups, with no cross-cutting identifications to confuse the boundary of Black and White (Rattansi, 1992). Within this discourse, group boundaries are defined from one particular position, with no account taken of the impact of gender, social class and socioeconomic deprivation as mediators of 'mixing in', and as such, they represent 'solutions' for only a minority of Black people.

'Ignoring' Racism

In contrast to the radical, 'aggressive' discourses voiced by the boys at Hightown and Eastfield schools, the boys at Westfield and Lowtown reproduced discourses of "ignoring" racism which were less confrontational. These discourses (reproducing dominant White constructions of racism) were produced predominantly in discussions with myself, and as such could be read as discursive attempts to avoid conflict, or confrontation, by using more challenging discourses, or they could also be read as attempts by the young men to resist my positioning of them as 'victims' of racism, by constructing racism as of negligible importance (the interaction of researcher-participant 'race' and gender is discussed in Chapter Nine).

Extract 2.12: Westfield School : Louise p.2/18

- Louise: like when was the last time that someone was racist to you?
Rahan: (.) I think racism is a bit hard to remember (Lou: mmm) where-
Wajit: cos you normally just (.) ignore it you see
Rahan: its becoming a bit stupid now and you just look at them go what
are you looking at?! (.) you go like that and its end of story! (.)
just leave
// Louise: ..someone treats you badly or shouts at you or whatever what do
you do about it?
Rahan: go away!
Assim: just ignore it!
Wajit: I just-
Rahan: -its not only the uh Whites or Blacks being racist but some
Asians are guilty

In this extract, Rahan, Wajit and Assim construct racism as trivial and easily dealt with by ignoring it, going away ("*just leave.. go away*") or by challenging the individual (asking "*what are you looking at*", Rahan). In contrast to Abdul's insistence that "*you can't ignore it*" (Extract 2.7), Rahan produces a counter discourse that "*racism is a bit hard to remember*" because "*you normally just (.) ignore it*" (Wajit). In constructing

racism as 'ignorable' and "*a bit stupid now*", Rahan constructs it as trivial and easy to deal with ("*you go like that and its end of story*"). I consider that Rahan reproduces discourses of 'modern racism' (Brown, 1995), presenting racism as declining or changing in form, to something less overt and less worrying ("*its becoming a bit stupid now*"). He also shifts the emphasis away from Asians as 'victims' of racism, by suggesting "*its not only the uh Whites or Blacks being racist but some Asians are guilty*". Similar ideas were voiced by Gufter (Lowtown School; LA p.33) and by Sham (Lowtown School; TD p.6) who described racism as "*its just life*" and everybody has to put up with things (Extract 2.7).

These constructions of racism as 'trivial' and 'ignorable' preclude anti-racist interventions, which are considered unnecessary, because the individual is constructed as possessing the means to easily 'rectify' the situation (for example by ignoring it or walking away). In the previous extracts (1.7; 1.8), the young men implied a degree of 'hopelessness' in challenging racism or finding 'an answer', thus hinting at the structural power of racism beyond an interpersonal issue.

However, in Extract 2.12, White racists are not constructed as possessing greater power, neither interpersonally nor institutionally. Rather, the young men present racism as an interpersonal interaction, whereby the individual has the power to make the White person end the racist behaviour. As suggested earlier, this discourse does not allow for positive action against institutional racisms. I consider that strategies of 'ignoring racism' perpetuate cultures of non-reporting of racism, and protect

institutions from having to confront issues of racism because little opportunity, or space, is created for collective action/coalition politics to occur.

RACISMS IN THE EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

Across the discussion groups, the young men talked about a variety situations where they felt they had experienced racisms from their teachers, although the majority of these examples were voiced by young men at Eastfield and Hightown Schools, particularly in discussion groups with Tamar.

In the following extracts, young men from Tamar's discussion group at Hightown School discuss their conceptualisations of 'school as racist' through its punishment of 'standing up for yourself' (a 'violent solution' as discussed earlier) and constructions of 'teacher racism', both of which are explained as resulting in 'messing up' the "*Black lad*".

Extract 3.1 :Hightown Tamar p.2

- Tamar: I mean what does it make you feel? How does it make you feel when that [racism] happens?
- Gulfraz: it makes you feel small err its like uhh they don't- they're higher than you and we're lower (Tam: uh huh) they're higher and we're lower
- Abdul: treating us like dirt
- Tamar: d-do you think you can change it?
- Abdul: nah can't do anything about it if you do anything about it say anything about it stand up for yourself they say you're out get thrown out
- Tamar: get thrown out?
- Abdul: stand up for yourself you're out

Extract 3.2: Hightown school Tamar p. 4

- Tamar: umm at school I mean do you get a lot of racism at school?
- all: yeah
- Gulfraz: yeah too much
- Deepak: you know we walk around we walk around school
- Gulfraz: and they call you names
- Deepak: last week the the holidays this lad he called me and that and he was with these two White girls and they come in and go- ss! I'm afraid I can't swear uhh
- Tamar: no you can swear if you want I don't care!
- Deepak: uh they go what you doing? and he turned to the girls and and the the lad was (.) like knocking out totally I mean because he got too much racist I don't wanna- I- id I'd wanna I'd have broke his nose and that but he was with his mates then that's why I didn't do nothing if I'd had wanna I'd have killed him//
- Tamar: yeah
- Deepak: but then again if you do do summit and they get a beating then you get the blame for it even if they started it nah- jus' can't beat the White guy the White guy is straight the Black lad's messed up
- Tamar: do you think the teachers are racist here?
- Fazaan: yeah I do// I reckon teachers are racist
- Deepak: teachers are racist (.) you can see it in their eyes man

In these two extracts the young men from Hightown School talked to Tamar about the power of racism which they face, and the futility of attempting to "*stand up for yourself*" against it. The White racist pupils are constructed as powerful in terms of

being "*higher*" and being able to treat Asian boys "*like dirt*" (Abdul, 2.1) making them "*feel small*" (Gulfraz, 2.1). White males are also presented as powerful, having protective gangs of mates around them, and institutional support behind them, which prevents Asian boys from complaining ("*can't do anything about it if you stand up for yourself you're out*" Abdul, extract 2.1). Violent retaliation by Asian boys is thus constructed as resulting in punishment and blaming of the Asian 'victims'. This view implies that if Asian pupils want to remain at school, then they must expect to put up with racism.

In his construction of Asian male pupils being punished by the school for "*standing up*" for themselves, Deepak produces a conceptualisation of Asians as pathologised Others within the school system ("*the White guy is straight the Black lad's messed up*"). The educational system is constructed as working for, and protecting, White males, which leaves young Black males as "*messed up*". I suggest that this conceptualisation echoes dominant psychological discourses of ethnic minority identity as 'confused' and conflictual (see Chapter One) and could be used to explain minority group pupils' behaviours and (lack of) achievement at school (e.g. Mac an Ghail, 1996). However, Deepak challenges a discourse of pathology as inherent to Black male identity, by locating cause for this conflict within White institutional racisms; I suggest that this offers a challenge to psychological conceptualisations, and to existing social relations (although Deepak's challenge is constructed within a specifically male context, and thus does not speak for women's experiences of institutional racisms, reproducing notions of 'racism as a male issue' identified by Mirza, 1994).

Deepak's conceptualisation of teacher racism as "*in their eyes*" also reproduces notions of more 'subtle' or 'hidden' forms of racism, and I suggest that his constructions highlights how some racisms, particularly institutionalised racisms, may be difficult to identify and justify as such. In Deepak's construction, teachers appear as 'demonised', with their racism located within their bodies, as inherent and "*in their eyes*". Teachers' racisms are positioned as a tacit 'knowledge', which the young men experience and can "*see*", but which is intangible.

In this construction, racism appears as unchangeable and integral to (White) teachers' identities, because it is internalised. Subsequently, these forms of racism are difficult to identify and address, especially within the school context, where pupils require 'proof' of teacher racism in order to initiate complaints within the school system. The experience of teacher racisms is conveyed as highly subjective and very lonely, degrading and frustrating. I suggest that these strands may work together to (re)produce a culture of non-confrontation of racism and non-reporting of incidents.

It could be argued that the young men are "wrong" and that were they to report racism then they would not be 'thrown out' of school. Alternatively, the view could be taken that their perceptions are based upon punishments given for 'fighting', which has been deemed a 'non-appropriate' response to racism. Developmental and gender discourses may also locate male physical violence and confrontation as a gender issue, not a 'race' issue (e.g. the association of violence and aggression with masculinity, whereby 'fighting' between boys is an 'expected' part of maturation).

However, these interpretations would deny the young men the right to define their experiences of racism and as such, they marginalise and silence alternative constructions. The sanctioning of 'fighting' within school outlaws one of the young men's only "solutions" (as constructed earlier), given that they "can't ignore it!" (Extract 2.7) and may perceive reporting racism as not an option if "*teachers are racist*".

The young men also produced discourses which identified teachers as inherently racist (extract 3.2) and challenged the school system, as unfair and biased towards protecting White pupils. I consider the potential for radical change within these discourses as limited in a number of ways. For example, the young men's constructions exclude women, which fragments possibilities for collective action. School is protected within these discourses because education is valued, and not questioned, as desirable. I suggest that a main limitation also arises from the reproduction of dominant discourses which position Asian (Black) males as 'problematic'.

Summary of Chapter

In this chapter, I have provided examples to show how the young men constructed their identities, drawing on interconnected discourses of gender, 'race', religion and racism.

In particular, I identified ways in which the young men drew on, and subverted, dominant discourses around their religious identities and being 'western'. In constructing Muslim masculinities, the young men positioned themselves in relation to their female peers, drawing in particular upon discourses of 'sexism' and the necessity

of the 'protection of femininity' as integral in 'manhood' (due to the conceptualisation of women as embodiments of collective 'honour').

All the young men who participated reported experiencing racism as a commonplace and as taking many forms. All discussion groups relayed accounts of racism at school with varying degrees of emphasis on staff or pupil racisms reflecting multiplicity of racisms. However a common theme emerged that boys said there is actually "*nothing you can do*" against racisms. This discourse was reproduced by many of the boys in their constructions of racisms. They located their constructions in terms of school cultures and in their conceptualisations of 'blame' and those who they perceive as the racists.

I interpreted the implications of these discourses as constituting two component strands.

Firstly, the young men argue that 'there is nothing you can do' because school as an institution protects racists and perpetuates racism through the production and maintenance of cultures of non-reporting where at best the Asian boys are ignored and at worst punished themselves. Secondly, the young men proposed that 'there is nothing you can do' because racism is conceptualised by the boys as "inevitable" feature of life, whereby blame and agency are removed from racist White pupils and displaced onto their families or society or even the minority culture themselves ("Black invasion" discourse). The various 'solutions' offered by the young men were discussed in terms of their construction within discourses of 'power' and

'powerlessness', and were considered in terms of the potential offered to Others, such as women.

In Chapter Seven, the young men's constructions are compared to those produced by the young women (Chapter Six). The implications of my interpretations from these chapters are discussed further in Chapter Nine, raising various issues for schools and education.

CHAPTER SIX

CONSTRUCTING MUSLIM FEMININITIES

In this chapter I interpret the texts from discussion groups conducted with 32 young women from the four schools in Mill Town. All except one of the young women were Muslim (Samia, participating in Tamar's group from Lowtown School, is an Indian and Hindu). The chapter is divided into two main sections: first, I consider how participants constructed their identities, as British-Muslim young women, in relation to dominant discourses which position them as 'passive victims' who are 'double oppressed' by restrictive, patriarchal home cultures. In particular, discussion centres around the young women's constructions of 'arranged marriage', the wearing of dbuttah, careers and 'going out'.

In the second half of the chapter, I consider the intersection of gender and 'race' and the young women's construction of 'race' and racisms. As in Chapter Five, constructions are considered in relation to psychological conceptualisations of 'traditional' and 'modern' racism. I suggest that the young women's constructions of 'teacher' and 'institutional' racisms do not 'fit' positivistic definitions of 'racism'. I also suggest that the young women constructed challenges to dominant discourses which position 'home' as oppressive and 'school' as a place of freedom. I end the chapter with a discussion of possibilities for, and the meaning of, 'gendered' anti-racist education initiatives.

Constructions of Arranged Marriage

The topic of "arranged marriage" is frequently associated with young British-Asian women (Ahmed, 1996; Shaw, 1994) within both academic and popular discourses, particularly as an issue for concern and conflict (Stopes-Roe & Cochrane, 1990).

White, Western discourses have positioned arranged marriage as an oppressive practice which is inconsistent with 'freedom', 'choice' and love (as integral to marriage). As such, the continuing practice of arranging marriages among Asian communities in Britain, has been used as evidence of 'sexism', and also as a means of distinguishing between 'progressive / western' individuals (ie. those who 'oppose' it) and "traditional/orthodox" individuals (those who 'support' it).

In particular, academic texts have used respondents' opinions on arranged marriage as markers of traditional/western orientation towards ethnic culture, and have identified the existence of 'conflict' through differences of opinion between 'traditional' older generations and a 'progressive' younger generation. For example, Ellis (1991) suggests that 'westernised' women experience more conflict with their identities than 'orthodox' women. These 'conflicts' have been highlighted in the media by the portrayal of Asian girls running away from arranged marriages, such as in the TV play *Flight*¹ and the recent BBC1, *Panorama* special on women who flee arranged marriages. In other words, stereotypes of British-Asian women as 'double-oppressed', are often constructed with reference to the 'oppressive', 'sexist', practice of arranged marriage.

¹ Screened on BBC2, 25th January, 1998.

The definitions of 'progressive/ western' young women proposed by researchers such as Ellis (1991) and Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1990) hinge upon assumptions of arranged marriage as a single, identifiable and homogenised practice, which stands in opposition to western marriages. For example, arranged marriages are presented as 'unnatural' and 'oppressive' in relation to discourses of 'choice' and dating as 'natural' British practices, 'normal' development patterns. Arranged marriage can also appear as an oppressive practice in terms of White, western feminist ideals of sexual liberation and the assertion of sexuality. White, western marriage ideals also position love as integral to marriage, and romantic love is positioned as incompatible with marriages which are arranged. Staff from the schools in this study also voiced similar views, and concerns for their Asian female pupils, during informal chats with me.

Within the discussion groups in this research, young women deconstructed and challenged a single practice of arranged marriage, taking up a number of positions on the subject. In particular they drew on discourses of 'choice' within marriage and challenged dominant assumptions regarding 'running away' and western-style, 'love' marriages as ideals. I selected the following extracts for discussion because I consider them to be representative of the types of view expressed, and because they show the young women's negotiations of positions differing from the outlined dominant discourses.

Extract 1.1 Eastfield School; Tamar (p.14-19): Extract from p.15-16

- Tamar: yeah (.) what do you all think about it? Arranged marriage?
Kuldip: I think if you're gonna have have arranged marriage you've gotta be happyabout it like you can't be pu- you can't be pushed into anything yeah cos its not marriage otherwise and you can say that-
Nasreen: that's what my mum believes
Janita: -no I think its weird cos if something happens (.) then you can tell your parents that its your fault I didn't want to get married so (.)!
Nasreen: I know but you don't wanna say that! You're UNHAPPY then aren't you!!
Janita: yeah but if you get love marriage and it breaks I mean if you go on- I mean it can break in two months!
Nasreen: Oh GOD! did you believe it?! No way hosay! hhh! no you can't you can't have an arranged marriage if you're not happy with it I mean if you're happy with it then its alright
Shireen: what if he ends up beating you up or something?!
Janita: I think I think its alright if the husband's alright (.) I think it (.) if your husband's alright then everything is fine
Nasreen: (.) yeah but what if- right if your dad arranges for you to marry this-
Janita: -he's not going to do that but // yeah but its (.) I don't know but its (.) good if you like listen to your parents

//
Shireen: cos they've got to respect it! I know my mum and dad will!
Nasreen: my mum and dad would as well they wouldn't force me to do nothing
Kuldip: like my mum believes that it should be the girl who has the choice she's the one that is gonna spend her whole life with this guy it should be her choice!

Nasreen: no pressure! My dad always says get your degree first then think about your marriage! My mum goes- I'll tease my mum and I'll say mum! when you gonna marry me off?! and she'll go what are you so keen for?! Like I tell my dad I said it and that'll be the laff of the morning!

Extract 1.2 Westfield School; Louise (p.10-12, p.16) Extract p.16

- Louise: what do you think about girls running away?
Joti: prostitutes!
Louise: why are they prostitutes?
Joti: don't know why (.) why do they run away? why don't they just (.)
Louise: I don't uh (.) why do they run away?
Salma: parents are gonna get them married off
Zaida: yeah but they end up in a mess don't they? they end up like on the streets or something like that with no money?
Joti: I know! you just have to tell your parents what you want instead of running away!
Louise: so do they think their parents are gonna do it or do their parents say right you're gonna marry this boy (.) and they're like oh shit!-
Zaida: well their parents don't exactly force them to get married they just um (.) just think of this guy or something that they really like and you just get to know him and go out with him and everything then a month or six months or something he's- if you like him fine but if you don't like him then fine! Like that but some people you know they run away and have so many boyfriends and their family you know they get a bad name and they talk about them and goes fine! you done so many bad things that I don't mind if you- if you'd told me but you never told me and now uh- just go to Pakistan where you can get married to some guy there (.) some some just put themselves in a situation but some don't

In these extracts the young women drew on, and deconstructed dominant, unitary notions of arranged marriages in order to construct their own positions on arranged marriage. In opposition to dominant constructions of arranged marriage, the young women re-construct arranged marriage in terms of 'choice' (both in terms of whether one chooses to get married and to whom). For example, in extract 1.1, *Kuldip* says that you "*can't be pushed into anything*" because otherwise "*its not marriage*". In other words, she positions marriage as antithetical to force and coercion. Nasreen (Extract 1.1) also emphasises the role of choice and the fact that you "*can't have an arranged marriage if you're not happy with it*".

Nasreen (extract 1.1) further emphasises the 'non-oppressive' nature of arranged marriage and the lack of pressure exerted by parents by positioning marriage as non-conflictual with educational aspirations ("*no pressure! my dad always says get your degree first then think about your marriage*"). In other words she challenges racist assumptions that Muslim fathers are only concerned with getting their daughters married, or that the prospect of arranged marriage runs contrary to educational discourses. Nasreen further illustrates the lack of pressure from parents through the reversal of roles, whereby she jokes to her mother "*when you gonna marry me off!*" to which her mother is resistant ("*she'll go what are you so keen for?!*"). In this way, Nasreen positions arranged marriage as a non-serious issue which she and her parents can joke about through their shared understandings of each other's positions. Nasreen's construction of her family's treatment of her future marriage as "*the laff of the morning*" stands in stark contrast to dominant concerns over arranged marriage as a looming, over-bearing prospect for young women.

In order to support their own constructions of arranged marriage as involving choice, the young women have re-interpreted and explained some of the 'evidence' used by dominant discourses such as girls running away and the sending away of daughters to the Indian subcontinent for marriage. For example, Joti and Zaida (extract 1.2) chastise young women who run away from arranged marriages. Joti constructs and criticises such young women in terms of morality and sexuality (as "*prostitutes*") and thus shifts the emphasis of blame onto the personal nature of the young women involved, rather than positioning them as 'victims' responding to oppressions within

The increasing use of Muslim religious identities, as a response to racism, has been suggested by researchers such as Gardner and Shukur (1994):

"Islam provides both a positive identity in which solidarity can be found together with an escape from the oppressive tedium of being constantly identified in negative terms" Gardner and Shukur, 1994; p.163).

I consider, however, that this reading is problematic because Islamic identities are reduced to functional responses to racism, and are not afforded value beyond this. Also, this view suggests that racism can be overcome or 'escaped' from if those oppressed chose 'better' more functional identifications (drawing on notions of consciousness raising or increasing minority group members' self-esteem). In other words, the locus of agency and onus of responsibility is placed with those affected, rather than working to challenge the dominant racist discourses.

The interconnection between 'ethnicity' and 'race' with 'racism' leads onto the young women's constructions of 'racisms'. The following extract illustrates the interconnection between racism and 'race' and the ways in which young women conceptualised 'race' in terms of experiences of racism.

Extract 2.2 Hightown School; Tamar p.17

Tamar: do you feel you belong here?

Priya: yeah

Navdip: yeah

Tamar: in this country?

Navdip: (.) I feel yeah I do sometimes but then when you know you hear you hear all about this racist stuff the you feel oh no its not right (Tamar: uh huh) it really does I-I don't feel I belong anywhere really (.) in Pakistan I wouldn't feel like you know like I belong there and here it (.) I don't either (.) I do (.) I don't know what I'm going on about hhh!

In extract 2.2 Navdip constructs her feelings of cultural ambiguity in relation to "*racist stuff*" which makes her feel as though she does not belong, through its positioning of her as Other. This construction constitutes a radical alternative to social identity theories which locate ambiguity and crisis at an individual psychological level. Navdip draws on the racist discourse of being told to 'go back where you came from', but says that "*in Pakistan I wouldn't feel you know like I belong there*". Navdip's dilemma is then "*I don't feel I belong anywhere really*". This statement could be read as supporting views of second generation immigrants as a 'lost generation' (see Hiro, 1991) or, in ethnic identity search terms, this could be read as the precursor of identity search and negotiation. However, these readings would conceptualise the 'solution' to this crisis in terms of individual search and commitment to 'an ethnic identity' (ie. find an identity which gives a sense of 'belonging'). A radical alternative discourse would shift the focus of attention back to examining and challenging the racist discourses which position young women like Navdip. The following section will address the young women's constructions of racisms and the possibilities offered within these discourses.

Constructing Racisms

Within social cognition research, racism has been defined as a belief or attitude, for example "the belief that members of another ethnic group or national group are inherently inferior" (Brown, 1995; p.8). The underlying psychological reasons for holding prejudiced and racist beliefs have been located within an individual's personality (e.g. Adorno et al., 1950), cognitive style (e.g. Rokeach, 1948) and have

also been explained as resulting from group-based phenomena such as perceived relative deprivation between social groups (Runciman, 1966) and perceived conflict between groups (e.g. Rabbie et al., 1974).

The various 'solutions' to racism have therefore centred around 'correcting' the faulty cognitions of the individual, providing more information and contact between group members and developing the conditions needed within which to operationalise these strategies. However, the treatment of racism as a quantifiable belief or attitude has often obscured other questions such as what actually constitutes racism. Researchers have also noted that changing social conditions have resulted in respondents becoming more wary of voicing socially unacceptable racist views. Instead, other more subtle measures of racism have been developed in response to "modern forms of racism [which] sometimes take the form of increased social distance or mild aversion rather than outright hostility" (Brown, 1995; p.207).

In Chapter One I argued that positivistic approaches do not consider the constructions of racism by, nor the perceived/experienced effects of racism on, by those who experience it (Henwood, 1994). As such, 'racism' has been predominantly defined and explained within academic texts by White, male researchers, who have attempted to identify the sets of beliefs which constitute racism, and the social situations which 'create' racist beliefs. The manifestation of racism has largely been treated within prejudice theories in terms of discriminatory behaviour by one group towards another, for example biases in allocating resources. This lack of any deconstruction of the

concept of 'racism' has resulted in largely un-gendered conceptualisations and has largely ignored the consequences, and workings, of racisms and effects these racisms can have. The conceptualisation of racism as a set of individualised attitudes also denies the existence of structural forms of racism.

In the following extracts, I suggest that the young women reproduce constructions of racism as arising from a form of cognitive, ingroup protective bias. I highlight in particular the implications of the reproduction of racism within these discourses, in terms of the limiting of potential for action against inequalities.

Extract 2.3 Westfield School; Louise p.23

- Louise: what about in Mill Town? is there-?
Salma: yeah there is around town you just like go past and they say something to you
Louise: what do people say?
Salma: just go-
Joti: -you bloody Black back to where you live and all this but I go we were born here so why why should we go back to (.)
Zaida: yeah (.) this is a White country not a Black country get out of our country and all of that but (.)
Joti: I just ignore 'em
Louise: what do you do?
Zaida: I just ignore them
Joti: I ignore em (.) shout (.) .. or just tell them to fuck off!
Louise: what do you say?
Zaida: I don't know it depends on what they've said if they say um (.) you Black bitch I call them a White bastard hhh!
Louise: is that to anyone or? does it matter who says it?
Zaida: I say it to anyone! you don't know who's just said it if you've got the back of your back to 'em
Joti: I just tell them to fuck off //
Louise: do you think it's a problem? do you think something should be done about it?
Salma: yeah but most of them-
Joti: - you can't do anything about it!

Extract 2.4 Lowtown School; Tamar p.25

- Tamar: [...] have you had any racism out of school?
Samia: yeah
Gulfraz: yeah
Tamar: what- what kind of things happened?
Lata: like you'll just be walking on a street and someone (.) can't remember what he yelled out
Gulfraz: yeah right I've had doors slammed at me
Lata: -like start swearing at me Black this and Black that
Samia: yeah I've been spitted on before
Tamar: you've been spitted on?
Samia: yeah //
Tamar: yeah (.) do you think um (.) do you think its possible to change the racism outside school?
Samia: people should understand that they're racist because they don't understand the religion they don't understand the culture (.) and they think that um their culture and religion is better than that cos they don't understand it because they're like- and racism occurs (.) its cos I think its like the person (.) they're frightened so they don't want to ask people they don't want to sit down and ask you what your culture's like they just come to assume that and do this- its like they make a stereotype assumption you do this and do that and they don't understand and that's why they're being racist- they like defend themselves or summat//
Gulfraz: when it happens to you you do tend to think like oh they don't think about us why should we you know be polite to them so (.) it just (.) things just come out of your mouth then (.) its just natural//
Tamar: you don't think racism- you can never change that?
Gulfraz: it might get a bit less but it like will always be there
Samia: there'll always be one group uh (.) one culture picking on them...

In the two extracts above (2.3 and 2.4) the young women construct racisms which they have experienced from people in Mill Town. In these extracts they reproduce psychological constructions of racism as the holding of prejudiced attitudes, and cognitions, by racist individuals, which are demonstrated through public displays of 'outgroup derogation'. In extract 2.3, Salma says that "around town you just like go past and they say something to you". In extract 2.4, Lata has also been yelled and sworn at, Gulfraz says "*I've had doors slammed at me*", and Samia has "*been spitted on before*". These insults are easily identifiable as 'traditional' racism, for instance

Joti and Zaida's examples (extract 2.3) reproduce familiar rhetoric of organised racist groups such as the British National Party and the National Front which call for the 'return'/expulsion of non-White people from Britain ("*you bloody Black back to where you live*" and "*this is a White country not a Black country get out of our country*").

These forms of racist insult draw upon nationalistic discourses concerning fear of a Black 'invasion' and threat from alien cultures upon "British" culture (as in Enoch Powell's speech, referred to earlier), which Samia reproduces (extract 2.4) in her construction of the causes of racism ("*they like defend themselves or summat*"). These notions of racism as a response to threatened identity are also reproduced within social cognition theories, such as SIT, which posit that prejudice is an 'inevitable' feature of intergroup relations, due to the prevalence of ingroup favouritism and outgroup derogation, which particularly occurs when the ingroup is threatened or placed in a competitive situation. The desire for 'positive distinctiveness' is sought through the process of intergroup comparisons, by which outgroups and outgroup members may be derogated. Samia reproduces aspects of this discourse concerning the 'naturalness' and 'inevitability' of these processes, suggesting that not much can be done to eliminate racism since "*there'll always be one group uh (.) one culture picking on them*".

Samia also reproduces a dominant discourse of prejudice as ignorance, resulting from a lack of understanding of other cultures ("*people should understand that they're racist because they don't understand the religion they don't understand the culture*") and from the associated stereotypes which people rely on when they do not understand ("*its like*

they make a stereotype assumption you do this and do that and they don't understand").

Samia's explanation reproduces aspects of psychological theories on stereotyping (e.g. as a cognitive economy) and Contact Hypothesis, which proposes that intergroup contact between group members can lead to the reduction of stereotyping and will therefore lessen prejudice. These assumptions which underpin Contact Hypothesis have been highly influential in social policy making, for example the USA introduced a desegregation policy within education to facilitate racial mixing between pupils. However, whilst Contact Hypothesis researchers have worked towards identification of the optimum conditions under which contact should occur in order to reduce stereotypes and prejudice in experimental conditions, the theory is limited in its potential for application to "real life" groups since it requires groups to be of "equal status". The inherent role of differential power between White and Black groups suggests the limitations of Samia's discourse of contact and mutual understanding as a solution to racism.

As suggested by Wetherell and Potter (1992) and Billig et al. (1988), conceptualisations of racism as an individual attitude/cognitive bias do not address the social, shared nature of racial stereotypes and the emergence of particular discourses from specific social historical phenomena, nor how racist discourses can work to protect the interests of particular groups of people, and the operation of institutional racisms. For example, SIT and cognitive stereotype theories (such as cognitive dissonance) treat stereotyping as occurring from a lack of information as to the heterogeneity of group members. The racisms from these extracts would presumably be explained as

focussing upon a visually salient characteristic of skin colour, or perceived national identity, as points from which to draw group boundaries. However, these theories cannot explain the content of these racist discourses, e.g. the emergence, working and effects of the "go back to where you live" and "get out of our country" discourses. Nor do they explain how such constructions protect existing inequalities in social relations by placing the 'blame' for racism at an individual, psychological (rather than societal) level.

The solutions offered by individualised constructions of racism are limited, especially because within these discourses racism is located at an individual level and hence the responsibility for reaction is placed with the individual suffering the racism. Zaida (extract 2.3) suggests that challenging racists is made even more difficult when comments are made behind her back (*"I say it to anyone! you don't know who's just said it if you've got the back of your back to 'em"*). Joti's construction of the inevitability of racism (*"you can't do anything about it"*) and Gulfraz's view that *"it might get a bit less but like it will always be there"* suggest that nothing can be done at an individual level to combat racism, leaving the option for reaction limited to either ignoring racist incidents (*"just ignore 'em"*) or retorting (*"just tell them to fuck off"*).

Any suggestion that racism should be ignored assumes that racism is not overly serious, and is something which can actually be ignored. However, Gulfraz (extract 2.4) describes her "natural" response to racism as saying something back (*"things just come*

out of your mouth"). This response hints at feelings of anger and frustration, also suggested in Joti's response (telling racists to *"fuck off"*). Gulfraz positions these retorts as justifiable because of the provocation which precedes them, suggesting that *"when it happens to you you do tend to think like oh they don't think about us why should we you know be polite to them"*.

Instead, Gulfraz places anger as a "natural" response to experiencing racist insults, and justifies her own retorts by constructing racists as not deserving politeness or restrained behaviour in return. This 'turning the tables' is also echoed by Zaida, who says that her response to being called *"you Black bitch"* is to call the perpetrator *"a White bastard"*. This discourse of 'attacking like with like' could work to challenge the power of 'traditional' racist slogans, although it could position the young women in greater danger of further abuse or attack. This strategy could also serve to highlight racism as emotive and something which it is justifiable to verbally challenge and speak out against. However, these solutions may only work with clearly identifiable 'traditional' racisms and rely on interpersonal confrontation, and do nothing to alter social and economic inequalities.

In the above extracts 'racists' have been conceptualised as strangers or people on the street with whom the young women have little other interpersonal contact. However, the young women's talk reveal that racisms persist in schools, where White and Asian pupils have daily contact. In the following extracts I consider young women's constructions of racism which they have experienced from White pupils in school.

Constructions of Pupil Racism: "It's the way they've been brought up"

Extract 2.5 Hightown School; Louise p.4

- Louise: umm what's bad about it [school]?
- Sheena: it's the racism that's causing it
- Louise: do you get a lot I mean do people like call stuff everyday?
- Sheena: yeah everyday
- Louise: what and teachers don't-
- Sheena: -we never told the teachers because they don't do nothing about it so there's no point
- Louise: do you think it's the same in all schools in Mill Town?
- Sheena: no I think its because Hightown School is situated in this area as well so there's a lot of people they come from rough- they're most of the ones that are calling us all the time and they're the ones that started on the girl as well they're all from that area its usually them

Extract 2.6 Eastfield School; Tamar p.10

- Kuldip: no but there's not really racism in this school? not now not any more no
- Nasreen: and if there is if this person is racist they don't (.) they'll say it they might write something racist on their bench or summit they won't say it
- Shireen: yeah I know somebody like racist and she like (.) says like if you give racist comments she comes up to you and she goes well I am racist but I can't exactly help it my brother's a racist my family are racist (Nasreen: oh yeah) R- and she goes but I'm not racist in school though except there's you lot about- goes there's you's lot about so if I was racist then I'm dead the next second! and we go like why are you racist? and she goes I can't help it its all my family that are racist so I have to be racist!
- Tamar: do you think you can change it?
- Nasreen: no
- Shireen: you can't change somebody you can't change nobody (.)
- Nasreen: cos that's how they've been brought up
- Shireen: we could change ourselves though right none of us are racist and like if there's a White being picked on we won't walk off saying he's a White and walk off (.) we might as well call the staff

In extract 2.5 Sheena suggests that more racism occurs at Hightown School because of the area in which it is situated, where many pupils are drawn from "*rough*" areas. She identifies these pupils as forming the majority of those who use racist insults ("*they're most of the ones that are calling us all the time*"), as the perpetrators of a racist attack

on a young Asian woman at the school, and as usually responsible for racisms ("*its usually them*"). Sheena's construction of racists as coming from "rough" or deprived areas, reproduces aspects of psychological theories of intergroup conflict and antagonism such as Frustration-Aggression hypothesis (e.g. Dollard et al., 1939) whereby intergroup conflict is conceptualised as arising from frustrations in the 'denied' individual, and Realistic Conflict Theory (e.g. Walker and Mann, 1987), which suggests feelings of intergroup antagonism among the unemployed were predicted by perceptions of fraternal deprivation [Pettigrew, (1967) reported that Whites in America who felt relatively deprived as a social group had the most negative attitudes towards Black public office candidates]. This discourse also echoes constructions of racism as resulting from a 'lack of education' or advancement, which, Wetherell and Potter (1992) suggest, reduces racism to an individual phenomenon that can be solved through the continued advancement of liberal White society's institutions (such as improving education and welfare).

The role of 'culture' and the social context as the 'cause' of racism (through socialisation, home background and upbringing) is also reproduced in extract 2.6, in which Shireen talks about the justifications given to her by one self-identified racist White female pupil. Shireen suggests that the young woman constructs her racist attitudes as determined by her family socialisation and presents her identity (as a family member) as intertwined with, and defined in terms of, the family's racist attitudes ("*I can't help it its all my family that are racist so I have to be racist*"). Both of the constructions in these extracts position racism as integral, and inevitable, to growing

up within particular environments, for example, within racist families or deprived areas. As such, racism is conceptualised as unchangeable ("*you can't change nobody*" / "*cos that's how they've been brought up*") where it has been reproduced through familial upbringing. This removes the blame from racist pupils and absolves them of responsibility, or accountability, for racism, and places the locus for change within societal institutions (through, for example, increased education).

Despite the common emphasis in the two extracts (2.5, 2.6) upon home background and socialisation as the causes of racism, the young women have produced different constructions of the nature and form racisms take. Sheena (extract 2.5) suggests that the racist pupils at Hightown school are easily identifiable in terms of their overt racist behaviours. In contrast, Nasreen and Shireen point to changing forms of racism which are becoming harder to identify or associate with specific individuals, for example Nasreen says that "*they might write something racist on their bench or summit they won't say it*" and Shireen recounts how a racist girl admits to modifying her behaviour in school ("*but I'm not racist in school*").

Kuldip and Nasreen reproduce 'traditional' conceptualisations of racism as an overt and identifiable behaviour, so that the comparatively small number of instances of verbal racism is taken as indicative of a decline in racism, or at least in the severity or extreme of racism ("*there's not really racism in this school? not now not any more no*"). The 'subtlety' characterising racisms outlined above echoes theories of 'modern' racism. The implications of the 'modern racism' discourse are that racism is declining and that

the racisms which do persist are not as overtly confrontational. However, 'modern' racisms do not necessarily have a 'lesser' effect than 'overt' racisms, as discussed in Chapter One.

Discourses of 'modern racism' also presume that changes in the expression of racism are a response to changing social norms and behavioural acceptability, for example as a result of school's multicultural policies. However, Shireen produces a radical alternative explanation that suggests White pupils are not racist in school for fear of retaliation by Asian pupils ("*I'm not racist in school except there's you's lot about so if I was racist then I'm dead the next second!*"). This discourse challenges the potential of multicultural and liberal discourses for combatting racism, and offers a potential alternative ('fighting back') for 'containing' racism and preventing racist incidents within school (as advocated by some of the young males in their constructions of racism, see Chapters Seven for further discussion), which is constructed as more effective than other possibilities, such as threat of punishment from teachers.

The threat of being "*dead the next second*" for being racist "*in school*" does not operate beyond the school day nor does it offer possibilities for changing racist discourses, merely containing them. In comparison, the 'solutions' offered within Sheena's discourse relate to eliminating social deprivation (e.g. remove the source of the frustration, reduce feelings of relative deprivation). However, these constructions of racism have conceptualised racism as a 'pupil' phenomenon within school and as perpetrated by strangers out of school. As such, these constructions do not account

for racisms amongst 'well off' social groups within school nor is there room for institutional racisms. As such, I suggest that Sheena's construction of racism as originating in deprivation locates racism as a (working) class-specific phenomenon whereas Nasreen and Shireen's constructions essentialise racism as a White, family-based (cultural) phenomenon. In the following section I consider how the young women locate experiences of racism within the school institution and in interpersonal interactions with teaching staff.

In comparison to constructions of White pupils as 'victims' of their upbringing or social situation, unable to 'help' being racist, Shireen presents herself and her friends as in charge of their own attitudes ("*we could change ourselves though*"). I would suggest that her assertion "*none of us are racist*" (and the example she gives of helping a White pupil), not only draw on discourses of liberalism and equality in order to present her arguments as more reasonable and convincing (see Wetherell and Potter, 1992), but offer a potentially radical reversal of dominant discourses. Within Shireen's talk, White racist pupils appear as unreasonable and backwards in contrast to Shireen and her friends, who are positioned as fair, unprejudiced, forgiving (e.g. they do not retaliate to racism but actively protect the White boy in the example).

Constructions of Teacher and Institutional Racisms

I suggest that positivistic conceptualisations of racism, as a set of definable, interpersonal attitudes, define racism too narrowly, making other forms of racism more difficult to identify, justify and tackle. In this section, I argue for a broadening of

conceptualisations of 'racism' to 'racisms', so that young women's experiences of racism are not marginalised and denied. I also suggest potential implications of my suggestions with regard to developing teachers' awareness of the differences between their own perceptions and those of their pupils. These issues are returned to in Chapters Seven and Nine, where possible strategies are suggested for anti-racist action within schools.

In the following extracts, young women negotiated and constructed racisms in terms of their interpersonal experiences with teachers and their experiences as pupils within the school institution. The strength of dominant conceptualisations of racism are illustrated both in the first extract (2.7) where the young women construct interpersonal experiences with teachers, and in the subsequent extract where the young women talk about institutional discourses as racist.

The Young Women's Experiences of Racisms from Teachers: "*Are We Paranoid?*"

Extract 2.7 Hightown School; Tamar; p.4-5

- Tamar: uh you all talk about uh racism at school have you ever had any racism from your teachers or anything?
- Deepa: well they are tight to us you know some of them
- Navdip: I think (.) maybe we're being a bit paranoid you know like if anything goes wrong in class then you think oh that person's a racist I think that's what we do mostly but (.) uh
- Tamar: but do you feel justified (.) uh when you I mean do you feel justified to to feel that they are actually racist?
- Deepa: yeah
- Navdip: (.) uhh I don't know
- Tamar: or do do you think that maybe you're over-reacting?
- Navdip: Sometimes I do sometimes I think I over-react when you think about it but then (.) sometimes its (.)

In this extract (2.7), the young women talk about their feelings of uncertainty in identifying certain interpersonal experiences with teachers as 'racism', when the 'racists' don't fit the profile (ie. when not perceived as deprived, and supposedly equal opportunity-orientated), and when the 'racism' does not conform to traditional racist discourses (e.g. 'go back to where you belong'), nor to the 'modern' forms of mild social distance and aversion. This dilemma is encapsulated in the young women's questioning, is this 'racism' or is it being "*paranoid*"?

Navdip reproduces a discourse of sensitivity to racism as just "*being a bit paranoid*" and "*over-reacting*". This discourse operates to silence and dismiss victims' claims of racism through denying the existence of racism (Ahmed, 1996) and to protect and perpetuate dominant constructions of what constitutes racism, thus controlling and confining possible strategies of resistance, and ensuring the reproduction and perpetuation of racisms.

Dominant conceptualisations of racism as definable, identifiable attitudes and behaviours (such as violent attacks and name-calling) mean that other more subtle experiences which fall outside of these criteria, can be dismissed as not racism, but "*paranoia*". Furthermore, as already discussed, the 'liberal veneer' to modern racism makes it difficult to challenge, because it contains within it a set of justifications that work to position the views expressed as 'unprejudiced' (see Billig et al., 1988). I suggest that the "*paranoia*" discourse works to deny these young women's experiences of racism by drawing on notions of reason, fairness/justice and by placing blame onto

the victim, who is accused of looking for evidence of racism where it doesn't exist ("like if anything goes wrong in class then you think oh that person's a racist"). The victim is therefore rendered "*unreasonable*" and unjustified in their perceptions of racism, which undermines his/her rights to define his/her own experiences, and is hence debilitated. Placing focus on the victim (individualisation) therefore shifts emphasis away from the "causes" of racism and the possibility of institutional racism.

Within this "*paranoia*" discourse, dominant perspectives can continue to construct racism, defining what 'counts' as racism (although identification of the discourse opens up possibilities for the assertion of victims' constructions). I suggest that this has direct implications for possible forms of resistance to racism, particularly because some forms of racism are constructed as more "trivial" than others. The young women in the above extract construct racism (albeit tentatively) as nondescript behaviours of teachers towards pupils, which is manifested as being a bit "*tight to us*" and things going "*wrong*" in class. Racism is constructed as something subtle, and difficult to distinguish, which cannot be 'proven' by the young women. Within dominant discourses, these behaviours may not be viewed as serious (or 'high') levels of racism. On the contrary, I consider the situation to be 'highly' racist when pupils experience racism but are discouraged from speaking out through fear of being branded as hyper-sensitive and "*paranoid*". The assumption that one can "*over-react*" to racism makes victims uncertain and therefore unlikely to speak out against racism.

I also suggest that within this discourse of paranoia, White teachers and pupils are protected from allegations of racism because the possibility of 'incorrectly' identifying racism is constructed as worse than suffering racism. Racism is thus legitimised as a fact of life which should be endured within its reasonable limits (this notion can be returned to when considering the extracts in the following section, where the young women talk about their experiences of racism as violent, repetitive, daily parts of their lives). I also consider that the notion of "*over-reacting*" may interlink with sexist stereotyping and derogation of women as emotional and irrational, which can act to prevent women from expressing anger at their experiences of racism, and hinders retaliation. This 'paranoid' construction of racism is perpetuated by the teachers who are "*not bothered*".

I therefore suggest that racism can be subtle and expressed in non-stereotypical ways which are difficult to counter, it is not just the physical violence from other pupils. If educators acknowledge racism only as something which occurs between pupils, and fail to consider their own role in the reproduction of inequalities (Siraj-Blatchford, 1993), then institutional racisms will be perpetuated. In Chapter Nine I further discuss the educational implications of my interpretations, with reference to increasing teacher accountability and the redefinition of racism.

Institutional Racisms: "Its not Fair But What Can We Do?"

Extract 2.8 Westfield School; Nessa p.6-7

- Qulsum: all my mother wants is me to learn how to write a letter in Urdu or hhh! (Kiran: yeah!) and oh she goes on and on! So I just did it to save a argument So I just said I'll do Urdu and plus my friends are there! (.) I've got a lot of (.) English friends as well cos you know some classes (.) have more English than (.) Asians like my English class has got only four Asians there (.) so like (.) the higher classes have got like more English people in it
- Parbin: You know this year I think they've been racist with the head boy (Qulsum: oh yeah) you know the head boy and the head girl are white and the deputy head and girl are white and most of the prefects are white as well
- Qulsum: white yeah (.) and that's not fair cos like 60% or like even more of our school's Asian (.) but yet they're not

In extract 2.8 Qulsum and Parbin reproduce equal opportunities discourses, regarding proportional representation, with which to justify their perceptions of racisms in the selection of prefects and head pupils, who are predominantly White, in comparison with the ethnic composition of the school ("*sixty percent or like even more of our school's Asian*"). Issues around representation have been used within a variety of equal opportunities projects, particularly with regards recruitment to 'top jobs' (e.g. arguing for strategies to increase the number of women and Black politicians). From this perspective, the young women's use of these discourses to justify their own experiences and perceptions could be considered as illustrating the importance, and success, of establishing challenging discourses within the mainstream (ie. Qulsum is able to justify and perceive that the situation is "*not fair*").

However, Parbin is hesitant in labelling the school's appointments as racist ("*you know this year I think they've been racist*"). The allegation of racism is further diluted by

the separation of the racist actions from the teachers who select prefects (ie. she does not construct the teachers as racist, only this particular behaviour, "*this year*"). Furthermore, disproportionate representation in 'top' or prestigious positions between White and Asian pupils at the school is not (explicitly) extended to explain why "*the higher classes have got like more English people in it*". This disjunction could be used to further justify the young women's perceptions of racism in the appointment of prefects, protecting against possible allegations that her view is a 'sour grapes' response to not being personally appointed as a prefect.

Within a discourse of meritocracy, Qulsum's construction of White pupils as forming the majority of "*higher classes*" could be used to justify the racial composition of prefects and head pupils (ie. they are 'the best' pupils). Without the necessary structural changes, and the recognition that 'equality of opportunity' does not ensure that all candidates enter at equal levels, appointments will continue to be justified in terms of meritocratic principles, which assume parity of experience between all those who compete for society's positions of power. This point raises questions as to what extent schools pursue 'equality of opportunity' or 'anti-racist' perspectives, for example in terms of monitoring pupil selection procedures such as prefects and the impact of 'streaming' pupils according to ability.

Constructions of School/ Teachers as 'Not Bothered' About Racism

Extract 2.9 Hightown School Tamar: p.4-5

- Tamar: Do you think do you feel like uh the school's actually doing anything to deal with it?
- Priya: no
- Navdip: no
- Deepa: no
- Tamar: and what sort of (Deepa: teachers) if you know if say somebody said something to you umm and you told a teacher you know would they do anything?
- Navdip: they's say they're doing something and they'd act as if you know it was really you know we are doing something but
- Suki: but if its just uh one person then they might do but when there's a lot going on they don't //
- Priya: it hurts dunnit [racism]? I mean (.) its awful it shouldn't be allowed to happen but I mean we can't stop it can we? its its just
- Tamar: so do you think there's nothing that nothing can be done? do you think that-
- Navdip: -something can be done but its just a matter of getting it done innit? I mean like the teachers they don't bother really
- Suki: yeah they don't!
- Tamar: you know if it was in your hands [...] umm what do you think you'-you'd do if you were in charge? and could you change some things and do something about it? what sort of things do you
- Navdip: I-I'd get rid of them me! (Deepa: yeah!) people who do it I mean they've been given second chances and everything and its just not fair! I mean these girls who actually did it (.) once they got they just got suspended for a bit and then they came back and err and now they're even allowed to sit their exams and that's not fair I-I reckon they should have got rid of them altogether! cos they just keep doing it!
- Suki: cos you know these girls they've beaten up my uh friends and the teacher didn't do anything about it
- Priya: they just get them back at the end of the day

Extract 2.10 Westfield School; Louise (p.22-23)

- Louise: [...] do you get a lot of racism?
- Zaida: not in this school but in Hightown School this uh White girl she battered (.) she battered she battered I mean really really battered this Asian girl in (.) cos she was a racist (.) she uh pushed her in- under a bus (Louise: really? hhh) yeah it were about (.) about a week ago the girl's still in hospital she was supposed to be doing GCSE's as well (.) can't do them now though and the other girl she's got suspended or summit
- Menaz: that's weird isn't it she practically killed her and she just got suspended!//

I have selected the two extracts above (2.9 and 2.10) as reproducing a reactive discourse for 'dealing' with racism within school, namely to punish the proponents of racist incidents. However, the young women from both discussion groups (from Hightown and Westfield Schools) suggest that teachers (from Hightown School) either do nothing ("*the teachers they don't bother really*", Navdip, extract 2.9), or not enough, to punish racist attacks ("*she practically killed her and she just got suspended!*", Menaz, extract 2.10). I consider that the young women's constructions therefore raise concerns over staff and school attitudes towards racisms, both in terms of the 'truth' of the situation (ie. whether or not incidents of racism are severely sanctioned) and also because Asian pupils from both Hightown and Westfield School, have constructed staff at Hightown school as uncommitted to tackling racist incidents within school, and as implicit therefore in the perpetuation of racisms.

The young women construct experiences of racism as serious, gendered, physical assaults which are not punished ("*these girls they've beaten up my uh friends and the teacher didn't do anything about it*" Suki, extract 2.9: "*this uh white girl she battered (.) she battered she battered I mean really really battered this Asian girl in (.) cos she was a racist (.) she uh pushed her in- under a bus*" Zaida, extract 2.10). In comparison to the violence of these attacks, the teachers are presented as indifferent ("*not bothered*") or too lenient. The young women conceptualise this disparity, between the serious nature of the incidents and the lack of subsequent action, as "*not fair*" (Navdip, extract 2.9) and "*weird*" (Menaz, extract 2.10).

It could be argued however, from a teacher perspective, that incidents between pupils, especially those occurring out of school hours, lie at the boundaries of their jurisdiction and are therefore behaviours which they are unable to confront. I suggest however, that the young women construct teachers' lack of action as a source of conflict between themselves and staff. For example, Navdip says "*something can be done but its just a matter of getting it done innit?*" and also constructs teachers as dishonest in their assurances to Asian pupils ("*they'd say they're doing something and they'd act as if you know it was really you know we are doing something but (.)*").

Suki constructs teachers' ineffectiveness in dealing with racisms as due to the sheer scale of the problem faced ("*but if its just uh one person then they might do but when there's a lot going on they don't*"). This conceptualisation also suggests that teachers possess adequate resources for dealing with interpersonal racisms only. Within these extracts, I suggest that racism is presented as wide-spread within school, and exacerbated by teachers who are constructed as 'not bothering' to address the issues, despite possessing the power to effect change. The young women thus challenge institutional structures and produce conceptualisations of racism which resist psychological constructions of racism as a merely individual cognitive bias. Instead, the young women construct racism as ingrained within White institutions, such as school.

I suggest that the young women's constructions have implications for staff-pupil relationships beyond the pupils (and staff) directly involved. Perceptions of

'unfairness' by staff in their dealings with racism (such as leniency or lack of interest) may result in conflict between staff and Asian pupils, which may detrimentally affect Asian pupils' educational experiences.

These extracts also challenge whether all pupils have equal access to education, for example the victim of the racist attack (in the second extract) is unable to do her examinations (*"the girl's still in hospital she was supposed to be doing GCSE's as well (.) can't do them now though"*) whereas the racist attackers (in the first extract) have been allowed to return to take their examinations (*"they got they just got suspended for a bit and then they came back and err and now they're even allowed to sit their exams and that's not fair"*). A modern racist interpretation might argue that the school's decision to allow these pupils to take their examinations is unrelated to their racist behaviours, based on notions of fairness as regards these pupils' rights to education.

However, Navdip subverts the school perspective of 'justice' ('giving a second chance'), as actively supportive of racists, who are allowed to gain qualifications and to commit the same attacks again (*"cos they just keep doing it"*).

From this perspective, the school can be read as implicit in the denial of equal educational opportunities to Asian pupils, because pupils are not protected from racisms (thus suffer inequalities in educational experiences as compared to White pupils) because Asian pupils and staff are brought into conflict (which may have subsequent effects on Asian pupils' achievement). I suggest that if schools are not perceived (by

their pupils) to tackle racism adequately, then Black pupils may be disadvantaged in their experiences of school, as compared to White pupils.

Extract 2.11 Eastfield School; Tamar p.8

Tamar: [...] when you haven't got lessons sort of at break and lunchtime and stuff what do you all get up to?
Nasreen: nothing! that's why- there's nothing to do
Shireen: walk about!
Nasreen: no! be truthful! we've got like we've got um (.) a common room for year tens right (Shireen: and that's full of-) full of all White people and we don't want even want to bother going in cos its like spot the b-black person its just like all you know the English girls the English lads

Extract 2.12 Hightown School; Louise p.16

Fatima: we get on with the White boys in our class but not with-
Nergis: the girls aren't as (.)
Louise: not the girls?
Nergis: no! hhh!
Louise: what are the girls like?
Nergis: they're a bit more bitchy like

I have selected Extract 2.11 and 2.12 as raising issues around how racism is conceptualised within schools, and how some forms of racism may be particularly 'hidden' from school staff. In Extract 2.11, Nasreen challenges Shireen's (and her own) previous constructions of their activities during break-times, as involving walking about, as untrue ("*no! be truthful!*"). She suggests instead that she and her friends "*walk about*" during break because they are excluded from the common room, which is "*full of all White people*". She constructs the presence of White pupils within the common-room as a united force ("*its just like all you know the English girls the English lads*"), against which Black pupils appear highly visible and alone ("*its like spot the b-black person*").

However, Nasreen's construction appears contradictory because she then positions her, and her friends', avoidance of the common room in terms of 'choice' ("*we don't want even want to bother going in*"), although I consider that the emphasis upon "bother[ing]" to go into the common room suggests that the experience would be troublesome and unpleasant. I suggest that this construction of White pupils' dominance in the common room positions racism as a subtle, but powerful practice, which marginalises Asian pupils from particular areas of school. I suggest also that the non-confrontational way in which this racist discourse operates, contributes to hiding the racism, making it difficult to identify, or indeed 'punish'.

I suggest that Extract 2.12 also presents constructions of hidden racisms within school, which are difficult to identify and tackle. For example, in the extract, Nergis appears reluctant to identify how, or why, her relationships with young White women differ from those she has with White male pupils. She eventually describes young women as "*more bitchy*". I suggest that Nergis constructs relationships with White pupils as gendered, and subsequently her experiences of racisms appear as gendered. I further suggest that the separation of 'race' and gender within dominant conceptualisations of racism may 'hide' particular same-sex racisms from staff, because the interactions between White males and Asian females may be interpreted as 'evidence' of 'good' inter-ethnic relations. The racialised antagonism between White and Asian young women thus remains hidden (both physically and conceptually). The cross-cutting of dominant hetero-sexualised discourses may also interlink with gendered racist discourses, in terms of competition between women for male attention and approval.

In the following chapter (Seven) I further discuss the educational implications of my interpretations from this Chapter, relating these findings to my interpretations of the young men's discussion groups. In Chapter Eight I further consider ways in which young women constructed subjectivities but this time visually, through the Photographic Diaries.

CHAPTER SEVEN

COMPARISON OF FINDINGS FROM MALE AND FEMALE GROUPS

Chapters Five and Six contained analyses from the young men's and women's groups respectively. Discussions were conducted along the same four broad themes (home, school, ethnicity and gender), and the analyses for each sex discussions concentrated on varying topics beneath the general headings of 'Constructing Muslim Masculinities / Femininities' and 'Constructing Racisms'. These topics were selected according to both the prevalence of the discussions between groups, and as relating to issues raised in the literature from Chapters One, Two and Three.

This chapter is an attempt to draw together some of the themes from across the male and female groups, interpreting similarities and differences between the young men's and women's talk about particular topics. The chapter begins by comparing ways in which the young men and women talked about 'race', specifically their use of terms such as 'Muslim', 'Asian' and 'Black'. This is followed by a consideration of ways in which issues around 'arranged marriage' and 'dbuttah' were talked about by the young men and women. The chapter ends with a comparison of the young people's constructions of racism.

Muslim/ British Muslim

- Shabid: Well its not just like Pakistani (.) Like it's the religion mostly like I'm Muslim (.) You don't care if you're Pakistani or-
- Javid: -it's the religion
[Eastfield School; Tamar p.11]
- Rahan: Being a Muslim (.) cos you got Muslim brothers all over the world so wherever you go (.) a Muslim brother will help yer- dunno
[Westfield School; Louise p.12]
- Gufter: Its like a religion (.) its (.) like strong and its like
Jamil: Cos like if we all Muslims like you're all one (.) like they don't [say we're] Bangladeshi or we're not Pakistani
Gufter: Yeah plus ethnicity is just where you're born (Louise: yeah) err (.) whereas this is religion and its important
[Lowtown School; Louise p.24]

In Chapter Five I discussed the young men's construction of 'race' (using Extracts 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3). In these exerts, the young men drew distinctions between themselves and White people in terms of family relationships and responsibilities. In Chapter Six I discussed the young women's constructions of race (using Extract 2.1), where the young women negotiated different terms for identifying their ethnicity.

My choices of the male extracts reflected (in my interpretation) the prevalence among the young men's discourses of 'relational' constructs of ethnicity. In other words, there was more discussion around 'what we are not' than 'what we are', which is not an uncommon way of constructing identity, according to Said (1978) (cited in Wetherell and Potter, 1992). When asked what they considered their ethnicity to be, or what they called themselves, on the whole, the young men positioned themselves as

'Muslim'. In comparison, young women seemed to engage in greater negotiations of identity, as highlighted in Chapter Six, Extract 2.1, where the young women aligned themselves with a 'British-Muslim' identity. Both the young men and the young women drew on discourses of 'nationality' and 'birthplace' when talking about their identities as Muslims. However, these discourses were used in different ways.

The young men constructed nationality, as ascribed through place of birth, as unimportant and co-incidental ("*ethnicity is just where you're born*", Gufter), against which 'Muslim' was presented as important, overarching identity, transcending all nationalities and any disputes associated with nationality. The young men thus distanced themselves from their 'British' nationality as an irrelevance. This could be seen as a destabilising discourse, through which they can separate from White society. The young men's rejection of a 'British' nationality can be considered as resisting the racist discourses identified by Wetherell and Potter (1992), in which White New Zealanders mobilised 'nationality' discourses in order to assert their own, majority group, interests as universal and applicable to all groups. In this way, the young men's talk could be regarded as a 'radical' challenge.

However, the young men also formulated their discourses in relation to ideals of masculinity, such as drawing on notions of 'strength' and power, 'brotherhood'. They presented Muslim identity as rational and 'making sense' and also appeal to themes of unity ("*you're all one*", Jamil). This implies a converse construction 'Britishness' as weakness and division (and potentially 'femaleness'), against which, they constructed

hegemonic masculinities, within a Muslim sphere. In other words, the young men used a Muslim religious identity through which to assert their position as strong, powerful, unified men. This use of a Muslim identity by the young men can be compared to Maori use of nationalist discourse to engage in political struggle, identified by Wetherell and Potter (1992). However, the young men's talk here also performs specific tasks of masculinity and implies a specifically male sphere for action.

The young men's use of a Muslim identity can therefore be interpreted as challenging White racist discourses through a denial of common nationality, which resists multicultural ideals of integration. However, their talk also operates as a powerful discourse of masculinity for maintaining sexual status quo, and in which women seem not to have a voice (constructions of Muslim identity in terms of 'brotherhood' renders women invisible and inauthentic spokespersons), and the use of *'you're all one'* uses the same discursive resources as the multicultural discourses of nationhood, implying common (dominant) interests and 'one vision' amongst all Muslims. It could also be suggested that within these discourses of brotherhood and 'ummah', the young men are able to position themselves as 'authentic' speakers and 'proper' Muslims, because they are resisting notions of 'Britishness'.

Nasreen: I don't class myself as Pakistani but I'm seen as Pakistani [...] Like why is it Paki power?! We're not from- we're not Pakistanis! Both of our parents were but it doesn't mean we are! We were born here! [...] Like when they say Muslim power that's fine! That goes with me but Pakistani power? That's like nationality don't come in it [...] we're British like (.) it doesn't make sense right (.) we're not Pakis [...] we're British Muslims yeah
[Eastfield School; Tamar p.19]

Samia: like an Indian family arranges marriages as well but (.) uh I don't think- mean people get the wrong idea when they think its arranged cos um they know (.) like I've been to three weddings so far and they all- they've chosen who they wanted to get married to but they always get their mum's and dad's permission to get uh (.) engaged (.) I don't think its- cos you don't have to marry the person that your mum and dad choose- that's not an arranged marriage cos everything's changed now (.) cos an arranged marriage- I don't know if it's the same in Pakistani arranged- but you have to meet a few people before you actually make a decision so-
[Lowtown School; Tamar p.14–15]

Similarly to the boys, the young women used notions of 'birthplace' when constructing a Muslim identity. However, they used country of birth as definitive of, rather than irrelevant to, a Muslim identity. The young women thus positioned themselves as 'British', through which they resisted a competing 'Pakistani' identity. In contrast to the young men, the young women did not draw on notions of Muslim unity. Instead, they constructed Muslim as an identity which is qualified by nationality. They resisted a 'less desirable' Pakistani Muslim identity by arguing that such as identity is 'factually' incorrect, because they were '*born here*'. As Billig et al. (1999) and

Wetherell and Potter (1992) suggest, within discourses of culture and nation, speakers often use 'facts of life' and 'undisputable' natural differences in order to make their arguments more effective, and I would suggest that the young women's talk here could be interpreted similarly.

I would also suggest that the young women's talk seems to reproduce a form of racist discourse, in order to protect themselves from other dominant racist discourses. For example, by stating 'nationality don't come into it', Nasreen speaks from 'outside race' (Wetherell and Potter, 1992) and positions herself within a majority group discourse as 'British', not 'Pakistani'. From this position, she is able to resist racism directed against 'Pakis' and allegations of 'not belonging'. However, Nasreen's talk also implies that a Pakistani identity is somehow inferior and undesirable, and not a 'good' identity to mobilise around. 'Pakis' are therefore constructed as Others. In Chapter Six I related this ambivalence to Nasreen's dilemma of 'belonging' (Extract 2.2), where she talked about feeling like she does not 'belong' 'in this country' because of 'racism', but did not feel like she belonged in Pakistan either. This contrast between the 'fact' of belonging (because she was 'born here'), and rejection by racist White society (as in 'go back to your own country/ where you belong') is echoed in Nasreen's comment 'I don't class myself as Pakistani but I'm seen as Pakistani'.

In the second extract (above) nationality was mobilised (in terms of culture, specifically 'arranged marriage') by Samia to construct differences between herself and the other young women. Again, 'Pakistani' is positioned as Other, as Samia defines 'Indian' in

terms of liberal values of choice, and as 'western'/'modern' ("*everything's changed now*"). The 'reality' of her argument is supported by her expression of doubt concerning Pakistani practices ("*I don't know if it's the same in Pakistani arranged*").

I would suggest that Samia uses a rhetorical technique for justifying Indian arranged marriage (and by default 'Indian culture') as liberal and non-oppressive by positioning her construction against an Other (Pakistani arranged marriage). By positioning Pakistani arranged marriage as something different and 'unknown', she constructs a boundary between 'liberal' and potentially less liberal forms of arranged marriage. In this way, although Samia positions herself as Indian, she aligns Indian identity with ('British') western ideals, within a context of 'change', and as distinct from 'Pakistani' culture and identity.

In other words, Muslim identity was not used in only religious terms. It was interwoven with discursive responses to racism and discourses of nationalism and belonging. The young men positioned themselves in opposition to White/ western society, but the young women positioned themselves within (but as distinct within) western society, in opposition to Pakistani identities. The young men's talk could be interpreted as 'destabilising' discourses, whereas the young women's talk is not so challenging of western society. This was a general trend reflected through the groups, in that, whilst talking about and criticizing racism at an individual and institutional levels, the young women did not challenge 'Britishness' per se, in the same way that the young men did. However, I have also located the young men's talk within discourses of masculinity, noting the centrality of 'power', and negotiations of power

between men, through fighting and confrontation ('being in control' and 'taking over') that ran through male discussions, which was absent in the young women's talk.

I suggest that both the males' and the females' identity constructions reveal discursive attempts to resist particular race and culture discourses, albeit in different ways. The young women's talk could be interpreted as attempts to "shrug off" race (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.122) by aligning themselves with a British nationality, whereas the young men seem to actively 'take up' race through their reconstruction of culture (religion) as definitive of race and nationality .

'Black'

Both the young men and the young women used 'Black' identity to talk about racism (from Whites). In Chapter Five there are four separate examples where the young men used 'Black'. Yasser (Extract 2.6) talked about how at school it is "*the Blacks mostly that are taking over*", Abdul (Extract 2.8) described the content of racist insults as "*you Black bastard*", Fazaan and Abdul (2.11) compared themselves with Blacks ("*but they're Black, so are we!*") and Deepak (3.2) referred to racism within school ("*the White guy is straight, the Black lad's messed up*").

The young women also used 'Black' identities to talk about racism; Joti and Zaida (Extract 2.3) described their experiences of racism,(being called "*you bloody Black*", "*Black bitch*"),Lata (Extract 2.4) also described racism in this way, (being called

"*Black this Black that*") and Nasreen (Extract 2.11) explained her avoidance of the White dominated common room ("*its like spot the B-Black person*").

Both the young men and the young women reported similar White racist discourses which positioned them as Black. This use of 'Black', as in Nasreen's construction of the common room as "*spot the Black person*", draws a clear distinction between 'us' and 'them', and resists points of commonality, as would be implied by nationality discourses. The young people's use of Black identity can also be seen as creating an alliance of interests and experiences between themselves and all other ethnic minority groups against Whites. Similarly, the White racist talk reported homogenises all Others and reinforces the similarity of all alternative racial identities to White. For the pupils here however, (for example, Deepak) the use of a Black/White discourse could be seen as creating a strong, oppositional identity from which to challenge White racism, through the identification of common interests between 'Blacks' ("the White guy's straight, the Black lad's messed up").

Both the young men and women used 'blackness' to identify a common experience of White racism. By positioning themselves as Black, racism can be more effectively conveyed as a general, pervasive phenomena, perpetrated by Whites onto all Blacks, regardless of differences between Black groups. Racism is also constructed as directed against 'blackness' or the 'fact' of being Black, rather than against religion for example. It is thus clearly identifiable as 'prejudice / racism' because it operates at a general, rather than an individual (or individual group) level. However, although

the juxtaposition of White and Black is useful for talking about White racism, (and indeed is useful for mobilising around with other Black groups to confront and ‘take over’), its use is not unproblematic. For example, the problems, and limitations, for young Asians using a Black identity is highlighted in the following passage, where Deepak’s use of ‘the Blacks’ causes confusion when talking to Tamar. Tamar has just asked whether anything is being done to combat racism in school, and whether anyone has been punished for saying anything racist:

Deepak: The Blacks have
Tamar: the Black?
Deepak: We- I mean we have
Tamar: You have?
Deepak: All the Asians

The possible source of such confusion was debated further in Extract 2.11 (Chapter Five) where Fazaan and Abdul negotiated differences in the meaning of ‘Black’ between competing explanations of ‘skin colour’ and ‘political blackness’ (blackness as being ‘anti-White’). In this extract, Fazaan identifies the problem with a Black identity is that it invokes skin colour, against which they could be accused of being ‘brown’ rather than Black. This situation creates a paradox, whereby the boys claim to be Black, but their skin colour suggests that they are ‘less black’ than other Black (e.g. African/Caribbean) people. Furthermore, the boys have identified these Black people as ‘mixing in with White’, which confuses the dichotomy of interests in their construction of Black/White as oppositional identities. The dilemma is resolved by Abdul, who locates blackness as internal, physiological and natural (God-given).

The appeal to nature makes the boys racial (Black) identity undisputable as ascribed at

birth, not a chosen identity (God creates your heart Black or White). The use of the 'heart' as signifying blackness deflects arguments around skin colour and also allows for Black people's 'mixing in' with White to be discredited as merely a state of 'false consciousness' (i.e. Black people who challenge the boys' constructions or separatism are 'unaware' or 'unenlightened'). The boys' talk could be identified here as drawing on a notion of 'culture as therapy' (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.131), whereby Black people who mix with Whites are 'going against their nature', and need to be 'cured' through re-education or 'consciousness raising', to 'regain' their culture ("*they should realise*").

To summarise, both the young men and women used Black identities to create clear boundaries between themselves and White pupils, to justify their accounts of racism.

Whilst a homogenised Black position can provide a more powerful place from which to resist racism (though constructing common interests and experiences with all other ethnic minority groups), the young people's use of Black identity was not unproblematic. In particular, the young men's talk revealed the diversity within 'blackness' and engaged with potential attacks on their own legitimacy as Black from other Black positions. At this point the young men mobilised religious discourses to justify their arguments, however I would suggest that (in line with previous discussion) this entails issues around 'voice' and represents a less viable position for the young women.

‘Asian’

Both the young men and women used ‘Asian’ in similar ways, to make generalisations about social relations and to talk generally about issues around women. The term ‘Asian’ seemed to be used particularly in relation to discourses of ‘change’ and westernisation among the boys. For example, Wajit refers to how "loads of [...] Asians" are now going to pubs (Chapter Five, Extract 1.5), and how Asian women do not wear scarves in this country (Extract 1.7). Sham also refers to tradition as not fair on "Asian women"(Extract 1.10), but also talks about how "all the Asian lads" take the same attitude towards seeing "an Asian girl with another lad" (Extract 1.11). Imran also explains family responsibilities and "why they tell Asians to study more"(Extract 2.1).

In Chapter Six, the young women also used the ‘Asian’ when talking about change. For example, Nazia talks about how "there’s more Asians going to college"(Extract 1.8). However, it was also used by Qulsum and Zaida in the context of racism, for example. Qulsum argues that the appointment of White head pupils is racist because "60% or like even more of our school’s Asian" (Extract 2.8) and Zaida talks about how "this uh White girl she battered I mean really battered this Asian girl" (Extract 2.10).

I would suggest that the young people commonly used ‘Asian’ when talking in more general terms about stereotypes or injustices. The term ‘Asian’ creates a position which is distinct from other Black groups, but which is also in opposition to White identity, and therefore was used in discussions of culturally specific dominant

discourses. For example, both Nazia and Imran reproduce the dominant 'behavers and achievers' stereotype, Wajit draws on religious and culture loss themes and Sham on sexism. As discussed throughout this thesis, these themes are all prevalent within dominant discourses of 'Asian identity'. I would suggest that the young people's use of 'Asian' demonstrates how ethnic labels are not neutral, descriptive categorisations, but are used ideologically.

Qulsum and Zaida's use of 'Asian' to talk about White racism could be seen as a way of forming a collective alliance with other groups which avoids the pitfalls previously identified with use of a Black identity. However, I suggest that use of a specifically Asian position may be equally problematic in terms of representing the interests of all those subsumed within the term. For example, I have interpreted Sham and Wajit's use of 'Asian' as drawing upon notions of 'culture as tradition' (Wetherell and Potter, 1992) to argue against 'loss of culture' and western influence through 'change'.

However, within these arguments, Sham and Wajit's talk also operates to maintain their dominant position as men, and asserts Muslim (male) interests as universal interests of all 'Asians', thus placing themselves (as Muslim men) in a powerful position and simultaneously resisting White society. For example, Wajit uses 'Asian' in relation to a discourse of change, westernisation and moral degeneration through 'loss of tradition'. In particular, he presents Muslim ideals of not drinking ("going into pubs") and women wearing hijab as signifying Asianness. In this way, Muslim is equated with 'the norm' within Asian identity, undermining the legitimacy of other Asian religious

groups.

From this position, collective 'Asian' resistance against White society is envisaged from a specifically Muslim perspective. Similarly, Sham uses a 'two-handed' rhetorical technique (see Billig et al. 1988; Van Dijk, 1984) to argue that although their behaviour towards Asian women is not fair, it is something that all "Asian lads" do. This form of talk serves to undermine any men who may object as 'unmanly' and maintains the status quo through a discourse of a 'natural', (cultural) sexual division of power.

Arranged Marriages

Tamar: [...] I mean is it an important thing in your lives at all?

Naseem: Arranged marriage?

Tamar: Yeah

Sham: We have a laff over it!

Tamar: You have a laugh? But it doesn't concern you really?

Sham: No I mean you know its gonna happen so hhh! When it happens it happens!

Lowtown School; Tamar p.17/ 30

Sham: I don't think they like it! Must be like- its not so bad for us cos we're all usually- uhhh in an arranged marriage I think the wife comes yeah the wife comes to uh like (.) our house hhh! Yeah! So it must be hard for them cos like they don't know no one and they just go in living with someone they hardly know so it can't be that nice for 'em!

Lowtown School; Tamar p.30

Guffer: Its just when the time comes you just gotta do it! Hhh!
Don't worry about it you know its just your own life

Lowtown School; Louise p.19

In Chapter Six I discussed the young women's constructions of Muslim femininities in terms of 'arranged marriage', 'wearing dbutton' and 'education / careers'. These issues were not covered specifically within Chapter Five, the male discussion groups, although some extracts (e.g. in which the young men referred to women's wearing of dbutton) were discussed in terms of other themes (such as women's 'loss' of culture).

The decision to not focus specifically upon the young men's talk about marriage and dbutton was based partly upon the fact that the themes were not talked about as being such central themes, as was the case within the women's groups. Furthermore, within the literature these topics have not been associated so integrally with masculinity, as symbols of oppression and pathologisation.

In Chapter Six, I identified the young women's talk about arranged marriages as negotiating themes of 'choice'. I also identified ways in which the young women drew boundaries between 'oppressive' and 'non-oppressive' forms of arranged marriage. I discussed these constructions in terms of the young women's resistance to the 'passive victims' stereotype.

In comparison to the young women's engagement with the issue, the young men tended to respond to questions about marriage, and arranged marriage, in a non-serious, 'jokey' and often 'sexual' fashion (for example, Wajit talked about wanting a wife "*who massages me every night*"). I consider that their talk was characterised by a discourse of 'trivial fatalism', in which marriage was constructed as something inevitable, a duty that they will fulfill, but also as something that they are not unduly worried about

("When it happens it happens", Sham; "Its just when the time comes you just gotta do it", Gufter). I suggest that the young men's talk about marriage also drew on the theme of 'choice' and differentiated between 'types' of arranged marriage, which characterised the women's constructions of marriage. However, the young men also drew sharp distinctions between their own attitudes and those of women, for whom marriage "*must be hard*" (Sham). I suggest that the young men's talk positions 'culture' and tradition (in the form of arranged marriage) as non-problematic for men but more difficult for women, although these difficulties are explained as 'practicalities' which may be resolved with time.

Although the young men talked about marriage as inevitable "*you know its gonna happen*", "*when the time comes you just gotta do it*"), they emphasised that this is not conflictual for them ("*we have a laff over it*") and is just part of their normal life course ("*its just your own life*"). These justifications work to counter potential allegations that they are 'passive victims'; for example, Wetherell and Potter (1992; p. 189) suggest that within western, liberal discourses, the notion of 'compulsory' is evaluated in negative terms, as inconsistent with egalitarianism and free choice. The distinction which Sham makes, between men's and women's different experiences of marriage, further rebuffs the possibility of such criticisms being levelled against men. His assertion "*I don't think they like it!*" positions men and women as unequally benefiting within the system of arranged marriage, reinforcing men's privileged position ("*the wife comes to uh like (.) our house*").

By recognising how "*it can't be that nice for 'em*", Sham's talk could be interpreted as using the liberal language of consideration and fairness in order to 'talk down' to women, constructing them as 'passive victims' who are forced into unpleasant situations. However, this tradition is also presented as 'normal' and therefore an unfortunate, yet unchangeable, reality. In this way, his talk can be seen as reinforcing his own superior position as a man.

Similarly to the young women, the young men also distinguished between current practices of arranged marriage (where partners meet beforehand), and 'traditional' forms of arranged marriage (which some of their parents had experienced) in which the bride and groom only meet on the day of the wedding. However, whereas the women positioned 'traditional' arranged marriage as undesirable using liberal discourses of 'choice'/autonomy as morally desirable, the young men explained the importance of 'choice' as a necessary response to negative, western influences on women's sexuality. For example, in the extract below, Nazir positions 'choice' as rational and congruent with ideals of hegemonic masculinity.

"Cos that's like I mean you wanna go (.) you know you probably get married to someone- you have to know like the way the personality of that person is (.) like if she's good (.) you know not just looks (.) yeah yeah cos she might look good but then (.) you know (.) be like (.) tart or something and go out with anyone!

(*Nazir, Westfield School; Nessa, p.13*)

In the young women's talk, 'this country' and 'change' were associated with more 'choice' within practices of arranged marriage. This 'choice' was explained in terms of freedom and equality (especially women's freedom/emancipation). In comparison,

Nazir also identified the importance of his personal 'choice' within arranged marriage, however he explains this choice as a necessary result of western corruptive influences upon young women, in order to determine whether a potential wife is "*good*" or "*a tart*". The young men and young women drew on the same themes of 'the importance of personality', and 'looks alone are not important', however these were talked about in very different ways. Across the young women's discussion groups they were identified as important for ensuring both partners 'get on' together interpersonally. In comparison, Nazir, and other young men, explained them in terms of guaranteeing their future wife's chastity and moral nature. I would suggest that this example shows how a 'liberal', western discourse ('choice') is used by Nazir to justify, what could be read from a feminist perspective as, unequal power relations (between men and women).

Talk About Dbuttah

In Chapter Six, I identified various ways in which the young women constructed the meaning of 'wearing dbuttah'. I suggested that it was not constructed in any single way as a religious symbol. I tried to highlight various negotiations in which the young women distanced their wearing, or not wearing, of the scarf from specific religious, or non-religious, positions. I also underlined the interlinking of discourses around dbuttah with themes of gender and 'race'.

In Chapter Five, I identified an extract in which the young men used women's (lack of) wearing dbuttah to position themselves as 'traditional' Muslim males in relation to 'westernised' Muslim young women. In this extract, Kabir and Wajit constructed British Muslim women as "*not bothered*" about religion and more concerned with trying to be "*fashionable*". This dichotomy, and concern, between what Muslim women in Britain "*should*" do and what they actually do, was highlighted in other groups as well (for example, see below).

Louise: Why do some girls wear it and some girls not wear it?
Imran: Their parents might be behind it but (.) I don't know!
Gufter: But once they understand (.) once they understand that (.)
that they have to do that they do it by choice
(*Lowtown School; Louise; p.27*)

In the example above (as was the case in other groups), the young men reinforced their arguments (for the 'loss' of religiosity to western influences, as demonstrated by women not wearing the scarf) by explaining away instances of their peers wearing dbuttah as due to parental coercion (e.g. "*their parents might be behind it*", Imran;

"Cos their parents tell them to", Ashav; Eastfield School p.13). I suggest that this pervasive feature across the young men's talk reinforces their own (male) position as 'authentic' Muslims, in relation to pathologised 'westernised' women. In this way, the young men retain the power to define 'appropriate' behaviours and can control religious meanings.

Gufter (above) also draws on notions of 'understanding' as something which men have, and which women need to learn from men. The reward for 'understanding' is 'choice'. Parental coercion is thus positioned as a means to a desirable end (for women's own spiritual benefit). Within this discourse, women appear to require guidance and enlightenment. They have no power with which to negotiate their own meanings, and indeed the young men did not reproduce any of the variety of meanings constructed by the young women. However, I would suggest that the young men's talk, once again, demonstrates the complex inter-twining of 'race' and gender, through which the young men simultaneously resist the West (as morally corrupting) whilst protecting their position as men (as exempt from such corruption in comparison to their female peers).

Education and Careers

In Chapter Six I discussed the young women's constructions of education as a 'choice', in which they are supported by their fathers. These arguments were compared to expectations for their brothers, who were expected to continue in education, and therefore had 'no choice'. I suggested that these constructions resist dominant

stereotypes of young Muslim women as oppressed by their families and discouraged from education and work.

In the male discussion groups, the young men reproduced aspects of dominant stereotypes, suggesting that women should not continue in post-compulsory education. The reasons for restricting women's education were identified as concerns for women safety in an 'unsafe' British environment (the construction of masculinity as 'patrolling' and protecting women was discussed in Chapter Five in relation to women's sexuality). These concerns were positioned as practical restrictions that have to be adopted, despite egalitarian ideals favouring women's education.

- Tamar: Do you reckon that's (.) fair that they don't let their daughters come to school?
Shabid: Yeah they should come but uh (.) sometimes uh (.) when they're like too strict they won't let them go on trips (.) (Tamar: uh huh) like uh day trips (.) I don't think that's that fair
Yasser: The parents are concerned though aren't they about their daughters
Shabid: Yeah I know that (.) but other than that
Yasser: A lot of things can happen
(Eastfield School; Tamar p.6)

- Tamar: Do you think your sisters should go to college?
Naseem: No
Sham: No I think she- cos my sister- your sister's clever! (Jagdip: you know) thing is-
Jagdip: If you're like somewhere like (.) Pakistan like Bangladesh they'll probably be OK but here
Sham: Yeah but here! You know like-
Jagdip: Cos they're more like lessons you go to your college and (Sham: you're mixing with boys) and go to college and how are we supposed to know what's happening and what's not!
(Lowtown School; Tamar p.16)

In the extracts above, the young men organise their talk to avoid sounding prejudiced (as 'sexist'), and thus unreasonable, (see Billig et al., 1988) by presenting 'practical' reasons why women should not continue their education or get work. For example, Shabid separates the 'ideal' ("they should..") from 'reality', and thus uses a discourse of practicality to justify why daughters experience greater restrictions on their education. He further justifies his position of what is 'fair' by presenting an example of what sort of restrictions constitute 'unfair' behaviour (in this case, not allowing girls on day trips). Yasser also defines parental restrictions on women in positive terms as concern and protection (*"the parents are concerned though aren't they about their daughters"*), which resists alternative constructions of restriction as 'unfair' or 'oppressive'. Yasser also uses a truism (a 'rhetorically self sufficient' argument, Wetherell and Potter, 1992) of "a lot of things can happen". This statement further underlines the truth and rationality of his arguments by constructing a position that is difficult to argue against. In other words, it is difficult to refute the 'fact' that "a lot of things can happen", and it is desirable to be "concerned" for one's daughters. From this perspective, it appears reasonable to keep them out of an unsafe, educational environment.

Jagdip and Sham also construct parental restrictions as rational responses to the western context, suggesting that women's education per se is not objected to (it would be "OK" in *"somewhere like (.) Pakistan like Bangladesh"*). Instead, they suggest that the morally corrupt western context is the problem. Britain is constructed as morally subversive (allowing *"mixing with boys"*) and colleges as dangerous, alien places,

removed from the protective family environment. In comparison, Pakistan and Bangladesh are positioned as more 'liberal' places for women. In this way, the young men use a liberal discourse of 'prejudice' or 'sexism' to attack the British system (it is Britain that is 'really' unfair) and to protect their own position as reasonable. In other words, the young men protect themselves from allegations of sexism and justify the status quo by blaming Britain for being an unsafe environment, which causes them to place restrictions on women's education, in order to protect daughters.

The young men's talk can be interpreted as reinforcing their dominant position as men, by presenting women as passive, weak and defenceless, and thus needing the protection (and guidance) of men. Men, on the other hand, are 'strong' and do not need this level of protection. Similarly, men's honour does not need to be guarded. The young men could therefore be interpreted as speaking from a dominant position by positioning themselves 'outside' gender/sexuality (as Wetherell and Potter, 1992, have suggested that Whites may speak from outside 'race').

Summary of Talk on Marriage, Dbuttah and Education

I have suggested various points of difference, and commonality, between the ways in which the young men and women talked about issues of arranged marriage, dbuttah and education. I have discussed differences in their constructions with relation to competing themes of gender and 'race', in particular with regard to taking positions which reproduce (women) or resist (men) western discourses and 'British' identity. The implications for action, and the problems raised by variances in the young men and

women's accounts, will be addressed further in Chapter Nine (Discussion).

Constructing Racisms

In Chapters Five and Six I identified various ways in which the young men and women talked about their experiences of racism and the perceived 'causes' of racism. There were several similarities between the young men and women's talk. In particular, in both male and female groups racism was constructed as (i) 'natural' and an inevitable part of life (ii) changing in form, becoming more subtle and difficult to identify (iii) protected within the school system (the educational establishment as reluctant to punish racist pupils, and privileging of White pupils). Both young men and young women also talked about using the threat of violence/retaliation as a means of 'containing' racism and protecting themselves (although not as a means for eliminating racism).

In terms of differences between the young men's and women's groups, some of the boys placed considerable emphasis upon using violence, hating Whites and being 'racist' themselves, which they explained as a 'result' of experiencing racism. In contrast, the young women's talk tended to emphasise their own fairness and non-prejudiced positions, despite their experiences of racism.

Both the young men and the young women reproduced discourses of racism as 'natural' and 'inevitable'. For example, in Chapter Five (Extract 2.7) Sham describes racism as "*its just life*" and in Chapter Six (Extracts 2.3 and 2.4) Joti suggests "*you can't do*

anything" against racism, and Gulfray says *"it might get a bit less but its always there"*. Within this construction, of racism as natural and inevitable, the causes of racism were located as beyond the control of the individual racist, who was positioned as an unfortunate result of social, or psychological, forces. For example, racism was identified as the result of socialisation and White culture (*"this country"*, *"parents"*, Abdul and Deepak, Chapter Five, Extract 2.5; *"its how they've been brought up"*, *"can't help it ... [if their] family are racist"*, Nasreen and Shireen, Chapter Six, Extract 2.6), as the result of deprivation (*"they come from rough"*, Sheena, Chapter Six, Extract 2.5) and as a defensive, psychological response to newness or threat (*"when you're new they're racist"*, Majid, Chapter Five, Extract 2.4; because *"Blacks are taking over"*, Abdul, Chapter Five, Extract 2.6; *"its like the person (.) they're frightened [...] they like defend themselves"* Samia, Chapter Six, Extract 2.4).

As Wetherell and Potter suggest (1992; p.204), such constructions of racism/prejudice as a "universal human failing" work at both a social and an individual level:

"Explanations within the problematic thus tend to focus on this root cause- the deformation of human feelings- before turning outwards to look at how particular social conditions channel its expression" (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.204).

This discourse (of prejudice and racism as 'natural') removes individual blame and agency from those who suffer from the 'problem' of racism and justifies the status quo, by positioning action to the contrary as ineffective:

"if prejudice is framed as a natural and unavoidable human reaction, an unconscious and even instinctive aversion to differences which reflects an inbuilt preference for one's own kind, then the only possible response is scepticism about reforming fallible human nature" (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.211).

As such, both the young men and women reproduced discourses of racism that have been identified as underlying positivistic social psychological theories of prejudice, such as SIT and RCT (see Chapters Five and Six), and which are prevalent in the lay talk of White groups. From this perspective, it could be argued that the rhetorical power of such discourses is such that not only can they be used by White speakers to present their positions as rational and non-prejudiced, but they can be taken up by minority groups as 'reasonable' versions of reality that explain unequal power relations and prevent action against the status quo.

The young men and young women also both talked about racism as changing in form, towards what social psychologists have termed 'modern racism' (see Chapter One). As previously discussed, modern racism is characterised by an ambivalence between liberal ideals and prejudiced emotions, being displayed through more 'subtle' behaviours, such as social aversion, rather than outright hostility. Emphasis is placed upon the 'lessening' of prejudice in 'modern' society, due to the predominance of liberalism and 'tolerance'. In Chapter Five, the young men talked about racism as diminishing with time ("*after a time it becomes alright*", Majid, Extract 2.4) and as becoming less 'serious' ("*racism is a bit hard to remember [...] it's becoming a bit*

stupid now", Rahan Extract 2.12). In Chapter Six, the young women also talked about how racism has diminished ("*there's not really racism [...] not now not any more*", Kuldip, Extract 2.6) and is not so 'direct' now ("*they might write something racist on their bench or summit they won't say it*" Nasreen, Extract 2.6).

As previously discussed, Wetherell and Potter (1992) have suggested that within discourses of modern racism, contemporary attitudes are seen as "a step in the right direction" (p.197), and western, White liberal society is positioned as on a progressive route towards an unprejudiced state, thus justifying existing social relations. I would suggest that although the young people reproduced discourses of modern racism, they also negotiated points of conflict between their 'understanding' of prejudice as 'lessening' and their continuing experiences of racism. Furthermore, I suggest that their use of 'modern racism' discourses impacted upon their ability to name interactions with Whites as 'racist'. For example, in Chapter Six (Extract 2.7) Sham talks about the contradictory behaviours of White pupils towards him and his friends in and out of school. In Chapter Six (Extract 2.7) Navdip negotiated a discourse of racism as 'paranoia', in which she talked about being unsure as to whether a teacher was being racist, or whether it was her own 'paranoia'. The difficulty of identifying racism was also highlighted by Deepak (Chapter Five, Extract 3.2) who said racism was identifiable 'in the eyes' of teachers.

These constructions resemble a discourse of tension between 'manifest' and 'latent' forms of prejudice, highlighted by Wetherell and Potter (1992), in which prejudice, or

racism, is seen as a latent force, repressed by rationality or social, 'liberal' conventions. Again, this view of racism locates it as an underlying, inevitable force within the human psyche, which occasionally 'breaks through'. The implications of this discourse for the young people is that racism is positioned as a continual, hidden threat, but one which is difficult to identify and challenge (indeed 'unlawful' challenges may imply irrationality on the behalf of the young person). Furthermore, any challenges which can be made are directed only against individuals, rather than in terms of changing existing economic or social relations.

Despite reproducing discourses of racism as a failing of the individual, both young men and women talked about institutional racism, and the role of the school in protecting racists, and perpetuating unequal power relations by privileging White pupils. For example, in Chapter Five, Abdul (Extract 3.1) says that White teachers prevent them from challenging incidents of racism by using institutional power to exclude pupils (*"can't do anything about it- if you do anything about it, say anything about it, stand up for yourself they say you're out- get thrown out"*) and Deepak (Extract 3.2) explains how they *"jus' can't beat the White guy- the White guy is straight the Black lad's messed up"*. Similarly, in Chapter Six, Parbin (Extract 2.8) identified the school's choice of all White prefects and Head pupils, as racist, Navdip (Extract 2.9) suggested that the school/teachers are unwilling to challenge racism, and may pretend they're doing something but do not really care (*"something can be done but its just a matter of getting it done innit? I mean like the teachers they don't bother really"*).

In contrast to the previous discourses reproduced by the young people, in which the agency and responsibility for racism was removed from individuals, these constructions of institutional racism identify specific inequalities as 'unfair' and 'racist'. Although the young people all emphasise their own powerlessness in the face of institutional racism, they do offer accounts which challenge competing, dominant explanations. Both the young men's and women's accounts stress the accountability of teachers for their actions and policies and argue for change in current social power relations, without which Black/Asian pupils will remain disadvantaged.

The young people could be interpreted as drawing on liberal discourses of fairness and equality with which to argue that teachers and schools are 'unfairly' privileging White pupils, for example, Parbin uses a discourse of 'proportional representation' to argue her case and the young men draw distinctions between the lack of punishment for White racist behaviours and severe punishment of their own retaliatory behaviour. The use of these themes makes the young people's positions appear more justified and desirable within a dominant, liberal framework, and places the onus of responsibility for action upon White, British society and its institutions.

Within both the male and female groups, speakers also referred to interpersonal 'retaliation' against Whites as a means of 'containing' (but not eliminating) racism. For example, Chapter Five (Extract 2.8), Fazaan and Abdul advocate violence and 'fighting back' and in Chapter Six (Extract 2.6) Shireen recounts how a White girl is not racist in school because of fear of retaliation (*"there's you's lot about so if I was racist then*

I'm dead the next second!"). This talk could be seen as responding to the failure of schools to intervene and the perpetuation of institutional racism, through a strategy of empowerment, whereby the young people advocate 'self-help' strategies that conflict directly with school/societal institutional values (of tolerance, harmony etc). As such, the young men and women position themselves together against, and in conflict with, the White, educational system, which could be used to provoke reaction and change. However, the usefulness of this threat is limited, and although it may redress the balance of power between pupils within school, the young people also constructed this course of action as futile outside of school (where White are again 'protected', and even 'required' to be racist- see Shireen, Extract 2.6) by British institutions and social structures, such as 'family' and 'culture'.

Despite these similarities between the young men's and women's talk (in which they positioned themselves together, against Whites) there was a difference between the ways in which some of the young men and women justified their views. In particular, some of the young men identified themselves as 'racist', whereas the women tended to present themselves as 'fair'. The young women's talk can be understood as trying to be persuasive by appealing to liberal, Western values of 'equity', 'generosity' and rationality through the denial of prejudice ("*none of us are racist and like if there's a White being picked on we won't walk off saying he's a White and walk off*", Shireen, Extract 2.6). Shireen's comment can thus be interpreted as underlining the irrationality White racism and challenging it as natural or inevitable (because "none of us are racist") by emphasising her own unprejudiced position ("to be unprejudiced is

to treat all people equally", Billig et al., 1988; p.119). It has been suggested however (e.g. by Billig et al. 1988; Wetherell and Potter, 1992) that liberal ideals can be mobilised in dominant discourses as a means of confining the range of responses to racism by minority groups, and from this perspective, Shireen's strategy of 'leading by example' relies on a utopian vision in which all groups of people are striving for the same common goals.

In comparison, the young men emphasised their views as prejudiced ("*we are saying racist things but we are racist that's it*", Yasser, Extract 2.10), presenting a more direct challenge to current social relations and values. From one perspective, Yasser appears to make no effort to make his views sound appealing or reasoned, reducing them to 'pure prejudice' ("*we are racist, that's it*"). His admission of racism could be interpreted as taking a similar discursive position (of "unashamed racism" p.118) to that identified among the National Front supporters interviewed by Cochrane and Billig, who "were delighting in their own prejudices, freed from any restraining reasonableness" (Billig et al., 1988; p. 117).

However, the young men's use of such an extreme discourse creates seems to be deliberately shocking, and I would suggest that their "unashamedly racist" position is designed to upset, rather than reproduce, the status quo (in other words, the 'normal' pattern of powerful racist / powerless victim is thrown into confusion). Furthermore, although Yasser compares their own racism as equal to that of Whites ("*we hate White they hate us*") Yasser (and Shabid) do not position themselves within a coherent,

homogenic 'racist' position, but distinguish between their racism and that of White racists ("*we're not r-racist like you know to White you know swearing this that you know then they start sometimes*").

In this way, Yasser draws a distinction between their own 'reasonable' racism (which is a form of retaliation) and 'unreasonable' White racism (which is also belittled as name-calling, swearing). I suggest that the young men's use of this discourse (and the women's discursive rejection of a racist position) may be linked to discourses around masculinity and femininity, in which aggression and violence are positioned as more 'acceptable' routes for men than women.

The young women's and men's talk seems to relate to their constructions of 'race', in which the young women allied themselves more closely with a British identity (and subsequently position themselves in line with western ideals) to a greater extent than the men (whose talk was orientated towards 'discrediting' the West). Conversely, the young men's use of 'Muslim' identities and discourses designed to challenge western/British ideals, seem to link with use of more 'radical' talk, which upturns notions of 'equality' and 'tolerance'. However, despite these differences, the young men's and women's talk about racism constructs similar positions, suggesting that although gender interacts with 'race' in various ways, these differences can be subordinated to some extent in order to create a more unified position with which to articulate and challenge experiences of White racist discourses.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ANALYSES OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC DATA

In this chapter I discuss photographic data from 9 British-Muslim young women from Lowtown School¹. I interpret ways in which the young women construct identities within their photographic diaries, paying attention to differences and similarities between, and within, the individual accounts. I consider how the young women's accounts challenged and (re)produced dominant discourses surrounding young, British-Muslim women. The identified discourses are discussed in terms of the social construction of Muslim femininities, the school context, and young women's representations of "the class".

I deconstruct dominant notions of a unitary 'Muslim female' identity by highlighting variability between, and within, the young women's accounts. I outline ways in which the young women's photographs construct identities, and how these images draw on, and counter, dominant discourses. As already stated, I do not reduce these strategies and representations to individual 'personality types'. Instead I consider themes of similarity, and difference, as places from which to start discussing issues around ethnicity, gender and class.

1

The nine young women have been given the following pseudonyms: Aneka, Mona, Nadia, Nargis, Priya, Selima, Shireen, Tamsin and Uma.

Therefore, by looking at variation between, and within, accounts I hope to substantiate my view that there is no one 'truth' and no one unitary subject. I use examples of variation to challenge unitary, homogenising stereotypes of British-Muslim females (as 'passive victims' who are confused and double-oppressed) and I attempt to show how alternative accounts may not 'fit' existing dominant ideological constructions. By theorising about processes through which subjectivities are constructed, I aim to help transform oppressive social relations rather than just describe them (Mama, 1995).

In the first section of analyses I consider the social construction of femininities in the photographic diaries and I have identified the following themes for discussion: femininity as being 'one of the girls' (in relation to female friendship groups) and Muslim femininity as sexualised and relational, constructed within racialised discourses of attractiveness and sexuality. In the second section I discuss constructions of school and classroom experiences within the young women's images.

Constructing Femininities: Femininity as Being 'One of The Girls'

As discussed in Chapter One, female friendships have been proposed as important arenas for the negotiation of discourses of femininity (Hey, 1997; Swann, 1997). In my opinion, the importance of female friendships to the young women in this study was conveyed through the sheer volume of photographs taken of female friends and friendship groups, which predominated throughout the diaries.



listening to music
on the way
home

Fig. 2.1



My close friends in the year centre
at lunch break. - hanging about and
talking.

Fig. 2.2

Following Mama's (1994) arguments concerning the development of Black subjectivities, I suggest that Asian, female friendship groups provide major sites for the negotiation of 'race' and gender and are important for the young women to locate themselves within Asian discourses and developing Asian subjectivities, and that the activities and practices being performed within these groups form important parts of these negotiations and identity experiences (see Figs. 2.1 & 2.2).

In my reading of the diaries, female friendships featured heavily across all accounts, as illustrated by Figs 2.1. and 2.2., and as articulated by Uma, who wrote in her diary that "*most of my friend are in the picture*". I suggest that the emphasis upon friendships constructs feminine identities as relational, with particular emphasis being placed upon the importance of having close friends and being part of a friendship group. I read the photographs as constructing these friendships within gendered discourses, as defined by closeness, sharing, generosity, inter-reliance, and with additional emphasis given to 'fun' and 'having a laugh'.

In the photographs, I suggest that 'friendship' has been constructed by manipulating symbols such as physical closeness. For example, in Fig. 2.2 young women are pictured close together, with arms around each other. Often the young women positioned themselves literally amongst, in the middle of friends. I also read the images as conveying the importance of sharing (e.g. jokes, leisure activities and interests) and co-operation (e.g. the construction of photographs between friends,

friends posing for the camera). This implies, to me, a degree of interdependence and shared subjectivities between the young women.

I consider Priya's photograph (Fig. 2.2) of her "*close friends*" captures these themes of friendship as loyalty, closeness, 'fun' and sharing through its composition. I have read the photographs in her diary as constructing her identity as relational because throughout the diary she is never pictured alone, and friends (and activities with friends) appear to assume central importance.

Similarly, I consider Aneka's photograph (Fig 2.1. "*listening to music on the way home*") reproduces the importance of shared leisure activities within friendship groups.

For example, I read the young women in the photograph as, literally, sharing listening to music by sharing headphones from a personal stereo. The closeness of the young women to each other is echoed by the physical closeness of the photographer (Aneka) to them. This conveyed to me that the photographer is part of this close group. The importance of friends in Aneka's everyday life appears to be reinforced throughout her diary, as suggested by various photographs of her 'core' friendship group (who are shown doing many things together, like walking home together and socialising together after school). In addition, Aneka's photographs present different friends in different roles, depicting various levels of closeness or familiarity.

Aneka's photographs include "*friends putting make-up on*", which shows other female pupils in the girls' toilets and below this photograph is "*during maths lesson helping*

my friends", where Aneka is positioned kneeling beside a girl seated at a desk, writing. The photograph suggests to me that co-operation, rather than competition, is prized by Aneka and her friends. The image also suggests to me that particular personal qualities, such as being intelligent, helpful and friendly may be dominant values within Aneka's friendship group.

The young women photographed their friendship groups over a wide range of situations, both in and out of school, both explicitly as the foci of the photographs and more indirectly. The photographs conveyed to me the positive and supportive nature of female friendships. For example, one of Priya's photographs features her, and her friends, waiting for other friends after school in rain and cold. Indeed many of the accounts felt to me like a 'celebration' of Asian female friendships, echoing Brah and Minhas'(1986) comments about the 'vibrancy' of Asian female cultures. I will now consider some of the ways in which discourses of femininities were negotiated in the young women's photographs, often clearly within the arena of these female friendship groups.

Attractiveness and Sexuality

As I suggested in Chapter One, 'attractiveness' is a useful site from which to examine the construction of femininities, because it cross-cuts with dominant discourses around heterosexuality, patriarchy and 'race' (Mama, 1995). I also suggested that British-Muslim young women may be positioned by competing religious and cultural discourses of femininity, and may be conceptualised within dominant White, western



During break, this is what most of the girls I know do during the morning break. put make up on, to impress the boys.

Fig. 2.3

discourses as 'between two cultures', suffering from oppressive home lives which are restrictive, as compared to 'liberal' school cultures. In order to discuss this point, I would like to consider the photograph, taken by Priya (Fig. 2.3).

At first glance I read this as an image which seems to reinforce ideas of a "culture trap", whereby 'repressed' young Muslim women wait until they are in school to put on make-up and therefore assume their 'sexualised' alter-egos (for which we are to read their 'true' selves). As suggested in Chapter Six, this stereotype has been reproduced in the media through films and documentaries. However, I consider that Priya's image both aligns, and distances, her (as the photographer/ author) from those she photographs, and is photographed with. The photographer has taken the shot from the position of a participant, which is suggested through the location of the camera, standing as part of the group circle around the central figure, and being smiled at by a girl from the edge of the frame.

However, I think the image also distances her through the caption "*this is what most of the girls I know do during the morning break, put make-up on to impress the boys*". She told me verbally during the session that she herself never puts on make-up, but her participation as part of the group suggests she is not overtly chastising them for this behaviour. In this way I suggest that Priya's photograph both sexualises some Asian young women, but the construction of distance between Priya and her subjects means that the image is not generalised, thus challenging the idea that this is a truth for all young Asian women.

By questioning the White cultural position from which the 'caught in the culture trap' reading is made, alternative interpretations become possible. For example, I suggest that the pressure to conform could be conceptualised as coming from White pupils (Mama, 1995), but that this does not represent a desire to *be* White, but a desire to be attractive to males. I therefore suggest that the actions depicted can be read as negotiations of feminine identities as attempts to 'fit in' rather than expressions of freedom. This interpretation invites discussion as to the dominance of patriarchal, White norms at school, which I think Priya's photographs suggest through the photographic choices which have been made. For example, her photographs highlight the girls' efforts to impress boys, rather than showing the boys themselves (Asian boys are absent in her account). As such, Priya's photographs construct her identity in relation to other young women's relationships with boys, rather than in direct relation to boys per se.

Instead I read her photograph (Fig. 2.3) as using make-up, and the female toilets (a 'male-free zone'), as symbols which convey messages about sexism/feminism and which draw identities along sexualised/gendered lines. I think Priya's photograph can also be read as drawing on 'traditional' feminist discourses which propose that women do not need to define themselves along sexual lines in relation to males. For example this image, of young women putting on make-up 'for boys', contrasts with a photograph (Fig. 2.9) of Priya and her friends dressing up for their own amusement, not a male audience (my reading of this is based on the caption, and is discussed more fully later).

However, I consider my interpretation of Priya's photograph, as feminist comment, is problematic because the image can be read as drawing divisions between young Asian women. My interpretation also depends on the premise that wearing make-up runs counter to feminist aims. Furthermore, this view assumes that other young Asian women share this interpretation of wearing make-up. The photograph, and my interpretations of it, do not allow them to offer various other interpretations of their own.

I suggest that in Priya's photograph, the construction of simultaneous inclusion and distancing of the photographer (Priya) from the scene may offer possibilities for dialogues which do not exclude Asian women from taking different positions. I interpret the positioning and captioning of the image as opening up new lines of debate around this 'stereotypical' image, shifting the emphasis away from pathologised minority home cultures, back onto the dominance of a White, patriarchal gaze, which positions young women from ethnic minority groups in racist ways.

I suggest that the young women's photographs reproduce competing discourses and negotiations surrounding Muslim femininities. In the following section I identify and interpret ways in which the young women's photographs reproduce themes of attractiveness and sexuality: I have interpreted the following three discourses as commonly occurring across the diaries (i) not playing the game (ii) playing boys at their own game and (iii) changing the rules²

2

The use of the term "game" here does not imply the



on corridor
mate
eating
sister
of
mana

Fig. 2.4



I don't now who this is.
robbed the picture -

Fig. 2.5

(i) "Not Playing the Game": Producing Subversive Images of Femininity

I read many of the young women's photographs as presenting images of Asian femininity which stand in opposition to mainstream ideals of femininity and feminine beauty as passive, demure and 'shereef'. I consider that the two photographs which I have selected (Figs. 2.4 and 2.5) demonstrate how this theme was operationalised, by constructing a challenging, assertive, 'unrefined' femininity (Uma's photograph: Fig. 2.4) and by explicitly stating 'what I am not' (Shireen's photograph: Fig.2.5).

Uma included three photographs in her diary of various friends eating in different locations throughout the school day (in the playground and in the library). I have read the photograph "*on corridor mate eating sister of Mona*" (Fig. 2.4) as showing lots of movement and confusion because the "*sister of Mona*" is looking past the camera, and is almost defiantly/challengingly eating in an exaggerated fashion, with her mouth wide open. There are two other people who are partially shown at the edges of the photograph, which implies a crowd or crush, and movement in the corridor.

I think that this constructs a Muslim femininity which is not passive, quiet, polite and hidden. These ideals are countered and challenged by assertiveness, self-confidence and views of young women satisfying their own needs in full public view, at times of their own choosing, regardless of convention. The closeness of the camera/photographer to the sister of Mona, and the repetition of the theme throughout

discourses are inconsequential. The word is used figuratively, and was chosen because it alludes to shared understandings of discourses and their 'rules'.

Uma's diary, further suggests to me that these are images of femininity which Uma herself may wish to be identified with.

Shireen's "*robbed*" photograph (Fig. 2.5) was included at the very end of her project, which I have read as effectively summing up and constructing who, or what, Shireen (as photographer/ author) is not. I also read the photograph together with the preceding photograph in Shireen's project (a cold, wet photograph, taken outside on the street, walking home in the rain with friends). In comparison, the "*robbed*" photograph, appears to have been taken inside a warm, comfortable bedroom, which I interpret as juxtaposing constructions of what is, and what is not, Shireen's 'reality'.

I suggest that Shireen's photograph can be read as a 'traditional' stereotypical image of Muslim femininity, because the central figure (the young woman) is in a neat, bedroom, apparently doing her homework (reading a text book as a symbol for work). The young woman appears neat, well-groomed and is smiling accommodatingly at the camera. However, Shireen's photograph produces a challenge through its caption: the author states that she does not even know who this young woman is, because she 'robbed' the photograph. In this way, I read Shireen's photograph as subversive, because the traditional image is positioned in direct contrast to the author's 'rebellious' actions and treatment of the photograph.

In my opinion, both Shireen's, and Uma's, photographs construct an assertive and 'gutsy' discourse of femininity, reminiscent of current popular discourses such as the

Spice Girls' 'Girl Power', the 'New Laddishness' (adopted by women such as television presenter Zoe Ball and comedienne Jo Brand), and the 'Riot Grrrl' culture of the early 1990's (typified by musicians such as Courtney Love, Bikini Kill; see Reynolds and Press, 1995). Although slightly different in their emphases, I suggest that these popular discourses share an approach to femininity which advocates adopting 'traditional' masculine ideals of assertiveness, visibility, and an 'in your face' attitude.

The "New Laddishness" and "Riot Grrrl" discourses also utilise crudeness, vulgarity and aggressive sexuality as ways of commanding attention and (supposedly) empowerment. In contrast, "Girl Power" discourses are aimed at younger women, with the emphasis on doing what you want, being 'naughty' but not bad, whilst still wearing fashionable clothes and looking attractive (to men). I suggest, however, that although Shireen's and Uma's photographs can be interpreted as drawing on aspects of these discourses, they stop short of being solely identifiable as either of these discourses. For example, Girl Power's preoccupation with fashion and image appears to be directly challenged in Uma's photographs, and is ridiculed in Shireen's image.

I also think that in both Shireen's and Uma's photographs there is an absence of the typifying anger of Riot Grrrl discourses and the explicit sexuality which identifies New Laddishness. I further suggest that these points of difference can be linked to the problematics which I consider that these popularised discourses encounter when proposed as emancipatory feminist projects for all women. These popular discourses are located within specific heterosexual, white norms, and as such I think they offer

few possibilities to Black (Asian) and homosexual women, and represent a world in which disabled women are completely absent.

I also think these more 'reactionary' popular discourses offer limited emancipatory potential because they rely upon re-packaging traditional 'male' discourses as 'new female'. In other words, these languages are not coming from women's own experiences, but seek to define women in terms of men's values (which remain paramount and unchallenged as the ideal).³

I read Shireen's "robbed" photograph as drawing on stereotypical discourses around Muslim femininity, which are not addressed by mainstream, popularised 'alternative' languages of femininity. I therefore consider that Shireen's image illustrates the argument that feminist projects must recognise the multiplicity of 'woman' (Beckett, 1986) and must work to form coalitions (Yuval-Davis, 1994) which do not homogenise or exclude marginalised women.

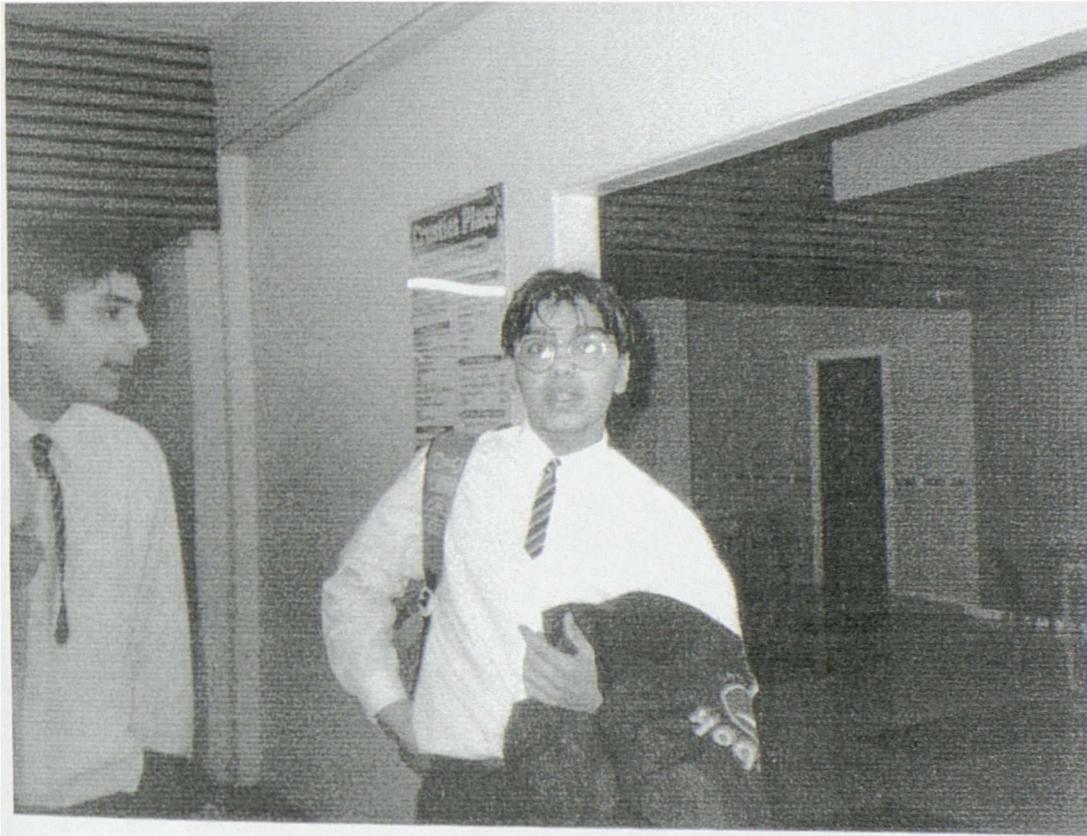
3

My use of the term 'male' is not intended as a homogenisation of all men. It is used to refer to dominant patriarchal discourses, which in British society largely reflect the interests and values of white, middle-class, able-bodied, heterosexual men. However, these discourses are referred to provisionally as 'male' in that, in various forms, they may be used by men across boundaries in maintaining patriarchies.



Home time
boys
walking
home

Fig. 2.6



Amjed looking fit

Fig. 2.7

(ii) "Playing Boys at their Own Game": Making Males Sexual Objects of the Camera's Gaze

A number of the young women included photographs of male pupils, which conveyed (in my view) more, or less, explicit sexual and/or romantic interests in these young men. I have selected two photographs which I consider (re)present young men in this way: Uma's image of "*boys walking home*" from school (Fig. 2.6) and Shireen's explicit labelling and representation of a "*fit*" boy at school (Fig. 2.7). I have interpreted these photographs as drawing on, and challenging, constructions of (Muslim) femininities as passive and 'asexual'. I also suggest that the images present a turning around of traditional notions in which women are the objects of a male gaze.

I read Shireen's photograph as constructing "*Amjed*" as a sexual object, who is judged and evaluated sexually by the caption. I interpreted this image as conveying an assertion of the photographer's/ author's sexuality by the powerful construction of "*Amjed*" as a sexual object. In Shireen's diary this authorial power is extended in other photographs of young men (for example "*Gufter*" is presented as "*looking like a monkey after having his bannanas*" (sic)). However, I also interpreted the absence of Shireen in these images as constructing a distance between her and the young men, so that she does not appear as directly sexualised. Subsequently, although I read Shireen's photograph as conveying an assertive and 'rebellious' discourse of femininity, through the engagement with sexuality in captions and subject matter. I also read the image as constructing a distance of author from subjects, which guards against the photographer/ author being labelled negatively herself.

In contrast to the direct engagement with a young man in Shireen's photograph, I interpret Uma's photograph as conveying a greater distance between photographer and the young men observed outside in the playground (Fig. 2.6). This distance was conveyed to me by the physical distance between where Uma (the photographer) has taken the picture and the playground where the young men are standing. This further suggested to me that the photographer was an observer, and was not engaged in interaction with the male subjects. I also suggest that the image could be read as an attempt to get closer to the boys, as a form of 'voyeurism'.

I consider that Uma's image can also be read as challenging dominant discourses around Muslim femininity which construct women as not sexual (Connolly, 1998). For example, she includes a statement at the end of her project "*I fancy Nick Carter and Brent Casey- he is sexy!*" (sic). This statement could be read as inviting challenging discussion around mixed-race relationships, with implications for discourses around arranged marriages.

Alternatively, these images could be read as reproducing, and substantiating, discourses which construct universal developmental sequences, in which teenage girls are 'naturally' 'boy-mad' and that British-Muslim women are 'just like White girls' vis a vis liking boys (including non-Asian boys, as suggested by the names referred to by Uma). I suggest that these photographs *could* therefore be read as reproducing dominant ideas that British-Muslim girls are 'westernised' and do not want arranged marriages. However, I consider this to be a racist discourse, in which arranged



Fig. 2.8



Go crazy and start playing
dress up. when we get bored.

Fig. 2.9

marriage is constructed as an 'oppressive cultural practice' which is 'forced' upon young women (see Chapter Six).

I also suggest that the 'playing them at their own game' discourse constructed in these photographs relies on young women positioning themselves in relation to boys using heterosexualised discourses, and is therefore restrictive in the subversive/radical possibilities which can be offered.⁴ Young women may indeed gain a sense of empowerment through the labelling of their male peers as sexual objects, and this may even challenge young males to reconsider their own conceptualisations of femininities.

However, I consider that the problematics of applying such "New Lad" discourses remain, on account of their repackaging of traditional patriarchal values and ideals as desirous for women (who at the end of the day will never be able to attain these goals, because they originate from within patriarchy).

(iii) "Redefining the Rules": Creating New Languages of Femininity

I have selected photographs (Figs. 2.8 and 2.9) which I read as utilising clothing and 'dressing up' to construct 'alternative' feminine identities. I interpret Nadia's photograph (Fig. 2.8) as presenting a redefinition of western beauty ideals through a representation of an 'Asian female' image of beauty. I suggest that Nadia's pose (the photograph features her as the focus) can be read as conveying 'beauty' because she has

4

I agree with the arguments put forward by Lynne Segal (1997) in that I do not consider a heterosexual position precludes being 'truly' feminist, as suggested by Kitzinger and Wilkinson (1993).

adopted a common, recognisable stance which directs the viewer's (my) attention towards an evaluation of Nadia's attractiveness wearing this outfit. In other words, I think that

"this image can take its place within hundreds of thousands of others in which this stereotypical and highly conventional pose has been used to create and sustain the myths of female sexuality" Dewdney and Lister, 1986; p.98).

I consider that Nadia, in her ornate lengha, does not appear passive and oppressed. On the contrary, I read her as proud, which is conveyed by her stance and posture. I also interpreted this image as being clearly located within the family home, which contradicts representations of young Muslim women as oppressed at home, burdened down with domestic chores and not allowed out. In fact, the ornateness of her lengha suggests to me that Nadia is going out somewhere, or at least it conveys to me that this is an outfit which Nadia wears for going out in.

I also think that Priya's photograph (Fig 2.9) can be read as reproducing and challenging the stereotype that Asian girls are 'forced' to wear shalwar kamiz at home.

I have interpreted Priya's image of herself and her friends "playing dress up", as questioning assumptions that (Asian women's) clothing can be used as markers of 'traditional/western' dichotomies (see Phinney, 1990). In this photograph Priya and her friends appear to be wearing western clothes in the context of being "crazy" and playing "dress-up". I suggest that western clothes within this home context have been constructed as symbols of silliness and 'craziness', which convey who the young

women are not. For example, one of the young women at the front of the group is wearing a short skirt, but unlike a white young woman, she is wearing trousers underneath.

I think that through this manipulation and 'altering' of the clothes in the image, the young women appear to visually challenge (and ridicule?) 'traditional/western' dichotomies because they do not conform to a 'traditional' (Asian) stereotypical appearance (both in clothing and in conduct) and yet the young women are not constructed as 'western' either. Instead I consider that this photograph constructs Muslim femininities as not essentialised, but as represented through manipulation of symbols; a process at which the young women are presented as capable and adept. I suggest that in contrast to the previous discursive strategies identified ("not playing the game" and "playing them at their own game") these two images offer various possibilities for languages of femininity which do not rely on borrowing from masculine repertoires, but which can be grounded in young Muslim women's experiences.

Representing and Locating Self at School

At the beginning of the photographic diaries project, I asked the young women to take photographs over an entire twenty four hour period, both at home and at school. However, across all the projects the young women's photographs predominantly represented time spent at school, both in and out of lessons. This was not really surprising to me, given that school takes up a large proportion of the day, this project

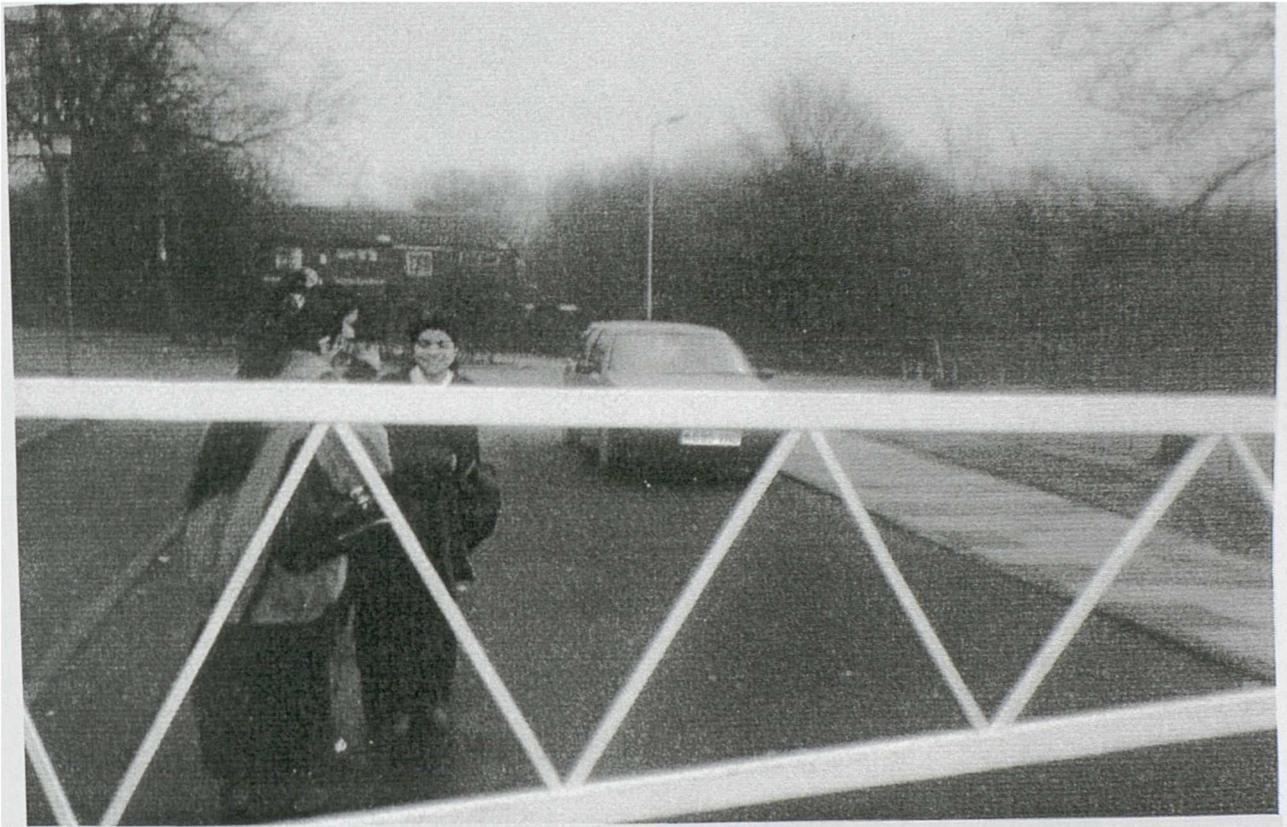


Fig. 3.1

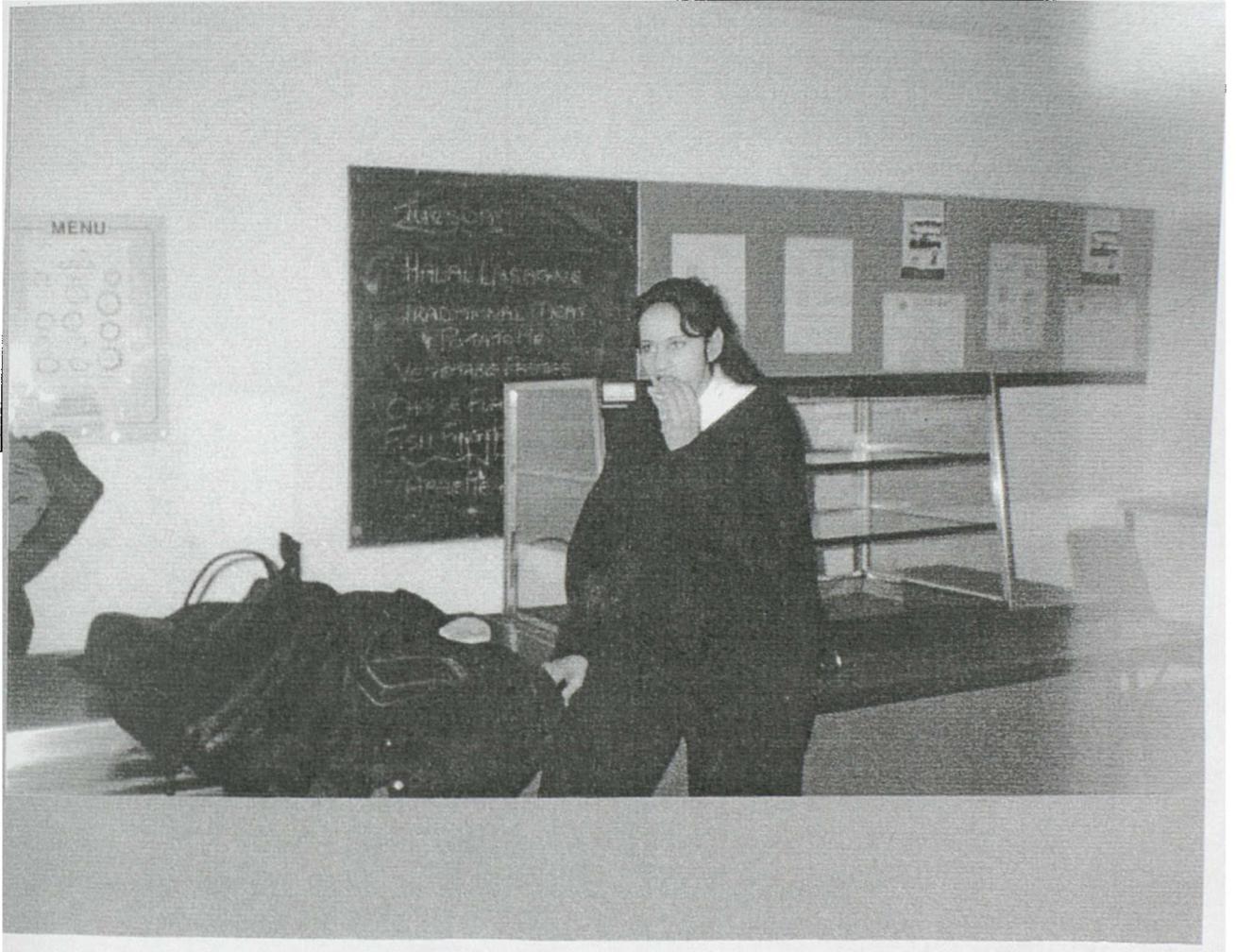


Fig. 3.2

was conducted during school time, and the young women may have approached the study as a 'school project'. Some of the young women also said to me that they particularly welcomed this chance to make their own comments upon their school experiences. This 'pupil-eye view' of school was also something in which the staff, with whom I liaised, expressed a keen interest (often remarking that they "did not know what to expect").

I begin this section by discussing two particular photographs, taken by Nadia and Nargis (Figs. 3.1 and 3.2). My discussion centres around points of conflict raised by two possible conflicting readings of the images, which I identify as representing a dominant, multicultural educational discourse, versus an alternative reading which takes a more 'pupil-centred' perspective which encompasses issues of 'race' and gender⁵. I raise issues for the development of 'critical', anti-racist, anti-sexist approaches to education, highlighting in particular my interpretations of ways through which the young women's photographs reproduce and challenge dominant constructions of Asian pupils as 'behavers and achievers' (Gillborn, 1990). I also suggest that the young women's photographs represent, and emphasise, the 'visibility' of young Asian women, and I discuss this with reference to the invisibility of Asian women in literature and policy-making.

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To reiterate, I am not proposing that one of these readings is "truer" than the other. I am using the different perspectives to highlight issues for debate, although I privilege the less dominant account as offering more possibilities for anti-racist, anti-sexist education.

Two Different Readings

Based on my familiarity with the school, I suggest that Nadia's photograph (Fig. 3.1) was taken from the 'school' side of the entrance barrier at Lowtown School. Nadia and her two friends are standing the other side of the barrier, which has been captioned "*Arrived at School*", which conveys that the image is to be located as being taken in the morning. In Fig. 3.2, Nargis is pictured seated on a counter in front of the lunch menu board which reads "*Tuesday, Halal lasagna, Traditional meat and potato pie; vegetarian pasties; cheese flan; fish fingers; apple pie*". She is alone in the canteen and is pictured eating something.

Reading One

I make my first reading from a multiculturalist, educational perspective. From this viewpoint, I suggest that the two photographs can be read as representative of, and raising, some of the issues currently raised by schools with regard to Asian/Muslim female pupils; namely (i) tackling (non) attendance and 'cultural barriers' to education (such as when 'home' values are considered to be conflictual with those of school) (ii) making provision at school for Muslim pupils' differing requirements (e.g. dietary issues).

I suggest that Nadia's photograph (Fig. 3.1) can be used to illustrate a theme of school attendance (the 'arrival' at school of Asian female pupils). I suggest that increasing and maintaining pupils' attendance is a goal common to all schools in Britain. At Lowtown School in particular, attendance had been identified as a major concern (see

Chapter Four) and special emphasis has been placed upon reducing 'condoned absences' (when parents have excused their children's absence from school). The main sources of these consensual absences were identified as extended trips to the Indian subcontinent during term-time (with pupils being withdrawn from school for up to several months) and the excusing of pupils from school to help at home or in the family business (although some of these periods of absence were not officially excused as such).

In all the schools I visited, staff expressed further concerns, during informal discussions, over 'cultural barriers' in terms of arranged marriage. In my opinion, teachers rarely talked to me about Asian (particularly Muslim) young women without mentioning the 'problems' of arranged marriage. These concerns generally seemed to be constructed as either 'wasted potential' (e.g. some of the girls are bright, but they will be 'married off' thus wasting their potential) or 'lack of value' (e.g. parents only want the girls married, so do not value their education, so may not enforce attendance or homework: see McIntosh, 1990).

I suggest that Nargis's photograph (Fig. 3.2) can be read as further illustrating multicultural educational strategies which conceptualise, and address, 'cultural diversity' in terms of religion, such as the provision of Halal meat dishes in the school canteen for Muslim pupils. I read the primary positioning of the Halal dish at the top of the menu as conveying the school's commitment to such initiatives.

Reading Two

I suggest that Nadia's photograph (Fig. 3.1) can be read as representing young Muslim women as fragmented within a racist, White educational structure. I suggest that this could be seen as symbolised by the white bars of the school gate, which cross-cut and divide up the young women's images into segments, so that the actors do not appear as whole. The white bars of the gate could be thus be read as symbolic of White, middle-class patriarchal discourses which are dominant within the education system. Someone else's help has been enlisted to take this photograph, and the photographer has been positioned behind the gate, away from the group. This can be read as conveying that the group of girls are still 'outside' school at this point, the gate is being used as a symbolic, dividing boundary: one which is both White and which fragments and distorts the image of the young women, creating a view in which they are positioned as Others.

From this second perspective, Nargis's photograph (Fig. 3.2) could be read as representative of 'tokenistic' approaches to multicultural education, where emphasis is placed on marking and celebrating the festivals of Other cultures, providing 'ethnic' food and relaxing rules on uniform and dress (see Yuval-Davis, 1994). In Chapter Three I suggested that multicultural strategies fail to challenge racisms and sexism because they do not acknowledge structural inequalities and biases in the ideology of education. I suggest then that it is possible to read Nargis's photograph as representing criticisms of multiculturalist approaches, because Nargis is depicted sitting in front of the board displaying Halal lasagna, but yet she is portrayed eating a snack

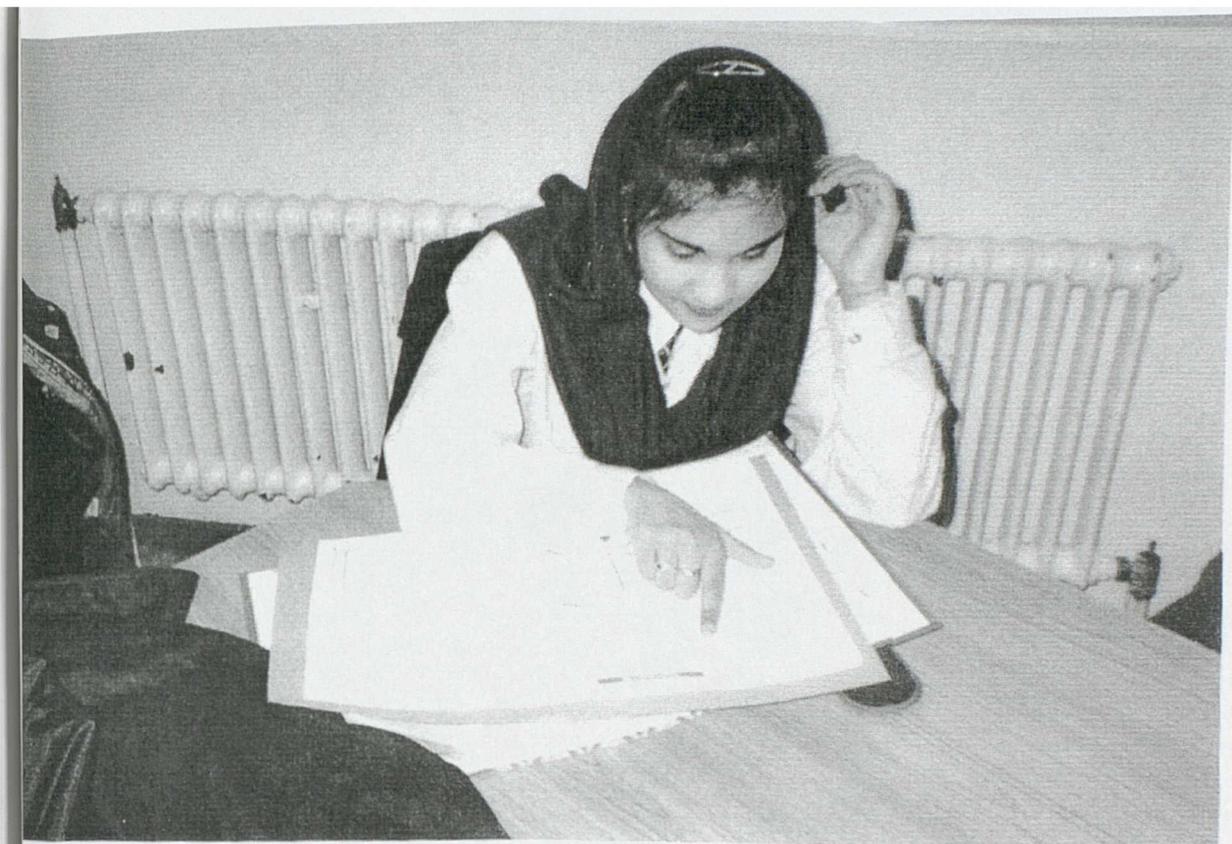
of her own. This could be read as indicating that Muslim pupils do not necessarily eat the food which is provided 'specially' for them. I further suggest that this reading questions the effectuality of tokenistic multicultural strategies, and asks whether the perspective and needs of Muslim pupils themselves has been considered in the construction of 'equal opportunities' and 'multicultural' initiatives.

I suggest that the reduction of 'multiculturalism' to 'catering for difference' precludes anti-racist (and anti-sexist) initiatives because it relies upon homogenised notions of 'culture' and religion, and because it is assumed that a reduction of racism will follow the 'celebration' and integration of 'difference' into the mainstream. I also suggest that focussing on such 'visible' concrete strategies and policies allows the school to apparently take a non-racist position, but this approach does not encourage staff to address the operation, and persistence, of dominant discourses and inequalities within the school structure itself; nor does it facilitate a questioning of the ways in which young Muslim women are constructed and positioned within educational discourses.

In the following sections I consider (my interpretations of) how the young women's photographs draw on, and counter, dominant discourses which position Asian/Muslim female pupils as 'behavers and achievers'. I also discuss (my interpretations of) ways in which the young women's photographs constructed school and classroom experiences ("Life/Lives in the Classroom"), and I address points of contact and conflict between these constructions and dominant perspectives.



Fig. 3.3



Revising for Test after dinner.

Fig. 3.4

'Behavers and Achievers'

As suggested in Chapter Three, the 'behavers and achievers' stereotype of Asian pupils has been identified as a predominant discourse among teachers and educationalists (Gillborn, 1990)⁶. I also suggested that currently the discourse may be particularly effective in positioning Asian, female pupils, due to popular concerns over differential gender achievement, and how young women are 'out-performing' male pupils in national examinations (Mac an Ghail, 1996). Certainly, in this study, during informal discussions with staff and LEA members, concerns were expressed to me regarding underachievement and disaffection amongst Asian boys.

I interpreted a number of the young women's photographs as reproducing aspects of this 'behavers and achievers' discourse, such as the following photographs belonging to Tamsin (Fig. 3.3) and Nargis (Fig. 3.4). I read these photographs as conveying identity statements through the manipulation of symbols in the images: for example I read Tamsin's photograph (Fig. 3.4) as constructing her as hard-working/conscientious, and Nargis' photograph is captioned "*I like reading*" (Fig. 3.3).

I read Tamsin's photograph (Fig. 3.3) as drawing upon discourses of hard work and achievement, conveying an image of Tamsin as a conscientious pupil. I based my interpretation upon the caption ("*revising for test after dinner*") which I read as conveying academic responsibility. I also consider that Tamsin's physical positioning

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This stereotype has also been satirised by British-Asian comedy programme "Goodness Gracious Me!" 2nd Feb. 1998



Saddiqua, Nasima + Sadia. working
for once

Fig. 3.5

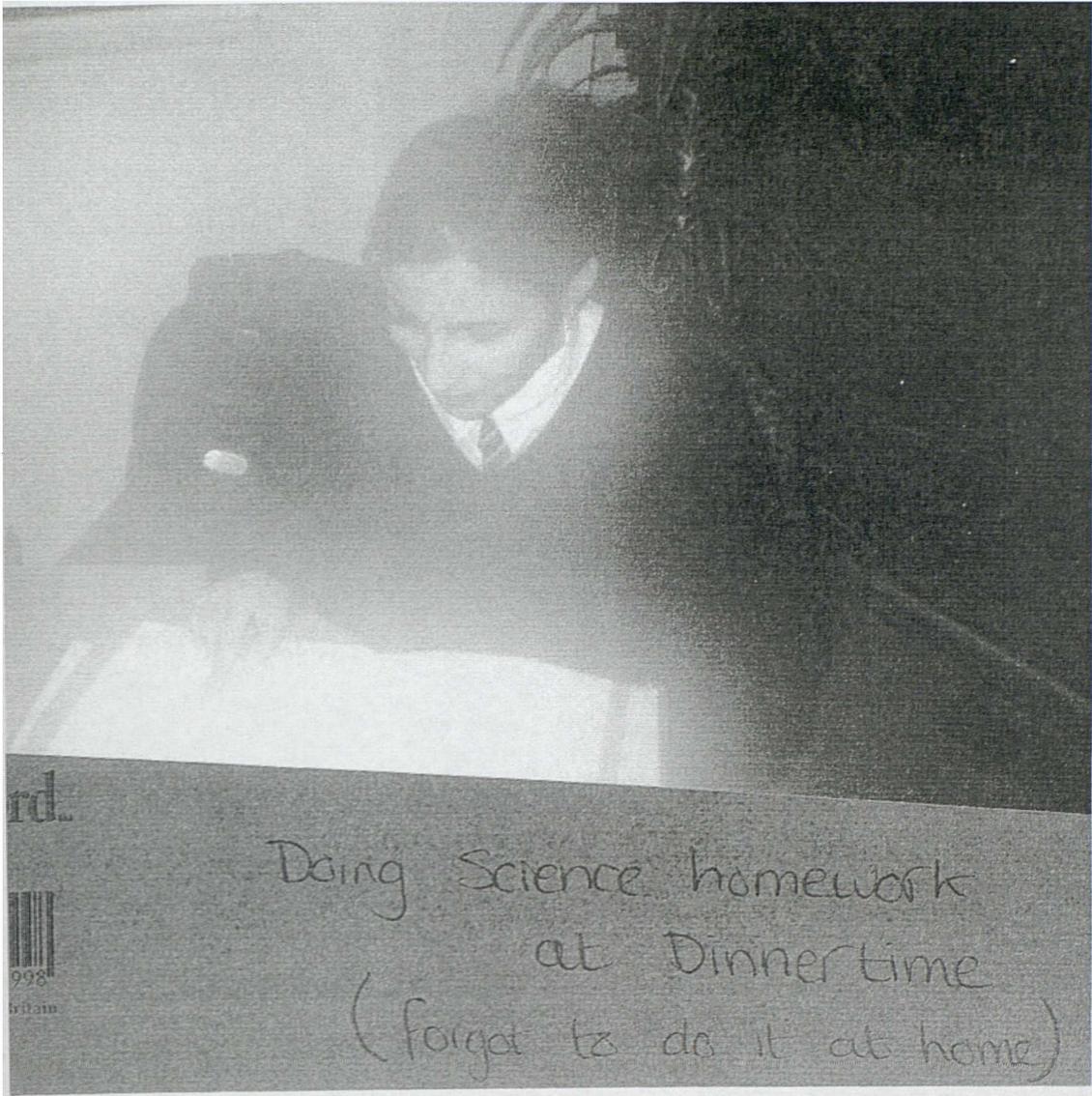


Fig. 3.6

within the image can be read as symbolising working (looking down at a book, 'reading' with her finger on the line). I also read the 'self as viewed' style of the shot as reinforcing these particular meanings because she is not engaged with the camera, Tamsin's facial expression does not convey signs to suggest an evaluation of the work in any particular way, such as whether she likes or dislikes it.

I consider that the composition of Fig. 3.3 conveys the idea Nargis enjoys reading/work because she is presented in the library, standing in a corner, flanked by two shelves of books, with the background (books) dominating the shot. Nargis is turned away from the camera, which, I suggest, focuses the viewer's gaze on the labelling of the shelves ("*Literature English*" is central, although she's turned away from this towards "*History, Geography Travel*"). I suggest that because the image does not show what Nargis is supposedly reading, the photograph presents Nargis as someone who generally likes reading and is hard-working.

However, I also identified themes of resistance to school authority and challenges to the 'behavers and achievers' discourse within the young women's photographs. I illustrate these 'counter-school' discourses with the following photographs from the diaries of Shireen (Fig. 3.5) and Mona (Fig. 3.6).

I read Shireen's and Mona's photographs as constructing counter-discourses to dominant conceptualisations of young Asian women as hard-working. I suggest that these challenges are constructed through the use of captions, which subvert a particular

reading of the photographic image. For example, I interpret Shireen's photograph (Fig. 3.5) as conveying, via the caption, that this image of young women working is not representative or typical. I therefore consider that Shireen's photograph subverts the 'behavers and achievers' stereotype because the caption challenges the reality of the image, and instead presents these young women as "*working for once*". The image, as representative of the stereotype, is therefore positioned as what Others (such as teachers, academics like myself) might 'see', but through the caption, this 'reality' is revealed as illusion.

The photograph appears to have been taken from close range, at roughly the same eye-level as the young women actors (from which I presume that Shireen/ the photographer was seated on the table behind or had moved her chair back). The photograph foreground is framed by the adjacent shoulders of two of the young women, directing the viewer's gaze to the 'work' being done by the hands of one of the girls. None of the young women featured seem to be aware of the photographer, with the backs of the two foreground figures turned to the camera. I read this positioning as constructing a distance between Shireen's camera and the young women, which also suggested to me that the photographer/Shireen was not working herself and/or was conveying a lack of interest in working.

I also read Mona's photograph (Fig. 3.6) as reproducing, and challenging, the behavers and achievers discourse similarly by the subversive captioning of a 'stereotypical' image. The photograph features Mona "*doing science homework*" but I read this

behaviour as qualified by the caption, which states that this is work which Mona "*forgot to do [...] at home*". I interpreted the photograph as manipulating similar visual symbols to convey 'working' (e.g. Mona's bowed head, looking at a book, apparently writing or tracing the text on the page with her finger) and I interpreted her caption as signalling that homework is not a top priority (as in the behavers and achievers stereotype) because it is 'forgettable' and can be done at break time, rather than at home.

I found my interpretations to be reminiscent of Willis' (1977) subcultural theory: Willis highlighted the predominance of alternative value systems amongst White, working-class male pupils, which the boys used to resist school cultures. However, according to my readings of the young women's photographs, the young Asian women's counter-school constructions did not 'fit' Willis' account (see Mirza, 1995). I suggest that this is because Willis' account was specifically created within the context of White, working-class males, whose discourses of resistance were formulated within the spheres of White, working-class, male experiences.

I interpreted a common theme in both images, of young women doing school work at some point, even if this is rare (as conveyed by Shireen's photograph) or late (as conveyed by Mona's photograph). I further justified this interpretation by referring to discourses produced by young women in the discussion groups, who constructed education as valuable, but not necessarily a pleasurable experience. My observations suggest to me that these photographs could be read as conveying dissatisfaction with

the school structure within which learning takes place, whilst not questioning the value of education per se. I also suggest that the reproduction (by these young Muslim women) of education as valuable, may serve to strengthen the 'behavers and achievers' stereotype amongst teachers and educationalists because 'pro-education' (achievement) views may be equated with 'pro-school' (behaviour) attitudes.

Both Shireen's, and Mona's, photographs made me question why the young women represented do not 'normally' work in class or at home. For example, is it because lessons are boring? Is the work too easy or hard? What does Mona do at home instead? Is it because Mona finds the work load easy or light enough to catch up within the space of a break time? Is it just 'science' homework which Mona treats in this way? I also wondered whether these behaviours cause conflict with staff, whether the young women were 'underachieving' and more importantly, whether staff even 'see' these young women's self-confessed lack of interest? I suggested in earlier chapters that the (in)visibility of young Muslim women at school may be interlinked with dominant assumptions around arranged marriage, with associated concerns that Muslim women will not continue their studies, nor work once married. I also suggested that young women may suffer from greater invisibility in classrooms generally in relation to male peers, because boys monopolise teacher attention (see Maccoby and Jacklin, 1983).

Drawing upon this theme of visibility, I suggest that these challenging images can be read as manipulating young women's visibility by positioning them in opposition to the



just before the bell for Tetter class
In the corridor with my friend
blocking other peoples way. with
the jackets on. even though we're
not allowed.

Fig. 3.7

dominant 'behavers and achievers' discourse. In other words, I suggest that ('rebellious') subversive images can be used to distinguish oneself from others: for example, within an image which counters school values and rules, young women may appear as distinctive from the stereotype and may therefore attract attention (e.g. from staff, other pupils and myself as researcher). I also suggest that discourses which challenge school rules can be read as asserting individual autonomy and power within the structure of school. I illustrate this point with the following photograph, taken by Priya (Fig. 3.7).

I interpreted Priya's photograph (Fig. 3.7) as conveying the visibility of young Asian women in school, which is constructed through the subversion of school rules. I read the smiling, laughing appearances of the young women in the photograph, and the explicit captioning that their behaviour is "*not allowed*" as signalling a disregard for this particular rule (not wearing jackets inside the school building) on behalf of the author/ photographer, and possibly (these) other young women. I read the photograph as drawing on, and challenging, dominant discourses which idealise Asian femininity as quiet, 'shereef' and compliant. I also consider that the image's construction of 'disobedience' implies the young women's visibility to teachers, which I interpreted as physically reinforced through the caption's emphasis on "*blocking other peoples way*", which suggests that the young women have created space for themselves by pushing others out of the frame of the picture.

In Chapter Nine I discuss my interpretations of the educational implications and possibilities offered by the young women's 'counter-school' discourses. In the following section I consider ways in which the young women's photographs construct young Asian women's classroom/ school experiences, drawing upon notions of (in)visibility.

Life/ Lives in the Classroom

The young women's photographs represented time spent at school, both in and out of lessons. I read these images as constructing perspectives on experiences of lessons, which may differ from dominant staff views, both in terms of physical, and subjective, points of view⁷. For example, the layout of many British classrooms (and in all the schools in this study) positions the teacher's desk at the front of the room, with pupils' desks orientated towards the position of the teacher. For a considerable part of many lessons pupils will be seated, whereas teachers may often stand to talk and address the class. Therefore, at one level, I understood the young women's photographs as offering a physical perspective on lessons to which teachers are not usually party. The images also seemed (in my reading) to represent times when teachers were not present in the class, and times when the attention of the teacher was directed elsewhere in the classroom.

I have grouped the young women's representations for discussion under the headings 'Representing Lessons' and 'Anti-Lesson Discourses'. In the section 'Anti-Lesson Discourses' I consider photographs taken by young women from outside the classroom, which I have read as placing emphasis upon leaving, or getting out of, the lesson.

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This idea came from my recent experiences teaching in Higher Education, which I experienced as literally a physical movement from being in front of the teaching 'desk' as a student, to behind the desk as a (part-time) lecturer.

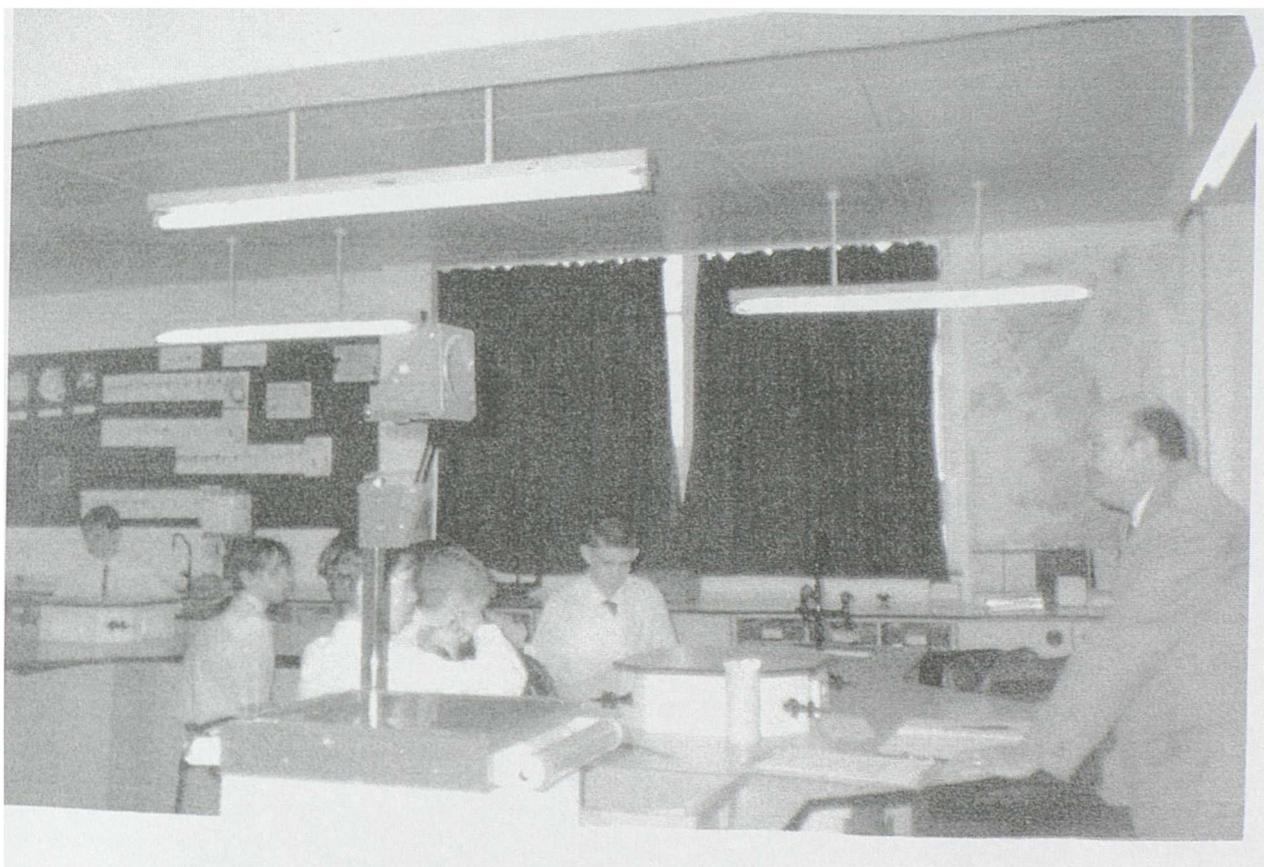


Fig. 3.8

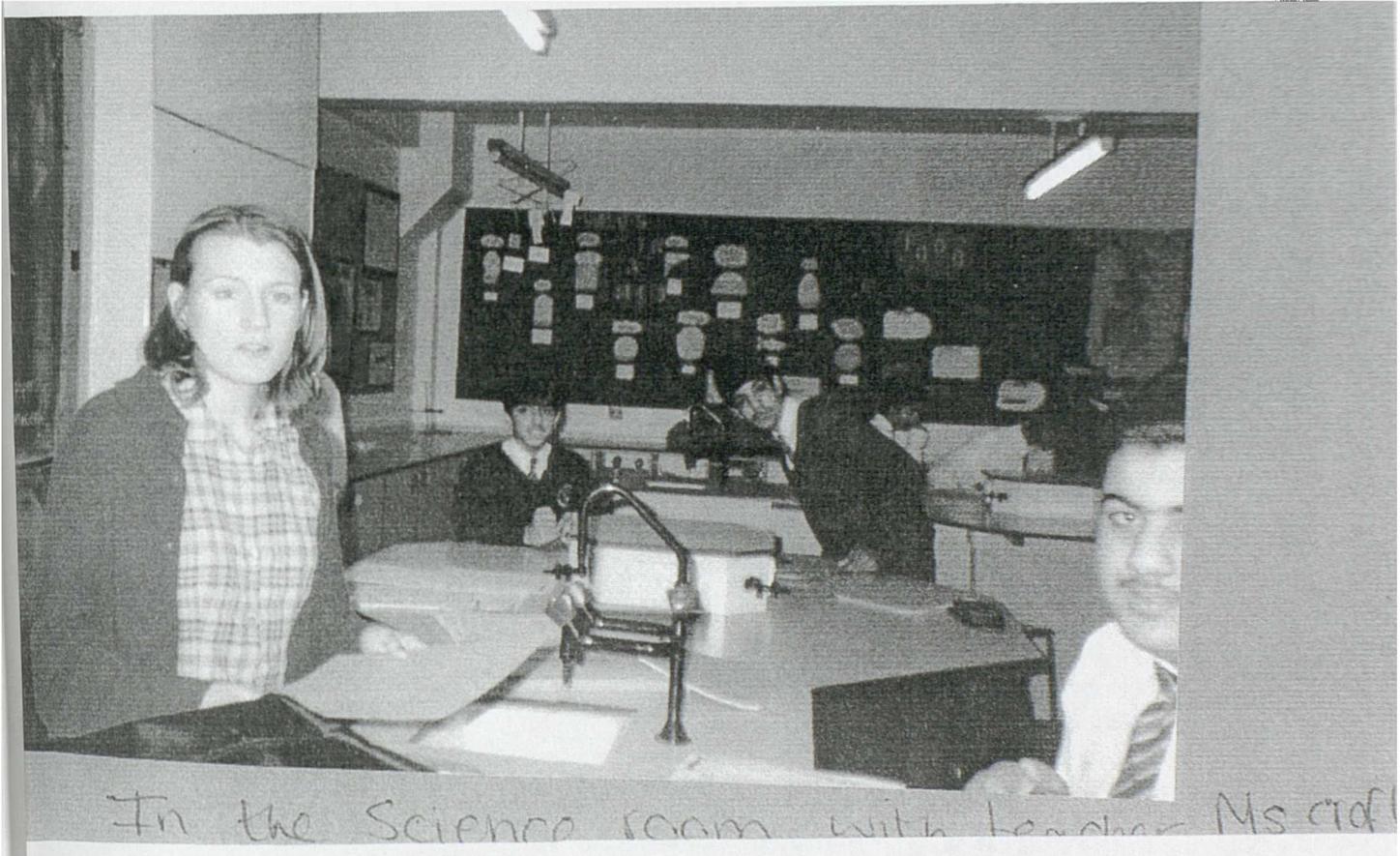


Fig. 3.9

I distinguish between photographs of 'lessons' (in which teachers are present) and photographs which I consider represent 'the class' (in which pupils only are focused on). I decided upon this distinction only after a lengthy period of time spent considering the variations and similarities between photographs. In my opinion, different types of meanings are conveyed by the photographs which include teachers, as compared to the class shots which did not feature staff. I took the decision to concentrate upon representations of 'the lesson', rather than 'the class' in accordance with my aims in this thesis to highlight issues around young, Asian women's education and to relate issues to educational practice and policy.

Representing Lessons

My readings of the photographs and captions suggest that lessons in a range of subjects were represented in the young women's photographs (e.g. IT, Textiles, History, Geography, English and Urdu). However I found that 'science' was the most frequently photographed lesson (in terms of the total number of photographs taken), and was photographed by the greatest number of young women (in terms of the number of diaries which contained photographs of science lessons). Across all these photographs, however, I consider that the images constructed science lessons in a negative way, as a subject which was not enjoyed. Conversely, I read photographs of English lessons (the second most photographed subject) as conveying quite different messages. I have selected the following photographs (Figs. 3.8-3.11) to discuss my impressions. Nadia's photograph (Fig. 3.8) and Mona's photograph (Fig. 3.9)

represent Science lessons and Nadia's photograph in Fig. 3.10 and Nargis' photograph in Fig. 3.11 represent English lessons.

Nadia's photograph (Fig. 3.8) of her science lesson instantly drew my attention because of the 'distance' it conveyed to me: I see a large physical distance between the camera and the actors in the photograph, but I also read the image as removed from the other photographs in Nadia's diary in which the photographer appears to interact more directly with the subject matter. I read Nadia's photograph of the science lesson as conveying distance because the camera/ photographer does not appear to 'interact' with the scene which it represents. I assume that the photographer (Nadia) is a participant within the science lesson, but I read her participation as minimal because of the distance between camera and subject matter, and the peripheral positioning of the camera to the lesson.

I base my reading upon the positioning of the teacher, who appears in profile, looking out into the class. He is standing whereas the class members are all seated (I compare this later to photographs of English lessons in which staff are seated and/or engaging with the photographer). I suggest that the physical distance between the science teacher and pupils is emphasised through the construction of the shot, where the 'gap' between teacher and pupils occupies the centre of the image. The angle of the shot also suggests to me that the photographer (Nadia) was seated when she took the photograph, and this position in turn emphasises the vertical height difference between teacher and pupils.

The 'class' in this photograph are represented as a group of White, male pupils, and in my reading, this image is distinct from the other photographs in Nadia's diary, which feature Asian pupils (mainly young women). I found that (my interpretation of) this representation of the science class as White males (both pupils and the teacher) is reproduced in other young women's photographs, and I suggest therefore that the photographs can be read as illustrating feminist criticisms of science, as dominated by White, male ideology, and assuming a unitary, White, male subject.

My reading of this photograph was also made in reference to the ethnic composition of Lowtown School's pupil population: White pupils comprise only 10-20% of the total register, from which I would anticipate white males accounting for 5-10%. In my opinion therefore, I interpret this photograph as provoking discussion around the apparent 'over-representation' of White males in science lessons. For this interpretation I have also read the position of the photographer at a distance from 'the class', in the side-lines, as suggesting the marginalisation of young, Asian women in science classes.

The under-representation and marginalisation of young women from science are topics discussed in feminist education literature (see Arnot, 1994) as is the monopolisation of teacher time and attention by males. I consider that these themes are reproduced in the photograph by the positioning of boys sitting closest to the teacher, demanding his attention whilst the photographer (Nadia) is situated outside the teacher's gaze. I suggest that this photograph can be read as illustrating that these are trends which

continue within science classes at Lowtown School. In Chapter Nine I suggest this as an imbalance which could be addressed.

I read Mona's photograph (Fig. 3.9) as reproducing this theme of the predominance of male pupils in science, but I also suggest that the image can be discussed in terms of the intersection between teacher/pupil 'race' and gender. In comparison to Nadia's image (Fig. 3.8) I read Mona's photograph as taken from a nearer position to the (White, female) teacher and from within the teacher's gaze.

The other point of difference which struck me is that all the male pupils in view are Asian and appear to be seated in closer proximity to the teacher. I also see the vertical height between teacher and pupils is challenged by the pupil who is partially standing, and by the ambiguous height of the photographer's (Mona's) camera, which suggests to me that she may have been standing as well.

Whereas I saw Nadia's image as conveying no engagement between the photographer and the scene in front of the camera, in Mona's photograph the boy at the right-hand corner of the frame is looking directly into the lens, which conveys to me that the photographer is visible and is interacting with her representation of the class.

Aside from these differences, I also interpreted similar themes represented in both Mona's and Nadia's photographs. For example, in both shots teachers are positioned behind a large desk, which represents, to me, a formal divide between pupils and



Fig. 3.10

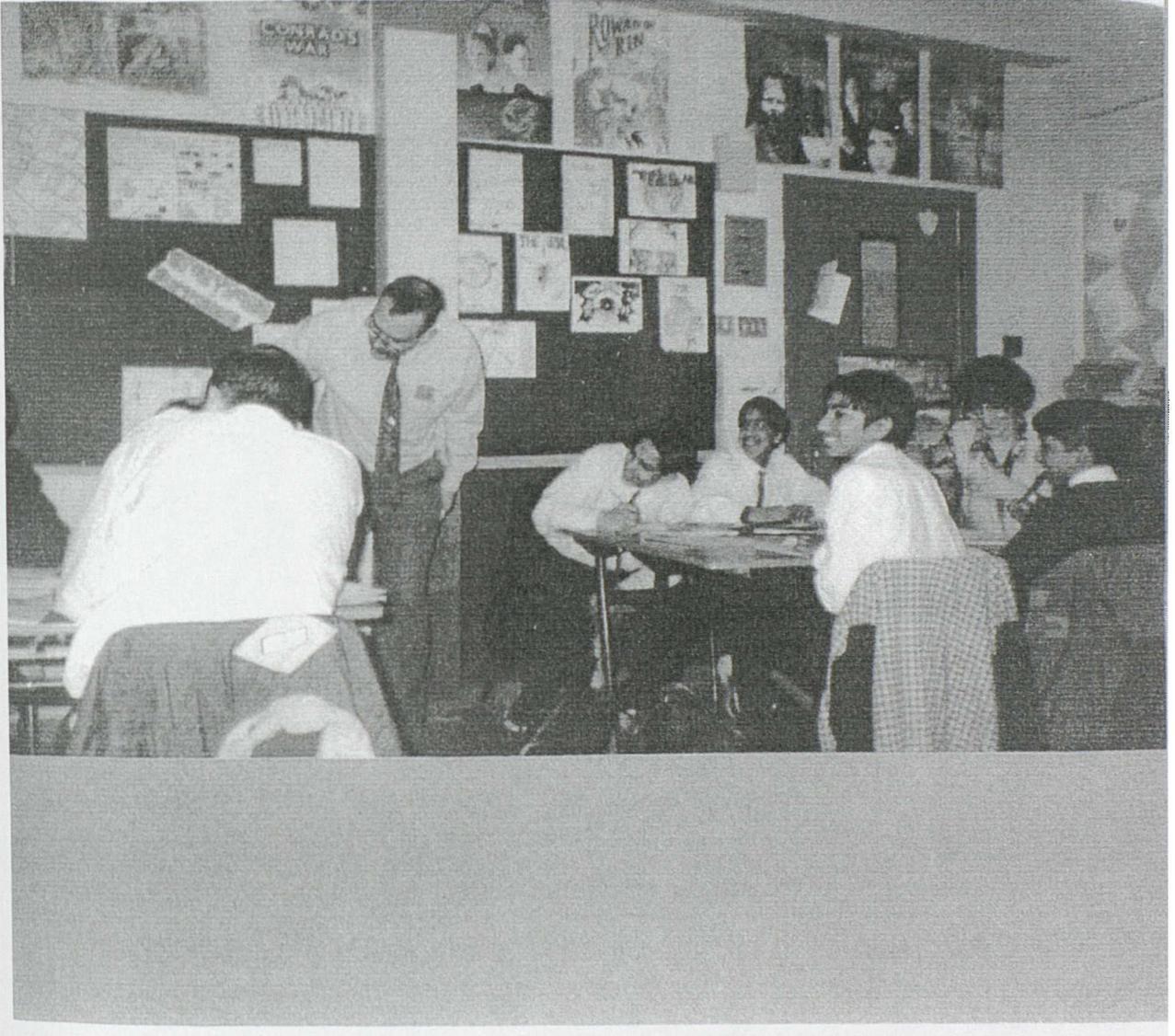


Fig. 3.11

teacher, marking the boundaries of the 'teacher's space' and the 'pupils' space'. In Mona's photograph I interpret the blank expression on the teacher's face as a possible symbol of disinterest, together with the physical movement of pupils which could signify restlessness.

I interpreted the two photographs taken in English classes, by Nadia (Fig. 3.10) and Nargis (Fig. 3.11), as contrasting in a number of ways with the science lesson photographs. The most immediate difference I noticed was a decreased distance between teacher and pupils in the images, and a degree of interaction between photographer and teacher. In the photographs of science classes, I saw the teacher's desk as dividing off a pupil/teacher space, however in comparison, I read the English lesson photographs as conveying dissolved boundaries of physical space between teachers and pupils.

I consider Nadia's English lesson photograph (Fig. 3.10) as having been taken from close to the edge of the teacher's front desk, and I read the presence of the language support teacher and the female pupil within the teacher's immediate space, as further breaking down boundaries. Judging by the angle of the shot, I consider that the photograph has been taken from a standing position, close to the White, male, English teacher and White, female Language Support teacher. This positioning of the photographer, close to those photographed, conveys a familiarity to me, and suggests that the photographer is not uncomfortable approaching these teachers.

The teacher seated is reading some folders and books and seems unaware of the photograph being taken, although the Language Support teacher is smiling at the camera, thus interacting with the photographer. There is a White female pupil standing next to the seated teacher, and she seems to be talking and gesturing to him, suggesting, in my view, interaction between teacher and pupil. The young woman is wearing her coat, which is against school rules, and this symbol further suggests to me that this particular teacher may be more relaxed about certain rules.

I am particularly interested by the relationship between Nadia's caption to her photograph ("*Enjoy English and Language lesson*") and the content of the image (focussing upon two teachers). I read the photograph as constructing these particular teachers as likeable, and/or as making the lesson 'enjoyable'. Across the projects, several of the young women included photographs of language support staff pictured with teachers. In my interpretation, all these photographs manipulated symbols which construct these teachers as friendly and happy (e.g. smiling, posing for photographs) and in all these photographs support staff were pictured next to full-time staff (often arm-in-arm), conveying co-operation and close (working) relationships between the two. I interpreted these images as representing positive attitudes towards LAP staff and the service they provide within the classroom. These photographs could be read as support for LAP's philosophy regarding the benefits of mixed-ability classes where supplementary language support is provided alongside mainstream National Curriculum classes. Indeed there were no photographs which suggested (to me) negative pupil experiences of this type of classroom intervention.

I interpret Nargis's photograph (Fig. 3.11) as constructing interaction between teachers and pupils: the teacher is positioned in the middle of the images, with pupils ('the class') either side of him. The language support teacher is positioned seated at a table, amidst a group of Asian boys. The image is captioned "*teacher helping a pupil*" which immediately suggests to me that the teacher's behaviour has been positioned as the focal point of the image. I justify this reading further with the fact that the pupil who is being 'helped' is not in view because s/he is obscured by another pupil's back. There appears to be no interaction between the photographer and actors, suggesting that possibly neither members of staff, nor any pupils are aware that they are being photographed.

The "punctum" of the photograph (Barthes, 1980) for me lies in the expressions of the Asian boys on the table to the right of the teacher (where the language support teacher is sat). They all appear to look at the pupil who is being helped and seem to be laughing. This suggests to me that there may be something amusing, or unusual, about the pupil who is receiving the help. This meant that my possible interpretation of the photograph, as constructing this 'teacher as helpful', became problematic. The teacher is shown with his back turned to the table of boys, and one of them appears to be peering past the teacher, which I read as suggesting an effort to observe and/or make contact with the pupil who is being 'helped'. I interpreted the photograph as reproducing themes of male 'disruption' in class and the (in)visibility of young Asian women within the class.

I suggest that the images raise further questions with regard to the male and female pupils in the classroom such as where are the photographer's female friends, and why have young women not been constructed as 'the class' in the same way that young men have been positioned as representing 'the class'. As I have already suggested, literature has referred to the domination of teachers' time and attention in the classroom by male pupils. In light of this, I suggest that these young women's photographs construct Asian female pupils as invisible in the classroom, both in terms of language support and teacher attention, and as Others to representations of 'the class'.

In Chapter Nine I suggest that a lack of teacher attention towards Asian girls can be linked with the dominance of 'Behavers and Achievers', 'male underachievement' and 'arranged marriage' discourses, within which the young women are positioned. I also discuss how these discourses may impact upon the young women's classroom experiences and subsequent subject choices.

Anti-Lessons Discourses

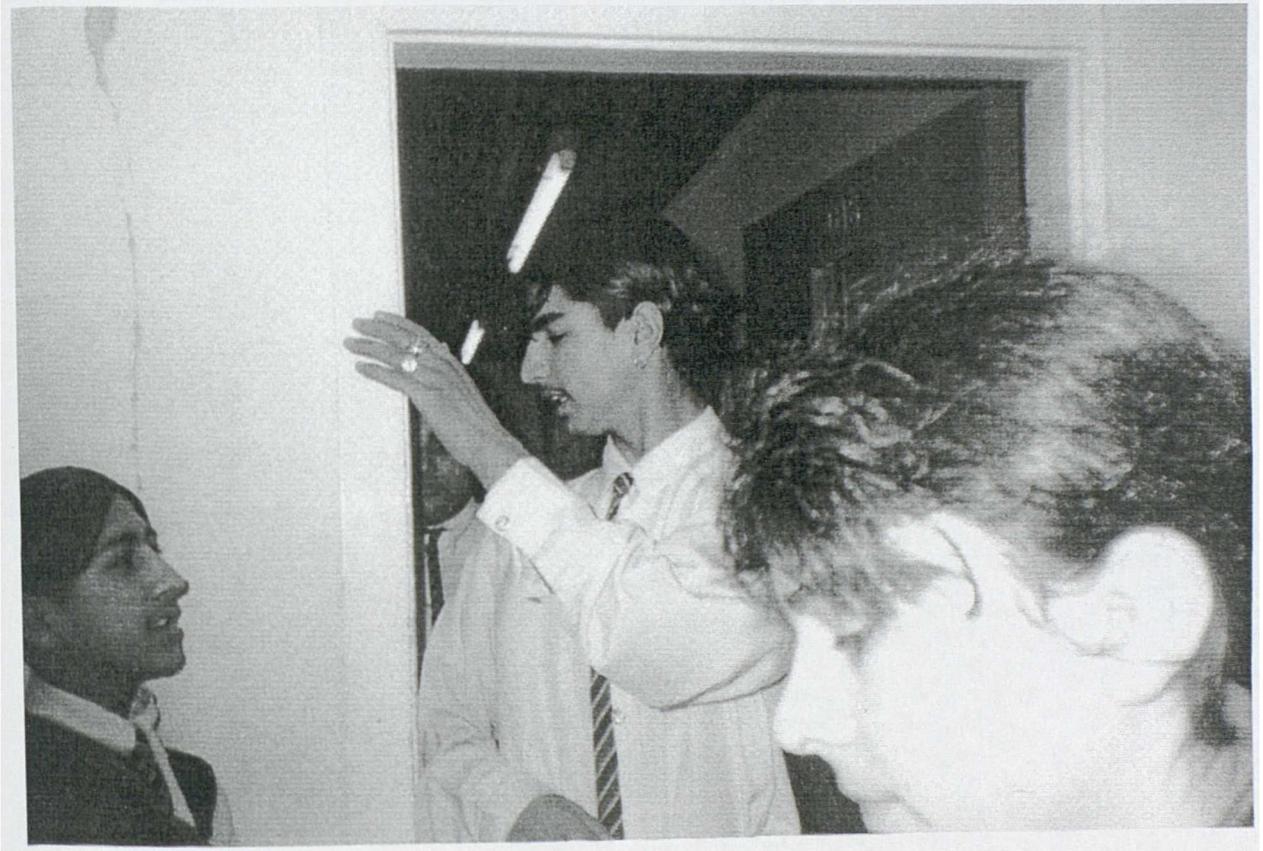
"[School is] a setting which is characterised by hard work and a structure of authority that, for the most part, denies ... independence and creativity." (Harrison, 1997; p.513).

I was told on several visits to Mill Town that the issue of 'disaffection' among pupils causes concern for teachers and members of the LEA. During informal discussions I noted that when disaffection among Asian pupils was brought up, it was often spoken

about with relation to (Muslim) male pupils. I suggest that this may have been influenced by the prevalence of 'behavers and achievers' stereotypes (Gillborn, 1990) 'male underachievement' concerns (Connolly, 1998; Mac an Ghail, 1996) and the invisibility of Asian (Black) women more generally within educational discourses.

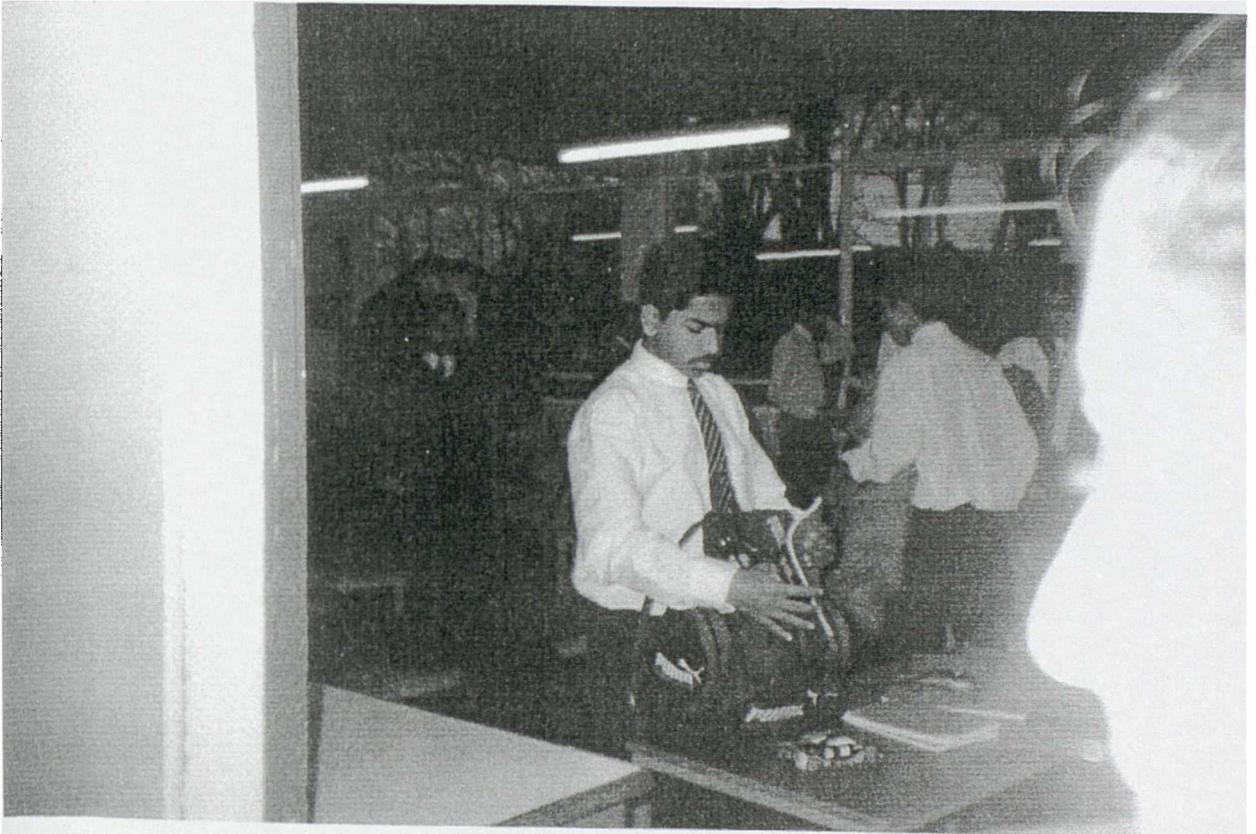
In contrast to perceptions of disaffection as a 'male' issue, I interpreted some of the young women's photographs as constructing/ conveying disaffection. I have selected the following two photographs, taken by Shireen, as visually illustrative of 'disaffection'. However, I consider that the theme is also conveyed by the marked *absence* of photographs portraying classrooms and lessons in other accounts. For example, Uma's diary conveyed, to me, little, or no interest, in school lessons. Instead, I read her photographs as constructing subversions of school rules (e.g. "*mate eating in library*"). I also read Mona's photographs as constructing school as a place to meet friends and have a laugh between lessons, with a suggestion of dissatisfaction or disinterest in lessons.

I noted that all Shireen's photographs which related to school had been taken from outside the classroom. This suggested to me that leaving class, and preparing to leave class, are constructed as more important, or interesting, than lessons or work-related topics. I justified my reading of her photographs as 'anti-lesson discourses', with the comments which Shireen made in the back of her folder, specifically "*I hate school*".



getting out of class after
lunchtime bell.

Fig. 3.12



getting ready to go home

Fig. 3.13

The photograph "*getting out of class..*" (Fig. 3.12) appears to have been taken from outside the classroom and the centre of the image focuses upon the classroom door, with pupils leaving lessons for the lunchbreak (according to the caption). I read the image as conveying considerable movement and spontaneity: for example someone appears walking into the foreground unawares of the camera, nobody is looking at the camera, and the central male character's positioning and pose suggests he has been captured in mid-movement. I read these features as signalling a lack of co-operation between photographer and photographed, which conveys the speed and action involved in 'getting out of class'. The caption "*getting out of class...*" further constructs, for me, feelings of being held, and trapped in lessons against one's will, which I interpret as dissatisfaction and disinterest in school and lessons.

I also consider that the photograph "*getting ready to go home*" (Fig. 3.13) has been taken from outside the classroom, through the doorway. This suggested to me that the photographer (Shireen) is already out of the door, and on her way home. I think that this image also evokes considerable feelings of movement because no one in the photograph is looking at the camera, people in the shot are packing their bags to go and, as before, someone is featured intruding on the foreground. The presence of the figure in the foreground also suggested to me that others are being presented as possibly waiting to leave, or are seen passing in front of the camera as they also 'escape' the lesson/ school.

I interpreted these two photographs as producing 'anti-lesson' discourses because I read them as conveying how the photographer deliberately presents images from outside the classroom as preferable to shots inside. I also considered that the positioning of the doorframe in each shot shows that the photographer is stood considerably far away from the doorway and has thus moved well away from the lesson, or may even be one of the first pupils to leave.

However, although I have suggested that these photographs can be read as constructing a sense of dissatisfaction and disaffection, I do not think that the images reveal a source of this disinterest. For example, I read Nadia's photograph of science lessons as constructing a marginalisation of the (Asian female) photographer in the science class, through her distance from the (White, male) class, and I compared this to her photograph of a 'liked' English lesson. However I read Shireen's 'anti-lesson' photographs as conveying a broader dislike of school and compulsory education. In this way, although Shireen's photographs can be read as images of dissatisfaction with school, they do not seem to suggest alternative courses of action within the structure of compulsory school attendance.

I suggest that Shireen's photographs are important because they represent disaffection amongst young Muslim women, which challenges conceptions of 'disaffection' as a male issue. I suggest that her images can be read as challenging mainstream White discourses which pathologise minority cultures as 'causing' disaffection because they have values and practices which conflict with school values, such as the education of

women and arranged marriage (see Chapters One and Three). These dominant discourses may conceptualise women's disaffection in school as an 'inevitable' result of the 'sexist' expectations of the pathologised, minority culture. I consider however, that the reduction of young Muslim women's disaffection to 'cultural differences' precludes action within multicultural discourses, for fear of being 'racially insensitive' because the norms and values upon which these fears are based are not questioned.

Instead, Shireen's photograph appears to construct what goes on inside the classroom as not worthy of attention and a possible source of disaffection, which I suggest can be used to shift the focus of disaffection debates onto the content, and nature, of schooling and the role of teachers' discourses on young Asian women's school experiences. In Chapter Nine I discuss educational implications of my interpretations and suggest possibilities for policy and practice.

CHAPTER NINE

DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

In this thesis I used a critical, feminist discursive position with which to question positivistic Social Psychological approaches to theorising, and researching, ethnicity and gender. I criticised positivistic approaches for reproducing oppressive knowledges which normalise White, middle-class, heterosexual men, subsequently rendering Black, female and working-class Others invisible and abnormal. I also addressed the separation of 'race' and 'racism' and the absence of gender within social cognition research. I presented criticisms of multicultural approaches within the British education system, which conceptualise 'race', racism and gender as separate, unrelated constructs.

I proposed to look ways in which young British Muslim pupils conceptualise their identities and their experiences, in light of these dominant discourses, within the context of school. I collected data using discussion groups, with male and female British-Muslim pupils, and photographic diaries, with a group of British-Muslim young women. Data were analysed discursively.

In this chapter I discuss the potential uses and feminist application of this research. I consider the possibilities for application in terms of developing theory and method and I suggest ways in which the research could inform educational initiatives.

Summary of Conclusions

- Identities are gendered, racialised and relational; the young people's constructions of femininities and masculinities were cross-cut by discourses of 'race', racism and religion. Young men and women constructed 'Muslim' identities in quite different ways, using particular, gendered discourses.
- British-Muslim young people are not 'between two cultures', nor do they experience their identities as inherently psychologically conflictual. Participants reproduced, and challenged, dominant constructions of themselves as 'confused' and 'oppressed'.
- Conceptualisations of British-Muslims as either 'Traditional' or 'Western' are both inaccurate and oppressive. The young people's talk about 'culture' demonstrated the complex interaction of 'race' and gender in their constructions.
- Stereotypes of Muslim pupils as 'Behavers and Achievers' are oppressive and act as racist, sexist discourses, positioning young people in narrow ways.
- Racisms are multiple, gendered and are not always easily identifiable. The young men and women reproduced aspects of discourses of 'modern' and 'traditional' racism in their talk, through which they positioned racism as 'natural' and 'inevitable'. The limitations for addressing racism within these discourses were discussed.
- Instances were also highlighted in which the young men and women constructed, and challenged, institutional racisms within the education system. In particular, teacher/educational racisms were constructed (in the form of

privileging White pupils and 'ignoring' racism) as particularly difficult to identify and challenge.

- The Photographic Diary method may be a useful technique for working with young people and asserting marginalised viewpoints. However, it does entail particular ethical concerns, which require further consideration.
- The researcher is not objective; The 'race' and gender of both researcher and participants interact within the research process.

Constructing 'Muslim' Masculinities and 'British-Muslim' Femininities: The Intersection of 'Race' and Gender

In this research I considered ways in which British Muslim young people, aged 14-15 years, constructed gendered, racialised identities. I highlighted overlapping discourses of 'race', religion and gender in the social construction of identities, by both young women and young men, and I suggested that there was no single way in which the young people positioned themselves as 'Muslim'. In particular, I discussed the young men's construction of 'Muslim' identities in terms of asserting their position as men, and as a way of distancing themselves from a 'British' identity. In comparison, I discussed the young women's negotiations of 'British Muslim' identities, in which they positioned themselves as 'not Pakistani'. These constructions were linked to themes of resisting racist discourses around 'belonging'.

I also discussed instances when the young people positioned themselves as 'Black' or 'Asian' rather than Muslim. The young men and women used 'Black' particularly when talking about racism. I suggested that the use of a 'Black' identity in these instances created a united, opposing position (subjugating differences of interest between black groups) from which to challenge White racism. However, I also discussed the young men's negotiations of points of conflict, which arose in their use of 'Black' identities, and I suggested that the young men drew on discourses of 'culture' and 'religion' to justify their use of Black identity in relation to "*really Black*" (African/Caribbean) people. I suggest further that the young men's particular efforts to position themselves as 'Black' can be related to Connolly's (1998) findings that Black identities are popularly talked about by young men as 'strong' and signifying 'manhood', whereas Asian identities may be derided as 'weak' and 'effeminate'. The young men's use of Black identities within the context of racism could thus be interpreted within these competing discourses of 'race' and gender. This interpretation is further supported by the young men's use of 'Asian'.

Both the young men and the young women used 'Asian' identities to talk in general terms about stereotypical themes, particularly in relation to issues around women and femininities. The young men in particular used Asian identities to draw distinctions between themselves as 'authentic' (male) speakers and women, who were positioned as 'less Asian' through a discourse of 'culture as tradition' (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). The young men talked about 'Asian' identities as 'culture' to argue against 'loss of tradition' (particularly women's loss of tradition, such as not wearing scarves). I

highlighted how the young men's talk about racial identities also reinforced their dominant position as men. However, I also drew attention to ways in which both the young men and women used 'Asian' identities to assert particularly Muslim interests as 'normal' and as common interests to all 'Asian' group members. I suggested that this echoes the discursive strategies used by White groups to privilege their own interests as 'universal' interests (Wetherell and Potter, 1992).

The intersection of 'race' and gender discourses between the young men's and women's talk was also discussed in relation to the themes of arranged marriage, wearing of *dbuttah* and talk about education. I highlighted the young men's and women's different use of a discourse of 'choice' to resist dominant discourses that construct culture and tradition as compulsory and oppressive. For example, I suggested that when talking about arranged marriage, both young men and women positioned themselves as having choice. However, the young women explained choice as a positive result of 'westernisation' (the influence of liberalism), the young men talked about choice as a necessary response to negative western influences upon culture. The young men and women therefore both resisted dominant stereotypes of arranged marriage as an oppressive, cultural practice, and both constructed practices as changing. However, the young women positioned western liberal values as a positive force underlying, and provoking, change (which was both in their own, and society's interests), whereas the young men challenged western society as 'contaminating' culture and forcing change, which was not beneficial to their own interests.

Both the young men and women contradicted stereotypes of Muslim / Asian women as quiet and oppressed, although this visibility and loudness was positioned by the young men as problematic. Throughout the research, the young women displayed awareness of the various dominant discourses which position them, and also presented themselves as adept at manipulating these discourses. This ability was illustrated particularly well within the photographic data, where they produced various images of femininity which resisted dominant stereotypes of Muslim femininity. In Chapter Eight, I suggested that the young women produced, within their photographs, subversive discourses of femininity, which challenged constructions of femininity as 'quiet' and 'passive', whilst also resisting classification as either 'traditional' or 'western' identities. I proposed discourses entitled 'not playing the game' and 'playing the boys at their own game' and 'redefining the game', and these were discussed in terms of their possibilities and limitations with regard to reliance or rejection of sexualised discourses, 'popular' discourses of White femininity and the centrality, or peripheral nature, of 'masculine' values.

For example, with regards the 'not playing the game' and 'playing boys at their own game' discursive strategies, I discussed ways in which the young women negotiated images of 'Muslim femininity' which drew on, and challenged popular cultural discourses of White femininity. I argued that current popular discourses of "Girl Power", "New Laddishness" and "Riot Grrrl" femininities have been produced within specifically White arenas and are therefore discourses into which Asian young women cannot be neatly "fitted". As such, although the young women produced images which

drew on aspects of these discourses, they also redefined certain aspects, such as around sexuality and clothing.

I argued that the young women's images not only illustrated the intersection of 'race' and gender, but also provided 'new languages of femininity', based in the experiences of young British Muslim women. For example, I proposed that discourses of 'redefining the game' provided new languages of femininity, and I highlighted instances of where young women redefined ideals of 'attractiveness' with images of "Asian beauty" in 'traditional' clothes, or negotiating cultural symbols through clothing. I therefore argued that the young women responded to being positioned by dominant discourses, with languages coming from their own experiences. I would suggest that this was also demonstrated within the discussion groups, for example, redefining practices such as arranged marriage in terms of 'choice'.

Although I highlighted the young men's use of discourses of *hegemonic masculinity*, I also argued (Chapter Five) that the young men's talk could not be simply read as 'sexist' because the meanings associated with 'being a man' were interwoven with discourses of 'race' and religion, and were justified by the young men *in terms of* 'culture' and 'tradition'. In particular, the young men talked about masculinity as defined by the 'protection of femininity'. Young men also used responsibilities towards one's family, to draw divisions between White and Asian/Muslim masculinities. They also used 'family' and family responsibilities to draw divisions between themselves and White men. I highlighted the complexity of this 'sexist' talk,

and I suggested that these constructions are aimed more chastising other men, than chastising the women themselves. I also suggested that their reproduction of patriarchal discourses could also be embedded in discourses of 'power' and 'powerlessness', as partial responses to the 'powerlessness' engendered by their positioning within racist discourses.

Possibilities for Application

I suggest that my interpretations demonstrate that masculinity/ femininity are negotiable categories (Wetherell, 1995) and sites of constant struggle (Harrison, 1997) between competing meanings and discourses of 'race' and gender. My research findings therefore challenge positivistic representations of 'ethnic identities' as homogenised, identifiable experiences. I suggest that the young people's negotiations between racial identities demonstrates the fluid, and contradictory nature of identity and the lack of single, 'static' common interests around which to mobilise anti-racist actions. In particular, I have suggested that there is no single unified way in which the young people positioned themselves as 'Muslim' or 'British' and I also pointed to their use of 'Black' and 'Asian' identities in order to perform specific discursive actions, such as creating allied positions against White racist discourses. Throughout analyses I drew attention to differences in constructions between the young men's and women's accounts, which I interpreted as emerging from negotiations between discourses of 'race' and hegemonic masculinities.

I also suggest, from my interpretations, that adolescence should not be viewed as just as a passive period of 'waiting' before adulthood entailing a normative process of separation and individuation, nor as a 'stage' en route to an achieved, finalised identity.

Rather, the young men and women in this study were very much actively engaged in constructing, and re-constructing, identities, both throughout the discussion groups, and the photographic diaries.

Challenging 'Caught Between Two Cultures' and the 'Traditional/ Western' Dichotomy

"No we don't (.) we don't come to school and put our make-up on and then go home and wear dbuttah and stuff like that its not like that"

(Nasreen; Eastfield School; Tamar p.12)

My approach to the research, and analyses, was guided by a wish to 'transform' and challenge, rather than reproduce¹, previous Social Psychological theories of 'second generation ethnic identity'. My interpretations in this research challenge social cognitive approaches within Social Psychology which construct young, British-Muslims (particularly women) as 'passive victims' (Mama, 1995) who are caught in a 'culture trap' (Ghuman, 1991; Hogg, Abrams and Patel, 1987; Sharma and Jones, 1997). As Nasreen states in this opening extract, the young women reproduced and challenged these stereotypes, stating firmly that "*its not like that*" (Nasreen, Eastfield School, Tamar p.12). Young women also constructed photographic images which challenged stereotypes of Muslim women as oppressed and invisible. I highlighted how, in the discussion groups, young women challenged stereotypes of themselves as 'victims' of patriarchal home culture by presenting themselves as having 'choice' in marriage, in their practice of religion (as symbolised by wearing hijab) and in their education and careers. The young women constructed parents as reasonable and Muslim fathers as supportive of their daughters' education and future careers. Girls who run away were presented as morally reprehensible ("*prostitutes*" Joti, Chapter 6; Extract 1.3). and the

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this phrase is taken from Burman (1993), who proposed the usefulness of discourse analysis for researchers who wish to transform, not just reproduce, social psychology.

wearing of *dbuttah* was constructed as a negotiated practice, the meaning of which was debated between the young women and across contexts. The young women also reinterpreted behaviours of women who do not continue in education, as based on choice, or White racism, and thus redefined dominant constructions of 'patriarchal' Muslim practices as responses to White racism. Radical discourses were also produced by the young women, who constructed daughters as having more choice than sons with regards education and employment, with sons being 'forced' into education and employment.

The young men, although raising different questions of values, also constructed British-Muslim women as loud and visible, although they talked about this as something problematic. The young men did position themselves as autonomous (through the construction of 'choice', for example in arranged marriage), but they also positioned themselves as benefiting from, yet subject to, 'tradition'. I suggest that although the young men constructed themselves as 'passive' receivers of 'tradition' and 'culture' (e.g. "*when the time comes you just gotta do it*", Gufter; "*but what can we do? It's tradition*", Sham), they resisted being positioned as 'victims' by positioning their own interests and values as represented, and reinforced, through 'tradition' discourses. In particular, in Chapter Seven I highlighted instances where the young men used discourses of 'tradition' and 'culture' (with reference to marriage, religion and education) to assert their dominant position, as men, over women.

For example, in contrast to the young women's discussion groups, the young men produced discourses around young women's variance in the wearing of dbuttah, to construct the young women as 'modernised' and lacking in faith. This was achieved by emphasising that not many young women wear dbuttah, and that women's lack of wearing dbuttah was associated with feminism and emancipation. The young men therefore asserted their dominant positions as Muslim men, by constructing women as 'cultural carriers' (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989) requiring guidance and protection. The young men justified this position by presenting themselves as both 'authentic' speakers, and by speaking from 'outside' race/culture (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; p.127), and thus constructed the duties of manhood as the 'protection' of Muslim femininity.

Positivistic theories have also suggested that ethnic minority youth experience 'psychological conflict' as a result of their 'bi-cultural' identities (e.g. Ballard, 1994; Ghuman, 1991; Padilla, Alvarez and Lindholm, 1986; Stopes-Roe and Cochrane, 1990). The young women who participated in this research showed no evidence of being 'mixed up' or confused about their identities. Similarly, the young men, whilst reproducing aspects of dominant discourses, positioning women as 'modern' or 'traditional', did not conceptualise the young women as inherently psychologically 'confused'. The young men said instead that the young women were less moral, less 'strict' and not really bothered, although this was contradicted by the young women's constructions of themselves as religious and non-sexual. I interpreted the young men's construction of women as 'less ethnic' as asserting their dominant position as men, by

constructing themselves as 'pure'/'authentic' speakers, in comparison to 'polluted', or women (see Wetherell and Potter, 1992). By using this discourse of culture as tradition, as something which should be 'saved' (a 'lack' of which entails individual pathology), I suggested that the young men used a 'racist' discourse in a specifically gendered way, in order to (re)assert a powerful, masculine identity.

Social Psychological theories have also positioned British-Muslims as either 'progressive/ western' or 'orthodox/ traditional' in their orientation to 'mainstream' (White) and 'minority' (Asian/ Muslim) cultures (e.g. Ellis, 1991; Kelly, 1989; Hogg, Abrams and Patel, 1987; Weinreich, 1983). These theories have constructed minority and majority cultures as static, identifiable and diametrically opposed phenomena (e.g. Brown, 1995; Hutnik, 1991; Phinney, 1990). I suggested that the young women positioned themselves as 'British Muslim' and the young men talked about themselves as 'Muslim', and I suggested that the young men took discursive positions that were more resistant to 'British' identity and western society than did the women. However, this is not to say that the women were more 'progressive' or 'acculturated', or the men more 'traditional' or 'separated'. As previously discussed, competing discourses of gender and racism were evident at the heart of the young people's negotiations around identity. Moreover, I highlighted how the young people did not stick rigidly to their Muslim/British Muslim identities, but constructed, and took up, a number of different identity positions across different discursive themes (such as 'Black' and 'Asian'). I suggest that these findings demonstrate the shifting and multiple nature of 'culture' and 'ethnic identity', and how the process of constructing identity positions involves

discursive negotiation between conflicting ideological positions and demands (i.e. the resolution of 'ideological dilemmas', Billig et al., 1988).

The 'Behavers and Achievers' Stereotype

In Chapter Eight I interpreted ways in which the young women's photographs constructed, and negotiated, the 'behavers and achievers' stereotype. I suggested that the photographs reproduced aspects of a dominant, gendered discourse which constructs young Asian women as well-behaved pupils who achieve better results than their male peers (Connolly, 1998; Mac an Ghail, 1996). I also interpreted some of the young women's photographs as constructing 'counter-school' discourses, in opposition to this stereotype.

From an educational perspective it could be argued that the 'behavers and achievers' stereotype is a positive image for Asian pupils because it is 'complimentary', rather than derogatory, and is a desirable goal for both pupils and teachers. The desirability of the discourse for pupils could be conceptualised as encouraging higher educational achievement. For teachers, the discourse may encourage good behaviour amongst pupils, who achieve, thus creating a more pleasurable teaching experience. I suggest that underlying the discourse of 'behavers and achievers' there is an unquestioned assumption as to the value of educational success. Within educational discourses the nature and usefulness of this education is not doubted. For example, the partiality of the knowledge and skills which are taught within the British National Curriculum are often assumed to be 'neutral' or value-free, rather than being considered critically, as

reproducing and reflecting the interests of dominant groups in society (see Rattansi, 1992).

Furthermore, British educational (and multicultural) discourses are based upon an ideology of meritocracy, in which it is assumed that hard work, and ability, can result in educational 'success' (achievement). As suggested by Wetherell and Potter (1992), the notion of meritocracy implies an underlying social equality, so that inequalities between groups are therefore presented as the result of 'backwards' ethnic minority cultures or individuals, rather than the result of structural inequalities. The assumption of meritocracy thus denies the existence of structural inequalities (because it presumes equality of opportunity) and does not account for the effects of racisms, sexism and other inequalities. Consequently, 'lack of achievement' is explained in terms of a student's personal inabilities, or is located within an 'inferior' minority culture. Furthermore, academic success ('behaving and achieving') may be used as evidence that the supposed effects, or existence, of racisms and inequalities are negligible or non-existent. Within this discourse, Asian pupils are identified as 'compliant Others', whose success justifies existing social power relations. These constructions of Asian 'success' not only deny the existence of racism within schools, but fragment the 'Black' experience, drawing divisions between minority groups and placing the blame for other ethnic minority group differences in achievement, within those cultures/individuals.

Stereotyping of Asian female pupils as 'behavers and achievers' also marginalises, and pathologises, young women (and men) who do not conform to the ideal. For young women in particular, it may detract attention away from young women who may not be succeeding (as compared to more widespread concerns with male underachievement).

In addition, the relative nature of Asian pupils' success is not questioned because Asian 'success' is measured in relation to other marginalised/minority groups, and not in relation to more 'successful' White groups. For example, it has been suggested that Asian pupils are only 'achievers' relative to Black pupils, and tend to achieve lower than White pupils (see Chapter Three).

I interpreted some of the young women's photographs as constructing 'counter-school' discourses, in opposition to idealised dominant constructions of young Asian women as 'behavers and achievers'. I also identified constructions of science lessons in which the young women photographers appeared to be marginalised and 'invisible'. These challenging discourses *could* offer possibilities for empowerment among the young women in terms of deconstructing and challenging staff stereotypes, which may help increase young women's visibility and gain them greater access to teacher time and resources. However, this would depend upon staff questioning how the existing system can be changed, and challenging their own assumptions about young Muslim women. This seems unlikely in light of the dominance of (un-gendered) 'compensatory' approaches towards the education of ethnic minority pupils (Siraj-Blatchford, 1993).

Suggestions for Schools

I consider that the young women's images could be used to challenge current, dominant conceptualisations of young Asian women at school. For example, in terms of dissatisfaction and disaffection, young women's counter-school discourses would not necessarily be read as 'abnormal' or 'naughty', or as attempts to gain (subcultural) peer acceptance. Rather, these photographs could be read to provoke discussion concerning the visibility of young Asian female pupils in school, and to question ways in which teachers position, and interact with, young Asian women.

In terms of young women's subject choices, the photographs could be used to raise issues concerning the involvement of young Muslim women in science: the photographs suggest to me that further work should be done to reduce the invisibility of British-Muslim young women in the science classroom. These strategies could also be extended to question whether classroom experiences relate to an under-representation of Asian women opting to pursue science at higher levels. Working within a feminist educational discourse, the potential of these images could help inform campaigns aimed at improving young women's classroom experiences by questioning the ways in which teachers interact with Asian young women. Possibilities also include developing strategies for attracting Asian female pupils to science by identifying how the young women have constructed these lesson experiences as compared to other lessons.

Constructing Racisms

Positivistic Social Psychological theories have treated 'race' and 'racism' as separate, unrelated bodies of work. From my analyses, however, I suggest that racism constituted an integral dimension in the young people's constructions of masculinities and femininities, as demonstrated by the young people's constructions of 'race'. Both young men and young women constructed racisms as powerful and pervasive, and as integral to defining their identities and their everyday experiences, both in and out of school. Both the young women and men constructed a variety of racisms, reproducing dominant psychological discourses of both 'traditional' and 'modern' racisms; and the implications of these discourses, in terms of the 'psychologising' of racism, were discussed in Chapter Seven.

For example, I highlighted how both young men and women talked about racism as 'natural' and 'inevitable', as changing in form, and as integral within the school system. I drew on Wetherell and Potter's (1992) arguments that constructions of racism as "a natural and unavoidable human reaction" (p.211) operate as racist discourses, that justify and maintain the status quo by removing individual blame and agency from racists, and by casting doubt upon the possibility of affecting change. Wetherell and Potter identified these racist discourses as not only characterising the talk of White New Zealander's, but as underlying positivistic (particularly social cognition) theories of prejudice. I suggest that the young people in this study reproduced similar discourses of racism which preclude anti-racist actions and maintain existing power relations. For example, the young people located the causes of racism within

socialisation and White culture (reproducing ideas of social learning), as the result of deprivation (echoing psychological theories, which conceptualise racism as related to socio-economic factors, such as perceived relative deprivation; e.g. Pettigrew, 1967) and as a defensive, psychological reaction to 'newness' or threat (reproducing SIT notions of psychological distinctiveness, Brewer, 1993, and ingroup preference/outgroup derogation e.g. Brown, 1995). I also suggested that the young people's constructions reproduced multicultural and socio-cognitive approaches which explain racism as 'ignorance', which can be 'reduced' by providing different, 'accurate', information (e.g. Aboud, 1988).

The young people also constructed 'changes' in the form and expression of racism, towards more indistinguishable, ambiguous and subtle manifestations. I suggested that these constructions reproduce psychological constructions of 'modern racism' (see Chapter One). In Chapter Seven I discussed the young people's constructions with reference to Wetherell and Potter's (1992) suggestions that discourses of modern racism reinforce existing social relations by positioning dominant liberal, Western ideologies as continually changing and evolving towards an unprejudiced state (the 'lessening' of prejudice through education, improving social conditions etc.). Current social relations are thus justified through a projection of a 'golden' future and the containment of other inequalities in 'the past' (when racism was 'worse'). I suggest that the young people's reproduction of discourses of 'modern racism' similarly acted to constrain their ability to challenge experiences of racism by removing the potential for action, (because things will continue to improve with time), and by removing the justification for action

(because current experiences lack the 'severity' of 'traditional' racisms). For example, in Chapter Five (Extract 2.7), I highlighted examples where the young men talked about the difficulty in identifying their experiences with White pupils as 'racist' because White pupils were friendly in school, but racist out of school (where they ignored the young Muslim men). However, I would suggest that the young people's reproduction of these constructions of racism demonstrates not only how dominant group interests are transformed into 'ordinary' discourse (as shown in White talk by Van Dijk, 1984), but also how these 'ordinary' discourses are taken up by minority group members themselves as reasonable versions of reality.

However, in addition to reproducing discourses of racism as an inevitable, psychological 'universal human failing' (Wetherell and Potter, 1992), the young men and women also constructed, and challenged, racism as institutional (within the school). In comparison to individualised discourses, in which the 'blame' for racism was removed and the inevitability of racism was stressed, the young people constructed institutional and teacher racisms as specifically 'unfair' and actively perpetuated by staff. I suggested (Chapter Seven) that although the young people positioned themselves as powerless to effect change, their discourses offered powerful challenges to dominant positions, by stressing the accountability of staff and arguing that racism can only be challenged by changing existing power relations.

From my analyses I also suggest that the current separation of 'gender' from 'race' (see Mirza, 1995) in particular is implicit in 'hiding', and reproducing, gendered racisms.

In contrast to dominant conceptualisations of 'racism' as un-gendered (as attitudes/behaviour that orientated only towards 'race'), both the young men and young women primarily constructed their experiences of racism at school as coming from same-sex pupils. In particular, I suggest that within both the young women's discussion groups and photographic accounts, gendered racisms were 'hidden' by seemingly 'non-racist' inter-gender interactions. For example, across all the young women's photographic accounts, photographs of White women were almost entirely absent, although young White men were pictured as 'friends'. Only one diary featured a young White woman, whose appearance seems to be incidental (Fig. 3.10). I consider that the absence of White young women is heightened by the comparatively more frequent representation of both young White and Asian male pupils, who were presented in a number of diaries as 'friends', 'mates' and 'the class'.

I read this 'omission' in terms of my own perceptions of pupil's social segregation in schools, and in light of the young women's construction of White girls as "*bitchy*" (Nergis, Chapter Six: Extract 2.12). I therefore read the absence of young White women as signalling a lack of interaction between White and Asian young women, and I drew this interpretation from my experiences visiting the school: over several break times, I noticed a form of social segregation, initiated by a group of White females. These young women seemed to prefer sitting in two particular teachers' room (a shared

office)², rather than mix in more communal areas during morning break and lunchtime.

At first I did not attach a 'racial' motive to their actions and I assumed it was possible that the group composition was incidental, and these were merely pupils who enjoyed the company of teachers. I explained their actions in terms of the possible social prestige attached to socialising with teachers and the opportunities this offered for obtaining extra help and feedback from teachers. Furthermore, the staff, whose room it was, operated an 'open-door' policy to all pupils, and were themselves particularly aware of equal opportunities issues, and were expressly concerned with the welfare of their Asian students.

I do not doubt the good intentions of the staff involved, however, I experienced growing concerns as to how the young Muslim women I was working with would interpret my continuous presence in this 'all White' zone. My fears were finally realised in a moment when I was in the office, awaiting the return of the staff members.

Also in the room were the group of White girls, who were grouped together a short distance away from me. The young women seemed unaware of, or not bothered by, my presence as they complained to each other about "the Asians" and their own position as a racial numerical minority in the school. The discussion culminated with one girl expressing a direct racial insult. At this point, another of the group drew her

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This happened to be the room where I was based for the duration of the research at Lowtown School.

attention to me, suggesting that this particular sort of comment was not appropriate in front of a 'teacher'.

I had not been part of the interaction, but I felt the need to express my opposition to the racist views which had been expressed, due to my own personal discomfort. In retrospect, I consider my discomfort may have derived from feeling that my presence, as a young, White woman, had facilitated the expression of these views, and that I had been considered compliant. In other words I was shocked that these young women may have positioned me as an 'insider', a view which clashed strongly with my own self-perception as 'someone attempting anti-racist work'. The incident had a strong impact on me and drew me to 'search' for young, white women in the photographic diaries, reading their absence in light of the situation I had encountered.

My first interpretations of this incident were to class it simply as 'racism'. However, when reading the photographs, I understood it as a gendered, racial segregation, which did not appear between White males and Asian female pupils (e.g. as in Nargis' and Selima's accounts). It is possible that antagonism between White and Asian young women could be explained in terms of competition for the attention of the male pupils, and White males could be considered particularly 'desirable' on account of their privileged power position in society and their control of dominant discourses.

I consider that sexual competition between women for White, male approval offers little possibility for alliances between racially diverse groups of women. I also suggest that

this form of gendered racism may preclude anti-racist action because racisms between women appear to be hidden because, on the one hand, female pupils are less 'visible' than their male counterparts, and on the other, the 'evidence' of interaction between White (male) and Asian (female) pupils works to deny the existence of racism. In this way, I suggest that gendered racisms may actively maintain the basis of White male power.

Suggestions For Schools

Both the young men and the young women talked about the inevitability of racism and their own powerlessness to stop it ('there's nothing you can do to stop racism'). However, the young people resisted identification as 'passive victims', and both young women and men proposed strategies for 'dealing' with, or containing, racism. These strategies were located only within the educational context, and identified 'retaliation' as a contingency 'solution' to racism within school.

In line with Cohen's (1988) identification of 'silent' (and 'commonsense') racism, I suggest that schools need to re-conceptualise racisms and look for 'hidden' racisms (e.g. at break-times, in terms of pupil self-segregation) and gendered racisms. These suggestions are placed within a wider debate between the school as reactive or pro-active in its approach to racisms according to whether a multi-cultural or an anti-racist stance is taken. However, I recognise that the limitations of school as an institution with restrictions on resources and time, will restrict the implementation of such strategies.

I suggest that the young people's constructions of 'hidden racisms' raise questions both in terms of what 'can' be done and what 'should' be done. In proposing possible strategies for schools I reject multicultural approaches because I consider them to be 'reactive'. Instead, I advocate more 'pro-active' approaches, that attempt to target oppressions and change the status quo (I shall refer to these as anti-racist/anti-sexist approaches³). Strategies for re-conceptualisation could highlight the importance of these 'hidden' forms of racism as behaviours which deny Asian pupils equal access to resources and create 'no go' areas for Asian pupils. It could also be stressed that the subtle, yet pervasive, nature of these racisms means that they are particularly difficult to combat, and thus may require more radical measures that are currently offered within multicultural approaches.

I interpreted some of the young women's photographs as conveying the invisibility of Muslim women at school. I read their images as subverting dominant 'behavers and achievers' and 'model pupils' stereotypes and reproducing contradictory themes of alienation and (in)visibility. I identified photographs which young women had taken of their lessons, and I suggested that photographs of science lessons, in particular, could be read in terms of the young women's disaffection. I also consider that teachers' attitudes towards young women may be an important part of the 'discouraging

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I use the term 'anti-racist' for convenience and to denote a more pro-active approach to tackling inequalities. I do refer to the same body of 'anti-racism' identified by Rattansi (1992).

process' (Kelly, 1981 in Arnot, 1994): therefore a potential of the photographic technique could be to render 'visible' (disaffected) viewpoints which are usually 'invisible' to teachers.

I would also like to position my findings in relation to previous suggestions by Hewitt, 1996 (in Phoenix, 1997 p.13), that young White men are more likely than young White women to produce and perpetuate racist discourses. I would suggest that, from this research, young White men may have reproduced more 'traditional', identifiable forms of racism, in that White women utilised more subtle, hidden forms of racism.

However, the young Muslim men did not identify racism from White males in unitary ways as 'traditional'. For example, the young men talked about differences between White racism in, and out, of school (Chapter Five, Extract 2.7). As Billig (1988), and Wetherell and Potter (1992) argue, even the most extreme, 'traditional' racists do not position themselves unambiguously, but make appeals to reason and rationality in their talk. Furthermore, I suggest that schools may often concentrate disproportionately upon tackling (White) male racism, leaving Asian women's experiences as marginalised and denied. I therefore suggest that schools may wish to consider their current practices in light of this. However, as suggested in the work of Cohen (1988) and Cohen and Haddock (1994), anti-racist strategies will need to recognise the ways in which the identities of White working-class youth interlink with notions of 'Britishness', 'Whiteness' and gendered, class-based discourses of territoriality. As a

result, anti-racist education will need to specifically address itself to loosening the emotional hold (the 'common sense') of racist images, if they are to be successful.

In relation to the general constructions of schools' 'failure' to adequately address and deal with racisms, I also discussed some of the young people's constructions of possible 'solution' of 'retaliation' (in addition to calls for stricter punishment of racists, for example with expulsion). The young men in particular produced discourses of 'violence' and 'separatism' as responses to racism (Chapter Five, Extracts 2.8- 2.11), and the young women talked about how the threat of retaliation from Asian pupils works to deter White pupils from being racist in school (Chapter Six, Extract 2.6). Although these 'solutions' could be read as attempts to both contain racism and increase Asian (particularly male) pupils' visibility, and thus gain in power (particularly as a means of asserting powerful masculinities), they raise various issues for schools. For example, schools need to think about how to perceive, and 'deal', with incidents of retaliation; for example these could be interpreted as indications of underlying problems of racism, rather than just 'normal' male aggression and violence. Incidents could thus be used as ways of 'seeing' hidden racisms. In particular, I would suggest that schools need to think about how acts of punishment may be read by both Asian and White pupils.

I therefore suggest that pro-active approaches to tackling racisms need to centre around making explicit the hidden and the implicit. This may involve re-conceptualising racisms within school. However, these conceptual changes must be accompanied by

structural changes within the institution to render schools more accountable, to identify and make known unacceptable behaviours and to facilitate cultures of reporting which protect the sufferers of racisms.

Institutional Racisms

From my analyses of data from the discussion groups, I suggest that schools which operate multicultural, and compensatory, perspectives have inadequate resources and conceptualisations with which to challenge, and prevent, racisms. I also suggest that traditional conceptualisations of 'racism' within multiculturalism result in the reproduction of racisms. I consider that the school's role in reproducing racisms is demonstrated by the young men's and women's constructions of staff privileging White pupils within school and not challenging White pupil racisms. The young people also reported experiencing various teacher racisms and gendered pupil racisms, which are difficult to identify and 'prove' within multicultural discourses.

In Chapter Three I highlighted ways in which approaches to the education of ethnic minority pupils in Britain have been based on the compensatory perspective (Siraj-Blatchford (1993) which is founded on notions of underachievement and deficit. I suggested that these assumptions have served to pathologise and marginalise black pupils as 'problems' which need solving (Mullard, 1985). Less academic attention has been paid to the converse side of the perspective, namely the acts of 'cumulative privileging' experienced by White pupils (see Fine, 1997 p.57), but in the discussion

group data, I identified a number of ways in which the young people had constructed experiences of this 'privileging of Whiteness'.

I primarily interpreted these constructions as 'institutional racisms', that were identified as under the control of teachers, but which were not reduced to specific, individual members of staff. I identified extracts from the discussion groups in which the young people constructed White pupils at school as 'privileged', in terms of unequal representation in school higher sets and as prefects (Chapter Six, Extract 2.8). Both young women and young men argued that teachers 'do nothing' about incidents of racism at school (Chapter Six, Extract 2.9), allowing racist pupils back to school (Chapter Six; Extracts 2.9 & 2.10) as before, and punishing, or 'chucking out', Asian pupils who attempt to 'stand up' for themselves (Chapter Five; Extract 3.1).

I suggest that the young people in these extracts were conveying an awareness of processes of privileging White pupils (and subsequently discrimination against themselves) through their constructions of inter-ethnic relations within school. In particular I attempted to draw attention to the young people's constructions of conflict between themselves and the school institution (explained as the school being 'unfair' and 'racist'). The young people thus constructed a conflict of interests between themselves as 'victims' of racism, and the protection and privileges which are afforded to White pupils, whereby racist pupils are protected from retaliation (by Asian pupils), and are privileged through their unrepresentative promotion to positions of 'power', such as in the 'top set' and as 'prefects'.

However, despite the young people's constructions of institutional racisms as unreasonable and unfair, the young people constructed interpersonal racisms from teachers in more ambiguous terms. I attempted to argue that dominant, multicultural definitions of 'racism' were narrow, relying on notions of 'traditional', interpersonal racism. I further argued that these narrow definitions worked to prevent the young people from labelling their experiences of more 'subtle' teacher racisms. I highlighted extracts to show that both young men and young women had difficulties in explaining and talking about their experiences of racisms from teachers. For example, in Chapter Six, young women talked about their experiences of interpersonal racisms from teachers and their concerns that these experiences could be dismissed as "*paranoia*" (Navdip, Extract 2.7).

Similarly, in the young men's chapter, I identified constructions of teacher racism as being "*in their eyes*" (Deepak, Chapter Five; Extract 3.2). I suggested that the young people's constructions of interpersonal teacher racisms were limited as possibilities for anti-racist action, because multicultural perspectives conceptualise racism as an allegation which should be 'proved'. I further suggested that dominant conceptualisations of racism within the school system may reinforce cultures of non-reporting, and are interlinked with teachers' current lack of accountability.

Suggestions for Schools: Possibilities for Challenging Racisms

I also suggest that educational responses can largely be classed as either 'reactive' or 'pro-active'. I further classify multicultural strategies as 'reactive', because they are responses to the 'multicultural situation', whereas anti-racist strategies are more 'pro-active' in that they seek to target oppressions and seek to challenge and change the status quo.

In Chapter Six, Menaz and Zaida (extract 2.10) constructed suspension from school as an insufficient form of punishment and Navdip offered a radical solution of permanent exclusion as the only option in terms of prevention ("*I-I reckon they should have got rid of them altogether! cos they just keep doing it!*"). Greater exclusion of pupils who commit racist attacks could improve perceptions of teachers' commitment to anti-racist/equal opportunities viewpoints and it could result in black pupils experiencing less of certain types of racisms.

These solutions are, however, reactive in that they operate only after a racist incident. They also rely on teachers becoming "*bothered*", or more precisely these are alternatives which would rely on changing current staff perceptions and practices. The feasibility of exclusion as a 'solution' to pupil racisms has various implications; First, the exclusion of racist pupils does not engage with the problem (beyond punishment) and is reactive, although it might work as prevention to others, but is dependent upon racist pupils valuing being in school. Secondly, changes would have to be made in policy regulations for exclusion and entrance to Pupil Referral Units (PRU's) such as changes in conceptualisations of what constitutes "*unacceptable behaviours*". These

behaviours are usually defined from a staff perspective, such as how a pupil affects and hinders a teacher's classroom management, i.e. 'pupils who tax schools' (Miller, 1998). Thirdly, PRU's could end up as 'racist centres' without some sort of anti-racist 're-education'. This again would necessitate more (but whose?) resources. Finally, 'hidden' racisms and teacher/institutional racisms would not fall within this particular sphere of action.

In response to the problems of such 'reactive' solutions, I advocate a 'pro-active' approach, which specifically tackles the multiplicity of racisms, such as hidden racisms, through the emphasis on 'anti-racism' and conceptualisation of racisms from alternative viewpoints. However, speaking out against teachers is not generally encouraged by the education system and is equated with bad classroom behaviour. School also perpetuates notions of equality of opportunity and fairness which operates against Asian pupils being able to 'justify' their allegations. I think that current methods of 'dealing' with reports of racism convey notions of 'acceptable' levels of racism, protect White pupils and staff from allegations of racism, and reproduce cultures of non-reporting among Asian pupils.

Currently I consider that pupils' experiences of racisms are not given equal status with teachers' voices and the reproduction of the discourse of 'racism as paranoia' prevents young people from defining their experiences as 'racist'. Racisms are therefore perpetuated within a culture of non-reporting. Instead, (White) teachers control definitions of racism (though setting policies and school rules) and therefore what is

'dealt' with. For example, 'subtle' racisms are frequent, pervasive experiences which affected all participants, yet schools were constructed as 'not bothered' about these 'trivial' forms of racism.

I do not wish to potentially implicate all teachers in perpetuating racism, however I do advocate that changes could be made with regard to the balance of power and accountability within schools. I suggest that staff should be made aware of the potential (sometimes unintentional) racisms which Asian pupils may experience during teacher-pupil interactions. In particular, I suggest that teaching staff should be made aware of the gendered, racist implications of their unquestioned views and stereotypes of British-Muslim pupils.

A counter discourse of racism as taking many different forms and as being something which it is justifiable and right to speak out against, and challenge, could empower pupils although it would also undermine teachers' (absolute) authority (and may therefore meet with resistance from staff).

Equal opportunities perspectives in schools are already marginalised as "disparate and optional", are only taken up by certain individual members of staff, and are considered as separate, and of secondary importance, to the actual subject matter taught. If schools are to develop and implement anti-sexist, anti-racist strategies, there will have to be serious re-negotiations and self-examination of current practices and discourses.

One step forward in this, I believe, is to listen to what some of the oppressed and marginalised pupils are saying and to afford their voices equal platform.

The Photographic Diary Technique

In addition to discussing what the young women presented through their photographs, I suggest that it is equally interesting to consider what was *not* shown by the young women in their images. As Barthes (1980) suggests, there are as many decisions to be made regarding what is not shown in a photograph, as there are regarding what one selects to represent within the frame. These choices are not random or value-free, and the omission of one particular environment drew my attention to ethical issues around photographic representation.

On the whole, 'the home' and 'home-life' were under-represented in the young women's photographs. There are various possible reasons which may underlie this general trend across the projects: the young women may not have wanted me to intrude into their private lives. Given the educational context within which the study was conducted, the young women may not have considered that 'home' as falling within the interests of the research. Also, some of the young women told me that they had interpreted the exercise as about 'self' which they defined as 'not my family' / 'not other people'. Another possible factor could be that because I am a White researcher and the young women may have been concerned with my possible racist assumptions about them, for example regarding domestic division of labour and 'oppression' by restrictive family values. It is also possible that the differences in social class between us could

have meant that the young women were unwilling to show their 'working class' backgrounds to a middle-class woman⁴.

When discussing this project with staff, White teachers expressed interest in 'seeing' the home lives of their pupils, which they felt they knew very little about. Comments such as 'I'd really like to know what they do when they go home' were not uncommon.

Teachers explained their interests to me as wanting to achieve a better understanding of pupils, both generally and specifically with regard to homework (e.g. whether the young women were expected to do so many household tasks that there was no time for homework: whether pupils had sufficient space to work at home).

I consider that these teachers' concerns draw upon discourses of social class, which are cross-cut with gendered, racial assumptions which position housework, and caring for (many) siblings, as 'cultural' expectations of Muslim femininities. I suggest that because photographs hold the inherent potential to be read ambiguously, the young women may not have included photographs that could be read as reinforcing these dominant stereotypical assumptions (concerning the 'oppressive' home life of young Muslim women). In other words, by not including particular photographs of home (as was requested in the research brief), the young women may have been resisting racist constructions of themselves through a strategy of avoidance, or 'visual silence'.

⁴ I am grateful to Dr. Anne Phoenix for suggesting this point.

Alternatively, young women may not have included photographs of domestic tasks and symbols because these images were not considered as 'interesting' subject matter.

I also suggest that a conceptualisation of the division of domestic labour as equating with oppression may not necessarily be shared by all women. For example, Nargis and Tamsin included photographs of themselves performing domestic tasks/chores in their diaries. I found it difficult to read these images as representing either 'cries of oppression' or as some form of 'false consciousness'. *This led me to question what other meanings the images convey and how I read the construction of femininities within these photographs.* For example, the images could be read as constructing the young women fulfilling responsibilities, which accord prestige on the individual, rather than oppression.

The young women did 'edit' their photographs, when they selected images for inclusion in their 'official' projects. However, inclusion of an image, even with captions, cannot be guaranteed against alternative readings being made, contrary to the wishes and interests of the photographer. In light of this concern, I made a number of conscious decisions not to include particular photographs, which I believed may not be in the interests, and wishes, of the young women involved (although the young women had given their consent to my use of all photographs which appeared in their projects). I made these decisions through discussion with my main co-researcher, and we decided not to include particular 'personal' and 'sensitive' photographs.

A problem of the technique remains unresolved in that the visual nature of the technique means it is difficult to protect the anonymity of those featured, particularly where unknown others have been photographed. I attempted to reduce the possibility for identification of those photographed by giving the young women photographers pseudonyms, and by protecting the anonymity of the research context. In accordance with the young women's wishes, I have also decided not to show the photographs to teachers from the schools in Mill Town (even though this over-rules the wishes of the schools who participated).

In spite of these reservations, I do suggest that photographs hold great potential for discursive research, and for challenging inequalities, through their use of symbols and discursive practices, and because of the potential they offer for alternative readings. Photographs are rich texts, and I consider that they offer exciting discursive possibilities for examination of interactions between the photographer's subjectivity, the subject matter and the viewer's subjective readings of the photograph.

In addition, *the photographic research was enjoyed by both the young women and myself*, and subsequently elicited a great deal of interest, consideration and attention from all of us involved. It is my opinion that, when working with young people in particular, researchers should endeavour to create interesting and pleasurable interactions, and as Cohen and Haddock (1994) suggest, photography is a popular medium with which young people are likely to feel comfortable and familiar. Admittedly, this view could be criticised as an attempt to 'lure' or 'entice' young

people into a false sense of security, in order to facilitate the researcher's gathering of information. To answer this, I would suggest conducting studies with honesty and candour, being careful to explain the aims and motives, and allowing the young people opportunities to withdraw their texts, and the researcher's interpretations of their texts.

I still have unresolved dilemmas concerning the 'emancipatory potential' of my work, particularly because due to the inherently oppressive nature of all research, whereby the interests of those 'studied' are subjugated to the wishes, and the more powerful position, of the researcher. I consider that this research raises particular ethical problems because I am a White researcher, effectively earning a living from young, Asian participants. I have attempted to address these concerns *throughout my work*, in a variety of ways, but I recognise that the issue still remains as a *point of contention* within this work.

I do not offer the photographic technique as a 'magic' answer to these ongoing concerns. Instead, I argue that photographs can afford a particularly vivid arena for the assertion of marginalised subjectivities and the negotiation of different discursive positions. Possible further developments using the photographic diaries could be based upon work done by Cohen and Haddock (1994). They have proposed anti-racist strategies for schools using photography, storytelling and drama. Cohen and Haddock suggest that these are particularly useful arenas for anti-racist work because they create enough 'distance' to inhibit any direct acting out of racist sentiments, whilst allowing

underlying attitudes to be explored. They suggest using photography in particular as a way of:

"encouraging children to see that their images of themselves and other people are not fixed, natural or absolute but subject to continual negotiation and change [...] to help children learn to recognise the ways in which body images are socially constructed and given meaning and thus to understand something of the process of racist stereotyping"

(Cohen and Haddock, 1994; p.21)

As such, I hope that the technique will be given further consideration in future work.

The Researcher-Participant Relationship: Interactions Between 'Race' and Gender

In Chapters 1, 2 and 4, I raised various questions concerning my own role in the research process, particularly concerning the interaction of 'race' and gender between researcher and participants. These issues were framed in terms of the researcher's subjectivity (as a non-objective participant who engages in socially constructing research), and in terms of the politics surrounding a White researcher 'doing' research with Asian participants, and the issues this raises in terms of representing the Other. Having largely left these questions 'on hold' throughout the analyses chapters, I would now like to return to these original questions and offer some tentative replies. I introduce my discussions with the following extract.

- Nessa: if for example right a White girl was interviewing you how would you feel about that?
- Qulsum: actually just the same (.) I don't know cos I think she wouldn't know what-
- Parbin: -she wouldn't understand us though as much cos-
- Qulsum: she hasn't been through the same sort of thing
- Nessa: what if a man interviewed you?
- All: oh no!
- Qulsum: I can talk to a man about certain subjects it wouldn't bother me cos he was a man but I wouldn't talk to him about things- I don't think I'd be as open actually
- Nessa: yeah (.) what if he's a White man?
- Qulsum: White?! (.) I wouldn't talk at all!
- Parbin: he'll probably just look at us and go what the lot- are these lot on?! hhh!
- Nessa: what if its an Asian man?
- Qulsum: no I wouldn't no (.) probably think-
- Parbin: -probably go to our houses! ha ha ha!
- Qulsum: I couldn't talk to an Asian man

I enlisted the help of two British Asian women in conducting the discussion groups, and in this section I consider and discuss our roles, and the intersection of 'race' and gender, in producing different 'knowledges'. As stated in Chapter Four, we split the single-sex discussion groups between us, so that we all interviewed the same number of male groups as female groups. Throughout the analyses chapters I attempted to highlight points where I felt that the 'race' of the researcher had a particular influence on the discourses being produced within the groups. For example, within the young men's discussion groups, more 'confrontational' solutions to racism were voiced in discussions with either Tamar or Nessa.

I anticipated that perceptions of common group membership would influence interactions, particularly with regard to feeling at ease and the role of shared, cultural

understandings. However, I also hoped to use my social difference, as an 'outsider' White woman, as a place from which to generate different readings and interactions, to be read in parallel to those produced by my Asian female co-workers. Despite my original aims to place these differences as central in the research, I found the considerable commonalities between accounts more 'interesting' in terms of generating theory, rather than just focussing solely upon difference.

In the discussion groups we asked the young women and men whether, and how, they thought they might have felt with both White and Asian, male and female researchers.

In all the discussion groups which I conducted, the young women told me that they would have said the same things to an Asian, female researcher, although the young women from Eastfield School suggested that there were some things that I may not really understand (regarding home life and religion) and the young women from Lowtown School suggested that they felt more 'free' to express opinions with a White woman, because if I had been Asian "*then it would have mattered*" what they said (Nazia, Lowtown School; LA p.29-30). Nazia described this in terms of power relations and how as a White, what they said did not 'matter' because of my social distance, ie. it would not have repercussions either in identity terms or practically (it would be less likely to 'get back' to other Asians). She also referred to me as "*fairly equal*" to them at an interpersonal level, despite my status as an older, White woman ("*you're fairly equal even for us to talk to you!*"). Many of the young women justified their views by referring to the "*woman to woman thing*", using our shared sex as facilitating open-ness and understanding in the discussions.

The young women who talked to Tamar and Nessa also referred to shared understandings between women, but emphasised the differences which they felt would have restricted their openness had they been talking to a white woman instead. For example, the young women at Hightown School (Hightown School; TD, p.17) told Tamar that they felt more comfortable with an Asian woman, and would have been quieter talking to a White woman because they would have been "*thinking about racism*" and felt the White woman would not have understood them ("*you'd have to be Asian to know*"). The young women at Eastfield School (Eastfield School; TD, p.25-26) also told Tamar that they felt they had been more open, than if they had been talking to a White woman. They, like the young women who talked to Tamar at Lowtown School, constructed the differences in terms of having to use different language, saying that they would have had to be more 'formal' with a White woman, and that jokes would not have been funny to an English woman, and although "*she might try to understand how it is but she won't know*".

However, the young women also constructed the common experience of being a woman as more important than 'race' in determining their participation in the discussions ("*cos if its an Asian woman or English woman you can talk about anything*"). The young women from Westfield School, talking to Nessa, also underlined that a White woman "*wouldn't understand us through as much*" (see extract above).

Across all the groups, the young women emphasised their extreme reluctance at the thought of having to talk to a male researcher, whether White or Asian. Their

resistance to a White, male researcher was framed in terms of his perceived complete lack of understanding, with most of the young women simply stating that they would not talk to a White man. In the case of an Asian male researcher, young women from Westfield School who talked to both myself and Nessa, said that they would be afraid that an Asian man would either know them already, or would afterwards go to their homes (to tell their parents).

However, I found that the different dynamics between individual groups meant that there was no one discernible way in which I felt I had been treated as "White", although in contrast to Tamar and Nessa's groups, the young women and men appeared as more 'reticent' in talking to me. However, when my own participation in the groups involved personal self-disclosure (such as when young women questioned me specifically about my knowledge of "Asian culture" or my motivations behind my interest in research with Asians) these points invariably completely changed the nature of the discussion. In particular I felt as though my status as "White" shifted in such a way that the whole focus of discussion turned into excited interrogations of myself and my understandings, by the young women.

In retrospect, I am particularly interested in the way which when I disclosed my (rather unusual) position within an Asian family (albeit a Hindu family) the young women became more forthright and assertive in asking questions. At the time I thought that this could have been related to reducing concerns that I could be 'racist' or facilitating a degree of common understanding to allow discussions to occur more easily.

However, I also consider now that the changes in discussion may also have been the result of a reduction in my 'power', both as 'The Researcher' (as I had opened myself for questioning in the same way as my participants, and thus had become more of a participant myself) and also in my role as White Researcher, in that I had blurred some of the boundaries between 'race'. For example, young women in Tamar and Nessa's groups constructed the 'race' of the researcher in terms of 'understanding' or 'not understanding' language and culture, but these became less clear markers between 'White' and 'Asian', due to my familiarity with participation in language and cultural practices.

Over the course of the research, Tamar, Nessa, and I discussed our feelings and perceptions of what had happened in the various discussion groups. The gender of the groups became a particular topic of conversation early on, when in the pilot work both Tamar and Nessa asked not to take male groups until they felt more comfortable with the interview procedure, and had 'tried it out' with women first. This reluctance was explained by Tamar, as coming from the 'knowledge' that women tend to be more amenable to personal discussions, whereas young men may resist the discussions more due to their embarrassment. Tamar also felt that she "knew what Asian boys were like", and felt apprehensive as to their perceptions of her as a 'sexual object' on account of being 'Asian property' (as Tamar said, being an Asian woman meant she would be subject to an Asian male gaze) and on account of her 'western' dress and appearance. In contrast, my apprehension in conducting the male discussion groups was based more on a suspicion that the young men would not co-operate through

embarrassment, disinterest or perceptions that discussing these issues was not a 'masculine' activity.

In actual fact, apart from one male group in the Pilot School, all the young men participated in the discussion groups fairly freely. However, as female researchers, we all shared a preference for conducting the women's groups, and engaged more freely in self-disclosure in these groups. This preference was not only based on the "woman to woman thing", but for both Tamar and myself (Nessa only conducted one male discussion group) we experienced rather unsettling shifts in power within some of the male groups. In particular, we felt as though some of the young men were not only 'showing off', but were actively attempting to disrupt the discussions by 'flirting' with us. These shows of bravado and their sexualisation of us served to undermine our authority and made us feel awkward. The flow of the discussion groups was also disrupted on several occasions by the presence of other young Asian males outside the interview rooms, who attempted to look into the rooms at what was going on, or who on occasion, entered the room under the pretext of various excuses.

The result of these experiences was disturbing both in terms of our 'professional' status as researchers (we felt a sense that it was 'improper' for us to be addressed in sexual terms by males who were much younger than us and who were supposedly 'in our care' for the period of the research) and as women (experiencing this form of powerlessness and vulnerability, whereby school age boys were able to shift power through the reproduction of patriarchal discourses). This intersection of researcher and participant

'race' and gender produced particularly uncomfortable interactions for Tamar, whose appearance and lifestyle were identified by the young men as unacceptable for their own sisters and female friends. For example, Sham (Lowtown School; p.32) told Tamar "you wouldn't get a Pakistani woman dressing like that round our area"). In light of this, the particularly 'strong' discourses produced by the young men in groups led by Tamar (for example, the assertions of 'racist' identities and the advocacy of 'violent' solutions to racism) could be read as attempts by the young men to assert their power as Asian men in relation to Tamar's challenging position (as an Asian woman resisting their positions from a position of power, as the researcher). Conversely, my position as a White, female researcher may have worked to silence more subversive accounts; furthermore, the young men's construction of racism as 'trivial' (as easily 'ignored') could be read as attempts to resist being positioned as 'victims' (and therefore 'unmasculine').

Issues For Feminist Researchers

Some of the 'problems' which we encountered, as young women researching with young men have been expressed by other feminist researchers. For example, Raabe (1998) found gender to be a barrier when working with young men, who displayed reluctance and refusal to talk on some issues. The greater power with which young men appear able to resist (feminist) research, also points to a potentially even greater power imbalance between female researchers and their female participants. In other words, whilst the young men felt able to engage with the power imbalance between researcher and participants, the young women did not. The young women's full

participation and willingness to answer our questions made them undoubtedly 'preferable', even 'ideal' participants, whose only resistance was in the form of withholding information (from me more than from Tamar or Nessa). As stated in the Method Chapter (Chapter Two), Janet Finch has described this 'use' of willing, female participants, as "the feeling that my interviewees need to know how to protect themselves from people like me" (Finch, 1993; p.173). I would argue in response, that an awareness of these concerns is 'healthy' for ensuring 'responsible' research. However, critical feminist research does have an important role to play in challenging oppressive, dominant knowledges, which may have pervasive effects outside of academia on the lives of marginalised peoples.

I do not consider the various 'problematics' which arose from the intersection of 'race' and sex between the researchers and participants as rendering results 'invalid'. Rather I think that the interactions produced underline how research is a socially constructed process, in which both researchers and 'researched' take positions and are positioned, and that these 'findings' should be included in accounts of 'truth'. For example, patriarchal discourses may be at work within the interview or discussion situation itself, and are not just there to be 'uncovered' in young men's constructions of other events and situations. If this point is not accepted, then the reverse would imply that only 'truth' would come from a male-male interview, 'unhindered' by sex and sexuality (ie. 'sex' and gender are reduced to 'confounding' variables, as has been the case within mainstream psychological theorising). 'Race' and sex therefore interact in research power relations in complex ways, and being a 'cultural member' in itself does not

guarantee equality between research participants. It also highlights problems in feminist research with young males, whereby I felt relatively more 'protected' as a White woman than Tamar did as an Asian woman.

This research still presents unanswered questions regarding my role as a White, middle-class female researcher, who is representing Others, under the guise of interpreting Others' representations of themselves. Becky Thompson and White Women Challenging Racism (1997), have articulated the contradictory positions of white women attempting to engage in anti-racist work, focussing on the confusing and complex experience of whiteness, and the lack of clarity and agreement over what constitutes 'anti-racism'. However, Thompson et al. advocate trying to create a new language of whiteness, which stands in opposition to white supremacist discourses, in order to use as a political strategy around which to mobilise white anti-racism. In contrast, I would suggest that a more immediate and effective strategy for critical feminists has been proposed by Nira Yuval-Davis (1994), whereby mobilisation around projects, rather than identities, is advocated, and emphasis is placed upon coalition and co-operation, rather than segregation in action.

I also wish to note that within this thesis I have used my interpretations of the young women's and young men's discursive constructions to suggest possible feminist reconceptualisations and future directions. However, I do not consider that the young women and men involved would necessarily interpret their discourses as 'feminist'. It has been suggested that

"it is not difficult [...] to understand why alternative feminist readings [...] are rejected as 'untrue' or irrelevant" (Harrison, 1997; p.513).

Harrison suggests that her young, female participants' perceived a dichotomy between 'feminism' and 'femininity', which resulted in their subsequent rejection of Harrison's feminist interpretations of their interview texts.

I agree that 'non-feminist' positions adopted by women may often be based upon unitary notions of 'feminism' (as opposed to 'feminisms') and I suggest that popular discourses often construct feminism in terms of White, middle-class feminist values, which do not reflect the interests of all women. Previous research has looked at conceptualisations of 'feminists' among adolescents and has shown that in general young people have reported (negative) stereotypes of feminism as incompatible with femininity and feminists as unfeminine and un-nurturing (Caplan, 1985 in Sotelo, 1997). I also suggest that many young women have been recently attracted to 'post-feminist' discourses (typified by "Riot Grrrrl" and "New Laddishness" approaches) which have proposed 'emancipatory' possibilities for women 'without the politics' and without the stigma of being labelled 'feminist'.

Limitations of the Research

It is commonly stated that 'hindsight is a wonderful thing', and in the case of this research, perhaps the best lessons that can be learnt from the experience are indeed 'what *not* to do'. I have attempted to highlight below some of the main limitations and areas for improvement within the work. These are identified as both theoretical and methodological concerns.

- The research was designed as a broad, exploratory study, and subsequently the topic areas covered were broad and not always consistent. A clearer (and 'tighter') research focus, coupled with more rigorous interviewer training, would have greatly benefited discussions and would have facilitated exploration of differences between the young people's constructions of the same issues (for example, ensuring that all groups talked about wearing dbutton).
- Greater training of researchers may have better facilitated discussion in the groups. As it was, the scripts read more as 'serial interviews', with particular individuals dominating the conversations. For example, reduced topic guides for researchers, and greater use of prompts (and encouragement to all members to discuss the views raised) would have been preferable.
- Prior training of researchers may also have ensured greater parity of phrasing, and continuity in the way in which key questions were asked, between groups.
- Although it is always difficult to 'vet' participants, and several measures were taken to ensure that staff were aware that we wanted to talk with Muslim pupils, a Hindu girl participated in one of the female groups. Greater care in

checking participant's backgrounds beforehand may have helped present this situation.

- The original research design proposed only two researchers (myself and Tamar). At the time of the research, Nessa was approached to take over the Westfield groups, rather than 'lose' them (it was not possible to re-schedule). In retrospect, the differences created by the involvement of a third researcher need to have received more careful consideration (and indeed analysis).
- The introduction topics used for the discussions were perhaps not always appropriate. In particular, we found that asking participants about themselves worked better with the young women than with the men. In future less 'personal' topics may set participants more at ease.
- Although this project was limited by time and money, it would have been preferable to visit participants more than once. In particular, it would have been useful to perform some analyses on the data, and then return to further discuss particular important, relevant, questions and topics. It would also have been desirable for participants to have the chance to read what was being read about them (at least in a condensed, simplified form).
- It would also have helped to have two researchers present in each group, to aid with working the equipment and noting who had spoken (to speed up the very lengthy transcription time).
- The collection of brief details/demographics about the speakers would have been useful.

- Given the resources, use of a qualitative data analysis package may have been useful to 'getting around' the vast quantities of data.
- In terms of the writing up, and organisation of this thesis, the work would have benefited from a clearer structure and greater parity in its analysis and discussion of issues between, and across, the male and female groups (this relates to earlier recommendations for greater parity between discussion groups).
- The 'non-use' of several photographic projects (White and Asian) also entails ethical problems with regard the collection and discarding of data. However, it is anticipated that future analysis of these diaries, particularly the young White people's diaries, will be carried out in the near future.

As suggested at the beginning of this section, I do not consider these to be the only limitations of this research. However, I do suggest that they are particular points which are important and can, and should, be addressed within subsequent research.

Future Research

"a great deal of research within the past twenty years has shown explicitly how schools, in spite of intentions to the contrary, serve to sort children along social class, race and gender lines, contributing to massive inequalities in educational, and later occupational, outcomes. Indeed, the school has been shown to be a primary site for such sorting [...]. The frameworks and research of psychology have been complicit in encouraging this ordering" (Fine et al., 1997; p.viii).

I am hopeful that this research has not only underlined the issues raised in the above quotation from Michelle Fine et al (1997), but I hope that this work has contributed some 'ways of understanding', which offer non-oppressive alternatives to staff working with young British Asian pupils. In particular, I would suggest that my emphasis upon the intersection of 'race' and gender could be used to 'racialise gender' and 'gender race' within school policies. I would also aim for this research to persuade schools to move away from multicultural perspectives, towards the adoption of an anti-racist and anti-sexist ethos.

However, work such as this, which positions the "de-mystification of social interaction and social processes as a necessary preliminary to radical structural change" (Cohen and Taylor, 1992; p. 56) has been criticised for over-looking the ways in which de-mystification allows individuals to distance themselves from social arrangements, which creates a sense of satisfaction within the individual, and thus decreases the likelihood

of social change. Instead, Cohen and Taylor suggest that de-mystification gives the individual "a slightly decreased sense of social commitment, a further warrant for that cynicism about social life which carries with it such a satisfying sense of the importance of oneself as an individual" (Cohen and Taylor, 1992; p.56). Thus, in this thesis, the young people's challenging discourses (for example their recognition of racisms) could be seen not as destabilising challenges to current social relations, but rather as ways of relativizing their experiences and reducing tensions. For example, Cohen and Taylor (1992) suggested that prison inmates who were 'self conscious' of their predicaments within the system were able to establish themselves against their environment, but "it did not mean however that they now acted against the institution, it more usually meant that they went along with its edicts with an easier heart, reassured by the distance which they could maintain from its social arrangements" (Cohen and Taylor, 1992; p.56). Furthermore, they suggest that the construction of 'special', resistant identities and 'free areas' are commonly employed devices which are "regular and determinate aspects of all our lives" (Cohen and Taylor, 1992; p.171). Thus, it could be argued that the young people reported in this thesis, although displaying agency and engagement with the social world, are merely engaging in 'normal' identity work, which offers little possibility for liberation from current, oppressive social relations.

In answer to such issues, I suggest that this work aims to highlight both the limitations, and the potential, within the young people's 'everyday' identity struggles, showing how their personal identity negotiations are interlinked with wider social structures and power relations. Furthermore, rather than placing the onus of responsibility for social

change upon the young people themselves (i.e. this work is not intended to either 'raise' their consciousness or merely 'celebrate' their resistance), I direct the findings and implications towards academics, teachers and schools. I do, however, recognise that this work can be criticised for offering limited possibilities to effect change for those young people who took part, and I consider this as a problem deserving further consideration in future work.

On a different note, I also hope that this thesis could help address the current distrust of 'political' and qualitative methods within the public sector. Currently, quantitative methods remain indicative of 'good' research and have been favoured by institutions commissioning research (e.g. educational research);

"the shift to the use of a wider spectrum of research methods in the last twenty years has led to new questions and new topics as well as to new ways of doing research, but it has not made research more accessible, more widely used or more democratic. At the present time, educational researchers can turn in almost any direction to draw on qualitative research models that can be used to study education in ways that make their work publicly more accessible. They can, but for the most part they do not". (Schratz and Walker, 1995; p.167).

I would hope, through future publications, to transform my research findings into a format which schools and pupils can 'use'. I would also suggest that future 'theoretical' feminist and critical research could be conducted with close reference to

applied contexts. In terms of future research, I would also suggest that more work could be conducted in terms of interpreting teachers' and educators' perceptions and opinions, although in this particular study I wanted the central emphasis to be upon a specifically 'pupil-centred' perspective.

Although I placed the young women as the central focus of this research, I also attempted to problematize, and relativize, masculinity (Wetherell, 1993), based on suggestions that not talking about being men is a general problem of being a man (Seidler, 1991 in Hylton, 1998 p.36). I would hope that feminist research could build upon and address issues around masculinity, taking on board the particular insights concerning young British Muslim's constructions of masculinity.

Given the time, I would have liked to engage in a consideration of White pupils' perceptions and identity constructions (in other words, deconstructing 'Whiteness'). I did gather data from White pupils in the initial pilot work, through open-ended questionnaires and a few participated in the photographic diaries project. However, due to constraints upon time and space in the research, I decided to place these data to one side, although I did use various issues raised by the questionnaires to guide my interests (for example, the willingness of White pupils to write that they are racist and that this was considered a part of their ethnic identity). In future research, I would suggest that this interrogation of 'Whiteness' could be further developed, as has been suggested by a growing number of academics (such as Fine et al, 1987; Phoenix, 1997).

In this thesis I have proposed the Photographic technique as useful for identity research which wishes to assert alternative viewpoints and subjectivities. I would suggest that the technique's non-reliance upon verbal articulation raises some particularly interesting possibilities for work with young people who may not feel confident in their spoken, or written, language abilities. I have also suggested that the technique allows the possibility for the research process to be conducted by young people, outside of a formalised interview setting, and without the direct involvement or supervision of the researcher.

I would therefore suggest that the photographic diaries technique may hold potential for future research which wishes to 'transform' and challenge psychological knowledges, although I would also emphasise that care needs to be taken over ethical responsibilities to participants.

I hope that this work can contribute towards a radical transformation of social psychology, placing previously marginalised voices as integral to the production of 'knowledge' (Fine et al., 1997). I also hoped for this research to be located within an 'unashamed' psychology of values (Gill, 1995); I therefore placed critical, feminist values as central in my consideration of discourses around Asian and Muslim identity, and the construction of racisms within the education system (and the effects of these discourses on the experiences of young Asian people).

In conclusion, I hope that this research will contribute towards the transformation of social psychological theories of ethnic and gender identity, 'race', racism and the education of British Asian, and British-Muslim pupils. I would also hope that my use of the Photographic diaries technique will inspire other researchers to consider possible 'non-traditional' methods, in order to privilege, and 'mainstream', the experiences of Others, in the production of non-oppressive, psychological knowledges.

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APPENDIX: Summary of preliminary findings from pilot work

Pilot work findings are summarised below: extracts from Archer & Maras (1996) "Because I was born here" First and second generation British-Asian schoolchildren's identity.

1) Conceptualisations of identity From "unidimensional" to "bidimensional" to "varidimensional". We shall return to this in more detail shortly, particularly in relation to what we see as the idea of interplay within and between different cultures (such as gender, class etc.)

2) The terms "culture", "cross-cultural", "bicultural" These are used in many different contexts, but are often seen as exclusive to race and ethnicity, assuming (i) that there are clear parameters surrounding 'culture' and (ii) that 'culture' is limited to an idea of ethnicity. We argue that 'culture' may refer to disability, gender, sexuality and many other possible identities.

3) The role of methodology- the limitations of traditional methodologies for exploring the nature of identity, particularly with regard to the use of fixed response formats, and researcher-generated questioning.

4) The importance of experience Social Identity Theory, as it stands, cannot be used to predict/inform/explain phenomena such as ethnic minority identity of second and third generation immigrants. The theory itself has not moved on or changed to encompass current social realities and conditions, for example it remains specific to the first immigrant generations, before the birth of subsequent generations. It does not explain the experiences of people or the importance (or not) of social identities in people's lives, in terms of the real social value associated to them.

As pilot work the main aim of the study was to formulate questions for later stages of work and identify areas for further investigation. The main questions we posed were "what do the young people call themselves?" and "what do they say is important/what is being British and Asian all about?". Two main methods of data collection were adopted: questionnaires and informal focus group interviews. Data from this extensive pilot work helps to start to tell "the story" of Muslim and white adolescent identity in school. The skeletal structure of this story is provided by quantifiable questionnaire data, but the meaning and substance comes from spontaneous, open-ended and interview data.

In brief the design was

PARTICIPANTS n=42

The non-white young people interviewed were of a predominantly Pakistani, Muslim background and the young white, indigenous people referred to themselves as either "Christian" or "no religion". The young people were members of two classes at the same school in a medium-sized, Northern town.

Numbers were: Female Muslims n=16; Male Muslims, n=13; Indigenous white males n=4; indigenous white females, n=9.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Pupils were first asked about their identity. For this we used a traditional identity measure, and we then asked if and how their identity was confusing. For these we used simple scales on which subjects rated their responses.

Although some of the questions may seem complicated, we were aware of this, and we took great care to explain all questions, and what we meant by terms such as 'ethnic identity'. All questions were located in language that explained what we wanted respondents to do.

This questionnaire taps the following 5 things:

(1) Self-generated identity dimensions:

an open-ended modification of the Twenty Statements Test (TST) (Kuhn and McPartland, 1954; Hutnik, 1991) which allows the individual a degree of freedom with which to define themselves in terms of who they are and who they are not. Respondents are asked to fill in 10 statements beginning "I am" and 10 statements beginning "I am not" . It is stressed that there are no right or wrong answers. Respondents were then asked to select the five "I am ..." and the five "I am not..." statements which BEST described them, and then rank ordered these statements for importance. These results were then classified according to Gordon's (1968) 30 category coding system and analysed in terms of percentages referring to a particular category, to give a crude idea of the salience of different subject-generated identity dimensions.

Responses were also coded for any mention of nationality, religion and race (I am and I am not) and responses were divided into two mutually exclusive groups of those who mentioned the dimension and those who did not- comparisons were then made and differences looked for across these categories.

(2) Feelings of Britishness/feelings of "Asianness"

Subjects rated their feelings of being British and being Asian on independent dimensions/scales. These were measured by feelings of extremity (e.g. "I feel very British"), pride (e.g. "I feel very proud to be British") lifestyle (e.g. "I lead a mainly British lifestyle") and in terms of other interrelated identities and social groups, such as family relationships.

The young people were also given the opportunity to provide open-ended responses to structured questions.

(3) Feelings of conflict, confusion

Subjects responded on scales to indicate whether they personally felt conflict around their identity (e.g. "I often feel confused by the different parts of my identity"), whether their identity was in opposition to others around them, such as family, friends and peer group (e.g. "My identity is very different to that of my parents") and whether there were conflicts between their values and other sets of values, e.g. arranged marriages.

(4) Open-ended questions exploring what various terms such as "traditional" mean, the role of gender, ethnic cultural and religious behaviours and beliefs

(5) Semi-structured focus group interviews with 4-5 same-sex young people were used to explore the issues raised in the questionnaires and to let the young people express their views on the questions asked and to elaborate on the issues they felt to be important.

The three main issues which we wish to bring out in this paper are:

1. Identity
2. Interaction
3. Conflict and confusion

RESULTS

The results are presented in two main sections. In the first section we report findings from the "quantitative" part of the study, which is then contextualised and made meaningful in the second part, where the findings from the more qualitative methods are discussed.

First we present results from white and non-white pupils, however we would like to point out that the young white people's responses are included more to give a flavour of differences and similarities, we are most interested in findings from young Muslim people. We also present results in terms of males and females.

To what extent do you feel British? (1 = not at all, 5 = very British)

	Male	Female	
Asian	3.13	3.69	(3.38)
White	4.63	5.00	(4.75)
			(3.78)

A main effect of ethnicity was found, that is white adolescents reported feeling more British than did Asian adolescents. This was a control variable/baseline variable, and was supported by other items in the questionnaire (for example, to what extent do you feel something other than British, e.g. Muslim). A main effect of ethnicity was found for females and males independently [MS=26.133, F=21.137 p=0.000]

Personal identity and salient others (1 = different to parents identity
5 = same as parents)

This reflected orientation towards salient others and family identifications.

	Males	Females	
Asian	3.24	2.92	(3.10)
White	2.88	4.75	(3.50)
			(3.21)

There was a significant two way interaction of ethnicity and sex ($p < 0.03$). This demonstrates the importance of identity not just in terms of at school, but in relation to family and parents (the contextualisation of identity). The young people's feelings of "Britishness" are gendered in their meaning and in terms of their family relationships. Asian girls reported feeling more British and less similar to the identity of their parents (who for them define what it means "to be Asian"). White girls felt the most similar to their parents-why? From this it seems we cannot rely on these data alone, we need closer investigation of the issues raised.

Non-British lifestyle (1 = not at all non-British and 5 = very non-British)

	Male	Female	
Asian	3.00 (1.50)	3.44 (1.59)	2.85 (1.52)
White	1.00 (.00)	1.00 (.00)	5.00 (.00)
	2.62 (1.56)	3.20 (1.69)	3.19 (1.60)

We found a main effect of ethnicity, i.e. Asian young people tend to lead the most non-British lifestyles. This is an obvious finding, but we raised the questions 'is this gendered? Is it through choice?' What are they defining as non-British lifestyles? Is this where the potential mismatch and conflict comes in?

A trend for girls indicated that they lead a more non-British lifestyle. Although this was not found to be significant, when analyses were run independently for males and females, a main effect was found for ethnicity for both samples [$MS = 16.133$ $F = 10.691$ $p < .004$].

Confusion about identity (1 = confused 5 = not confused)

	Male	Female	
Asian	3.47	3.17	(3.34)
White	3.00	4.50	(3.50)
			(3.39)

A two-way interaction of sex and ethnicity ($p < 0.04$) was found. Although nobody is really that confused (!) being all around the midpoint, some are less unconfused than

others!! . The least confused appear to be the white women and the most confused seem to be the white boys.

We have thus addressed the questions posed originally through the use of traditional methodologies. However, things are clear but simplistic, i.e. only a broad picture has been gained. The Muslim pupils lead more non-British lifestyles and felt less British than did the indigenous white pupils. We would now like to return to our three questions and address them using data which we gained in different ways.

The importance of experience

1. Feelings of Britishness

"I live in a British world, I do what British people do..I was brought up here all my life and I feel very British..I always dress like a British person and I eat the same food as them"

Self-generated identity dimensions

The following data presented consists of frequency percentages for responses to identity dimensions in the Twenty Statements Test. For young Muslims, religion is an important dimension for defining identity. 62.1% of the Asian pupils and 7.7% of the white pupils referred at least once to their religious identity in the "I am..."/"I am not..." test. When asked to supply their own, non-British categorisation, 65.5% of respondents called themselves "Muslim" and 13.8% called themselves "Asian".

Responses to the Twenty Statements Test were also coded for whether any mention was made of Race, Ethnicity or Religion. 89.7% of Asian respondents and 61.5% of white respondents made use of these categories.

"I feel Muslim because I pray at the Mosque, I read the Qu'ran and I follow most of the rules of Islam"

"I feel Asian because of the way I dress at home, the colour of my skin and a bit of my attitude"

TABLE: % RESPONSES OF ASIANS AND WHITES TO RELIGION/SKIN COLOUR/NATIONALITY/ALL THREE AND GENDER.

Dimensions	Asians	Whites
Religion	62.1%	7.7%
Skin colour	24.1%	7.7%
Nationality	13.8%	7.7%
All three	89.7%	7.7%
Gender	14.3% (all male responses)	8.3% (all male responses)

In addition to replying on Likert-type scales, the young people also were given the opportunity to provide an open-ended response to the structured question (means of which have already been presented). Questions were also posed in focus group discussions relating to and expanding on issues raised in the questionnaires. The young Muslim people felt "less British", but what did they mean by this? What does "Britishness" mean to them?

% REASONS GIVEN FOR FEELING BRITISH

Identity Dimension	Asian respondents	White respondents
Live here	61.5%	46.2%
Language	30.8%	38.5%
Born here	19.2%	30.8%
Skin colour	0%	30.8%
Upbringing	11.5%	0%
Customs	3.8%	15.4%
British friends	15.4%	0%
British parents	0%	4.3%
Racism		
Pride		
Belonging		
Do not feel Brit		
Nationality		
Lifestyle		

% RESPONSES OF ASIANS AND WHITES TO RELIGION/SKIN COLOUR/NATIONALITY/ALL THREE AND GENDER.

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The scale response questions asked specifically to what extent the young people felt "British" or "non-British", that is they were phrased in terms of nationality and elicited feelings about nationality. However, these such questions do not allow for whether the young people actually consider nationality spontaneously as important. When the young people were asked to generate their own dimensions, they did not really make use of nationality, instead they seemed to be referring to features of their ethnicity, such as religion. It is important to note here that these spontaneous questions were asked at the beginning of the study, before mention was made of ethnicity, nationality and so on.

As can be seen, both the white and non-white pupils conceptualised Britishness in roughly the same ways.

Conversely, what did their non-British identity mean to non-white young people? How do they choose to classify themselves? Most of the young people identified themselves as Muslim. This was both in the structured part where subjects were alerted to the topic of ethnicity and in the spontaneous, free-response section at the beginning of the study.

Analysis of results showed that most respondents were indeed conceptualising their identity in ethnic terms when questions made nationality and ethnicity salient. However we recognise that there are many different interlaying identities, and that no identity has clear parameters/boundaries. For example, much of the literature assumes that a majority group identification such as "British" is clear and straightforward. We would like to suggest that this is rarely the case and will be affected by many cross-cutting identities such as gender and ethnic origin. For example feelings of Britishness may well be qualitatively different for an Asian girl than for a white girl, and similarly the meaning of ethnicity may be very different for an Asian girl compared to an Asian boy. These qualitative differences cannot be gained by reliance upon quantitative methods alone, there must be a method to enable the consideration of experience of young non-white people.

2- INTERACTION

Parents

In addition we feel that considering social identity in this context as in many other similar contexts, it is important to see how identity relates to family background. That is, how do social identities overlap and interact with each other? For non-white pupils, what it means to feel "British" or "Muslim" will take on different meanings in the context of different social relationships (e.g. at home versus at school). The quantitative statistics indicated that Muslim girls felt less like their parents than did the Muslim boys. Also, it seemed that Muslim boys felt more like their parents than did white boys. But why should this be so? Some possible reasons come from discussions on aspects of Muslim home life, such as marriage and relationships. Generally, it appears that the Muslim boys tended to agree with their parents and "tradition", whereas the Muslim girls were not quite so happy with the situation.

"Girls don't go out, it's fair because its tradition"

"If you go out they say you're going to run off with boys"

"White women are free to wear what they want, do what they want, eat and drink what they want, but asian girls cannot. We have to stay in, cook, clean, wear scarfs on our head if anyone enters the home and we are supposed to be shy. But what if you don't want to do all this, what if you don't care about the religion? You cannot just throw it away. White women can do this. And something else, we have to eat halal meat."

3- CONFLICT AND CONFUSION

Lifestyle

In terms of conceptualising the findings of this study, we were comparing what concepts of "British" and "non-British" meant in terms of family background. One possible way to look at this is to ask whether the young person leads a British and/or non-British lifestyle. The responses gained from the focus group discussions appeared to reveal fairly clear gender divisions. For example

"Its as if I'm worthless, as if they want to sell me"

This raises the question as to whether the mismatches which occur are conflictual at an identity level, or just at a behavioural level. i.e. do young people actually experience conflicts and confusion as to "who they are" or is it rather a case of "actual" clashes in attitudes and behaviour between e.g. generations, with no internal identity confusion?

Quantitative data suggested that there was no inherent identity conflict for any of the groups of pupils looked at, however, in the focus group interviews, and in the open-ended responses gained from the questionnaires, the different emphasis in type and nature of conflict experienced becomes clear. For Muslim boys, feelings of conflict were directed externally towards "racist white society" and also towards other Asian groups (in this case the Bangladeshis, who were relative newcomers (past 5-10 years) to a predominantly Pakistani town- this could also partly explain the Muslim boys feeling more strongly about their Muslim identity). However, for the Muslim girls reports of conflict seemed to be located inside the structure of the family, and in particular within the conflict between their "British" values and the more traditionally Muslim values of their families and ethnic community.

"I think it is hard to live here if you're asian because you have to take a lot of shit off racists"

"The Bengalis and Pakistanis have been fighting a lot in school, the Bengalis are really causing it, they make excuses of race"

"I don't want to get married in Bangladesh and have hundreds of kids- I want to go to college and be an air hostess and then start looking for a bloke when I'm 26"

END SUMMING UP

The main aim of this pilot work was to present findings utilising a range of methodologies, both traditional and newly developing, and to demonstrate how they lack meaning without the consideration of experience. That is, theories of identity need to be contextualised and considered in relation to different social situations. We would suggest that there are various independent dimensions associated with British-Asian identity and asking whether a young person feel "Asian" or "British" or not does not really tell us anything. What does it tell us about what young people experience in relation to other aspects of their identity? That is, for example, for a young non-white person, feeling "British" at school may take on a different meaning from feeling "British" at home.

Just asking a person to score their responses using traditional method does not fully explain identity. Indeed, it does not even begin to address the problems of prejudice, racism and inequality. Mostly we suggest that it shows that a person may experience one aspect of their identity in quite concrete ways, which may not be conflictual in itself, but does arouse conflict in other ways.

"I feel British because I was born here and have lived here all my life, but I don't feel comfortable because I get abused at like ignored or get yelled at by people calling me paki"